The Textual Transmission of Poems Attributed to Tang Women

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Carolyn Ford

University College

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Abstract

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Carolyn Ford
University College, Oxford

This thesis examines the textual transmission of poetry attributed to women of the Tang Dynasty (618-907) from the eighth to the fourteenth century. Documenting the process of copying and re-copying of poems by a long line of male intermediaries – collectors, compilers, and editors – brings attention to the changes in attributions of authorship over time.

Chapter One examines the women poets and poems included in eighth- through tenth-century poetry collections and finds that even during the Tang dynasty, compilers were at times unsure of the original authors of certain popular poems.

Chapter Two juxtaposes the apocryphal developments in the biographies and poems attributed to various Tang women against imperial efforts to define the Tang corpus of poetry and prose, and argues that writers of fictional biographies consciously emulated the features of official biography.

Chapter Three emphasizes the manner in which Ji Yougong drew upon all prior sources, apocryphal and otherwise, to present his own unique picture of Tang women. In his influential compilation *Tangshi jishi* (1160s), Ji did not make explicit judgments about the poems selected yet the manner in which he recompiled the mis-readings of earlier sources led future generations of readers to accept a large number of Tang women poets.

Chapter Four is devoted to recovered manuscripts from Dunhuang which allegedly preserve poetry by Tang women. The recoveries potentially add to the corpus of poetry by Tang women, but only if the doubts surrounding the excavation, transportation and handling of manuscripts during the Russian expedition of 1914-15 are adequately resolved.

Chapter Five studies two collections, *Fenmen zuanlei Tanggeshi* (1265) and *Tang caizizhuan* (1304). The lack of evidence to prove or disprove the authenticity of certain poems is compared with post-fourteenth century collections wherein Ming narrative became a source for Tang poetry.

The conclusion emphasizes a smaller yet more secure corpus of poems by Tang women and sets out an agenda for research into the later additions (forged or otherwise) to the corpus of Tang women's poetry from the later fourteenth century to the present.

I would like to thank my supervisors, Professor Glen Dudbridge and Dr. Robert Chard for their guidance over the past four and a half years. Making the transition from modern Chinese to medieval studies is a risky proposition for anyone, but I am grateful for their willingness to place a bet on me! Their comments have improved this thesis in many ways. Whatever shortcomings remain are my own.

David Helliwell and his staff at the Bodleian have always been eager to help researchers find all the materials they need. I am grateful for their assistance.

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Introduction

The corpus of Tang poetry is chronically unstable. Perhaps it *ought* to be stable, after all, the dynasty ended over a thousand years ago, but the reality is rather different – there have been additions to and subtractions from the corpus. Compilers and editors from the ninth century to the present day have tried their hands at producing collections of Tang poetry. On occasion some of their efforts were intended to be comprehensive. *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩,[1] an eighteenth-century imperial project, for example, has certainly been read as a definitive collection of Tang poetry. No one effort, however, has ever managed to stabilize the corpus for all time. At any one time, it is the result of a dynamic and collaborative process involving later compilers and earlier texts, so the very notion of a corpus brings with it an inherent instability.

Every time a new collection is compiled, there are chances for poems to enter the corpus of Tang poetry. It is for this reason that some poems enter the corpus so late – new collections of Tang poetry are being compiled all the time. One woman, Li Jilan 李季蘭 (d. 784),[2] had one new poem attributed to her corpus in the sixteenth century while the twentieth-

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[1] In April 1705 the Kangxi 康熙 emperor (r. 1662-1723) ordered the compilation of the work, which proceeded quickly because the editors relied on two earlier works: Qian Qianyi 錢謙益, Ji Zhenyi 季振宜 et al., *Quan Tangshi gaoben* 全唐詩稿本 71 vols. (Taibei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1979) and Hu Zhenheng 胡震亨, *Tangyin tongqian* 唐音統籤 (which has never been fully printed). The emperor wrote the preface to the finished collection in May 1707. See Cao Yin 曹寅 et al. *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩 25 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, (hereafter ZHSJ), 1960). For a summary of the project, see Jonathan D. Spence, *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor, Bondservant and Master* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), 157-165. Liu Zhaoyou 劉兆祐 has demonstrated that the editors relied more on Qian Qianyi's than on Hu's. See Liu Zhaoyou, 'Qing Qian Qianyi Ji Zhenyi diji Tangshi gaoben ba: jianlun *Yuding Quan Tangshi* zhi diben' 清錢謙益季振宜遞輯唐詩稿本跋：兼論唐詩之底本, *Dongwu wenshi xuebao* 東吳文史學報 3 (1978): 28-59; and '*Yuding Quan Tangshi* yu Qian Qianyi, Ji Zhenyi diji Tangshi gaoben guanxi tanwei' 御定全唐詩與錢謙益季振宜遞輯唐詩稿本關係探微, *Quan Tangshi gaoben*, vol. 1, 1-48. On occasion this thesis will contrast the presentation of poets and poems as presented in the draft volume with the final compilation.

[2] Li Jilan was Daoist priest from Wucheng 吳程 (present day Wuxing 吳興, Zhejiang) who was executed in 784 for an act of disloyalty to the emperor. The additions to her corpus are discussed in Chapters Four and Five. The corpus of Li Jilan, though small, illustrates most of the dynamics of textual transmission discussed in the thesis.

century discovery of preserved documents at Dunhuang offers the potential for recovery of a lost poem from 784. Both of these additions are by-products of relatively recent compilations.

Cursory examination of the corpus as represented by *Quan Tangshi* reveals that poems by men account for the overwhelming majority of the corpus. For a male poet to have one or two poems added to or subtracted from his works does not usually have a detrimental impact on the perception of him as an individual author, or the extent of literary activity by men in general. For women the story is rather different. Poems by women constitute a minute portion of the corpus. There are 124 women with just over 600 poems in *Quan Tangshi* (which consists of 2,200 poets and approximately 48,900 poems).[3] Women account for less than two percent of the total number of poets and poems. Clearly, for women with any poetic legacy at all, the gain or loss of one poem could alter perceptions of their roles as poets as well as the quality of their poems. An accurate count of poems proven to be by Tang women, or proven to be by men (of any period), or of unknown provenance, would be an important piece of data in the effort to document Tang women and their writings, as well as form part of a larger debate on the extent of a women's literary tradition during the imperial period.

Given the immensity of the task, one dives into research on Chinese women writing during the imperial period with a healthy amount of trepidation. This is so in part because we would like to pose many questions today, which the record as it comes down to us was never designed to answer. Dynastic bibliographical monographs reveal a number of works by women, but the majority of these are lost. We may learn simple details like the author, title, basic contents of a book and the number of *juan* 卷[4] it contains, but we do not learn much about the readership of such works. It is telling, however, that these books by women were

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[3] These are baseline figures provided by the *Siku quanshu* editors. See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 190.4217. These figures do not include spurious attributions, duplicate entries, recoveries from Dunhuang documents, etc. The question of the number of poems recovered, from Dunhuang or elsewhere, is discussed in Chapter Four.

[4] In the manuscript era *juan* refers to the number of scrolls per title. In the print era it takes on a meaning akin to our modern chapter.

handled by the same methods employed to record the works by far more important men. The information contained in these monographs is only available if researchers make use of them. It is modern works of scholarship such as Liu Dajie's 劉大杰 influential history of the development of Chinese literature which almost completely excludes women's literary activity and thus give rise to doubts about the literacy of women in the imperial period.[5] The question of the extent and quality of women's literary activity is an old one which predates the May Fourth movement. Ellen Widmer has pointed out that works by men about women writers began appearing in the second half of the sixteenth century.[6] Just to point out one late pre-1919 example, Xie Wuliang 謝無量 wrote about the history of Chinese women's literature in 1916.[7]

After 1919, despite the efforts of the May Fourth movement to promote a modern fiction of liberation for women, the amount of scholarly work in China documenting the imperial tradition of women writing letters and poetry grew even larger, albeit more separate from mainstream accounts of literary history. The May Fourth movement, if anything, *obscured* the fact of women's literary activity in the imperial period (since part of their argument was that China's patriarchal culture had kept women down). So the movement's view of women's literature was molded to fit their arguments about women's oppression at the hands of men.[8]

Late twentieth-century works in western sinology, such as the *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*,[9] followed the leads provided by Xie Wuliang, Chen Yinke 陳

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[5] Liu Dajie, *Zhongguo wenxue fazhan shi* 中國文學發展史 3 vols. (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957-58).
[6] Ellen Widmer, 'Introduction,' *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*, eds. Ellen Widmer and Kang-i Sun Chang (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 3.
[7] Xie Wuliang, *Zhongguo funü wenxue shi* 中國婦女文學史 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1916).
[8] Ellen Widmer, 'Introduction,' 3.
[9] Sharon Shih-jiuan Hou, 'Women's Literature,' *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 175-194.

寅恪 and Hu Wenkai 胡文楷 in positing women's literature as a tradition within the larger classical Chinese literary tradition, but without having done the necessary preliminaries on the texts women supposedly wrote and the historical context in which they did so. The publication of the *Indiana Companion* stimulated detailed critical comments from a number of sinologists. David Knechtges and Taiping Chang, for example, argued that women's literature had never occupied a prominent position in the history of Chinese literature.[10]

Paul Kroll, in a review of *Brocade River Poems* (a translation of the poems of Xue Tao by Jeanne Larsen), went one step further by arguing that 'there *was* no discernible Chinese tradition of literature written either by or for women.'[11] For Kroll the women who could write well (and as prolifically as their male counterparts) were few in number. Their surviving works are 'lone blossoms, not rich bouquets.'[12] Heedless of such criticisms the sinological field has seen the arrival of weighty tomes on women writers of traditional China. The tradition as it is being constructed at present, however small or marginal, does have a basis in surviving texts, and thus women of today may look back to these women writers for inspiration, regardless of the paucity of numbers. Modern writers do not even necessarily have to look back at these women as literary ancestors in order to take inspiration from them. That a handful of women were able to make the best of their circumstances and learn how to read and write is as inspiring to some people as a Du Fu poem is aesthetically pleasing to others. Some modern readers presumably feel that it is better to know of a few women writers in the imperial period than to discover there were none at all. Other sinologists take a more nuanced view. Glen Dudbridge accepts the inclusion of women authors into reference works on Chinese studies, but argues firstly that women authors would be better served by placing

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[10] David Knechtges and Taiping Chang, 'Notes on a Recent Handbook for Chinese Literature,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107.2 (1987): 296.
[11] Paul W. Kroll, '...Fair and Yet Not Fond,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108 (1988): 623.
[12] Ibid, 624.

the studies of their work alongside those of their male contemporaries and secondly that the privileging of certain genres (namely *shi*) has led to neglect of other genres in which women excelled such as *baojuan* 寶卷 ballads.[13]

Knechtges, Chang and Kroll are not the only western sinologists who do not believe Chinese women wrote or who are extremely skeptical about what constitutes a tradition.[14] Frances Wood, the keeper of Chinese books in the British Library, once remarked in an introduction to a volume of translations of contemporary women writers, 'Like many other cultures, China has no tradition of women's literature.'[15] This thesis, in contrast to most of the sinologists listed above, develops the argument that it is possible now to construct a tradition of women writing in medieval times (but not a tradition of women writing for other women) because the textual record as it comes down to us does preserve some, although not all, of their works.

An examination of the written record reveals there were novice monks in Dunhuang recopying poems by women as calligraphy practice, and a male compiler of the tenth century hailing women's literary ability as one of the hallmarks of a great dynasty. This does not mean there are not complex issues of identifying authorship, voice and textual transmission. Although the desire to create a women's literary tradition for China is very much a part of the twentieth-century desire to look back at the past, the textual record does provide the raw data to support the observation that a number of women in specific times and places wrote and were aware of themselves as writers, even if they did not see themselves within a broader frame of women writing over the ages or expect to have future generations of readers see

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[13] Glen Dudbridge, 'Missionaries at Work,' A review of *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. William Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), *Times Literary Supplement* (May 9, 1986): 511.

[14] Mainland Chinese scholarship, in contrast, has a relatively earlier acceptance of this recent tradition. For a summary of the past hundred years of scholarship on women's literary tradition. See Zhang Hongsheng 張宏生 and Zhang Yan 張雁, eds., *Gudai nüshiren yanjiu* 古代女詩人研究 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002).

[15] Frances Wood, 'Introduction,' *One Half of the Sky: Stories of Contemporary Women Writers of China*, trans. R. A. Roberts and Angela Knox (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1987), vii.

their work. We may construct a small, marginal tradition only because previous generations of compilers and bibliographers have already marked out the terrain.[16] This is not to say we should accept every attribution they made about a poem or to a woman poet. Indeed there is the danger of leaning too far in the other direction. Anne Birrell, for example, has referred to women in the Six Dynasties period as already being 'professional writers!'[17]

The results from other searches to recover or construct a women's literary tradition may be instructive, or of comparative value. Margaret Ezell, in her study of the premises behind the recovery of women's literature in the English and American traditions, *Writing Women's Literary History*,[18] points out two central theoretical assumptions. One, that there is a tradition of women's writings to be recovered. Two, that this tradition is implicitly based on an evolutionary model of feminism. Ezell agrees that there is a basis of support for the first assumption in the form of surviving texts, but takes issue with the argument that there is a linear development in women's writings which results in the feminist body of literature today. Ezell deplores what she sees as the push for conceptualization of the past before the appropriate archival and textual studies have been carried out.[19] Having been marginalized in the past, women and members of minority groups defined by ethnicity and sexual orientation look for continuity with that past, even though the enthusiasm for the search sometimes leads to uncritical acceptance, even *creation* of women and minority group writers.

Ezell's warnings about the fallibility of the assumptions behind much feminist literary history apply to the Chinese case too. While there is a body of texts by Chinese women available for recovery, we would be mistaken if we assumed there was a linear progression in women's literary history. There are fewer recorded women poets for the Song dynasty than

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[16] See Chapter Four for a detailed note on the number of collections in the pre-Tang period devoted to women's writing.
[17] Anne Birrell, 'In the Voice of Women: Chinese Love Poetry in the Early Middle Ages,' *Women, the Book and the Worldly*, eds. Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1995), 59.
[18] Margaret Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).
[19] Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History*, 11.

for the Tang, although Li Qingzhao 李清照 (1084 - ca.1151),[20] the best known woman poet of the Song dynasty, has far more poems surviving than any woman of Tang. If Jorge Luis Borges once said that death was good for Federico Garcia Lorca's career, then time has been generous to the legacy of Tang women poets. Most Tang poems do not come from contemporary collections, rather they were collected long after the dynasty was over.[21] Unfortunately the dynamics of textual transmission are such that much of what women did write has not survived to the present day. And some of what we do have was not written by the women of Tang.

The corpus of poetry by, or attributed to, Tang women has undergone a number of early omissions and late additions over the past thousand years. Each addition or subtraction usually requires great effort to unravel the circumstances.[22]

Sinology, feminism and feminine voice

These editorial additions and subtractions have a proportionately greater effect on the corpus attributed to women than on the corpus of work by men. Given that some poems by women entered the textual record so late (and under dubious conditions or attributions), one must approach late collections with skepticism. Efforts to recover poems by women should commence with the earliest possible sources instead of relying on the *Quan Tangshi*, as some do.[23] Such a remark is not intended as a criticism of *Quan Tangshi*. Indeed, the publication of the work, and later on its wide availability, stimulated a number of nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars to write essays about their experiences, essays they often named 'Reading

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[20] Li Qingzhao (*zi* Yi'an 易安) was a native of Licheng 歷城, Shandong. Considered China's best woman poet, even her works have suffered great losses. See 'Preface,' *Li Qingzhao ji jianzhu* 李清照集箋注, annot. Xu Peijun 徐培均 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), 1.

[21] See Hu Zhenheng 胡震亨, *Tangyin guiqian* 唐音癸籤 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), 332. Based on the edition of 1703.

[22] Specific cases of early subtractions from and late additions to a corpus are presented in Chapters One and Five.

[23] For one of the foremost examples of the tendency to draw exclusively on *Quan Tangshi* as a source by translators of women's poetry, see Kenneth Rexroth and Chung Ling, trans., *The Orchid Boat: Women Poets of China* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972).

the *Complete Tang Poems*.' In many of these essays scholars identified areas of problematic authorship (some of which will be covered in detail in later chapters).

There are a number of scholars working on Chinese women's poetry whose compilations have substantial influence beyond China. Su Zhecong 蘇者聰 is one such scholar. On occasion, she draws on late material instead of selecting earlier sources. Outside of mainland China, *Women Writers of Traditional China* is the foremost example of her influence.[24] This is an anglicized version of Su's work *Zhongguo lidai funü zuopin xuan* 中國歷代婦女作品選,[25] in the sense that it takes all the poets and poems in Su's original sequence, but relies on a group of translators to render them into English and provide explanatory notes. Any methodological lapses on Su's part are predictably and reliably translated into English. *Women Writers of Traditional China* is the sort of work marketed to women's studies or Chinese studies courses across the U.S. (for use by students with or without knowledge of Chinese). There it will undoubtedly influence the perceptions of a generation of college students with respect to Chinese women writing in the imperial period. In the sinological field, however, the book has yet to be reviewed. Further criticism of *Zhongguo lidai funü zuopin xuan* and *Women Writers of Traditional China* is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is worth noting that Su's methodological approach for this selection of women's poetry across the ages is one she repeats for her later work devoted solely to Tang women poets *Guiwei de tanshi – Tangdai nüshiren*.[26] Su on occasion examines Ming era collections without consulting the earlier textual record. Her work, although extensive, must be consulted with caution. For example, her enthusiasm for the poetry attributed to Ge

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[24] Kang-i Sun Chang and Haun Saussy, eds., *Women Writers of Traditional China: An Anthology of Poetry and Criticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), xxi, xxiv, and 863.
[25] See Su Zhecong 蘇者聰, *Zhongguo lidai zuopin xuan* 中國歷代婦女作品選 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987).
[26] Su Zhecong, *Guiwei de tanshi – Tangdai nüshiren* 閨幃的探視 – 唐代女詩人 (Changsha: Hunan wenyi chubanshe, 1991).

Ya'er 葛鵝兒 leads her to give short shrift to evidence which would point toward male authorship.[27]

Work by Chen Wenhua 陳文華 represents current Chinese scholarship at its best. Chen draws on previously unconsidered primary sources such as *Fengtian lu* 奉天錄[28] to provide a more multi-dimensional view of Tang women poets and their historical context. At its worst Chinese scholarship publishes studies of Tang poetry which only make use of *Quan Tangshi*. The 1965 ZHSJ edition of the twelfth-century poetry collection *Tangshi jishi* 唐詩紀事 (and its 1972 Hong Kong reprint), for example, is collated against *Quan Tangshi*, not against earlier poetry collections. While the general public may find it a convenient edition, scholars should take the time to consult the rare editions of 1545.[29]

Western sinology, in contrast, has its own strengths and weaknesses. Stephen Owen is a great translator of Tang poetry, but he is less interested in questions of textual transmission. Other scholars have focused on single poet studies, without looking at the greater picture. One of the recent contributor volumes, *Writing Women in Late Imperial China* (hereafter *WWLIC*), runs the risk of making some of the mistakes Ezell warned about by studying seventeenth-century women's works based on the surviving records, rather than looking at the total picture of literary activity including available information on lost works.[30] Another relevant issue to *WWLIC* unrelated to its quality as a sinological work revolves around

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[27] Ge Ya'er and the poetry attributed to her are covered in Chapter One.
[28] *Fengtian lu* is a four *juan* account of Dezong's 德宗 flight from Chang'an during the Zhu Ci 朱泚 rebellion of 783-84.
[29] See Chapter Three.
[30] For example, Ellen Widmer, 'Introduction,' *WWLIC*, 4, refers to Wang Duanshu 王端淑 as one of the first women editors to compile a poetry collection. Such a reference fails to elucidate the debt Wang owed to earlier compilations (now lost) by women compilers. See note 86 below.

whether future research on women writing in the late imperial period will integrate itself with the majority literary tradition or be spun off as a separate 'women's' field.[31]

With these observations and criticisms in mind, it should be possible to avoid some of the previous lapses. In documenting women's literary works, what role should recovery play? Feminists have long argued that works by women have been excluded from the literary canon, and they have identified recovery as the main strategy to remedy previous exclusions. By searching for and identifying texts written by women, feminists hope to recover lost or neglected works and widen and reshape the canon. Such a strategy may be successful in combating the notion that women did not write, but is less so in achieving its primary aim of reconfiguring the canon *if* the works recovered turn out not to have been written by women in the first place.

Many men in China throughout the imperial period wrote in the feminine voice.[32] Female authorship must thus be disentangled from the instances in which men spoke or wrote in the feminine voice. Only by attending first to the basic accounting tasks of literary research, identifying authorship and tracking bibliographical details down to the present day may attention shift to the larger issues of reconfiguring the canon, and questions of how women writers negotiate the larger discourse of men speaking as women or for women. What do Tang women writers have left to say, if men have already said everything for them?[33] Thus it is very important to perform recovery operations correctly. We should not accept voice as evidence of the gender of the author. As one scholar of fourteenth and fifteenth century English manuscripts has said, '…arguable though the case may be, stylistic or thematic

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[31] This is precisely the issue raised by Paul Rouzer in his review of the book. See his review article in *Journal of Asian Studies* 57.4 (1998): 1142-43.

[32] Paul Rouzer, *Articulated Ladies*: *Gender and the Male Community in Early Chinese Texts* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 7-8.

[33] Maureen Robertson tries to answer this question for women of the late imperial period by arguing that women subvert the tropes men use. See 'Changing the Subject: Gender and Self-Inscription in authors' prefaces and *shi* poetry,' *WWLIC*, 216.

patterns are hardly reliable guides to the sex of an author.'[34] Yet this is a trait still engrained in some branches of sinology.[35] Other sinologists are more wary, as this comment by Maureen Robertson shows, 'The assumption that there is a "litmus test" for authorship by women, or a "feminine signature" lurking in the text that consistently identifies a text by someone who is biologically female and socially feminine, if only we can locate it, is doomed to frustration.'[36] Although conceding that 'in fact women's subjectivity is most often being represented by poets who were men,'[37] she goes on to argue the possibility of teasing out or recognizing a distinctive feminine voice by a number of medieval women writers.[38] Because she relies in some instances on *Quan Tangshi* she inevitably selects one poem which I argue in Chapter Five is more likely to be the work of a Ming male prose writer than a Tang woman poet.

The question of feminine voice is still a fruitful, if frustrating, one for research today. Computer scientists at Bar-llan University in Israel analyzed 566 pieces of fiction and nonfiction in English and found they could identify the author's gender correctly eighty percent of the time.[39] Apparently men use 'the' and 'and' more often than women do, while women use negatives and contractions like 'wouldn't' more often. Women also use 'for' and 'with' more frequently. Efforts are under way to study linguistics and gender in modern

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[34] Julia Boffey, 'Women Authors and Women's Literacy in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-century England,' *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150-1500*, ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996 rept.), 166.

[35] In his discussion of the Chinese notion of the passage of time, James J.Y. Liu refers to a poem written to the tune Huan xi sha 浣溪沙, "This poem has also been attributed to Chou Pang-yen [Zhou Bangyan 周邦彥], but I am inclined to assign it to the poetess Li Ch'ing-chao [Li Qingzhao 李清照], as the sentiments and sensibility shown in the poem seem particularly feminine." See *The Art of Chinese Poetry* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970 rept.), 51. This poem has no attribution in *Caotang shiyu*, 13, but in *Quan Songci* 全宋詞, a modern compilation, it is attributed to Li Qingzhao. See *Quan Songci*, vol. 2 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965), 928.

[36] Maureen Robertson, 'Changing the Subject,' 178.

[37] Maureen Robertson, 'Voicing the Feminine: Constructions of the Gendered Subject in Lyric Poetry by Women of Medieval and Late Imperial China,' *Late Imperial China* 13.1 (June 1992): 69.

[38] Ibid, 71-72.

[39] See S. Argamon, M. Koppel, J. Fine and A.R. Shimoni, 'Gender, Genre, and Writing Style in Formal Written Texts,' *Text* 23.3 (2003): 321-46.

Chinese,[40] but the point is, in literary historical research it is that ambiguous twenty percent which is the source of the trouble. If we can identify the biological sex of the author only eighty percent of the time in our own times, how can we be certain that we are not making a greater number of mistakes in our analysis of the past?

As textual scholars we must abandon the notion that if the reader thinks a passage is feminine voice, then the author must be a woman. Feminine voice is not a reliable indicator of the biological sex of the author. Since medieval male writers were good mimics of feminine voice (cite Paul Rouzer here), we must study the transmission of texts attributed to women before we can begin to make any conclusions about the extent of women's authorship. Without such a study we will merely continue to attribute certain literary works to women when they are truly the creations of male authors with convincing feminine voices.

We see this in the present day. Readers often confuse narrative voice for a gendered author, and fiction with fact. The first novelette written in Yoruba,[41] *Segilola, Woman of Ensnaring Eyeballs*,[42] was by Isaac Babalola Thomas (1888-1963), a man. Although it first appeared in serial form in the *Lagos Herald* under the byline of a reformed (female) prostitute, it was later published in 1929 under the author's real name. Readers who had previously written letters to the editor about how they remembered Segilola as the girl next door became angry when they learned they had been deceived.[43]

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[40] To my knowledge, the best starting point for linguistic work on gender and voice in modern Chinese languages is Marjorie Chan's Chinese Language and Gender On-line bibliography at <http://deall.ohio-state.edu/chan.9/g-bib.htm>.

[41] Yoruba is the most widespread indigenous language in Nigeria.

[42] The title in Yoruba is *Sègilolá, eléyinjú egé*.

[43] Robert Cancel, 'African-Language Literatures: Perspectives on Culture and Identity,' *A History of Twentieth-African Literature*, ed. Oyekan Owomoyela (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 288. Some of the details about *Segilola* are also based on Karin Barber, 'How Texts Transcend Gender in African and Oral and Popular Cultures.' A lecture given at St Antony's College, Oxford on 7 May 2003, sponsored by the International Gender Studies Centre, Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford. Unfortunately neither Cancel nor Barber relates the dates of the serialization of Segilola in the *Lagos Herald*.

Maybe one glorious day in the future, when computer programs can distinguish between narrative persona and biological sex of the author with greater accuracy, we will be able to take anonymous works and re-label them as the work of a woman's hand. But for now, since feminine voice is not a reliable marker of women's literary activity, we must fall back on an examination of texts, the textual transmission of the earliest documents which contain poems attributed to women, in order to avoid the pitfalls of creating women writers where they do not exist.[44]

The loss of women's literary work

Beyond the problem of late additions to the corpus, recovery of a canon of women's literature is also faced with the problem of early omissions or deletions of women's works. Literary historical research which works from the later periods back runs the risk of not finding those women who were omitted along the way. The example Ezell uses to illustrate this point about the English-American tradition is writings by Quaker women in the mid-seventeenth century. The recovery of a women's literary tradition in English has often taken assumptions about the definition of authorship and the generic identity of works composed relevant to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and then traced them backwards. An approach created to handle novels by nineteenth century women fails to uncover the large body of letters written by Quaker women in the 1650s. As a result, the canon of women's writing in English enumerated by the contents of the *Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* does not include those letters. It is far better in Ezell's view to start from the distant past and work forward in time, all the while being conscious that the development of women's writing is not necessarily linear or genealogical.

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[44] Elaine Showalter warned against just such pitfalls in studies of the English-American women's literary tradition. See her essay, 'Women and the Literary Curriculum,' *College English* 32 (1971): 858-9.

Chapter One will provide an example of the chronological methodological pitfall of not starting with the earliest relevant texts from the Chinese literary tradition by examining the losses of the works of one woman née Sun 孫 as well as those of Xiao Weixiang 蕭惟香. In the case of Sun's and Xiao's work the loss occurred at an early stage, just before or after their deaths. In general, however, scholars do not agree on *when* the censorship of women's voices occurs. For Suzanne Cahill, the eighteenth-century compilers of *Quan Tangshi* must carry the blame for saving little of the poetic output of Tang women.[45] For Jowen Tung, in contrast, it is the Tang era, or the tenth-century rewriters and transmitters of the corpus who are to blame: 'In an era when poetry was worshipped, leaving behind a huge corpus of the literati's compositions, the extreme scarcity of women's writings alone is enough to testify to a stupendous injustice.'[46] It is too early though to conclude when and in what percentage the losses and gains to the corpus occurred.

We can structure the work of known women poets in a way which shows an overlap between historical women and their poems and the poems created about or for them by men. Both sets stand side by side in the textual record against a background of lost or un-recovered poems. The primary question will be how big an area ought to be dedicated to each set. This thesis provides partial answers to that question.

Practitioners of new historical criticism argue that textual criticism and bibliography are fundamental to the study of literature because they are 'the only disciplines that can elucidate the complex network of people, materials, and events that have produced and that

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[45] See Suzanne E. Cahill, 'Discipline and Transformation: Body and Practice in the Lives of Daoist Holy Women of Tang China,' *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*, Dorothy Ko et al. eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 269. This is to misunderstand the nature of that editorial project. The *Quan Tangshi* compilers rarely rejected any previous attributions to Tang women.
[46] Tung, *Fables for the Patriarchs*, 216.

continue to reproduce the literary works history delivers into our hands.'[47] Jerome McGann proposes a methodology that studies the originary textual moment, secondary moments of textual production and reproduction, and lastly, the immediate moment of textual criticism.[48] For Tang poetry, unfortunately, we rarely have access to the originary textual moment. We do, however, have a general conception of the social conditions in which poems were composed and the background of their composers.

As Chen Jo-shui has pointed out, excellence in literary composition played crucial roles in the official and social lives of Tang literati males.[49] A man needed to excel in many literary genres in order to gain employment and promotion. To win that high place in the official bureaucracy, he had to prove himself first by success in the examinations. Cultivating a relationship with a mentor, particularly an examination official, was of assistance in circulating and publicizing one's written work. Unlike the later imperial period, throughout the Tang it was expected that examination candidates would try to contact examination officials and familiarize them with their essays and poems, with an eye on improving their work, incorporating the suggestions and philosophy of the mentor, with the result that the future examiner would recognize and reward the written work of candidates. As candidates for the *jinshi* examination poured into Chang'an, they would form literary circles among themselves and submit their best written work to examination officials. This system was seen to be fair and efficient, because the underlying assumption was that excellent writing served as the best proof of both intellectual merit and loyalty to the Tang ruling house.

Even when not actively preparing for examination and official promotion men relaxed and socialized in groups of their male equals, composing verse. The fact that it was a social

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[47] Jerome McGann, 'The Monks and the Giants: Textual and Bibliographical Studies and the Interpretation of Literary Works,' *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation*, ed. Jerome J. McGann (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 191.
[48] Ibid, 192-94.
[49] Chen Jo-shui, *Liu Tsung-yüan and Intellectual Change in T'ang China, 773-819* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 20-24, 53-56 summarizes the relevant scholarship on Tang literary culture.

occasion did not mean it was an activity conducted in the company of wives. If a man were celebrating his examination success in Chang'an, he would certainly celebrate in the company of women, but these women would have been courtesans with a reputation for skills in music, dancing, entertaining, and poetic composition. Having been trained in extemporaneous literary composition for decades by that point, these men could effortlessly participate in the cooperative composition of linked verse and the competition of drinking games where the poorest verse would merit having to drink a full round of drinks. The result of this constant rate of literary composition for official and social purposes is the high volume of literati poetry that comes down to us today.

The extent of women's participation in Tang literary culture is rather different. Although Stephen Owen has observed that although the extent and degree of courtesan women's participation is probably a question without a satisfying answer, a brief assessment can be made based on the fact that some poetry by women survives, and that Tang men in their prose and poetry refer to many women as skilled in literary composition. If Tang men refer to female family members as well as entertainers as writers, then we should accept the validity of their testimony.[50]

There were valid reasons for a Tang woman to be literate. The need for a female entertainer to be literate has already been made clear. But even a high-class woman on occasion and in some family traditions had the need for literacy. They did not participate in employment outside the home nor did they have access to the examination system. If her husband was away from the family on official duties, she could take the first steps of teaching her son his first characters and memorizing simple passages out of primers for the core

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[50] Stephen Owen, *The End of the Chinese Middle Ages: Essays in Mid-Tang Literary Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 133-134, note 5. In this light it is not surprising that the surviving corpus of Tang poetry by women consists largely of poems exchanged between entertainer and patron, husband and wife, religious women and their colleagues.

Confucian works.[51] The extent of this practice, as David McMullen has pointed out, could be assessed by means of a thorough examination of Tang funerary inscriptions (*muzhiming*) about women. Such a study is beyond the scope of this thesis, but once this is done, we will have more quantitative data on the range of this type of literacy and writing activity on the part of high-class women.

For high-class women, if they had worthy compositions, a couple would be appended to a man's or a family's collection of poetry, so their roles and behaviors as daughter, wife and mother would be as important as literary merit in making the decision to include a poem. Xu Hui and Yang Ronghua will be discussed as examples of this practice.

For an entertainer, in contrast, there had to have been a patron willing to go to the effort of collecting all her poems, perhaps improving upon them bit, re-copying them and then circulating them among a select group of patrons. We cannot be certain, but the works of Li Jilan, Xue Tao and Yu Xuanji may have benefited from this practice.

In general, part of the reason why we have more extant work attributed to Li,[52] Xue and Yu (dates ranging from late eighth to mid-ninth century) than to Xu and Yang (seventh century) is due to the game of literary survivor. We simply have more material extant from the late Tang (post An Lushan) than from the period preceding the rebellion. So, if more poems by women had been included in general collections prior to 755, we might not be aware of it today simply because many of those collections were lost between 755 and 763.[53]

In the tenth century after the fall of the Tang, collectors looked back to it as the last period of unified rule. Facing the uncertainty of how long disunion might last, they looked

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[51] For example, when Liu Zongyuan was three years old, his mother had already begun to teach him to read. See Chen Jo-shui, *Liu Tsung-yüan and Intellectual Change in T'ang China, 773-819*, 48 and note 46.
[52] In Chapter One it is argued that the general collector who included Li Jilan's work in his collection did so because he awarded her "honorary man" status based on her personal style in person and in poetry.
[53] David McMullen, "Historical and Literary Theory in the Mid-Eighth Century," *Perspectives on the T'ang*, ed. Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), 318-20 summarizes the primary sources which recount the losses of books during the An Lushan rebellion.

upon the poetic output of the dynasty as a whole with greater appreciation. The reputation that anyone in the Tang could write good poetry started to take shape. Collectors included more poets, but made sure to place them in the appropriate social, hierarchical order. Collectors were free to do this because their projects were conducted independently, not under higher political sponsorship. This is not the first time in Chinese literary history that the assessment of literary merit of writers was strongly correlated to whether they belonged to a period of political unity or disunity.[54]

The aims and methods of the thesis

This thesis studies the selection strategies, compilation, arrangement and textual transmission of the earliest available poetry anthologies. In the case of women writers this is generally agreed to be the late Tang anthologies *Zhongxing jianqi ji* 中興間氣集, *Youxuan ji* 又玄集, and *Caidiao ji* 才調集. A great number of secondary moments of textual production and reproduction take place in the Song dynasty, and accordingly narratives and collections such as *Tangshi jishi* are examined in detail. The moments of reproduction will be contrasted with known losses (as indicated in bibliographical records both public and private) and preserved material from Dunhuang. Consideration of the immediate moment of textual criticism must grapple with demands of sinology and feminist literary criticism. Both are methodological tools, lights which shine from different angles, each highlighting valuable areas of interest. The area one method sheds light on is an area which would usually be in shadows under the other methodological perspective. Strict sinological concerns would mention (as Knechtges and Kroll do) that the body of material under study here only makes up a minute portion of the documents available, and is therefore statistically insignificant.

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[54] Early Tang commentators looked upon the ornate styles of the southern imperial courts of the Age of Disunion with disdain. For the connection between literary excellence and political (dis)union, see Anthony DeBlasi, *Reform in the Balance: The Defense of Literary Culture in Mid-Tang China* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2002), 24;

Feminist concerns say that nuanced methods and readings must be employed to bring women back into the picture, usually on the basis that what little is preserved is better than having nothing at all. In the case of Tang historical documents, Sherry Mou has employed reading strategies which attempt to tease out agency for women, even as the compilers of the female virtue stories are all male.[55]

This thesis takes a middle ground between sinological concerns and feminist theory because ideally it would like to apply both methods. It views the notion of voice as particularly suspect. People of either gender can make great mimics. Unless we understand how the material has come down to us, we risk misreading the material.[56] The acceptance of the power of mimicry makes us aware that even the powerful are capable of making sensitive observations of other classes,[57] while the awareness of textual transmission allows the chance at least to compare elite perceptions of women with what little women have the chance to say for and about themselves. We will only know about women's concerns by paying attention to this truly marginal poetry. This is not to say that this thesis will be able to resolve all matters of textual ambiguity – on the contrary, it will celebrate ambiguity rather than making arbitrary judgments about the biological sex of authors.

At every stage of the transmission of Tang poetry, particularly that attributed to women, lack of material or knowledge gave rise to fertile imagination, bringing about new moments of production and perceptions about the original authors. Lack of material allows

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[55] For an attempt to tease information about Tang women from biographies by male authors by reading from the position of the women as subjects, see Sherry Mou, 'Writing Virtues with Their Bodies: Rereading the Two Tang Histories' Biographies of Women,' *Presence and Presentation: Women in the Chinese Literati Tradition*, ed. Sherry Mou (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 109-147.

[56] This does not deny that under post-modernism misreading may be a fruitful source of new creation and observations.

[57] Paul Rouzer argues the men's perception of women during the Tang became more nuanced. Men began to find women more interesting, and their writing about women, or in the voice of women, is better for it. See *Articulated Ladies: Gender and the Male Community in Early Chinese Texts* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 201.

others to write over or inscribe their vision of a particular poet onto the textual record. The Mianmian 眄眄 (also known as Guan Panpan 關盼盼) material, for example, developed after the fact due to the gaps in the record Bo Juyi 白居易 left behind. Strangely enough, drawing on copious material can also stimulate new readings and productions. The Japanese writer Mori Ōgai 森鷗外 (1862-1922), drew on a number of standard and unofficial histories about Yu Xuanji 魚玄機 and Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠, but came up with a short historical fiction that created a new vision of Yu Xuanji's sexual identity and behavior.[58] Both readers and writers will make of the texts what they will, thus giving rise to new forms, regardless of the original conditions. Such research must respect both the origins and the later uses to which the poets and poems are put.

Mianmian has met different needs at different times. In the eleventh century she was the ultimate male fantasy, a woman who, despite her low social standing and dependence on her master, displays the utmost loyalty and chastity (without complaint). In the twenty-first she fulfills the need of many (both male and female, Chinese and overseas) to see female literary ancestors. The fulfillment of those needs has left Zhang Zhongsu 張仲素, the man who first put his words into her mouth, speechless.

Investigation into the authenticity of poems has long been a part of Chinese literary criticism, even if it has not been the primary activity. Yan Yu 嚴羽 (ca. 1200 – after 1270), in his influential book of poetry talks, did devote a section to authenticity *kaozheng* 考證. Under 'Authenticity' Yan Yu discussed a number of false attributions, but for early periods he was usually content merely to call attention to contradictory attributions of authorship. He devoted more space to doubtful poems by well-known Tang poets, but *Canglang shihua* 滄浪

[58] See 'Gyo Genki' 魚玄機, *Mori Ōgai zenshū* 林鷗外全集 vol. 3 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1962), 255-64.

詩話 does not include any poems attributed to Tang women,[59] and Yan Yu does not discuss the issue of women who wrote.[60] The collection of one hundred Tang poets (all men) *Tang baijia shixuan* 唐百家詩選[61] attributed to Wang Anshi 王安石 may have been influential in this regard. It enjoyed wide circulation in Yan's time. If the compiler did not think there were any good women writers, Yan Yu may have followed suit.

The very fact that works by women were placed in *fangwai* 方外 or *guixiu* 閨秀 sections in collections of the late imperial period makes it possible for us to recover them today. *Fangwai* itself is a term with a long provenance. Although the term does not appear in late Tang collections, poems by women were usually placed at the end of collections, literally 'beyond the pale' but before or after the Buddhist monks depending on the views on social hierarchy of the compiler. Ming dynasty compilers later used *fangwai* to describe what they already encountered in the placement of poets in earlier collections. This is what collectors did with the material they had no idea what to do with. It assisted them in placing poets in a moral and aesthetic hierarchy.

This search allows us to admit the possibility that Mianmian composed poetry (thus allowing the feminists to celebrate her as a literary ancestor) but also to adhere to sinological standards and the evidence of the textual record. She may very well have been a poet, but we cannot prove that anything in the textual record which comes down to us was indeed composed by her.

One must choose the relevant standard for documenting transmission. In a perfect or ideal world with no losses among the links in the textual chain, we would be able to employ forensic procedures to verify the authorship of poems. In the United States Army, the

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[59] Yan Yu 嚴羽, *Canglang shihua* 滄浪詩話 in Mao Jin 毛晉, comp. *Jindai mishu* 津逮秘書 (Shanghai: Shanghai bogu, 1922 (1632)). See 22b ff. for the section on *kaozheng*.
[60] He only briefly discussed Lady Ban's 'Autumn Fan' poem (Han dynasty), for which see *WWTC*, 18-19.
[61] See *Tang baijia shixuan* (*SKQS* ed.).

regulations for handling specimens for drug testing stipulate that each time samples change hands, the chain of transmission must be documented. If there is any break in the chain, even though the sample may test positive for certain drugs, the donor cannot be prosecuted for drug use. This is on the grounds that the sample may have been tampered with along the way. No one can prove any more that Sample A came from Donor A. Only if the chain of transmission is complete, may a positive sample be used as evidence in a legal proceeding. Thus guilty donors, people who have actually used drugs, may go free because the chain of transmission was compromised. But such an outcome is better, in the eyes of the authorities, than prosecuting someone who is innocent.[62] In the case of women and early texts, if one applies such a rigorous standard, it would be nigh impossible to recover any literary activity by women, because there are no autograph manuscripts of their work. There are other forms of legitimate transmission which depended on the editorial efforts of sympathetic male relatives, friends or admirers. It is due to their efforts that we can recover women's words today.

To accept the authority of late compilers and to take it on faith that they had reliable early sources to hand runs the opposite risk, that too many works attributed to women will be accepted into the corpus of women's literary works, thereby including items actually composed by men. This would be the error of positive discrimination. Despite the gaps, or due to insertions, in the textual record, many a poem has been attributed to a woman based on the voice of a narrative persona.[63]

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[62] This argument is based on the author's experience as a company level Alcohol and Drug Abuse Control Program officer at B Company, 373 Military Intelligence Battalion, Oakland, California from 1994 to 1996.

[63] Some men deliberately try to pass themselves off as women poets. Examples of this include the eighteenth-century Frenchman who wrote verse he attributed to a fifteenth-century woman Madame de Surville. In Korea, Ho Kyon 許筠 was a known fabricator of tales. He was executed in 1618 for perpetrating rumors of Manchu invasion. Chaoying Fang believes it is possible that Ho Kyon presented his own poems as the work of his deceased sister, Ho Nansorhon 許蘭雪軒, in 1590, then had them engraved in 1606 for presentation to two Chinese envoys. See Chaoying Fang, *The Asami Library: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of

Better to have a smaller, but more secure, corpus by women than a larger one riddled with doubts. The exercise performed by this thesis should allow us to look upon the literary survivors with respect, if not always fondness for the quality of the poetry. Women today can look at Chinese women of the past, and see some who wrote despite the challenges of marginal social position, home life and seclusion. If readers believe there is any difference between women speaking for themselves and men speaking for them, then positive discrimination for women poets or worse, creation of women poets where there are none, is antithetical to hearing the voices of the women from the past. If the particulars of a text are ambiguous as to authorial identity, we should savor the mystery instead of imposing a solution.

The handling of Tang poetry has a different set of gendered dynamics than writings by women of the late imperial period. Late imperial women participated in poetry clubs, made their own compilations, wrote their own prefaces, and had male relatives willing to bear the expense of publishing collections of women's poetry. For the earliest, most crucial centuries of textual transmission of Tang poetry, in contrast, only men were the compilers. Women composed some of these poems, but men were the sole recorders, compilers, re-compilers, and (for all we know) readers. Thus without their handling of the texts, we would not have what we have today. There are no known instances of women compiling collections in the Tang and Five Dynasties period. It is only at the Song-Yuan transition that we have an instance of a woman recording poetry talks (*shihua* 詩話).[64] It is during the seventeenth century that we begin to see women as editors and compilers passing judgment on the literary activity of their female forerunners. And even some of those early efforts do not come down

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California Press, 1969) 322-23. We simply do not know how many examples there are of this phenomenon in literary history, much less understand the motivations of the men trying to pass off their poems as if by women.

[64] Zhang Yuniang 張玉娘 (thirteenth c.). For a brief introduction to her biography and poems, see *WWTC*, 142-49.

to us today.[65] Paul Rouzer pointed out in his review of *WWLIC* that not enough studies of seventeenth-century attitudes toward the notion of women writing have been done to warrant in-depth conclusions. A study of the attitudes of Tang men toward women writing is inevitably fragmentary and anecdotal, but Tang women, whose poetry was mostly compiled after the dynasty fell, benefit from the post-Tang perception that anybody during the Tang had the ability to compose poetry.[66]

With the monolithic perception of the Tang as the golden age of poetry, it is not surprising that what people of different times and places have interpreted and re-recorded as Tang poetry may not truly be so. That leaves us with the ultimate question, how much of the corpus of Tang poetry was actually written during the Tang, and how much was written after? The most simple (and conservative) count would be to say if something does not come from a late Tang collection or earlier, it should be counted as a later creation. Of the 109 commoner women listed in *Tōdai no shihen*, 40 (to include Xue Tao and Li Jilan) have poems with late entries into the textual record.[67] That is, the earliest known source the Kyoto scholars could find for many poems was the *Quan Tangshi* itself! The Kyoto scholars did not have good access to, or detailed knowledge of, Ming and Qing collections of women's poetry, with the result that their results are overdue for revision. The findings of this thesis fill in some of the gaps in the account of the textual transmission of poems attributed to Tang women.

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[65] This refers to two collections compiled by Fang Weiyi 方維儀 (1585-1668) of Tongcheng 桐城, Anhui: *Gonggui shishi* 宮閨詩史 and *Gonggui shiping* 宮閨詩評. Neither collection is extant, but some quotations survive in contemporary works. Lady Fang's division of the poetry by women into *zheng* 正 and *xie* 邪 was later adopted by Wang Duanshu 王端淑 (1621-after 1701) for her collection *Mingyuan shiwei* 名媛詩緯 (1667), which is extant. See Lian Wenping 連文萍, 'Shishi ke you nüxing de weizhi – Fang Weiyi yu *Gonggui shiping* de zhuanzhu' 詩史可有女性的位置- 方維儀與宮閨詩評的撰著, *Gudai nüshiren yanjiu* 古代女詩人研究 (Wuhan: Hubei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), 173.

[66] Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 (1551-1602), *Shisou* 詩藪 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1958), 163.

[67] Hiraoka Takeo 平岡武夫, ed., *Tōdai no shihen* 唐代之詩篇, 2 vols. (Kyoto: Jinbun, 1960), 1316-1334.

Final counts of poets and poems, however, in the style of *Tōdai no shihen*, can only be completed once poetry collections from the fourteenth through eighteenth centuries are examined to find the remainder of the late interpolations.

Once mistakes are written into the textual record, they take on a life of their own. In western literary history, readers may be aware of the stubbornness with which the poems of the fictitious fifteenth-century figure Madame de Surville (a creation of an eighteenth century literary hoax) were reprinted into the 1950s.[68] Generations of publishers and readers have wanted Madame de Surville to be real, and they have tried to make her so. This has happened too with the Tang women poets. Mianmian may have been a poet, but if so, we cannot prove it today, and what we have today was not written by her. We cannot even prove that it was written by Zhang Zhongsu, the man most likely to have been imitating her voice.

We must also accept that for the vast majority of women, they probably did not think of the women of Tang as their literary ancestors. For the Song there are fewer women poets (of any genre or sub-genre) than for the Tang, although those fewer women of Song have more poems preserved overall, mainly due to the amount preserved for Li Qingzhao or attributed to Zhu Shuzhen 朱淑真 (1063? - 1106). Men, perhaps due to the rise of neo-Confucianism, or due to class considerations, chose not to record or collect work by Song women, thereby leaving less of their work to posterity. It is possible to examine the poetry talks by men for their opinions of individual Tang women as poets, but the record is silent as to the opinions of Song women about earlier generations of women writing.

People today may look at certain Tang women for inspiration, as several books aimed at popular audiences demonstrate,[69] but women in the seventeenth century like Shen Yixiu 沈

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[68] Boffey, 'Women Authors and Women's Literacy in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-century England,' 159.
[69] Cai Zhuozhi 蔡卓之, *100 Celebrated Chinese Women*, illus. Lu Yanguang 盧延光, trans. Kate Foster 方凱蒂 (Singapore: Asiapac Books, 1995), 111-45. Out of 100 portraits, 18 belong to real or fictional Tang women.

宜修 (1590 - 1635) did not necessarily hold the women of Tang in any sort of awe. Shen, a gentrywoman, knew enough about Tang poetry by women to express approval of the poems by the better sort of women (officials' wives and daughters) and disapproval of Tang courtesans.[70] The attitudes of Ming courtesans toward the poetry of the Tang courtesans, and any conscious echoes of their poems, remain to be studied in the future.

Chapter One is a study of the late Tang collections which contain poetry by, or attributed to, women. It is an attempt to assess the proportion of poets and poems which have solid evidence of authorship versus those which do not. The results of the study demonstrate that male compilers are silent on the question of female authorship and that even during the late Tang there were lingering doubts at times as to who was the original composer of a poem.

Chapter Two shifts attention to the development of biographical and fantastic narratives about the lives and poems of Tang women. Several narratives are analyzed in depth. The choices of poems by the poetry compiler for the imperial collection *Wenyuan yinghua* 文淵英華 (987) and the question of separate collected works by Tang women are also examined.

Chapter Three is a description and analysis of the most influential collection of the late twelfth/early thirteenth century (with respect to poetry by women), the *Tangshi jishi*. Past generations of scholarship have viewed the collection as crucial to the preservation of poems that would not have been preserved by other means. Once the sources to the poems in *juan* 78 and 79 are made clear, the perception of the utility of the *Tangshi jishi* shifts. Most of the poems by women would still have been handed down to us today through other portions of

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This book is a translation of the Chinese title *Zhongguo yibai shinü tu* 中國一百仕女圖 which I have not been able to consult.

[70] See Shen Yixiu, 'Preface,' *Wumengtang shi chao* 午夢堂詩鈔, *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, jibu* vol. 244 (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1995-97), 1a. In the preface she expresses disapproval of the moral lapses of Li Jilan and Xue Tao and even says that their poetry is not worth mentioning, but she praises the work of Yang Ronghua. For Shen's life and poems, see Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers*, 166-69.

the textual record. The *Tangshi jishi* is extremely useful to later compilers, who found it an easy reference to use, much easier than searching through the host of scattered sources that preserved the poems.

Chapter Four considers the question of texts preserved since the tenth century and recovered in the twentieth. Initial expectation that these items were preserved by forces outside the control of man has given way to the observation that forgeries of certain items lead to reasonable doubts about the authenticity of fragments with poems attributed to Tang women. These doubts will only be dispelled by the provision of additional data about the fragments as material objects.

Chapter Five takes two late thirteenth and early fourteenth century collections as its focus, *Fenmen zuanlei Tanggeshi* 分門纂類唐歌詩 and *Tang caizizhuan* 唐才子傳. With the passage of time, and the scarcity of earlier poetry collections, it became more difficult for enthusiasts and compilers of Tang to gain a comprehensive understanding of the poets and their poems. Where there were gaps or an outright vacuum in knowledge, it was correspondingly easier to make late insertions into the textual record. *Fenmen zuanlei Tanggeshi* lists several poems attributed to Xue Tao and Li Jilan which have no analogues in other Tang and Song texts, therefore scholars have little more than the content of the poems at their disposal in judging authenticity. More texts from the Ming and Qing dynasties are still extant than for their earlier counterparts, thus introducing Ming narrative as a source for Tang poetry. Three examples involving Yao Yuehua, Zhao Luanluan and Du Qiuniang are analyzed.

Robert Van Gulik once disparaged Tang women's compositional skills: the courtesans of Chang'an only had a clever phrase or idea which their patrons obliging re-worked into a pleasing poem. He even argued that the poems by women in the centuries preceding Xue Tao

and Yu Xuanji were just the products of men writing in feminine voice.[71] Van Gulik did not substantiate his arguments, but more recently Jowen Tung perceives there is a problem: 'Strictly speaking, the Chinese female literary tradition suffers seriously from insinuating forgeries, for male interventions have delineated its contours from an early stage.'[72] Despite such criticism, up to now, no one has attempted to grapple with the texts by, or attributed to, women and sort them all out. This thesis is a first step in that direction.

Respect for epistemological concerns leads to the conclusion that although the existing textual record of poetry by, or attributed to, Tang women is large, there are sizeable sections of it which we cannot prove or know to truly be composed by women. Despite such a conclusion, in these post-modern times, readers and re-writers of this poetic corpus will continue to make of these texts what they will. And for some that includes reading and writing women writers back into the picture in defiance of the evidence. Tung's words are again instructive here: 'We must therefore read between the lines and resurrect voices from behind the acquired masks....'[73]

We may never be able to see these women as they really were, or recover their voices, but we should examine the road these texts attributed to women have traveled, and stand in the shoes of the scribes and compilers who did record and transmit their poems. The best we might be able to do is to see these women as those male editors did. The best we can do is read the lines and look at the masks.

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[71] R.H.Van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China: A preliminary survey of Chinese sex and society from ca. 1500 B.C. till 1644 A.D.* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), 171-72.
[72] Jowen R. Tung, *Fables for the Patriarchs: Gender Politics in Tang Discourse* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 181.
[73] Tung, *Fables for the Patriarchs*, 217.

The Tang poetry we read today comes from a skewed sample of all Tang poetry which has ever existed, not a representative one. In the past decade scholars have described the ways in which extant Tang poems and collections are disproportionately weighted toward the late Tang period.[1] Out of approximately a thousand separate collected works (*bieji* 別集) by Tang men and women recorded in various bibliographies, only about two hundred are still extant. Of the seventy to eighty general poetry collections (*zongji* 總集) compiled *during* the Tang dynasty just over ten are still extant.[2] This has an impact, not so much on the overall number of women poets, but on the numbers of poems which survive per capita. There are more 'respectable' or gentry women listed by name as poets in *Quan Tangshi* than there are concubines or courtesans. But since the concubines have more extant poems per capita, we already confront a corpus of Tang women's poetry skewed toward poetry by late Tang courtesans. As modern readers we are truly looking through the tube, and only seeing one of the leopard's spots, not the entire leopard. To go on to infer that the whole leopard is black would be a mistake. The dangers of extrapolation based on the existence of less than ten percent of the original texts are clear.

There were women listed quite clearly in the textual record as having written a body of poetry. If we take the time to read *Beimeng suoyan* 北夢瑣言 we discover specific cases of the loss of poems by women. *Beimeng suoyan* was compiled some time in the mid-tenth century (after the end of the Tang dynasty). The compiler Sun Guangxian 孫光線 (ca. 900 –

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[1] For a study of early Tang poetry collections (extant or otherwise) and the differential rates of documentary survival from different Tang periods, see Tim Chan, *In Search of Jade: Studies of Early Tang Poetry*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Colorado, 1999.

[2] These figures are based on Chen Shangjun's 陳尙君 study of bibliographic records and 137 Tang collections (ranging from extant to non-extant). Even the non-extant collections have left valuable bibliographic evidence as to their contents. See Chen Shangjun, 'Tangren bianxuan shige zongji xulu,' 唐人編選詩歌總集敘錄, *Tangdai wenxue congkao* 唐代文學叢考 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1997), 184-222. The extant general collections are included in *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian* 唐人選唐詩新編, ed. Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996).

968)[3] contrasts the virtue and literary talent of one woman née Sun 孫, the wife of Meng Changqi 孟昌期 (no dates)[4] with that of Xiao Weixiang 蕭惟香.[5] In spite of her talent, one day Sun burned all of her poems on the pretext that poetry is not the proper business of women. After this act she devoted herself exclusively to the proper way of women and the regulation of the household. Surprisingly, the compiler quotes three of her poems, two of which are in the voice of men (she recited as if she were her husband). If she truly burned all of her work, how is it that the compiler has access to these? Ji Yougong, when he compiled the *Tangshi jishi* 唐詩紀事 in the twelfth century, selected this woman and her poems. What is not obvious from looking at Ji's collection, however, is that he did not quote the entire anecdote from *Beimeng suoyan*. Ji omits the contrast with Xiao Weixiang that Sun Guangxian originally intended and appended to the story of Miss Sun:

> And in Panxu 盤[山+敘] village, Taizhou 太州[6] there was a woman Xiao Weixiang. She was talented and unmarried. From the window of her home she came face to face with the presented scholar Wang Xuanyan 王玄宴.[7] They subsequently ran off to Langya 瑯琊.[8] They gave free rein to their lust. Wang put her up in an inn [for the night] and abandoned her. From then on she had illicit relations with the male travelers [of the inn]. With no place to lay her head, she committed suicide by hanging herself. In the inn there were hundreds of poems. 'Talent is not a matter in which women should meddle.' How true that saying is. I heard this from Liu Shanfu 劉山甫.[9]

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[3] Sun Guangxian (*zi* Mengwen 孟文) was a native of Guiping 貴平, Lingzhou 陵州. He held a number of positions as a censor and in the imperial library. His official biography is in *Songshi* 483.13956.
[4] Meng Changqi has no official biography. The entry in *Beimeng suoyan* is the *locus classicus* upon which all other entries are based. See Li Fang 李昉, et al., eds., *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 271.2137 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1961); Zeng Zao 曾慥, *Leishuo* 類說 43.11a (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1970); Ji Yougong 計有功, *Tangshi jishi* 唐詩紀事 79.1136 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965); *Quan Tangshi* 799.8991.
[5] This is the only known entry about Xiao Weixiang in the written record.
[6] Located in Zhejiang.
[7] Wang Xuanyan has no official biography. This is the only known entry about Wang in the written record.
[8] Langya corresponds to a mountain and to a commandery in Shandong.
[9] Sun Guangxian, *Beimeng suoyan* 6.145-46 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 2002). Liu Shanfu, a native of Pengcheng 彭成 and a military commander under the state of Min (Fujian) has an official biography in the 1669 compilation by Wu

None of those hundreds of poems were preserved, unlike those by Sun. Sun's destruction of her poems, paradoxically, was instrumental in the preservation of her honor and the transmission of a couple poems (if indeed they are hers, and not the result of male composition in honor of her memory). Any attempt to take stock of women's literary activity would need to find the Xiao Weixiangs of Chinese history and culture. It may be that selection of poems by women only happens if women have written works that articulate the concerns and experiences of men. Any truly radical or immoral poem was probably expunged from the textual record, just as Xiao Weixiang's were. We cannot know for certain why Ji Yougong did not refer to this occasion, but if we surmise the text to which he most likely had access in the mid-twelfth century, then it is probable he was familiar with the *Leishuo* 類說. The *Leishuo*, printed in 1136, contained an abbreviated version of the story. In Ji's time, not many copies of the *Taiping guangji* were in circulation, but the compiler of the *Leishuo* was a good friend of his,[10] and the *Leishuo* precedes his own compilation by a few decades. Thus he would have had access, and time to copy the relevant material into his own work. The version Ji included in *Tangshi jishi* matches the *Leishuo* version word for word. Any study of literary history which draws on *Tangshi jishi* without investigating its antecedents would be unaware of the exclusion of Xiao Weixiang from the literary record. Here we can only recover Xiao Weixiang's name; her poems unfortunately are lost to us.

For the poems which have come down to the present day we do not have access to the originary compositional or social moments, but we can examine the three general collections (out of the thirteen wholly or partially extant) which do have poems by, or attributed to,

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Renchen 吳任臣 *Shiguo chunqiu* 十國春秋 95.1378 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1983). Sun draws on Liu's testimony for a number of anecdotes in his compilation, some of which were later recopied in the *Taiping guangji*.

[10] The evidence for this friendship is presented in Chapter Three.

women:[11] Gao Zhongwu's 高仲武 *Zhongxing jianqi ji* 中興間氣集 (780s),[12] Wei Zhuang's 韋莊 *Youxuan ji* 又玄集 (900),[13] and Wei Hu's 韋縠 *Caidiao ji* 才調集 (between 933-65).[14] In their prefaces, none of the three make any explicit comments about having selected works by women and non-secular men (monks and priests). But the presence of poems by these lower ranking social groups suggests that the compilers occasionally found their poems worthy of inclusion. Although Gao Zhongwu selected works from a sharply delineated period of time and geographical area – suggesting he had expert knowledge of his subject matter, Wei Zhuang and Wei Hu had to choose works from a much larger period of time, and thus were faced with the difficulty of not always knowing detailed information about who the poet was. Wei Zhuang and Wei Hu selected some poems ostensibly by women that turn out to have problematic attributions. Ten percent of the poems attributed to women in their collections have some type of earlier (extant) source or analogue, usually ninth- or tenth-century narrative, which conflicts with the information they present. For the other ninety

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[11] The separate collected works of Xue Tao and Yu Xuanji will be discussed briefly in Chapter Two since they are post-Tang developments. The extant editions of these works date back to the Ming and Song dynasties respectively, not to the Tang, and both have already received scholarly attention. See *Brocade River Poems: Selected Works of the Tang Dynasty Courtesan Xue Tao*, trans. Jeanne Larsen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Jan W. Walls, *The Poetry of Yü Hsüan-chi: A Translation, Annotation, Commentary and Critique*, unpublished PhD thesis. Indiana University, 1972; and *The Clouds Float North: The Complete Poems of Yu Xuanji*, trans. David Young and Jiann I. Lin (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1998). The extent of Xue Tao or Yu Xuanji's involvement in assembling their own collected works is unknown. The word collection *ji* 集 should not be read as inferring or imparting useful information about the level of author activity in bringing that particular collection into being. The subdivision of the *ji* category into *Chuci* 楚辭, *bieji* and *zongji* is solidified with the *Suishu jingjizhi* 隋書經籍志, wherein the emphasis is on the titles of the books and their categories, not on authorship. For an explanation of the terms *bieji* and *zongji*, and their historical development, see Jean-Pierre Drège, *Les Bibliothèques en Chine au Temps des Manuscrits (jusqu'au Xe Siècle)* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1991), 126.

[12] The edition used is that found in *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 458-523. This edition is based on the Mao Jin tracing of a Song dynasty copy. Fu Xuancong has argued that this edition is the best edition with the fewest errors. Ming print editions, in contrast, have been collated with *Tangshi jishi*. See Fu Xuancong, 'Foreword,' *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 454.

[13] The edition used is the Japanese official edition of 1803 as reprinted in *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 579-682.

[14] All extant editions of *Caidiao ji* descend from one Southern Song print edition by the Chen 陳 family of Shupeng 書棚, Lin'an 臨安. The editor of *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, Fu Xuancong, takes the *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 edition as the base volume, but collates it with the Chuiyun tang 垂雲堂 and Jiguge 汲古閣 editions.

percent, there is no evidence in the textual record as it currently stands to support more detailed examination.

Collections, to the extent that they are groupings of poems composed by people from different times and places (arbitrarily selected and arranged by a later editor), are an imperfect means for the study of Tang poetry. Most Tang poetry was conducted as a social exchange, and was very much the creation of a specific time and place. Both individual and general collections detach the poems from the original conditions of composition. A pair of poems intended as a letter and its response between two people were often separated into their authors' respective collected works. Given the high losses of all collections, we often are only able to read the initial poem without its response, or vice versa. The ideal collection would be a complete set of poems composed by all participants during the course of a single banquet. There are some collections of this type from the Tang, (none of which include poems by women).

Despite their shortcomings, modern scholars make use of the whole range of collections – extant, partially extant and lost. They attempt to reconstruct lost collections to obtain an idea, however incomplete, of the social milieu in which Tang poems were composed. For example, the famous calligrapher Yan Zhenqing 顏 真 卿 (709-785), while serving as governor of Huzhou during the Dali reign period (766-76), invited local scholars to banquets and outings, occasions which gave rise to the poems in *Wuxing ji* 吳 興 集 (a collection in ten *juan*) and *Dali Zhedong lianchang ji* 大歷浙東聯和集.[15] Although the *Wuxing ji* collection is no longer extant, sixty-three poems composed collectively by eighty-

[15] See Yin Zhanhua 尹占華, 'Dali Zhedong he Huzhou wenren jituan de xingcheng he shige chuangzuo' 大歷浙東和湖州文人集團的形成和詩歌創作, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 2000.4: 65-73. In addition Jia Jinhua 賈 晉 華 has partially reconstructed the *Wuxing ji*, of poems composed by a group of scholars in Wuxing. See Jia Jinhua, 'Dali nian Zhexi lianchang: *Wuxing ji* kaolun' 大 歷 年 浙 西 聯 唱 ： 吳 興 集 考 論, *Ningbo daxue xuebao (renwen kexue ban)* 寧 波 大 學 學 報 (人 文 科 學 版) 4 (1991.1): 79-86.

six authors, including such well known local figures as Jiao Ran have been recovered. Such gatherings have left behind no record of participation by notable women such as Li Jilan. Curiously, in *Zhongxing jianqi ji*, which has descriptions of Jiao Ran, Liu Changqing and Zhu Fang, Gao Zhongwu only mentions in Li Jilan's entry that she was a member of their group. The entries for Jiao Ran et al. make no mention of her. So if one only looks at the individual males, one would gain no picture of female participation. But any references to women usually point out the important men in their lives.

It remains to study the three general collections which survive (and which also contain poems attributed to women). All three are the result of work done by private collectors. As such, they share a common trait, the defense of personal taste. Although Gao claims that his tastes are more open, and not dismissive of particular groups, unlike other collections which he criticizes as too narrow or specialized, even his work is limited to metropolitan taste from specific reign periods. None of the three collectors attempt to present a work which selects the best poems from the dynasty as a whole. Those types of attempts were to come much later, after the Tang fell.

The arrangement of poems in a collection inevitably affects the reading process.[16] We read Li Jilan and others as poets because earlier editors and compilers thought of them that way. If our assumptions about authorship are different than those of earlier editors, then we will count the quantity and quality of women poets and come up with different figures than they did. Readers and reading strategies are shaped by the order in which they encounter the text. The women under consideration in this thesis played no role, that we know of, in the shaping of their poetic legacies. For the majority of Tang women poets, their legacies were

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[16] For the argument that order in poetic collections influences readers and their reading strategies, see Neil Fraistat, 'Introduction: The Place of the Book and the Book as Place,' *Poems in Their Place: The Intertextuality and Order of Poetic Collections*, ed. Neil Fraistat (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 9.

shaped posthumously, but the growth of unofficial writing after An Lushan (755-63) may have meant that many men felt more comfortable with the defense of personal taste, and included poems by women to a greater extent than previously.[17]

The general principle adopted here for accepting an attribution to a woman poet is this: if a late Tang collection attributes a poem to a woman, we accept that attribution unless a contemporaneous work contradicts it, or raises doubts. Thus we acknowledge that late Tang collectors are sometimes not sure of their information, but only where the textual record gives us cause to do so. Even late Tang collectors were not infallible.

Gao Zhongwu and metropolitan taste in the early 780s

Gao Zhongwu[18] compiled the *Zhongxing jianqi ji* in the early 780s.[19] This collection in two *juan* reflects a taste for capital poetry during the Suzong 肅宗 and Daizong reigns 代宗 (756-780). He selects 134 poems by 26 poets. Gao gives pride of place to five-syllable poems – over ninety percent of the poems are in this meter. Less than ten percent are seven-syllable poems. His collection evokes an earlier collection, the *Heyue yingling ji* 河嶽英靈集 (753), which is also extant. The *Heyue yingling ji*, compiled by Yin Fan 殷璠 (fl. mid eighth century), was a collection in two *juan* with a preponderance of five-syllable poems and brief critical comments about each poet before the body of poems is presented. Gao adhered to the two *juan* with critical comments format. *Zhongxing jianqi ji* includes work by only one woman – Li Jilan. The six poems attributed to her (the average for any of the male poets)

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[17] For the post-An Lushan shift in importance to unofficial writing, see David McMullen, *State and Scholarship in Tang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 234-235, 244-249, and 262.

[18] Little is known about Gao Zhongwu. In his preface, he refers to himself as a native of Bohai 渤海, but does not discuss his career. He has no official biography. His collection is mentioned in the bibliographical records for the Tang. See *Xin Tangshu* 60.1623. Both Chao Gongwu and Chen Zhensun have entries on *Zhongxing jianqi ji*. Chao Gongwu refers to the collection as a work in three *juan*. See *Junzhai dushuzhi jiaozheng* 20.1060. In his preface, however, Gao refers to his own collection as a work in two *juan*; and Chen Zhensun, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 15.441. Chen only notes the existence of 132 poems in the collection.

[19] This was probably compiled *before* Li Jilan was executed for treason in 784. Had Gao Zhongwu compiled it after her death, presumably he would not have included her work as part of a collection he hoped would meet with imperial approval.

were written down in that time period and have been extant ever since.[20] Unfortunately there are no poems *to* Li Jilan by the other poets in this collection.[21] There is no reason for us to doubt Gao Zhongwu's attribution, or to doubt that Li Jilan was indeed the poet. In the preface to *Zhongxing jianqi ji*,[22] Gao Zhongwu does not explicitly defend his decision to include Li Jilan's work, rather he bases his selection on the metropolitan taste of a specific time:

> The writings of poets originate from within the heart. The heart has emotions which are then shaped into words; if the words are in harmony with canonical works,[23] then they are ranked as Airs and Graces.[24] Ever since Prince Zhaoming of the Liang dynasty recorded his collection [*Wenxuan* 文選], there have been several collections. If one has to evaluate their quality, then the *Collection of the Orthodox Tones* (*Zhengsheng ji* 正聲集) is the most complete.[25] The rest of the written records have not reached that standard. Why is that the case? The *Yinghua* 英華 suffers from frivolity;[26] the love poems of *New Songs from a Jade Terrace* (*Yutai xinyong*)[27] have sunk to

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[20] These poems are 'To Editing Clerk Nineteenth Elder Brother,' 'Ill by the Lake, Delighted that Lu Hongjian has arrived,' 'Climbing the Hill to Look Out for Yanzi, Who Has Not Arrived Yet,' 'Sending Han Kui Off to the Western Reaches of the Great River,' 'A Letter Speaking My Mind to Cui *shiyu*,' and the 'Song of the Three Gorges.' See *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 507-509. See also, Appendix, The Corpus of Li Jilan.

[21] There are reply poems to Li Jilan by Zhu Fang and Jiao Ran preserved in *Wenyuan yinghua*. See Zhu Fang, 'Bie Li Jilan' 別李季蘭 *Wenyuan yinghua* 287.11a; and Jiao Ran 'Da Li Jilan' 答李季蘭 *Wenyuan yinghua* 244.8b.

[22] *Jianqi* refers to talented officials able to restore the empire. 舊謂英雄偉人，上應星象，稟天地特殊之氣，間世而出，故稱. See *Taiping yulan* 360.3b (*SKQS* ed.) for a citation from the lost work *Chunqiu kongyan tu* 春秋孔演圖, '正氣爲帝，間氣爲臣，宮商爲姓，秀氣爲人.'

[23] *Dianmo* 典謨, canonical works, or canonical precedents. An aggregate term from the *Shangshu* 尚書 referring to *Yaodian* 堯典, *Shundian* 舜典 and the *Da Yu mo* 大禹謨, works which illustrate the proper relationship between the sovereign and his subjects.

[24] *Feng* 風 and *ya* 雅.

[25] This collection of Tang poetry has been lost since the early Song dynasty. A work in three *juan*, it was compiled by Li Yi 李翌, *zi* Jiliang 季良 and a native of Yanshi 偃師, Henan. He was active in the Kaiyuan era when he held positions as a remonstrance official of the left and auxiliary academician at the Academy of Scholarly Worthies. See *Jiu Tangshu* 189B.4975. The collection is recorded in numerous Tang and Song bibliographies, and received positive remarks from anthologists other than Gao Zhongwu. By the ninth century there was even a copy in Japan. For a brief study of this lost collection, see Chen Shangjun, 'Tangren bianxuan shige zongji xulu,' 188-89. None of the private book collectors of the Song dynasty listed the collection in their catalogues.

[26] Both *Jiu Tangshu* 47.2080 and *Xin Tangshu* 60.1618 list another collection in 20 *juan*, the *Gujin shiyuan yinghua ji* 古今詩苑英華集 (not extant), by Zhaoming of Liang.

[27] This short title is a reference to *Yutai xinyong* 玉臺新詠.

depravity; the *Zhuying* 珠英 *Collection*[28] exclusively records the poetry of courtiers; the *Danyang* 丹陽 *Collection*[29] only records the men of Wu. That is because of narrow specialization. How can they make room to for other groups of good works? As such they have caused refined gentlemen to heave a deep sigh when they look at these scrolls.

The Tang has flourished for a hundred and seventy years. It chanced that[30] from the regions of the empire rebellion flared and military matters have grown profuse. Those who engage in literary creation have abandoned writing. Suzong (r. 756-763) and the late emperor (Daizong, r. 763-780), with their deep concern [for their countrymen], have revealed their sagehood. They have thus set aright the central plain. May His Imperial Majesty,[31] on the occasion of his ascension to the throne, maintain a continued enlightenment[32] to guarantee the peace of the realm. The airs of the state, graces and odes [ornamental and colorful] again flourish. The [definition of] civilized imperial season, means that the emperor, by force of his example, transforms his subjects. Despite my shortcomings, I[33] have [compiled this work] by making use of as much as I have learned and heard, as well as what I have collected extensively from the forest of song lyrics, folk songs and common tunes. [The collection] commences with the Zhide 至德 reign (756-58) and ends with the *jiwei* 己未 year of the Dali reign (779). There are 26 poets, with 134 poems divided into two scrolls. Seven-syllable poems are appended after [the five-syllable ones]. There is a brief statement of the quality of the poems and social relations of the poets. It is titled the *Collection of the Talented Ones of the Restoration Period*. Moreover, although minor sayings may be lost, the grand structure [of the textual record] will remain intact. If we investigate their merits and

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[28] This title is a short form of *Zhuying xueshi ji* 珠英學士集. This collection of Tang poetry, compiled by Cui Rong 崔融 circa 700, was a work in five *juan*. See *Xin Tangshu* 59.1563, and *Jiu Tangshu* 47.2046. Chao Gongwu, *Junzhai dushuzhi jiaozheng* 20.1059, described it as consisting of the poems and rhapsodies from a larger work *Sanjiao zhuying* 三教珠英. The *Zhuying xueshi ji* has been lost since the Song dynasty. Two Dunhuang fragments P 3771 and S 2717 have been identified as portions of *juan* 4 and 5. See Chen Shangjun, 'Tangren bianxuan shige zongji xulu,' 188.

[29] The *Danyang ji* is a work in one *juan*, compiled by Yin Fan circa the early 740s. It consisted of the poems by 18 natives of the Wu region. It was extant in the later thirteenth century, but was lost soon thereafter. *Yinchuang zalu* 吟窗雜錄 41.1107 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1997) preserves the preface to the *Danyang ji*. See also Chan Shangjun, 'Tangren bianxuan shige zongji xulu,' 190; and *Xin Tangshi* 60.1610 and 1623.

[30] I am grateful to David McMullen for pointing out that *shu* is used as a temporal particle here.

[31] Polite speech, literally, 'I prostrate myself before His Majesty.'

[32] Liu Yuxi has a poem which uses many of these best wishes to an emperor on the occasion of his ascension. See 'Wuling shu huai wushi yun' 武陵書懷五十韻, in *Quan Tangshi* 362.4088.

[33] Literally, 'Zhongwu.'

shortcomings with care, then it is possible to make a judgment. The authors of old did not write from a groundless base, they wrote to expound upon critical ideas. They established righteousness as the means to complete the grand structure. Hence they used writing as an embodiment of their thoughts. They wrote about the prospering and withering of kingly governance, and commented on the [moral] quality of the airs of the state. How could they be possibly trying to please those in authority or pay homage to the shameless and the shallow! What is collected [here] presently, has cast off virtually all the dregs from earlier works. This author seeks purely to make its framework similar to that of the airs and the graces, and its line of thought clear and fresh. It is hoped that [upon reading this] the observer would [feel] a change of heart, and the listener perk up his ears. Then the entire court and the commoners will all partake of it, and collect its meter and tones. For the [minor odes such as] Kuai and after,[34] they are not something which I venture to attach. All the hundreds of gentlemen will deign to examine [and conclude that] I have been perfectly fair.[35]

In contrast with the formal tone of the preface Gao Zhongwu introduced the six poems by Li Jilan in a more playful manner:

Gentlemen have a hundred varieties of [right] conduct, but women have only the four virtues [of feminine speech, feminine virtue, feminine deportment, and feminine work].[36] Jilan did not

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[34] This is a reference to the phrase *kuaixia wuji* 鄶下無譏 or 'too minor to deserve mention.' Jin dynasty commentator Du Yu 杜預 explains this phrase in a comment to the *Zuozhuan*, Duke Xiang 襄 29: '[The state of] Kuai is the thirteenth ode (in the *Shijing* 詩經) and Cao is the fourteenth. It refers to Jizi's 季子 listening to and critiquing songs of the states but then omitting to mention anything after the thirteenth and fourteenth in particular, on account of their pettiness.' See Du Yu's 杜預 commentary in *Chunqiu zuozhuan zhushu* 春秋佐傳注疏 39.17b. Mao Jin, Jiguge ed. of 1638, held in the Sinica collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[35] *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 456. I am grateful to David McMullen for pointing out that *zhi gong* is used as a resultative here.

[36] The best illustration of the gendered nature of virtue is found in the (*Weishi chunqiu* 魏氏春秋 commentary to) *Sanguozhi* 三國志 9.303-04 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1973). Xu Yun 許允 (?-254), a native of Gaoyang 高陽 (*zi* Shizong 士宗) and his wife surnamed Ruan 阮 argued over each other's virtues and defects: 'Yun's wife, surnamed Ruan, was capable and bright, but ugly. The first time Yun saw her, he was horrified. After the marriage ceremony was over, he had no intention of visiting her quarters again. The wife enlisted the assistance of Huan Fan 桓範 to convince her husband to return to her quarters. When Yun saw her again, he immediately tried to leave again. The wife grasped the hem of his gown in an attempt to detain him. Yun asked, 'Wives have four virtues, how many do you have?' She replied, 'I only lack that of beauty. A gentleman has a hundred virtues, how many do you have?' Yun replied that he had the full complement of virtues. To which the wife retorted, 'Gentlemen have a hundred deeds, the foremost of which is virtue, but you favor looks over conduct, so how can you say your complement of virtues is complete?' Embarrassed, Yun then knew his wife was

conform to that model though. In appearance and spirit she was quite masculine,[37] and her lyrical ideas too were stirring.[38] Ever since Bao Zhao 鮑昭 (circa 414 - 466)[39] there has rarely been her equal. She once joined an assembly of local worthies at the Kaiyuan 開元 temple in Wucheng 吳程 county, and she was aware that Liu Changqing 劉長卿 (?- 789 or 791)[40] of Hejian 河間 suffered from a serious internal medical problem,[41] whereupon she reprimanded him, 'The mountain air is fair at sunset.'[42] To which Changqing replied, 'Birds delight in taking refuge here.'[43] The people at the gathering laughed raucously, [later] commentators praised both remarks.[44] Couplets such as 'Distant waters buoy up the immortals' oars, winter stars accompany the commissioner's carriage,' are undoubtedly the epitome of five syllable-poetry. She is not as

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extraordinary and treated her with the affection appropriate to a wife. They had two sons together.' In this instance it is the wife who exhibits superior virtuous conduct. A slightly different version of this anecdote is also cited in *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語. See the translation of *Shishuo xinyu* by Richard Mather, *New Account of Tales of the World* 19.342 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976).

[37] Song print editions of *Zhongxing jianqi ji* do not unambigously agree on the selection of the word 'masculine' (*xiong* 雄). Other Song editions employ the word 'feminine' (*ci* 雌) here. Compare *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 506 with the *Sibu congkan* reprint of a Mister Shen 沈氏 of Xiushui's 秀水 Ming reprint of a Song edition, in *Tangren xuan Tangshi (shizhong)* 唐人選唐詩(十種) (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1958), 292. Ji Yougong, the twelfth-century compiler of *Tangshi jishi*, cited an edition with the word 'masculine.' See *Tangshi jishi* 78.1123.

[38] I am grateful to David McMullen for pointing out that *dang*, when referring to the spirit of literary compositions, means 'moving' or 'stirring.'

[39] Bao Zhao was a native of Donghai, Jiangsu. He was known as a master of the *yuefu* genre. His younger sister Bao Linghui 鮑令暉 was also a poet. Six of her poems have been preserved in both *Yutai xinyong* and in Bao Zhao's collection. For a critical edition of Bao Zhao's work, see Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯, *Bao canjun ji zhu* 鮑參軍集注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980). In her own work Li Jilan refers to a letter Bao Zhao once wrote to his younger sister. See the poem, 'Sent to Editing Clerk Nineteenth Elder Brother,' *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 507.

[40] The poet Liu Changqing does not have an official biography, but there are many anecdotes about him in ninth- and tenth-century literature. See *Yunxi youyi* 雲溪友議 A.13 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue shubanshe, 1957), and *Tang zhiyan* 唐摭言 1.5 and 5.60 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978) among others.

[41] See *Shiji* 103.2772 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975) for a similar use of the term *yinzhong* 陰重. The compilers of *Hanyu dacidian* 11.1025 have classified *yinzhong* as *shanqi* 疝氣 or hernia, based on Xin Wenfang 辛文房, *Tang caizizhuan* 唐才子傳 2.28 (1304 ed.).

[42] Li Jilan is citing a line from Tao Qian's poem, 'Drinking Wine #5.' For the full poem, see Yang Yong 楊勇, annot., *Tao Yuanming ji jiaojian* 陶淵明集校箋 (Taibei: Zhengwen shuju, 1976), 145. In effect, Li Jilan is asking Liu Changqing if his medical condition is getting any better. The translation of the line is from Charles Yin-tse Kwong, *Tao Qian and the Chinese Poetic Tradition: The Quest for Cultural Identity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1994), 184.

[43] Liu Changqing's response is also a quotation of a poem by Tao Qian, from 'Reading the *Book of Mountains and Seas* #1' 讀山海經. See *Tao Yuanming ji jiaojian*, 233. The translation of the line is from David Hinton, trans. *The Selected Poems of T'ao Ch'ien* (Port Townsend, WA: Copper Canyon Press, 1993), 67.

[44] This sentence is absent from the Ming print editions of *Zhongxing jianqi ji* and *Tangshi jishi* 78.1123-24

> good as Ban Ji 班姬 (first century),[45] but is certainly better than Han Ying 韓英 (fifth century).[46] She does not appear to grow older with age. She is indeed a handsome old lady.[47]

Gao compares Li Jilan's poetry with male and female literary figures from the past, which implies a degree of familiarity with literary works (extant or lost) by ancient women and their quality. He refers to Li as breaking out of the framework of the four virtues as the measure of a good woman's life. These six poems, based on his remarks, presumably represent the best poems of her prime. As seen through Gao's eyes, there is no question that women are capable of composing poetry, but for the time period under his consideration of metropolitan taste, there is only one woman who qualifies – Li Jilan. And she is a woman who, by Gao's own admission, acts more like a man than a woman. Modern literary scholar Maureen Robertson has examined this introduction to Li Jilan, and has concluded that Gao's selection of Li is an example of the 'honorary man' phenomenon.[48] In other words, the men in Li Jilan's social circle did not treat her as they would a woman, instead they treated her like one of the boys.

It should also be noted that this introduction by Gao is one of the few instances in which readers are given an idea of what exchanges between Li Jilan and her social circle were like. We hear both sides of the story. Gao Zhongwu writes about a Li Jilan who is alive,

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[45] Ban Zhao (first c.) *zi* Huiji 惠姬. She was the sister of the famous historian Ban Gu 班固. Her husband was an official named Cao Shou 曹壽, *zi* Shishu 世叔. After her husband's death she was a lady in waiting to the empress under the title Lady Cao 曹大家. In addition to carrying on her brother's historical work after his death, she also wrote the *Nüjie* 女誡, an influential moral primer for women throughout the imperial period. Her biography is in *Hou Hanshu* 84.2784 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965).

[46] Han Ying is short for Han Lanying 韓蘭英 (fl. fifth c.) was a native of Wu 吳 commandery, and was famous for her literary talent. After she presented the 'Prose poem on Restoration' to Emperor Xiaowu of the Liu Song dynasty, she was rewarded with a bureaucratic position in the palace. She has entries in the standard histories, see *Nan Qi shu* 20.392 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1972) and *Nanshi* 11.330 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1975).

[47] *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 506.

[48] See Maureen Robertson, 'Voicing the Feminine: Constructions of the Gendered Subject,' *Late Imperial China* 13 (1992): 64.

a contemporary of his. Zhao Yuanyi 趙元一 (fl. 780s), the author of *Fengtian lu*, is the only other person to speak of Li Jilan as a contemporary, someone he knew or had heard of.

We should not extrapolate more than is warranted from this one woman poet and this one collection. Gao's goals were quite modestly defined by one period and place, not even close to an attempt to establish a canon or corpus. He does not make any effort to defend the notion of personal taste – that will come later with Wei Zhuang's collection.

Youxuanji and Wei Zhuang's defense of personal taste

Wei Zhuang (ca. 836-910)[49] compiled this collection in 900, while he was still in Chang'an. The following year he moved south, where he served Wang Jian 王建 in the kingdom of Shu 蜀. *Youxuan ji* apparently did not circulate widely. Only You Mao 尤袤 (1124-1193) recorded it,[50] other private book collectors such as Chao Gongwu and Chen Zhensun did not own it. Nevertheless, a few poetry enthusiasts did manage to lay their hands on a copy. In the twelfth century Ji Yougong occasionally quoted poems from the *Youxuan ji* but he did not cite the collection by name.[51] In 1304 Xin Wenfang described Wei Zhuang's collection as extant.[52] This collection was not extant in China from some time after 1304,[53] until Shimizu Shigeru 清水茂 of Kyoto University notified the world of the existence of the *Youxuan ji* in 1955.[54] The Japanese official edition of 1803 is located in the Naikaku bunko

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[49] Wei Zhuang does not have an official biography. *XinTangshu* 196.5613 does record his appointment as an Omissioner of the *Right* during the Guanghua reign, during which time he completed the *Youxuan ji*. For a study of Wei Zhuang's life and poetic works, see Robin Yates, *Washing Silk: The Life and Selected poetry of Wei Chuang (834?-910)*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 26 (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, 1988).

[50] See You Mao 尤袤, *Suichutang shumu* 遂初堂書目 as cited in *Shuofu* 說郛 28.44a (Beijing: Beijing shi Zhongguo shudian, 1986). See also *Songshi* 209.5399.

[51] Give example of woman poet and poem which could only have come from *Youxuan ji*.

[52] See *Tang caizizhuan* 10.171 (Shanghai: Shanghai gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957). Xin Wenfang described the work as containing 52 poets, roughly a third of the total. Xin might only have had access to the first chapter of the work.

[53] The author preface was always extant. See *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 889.3b (*SKQS* ed.).

[54] See Shimizu Shigeru 清水茂, review of Xia Chengtao 夏承燾, *Tang-Song ciren nianpu* 唐宋詞人年譜 (Shanghai: Shanghai gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1955) in *Chūgoku bungakuhō* 中國文學報 5 (1956): 146-151. On page 148, Shimizu points out the existence of *Youxuan ji*.

內閣文庫.[55] It is this version which is reprinted in *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*. The sinological field has accepted the 1803 Japanese edition as an authentic Tang collection, and thus it merits attention here because it includes 29 poems by 22 women. Among these women, Wei explicitly identifies two of them as Daoist priests (*nüdaoshi* 女道士)[56] – Yuan Chun 元淳 and Yu Xuanji 魚玄機; three women have short descriptions appended to their names explaining their relationships to important men in their lives (either by marriage or by blood).[57] Zhang *furen* 張夫人 was the wife of Ji Zhongfu 吉中孚 and Zhang Wenji 張文姬 was the wife of Staff Officer Bao 鮑參軍; while Jiang Yun 蔣蘊 is identified as the granddaughter of Jiang Yanfu 蔣彥輔. Seventeen women are identified by name without descriptions of religious, blood or marital ties. Of these seventeen, Li Jilan, Cui Zhongrong 崔仲容, Bao Junhui 鮑君徽, and Xue Tao do not even have the term *nülang* placed in front of their names.[58] Only Chang Hao 常浩 is explicitly described as a singing entertainer (*changji* 倡伎).

Also of note is the chronological order of women. Wei Zhuang covers about 120 years (from 780 to 900). He preserves the chronological order of the women's lives. Not all of the women have verifiable dates, but the women with dates of birth and death are presented in order. Wei Hu, in contrast *does not* preserve chronological order for the women in *Caidiao ji*, not even for the fictional characters.

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[55] Xia Chengtao 夏承燾 summarizes the recovery and verification of the *Youxuan ji* in his 'Afterword to the *Youxuan ji*,' *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 683-84.

[56] According to Catherine Despeux, in the Daoist school of Highest Clarity (*Shangqing* 上清), the term *nü daoshi* 女道士 refers to women who were leaders of women's communities. See her article 'Women in Daoism,' *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 384.

[57] One woman née Zhao 趙, is not explicitly described as the wife of Du Gao 杜羔 in the *Youxuan ji*, but the title of one the the poems in *Youxuan ji* is addressed to (her husband) Du Gao, and later poetry collections and make the relationship clear.

[58] It is tempting to translate *nülang* as 'Miss' or 'maiden' here, but two women in the collection with the term placed in front of their names are obviously married. One is Zhang Wenji, wife of Staff Officer Bao, the other is Ge Ya'er, whose poem is titled, 'Reminiscing about my husband.' '(Young) lay female' is probably closer to the mark.

Wei Zhuang explicitly defends the notion of personal taste in his preface.[59] Gao Buying and Anna Shields have previously studied this preface and remarked upon Wei's mention of his high standards as a connoisseur as his qualification for selecting the poems of a general collection on his own. Wei chose 300 poems by 150 poets.[60] Three hundred is the sort of round number that evokes comparison with the number of poems in the *Shijing*. Any collection with that number may well be read as an effort to establish a canon. Wei did not choose more than one or two poems per poet (in order to emphasize the stringent standards of his selection process). Only Du Fu and Li Bo are honored with four or more selections to their names. Wei Zhuang clearly intended to cull the best of the best. Indeed, he compares his selection of the best poems to being in the realm of the immortals, but only deriving pleasure from drinking the finest celestial brew *tihu* 醍醐: 'In the flowery realm, one may eat delicacies, but one only smacks his lips at the taste of the finest brew.'[61]

From a gender perspective, Wei has no qualms with the idea that women could be good poets. Like Gao Zhongwu, he does not comment upon the presence of women poets in his collection. It is simply the case that Wei Zhuang is quite generous in his willingness to count women and non-secular men as poets.

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[59] A copy of the preface is in *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 579. This preface has been annotated by Gao Buying 高步瀛, *Tang-Song wen juyao* 唐宋文舉要 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982) 1582-1585. It has also been translated and analyzed by Anna M. Shields, 'Gathering the "Flowers" of Poetry and Song: An Analysis of Three Anthologies for the Late Tang and Shu.' *T'ang Studies* 15-16 (1997-98): 1-39.

[60] The 1803 edition is just short of his cited numbers, with 142 poets and 297 poems. By resolving certain internal errors in this edition, Fu Xuancong does a re-count for a total of 146 poets and 299 poems. See *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 578.

[61] In its oldest sense *tihu* 醍醐 is a rich liquor skimmed from boiled butter, but as a Buddhist term it came to mean 'highest Buddha nature.' The earliest known Chinese historical reference is from *Weishu* 102.2268 (where its use as an ointment is part of a purification ritual in the Yueban 悅般 kingdom). For Tang poets it signified wisdom and was a beverage for immortals, but could also simply refer to fine ale, see for example, Bo Juyi's poem, 'Jianggui yijue' 將歸一絕 in *Bo Juyi ji jianjiao* 白居易箋校 31.2108, annot. Zhu Jincheng 朱金城 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988). Here Bo dreams of a jar of fine ale at home, awaiting his return. For a thorough discussion of this term, see Anna Seidel's entry under the Japanese pronunciation of the term, 'Daigo,' in *Hōbōgirin* 法寶義林 vol. 6 (Paris and Tokyo: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient and Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1983) 640-651, esp. 649-50.

Overall, the vast majority of poems attributed to women in the *Youxuan ji* are not problematic given the current state of the record and documents (unless future recoveries of old texts raise new issues). But the following problems deserve attention. Examination reveals five potential problems with the works of Liu Yuan, Yuan Chun, Xue Tao, Ge Ya'er and Du Gao's wife (née Zhao). Some of the problems can be resolved, but the 'Ten Separations' and Ge Ya'er problems remain open, and Du Gao's wife will be discussed in depth in Chapter Two.[62]

The problem of dual attributions

Within the collection, Wei attributes a poem of the type 'Changmen Resentment' (Changmen yuan 長門怨)[63] to two different poets. In the first chapter it is attributed to Liu Zao 劉臯 (male), but in the third it is attributed to Liu Yuan 劉媛 (female).[64] Of the 28 characters in the quatrain, the last 24 are identical. Was Wei Zhuang not aware of this dual attribution? Was it a later copyist's error, or printer's error? The definitive answer to this particular question lies beyond our current grasp since we rely on the sole extant edition of 1803. Wei Hu, for his part, attributes the poem to Liu Yuan, and does not include Liu Zao, or his version of the 'Changmen Resentment.'[65] If Wei Zhuang is only going to select 300 poems, why waste two of the choices on what is essentially the same poem? The problem of this dual attribution

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[62]The anonymous Tang work *Yuquanzi* 玉泉子 has a brief anecdote about Du Gao's wife, née *Liu* 劉, who urges him to get over his failed attempts and redouble his efforts to pass the official examinations. The most extensive handling and re-packaging of poems attributed to Du Gao's wife occurs in the early eleventh century, so her work will be discussed in depth in Chapter Two. The *Yuquanzi* anecdote is preserved in TPGJ 271.2133. The important point to note here is that Wei Zhuang did not include either of the wife's examination-related poems. Wei Hu only includes the exam poem connected with her husband's successful effort.

[63] Changmen is the name of a Han dynasty palace. Empress Chen 陳皇后 once enjoyed the favor of Emperor Xiaowu, but once she was set aside, she lived in the Changmen palace in retirement. See *Hanshu* 97A.3948. According to the preface of the 'Changmen Rhapsody,' Empress Chen employed the literary talents of Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 to help win back the emperor's favor. See *Wenxuan* 16.8b. *Quan Tangshi* includes at least 40 'Changmen Resentments.' Both men and women wrote them, thus it is particularly difficult to attribute one of these resentments to an author based on voice alone.

[64] Compare *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 607 and 677.

[65] The compiler of *Wenyuan yinghua* 204.2b also assigns this particular version of the poem to Liu Yuan. A completely different 'Changmen Resentment' is attributed to Liu Zao in *Wenyuan yinghua* 204.2a.

survived the loss of the *Youxuan ji* and continued all the way down to the eighteenth century, when the compilers of *Quan Tangshi* included both variations under Liu Zao and Liu Yuan's names.[66] Based on the attributions in *Wenyuan yinghua*, modern day literary historians have concluded that placing this particular version of the resentment poem under Liu Zao's name was a mistake on Wei Zhuang's part.[67]

The rediscovery of the *Youxuan ji* has enabled literary historians to argue that certain poems should be re-attributed to Yuan Chun and Xue Tao. Prior to that rediscovery, the poem 'Fable' (寓言) was attributed to Li Dong 李洞, not Yuan Chun; and the 'Ten Separations' were frequently attributed to one Xue *shuji* 薛書記, not Xue Tao.

Yuan Chun's poem 'Fable' begins with the phrase 'Three thousand palace women' (*san qian gong nü* 三千宮女).'[68] Twenty-seven out of 28 characters overlap with a quatrain elsewhere attributed to Li Dong.[69] Because the *Youxuan ji* was lost in China for so long, Hong Mai's 1192 attribution of the poem to Li Dong held fast for over 800 years. Modern readers may need to remind themselves that repetition, even of whole lines of poetry, was not viewed in a bad light during the Tang dynasty. The expression 'Three thousand palace women…' appears ten times in *Quan Tangshi*, always as the first four characters in a seven-syllable line.[70] Tang poets employed it as a stock expression. It took away the pressure of

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[66] Compare *Quan Tangshi* 472.5358 with 801.9013. The two attributions to Liu Yuan and Liu Zao survive in Hong Mai's *Wanshou Tangren jueju* 65.1a and 38.11a.

[67] The problem of this dual attribution is discussed in Tong Peiji 佟培基, *Quan Tangshi chongchu wushou kao* 全唐詩重出誤收考 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), 341.

[68] For the *Youxuan ji* version, see *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 673; and QTS 805.9061 (which only records the first couplet, based on *Yinchuang zalu*). The entire poem is attributed to Yuan Chun in a Dunhuang fragment (Дx 3861) in the Oldenburg collection. See Chapter Four for a discussion of this fragment.

[69] Li Dong (*zi* Caijiang 才江) was a native of the metropolitan district. He failed the *jinshi* exam during the reign of Zhaozong 昭宗 (r. 889-904). He does not have an official biography, but two of his works are listed in the bibliographic monograph to the standard histories. See *Xin Tangshu* 60.1614 and 1626. Neither volume appears to be extant. For the earliest version of the poem attributed to Li Dong, see Hong Mai, *Wanshou Tangren jueju* 36.10a. See also *Quan Tangshi* 723.8300. Note that *Wenyuan yinghua* does not include this poem.

[70] See Li He 李賀, *Quan Tangshi* 21.282; Chen Yu 陳羽, 348.3894; Bo Juyi 白居易, 442.4934; Xu Ni 徐凝, 474.5384; Xu Hui 徐渾, 534.6094 and *535.6109*; Xue Feng 薛逢, *548.6335*; Zhao Jia 趙嘏, *549.6356*. The italicized numbers refer to the same poem attributed to three different poets.

having to devise a complete new line, one could devote mental effort instead to composing the last three syllables.

One result of the recovery of *Youxuan ji* is that there is no reason to tamper with the attribution of 'Fable' to Yuan Chun, not unless an earlier text with an attribution of the poem to Li Dong comes to light. Without the recovery of *Youxuan ji* it would fall on one of the Oldenburg fragments to carry the burden of having a sufficiently early attribution of the poem to Yuan Chun.

Authorship of the 'Ten Separations' sequence

Perhaps the most famous poem within the sequence is 'Dog Parted from Its Master:'

Behind crimson gates for four or five years
  a docile, obedient beast,
Its sweet-smelling pet and cleanly feet
  won the master's affection.
Then for no reason it took a bit
  of a dearly loved friend,
And no more is it allowed to sleep
  upon the red silk rug.[71]

Scholars have grappled with its authorship problem for almost a thousand years. The Song scholar Ruan Yue 阮閱, in his attempts to locate the sources for 2,400 poems, read both He Guangyuan's 何光遠 (ca. 933-965) and Wang Dingbao's 王定保 (870- ca. 955) accounts of the 'Separations.' He Guangyuan points to Xue Tao as the author of a sequence of five

[71] Stephen Owen's translation. See *WWTC*, 63.

separations,[72] Wang Dingbao, in contrast, points to Secretary Xue (Xue *shuji* 薛書記).[73] Ruan Yue faithfully records both texts, but one can almost see Ruan throw up his hands in despair when he finally remarks, 'I do not know which one, [Xue Tao or Secretary Xue] is the poet.'[74] The Qing scholar Liu Shipei, having read the *Quan Tangshi,*[75] argued that this sequence of poems was composed by a Secretary Xue. He did so based on his reading of *Tang zhiyan*.[76] Neither Ruan nor Liu had access to the *Youxuan ji*. The recovery of the lost collection has shifted scholarly opinion back in favor of Xue Tao's authorship, at least for the first poem in the sequence, 'Dog Parted from Its Master.'[77] Since Wei Zhuang's collection was completed in 900, it contains the earliest known copy of the poem. But *Tang zhiyan* contains the earliest known copy of the *entire* sequence of 'Ten Separations.' The discrepancy between the *Jianjie lu* and *Tang zhiyan* accounts serves as a caution for reading such materials as an accurate reflection of the circumstances surrounding poetic composition.

Hong Mai, *Wanshou Tangren jueju* (1192) was the *first* poetry compiler to attribute all the 'Ten Separations' to Xue Tao in a general poetry collection. The modern literary scholar Zhang Pengzhou argues that Wei Zhuang's collection offers ironclad proof that all

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[72] See He Guangyuan, *Jianjielu* 10.6a,b. *Chongdiao zuben Jianjie lu* 重雕足本鑒誡錄 in *Changshu Weng shi cang guji shanben congshu* 常熟翁氏藏古籍善本叢書 vol. 23 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996). This reprint of a Southern Song print edition from Zhejiang contains 'Five Separations' as an explanation of how Xue Tao worked her way back into Wei Gao's 韋皋 favor. The 'Five Separations' are 'Dog Parted from Master,' 'Fish Parted from Pond,' 'Parrot Parted from Cage,' 'Bamboo Separated from Thicket,' and 'Pearl Parted from Palm.'

[73] Wang Dingbao 王定保, *Tang zhiyan* 唐摭言 12.143-44 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978).

[74] See Ruan Yue 阮閱, *Shihua zonggui* 詩話總歸 23.1a,b and 39.5a (Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1973). Reprint of 1545 ed.

[75] Liu Shipei 劉師培 (1884-1920), 'Du *Quan Tangshi* fawei' 讀全唐詩發微, *Zuo'an waiji* 左盦外集 vol. 13. *Liu Shenshu xiansheng yishu* 劉申叔先生遺書 vol. 53 (Ningwu: Nanguiqing, 1936), 1a (separately paginated).

[76] See Wang Dingbao, *Tang zhiyan* 3.30 for a brief reference to Xue Tao. Wang as a compiler was perfectly aware of who she was, but he did not claim that Xue Tao and Xue *shuji* are the same person. He counted them as two different people.

[77] It should be noted that the wrong Tao 陶 is listed in the *Youxuan ji* as it comes down to us. See *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 680. The poetry compiler of *Wenyuan yinghua* made this error too. It attributes two poems to Xue Tao 薛濤 and one to Xue Tao 薛陶. Compare *Wenyuan yinghua* 320.13b and 325.6b with 323.12a. This error is made in other contexts, the one *tao* for the other. The place name Chen Tao xie 陳濤斜 (in Xianyang, Shaanxi) is sometimes written as 陳陶斜. In the case of the 1803 Japanese ed., Fu Xuancong speculates that these sorts of errors are ones of transmission and printing, not errors Wei Zhuang himself was likely to make. See *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 577.

the 'Ten Separations' belong to Xue Tao.[78] He goes so far as to argue that the appeasing tone of voice is something that a young Xue Tao would do (to get back into Wei Gao's good graces), not something that an older Xue Tao (in her forties) would do with respect to a Yuan Zhen (in his thirties). Zhang Pengzhou argues, too, that there is a reason why there are only two poems by Xue Tao included in *Youxuan ji*. Wei Zhuang selected one poem to represent her fall from Wei Gao's favor (circa 789, or nine years after Wei Gao took up his post in Sichuan), when she was 20, and thus could have known him for the four to five years she had been in that line of work, and the amount of time mentioned in the sequence of poems; and he selected one to represent her re-instatement in his favor.

Could five of these belong to Xue Tao, as her winning back of Wei Gao's favor, and then a further five be created by other men after the fact, because the sequence is a fertile theme for innovation, resulting in five new poems, and the story about Yuan Zhen and Secretary Xue in Zhejiang? Hong Mai might have preferred that the poems go to a fully identified Xue Tao, rather than to a partially identified Secretary Xue.[79]

He Guangyuan held an official position in Later Shu, so he may have been in a better position to attest to the literary talent of Xue Tao and other women of Shu than compilers outside of Sichuan. Sichuan had the reputation, entirely justified, as a preserver of texts lost elsewhere. Until a text earlier than 900 comes to light making a secure attribution for the entire 'Ten Separations' will not be possible.[80]

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[78] Zhang Pengzhou, *Xue Tao shi jian*, 17-18.

[79] Ji Yougong, although he cites a portion of He Guangyuan's *Jianjielu* for his entry on Xue Tao, does not assign the 'Ten Separations' to her. Ji followed *Tang zhiyan* and attributed the sequence to Secretary Xue, whom he did not further identify. Compare *Tangshi jishi* 79.1132-33 with .

[80] Wu Qiming 吳企明, argues that Xue Tao is not the author of the 'Ten Separations,' but he does not consider the evidence from *Youxuan ji*. Wu's argument gives priority to the account in *Tang zhiyan*, accepting the Wang Dingbao's claim to have first hand knowledge of the events, or access to the men who had such knowledge. Wu says that later generations of readers assume the secretary (*shuji*) refers to Xue Tao. Wu goes on to say the compilers of *Quan Tangshi* conflated a number of passages from Fan Shu's *Yunxi youyi*, Wang Dingbao's *Tang zhiyan*, and He Guangyuan's *Jianjielu* 鑒誡錄, then assigned the 'Ten Separations' to Xue Tao. Wu overlooks the comments of critics such as Ruan Yue (who does not conflate Xue *shuji* with Xue Tao) as well as the fact

Wei Zhuang certainly would have done us a favor if he had included all 'Ten Separations' But anytime it is translated, or offered to the public (especially in the form of survey courses on Chinese women's literature to undergraduates), the debate should be mentioned. One potential pitfall for scholars working on women writers, may be the desire for the object of research to have as many poems attributed to them as possible.

The problem surrounding the Ge Ya'er 葛[亞+鳥]兒 attribution remains completely unresolved.[81] Wei Zhuang's attribution to her would be stronger if he could have linked her to a male relative with a presence in the textual record. Meng Qi, in his work *Benshi shi* (preface dated 886), claims he can describe the original events behind poems. His tale of an unnamed scholar captured by rebels during the Zhu Ci rebellion[82] present us with a recension of the poem which predates the *Youxuan ji* (and the *Caidiao ji*, which also includes it):

> When Zhu Tao conscripted his troops, he did not choose any from elite families, he sent everyone to the army, and he would personally inspect them on a polo field. There was one son of a scholarly [family] whose appearance caught [Zhu Tao's] attention - his bearing [showed him to be a man] of magnanimity and learned refinement. Tao summoned the man and questioned him, "What was your profession [before]?" He said, "I studied poetic composition." [Tao] asked, "Do you have a wife?" He replied, "I do." Whereupon [Tao] ordered him to compose a poem to send to his wife. No sooner had he picked up the brush but he finished a poem which read:

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that Hong Mai made the attribution to Xue Tao in 1192. See *Tangyin zhiyilu* 唐音質疑錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), 17-19. See also *Quan Tangshi gaoben* vol. 71, p.104. The editors take the ten poems from *Tang zhiyan*, but they leave a note in their copy of Xue Tao's works, saying, '*Tang zhiyan* attributes the poems to one Xue shuji. We do not know if these poems are Xue Tao's or not.' They acknowledged the ambiguity at the draft stage, but then at final stage the editors decided to place the poems under Xue Tao's name.

[81] There is also the problem of the late entry into the record of two additional poems (both by the title *Huixian shi* 會仙詩) attributed to Ge Ya'er. Su Zhecong accepts them as genuine Ge Ya'er poems. See *Guiwei de tanshi – Tangdai nüshiren*, 217-19. To my knowledge, the poems first appear in the textual record in the early seventeenth century. See Zhong Xing 鍾惺 (attrib.), *Mingyuan shigui* 名媛詩歸 12, *mulu* 1b, *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, jibu* vol. 339 (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1995-97). The two poems do not appear in the draft volume for *Quan Tangshi*, but were included in the completed *Quan Tangshi*. Compare *Quan Tangshi gaoben*, vol. 71, 156 with *Quan Tangshi* 801.9014.

[82] The Zhu Ci 朱泚 rebellion took place in 783 and 784. Zhu Tao 朱滔 was Zhu Ci's younger brother.

Lifting a brush and composing poems is easier
Than wielding the weapons of war.
Accustomed to the warmth of the conjugal quilts,
I'm afraid to face the cold at Wild Geese Gate.
So thin, my robes and belts are loose,
And my tears soak the pillow.
Try to refrain from applying kohl,
Till I come home to see your painted brows.[83]

He ordered the man to compose his wife's reply:

My rumpled hair and thorn hairpins are seldom [seen] these days,
This coarse cloth skirt I've worn since my wedding.[84]
It would be good to plant sesame, but I have no mate [to help me],[85]
This is the season for homecoming, how come you won't return?[86]

Tao let the man return home with a bundle of silk he had given him.[87]

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[83] This poem has previously been translated by Howard Levy. See his article, 'The Original Incidents of Poems,' *Sinologica* 10.1 (1969):10-11.

[84] The thorn hairpins and coarse cloth skirt are signs that the woman is poor but virtuous/chaste, while her husband is away. *Taiping yulan* 718.3a (*SKQS* ed.) preserves a quotation from the *Lienüzhuan*: Liang Hong's '梁鴻 wife Meng Guang 孟光, [put her hair up] in thorn hairpins and [wore] coarse cloth skirts.'

[85] The Ming writer Gu Yuanqing 顧元慶 (1487-1565) provides the best explanation why a married couple should do the planting together - it will bring good luck and a bountiful harvest. But a monk planting sesame will have no harvest at all, according to southern folktales. See Gu Yuanqing, *Yibaizhai shihua* 夷白齋詩話 single *juan*, page 8b, *Xuehai leibian* 學海類編 (1831) vol. 6, ed. Cao Rong 曹溶 and rev. Tao Yue 陶樾 (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1994), 18.

[86] This poem too has previously been translated by Howard Levy, see, 'The Original Incidents of Poems,' *Sinologica* 10.1 (1969):11.

[87] Meng Qi 孟棨 (fl. 841-886), *Benshi shi* 本事詩 single *juan*, pages 8-9 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991). For a critical edition, see also Wang Meng'ou 王夢鷗, *Tangren xiaoshuo yanjiu, san ji* 唐人小說研究三集 (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1974), 36-37.

How was Wei Zhuang able to attribute the poem to Ge Ya'er when the Meng Qi was unable to name even the captured scholar? Scholars have been troubled by the disparate accounts of the poem's provenance for centuries. Ji Yougong, the twelfth-century compiler of *Tangshi jishi*, may have been the first reader to notice the discrepancy, and unable to resolve the problem, he placed Ge Ya'er's supposed poem once under her name in *juan* 79, and then again in *juan* 80 under an entry for an anonymous Hebei scholar, whereupon he confesses that he does not know which poet should get the credit.[88] Even with searchable databases, we cannot improve upon the situation today, leaving modern scholars divided as to the true author of the poem. According to Wu Qiming, Meng Qi simply took two anonymous poems in circulation (circa 886) and combined them in a single anecdote.[89] According to Su Zhecong, however, the poem is a hallmark of the feminine voice (as composed by a real woman).

The Hebei scholar and Ge Ya'er problem illustrates how difficult it is to distinguish between men speaking in women's voices, and poems by real women. This difficulty, moreover, goes back to the Tang dynasty itself, and even the men of Tang cannot always reliably sort out issues of authorship! Any balanced account of authorship issues for this poem must present the ambiguity. To simply say, 'scholar' or 'Ge Ya'er' is to miss the complexity, by trying to over-simplify the issues. The few modern editions which include this poem avoid the complexity and ambiguity, and privilege Ge Ya'er's authorship over the anonymous Hebei scholar's,[90] despite the fact that nothing has ever been uncovered about a historical figure named Ge Ya'er, ensuring that present day readers will encounter the idea that a Tang woman named Ge Ya'er was the poet more often than they will see any evidence

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[88] See *Tangshi jishi* 79.1133 and 80.1140 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965).
[89] Wu Qiming, *Tangyin zhiyi lu*, 188 and 201. Su Zhecong does not address Wu's arguments in her defense of Ge Ya'er as the poet.
[90] See for example, Xiao Difei 簫滌非 et al, *Tangshi jianshang cidian* 唐詩鑒賞辭典 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1987), 1342-43.

about the anonymous Hebei scholar. Ge Ya'er, by virtue of possessing a name, receives the authorial credit where the nameless Hebei scholar remains unknown (except to those who examine early texts).

Perhaps Meng Qi ought to get the full credit both for the charming little story which frames the poems as well as the poems themselves. Meng Qi's text may show us more in general about what ninth-century men hoped and feared their wives were doing back home than it actually tells us about what women of the time were thinking and feeling.

Has Meng Qi robbed a real woman Ge Ya'er of credit? Or did Wei Zhuang attribute the poem to Ge Ya'er based on circulating oral traditions or texts now lost to us? This issue remains open.

Caidiao ji and the use of sources other than poetry collections

Biographical information about Wei Hu, the compiler of the *Caidiao ji*, remains scanty. The historian Wu Renchen 吳任臣 (1628? - 1689?) in his compilation *Shiguo chunqiu* 十國春秋 has a minor record about Wei Hu:

> As a young man he was a skillful prose writer, he once dreamt he came into possession of a soft multi-colored gauze towel,[91] and from that day on his talent advanced more and more. He served Gaozu and his heir of the later Shu dynasty, served many tours as an inspecting censor, and later he also rose to serve as President of the Board of [blank].[92]

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[91] *Xiejin* 纈巾 refers to a piece of soft tie-dyed gauze or figured silk.

[92] The last character of the passage is missing. See *Shiguo chunqiu* 56.811 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1983). Wu Renchen does not indicate the source.

Although he has no official biography, his author preface to the *Caidiao ji* is still extant. In his preface Wei Hu notes his intention of selecting ten chapters of one hundred poems each. He includes 26 women poets, and 63 of their poems.[93] Twenty-one poems are repeats from the *Youxuanji*, leaving 42 'new' poems. The *Caidiaoji* does *not* include some women who had been included in *Youxuan ji*, namely the Song sisters (Song Ruozhao 宋若昭 and Song Ruoxin 宋若莘) and Tian E 田娥, so Wei Hu did not automatically agree with Wei Zhuang's personal taste. For the 42 'new' poems, the *Caidiaoji* is the first time these enter the textual record, as far as we can tell from extant materials. Being further away in time from the moment of composition, Wei Hu may well have had to cast his net wider in terms of sources. He may well be reading narrative as evidence of historical fact, to a greater extent than Wei Zhuang did.

Wei Hu does not make use of labels such as *nülang*. Perhaps he does not need to make it clear that these are women. In Wei Hu's collection these women get their own chapter, just before the anonymous poets, as opposed to getting the last third in the last chapter in Wei Zhuang's collection. For both Wei Zhuang and Wei Hu, works attributed to women are placed in a hierarchy similar to the social one, in which all women come after non-secular men. Wei Hu identifies two women by way of their marriages to men (Zhang *furen* and Zhang Wenji), three women as Daoist priests (Li Jilan, Yuan Chun and Yu Xuanji); he drops the label of singing entertainer for Chang Hao. Twenty-one out of the 26 women are identified by name only.

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[93] Thirty-seven anonymous poems complete the last chapter.

Problematic attributions in Caidiao ji[94]

The poem which Wei Hu attributes to Xue Yuan 薛媛, 'A Portrait Sent to My Husband Nan Chucai 南楚材,' also has an antecedent. The *Yunxi youyi* 雲溪友議 also holds the text of the same poem, and it predates the compilation of the *Caidiaoji*. Other than this one poem, which according to the tale, saved her marriage, Xue Yuan has *no* other extant poems.[95] Fan Shu 范攄 (active ca. 877) recorded this version of the tale:

> Nan Chucai 南楚材,[96] a native of Haoliang,[97] was travelling in the region of Chenzhou 陳州 and Yingzhou 穎州.[98] As the years went by the prefect of Yingzhou admired his appearance and conduct, and wanted to marry his daughter off to him. Chucai had a wife at home, [but] because of the prefect's deep fondness for him, he was momentarily negligent of his duties [as a husband], and he quickly accepted the offer of marriage. He subsequently dispatched a manservant to go home and fetch his zither, books, etc., as if he had no intention of going home. Some claimed he was going to seek the Dao at Qingcheng 青城,[99] visit the [Buddhist] monks on Mt. Heng 衡, he was not keeping company with famous officials, as he intended to devote himself solely to the

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[94] The attribution of a 'Swallow Tower' poem (Yanzilou shi 燕子樓詩) to Xixi 盼盼 will be discussed in Chapter Three.

[95] See *Quan Tangshi* 799.8991.

[96] Nan Chucai has no official biography, and nothing else is known about him. The only information about him in the written record comes from this tale or its variants. The *Yunxi youyi* tale is quoted in *Taiping guangji* 271.2137 (in the section on talented women *caifu* 才婦) and in the *Leishuo* (in two forms, one from *Yunxi youyi*, one from *Tang-Song yishi* 唐宋逸史). Were it not for this story about his wife, there would be no references to Nan Chucai in the written record, making this one of the rare cases of knowing the man by way of his wife, a vice versa because we usually know of the women poets by way of their male relations.

[97] Also known as Haozhou, corresponds to present day Fengyang 鳳陽, Anhui.

[98] This is an abbreviation for Chenzhou 陳州 and Yingzhou 穎州, both are on the banks of the Ying river. Chenzhou corresponds to present day Huaiyang 淮陽, Henan while Yingzhou corresponds to Fuyang 阜陽 city, Anhui.

[99] Qingcheng mountain, in present day Sichuan, to the northwest of Chengdu.

mystic void [that is the Dao].[100] But his wife Xue Yuan, an excellent calligrapher, painter, and a subtle writer of prose; was aware that Chucai paid no heed to the affections of their days of drinking bad wine and eating coarse grains,[101] and that he was committing himself elsewhere to the symbiotic relation between bamboo and creeper vine.[102] She peered into a mirror and painted a self-portrait, attached a poem in four couplets, and sent it to him. Chucai received his wife's portrait and poem, and suddenly gained the forbearance of Juan Buyi 雋不疑 (d. 81 B.C.),[103] thereafter they grew old together as man and wife. There was a saying in the district which went: 'It used to be that wives abandoned husbands, nowadays husbands leave their wives; had it not been for the red and green [portrait], she'd be in the empty bedchamber alone.' The poem which Xue Yuan attached to the portrait and sent her husband went like this:

About to dip my brush in red and green,
First I picked up my treasured mirror for a long look.
Shocked at how withered and drawn my face was,
It dawned on me that my hair was getting thin.

It's easier to paint my tear-stained eyes

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[100] *Xuanxu* is a Daoist term for 'abstruse,' 'profound,' or 'mysterious' as well as an alternate reference for the Dao itself. See *Hanfeizi jijie* 韓非子集解 20.108-9, *Zhuzi jicheng* 諸子集成 vol. 5, ed. Guoxue zhengli she 國學整理社 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1954).

[101] This is an allusion to Song Hong's 宋弘 biography in *Hou Hanshu* 26.904-5 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965). The emperor approached Song Hong about marrying one of his daughters, a widowed princess. Song Hong declined by saying that one should not forget about the friends from his days as a poor and lowly man, nor put aside the wife with whom he had shared plonk wine and coarse grains. The terms generally means someone with whom one has shared trials and tribulations.

[102] A reference to the *si* and *luo* plants, both of which are epiphytes. *Si* is short for *tusizi* 菟絲子, the Chinese dodder (*Cuscuta chinensis*), a yellow and white annual parasite vine with retrograde leaves, small white flowers, and stem grown with organs for obtaining nutrition from other plants. *Luo* refers to moss (*Usnea diffracta*). The relationship between man and wife is compared to the dependent relationship of creeper vines and moss upon other plants such as bamboo and pine. See 'Nineteen Old Poems' #8, 'Ranran gu sheng zhu' 冉冉孤生竹, *Gushi shijiu shou jishi* 古詩十九首集釋 2.30, ed. Sui Shusen 隋樹森 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1955). These poems date back to at least the second century A.D. For an illustration of moss on a Chinese pine, see Pan Fujun 潘富俊, *Tangshi zhiwu tujian* 唐詩植物圖鑒 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2003), 19.

[103] Juan Buyi 雋不疑 (*zi* Manqian 曼倩) was a native of Bohai 勃海. He held a position as Regional Inspector of Qingzhou 青州, then as Governor of the Capital District. As a reward for exposing the false claim of a pretender to the throne, Juan was offered the hand of General-in-Chief Huo Guang's 霍光 daughter, but he declined this offer (which would have brought him into the family of an imperial consort). For his official biography, see *Hanshu* 71.3035-38 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1962). For a translation of his biography, see Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (221 BC – AD 24)* (Leiden: Brill, 200) 203-4.

Than it is to describe my grief-stricken heart.[104]

Lest my lord forget me completely,

Unroll this portrait sometime and look. [105]

Caidiao ji, of course, only has the text of the poem, nothing of the narrative which frames the poem. Readers of the poem in *Caidiao ji*, if unfamiliar with the story in *Yunxi youyi*, remain ignorant whether the poem and portrait have their intended effect. The story had a happy ending from its earliest preserved text, but the poem as Wei has presented it carries a different title and does not provide any clues as to the success or failure of Xue Yuan's strategy. *Caidiao ji* is the critical moment for the transition of this poem and poet from narrative to poetry collection, from fiction to fact. Ever after, not only do poetry compilers such as Ji Yougong count Xue Yuan as a Tang woman poet but storytellers recount the actions she took to get her man back. So the important action for consideration of this woman as a poet is found here in Wei Hu's action in selecting the poem for inclusion in a general

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[104] The Chinese word is *chang* 腸, meaning 'intestines.' I have taken the liberty of making the line intelligible to an English-speaking reader.

[105] See Fan Shu 范攄, *Yunxi youyi* 雲溪友議 1.4 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1957). Two twelfth-century works repeat the Xue Yuan tale. *Leishuo* 27.11a,b preserves Zhan Jie's 詹玠 lost work, *Tang-Song yishi* 唐宋遺史. *Tang-Song yishi* alone refers to Nan Chucai as a *jinshi* and uses *guan* 觀 as the final rhyme word. 'A Poem by Nan Chucai's Wife' Nan Chucai qi shi 南楚材妻詩. Nan Chucai receives his wife's poem, and is immensely ashamed of himself, but there is no happy ending. *Leishuo* 41.18a preserves an abbreviated version of *Yunxi youyi*. The *Yunxi youyi* as it comes down to us tells the story in 210 characters, but Zeng Zao's abbreviated version only consists of 80 characters. Also, note that the 1626 edition of *Leishuo* contains a variant for the name of Nan Chucai's wife – here she is referred to as Liu Yuan 劉媛. As seen in the Appendix to Chapter Three, Ji Yougong cites the work closer to its *Yunxi youyi* form than to either of the *Leishuo* forms (neither of which has a happy ending). This is not always the case. In many instances, Ji Yougong's text adheres more closely to the *Leishuo* than to the earlier source text. Ji Yougong's version is still quite an abbreviation, weighing in at only 95 characters. See Ji Yougong, *Tangshi jishi* 78.1122-23 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965). For a thirteenth-century storytelling version of Xue Yuan, see Huangdu fengyue zhuren 皇都風月主人 (pseud.) *Lüchuang shihua* 綠窗新話 1.92 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991). This collection cites 154 short narratives from a number of earlier Song works. Here the tale ends slightly differently in that Nan Chucai finally and explicitly rejects the prefect's offer. The prefect, suspecting that Nan wanted to deceive him all along, badmouths Nan ever after. See also *WWTC*, 140-41 for a poem by a fourteenth-century woman who alludes to this story. The nineteenth-century woman playwright Liu Qingyun 劉清韻 also wrote a play about Xue Yuan and Nan Chucai. For a brief description of Liu Qingyun and her work, see Hu Wenkai 胡文楷, *Lidai funü zhuzuo kao* 歷代婦女著作考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985 ed.), 716-17. In this play (after having written the poem and painted the self-portrait) Xue Yuan advocates polygamy in order to avoid being labeled a jealous wife.

poetry collection. It is through the course of excerpting that it lost the guaranteed happy ending. Poetry collections lose the narrative frames that would have allowed readers to read the works as ones of creative fiction. Once it became a poem without a narrative frame, it became 'truth.' The same phenomenon is at work with poems by Cui Yingying 崔鶯鶯.

The most important feature of the poem attributed to Cui in *Caidiaoji*, 'Response to Zhang Sheng,' is the way readers have read this poem (and the story by Yuan Zhen from which the poem is quoted) from the ninth century down to the present day.[106] They have consistently read the story as consisting of true events from Yuan Zhen's life. [107] It then follows that there is a real woman in the autobiography who composes some poems and responses. Even if she is not named Cui Yingying, as Yuan Zhen refers to her, she did exist, and judging from the poems in the story, she deserves the accolade as a poet. Because the story has been read as autobiography for centuries, with readers equating Yuan Zhen with Zhang Sheng, editors and compilers have read a Cui Yingying into being.[108] Chen Yinke, for example, denies that this story is problematic, because to him it is simply autobiography.

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[106] Su Zhecong, reading Yuan Zhen's story as autobiography, also attempts to defend the idea that Cui Yingying was a real poet, not a fictional character, in *Guiwei de tanshi - Tangdai nüshiren*, 320.

[107] For an analysis of this tale in Chinese, see Wang Pijiang 汪辟疆, *Tangren xiaoshuo* 唐人小說 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 135-150. For a recent re-reading of the tale, see Pauline Yu et al., eds., *Ways with Words: Writing about Reading Texts from Early China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 173-201.

[108] The most bizarre effort to give Cui Yingying a life might be the attempts by Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636), Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682) and others to read a Tang tomb inscription dated 858 as that of Cui Yingying and her husband. Thi inscription was allegedly unearthed during the Chenghua 成化 reign (1465-1487) in Wei 魏 County. Nowhere does this particular inscription mention the woman's name as Yingying. Later epigraphers, notably Bi Yuan 畢沅 (1730-1797), concluded that the husband's name had been altered in at least one place. See Dong Qichang, *Rongtai bieji* 容臺別集 1.36b, *Siku quanshu jinhui congkan, jibu* 四庫全書禁燬叢刊 集部 vol. 32 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), 439; Gu Yanwu, *Jinshi wenzi ji* 金石文字記 5.26a,b (*SKQS* ed.); Bi Yuan, *Zhongzhou jinshi ji* 中州金石記 3.19b (*XXSKQS* ed.). Reprint of 1787 ed. It is possible to compare a rubbing of the inscription with the text recorded in *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文. See 'Zheng Yu ji qi Cui shi hefu zhi' 鄭遇及妻崔氏合祔誌, *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian* 北京圖書館藏中國歷代石刻拓本匯編, vol. 32 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1989-91), 150, catalogue number Gu 顧 700; and Qin Guan's 秦貫 tomb inscription about for Zheng Yu 鄭遇 and née Cui, *Quan Tangwen* 792.11b (*SKQS* ed.). In the future, this topic deserves a study in its own right.

After all, the 'autobiography' itself mentions that Cui Yingying was a gifted poet. Ironically, such a reading denies Yuan Zhen some of the credit for his own literary creation.

We read of Cui Yingying as a poet today because earlier generations read the story as Yuan Zhen's autobiography.[109] Then compilers like Wei Hu made the decision to include it in a poetry collection, thus setting in motion of chain of readings of Yingying as poet. If the story were not read as Yuan's autobiography, the attribution of authorship for the poems would be free to return to him.

Today we do not necessarily read the narrative of Yingying the way it was read in the past. To modern (or post-modern) readers it rather looks as if Yuan Zhen wrote the poem. Pauline Yu, for example, argues that the story is disruptive and destabilizing, because all the texts within a text show up how much of a construct it all is, both within the text and the constructedness of the world itself.[110]

Of the three poems spoken by Cui Yingying in the tale, Wei Hu selected only one for his collection. Wei Hu refers to it as 'In response to Zhang.' Within the story by Yuan Zhen the poem is titled, 'The Bright Moon of the Fifteenth.' It is the piece Cui wrote ostensibly to show Zhang she was willing to accept his interest in her, but which she actually used in order to berate him for making a poetic pass at her:

I await the moon on the western porch,
My door half ajar, facing the breeze.
Flower shadows stir, brushing the wall –

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[109] Some critics argue that there were and still are shared assumptions between Chinese writers and readers. Bonnie McDougall views Chinese writers as encouraging their readers to interpret the texts as the writers' biographies. In this sense, she would presumably argue, Western critics who attempt to read Yuan Zhen's work solely as fiction with a separation between author and narrative persona constitute naïve readers. See Bonnie McDougall, Fictional Authors, Imaginary Audiences: Modern Chinese Literature in the Twentieth Century (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2003) 9, 45 and 67.

[110] Yu, *Ways with Words*, 185.

I wonder if this is my lover coming.[111]

Even though she did berate Zhang, it was this seductive poem which led to the beginning of the affair. The other two poems from the end of the affair receive nondescript titles once they too are selected for later compilations: 'Sending a poem,' and 'The Final Farewell [to Zhang].'[112]

As far as we can tell from the textual record, as often as poems by men (Yuan Zhen, Fan Shu, Meng Qi) were later attributed to women, poems by women lost their original attributions and were then re-assigned to male authorship (Liu Yuan to Liu Zao and Yuan Chun to Li Dong). For a small proportion of cases, as discussed above, we have these narratives to thank as the sources for these poems, (and the notion that some of these women were poets).

On occasion readers do not know when to read the poems as evidence about the poet's life, or as purely creative work. When readers make judgments about how to read the internal content of a poem, new readings are created. Xin Wenfang's reading of Li Jilan's poem as evidence that her native place was Xiazhong 峽中 (much further west in Hubei) serves as a brief example. Moreover, Xin privileges that (mis)reading over Gao Zhongwu's remark that she comes from Wucheng (Zhejiang).[113]

The problems faced in this chapter, dearth of sources, and skewed samples, already make counting women poets a daunting task. In the next chapter, the number of problems requiring attention increases, as the increase in the number of apocryphal texts stands in the

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[111] Translation by Stephen Owen. See Stephen Owen, ed. *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996), 543. Events supposedly take place in 800, the year the lovers meet.

[112] Ji Yougong does not give the poems titles. See *Tangshi jishi* 79.1136-37. These are the nondescript titles from *Quan Tangshi*.

[113] See Tang caizizhuan 2.28 (1304 ed.).

way of reading what little can be known or inferred from the earlier texts.[114] The defense of personal taste exhibited in ninth- and tenth-century collections all too soon becomes mixed up with the *biji* of the tenth century, wherein male writers fantasize about the women of Tang. Their fantasies about literarily gifted women and historical women with a talent for poetry become entangled in tenth-century and later texts.[115]

Even late Tang poetry collections suffer from attribution problems or the insertion of narrative material. This is not a problem for Gao Zhongwu's collection as it only lists one woman as a poet, but by the year 900, Wei Zhuang's collection lists two women (Ge Ya'er and Du Gao's wife) as poets whose poems were originally bound up with narratives. In the *Caidiao ji* those numbers began to rise. Over time, it became even easier to re-interpret the women of the past as poets, especially as compilers followed the practices of late Tang poetry compilers in selecting poems from narrative sources, based on their own personal tastes.

One of the reasons *Quan Tangshi* has so many poems attributed to women is because it is the culmination of this interpretive practice. The following chapters will cover tenth and eleventh century narratives which were also read as evidence for women's literary activity.[116] Tang women poets, as a small part of the larger set of Tang poetry, became a growth industry.

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[114] The study of tenth-century Japanese women writers suffers from similar problems. See R. Keller Kimbrough, 'Apocryphal Text and Literary Identity: Sei Shonagon and *The Matsushima Diary*,' *Monumenta Nipponica* 57.2 (Summer 2002): 133-171.

[115] For a comment about how tenth-century narrative may be considered the first example of post-modernist writing, and thus that the writers were unconcerned with the real or fictional status of Tang women poets, see John Minford and Tong Man, 'Whose Strange Stories? P'u Sung-ling (1640-1715), Herbert Giles (1845-1935), and the *Liao-chai chih-yi*,' *East Asian History* (Canberra) 17-18 (Jun-Dec. 1999): 1-48. See page 5, for a quotation from poet/essayist Leung Ping-kwan 梁秉鈞 in Hong Kong, 'Ironically, it may be *pi-chi* literature that proves to be the most 'post-modern' of all Chinese genres.' If we use a pre-post-modern approach to texts written with a post-modern viewpoint, then we end up with an exaggerated total (artificially inflated total) of women poets.

[116] In addition, with the passage of time, one of the poems Wei Hu classified as anonymous in *Caidiao ji* 2, 'The Gold-Threaded Robe' *Jinlu yi* 金縷衣, is re-classified as the work of a woman named Du Qiuniang. See *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 755. This re-attribution of anonymous poems to poets with names is studied in Chapter Five.

Individuals such as Wei Zhuang and Wei Hu perhaps operated under conditions of little access to the relevant texts, and relied much more on the stories they heard, oral tradition. In the tenth century, as we will see, imperial collections such as *Wenyuan yinghua* do not include these poems of dubious attribution, rather they only include poems by women previously listed in general and individual poetry collections.

The general poetry collections studied here do not exhaust the poems in Tang narratives which are attributed to women. In the eighteenth century the *Quan Tangshi* compilers also extracted the poems attributed to women in the *Beili zhi*.[117] The precedent set by these late Tang collections allowed later collectors to legitimately employ the same strategy.

The problem of separating texts with contemporary knowledge from strictly apocryphal accounts only worsens in the later half of the tenth century. Yet these apocryphal texts influence the perception of women and their literary reputations. An examination of these tenth- and eleventh-century apocryphal texts tells us more about the perceptions of their male writers than it does any sort of objective truth about any Tang woman poet. And it is to this problem of apocryphal texts that we now turn.

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[117] Sun Qi 孫棨 (fl. 889) *Beilizhi* 北里志 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957). Robert des Rotours has translated and annotated this book, see *Courtisanes chinoises la fin des Tang: entre circa 789 et le 8 janvier 881, Pei-li tche* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968).

Having examined poetry collections from the eighth through the tenth centuries, our attention shifts to the re-writing of these women's lives and poetry during the tenth and eleventh centuries. This chapter examines four areas: the writing of biographies for certain Tang women, namely Li Jilan and Xue Tao, which take official biographical methods as a model (the biography of Xu Hui 徐惠); the compilation of the *Wenyuan yinghua* as a collection of Tang literature; the question of separate collected works for Tang women; specific examples of the handling and re-working of one woman's corpus (Du Gao's wife) as well as the writing of narratives in the Song dynasty which are portrayed as events which took place during the Tang dynasty. One anecdote about née Cui 崔 and Master Lu 盧郎 is briefly analyzed.

In the tenth century, we see evidence of two simultaneous trends. Even as imperial editors try to gain control of the corpus of authentic Tang literary production, writers of unofficial prose continue to develop the apocryphal tales about Tang women.

The prodigy stories of Li Jilan and Xue Tao

When we talk about tenth-century taste there is a gap, or disconnect between the taste of private writers and that of imperially sanctioned official compilers. Private writers were free to meditate, reflect, or ponder, imagine or be creative as to the childhoods of Tang women [and the poems attributed to them]. The results of their flights of fancy inserted new poems into the stream of transmission. For *Wenyuan yinghua*, in contrast, for all its mistakes, editors emphasized the principle of selection of the best of the best. As such, none of these creative narratives or their embedded poems make the cut in the judgment of the official

editors. On the one hand we have private tenth-century taste, on the other tenth-century official judgments about authenticity.[1]

In composing the unofficial biographies of Li Jilan and Xue Tao, private writers took a page from official historiography and biography, perhaps to make their depictions more realistic and believable. The brief biographies of Li Jilan and Xue Tao, both written in the tenth century, share a number of similarities with official biographies of talented palace women. Consider the official biography of Xu Hui 徐惠 (627-50).[2] Xu was a child prodigy[3] – five months after she was born she uttered her first words. She was reading the *Analects* and *Book of Odes* at the age of three, and composing poems and writing essays before the age of eight. Although her father Xu Xiaode 孝德 was initially apprehensive of where her talent would lead her later in life, Emperor Taizong heard of her precocity and appointed her as one of his palace women, first as a Lady of Talents (*cairen* 才人), later as a Lady of Complete Countenance (*chongrong* 充容), thus ensuring that she did not fall into a disreputable life as a courtesan or woman of religious vows. Her relationship with the emperor was close enough that she was able to criticize his military policies without falling out of favor. After Taizong died, Xu Hui mourned his death to such an extent she fell sick, refused medicine and made her way to an early grave the next year. She was posthumously awarded the title of Worthy Consort (*xianfei* 賢妃) in 650.

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[1] In the twelfth century, as Chapter Three demonstrates, compilers such as Ji Yougong were free to re-combine all the earlier texts (be they official or private compilations, poems or narrative) to create compilations on a far grander scale than *Yunxi youyi* and *Benshi shi*.

[2] Both *Jiu Tangshu* 51.2167 and *Xin Tangshu* 76.3472 contain Xu Hui's biography. A native of Changcheng, Huzhou (modern Zhejiang). *Taiping guangji* 271.2126 briefly describes her as a prodigy (but without specific details) and *Tangshi jishi* 3.25 follows the official biography. For a summary of Xu Hui's biography in English, see *WWTC*, 52.

[3] Herbert Franke first noted that one of the typical constituents of Chinese official biographies is the notion of the child prodigy. The person is a very clever child who can speak or write already at an early age. See his article, "Some remarks on the Interpretation of Chinese Dynastic Histories," *Oriens* 3 (1950): 113-22. See especially page 121. In note 11, Franke adds that this is a striking parallel to the *puer senex* topos in later Latin and Greek literature. See E.R Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, (Bern: A. Francke, 1948), 106-09.

After her death, Xu Hui's biography would have been handled in the following manner, as Denis Twitchett has described the general process of compiling official biographies.[4] Soon after her death, the Historiographical Office would have composed her biography, based on existing documentation, such as an Account of Conduct [perhaps written by a family member or inner palace official] and inserted it into the Veritable Record at the end of the month in which she passed away. Later on, when the standard history of the dynasty was compiled, her biography was extracted from the Veritable Record and placed among the collective biographies of empresses and palace women. These details of Xu Hui's life, as we have them, date to 945 (the first compilation of the standard history of the Tang), but would most certainly have been based on documentation dating back to the mid-seventh century. Although the Veritable Record upon which the biography is based is no longer extant, we may conclude that the official biography stands in close relation to the earlier record given the practice by historiographers of cutting and pasting earlier texts for use in later ones.

As we turn from the practices of official biography to unofficial biography we notice the striking similarity in methods. The literary historian Sheldon Lu has pointed out that not only did fictional biography flourish during the Tang, but also that writers imitated the techniques and devices of the historian in order to make their narratives believable, inducing their readers to read the texts as a faithful rendering of events.[5] Tenth-century writers, in turn, would have been familiar with the traditions of official biography and historiography of the Tang as well as its unofficial prose or narrative. As such, they were well-placed to write the biographies of talented Tang women about whom there were so many tales. With this point in

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[4] See Denis C. Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History Under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 62-83; see also 49-50 for the possible involvement of female historians for documents relating to inner palace affairs.

[5] See Sheldon Hsiao-peng Lu, *From Historicity to Fictionality: The Chinese Poetics of Narrative* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994) 7, 100 and 130.

mind we may read the biographies of Li Jilan and Xue Tao in the light of Xu Hui's official biography, fully aware that the tenth-century writers were capable of conscious efforts to emulate its inherent biographical and historiographical conventions.

The Li Jilan prodigy tale

The unofficial biography of Li Jilan as a prodigy is foremost among the apocryphal developments relevant to her life and work.[6] As far as we can tell from the extant record, the lost book *Yutang xianhua* 玉堂閑話 first relates this text. The literary historian Li Jianguo 李劍國 has described the problems surrounding this lost book in detail.[7] What follows in this paragraph is a summary of his findings. The identity of the compiler has not been determined with certainty. Some of the textual evidence points to Wang Renyu 王仁裕 (880-956), while other sources refer to Fan Zhi 范質(d. 964 at the age of 54 full years).[8] A number of catalogues either refer to *Yutang xianhua* as the work of Wang Renyu or make no mention of the compiler.[9] In contrast to these catalogues, there are at least two excerpts of *Yutang xianhua* which refer to Fan Zhi as the compiler.[10] The book was originally ten chapters long. Although the work was lost it can be partially reconstituted from fragments found in *Taiping*

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[6] This chapter is dedicated to the textual evidence of the reputation of Tang women, but there were likely to be non-textual elements of Li Jilan's reputation, for example, a tenth-century portrait of her by Zhou Wenju 周文矩. For a study of this lost portrait, see my 'Note on a Portrait of Li Jilan (d. 784),' *T'ang Studies* 20-21 (2002-03): 153-61.

[7] See Li Jianguo 李劍國, *Tang-Wudai zhiguai chuanqi xulu* 唐五代志怪傳奇敘錄 2 vols. (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1993), 1092-1101.

[8] For Fan Zhi's official biography, see *Songshi* 249.8793. Fan Zhi's *zi* was Wensu 文素, and he was a native of Daming 大名.

[9] *Chongwen zongmu* 4.24b (*SKQS* ed.) lists the work under *chuanqi* 傳奇. No critical notice survives. The catallogue simply records the work as one in 10 *juan*, with no mention of author's name; *Tongzhi* 65.23a (*SKQS* ed.) lists the work under *zashi* 雜史, listing Wang Renyu as author of a work in 10 *juan*; *Suichutang shumu* lists the work under *xiaoshuo* 小說, with no reference to author or number of chapters). See *Shuofu* 28.30a; *Song shi* 206.5223 lists the work under *xiaoshuo*, in three chapters only (probably a fragment), yet does list Wang Renyu as author; Note that *Leishuo mulu* 7b and 54.24a (1626 ed.) is silent on the authorship of the work, the modern editors (1970) attribute authorship to Wang Renyu.

[10] Li Yuangang 李元綱, *Houdelu* 厚德錄 lists Fan Zhi as the compiler of *Yutang xianhua*, see *Shuofu* 94.18a,b; see also Wu Zeng 吳曾(d. after 1170), *Neng gai zhai manlu* 能改齋漫錄 14.428 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1960) which also lists Fan Zhi as the compiler. Wu's work was completed sometime between 1154 and 1157.

guangji, *Leishuo*, *Ganzhu ji*, etc. There have been a number of attempts to reconstruct the *Yutang xianhua* (none of them comprehensive until Li Jianguo began his study of Tang and Five Dynasties narrative).[11]

Regardless of who actually compiled the work, both Wang Renyu and Fan Zhi were well situated chronologically to have compiled the work before its inclusion in *Taiping guangji*. At this point we turn our attention to the biography itself:

> As a girl, Li Jilan was famous for her [literary] talent. [Her talent] first [manifested itself] when she was five or six *sui* old, her father carried her into the courtyard, where she composed a poem about roses, the last couplet of which said, 'As time goes by, without a sturdy frame to rely on, emotions all turn helter-skelter.' Her father angrily said, 'This girl will be a prolific writer in the future, but she will be a fallen woman.' She turned out just as he predicted.[12]

Although the prediction of her future as a fallen woman raises the interesting question of whether that is a reference to her life as a courtesan and Daoist priest, or to her execution for treason, the textual record does not provide any other evidence that would aid in answering such a question. As Anne Behnke Kinney has pointed out in her study of precocious children in early medieval Chinese texts, these biographies were written to show that peoples' virtues or faults manifested themselves at an early age. [13] As is the child, so is the man, or woman in this case. In this instance we do not know if the tenth-century compiler was aware of just how immoral Jilan was considered to be.

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[11] There is the *Yutang xianhua yiwen* 佚文, a one *juan* reconstruction by Wang Renjun 王仁俊. See *Jingji yiwen* 經籍佚文 (*XXSKQS* ed., vol. 1211, p. 807), which contains three items taken from *Taiping guangji*, none of which concern Li Jilan. See also Wu Zengqi's 吳曾祺, *Jiu xiao shuo* 舊小說 (Shanghai:Shangwu yinshuguan, 1957), but its excerpts of *Yutang xianhua* do not include the Li Jilan item. The *Yanyibian* 豔異編 does include the story of Li Jilan as a prodigy as well as details from Gao Zhongwu's description in *Zhongxing jianqi ji*. See Wang Shizhen 王世貞, *Yanyibian* 10.16a (*XXSKQS* ed.).

[12] See *Taiping guangji* 273.2150, which has her name listed as Li Xiulan 李秀蘭. I have corrected it here to read Li Jilan.

[13] See Anne Behnke Kinney, 'The Theme of the Precocious Child in Early Chinese Literature,' *T'oung Pao* 81.1-3 (1995): 1-24. See esp. pp. 22-23.

The only reason why we now have the roses fragment as part of Li Jilan's corpus is due to the inclusion of material from *Yutang xianhua* in *Taiping guangji*.[14] At a later date the compilers of the *Leishuo*, *Tangshi jishi*[15] and finally *Quan Tangshi* also excerpted the biography. If the compilers of *Taiping guangji* and *Leishuo* had not excerpted the *Yutang xianhua* before it was lost, we might not have this story today. Even if the fragment does not tell us truly anything about a Tang woman poet, it tells us a lot about the male literati of tenth-century China.

The Xue Tao prodigy tale

The story of Xue Tao as a prodigy might also date back to the late tenth century. Pan Ruochong 潘若沖 (active 981-82)[16] compiled the work *Junge yatan* 郡閣雅談, which included people and events from the eighth to late tenth centuries. Pan was a Grand Master Admonisher (in the Right Secretariat of the Heir Apparent)[17] and at other points in his official career he governed Yangzhou and Guilin. The *Junge yatan* no longer exists as a collection, but it is possible to recover some of the entries excerpted in extant works.[18] The tragedy for this book would seem to be that it appeared too late to be excerpted in the *Taiping guangji*, but was lost too early to be excerpted in the *Shuofu*.[19]

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[14] See *Taiping guangji* 273.2150. The Li Jilan citation from the *Yutang xianhua* is also preserved in *Leishuo* 54.27b and *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 5839.11b-12a (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1960-84). And finally, *Quan Tangshi* 805.9060.

[15] See *Tangshi jishi* 78.1123. Ji Yougong does not explicitly cite *Yutang xianhua* as a source. Ji Yougong may have obtained the item from the *Leishuo*. Chapter Three discusses the possible connection between *Leishuo* and *Tangshi jishi* in more detail.

[16] For Pan Ruochong's biographical details, see Wu Tingxie 吳廷燮, *BeiSong jingfu nianbiao* 北宋經撫年表 4.307 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1984) based on Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (917-992), 'Yang fu xinjian Chongdao gongbei ming' 楊府新建崇道宮碑銘, in *Xu gong wenji* 徐公文集 26.2a (*Sibu congkan* ed.); *Songshi jishi* 4.15b (*SKQS* ed.).

[17] For details of this bureaucratic post, see *Songshi* 168.3990 and 169.4047.

[18] In addition to the biography of Xue Tao, there are other quotations from the work. For example, Ji Yougong cites *Junge yatan* only once, see *Tangshi jishi* 52.790 for an entry on the poet Xu Ning 徐凝 which is probably an example of secondary quotation; see also *Shihua zonggui* 16.1a,b (Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1973). Wang Shizhen 王士禎 and Zheng Fangkun 鄭方坤 compiled the *Wudai shihua* 五代詩話 2.59 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1989) which quotes the *Junge yatan* (probably by way of secondary quotation). The anecdote cited here concerns Sikong Tu 司空圖 and Zheng Gu 鄭谷.

[19] Zeng Zao did not excerpt it for *Leishuo*, so perhaps he did not have access to a copy.

Private book collectors throughout the Song dynasty held the *Junge yatan* in their collections. Chao Gongwu referred to the work as *Junge yayan* 郡閣雅言, only consisting one *juan* (with a total of 56 entries).[20] You Mao owned a copy.[21] Chen Zhensun referred to it as a work in two *juan*.[22] For Ming collectors the situation was rather different – to my knowledge, no Ming bibliophiles mentioned owning a copy of the book.[23] Oddly enough, all the extant texts which cite *Junge yatan* as the source for the biography of Xue Tao are of relatively recent vintage.[24] Xue Tao's biography now follows:

> Tao's style name was Hongdu 洪度, she was originally from a good family in Chang'an. Her father Zheng 鄭[25] moved [the family] to Shu [Sichuan] because he received an official appointment there. At the age of eight or nine *sui* she was conversant with the rules of prosody. One day her father, while sitting in a pavilion pointed to a well-side paulownia tree and said, 'A single old paulownia in the yard: its soaring trunk goes right into the clouds.' He ordered Tao to continue the poem, she responded immediately with 'Its branches welcome birds from north and south: leaves bid farewell to winds that come and go.'[26] Her father was sad for a long time thereafter. When her father died, her widowed-mother remained in Shu [which was] under the governance of Wei Gao, who summoned her [Tao] to serve wine and compose poems. She was entered in the register of entertainers. In her later years, Tao resided in seclusion at Wanhua 浣花

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[20] *Junzhai dushuzhi jiaozheng* 13.582. Chao Gongwu referred to the author as Pan Ruotong 潘若同.
[21] See You Mao, *Suichutang shumu*, in *Shuofu* 28.30a. *Junge yayan* is listed just below *Yutang xianhua*).
[22] *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 11.327. See also *Songshi* 206.5230 which follows the *Zhizhai shulu jieti* description of the book as consisting of two chapters.
[23] See Feng Huimin 馮惠民 and Li Wanjian 李萬健, eds., *Mingdai shumu tiba congkan* 明代書目題跋叢刊 2 vols. (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1994).
[24] See Chen Yaowen 陳耀文, *Tianzhong ji* 天中記 20.60a (Taibei: Wenyuan shuju, 1964). Reprint of 1595 ed.; and *Yuding yuanjian leihan* 御定淵鑒類函 248.2a,b (*SKQS* ed.). It is not known whether Chen Yaowen (or the compilers of *Yuding yuanjian leihan*) obtained a copy of *Junge yatan*, or whether they made use of secondary quotation. At times the compilers of *Yuanjian leihan* took a Ming encyclopedia by Yu Anqi 俞安期 as a base text, but not on this occasion. See *Tang leihan* 唐類函, *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* ed. (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1995-97). Reprint of the 1603 ed., which was revised in 1618.
[25] In Xue Tao's biography in *Xue Tao Li Ye shiji* (*SKQS* vol. 1332, p. 342) the name of the father is listed as Yun 鄖.
[26] The translation of the father's opening couplet and Xue Tao's response is from Jeanne Larsen, trans. *Brocade River Poems*, xiii.

> stream. She donned the cap and garb of a female Daoist. There are five hundred of her poems [extant].[27]

We learn a number of points from this biography that were not included in ninth-century accounts. Ninth-century accounts as we know them never mention the name of her father, the extent of her corpus, her dedication to Daoism late in life, etc. Unlike ninth century accounts, the biography does not give examples of other poems she wrote. Although it points to her corpus as consisting of five hundred poems, it does not employ the term *ji* 'collected works,' much less a title for such a collection.

The earliest extant recensions of this biography appear in Zhang Yuan 章淵 (twelfth c.),[28] *Gaojian zhuibi* 稿簡贅筆 ,[29] a work in five *juan*. If *Junge yatan* served as his source text Zhang Yuan made no mention of it. Scholars from the fifteenth century to the present have often drawn on Zhang Yuan's text (as it appears in *Shuofu*), unaware of the tenth-century work *Junge yatan*. Xu Boling, for example, explicitly draws on Zhang Yuan's work,[30] and does not know about, or does not have access to a copy of *Junge yatan*.

Traditional scholarship, as represented by the compilers of *Quan Tangshi*, counted these prodigy couplets to Li Jilan's and Xue Tao's credit. More recently, modern scholars have disagreed as to whether to accept these prodigy poems. For example, Zhang Pengzhou counts the paulownia poem as one of Xue Tao's compositions.[31] It is the first poem in his work *Xue Tao shi jian* because he arranges the poems chronologically in accordance with the

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[27] See *Junge yatan*, as cited in Chen Yaowen, *Tianzhong ji* 天中記 20.60a; *Yuding yuanjian leihan* (1701) 御定淵鑒類函 248.2a,b (*SKQS* ed.). This last work cites *Junguo* 郡國 (sic) *yatan* 雅談.

[28] Zhang Yuan, *zi* Boshen 伯深, *zihao* Chengzhizi 懲窒子. A native of Pucheng 浦城, but resident of Changxing 長興. He not pass the official examinations, but took up an official career through *yin* privilege. Grandson of Zhang Yuan 援, a 元祐 Yuanyou 3 (1088) *jinshi*. Wu Xie 吳燮, *Hongzhi Quzhou fu zhi* 弘治衢州府志 8.26b (1503) in *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan xubian*, vol. 31, p. 298; (Ming) Xu Xianzhong 徐獻忠, *Wuxing zhangguji* 吳興掌故集 2.13a and 4.8a, *Wuxing congshu* 吳興叢書 vol. 81 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1992). Reprint of Ming print ed. held in Zhejiang tushuguan. See also *Songshi jishi* 48.18b (SKQS ed.).

[29] See *Shuofu* 44.10a (Zhang Yuan's preface is undated). Or see *Shuofu* 24A.42a,b (SKQS ed., vol. 877, p. 369)).

[30] See *Xunjingjuan* 11.11b – 12a (*SKQS* ed.).

[31] See Zhang Pengzhou, *Xue Tao shi jian*, 1. He draws on Zhang Yuan's collection for the biography.

life of the poet. Chen Wenhua, in contrast, does not count either of the prodigy poems as trustworthy, and so does not include them in the corpora for Li Jilan or Xue Tao.[32]

So, how should we today read these prodigy tales? We might read the poems about Tang women prodigies as the reflections or meditations by tenth-century men about Tang women. This approach puts emphasis on the men, that is, these prodigy biographies say more about the men who wrote them than they do about the women as the subjects of these biographies. And these are the same type of men who also dreamt up the tale of Xue Tao's ghost.

These meditations or reflections on Tang woman all too easily turned to the fantastic or supernatural. Case in point, the tale of Xue Tao's ghost appearing to the young scholar. Ironically, a narrative preserved in *Taiping guangji*[33] about Xue Tao appearing as a ghost story to a young man Yang Yunzhong 楊蘊中 while in jail apparently enjoyed greater circulation and currency at the time than the biography of Xue Tao, as evidenced by the fact Ji Yougong excerpted the ghost story, but not the biography in his own work. Traditional scholarship even counted the poem Xue Tao related to Yang as one of her poems. Modern scholars either exclude the ghost poem from Xue Tao's corpus or say there is still some chance that the poem spoken by Xue Tao's ghost really was her work, albeit incorporated into a story at a later date.[34] This tale was excerpted in *Taiping guangji*,[35] whereas Pan Ruochong's biography of Xue Tao was presumably written too late for inclusion in the great

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[32] See Chen Wenhua, Foreword, *Tang nüshiren ji sanzhong*, 8.

[33] The *Taiping guangji* (*SKQS* ed.) lists a source text for the ghost story, the *Youyiji* 幽異記. Nothing else is known about this source text.

[34] See Larsen, *Brocade River Poems*, xxi.

[35] See *Taiping guangji* 354.2804. In the twelfth century, Ji Yougong had access to the extraordinary tale of the scholar Yang Yunzhong's poetic encounter with Xue Tao's ghost, but he does not seem to have had access to Xue Tao's biography. See *Tangshi jishi* 79.1133.

compilations of the late tenth century (where *Yutang xianhua* appeared just in time to be excerpted in *Taiping guangji*.[36]

The crucial difference between Xu Hui and the two women poets would seem to be the skills they had mastered as children. For Xu Hui (and her predecessors), the skill mastered was reading canonical texts. For Li Jilan and Xue Tao, the skill mastered was tonal prosody or poetry composition, a skill which a good wife and caring mother had no need of.[37] The lesson to be learned would appear to be that the reader becomes what he or she reads. More work needs to be done to canvas the treatment of women prodigies in both historical and literary sources, for there are certainly more extant materials than can be adequately covered here.[38]

Where private writers may not have distinguished between the natural and the supernatural, imperial editors certainly did, at least with respect to poetry and official prose. Now we turn to the compilation of the *Wenyuan yinghua* as the great imperial effort to define a canon of Tang poetry.

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[36] It would be tempting to infer that the biographer of Xue Tao emulated the Li Jilan prodigy story but no evidence linking the two has surfaced.

[37] Other stories of prodigies are silent as to the name and fate of the child. During the Ruyi 如意 reign period (692) there was a girl seven *sui* old who was able to compose poems. Empress Wu tested her, and for every rhyme word set she was able to reply successfully. When her older brother was due to say goodbye before departing on an official mission, the empress ordered the girl to compose a farewell poem to him, accordingly she composed this: 'Clouds begin to rise over this road where we part; at this farewell pavilion leaves are sparse. I resent the fact humans are not like geese; we do not fly together as a flock.' For an analogue of this text see *Ganzhu ji* 紺珠集, chapter 5.25b (*SKQS* ed.). See also *Leishuo* 27.12a (citing *Tang-Song yishi* 唐宋遺史); and *Tangshi jishi* 78.1124.

[38] See for example, the biography of Xuanzong's 玄宗 consort Jiang Caiping 江采蘋 (nicknamed the Plum Consort Mei fei 梅妃), who at the age on nine *sui* recited from memory two of the 'Odes of the South,' (Zhou nan 周南 and Zhao nan 召南) whereupon she declared to her father her intention of becoming a poet. The Tang scholar and official Cao Ye 曹鄴 (*jinshi* sometime during 847-860) wrote her biography 'Meifei zhuan' 梅妃傳 in 848, the text of which is preserved in *Shuofu* 38.3b-6b. The poems attributed to her all derive from this biography and are included in *Quan Tangshi* 5.64. Cao Ye's narrative serves as another example in support of the argument that the representation of historical figure draw upon both historical and narrative traditions; unofficial writings post-An Lushan are the flights of fancy of late eighth to tenth century males, and ultimately their fantasies take on flesh as Tang women poets.

The compilation of *Wenyuan yinghua*[39]

Song Taizong commissioned the *Wenyuan yinghua* as a sequel to the *Wenxuan* in 982. Over twenty editors worked on the collection in various roles until the completed work was presented to the throne in 987. The collection starts chronologically from the point where the *Wenxuan* leaves off in the early sixth century and ends at the early tenth century. It contains 38 categories of poetry and prose.[40] The category of *shi* poetry is further subdivided into 150 poetic themes and arranged chronologically by author. In practical terms, ninety percent of the content comes from Tang dynasty writers. Although it was not explicitly planned as a Tang general collection, it can be read that way for the purpose of studying textual transmission.[41] Although *Wenyuan yinghua* suffered, and still suffers, from many textual problems (mistaken characters by printers and woodblock carvers, to the point where it needed a lot of revision from the moment the work was completed),[42] it has its strengths in terms of quality of sources and attributions of poems to poets. The founder of the Song dynasty went to great lengths to reconstitute the imperial library, as such the editors of the

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[39] For a critical study of *Wenyuan yinghua* as a whole see, Guo Bogong 郭伯恭, *Song si dashu kao* 宋四大書考 (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1967), 73-102. *Tang wencui* will not be a subject of study in this chapter as it very rarely selected any pieces by women. Only Li Jilan's song sequence of the song of the Three Gorges and a prose piece (a memorial to the emperor) by Xu Hui were selected for inclusion.

[40] For a description of *Wenyuan yinghua*, the brevity of which serves as a sign that the collection has received little scholarly attention in the past century, see *Indiana Companion*, vol. 1, 897 and *Indiana Companion*, vol. 2, 473. For a study of the editorial work of the *Wenyuan yinghua*, see Hanabusa Hideki 花房英樹, 'Bun'en eika no hensan' 文苑英華之編纂, *Tōhō gakuhō* 東方學報 19 (Nov. 1950): 116-135; see also Guo Bogong 郭伯恭, *Song si dashu kao* 宋四大書考 (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1967). *A Sung Bibliography*, 442-43 also provides a brief description. *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 186.4135. Note Paul Kroll counts 38 generic categories, and Guo Bogong counts 37.

[41] See *Wenyuan yinghua* (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1966). This reprint is based upon the 140 extant chapters from the Song print edition of 1204 (201-210, 231-240, 251-260, 291-300, 601-700). For the remainder of the work, the edition of 1567 is used. For a more detailed description of the collection, to include a listing of taboo characters, see *Song si dashu kao*, 96. Note that chapters 201-210, 231-240, and 251-260 all consist of *shi*.

[42] Song Zhenzong (r. 998-1023) ordered revisions to the work in 1007 and 1009. Two twelfth-century editors Zhou Bida 周必大 (1126-1204) and Peng Shuxia 彭叔夏(fl. 1192) revised the work yet again, in preparation for the edition of 1204. See Peng Shuxia's work, *Wenyuan yinghua bianzheng* in 10 chapters (included in the Beijing 1966 ed.). This did not root out all the errors. Fu Zengxiang, in his examination of chapters 251-260 of the Song print edition, counted 452 characters in need of revision. See Fu Zengxiang, *Cangyuan qunshu tiji, di yi ji* 藏園群書題記，第一集 (Tianjin: Dagong bao, 1933), 7.

four great books of the Song had access to works which were lost soon after in the great fire in the imperial library in 1015.[43]

One of the strengths of the collection derives from the fact that only one editorial hand was in charge of the selection of poems. Although the committee of editors consisted of over twenty officials, and was constantly in a state of flux due to changing appointments,[44] one official stands out as the primary editor of the section on *shi* poetry -Yang Huizhi 楊徽之 (921-1000).[45] Yang was famous in his own right as a poet - the founder of the Song dynasty once commissioned him to write a sequence of poems. His poetic reputation led to his appointment as an editor of *Wenyuan yinghua*, specifically in charge of editing the section on poems. In the course of his editorial work, he would have had access to a reconstituted imperial library, and could have drawn the poems first hand from the extant general collections of poetry and separate collected literary works of individual authors. In the thousand-chapter work 180 chapters are devoted to *shi*, with another twenty for song sequences (*ge xing* 歌行). Those 180 chapters hold 10,635 poems[46] – a substantial number (but less than a quarter of what would eventually be counted in *Quan Tangshi*). Overall the collection includes forty poems and song sequences by seventeen Tang women.[47] The range of poems chosen for inclusion are spread among seventeen sub-topics: poems composed to imperial command; various Music Bureau poems with the common titles 'Bronze Sparrow

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[43] For a brief account of the reconstitution of the imperial library in the late tenth century, see Glen Dudbridge, *The Lost Books of Medieval China*, 1-26.

[44] Only two editors were involved in the project from start to finish – Song Bo 宋白 and Yang Huizhi. See Guo Bogong, *Song si dashu kao*, 85; and Zhang Dihua 張滌華, *Gudai shi wen zongji xuanjie* 古代詩文總集選介 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), 35.

[45] For Yang Huizhi's official biography see *Songshi* 298.9866. For his appointment as an editor for the *Wenyuan yinghua*, specifically in charge of editing the section on poems, see p. 9867. See also the account of his official career in *Wuyi xinji* 武夷新集 11.17a ff. (*SKQS* ed.). See esp. 11.20b for his appointment as poetry editor.

[46] The total with song sequences included comes to 11,002.

[47] These figures do not include three women from the Liang dynasty who also have poems included in the collection. See appendix to this chapter for the names and locations of the poets and poems.

Terrace,'[48] 'Lady Ban's Resentment,' 'Wang Zhaojun's Resentment,' 'Reminiscences of the Past,' 'The Palace of Everlasting Trust,' 'Moon over the Frontier Passes,'[49] and 'Missing You;' poems given to someone; sending off poems; poems about living at home; poems about visiting temples; poems for social gatherings like tea parties; poems about flowers, trees, birds or beasts; and song sequences.

While the numbers of female poets (and poems per poet) are quite low, few of the poems included in *Wenyuan yinghua* have ever suffered from contested attributions.[50] Thus when we read this collection for evidence of women's poetic production during the Tang, we see the poems and poets which Yang Huizhi considered to be authentic, on a firm textual basis. What is more striking is that Yang never chose any poems (attributed to women) which derive from late Tang narrative. He never selected poems by women from the unofficial writings or narratives of the Tang such as Cui Yingying, Xue Yuan, among others, as a poet.

There are multiple errors within the poetry chapters of *Wenyuan yinghua*. It is difficult to ascertain whether Yang Huizhi was responsible for them, or whether they can all be explained by printer's errors. For example, the two different sets of characters for Xue Tao 薛濤 and 薛陶.[51] Shangguan Zhaorong is listed as such in some places, but as Zhaorong née

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[48] Bronze Sparrow Terrace overlooks Wei Wudi's 魏武帝 grave. After his death, he left orders to have his concubines and female entertainers perform on the terrace every month at the full moon in the direction of his tomb. Guo Maoqian cites the lost work *Yedu gushi* 鄴都故事 in his explanation of Bronze Sparrow Terrace. See *Yuefu shiji* 31.1a.

[49] A type of Han dynasty Music Bureau genre, a typical tune title which usually describes the loneliness of being on military campaign for extended periods at the borders of the realm.

[50] The exception to this observation concerns the poems of Shangguan Zhaorong. Some of the poems she composed to imperial command were on social occasions in which many other people were present. They composed poems with the same titles and similar content. For example, the sequence of poems she composed on the ninth day of the ninth month, 'Jiuyue jiuri shang xing Ci'en si deng fu tu qunchen shang juhua shoujiu' 九月九日上幸慈恩寺登浮圖群臣上菊花壽酒 has a competing attribution. See *Wenyuan yinghua* 178.2a for the remark 'other sources attribute this poem to the courtier Cui Shi 崔湜.' Yang Huizhi may have had access to both the separate collected works of Shangguan Zhaorong and Cui Shi, which held copies of the same occasional poem. Tong Peiji discusses this point in *Quan Tangshi chongchu wushou kao*, 6. Tong concludes there is currently no way to judge whether the contested poems are Shangguan's or Cui's.

[51] He, or perhaps the printer, is making the type of mistake made in *Youxuan ji*, which uses the alternate form of Xue Tao for the poem "Dog Separated from its Master,' see *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 680. But in *Wenyuan yinghua*, the poem 'Willow Floss' is also attributed to the alternate form of Xue Tao. Compare

Shangguan in others.[52] On one occasion Xu Hui is listed by a title she held while she was alive (*chongrong*), on another she is referred to by her posthumous title (*xianfei*).[53] Zhang *furen* is listed as such once, then twice as Ji Zhongfu's wife, née Zhang.[54] Ultimately, this level of carelessness does not present an insurmountable barrier, as all three poems are already to be found in *Youxuan ji* and *Caidiao ji* attributed to Zhang *furen*. The same can be said for the niggling errors for the other women. Although they betray great inconsistency, they do not prevent the modern reader from correctly identifying the poet or tracking the attribution of her poems.

Although the tenth-century compilers took great care to classify the source texts correctly and only place the proper genres in the proper book, later readers could pick and choose anything from among the four books which took their fancy. For example, the compilers of *Taiping guangji* selected the precocious tale about Li Jilan where it would find no credence in a work such as *Wenyuan yinghua*. Prior to their reprinting in 1567, these great books of the Song suffered from neglect – it would have been difficult for scholars to get a hold of copies even had they wanted to consult them. But the Ming reprinting ensured the availability of the texts for such great imperial projects as *Quan Tangshi* and *Quan Tangwen* (completed in the early eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, respectively), as well as for Ming literati interested in consulting the works as encyclopedias.

What are the implications for a corpus of Tang women poets? Although we cannot rely on these observations about the *Wenyuan yinghua* in order to develop any arguments about the authenticity of the absent poems, we may draw one general conclusion. The corpus

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Wenyuan yinghua 321.13b and 325.6b with 323.12a. This mistake is not at all uncommon. See for example Li Kuangyi 李匡乂, *Zixiaji* 資暇集 C.5b, *Gushi wenfang xiaoshuo* vol. 1 顧氏文房小說 (Taibei: Xinxing shuju, 1960), 117. Reprint of Ming print ed. Li, in describing Xue Tao paper, refers to the wrong character for Tao repeatedly.

[52] Compare *Wenyuan yinghua* 176.8a with 169.7b.

[53] Compare *Wenyuan yinghua* 27.1b (Xu Hui's one extant *fu*) with 170.9a. Here one may explain away the error given that one editor was in charge of *fu* while another was responsible for *shi*.

[54] Compare *Wenyuan yinghua* 205.6a with 323.10a and 331.2a.

of Tang women poets as defined by tenth-century imperial compilers is vastly smaller than that defined by the eighteenth-century imperial compilers of *Quan Tangshi*. We cannot argue that the poems left out of *Wenyuan yinghua* are spurious, but if one is actively trying to analyze the voice of Tang women, one could do a lot worse than to select only the poems selected for inclusion therein. Having made a conservative selection, one's choices are a lot less likely to be exposed later as Ming forgeries! None of the poems Yang Huizhi selected have ever come under suspicion as being spurious. So if Yang Huizhi determined that a particular poem is by a woman (and if there is no contradictory attribution) we may accept that attribution to a Tang woman as her legitimate work.

The question of separate collected works

Tang documents do not contain references to commoner women (the ones listed in the general collections from Chapter One) as having separate collected works to their credit. What we do find in official bibliographies of Tang tends to be a mention of the separate collected works of Wu Zetian and Shangguan Zhaorong (women of the imperial family, consorts or palace women). We have just seen noted above that an early text of Xue Tao's biography credits her with 500 extant poems, and although no numbers are mention for Li Jilan, her father predicted her literary production would be prolific. Yet it is during the late tenth and early eleventh century that the textual record first yields signs of a separate collected works for any of these women.

Li Jilan's collection is relatively well documented throughout the Song dynasty. Both imperial collections and private collectors held copies of her poetry collection,[55] but none of these catalogues indicate the identity of the compiler. She was executed, so she was unlikely

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[55] See *Chongwen zongmu* 12.5b (*SKQS* ed.). No critical notice survives; Zheng Qiao 鄭樵, *Tongzhi* 通志 70.824 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1987) lists a Li Jilan collection in one *juan* and uses the alternate name Li Yu 裕; Chen Zhensun held a copy of *Li Jilan ji* in one *juan*. See *Zhizhai shulu jieti*, 19.585; You Mao, *Suichutang shumu*, did not hold any collections of Li Jilan, Xue Tao or Yu Xuanji.

to have had the opportunity to organize her manuscripts. The last collector to own a copy of her collection was Qian Qianyi.[56] As is well-known, his book collection suffered great losses in a fire in 1650. No Li Jilan collection has re-surfaced after that time.

The earliest extant edition of Xue Tao's collected works was compiled too late (during the Ming dynasty) to be considered in depth here, but it deserves future attention to the question of how it was compiled.[57] The collection compiled by Hong Mai, *Wanshou Tangren jueju* is rife with errors,[58] yet it is the earliest extant work to preserve a significant number of Xue's poems. The Ming compiler of her collected works may have consulted it in an effort to recover all of the poems attributed to her.[59] The compilers of the drafts for *Quan Tangshi* consulted the Ming edition of her collected works, then collated them against *Wanshou Tangren jueju*.[60] According to their comments in the final edition, the poem 'Sending Old Poems to Yuan Weizhi' 寄舊詩與元微之[61] is not included in the Ming print edition of her collection.[62] That may have inspired them to strike out the poem from the draft volume, because that is certainly what they did.[63] The earliest source for this poem is Wei

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[56] See Qian Qianyi, *Jiangyunlou shumu* 絳雲樓書目 unpaginated (*XXSKQS* vol. 920, p. 411). Reprint of 1820 ed. Her collection is appended to that of Shen Yazhi 沈亞之. The fire at Jiangyun lou is documented in Chapter Five.

[57] There were editions of Xue Tao's collection circulating during the Song dynasty. See Chao Gongwu, *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng* 18.952-53, which lists Xue Hongdu's poems in one *juan*. Yuan editions of Chao's catalogue list the title as Xue Tao, *Jinjiang ji* 薛濤錦江集 in five *juan*. Chen Zhensun held a *Xue Tao shi ji* in one *juan*, see *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 19.584. You Mao, *Suichutang shumu* does not list the collection.

[58] Modern scholar Mo Lifeng 莫礪鋒 argues that on occasion Hong Mai attributed poems written by Song poets to Tang figures. Mo identifies poems by the twelfth-century figure Cai Xiang 蔡襄 which Hong Mai attributed to the Tang poet Zhang Xu 張旭. These errors were transmitted from *Wanshou Tangren jueju* to *Tangshi sanbaishou*. See his article, '*Tangshi sanbaishou* zhong you Songshi ma?' 《唐詩三百首》中有宋詩嗎, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 (2001.5): 42-50.

[59] This could not have been an easy task. Zhou Fujun 周復俊 (1496-1574), who compiled an encyclopedia dedicated to Shu literature, noted how rarely transmitted Xue Tao's poems were by his time. See *Quan Shu yiwenzhi* 全蜀藝文志 20.31a,b (*SKQS* ed.)

[60] See *Quan Tangshi gaoben* vol. 71, 83-110.

[61] For a translation of this poem, see Larsen, *Brocade River Poems*, 88.

[62] *Quan Tangshi gaoben* vol. 71, 83-110.

[63] Ibid, 88.

Hu's *Caidiao ji*[64] which attributes the poem to Yuan Zhen 元稹. Ji Yougong may have been the first to attribute the poem to Xue Tao, but he made no comments about the reasons for his attribution.[65] Modern scholars are divided about the poem's attribution. Scholars specializing in Xue Tao usually attribute the poem to her based on the voice within the poem.[66] Others who study Tang poetry more broadly value the evidence of the early collections and attributions more highly.[67] This dispute is likely to remain open until other relevant texts come to light. Thus far, no new evidence has surfaced from any of the references to Xue Tao held in the electronic database of *Siku quanshu*.

For Yu Xuanji's collection, the earliest known extant edition was printed some time during the Southern Song.[68] The publisher was the Chen 陳 family of Muqin 睦親, located in

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[64] See *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 962.

[65] See *Tangshi jishi* 79.1132-33. If Ji consulted *Caidiao ji* he did not concur with its attribution of the poem to Yuan Zhen. Ji did not always re-copy every poem or poet in *Caidiao ji*. For example, Ji did not recopy the second poem 'Ji yuan 寄遠' by Chang Hao in *Caidiao ji* 10 (*Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 962). In addition, Yao Yuehua is listed in *Caidiao ji*, but Ji did not include her in *Tangshi jishi*. Elsewhere Ji Yougong attributes the 'Ten Separations' sequence to Secretary Xue, not to Xue Tao, so it is certainly not the case that Ji is biased in her favor. See *Tangshi jishi* 49.747. Zhang Pengzhou claims that *Yuan shi Changqing ji* 元氏長慶集 (compiled by Bo Juyi in the 820s) is the earliest appearance of the poem attributed to Yuan Zhen, but I have not been able to replicate his finding. See *Yuan shi Changqing ji* (Beijing: Wenxue guji kanxingshe, 1956). See also Zhang Pengzhou, *Xue Tao shi jian*, 39.

[66] See Zhang Pengzhou, *Xue Tao shi jian*, 39, here he estimates the poem was composed circa 821; Larsen, *Brocade River Poems*, 106-07.

[67] Modern scholars Tong Peiji 佟培基 and Wu Qiming 吳企明 concur that 'Sending my old poems to Yuan Weizhi'寄舊詩與元微之, is a mistaken attribution to Xue Tao which occurs for the first time in *Tangshi jishi*. They conclude that Wei Hu's attribution of the poem 'Ji jiu shi yu Xue Tao yin cheng changju' 寄舊詩與薛濤因成長句 to Yuan Zhen in *Caidiao ji* 5 (*Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 816) is the earliest and most secure. See Tong Peiji, *Quan Tangshi chongchu wushou kao* 全唐詩重出誤收考 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), 325; and Wu Qiming, *Tangyin zhiyi lu* 唐音質疑錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), 19. Late imperial compilers, in turn, were unable to resolve the Yuan Zhen-Xue Tao attribution. The compilers of *Quan Tangshi gaoben* employed a Ming edition of Xue Tao's works (Cao shi shu cang jiao lu cang ben 曹氏書倉校錄藏本), but they deleted the poem 'Sending my old poems to Yuan Weizhi', just as they deleted 'Si you zan' 四友贊 and a duplicate of 'Chou ren yu hou wan zhu' 酬人雨後翫竹. See *Quan Tangshi gaoben* 71.88 and p. 108. In the finished edition of *Quan Tangshi*, however, it appears in both 422.4641 (under Yuan Zhen) and 803.9046 (under Xue Tao). Zhou Fujun, in turn, attributed the poem to Yuan Zhen. See *Quan Shu yiwenzhi* 全蜀藝文志 20.17a (*SKQS* ed.).

[68] This edition is available in a reprint. See *Tang nülang Yu Xuanji shi* 唐女郎魚玄機詩 (*XXSKQS* ed.) See the studies by Dieter Kuhn, *Yü Hsüan-chi: Die Biographie der T'ang-Dichterin, Kurtisane und Taoistischen Nonne* (Heidelberg, 1985) copy #36 held in the national library of Germany, Berlin; and Li Zhizhong 李致忠, "Yu Xuanji ji qi shiji," 魚玄機及其詩集 *Beijing tushuguan guankan* 北京圖書館館刊 28 (1999.2): 68-70. Among the Song private book collectors, Chen Zhensun owned *Yu Xuanji ji* in one *juan*. See *Zhizhai shulu jieti*, 19.585.

Lin'an 臨安 (present day Hangzhou 杭州). This edition has no preface or colophon, nor any listing of an editor or collator. It is as if the publisher is deliberately trying to give the impression that the work was assembled by Yu Xuanji's hand and then transmitted reliably down to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Compare Huangfu Mei's 皇甫枚 comments circa 910 about Yu Xuanji's poetic works with those made by Sun Guangxian (? – 968). For Huangfu Mei there is no question of an extant collection, just five fragments of poems which were her very best lines.[69] Even though he spoke of her fine couplets circulating among the literati of Chang'an, Huangfu would not, or could not, recite a full poem. Sun though deliberately pointed out there was a collection of Yu Xuanji's poems circulating in the tenth century.[70]

Song private book collectors too possessed copies of a Yu Xuanji collection. What we do not know is whether the tenth century collection (most likely in manuscript form) had any relationship with the eleventh and twelfth print editions. We do know, however, that the compilers of the earliest extant print edition of Yu Xuanji's collected works did not include the fragments recorded by Huangfu, nor one of her poems recorded in *Wenyuan yinghua*. The poem 'Breaking off a willow branch' (Zhe yangliu 折楊柳)[71] is included in *Wenyuan yinghua* but does not appear in the Southern Song print edition Yu Xuanji's separate collected works. This is not surprising because the *Wenyuan yinghua* did not enjoy wide circulation until its reprinting in 1567, but the two other whole poems in *Wenyuan yinghua* do

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[69] Huangfu Mei, *Sanshui xiaodu* 三水小牘 2.32-34 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1958).

[70] See Sun Guangxian, *Beimeng suoyan* 9.194-95 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 2002). But what does Sun Guangxian mean when he says 'collection'? After all, in the same entry he also claimed that there was a collection of Xu Yueying's 徐月英 poems. Although Xu Yueying's collected works were mentioned as part of a narrative account, they were never listed as such in a bibliographical monograph for a standard history or by the Song private book collectors. This raises the question, what did writers of unofficial prose mean when they wrote of women having collected works? Did they intend such comments as evidence that there was a collection in manuscript form in circulation? Or, did they mean that there were enough extant poems by a certain woman to form a collection, if only some one would bother to put the drafts together? We simply do not know. If Xu Yueying had a poetry collection to her name, we have yet to recover it.

[71] See *Wenyuan yinghua* 208.5a.

appear in Yu's separate collected works. There are five fragments from *Tangshi jishi* (taken from Huangfu Mei's account in *Sanshui xiaodu*) which do not appear in the separate collected works. So whoever compiled the work in southern Song was presumably unable to consult *Wenyuan yinghua*. And if the compiler was familiar with *Sanshui xiaodu* and *Tangshi jishi*, then he refused to include fragments in the collection. So just where did the Chen publishers gather the poems from?

Not only do we lack certain works such as Li Jilan's, Xu Yueying's, and part of Shangguan Zhaorong's,[72] but also for the collections we do have by Xue Tao and Yu Xuanji there is no guarantee that we can connect the present collections, or earliest extant collections with poems they may actually have written. An examination of the Song book catalogues both official and private leads to the same conclusion that Maureen Robertson previously made: 'Conditions under which the writings of early medieval women of literati families may to some extent have circulated, been collected, or anthologized but subsequently lost remain unclear.'[73] But we should add this comment: For the women of the Tang dynasty, regardless of whether they came from literati families or were courtesans, the main issue with the notion of collected works is one of continuity. We cannot draw any firm connections between the separate collected works that Xue Tao may have arranged by her own hand with the collections later listed by private Song bibliophiles, and then the Ming print editions of her collection. There is not necessarily a line of descent between these three stages.

The handling of poetic texts and short narratives in the tenth and eleventh centuries

In Chapter One, Du Gao's wife, née Zhao, was already identified as a poet. Although the short narratives which developed in the tenth and eleventh centuries make a point of her

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[72] Shangguan Wan'er's collection can be partially reconstructed from texts preserved in *Wenyuan yinghua* and *Tangshi jishi*.
[73] Maureen Robertson, 'Voicing the Feminine, ' 78.

poetic talent, there were no remarks about any complete works circulating through the world. Late Tang poetry collections contain two poems attributed to Zhao: 'Remarks in mixed metre, sent to Du Gao' (*Za yan ji* Du Gao 雜言寄杜羔) and 'On Hearing that my husband Du Gao passed his examinations' (*Wen fu* Du Gao *deng di* 聞夫杜羔登第).[74] The first poem, the attribution of which has never been contested, contrasts Du Gao's life of official duties with the loneliness of her life at home as an official's wife:

> You travel along the Huaihai,
> Spending another autumn in Dulan.
>
> Return home for less than a moment,
> Then you're off to Liangzhou.
>
> Liangzhou lies west of the Qinling mountains,
> Cliff roads as high as the clouds.
>
> The barbarians fall by the ten thousands,
> Battle spears rain down together.
>
> Having remembered abandoned comrades,
> You contemplate storming the cliffs again.
>
> While a husband redoubles his resolve,
> His children at home whimper in sadness.
>
> Linqiong is a place where wanderers get stuck,
> Willing to face the turbid water and mud.
>
> Every one's lot in life has either good fortune or bad,
> You travel by yourself yet I am alone.

The second poem relates her joy over her husband's success in the official examinations, with a hint of worry in the concluding couplet that he might be celebrating too riotously to remember to come home. This success poem is also relatively free of concern over its attribution:

> It's not so far from Chang'an to here,
> Where it's green and luxuriant with good fortune.[75]

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[74] See *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 675 and 956.

[75] Wang Anshi makes use of the entire line in one of his lyrics. See Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋, *Quan Songci* vol. 1 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965), 207. Wang's lyric, 'Nan xiangzi' 南鄉子#2, is in praise of Jinling during the Six

> My darling has succeeded while still a young man,
> Tonight where will you sleep off your wine?

Du Gao's wife as she appears in Yuquanzi

Problems arise, however, with an anonymous tenth-century collection *Yuquanzi* 玉泉子. The compiler attributes (for the first time) a poem to Du Gao's wife, *née Liu*,[76] which is concerned with her husband's (prior) failures of the examinations. The poem, in order to maintain chronological order, then must have been composed before her husband's eventual success. In the new poem, she dealt with her husband's failure in the official examinations by urging him to return to the Chang'an to resume his studies rather than return home:

> Du Gao's wife, née Liu, wrote excellent poetry. Gao repeatedly took the civil service examinations but never passed, so he went home. Just as he was about to arrive at his house, his wife immediately sent him this poem (prior to his arrival):
>
> My darling definitely has extraordinary talent:
> Why is it that year after year you are released to return home?
> Right now I am too ashamed to face you,
> When you come back, come back at nightfall.
>
> Gao saw the poem, and left immediately thereafter, then he returned having finally passed the examination.[77]

Reading the *Yuquanzi* leads us to raise a number of pertinent points: First, the surname of the wife has changed from Zhao to Liu. None of the historical documents concerning Du Gao make any references to his wife, much less to her name. Du Gao's son, Zhongli 仲立, also has a brief biography.[78] From this we surmise Du Gao had a wife, even if we do not know her name. That the anonymous compiler of *Yuquanzi* and Qian Yi, the compiler of *Nanbu xinshu*, have referred to her as Liu would seem to indicate that they did not have a copy of *Youxuan ji* or *Caidiao ji* to hand when they wrote their respective accounts. Second, there is no mention of a success poem. Third, after his

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Dynasties period. The line '*yuyu congcong jiaqi fu*'鬱鬱葱葱佳氣浮 is identical to the exam success poem by Du Gao's wife. Here she is praising their home.

[76] Ji Yougong, following *Nanbu xinshu*, also refers to Du Gao's wife as née Liu, see *Tangshi jishi* 78.1121.

[77] See *Yuquanzi* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988 rept), 10.

[78] See *Yuquanzi*, 14.

success in the examinations, Gao returns home – there is no mention here of needing to be prompted to return home.

The edition of *Yuquanzi* which comes down to us today contains the same number of anecdotes – 82 – as the edition examined by the *Siku* editors. The compiler of *Yuquanzi* does not cite a source for this anecdote on Du Gao's wife.[79]

Bibliographical listings for the *Yuquanzi* offer conflicting accounts of the title of the work and the number of chapters.[80] The *Siku* editors examined a copy in the imperial library (內府) which only had one chapter consisting of 82 anecdotes).[81] Their copy had no author listed, (nor a colophon) but they noted that all the content dealt with minor matters from the Tang dynasty, the vast majority of which had been taken from two previous narrative compilations: Zhao Lin's 趙璘 *Yinhualu* 因話錄 and Li Chuo's 李綽 *Shangshu jishi* 尚書記實. These two earlier texts as they come down to us do not have the anecdote about Du Gao's wife, so the *Yuquanzi* compiler presumably encountered it elsewhere.

The colophon of the book examined by Chen Zhensun was composed by one Li Zhaode 李昭德.[82] Although the colophon bears a Zhonghe 中和 reign period (881-85) date, the text contains entries with dates from Zhaozong's 昭宗 reign (889-904). Discrepancies such as these led the *Siku* compilers to conclude that the text they were examining was closest

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[79] A search of *Siku quanshu* electronic database at <www.trial.skqs.com> on 11 March 2004 did not reveal any other analogues or prior sources for this narrative and its poems.

[80] *Jiu Tangshu* holds no listing for this work, but *Xin Tangshu* 59.1543 lists a book as a work in five *juan*, a *Yuquanzi jianwen zhen lu* 見聞真錄. *Songshi* 205.5212 records the book as an anonymous work in one *juan* (following the listing in *Suichutang shumu*). Chao Gongwu, *Junzhai dushushi* contains no record of such a work. Chen Zhensun lists it as a work in 3 *juan* with a Zhonghe 3 (883) preface, and a colophon. See Chen Zhensun, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 11.321-22. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987). Listed as an additional one *juan* work after *Yuquan biduan* 玉泉筆端 in three *juan*. The Li Zhaode colophon to *Yuquan biduan* is dated the year after Huang Chao sacked Luoyang (881). You Mao lists a *Yuquan biduan* in his collection, but no *Yuquanzi*. See *Shuofu* 28.28a.

[81] See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 140.2892.

[82] There is a Li Zhaode with an official biography in *Jin Tangshu* 87.2853, in *Xin Tangshu* 117.4255 and 72A.2467, *Quan Tangwen* 208.4b and *Dengke jikao* 27.25b. But his dates are (?-697) which are too early for *Yuquanzi*. Chen seems to refer to a hitherto unknown Li Zhaode.

to the *other* book Chen Zhensun described (as long as Chen made a mistake in transcribing 82 anecdotes as 52 anecdotes), and thus was not the same book as listed in *Xin Tangshu* at all. Regardless of the text's actual date of compilation, be it the late ninth century or early tenth, it clearly stands at a remove of one hundred years or more from the time of the relevant events (ca. 785). Historical records, in contrast, would have been compiled closer to the time of Du Gao's life.

Du Gao as he appears in the standard histories

Historical records are silent as to the number of attempts Du Gao needed to pass the examinations, but they do make other useful points for comparison. Du Gao 杜羔, son of Shisun 師損, was a native of Xiangyang 襄陽. Almost half his official biography is dedicated to illustrating his filial piety. He had the utmost feelings of human nature. His father passed away in Hebei, and his mother, because of the recent disturbances had no idea where his grave was. Du went in search of his father's grave, but he did not find it until on one occasion he spent the night at a Buddhist temple. As he looked at a certain pillar, he realized that it contained his father's handwriting. His father, aware that his end was near, had left instructions about where to find his impending grave. Du located his father's remains and transported them home for re-burial.[83]

In terms of his official career, Du took his *jinshi* at the beginning of the Zhenyuan reign period (785).[84] During the Yuanhe reign period (806-821), while he was the prefect of Wannian 萬年, Yuan Yifang 元義方, the commander of the Metropolitan District (improperly) blamed Du and one of his colleagues for failing to remit taxes on time. Du

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[83] The supplement to the national histories from the Kaiyuan to Changqing periods, Li Zhao's 李肇 *Tang guo shi bu* 唐國史補 B.41 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1979 rept.) contains an early version of Du Gao's filial piety.

[84] For Du Gao's biography, see *Xin Tangshu* 172.5205. Note that there are two men by the name Du Gao during the Tang. The other Du Gao, son of Yi 輿, was a native of Huanshui 洹水 who once held a position as *xingbu langzhong* 刑部郎中. See *Xin Tangshu* 72A.2437.

appealed to the Grand Councilor (*zaixiang* 宰相) for a change of official assignment. When the case reached the attention of the emperor, Du was found to be innocent of the charges and Yuan was punished instead. Du's career benefited from the imperial scrutiny – he was immediately promoted to *hubu langzhong* 戶部郎中. In his official career, the highest position he achieved was that of *gongbu shangshu* 工部尚書. After he died the emperor awarded him a posthumous promotion to *shangshu you puye* 尚書右僕射.[85]

Having read his biography, we at least suspect that the reason he took his degree in 785 might have something more to do with the disturbances of the Zhu Ci rebellion of 783-84 than with his wife's poetic reprimands.

Du Gao's wife as she appears in Nanbu xinshu

Some recension of *Yuquanzi* existed prior to the compilation of *Nanbu xinshu* and was still extant at the beginning of the eleventh century when Qian Yi, the compiler of *Nanbu xinshu*, combined the *Yuquanzi*'s short narrative with the success poem as it appears in both *Youxuan ji* and *Caidiao ji*. This particular example casts the wife of Du Gao, née Zhao, in the role of moral exhorter to her husband, both before and after his examinations. The tenth and eleventh century developments in the narrative, linking the failure and success poems together in a narrative, make this tale and its two poems so popular.[86] Thanks to Qian Yi 錢易

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[85] Bo Juyi drafted the edicts for Du Gao's promotion to *hubu langzhong* and the posthumous appointment to *shangshu you puye*. See 'Gu gongbu shangshu zhishi Du Gao zeng you puye zhi' 故工部尙書致仕杜羔贈右僕射制, *Bo shi wenji* 52.100b and 'Qian Chang'an xian ling Xu Jitong chu xingbu langzhong, qian Wannian xian ling Du Gao chu hubu langzhong zhi' 前長安縣令許季同除刑部郎中前萬年縣令杜羔除戶部郎中制, *Bo shi wenji* 55.27b.

[86] Even if Qian Yi's book had been subsequently lost, this short narrative would have survived because analogues of it are preserved throughout the Song dynasty. See He Wen 何汶, *Zhuzhuang shihua* 竹庄詩話 22.423 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1984). He cites an earlier, single chapter work by Hu Cheng 胡珵 (*jinshi* 1121), *Cangwu zazhi* 蒼梧雜志 (partially extant). See also Wang Dang 王讜 (1050?-after 1110), *Tang yulin* 4.144.

(?- after 1023),[87] the compiler of *Nanbu xinshu*, we read the two poems together now instead of reading one in the absence of the other.[88]

> Du Gao's wife, surnamed Liu,[89] was adept at poetic composition. Gao failed to pass the civil service exams year after year. Once, as he was about to return home, his wife first sent him this poem:
>
> My darling clearly has extraordinary talent,
> Why are you sent home year after year?
> At the moment I am too ashamed to face you,
> If you come home, come under the cover of darkness.
>
> Gao saw the poem and immediately returned to the capital. He passed the exam soon after (785), and his wife again sent him a poem:
>
> It's not so far from Chang'an to here,
> Where it's green and luxuriant with good fortune.
> My darling has succeeded while still a young man,
> Tonight where will you sleep off your wine?[90]

This recension says nothing about Du Gao returning home immediately of his own volition after his examination success. Here she has to hint that home would also be a good place to celebrate.

The *Nanbu xinshu* recension of Du Gao's wife inspired later compilers to place the account of her virtue before that her husband's filiality. In effect, the virtue of the wife began to outshine the reputation of the husband.[91] This turn is reflected in the growth of her corpus. Where she initially had only two poems to her credit, she eventually had five poems

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[87] Qian Yi (*zi* Xibo 希白) took his *jinshi* in 999. He compiled this book while he was the governor of Kaifeng county some time in the Dazhong xiangfu 大中祥符 reign period (1008-1017), during which time he compiled anecdotes he heard or read about the lives of scholar officials in the region from the eighth to the tenth centuries. See Qian Mingyi's 錢明逸 1056 preface to *Nanbu xinshu* 南部新書 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 2002), 1. This book, Qian's only surviving work, circulated in manuscript form until the Ming dynasty. Inaba Ichirō 稻葉一郎 has pointed out that the book we have today must be completely different from the original ten chapters, with some anecdotes being lost while others were interpolated. See *A Sung Bibliography*, 97. Thus far, I have found no evidence which would suggest that the anecdotes I have cited have sources predating the *Nanbu xinshu*, so I have continued to treat them as *Nanbu xinshu* anecdotes.

[88] *Nanbu xinshu* 4.53.

[89] Compare this surname with *Youxuan ji* and *Caidiao ji*, which refer to Du Gao's wife as née Zhao. See *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 675 and 956.

[90] *Nanbu xinshu* 4.53.

[91] In the twelfth century, Ji Yougong adopts the *Nanbu xinshu* recension of the poems and the circumstances of their composition (the wife's exhortation to study), and places it *before* the historical accounts of Du Gao's acts of filial piety as the explanation for his examination success and subsequent official career. See *Tangshi jishi* 78.1121.

attributed to her name,[92] which is four more complete poems than her husband.[93] Two of these attributions take place after the period of textual transmission under study in this thesis,[94] but one of them is an additional poem she supposedly sent to her husband upon hearing of his failure in the examinations:

> I heard the news the Son of Heaven paid a visit to the fallen;
> Over ten thousand *li*, holding this letter close to my breast, I head west to the state of Qin.
> I should have known better than to use a go-between before.
> I hate leaving the south of the river, with its spring willows.[95]

Where the fallen would usually refer to soldiers wounded or killed in action, the speaker in the poem refers to those who have failed the examinations. If the speaker is read as Du Gao's wife, she has to leave Jiangnan to carry a second letter berating her husband for his failure to the capital. This time she must perform the task of the letter carrier herself, unlike the first instance. As a poem it does fit the conditions imposed on it by the compiler who takes this anonymous poem and re-attributes to Du Gao's wife.

This poem is not a Ming forgery, however, for it was extant in the twelfth century. Ji Yougong placed the poem in the anonymous section of *Tangshi jishi*,[96] and the compilers of

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[92] At one point a sixth poem was attributed to her by taking a poem (Sent to someone from my past) attributed to Zhang Yaotiao and re-assigning it to Du Gao's wife as 'Composed on Du Gao's Behalf.' For the mistaken attribution, see Gao Bing, *Tangshi pinhui* 55.15a. For the earlier attribution of the poem to Zhang Yaotiao, see *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 676 and 955. For a translation of 'Sent to someone from my past,' see *WWTC*, 79-80. Some modern scholars accept all five attributions to Zhao. See Su Zhecong, *Guiwei de tanshi,* 123-25.

[93] Du Gao has only one complete poem to his credit. See *Quan Tangshi* 319.3601. Thus far, I know of no late additions to his corpus.

[94] The other late entry to her corpus is this 'Miscellaneous remark' (*za yan* 雜言) which is included in *Quan Tangshi*, but has no known antecedent. It does not appear in any of the Ming collections (such as *Shin ji shi* or *Mingyuan shigui*) suspected to be rich in late additions:
'In Shanglin garden the cassia green, green; A branch I pluck, a good husband I have.
Almond blossoms the color of snow, willows silkily sway; The spring breeze rifles through all the other branches.' 上林園中青青桂，折得一枝好夫婿。杏花如雪柳垂絲，春風蕩颺不同枝.

[95] See Zhao Huanguang 趙宦光 and Huang Xiyuan 黃習遠, eds., *Wanshou Tangren jueju* 萬首唐人絕句 40.990, modern annot. Liu Zhuoying 劉卓英 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1983). Based on edition of 1606. Chen Shangjun 陳尙君 discusses this attribution in his work *Quan Tangshi bubian* 全唐詩補編 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1992), 599. See also *Mingyuan shigui* 10.12b, which may have drawn on the 1606 *Wanshou Tangren jueju* as a source.

Quan Tangshi followed his lead and also put it in the anonymous section.[97] The earliest work known to include this second failure poem attributed to Du Gao's wife is the 1606 edition of *Wanshou Tangren jueju*. A collection by the late Ming compiler Lu Shiyong 陸時雍[98] follows suit.[99] An eighteenth-century collection of Tang poetry prepared for the emperor also places the second failure poem under the attribution of Du Gao's wife.[100]

Where late Tang collections of the poetic legacy of Du Gao's wife only included the 'On Hearing that My Husband Passed the Exams' and 'Remarks in mixed metre to Du Gao,' the Song dynasty narrative treatment juxtaposed the examination failure and success poems in order to emphasize the wife's role as moral exhorter to her husband, both before and after he passed. Such a treatment paved the way for an anonymous poem which fit the content and tone of the first failure poem to be re-attributed to Du Gao's wife by late imperial compilers.

Du Gao's wife serves as an example of the re-writing of a woman's corpus from a combination of late ninth century and tenth century texts, while the anecdote about Miss Cui and Master Lu serves as an example of a text recorded in the early eleventh century but which is attributed to events happening during the Tang dynasty. Once it was incorporated into the textual record, and it was regarded forever after as an event in the Tang, and consequently, Miss Cui is forever after regarded as a Tang poet, even though this is her only extant poem:

> There was a son of the Lu house who at an advanced age was still an editing clerk. Late in life he married a daughter of the Cui family, who had a talent for composing poetry. After the ceremony of tying the bridal knot, she betrayed a hint of resentment. Lu, accordingly, asked her to compose

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[96] See *Tangshi jishi* 80.1141.
[97] See *Quan Tangshi* 786.8864. The second failure poem is not attributed to Du Gao's wife anywhere in *Quan Tangshi*.
[98] Lu Shiyong, *zi* Zhongzhao 仲昭, a native of Tongxiang 桐鄉, was a tribute student of 1633. See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 189.4212.
[99] *Gushijing_Tangshijing* 古詩鏡_唐詩鏡 48.23b-24a (*SKQS* ed.).
[100] See He Zhuo 何倬, *Quan Tangshi lu* 全唐詩錄 99.15a,b (*SKQS* ed.).

> a poem in order to make a game of venting her feelings, and Cui immediately composed this poem:
>
> I don't resent Master Lu's advanced years,
>
> I don't resent Master Lu's lowly position.
>
> For myself I regret I was born too late –
>
> I didn't meet Master Lu as a young man.[101]

This poem was not recorded in any of the surviving Tang collections. As far as is known today, Qian Yi was the first writer to include this episode in his work.

Ji Yougong extracted this entry from the *Nanbu xinshu* and abbreviated it for his own compilation. This instance of transmission from *Nanbu xinshu* to *Tangshi jishi* is crucial to the later reception and classification of the work as a bona fide *shi*. Late imperial projects, most notably the compilation of the *Quan Tangshi*, to identify and collect the complete corpus of Tang poems drew upon collections such as *Tangshi jishi*.[102] Such projects did not as a rule draw upon unofficial histories and narratives such as *Nanbu xinshu*. If Ji Yougong had not selected the poem in the 1160s, then there is at least the possibility that Miss Cui and her poem would not have been selected by the compilers for inclusion in *Quan Tangshi* in 1705-1707. The two year project to compile a complete collection by definition excluded making any lengthy effort to determine the route or journey the physical texts traveled in the course of their transmission over time. The compilers' quest for completeness may have led them to shortchange measures which would have ensured sufficient proof for every poem. The journey of the physical text over time and each instance of recopying influence the perception of authenticity.

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[101] *Nanbu xinshu* 4.49 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 2002). The textual transmission of this item from 1017 down to the present day is described in Carolyn Ford, 'Altered in Transmission: The Journey of one Tang Poem from *Shi* to Nonliterary Genres,' a paper presented at the Fourth Annual Colorado University East Asian Graduate Association conference on Creating Culture, on 27 October, 2001 at Boulder, Colorado.

[102] On occasion the drafts of the *Quan Tangshi* explicitly cite a source. They do not do so for Miss Cui's poem. See Chu Wan-li 屈萬里 and Liu Chao-yu 劉兆祐, eds., Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 and Ji Zhenyi 季振宜, *QuanTangshi gaoben* 全唐詩稿本, vol. 71, p. 61. (Taibei: Lianjing chuban shiye, 1979). This edition is a photo-reprint of the drafts held in the National Central Library, Taibei, Taiwan.

In the case of the Miss Cui poem, once the rhymes and tones are reconstructed in Late Middle Chinese, it becomes clear that the text as recorded in *Tangshi jishi* does not conform to the accepted pattern of level and deflected tones, and thus should not be considered a *lüshi*, or regulated tone poem.[103] This observation gives rise to other possibilities, one of which is that the poem as Ji has recorded it was already incorrect. Perhaps Miss Cui did extemporaneously compose a poem which satisfied the rhythmic and tonal demands of *shi*, if so, we no longer have access (in print) to her oral composition. Then again, perhaps the humor of the situation overrides formal considerations in the minds of the (original) compiler, Qian Yi.

Whenever a text is extracted from one source, recompiled, and placed in the midst of new neighbors, it is probable that later readers will encounter the new state of the text and assume that it has always lived in that neighborhood, under a certain generic identity. This certainly happens in the case of Miss Cui and her smart remark, at least for the readers who encounter this text as part of *Quan Tangshi* and yet there are entire generations of readers who do not know this text as a poem, but rather as a joke in a joke book.[104]

Li Jilan, Xue Tao and née Zhao were known to be poets. What their corpora have in common in the tenth and eleventh centuries is the late interpolation of poems or new attributions. This was also a period which saw the compilation and circulation of their separate collected works. No copies of these early editions survive, so we cannot say to what extent they incorporated interpolations such as the apocryphal prodigy poems. Imperial

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[103] See Edwin Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation of Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese and Early Mandarin*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1991, esp. pp.10, 31, and 282. See also, G.B. Downer and A.C. Graham, "Tone Patterns in Chinese Poetry," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 26 (1963): 145-148.

[104] See Howard Levy, *Chinese Sex Jokes in Traditional Times*, 108; *Xiaohai congzhu* 笑海叢珠 1.30, #9. In addition, late imperial readers made attempts to identify Lu more precisely, and some even concluded that it was the Tang historical person Lu Xiang 盧象. Song and Yuan documents do not contain such an ascription. The explanation of where and why this identification occurs exceeds the remit of this project, but it should be studied as one of the dynamics of textual transmission for the fifteenth through twentieth centuries.

editors such as Yang Huizhi would not accept them for *Wenyuan yinghua*, but the editors of short prose and narrative certainly accepted prodigy and supernatural tales for *Taiping guangji*.

Only a few of the narrative compilations of the tenth and eleventh centuries have been covered in this chapter. There were many more which contain apocryphal developments on Tang women as poets. Later compilers such as Ji Yougong employed a range of poetry and narrative sources (available in contemporary editions or encyclopedia), while accepting many of attributions of authorship to women as credible.

This chapter describes Ji Yougong's 計有功 (*jinshi* 1131)[1] life before turning to the *Tangshi jishi* 唐詩紀事[2] itself. Ji Yougong presented 41 women as a group in chapters 78 and 79, the largest grouping of women poets at that time.[3] Scholars often state that the collection as a whole excerpts texts which otherwise would have been lost.[4] For these two chapters, however, the majority of the sources are still extant.[5] Although Ji rarely made editorial comments within the body of the work, he (or later editors and scribes) occasionally stepped beyond the faithful transmission of source texts and presented entries based on a mix of multiple sources, creating an account very different from previous sources. The specific case of Minister Zhang's concubine, Mianmian, is analyzed. In this case Ji's presentation is crucial to the perception of Mianmian as a poet. His work was influential enough that the compilers of *Quan Tangshi* employed it as a source at the draft stage and accepted all 41 women as Tang poets.

The compiler Ji Yougong

Little is known of Ji Yougong's life or official career – even his father's name is unknown. The date of his *jinshi* degree is a matter of contention. Some scholars say 1121

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[1] See Zhang Shu 張澍, *Shudian* 蜀典 12.17b (*XXSKQS* ed.).

[2] This thesis does not analyze the *Quan Tang shihua* 全唐詩話, attributed to You Mao. Kurata Junnosuke 倉田淳之助 has cogently summarized the argument that it is merely a plagiarized version of *Tangshi jishi*. See *A Sung Bibliography*, 447-48.

[3] Earlier in the collection he also included royal and palace women such as Wu Zetian 武則天(624/627-705), Shangguan Wan'er 上官婉兒 (664-710), and Xu Hui. See *Tangshi jishi* 3.24-28 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965 ed.).

[4] The Siku editors first made this assessment, and it has been repeated down to the present day. See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 195.4365. See also Paul W. Kroll, 'T'ang-shih chi-shih,' *IC*, 754; and Shen Jin 沈津, *Meiguo Hafo daxue Hafo Yanjing tushuguan Zhongwen shanben shuzhi* 美國哈佛大學哈佛燕京圖書館中文善本書志 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1999), 798. This statement is accurate regarding Ji's preservation of Tang texts prior to the An Lushan rebellion, much less so for texts after the 760s.

[5] Where Ji appears to have excerpted otherwise lost material for the women in chapters 78 and 79 is discussed below.

while others point to 1131.[6] His official career spanned from the 1130s to the 1160s. His work and travels allowed him to collect materials for one of his personal passions – Tang poetry. He compiled the collection after he retired from official life, once he finally had the time to put his vast body of material into order. What little is known about Ji Yougong's official career appears in a Song dynasty record of bureaucratic appointments, the *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu* 建炎以來繫年要錄. The narrative summary below is based on the relevant entries from that record:

> In the fifth year of the Shaoxing reign 紹興 (1135) the Junior Gentleman for Discussion, and newly appointed prefect of Jianzhou 箭州 [present day Wenchuan 汶川, Sichuan], Ji Yougong, was promoted to an official post overseeing the supply of government tea and salt monopolies in the Zhejiang Western Circuit. Yougong was a native of Anren 安仁 [present day Dayi 大邑, Sichuan] and he was the maternal uncle of Zhang Jun 張浚 (1096-1164).[7]
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> In 1137 Auxiliary to the Palace Archives, Writer of Secret Documents for the Regional Military Command, Ji Yougong was promoted to Auxiliary Academician of the Huiyou Pavilion.[8] He was promoted to an appointment as the Tongchuan 潼川 Circuit Judicial Supervisor [present day Santai 三臺 county, Sichuan]. At that time, Zhang Jun was in Luzhou 廬州 [present day Hefei, Anhui]. He dispatched Yougong to go to the emperor's 'temporary palace on tour' [then located in Hangzhou]. Two days earlier he had been summoned for an interview at the imperial court. Yougong once presented a work to the emperor, *A Mirror to the Jin Dynasty* 晉鑒.[9] The emperor

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[6] The earliest assigned date is 1121. See the publisher's note, p. 1 to the Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965 edition, citing *Wubai jia bofang daquan* 五百家播芳大全 (which I have been unable to consult). In contrast, Zhang Shu 張澍 recorded the date of Ji Yougong's *jinshi* as 1131. See *Shudian* 蜀典 12.17b-18a (*XXSKQS* ed.). Modern scholar Wang Zhongyong 王仲鏞 disagrees with the assigning of an 1121 date for Ji's degree, and accepts the 1131 date. See Wang Zhongyong, 'Foreword,' *Tangshi jishi jiaojian* 唐詩紀事校箋 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1989), 2.

[7] For his official biography see *Songshi* 宋史 361.11297. In 1118 and 1126 he had marginal success in checking the incursions of the Jin. Out of office from 1137 to 1155 due to the intrigues of Qin Kuai 秦檜 (1090-1155), he passed this period of retirement in Yongzhou 永州, Hunan. James T.C. Liu discusses Zhang Jun's career and the bureaucracy in *China Turning Inward: Intellectual-Political Changes in the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 91-92, 101-02, and 125-26.

[8] The Huiyou pavilion was constructed during the reign of Huizong (1101-1126). See *Songshi* 20.380.

[9] This work is not extant.

said, 'I read your work during the second watch of the night. I took it as advice about times of crises and disasters.' The emperor asked Yougong point blank what was the point of writing such a historical note of warning. Yougong answered, 'The women laughed at the state of Qi, as a result the six officials divided up the state of Jin. That was the reason for writing this work.' The emperor nodded in acceptance. Yougong requested leave to depart on account of his mother's advanced age. An order was duly drawn up. Jun was opposed to Yougong's request and repeatedly petitioned the emperor to deny Yougong's request. An edict ordered him to remain in his former post.

In 1158 the Auxiliary to the Imperial Library Ji Yougong became the prefect of Meizhou 眉州 [present day Meishan 眉山, Sichuan].

In 1160 Auxiliary to the Imperial Library, Prefect of Meizhou, Ji Yougong became an assistant fiscal commissioner for Lizhou 利州 circuit [present day Tianlin county, Guangxi].

In 1161 the Overseer-general of the Sichuan Revenue Wang Zhiwang 王之望 (1103-1170)[10] ordered a change of duty location due to a military mobilization. He appointed transport intendants to accompany the army. At the time Auxiliary to the Palace Archives, Assistant Fiscal Commissioner of Lizhou Circuit Ji Yougong had a foot ailment and was unable to travel. That same year, Yougong received orders reassigning him to be the prefect of Jiazhou 嘉州 [present day Meishan county, Sichuan].[11]

As indicated above, most of Ji's official postings were in his native province. In spite of the fancy titles, Ji did not hold very high ranking positions. He traveled, but did not cover the width and breadth of the empire of his time. Ji does not have an entry in the standard histories. His career as summarized above, is the thin seam of material available to us today. Ji Yougong's own written corpus suffered the same fate as that of many of his contemporaries,

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[10] For Wang Zhiwang's official biography, see *Songshi* 372.11537.

[11] Li Xinchuan 李心傳, *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu* 建炎以來繫年要錄 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1956) 91.1521; 111.1793; 114.1839; 179.2959; 185.3104; 192.3221; 193.3234. The entry for 91.1521 refers to a Xu 許 Yougong, which is a misprint. Compare *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu* 91.14a (*SKQS* ed.).

that is, the vast majority of his own poems and letters were lost.[12] He left to posterity an enjoyable text, the *Tangshi jishi*, which is much longer than the official record of his life.

Ji was interested in Tang poems and poets. He attempted to make his collection as comprehensive as his time and sources allowed. These attitudes are present in his preface:[13]

> The men of Tang who were famous on account of their poems, and whose surnames were recorded by later generations, probably do not number a full hundred. The rest have merely been heard of. Those famous among their own generation, whose works have vanished without a trace, are no doubt impossible to count. While living in retirement I have searched three hundred years' worth of literary collections, assorted sayings, biographies, unofficial histories, epigraphy and inscriptions and recorded each and every couplet and verse. I searched for and gathered the sayings which people pass on by word of mouth from one generation to the next, and transcribed them properly. From time to time I had the opportunity to view records by virtue of my official positions. I traveled the four points of the compass, to places of spectacular beauty and sites of historical significance; the fragments and surviving works [I found along the way], I have never discarded a single one. Now that I am old, I can no longer dedicate so much effort [to this task]. I have taken material from the beginning of the Tang dynasty to the end, I listed the entries by surname, almost 1,150 poets in all; beyond the poems, the poets too can be studied, so I briefly record the major points [about their lives]. I hope those who read their poems will know the poets. I regret the poverty of my household and its lack of books; my home is so remote that I have few social visitors. I have had to rely on the materials at hand. The first completed work amounts to 81 scrolls, and it is titled *Matters Recorded on Tang Poetry*. The retired gentleman of Guanyuan 灌園, a native of Linqiong 臨邛, Ji Minfu 計敏夫, personal name Yougong 有功 set this down in writing.[14]

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[12] See Wei Qixian 魏齊賢, *Sheng Song mingxian wubaijia bofang daquan wenji* 聖宋名賢五百家播芳大全文粹 64.5a (Taibei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1964) for a petition to the emperor under the name Ji Minfu 計敏夫. See also Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘 *Songdai Shuwen jicun* 宋代蜀文輯存 63.812-14 (Hong Kong: Longmen shudian, 1971 rept.) for seven extant pieces of Ji's prose.

[13] For the Hong Pian preface of 1545, see *Tangshi jishi* (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965), 2-3.

[14] 'Preface,' *Tangshi jishi* (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965), 1.

In this preface Ji took the Tang dynasty as a whole as his object of interest. Later commentators, particularly Yan Yu 嚴羽 (fl. 1180-1235) in the most influential work of Southern Song poetry criticism *Canglang shihua* 滄浪詩話, would propose a more rigid way of viewing the literary legacy of Tang as divided into four distinct periods, some more worthy of emulation than others.[15] For Ji the legacy of the dynasty as a whole was worthy of praise. Just as a rising tide lifts all boats, the women of Tang and their poetry benefited from the critical view that the Tang dynasty was the golden age of Chinese verse.

Ji did not date this preface. He last filled an official post in 1161. If he retired soon thereafter, he could have compiled the collection circa the mid 1160s. While it is impossible to know precisely which sources and editions he consulted, many of the entries for chapters 78 and 79 have analogues printed during Ji's four decades of public life, the 1130s to the 1160s. These would have been the editions most easily available to him. Ji may have borrowed books from his friends, books which aided his endeavor to amass as much data as possible about Tang poetry.

Details of his social circles are as sparse as his biographical data, but a *Songshi jishi* 宋詩紀事 entry on Guo Yin 郭印[16] contains two poems in response to Ji Minfu.[17] It also points out that Guo Yin, Ji Yougong and Zeng Zao 曾慥 (d. after 1163)[18] were friends. Zeng Zao's official career is more richly documented than Ji's, but there is no indication in the Song

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[15] For a summary of the relevant western and Chinese scholarship on *Canglang shihua*, see Günther Debon, 'Ts'ang-lang shih-hua' in *IC*, 788-790.

[16] Guo Yin, *hao* Yile jushi 亦樂居士 was a Zhenghe 政和 era (1111-1118) *jinshi*. A native of Chengdu, Sichuan. He filled official positions as county magistrate a number of times, and his highest ranking position was that of censor. He lived to be over 80 years of age. At one point Guo Yin broke off social relations with Qin Kuai (the enemy of Zhang Jun) and lived at home in retirement for 38 years. See *Song-Yuan xuean buyi* 宋元學案補遺 4.149 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2002). Guo Yin is mistakenly listed as Guo Han 郭邗).

[17] See Li E 厲鶚, *Songshi jishi* 宋詩紀事 39.11b-12a (*SKQS* ed.). The Siku editors also comment on the friendship in *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 30.3301-02; and Guo's collection of poetry, *Yunxi ji* 雲溪集 1.9b and 12.16b-17b lists Guo's replies to Ji and 12.22b-25a lists his replies to Zeng (*SKQS* ed.).

[18] Zeng Zao, *zi* Duanbo 端伯, *hao* Zhiyouzi 至游子, a native of Jinjiang 晉江 was a prolific compiler. In addition to the *Leishuo* he also compiled a set of additions and corrections to the *Tongjian* and a selection of one hundred Song poets. See *Songshi jishi* 48.12b (*SKQS* ed.).

bureaucratic record *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu* that the two occupied the same office at any one time.[19] At the times Ji's career is documented, Zeng's is not and vice versa. As such, one cannot rule out the possibility that they first met in an official capacity – they both held posts connected with the imperial archives, but at different times – but one cannot confirm it either. Zeng Zao compiled an influential encyclopedia, the *Leishuo*, which preserved, however partially, a number of texts which are no longer extant. Even if he did not present his friends with a copy of the encyclopedia, Zeng may have lent Ji specific books which he knew to be useful or of interest to the poetry compilation.

Tangshi jishi **in print**

Tangshi jishi circulated in manuscript among interested literati before its first printing in 1224. Writers such as Wang Xiangzhi 王象之 cited portions of *Tangshi jishi* in their own works.[20] None of material Wang Xiangzhi cited involves content from chapters 78 or 79, and so will not be discussed further. Were it not for the efforts by Wang Xi 王禧[21] to print the collection, it is unlikely the work would be extant today – we have no copies of those circulating manuscripts. Wang's preface is instructive in that he comments on the state of the manuscript which came into his hands:

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[19] *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu* lists details of Zeng Zao's posts: 3.63, 47.850, 89.1479, 102.1667, 133.2138, 136.2186 and 2192, 140.2250 and 2255, 147.2370, 152.2451, 159.2586-87, 165.2698, 166.2718, and 168.2742.

[20] See Wang Xiangzhi 王象之, *Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝 184.8b (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1992). The work is dated with a preface of 1221, predating Wang Xi's publication of *Tangshi jishi* by three years. It cites the *Tangshi jishi* recension of a poem by Li Jiao 李嶠, for which see also *Tangshi jishi* 10.145.

[21] Details for Wang Xi's life and career are even more scarce than those for Ji Yougong. Wang Xi, a native of Meishan, Sichuan, does not have an official biography in the standard histories, but there is a brief reference to him in *Yuanshi* 160.3751 under his son's name (Wang Pan 王磐).

In the *xinyou* 辛酉 year [1201] of the Qingyuan 慶元 reign period [1195-1201] I accompanied the Grand Master of Remonstrance, Master Fu 傅[22] to Lingyun 凌雲 [present day Leshan city, Sichuan] where by chance I met Guanyuan's [Yougong's] youngest son Ciyang 次陽,[23] a manager[24] who had been the chief examination official for my *leishi*[25] exam in 1198. As a result I obtained this book. At once I ordered dozens of clerks to copy it out (for money). Among their copies it was impossible to avoid the confusion of *lu* 魯 with *yu* 魚 and of *hai* 亥 with *shi* 豕 [copying errors]. I read it many times over the years, correcting it by hand, and *I managed to verify the authenticity of seven to eight tenths of the material. The rest I have doubts about [but] I dare not recklessly make alterations.*[26] Prose rises and falls with the seasons but poetry issues forth from emotion. When noble emperors are in power, they collect poems to discern the customs of their people, to better keep order in the realm. During the Spring and Autumn period (475-221 B.C.), in the kingdom of Zheng 鄭, Zhao Meng 趙孟 asked his seven sons to recite from the *Book of Odes* to have a closer look at their ambitions.[27] Ji Zha 季札 requested permission to learn the music of Zhou 周 so as to know the customs of the worthy kingdoms.[28] For the gentlemen of the present age who desire to read the compositions of the three hundred year reign of the Tang, its historical figures and its customs (both evil and upright), this book will certainly be of assistance. I hereby share it with the world, printed in my studio in Huaian 懷安[29] in the *jiashen* 甲申 year of

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[22] Fu Bocheng 傅伯城 (1143-1226), *zi* Jingchu 景初, a native of Jinjiang 晉江 who once held a position as *zuo jianyi dafu* 左諫議大夫. His official biography is in *Songshi* 415.12441.

[23] No other data available. Ciyang has no official biography. The section in Zhang Shu 張澍, *Shudian* 蜀典 12.17b-18a (*XXSKQS* ed.) on Linqiong degree holders does not list any of Ji Yougong's sons as degree holders.

[24] See *Songshi* 160.3753 for another reference to the informal use of *zong gan*, "if civil officials are placed *in charge of* military affairs...."

[25] Abbreviated reference to the *leisheng shi* 類省試, an exam for new *jinshi* degree holders to classify them for future bureaucratic placement. See *Songshi* 156.3627.

[26] I have adopted David McMullen's suggestion that here *jia sun* is likely to mean simply 'make alterations.'

[27] There are a number of references to Zhao Meng 趙孟 in the *Zuo zhuan*, but this event is recorded in Ruan Yuan, ed. *Shisanjing zhushu* (*Zuozhuan zhengyi*) 十三經注疏 (佐傳正義) 38.295 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1980). Alternately, see *Zuozhuan* 佐傳, Xianggong 襄公 27 in *A Concordance to the* Chunqiu Zuozhuan, D.C. Lau, et al. ed. (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1995), 294.

[28] See *Shiji* 14.644 and 31.1452-53. Jizha was the son of King Shoumeng of Wu. He traveled to the state of Lu to listen to the music of a worthy state (the tunes of the ancient kingdom of Zhou).

[29] Huaian 懷安 corresponds to present day Huaikou zhen 淮口鎮, Jintang 金堂 county, Sichuan.

> the Jiading 嘉定 reign period [1224], written by the acting prefect of Huaian, Wang Xi, styled Qingchang 慶長.[30] [emphasis added]

Although the Wang Xi edition of 1224 did not circulate widely,[31] it is the antecedent from which all later reprints descend. Hong Pian 洪楩[32] cloned the 1224 edition which was in his family's collection in 1545.[33] In 1545 Zhang Zili 張子立[34] also reprinted the 1224 edition. Of the two 1545 editions, it is Hong's which is more prevalent. The Zhang edition is rarely found as a complete copy.[35] Among modern typeset and punctuated editions the Beijing, Zhonghua shuju edition of 1965 is based upon Hong Pian's 1545 edition and collated with all other editions as well as the Tang histories (official and unofficial) and *Quan Tangshi*.[36]

Later bibliographers found themselves troubled when they attempted to categorize *Tangshi jishi*. Where some bibliographers opted to call it a general poetry collection, others placed the work as a set of poetry talks or literary criticism. A Ming dynasty scholar who was

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[30] 'Preface,' *Tangshi jishi* (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965), 1.

[31] Chao Gongwu, Chen Zhensun and Ma Duanlin did not record *Tangshi jishi* in their catalogues.

[32] Hong Pian, *zi* Zimei 子美, does not have an official biography. A resident of Qiantang (present day Hangzhou). He flourished between 1522 and 1566. He was the father-in-law of Hu Zongxian (1511-1565), who was once the supreme commander of Zhejiang, Nan Zhili, Fujian and Jiangxi. Hong was the grandson of Hong Zhong 洪鐘(1443-1523) and a distant descendant of the twelfth-century scholar Hong Mai. Hong Pian once published a famous collection of short stories, the *Qingpingshan tang huaben* 清平山堂話本 in the years 1541-1551. See *DMB*, 636. A page in the Hong Pian edition has ten columns of 20 characters per column).

[33] This is the edition reprinted in *Sibu congkan*. The *Sibu congkan* second edition repairs the text of *Tangshi jishi* throughout and adds eight folios of new text after 38.3. As such, it should be consulted with caution. See Karl Lo, "A Guide to the *Ssu pu ts'ung k'an*: Being an Index to Authors, Titles and Subjects," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 27 (1967): 284.

[34] Zhang Zili, *zi* Yuanli 原禮, was a native of Huang 黃 county, Shandong. He took his *jinshi* in 1526. Zhang does not have an official biography, but he does have biographical details listed in *Guochao lieqingji* 國朝列卿記 128.19a. See also *Benchao fensheng renwu kao* 98.13a; *Lantai fajian lu* 蘭臺法鑒錄 15.40a; *Ming shizong* 40.3b; *Mingshi jishi*, *wu* 戊 section, 16.7a. None of these sources mention anything about his publishing activities.

[35] Mao Jin's 1632 *Jiguge* 汲古閣 edition was probably based on Zhang Zili's edition as it contains a copy of Zhang's preface. A page in the Jiguge edition has eight columns of 19 characters per column, so it is not a simple reprinting of the Zhang Zili 1545 blocks (a page has ten columns of 21 characters per column). For the argument that the Mao Jin ed. is based on Zhang's, see Shen Jin, *Meiguo Hafo daxue Hafo Yanjing tushuguan Zhongwen shanben shuzhi*, 799. The Zhang Zili 1545 edition had been reprinted once before in 1594. Mao Jin's edition circulated the most widely of the all the editions cited. The editors of *Quan Tangshi* made use of it in their work. See *Quan Tangshi gaoben* 71.2 for a photo-reprint of the Jiguge 1632 edition of *Tangshi jishi* 75.15a.

[36] The Hong Kong edition of 1972 is simply a reprint of the Beijing, Zhonghua shuju edition of 1965. For a description of twentieth-century unpunctuated editions, see Wang Zhongyong, *Tangshi jishi jiaojian*, 14-15.

an aficionado of Tang poetry, Hu Zhenheng 胡震亨 (*jinshi* 1550), wrote in his work *Tangyin guiqian* 唐音癸籤, that Ji's work, although similar to poetry talks, placed more emphasis on recording poems.[37] The Qing scholars who compiled the abstracts to the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 also observed that *Tangshi jishi* preserved materials that did not otherwise survive, and they treated it as a valuable reference document without fundamentally addressing the questions of its generic identity or accuracy.[38] The eighteenth-century compilers of the *Quan Tangshi* referred to it as a poetry collection. All the poems attributed to women in *Tangshi jishi* went on to be listed as such in *Quan Tangshi*, in great measure due to the confidence the Qing compilers had in Ji's work.[39] Ji's collection became a type unto itself. Later compilers went to the effort to ensure there would be a *Songshi jishi*, *Yuanshi jishi*, and *Mingshi jishi* to carry on the popular combination of poems and biography.

Some general comments on format are necessary. As he mentioned in his preface, he placed poems first then biographical information and anecdotes after. Ji Yougong was not the first compiler to mix the poems with anecdotes surrounding their composition. Two Tang compilers, Meng Qi 孟棨 and Fan Shu 范攄 employed this format in their respective compilations, *Benshi shi* 本事詩 and *Yunxi youyi* 雲溪友議. He was the first, however, to employ the format on such a large scale, having drawn some of his material from the *Leishuo* extracts of *Benshi shi* and *Yunxi youyi* (among other unofficial histories). For the chapters dedicated to women, the entries are not in chronological order, nor are they in any sort of

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[37] Hu Zhenheng, *Tangyin guiqian* 31.323 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981).
[38] See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 195.4365.
[39] Paul W. Kroll, 'T'ang-shih chi-shih,' *IC*, 754. It is appropriate to mention here, that this is one of the first instances of western sinology taking the *Tangshi jishi* seriously. An earlier generation of scholars once dismissed the *Tangshi jishi* as 'a motley collection of scraps of information.' See George A. Kennedy, review of Hans H. Frankel, *Biographies of Meng Hao-jan*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), 21, in *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 12.3 (May 1953): 345.

hierarchal social order.[40] It is possible that Ji recorded items about women in the order in which he encountered his sources. There are even entries in these chapters which appear in the same sequence as they previously appeared in the *Leishuo* extracts. Thus it is unlikely that Ji attempted to rank the women poets by any hierarchy of perceived literary quality.

As a general practice Ji recopied his sources faithfully, but he did not usually make a practice of identifying the source. Most poems from general poetry collections are directly transcribed by poem title, with the poem following immediately after.[41] When recopying from the *Leishuo*, notebooks or unofficial histories, however, he did not employ the style above, he simply left the poem within the body of its anecdote, usually without citing the source of the anecdote. Any notes about sources appear appended to the end of an entry by Wang Xi (or one of his scribes) in the form of a remark, 'Taken from such and such work.'[42] Such a practice would obviously be limited by the breadth, or lack thereof, of Wang's reading.

Ji rarely made critical comments about the material he quoted. Mainland Chinese scholars, particularly Yang Ming and Wang Zhongyong, have noted that Ji rarely made original comments within the body of *Tangshi jishi*, and they have made careful studies of those rare occasions.[43] The two chapters under study rarely exhibit the traits Yang and Wang have noted.[44]

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[40] The secular male poets, in contrast, are arranged in roughly chronological order. Daoist monks are placed in chapters 72 through 77.

[41] To my knowledge, Ji only refers to the general collection *Caidiao ji* once, in *Tangshi jishi* 61.927 for an entry on Song Yong 宋邕.

[42] This proposition is only amenable to proof if there were any surviving manuscript copies made previous to Wang Xi's print edition of 1224.

[43] Yang Ming 楊明, '*Tangshi jishi* zhong Ji Yougong benren de shuoming yu pinglun,' 《唐詩紀事》中計有功本人的說明與評論, *Fudan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 复旦學報社會科學板 (1997.6): 85. Wang Zhongyong 王仲鏞, *Tangshi jishi jiaojian* 唐詩紀事校箋 (Chengdu: Bashu chubanshe, 1989).

[44] Ji Yougong offers one explanation for Xue Yanfu's 薛彥輔 mother in *Tangshi jishi* 78.1121, based on the standard histories, but no explicit criticism. Wang Xi appends a comment to the entry on Feiyan, which is critical of the plot device of Gongye being crude, and that Feiyan is therefore justified in deceiving him and taking a lover. Wang dismisses that kind of talk as rubbish. See *Tangshi jishi* 79.1137.

Chapters 78 and 79

Most of the sources Ji employed for these two chapters can be traced, with the result that *Tangshi jishi* is rarely the sole source for women who might be counted among the Tang poets.[45] There is a reason for this, most of these women lived after the An Lushan rebellion. Most of the rare texts that Ji excerpted before their loss date to the period *before* the rebellion. So for chapter 3, the royal and palace women, Ji excerpts Zhang Yue's preface to Shangguan Zhaorong's separate collected works, and 32 of her poems (and one couplet) before they were lost. But other than that, for the most part, even without *Tangshi jishi*, most of the poems in chapters 78 and 79 would still be extant, but they would be more difficult to locate in the numerous short narratives from which they came.

Although Ji did not employ explicit critical comments for these two chapters, his editing can be examined for subtler influences. The arrangement of sources conveys substantial information about his interpretation. The manner in which Ji wove multiple sources to offer a unified account of a given woman poet had just as great an effect on the later reception of the work, if not greater, as if he had written an explicit critical comment.

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[45] See the appendix to this chapter, listing the women by all known names, with analogues of entries. The possible source texts and analogues were located by means of works such as Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 et al, eds., *Tang-Wu dai renwu zhuanji ziliao zonghe suoyin* 唐五代人物傳記資料索引 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1992 rept.); and Fang Jiliu 方積六 and Wu Dongxiu 吳冬秀, eds., *Tang-Wu dai wushier zhong biji xiaoshuo renming suoyin* 唐五代五十二種筆記小說人名索引 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1992), making it possible to canvass 138 official and unofficial histories for references to these women poets. These works were supplemented by Wang Zhongyong's *Tangshi jishi jiaojian* and the electronic database of *Siku quanshu*. The women were traced by looking up as many relevant names as possible. Some women were referred to by their relationships to important male figures in their lives, for example, when tracing Mianmian, one needs to look up such terms as 'Zhang Jianfeng's 建封 concubine' too. Even so one cannot completely re-create the level of knowledge Ji had about his own sources.

These two chapters list 41 women as having written poems during the Tang dynasty.[46] Of these women, 31 are based upon a single source text. The remaining ten are entries based on multiple biographical, historical and poetic sources. In the entries for Xue Tao and Mianmian, *Tangshi jishi* sets the stage for future readings or assumptions that the women wrote certain poems where earlier sources simply do not support such a reading.[47] With respect to the single source entries, Ji's re-compilation is often a word for word citation of the source text. Although he has not altered the wording of the source text, the very fact that he is extracting material from a source which often mentions one instance of a woman composing poetry and placing it together with 40 other women, changes the reader's perception about the scale of women's literary activity. This is a distinctive feature of Ji's collection, one which no other poetry talks collection prior to his exhibits.

One surprising feature which a reader notices is that Ji Yougong does not seem to have possessed copies of Xue Tao and Yu Xuanji's separate collected works. If he did, he did not choose to recopy more than one poem or two poems apiece. This is especially bewildering in the case of Xue Tao, given that Ji is a native of Sichuan, while Xue is often regarded as the female poet laureate of Sichuan. His almost contemporary Hong Mai, does appear to have access to a copy, as he cites so many poems by Xue Tao in *Wanshou Tangren jueju*. For Yu Xuanji, Ji includes one poem available in *Youxuan ji* or *Caidiao ji* and the fragments from *Sanshui xiaodu*, but nothing more. This makes his remark about the poverty of his library ring all the more true.

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[46] Ji Yougong was certainly aware of other women with poetry attributions. If he determined that the poet or anecdote dealt primarily with a man, he placed it under the entry for that man. For example, Liu Caichun 劉采春 and Sheng Xiaocong 盛小叢 have poems 'hidden' within the chapters of *Tangshi jishi* not explicitly dealing with women. That is, not in chapters 3, 78, or 79.

[47] The controversy over the attribution of 'Sending my old poems to Yuan Weizhi' was discussed in Chapter Two.

The works Ji cited constitute a wide, if not truly vast, array of historical and literary sources. Although he probably did not expect future readers to recognize so many disparate sources, he might have expected them to accept the veracity of his poetic compilation based on the presentation of a vast body of quotation. Close to sixty years passed between Ji's compilation of the manuscript in the 1160s and its first appearance in a print edition in 1224. If the identification tags appended to entries were initially added by the first printer Wang Xi, then the knowledge of the educated reader within sixty years of Ji's compilation efforts would already have lost contact or familiarity with the sources Ji used.

Some Tang poems only appear for the first time in the extant textual record as late as Song collections. This is the case with one of Li Jilan's poems and with Peng Kang's 彭伉 wife. Li Jilan's poem 'Tying up a letter to send to a friend' (*Jie suyu yi youren* 結素魚貽友人) does not appear in any of the surviving late Tang poetry collections, or in extant tenth- and eleventh-century texts.

One of Ji Yougong's contemporaries, Ye Tinggui 葉廷珪 (*jinshi* 1115),[48] provides the only known analogue to this poem in an encyclopedia he compiled.[49] Ye loved to read books, whenever he heard of an elite family with extraordinary books, there was not a one he would not borrow, and he copied anything useful from them out by hand. This is just the sort of trait one would expect to find in an encyclopedist. A noted poet in his own right, he was also an aficionado of Tang poetry. 'Tying up a letter to send to a friend' is one of the poems he chose for his encyclopedia:

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[48] Ye Tinggui 葉廷珪 (*jinshi* 1115), *zi* Sizhong 嗣忠, *hao* Cuiyan 翠巖, native of Ouning 甌寧, Fujian. Before 1127 he was the magistrate of Dexing 德興, after the dynasty moved south, he held various positions as *Taichang si cheng* 太常寺丞 and *bingbu langzhong* 兵部郎中; also was the magistrate of Quanzhou 泉州, then re-assigned to Zhangzhou 漳州. Ye Tinggui has a biography in *Songshi yi* 宋史翼 27.6a-7b (*XXSKQS* ed.). Ye Tinggui left his last official post in 1152, so his death date must have occurred no earlier than 1152. See Xu Song 徐松, *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿 vol. 4 (Taibei: Xinwenfang chuban gongsi, 1976), 3948.

[49] Unfortunately, Ye does not cite his source. See Ye Tinggui 葉廷珪, *Hailu suishi* 海錄碎事 9A.390, annot. Li Zhiliang 李之亮 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 2002). This edition is based on the edition of 1598, a Japanese edition of 1818, and a Ming manuscript in the Beijing library.

尺素如殘雪，結爲雙鯉魚。

欲知心裏事，看取腹中書。

Pure white like melting snow, tied up as a pair of carp.

If you want to know what's on my mind, read the letter in its belly.

In terms of the contents of the letter, there were certainly older poems and folktales which referred to fish as the carriers of letters.[50] Curiously, the Ming writer Yang Shen 楊慎 quotes an analogue of this poem, but refers to it as an old Music Bureau poem, he does not appear aware of any attribution to Li Jilan.[51]

Could Ye Tinggui have saved a poem from loss by recopying it just when he did, before it was possibly lost? Since there is no available antecedent other than that provided by Ye, all we can say about Ji's handling of the text is that Ji accepted Ye's attribution. In time this could serve as anecdotal evidence in support of the argument that compilers were (and are) frequently influenced by the editions more widely available in their own time rather than by earlier sources.

The previous two chapters already mapped out the extent to which there were ambiguities in attributions to authors of texts by the late Tang period and early Northern Song. Are Ye and Ji simply recycling an old Music Bureau poem, and re-attributing it to a known person, Li Jilan? The compilers of the *Quan Tangshi* accepted as a matter of faith that Ji had a textual source for the carp poem and they included this poem in their compilation.[52] If we

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[50] See the Music Bureau poem in *Wenxuan* 27.16a: 'A traveler arrived from a distant land and gave me a pair of carp. I told a servant to 'steam' the fish open, and inside there was a letter.' 客從遠方來，遺我雙鯉魚。呼童烹鯉魚，中有尺素書。

[51] See *Danqian yulu* 丹鉛餘錄 3.9a (*SKQS* ed.). He speculated that people in Tang times had the practice of placing poems and letters in fish-shaped envelopes instead of using sealing wax.

[52] Compare *Tangshi jishi* 78.1123 with *Quan Tangshi gaoben*, vol. 71, 255.

were to start the *Quan Tangshi* project from scratch today, it is not axiomatic that we would accept Ye and Ji's attributions of the poem to Li Jilan as proof.

With Peng Kang's wife, Ji Yougong may have preserved a text before its loss. There is only one other text that even addresses the identities of Peng Kang 彭伉 and his wife.[53]

From dancing girl Mianmian 眄眄 to virtuous poet Guan Panpan 關盼盼

Wang Xi appended a note to the *Tangshi jishi* entry on Zhang Jianfeng's singing girl, pointing to *Changqing ji*[54] as the source text.[55] This note is in error. The entry is based upon multiple sources to include the *Liqing ji* and a portion of unidentified origin (which may be oral tradition). Ji wove together his multiple sources creating an interpretation different from any one of the originals. His entry on Mianmian is arguably the most striking example of this effect. The following treatment emphasizes a chronological array of sources in order to track the changes in how Mianmian is presented over time by different writers and compilers.

Bo Juyi's account

One social gathering at the Zhang 張 family estate in 徐州 Xuzhou in 804 set this chain of texts in motion. Minister Zhang 張尚書 invited Bo Juyi 白居易 (772-846)[56] to a banquet and sent for his dancing girl Mianmian[57] to provide entertainment. Of the three, only

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[53] Peng Kang, a native of Yichun 宜春, Yuanzhou 袁州 fell off his ass when he heard that his wife's brother finally took his *jinshi* degree. See Wang Dingbao 王定保, *Tang zhiyan* 唐摭言 8.89 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978). This anecdote is also excerpted in *Taiping guangji* 180.1340, where the wife's surname is given as Zhan 湛. In *Tangshi jishi* 79.1135 her surname is given as Zhang 張. In the two poems Zhang sent to her husband she complained about his official duties, and how long he had been away from home. For Peng Kang's entry, see also *Tangshi jishi* 35.551.

[54] Bo Juyi, *Bo shi wenji* (listed by its alternate title *Changqing ji* and compiled in the 820s).

[55] See *Tangshi jishi* 78.7a-8a (Hong Pian). All other editions present this entry as one undifferentiated mass of text (as if from a single source), but this entry is divided into three sections.

[56] *Zi* Letian 樂天. One of the most famous poets of the Tang dynasty. For his official biographies, see *Jiu Tangshu* 166.4340 and *Xin Tangshu* 119.4300.

[57] It should be noted that Mianmian is listed as Guan Panpan 關盼盼 in *Quan Tangshi*. All references to her from the ninth until the thirteenth centuries refer solely to Mianmian 眄眄, Xixi 盼盼, or Panpan 盼盼, all characters with a clear visual resemblance. It is with the title of Hou Kezhong's 侯克中 *zaju Guan Panpan chunfeng Yanzilou* 關盼盼春風燕子樓 that she acquired the surname Guan. This work unfortunately is not extant. In addition, it should be noted that Mianmian was likely to have been a popular name among courtesans.

Bo Juyi wrote an account which survives to the present day (in part because he took such great pains to ensure the textual transmission of his work by depositing multiple copies in temples). His is the only insider account at our disposal. After Minister Zhang's death, there was one social call circa 816 between Zhang Zhongsu 張仲素 (769?-819),[58] also a Xuzhou native, and Bo Juyi in which they reminisced about the minister and his singing girl. It was that social call which inspired him to write this account. He mentioned the existence of three Swallow Tower poems but only cited in full his responses to them. The full text of Bo Juyi's account, 'Three Swallow Tower poems, with preface,' follows:[59]

> The deceased Minister Zhang of Xuzhou had a favorite entertainer named Mianmian. She had a lovely voice, was an elegant dancer, with many elegant and stylish poses. When I became an editing clerk I was traveling in the regions of Xuzhou and Sizhou 泗州, and Minister Zhang invited me to a banquet. We had drunk to our hearts' content when he had Mianmian brought out to entertain us, and how greatly entertained we were! Accordingly I gave her this couplet, 'The tipsy maiden cannot control hersel ; she's blown by the breeze like a peony blossom.' Having entertained us, she left [the room], after which I have not heard anything else about her. From then until now twelve years have passed. Yesterday Zhang Zhongsu 張仲素,[60] [styled] Huizhi 繪之, Vice Director of the Bureau of Merit Titles in the Ministry of Personnel (*sixun yuanwai lang* 司勳員外郎), paid me a visit, during which he recited some new poems, among them were the three Swallow Tower poems, with their phrasing so beautiful and delicate. I enquired about their origins,

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Other courtesans through the ages have held the name. The Ming compiler of women's literature Zhao Shijie 趙世杰 made note of a Song dynasty courtesan and poet named Mianmian, see *Lidai nüzi wenji* 歷代女子文集 (Taibei: Xinxing shuju, 1956) Xingshi 姓氏 section, p. 33.

[58] Zhang Zhongsu, *zi* Huizhi 繪之. He served as a Hanlin academician during the Yuanhe reign period. He does not have an official biography, but there are brief reference to his career in *Jiu Tangshu* 179.4656 and *Xin Tangshu* 169.5154. For information on his genealogy and written works, see *Xin Tangshu* 72B.2717, 59.1564, and 60.1626.

[59] *Bo shi wenji* 白氏文集 15.10a-11a (Beijing: Wenxue guji kanxingshe, 1955). The cover flap of the work gives the title *Bo shi Changqing ji* 白氏長慶集. For a partial translation of Bo's account, see Arthur Waley, *The Life and Times of Po Chü-i* (772-846) (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1949), 33.

[60] Thirty-nine of Zhang Zhongsu's poems are collected in *Quan Tangshi*. For a discussion of the transmission and losses of Zhang Zhongsu's poems, see Chen Shangjun, 'Tangren bianxuan shige zongji xulu' in *Tangdai wenxue congkao* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1997), 208.

[he] had written them *for*[61] Mianmian. Huizhi was engaged in official duties in the Wuning 武寧 army for many years,[62] and so he knew Mianmian extremely well. He said that when the Minister passed away, his body was returned home to the eastern Luoyang area for burial, and in Pengcheng 彭成 [present day Xuzhou, Jiangsu] there was an old Zhang family residence, within which there was a small tower, called the Swallow [Tower]. Mianmian, in memory of her former love, never married. She has lived in this tower for over ten years, alone and in solitude, up to the present day she is still there. I adored *Huizhi's new poems,* I felt as if I were on that past trip to Pengcheng, therefore I matched his titles and composed three quatrains:

滿窗明月滿簾霜，被冷燈殘拂臥床。

燕子樓中霜月夜，秋來祇爲一人長。

Moonlight fills the window and dew covers the curtains,

the flickering light casts shadows on the cold blankets of the bed.

In the Swallow Tower on an frosted moonlit night –

the coming autumn is too long for one person.

鈿暈羅衫色似煙，幾回欲著即潸然。

自從不舞霓裳曲，疊在空箱十一年。

Earrings and robes, colors subtle like mist,

the times she tried to wear them she broke into tears.

Ever since she stopped dancing the Rainbow Skirts Tune,

she laid them away in a chest eleven years ago.

今春有客洛陽回，曾到尚書墓上來。

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[61] This is an essential point in the interpretation and translation of this passage. The Chinese clause reads, '爲眄眄作也', the character 'wei' is critical indication of the meaning. If the character is read wei2, then the meaning is potentially 'by Mianmian.' If the character is read wei4, then Zhang Zhongsu wrote them 'for Mianmian.' I argue below that Ji Yougong interpreted the passage as 'by Mianmian'.

[62] That is, he was stationed where Zhang was the prefect, in the area where Mianmian lived, and was thus familiar with stories about her.

見說白楊堪作柱，爭[63]教紅粉不成灰。

This spring a traveler returned to Luoyang,
and paid a visit to the Minister's grave.
Seeing it, he remarked, how can the white poplar stand firm,
how is it the rouge has not turned to dust? [64] [emphasis added]

One must keep in mind the facts as presented in Bo's account. When he compiled *Bo shi wenji* in the 820s, he was not in a position to say whether Mianmian was still alive. At least he had not heard of any stories of her death after he composed the preface in 816. He did not mention *any* poetic compositions by Mianmian, and even though he harmonized with a set of poems composed by Zhang Zhongsu, he neglected to list, for whatever reason, Zhang's poems. In addition, Bo never referred within the body of the Swallow Tower preface to a poem he had written soon after 29 January, 807 (the date of Zhang Yin's death)[65] to Yin's courtesans as a group (Gan gu Zhang puye zhuji 感故張僕射諸妓). That poem is found elsewhere in the collection.[66] Following this line of reasoning, it is then logical to conclude that Bo Juyi only saw Mianmian as a delightful courtesan who later exhibited a profound degree of devotion to her deceased lord's memory – for Bo, Mianmian was not a poet, even if her devotion was a matter worthy of poetry.

Bo Juyi, the only participant at both social gatherings, knew precisely *which* Minister Zhang he meant and may have felt no need to write his account of the occasions for the benefit of complete outsiders. His interest was perhaps more concerned with the witty

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[63] Zhang Xiang 張相, *Shiciqu yuci huishi* 詩詞曲語辭匯釋 (Beijing: ZHSJ), 248 mentions this very line. *Zheng* in Tang times is often *zen* 怎.
[64] Bo Juyi, *Bo shi wenji* 15.10a-16a (Beijing: Wenxue guji kanxingshe, 1955).
[65] Zhang Yin's death is recorded in the annals for the *yihai* 乙亥 day, twelfth month, of the Yuanhe 元和 inaugural year in *Jiu Tangshu* 14.419.
[66] See *Bo shi wenji* 13.67a. This poem is discussed below.

compositions he made in harmony with the three Swallow Tower poems. If Bo Juyi had recopied Zhang Zhongsu's poems, before adding his own compositions, these issues would not still be under discussion today. But he did not, and so he left open the possibility that some one could come along at a later date, and compose from scratch the poems with which Bo harmonized, using the appropriate rhyme words, of course. The male literati readers of Bo's text, all of whom lived in an environment of frequent poetic composition (for both competition and cooperation), could have read the text and felt the temptation to fill in the gap. Just as nature abhors a vacuum, literati might have been uncomfortable with gaps in the textual record.

Wei Hu's 韋縠 Caidiao ji

There is at least a hundred-year gap between the completion of Bo Juyi's account and Wei Hu's[67] attribution of *one* Swallow Tower poem to Xixi 盼盼 in *Caidiao ji*. Readers of Bo Juyi's account would have expected to see three poems by Zhang Zhongsu.[68] Unfortunately, we do not know the reason why Wei Hu regarded Xixi as the author of the Swallow Tower poem. Wei may have been in no position to consider Zhang Zhongsu as the composer of that particular poem. By the mid-tenth century, the vast majority of Zhang Zhongsu's poems were no longer extant.[69] Poems by Zhang Zhongsu which are still extant come from a partially transmitted collection, the *Yuanhe san sheren ji* 元和三舍人集.[70] The vast majority of Zhang

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[67] Wei Hu was an inspection censor in the post-Tang kingdom of Shu (933-65).
[68] See *Caidiao ji* 10, in *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 963.
[69] For a discussion of the transmission and losses of Zhang Zhongsu's poems and separate collected works, see Chen Shangjun, 'Tangren bianxuan shige zongji xulu,' *Tangdai wenxue congkao* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1997), 208. See *Songshi* 161.5328.
[70] This is a one *juan* collection by an unknown compiler. It contained quatrains of five and seven syllable verse by three men (one of whom was Zhang Zhongsu) who were in posts as Hanlin academicians at the same time. Ji Yougong cites this collection as the source for the Zhang Zhongsu poems he included. See *Tangshi jishi* 42.645-

Zhongsu's extant 39 poems are boudoir poems – he had a reputation then and now for his expert feminine voice.[71]

If Bo Juyi had included Zhang Zhongsu's Swallow Tower poems in his account, or if more of Zhang Zhongsu's poems had survived and circulated more widely, then it might have been more difficult for Wei Hu to displace notions of Zhang's authorship in favor of the woman he referred to as Xixi.

If we turn to the Swallow Tower for a moment, we find that it is not unambiguously a symbol of Mianmian's love and chastity, it took on a different significance in the ninth century, in terms of both historical and narrative sources. Shi Pu 時溥, took advantage of the chaotic conditions surrounding the Huang Chao 黃巢 rebellion to seize power in 881 as independent governor of Wuning 武寧. After that rebellion was finally subdued, the imperial court eventually got around to regaining central control over Wuning. As imperial forces surrounded them in 893, Shi Pu and his wife immolated themselves in the Swallow Tower rather than be captured.[72] The Swallow Tower also receives a brief mention in the tenth-century collection *Yutang xianhua*. People see a woman in red appear at the balcony of Swallow Tower, then withdraw and vanish. They find this surprising as the tower was known to be locked up and empty. The event is treated as an omen of military defeat, perhaps even referring to Shi Pu's defeat in 893.[73]

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47. Ji Yougong was under the impression that Zhongsu was Zhang Jianfeng's son. Ibid, 647. Several of Zhang Zhongsu's poems preserved here are laments in the voice of beautiful women. The *Yuefu shiji* and *Wanshou Tangren jueju* also contain poems from the *Yuanhe san sheren ji*.

[71] See Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan wenxue yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院文學研究所, ed., *Tangshi xuan* 唐詩選 vol. 2 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1998), 56.

[72] See *Xin Tangshu* 188.5462-63. Robert M. Somers summarizes the problems of quelling rebellions (and the rise of independent military governors such as Shi Pu) during the Xizong reign period (873-888) in 'The End of the T'ang' in *CHC* vol. 3, 761-62 and 764-65. Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086) mentioned the loyalty and devotion of Mianmian in his historical chronology *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒. He briefly referred to her story and the location of Swallow Tower when he related the defeat of Shi Pu. Sima interprets Minister Zhang as a reference to Zhang Jianfeng. Nowhere does Sima Guang refer to Mianmian as a poet. See *Zizhi tongjian* 259.8442 (Beijing: Guji chubanshe, 1956).

[73] See *Taiping guangji* 144.1040. I am grateful to Glen Dudbridge for pointing out this reference.

Song narrative developments as presented in Liqing ji

Although the *Liqing ji* 麗情集[74] as a whole is no longer extant, excerpts are preserved in the *Leishuo*. Compiled in 1136 by Ji Yougong's friend, Zeng Zao, the *Leishuo* includes the *Liqing ji* account of the Swallow Tower:

> Zhang Jianfeng 建封 held the position of Vice Director of the Department of State Affairs (*puye* 僕射). He was the prefect of Wuning.[75] He took the dancer-courtesan Xixi into his household and installed her in the Swallow Tower. Bo Letian in the course of his official duties passed through Xuzhou, and said this of her in his poem, 'The tipsy maiden hasn't the strength to stand up, blown about by the breeze like a peony.' The master passed away and Xixi swore she would go nowhere else [to live as someone else's courtesan]. For the most part she wrote reply poems instead of engaging in direct conversation. There were almost three hundred poems in the *Swallow Tower Collection*. She once wrote three poems:
>
> 樓上殘燈伴曉霜，獨眠人起合歡床。
>
> 相思一夜情多少，地角天涯不是長。[76]
>
> Atop the tower a dying flame accompanies the morning dew,
>
> The solitary sleeper rises from a bed meant for the joy of two.

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[74] Compiled by Zhang Junfang 張君房, *zi* Tangying 唐英, who obtained his *jinshi* during the Jingde 景德 reign period (1004-1008). See Chao Gongwu 晁公武, *Junzhai dushuzhi jiaojian* 郡齋讀書志校箋 13.597, ed. Sun Meng 孫猛 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990). There are analogues to the *Liqing ji* account of Mianmian. For example, *Lüchuang xinhua* 綠窗新話 was actually compiled sometime during the Southern Song, but its version of her life and work is remarkably consistent with that found in the *Leishuo* extract of the *Liqing ji*, a Northern Song text. The name of the compiler is unknown, but he used the pseudonym Huangdu fengyue zhuren 皇都風月主人. See *Lüchuang xinhua* 2.156 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991). The differences between the *Lüchuang xinhua* and *Leishuo* citation of *Liqing ji* accounts of Mianmian are minor. In place of the 'Swallow Tower,' the *Lüchuang xinhua* gives the account a different title, 'Zhang Jianfeng's household courtesan chants a poem,' and cites a different source at the end of the account, 'taken from the *Limei ji* 麗媚記.' This might be a recopying mistake, as the *Limei ji* is not listed in bibliographic records, public or private, for the Song dynasty.

[75] The amalgamated name of Haozhou 濠州, Xuzhou 徐州 and Sizhou 泗州.

[76] Same version as the one listed in *Caidiao ji* 10. See *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 963.

The borders of heaven and earth aren't as long

As the entire nights I pass thinking of you.

北邙松柏鎖愁煙，燕子樓中思悄然。

自埋劍履歌塵散，紅軟香銷一十年。

On North Hill[77] pines and cypresses are enclosed by sorrowful mist.

Inside Swallow Tower I quietly mourn for you.

Since you were buried your singers[78] are scattered like dust.

And the scent of rouge and incense faded away ten years ago.[79]

適看鳴雁岳陽回，又睹玄禽過社來。

瑤瑟玉蕭無意緒，任從[80]蟲網任從灰。

I happened to see the geese return from Yueyang,[81]

I also watched the swallows coming home as a flock.

Precious lute and jade pipe – I don't have the heart to play them,[82]

I listen to the spider's web, I listen to the dust.

And Letian harmonized with those poems:

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[77] *Bei wang* 北邙 was a burial ground for the imperial family and high officials during the Eastern Han and Wei dynasties. It is located near Luoyang, Henan.

[78] Jian lu 劍履, literally 'sword and slippers.' The *locus classicus* is the phrase 劍履上殿 in *Hanshu* 39.2009. It refers to people who have been granted the privilege of retaining their swords and slippers during an audience with the emperor. Here it refers more broadly to Zhang's loved ones, his concubines.

[79] For an earlier translation of this poem, see Kenneth Rexroth and Ling Chung, *The Orchid Boat*, 15.

[80] For examples of *rencong* 任從 as 'to listen to,' see Zhang Xiang, *Shiciqu yuci huishi* 詩詞曲語辭匯釋 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1977), 110. The Swallow Tower poems are the *locus classicus*.

[81] A reference to the area south of Taiyue 太岳 mountain (which corresponds to present day Huo 霍 mountain in Shanxi province) but north of the Yellow River.

[82] Alternately, 'I don't' have the heart to restring them.' *Xu qin* 緒琴, to re-string the lute, i.e. to take a second husband or wife.

滿窗明月滿簾霜，被冷香銷獨臥床。

燕子樓前清月夜，秋來只爲一人長。

Moonlight fills the window and dew covers the curtains,

Under cold covers, incense dispersed, lying alone in bed.

In front of Swallow Tower on a clear moonlit night –

the coming autumn is too long for one person.

屢慰羅衫色似煙，一回欲看著潸然。

自從不舞霓裳曲，疊在空箱得幾年。

Often she stroked the gauze robes, colors subtle like mist,

The one time she tried to wear them she broke down in tears.

Ever since she stopped dancing the Rainbow Skirts Tune,

she laid them away in an empty chest many years ago.

今年有客洛陽回，曾到尚書塚上來。

見說白楊堪作柱，爭[83]教紅粉不成灰。

This year a traveler returned to Luoyang,

and paid a visit to the Minister's mound.

Seeing it, he remarked, how can the white poplar stand firm,

How can the rouge not turn to dust?

There was an additional quatrain which said:

黃金不惜賣[84]蛾眉，揀得如花 五四枝

[83] *Zheng* in Tang times often means *zen* 怎. See Zhang Xiang, *Shiciqu yuci huishi*, 248, which cites this poem as an example of this usage.

歌舞教成心力盡，一朝身去不相隨

Gold wasn't precious to him, he spent it on moth-like eyebrows.

He gathered the finest flowers, four or five blossoms.

He exhausted body and soul to perfect their songs and dances.

One morning his flesh departed, [but his spirit] did not follow.[85]

Xixi, in tears, responded, 'It's not that I'm incapable of dying. I fear that one hundred years from now, people will think I [sic][86] overemphasize beauty,' whereupon she harmonized with Master Bo's poem:

自守空樓斂恨眉，形同春後牡丹枝。

舍人不會人深意，訝道泉臺不去隨。

I dwell in an empty tower, eyebrows knit with regret,

body like sprays of peony past their spring prime.

The gentleman, misconstruing my intentions,

Bewildered, says I do not follow my lord to the world below.[87]

Where Bo Juyi did not give the first name of Minister Zhang, the compiler of *Liqing ji* points to Zhang Jianfeng 張建封. Another startling contrast between *Liqing ji* and Bo Juyi's account is the mention of Xixi as a prolific writer of poems all in her very own collection. The *Liqing ji* then goes on to provide all three of the Swallow Tower poems, followed by Bo Juyi's harmonized responses of 816-17, then his quatrain of 807, 'In sympathy for the courtesans of

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[84] I read this as a mistake for mai 買, to purchase.

[85] Later readers have construed this line as 'they would not follow,' implying the concubines refused to follow their master to the grave. For this reason, Xixi's reply addresses why she did not follow him to the grave.

[86] The word *gong* 公 is missing here, thus making it look as if Xixi is the one who overemphasizes beauty.

[87] Zeng Zao, comp., *Leishuo* 29.2b-3b (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1970).

deceased Vice Minister of the Department of State Affairs'(Gan gu Zhang puye zhuji 感故張僕射諸妓).[88] In the *Liqing ji* extract, she is allowed to respond to Bo's quatrain, and defend her virtue in verse. Nothing follows her defense – the *Liqing ji* contains no statements regarding the manner of Xixi's death, a trait consistent with all previous texts on the Swallow Tower. The perception of Zhang's singing girl during the Northern Song portrays a consistent view of a woman who lived in solitude after her master's death (a master thought to be Zhang Jianfeng), one who also wrote poetry (even if the body of poems was not preserved).

The Tangshi jishi *recension of Zhang Jianfeng's singing girl*

Having examined the textual environment prior to the mid-twelfth century, it is now possible to read Ji's entry on Zhang's singing girl with heightened sensitivity to the placement and texture of his source material:

> Among Letian's poems there are the ones 'In harmony with the Swallow Tower poems,' the preface to which says: 'The deceased Minister Zhang of Xuzhou had a beloved courtesan Mianmian who was adept at singing and dancing, she had many elegant and stylish poses. When I became an Editing Clerk I was traveling through the Huaizhou and Sizhou area, and Minister Zhang held a banquet for me. When we were well into our cups, he brought out Mianmian to entertain us. I subsequently composed a poem, the final couplet went like this: "The tipsy maiden cannot bring herself to speak,[89] the wind blows her about like a peony." Having entertained us, she retired. After this I knew nothing more [about her], and it has been a full twelve years since then. Yesterday the Vice Director of Merit Titles in the Ministry of Personnel, Zhang Zhongsu,

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[88] Usually dated 806 by Hanabusa Hideki 花房英樹 and early 807 by Zhu Jincheng 朱金城. See Hanabusa Hideki, *Hakushi Monju no hihanteki kenkyū* 白氏文集之批判的研究 (Tokyo: Ibundo, 1960), 524. Zhu Jincheng, *Bo Juyi ji jianjiao* 白居易檢校 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1988), 761. Bo Juyi placed this poem in *Bo shi wenji* 13.67a, and the Swallow Tower poems in 15.10a-11a.

[89] Literally, *sheng bu de* 聲不得. Compare *Tangshi jishi* 78.7a (Zhang Zili) *sheng bu de* 勝不得.

[styled] Huizhi, paid me a visit. He took advantage of the occasion to chant poems, the most recent of which were the three Swallow Tower poems, their phrasing was delicate and beautiful. I inquired about their origin, and they were Mianmian's compositions. Huizhi, who had been occupied by official duties in the Wuning army for many years, and so was fairly conversant with everything related to Mianmian, said, "Minister Zhang passed away.[90] Pengcheng was the site of the former Zhang family residence, within which was a small tower named Swallow [Tower], and Mianmian in memory of her former love never married, but lived in the tower for over ten years, even now she is still there." Mianmian's poems went like this: [First, second and third Swallow Tower poems].

I used to adore her new poems, so I harmonized with them: [First, second and third harmonized responses to the Swallow Tower poems].

I also composed a quatrain about her [the poem from 807]. Later Zhongsu showed my poem to Mianmian, *who read it over and over again*, in tears she said, "Ever since my lord passed away, it's not that I'm unable to die, rather that I'm afraid that one hundred years from now, people will think my lord placed [too much] importance on beauty, and to have a concubine following him to his grave, would stain my lord's spotless reputation, that is the only reason I've gone on living." Then she harmonized with *Master Bo's* poem: "I live in this empty tower, my eyebrows knit with regret, my body like a spray of peony past its spring blossom. The gentleman , not understanding the depth of my intent, in bewilderment says that I do not follow my lord to the underworld." *After Mianmian had received the poem, she was so distraught she did not eat for ten days, whereupon she died, but she chanted this poem, "The boy, not recognizing a creature from heaven, recklessly slings black mud on its snow white feathers."* Taken from the *Changqing ji*.[91] [Emphasis added].

The first important question for the reader is, where does the quotation of Bo's preface end? Where is it supposed to end? The Chinese does not make this clear. If the passage really came from Bo Juyi's account it would not include the original Swallow Tower poems, it would not

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[90] The phrase 'his body was returned home for burial in the eastern Luoyang area' is not present in this version, but it is included in *Quan Tangshi* 802.9023, and in *Tangshi jishi* 78.1126 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965).
[91] *Tangshi jishi* 78.1125-26.

include his quatrain from 807, it would not have Bo Juyi refer to himself as Master Bo, nor would Zhang Zhongsu be showing Bo's poems to Mianmian. There would be no response to Bo's quatrain. Lastly, it would not include the manner of her death nor her death chant. These last two items are the major innovations in *Tangshi jishi*. At the present time, the nature of Ji's source for these innovations is unknown, although some scholars speculate that Wang Xi was responsible for the interpolation of the additional material.[92] Ji pointed out in his preface that he made use of oral traditions, but he did not point out precisely where specific strands derived from oral tradition.[93] Until other relevant texts come to light, nothing of substance can yet be proved about the source of the death and death chant material. Despite the unknown source of the two major innovations, these new additions portraying her death provide another avenue of tracking the textual transmission of later versions of the Mianmian legend. Any post-Song text referring to Mianmian, her death by starvation and her last couplet would have been influenced by their compilers' reading of *Tangshi jishi*. The *Tangshi jishi* recension of Bo's account of the Swallow Tower poems displaced Bo's own account (as it appears in *Bo shi wenji*). We know this because we can see that the compilers of the first draft of *Quan Tangshi* relied on *Tangshi jishi*, not on *Bo shi wenji*.[94]

Classical scholarship and the interpretation of the texts

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[92] Huang and Huang argue that Ji Yougong did not add the innovations at the end of the passage. They attribute those innovations to Wang Xi or one of his hired scribes in the thirteenth century. See Huang and Huang, 'Bo Juyi *Yanzilou* shi kaobian,' 104.

[93] The only other item in chapters 78 and 79 which might derive from oral tradition concerns a remark Liu Changqing made about Li Jilan: 'Li Jilan is a poetic giant among women.' See *Tangshi jishi* 78.1124.

[94] See the word for word quotation of *Tangshi jishi* in *Quan Tangshi gaoben* vol. 71, 77-79. In its final form the *Quan Tangshi* holds attributions to both Zhang Zhongsu and Guan Panpan. See *Quan Tangshi* 367.4139 and 802.9023.

Traditional scholars generally did not question Mianmian's role as poet,[95] but occasionally they raised questions about the identity of Minister Zhang and the timing of his banquet with Bo Juyi.

Two lines of thought developed over time. Most readers and compilers concluded that Minister Zhang was a reference to Zhang Jianfeng 張建封 (735-800),[96] while the minority disagreed and pointed to Jianfeng's son, Zhang Yin 張愔(d. 807).[97] In the thirteenth century the Song dynasty book collector and bibliographer Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 first noticed the ambiguity inherent in 'Minister Zhang':

> In the matter of the Swallow Tower, the world believes it refers to Zhang Jianfeng. But the fact of the matter is, Jianfeng died in Zhenyuan 16 (800), moreover, his official position was that of Minister of the Board of Works (*sikong*), not that of Minister of State (*shangshu*). As it turns out, it was his son who was the minister. It is [compiler of] the *Liqing ji* who mistakenly reckons the minister Zhang to be Jianfeng. Although this is a detailed matter, no doubt one can correct the absurdities of a thousand years of rumors.'[98]

Chen is correct in his assertion that Jianfeng died in 800, and that Bo could only have met with Yin in 804. According to the standard histories of the Tang, Zhang Jianfeng died on the

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[95] Hu Zhenheng did not question her identity as a poet, but he did not attribute the three Swallow Tower poems to her. In his still unpublished work on Tang poetry, *Tangyin tongqian* 唐音統籤 920, he was one of the few who did not attribute the Swallow Tower poems to Mianmian. I have not been able to consult this work, so here I follow Tong Peiji, *Quan Tangshi chongchu wushou kao*, 312.

[96] For Zhang Jianfeng's official biography, see *Jiu Tangshu* 140.3828 and *Xin Tangshu* 158.4939. Compare with the errors in Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, 14-15, 'A statesman and general who flourished under Emperor Dezong, and distinguished himself by his skillful operations against the rebels of that period. He rose to be a Minister of State, and so completely gained the confidence of the emperor that at his last audience the latter presented him with his own riding whip, saying, "In your fidelity and devotion, adversity works no change." His favorite concubine Panpan, was so overcome by the news of his death that on hearing a poem in which reference was made to his grave, she threw herself out of the window and was killed.' This does not match Ji Yougong's (or any other) account of her death. The standard histories of the Tang do not record this incident. Giles probably confused Panpan with Green Pearl 綠珠, a favorite of a court official who was under pressure to give her up to a powerful bureaucrat. For the account of Green Pearl's suicide leap from a tower, see *Jinshu* 33.1008 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1974).

[97] For Zhang Yin's official biography, see *Jiu Tangshu* 140.3832 and *Xin Tangshu* 158.4941.

[98] Chen Zhensun, *Bo wengong nianpu* 白文公年譜, 10b-11a (*SKQS* ed).

gengxu 庚戌 day in the fifth month of Zhenyuan 16 (9 May, 800).[99] Chen has erred, however, in the matter of titles and bureaucratic positions. Zhang Jianfeng was a minister at one point in his career (contrary to Chen's summary of his official career),[100] and so was his son Yin. In the eleventh month of the Yuanhe inaugural year (14 December 806 - 12 January 807), Yin was summoned to fill a position as the minister of the Board of Works but unfortunately he died before he could take up the new post. In that respect, it is not surprising that so many readers paid little attention to dates, and only thought of the Minister Zhang they were most likely to have heard of.

Supporters of the Jianfeng attribution assumed that Bo Juyi was relying on his memory when compiling his account, and was susceptible to making mistakes about the timing of his first visit to Minister Zhang of Xuzhou. To the supporters of the Jianfeng attribution, that meant that Bo must have met him prior to 800. Bo Juyi did not explicitly name the year corresponding to 804, instead he referred to the time in relation to the events of his own life, when he was appointed an Editing Clerk. Supporters of the Zhang Yin attribution, in contrast, accepted Bo's testimony of an initial visit in 804, and thus reasoned that Bo could only have met Yin.

Ji Yougong clearly sided with the majority view and listed Zhang as Zhang Jianfeng and Mianmian as his singing girl.[101] Ji ironically, was aware of Zhang Jianfeng's death date at one point. Earlier in his work, he noted that Zhang Jianfeng passed away in Zhenyuan 16.[102] But such knowledge would not mean that Ji was aware of Bo's appointment as editing clerk (and subsequent trip to Xuzhou) in 804.

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[99] *Jiu Tangshu* 13.392. For Zhang Jianfeng's official biography, see *Jiu Tangshu* 140.3828 and *Xin Tangshu* 148.4939. Zhang Jianfeng's poems may be found in *Tangshi jishi* 35.534 and *Quan Tangshi* 275.3117.
[100] In 791 he was appointed an Acting Minister of the Board of Rites (檢校禮部尚書). See *Jiu Tangshu* 140.3830.
[101] *Tangshi jishi* 78.1125.
[102] *Tangshi jishi* 35.534.

If we accept the accuracy of Bo's timekeeping, the second question about the date of the first banquet falls into place. When did Minister Zhang entertain Bo Juyi to a banquet? And when did Zhang Zhongsu meet Bo Juyi to trade poems? We have just pinned down the first date – Zhang Yin and Bo Juyi met in 804. But when did Zhang Zhongsu and Bo meet? They met ten years after Zhang Yin's death in 807, that is, in 816-17.

Doubts about Bo's bewildered attitude toward Panpan's inability to follow her master to the grave only arose in the late imperial period. Zhang Zongtai 張宗泰 (1750-1832) in his essay 'Zhiyi shancun' 質疑刪存 made the following observations about the quatrain of 807: 'It is merely that he is moved with sympathy for the courtesans - it is not the case that he was berating them; moreover, the [body of the] poem refers to three or four 'branches,' and the title is addressed to a group of courtesans, thus it is clear that this poem does not involve Panpan.'[103]

So on occasion, traditional scholars were quite skeptical about a couple of issues : Zhang Jianfeng as the master, and about the *Liqing ji* and *Tangshi jishi* recensions of Bo's bewilderment over Mianmian's failure to commit suicide, but they did not actively doubt that Mianmian was a poet.

The main change modern scholars have brought to the analysis is that they no longer accept the argument that Mianmian wrote the Swallow Tower poems.[104] They have made that change because they have been able to assemble the relevant extant texts. Ji claimed to be

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[103] As cited in Huang Yihai 黃意海 and Huang Jingwen 黃井文, 'Bo Juyi *Yanzilou* shi kaobian' 白居易《燕子樓》詩考辨, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產(1997.4): 105-06.

[104] This is one of the rare occasions in which Su Zhecong disputes the attributions in *Mingyuan shigui* and *Quan Tangshi*. She usually accepts the vast majority of attributions to women. See *Guiwei de tanshi – Tangdai nü shiren*, 159. Su Zhecong follows Zhu Jincheng argument that Panpan's response poem to Bo Juyi's quatrain of 807 and her death chant are Ming forgeries. See Zhu Jincheng, *Bo Juyi nianpu* 白居易年譜 (Taibei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1991), 30. This is not a Ming forgery. Both Hong Pian and Zhang Zili independently of each other printed editions in 1545 based on the edition of 1224. Both editions of 1545 have the same recensions of the entry on Zhang Jianfeng's singing girl. Unless one argues that all extant copies of the 1224 *Tangshi jishi* were drastically and consistently altered prior to 1545 (which no one has done), the interpolated material that Su and Zhu argue as dating to the Ming had already appeared by 1224. See *Tangshi jishi* 78.7a-8a (Hong Pian) and *Tangshi jishi* 78.6b-8a (Zhang Zili).

citing Bo Juyi's preface (historical), but did not admit to consulting the *Liqing ji* or one of its analogues. There are obvious signs of overlap between the *Liqing ji* and *Tangshi jishi* texts, for example the pairing of Zhang Jianfeng and Mianmian as the couple in question. Even if Ji did not draw on the *Liqing ji* at first hand, he must have consulted one of its analogues and combined it with Bo Juyi's account, to give it the Swallow Tower poems it lacked. The result, as we have seen, is not seamless. Through much of the passage Bo speaks with the first person pronoun. When Mianmian abruptly replies to Master Bo's poem, the reader has encountered a rupture. Bo would never refer to himself as Master Bo. Ji as the compiler of the passage, or Wang Xi as the editor, has combined multiple texts, but left scars at points of junction and disjunction. Despite its imperfections, it is this passage which ensures that later readers encounter Mianmian the poet. Ninth-century texts, in contrast, describe Mianmian as a tipsy dancing girl who lived in solitude and chastity after her master's death. Mianmian as the author of the Swallow Tower poems is a product of the reading, re-writing, and compiling carried out by Ji Yougong and others.[105] Post-Song texts further develop the narrative and branch out to include drama. The lost Yuan dynasty drama 'Guan Panpan passing her youth in the Swallow Tower' 關盼盼春風燕子樓 may be the first work to give Panpan a surname.[106] Such was the transformation from Mianmian to Guan Panpan.

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[105] There are also Song poetic treatments of the Swallow Tower. In 1078, Su Shi 蘇軾 (*zi* Dongpo 東坡, 1036-1101) spent one night at Pengcheng in his capacity as the Prefect of Xuzhou. He dreamt of Panpan, then wrote a long poem about her. He mentioned her name only once in the title-preface, as this simple and eloquent couplet clearly referred to her, 'The Swallow Tower is empty, where is the beautiful lady now?' See Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋, *Quan Songci* 全宋詞 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965), 302. For an English translation of the entire poem, see James Liu, *Major Lyricists of the Northern Sung*, 132. Su Shi's contemporary Qin Guan 秦觀 also wrote a poem evoking the Swallow Tower. See Wu Na 吳訥 comp., *Baijia ci* 百家詞 vol. 1, ed. Hu Xuecheng 胡雪琤 (Tianjin : Tianjin shi guji shudian, 1992), 414. For an anecdote which describes Ji Yougong's friend Zeng Zao discussing Su Shi and Qin Guan's composition of poems about Panpan and the Swallow Tower, see Wang Yiqing 王奕清, 'Qin Guan emulates Liu Qi' 秦觀學柳七, *Lidai cihua* 歷代詞話 5.1186-87 in *Cihua congbian* 詞話叢編, vol. 2 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1986).

[106] Fu Xihua 傅惜華, *Yuandai zaju quanmu* 元代雜劇全目 Beijing: Zuojia chubanshe, 1957), 18. See the entry on the Yuan playwright Hou Kezhong 侯克中 (d. 1315) which lists the titles and plots of this *zaju*. The developments in Ming narrative are too numerous to summarize here.

What happened to the transmission of the three poems composed by Zhang Zhongsu between 816 and the mid-tenth century (when Wei Hu attributed a Swallow Tower poem to Xixi)? We cannot answer that crucial question, but the little we do know relies on the fact that here are no extant ninth-century accounts which refer to Mianmian as a poet. If she was indeed a poet, we do not have access to her words today. It is only with tenth-century collections and eleventh-century narrative that she receives her attributions as a poet. Could it be that Zhang Zhongsu lost his authorial voice because he was so good at imitating feminine voice? If so, a sort of positive discrimination for women's poetry was in progress. What Zhang Zhongsu lost in the way of an attribution was gained by Mianmian. Mianmian, in effect, became a poet because people thought this was precisely the way she would have been thinking and composing while alone up in the Swallow Tower. The perceptions of her virtue have thus ended up supporting perceptions of her authorship of the Swallow Tower poems. The full set of three Swallow Tower poems came into being sometime between the early ninth century and date of compilation of the *Liqing ji* (early eleventh century). The narratives about Mianmian have developed over an even longer period of time, indeed they are still changing today.[107] Collectors wishing to establish the evidence of a literary tradition by Tang women should look elsewhere rather than rely on the *Tangshi jishi* account of Mianmian. But this is precisely what the compilers of *Quan Tangshi* did.

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[107] The tales about Mianmian continue to develop. See the website for tourists to Xuzhou, China which retells the tale of Mianmian and Swallow Tower <http://www.ctn.com.cn/china/xuzhou/you1-52.htm>. New developments include the notions that she could sing Bo Juyi's entire 'Song of Everlasting Sorrow' in one breath, and that she and Zhang would spend romantic evenings together watching the sunset from the Swallow Tower. Other recent developments accuse Bo Juyi of murder by poetry! See Cai Zhuozhi 蔡卓之, *100 Celebrated Chinese Women*, illustrator Lu Yanguang 盧延光, trans. Kate Foster 方凱蒂 (Singapore: Asiapac Books, 1995), 137-38.

Heureusement le sable est là, qui enfouit, mais qui conserve, et qui nous rend aujourd'hui ce que la main de l'homme n'a pas anéanti.[1] Paul Pelliot

This chapter is a study of the poems found in Dunhuang attributed to women.[2] It attempts to answer one central question, 'To what extent may poetry by women be recovered from the various collections held around the world?' The majority of poetry fragments associated with Tang women are held in the Oldenburg collection in St. Petersburg, Russia. A substantive answer will ultimately depend on the age and authenticity of the Russian fragments. Until they undergo physical analysis, it is not yet possible to assess them as forgeries or authentic preserved documents. The answer offered in this chapter will develop the implications of three broad possibilities: the fragments date to the tenth or eleventh centuries and do reflect compositions by Tang women, the fragments date to the tenth or eleventh centuries but are compositions inserted into the chain of textual transmission by men, or the fragments are recent creations roughly a hundred years old.

What follows is a summary of the historical conditions of manuscript discovery and dispersal, a brief explanation of the differences between genuine and forged documents, and an example of lost poetry preserved in Dunhuang documents. Then the fragments containing poems attributed to Tang women are studied in detail.

The discovery of preserved documents at Dunhuang

Manuscripts were first discovered at Dunhuang, Gansu in the summer of 1900.[3] A Daoist monk, Wang Yuanlu 王圓祿 (1849-1931), is credited with the discovery of the

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[1] Foreword, *Les Grottes de Touen-houang*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1920), 1.

[2] Dunhuang, Gansu was not the only place in which the desert conditions were amenable to preservation of documents. Documents have been recovered from other places such as Turfan. All the documents and fragments discussed in this chapter are from, or attributed to, Dunhuang, hence the phrase 'Dunhuang documents.'

[3] For an argument that the discovery of Dunhuang documents dates back to the 1890s, see Ishihama, Juntarō 石濱純太郎, 'Tonkō zakkō' 敦煌雜考, *Shinagaku ronkō* 支那學論改 (Osaka: Zenkoku shohō, 1943), 2-3. Ishihama's argument is based on a misunderstanding of Ye Changchi's 葉昌熾 (1849-1917) recollections in *Yushi* 語石 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1986 (rept. of 1909 ed.)). Rong Xinjiang, in contrast, in his reading of Ye Changchi's diary, notes that Ye once met with Wang Guangwen 王廣文 (a Dunhuang native), who informed

Mogao 莫高 cave.[4] Other than presenting a few manuscripts and paintings to local officials (such as Wang Li'an 汪栗庵), he supposedly left the majority of items in place. The explorers Sir Marc Aurel Stein (1862-1943, British national of Hungarian origin) in 1907 and Paul Pelliot (1878-1945, French) in 1908 were the first to remove documents in bulk.[5]

The Chinese government was already aware of the discovery, but only when Pelliot departed the country by way of Beijing, did the necessity of acquiring the remaining manuscripts for safekeeping become urgently clear. The bulk of the Chinese holdings of documents were cleared from Cave 17 and transported to the Ministry of Education in 1910.[6]

Sergei Oldenburg (1863-1934, Russian)[7] was the last major explorer to arrive in 1914-15.[8] There is a dispute as to which cave(s) the Oldenburg expedition excavated. Fang Guangchang argues that it could not have been from Cave 17, which would have been empty by that time. P.E. Skachkov maintains that the vast majority of the Oldenburg collection is from Cave 17, yet reveals that the expedition obtained approximately 200 fragments from

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him of the opening of the Mogao Cave in 1900. See Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, 'Ye Changchi, Dunhuangxue de xianxingzhe' 葉昌熾敦煌學的先行者, *IDP News* 7 (Spring 1997): 2. It is also important to note that different expeditions did not always number the caves in the same manner. The cave in which the manuscripts were found is Cave 17 (also known as Cave 163 under the Pelliot convention).

[4] See Susan Whitfield, 'Introduction,' *Dunhuang Manuscript Forgeries* (hereafter *DMF*), *The British Library Studies in Conservation Science 3* (London: The British Library, 2002), 9.

[5] See M. Aurel Stein, *Serindia* 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921). See also, Paul Pelliot, *Les Grottes de Touen-houang* 6 vols. (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1920-1924). Stein reached Dunhuang in May 1907 and purchased a number of cartloads of documents from the monk for a pittance. Stein did not read Chinese, so he aimed for bulk to compensate for quality. He did have the assistance of a Chinese scholar (Jiang Xiaowan 蔣孝琬) whose Confucian education left him with little to no background knowledge of Buddhism. See *Serindia*, vol. 2, 795. Stein made a total of four trips to Dunhuang. When examining Stein documents it is important to note which expedition. Documents from the third and fourth trips contain a higher number of forgeries. Unlike Stein, Pelliot was able to read Chinese so he was more selective about his choice of manuscripts. The Chinese point of view, then and now, is that Stein and Pelliot plundered China's rich cultural heritage. The Stein and Pelliot collections now reside in London and Paris.

[6] This is not, however, the end to the acquisition of Dunhuang documents (from caves other than Cave 17) by foreigners. Ōtani Kozui's 大谷光瑞 (1876-1948, Japanese) mission arrived in Dunhuang in 1911 and employed local people to search for material in every cave, thus items in the collection are of mixed provenance – from Cave 17 and elsewhere.

[7] For background on Oldenburg see I. I. Krachkovskii, *Sergei Fedorovich Oldenburg*. Leningrad: ANSSSR, 1934. The Dunhuang expedition was not his first central Asian expedition. He had been to Turfan in 1909-10.

[8] For a comparison of the collection methods of the Ōtani and Oldenburg expeditions, see Fang Guangchang 方廣錩, 'Three Questions in the Appraisal of Dunhuang Manuscripts,' *DMF*, 84-85.

locals.[9] The approximately 19,000 items which they excavated or purchased have been in the Oldenburg collection at the Institute of Oriental Studies (IOS), Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg branch from 1915 to the present.[10]

Since 1900 over 100,000 manuscripts, paintings and textiles have been excavated from the caves in Dunhuang.[11] These items were not always catalogued upon removal from the caves, nor were they always systemically inventoried en route or at their final destination.[12]

Susan Whitfield has cogently summarized the primary problem facing the manuscripts: 'A full understanding of the historical circumstances of the discovery and dispersal of the manuscripts and a clarification of the provenance of all those manuscripts previously labelled as from Dunhuang is long overdue, and this should be the first aim of future research.'[13] Understanding of the documents grew slowly throughout the twentieth century. The geographical dispersion of the documents and international rivalries of the Cold War period (1945-1990) hampered the best efforts of scholars, who usually had to content themselves with the contents of the nearest national collection. This had the predictable result of making

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[9] See P. E Skachkov 斯卡奇科夫, '1914-1915 nian Eguo xiyu (Xinjiang) kaochatuan ji' 1914-1915 年俄國西域(新疆)考察團記, *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 50 (1992): 112 and 117, note 18.

[10] For photo-reprints of every scroll and fragment in the Oldenburg collection, see Lev N. Menshikov and Qian Bocheng 錢伯城, eds. *Ecang Dunhuang wenxian* 俄藏敦煌文獻 17 vols. (Shanghai and Moscow: Shanghai guji chubanshe and Nauka Press, 1995-2001). A catalog covering every item remains to be done.

[11] The vast majority of the manuscripts recovered from Dunhuang caves are Buddhist texts (usually sutras on hemp paper) dating from the fifth to the tenth centuries. Poetry recoveries, in contrast, constitute only a minor part of the Dunhuang documents.

[12] Bags of fragments sat un-inventoried in IOS, St. Petersburg until a beetle was discovered in the holding room in 1932. The room was subsequently fumigated, and 1,000 items were decontaminated between 1935 and 1941. See Nadia Brovenko, 'The conservation history of the Dunhuang Collection preserved in the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.' *Dunhuang and Turfan: Contents and Conservation of Ancient Documents from Central Asia, The British Library Studies in Conservation Science 1* (London: The British Library, 1996), 44. It is unknown whether the fragments studied in this chapter have ever been subjected to any decontamination or conservation procedures.

[13] Susan Whitfield, 'Introduction,' *DMF*, 20. To facilitate scholarly work on the manuscripts, the International Dunhuang Project (IDP) has taken as its mission the placement of all images of Dunhuang documents, images and material objects on a central website, but this goal of virtual unification in cyberspace of all the geographically dispersed items is still more dream than reality. Approximately 20,000 items per year are added to the IDP website, but the virtual collection does not include major collections such as Oldenburg. See *IDP News* 22-3 (Winter 2002 and Spring 2003): 1. See <http://idp.bl.uk> for the mission statement of this organization, and a partial database of manuscript images.

the work of many scholars provisional. In the 1990s as scholars have gained access to a greater number of manuscripts in other collections, it has become possible to revise earlier works of assessment and identification.

In practical terms this has meant two things: first, that at every juncture in the chain of transmission there have been opportunities for the insertion of forged documents. Second, only in the past twenty years have scholars become aware that a small percentage of the documents, but just *how* small a percentage is a point of contention.

The differences between authentic and forged Dunhuang documents

When assessing the authenticity of a document it is important to determine the precise place of origin (which cave), date of the manuscript,[14] and physical integrity of the collection.[15] Some scholars would draw a baseline between pre- and post-1910 manuscripts in order to reduce the amount of material that would come under greater scrutiny. Following this baseline, the Oldenburg collection would need to be the subject of intense examination relative to its British and French counterparts.[16] Other scholars, in an attempt to take the pressure off the nationalistic perspective on the collections, have proposed that any document which did not pass through Wang Yuanlu's hands is subject to suspicion of forgery.[17]

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[14] After a certain point in time, Fang Guangchang argues, it could not be from Cave 17, which was sealed some time in the first half of the eleventh century. Dunhuang documents from sources other than Cave 17, in contrast, could be from the vicinity of the Mogao caves dating up to 1372. Having examined a number of forgeries, Fang proposes that the primary period for modern forgeries based on reasons of supply and demand occurs between 1910 and 1937. See Fang, *DMF*, 93.

[15] If there are documents which have intruded from sites other than the site of origin, how did they get there? The answer to this question involves assessing the level of carelessness in handling the collection by excavators and later institutional holders. A high level of carelessness allows for the possibility not only that some materials are mislabeled as to the cave of provenance but also that forgeries were inserted into the holdings. Some non-Dunhuang documents became Dunhuang documents after the fact, due to mistakes in cataloging by curators.

[16] In other words, the (first and second) Stein and Pelliot collections are taken as a baseline since they are held to be free of forgeries. Xu Jun has proposed that P 2492 and Дх 3865 fit together, and he presumably accepts the argument that fitting implies authenticity. Fujieda Akira did not consider these types of cases when he stated in 1997 that the majority of the Oldenburg collection was forged.

[17] Shi Pingting, 'Gai shu' 概述, *Gansu cang Dunhuang wenxian* 甘肅藏敦煌文獻 vol. 1 (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1999), 1. Part of the problem, in Shi Pingting's view, is the lack of knowledge about forgery networks.

The authenticity of a particular document is also based on assessing a number of characteristics. The first of these is whether the item of interest is a fragment or a whole text. There are more forgeries of complete texts such as sutras than there are of fragments. The second concerns the subject of the text. Fang Guangchang has observed, based on his experience in examining the Beijing, London and Paris collections, that "most forgers copied the common Buddhist sutras: the Diamond, Lotus, etc. Some copied less well-known texts or commentaries but these all existed in wood-block printed versions or editions which had already been discovered and edited from among the Dunhuang manuscripts."[18]

A third characteristic is the type of paper, its composition and age. The age of the paper is a crucial piece of data. There is a significant period of time between modern forgeries and bona fide Dunhuang documents. The paper for the former is only about one hundred years old, the paper for the latter is at least a thousand years old.[19] Such a difference is large enough for dating techniques such as carbon 14 dating to be useful. For the radiocarbon dating, unfortunately, one must take a section of the paper in question for the test, and the test will destroy the paper.

A fourth characteristic is the type of ink,[20] which is also unknown. Although information about ink is lacking, the style of calligraphy, the fifth characteristic, is also

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[18] Fang Guangchang, *DMF*, 93.

[19] At times, forgers have managed to procure some old blank papers, which they proceed to write on. They are usually unable to prevent the ink from spreading over the old paper for a feathering effect, that is, the ink spreads out to give the writing a very fuzzy appearance.For an analysis of how ink bonds with paper in genuine versus forged Dunhuang documents, see Du Weisheng, 'A Short Description of Eight Dunhuang Forgeries in the National Library of China,' *DMF*, 323. Du refers to the feathering effect as a floating effect. For a description of the feathering effect in western documents, see Kenneth W. Rendell, *Forging History: The Detection of Fake Letters & Documents* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 16.

[20] Examination of the size of carbon particles in Chinese ink under a scanning electron microscope provides the data to distinguish between pine soot ink (tenth century and before) and lampblack ink (post-tenth century). See John Winter, 'Preliminary Investigations on Chinese Ink in Far Eastern Paintings,' *Advances in Chemistry. Archaeological Chemistry* vol. 138 (Summer 1974): 207-218. For a description of Chinese ink (but no mention of what Chinese ink does when applied to old paper), see Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, *Paper and Printing, Science and Civilisation in China* vol. 5, part 1, ed. Joseph Needham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 233-247; and Lily Chia-jen Kecskes, 'A Study of Chinese Inkmaking: Historical, Technical and Aesthetic,' M.A. thesis. University of Chicago, 1981; and Kecskes, 'Chinese Ink and Inkmaking,' *Printing History* 8 (1986): 3-12.

visible in photo-reprints. Fujieda Akira and Jean-Pierre Drège, foremost among the morphologists and codicologists interested in Dunhuang documents, have spent the bulk of their time with the much larger body of Buddhist scriptures in the Stein and Pelliot collections.[21] Fujieda Akira in particular pioneered the use of analysis of calligraphic styles in dating documents. He understood the development of calligraphic styles. He was adept at spotting anachronistic features, such as whether a specific character variant was appropriate for the date of the paper and the surrounding calligraphy.[22]

Last, but not least, each document must be examined for consistency of internal content. With a thorough study of the characteristics mentioned it is possible to recover poetry from Dunhuang documents.

Preserved Tang poetry recovered from Dunhuang collections

In 1919 Lionel Giles first recovered a lost Tang poem when he reassembled Wei Zhuang's 韋莊[23] 'The Lament of the Lady of Qin' 秦婦吟 from fragments among the Stein and Pelliot collections.[24] In the case of Wei Zhuang's poem all the relevant fragments come from collections classified as baseline collections, i.e. relatively free of forgeries. The

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[21] Fujieda Akira was always insistent that scholars should not go treasure hunting among the Dunhuang collections for items fitting their own sinological interests, that it was only appropriate to study Dunhuang documents as a corpus. See 'The Tunhuang Manuscripts: A General Description, Part I,' *Zinbun* 9 (1966): 1 and 7. While I sympathize with this argument, no student of Tang poetry can ignore the poems found within the manuscripts, and thus he or she will inevitably go treasure hunting.

[22] The calligraphy of all the documents and fragments under study in this chapter is consistent with styles employed between the early and late eras of the Tang dynasty. All variant characters in the documents and fragments were compared to historical examples illustrated in chronological calligraphy dictionaries. See Lin Hongyuan 林宏元 et al., eds., *Zhongguo shufa dazidian* 中國書法大字典 (Hong Kong: Zhongwai chubanshe, 1983 (1976)). See also Li Pu 李圃, ed., *Yitizi zidian* 異體字字典 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1997).

[23] For details on Wei Zhuang, see Chapter One.

[24] Concerned the poem would damage his official career, Wei ordered its exclusion from his collected poems. His efforts to expunge it were unsuccessful. This exclusion is described in the tenth-century work *Beimeng suoyan* 北夢瑣言 6.134 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 2002). See Lionel Giles, 'The Lament of the Lady of Ch'in,' *T'oung-pao* 24.4-5 (1925-26): 308-380. Robin Yates describes the lament as so popular that novice monks practiced their calligraphy by copying it out. He further asserts that the monks had first learned the text by heart, only later committing the text to paper, which would account for the number of variant characters (especially among homophones). The Buddhist monks of Dunhuang apparently caught the poem just in the nick of time. Yates has collated S 692, 5476, 5477, and 5834; and P 2700 and 3381 and translated the poem anew. See Robin Yates, *Washing Silk: The Life and Selected Poetry of Wei Chuang (834?-910)*, (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1988), 61 and 108ff, and 254.

recovery of 'The Lament of the Lady of Qin,' then, was unhampered by some of the concerns which must be addressed for other poems awaiting recovery with fragments involving the Oldenburg collection.

Fragments containing poems by Tang women

There are three groups of fragments which merit attention for their implications in assessing women's literary activity during the Tang dynasty.[25] These are Pelliot 3216, piece 1;[26] Дх 3865;[27] and a group of Oldenburg fragments which placed side by side may make up a collection of poetry solely by women, the *Yaochi xinji* 瑤池新集.[28]

In the case of Pelliot 3216, piece 1,[29] it is generally accepted that the items removed by Pelliot in his 1908 expedition are genuine unless proved otherwise, due to the (early) date of their removal from the cave. That is, the date of their removal came before the bulk of the forgery period, the inter-war period between WW I and WW II (1919-1939). P 3216 is one of those items. The original scroll to which the fragment belonged was made of re-used paper pasted together. The original documents were an assortment of poems and letters. P 3216, piece 2, verso bears a date which has been read as Xiande 顯德 2 (955) or as Qiande 乾德 2 (964), suggesting an approximate date for P3216 and its two pieces.[30] Pelliot 3216, piece 1

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[25] Wu Zetian also has some poems in Dunhuang documents, which will not be covered here, as her work does not appear in extant late Tang collections. Also, any documents with anonymous poems in a feminine persona will also be omitted from this discussion. For an example of such a poem, see Дх 2430V in *Ecang Dunhuang wenxian* vol. 9, 199.

[26] A piece refers to a fragment recovered from a manuscript or scroll during restoration in Paris, usually by means of ungluing or steaming. These pieces or fragments had originally been glued to a scroll to hold it together. The pieces recovered are referenced by the number of the manuscript to which they were originally attached. This term is explained in Jacques Gernet and Wu Chi-yu, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Chinois de Touen-houang*, vol. I (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1970), xix.

[27] All items labeled Дх refer to the Oldenburg collection.

[28] Hu Wenkai 胡文楷 briefly describes this and other lost collections of women's poetry in *Lidai funü zhuzuo kao* 歷代婦女著作考(Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985 (1957), 875-76.

[29] The Pelliot collection of Dunhuang and Central Asian manuscripts is held at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. Photo-reprints of the collection are included in the *Facang Dunhuang xiyu wenxian* 法藏敦煌西域文獻 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995 - present). For P 3216, piece one, see vol. 22, 185-86.

[30] Piece 2 recto is a letter of presentation to a society by He Qingqing 何清清. On the verso side, there is a polite ending to a letter of request, which is dated Xiande 顯德 2, first month, 13th day, according to Xu Jun. See

contains fragments of five poems.[31] The first poem is incomplete – it begins in mid-poem. The name of the poet is not included, but the first and second poems correspond to poems already attributed to Li Jilan 李季蘭 (d. 784). The last three are identified by titles and the text identifies Yuan Chun 元淳 (Tang dynasty, sometime prior to 900) as the author.[32] Both were Daoist priests. It is possible that this work was part of a larger collection of poetry by Daoist women as the fragment breaks off in mid-poem (Yuan Chun's third poem). Four of the five poems found in this fragment were already known to be extant so they only add marginally to our knowledge of Tang women poets.[33] The particular poem, 'Eight Extremes,' (八至) for example, was already acknowledged as part of Li Jilan's work.[34] P 3216, piece one, on the whole only contributes one new fragment of a poem that was previously unknown. This fragment has poetry on one side of the paper only, the other side is a funeral elegy (*jiwen* 祭文).[35] Xu Jun describes the elegy and praises of Buddha as preceding application of the piece of paper containing the women's poems.[36] First various texts were pasted together, and then the poetry collection of Tang female Daoists was pasted on it.

P 3216, piece one is evidence that tenth-century people, even in remote places of the empire, were familiar with the poems by Tang Daoist women of the eighth and ninth

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Dunhuang shiji canjuan jikao, 212. See *Facang Dunhuang xiyu wenxian*, vol. 22, 188. This date differs from the one listed in the French catalog of the Pelliot collection. See Michel Soymié et al., *Catalogue des Manuscrits Chinois de Touen-houang*, vol. III (Paris: Fondation Singer-Polignac, 1983) 172. There the date listed is Qiande 乾德 2 (?), which corresponds to 964.

[31] Xu Jun has also studied this fragment. His analysis of the fragment is found in his book, *Dunhuang shiji canjuan jikao*, 212-15.

[32] This fragment is the only text known to refer to Yuan Chun as Yuan Chunyi 元淳懿. I have followed the bulk of textual tradition in choosing Yuan Chun.

[33] The *Quan Tangshi*, as the culmination of one path of transmission that attempts to be exhaustive (but which is not) includes two poems and four fragments by Yuan Chun. See *Quan Tangshi* 805.9060. For Li Jilan, the numbers are eighteen poems attributed and four fragments. See *Quan Tangshi* 805.9057ff. and 888.10039.

[34] See Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 ed., *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian* 唐人選唐詩新編 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996) 948.

[35] Unlike the fragments making up *Yaochi xinji*, wherein both sides of the paper have poems.

[36] Xu Jun, *Dunhuang canjuan shiji kao*, 212.

centuries. This fragment, therefore, shows us that the poetry circulated, but gives us no reason to believe that the desert is a fruitful place from which to recover women's poetry.

For many decades, while researchers world-wide had relatively easy access only to the Stein and Pelliot collections, it was easy to maintain this conclusion that preserved documents held no surprises for the study of women's writings. With the publication of photo-reprints of the documents and fragments in the Oldenburg collection, that conclusion is now subject to change.

Scholarly perceptions of P 2492 and Дх 3865

As recently as 1995 there were scholarly lamentations that the follow-on fragment to P 2492 does not exist.[37] But now, Xu Jun has made the argument that P 2492 and Дх 3865 were originally part of the same document.[38] The nine and a half sheets in P 2492 average eight to ten columns per half sheet. The number of characters per column varies from 16 to 20. The last poem in P 2492, 'The Salt Merchant's Wife' 鹽商婦, cuts off in mid-poem.[39] Thus we know the fragment is incomplete. Дх 3865 picks up 'The Salt Merchant's Wife' in mid-poem and completes it *without* the loss of a single character.[40] Дх 3865 contains nine to ten

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[37] See Zhang Xihou, 'Du Dunhuang ben *Bo Xiangshan shiji* canjuan,' 讀敦煌本《白香山詩集》殘卷, in *Dunhuangben Tangji yanjiu* 敦煌本唐集研究. *Dunhuang congkan erji* 敦煌叢刊二集, vol. 4. (Taibei: Xinwenfeng, 1995), 272.

[38] Wang Zhongmin 王重民, for example, initially classified P 2492 as strictly a poetry collection by Bo Juyi. Wang Zhongmin mistakenly refers to the Bo Juyi poems included in P 2492 as P 5542. See Wang Zhongmin, *Dunhuang guji xulu* 敦煌古籍敘錄 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1958), 295. A number of literary reference works in Chinese copy this error. Xu Jun points out most of these works in *Dunhuang shiji canjuan jikao*, 27. This is unsurprising, as that fragment only contains work by Bo Juyi. More recently, Xu Jun has revised that classification. Xu Jun compiled 63 poetry collections and 524 dispersed poems from the Dunhuang materials in the Stein, Pelliot, Ōtani, Oldenburg and National Library of China collections. His compilation resulted in 1925 poems (or fragments) from Dunhuang, mostly from the Tang dynasty. Within this compilation, he fits P 2492 and Дх 3865 together like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle to form a more complete manuscript, and reclassifies the work as a Tang poetry and prose manuscript (*Tang shiwen congchao* 唐詩文叢鈔) on the basis of its texts by Cen Shen and attributed to Li Jilan. Xu does not, however, discuss the implications of the fit for authenticity of the Oldenburg collection as a whole. The fact that some fragments of the Oldenburg collection fit other fragments from the Pelliot collection would seem to support the Russian claims to authenticity of the collection. See Xu Jun, *Dunhuang shiji canjuan jikao* 敦煌詩集殘卷輯考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju (hereafter ZHSJ), 2000), 20-22.

[39] See P2492, plate 10-10, in *Facang Dunhuang xiyu wenxian*, vol. 14, 294.

[40] See Дх 3865, plate 3-1, in *Ecang Dunhuang wenxian*, vol. 11, 76.

columns per half sheet and the number of characters per column also varies between 16 to 20. Xu bases his argument on the size and type of paper (plus binding) and the type of calligraphy (*kaishu* 楷書) as well as the observation that the two fragments form a complete 'The Salt Merchant's Wife' written in the same hand. Дx 3865 consists of two half-sheets and one whole sheet, all of which have characters on one side only. Li Jilan's untitled poem appears directly after 'The Salt Merchant's Wife.' After Li Jilan's poem are Bo Juyi's poems, 'Sighing over the Traveling Geese' (Tan lu yan 歎旅雁) and 'Red Thread Carpet' (Hong xian tan 紅線毯). Last of all is Cen Shen's incomplete essay.

The poem attributed to Li Jilan in Дx3865 is unique. There are no copies of such a poem extant in any other known source. When a unique, or 'only extant work' appears in the art world, it is often viewed with suspicion.[41] Textual scholars may benefit by adopting the art world's skeptical attitude. Russian scholar Lev Menshikov holds an opposing view about the authenticity of the Li Jilan poem. He makes two arguments to support his contention that there are *no* forgeries in the St. Petersburg collection.[42] First, he argues that Oldenburg was on very good terms with local officials, who warned him not to buy manuscripts from disreputable persons. Menshikov then draws the conclusion that Oldenburg would have been cautious enough in his transactions to avoid acquiring any forgeries. Second, he points to visits to examine the collection by top Japanese scholars Professors Kanaoka Shōkō 金岡照光, Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃 and Ishizuka Harumichi 石塚晴通. None of the three, according to Menshikov, pointed out any forgeries. Such an argument begs the question, *if* they had pointed out any contradictions or discrepancies in the Russian holdings, what would have

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[41] Fu, Marilyn and Shen Fu. *Studies in Connoisseurship: Chinese Paintings from the Arthur M. Sackler Collection in New York and Princeton* (Princeton: The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1973) 28. Fu warns that one should never assume that the obscurity of an item is evidence of authenticity or that little known items were unworthy of a forger's attention.

[42] Lev N. Menshikov, "The Mixing of Fact and Fiction," *DMF*, 309.

happened to their future opportunities to consult the collection? The Russians are sensitive to any assessments of the number of forgeries in their collections. In spite of the best efforts of the IDP, the study of these documents still runs up against nationalist pressures and pride – the Russians have yet to agree to the electronic publication of their scrolls and fragments. At the time of writing, no Oldenburg fragments are available on the IDP website.

Yang Xin 楊新, in a discussion of the waves of forgery in Chinese history, describes the forgers of the early twentieth century as responding not only to domestic demand for calligraphy and painting but as consciously responding to external demand for the first time. Indeed Yang sees the forgers as particularly eager to target foreigners who, due to their lack of specialist knowledge, were easier to deceive.[43] Yang spotted a number of forgeries in a 1984 visit to the United States, some of them works supposedly from Dunhuang. He stops short of providing a detailed account of forgery rings or fake documents, however. Yang would presumable disagree with Menshikov's logic about Dunhuang residents lacking a motive to sell forged documents due to Oldenburg's excellent relations with the locals. A true connoisseur would not be fooled, according to the Chinese definition of the concept. The alternate side to this definition is that anyone ignorant enough to be fooled, deserves to be fooled.

The art historian Craig Clunas, in his analysis of notions of connoisseurship during the Ming dynasty, observes that the onus is on the consumer to recognize the fake. People who cannot spot fakes at a glance are not even mediocre under the Chinese definitions of connoisseurship. The distinction between a connoisseur and a mere amateur, which dates back to Mi Fu 米芾 (1051-1107), lies in the powers of perception a true scholar possesses, in

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[43] Yang Xin 楊新, 'Shangpin jingji, shifeng yu shuhua zuowei' 商品經濟,世風與書畫作僞, *Wenwu* 文物 401 (1989.10): 92.

contrast to the influence of money that a merchant amateur has.[44] If such distinctions held true in early twentieth-century China, they may have only been exacerbated by the knowledge that a foreigner who was thus fooled would probably not return any time soon to lodge a complaint or seek redress. If Oldenburg and his expedition were fooled into purchasing a number of forgeries, their countrymen could at least take comfort in the knowledge, that they were not the first or last victims of deception in the trade for Chinese antiquities.

We turn now to a reading of Дх 3865. Knowledge of the historical record provides assistance in the interpretation of the new poem held in the fragment. Scholars today refer to this untitled poem as Li Jilan's treason poem *only* because they have read *Fengtian lu*. Indeed, without prior reading of *Fengtian lu*, it would be difficult to figure out the identity or purpose of the untitled poem in Дх 3865.

Not long after the An Lushan rebellion (755-763), a Tang emperor was once again forced to leave Chang'an. Dezong 德宗 (r. 780-805) fled to Fengtian 奉天[45] late in 783 until the Zhu Ci 朱泚 (d. 784) rebellion was subdued and he could return to the capital. When Zhu Ci's forces ransacked the capital, some officials presented him with tribute poems as if he were the founding emperor of a new dynasty. The only (surviving) historical notice[46] which leads

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[44] Craig Clunas, 'Connoisseurs and aficionados: the real and the fake in Ming China (1368-1644),' *Why fakes matter: essays on problems of authenticity*. Ed. Mark Jones (London: British Museum, 1992), 153.

[45] Established in 684, Fengtian is located in present day Qian 乾 county, Shaanxi.

[46] In addition to *Fengtian lu*, *Xin Tangshu* 58.1468 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1975) lists two other records of Dezong's visit to Fengtian. The first is by Cui Guangting 崔光庭, *Dezong xing Fengtian lu* 德宗幸奉天錄 in one *juan*. This record did not survive, and no other information about Cui Guangting has come to light. The second is by Xu Dai 徐岱 (fl. late eighth c.) *zi* Churen 處仁, a native of Jiaxing 嘉興. Xu Dai accompanied Dezong to Fengtian and left a record of it, the *Fengtian ji* 奉天記, which is not extant. Xu Dai was on very good terms with the emperor, to the point of attending the emperor's private birthday celebrations. His record, had it survived, would be a valuable one for its depiction of an emperor in flight. See *Jiu Tangshu* 135.3728 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1975) as well as *JTS* 189B.4975 and *XTS* 161.4984 for Xu's biographies. The *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目, an imperial catalog submitted to the throne in 1042, lists all three records of the emperor's flight to Fengtian. See *Chongwen zongmu* 3.17a,b, *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 vol. 674 (hereafter *SKQS*) (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1986).

us to believe that there was a poem presented by Li Jilan[47] to the rebel leader Zhu Ci is located in a short four *juan* record of the emperor's flight from Chang'an to Fengtian in 783.[48] Zhao Yuanyi 趙元一[49] described the event as follows:

> At the time there was an impulsive[50] woman, Li Jilan, who submitted a poem to [Zhu] Ci [as if he were the emperor], the phrasing of which was so treasonous that I have omitted it and do not record it here. The emperor returned to the capital and summoned Jilan, reproaching her thus, "How come you did not emulate Yan Juchuan 嚴巨川[51][a loyal official] whose poem says, 'His hands hold the ritual vessels, in vain his tears fall; his thoughts and recollections of his enlightened sovereign, he dares not speak them aloud'?" Thereupon he ordered her to be executed.[52]

It would come as a surprise if forgers specializing in sutras knew Tang history to this level of detail. If they had access to a copy of *Fengtian lu*, however, then contemplating such a forgery becomes more feasible. *Fengtian lu* is, after all, the only extant book which mentions the existence of the treason poem and Li Jilan as its author. A brief study of the *Fengtian lu* and its circulation in the hundred years preceding the Oldenburg expedition reveals that there were multiple single-volume and *congshu* reprints available to the general

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[47] I concur with Ueki Hisayuki's 植木久行 dating of Li Jilan's death as the seventh lunar month of the year corresponding to 784. He bases his argument on cross-referencing the description of her execution in *Fengtian lu* with data about the emperor's movements from *Zizhi tongjian*. See "Tōdai sakuka shingi nenroku 唐代作家新疑年錄," in *Bungei ronsō* 文藝論叢 (1992.3): 353-356.

[48] For a short description of the Zhu Ci rebellion, see C.A Peterson, "Court and Province in Mid- and Late T'ang," *Cambridge History of China* 3.1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 505-07. See also Michael T. Dalby, "Court Politics in Late T'ang Times," *CHC* 3.1, 586-87. The one in-depth study in a western language does not make use of *Fengtian lu*, see Jonathan Mirsky, "Structure of Rebellion: A Successful Insurrection during the T'ang," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89.1 (Jan-Mar 1969): 67-87. The most detailed description by a modern Chinese scholar is by Li Shutong 李樹桐, *Sui-Tang shi biecai* 隋唐史別裁 (Taibei: Taiwan yinshuguan, 1995), 184-87.

[49] Zhao Yuanyi has no entry in the standard histories of the Tang. In his preface to *Fengtian lu*, he does not mention his official position (if any).

[50] I thank Robert Chard for suggesting the word 'impulsive' as a translation for *fengqing* 風情.

[51] Little is known about Yan Juchuan. He does not have a biography in the standard histories.

[52] *Fengtian lu* 奉天錄 1.10a. For the complete version of Yan Juchuan's poem, see 1.10b. This poem is not included in *Quan Tangshi*. Yan has two poems in *Quan Tangshi* 781.8829. Recoveries of Tang poetry may also be made by canvassing extant works, not just by canvassing preserved documents.

public. A scholar-forger interested in forging Tang material could easily have consulted the *Fengtian lu*.

The re-appearance of the Fengtian lu in the nineteenth century

One of the usual issues attendant upon studying Tang books is how they have been handled by Song dynasty editors and printers. In the case of *Fengtian lu*, on the contrary, most of the issues concern the nineteenth-century recovery, recopying and reprinting of the text. Written in the late eighth century, *Fengtian lu* might have been a rare book from the start. During the Song dynasty Chen Zhensun listed it in his private catalog,[53] yet an earlier scholar Sima Guang did not consult it for his great work of historical chronology, the *Zizhi tongjian*. Since Sima made use of other records concerning Dezong's flight to Fengtian, it is unclear whether Sima Guang did not have access to a copy, or simply chose not to make use of one. By the fifteenth century, editions of *Fengtian lu* were increasingly rare. One of the purposes behind the compilation of the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 was to preserve rare books such as *Fengtian lu*.[54] All the editions of this book *in print* today descend from the manuscript copy which Xu Song 徐松[55] surreptitiously copied from under the rhyme word 'Tang' 唐 in the *Yongle dadian*.[56] A couple of scholars performed their own studies on the

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[53] Chen Zhensun 陳振孫, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 5.145 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987).

[54] Yang Shiqi 楊士奇(1365-1444) was a native of Taihe, Jiangxi. Grand Secretary from 1421-1444, he sponsored the Imperial Library catalog *Wenyuange shumu* 文淵閣書目 originally in 4 *juan*, which was presented to the throne in 1441. This catalog, the basis for the *Yongle dadian*, lists a copy of *Fengtian lu*. See *Wenyuange shumu* 5.77 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937). Yang Shiqi has a biography in *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644* (hereafter *DMB*) , ed. L. Carrington Goodrich (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976) 1535ff. The *Fengtian lu* portion of the *Yongle dadian* appears to have been destroyed in 1900.

[55] Xu Song 徐松 (1781-1848) *zi* Xingbo 星伯 was a native of Beijing. A compiler at the Hanlin Academy, he also served in the Imperial Library. He had access to many of the rare books in the Imperial Library circa 1808-09. In addition to his regular duties, he copied surreptitiously from the *Yongle dadian* several important works, most notably the *Song huiyao* 宋會要, which might have otherwise been lost when the *Yongle dadian* was partially destroyed in the 1900 Boxer Rebellion. After Xu Song's death, some of these manuscript copies were handled by book dealers, and Miao Quansun 繆荃孫 (1844-1919) later came to own them. See *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* (hereafter *ECCP*), ed. Arthur W. Hummel (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1943), 321.

[56] The rare book room in the National Library of China, Beijing holds one manuscript copy of *Fengtian lu* which may date to the Song or Yuan dynasty. Its previous owner, Zhang Jinwu 張金吾(1787-1829), was a

book and re-edited it for publication. One such scholar was Sun Erzhun 孫爾準 who added material from the standard Tang histories and the *Zizhi tongjian* to his edition of *Fengtian lu*.[57] Qin Enfu[58] obtained a manuscript of one of the Xu Song copies and paid to have it printed [this is the edition of 1830],[59] and later on had his friend Gu Guangqi re-edit it.[60] Gu's edition and the preface he added (written years before and dated 1823) were reprinted in the *Yueya tang congshu* 粵雅堂叢書 series that appeared over the course of the mid-nineteenth century.[61] The edition of 1830 is the one reprinted in *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*.[62] The bibliographers Shao Yichen and Shao Zhang have listed five print editions beyond the ones examined by the *Xuxiu* scholars.[63] Given the number of print editions available throughout the nineteenth century, it is likely that forgers could have obtained a copy. The edition closest

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native of Changshu, Jiangsu. He classified his four *juan* manuscript as a miscellaneous history 雜史類. His private book catalog includes rare books from the Song and Yuan periods. See *Airijinglu cangshu zhi* 愛日精廬藏書志(1826) 11.9a,b, in *Qingren shumu tiba congkan* 清人書目題跋叢刊 vol. 4 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1990) 366. Of the rare editions held outside mainland China, Japan has only one copy of the 1830 ed. by Qin Enfu. See *Naikaku bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku* 內閣文庫漢籍分類目錄 (Taibei: Jinxue shuju, 1970), 82. The central library in Taibei has a manuscript copied out from the *Yongle dadian*. See Guoli zhongyang tushuguan , *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben shumu (zengdingben)* 國立中央圖書館善本書目增訂本 vol. 1 (Taibei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1967), 171.

[57] Sun Erzhun (1770-1832) *zi* Laifu 萊甫, *hao* Pingshu 平叔, and Jiean 戒庵. Sun served as governor-general of Fujian and Zhejiang from 1825 to 1832. Sun's work resulted in the Longwanyu 龍萬育 print edition (Chengdu, Sichuan). See *ECCP*, 243.

[58] Qin Enfu 秦恩復 (1760-1843) *zi* Dunfu 敦夫. A famous bibliophile, Qin obtained his copy of *Fengtian lu* in the capital (Beijing) from Long Xie 龍燮, a book dealer. For details about Long Xie, see Li Fusun 李富孫, *Haozheng lu* 鶴徵錄 2.23a (漾葭老屋 ed. of 1872) and Qin Ying 秦瀛, *Jiwei cike lu* 己未詞科錄 3.29a (*XXSKQS* ed.), rept. of Shien tang 世恩堂 ed. of 1807.

[59] It is unknown how many manuscript copies were made of Xu Song's manuscript before it first went into print.

[60] Gu Guangqi. 顧廣圻 (1776-1835) *zi* Qianli 千里, a native of Yuanhe. He was one of the great Qing textual critics. His biography is in *ECCP*, 417. See also Gu Guangqi's preface (1823) in the print edition of 1830. His comments were meticulous. He is the first editor of *Fengtian lu* to note that there are no citations of it in *Zizhi tongjian* as well as to point out the number of times *ZZTJ* cited the two non-extant records of Dezong's flight to Fengtian. Computer searches of *ZZTJ* for citations of Cui Guangting's and Xu Dai's works turn up *no* additional entries.

[61] *Yueya tang congshu* was compiled by Tan Ying 譚瑩 (1800-1871) a native of Guangdong, see *ECCP*, 705. Its edition of *Fengtian lu* has a colophon by Wu Chongyao 伍崇曜(1810-1863) dated 1852. Wu Chongyao, a prominent Canton merchant trader, has a biography in *ECCP*, 867. Tan Ying was the scholar he financed to oversee the compilation. This *congshu* was printed in 30 installments over a thirty-year period in the mid-nineteenth century. It comprised rare works of the Tang through Qing dynasties.

[62] Wang Yunwu 王雲五 et al., *Xuxiu Siku quanshu tiyao* 續修四庫全書提要 vol. 4 (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1972), 304-05.

[63] Shao Yichen 邵懿辰 and Shao Zhang 邵章, *Zengding Siku jianming mulu biaozhu* 增訂四庫簡明目錄標注 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1959), 234-35.

in time to the discovery of Dunhuang documents is the *Yun zizai kan congshu* 雲自在龕叢書 which was completed in 1891. Compiled by Miao Quansun 繆荃孫,[64] the text is a reprint of Gu Guangqi's work.

If Дx 3865 is dated to the tenth or eleventh centuries, and the document is deemed authentic, then another question comes into play. If Zhao Yuanyi was unwilling to write the poem down due to its treasonous nature, who was? The entire line of transmission between the witness[es] at the Xuanzheng 宣政殿 basilica where Zhu Ci held his enthronement ceremony who heard the poem and the compiler who recorded it in Дx 3865 remains unaccounted for, a line which could stretch to 200 years.

Specific analysis of the treason poem attributed to Li Jilan.

The language of the poem in Дx 3865 is consistent with the description provided by Zhao Yuanyi. This untitled poem of terrible quality is everything one would expect of a poem composed for the purpose of political flattery. It is not a complete poem,[65] but what remains is replete with the language of dynastic change:

故朝何事謝承朝，木德口天火口消

Why do old dynasties wither to be replaced by a (new) dynasty?

The power of wood …heaven, fire…dissipates.

九有徒口歸夏禹，八方神氣助唐堯

The nine lands…submit to Xia Yu's (rule),

The divine energy from eight directions assists Tang Yao.

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[64] Miao Quansun (1844-1919), a native of Jiangyin 江陰. He added a colophon to the work, in which he speculated that Zhao Yuanyi was a military officer under Hun Zhen's 渾瑊 command. Hun Zhen was the commander in charge of the defense of Fengtian. See page 3a of his colophon, dated 1895.

[65] The symbol □ corresponds to illegible characters in the manuscript. It should be noted that there are no analogues of the treason poem anywhere in the electronic database of *Siku quanshu*, <http://trial.skqs.com> accessed 10 March 2004.

紫雲捧入團霄漢，赤雀銜書渡雁橋

Purple clouds pay homage, filling the heavens,[66]

The red sparrow carrying the writ crosses Wild Geese Bridge.

聞道乾坤再含育，生靈何處不逍遙

Hearing of heaven and earth reborn,

People everywhere rejoice.

The references to dynastic change begin with the first couplet. Wood and fire belong to the five phases. As one phase wanes, the next phase in the cycle comes into play to replace it. The concept of the five phases originated during the Qin unification of China and was elaborated on during the Han dynasty as one which came to mean that a dynasty which had outlived its usefulness would lose the mandate of heaven and be replaced by a new dynasty (symbolized by the next phase). Wood was the symbol of the Xia dynasty and fire was the symbol of the Zhou dynasty.[67] Fire thus not only follows wood in the chronological sequence of Chinese history but also does so in the production sequence of the five elements. The second couplet makes a point of mentioning the virtues of Yao and Yu. Yao was one of the five rulers of China during the legendary period, who appointed upright and capable Shun as his successor over his own unworthy and incapable son; and Yu was the founding emperor of the Xia dynasty. The third couplet emphasizes the omens which occur in the heavens or on earth which augur a future virtuous ruler - the purple clouds and the red sparrow.[68] The red

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[66] 'Xiao han' here refers to heaven. See *Hou Hanshu* 49.1644 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965).

[67] For wood as the reigning power of the Xia dynasty, see *Shiji* 38.1366 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1975 rept.).

[68] Purple clouds as an auspicious omen heralding a virtuous ruler's future mandate, start to appear in the standard histories with the *Songshu* 27.782. In this passage several omens heralding the mandate of heaven for the Liu Song dynasty (420-479) are listed.

sparrow carrying the writ in its beak is an allusion to the *Shangshu zhonghou* 尚書中候.[69] King Wen of the Zhou dynasty received just such a mandate at the capital city Feng, and later his son, King Wu of Zhou, destroyed the Shang dynasty and established the Zhou.

The last allusion is to Wild Geese Bridge, which was located in Guanghan 廣漢 (in the vicinity of present day Chengdu, Sichuan). In 213 Liu Bei 劉備[70] attacked the forces of Liu Zhang 劉璋 at Yanqiao 雁橋 and defeated them.[71] This success put Liu Bei in a strong position to take possession of some of Cao Cao's territory. When the Han dynasty finally ended in 221, Liu Bei claimed to be its legitimate successor and proclaimed himself the emperor of the Lesser Han dynasty based in Sichuan. Liu's victory at Yanqiao was the starting point for all his later dynastic ambitions, the point at which his powers began to wax. Zhu Ci's success in capturing Chang'an is compared to Liu Bei's military victories and consequent establishment of a dynasty. The use of the phrase 'Wild Geese Bridge' should give us pause as it is not used in any of the poems which come down to us (as indicated in *Quan Tangshi*). Other than the usage of the term in *Sanguozhi*, the standard histories only make use of the term once.[72]

The final couplet avows that with the rebirth of heaven and earth, people will all happily welcome Zhu Ci as emperor. It is easy to see why an emperor reconsolidating his reign found the poem so offensive.

The two poems following the treason poem, though not attributed in the fragment itself, all correspond to work known to be that of Bo Juyi. One must also take into

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[69] The apocryphal text *Shangshu zhonghou* is no longer extant, but quotations from it are preserved in encyclopedias. See *Taiping yulan* 24.8a (SKQS ed.) for this quotation.

[70] Liu Bei (162-223) *zi* Xuande 玄德, a native of Zhuo commandery 涿郡 in Zhili. For his official biography see *Sanguozhi* 32.871 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1982 rept.).

[71] See *Sanguozhi* 三國志 32.882.

[72] If we consider the alternate form for Yanqiao 鴈橋, *Songshi* 257.8955 also refers to it as a place name, but this history was composed well after the time period under consideration here. It is unlikely that Li Jilan would have known enough of the particulars of Liu Bei's victory to make use of them just so.

consideration the one prose piece in Дx 3865. Cen Shen's 岑參 (ca. 715-770) essay on Sichuan is the last item in the fragment, and it is incomplete. Cen's essay was recompiled many times, most notably in the *Wenyuan yinghua*.[73] Of all the works within this particular manuscript, the treason poem is the only item which may be counted as 'new' material – all the other poems and prose by Bo Juyi and Cen Shen would still be extant without the existence of Дx 3865.

It is a standard technique of forgers to insert or sandwich a new item between well established material in order to improve its chances of being accepted as a bona fide work.[74] Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 (1551-1602), a book collector and scholar, wrote a work in 1586 which discussed the problem of forged books in detail. In *Sibu zheng'e* 四部正訛 he noted the problem of true and false material mixed together in several canonical works. Hu did not go so far as to claim that such mixing was intentionally carried out by forgers. For extremely old texts the whole notion of forgery can be a slippery one – it may not be possible to say that obviously spurious writing was done *intentionally*. The history of literary forgery in England and America, in contrast, does offer a number of concrete examples of forgers who have placed minor items within a greater body of authentic material in the hope that the insertion would go unnoticed and the forgery would benefit from the reputation of the surrounding documents.

L.C. Hector, in *Palaeography and Forgery*, described a case from 1376 in which a legal clerk took advantage of his position to insert a forged property claim into the official files.[75] The presumed authenticity of the bulk of the files as well as the belief that there were

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[73] 'Zhao beike wen' 招北客文 in *Wenyuan yinghua* 358.2b – 4b (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1966), 1836. This essay is a description of Shu (Sichuan). Cen Shen's work is fairly well documented and was frequently recopied during the Song dynasty. It is not surprising that analogs of it would turn up in the Dunhuang caves.

[74] See Hu Yinglin, *Sibu zheng'e* 四部正訛 (1606), *Gushu bianwei sizhong* 古書辨偽四種 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), 29.

[75] L.C. Hector, *Palaeography and Forgery* (London and York: St. Antony's Press, 1959), 11.

no opportunities for false insertion of forgeries made the attempt possible in the first place. The clerk's misdeed was discovered though – his handwriting caught him out. He had made no attempt to imitate the calligraphy of the deeds within the files. John Collins, in *The Two Forgers*, describes some of the techniques of Harry Buxton Forman (1842-1917) and Thomas James Wise (1859-1937), two bibliographers who used their extensive knowledge to forge first editions and private editions by some of the greatest writers of the nineteenth century. Forman and Wise placed their scholarship in service to their needs as forgers, as Collins explains, 'Wise and Forman, needing to *insert their fakes into an already complex genealogy*, produced such intricate bibliographical accounts that few people read all the details and fewer still understood them.'[76] This practice of insertion extended to other arenas. Collins details the lists of titles for both sales and insurance purposes and points out where the specific forgeries are hidden in the lists.[77] Kenneth Rendell, the questioned documents examiner who was instrumental in exposing the Hitler diaries as forgeries, describes some of the techniques employed by Mark Hofmann (also known as the Mormon murderer) in the 1980s. Not only was Hofmann one of the best technical forgers of the twentieth century,[78] he was also a master at establishing provenance. He would also insert his high quality forged poems and letters into old or rare books at reputable antiquarian dealerships in hopes of getting them accepted. Hofmann often let other people make the initial 'discovery' and would later benefit from buying the forgery and reselling it at a higher price.[79]

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[76] John Collins, *The Two Forgers* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1992), 123. Emphasis added.
[77] Collins, *The Two Forgers*, 148 (illustration 40). For a brief summary of the history of manuscript forgeries in the English and American traditions, see 282-83.
[78] Hofmann was one of the few forgers able to suppress the feathering effect without leaving trace evidence of the suppression behind, although he was ignorant of which of his techniques was responsible. For a description of the feathering effect in carbon-based inks, and the use of ozone in oxidizing ink to suppressing feathering, see Kenneth W. Rendell, *Forging History: The Detection of Fake Letters & Documents* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 127-28 and 132-33.
[79] See Rendell, *Forging History*, 123.

The examples described above in no way detract from other major techniques. Some forgers do fabricate a large body of manuscripts, on the basis of the opposite psychological reasoning – 'there are so many items, this could not possibly all be forged, it would have taken years to do' - this was the case with the dozens of volumes which made up the Hitler diaries. But this is not the possibility that confronts us with the supposed Dunhuang manuscripts. The technique of insertion is a universal one, not unique to any one tradition.

If the date of the paper is determined to be tenth century, there is still the problem of transmission between 784 and 1000. Any literatus could have composed the poem as an exercise, in response to the question, 'What would be so treasonable in a poem so as to merit the execution of the poet?' Or it could have been composed out of a desire to fill a gap in the (admittedly minor) unofficial historical record. The literary historian Wu Qiming has commented on how casually post-Tang literati interpolated their own poems into the textual record while claiming Tang provenance for those works.[80] There is no reason why this practice should not hold true for preserved documents also.

The language of the treason poem is such that it would be surprising if a literary forger set out to create it without having read the account of Li Jilan and the emperor in *Fengtian lu* first. Modern literary historians were not aware of that particular passage with its unique mention of a treason poem until the 1980s. If the treason poem is a forgery, it was done by forgers with a finer grasp of the minor Tang poets than most leading scholars of the early twentieth century![81] If this was a forgery, then one of two things must also be true: the forger was familiar with the exact shape of the torn P 2492; or P 2492 was also a forgery.

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[80] Wu Qiming 吳企明, *Tangyin zhiyi lu* 唐音質疑錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), 2-3.

[81] Hu Wenkai 胡文楷, Tan Zhengbi 譚正璧, Xie Wuliang 謝無量 among others were some of the earliest modern scholars to make detailed studies of the scale of women's literary activity throughout the imperial period. None of their works show a familiarity of Tang women poets to the level of detail mentioned. Chen

Professor Menshikov has concluded that the Oldenburg collection is relatively free of forgeries, or at least that it does not differ qualitatively from earlier collections such as Stein and Pelliot. Such a conclusion differs significantly from that of Professor Fujieda. By 1997 Fujieda came to the opposite conclusion, namely that the majority of manuscripts from Dunhuang acquired after the 1910 clearing of Cave 17 by Chinese authorities had to be forgeries. The arguments of both scholars are grounded on views of the authenticity of collections as a whole. Fujieda's argument with respect to collections recovered after 1910 can be summarized as one of 'forgery until proven otherwise.' Menshikov's argument emphasizes that a manuscript from any given collection is 'genuine until proven otherwise.'

In the future, methods which allow scholars to date every manuscript based on the properties of its paper and ink will give rise to a more balanced view of the percentage of genuine and forged documents which make up each of the Dunhuang collections. The works examined in this chapter do not permit speculation on the question of how forgeries came to accompany genuine manuscripts in collections across the world. When the story behind forgery rings comes to light, it may be possible to understand how spurious documents were interpolated into the major collections and to what extent.

The lost collection Yaochi xinji and the Oldenburg fragments

The last group of fragments is comprised of Дx 3861, 6654 and 11050 (there is also a title chit 6722).[82] These fragments, Xu Jun 徐俊 and Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 suggest, appear to fit together to form the lost collection of poetry by Tang women known as *Yaochi xinyong*

Wenhua's 陳文華 *Tang nüshiren ji sanzhong* 唐女詩人集三種 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1984) was the first work to point out the connection between Li Jilan and *Fengtianlu*.

[82] These are the black and white photo-reprints. Дx 3861, see *Ecang Dunhuang wenxian* vol. 11, 72-74. Дx 6654, see ibid, vol. 13, 165-166. Дx 11050, see ibid, vol.15, 157-158. For a transcription of these fragments, see Xu Jun and Rong Xinjiang, 'Tang Cai Xingfeng bian *Yaochi xinyong* chongyan' 唐蔡省風編瑤池新詠重研, *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 7 (2001): 127-135.

瑤池新詠 (also known as *Yaochi xinji* 瑤池新集 or *Yaochi ji* 瑤池集).[83] The significance of this collection stems from the fact that if recovered, it would be the *earliest* surviving collection consisting solely of poetry by women.[84] The earliest reference to this work in surviving bibliographies occurred in 1042, when the book was listed as part of the imperial collection.[85] That catalog entry does not have a surviving critical note, and as a result, is not very informative, but the private collector Chao Gongwu (?-1171) also owned a copy, and it is his description which comes to the aid of the modern bibliographer in search of lost books. Chao listed a *Yaochi xinji* in one *juan* and made the following comments:[86]

> Cai Xingfeng 蔡省風 of the Tang dynasty collected Tang women who were able to compose poetry, Li Jilan, Cheng Changwen 程長文[87] [for a total of] 23 women, who wrote 115 poems, each poet has a small preface in front of her work, moreover he wrote a preface to the overall work, a summary of which says: 'Shishu's 世叔 wife [Ban Zhao 班昭][88] revised histories

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[83] Yaochi refers to a mythical place name where Xiwangmu 西王母 resides. The Zhou dynasty emperor Mu 穆 (r. 1023-983 B.C.) traveled to the western regions to visit her. See Guo Pu's 郭璞 annotations to the fourth-century B.C. text *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 3.1a (*SKQS* ed.). For a translation and study of this work, see Rémi Mathieu, *Le Mu tianzi zhuan, traduction annoteé, étude critique* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1978) esp. 47 for the term Yaochi.

[84] There are six literary collections by women listed in bibliographic indexes for dynasties earlier than the Tang. The six are as follows: *Furen ji* 婦人集 in 30 *juan*, southern dynasty Song, by Yin Chun 殷淳, in *Suishu* 35.1081-82 and *XTS* 60.1620; *Furen shiji* 婦人詩集 in two *juan*, southern dynasty Song, by Yan Jun 顏竣, in *JTS* 47.2079 and *XTS* 60.1620; *Furen ji* 婦人集 in 11 *juan*, Liang dynasty, by Xu Mian 徐勉, listed under his biography in *Liangshu* 25.387-88 and *Suishu* 35.1082 (no compiler listed); *Furen jichao* 婦人集鈔 in two *juan*, listed in *Suishu* 35.1082 (no compiler listed); *Furen ji* 婦人集 in 20 *juan*, *Suishu* 35.1082 (no compiler listed); *Furen wenzhang lu* 婦人文章錄, Wei dynasty, compiled by Cui Guang 崔光, *Weishu* 67.1492. None of these are extant, but there are minor quotations from these works in *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (seventh c.), *Chuxueji* 初學記 (seventh c.) and *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (fifth c.).

[85] *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目(SKQS ed.) 11.9a. Listed as *Yaochi xinyong* in two *juan*, missing. Author not listed. See also *XTS* 60.1624 and Zheng Qiao 鄭樵, *Tongzhi* 通志 70.825.

[86] Chao Gongwu, *Junzhai dushuzhi jiaozheng* 郡齋讀書志校證 20.1069-70, annot. Sun Meng 孫猛 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990).

[87] The sequence of poets in the fragments is Li Jilan, Yuan Chun, Zhang *furen*, Cui Zhongrong. This may be the perceived chronological order. The same sequence is found in *Youxuan ji*.

[88] Ban Zhao (first c.) *zi* Huiji 惠姬. She was the sister of the famous historian Ban Gu 班固. Her husband was an official named Cao Shou 曹壽, *zi* Shishu 世叔. After her husband's death she was a lady in waiting to the empress under the title Lady Cao 曹大家. In addition to carrying on her brother's historical work after his death, she also wrote the *Nüjie* 女誡, an influential moral primer for women throughout the imperial period. Her biography is in *Hou Hanshu* 84.2784.

> and wrote prose pieces, Huangfu's 皇甫[89] wife embraced loyalty and was adept at clerical script. A woman surnamed Su 蘇[90] composed elegant palindromic poems; [Han 韓] Lanying 蘭英[91] excelled at palace style poems. The Jin [dynasty] recorded [Xie 謝] Daoyun's 道韞 literary talent and wit,[92] and the Han [dynasty] esteemed highly the lyrics of Wenji 文姬 [Cai Yan],[93] [but can] they compare with the flourishing literary brilliance of the present?

The importance of this preface cannot be underestimated, since it provides one of the only tools to aid in interpretation of the Oldenburg fragments. The fragments of *Yaochi xinji* in the Oldenburg collection do not include any preface by Cai Xingfeng. Either his preface preceded the first preserved page of the fragment and was simply one of the lost portions of the collection *or* the edition of the collection preserved in Dunhuang differs substantially from the edition which Chao Gongwu examined. If the fragments were part of an informal booklet, copied from memory as a keepsake for the scribe, then he may have chosen to dispense with all material other than the poems, authors and titles. If Cai's preface were extant, it would facilitate an examination of the manner in which Chao abbreviated it.

An important point which Cai Xingfeng ostensibly makes in his preface is that women could be morally upright, faithful to their husbands (and by extension loyal to their

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[89] The phrase 'Huangfu's wife' refers to the wife of Huangfu Gui 規 (103-174), a native of Anding 安定. While her husband was alive she handled all his correspondence. After his early death, rather than submit to the advances of Dong Zhuo 董卓 she preferred to be beaten to death. See *Hou Hanshu* 84.2798. In this passage her fidelity to her deceased husband is compared to her clan's loyalty to the Han dynasty.

[90] Su, *zi* Ruolan 若蘭, was a native of Shiping 始平. She was married to Dou Tao 竇滔. She was renowned for the palindromic poems she wrote by weaving the words into clothes she sent to her husband while he was away on official duties. See *Jinshu* 96.2523.

[91] Han Lanying (fl. fifth c.) was a native of Wu 吳 commandery, and was famous for her literary talent. After she presented the 'Prose poem on Restoration' to Emperor Xiaowu of the Liu Song dynasty, she was rewarded with a bureaucratic position in the palace. She has entries in the standard histories, see *Nan Qi shu* 20.392 and *Nanshi* 11.330.

[92] Xie Daoyun (fl. 399) came from an eminent and powerful family (i.e. the same family as Xie An (320-385), a Grand Tutor). Her husband was the famous calligrapher Wang Ningzhi 王凝之. The *Shishuo xinyu* contains many anecdotes about her. Her biography is in *Jinshu* 96.2516.

[93] Cai Yan 蔡琰 of the Later Han (late second to early third century). See *Hou Hanshu* 84.2800. Daughter of the statesman Cai Yong 蔡邕. She was more noted for her skill in music than literature. She was kidnapped by the Turks for twelve years, then ransomed by Cao Cao 曹操. Cao Cao arranged her re-marriage to Dong Si 董祀, a captain in the army.

emperors), and yet be good writers. His affirmation of a female tradition ensures space for a future regard for a Tang female literary tradition. Cai refers to individual women of antiquity noted for their honor and talent, without noting the previous collections of women writers. It is unknown whether he did so out of knowledge that such works did not tend to survive (and out of hope that his collection would succeed where the previous ones failed). For Cai, women with literary talent are part of the notion of a flourishing dynasty, not separate from it.

The date by which the *Yaochi xinji* was lost is currently unknown.[94] Other Song book collectors and bibliographers certainly mentioned the work, but did not go beyond what Chao Gongwu already provided. You Mao 尤袤 (1127-1193), an extensive private collector, listed a *Yaochi ji* as part of his collection.[95] Unfortunately his collection was later destroyed. Later bibliographers, such as Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254-1323), were unable to see a copy when compiling their catalogs and simply resorted to quoting the earlier catalog by Chao Gongwu.[96] Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599-1659), a bibliophile and publisher, also might have simply recopied Chao's entry.[97] Two Ming dynasty bibliographers left behind a catalogs which offer tantalizing hints that the collection still survived till the fifteenth century, but neither Ye Sheng 葉盛 (1420-1474)[98] nor Qian Pu 錢溥 (1408-1488) seems to have taken the time to examine the collection in detail.[99] If they did, they did not leave behind any colophons, or

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[94] Chen Shangjun, Wu Qiming, Xu Jun and Rong Xinjiang all state that the work was lost by the end of the Song dynasty. They have not considered the entries Ye Sheng made in his private collection and Qian Pu made in his catalog of the Imperial Library in Nanjing in the 1440s.

[95] You Mao, *Suichu tang shumu* 遂初堂書目 1.100a, (*SKQS* ed.).

[96] *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 75.1781 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1985).

[97] The modern scholar Sun Qin'an 孫琴安 claims Mao Jin listed a copy of this work. Xu Jun disagrees, and says that if he listed the work, it was only as a citation of Chao Gongwu's catalog. See Xu Jun's discussion of this point, *Dunhuang shiji canjuan kao*, 678, note 3.

[98] For his biography, see *DMB*, 1580. For evidence that he owned a copy of *Yaochi ji*, see *Luzhutang shumu* 菉竹堂書目(unpaginated manuscript), *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書, *shi* 史 vol. 277 (Ji'nan: Jilu shushe, 1996), 67. Reprint of a seventeenth c. manuscript held in the Shanghai Library.

[99] *Yaochi xinyong* was also listed in the Ming imperial catalog Guoshijing jizhi 國史經籍志 5.83b, Mingdai shumu tiba congkan 明代書目題跋叢刊 vol. 1.Eds. Feng Huimin 馮惠民 and Li Wanjian 李萬健 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1994). This catalog is a re-compilation of imperial catalogs from previous dynasties.

bother to reprint the collection. Qian Pu, curiously enough, lists both a *Yaochi ji* next to the separate collections (*bieji*) of Lady Huarui and Zhu Shuzhen and a *Yaochi xinji* in the general collections (*zongji*) section.[100] He recorded the second item as a book which had not yet been collected (*weishou shumu* 未收書目). The vast majority of the entries from *Bige shumu* re-appear in Yang Shiqi's catalog of the imperial library, the *Wenyuange shumu*. In Yang's catalog, however, the work is listed as missing. *Yaochi xinyong*, as a result, was never reprinted as a part of the imperial encyclopedia *Yongle dadian*.

The two fragments Дх 3861 and Дх 6654,[101] placed together like puzzle pieces, provide the title of the collection as well as the first poems by Li Jilan, a detail which is consistent with the information Chao Gongwu recorded. Дх 11050 continues the poem from the point where Дх 3861 abruptly ends. The order of poets in the three fragments corresponds to the order in *Yinchuang zalu*, to which our attention now turns.

A brief study of the collection Yinchuang zalu and its component texts

Until the discovery of these fragments, there was every reason to believe that *Yaochi xinji* was a lost book last seen in the fifteenth century. Just as the treason poem in Дх 3865 stood in a relationship with the extant textual record, these fragments may be interpreted in the light of *Yinchuang zalu*, a general collection of aids for the study of poetry. All the poets and the vast majority of the poems listed in the Oldenburg fragments correspond to the order of women poets listed in the collection *Yinchuang zalu*. By collating the fragments with this

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As such, it is citing *XTS* and *Chongwen zongmu*. In no sense does it mean that the compiler saw a copy of *Yaochi xinyong*.

[100] Qian Pu, *Bige shumu* 秘閣書目(single *juan*), *Mingdai shumu tiba congkan* 明代書目題跋叢刊 vol. 1, 665 and 715. Wu Qiming, *Tangyin zhiyi lu*, 155, incorrectly states that *Yaochi xinji* is not listed in any Ming-Qing catalogs.

[101] The front pages of *Ecang Dunhuang wenxian* vols. 11 (color illustration, number three) and 13 (color illustration, number six) provide color reproductions of these two fragments. The front sections of color illustrations are un-paginated. The overwhelming majority of fragments are not reproduced in color. The Russian and Chinese editors of these volumes have given the fragments a prominent position, and it would not be surprising if the investment in color reproduction has the (intended?) effect of convincing readers of the authenticity of the fragments.

late twelfth-century work, it is possible to line up the fragments side by side (in codex, not scroll format), and even identify some of the incomplete poems. With the fragments currently available it is possible that twenty percent of the *Yaochi ji* could be recovered,[102] once the fragments have been determined to be authentic.

If *Yaochi xinji* turns out to be genuine, certain Song general poetry collections will merit additional attention. First and foremost, the contents of chapter 30 in *Yinchuang zalu* 吟窗雜錄 would increase in importance. *Yinchuang zalu* was a late twelfth-century compilation of many treatises on poetry, but the work as it comes down to us today includes a general collection of poetry dating from after the compilation of the *Wenxuan* up to the compiler's own time. The Ming editions of *Yinchuang zalu*, which list Chen Yingxing 陳應行 as the compiler,[103] preserve a number of couplets attributed to Tang women which are unique. The connection between the fragments and the *Yinchuang zalu* is a mixed blessing. Although extant, as a text it is entangled in a number of unresolved issues. The identity of the compiler(s), identity of the preface writer, the number of editions, the precise contents of the book in any given edition, and the dubious authenticity of some of the subsidiary works have all required attention in the past. Although the early twentieth-century scholar Fu Zengxiang briefly examined it, the collection received no further attention for fifty years.[104] It is only in the past ten years that literary historians and textual scholars such as Zhang Bowei 張伯偉

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[102] Based on a comparison of the numbers of poets and poems in the fragments versus Chao Gongwu's numbers.

[103] *Yinchuang zalu* appears to be his only surviving compilation. Chen Yingxing was a native of Jian'an 建安. In Chunxi 淳熙 2 (1175) he was ordered an extraordinary degree (*zhan'gui bang tezou ming* 詹騤榜特奏名) of the type awarded to old men unsuccessful in the exams despite decades of effort. See Wang Dian 汪佃, *Jiajing Jianning fu zhi* 嘉靖建寧府志 (1541) 15.72b, *Tianyige cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan* 天一閣藏明代方志選刊 vol. 28 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981-82).

[104] Prior to Zhang Bowei's work, Fu Zengxiang was the last scholar to examine Ming print and manuscript editions of *Yinchuang zalu*. See Fu Zengxiang, 傅增湘, *Cangyuan qunshu jingyanlu* 藏園群書經眼錄 vol. 5 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1983), 1577.

have viewed the work with a new sense of curiosity.[105] For a study of the textual transmission of *Yinchuang zalu*, and my additions to Zhang Bowei's work, see the appendix to this chapter. In brief, unlike *Fengtian lu*, print editions and manuscripts of *Yinchuang zalu* were quite rare throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, consequently forgers would have had a more difficult time obtaining a copy.

Making the connection: Yinchuang zalu and the Oldenburg fragments.

The fragments in the Oldenburg collection, if actually tenth century, could serve as the first evidence that Li Jilan's poems, 'Ouju' 偶居, 'Mingyue ye liu bie' 明月夜留別, and 'Chungui yuan'春閨怨 (among others); for which the work of Japanese scholarship *Tōdai no shihen* has no source earlier than the eighteenth century,[106] do have verifiable early antecedents. As such, they may aid the recovery of texts lost since the early eighteenth century.

If Дх 3861, Дх 6654 and Дх 11050 are tenth-century fragments of *Yaochi xinji*, then it is possible that it was one collection, among others, cited by the compiler(s) of *Yinchuang zalu* (possibly via *Lidai yinpu*).[107] Even works which are lost stand in some sort of relation to works which survive – which is often the primary reason we are able to identify lost works when they do resurface. These tenth-century monks and Song dynasty compilers played a role as the male midwives of female literary creation – they were not present at the

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[105] Zhang Bowei 張伯偉, 'Lun *Yinchuang zalu*' 論吟窗雜錄, *Yinchuang zalu* 吟窗雜錄, comp. Chen Yingxing 陳應行 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1997) separately paginated, 1-27. Zhang Shaokang 張少康, 'On *Yinchuang zalu* and its editions' 關于吟窗雜錄及其版本問題, *Chūgoku bungaku hō* 中國文學報 (Kyoto) 50 (1995.10): 28-68.

[106] See Hiraoka Takeo 平岡武夫 et al., *Tōdai no shihen* (Kyoto: Jinbun, 1964) 1333. The *Quan Tangshi* compilers did not list a source for these three poems. See Qian Qianyi 錢謙益, Ji Zhenyi 季振宜 et al., eds., *Quan Tangshi gaoben* 全唐詩稿本 vol. 71 (Taibei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1979), 255-56.

[107] Chen Shangjun suspects that the 'talented women from the past to the present' *gujin caifu* 古今才婦 in the *Lidai yinpu* section of *Yinchuang zalu* was drawn from *Yaochi xinyong* before it was lost. See Chen Shangjun, 'Tangren bianxuan shige zongji xulu,' 195. Xu and Rong do not think there was direct citation, because the order of women poets is the same as in *Youxuan ji*, but the order of poems is slightly different between *Yaochi xinyong* and *Yinchuang zalu*. See Xu and Rong, 'Tang Cai Xingfeng bian *Yaochi xinyong* chongyan,' 139. All three scholars neglect to consider the fragments' physical aspect as an informal booklet (to use Fujieda Akira's terminology).

conception, but they were certainly present at birth and re-birth of poetry collections attributed to women. They may not have conceived the work, but without their handling of the text we would not have the descendant texts today. The birthmarks they left on the collections were consistent with the environments they worked in.[108]

There are implications for the legacy of a women's literary tradition if any particular Dunhuang item turns out to be forged, or 'too new.' If the scientific tests point to these particular Oldenburg fragments as forgeries, then we must look elsewhere for evidence to put the 'recovered' poems on a more solid textual basis.

The importance of knowing whether these documents are tenth century or twentieth century would be difficult to exaggerate. If Дх 11050 is truly a tenth-century document, it may be supporting evidence for the argument that the compiler(s) of *Yinchuang zalu* had access to a copy of *Yaochi xinji* at one stage (or *Yaochi xinji* as part of *Lidai yinpu*), and incorporated portions of it into the versions of *Yinchuang zalu* which come down to us today. It would also shed light on the book trade in Jianyang, Fujian during the Southern Song. (See appendix).

If Дх 11050 etc. turns out to be from the twentieth century, it does not insinuate that the Russian collection of documents held in St. Petersburg is any less important than national collections held in Paris or London. It would simply entail the use of portions of the collection to build up knowledge about the extent of forgery rings and their operations during the early twentieth century. That alone would be an invaluable contribution to our understanding of preserved documents and the literary tradition as well as any connections

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[108] For example, the Buddhist monks practicing their calligraphy used forms and variants familiar to them, although those variants were unlikely to be the ones used by earlier compilers, much less the women poets themselves. The foremost example of this is the character for 'return' *gui* 歸, a variant of which was used by Buddhist monks in Dunhuang transformation texts [自+反]. That same *gui* is used in Дх 6654. See P 2324, as well as the transcription provided by Wang Zhongmin 王重民 ed., *Dunhuang bianwen ji* 敦煌變文集 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1957), 403. For a transcription of the relevant Oldenburg fragments, see the appendix to this chapter.

between literati and forgers. Given the conditions of discovery, cataloging and removal of the Oldenburg collection in an era of increased publicity of Dunhuang documents and an upswing in the pace of forgery, physical analysis of the fragments is necessary to provide additional data, so that we know what it is we are working with. By no means should this be construed as a criticism of Russian explorers or the Russian collection of documents, but it would be of assistance if some of the non-sutra documents could be selected for additional tests, such as ultra-violet light, scanning electron microscope and proton-induced X-ray emission, etc. The age of the paper is a necessary (but not in itself sufficient) part of making those judgments. What is at stake is more than just attribution of the poems to Li Jilan among other Tang women poets. What may be illuminated following an assessment of dates, goes far beyond the fragments' implications for the marginal literary tradition by women.

For instance, it may be the case that *Yaochi xinji* was never truly lost in the sense that its poets or poems were lost. Rather it may have been subsumed into a larger collection, the *Lidai yinpu* or *Yinchuang zalu*, where it lost its identity as a distinct general collection. Perhaps the *Yaochi xinji* was forgotten by everyone except imperial bibliographers, but not completely lost nonetheless. Also, if the Dunhuang fragment truly is tenth century, then its recovery may only serve to prove that the textual record as transmitted had already incorporated that collection. If so, there may *not* be some set of great losses, which if only recovered, would alter perception about the extent of women's literary activity (because we actually possess by other means what we previously thought of as lost).

The answer to the question about the role of recoveries in accounting for the poetic legacy of Tang women is unavoidably tentative. Did the caves of Dunhuang preserve poems by women? Or ironically, was it the hands of men aiming for profit during the Song dynasty which subsumed, yet preserved, the poems in *Yaochi xinji* by printing Masha editions of *Lidai yinpu* and *Yinchuang zalu*? Perhaps the Dunhuang fragments may ultimately show that

it is no accident that we have what we have of *Yaochi xinji*, and also that it is no fluke that we have the treason poem for it was consciously inserted in the record.

It is premature to conclude that the Oldenburg fragments constitute recoveries of poetry by women. The road to recovery for *Yaochi xinji* is much longer than the one the 'Lament of the Lady of Qin' traveled.[109] The twentieth century saw far too many forgeries for us to accept these fragments uncritically now. What must happen before we can accept the authenticity of these particular Oldenburg fragments? First, someone determines which fragments in the Oldenburg collection belong to the 200 purchased from the local inhabitants *and* which 1,000 items have been subjected to conservation procedures which have destroyed their nature as preserved documents. If the *Yaochi xinji* fragments do not belong to either group, then they may be good candidates for extraction of data from physical analysis. Second, physical analysis showing that the paper and ink are both 1,000 years old would support the conclusion that these fragments are indeed recoveries of Tang poetry. For now only P 3216, piece one should be read as evidence that some poetry by Tang women enjoyed wide circulation in the tenth century.

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[109] Some organizations make immediate use of the finds. The mainland Chinese organization, *Chinese Daoism* 中國道教, has already published an article proclaiming the find of *Yaochi xinji*. See Wang Ka 王卡, 'Tangdai daojiao nüguan shige de guibao – Dunhuang ben *Yaochi xinyong ji* jiaodu ji' 唐代道教女冠詩歌的瑰寶 – 敦煌本《瑤池新詠集》校讀記, *Zhongguo daojiao* 中國道教 70 (2002.4): 10-13. The author takes his texts from photo-reprints of the Oldenburg collection and collates them with *Quan Tangshi*, not with other Tang era collections.

The textual record of the thirteenth century provides little information about Tang women as poets. One collector, Zhao Mengkui 趙孟奎, attempted to gather all extant Tang poems, but as his collection *Fenmen zuanlei Tanggeshi* 分門纂類唐歌詩 (preface dated 1265) is only partially extant (eleven chapters out of the original hundred), we cannot make any definitive assessment about the success of his efforts. The various fragments do contain works attributed to three women: Li Jilan (three poems), Xue Tao (seven poems and one fragment) and Yu Xuanji (one poem). Two of the poems attributed to Li Jilan appear in this collection for the first time, while the fragment attributed to Xue Tao is not known to appear anywhere else.[1]

Not long after Zhao completed his collection, another scholar Xin Wenfang 辛文房 compiled a biographical collection of Tang geniuses, the *Tang caizizhuan* 唐才子傳 (preface dated 1304). Although it does not provide much in the way of poetry, it does provide useful material for the modern literary historian because it includes a list of Tang women whom Xin believed to have a literary reputation. As such, his work provides a baseline against which later women poets can be measured. After he completed his collection in 1304, we shall see, there were indeed later compilers and writers who added late entries to the corpus of established Tang women poets, or in some cases, fabricated a Tang women poet where one did not previously exist. A brief look at the period after 1304 thus paves the way for a prioritized research agenda among specific Ming narratives and poetry collections as the likely sources for late additions to the corpus of Tang poems.

This chapter consists of a study of Zhao Mengkui's collection,[2] and Xin Wenfang's biographies of Tang geniuses, the *Tang caizizhuan* (1304), to include a description of each

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[1] The modern scholar Zhang Pengzhou assesses this fragment as authentic. This chapter will not discuss his assessment. See Zhang Pengzhou, *Xue Tao shi jian*, 40.

[2] The thirteenth-century collection by Zhao Shixiu 趙師秀, the *Zhongmiao ji* 眾妙集, will not be covered in this chapter. It includes only one poem (with no attribution problems) by Li Jilan.

collection, the biographical data about the compilers, circumstances of composition, a reading of the prefaces, analysis of the content with respect to female poets and poems (to include assessment on authenticity), editions and transmission.[3] The views of traditional and modern scholarship on each work will also be summarized. After that, the remainder of the chapter turns to specific cases after 1304 in which the corpora of known women poets are boosted with late entries (Li Jilan and Yao Yuehua 姚月華); in which Tang women poets are created as complete fabrications (Zhao Luanluan 趙鸞鸞); and in which poems formerly designated as by anonymous are re-attributed to a Tang woman (Du Qiuniang 杜秋娘).

***Fenmen zuanlei Tanggeshi* 分門纂類唐歌詩**

The compiler Zhao Mengkui 趙孟奎

Zhao Mengkui, having taken his *jinshi* degree in 1256, was active during the later half of the thirteenth century.[4] In his official career he rose to the position of Senior Compiler in the Imperial Archives (*bige xiuzhuan* 秘閣修撰).[5] He was also a painter of bamboo, rocks and orchids.[6] In the preface to this collection (his only surviving work)[7] he mentioned that it

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[3] Complete copies of the prefaces of the two collections (in Chinese and English) are included in the appendix to this chapter. The locations of rare editions of these collections are also included in the appendix.

[4] Zhao Mengkui, *zi* Wenyao 文耀, *hao* Chungu 春谷, was a resident of Huzhou 湖州, son of Yuhui 與惠, has no official biography. *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 宋人傳記資料索引, 3518 has two entries for Zhao Mengkui, reflecting the editors' judgment that there were two men by that name, the first with a *zi* of Wenyao, the second with a *zi* of Sudao 宿道, a native of Anfu and a 1256 *jinshi* who was an eleventh generation descendant of the founder of the Song dynasty. I believe the two entries refer to the same man, based on the data presented in Anonymous, *Baoyou dengkelu* 寶祐登科錄 4.63b, in Anonymous, *Nan Song Dengkelu liangzhong* 南宋登科錄兩種, *Songshi ziliao cuibian* 宋史資料萃編 vol. 3, ed. Wang Minxin 王民信 (Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1981) 232. Reprint of the 1875 ed. This work refers to a Zhao Mengkui who was a 1256 *jinshi*, *zi* Sudao 宿道 *and* a son of Zhao Yuhui.

[5] For the bureaucratic post of *bige xiuzhuan*, see *Songshi* 162.3821.

[6] For evidence of Zhao Mengkui's talents as a painter, see Xia Wenyan 夏文彥, *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑒 4.2b, *Luo xuetang xiansheng quanji* 羅學堂先生全集 vol. 20 (Taibei: Wenhua chuban gongsi, 1968), 8534. Reprint

had taken ten years to complete. Perhaps the time spent mourning his father's death in 1260 gave him the scholarly leisure to assemble a vast numbers of poems. He organized the collection with a painter's eye. It is as if he was preparing to have the appropriate Tang poems always on hand to inscribe on a painting. Readers of Tang poetry rarely see collections classified under such visual topics as these:

Heaven, earth, mountains, rivers 天地山川類 (32 chapters)

Court assemblies and palace towers 朝會宮闕類 (8 chapters)

Canonical works, history, poetry, collections 經史詩[8]集類 (3 chapters)

Town and country, gardens and cottages 城郭[9]園廬[10]類 (20 chapters)

Daoist belvederes and Buddhist temples 仙釋觀寺類 (12 chapters)

Utensils for clothing and eating 服食器用類 (11 chapters)

Weapons and armies, frontiers and passes 兵師邊塞類 (2 chapters)

Plants and trees, insects and fish 草木蟲魚類 (12 chapters)

In his preface, after beginning with the typical preliminaries of describing the perfection of Confucius' editorial work (anything which he did not include in the *Book of Songs* is viewed as a spurious pretender), Zhao describes the thoroughness of his own work. He claims that he has made a comprehensive collection of Tang poetry, from the emperors'

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of 1365 ed.; Wang Shuxian 王疏賢, *Huishi beikao* 繪事備考 6.5b (*SKQS* ed.); Zhu Mouyin 朱謀垔, *Huashi huiyao* 畫史會要 3.3b (*SKQS* ed.).

[7] In Ming times some of his other works, such as *Jianwen shanshan lu* 見聞善善錄 in one chapter, were still extant. See Huang Yuji, *Qianqingtang shumu* 11.318.

[8] Notice this does not conform to the bibliographical convention of four categories, the third of which is the masters, or philosophers.

[9] The term *chengguo* narrowly refers to the inner city walls and the outer city walls, or can refer more broadly to a city in general.

[10] This two-character term is short for *tianyuan lushe* 田園廬舍, field and cottage.

compositions down to the songs of the district.[11] He also places his efforts against a background of collections of Tang poetry. He does distance himself and his collection from merely repeating the separate collected works of the greatest Tang writers and poets such as Du Fu, Li Bo, Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan, citing the fact that such collections are already sitting in every literate household and therefore not worth the duplication of effort.

When describing his sources, Zhao Mengkui makes the common claims about his family having access to a goodly number of books (though he does not say precisely how many), having had access to books he did not own by virtue of his official career and in the course of his travels. He also acknowledges his debt to the preliminary efforts of an older friend and scholar, Li Gong (李[龍 over 廾],[12] which he proceeded to expand upon.[13] He went to the trouble of tallying up the number of poets and poems for the collection as a whole: 1,353 poets and 40,791 poems. Had the collection survived, on the basis of numbers alone, it would have been a one-man *Quan Tangshi*! In this light it is not surprising that he needed up to ten years to complete the work. Once he was done, terrified of losing his work, he carried it with him on his travels, and eventually invested in having blocks carved for a print edition to ensure the work's future survival. One fragment of a Song print edition is still extant, but dynastic bibliographies made no mention of the collection.

The re-entry of Fenmen zuanlei *into the textual record*

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[11] *Fenmen zuanlei* preface 1b.

[12] Li Gong, *zi* Hefu 和父, alternate *zi* Zhongfu 仲甫, *hao* Xuelin 雪林, was a native of Lize 笠澤(present day Wujiang, Jiangsu) who flourished during the latter half of the thirteenth century. He chose not to pursue an official career. For biographical information on Li Gong, see *Songshi yi* 宋史翼 36.22b (*XXSKQS* ed.) and *Songshi jishi* 71.15b (*SKQS* ed.). An imitator of the poetry of Yuan Zhen and Bo Juyi, he edited a number of collections of Tang poetry, some of which are still extant such as *Jianxiao ji* 翦綃集 and *Tang seng hongxiu ji* 唐僧弘秀集, but none of them included the poems of interest in this chapter.

[13] Unfortunately, Zhao did not mention his sources, which hampers modern efforts to recover analogues.

It is only with the book collector Ye Sheng 葉盛[14] that this collection is mentioned in the textual record. Earlier catalogues of collections, public or private, make no mention of the work. Ye borrowed a fragment from Lei Fu 雷復,[15] some time between 1465 and 1474 (the date of Lei's death) and made his own copy (which is not recorded in the catalogue of his collection).[16] Ye made a detailed count of the remains of the fragment, and at that time 27 *juan* out of the original hundred were extant:

> I copied a ten-scroll fragment of Tang poems and songs from Vice Minister Lei Jingyang.[17] This book is the one compiled by Zhao Mengkui, which he sorted by categories, the *Tang Poems and Songs Sorted by Categories*. His efforts were quite diligent. In former times the text was one hundred *juan* in all, at present thirty-one *juan* are extant. In *juan* thirty-one and thirty-two the titles and categories are visible, [but] the poems are missing. In *juan* thirty-nine and forty there are only two sheets of paper, the first and the last. In actuality only 27 *juan* are extant, not even a third of the total. Jingyang said he still has one *juan*, which he is searching for, but has not yet found.[18]

The state of the text was already precarious, as witnessed by Ye's comments above. Unfortunately, the collection dropped out of sight again. It is unknown what became of the fragment Ye recopied – it does not appear to be extant.

A different fragment of the collection re-surfaces in the seventeenth century. The seventeenth-century scholar and official Zhou Lianggong 周亮工 (1612 – 1672) described the

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[14] Ye Sheng (1420-1474) *zi* Yuzhong 與中, native of Kunshan 崑山, Suzhou. For his official biography, see *Mingshi* 177.4721. See also *DMB*, 1580-82.

[15] Lei Fu 雷復 (*jinshi* 1436) *zi* Jingyang 景暘, was a native of Ningyuan 寧遠, Huguang 湖廣 province (present-day Ningyuan, Hunan). For his official biography, see *Mingshi* 159.4342-43.

[16] See *Luzhutang shumu* 菉竹堂書目, in *Mingdai shumu tiba congkan* 明代書目題跋叢刊 vol. 1, eds. Feng Huimin 馮惠民 and Li Wanjian 李萬健 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1994) 889 to 922. See also *Luzhu tang gao* 菉竹堂稿, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, jibu* vol. 35 (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1995-97).

[17] The character used for *yang* here is 陽. Lei received his appointment as the *shilang* of the Board of Rites in 1465, hence the earlier comment about Ye borrowing the collection from Lei *shilang* sometime after 1465.

[18] This note is quoted in Mao Yi, 'Colophon to *Fenmen zuanlei Tanggeshi*' 5a,b in Ruan Yuan 阮元, comp., *Wanwei biecang* 宛委別藏 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935).

recovery of *Fenmen zuanlei* in a book he wrote while in prison.[19] Zhou commented on the number of Tang works which had been lost and then he lamented the fact that extraordinary works are often not transmitted but that coarse, inferior works (without provenance) such as *ci* and *qu*, enjoyed wide circulation. According to Zhou, Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664) rescued a *Fenmen zuanlei* fragment from the ashes of a fire in 1646 at the gates of the capital (*dumen* 都門). This is apparently a personal communication – remarks Qian told Zhou directly. Zhou claimed the work preserved many regulated poems by Xue Tao.[20] Lastly, Zhou Lianggong mistakenly assumed that the work was not transmitted after the fire of 1650 at Qian Qianyi's book collection Jiangyun lou 絳雲樓.[21]

It turns out that Qian Qianyi did not keep the fragment. Mao Jin's son, Yi explains in a colophon to *Fenmen zuanlei* that his father obtained the fragment from Qian Qianyi. Mao Jin's perceived value of the fragment was so high that he had a tracing made which his son later priced for sale at twelve taels, making it one of the most expensive items in the sale catalogue of the Mao family collection.[22]

In the nineteenth century Ruan Yuan prepared a copy of the collection for presentation to the throne. Fu Zengxiang was the first bibliographer to note that Ruan Yuan

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[19] Zhou Lianggong, *Shuying* 書影 1.37 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981). The original title of the book is *Yinshuwu shuying* 因樹屋書影. The *Shuying* was first printed in 1667. For Zhou Lianggong's biography, see *ECCP* 173-74. Zhou obtained his *jinshi* in 1640. Though he was born in Nanjing, his family was registered as natives of Xiangfu 祥符 (present day Kaifeng city, Henan). *Zi* Yuanliang 元亮, additional *zi* Jianzhai 減齋, and *hao* Liyuan 櫟園.

[20] This is the only statement known concerning the claim that a complete *Fenmen zuanlei Tanggeshi* would contain many more poems by Xue Tao than what remains in the extant fragments.

[21] *Jiangyunlou shumu buyi* 絳雲樓書目補遺 (1820) (unpaginated), (see *XXSKQS* vol. 920, p. 424) does hold an entry for Zhao Mengkui, *Fenlei Tangshi bian* 分類唐詩編, and according to Fu Zengxiang, it is also listed in *Jiangyunlou jiucang guolu* 絳雲樓舊藏過錄 (which I have not seen). See Fu Zengxiang, *Cangyuan dingbu Luting zhijian chuanben shumu* 藏園訂補郘亭知見傳本書目 16A.50-51 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1993).

[22] See *Jiguge zhencang miben shumu* 汲古閣珍藏秘本書目, in *Congshu jicheng chubian*, vol. 34 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929), 27. For a study of the contents of this catalogue, and of the subsequent owners of the collection, see Pan Tianzhen, 潘天禎, "*Miben shumu* shoulu shu de guishu wenti," [in two parts]《秘本書目》收錄書的歸屬問題(上)，(下), *Tushuguan zazhi* 圖書館雜志 17 (1986.1): 39-41 and *Tushuguan zazhi* 18 (1986.2): 57-59.

deleted portions of the text.[23] One of these deletions, Fu noted, was a fragment by Xue Tao, which is not preserved anywhere else in the textual record. Fu speculated on Ruan's motivations for deleting incomplete poems, saying that Ruan deleted fragments out of fear the emperor would get angry at reading a less than perfect text. The text which Ruan Yuan edited is the edition most easily accessible to the public today.

Although the compilers of the first edition of *Quan Tangshi* did not draw upon *Fenmen zuanlei* as a source, the compilers of the revised edition obtained a copy, as the two poems attributed to Li Jilan were added to the revised edition.[24]

In sum, traditional scholarship viewed the collection as absolutely authentic. At no time since its recovery has any scholar ever suggested that the collection as a whole was a spurious one, or a forgery.[25] In addition, no scholar of the imperial period referred to any of the collection's contents as spurious.

The poems attributed to Li Jilan in the collection

Modern Chinese scholars, following the lead of traditional scholarship, often accept the two poems as the authentic voice of Li Jilan.[26] Chen Wenhua makes no assessment of the

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[23] Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘, *Cangyuan qunshu tiji* 藏園群書題記 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 951-953; *Cangyuan qunshu jingyanlu* 藏園群書經眼錄 vol. 5 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1983), 1513-1515; and *Cangyuan dingbu Luting zhijian chuanben shumu* 藏園訂補郘亭知見傳本書目 16A.50-51 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1993). See also Zhang Pengzhou 張蓬舟, *Xue Tao shi jian* 薛濤詩箋, 43, which quotes the Cao 曹 manuscript (which does contain the fragment of the Xue Tao poem).

[24] Cao Yin 曹寅, in a colophon to *Fenmen zuanlei*, points out that the editors borrowed the Cao manuscript and added many its poems to the revised edition of *Quan Tangshi*. See *Cangyuan qunshu jingyanlu*, 1514. See also *Quan Tangshi* 888.10039.

[25] In addition to Ye Sheng's colophon and Fu Zengxiang's notes above on the various copies he saw, see also Wu Qian 吳騫, 'Colophon to Fenmen zuanlei,' in *Baijing lou shihua* 拜精樓詩話 1.17a (1.18a-19b is merely a repeat of Mao Yi's colophon), *Baijing lou congshu* 拜精樓叢書 vol. 26 (Shanghai: Bogu zhai, 1922);

[26] See Zhao Songyuan 趙松元, 'Zhiren shangshi yu shici de beijing fenxi' 知人賞詩與詩詞的背景分析, *Hanshan shifan xueyuan xuebao* 韓山師范學院學報 (March 1999): 66; Zhou Liling 周麗玲, 'Tangdai nüshiren ji qi nüxing shige chuangzuo' 唐代女詩人及其女性詩歌創作, *Guiyang shizhuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 貴陽師專學報社會科學版 61 (2000.3): 67.

poems' authenticity.[27] Stephen Owen, in contrast, concludes that the two poems attributed to Li Jilan in *Fenmen zuanlei* are spurious.[28] Indeed, the theme and language of the two poems attributed to her differ from the corpus as presented (in this thesis) up to 1265. In terms of the contents of the imperial library as of the 1770s, these two poems only appear once, in *Quan Tangshi*.[29] But at the same time, the textual record is so spotty that we do not have proof that they are not her poems. The best we can say is that they first appear in the textual record in 1265 wherein Zhao Mengkui attributes them to Li Jilan, and that they remain in limbo until a discovery of early texts enables us to redeem them, or to prove that they are spurious. While they remain in limbo, however, it is best not to include them in any discussion of women's voice.

The titles of the two poems are 'Roses' and 'Willow Tree,' and the text follows:

薔薇

翠融紅綻渾無力，斜倚欄杆似詫人[30]。

深處最宜香惹蝶，摘時兼恐焰燒春。

當空巧結玲瓏帳，[著][31] 地能鋪錦繡裀。

最好凌晨和露看 ，碧紗窗外一枝新。

Roses

Green and red fuse and burst forth, their efforts spent.

Leaning against the trellis, they show off to everyone.

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[27] See *Tangdai nüshiren ji sanzhong*, 19.
[28] See Stephen Owen's biographical note on Li Ye in *WWTC*, 57.
[29] On 10 March 2004, portions of the poem were matched against the *Siku quanshu* electronic database available on line at <http://trial.skqs.com> from 09 to 31 March 2004.
[30] *Fenmen zuanlei Tanggeshi* has *chun*, or spring at the end of the first and second couplets. I accept Chen Wenhua's emendation of the last character of the first couplet to read *ren*, or person. See Chen Wenhua, *Tangdai nüshiren ji sanzhong*, 19.
[31] This character should be the other *zhuo*2, but the Big5 character set does not support it.

Those deep recesses just right for fragrance to tempt butterflies.

But when you pick them, beware you don't get burned by the blazing spring.

In mid air, artfully forming an intricate canopy,

On the ground, their petals skillfully spread like brightly embroidered garments.

It's best to look at them with the early morning dew when,

Beyond the emerald gauze window screen, one newly blooms.

柳

最愛纖纖曲水濱，夕陽移影過青蘋。

東風又染一年綠，楚客更傷千里春。

低葉已藏依岸棹，高枝應閉上樓人。

舞腰漸重煙光老，散作飛綿惹翠茵。

The Willow Tree

Prefers to turn ever so delicately toward the river bank.

The setting sun shifts its shadows through the grassy shallows.

The east wind dyes it green for another year.

The southern traveler again mourns the distant spring.

If the lower leaves cover the oars as they rest on the bank,

Then high branches will surely close off from view the one upstairs.

Its dancer's waist slowly thickens, as the misty light fades.

Its cotton-floss floats away, to tickle the green grass.

If these poems are spurious, we are left with the intriguing question, was Zhao Mengkui fooled or was he the very deceiver? Or, could he have innocently passed a forgery by someone else? In the first instance, if a connoisseur like Zhao Mengkui is fooled, what hope do we have of discerning at this remove whether the poems included really do have any connection with Li Jilan? In the second instance, if Zhao Mengkui composed the poems himself, we are unlikely to find analogues in extant Song dynasty collections.

Even the casual reader will notice that Zhao only included three women in the extant fragment. We cannot be certain why that should be the case, because we cannot extrapolate and assume that the collection as a whole did not include other women. But Xin Wenfang, a scant thirty-nine years later, referred to the same three women as the three that any account of Tang poetry could not afford to leave out. Was Zhao Mengkui not aware of the other women? Surely he must have consulted extant collections such as *Caidiao ji* if not the less-widely circulated *Tangshi jishi*. One possibility is that poems by other Tang women did not fit Zhao's visual classification scheme, therefore he chose to exclude them. Although Zhao was unaware of or had excluded the bulk of poems attributed to women, the next compiler, Xin Wenfang, took great care to place the literary production of Tang women in perspective, in both historical perspective, and against the body of textual production by men. What is more surprising, he did so by means of biography, not by compiling yet another general poetry collection.

***Tang caizizhuan* 唐才子傳**

Xin Wenfang does not have an official biography, but the following details can be pieced together from assorted fourteenth-century documents. Xin Wenfang, *zi* Liangshi 良史, was a native of the western territories Xiyu 西域, and resident of Yuzhang 豫章 [present day

Nanchang 南昌, Jiangxi].[32] An adept poet, in his official career he rose to the position of Hanlin editorial reviser 翰林編修. In his lifetime a collection of his poetry circulated, but it appears to have been lost during the Ming dynasty, thus *Tang caizizhuan* remains his only extant work.

Xin may have been the first compiler to place the literary production of Tang women in a larger context of women writing (if not going as far as defending or creating a women's literary tradition). Xin placed his short thesis on Tang women writing after the biography of the first woman he included in his collection, the biography of Li Jilan. Unsurprisingly, he holds up the first ode in the *Book of Songs* (' "*Guan guan*," cry the ospreys') as an acceptable example of feminine voice. Turning to the women writers of antiquity, he views Lady Ban, Ban Zhao, Cai Yan and Xie Daoyun as writers whose works are consistent with the propriety of the ancient odes in feminine voice.

Despite their accomplishments, Xin still maintains that 'Alas, brush and ink are certainly not the [proper] business of women, for those who do employ them, all depends on how they make use of them.' With this comment Xin's argument shifts to an examination of Tang women and their poetry. Although the women and their poems are competitive with those of their male counterparts, they remain less than perfect: '...they interject their fickle and seductive desires [into their poems], none of which they can realize [or subdue], and herein lies the tiny flaw in what would otherwise be a perfect white jade disk.' He proceeds to name all 25 women, and his description of the content of their poems makes it clear he has read at least some of them. In the end, Xin resorts to the language of the *Records of the*

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[32] What little is known about Xin Wenfang is culled from poems to or about him by his contemporaries. See Gong Kui 貢奎, 'Song Liangshi' 送良史, *Yunlin ji* 雲林集 1.15a (*SKQS* ed.); Ma Zuchang 馬祖常, 'Xin Liangshi Pisha ji shi' 辛良史披沙集詩, *Shitian wenji* 石田文集 2.16a,b (*SKQS* ed.). See also, Chen Yuan 陳垣, *Yuan xiyuren huahua kao* 元西域人華化考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000) 4.63-64. For an English translation of Chen Yuan's brief biography of Xin Wenfang, see L.C. Goodrich, trans. *Western and Central Asians in China Under the Mongols* (Los Angeles: Monumenta Serica at the University of California, 1966), 138-140.

Historian (*Shiji*) in order to defend his decision to include these less than perfect women and works in his collection: 'A foot might be too short, yet an inch might be too long, therefore I have no intention of suppressing [any of] them.'

Although in his official career he served as an editor, with access to imperial archives, Xin still made some mistakes or misreadings, some of which were quite elementary. For example, he thought that Gao Shi 高適 was the compiler of *Zhongxing jianqi ji*.[33] He also made some errors with respect to Tang women poets. In his list of 25 Tang women poets, Xin included one Tan Yige 譚意哥. There is no Tan Yige in Tang sources, but Song narrative does contain biography of a Tan Yige.[34] The biography of Tan Yige does not include explicit dynastic or reign period markers, so a reader could have drawn his own conclusions about the relevant time period. It should be noted that later editors, the compilers of the *Quan Tangshi*, did not follow Xin's error in counting her as a Tang woman poet (one of the few times that is the case). And lastly, on occasion Xin accepted the voice of the poet as evidence of autobiographical fact. Thus he read one of Li Jilan's poems as evidence that she was native to the Three Gorges region, where ninth-century collections refer to her as a native of Wuxing 吳興.

Although the work attracted some critical notice among traditional scholars, it did not attract enough attention to stay in print in mainland China. Yang Shiqi 楊士奇 (1365-1444)[35] criticized Xin's work for not including certain Tang poets like Zhang Jiuling 張九齡 and Li Yong 李邕 among his selection of 397 geniuses, but he complimented Xin for giving

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[33] As noted in Chapter One, the compiler was Gao Zhongwu.
[34] See Liu Fu 劉斧, *Qingsuo gaoyi bieji* 青瑣高議別集 2.212-217 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983); and Lu Xun, *Tang-Song chuanqi ji* 8.365-370 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998). See also Chen Shangjun's corrections of Fu Xuancong's work in the appendix to *Tang caizizhuan jiaojian*, 68.
[35] For Yang Shiqi's biography, see *DMB*, 1535-38.

illuminating biographies of the poets chosen.[36] Yang Shiqi was able to consult the complete ten chapters, but when the *Siku* editors examined the collection in the late eighteenth century, they did not have access to the complete work. They examined eight chapters which had been recovered from the *Yongle dadian*.[37] They noted how comprehensive the work was, even collecting the works of such (social outcasts) as courtesans and female Daoists. Although they deplored its use of unreliable sources (which they referred to as absurd Tang narratives) such as Meng Qi's *Benshi shi* and Fan Shu's *Yunxi youyi*, they ultimately conceded it was of assistance for students of poetry in comparison and editing (and so decided to include it in *Siku quanshu*). It is modern scholars such as Nunome Chōfū and Fu Xuancong who have looked upon the collection with new enthusiasm.[38]

Xin Wenfang counted 25 Tang women as poets, of those 25 he considered three to be geniuses.[39] He includes Yao Yuehua as one of the 25. In terms of the biographies, it is not clear whether Xin knew any details concerning the deaths of Li Jilan and Yu Xuanji. Indeed, he did not mention their deaths at all. Despite his lack of knowledge about, or reticence to record, their deaths, Xin obviously read some of the poems attributed to these women because he briefly summarized their content as part of his short thesis. Whether Xin had access to the separate collections of Li Jilan, Xue Tao and Yu Xuanji when he compiled the collection is another important question. Nunome Chōfū points out that Xin could have been

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[36] See 'Xin Liangshi *Caizizhuan* hou' 辛良史才子傳後, *Dongli wenji* 東里文集 10.12b (*SKQS* ed.).

[37] Modern editions are all based on a complete text found in Japan. Nunome Chōfū has described the textual transmission of *Tang caizizhuan* in detail, see *Tō saishiden no kenkyū* . For the *Siku* editors' assessment of the collection, see *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 58.1276.

[38] Fu Xuancong's work, though of great scope, must be used with caution. There are a few points where he introduces his own speculations about the workings of Li Jilan's social circles. For example, he argues that Liu Changqing has two poems addressed to Li Jilan which are still extant. He reads "Collator Li" (Li *jiaoshu* 李校書) as referring to Li Jilan. There is no documentary evidence that the term was used to refer to any woman before it was first applied to Xue Tao in the ninth century, as modern scholar Tao Min 陶敏 points out. See Tao Min's corrections to Fu Xuancong's work in the appendix to *Tang caizizhuan jiaojian*, 63. Fu also argues that the name Hongjian refers to Du Hongjian (a Tang figure, but with no known connection to Li Jilan) instead of Lu Hongjian (Lu Yu, who was known to be in Li Jilan's social circle).

[39] Note that this figure is 16 women less than Ji Yougong's total of 41.

relying on the catalogue prepared for *Xin Tangshu* (at least in terms of saying whether or not a particular woman's individual collected works were extant) instead of reading the actual separate collection. Of the snippets of poetry he cited, Xin certainly did not cite any hitherto unknown poems: every line he cited has come down to us from collections other than his own compilation.

Post-1304 developments – Ming narrative as a source for Tang poetry

For the Ming and Qing dynasties, more of the written record is extant than for the preceding periods. In practical terms, this means that we have more of a chance to discover interpolated material, and its analogues. Where we cannot find analogues to the Roses and Willow Tree poems for Li Jilan, we can find analogues for the poems interpolated into Yao Yuehua's corpus, and for the entire fabricated corpus of Zhao Luanluan.

Example of a late addition to a poet's corpus

Li Jilan is generally considered too early a figure to have composed any *ci* 詞. There are only *shi* 詩 in her extant poems (as counted by the compilers of *Quan Tangshi*).[40] A sixteenth-century collection of *ci*, surprisingly, lists one attributed to Li. Wu Cheng'en 吳承恩 (ca. 1506 - ca. 1582),[41] the supposed author of the popular novel *Xiyou ji* 西遊記,[42] at one point compiled a work titled *Huacao xinbian* 花草新編. The collection is a re-compilation of two earlier works, the *Huajianji* 花間集[43] and the *Caotang shiyu* 草堂詩域.[44] Zhao

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[40] See *Quan Tangshi* 805.9057.
[41] Wu Cheng'en (*zi* Ruzhong 汝忠, *hao* Sheyang shanren 射陽山人) was a native of Huai'an 淮安. For his biography, see Luther Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1369-1644* (hereafter *DMB*) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 1479-1483.
[42] For the argument against such an ascription, see Glen Dudbridge, 'The Hundred-Chapter *Hsi-yu chi* and its early versions,' *Asia Major* new series 14.2 (1969): 187-190.
[43] The edition of Shaoxing 18 (1148), held in the Beijing library, is the earliest surviving text. For a photo-reprint, see *Huajian ji* (Beijing: Wenxue guji kanxingshe, 1955). *Huajian ji* has 500 poems by 18 male poets. A number of verses are written in feminine voice.
[44] See Chen Yaowen, 'Preface,' *Huacao cuibian*, 1a, *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, vol. 1490 (Taibei: Taiwan yinshuguan, 1986), 114. Hereafter all works in *Siku quanshu* will be cited as *SKQS* ed.

Chongzuo 趙崇祚[45] compiled the first collection, the earliest known compilation of *ci*. Zhao selected poems dating from 836 to 940, none of which were attributed to women. The second collection is an anonymous one circa 1195. The *Caotang shiyu* has five poems by Li Qingzhao, one by a Madame Sun 孫夫人, and one by Ruan Yi's 阮逸 daughter;[46] but none attributed to Tang women.[47] Wu sorted and arranged the verses by length and in order of the first character into a collection of five *juan*. Wu's compilation was never published, but a draft of his preface was published posthumously.[48]

After Wu's death circa 1582, his friend Chen Yaowen 陳耀文 published the *Huacao cuibian* 花草粹編, a work in twenty-four *juan*.[49] Chen's work includes a preface very similar to the one Wu intended for his own collection. Wu or Chen (or both) added *ci* which did not belong to the two original collections. The *Huacao cuibian* as it comes down to us lists a lyric attributed to Li Jilan, one not listed in either the *Huajianji* or *Caotang shiyu*.[50] This is not the only addition. *Huacao cuibian* has a greater number of women poets than the two source

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[45] Zhao Chongzuo (*zi* Hongji 宏基) has no official biography,. There is no author preface to *Huajian ji*, but Ouyang Jiong's 歐陽炯 preface 1a – 2b, points to Hongji as the compiler, and his position as a *weiwei shaoqing* 衛尉少卿 in the court of Shu. The famous Song book collector Chen Zhensun 陳振孫(ca. 1190 – after 1249) had a copy in his library, but he was unable to identify Hongji as Zhao Chongzuo. See Chen Zhensun, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 21.614, eds. Xu Xiaoman 徐小蠻 and Gu Meihua 顧美華, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987).

[46] Out of a total of 367 poems.

[47] See *Zengxiu jianzhu miaoxuan qunying caotang shiyu* 增修箋註妙選群英草堂詩餘, *Kyōtō daigaku kanseki zenhon sōsho* 京都大學漢籍善本叢書 vol. 9 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1980). Photo-reprint of the edition of 1343.

[48] His cousin's son gathered the remaining drafts and manuscripts and had them printed as *Sheyang xiansheng cungao* 射陽先生存稿 in four plus one *juan* in 1589. Wu's friend Chen Wenzhu 陳文燭 (*jinshi* 1565) wrote a preface to the *Huacao xinbian*, which was printed with his collected works in 1584. See Chen Wenzhu, *Eryou yuan shiji xuji* 二酉園詩集續集 1.16a (microfilm of 1589 ed. in Bodleian Library, Oxford). Chen's preface makes comments about Wu's project of combining the *Huajian ji* and the *Caotang shiyu*.

[49] Chen Yaowen (*zi* Huibo 晦伯) was a native of Langling 郎陵, Henan who took his *jinshi* in 1550. Chen and Wu first met in Beijing when Chen passed his exams. Chen was later a prefectural judge in Huai'an from 1559 to 1561, thus giving him an opportunity to get to know Wu better, and borrow books from Wu's library.

[50] *Huacao cuibian* 4.33a,b (*SKQS* ed.). The lyric and its translation are included in an appendix on Li Jilan's corpus.

collections. It has forty-four women poets with one hundred and twenty-nine poems, some of which have notes about sources (unfortunately the Li Jilan entry has no such note).[51]

Chen's compilation was selected for inclusion in *Siku quanshu* (hereafter *SKQS*), but Wu's collection was never printed.[52] The *SKQS* editors were unaware of the connection between Wu and Chen's respective texts, probably because they had not heard of Wu's manuscript copy.[53] The modern scholar Liu Ts'un-yan 柳存仁 surmises that Chen Yaowen carried a copy of Wu Cheng'en's manuscript with him when he left Huai'an in 1561. When Chen published his own work in 1583 (after Wu's death) he had no idea that the remainder of Wu's manuscripts would be collected and published. Chen's preface (to *Huacao cuibian*) and Wu's preface (to *Huacao xinbian*) both survive for the purposes of comparison.[54]

Liu Ts'un-yan and Patrick Hanan have both noted the amount of additional material in the *Huacao cuibian*. They both have suggested that Wu culled a number of poems from his reading of Song and Yuan vernacular fiction.[55] Thus the ultimate source of the Li Jilan *ci* eludes us until someone re-discovers it.[56] This just means that another mystery awaits us. If

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[51] In 1685 Sun Huiyuan 孫蕙媛 deplored the lack of women's *ci* in collections, then pointed out *Huajian ji* [sic] and *Caotang shiyu* as two of the rare exceptions. Apparently she was unaware of the *Huacao cuibian*. Although we cannot be certain of the circulation and influence of Sun's remarks, they might have influenced later readers to look at the amalgamated collection with respect or trust in the attribution of female authorship. Sun made her remarks in the collection *Gujin mingyuan baihua shiyu* 古今名媛百花詩餘 in four *juan*, published in 1685. See Hu Wenkai 胡文楷, *Lidai funü zhuzuo kao* 歷代婦女著作考 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985 rept.), 900.

[52] A fragment consisting solely of *juan* 3, 4, and 5 of Wu Cheng'en's manuscript of *Huacao xinbian* is held in the Shanghai Library. See Liu Xiuye 劉脩業 and Liu Huaiyu 劉懷玉, comp. and annot., *Wu Cheng'en shiwenji jianjiao* 吳承恩詩文集箋校 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991), plate 4, which reprints one page from this manuscript.

[53] Yong Rong 永瑢, *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 199.4461, 4 vols. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933). For a reprint of Wu's preface to *Huacao xinbian*, see Liu and Liu, *Wu Cheng'en shiwenji jianjiao*, 118.

[54] Liu Ts'un-yan compares Wu's preface to *Huacao xinbian* and Chen's to *Huacao cuibian* in 'Wu Ch'eng'en 吳承恩: His life and career,' *T'oung-pao* 53 (1967): 43-51.

[55] Liu Ts'un-yan, 'Wu Ch'eng-en: His life and career,' 50. Patrick Hanan, 'Sung and Yuan Fiction: A Critique of Modern Methods of Dating,' *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 30 (1970): 183.

[56] I am grateful to my colleague Eddy U, who inspected the Wu Cheng'en manuscript of *Huacao xinbian* at the Shanghai Library in September 2003, and informed me that the fragment does not contain any poems attributed to Li Jilan. Thus it is still unknown which of the two, Wu Cheng'en or Chen Yaowen, first selected the *ci* attributed to her.

Liu and Hanan are correct in their suppositions, then it would be likely that Wu thought the material was real, and he did not read it as being a literary hoax. But the entry in the *Huacao cuibian* is extremely unlikely to have anything to do with the historical person Li Jilan as a composer of *ci* for the primary reason that she was too early a figure to have participated in the development of structural principles of *ci* as described by literary historians.[57]

The relationship between *Huacao xinbian* and *Huacao cuibian* deserves more study in its own right. Definitive conclusions will be hard to come by – the fragments of Wu's manuscript of *Huacao xinbian* must be compared with Chen's work. Chen usually preserved Wu's critical remarks about the source works for some *ci*, but some new *ci* in Chen's collection have no stated provenance whatsoever. A study of the relationship between the two texts is beyond the scope of this thesis. These texts are presented here only to illustrate the principle that each act of compilation is an opportunity for new material to enter the textual record.

When we examine the draft volumes of *Quan Tangshi*,[58] it is immediately apparent that as a general rule sources later than *Tang caizizhuan* were not used for the first draft.[59] Gao Bing's *Tangshi pinhui* (1393), for example, is not cited anywhere in the draft volume on women's poetry. The draft volume is consistent in its use of terms and names from pre-1304 sources. For example Zhang Jianfeng's concubine is listed just as that in the draft volume. But in the final version she becomes Guan Panpan (which is consistent with a post-1304

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[57] Kang-i Sun Chang describes the development of early *ci* as taking place between 850 and 1100. Two prominent early developers, Wen Tingyun (ca. 812-ca. 870) and Wei Zhuang (ca. 836-901) lived well after Li Jilan's time. See Kang-i Sun Chang, *The Evolution of Chinese Tz'u Poetry: From Late T'ang to Northern Sung* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), ix. For an overview of the problems dating the history of *ci* as a genre, see Wu Xionghe 吳熊和, *Tang-Song ci tonglun* 唐宋詞通論 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1995), 1-21.

[58] See Qian Qianyi 錢謙益, Ji Zhenyi 季振宜 et al., *Quan Tangshi gaoben* 全唐詩稿本 vol. 71 (Taibei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1979).

[59] There are, of course, minor exceptions to this. For royal and palace women such as Wu Zetian, Xu Hui and Shangguan Zhaorong, the compilers relied on *Tang shiji*, which was based heavily on *Tangshi jishi*. For Xue Tao, a Ming edition of her separate collected works was consulted.

development).[60] Post-1304 sources were used, however, for the final version. In the draft volumes, Yao Yuehua has two poems attributed to her name, a number which had remained stable for the previous 400 years. But in the final version of *Quan Tangshi* there are six poems attributed to Yuehua. The primary reason behind the change appears to be poems first introduced in Ming narrative (which will be considered below). Zhao Luanluan has no poems in the pre-1304 period, and is not a Tang poet then, but early Ming narrative contains a biography of one Zhao Luanluan, complete with the poems later attributed to her as a Tang poet in the collections *Mingyuan shigui* and then *Quan Tangshi*. Other phenomena include misreading, such as innocent cases of early Ming narrative (in an attempt to emulate Tang narrative) which are later misread as Tang narrative. This is the case with Zhao Luanluan. It will be shown that her life dates to the late 1350s, but by the early seventeenth century she has been converted into a Tang woman poet by the publishers of *Mingyuan shigui*.[61]

Yao Yuehua never had a biography before the late sixteenth century. The account of her life which first appears then gives evidence of the late date of its composition in that the text employs a term for a foreign woolen good not known in China before the fourteenth century. The biography of Yao Yuehua, as far as is currently known, first appeared as a part of the sequel to the sixteenth-century collection *Yanyibian* 艷異編.[62] The following summarizes her biography *Yao Yuehua xiaozhuan*: Yao Yuehua 姚月華 was just a girl when her mother died. While she was still young, the moon goddess bestowed special gifts (knowledge without having to undergo any training) upon her. She had never engaged in formal studies, but when she picked up a brush, she immediately became a gifted poet and

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[60] Compare Gao Bing, *Tangshi pinhui* 55.14b; *Quan Tangshi gaoben* 71.75; and *Quan Tangshi* 802.9023.
[61] See *Mingyuan shigui* 15.15a,b. She is listed among the Tang women poets, not among the Yuan (*juan* 23, 24).
[62] See Wang Shizhen 王世貞, *Yanyibian xubian* 艷異編續編 4 (Xi'an: Taibai wenyi chubanshe, 2000), 700. Text and translation included in the appendix to this chapter. I have yet to consult the earliest known edition, the *Xinjuan Yuming tang pixuan Wang Yanzhou xiansheng Yanyibian* 新雋玉茗堂批選王弇州先生艷異編, in 40 *juan* and continuation volume in 19 *juan*. See *Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo Kanseki bunrui mokuroku* 東京大學東洋文化研究所漢籍分類目錄 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1981), 610a.

prose writer. Yuehua and her father moved to a place beside the Yangzi River. She and a young scholar Yang Da 楊達 fell in love by way of an exchange of poems. When her father was re-assigned on official business, Yuehua went with him, leaving Yang Da alone and heartbroken.

The biography itself makes no mention of Yuehua as a Tang figure, nor does it include any Tang reign periods. The reader is left to infer that connection by means of two items. First, the poem of resentment composed by Yuehua in the biography corresponds to a poem by Yao Yuehua of the Tang dynasty, which appears in the tenth-century collection *Caidiao ji*.[63] Second, the first poem attributed to Yang Da in the biography corresponds to a poem composed by Yang Ling 楊凌, also of the Tang dynasty (see appendix). It should also be pointed out that the name Yang Da only appears in four late texts: *Yao Yuehua xiaozhuan* (as it appears in the continuation to *Yanyibian*), *Langhuan ji*, *Mingyuan shigui* and the final version of *Quan Tangshi*. Yang Da is not known to appear in any text prior to the late sixteenth century.

The biography of Yao Yuehua as it appears in Ming narrative accounts for three of the six poems attributed to her in *Quan Tangshi*. That leaves one poem unaccounted for. At some point, the poem 'Failed to show up for an appointment' (*qi bu zhi* 期不至), by Bo Juyi,[64] is attributed to Yao Yuehua as '*you qi bu zhi*' 有期不至.[65]

The following is the poem by Bo Juyi and Howard Levy's translation:

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[63] Compare *Yanyibian xubian* 4, p. 700 with *Caidiao ji* 10 (*Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 960-61).
[64] See *Bo shi wenji* 18.59a,b (Beijing: Wenxue guji kanxingshe, 1955). Here the title is 'Qi bu zhi.' Also included under Bo Juyi in *Quan Tangshi* 441.4929. See also Howard S. Levy, *Translations from Po Chü-i's Collected Works, Vol. 1 The Old Style Poems* (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Co., 1971), 114.
[65] See Tian Yiheng 田藝蘅(1524-74?), *Shinüshi* 詩女史 7.12a,b, *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, jibu* 四庫全書存目叢書, 集部 vol. 321 (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1995-97). Reprint of a 1557 print edition held in Shanghai tushuguan. There was probably a slightly different version of the Yuehua biography in circulation in the late sixteenth century which did include 'You qi bu zhi,' and from which Tian selected the poem for inclusion in his collection. The version of the biography provided in the appendix certainly depicts a Yang Da who has not kept his appointed rendezvous with Yuehua, but the poem is not recited as part of the plot.

紅燭青樽久延佇，出門入門天欲曙。

星稀月落竟不來，煙柳朧朧鵲飛去。

Appointment not kept

Red lamp, green wine cask,

Long do I stand and wait.

Going in and out of my gates

Till dawn is about to break.

Stars few, moon fallen,

Still he doesn't come.

Mist and willows rise sun-obscured;

Off fly the magpies.

Although the *Quan Tangshi* compilers were not likely to consult the *Yanyibian* as a source text for the final version of their work, they used what they must have thought of as the more reliable collections *Shinüshi* and *Mingyuan shigui*.

Despite Chen Shangjun's comments on the unreliability of the biography of Yao Yuehua (as it appears in *Yanyibian* and *Quan Tangshi*) as a source for her life, modern scholars have already incorporated Yao Yuehua as part of an analysis on gender in Tang discourse.[66] Ultimately, we must attempt to distinguish between later discourse *about* the Tang and Tang era discourse. The biography of Yao Yuehua (with its additional poems) is merely one among many sources for the post-1304 interpolations to the corpus of poems attributed to Tang women.

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[66] See Jowen R. Tung, *Fables for the Patriarchs: Gender Politics in Tang Discourse* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 188.

Where Yao Yuehua has attributions in tenth-century collections, Zhao Luanluan does not enter the textual record until the fifteenth century. The five poems attributed to her in *Quan Tangshi* have a transmission history that when examined carefully, leads to the conclusion that her identity as a Tang poet is a very late fabrication. The examination of this history begins with the comments of the fifteenth-century scholar Xu Boling 徐伯齡 (fl.1457-1465).[67]

Xu Boling wrote many comments on the origin of certain poems. One sequence which attracted his attention consisted of six poems with the following titles: Willow-Leaf Eyebrows (*liu mei* 柳眉), Starry Eyes (*xing yan* 星眼),[68] Sandalwood Mouth (*tan kou* 檀口), Succulent Breasts (*su ru* 酥乳), Silk-Slim Fingers (*xian zhi* 纖指), and Fragrant Hooks (*xiang gou* 香鉤) (the first five titles correspond to the poems which are later attributed to Zhao Luanluan).[69] The fragrant hooks, as Xu comments, refer to feet. In Xu's opinion, the Yuan poet Guan Yunshi 貫雲石 (1286-1324)[70] wrote the sequence in imitation of 'The Six Reminiscences' (*liu yi* 六憶), which as far as Xu knew, were a sequence of poems by Su Shi (1037-1101).[71] Indeed Xu Boling does not mention any role for a Zhao Luanluan in the composition of these poems. Xu Boling's claim only provides the titles of the poems. Out of modesty, or embarrassment over their salacious content, he avoids re-copying the body-parts

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[67] Xu Boling (*zi* Yanzhi 延之, *hao* Tuoguan daoren 籜冠道人) was a native of Qiantang (present day Hangzhou). He was renowned for his literary skill, especially in the *yuefu* genre. He wrote the *Yinjingjuan* 蟫精雋 in 20 chapters (only sixteen of which have been reconstructed from the *Yongle dadian*). For brief biographical data on Xu Boling, see *Liang Zhe mingxian lu* 兩浙名賢錄 47.20b-21a, *Beijing tushuguan guji zhenben congkan* 北京圖書館古籍珍本叢刊 vol. 18, (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987), 1343-44.

[68] This differs from all other listings of the sequence, which usually contains a 'Cloudy Curls' instead of 'Starry Eyes.' See Li Zhen 李禎, *Jiandeng yuhua* 剪燈餘話 2.207, in *Jiandeng xinhua (wai er zhong)* 剪燈新話外二種 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1962).

[69] The Ming female poet Ye Xiaoluan 葉小鸞 (1616-32) also wrote a series of poems on a woman's features and bodily parts which were widely reprinted in late Ming and Qing poetry collections. See Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 167-68. Ye's nine poems might provide a useful comparison with those attributed to Zhao Luanluan.

[70] For Guan Yunshi's official biography, see *Yuanshi* 143.3421.

[71] See *Yinjingjuan* 蟫精雋 11.15b-16b (*SKQS* ed.).

poems word for word. Instead, he recopies the sequence of the 'Six Reminiscences' by Su Shi as he recalls them. Xu Boling's account is not entirely reliable. The six reminiscences belong not to Su Shi, but to the much earlier poet Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513).[72] And the topics Shen Yue recounts concern a woman arriving, sitting, eating and sleeping, not her anatomy per se. Su Shi's complete works, in contrast, are not known to include any such sequence.

Xu Boling's contemporary, Li Zhen 李禎 (1376-1452),[73] the author of *Jiandeng yuhua*, also refers to Guan Yunshi as the author of this sequence of six poems. Li Zhen incorporates that statement into one of the narratives he wrote for *Jiandeng yuhua*. As far as is currently known, Li Zhen's 'Biography of Zhao Luanluan' is the earliest account of Zhao Luanluan's life.[74] Li often worked historical events from the previous century into his narratives, and this same trait appears in the biography.

In terms of Guan Yunshi's extant works, his versions of these poems have yet to be recovered.[75] As such, Li Zhen might be importing wholesale the Guan Yunshi versions, or he may have written his own from scratch. More work is necessary on the topic, but the interim

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[72] See Shen Yue 沈約 and Chen Qingyuan 陳慶元, annot., *Shen Yue ji jiaojian* 沈約集校箋 10.441 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1995). For a translation of three of the reminiscences, see Burton Watson, trans. and ed., *The Columbia Book of Chinese Poetry: From Early Times to the Thirteenth Century* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1984), 186-87.

[73] *Zi* Changqi 昌祺, a native of Luling 廬陵, Jiangsu. For Li Zhen's biography, see *DMB*, 805-07. Official, poet and storyteller.

[74] See Li Zhen, *Jiandeng yuhua* 剪燈餘話 2.205-212, in *Jiandeng xinhua (wai er zhong)* 剪燈新話外二種 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1962). This collection has not received much attention in English, but there is an abridged German translation of "The Biography of Luanluan" in Herbert Franke, "Zur Novellistik der frühen Ming-Zeit: das *Chien-teng yü-hua* des Li Ch'ang-ch'i," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 109 (1959): 373-75. Franke is unaware that the compilers of *Quan Tangshi* attribute the poems to a Tang Zhao Luanluan. There was a dramatic version of this narrative, which is now lost. For the title of the drama, 'Liu Ying'柳穎, see Xu Zishi 徐子室, *Jiugong zhengshi* 九宮正始 vol. 1, p. 56, in *Shanben xiqu congkan* 善本戲曲叢刊 (third series), vol. 31, ed. Wang Qiugui 王秋桂 (Taibei: Xuesheng shuju, 1984). Reprint of 1651 ed. See also, Lu Kanru 陸侃如 and Feng Yuanjun 馮沅君, *Nanxi shiyi* 南戲拾遺, *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies*, Monograph series, #13 (Beiping: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1936), 60. The authors equate 'Liu Ying' with 'The Biography of Luanluan' from *Jiandeng yuhua*. Liu Ying is the name of Luanluan's husband.

[75] See, for example, Guan Yunshi 貫雲石 and Xu Zaisi 徐再思, *Suantian yuefu* 酸甜樂府 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989). His collection *Suanzhai ji* 酸齋集, as it appears in *Yuanshi xuan* 元詩選, also contains no record of these poems. The electronic database to *Siku quanshu* reveals no other attributions of these poems (other than to Zhao Luanluan in *Quan Tangshi* or to Guan Yunshi in *Yinjingjuan*, nor alternate versions of poem matching the titles).

assessment is that the Ming writer Li Zhen is the most probable author of the six body parts poems (five of which appear in *Quan Tangshi*).

What follows is a brief summary of Li Zhen's narrative, the 'Biography of Luanluan:' Luanluan was the daughter of Zhao Ju 趙舉. Her native place was Dongping 東平, Shandong. It was her father's original intent to marry her off to a local student Liu Ying 柳穎, but Luanluan's mother disagreed and ultimately made the arrangements for her to be married to a rich, but illiterate, merchant. Liu Ying then married a woman other than his original fiancée. Both Luanluan's husband and Liu Ying's wife died prematurely, leaving Liu free to pursue the fulfillment of the original wedding contract. After they married, Luanluan confessed, much to Liu Ying's delight, that she was still a virgin, as her first husband was impotent from the beginning of the marriage until his death. During their brief happy days as couple, Liu's brother showed him six erotic poems by Guan Yunshi. Having borrowed the poems, he showed them to Luanluan who improvised six[76] new poems before her husband is able to. Not long after this event, Luanluan was raped and abducted by a man named Zhou 周 in 1358 when General Tian Feng 田豐[77] sacked the city of Dongping. Liu was able to purchase Luanluan's freedom by bribing Zhou's jealous wife, who was anxious to have her gone from the Zhou household. Liu Ying and Zhao Luanluan's reunion was brief – henchmen of Tian Feng were still at large in the region and they murdered Liu Ying not long after. After

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[76] The sixth poem is also erotic, in that it refers to bound feet as 'fragrant hooks,' thus raising the question, why was the sixth poem not also attributed to Luanluan by the compiler of *Mingyuan shigui*, etc.? The answer most likely has to do with the chronology of the spread of footbinding. If, as commonly believed, the practice became prevalent during the Song dynasty, then it is unlikely that a Tang woman poet would have described it. For the legend that a dancer in the Southern Tang court of Li Yu (r. 961-75) was one of the first to bind her feet, and the argument that the practice was gradually adopted during the Song, see Okamoto Ryūzō 岡本隆三, *Tensoku monogatari* 纏足物語 (Tokyo: Tōhō shoten, 1986), 55-58. See also, Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers*, 148.

[77] For a brief description of the Red Turban Song rebellion which paved the way for the fall of the Yuan dynasty, and Tian Feng's role in it, see *DMB*, 485-488.

learning of her husband's tragic end, she recovered his body, carried it home, prepared a funeral pyre for his corpse, and threw herself in so she could join him in death.

Until recently, modern scholars have not noticed the connection between the Zhao Luanluan as Tang poet and Zhao Luanluan as a character in fifteenth-century narrative. Literary historians of Tang poetry are for the most part not yet aware of the poems in *Jiandeng yuhua*,[78] and experts on early Ming narrative are not aware that the poems in the 'Biography of Luanluan' appear attributed to Zhao Luanluan as a Tang woman poet in *Quan Tangshi*. One modern scholar lists Guan Yunshi as the author of the sequence of six poems in imitation of the 'Six Reminiscences,' but credits Zhao Luanluan with four poems on other topics (none of which end up in *Quan Tangshi*).[79]

There is more to this story than we can read about in extant records. The error or misreading of Zhao Luanluan as Tang woman poet creeps in before its first appearance in the record with the seventeenth-century collection *Mingyuan shigui*.[80] The five poems attributed to her there were also chosen for inclusion in the final draft of *Quan Tangshi* (but not in the draft volumes). The compilers of *Quan Tangshi* may have been unaware of its shortcomings, but later in the century the editors of the *Siku quanshu* project knew that *Mingyuan shigui* combined a number of defects. They commented that authentic and spurious texts were

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[78] I developed this entire line of argument based on my own discovery of the biography of Zhao Luanluan in *Jiandeng yuhua*. I searched extensively in scholarship on Ming narrative and Tang poetry, and no one seemed familiar with this connection. On 31 March 2004, while revising this chapter, I discovered that there is one modern scholar who is aware of the basic connection. Tong Peiji, in his entry on Shifeng 史鳳, points out that he saw the biography of Zhao in *Jiandeng yuhua* and that the *Quan Tangshi* entry must be a mistake. See *Quan Tangshi chongchu wushou kao*, 614. He has not elaborated on the complex picture of the transmission of the poems, as I have done here.

[79] See Chen Yan 陳衍, *Yuanshi jishi* 元詩紀事 11.244 and 36.834, annot. Li Mengsheng 李夢生 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987).

[80] See *Mingyuan shigui* 15.15a,b. See also Zheng Wen'ang 鄭文昂 (no date), *Gujin mingyuan huishi* 古今名媛彙詩, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu, jibu*, vol. 383 (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1995-97), 8.17a,b for these five poems attributed to Zhao Luanluan. This is a work in 20 plus one *juan* detailing the surnames, brief biographies and poems of women writers over the ages. A reprint of the Ming Taichang inaugural year (1620) edition by Zhang Zhengyue 張正岳 now held in the Beijing University Library, it predates *Mingyuan shigui* by about ten years and thus may be the earliest known date for the idea that Zhao Luanluan was a Tang poet.

mixed together, that Zhong Xing was obviously not the compiler, and that commercial publishers had put the work together and attributed it to him (perhaps to ride on his editorial reputation and increase sales).[81] These studies of Yao Yuehua and Zhao Luanluan support their findings. Elsewhere, the editors complained that during the late Ming dynasty people delighted in editing poems by women (*guixiu* 閨秀), but that all these collections were very much of the same type as *Mingyuan shigui*, with a number of attendant errors.[82]

Modern scholarship has given pride of place to Zhao Luanluan as Tang woman poet, both in Chinese works,[83] and in translation. Over the past thirty years the five poems attributed to Zhao Luanluan have been translated into English twice. In the 1970s Kenneth Rexroth and Ling Chung translated them for their collection of Chinese women's poetry over the ages, *The Orchid Boat*. More recently, in *Women Writers of Traditional China*, Jeanne Larsen translated them yet again. Here is one example:[84]

雲鬟

擾擾香雲淫未乾，鴉翎蟬翼膩光寒。

側邊斜插黃金鳳，妝罷夫君帶笑看。

Cloud Curls

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[81] See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 193.4301.
[82] See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 193.4318. Under the entry for Chen Wen'ang 陳文昂 (no date), *Mingyuan huishi* 名媛彙詩 in 20 chapters.
[83] See Su Zhecong, *Guiwei de tanshi – Tangdai nüshiren*, 254. Social historians also make use of *Quan Tangshi* as a primary source for the lives of Tang courtesans. See Liao Meiyun 廖美雲, *Tang ji yanjiu* 唐伎研究 (Taibei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1995), 309-10.
[84] Trans. Jeanne Larsen, *WWTC*, 77. See also *Mingyuan shigui* 15.15a,b and *Quan Tangshi* 802.9032.

Tossed and tumbled, those perfumed curls,
  Their dampness not yet dried:
A raven's feathers! Cicadas' wings!
  Slick shine that's winter-cold.
Off to one side, slip in aslant
  A phoenix made of gold –
Hair done up, and then that man
  Looks, looks with that smile.

Both *The Orchid Boat* and *Women Writers of Traditional China* are standard texts for university courses in the United States (some of which have the professed goal of balancing male-authored texts by incorporating more female-authored texts into the curriculum).[85] As such the influence of these translations not only compounds the errors and misreadings which first took place in the early seventeenth century, but by selecting texts which can be shown to be written by men, the whole goal of adding texts by women is defeated.

Even renowned sinologists such as Edward Schafer occasionally took the risk of taking *Quan Tangshi* off the shelf and citing it as a source. He accepted its account of Zhao Luanluan as a Pingkang courtesan and poet from the Tang dynasty. He cites the work in his account of the introduction of wine grapes [mare-teat grapes] into China:

> It has an imagistic parallel in one of the five poems describing vividly the more bewitching parts of a woman's body, written by Ch'ang-an courtesan Chao Luan-luan; the five are 'Cloudy Chignons,' 'Willow Brows,' 'Sandal Mouth,' 'Cambric Fingers,' and 'Creamy Breasts.' In the last of these, the nipples appear under the metaphor 'purple grapes,' but respectful courtesy

[85] This is certainly a strategy Suzanne Cahill, among others, employs. See 'Discipline and Transformation: Body and Practice in the Lives of Daoist Holy Women of Tang China,' *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*, Dorothy Ko et al. eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 251-278.

> demands that we see in some other kind of grape the original underlying the tasty image, smaller and better proportioned than the 'mare teat.'[86]

More recently, Maureen Robertson, in an frequently cited article about lyric poetry by women, pointed to one of the poems attributed to Luanluan to support her argument that Tang courtesans employed concealment and disclosure to seduce their male audiences through language.[87]

The name 'Zhao Luanluan' or just 'Luanluan' is not known to appear in any text prior to the fifteenth century. The earliest poetry collection to include this name is the *Mingyuan shigui*. The earliest (non-poetry) text known to mention her name is the *Jiandeng yuhua*. For the connection to be drawn that Zhao Luanluan was a Tang woman courtesan and poet, we would have to uncover earlier evidence than these texts. Thus, for the moment, it appears more likely that Li Zhen composed the poems he included in his tale than that Zhao Luanluan was a Tang woman poet who wrote a sequence of five poems in celebration of her bodily charms.

The problem of Du Qiuniang

One last dynamic of textual transmission which briefly deserves our attention concerns the handling of anonymous poems. Songs which were originally in wide circulation during the Tang dynasty but of unknown provenance, over time tend to gain one. Consider this untitled, anonymous poem which appears in *Caidiao ji* in a section dedicated to miscellaneous lyrics:[88]

勸君莫惜金縷衣，勸君須惜少年時；
有花堪折直須折，莫待無花空折枝。

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[86] See *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 142.
[87] Maureen Robertson, 'Voicing the Feminine: Constructions of the Gendered Subject in Lyric Poetry by Women of Medieval and Late Imperial China,' *Late Imperial China* 13.1 (June 1992): 77.
[88] See *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 755.

Love not your golden dress, I pray,

More than your youthful golden hours!

Gather sweet flowers while you may,

And not the twig devoid of flowers![89]

From the perspective comparative literature, a reader familiar with the canon of English literature cannot read this poem without thinking of the first stanza of Robert Herrick's 'To the Virgins, to make much of Time:'

Gather ye Rose-buds while ye may,

Old Time is still a flying:

And this same flower that smiles to day

To morrow will be dying.[90]

Traditional interpretation of 'The Gold-Threaded Dress' has alternated between one of two perspectives, one positive, the other negative depending on whether the garment in question refers to grave clothes or the skirts of a lively dancer.[91]

Du Mu (803-853) provides the earliest known reference to the song by its title, 'The Gold-Threaded Dress' (*jin lu yi* 金縷衣).[92] Du Mu had a female relative, by the name Du Qiu

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[89] Xu Yuanzhong 許淵仲 et al., eds. and trans. *300 Tang Poems: A New Translation* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1987), 309. See also p. 4, where Xu claims every student of Tang poetry is familiar with Du Qiuniang's poem.

[90] *Robert Herrick: Selected Poems* (London: Bloomsbury, 1996), 39.

[91] For a summary of the interpretation of this poem, see Su Zhecong, *Guiwei de tanshi - Tangdai nüshiren* (Changsha: Hunan wenyi chubanshe, 1991), 150-53. If Yang Mu is correct in his argument that the gold-threaded dress refers to funeral vestments, then the main message of the poem becomes one of beseeching the listener not to be so eager for an (early) grave, making it more of a *carpe diem* poem.

[92] For the meaning of *jin lu yi* as gold-threaded dress 金縷衣, see *Cihai* 辭海 4.4566 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1999) under *jin lu yuyi* 金縷玉衣. Here it is quite obviously grave clothes, and the entry includes a picture of a jade suit laced together with gold thread). In a happier light, it refers to a dancing skirt with gold thread. The Liang dynasty poet Liu Xiaowei 劉孝威 mentions this in 'In the style of an old poem, by royal command' 擬古應教一首. See Xu Ling 徐陵, *Yutai xinyong jianzhu* 玉臺新詠箋注 9.437, annot. Wu Zhaoyi 吳兆宜 and Cheng Yan 程琰, modern annot. Mu Kehong 穆克宏 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1985). Anne Birrell translates the term as 'gold lamé clothes.' See Anne Birrell, trans. *Chinese Love Poetry: New Songs from a Jade Terrace: A Medieval Anthology* (London: Penguin, 1995), 307.

niang 杜秋娘. When he met her, she was in dire straits, which inspired him to write a poem about her. At the age of fifteen she became a concubine to Li Qi 李錡 (d. 807 at the age of 67),[93] a supervisor of iron and salt transport in western Zhejiang. Li later rebelled, and Du Qiu as his concubine was forfeit to the throne. She was called into imperial service in the palace as an instructress because of her talent. She served until she became an old woman. Released from palace service, she had no where to go but home to Jinling. In his preface to the poem, Du does not say that she wrote the poem, but he does say that Du Qiu *sang* the song 'The Gold-Threaded Dress.'[94] His long poem inspired his contemporaries Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813-858), Luo Yin 羅隱 (833-909) and Zhang Gu 張[示+古] (ninth century) to respond to his piece.[95]

As far as can be determined from the extant textual record, the poem first receives an attribution in the eleventh century. Guo Maoqian attributes the song to Li Qi, the lover of Du Qiu.[96] In the twelfth century Ji Yougong follows the *Caidiao ji* assessment of the song as by anonymous.[97] His contemporary Hong Mai followed the *Yuefu shiji* assessment, and assigned the poem to Li Qi.[98] The 1606 edition of *Wanshou Tangren jueju* maintains the attribution to Li Qi.[99] Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634-1711) selected the poem for his abbreviated version of Hong Mai's work, *Wanshou Tangren jueju xuan*. Wang took care to emphasize that this was

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[93] For Li Qi's official biography, see *Jiu Tangshu* 112.3341 and *Xin Tangshu* 224A.6381. For the date of his death sentence, see *Xin Tangshu* 7.209.

[94] See Du Mu 杜牧, 'Preface to Du Qiu niang poem,' *Fanchuan wenji* 樊川文集 1.5 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978). This collection was edited by his maternal nephew Pei Yanhan 裴延翰.

[95] A quick check of *Quan Tangshi* 520.5938 (Du Mu), 541.6226 (Li Shangyin), 663.7396 (Luo Yin), and 511.5839 (Zhang Gu) shows this to be the case.

[96] See *Yuefu shiji* 82.4a. For a critical study of the *Yuefu shiji*, see *Gafu shishū no kenkyū* 樂府詩集之研究 by Nakatsuhama Wataru 中津濱涉 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1977 revised ed.) But this work does not provide any ideas of a source text for the Gold-Threaded Dress.

[97] See *Tangshi jishi* 80.1142.

[98] See Hong Mai, *Wanshou Tangren jueju* 55.15a,b (Beijing: Wenxue guji kanxingshe, 1955). Under the title 'Quan shao nian' 勸少年.

[99] See Zhao Huanguang 趙宧光 and Huang Xiyuan 黃習遠, eds., *Wanshou Tangren jueju* 27.621 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian, 1983), entry #153. They compiled this edition in 1606. Based on Hong Mai's work, they re-arranged it as a forty-chapter work and added additional material.

the tune that Du Qiuniang sang (perhaps a sign he was familiar with Du Mu's preface to the Du Qiuniang poem). Wang did not explicitly attribute authorship to Du Qiuniang.[100] The compilers of *Quan Tangshi*, following *Caidiao ji*, placed the work under anonymous, miscellaneous songs.[101]

Why the changes in attribution? There are no final answers yet, but late imperial readers and students of Tang poetry may have encountered portraits and performances of Du Qiuniang which influenced their perceptions of her as a poet. One Yuan dynasty portrait of Du Qiuniang is still extant, while one drama depicting Du Qiu as the protagonist circulated at about the same time (but is now lost).[102]

The earliest known extant attribution to Du Qiuniang occurred in the sixteenth century.[103] Tian Yiheng attributes the poem to Du Qiuniang then even claims that she composed it for Li Qi to sing![104] Not long after, the attribution develops further. As depicted in *Mingyuan shigui*, Du Qiuniang sings the song while urging her guests to drink.[105] So she is not depicted as the author, but neither is authorship of the poem attributed to anyone else (Li Qi).

When Sun Zhu 孫洙 (1711-1778),[106] the compiler of *Tangshi sanbai hou* 唐詩三百首, attributed the poem to Du Qiuniang he could have drawn upon *Tangshi biecaiji* (*A Novel*

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[100] 'Du Qiuniang suo ge' 杜秋娘所歌. See Wang Shizhen, *Tangren wanshou jueju xuan jiaozhu* 唐人萬首絕句選校注 7.415, annot. Li Yongxiang 李永祥 (Ji'nan: Qilu shushe, 1995). Author preface dated 1708.

[101] See *Quan Tangshi* 28.406 and 785.8863.

[102] For a reprint of (Yuan) Zhou Lang's 周朗 portrait of Du Qiuniang, see *Gugong bowuyuan cang lidai shinühua xuanji* 故宮博物院藏歷代仕女畫選集 (Tianjin: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1981), plate 10. The role of images in supporting the notion that certain women were poets is little understood. For a lost *zaju* in which Du Qiuniang is the protagonist, see 'Du Qiuniang yueye ziluan xiao' 杜秋娘月夜紫鸞簫, in Fu Xihua 傅惜華, *Yuandai zaju quanmu* 元代雜劇全目 (Beijing: Xinhua shudian, 1957), 268.

[103] The fourteenth-century compiler Gao Bing, in contrast, does not include any attributions for Li Qi or Du Qiuniang in *Tangshi pinhui*, not does he include the poem under its known titles 'Jin lü yi' or 'Quan shao nian.'

[104] See *Shinüshi* 8.13a.

[105] See *Mingyuan shigui* 15.5a,b.

[106] He compiled the collection under the pseudonym Hengtang tuishi 蘅塘退士.

Guide to Tang Poetry) by Shen Deqian (1673-1769).[107] Shen, for his part, could have drawn upon *Shinüshi* or *Mingyuan shigui* as a source. Modern readers do not casually read *Shinüshi* or *Mingyuan shigui* for pleasure – it would be difficult for them to do so, because these works are not available in modern editions. *Tangshi biecaiji* and *Tangshi sanbai shou* are available in a number of modern editions. Readers cannot help but notice that the poem by Du Qiuniang is the *only* poem attributed to a woman in the entire *Tangshi sanbai shou*. Due to the wide influence of *Tangshi sanbai shou*, Du Qiuniang has become the author of 'The Gold-Threaded Dress.'[108] This attribution is likely to last a long time because modern readers of Tang poetry do read *Tangshi sanbai shou* for pleasure when they might not even contemplate picking up a copy of *Quan Tangshi*. As such, these casual readers might not even notice that, unlike the other poets in *Tangshi sanbaishou*, Du Qiuniang has no poems attributed to her in *Quan Tangshi*.

If *Quan Tangshi* constitutes an attempt to form a compete corpus, then *Tangshi sanbai shou* can be viewed as the sort of canon defined for pedagogy, in which case the works of Tang women poets are rated as too worthless to merit mention. The irony of it all, is that the one Tang poem by a woman that every Chinese ought to know by heart is an attribution of late imperial times.

Perhaps it is more satisfying to think of 'The Gold-Threaded Dress' as her work than to think of Du Qiuniang, as modern scholar Yang Mu does,[109] as a poet for whom we have no extant poems. Such a thought may be more satisfying for those who wish to recover women's voices, but the texts prior to 1304 do not support such an attribution.

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[107] See Shen Deqian 沈德潛, *Tangshi biecaiji* 唐詩別裁集 20.28b-29a (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1975). Facsimile of 1763 ed.

[108] The assumption of integrity of the collection as a whole has meant that Du Qiuniang's identity as a poet has not been questioned by translators into foreign languages. See for example, Soame Jenyns, tr. *Selections from the Three Hundred Poems of the Tang Dynasty* (London: John Murray, 1940), 61.

[109] See Yang Mu 楊牧, 'Jingshi Du Qiuniang' 驚識杜秋娘 in *Zhongwai wenxue* 中外文學 (Taibei) 1.10 (March 1973): 8-19.

The additions to the corpus of Yao Yuehua, the fabrication of Zhao Luanluan as Tang woman poet, and the re-attribution of an anonymous popular song to Du Qiuniang merely serve as examples of how texts later than 1304 may help explain the changes to the corpus of poems attributed to Tang women. A full account of these later additions to the corpus of Tang women poets will follow in the future, as a sequel to the findings of this thesis.

It is premature to argue that there is a transmission dynamic in which compilers who explicitly focus on women poets find it tempting to find as many poetic women as possible, by whatever means necessary. But it is a question worth pursuing by examining the general poetry collections later than the fourteenth century.

Conclusion

This thesis has offered a range of chronological vantage points from which to view the poems by, or attributed to, Tang women. As literary historians from other traditions have demonstrated, the order in which data is analyzed influences analysis and results. No student of medieval Chinese literature should need to be reminded that we have no autograph manuscripts of the Tang women poets and nor separate collected works which have been collated with the originals. The texts we possess derive from the originals through an unknown number of intermediate copies and have suffered from interpolation at various points. Working through a selection of early collections and historical materials draws attention to how little we can say we know or employ as evidence for certain poems attributed to certain women. Working from early documents forward also calls attention to how the attributions have changed over time.

When compilers aim to select the best of the best, the resulting collections often suffer from the loss of the social links among circles of poets. At the same time such collections offer new groupings of poems and poets that never would have occurred to the original poets. Thus what we should really lament, in the case of Li Jilan, is the failure to record the compositions that took place in the 770s and early 780s at the Kaiyuan temple in Wucheng among Li Jilan, Liu Changqing, Zhu Fang, Lu Yu and Jiao Ran. The gold standard of knowledge about the poems in their original places, would be to have a collection of a particular poetry group or club. Such collections were composed during the Tang, but none relating to the women studied in this thesis survive. If we could recover the poems as created by social circles, perhaps we would have a multi-dimensional picture to study instead of the poetry exchanges for which we have only one of the poems exchanged. The poems from social circles consisting of men and women remain unrecoverable at the present time, if ever.

Once emphasis is placed on textual transmission from the past to the present (instead of working from present editions backward), one of the curious results is that the concept of Tang women poets as a group begins to break down. The editors and compilers have created these groupings of women poets. If the ghost of Li Jilan were to visit tenth-century editors like Cai Xingfeng and modern editors like Su Zhecong, she might be very surprised to see them placing her in the midst of women poets, when the members of her social and literary circle were local literati.

The contents of late Tang collections occasionally reveal that even the compilers were not always clear about the originary textual moments – this thesis has demonstrated the dynamics behind that problem by discussing the first poem attributed to Ge Ya'er. Beyond the problem of confusion on the part of compilers, there are also problems with the notion of shared assumptions between readers and writers. Chinese readers in the past read with the assumption that writers were writing history. Unofficial history it may have been, but it was considered a record of past events nonetheless. When compilers from the tenth through twelfth centuries began the work of gathering Tang poems, they carried out their tasks with the assumption that the narratives they read were historical.

Readers today do not necessarily share the assumption of the historicity of medieval texts. The problem of attributing poems to Cui Yingying highlights the lack of a shared assumption. In the past readers clearly thought there was a woman behind the poem, regardless of the name Yuan Zhen gave her. If we were to start from scratch today in compiling *Quan Tangshi*, we would be more likely to attribute the poems of Cui Yingying to Yuan Zhen, as the author of the narrative piece, 'The Biography of Yingying.'

In the tenth and eleventh centuries literati continued to fantasize or meditate about events of the great Tang dynasty. Some of those creative musings resulted in apocryphal narrative developments which later generations interpreted as historical sources regarding

Tang women poets. In one sense, the self-presentation of the women poets themselves is overshadowed by the poems and biographies Song literati (and later Ming literati) composed about them. The crucial moment arrives when a compiler decides to count or include a poem in his general poetry collection. The sources he drew upon may not have counted such women as Tang poets, but once compilers count them as such, and later compilers subsequently include them again, then these attributions to Tang women poets begin to take on a life of their own which is subsequently quite difficult to correct. It is easier to make an attribution than to take one away.

It may be that we shall never know the original words (poetic or otherwise) by the women of Tang, and that we shall fail in our attempts to view the Tang dynasty without relying on the textual sources as Song editors and printers have handed down to us. If so, when we encounter gaps and losses, we should delight in their mysteries without forcing these women to wear clothes or labels they would not recognize. The women of Tang may not be the literary ancestors to women writers of later imperial periods, but we can still treasure the glimpses of their feistiness that have managed to slip through the opaque window of the Song.

If late Tang compilers were occasionally confused about the conditions of composition of certain poems, it should come as no surprise that their Song counterparts faced a wider range of disparate material that they sometimes could not grapple with. One strategy for sorting out the material consisted of amalgamating all known sources for recasting into one seamless narrative (Du Gao's wife). In some instances, compilers noticed discrepancies and let the ambiguity stand. Ji Yougong's work as transmitted by Wang Xi did this with the Ge Ya'er problem. In others, they add to the confusion, then claim the authority of only one textual source (the problem of Mianmian, now known as Guan Panpan).

Last century, the discovery of preserved material in the vicinity of Dunhuang offered the sinological field the opportunity to handle texts which date back to a time before the interventions of the Song editors. The members of the field were not always able to inventory, transport and store the material with a documented chain of custody from the time and site of discovery to the final destination. This inability has implications for attempts to use the materials to recover poems for attribution to Tang women. This thesis developed a skeptical argument in order to balance the speedy acceptance of documents from collections such as Oldenburg which suffer from a weaker chain of custody in relation to other major collections.

While the relatively low assessment of value of women's works could support the argument that the collection *Yaochi xinji* was not worth the time or effort to forge, there have been previous surges, especially during the Ming dynasty, in the popularity of Tang poetry in general and women's poetry in particular. Knowledge of previous surges could inspire forgers to operate ahead of the trends. To forge portions of *Yaochi xinji* would have required access to a copy of *Yinchuang zalu* prior to, or during, the 1910s – difficult, but not impossible for Chinese students returning from Japan, where *Yinchuang zalu* had been reprinted in the nineteenth century. Because the chance to document the contents of the Dunhuang caves thoroughly was lost, the doubts about the authenticity of some of the documents will remain, and balanced judgments cannot be rendered until more data is supplied by scientific tests. Scientific tests are a prerequisite for passing judgment on documents of dubious provenance – a conclusion in favor of authenticity is more likely to stand the test of time if the data about the age of the papers and inks is consistent with those over a millennium old.

Lost texts stand in a type of relationship and connection to those that do survive. We have seen in Chapter Four that we can make sense of the treason poem attributed to Li Jilan because we still have access to the extant unofficial history *Fengtian lu*. We are able to

recognize what was lost, only when we are familiar with the extant corpus and what it can reveal about the losses. As such, we stand the chance of recognizing Xue Tao's lost tomb inscription if it could ever be recovered. But until such a recovery, it is better to have a lost or irrecoverable tomb inscription of Xue Tao, than spurious tomb inscriptions such as that of Cui Yingying.

Zhao Luanluan and Yao Yuehua serve as cases in point for what we can learn when we master the extant corpus. The more we read Ming narrative, the better we will be able to grasp the extent to which it gives rise to some hitherto recognized-as-Tang poems. Never mind that there are no texts earlier than the fifteenth century to document Zhao's life or work as a Tang figure. The crucial event in the life of Zhao Luanluan takes place in 1358, yet with the advent of the collection *Mingyuan shigui* in the 1630s she is recast as Zhao Luanluan the Tang female poet, with just enough time for the compilers of *Quan Tangshi* to include her as such. Readers will not cease counting Zhao Luanluan as a Tang woman poet (in Chinese or in translation) any time soon. Although Yao Yuehua was listed with two poems to her credit in a tenth-century collection, all of the biographical data in *Quan Tangshi* is unreliable because they derive from the Ming narrative, 'The Biography of Yao Yuehua.'

Ultimately, the findings of this thesis will not prevent readers from doing what they have always done, reading Cui Yingying, Du Qiuniang (and Panpan) into existence as *writers* with *extant* texts that we can read today to gain some sense of what women felt and thought in the ninth century. Can we not just be happy that Du Qiuniang interpreted the song, perhaps sang it with irony and sarcasm, and that it is her rendition which is lost to us, not any lost poems she may have penned as a poet?

If the obsession with authorship as a product of modernity is the disease, then perhaps the position of post-modernism on the question of authorship is the cure that is worse than the disease. Although post-modernists such as Foucault have posed the question 'Do we care

who is doing the speaking?' in order to suggest that notions of authorship and authorial intention should be discounted, some people still do care to answer the question 'Who is speaking?' Even if the answer merely turns out to be 'We do not know, and we cannot know,' it is better to live in a state of ambiguity than to counterfeit the knowledge, or put on a pretense of knowing. In the case of Tang women, it is as if we are at a poetry reading for them, and we expect them to appear, but a gaggle of male editors show up and they have slipped some of their own poems in just to see if we will notice. Theirs are the voices we hear. And the irony is, we often cannot be certain when we are hearing the poems by women, and when we are not.

Because the existence of each poem comes about as the result of a long process of transmission and reception, taking the eighteenth-century collection *Quan Tangshi* off the shelf and citing it is to take the risk of choosing a poem originally composed by a Ming writer (imitating Tang prose and poetry, and throwing in an effort at feminine voice in the bargain). As Yan Yu once pointed out, if people read it and interpret it as Tang poetry, then it is for all intents and purposes Tang poetry. In contrast to scholars such as Suzanne Cahill who have argued that the *Quan Tangshi* editors omitted too much work by Tang women, this thesis supports the opposite conclusion: they included far too much material with insecure attributions to Tang women. Future research on the transmission of poems in the collections from *Tangshi pinhui*, *Shinüshi*, *Shicang lidai shixuan*, *Mingyuan shigui* beyond *Quan Tangshi* to *Lidai mingyuan shici xuan* etc. should ultimately allows scholars to revamp the entries for women in *Tōdai no shihen* with an emphasis on source and analogue texts. Individual scholars will of course arrive at different judgments about what counts as a spurious poem or spurious Tang women poet.

A corollary of this is the importance in identifying the changes which occurred in the stages of compiling the *Quan Tangshi*. In the draft volumes to *Quan Tangshi* the collections

used as sources for women's poetry are 'high quality' in that they are mostly Song and Yuan editions.[1] The majority of women included in the draft volumes have few poems to their names. There are 94 Tang women[2] and 357 poems attributed to them. The total number of poems attributed to women in *Quan Tangshi* rises to almost double that. The rise in the number of attributions can be partially explained by the use of late collections (Ming and Qing) which added new attributions to such women, historical or otherwise, as Ge Ya'er and Du Gao. The extent of this will become clear once the collections named above have been examined with care.

Collections and reference works such as *Quan Tangshi* (and *Tōdai no shihen*) are certainly overdue for an overhaul, but there is no arbiter of cultural importance on the scale of the Qing empire. The best the modern government of China has been able to do is post the electronic database of *Quan Tangshi*, with its attendant imperfections, on the world wide web. And it is worthy of note that both the People's Republic of China and Taiwan have done this.[3] When the Kyoto scholars compiled *Tōdai no shihen* in the 1950s and 60s, they did not have access to, or were not aware of, the many Ming poetry collections holding analogues of poems attributed to women. The past two decades have seen the establishing of international committees for collaborative work on Dunhuang documents, and the addition of one more committee may be the arduous but necessary way forward.

Until such time as a revised *Quan Tangshi* and *Tōdai no shihen* appear we will be reading about what medieval (and late imperial) men thought women felt. The existence generations of readers have given Cui Yingying is a fantasy one. And this is sad, in the sense that we could be reading some of the true literary remains of women such as Li Jilan,

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[1] The first draft also relies on two Ming collections – Xue Tao's separate collected works and *Tang shiji*.
[2] This figure includes both palace women and commoners, but not Five Dynasties figures like Huarui furen) in *Quan Tangshi gaoben*, vol. 71.
[3] Compare the website for the National Central Library, Taiwan <http://libnt.npm.gov.tw/s25> with that of Beijing University <chinese.pku.edu.cn/tang/>.

preserved by men who liked her work, even if it was only because she was one of the boys. Methodological reliance on voice attributes too many poems to women, and some scholars are unsatisfied with this; emphasis on a chain of textual transmission, conversely, attributes far fewer poems to women, and that will make the rest of the scholars unhappy.

The thesis has balanced the ways in which works by women have been handled and read by others against the other ways in which the very details of their lives have been transformed by later writers. One must be careful not to overestimate the importance of the texts those women left behind with respect to other renderings and other forms of representation of their lives. The lives of Tang women such as Xue Tao and Yu Xuanji have been re-presented and performed often enough that is all too easy for readers to accept late imperial and modern renderings as their biographies. In the case of Yu Xuanji one can see a Cantonese opera version of her life, read a short story by Mori Ōgai or a novel by Robert Van Gulik (with a thinly disguised Yu Xuanji, but with translations of her poems).[4] A full length novel about Xue Tao was reprinted in Berkeley about ten years ago.[5] It was just such fictional narrative treatments (albeit on a smaller scale) that were read by later generations as historical sources. If, some day, readers accept Mori Ōgai's or Van Gulik's renderings as the biography of Yu Xuanji, we will know the dynamic of this type of textual transmission is still very much at work.

Poems by Tang women provide a rare opportunity to hear their voices, but only if the evidence supports an assessment that the poems in question were *actually* written by women. If we cannot prove that they genuinely originate during the Tang, or point to where they do belong or originate, then we should accept they will remain in an attributional limbo. It is either that or we must always say who is doing the attributing. For example, Ye Tinggui

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[4] Mori Ōgai's 1915 short story "Gyo Genki" re-creates Yu Xuanji as a lesbian! Van Gulik's 1968 Judge Dee novel *Poets and Murder* has a Yu Xuanji that lives to old age before driven to her single act of murder.
[5] Evelyn Eaton, *Go Ask the River*. London: Cassell, 1969.

attributes 'Tying up a letter for my friend' to Li Jilan in the early twelfth century or Zhao Mengkui attributes 'Roses' to Li Jilan in 1265.

We want so badly for these women to have a voice that in the past we have been willing to let male writers give them one. For some of the interpolations by Song literati we cannot tell the difference, or are stuck with the language of attribution, but with the interpolations by Ming literati we at least have a chance to eliminate some of the men who have been singing in the women's choir.

Presented in chronological order

Poems from *Zhongxing jianqi ji*
Poems from *Youxuan ji*
Poems from *Caidiao ji*
Prodigy couplet, tenth century
Poems from the 10th c. Dunhuang manuscripts
'Tying up a letter to a friend' (earliest attribution mid twelfth century)
The 'Roses' and 'Willows' poems from *Fenmen zuanlei Tanggeshi* (1265)
Ci poem (earliest known edition 1583)

寄校書十九兄

無事烏程縣，差池歲月餘。不知芸閣吏，寂寞竟何如。
遠水浮仙棹，寒星伴使車。因過大雷澤，莫忘幾行書。

Title: To Editing Clerk, Seventh Elder Brother[1]

Idle in Wucheng county,[2]
I frittered away more than a year.

I had no idea being a Palace Library clerk,
Could be so lonely – what is it like?[3]

Distant waters buoy up the oars of the immortals,[4]
Winter stars accompany a commissioner's carriage.[5]

When you pass through Great Thunder Shore,[6]
Don't forget to write me a letter.

湖上臥病喜陸鴻漸至

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[1] Editing Clerk was an official appointment of the eighth or ninth rank in the Secretariat.
[2] In present day Zhejiang province, Wuxing county. *Jiutangshu* 40.1587 points out that Huzhou was established in the fourth year of the Wude reign (622 CE), as the seat of Wucheng county. Song commentator Le Shi, in *Taiping huanyu ji* 94.3a,b points out that in ancient times the Wucheng clan lived in this area and they were able vintners, thus the county drew its name from them.
[3] Literally, Rue Hall. Rue was an herb with natural pest resistant properties. It was often used to keep away bookworms. The name became an alternate reference to a library.
[4] The Jin dynasty work *Bowuzhi* has a tale about connection between the Milky Way and the far away seas. Coastal residents swore that every year during the eighth lunar month oars from the boats of the immortals would float in. *Bowuzhi jiaozhu* 10.111, item 321, Taibei, 1981. Here Li Ye is insinuating that as a newly appointed official, he is likely to go off on a far away journeys.
[5] *Hou Hanshu* 82A.2717. There is a myth that heaven has astral emissaries. "Emperor He dispatched commissioners to every prefecture and county, Ge knew of their arrival beforehand on account of two astral emissaries who went to Yizhou." Later generations thus sometimes called commissioners 'astral emissaries.'
[6] Not only is there a Great Thunder Shore in Anhui province, Wangjiang county, but there is also a famous letter by Southern dynasty Song poet Bao Zhao, sent to his younger sister Linghui upon landing on this shore. The letter is still extant. *Bao canjun ji* 1.24a-26a. Linghui achieved a degree of fame as a poet, thus it is possible Li Ye is using this line as a sort of self reference.

昔去繁霜月，今來苦霧時。相逢仍臥病，欲語淚先垂。
強飲程家酒，還吟謝客詩。偶然成一醉，此別竟何之。

A Greeting to Lu Hongjian, who came to visit me by the lake in my illness

Last time you left
The moon shone on heavy frosts.
Now today you have come through bitter fog
To visit me, still lying here ill.
When I try to speak, tears start.
You urge me to drink Tao Qian's wine,
And I chant Xie Lingyun's poems of welcome.
It is good to get drunk once in a while.
What else is there to do?[7]

Lying Sick in Bed Beside the Lake, I Delight in Lu Hongjian's Arrival

Formerly, you departed during the month of accumulated frost;
Now you come at the time of bitter mists.
When we meet again, I'm still lying in bed sick;
We want to talk but tears stream down first.
I urge you to drink Mr. Tao [Qian's] wine;
In response, you chant Visitor Xie [Lingyun's] poetry.
Suddenly I'm completely drunk;
Aside from this, what else is there to do?[8]

登山望閻子不至[9]

望遠試登山，山高湖水闊。相思無曉夕，相望經年月。
鬱鬱山木榮，綿綿野花發。別後無限情，逢君一時說。

Title: I climb the mountain, looking for Yan, who hasn't arrived

I look out over the waters and try to scale the mountain –
The mountain is high but the lake is broader still.

I yearn for you, losing track of days and nights,
I look for you in the distance over the years and months.

Dense and thick, the mountain trees flourish,
In endless waves, the fields of wild flowers bloom.

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[7] Kenneth Rexroth and Ling Chung, trans. and eds., *The Orchid Boat: Women Poets of China* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1972) 16.
[8] Suzanne E. Cahill, trans., 'Daoist Holy Women of Tang China,' *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) 265.
[9] One alternate title for this poem is 'To Zhu Fang' 寄朱放.

We part, and our longing knows no limits,
We meet, and our joy lasts a mere moment.

送翰揆之江西[10]

相看指楊柳，別恨轉依依。萬里西江水，孤舟何處歸。
盆城潮不到，夏口信應稀。唯有衡陽雁，年年來去飛。

Sending Han Kui on a Journey to the Western Reaches of the Yangzi

We look at each other and point to willows,
Parting's pain brings increase of fondness.
On thousands of miles to the western Yangzi
Whither will your lone boat go?
The high waters do not reach to Pencheng,
Surely letters from Xiakou will be few.
All I will have are the Hengyang geese,
Flying back and forth, year after year.[11]

道意寄崔侍御

莫漫戀浮名，應須薄世情。百年齊旦暮，萬事盡虛盈。
愁鬢行看老，童顏學可成。無過天竺國，依止故先生。

Title: Sending a Daoist Hint to Attendant Gentleman Cui

Don't get attached to shallow fame,
You ought to discount the desire to seek office.

A hundred years pass between dawn and dusk,
The affairs of the past all wax and wane.

"Sorrowful whiskers" in their travels appear white,
but youthful faces betray the fact their studies are not yet done.

You need not go to India,
You can become an "ancient master" by staying here.

從蕭叔子聽彈琴賦得三峽流泉歌

妾家本住巫山雲，巫山流泉常自聞。玉琴彈出轉寥瓊，真是當時夢裏聽。
三峽迢迢幾千里，一時流入深閨裏。巨石崩崖指下生，飛泉走浪絃中起。
切疑憤怒含雷風，又似嗚咽流不通。回湍曲瀨勢將盡，時復滴瀝平沙中。

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[10] *Caidiao ji* 10.947 gives the title as 'Sending off Yan Bojun to Jiangzhou' 送閻伯均往江州.
[11] Stephen Owen, trans., *WWTC*, 57.

憶昔阮公爲此曲，能令仲容聽不足。一彈既罷復一彈，願作流泉鎮相續。
A Song Written on the Topic 'Streams Flowing Down in the Three Gorges'

My home used to be up there
 in Wu Mountain's clouds,
Where streams flowing from the mountain
 always can be heard.
As the jade zither plays these sounds,
 they grow more sharp and clear,
Just as they were in days of yore
 when heard within a dream.
The three gorges are far away,
 many thousands of miles,
But all at once they come flowing
 into my secluded chambers.
Huge boulders crash down cliffs,
 audible under his fingers,
Waterfalls and rushing waves
 rise from in the strings.
It seems at first some bursting rage,
 thundering gales within,
Then as if choked with sobbing sounds –
 some current can't get through.
When force of winding rapids
 and whirlpools runs its course,
The liquid notes fall drop by drop
 upon the level sand.
I recall how long ago
Ruan Xian composed this tune –
 this could make even him
 ever hear his fill.
You've played it once and finished,
 now play it once again,
I want those flowing streams
 to continue forever.[12]

相思怨

人道海水深，不抵相思半。海水尚有涯，相思眇無畔。
攜琴上酒樓，樓虛月滿華。彈著相思曲，絃腸一時斷。

Reproach in Love

People say the sea is deep –
It's not as deep by half as love.
The sea at least still has its coasts,

[12] Owen, trans., WWTC, 58.

Love's farthest reaches have no shore.
Take your harp and climb the tower,
Where moonlight fills the empty rooms.
Then play the song of longing love –
Heart and strings will break together.[13]

Liefdesverlangen[14]

Het diepst, zo zegt men, is de ocean-
Hij is maar half zo diep als mijn verlangen.
De ocean heft altijd nog zijn oevers
Maar mijn verlangen toont zich zonder grenzen.
Ik droeg de citer op de hoge kamer,
De lege kamer badend in het maanlicht.
Toen ik de melodie *Verlangen* speelde,
Sprongen de snaren, brak mijn hart!

感興

朝雲暮雨鎮相隨，去雁來人有返期。玉枕祇知長下淚，銀燈空照不眠時。
仰看明月翻含意，俯眄流波欲寄詞。卻憶初聞鳳樓曲，教人寂寞復相思。

Title: Stirred Emotions

Morning clouds, evening rains always follow hard upon;
For departing geese, arriving people there is a time to return.

Jade pillows only know the length of falling tears,
Silver lamps pointlessly reflect sleepless hours.

Above I see the bright moon, mulling over my thoughts,
Below I watch the spreading waves, wanting to dispatch a verse.

Reluctantly, I recall the first time I heard the Phoenix Pavilion tune,
Which makes me lonely, and I long for you again.

恩命追入留別廣陵故人

無才多病分龍鍾，不料虛名達九重。仰愧彈冠上華髮，多慚拂鏡理衰容。
馳心北闕隨芳草，極目南山望舊峰。桂樹不能留野客，沙鷗出浦謾相逢。

Parting from old friends in Guangling on the occasion of my being inducted into palace ranks by gracious imperial command.

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[13] Owen, trans., WWTC, 59.
[14] W. L. Idema, *Spiegel van de Klassike Chinese Poëzie*, Amsterdam, 1991, 342.

Without talent, often ill,
Worn out and useless,
I am amazed to find unfounded praise
has reached imperial gates.
Ashamed before Heaven, I brush my hat
put up the grey-streaked hair;
deeply chagrined, I wipe the mirror
arrange this wasted face.
The heart rushes swiftly toward northern towers
but it does not outrun the sweet spring grass;
the eye loses southern mountains in distance
but still looks back toward familiar hills.
Just as the cassia cannot for long
remain a country guest,
So the gull that leaves the shore
will offend whomever it meets.[15]

Talentless and ill, I resigned myself to age and decline.
Unexpected, my overblown name reached the Son of Heaven.
Abashed, I dust the cap to put on my white hair
With shame I brush the mirror to paint on a faded face.
Unleashing my heart from the palace gate, I will follow scented grass
And exhaust my gaze toward the South Mountain, over old hilltops.[16]

八至

至近至遠東西，至深至淺清谿。至高至明日月，至親至疏夫妻。

Eight Extremes

What is closest and farthest apart? –
East and west,
What is deepest and most shallow? –
The clear brook.
What is highest and brightest? –
The sun and moon,
Most intimate and most estranged? –
A man and wife.[17]

The Eight Extremes

Nearest yet farthest: east and west.

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[15] Maureen Robertson, trans., 'Voicing the Feminine: Constructions of the Gendered Subject in Lyric Poetry by Women of Medieval and Late Imperial China,' *Late Imperial China* 13.1 (June 1992): 75.
[16] Tung, trans., *Fables for the Patriarchs*, 188. Note that the title and last couplet of the poem are omitted from her translation.
[17] Owen, trans., WWTC, 59.

Deepest yet shallowest: a clear and flowing stream
Highest yet brightest: sun and moon
Most intimate yet most distant: husband and wife.[18]

Previous translation (into Dutch)

Acht uitersten[19]

Het naast en toch het verst zijn oost en west,
Het diepst en toch ondiepst: de klare beek.
Het hoogst en toch het helst zijn zon en maan,
Elkaar het liefst en verst zijn man en vrouw.

送閻二十六赴剡縣

流水閶門外，孤舟日復西。離情遍芳草，無處不凄凄。
妾夢經吳苑，君行到剡縣。歸來重相訪，莫學阮郎迷。

Title: Sending Yan off to Yan County

Flowing river beyond the Chang gate,
Solitary vessel by day returning west.

The sentiments of parting, surrounded by fragrant grasses,
Growing luxuriantly everywhere.

I dream of strolling through Wu gardens -
You journey off to Yan Stream.

Come back sometime to see me -
Don't get lost like Ruan Qi!

得閻伯均書

情來對鏡懶梳頭，暮雨蕭蕭庭樹秋。莫怪闌干垂玉筋，祇緣惆悵對銀鉤。

Title: Receiving Yan Bojun's Letter

Moodily I face the mirror and listlessly comb my hair,
Evening rain pitter patters through the courtyard trees in autumn.

Do not marvel at my tears falling every which way –
Blame only the shock of seeing your silver hooks.

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[18] Cahill, trans., *Daoist Holy Women of Tang China*, 266.
[19] W.L. Idema, Spiegel van de Klassike Chinese Poëzie, Amsterdam, 1991, 342.

From *Yutang xianhua*:

經時未架卻，心情亂縱橫。

As time goes by, without a sturdy to frame to rely on, emotions all turn helter-skelter

明月夜留別

離人無語月無聲，明月有光人有情。別後相思人似月，雲間水上到層城。

Parting on a Moonlit Night

At the moment of parting
they cannot speak;
Like them, the moon is silent.
But it does have its light
as people have their love.
After they part, love's longing reaches out
(people are like the moon)
through the clouds, over the waters
clear to the rampart of the Wall.[20]

偶居

心遠浮雲知不還；心雲併在有無間。狂風何事相搖蕩，吹向南山復北山。

Title: Occasional Residence

My thoughts distant, the floating clouds, I know they'll not return.
Thoughts and clouds are both in that niche between being and non-being.
The cruel winds, why do they shake the two so violently?
They blow toward southern mountains, again to northern ones.

Dunhuang version

My heart's desire, in the company of the floating clouds, leaves and doesn't return.
Desires, clouds, both are here, yet-not-here.
The cruel winds, why do they shake you so violently-
Blow you to southern mountains, then to northern ones?

春閨怨

百尺井欄上，數株桃已紅。念君遼海北，拋妾宋家東。

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[20] Robertson, trans., *Voicing the Feminine*, 76.

Title: Spring Boudoir Resentment

Yards above the well wall,
Dozens of ripe red peaches.
I think of you, north of the Liao Sea,[21]
Me, lonely wife, east of the Song home.[22]

逸詩斷句
已看雲聚散，更念木枯榮。
鞞鼓喧行選，旌旗拂座隅。
不睹[23]河陽一縣花，空見青山兩三點。

Title: Tying up a Letter for a Friend[24]

結素魚貽友人

尺素如殘雪，結爲雙鯉魚。欲知心裏事，看取腹中書。

White silk letter like melting snow,[25]
Tied up like a double carp.

If you want to know what's on my mind,
Take a look at the letter inside the belly.

薔薇

翠融紅綻渾無力，斜倚欄杆似詫人[26]。

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[21] The Liaodong peninsula to the south overlooks the Bo Sea, thus it is also called the Liao Sea. During the Tang the frontiers here were frequently garrisoned. North of the Liao Sea refers to a place that is extremely far north and remote.

[22] Li Ye compares herself to the girl next door in a Song Yu poem, "Of all the beauties of the world, none compare to the women of Chu, of the beauties of Chu none compare to the women in my neighborhood, of the beauties in my neighborhood, none compare to the girl in the eastern house."

[23] [者+見].

[24] See Ye Tinggui 葉廷珪 (*jinshi* 1115 – d. after 1152), *Hailu suishi* 海錄碎事 9A.390 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002) for this poem.

[25] A Ming era work, the *Danqian yulu* 丹鉛餘錄 (preface dated 1527) 3.9a (*SKQS* ed.) quotes this quatrain and refers to an old Music Bureau verse with which Li Jilan's poem shares the theme of a fish-shaped letter, then points out that it was the custom of the ancients to send letter in the shape of fish and then tie them up before sending them, versus the contemporary custom of sealing letters with wax. The fish-shaped letter takes an old legend about fish carrying letters in their bellies. *Wenxuan* 27.16a quotes a Music Bureau poem and provides just such an explanation for the verse: "A guest came from afar and left me a pair of carp, I called on a boy to cook the fish, inside there was a letter."

深處最宜香惹蝶，摘時兼恐焰燒春。

當空巧結玲瓏帳，[著][27] 地能鋪錦繡裯。

最好凌晨和露看 ，碧紗窗外一枝新。

Roses

Green and red fuse and burst forth, their efforts spent.

Leaning against the trellis, they show off to everyone.

Those deep recesses just right for fragrance to tempt butterflies.

But when you pick them, beware you don't get burned by the blazing spring.

In mid air, artfully forming an intricate canopy,

On the ground, their petals skillfully spread like brightly embroidered garments.

It's best to look at them with the early morning dew when,

Beyond the emerald gauze window screen, one newly blooms.

柳

最愛纖纖曲水濱，夕陽移影過青蘋。

東風又染一年綠，楚客更傷千里春。

低葉已藏依岸棹，高枝應閉上樓人。

舞腰漸重煙光老，散作飛綿惹翠茵。

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[26] *Fenmen zuanlei Tanggeshi* has *chun*, or spring at the end of the first and second couplets. I accept Chen Wenhua's emendation of the last character of the first couplet to read *ren*, or person. See Chen Wenhua, *Tangdai nüshiren ji sanzhong*, 19.

[27] This character should be the other *zhuo*2, but the Big5 character set does not support it.

The Willow Tree

Prefers to turn ever so delicately toward the river bank.

The setting sun shifts its shadows through the grassy shallows.

The east wind dyes it green for another year.

The southern traveler again mourns the distant spring.

If the lower leaves cover the oars as they rest on the bank,

Then high branches will surely close off from view the one upstairs.

Its dancer's waist slowly thickens, as the misty light fades.

Its cotton-floss floats away, to tickle the green grass.

Li Jilan's *ci* poem:[28]

自從君去，曉夜縈牽，腸斷處，綠遍香階，過夏經秋，鴈又來；
想伊那里，應也情懷，愁不止，緲緲書沉，直至如今，沒信音。

Ever since your departure, I have been longing,
longing for you, night and day.

My heart is broken,
Green moss has covered the steps.
Summer has past, autumn has gone;
Now the geese have returned.

I think of you, over there –
Maybe your heart is also filled with longing?
Maybe your sorrow also sees no end?
Yet, so little, so little have I heard from you…
Even to this day, not a single word.

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[28] See Chen Yaowen 陳耀文, *Huacao cuibian* (1583) 4.33a,b (*SKQS* ed.).

Editions

Thus far no Song editions have come to light.[1] The earliest extant editions of *Yinchuang zalu* date to the Ming dynasty.[2] The print edition of 1548 was made by Chongwen shutang 崇文書堂家, an unidentified printing company in Jianyang, Fujian. A copy of this edition, held in the Beijing University Library,[3] is reprinted in *XXSKQS*, volume 1694, but other mainland Chinese libraries hold complete or partial copies.[4] There are two extant Ming dynasty manuscripts. One manuscript in Taibei contains a reprint of a Ming manuscript with nineteen unidentified seals.[5] The other manuscript used to belong to Qu Yong 瞿鏞 (with a He Zhuo 何焯 seal) and is held in the National Library of China, Beijing (formerly Beijing Library).[6] Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘 (1872-1950) examined the reprinted edition of 1561, which was printed from the same blocks as the 1548 edition.[7] Although mainland China and Taiwan do not hold any copies of the 1561 edition, two copies are held in Japan (one in the Naikaku

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[1] The bibliographer Chen Zhensun did complain that the edition he had seen was a poor quality one (aka Masha 麻沙) from Jianyang, Fujian. See *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 22.647.

[2] When searching for editions, three different titles are used to refer to the same work: *Chen xueshi Yinchuang zalu* 陳學士吟窗雜錄, *Yinchuang zalu* 吟窗雜錄 and *Yinchuang zayong* 吟窗雜詠.

[3] See *Beijing daxue tushuguan cang guji shanben shumu* 北京大學圖書館藏古籍善本書目(Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999), 503. Catalog number 4624.

[4] For a listing of mainland China holdings, see *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu, jibu* 中國古籍善本書目, 集部 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), 1878.

[5] See Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan shanben shumu (zengdingben)* 國立中央圖書館善本書目 vol. 4 (Taibei: Guoli zhongyang tushuguan, 1967), 1359. *Yinchuang zalu* (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1997) is a re-print of the Ming manuscript held in Taibei. The central library in Taibei also has one of the 1548 print editions.

[6] See *Beijing tushuguan guji shanben shumu, jibu* 北京圖書館古籍善本書目，集部 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987), 2881. The catalog number is 6667, a work in 50 *juan,* with the 12 columns, 20 characters per column.

[7] See *Cangyuan qunshu jingyanlu* 藏園群書經眼錄 19.1577 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1983). The 1561 edition was made in the Jinling book quarters 金陵書坊 of Jiangsu province by Chen Shouquan 陳守泉. The details of the 1561 edition are also recorded in Du Xinfu 杜信孚 and Du Tongshu 杜同書, *Quan Ming fensheng fenxian keshukao* 全明分省分縣刻書考 vol. 2 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2001), 9b (section on Jiangsu province). See also Wang Meng'ou's 王夢鷗 assessment that the 1561 edition was struck off the same blocks for 1548. *Chu Tangshi xuezhu shukao* 初唐詩學著述考 (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu, 1977), 33.

bunko and one in Kyoto University).[8] It is not yet known whether there are any lost editions of *Yinchuang zalu* awaiting recovery.[9]

The remainder of this appendix summarizes Zhang Bowei's 張伯偉 work on *Yinchuang zalu* and makes a couple new suggestions about the possible identity of its preface writer and/or compiler. Zhang Bowei considered six names for the compiler of the work,[10] suggested that there were three major recensions, and speculated as to the contents of the twenty- and thirty-*juan* editions (both lost).

Who was the compiler of Yinchuang zalu?

There are a number of divergent answers to this question. The earliest edition may have been a 20 *juan* work by Cai Zhuan 蔡傳 (b. 1066?).[11] Li Junfu 李俊甫, compiled the *Puyang bishi* 莆陽比事 in the early thirteenth century, in which he named Cai Zhuan as the compiler of *Yinchuang zalu*, a work in 20 *juan*.[12] Cai Zhuan abandoned official life at the age of 43 (1109?) in order to care for his mother, and this presumably would have given him ample time for such a general poetry collection and work of criticism.

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[8] See Naikaku bunko, *Naikaku bunko Kanseki bunrui mokuroku* 內閣文庫漢籍分類目錄 (Taibei: Jinxue shuju, 1970), 428. Japanese reprints of the 1561 edition were done in 1826 and 1982.

[9] See Shen Chu 沈初, *Zhejiang caiji yishu zonglu (shiji)* 浙江採集遺書總錄十集 *geng* 庚 5. Edition of 1774. As cited in Luo Weiguo 羅偉國 and Hu Ping 胡平 eds., *Guji banben tiji suoyin* 古籍版本題記索引 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1991), 591. The entry states that there is a forty *juan* edition, but no further details about such an edition have come to light. Also, to my knowledge the *Yinchuang zalu* was never re-printed in a *congshu*.

[10] The six names are Cai Zhuan 蔡傳, Cai Fu 蔡傅, Haoranzi 浩然子, Chen Yongkang 陳永康, Chen Yingxing 陳應行 and Chen *xueshi* 陳學士.

[11] *Zi* Yongweng 永翁 and a native of Xianyou 仙遊. Zhuan's father died young, and when his grandfather died, Zhuan was only two *sui* old. His mother, from the Tailing 太令 Liu 劉 clan, taught him the canonical works. At one point he was the Controller General (*tongpan*) of Nanjing, but retired from official life at the age of 43 which gave him time to care for his mother, and compile literary works. For brief biographical notices about Cai Zhuan, see Li Junfu, *Puyang bishi* 6.12a in Ruan Yuan 阮元, *Wan wei biecang* 宛委別藏, vol. 51 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935). Reprinted from the print ed. of 1605; Zheng Yue 鄭岳, *Puyang wenxian zhuan* 莆陽文獻傳 9.6a (*XXSKQS* ed.) Reprint of 1616 ed.; and Huang Yansun 黃巖孫, *Xianxi zhi* 仙溪志 4.8b-9a, *Song-Yuan fangzhi congkan* 宋元方志叢刊 vol. 8 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1990) for a notice that he has a work named *Yinchuang zalu* in 20 *juan* among other works of criticism. Zhuan's grandfather was Cai Xiang 蔡襄(1012-1067), the famous statesman and calligrapher. For Cai Xiang's biography, see Y. Shiba, 'Ts'ai Hsiang,' *Sung Biographies*, 1026-29.

[12] Li Junfu (fl. early 13th c.) *zi* Youjie 幼傑, was a native of Putian 莆田. See Li Junfu 李俊甫, *Puyang bishi* 莆陽比事 3.18a. Li personally presented his work to a friend who added a colophon to it, dated 1214. Li has no biography in the standard histories.

A second recension may have been expanded from 20 to 30 *juan*. The third and final recension increased to 50 *juan*. We know next to nothing about the contents of the earliest recension. Zhang Bowei has tentatively reconstructed the table of contents of the 30 *juan* edition based on the catalogs of private book collectors.[13] Works on poetics, genre theory and compositional technique beginning with the *Shige* 詩格, (spuriously) attributed to Emperor Wen of the Wei dynasty, are all included, but the 30 *juan* edition proposed by Zhang does not contain any longitudinal, cross-dynasty collections of poems. If his reconstruction is sound, one of the inferences which may be drawn is that the final fifty *juan* edition, for commercial reasons explained below, added collections of poems such as *Lidai yinpu* 歷代吟譜, dating from the period after the compilation of the *Wenxuan* (completed sometime between 526 and 531) up to the end of the Northern Song dynasty (1126).

Lidai yinpu was originally compiled before 1126. Bibliographic records for the Song dynasty indicate it was a work in 20 *juan*.[14] Originally circulated as a separate collection, it later became a component of *Yinchuang zalu*.[15] Hu Yinglin mentions one of the separate copies of the *Lidai yinpu* in his work, *Shisou*.[16] According to Hu, in the early 1600s the *Lidai yinpu* was still a work in 20 *juan*. The separate copy examined by the editors of the *Siku quanshu* in the 1780s, in contrast, was down to five *juan*.[17] At the present time, there is only

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[13] Zhang Bowei, 'Lun *Yinchuang zalu*' 論吟窗雜錄, 22-23.
[14] *Songshi* 209.5411. No author's name is listed in this record. Neither Chao Gongwu nor Chen Zhensun records this work in their catalogues. *Songshi* follows *Suichutang shumu* (*Shuofu* 28).
[15] The *Lidai yinpu* section of *Yinchuang zalu* is located in *juan* 19 through 50. Chen Yingxing is the listed compiler. See *Yinchuang zalu* (1548) (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1997).
[16] Hu Yinglin 胡應麟, *Shisou* 詩藪 (1632) vol. 3 (Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1973), 836. See *zabian* 雜編 2.12b.
[17] *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 197.4395. The order of contents in the five *juan* version is Han through Tang dynasty poems, Song dynasty poems, poems by famous monks, poems by boudoir women, and poems by military men. The Siku editors also noted that there had once been a Masha ed. of *Lidai yinpu*.

one (manuscript) copy of *Lidai yinpu* known to exist separately from a copy of *Yinchuang zalu*.[18]

It is also worth noting, according to Zhang Bowei, the possibility that Cai Zhuan did not compile the first edition of the *Yinchuang zalu*, but that private publishers affixed his name to the work, in order to capitalize on Cai's local fame as a poet.[19]

Chen Zhensun mentioned the work in his catalog, but as this comes down to us, the name of the compiler is altered from Cai Zhuan 蔡傳 to Cai Fu 蔡傅, *zhuan* and *fu* being similar characters.[20] This is likely to be a printing error, as Chen clearly understands that the compiler he is referring to was the grandson of Cai Xiang . Chen describes the *Yinchuang zalu* as a work in 30 *juan*, compiled by Cai Fu, a grandson of Cai Xiang. His compilation selected the *shige* (criticism of poetic syntax) of various past masters, as well as poetry criticism and a *yinpu* 吟譜 (a roster of poems for recitation) which spanned all the able poets from the Wei and Jin dynasties and later. Chen also noted that there was once a Masha 麻沙 edition of the *Yinchuang zalu* which was an abbreviated, incomplete version of Cai's compilation.[21] Chen Zhensun clearly does not think Chen Yingxing was the compiler of the

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[18] This 8 *juan* manuscript, which lists Cai Zhuan as its compiler, is held in the Zhongshan University library, Guangdong province. Readers should note that Ji'nan 暨南 University library, Guangdong is erroneously listed as the location in *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu, jibu* 中國古籍善本書目集部 vol. 3, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998 rept.), 1871 and 2843. I am grateful to Professor Huang Guochun 黃國淳, Ji'nan University for making this inquiry on my behalf to the library staff. Although the Qing dynasty work *Shixue zhinan* 詩學指南 contains a *Lidai yinpu* in one *juan*, it is drawn from *Yinchuang zalu*.

[19] Zhang Bowei, 'Lun *Yinchuang zalu*,' 5; see also *Puyang bishi* 3.18a for the passage on Cai's poetic fame.

[20] There was a Cai Fu during the Song dynasty. He was the country magistrate for Chong'an 崇安 county during the Shaoxing 紹興 reign (1131- 1163). See *Jiajing Jianningfu zhi* 嘉靖建寧府志 5.26a which lists him as a previous county magistrate, but this gazetteer does not attribute authorship of *Yinchuang zalu* to Cai Fu. See Chen Zhensun, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 22.647. Chen also mentions that the author is the grandson of Junmo 君謨, which is the *zi* of Cai Xiang. Clearly, Chen intended to refer to Cai Zhuan. It is unknown whether Chen made the mistake, or whether this is due to a later printing error.

[21] Chen Zhensun, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 22.647.

Yinchuang zalu. He is aware, however, of Yingxing as writer and compiler of other works.[22] This thirty *juan* version Chen Zhensun describes is lost.

Another possibility for the compiler of *Yinchuang zalu* is raised by thirteenth-century poetry talks. Wei Qingzhi 魏慶之, compiled a work of poetics and criticism in 1244, the *Shiren yuxie* 詩人玉屑. In his list of the 'Ten Disasters,' 'Ten Easies,' 'Ten Admonitions,' and 'Ten Worthies;' he refers to one Chen Yongkang 陳永康 as the compiler of *Yinchuang zalu*, the work from which he took all these lists of ten. This is confirmed within the preface of *Yinchuang zalu* which lists these poetic strengths and weaknesses.[23] Nothing is known about Chen Yongkang – he has left no other traces in the written record. Tantalizingly, the bibliographical records for the Song dynasty mention one *Yongkang tiji shiyong* 永康題紀詩詠 in thirteen *juan*, but nothing else is known about this work.[24] Zhang Bowei has raised the possibility that Yongkang is a *hao* for Chen Yingxing for which we unfortunately lack corroborating evidence.[25] Although Wei Qingzhi and Chen Yingxing were from the same native place, and Wei might have been in a position to know about previous generations of local literary worthies, it is important to note that Chen Zhensun only used two distinct names to refer to Chen Yingxing. One was Yingxing, the other was Jiling 季陵. Unless additional data come to light, there is no basis for conflating Chen Yongkang and Chen Yingxing, by conjecturing that Yongkang was the *hao* for Chen Yingxing.

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[22] See Chen Zhensun, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 14.431. Here he describes Chen Yingxing as the compiler of an 18 *juan* work on Du Fu's poems, arranged by the six categories first proposed by Bo Juyi.

[23] See Wei Qingzhi 魏慶之, *Shiren yuxie* 詩人玉屑 5.112 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1978). Wei Qingzhi, *zi* Chunfu 醇甫, *hao* Juzhuang 菊莊, (?- after 1244) was a native of Jian'an 建安, Fujian.

[24] *Songshi* 209.5405 lists this work under general poetry collections. Neither Chao Gongwu nor Chen Zhensun lists this work in their cataloguese. See *Suichutang shumu* (*Shuofu* ed.).

[25] Zhang Bowei, 'Lun *Yinchuang zalu*,' 3.

Was Chen Yingxing both compiler and preface writer of the third edition? There have been previous scholars, such as the Qing scholar Gu Longzhen 顧龍振,[26] who have concluded that the author of the 1194 preface, Haoranzi, must also be Chen Yingxing. There is no primary evidence at the moment to support such a supposition, however. Such an interpretation is based on conflating the notion of preface *xu* with that of author preface *zixu*.

If we examine the use of the term 'academician' or *xueshi* we see that it was not often applied by itself during the Song.[27] It usually would have been preceded by the specific palace or compilation project to which the academician was attached. *Xueshi* alone was not a full title, more of a duty assignment to engage in a compilation project. But *Yinchuang zalu* was not an official project. Perhaps this was another trick employed by commercial publishers, to give the work the authority of an official compilation. There is no Chen *xueshi* listed in *Songshi*. In the bibliography monograph, however, there are other men with the label *xueshi* attached to their surnames, so the use of the term Chen *xueshi* should not be considered an anomaly, but the identity of Scholar Chen remains unknown.

The identity of Haoranzi or, who wrote the preface?

The identity of Haoranzi is important for the history of editions of *Yinchuang zalu*. Within his preface to the work, he writes and refers to the compilation as one of his own making. Thus Haoranzi's handling may have resulted in the final edition in the form in which it comes down to us today. The answer to this question has yet to be resolved in a satisfactory manner, and it revolves around determining the identity of Haoranzi. Zhang Bowei has written extensively on this topic, but two more names will be introduced here for consideration. Rosters of names for Song dynasty figures, as well as local gazetteers, point to

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[26] He makes this comment in his collection *Shixue zhinan* 詩學指南, which I have not been able to consult. See Zhang Bowei's citation of *Shixue zhinan*, in 'Lun *Yinchuang zalu*,' 3.

[27] See *Songshi* 162.3797ff.

two men who bore the name Haoranzi. One was Pan Zhi 潘殖, the other was Zhang Caishao 章才邵.

Pan Zhi was a minor official who flourished in the early twelfth century. Although he was a native of Pucheng – part of the geography relevant to the issue at hand – there is nothing in the biographical mentions of his name to make us suspect he took an interest in poetry or poetry collections.[28]

The other candidate for the bearer of the name Haoranzi is Zhang Caishao.[29] The twentieth-century scholar Chen Naiqian claimed that Zhang Caishao also held the *hao* Haoranzi.[30] Other reference works compiled by twentieth-century scholars do not concur with Chen's claim. Primary historical works do not list such a *hao* for Zhang either, so it is unclear what text Chen is basing his work on. The relevant primary sources do however describe Zhang as a man who retired early from official life, who loved poetry and dedicated part of his retirement to compiling poetry collections.

Pan and Zhang were both figures from the same time and place. Perhaps this is an amazing coincidence. Their native place, Pucheng, in Jianyang, was one of easy access to cheap printing due to its ready supply of timber, bamboo, water, underemployed scholars and ideal situation along lines of communication. Pan Zhi is on record as having the appropriate *hao* but with no indicators of editorial activity, while Zhang's biography details his love of poetry and his years of seclusion after an official career to devote to the work of writing and compiling. If the exact identity of Haoranzi cannot be determined then at least the ambiguity

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[28] See Wang Zicai 王梓材 and Feng Yunhao 馮雲濠, *Song-Yuan xuean buyi gaoben* 宋元學案補遺稿本 16.302 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2002). *Wanxing tongpu* 25.5b (*SKQS* ed.) records a *hao* of Haoranzi for Pan Zhi.

[29] *Wanxing tongpu* 萬姓統譜 49.25b (*SKQS* ed.) does not mention a *hao* for Zhang Caishao.

[30] Chen Naiqian 陳乃乾, *Shiming biehao suoyin* 室名別號索引 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1957), 172. Chen unfortunately does not cite his sources. Earlier editions of Chen's work cite the same *hao* for Zhang, also without citing a primary source.

serves to highlight the potential level of participation by a number of retired Jianyang scholars in compiling editions of this book for the popular book trade. Lucille Chia's studies of the Jianyang trade only list one book of poetry criticism,[31] but the remarks by Chen Zhensun indicate that Song editions of *Yinchuang zalu* were produced in this prefecture.

Back to Yaochi xinyong and the Oldenburg fragments

At present, the identity of the compiler of, as well as the table of contents for, each recension of the *Yinchuang zalu*, remains a mystery. If the authenticity of Oldenburg fragments which make up *Yaochi xinyong* is verified in the future, then it is possible that one of the sources of *Yinchuang zalu* has been recovered. Or, to phrase it another way, the compiler(s) of *Yinchuang zalu* may have saved some of the contents of *Yaochi xinyong* just in the nick of time.

From the perspective of opportunities for forgery, editions of *Yinchuang zalu* were comparatively rarer than reprints of *Fengtianlu*. An earlier twentieth-century forger would have needed access to the rare print editions of 1547 or 1561, one of the Ming manuscripts, or the Japanese official edition of 1826 in order to take a look at chapter 30 and copy it as an erstwhile *Yaochi xinyong*.

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[31] See Lucille Chia, 'The Development of the Jianyang Book Trade, Song-Yuan,' *Late Imperial China* 17.1 (1996): 10-48; *Printing for Profit*: *The Commercial Publishers of Jianyang, Fujian (11th – 17th Centuries)*, Harvard-Yenching Institute monograph series #56 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); and '*Mashaben*: Commercial Publishing in Jianyang from the Song to the Ming,' *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, eds. Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn, Harvard East Asian Monographs 221 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 284-328.

This recension is based on the following fragments from the Oldenburg collection: 6654, 3861, 3872, 3874, and 11050.[1] The transcription by Xu Jun and Rong Xinjiang have also been consulted.[2] The original scribe mixed use of long form characters and short hand (or abbreviations, and he employed a character distinctive to Dunhuang transformation texts (*gui* 歸 as 白+反). This recension standardizes the characters to long form, and puts the poems into an order which emphasizes the meter and rhymes. Portions of the text which have overlap with *Yinchuang zalu* are italicized.

Yaochi xinyong ji 瑤池新詠集

史口大唐女才子所口篇什
著作郎蔡省風纂

Li Jilan 女道士李季蘭

送閻伯均[3]

相看指楊柳
別恨轉依依
萬里西江水
孤舟何處歸
溢城潮不到
夏口信因稀
唯有衡陽雁
年年來去飛

春閨怨[4]

百尺井欄上
數株桃已紅
念君遼海北

---

[1] This recension does not include the anonymous poem 'Zhen nü lou yong' 貞女樓詠 from 6654 verso, which clearly exhibits a feathering effect, i.e. it was added to the paper later by a different hand. P3929 has a poem with a number of similarities with this anonymous poem.

[2] See 'Tang Cai Xingfeng *Yaochi xinyong* chongyan' 唐蔡省風《瑤池新詠》重研, *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 7 (2001): 125-144. Rong Xinjiang and Xu Jun examined photographs (in some cases enlarged) of the Oldenburg fragments at Shanghai guji chubanshe in Shanghai.

[3] See *Zhongxing jianqi ji* 2 (*Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian* (hereafter *TRXTSXB*), 508); *Youxuanji* 3 (*TRXTSXB*, 672); *Tangshi jishi* 78.1123 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1965); *Yinchuang zalu* 30. 840-41 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1997): *Quan Tangshi* 805.9057 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1985).

[4] See *Yinchuang zalu* 30. 840; *Quan Tangshi* 805.9060. These two works only contain the first quatrain. See also *Tōdai no shihen*, 1333. *Yaochi xinyong ji*, if authentic, would establish a tenth century source for the complete poem.

拋妾宋家東

惆悵白日暮
相思明月空
羅衣春夜暖
願作西南風

感興[5]

朝雲暮雨自相隨
雁去人行有返期
玉枕只知長下流
銀燈空照不眠時

仰看明月翻含意
俯眄流波欲寄詞
卻憶初聞鳳樓曲
教人寂寞復相思

有敕追入內留別廣陵故夫[6]

無才多病判龍鐘
不料虛明達九重
仰愧彈冠上華髮
嘗慚理鏡對衰容

馳心北闕隨芳草
極目南山望舊峰
桂樹不能留野客
沙鷗出浦謾相逢

溪中臥病寄口校書兄[7]

臥病無人事
閑門向水清
已看雲聚散
更念木枯榮

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[5] See *Caidiao ji* 10 (*TRXTSXB*, 948); *Yinchuang zalu* 30.841; *Quan Tangshi* 805.9058;
[6] See *Caidiao ji* 10 (*TRXTSXB*, 948); *Yinchuang zalu* 30.840 ; *Quan Tangshi* 805.9059. At one point the *Siku* compilers cast doubt on the attribution to Li Jilan, saying that the style was unlike her other poems, see *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 186.4132 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933). But the poem's presence in *Caidiao ji*, and then in this Dunhuang fragment (if authentic), should put paid to that doubt.
[7] See *Yinchuang zalu* 30.841; *Quan Tangshi* 805.9060. These two works only preserve the one couplet, if the fragments are authentic, an entire poem could be recovered.

未恐溪邊老
多爲世上輕
鴒原如不顧
誰復急難情

陷賊後寄故夫[8]

日日青山上
何曾見故夫
古詩渾漫語
教妾採蘼蕪

鼙鼓喧城下
旌旗拂座隅
蒼黃未得死
不是惜微軀

寓興[9]

心與浮雲去不還
心雲併在有無間
狂風何事相搖蕩
吹向南山又北山

Yuan Chun 女道士元淳

秦中春望[10]

鳳城春望好
宮闕一重重
上苑雲中樹
終南雪後峰

落花行處遍
佳氣晚來濃
喜見休明代
霓裳躡道蹤

寄洛中姊妹[11]

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[8] See *Yinchuang zalu* 30.842; *Quan Tangshi* 805.9060, which only preserve one couplet. Thus if authentic, the fragment would recover the entire poem.
[9] See P 3216, piece 1; *Yinchuang zalu* 30.842; *Quan Tangshi* 805.9059. Both the Pelliot fragment (and the Oldenburg fragment) establish tenth-century sources for this poem. The Pelliot fragment lacks a title for the poem. Both *Yinchuang zalu* and *Quan Tangshi* refer to the poem as 'Ou ju' 偶居.
[10] See P 3216, piece 1; *Caidiao ji* 10 (*TRXTSXB*, 952); *Yinchuang zalu* 30.843; *Quan Tangshi* 805.9060.

舊業經年別
關河萬里思
題書憑雁足
望月想娥眉

白髮愁偏覺
鄉心夢獨知
誰堪離亂處
掩淚向南枝

感興[12]

廢業無遺跡
仙都寄此身
弟兄俱已盡
松柏問何人

閑居寄楊女冠[13]

仙府寥寥殊未傳
白雲盡日對紗軒
祇將沉靜思真理
且喜人間事不喧

青冥鶴唳時聞過
杏藹瑤臺誰與言
聞道武陵山水好
碧溪東去有桃源

送霍師妹游天台[14]

暫別萬□□□□
□□□□□天台
霞城峭壁無人到
丹灶[15] *芝田有鶴來*

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[11] See P 3216, piece 1 and P 3569 (which dates the poem to 887); *Youxuan ji* 3 (*TRXTSXB*, 672-73); *Caidiao ji* 10 (*TRXTSXB*, 951); *Yinchuang zalu* 30.844 ; *Quan Tangshi* 805.9060.
[12] See *Yinchuang zalu* 30.843-44 ; *Quan Tangshi* 805.9061. Only contain the last couplet. This Dunhuang fragment would re-constitute an entire quatrain.
[13] See P 3216, piece 1 contains the title 'Ganhuai' 感懷 and contains the first couplet of this poem; *Yinchuang zalu* 30.844; *Quan Tangshi* 805.9061.
[14] See *Yinchuang zalu* 30.844 ; *Quan Tangshi* 805.9061.
[15] This ought to be the long form for *zao*4, stove. But my character set does not support it. See *Hanyu dacidian* 8.487.

上元金勝何□在
阿母桃花幾度開
日暮曲江相望處
翠屏遙指白雲隈

寓言[16]

三千宮女露娥眉
笑煮黃金日月遲
鸞鳳隔雲攀不及
空山惆悵夕陽時

感春[17]

[Missing first couplet?]
□□□□□
錢鶯飛撲地
燕□□□□
□□怨心事
不道芳□□
□□□□□

Zhang furen 張夫人

柳絮[18]

□□□□□□□
□□□□□□纖
難把好日閑□□
□□□□□□□
遊蜂乍起驚落墀
黃鳥銜來卻上枝
欲知的的真如花
□□□□□□□

古意[19]

轆轤曉轉素絲綆
桐花夜落蒼苔塼

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[16] See *Youxuan ji* (*TRXTSXB*, 673); *Yinchuang zalu* 30.844; *Quan Tangshi* 805.9061 and 723.8300 (attribution to Li Dong).
[17] These words are not present in any other known text. If the top half of the fragment is found then it might re-constitute the whole poem.
[18] See *Wenyuan yinghua* 323.10a; *Yinchuang zalu* 30.845 ; *Quan Tangshi* 799.8986.
[19] See *Wenyuan yinghua* 205.7a; *Yinchuang zalu* 30.845; *Quan Tangshi* 799.8986.

涓涓吹溜若時雨
濯濯佳蔬非用天
丈人不解此中意
抱甕當時徒自賢

闕題[20]

□□□□□
□□輕簾開
庭際□□□
□□□入來

詠淚[21]

□□□□□
□流紅粉妝
鏡中春色老
枕前秋夜長

闕題[22]

□□□□□
□鳴候寢宮
自嗟□□□
□□□年中

誚喜鵲子[23]

疇昔鴛鴦侶
朱門賀客多
如今無此事
好去莫相過

拾得韋夫人鈿子以詩卻贈[24]

今朝妝閣前
拾得舊花鈿
粉污痕猶在

---

[20] These words are not found in any other text. If the fragment were made whole, it would recover another poem.
[21] See *Yinchuang zalu* 30.846.
[22] This fragment does not appear in any other text, if the rest of the fragment were recovered, it might reconstitute any poem attributed to Zhang furen.
[23] See *Yinchuang zalu* 30. 845; *Quan Tangshi* 799.8986.
[24] See *Youxuan ji* 3 (*TRXTSXB*, 673); *Caidiao ji* 10 (*TRXTSXB*, 946); *Yinchuang zalu* 30. 845; *Quan Tangshi* 799.8986.

塵侵色上鮮

曾拈纖手裏
帖向翠眉邊
能助千金笑
如何忽棄捐

寄遠[25]

□□□□□
□朝不在家
臨風重回首
掩淚向庭花

Cui Zhongrong 崔仲容[26]

贈所思

所居幸接鄰
相見不相親
一似雲間月
何殊鏡裏人

目成空有恨
腸斷不禁春
願作梁間燕
無由便此身

---

[25] See *Yinchuang zalu* 30. 845; *Quan Tangshi* 799.8987.

[26] The Russian fragments do not list the name Cui Zhongrong, but the poem which follows is consistent with one attributed to her in *Youxuan ji* 3 (*TRXTSXB*, 674); *Caidiao ji* 10 (*TRXTSXB*, 950); *Tangshi jishi* 79.1130; *Yinchuang zalu* 30.846; *Quan Tangshi* 801.9011. Cui Zhongrong has three poems and four fragments to her credit in *Quan Tangshi*.

Rare editions of *Fenmen zuanlei Tanggeshi*, and their locations

There are five rare editions in mainland China and two in Taiwan.

A. The National Library of China, Beijing holds three rare editions:[1]

1. A Song print edition of *Fenmen zuanlei*. Lineation: ten columns, eighteen characters. The fragment consists of 11 chapters, five under the category *tiandi shanchuan*, and six under *caomu chongyu*. Colophons by Mao Yi, Gu Guangqi, Ni Daosun 倪稻孫 and Yan Yuanzhao 嚴元照 (with inscribed poem).[2] Catalogue number 3737.

2. A Mao Jin tracing of a Song manuscript. The fragment is seven chapters long, consisting of chapters 18, twenty-something, 91, and 93-96. Catalogue number 8590.

3. A Qing manuscript which once belonged to Wu Qian 吳騫. The fragment consists of 10 chapters, four of which belong to *tiandi shanchuan* and six to *caomu chongyu*. Colophons by Wu Qian and Tang Han 唐翰.Catalogue number 4719.

B. The Chinese Academy of Science, Beijing holds one rare edition:[3]

1. A Qing manuscript of *Fenmen zuanlei* consisting of ten fascicles in two cases. The fragment is eleven chapters long: 18, 20-22, 32, 91-96. Catalogue number *jibu* 312.2/006.

C. The Shandong provincial museum (Shandong sheng bowuguan) holds one rare edition:[4]

1. A Ming manuscript. The fragment consists of seven chapters, *tiandi shanchuan* 32, and *caomu chongyu* 3 through 8.

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[1] Formerly known as Beijing tushuguan. See *Beijing tushugan guji shanben shumu, jibu* 北京圖書館古籍善本書目，集部 five vols. (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987), 2785.

[2] Yan Yuanzhao has a very brief note under the entry on Ruan Yuan in *ECCP*, 400. *Zi* Xiuneng 修能 or Jiuneng 久能, *hao* Jiuneng 九能 and Hui'an 悔庵 (1773-1817). His works, *Huimian zaji* 蕙櫋雜記 and *Yuqin yayan* 娛親雅言(both *XXSKQS* eds.) do not contain any reader's comments about *Fenmen zuanlei*.

[3] See *Zhongguo kexueyuan tushuguan cang Zhongwen guji shanben shumu* 中國科學院圖書館藏中文古籍善本書目 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1994), 375.

[4] See *Zhongguo guji shanben shumu, jibu* vol.2, 1662. Reference number 18070.

D. The Palace Museum, Taibei holds two rare editions:[5]

1. A Jiaqing era manuscript, which Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764-1849) presented to the throne (after deleting any incomplete poems, from the edition listed below). The fragment, in ten fascicles, consists of eleven chapters.

2. A Qing manuscript which is a tracing of a Song manuscript. A fragment, in four fascicles, which consists of eleven chapters (five chapters from *tiandi shanchuan* and six from *caomu chongyu*).

All modern print editions (Shanghai, 1935 and Taibei, 1972) of *Fenmen zuanlei* are reprints of Ruan Yuan's edition.

Preface to *Fenmen zuanlei Tanggeshi*[6]

Page 1a

詩源於情性之正，其來久矣。人不能無樂， 樂斯

詠， 詠斯嗟， 詩以興焉。世有升降，情性無古今， 詩

未嘗泯也。夫子刪詩定取三百篇以爲經。雅頌

之音鏗天地, 動鬼神。一時從臣，才藝固足，辨此

列國之風。婦人、 女子、 小夫、 賤隸， 片善寸美， 俱所

不棄。[7] 商頌僅五篇，以那爲首， 正考父得於周太

師，夫子汲汲存之。 雖左氏所載逸詩如茅鴟祈

招之類， 亦太山一毫芒耳。非採星宿遺羲娥[8]也。

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[5] See *Guoli Gugong bowuyuan shanben jiuji zongmu* 國立故宮博物院善本舊籍總目 vol. 2 (Taibei: Guoli Gugong bowuyuan, 1983), 1206.
[6] Source text is *Wanwei biecang congshu* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935).
[7] This is actually written as the simplified *qi*, which is an ancient form. See *HD* 2.1316.

然亦詩非夫子不敢刪。刪之者僭。 聚流成海， 聚

寶成山，聚一代之詩而成集， 殆取是耳。 唐文爲

Page 1b

一王法而詩尤工， 杜子美、 李太白、 韓退之、 柳子

厚，人誦其言， 家有其集， 不必類聚而傳也。 間有

一吟[9]一詠散落人寰， 殘碑斷碣， 異聞雜紀，何可

勝計。 嘗鼎一臠固知其美，終不若過屠門大嚼

之爲快。是集之編，蒐羅包括，靡所不備。凡唐人

所作，上自聖製下及俚歌、 郊廟、 軍旅、 宴饗、 道塗、

感事、 送行、 傷時、 弔古、 慶賀、 哀挽、 遷謫、隱淪、 宮怨、

閨情、 閑居、 邊思、 風月、 雨雪、 草木、 禽魚， 莫不類聚，

而昕分之。 雖不足追“思無邪”之盛要，皆由人心

以出。非盡背於情性之正者也。昔荊公嘗選唐

Page 2a

人三百家爲一集，名曰詩選。姚鉉作唐文粹序

亦謂有唐詩類選、 英靈、 閒氣、 極元[10]、 又元 等集皆

有去取於其間，非集錄之大全也。 雪林李君 [龍 over 廾][11]

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[8] Amalgamated reference to sun and moon, Xihe 羲和 and Chang'e 嫦娥.

[9] Have emended *jin*4 [口+金], for which see *HD* 3.389, to *yin* 吟 in order to restore the set phrase *yi yin yi yong* 一吟一詠 'each individual piece of verse.'

[10] *Yuan* is a substitute employed by Ruan Yuan to avoid the taboo on *xuan* 玄, a name for members of the Qing royal family. For example, Kangxi's (1662-1722) personal name was Xuanye 玄曄. See Wang Yankun 王彥坤 ed., *Lidai bihuizi huidian* 歷代避諱字匯典(Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1997), 514.

嗜唐詩，窮一生以爲工。 予既畢舉子業口[12]先公

俾學詩，每相與講論，歎諸家不可盡見，因發吾

家藏，手出鋼[13]目，合訂分類，志成此編。宦轍東西，

軸囑李君， 足成之，旁收逸墜，募致平生所未見

者。得一千三百五十三家， 四萬七百九十一首，

大略備矣， 列爲若干卷。 蓋首尾十餘年而後畢。

繕而藏之， 予懼成之之難而失之之易也。 行必

Page 2b

攜[14]以自隧，公暇時復倒[15]篋繙閱[16]。因謀鋟梓庋焉。

後之覽是集者如入建章而睹千門萬戶之富，

動心駭目，迷不知其所從。 若夫嗜胾而雋[17]其永，

啜醴而咀其醇，則在君子之自得而已。 咸淳改

元正月十五日趙孟奎書。

Translation of preface to *Fenmen zuanlei Tanggeshi*

That songs originated in the rectification of emotion and human nature, is [an idea] which certainly goes back a long way. People cannot live without music, [when they hear] music,

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[11] Not in *HD*, see *DKW* 48823, *gong* (龍 over 廾) supposed to be the same meaning as *que*4 愨 (*HD* 7.670), meaning simple, respectful or honest. *DKW* takes its entry from the *Shuowen*.
[12] The missing space is a sign of respect toward his father, whom he now talks about.
[13] Here Ruan Yuan employs a Qing dynasty variant of *gang* 鋼, for which see *HD* 11.1371. *Jin* 金 on the left, on the right *mu* 目(rotated 90 degrees) over *zheng* 正.
[14] The character in the text is missing the *shan* 山 on the right, this is a valid variant of *xie* 攜, see *HD* 6.961.
[15] *Dao* is to be read with falling tone here.
[16] Homonym for *fanyue* 翻閱, meaning 'to turn the pages and read,' or 'flip through the pages and read.'
[17] Have emended *sui*3 嶵 to *juan* 雋 which is visually similar, in order to restore the allusion to *juanyong*, see note 33 below.

then [they start] singing, [when they] sing, then [they start] swaying – the songs are the means by which [people] are inspired [to do these things].[18]

Generations [may] rise and fall, [but] emotions and human are timeless and songs have never passed away. Confucius culled the songs, selected and fixed [a canon of] 300 poems in order to make the *Book* [*of Songs*]. The sound of the Odes and the Elegances rings through Heaven and Earth, shaking the ghosts and spirits. The serving officials of that entire age certainly had talent and art enough to identify those Airs of the ranked states. Wives and unmarried women, commoners and those of base status whose works have the slightest bit of literary excellence, none of their works were rejected. There are only five Elegances in the *shang* mode,[19] but 'Tranquility' is in first place.[20] Zheng Kaofu[21] obtained them from Zhou Taishi [the Grand Preceptor of the Zhou dynasty],[22] and Confucius avidly preserved them. Even the lost poems recorded by Mister Zuo, such as 'Thatch owl'[23] and prayers to summon spirits, were still no

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[18] This is an allusion to the *Liji*. See Wang Meng'ou 王夢鷗, annot., *Liji jinzhu jinyi* 禮記今註今譯 (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1974), 133-34. See also James Legge's translation of this passage, in *The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism*, Part III; The Lî Kî, I-X (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), 176-78.

[19] *Shang* is the second note in the pentatonic scale. Songs which began in the *shang* mode had the reputation for being songs of sorrow. A musician sees how sad Duke Huan of Qi is, and strikes up a song to suit his sad mood. This is a reference to the *Huainanzi* 12. See *A Concordance to the* Huainanzi (Hong Kong: Commerical Press, 1992), 109. For the conclusion that the pentatonic scale (of notes named *gong* 宮, *shang* 商, *jiao* 角, *zhi* 徵 and *yu* 羽) was in use in China no later than the fourth century B.C., see Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* vol. 4, part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 161.

[20] *Yi nuo wei shou*. This expression comes from one of the prefaces to the *Maoshi*. See *Maoshi* 20.11a in *Jingkan Tang Kaicheng shijing* 景刊唐開成石經 vol. 1 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1997). Photoreprint of 837 edition. Which says 'When Zheng Kaofu received the twenty *shang* and *gong* compositions from the music master of Zhou, he placed the tune 'Tranquility' in first place.' *Na* here is pronounced *nuo2*, meaning tranquility or peacefulness.

[21] Zheng Kaofu was one of Confucius' ancestors. See *Zuozhuan* Zhaogong 昭公 7, in *A Concordance to the* Chunqiu Zuozhuan (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1995), 340. During the Spring and Autumn period, he was a native of the state of Song. Zheng's son took his own name, Kong, as a surname and emigrated to the state of Lu to escape oppression. For Confucius' genealogy, see *Shiji* 47.1907-08.

[22] One of the three highest officials in the Zhou 周 court, responsible for the education of the Heir Apparent, to include selecting suitable music and poetry. See Ruan Yuan, ed. *Shisanjing zhushu* (*Shangshu zhengyi*) 十三經注疏 (尚書正義) 18.123 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1980).

[23] See *Zuozhuan* Xianggong 28, "Muzi was unhappy, he had a craftsman sing the Thatched Owl tune for him" 穆子不說, 使工爲之誦茅鴟. Then Du Yu 杜預 comments, 'Here "craftsman" refers to a master musician, Maozhi is a lost poem, poetry fragment, which is attacked and not respected [because it was omitted from the *Book of Songs*].' See *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhushu* 春秋左轉註疏 38.37a. Mao Jin print edition of 1638. The best explanation is probably by the Tang poet Qiu Guangting 丘光庭 who explains why Confucius did not include the poem in the *Shijing*, and attempts to re-write the poem as a literary exercise. See *Quan Tangshi* 768.8716.

more than the least pebble[24] on Mt. Tai.[25] It was not a case of selecting the stars while leaving the sun and moon behind. With the songs, however, it was not the case that Confucius did not dare to omit them. The ones he omitted were pretenders. Streams come together to form seas, treasures gathered together form a mountain, so to gather the poems of an age to make up a collection is simply following that principle. Prose was the model for the whole Tang dynasty,[26] but poetry too was accomplished. Du Zimei [Du Fu (712-770)], Li Taibai [Li Bo (701-762)], Han Tuizhi [Han Yu (768-824)], Liu Zihou [Liu Zongyuan (773-819)]; people praise their words, households own [copies of] their collections, so there is no need to hand them down to posterity by gathering in categories individual pieces of verse. Dispersed in the realm of men are stele fragments, broken inscriptions, extraordinary things heard and miscellaneous records too numerous to count. By trying a morsel of fish from the tripod one may certainly taste its exquisite flavor, but it can never be as good as the pleasure of passing by the butcher's gate and chewing.[27] This collection has been compiled comprehensively, nothing has been left out. Every composition by a Tang person, from the emperors' compositions down to the songs of the district, the outskirts and the temples; military campaigns; the banquets; the highways and byways; moving [emotional] events; sending off on journeys; grieving for the present time; mourning the ancients; celebrations and congratulations; funeral dirges; promotions and demotions; living in obscurity; palace resentments; women's feelings; living in seclusion [retirement]; homesickness on the frontier; wind and moon; rain and snow; herbs and trees; birds and fish; all have been gathered into

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For a study of recitation of the *Shijing* in the *Zuozhuan*, to include a discussion of the omitted poems, see Chang Su-ch'ing 張素卿, *Zuozhuan chengshi yanjiu* 左傳稱詩研究 (Taibei: Taida chuban weiyuanhui, 1991), 21-24.

[24] *Haomang* is a term unto itself. The very least particle, the tiny tip of a feather (one strand). Here 'like the tiniest pebble, particle of a great mountain.'

[25] That is, Confucius, in Zhao's opinion, truly did record and transmit everything worth preserving.

[26] *Yi wang fa* 一王法. This is a set expression for which, see *Xin Tangshu* 126.5725-26.

[27] This alludes to a remark Cao Zhi 曹植 once made, 'When you pass the butcher's gate and chew, you may not get any meat, but you still enjoy [relish] the thought of it.' See 'Yu Wu Jichong shu' 與吳季重書, '過屠門而大嚼, 雖不得肉, 貴且快意,' *Wenxuan* 42.15b.

categories for the purposes of clear distinction. Although they are unworthy of aspiring to the magnificent formula 'free of perverse thoughts,'[28] they all emerged from people's hearts. It is not the case that they go against orthodoxy in emotion and human nature. In times past Jinggong[29] (Wang Anshi) once selected three hundred Tang poets to make a collection, titled *Selection of Poems*. Yao Xuan wrote the preface to *Essence of Tang Prose*, wherein he also stated that the collections *Heyue yingling ji*, *Zhongxing jianqi ji*, *Jixuan ji*, *Youxuan ji* etc.[30] are all selective - they are not full and comprehensive collections of transmitted material. Li Gong,[31] also named Xuelin, had such a taste for Tang poetry that he dedicated his life to it. When I had completed my formal education, my [dearly departed] father made me study poetry, and on each occasion in which we discussed poems, we would sigh that [one] could not see all of the masters' works. Accordingly I have opened up my family's [book] collection, written out a table of contents, brought them together by topics, my intention was to make this compilation. As my official travels led me east and west, I have followed in the footsteps of Master Li, which was sufficient to complete the work. I gathered up from all sides the [poems] which have been dropped or lost [unconsidered trifles], anything I had never seen before in my entire life. I obtained 1,353 poets; 40,791 poems, so the grand design was complete, ranked in so many chapters. From beginning to end it took more than 10 years to complete. And after I had written a fair copy, and stored it away, I was terrified by how difficult it had been to complete, and how easy it could be to lose. When I travelled I

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[28] This is the expression Confucius used in reference to the content and quality of the *Book of Songs*, that they were without evil or depraved thoughts. In *Lunyu* 2.2 'Weizheng 爲政' : 子曰, "詩三百，一言蔽之，曰 '思無邪.'" See *A Concordance to the* Lunyu, (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1995), 2.

[29] Reference to Wang Anshi, and the collection he supposedly compiled *Tang baijia shixuan*.

[30] These are all collections of Tang poetry compiled during the dynasty.

[31] Li Gong (fl. 1258), *zi* Hefu 和父, alternate *zi* Zhongfu 仲甫, *hao* Xuelin 雪林, a native of Lize 笠澤 (present day Wujiang, Jiangsu) who chose not to pursue an official career. For biographical information on Li Gong, see *Songshi yi* 宋史翼 36.22b (*XXSKQS* ed.) and *Songshi jishi* 71.15b (*SKQS* ed.). An imitator of the poetry of Yuan Zhen and Bo Juyi, he compiled a number of collections of Tang poetry, some of which are still extant such as the *Jianxiao ji* 翦綃集 and *Tang seng hongxiu ji* 唐僧弘秀集 (*SKQS* vol. 1356, p. 862 (aka preface 1a,b) has a date of Baoyou 6 寶祐 (1258)).

invariably carried it with me so that in my leisure time away from official duties, I would empty the box and browse through the work. I then made plans to have blocks carved and stored away in order to preserve them. For the future readers of this collection, it will be like entering the Jianzhang Palace,[32] seeing the thousands upon ten thousands of doors [gates] they will be so stirred and dazzled that they will be confused and not know how to make their way. When it comes to savoring the permanence[33] of such generous [literary] morsels in this collection and smacking one's lips at the sweetness of the wine [brew?], it lies simply in the true gentleman's own powers of perception. Xianchun change of era, first month, fifteenth day, [February 2, 1265] written by Zhao Mengkui.

Translation of Xin Wenfang's short thesis on Tang women writers[34]

The [Mao preface to the] *Book of Songs* says: " The song ''Guan guan,' cry the ospreys,' celebrates the finding of a tender young maiden as a suitable mate for a gentleman. Its excellence is in advancing virtue without making her beauty salacious. It eulogizes the purity and seclusion [of the maiden], longs for capableness and talent [of the gentleman], without causing offence to virtue."[35] Hence it is the way of ancient poems, each of which preserves the Six Principles [Airs, Odes, Elegances, as well as Rhapsody, Simile and Metaphor], so it is the case that they all return to the upright [path], they are not estranged from [the principle of]

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[32] A Han dynasty palace.
[33] Kuai Tong 蒯通 (3rd c. B.C.) of Fanyang 范陽. An expert in situational strategy, he wrote about the rise and fall of pre-imperial kingdoms in his work *Juanyong* 雋永. The work is not extant. The title later became a metaphor for literary excellence, 'savory permanence,' which is how Zhao Mengkui employs it here. For Kuai Tong's biography, see *Hanshu* 45.2159; for an English translation, see Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods (221BC-AD 24)*, 212-13.
[34] *Tang caizizhuan jiaojian*, 332.
[35] See (Tang) Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 elucidation of the preface to the Mao edition of the *Shijing*, in *Maoshi zhengyi* 毛詩正義 1 in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經註疏 vol. 1 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1999), 21. *Lunyu* 3.20 mentions that this particular song is beautiful without being salacious. See *A Concordance to the Lunyu*, 6.

Elegance. Thus we had in the past those capable wives who dispersed their emotions in ink and on paper, resulting in numerous works on bamboo tablets. I briefly summarize them here, later on Lady Ban[36] obtained temporary sympathy for her agony with the poem "Autumn Fan." Xie E [Xie Daoyun] sang of the same whiteness that willow floss and snow [shared].[37] Dajia's [Ban Gu] "Seven Admonitions," those who implement them are able to regulate themselves; Cai Yan's[38] 'Songs of a Nomad Flute,' hear it and your heart twists [to breaking point]. Exercising reason and clarity, and a virtuous sincerity, they showed far-sightedness, and circulated their writings as a means to proclaim their sentiments, they hold the brushes in their mouths while contemplating what to write, then pour out their intent. This was by no means a flood of nonsense! Their works caused people to clap their hands [in time to the beat] and benefit from [the poems], snap their fingers and long for them, this is the very definition of perfection. Alas, brush and ink are certainly not [the proper] business of women, for those who do employ them, all depends on how they made use of them.

If heaven's supervision could be avoided, and if propriety could be less than perfect, then lyrics [by women] could be completely for one's own amusement, among [their] songs are those with jealous sentiments, about clothes and drinking wine, which lack any façade of elegance or purity, and are filled instead with face powder and moisturizing cream, greatly adorned with jewelry, all of which could be deemed inappropriate. This spreads evil to the masses - where is the propriety of '"Guan guan," cry the ospreys'? Having viewed the elegant poems of reputable Tang literati on many occasions, and the [scent of the] flowers of the ladies' apartments, which also waft into these collections with their exquisite thoughts and elegant language, emotions and character of a lady [fragrant orchid], one may also

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[36] Lady Ban (ca. 48 – ca. 6 B.C.) See *Wenxuan* 27.17a,b and *WWTC*, 17-21.
[37] For the original anecdote, see *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian* 2.71. See also Richard Mather's translation, *A New Account of Tales of the World*, 64 and note 1.
[38] Cai Yan (176?-early third century). For her biography and the 'Songs of the Nomad Flute' in English, see *WWTC*, 22-30.

appreciate [these feminine qualities]. Among those [ladies] there are Li Jilan and Yu Xuanji, who tread beyond the pale [of the secular world] and practice the teachings of Pure and Clear [Daoism], they happily write about their innermost thoughts, or endless wanderings in time and space, which show the achievements of many hours of carefree leisure, there's not a one which does not have thoughts of clouds and rivers, they are on a par with famous Confucians, pearls and jades which come and go [together]. Yet they interject their fickle and seductive desires, none of which they can realize [or subdue], herein lies the tiny flaw in what would otherwise be a perfect white jade disk.

Xue Tao became a social outcast with her songs and dances, and was famous in her own time for her clever repartee, this too is a rare [achievement]. The three cannot be omitted [from any account of Tang poetry], those [others] such as Liu Yuan, Liu Yun, Bao Junhui, Cui Zhongrong, Daoist Yuan Chun, Xue Wen, Cui Gongda, Zhang Yaotiao, Cheng Changwen, Liang Qiong, Lian shi, Yao Yuehua, Pei Yuxian, Liu Yao, Chang Hao, Ge Ya'er, Cui Yingying, Tan Yige, Zhang furen, Zhang Wenji, Du Gao's wife (Zhao shi), Zhang Jianfeng's concubine (Mianmian), Nan Chucai's wife (Xue Yuan), all were capable of flowery language, equally endowed with talent and beauty. Some hoped for the bliss of leaving the palace [harem], having suffered at the hands of a favorite and relegated to an out of the way apartment; some on account of [their husbands] enlisting in the army and being posted thousands of miles away, lost all contact with them; some had labored for years, roaming amid winds and rivers; some were the wives of [long-term] drifters, whiles some became merchants' wives. Flowers in the rain and spring nights, moonlit dew and autumn skies, a swallow at the brink of death [due to loss of mate?], and geese coming [home] to roost. Grinding isabelline jade into paint, weaving palindromic poems into pale yellow silks, souls dreaming of flying afar, through mountain passes to hard to reach places. At such times as

these, they dipped their writing brushes in ink and unrolled their scrolls [paper], to write of their laments and their reminiscences. Every word, every couplet could make tears fall. Among [these words and couplets] there is an abundance of flowery language, mixed in with [works which are] delicate and luxuriant in the right proportion,[39] leading toward illicit assignations, telling of passions held in abeyance for a long time, instead of employing green-stringed zithers [setting their feelings to music], they choose to scribble them down on crimson notes. Such [a release of emotion] was inevitable. A ruler [yardstick] might be too short, yet an inch might be too long, therefore I have no intention of suppressing [any of] them.[40]

The short biography of Yao Yuehua[41]

姚月華小傳

姚氏女月華，少失母。忽夢月輪墜于粧臺，覺而大悟。自幼聰慧，組織饋饎，不習而能，獨未嘗讀書。自此搦管，便有所得，其所爲古文，詞妙絕當。時隨父寓于楊子江。時端午，江上有龍舟之戲，月華出看。近舟有書生楊達，見其素腕褰帘，結五色彩于逃脫，鬢髮如漆，玉鳳斜簪，巧笑美盼，容色艷冶，達神魂飛蕩，然非敢望也。每日懷思，因制曲序其邂逅，名曰《泛龍舟》。一日月

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[39] *Xiannong* is a term of poetry criticism from Sikong Tu (837-908), *Shipin*. See Sun Liankui 孫聯奎 and Yang Tingzhi 楊廷芝, *Sikong Tu* Shipin *jieshuo erzhong* 司空圖 詩品解說二種 (Shandong: Qilu shushe, 1980), 14-15 and 89-90.

[40] The phrase may be interpreted more liberally as 'they all have their shortcomings as well as their merits'. Xin Wenfang takes most of his final argument from the *Shiji*. See *Shiji* 73.2342 and 122.3147. The phrase *chuimai* literally means to beat, kill and bury something.

[41] From Wang Shizhen 王世貞, *Yanyibian* 艷異編, *xuji* 續編, chapter 4 (Xi'an: Taibai wenyi chubanshe, 2000), 700-702. Feng Menglong, *Qingshi leilüe* 3.29b – 31b, *Feng Menglong quanji* vol. 37, ed. Wei Tongxian 魏同賢 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 244, also contains a similar biography of Yao Yuehua.

華見達《昭君[42]怨》詩，愛其"匣中縱有菱花鏡，羞向單于照舊顏"句，情不能已，遂私命侍兒乞其舊稿，且寄詩一紙，題曰《古怨》，云：

江水悠悠春草綠，對此思君淚相續。

羞將離恨向東風，理盡瑤琴不成曲。[43]

楊出于非望，樂不可言，立綴艷詩體，以致其情。自以遂各以尺牘往來。月華每得達書，有密語，皆伏讀數過，燒灰入醇酎飲之，謂之"款中散"。

一日，達飲于姚氏，酒酣假寐。月華私命侍兒送合歡竹鈿枕，溫涼草文席，皆其香閣中物也。達雖然心蕩，亦無可奈何，遂悵然而歸。次日晨，月華以石華[44]遺達，云："出丹洞玉池，異於他處，色如水晶清明而瑩，久服延年。"達以詞誦之曰：

"青樓仙女隔蓬萊，珠樹[45]金窗向曉開；

燕子羽毛非廣袖，殷勤也帶石花來。"

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[42] This poem appears twice in *Quan Tangshi*. See 291.3308 and 776.8788. In the first entry, the poem is attributed to Yang Ling 楊凌, based on previous attributions in *Youxuan ji*, *Tang yulan shi*, *Yuefu shiji* and *Tangshi jishi*. In the second entry it is attributed to Yang Da 楊達. For the observation that the Yang Da attribution has no known source or basis, see *Quan Tangshi chongchu wushou kao*, 261. The *Quan Tangshi* compilers adapted an abbreviated form of this Ming narrative for their biography of Yao Yuehua.

[43] This poem is attributed to Yao Yuehua in *Caidiao ji* 10. See *Tangren xuan Tangshi xinbian*, 960-61.

[44] *Shihua* are oysters which grow on rocks in the sea. Li Shan has an annotation to *shihua* in the *Wenxuan* 12.13b. See piece 28, 12.13b; alt. reference on piece 113, 22.12a.

[45] Both the *Shanhaijing* and *Huainanzi* refer to pearl trees as immortals plants of the heavenly realm or paradise in Kunlun. See Yuan Ke, *Shanhaijing jiaozhu* 11.350-51.

然月華雖工於組織，亦巧於丹青。凡花卉翎毛，世所鮮及。筆札之暇，聊復自娛，人不可得而見也。

一日，正揮毫畫芙蓉匹鳥圖，忽侍兒持達箋至，上云：“奉送不律隃麋[46]。”二女侍在側問曰：“不律隃麋，何也？”曰：“楚謂之聿，吳謂之不律，燕謂之弗，皆筆名也。漢人有墨，名曰隃麋”。遂受之。答以所畫芙蓉圖。達見其約略濃淡[47]，生態逼真，喜不自持，覓銀光紙[48]裁書謝之，其大略云：[49]

連枝欲長，忽阻山蹊，比翼將翎，遽乖雲路。

思結章臺垂柳，心馳普救啼鶯。

幸傳尺素之丹青，豈任寸心之銘刻。

江湖恍在案，波浪忽翻窗。

植寫斷腸，飛揮交頸。

繭紙發其枝幹，兔管借之羽毛。

雌戲蘋川，雄依苔石。色與露花同照爛，

翼將風葉共低昂。明鏡曉開，苦憶文君之面，疏螢

夜度，遙思織女之機。所冀吾人，獲同斯畫。越溪吳

水之上，常得雙開；漢樹秦艸之間，永教對舞。

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[46] Yumi basically refers to black ink. Yumi was originally a place name referring to Qianyang 千陽, Shaanxi province, renowned for its ink ‘Yumi ink.’

[47] See the term 淡粧濃抹, refers to two modes of adornment and decoration, one light and elegant, the other thick heavy gaudy and lurid, seductive allure.

[48] This is probably a special type of paper, but it is as yet unidentified.

[49] This poem remains unidentified - it is not listed in *Quan Tangshi* at all.

月華讀之，稱賞不已，以灑海刺[50]二尺贈達曰："爲郎作履，凡履霜雪，則應履而解，乃西蕃物也。"又貼詩曰：

金刀剪紫絨，與郎作輕履。

願化雙仙鳧，飛來入閨裏。

蓋達與月華雖文翰相通，而終未一晤，至是，見詩心醉若狂，乃賂女侍而得一會焉。臨別，謂月華曰："少日即來。"不覺爽約。及至，姚不即見。楊戲書一句，調之曰："女姚雖美，只如半朵桃花。"姚正怒，索筆對曰："人信爲高，莫費一翻言說。"楊愈奇之，遂至往來無間。凡久會，謂之"大會"；暫會，謂之"小會"。又大會，謂之"鶼[51]鶼會"；小會，謂之"白[益+鳥][52]會"。而歡洽正濃，忽其父有江右[53]之遣，已買舟於水畔矣。彼此倉皇，無計可緩，遂怏怏而別。

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[50] Earliest known references in Chinese date to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See Cao Zhao 曹昭, *Xinzeng ge gu yao lun* 新增格古要論 8.3a (Edition of 1462, reprinted in 1471. In Bodleian Library, Oxford Sinica collection 3704. 灑海刺出西番絨毛者闊三尺許緊厚如氈西蕃亦貴. Percival David translates this in his book *Chinese Connoisseurship*, 151: 'This woolen material comes from the Western Barbarian Region. It is about three feet wide, tightly woven, and as thick as a blanket. It is expensive, even where it is produced.' David adds that *sahaila* is a transliteration of a Malay word, *sakelat*. See Ma Huan 馬歡 (fl. 1414-1451) *Yingya shenglan jiaozhu* 瀛涯勝覽校注, annot. Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞 (Beijing: ZHSJ, 1955), 56. Henry Yule, a nineteenth-century British army officer, identified 'sakallat' as one of Persian provenance. See Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases* (Sittingbourne, Kent: Linguasia, 1994 ed.), 861 (under suclát). Reprint of the 1903 ed. The modern English words 'scarlet' and 'sackcloth' both descend from 'sakallat.' I am grateful to Glen Dudbridge for this last reference.

[51] The jian1 bird has only one eye and one wing. Only when linked with its mate can this mythical bird see or fly. It serves as a metaphor for conjugal affection. From the *Erya* 9. See *A Concordance to the* Erya (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1995), 81 and note 8.

[52] For yi4 itself, see *HD* 12.1139, for a white yi4, see *HD* 8.215. A white aquatic bird, larger than an egret, capable of flying at high altitudes, shaped like a cormorant or a yuying 魚鷹, a fish eating bird. This mythical bird has only to look at its mate to get pregnant. See Shi Kuang 師曠, *Qinjing* 禽經 (single *juan*), p. 8b (*SKQS* ed.). In addition, pictures of these birds were at times painted on the prows of boats, and it came to be a loan word for the boat itself.

[53] Jiangyou originally referred to Wuhu, Anhui and Nanjing, Jiangsu and the area of the Changjiang to the west of these places. Later on it became a general reference to Jiangxi province.

月華至舟，雙眉雲鎖，兩頰花愁，而飲食懨懨減矣。乃效徐淑體綴成一詞，而猶多悲怨，以寄達，曰：

妾生兮不辰，盛年兮逢屯。

寒暑兮心結，夙夜兮眉顰。

循環兮不息，如彼兮車輪。

車輪兮可歇，妾心兮焉伸。

雜沓兮無緒，如彼兮絲棼。

絲棼兮可理，妾心兮焉分。

空閨兮岑寂，粧閣兮生塵。

萱草兮徙樹，茲憂兮豈泯。

幸逢兮君子，許結兮殷勤。

香兮兮剪髮，贈玉兮共珍。

指天兮結誓，願爲兮一身。

所遭兮多舛，玉體兮難親。

損飧兮減寢，帶緩兮羅裙。

菱鑒兮慵啓，博鑪兮焉董。

整襪兮欲舉，塞路兮荊榛。

逢人兮欲語，齩匝兮頑嚚。

煩冤兮憑胸，何時兮何論。

願君兮見察，妾死兮何瞋。

達讀之嗚咽不勝，幾絕者數四。

後達復至其舊院，惟見雙燕斜飛，落英滿地而已。遂亦整裝於江右蹤跡之，亦竟無可查矣。嘗爲友語及之，猷嗚嗚泣下云。

Translation of the short biography of Yao Yuehua

When Yuehua, a daughter of the Yao family, was a young girl, her mother passed away. Almost immediately [after her mother's death] she dreamt that the [full] moon descended to her dressing table [as her mirror], and upon waking up, she became a natural genius.[54] From an early age she was clever and wise, she mastered spinning, weaving and cooking and brewing alcohol without a single lesson;[55] the only thing she had never done any formal study of books. But from this time, no sooner did she take a brush in hand but she produced results. Her ancient prose was subtle and felicitous in its phrasing. On one occasion she went with her father and took up residence beside the Yangzi river. At that time it was the festival of the fifth day of the fifth month, and on the river there was the entertainment of the dragon boat races, which Yuehua went out to watch. In a boat close by was a young scholar Yang Da. He noticed her pale wrists lifting up the screen, the delicate interplay of the many colors on her bracelets, her black hair with the luster of lacquer, jade phoenix hair clasps [slightly] askew, her bewitching smile and coy glances, her face had a seductive allure; [all these qualities] set Da's soul aflutter, but she was not someone to whom he dared to aspire. Every day he thought of her, so he composed a tune to tell of his unexpected encounter with her which he titled "Drifting Dragon Boats." One day she saw Yang Da's poem, "Zhaojun's

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[54] Literally, 'enlightened.' But Buddhist enlightenment is not meant here. Yuehua became a natural genius or prodigy, someone who acquires new skills effortlessly.

[55] Usually a mother would have trained her daughter how to weave, sew, prepare food and pour wine. But Yao Yuehua, as a gift from Chang'e the moon goddess, was given these capabilities to make up for the loss of her mother.

Resentment," and she treasured the line, "Although there is a caltrop-blossom mirror[56] in my dressing case, I am too ashamed to contemplate my former beauty in it now that I am in the presence of the Khan," and her emotions were so uncontrollable that she secretly ordered a servant to go beg for his old manuscripts, moreover she sent one of her poems, with the title "A Past Resentment," which went like this:

The river in the distance, and the green grass of spring;
I look at these and think of you, a constant stream of tears.

Too ashamed to shift my lament over parting toward the east wind;[57]
I do my best with the precious inlaid zither, but the song won't come out.

Yang gave up the idea that it was all just a wild hope, and he was so happy he was speechless; he immediately composed some poems of a seductive type, to tell her of his passion. From then on, they passed notes back and forth. Each time Yuehua received one of Da's letters, which contained riddles, she would crouch over [for fear of anyone else seeing them] to read them all several times. [When she was done] she would burn them and put the ashes into a fine wine which she then drank. She called it 'dissolved in grande marque.'

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[56] Note that Zhao Feiyan also held one of these caltrop mirrors in her possession, she received it when she was promoted to *jieyu*. See *Zhao Feiyan waizhuan*. In *Quan Tangshi* 291.3308 this couplet is attributed to Yang Ling 楊凌, *zi* Gonglu 恭履. The poem is listed twice in *QTS*, also under Yang Da at 776.8788. Yang Ling's official biography is in *Xin Tangshu* 160.4971; a chapter of his poems is included in QTS 291.3305ff. For an anecdote, see *Nanbu xinshu* 2.12. *Tangshi jishi* 28.436 contains a copy of this poem under Yang Ling's name.
[57] See Pin-ch'ing Hu, *Li Ch'ing-chao* (New York: Twayne, 1966). Li Qingzhao often refered to her mother-in-law as the harsh east wind. Perhaps Yuehua is doing something similar here, saying that she is too ashamed to face her father with the news that she has fallen in love with a young man.

One day, Da was drinking at the Yao [home, during a large social gathering],[58] and when he'd drunk to his heart's content, he took a nap. Yuehua secretly ordered a servant to bring over to him a double-tip bamboo filigree cushion and an all-weather patterned grass mat, both items came from her boudoir. Although Da's heart was all aflutter there was nothing he could do, and he subsequently returned home in disappointment. Early the next day, Yuehua sent Da oysters[59] with the message, "Oysters from Cinnabar Cavern and the Jade Pond,[60] differ from those of other places, as beautiful as water crystals, so pure and clear, long term consumption of these will extend your life." Da thanked her with a poem:

The immortal maiden in the green mansion, sequestered in Penglai,
where pearl trees and golden windows open out to the dawn.
The feathers of a swallow are not wide sleeves,[61]
Yet still, with great diligence, they bring forth these oysters.

Yuehua was not only adept at sewing and weaving – she was also a skillful painter.[62] All the birds and beasts,[63] flowers and grasses [which she painted] her generation could rarely match. She painted in her leisure time in order to amuse herself, these paintings were not for the eyes of the public.

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[58] Given that Yuehua's father is an official, it is only to be expected that he would have large social gatherings in his home, even though the text does not explicitly spell this out.
[59] Edward Schafer, in his study of pharmacological literature, points out that Daoists regarded oysters as superior drugs capable of lightening the body and lengthening life. See his work, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 178.
[60] That is, the realm of the immortals.
[61] That is, not of the same order as garments woven from cotton or silk, the types of baggy-sleeved garments that humans would wear and use to carry things.
[62] Literally, 'adept with reds and blues.'
[63] Literally, 'feathers and fur.'

One day just as she was plying her brush on a painting of hibiscus and a pair of mandarin ducks, suddenly a servant arrived carrying a note from Da. The note said, "In all humbleness I present you with this brush and ink." The two maidservants by her side asked, " 'Bulü' and 'yumi', what do they mean?" She replied, "In the kingdom of Chu, it was called a 'yu', in Wu it was called a 'bulü', and in Yan it was called 'fu', they are all names of brushes. The men of Han had a type of ink, which was named 'Yumi'." She accepted the gift, then sent her hibiscus painting as a reply. When Da observed its minimalist [style] in dense and light ink, and its liveliness and truth to nature, he could not contain himself for delight. He took 'silver-bright' paper, cut it, and wrote a letter to thank her ....

Yuehua read it with unbounded appreciation. She presented him with strong woolen fabric two feet long from the west, with this comment, 'This is to make slippers for you; whenever you tread on frost or snow, it will melt in response to your footsteps, it is a product from Tibet.' In addition, she attached this poem:

With metal scissors I trim soft purple threads
To make you these light slippers.
If only they could be transformed into a pair of wild ducks
To fly into the women's quarters [at will].

Da and Yuehua, although they had been in contact through writing, they never yet met face to face. But now, when he saw this poem, his heart was intoxicated to the point of madness, by bribing a servant girl he obtained a [face to face] meeting with her. Just as they were about to part, he told Yuehua, "I will come again in a few days' time." Unexpectedly he broke his promise. When he [finally] arrived, Yao did not immediately receive him. Yang playfully wrote one line to tease her: "the Yao girl, though pretty, is merely like half a peach

blossom."[64] Yao was truly angry. She called for a brush and replied, "Those who keep their promises are real gentlemen - do not waste another word trying to explain." Yang all the more regarded her as remarkable. And subsequently it came about that their intercourse was constant. Every long assignation was called a major assignation, brief assignations were called minor ones. Long assignations were also called meetings where they were as inseparable as the linked birds of myth. Minor assignations were also called the fleeting encounter of cormorants. Just as their mutual joy was most abundant, suddenly, her father had to travel to Jiangyou [Jiangxi] on official business, indeed he had already purchased a boat at the river bank. The two [lovers] were in a panic, but they had no way of delaying [the departure]. In deep sorrow, they bid each other farewell.

When Yuehua arrived at the boat, both her eyebrows were knit [with grief] and both cheeks tinged with a beautiful sorrow. While she steadily reduced her food and drink.... She then composed a lyric in the style of Xu Shu's,[65] which was very sad and resentful, which she sent to Da....

Da read it with choked sobs he could not subdue. He almost fainted several times [before he could read the poem through].

Later on, Da went back to her former home, but all he saw was a pair of swallows flying overhead, and fallen flowers covering the ground. Da then also packed up to go to Jiangyou [Jiangxi] and tried to find her, but in the end there was no trace to follow. When he once mentioned this to a friend, he still sobbed and sobbed, shedding a multitude of tears, they say.

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[64] Insinuating that there needed to be two of them together to make a whole.

[65] A reference to the correspondence between Qin Jia 秦嘉 (fl. ca. 147 and his wife, Xu Shu 徐淑. Their poems are some of the earliest masterpieces of literary exchanges between husband and wife. For poems they exchanged, see Xu Ling, *Yutai xinyong jianzhu* 1.30; for those poems in English, see Birrell, *New Songs*, 54-56.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	**Name**	**Name in pinyin**	**Alternate names**	**# poems in Zhongxing jianqi ji**	**# poems in Youxuan ji**	**Other sources**	**# poems in Caidiao ji**
2	李季蘭	Li Jilan	Li Ye 李冶	6	2		9
3	元淳	Yuan Chun		0	2		2
4	張夫人	Zhang furen		0	2		2
5	崔仲容	Cui Zhongrong		0	2		2
6	鮑君徽	Bao Junhui		0	2		1
7	趙氏	Zhao shi		0	1		2
8	張窈窕	Zhang Yaotiao		0	1		2
9	常浩	Chang Hao		0	1		2
10	蔣蘊	Jiang Yun		0	2		2
11	劉媛	Liu Yuan		0	1		1
12	廉氏	Lian shi		0	1		2
13	張琰	Zhang Yan		0	2		2
14	崔公達	Cui Gongda	Cui Gongyuan遠	0	1		1
15	宋若昭	Song Ruozhao		0	1		0
16	宋若茵	Song Ruoyin		0	1		0
17	田娥	Tian E		0	1		0
18	薛陶	Xue Tao	Xue Tao 薛濤	0	2		3
19	劉雲	Liu Yun		0	1		2
20	葛鴉兒	Ge Ya'er	葛鴉兒	0	1	Benshi shi (0)	1
21	張文姬	Zhang Wenji		0	2		2
22	程長文	Cheng Changwen		0	1		3
23	魚玄機	Yu Xuanji		0	1		9
24	梁瓊	Liang Qiong		0	0		3
25	姚月華	Yao Yuehua		0	0		2
26	裴羽仙	Pei Yuxian		0	0		2
27	劉瑤	Liu Yao		0	0		3
28	薛媛	Xue Yuan		0	0	Yunxi youyi (1)	1
29	盼盼	Xixi	Mianmian 眄眄	0	0	Boshi Changqingji (0)	1
30	崔鶯鶯	Cui Yingying	瑩瑩	0	0	Yingying zhuan (3)	1
31							
32	**Totals**			**6**	**31**		**63**

	A	B	C	D
1	**Name**	**# poems in WYYH**	**Titles of poems in WYYH**	**Location of poems in WYYH**
2	李季蘭	4	Hu shang wo bing xi Lu Hongjian zhi; Ji jiaoshu shi jiu xiong; Song Han Kui zhi Jiangxi; Cong Xiao Shuzi tan qin	256.8a (2x); 274.7a; 334.5b
3	元淳	0		
4	張夫人	3	Guyi (2x) and Liu xu	205.6a; 323.10a; 331.2a
5	崔仲容	0		
6	鮑君徽	4	Fenghe linde dian yan bailiao yingzhi; Guan shan yue; Xi hua yin; Dongting cha yan	168.8b; 198.5b; 316.13b; 323.3a
7	趙氏	0		
8	張窈窕	0		
9	常浩	0		
10	蔣蘊	0		
11	劉媛	1	Changmen yuan	204.2b
12	廉氏	0		
13	張琰	1	Tongque tai	204.10a
14	崔公達	0		
15	宋若昭	1	Fenghe linde dian	168.8b
16	宋若茵	0		
17	田娥	1	Changxin gong	204.3b
18	薛濤	3	Chou ren yu hou wan zhu	320.13b; 325.6b; 323.12a
19	劉雲	2	You suo si; Ban jieyu yuan	202.5b; 204.9b
20	葛鴉兒	0		
21	張文姬	1	Shuang jin shu	326.12a
22	程長文	1	Tongque tai	204.10b
23	魚玄機	3	Zhe yangliu (2x); Ti Ren chushi xiu jingshe	208.4b; 231.7b; 326.11b
24	梁瓊	1	Zhaojun yuan	204.8a
25	姚月華	0		
26	裴羽仙	0		
27	劉瑤	0		
28	薛媛	0		
29	盼盼	0		
30	崔鶯鶯	0		
31	寇坦母趙氏	3	Gu xing (3x)	207.7b (3x)
32	唐則天武后	1	Tong gongzhu you jiu long tan	176.9a
33	上官昭容	9	Li chunri shi yan nei; you Changning gongzhu lin ting yingzhi (6x); He jiu yue jiu ri deng ci'en si (2x)	169.7b; 176.8a (6x); 178.2a; 178.4a

	A	B	C	D
34	徐惠	1	Qiu feng Han'gu yingzhao	170.9a
35				
36	**Totals**	**40**		

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	**Key-word**	**Name in pinyin**	**Name in characters**	**Alternate name**	**Number of sources**	**Name and location in source texts**	**Location in Leishuo**
2	kaiyuan	Kaiyuan reign palace woman	開元宮人		1	Benshi shi 1.8	51.18b citing Benshishi
3	Yang	Daughter of the Yang family	楊氏女	楊容華	1	Chaoye qianzai 3.59; Taiping guangji 271.2132; Yang Jiong ji 2.08a	40.17b citing Chaoye qianzai
4	Xue	Xue Yanfu's mother, surnamed Lin	薛彥輔母林氏	薛元曖妻	1	Jiu Tangshu 146.3955	N
5	Cui	Cui	崔氏		1	Nanbu xinshu 4.49	N
6	Liu	Liu	劉氏	趙氏;杜羔妻	5	Nanbu xinshu 4.53; Tang guo shi bu 2.41; Tang yulin 4.144; Xin Tangshu 72.5205; Bo shi wenji 55.27b	41.5a citing Nanbu xinshu
7	Shen	Shen	慎氏	嚴灌夫妻	1	Yunxi youyi 1.4-5	41.18a,b citing Yunxi youyi
8	Xue	Xue Yuan	薛媛	南楚材妻	1	Yunxi youyi 1.4	41.18a citing Yunxi youyi
9	Li	Li Jilan	李季蘭	李冶	6	Zhongxing jianqi ji 2.506-09; Youxuan ji 3.672; Caidiao ji 10.947-49; Yutang xianhua (as cited in Taiping guangji or Leishuo); Hailu suishi 9A.390; and oral tradition	54.27b citing Yutang xianhua
10	Hou	Hou	侯氏	張暌妻	1	Shuqing shi 抒情詩 in Taiping guangji 271.2133	N
11	Ruyi	Ruyi reign girl	如意中女子		1	Tang-Song yishi (Leishuo); or Gangzhu ji 紺珠集 5.25b	27.12a citing Tang-Song yishi
12	Pei	Pei Rouzhi	裴柔之	裴淑,元稹妻	1	Yunxi youyi 3.64	N
13	Yu	Yu Xuanji	魚玄機		3	Beiming suoyan 9.194; Youxuan ji 3.682; Sanshui xiaodu 2.32-34	N
14	Xizong	Xizong palace woman	僖宗宮人		1	Qingsuo gaoyi 5.51-54; or Hanfu mingtan (in Shihua zonggui 23.1a)	N

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
15	Zhang	Zhang Jianfeng's singing girl	張建封	關盼盼	4	Caidiao ji 10.963; Liqing ji (Leishuo 29.2a-3b); Bo shi wenji 15.10a-11a; oral tradition?	29.2b citing Liqingji
16		Tianbao reign palace woman	天寶宮人		1	Yunxi youyi 3.	41.24b citing Yunxi youyi
17	gongnu	Xuanzong palace woman	宣宗宮女		1	Benshi shi 1.9; see also Yunxi youyi 3; Taiping guangji 198.	41.24a,b citing Yunxi youyi
18	Yuan	Female Daoist Yuan Chun	女道士元淳		1	Youxuan ji 3.672-73; or Caidiao ji 10.951-52	N
19	Zhang	Lady Zhang	張夫人	吉中孚妻	1	Youxuan ji 3.673; or Caidiao ji 10.946	N
20	Cui	Cui Zhongrong	崔仲容		2	Youxuan ji 3.674; and Caidiao ji 10.950-51	N
21	Zhang	Miss Zhang Yan	女郎張琰		1	Youxuan ji 3.678; or Caidiao ji 10.956	N
22	Cui	Miss Cui Gongda	女郎崔公達	崔公遠	1	Youxuan ji 3.678; or Caidiao ji 10.953	N
23	Song	Miss Song Ruozhao	女郎宋若昭		3	Youxuan ji 3.678-79; Xin Tangshu 77.3508; Taiping guangji 256.1991; Yunxi youyi 2.30	N
24	Song	Miss Song Ruoxun	女郎宋若荀		3	Youxuan ji 3.679; Xin Tangshu 77.3508; Jiu Tangshu 52.2198	N
25	Tian	Miss Tian'e	女郎田蛾		1	Youxuan ji 3.679	N
26	Liu	Miss Liu Yun	女郎劉雲		1	Youxuan ji 3.680; or Caidiao ji 10.949-50	N
27	Xue	Xue Tao	薛濤		5	Youxuan ji 3.680; Liqing ji 29.19b (Leishuo) Jianjielu 10.10b-11b; Youxuan lu (Taiping guangji) 354.2804; Zixialu 16a	29.19b citing Liqingji
28	Ge	Miss Ge Ya'er	女郎葛鴉兒		1	Benshi shi 1.8-9; Youxuan ji 10.681; or Caidiao ji 10.962	N
29	Zhang	Miss Zhang Wenji	女郎張文姬	鮑參軍妻	1	Youxuan ji 3.681; or Caidiao ji 10.951	N
30	Bao	Bao Junhui	鮑君徽		1	Youxuan ji 3.674-75; or Caidiao ji 10.951	N

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
31	Zhang	Miss Zhang Yaotiao	女郎張窈窕		2	Youxuan ji 3.676; or Caidiao ji 10.955; and Jianjie lu 10.6b	N
32	Changhao	Prostitute Chang Hao	倡妓常浩		1	Youxuan ji 3.676; or Caidiao ji 10.962	N
33	Xue	Miss Xue Yun	女郎薛蘊	薛蘊,Xue Yanfu's granddaughter 薛彥輔之孫	1	Youxuan ji 3.676-77; or Caidiao ji 10.952	N
34	Liu	Miss Liu Yuan	女郎劉媛		2	For first poem, Youxuan ji 3.677; or Caidiao ji 10.946-47; for second poem, see Yuefu shiji 42.8a	N
35	Lian	Miss Lian	女郎廉氏		1	Youxuan ji 3.677	N
36	Peng	Peng Kang's wife	彭伉妻	張氏	1	Unknown	N
37	Cheng	Cheng Changwen	程長文		1	Youxuan ji 3.681; or Caidiao ji 10.957	N
38	Haiyin	Buddhist nun Haiyin	尼海印		1	Jianjie lu 10.6b	N
39	Sun	Sun	孫氏	孟昌期妻	1	Beimeng suoyan 6.145-46	43.11a citing Beimeng suoyan
40	Yingying	Yingying	鶯鶯	崔鶯鶯	1	Caidiao ji 10.963; Yingying zhuan (Taiping guangji 488.4012-17)	28.16a citing Yiwen ji
41	Feiyan	Feiyan	非煙		1	(Bu) Feiyan zhuan	29.12a citing Liqingji
42	Xu	Xu Yueying	徐月英		1	Beimeng suoyan 9.195	43.18a citing Beimeng suoyan

Name of poet	**Poem titles**
文德皇后（長孫氏）	春遊曲
徐賢妃	長門怨； 秋風函谷應召； 賦得北方有佳人； 近太宗； 擬小山篇
上官昭容（婉兒）	奉和聖制立春日侍宴內殿翦采花應制（9）； 九月九日上幸慈恩寺登浮圖群臣上菊花壽酒； 采書怨； 駕幸三會寺應制； 駕幸新豐溫泉宮獻詩三首（3）； 游長寧公主流杯池二十五詩（25）
江妃（采萍）	謝賜珍珠
楊貴妃	贈張雲容舞
宜芬公主	虛池驛題屏風
開元宮人	袍中詩
天寶宮女	題洛苑梧葉上（2）
女郎宋若昭	奉和禦制麟得殿宴百僚應制
宋若荀	奉和禦制麟得殿宴百僚
鮑氏君徽	奉和麟得殿宴百僚應制； 關山月； 惜花吟； 東亭茶宴
韓氏（宣宗宮人）	題紅葉
宮人（僖宗宮人）	金鎖詩
郎大家宋氏	采桑； 宛轉歌二首（2）； 長相思； 朝雲引
候夫人	自感四首（4）
沈氏（范靜妻）	映水曲； 昭君歎二首（2）； 登樓曲； 越城曲； 當壚曲；

	晨風行
楊容華	新妝詩
魏氏（魏求己妹）	贈外
七歲女子	送兄
士人妻（武后時人）	離別難
喬氏（喬知之妹）	詠破簾
林氏（薛元曖妻）	送男左貶詩
郭紹蘭	寄夫
崔氏（盧象妻）	述懷
郭元振姬薛氏	謠
愼氏（嚴灌夫妻）	感夫詩
杜羔妻（趙氏）	雜言寄杜羔； 聞夫杜羔登第； 夫下第
薛媛	寫真寄夫
張夫人（吉中孚妻）	古意； 拜新月； 柳絮； 拾得韋氏花鈿以詩寄贈
王氏（元載妻）	夫入相寄姨妹； 喻元載客； 同夫游秦
張建封妓	燕子樓三首（3）； 和白公詩
薛濤	酬人雨後玩竹； 春望詞四首（4）； 風； 宣上人見示與諸公唱和； 蟬； 月； 池上雙鳥； 罰赴邊有懷上韋令公二首； 鴛鴦草； 詠八十一顆； 謁巫山廟； 寄舊詩與微之； 牡丹； 賊平後上高相公； 送友人；

薛濤 continued	聽僧吹蘆管； 酬郭簡州寄柑子； 上川主武元衡相國二首憶荔枝； 斛石山曉望寄呂侍禦； 寄詞； 斛石山書事； 送姚員外； 酬祝十三秀才； 別李郎中； 送扶鍊師； 摩訶池贈蕭中丞； 和李書記席上見贈； 棠梨花和李太尉； 酬文使君； 酬吳隨君； 酬李教書； 賦淩雲二首（2）； 九日遇雨二首（2）； 上王尚書； 和劉賓客； 玉蕊； 江邊； 送盧員外； 題竹郎廟； 贈蘇十三中丞； 和郭員外題萬里喬； 送鄭眉州； 江亭餞別； 海棠溪； 採蓮舟； 菱荇沼； 金燈花； 春郊遊眺寄孫處士二首； 酬楊供奉法師見招； 試新服裁制初成三首（3）； 寄張元夫； 酬辛員外折花見遺； 贈遠二首； 秋泉；

薛濤 continued	柳絮； 續嘉陵驛詩獻武相國； 段相國游武擔寺病不能從 題寄； 贈段教書； 十離詩（10）； 酬杜舍人； 籌邊樓； 酬人雨後翫竹； 續父井桐吟； 贈楊蘊中； 酬韋教書； [夕+匕] 央草
裴柔之	答微之
劉采春	羅嗊曲六首（6）
崔鶯鶯	答張生； 絕張生； 絕張生
崔仲容	贈所思； 戲贈； 贈歌妓
崔公遠	獨夜詞
張琰	春詞二首（2）； 銅雀台
張文姬	溪口雲； 沙上鷺； 雙槿樹
女郎張窈窕	寄故人； 上城都在事詩； 春思
非煙	答趙子； 又答趙象獨坐； 答趙象
侯氏（張揆妻）	繡龜形詩
任氏	書桐葉
梁瓊	昭君怨； 銅雀台； 宿巫山遠寄人
姚月華	怨詩二首（2）
裴羽仙	邊將二首

劉瑤	暗別離； 古意曲； 闔閭城懷古
衛敬瑜妻	燕詩
女郎田娥	寄遠； 攜手曲； 長信宮
劉雲	有所思； 婕妤怨；
葛鵾兒	懷良人
常浩	贈盧夫人； 寄遠
薛韞	贈鄭女郎； 古意
劉媛	長門怨二首（2）
女郎廉氏	峽中即事； 懷遠； 寄征人
彭伉妻	寄夫二首（2）
程長文	獄中書情上使君； 銅雀台； 春閨怨
孫氏（孟昌期妻）	聞； 白詩
徐月英	送人詩
寇坦母（趙氏）	古興三首（3）
夷陵女子	歌； 又歌
[氵+靈] 口女郎	感懷詩
紅綃妓	憶崔生
豫章蓮花妓	獻陳陶處士
京兆女子	題興元明珠亭
武昌女	續韋蟾句
太原女	寄歐陽詹
張女郎仲妹	贈沈警二首（2）
女郎	贈楊正伯
安邑坊女子	幽恨篇
鮑生妾	送韋生酒
崔暇妾	夢中贈主
蘇檢妻	夢寄夫

翠幄女子	洛川吟贈張鬱
湘驛女子	題玉泉溪
安戶裏女子	贈段何
來家娘子	歌一首
張不疑青衣金條	題戶牖
越溪楊女	與謝生聯句； 春日
張氏	贈夫唐喧二首（2）
王氏婦	贈李章武二首（2）
萬商妻孟氏	獨遊家園； 賦少年
張生妻	夢中唱送胡人酒二首（2）
真符女子虎（申屠澄妻）	妻答一首
洞庭龍女	感懷示許漢陽
廬山女子	贈朱樸
新林驛女子	吟示歐陽訓
吳興神女	贈謝府君
獨孤穆	贈臨淄縣主
黃崇嘏	辭蜀相妻女詩
魚玄機	賦得江邊柳； 贈鄰女； 寄國香； 寄題鍊師； 寄劉尚書； 浣紗廟； 賣殘牡丹； 酬李學士寄簟 ； 情書寄李子安； 閨怨； 春情寄子安； 打毬作； 暮春有感寄友人； 冬夜寄溫飛卿； 酬李郢夏日釣魚回見示； 次韻西鄰新居兼乞酒； 和友人次韻； 和新及第悼亡詩二首； 游崇禎觀南樓睹新及第題名處；

魚玄機 continued	愁思二首； 江行； 聞李端公垂釣回寄贈； 題任處士羽資福寺題隱霧 廳； 重陽阻雨； 早秋； 感懷寄人； 期友人阻雨不至； 訪趙鍊師不遇； 導懷； 寄飛卿； 過鄂州； 夏日山居； 暮春即事； 代人悼亡； 和人； 隔漢江寄子安； 寓言； 江陵愁望寄子安； 寄子安； 送別； 迎李近仁員外； 送別； 和人次韻； 因次光威裒韻姊妹三人； 次韻； 折楊柳
李冶	湖上臥病喜陸鴻漸至； 寄校書七兄； 寄朱放； 送韓揆之江西； 道意寄崔侍郎； 從蕭叔子聽彈琴賦得三峽 流泉歌； 相思怨； 感興； 恩命追入留別廣陵故人； 八至； 送閻二十六赴剡縣； 得閻伯鈞書；

李冶 continued	結素魚貽友人； 偶居； 明月夜留別； 春閨怨
元淳	寄洛中諸姊； 秦中春望
海印	舟夜一章
Poets total: 94	**Poems total**: 357

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