

## CHAPTER ONE

# The Author and His Collection

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### THE COLLECTION

It is extremely difficult to characterize the *Record* in general terms. We might say that it contains many thousands of narratives, yet nonnarrative modes of writing are also present. While one may recognize Hong Mai as a recorder of oral stories, one cannot overlook his reliance on a significant amount of written material. The *Record* has furthermore often been cited as an example of the *zhiguai* genre, that is, texts that record the “strange” or stories focusing on the “anomalous”—known in Chinese as *guai*—and are similar to what Western-trained scholars would understand as paranormal. Yet many accounts, such as the transmission of medical prescriptions or the recitation of poetry and riddles, are devoid of this *guai* element. This is not to ignore a vast number of accounts whose cosmological focus could easily be characterized as “strange” or “anomalous,” but the eclectic nature of the collection undermines attempts to apply all-encompassing labels.

The *Record's* title is derived from the fourth-century *Book of Liezi* in which the legendary Yijian recorded the deeds of the legendary sage-king Yu—deeds which he did not personally witness. Below is a translation of the relevant section.

There is a fish there, several thousand miles broad and long in proportion, named the k'un. There is a bird there named the p'eng, with wings like clouds hanging from the sky, and a body big in proportion. “How is the world to know that such things exist?” The Great Yü saw them in his travels, Po-yi knew of them and named them, Yi-chien (Yijian) heard of them and recorded them.<sup>1</sup>

This set the tone for the collecting of anomaly accounts due to Hong Mai's self-professed “love of the strange.”<sup>2</sup> It furthermore places the *Record* in an ancient tradition of collection and recording the unusual, while at the same time linking it to the respected sage-king Yu—perhaps apologetically, given orthodox Confucian disdain for speaking of anomalies.

Perhaps one of the most significant facets of Hong Mai's *Record* is his collecting of what he claimed to be "true" stories from thousands of informants of varying socioeconomic backgrounds, rather than fabricating, as would a modern Western writer of fiction. Consider, for example, his comments in the preface of the second installment. After a discussion of selected works traditionally classified as *xiaoshuo*, in addition to aspects of Daoist philosophy, Hong writes:

My book, however, having come about within a cycle of no more than sixty years, has utilized both my *eyes and ears*—and the stories within are all based on factual sources. If one does not believe me, they may go to Mr. Nobody<sup>3</sup> and ask him.<sup>4</sup> (*italics mine*)

The utilization of Hong's eyes and ears refers to his reliance on many hundreds of relatives, friends, and acquaintances who supplied him with accounts. While many of these, whom I call informants, were high-ranking scholar-officials and members of the social elite, others were concubines, petty officials, monks, or else itinerant soldiers. Furthermore, a significant proportion of these are demonstrable historical figures.<sup>5</sup> As did many *zhiguai* writers before him, Hong Mai generally referred to his informant at the conclusion of each account or group of accounts told by the one informant; sometimes one person even supplied sufficient information to fill entire chapters.

The *Record* can, therefore, be seen as a compendium of amateur or informal storytelling. Members of the Song educated elite, without recourse to the plethora of easily-accessible entertainment available today, undoubtedly experienced much boredom from time to time and, therefore, were particularly partial to a well-told tale, gossipy snippet, or else news from afar.<sup>6</sup> Many accounts were based on oral retelling, sometimes having passed through at least two or three sources before reaching Hong Mai. Therefore, if one were to view the *Record* as a work of "oral history," these oral story-artifacts would logically reflect the imperfect memories of their informants, variation in detail, as well as the incremental exaggeration that tends to accompany a story's retelling. Accordingly, not unlike oral history traditions in nonliterate cultures, the concept of a single, original text becomes problematic.<sup>7</sup> This would seem to explain the *Record's* many parallel texts found in other Song literary sources whereby it is impossible to determine the antecedent due to shared plots and uncertain publication dates.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, many others were based on written accounts supplied to Hong which, presumably, he adapted or edited somewhat. For example, in the preface of the seventh installment, Hong writes of receiving written material.

When I was a magistrate in Dangtu,<sup>9</sup> the locality was remote and there was little with which to occupy myself. Lü Yuqing of Jinan<sup>10</sup> and Wu Dounan of Luoyang<sup>11</sup> once sent me some enough old tales to fill half a book. I have, therefore, edited them into the *Geng zhi* [installment].<sup>12</sup>

Consider also Hong's comments from the preface to the seventeenth installment in which he speaks of receiving old jottings preserved by an acquaintance's father.

I have again received twenty stories from Lū Deqing. The country gentleman, Wu Liao (courtesy name Wu Boqin), resurrected some notes written long ago by his father, the Dweller of Lofty Places.<sup>13</sup> I have borrowed a third of these to make up three chapters so as to complete this installment.<sup>14</sup> I have, therefore, been able to finish it this quickly.<sup>15</sup>

Luo Ye's 羅燁 (dates uncertain) Song Dynasty notebook work (or miscellaneous notes, *biji* 筆記), *Record of a Drunken Man's Talk* (*Zuiweng tanlu* 醉翁談錄), is well known for its historical material about storytelling, *xiaoshuo*, and drama. In this, Luo tells of how there was not a storyteller alive who did not consult the *Record*.<sup>16</sup> Even allowing for hyperbole, this suggests that Hong's informal storytelling influenced that of professionals. It furthermore blurs the boundaries between informal and professional storytelling.

The arrangement of accounts throughout the *Record* seems to reflect Hong Mai's methods of collecting material, particularly oral material. Unlike categorically arranged works, such as the *Extensive Records from the Period of Great Peace* (*Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, *Extensive Records* hereafter), Hong's arrangement follows no apparent order but that in which he received his accounts. Often two or three accounts derived from the same informant were presented together, presumably when he listened to their telling while in the company of his informant. And, as I noted above, sometimes entire chapters were derived from the one informant. While such accounts did not necessarily feature common macromotifs, two or three of similar *topoi* derived from the same informant were sometimes presented together, presumably due to their having been told at the same time in the same place.

In other words, the arrangement of accounts did not reflect any topical considerations. It is, therefore, not surprising that later editors—perhaps disliking the rambling and haphazard organization of the original—produced topically-arranged editions such as the *New Re-Arranged Edition of the Yijian zhi* (*Xinbian fenlei Yijian zhi* 新編分類夷堅志), published by Hong Pian 洪楩 (dates uncertain) in 1546, or Chen Rihua's 陳日華 (official in Chun'an 春安—modern Chun'an in Zhejiang Province—in 1180) ten-chapter *Topically-Arranged Yijian zhi* (*Yijian zhi leibian* 夷堅志類編), published after Hong Mai's death (year of publication unknown).<sup>17</sup>

I have already noted that the *Record* consists of a series of books, or installments, written throughout the author's lifetime. These installments were divided into three series of ten books. A fourth series was begun, but only two installments were completed prior to the author's death in 1202. The first series originally comprised 20 chapters (or *juan*, chapter hereafter) per installment, while the second and third series contained 10 per installment. In total, the entire corpus consisted of 420 chapters. Each installment of the first series

was labeled with one of the heavenly stems: *jia* 甲, *yi* 乙, *bing* 丙, *ding* 丁, and so on, to *xin* 辛, *ren* 壬, and *gui* 癸. As the second and third series were subordinate to the first, each heavenly stem was henceforth prefixed with *zhi* 支 (roughly translatable as “branch” in this context). The third installment in both the second and third series was, however, labeled *zhijing* 支景 and *sanjing* 三景 respectively, rather than *zhibing* 支丙 and *sanbing* 三丙 as would normally have been the case. This was to observe the taboo of mentioning the name (or homonym) of a deceased relative: in this case, the author’s paternal great-great-grandfather whose given name was Bing 炳. Hong explains why the third installment in the first series did not follow the taboo in the preface to the thirteenth (*zhijia*) installment (see the translation in chapter 2).

Unfortunately, out of these 420 chapters, only 207 survive—approximately half of the original text. Accordingly, as early as the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368), only a small fraction of the original was readily available. The present corpus, therefore, comprises 80 chapters of the first four installments (notwithstanding several accounts which were supplemented from later installments by Yuan Dynasty editors), 70 chapters from the second series, and 30 from the third. An additional 20 chapters were extracted from Hong Pian’s topicalized Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) edition. An additional five chapters comprising accounts recovered from the *Great Encyclopedia of the Yongle Period* (the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典) of the Ming Dynasty were later compiled, while two more chapters consisting of rediscovered accounts from a range of sources—such as medical compendia and the like—were also assembled. Apart from this, additional accounts have been recently rediscovered, mostly by Barend ter Haar. In his 1993 *Journal of Sung Yuan Studies* article entitled “Newly Recovered Anecdotes from Hong Mai’s (1123–1202) *Yijian zhi*,” ter Haar discusses the author of the anonymous Yuan Dynasty notebook work, the *Yiwen zonglu* 異聞總錄, who copied *verbatim* large tracts of the *Record* together with at least one other work in what appeared to have been their original sequence. Ter Haar identified accounts which had been derived from the *Record* and those which had not, then pin-pointed the lost ones.<sup>18</sup> Similar rediscoveries have been made in the People’s Republic of China by Kang Baocheng (1986), Cheng Hong (1987), Li Yumin (1990), Li Jianguo (1992 and 1997), Zhao Zhangchao (2004), as well as in Taiwan by Wang Hsiu-huei (1989).<sup>19</sup>

The *Record*’s influence on later literature has been considerable. It spawned several copy-cat works, namely Wang Jingwen’s 王景文 (1127–1189) *Yijian biezhi* 夷堅別志 (*The Other Record of the Listener*), Yuan Haowen’s 元好問 (1190–1257)<sup>20</sup> *Xu Yijian zhi* 續夷堅志 (*Continuation of Record of the Listener*), and the *Yijian xu zhi* 夷堅續志 (*A Sequel to Record of the Listener*), written by an anonymous Yuan Dynasty author. A small number of micromotifs and subplots found in later romance novels such as the *Water Margin*, *Journey to the West* and the *Investiture of the Gods* (*Fengshen yanyi* 封神演義) have been traced to stories in the *Record*. Many accounts from the *Record* served as an inspiration to renowned Ming author of vernacular short stories, Feng Menglong 馮

夢龍 (1368–1644), particularly his *Sanyan er'po* 三言二拍 collection. Similarly, the *Record* has exerted considerable influence over Yuan and later drama. For example, the story entitled “The Resolute Lady from Taiyuan” (*Taiyuan yiniang* 太原意娘) appears as both a vernacular short story as well as a piece of drama. At least one narrative in the famous Qing (1622–1911) *zhiguai* work, the *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋志異, corresponds almost verbatim to one in the *Record*, not to mention several others featuring shared subplots.<sup>21</sup>

As we can see, Hong Mai was a lifelong collector of strange and newsworthy accounts provided by a large number of people in both oral and written forms. This places him in a tradition of informal storytelling, although the reference from the *Record of a Drunken Man's Talk* implies mutual influence between the two. Certainly the *Record* exerted a remarkable degree of influence over Hong Mai's contemporaries, some of whom were inspired to write sequels to the *Record*, others whom reorganized it into topically-arranged editions. To be sure, this influence gathered momentum over time as both Hong's renown and that of his collection fired the imagination of readers for generations hence, perhaps boosted by nostalgia for the lost Song Dynasty.

#### A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE AUTHOR'S LIFE

Born in Xiuzhou 秀州 (modern Jiaxing 嘉興, Zhejiang) in 1123 during the final turbulent years of the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1126), Hong Mai was a renowned scholar-official. Hong's style name was Jinglu 景廬; his other name was Yechu 野處, and he was awarded the posthumous title of Wenmin 文敏. His clan had been settled in the Poyang 鄱陽 area of Zhejiang since the late Tang Dynasty (618–907). His great-great-grandfather, Hong Bing 洪炳 (dates uncertain), enjoyed a civil service career and attained the rank of grand guardian (*shaobao* 少保) early in the Northern Song. His wife, née He 何, was awarded the title of Lady Jiguo (*Jiguo furen* 紀國夫人). Hong Mai's great-grandfather, Hong Yansheng 洪彥升 (dates uncertain), attained the rank of *jinshi* in 1085, after which he was eventually appointed an imperial censor. Hong Mai's grandfather, Hong Yanxian 洪彥先 (?–1128), also an official, was granted the title Lord of Qin (Qinguo gong 秦國公), while his wife, née Dong, was titled Lady Taiguo (*Taiguo furen* 泰國夫人).

Hong Mai's father, Hong Hao 洪皓 (1088–1155), was an extremely famous official who attained the *jinshi* degree in 1115 during the reign of the artistic, yet politically inept, Huizong emperor (r. 1100–1126). The Xuanhe period (1119–1125) saw Hao serve in Xiuzhou (in modern Jiangsu), where he won respect from the local populace for his timely provision of emergency flood relief, earning him the nickname “Buddha Hong” (*Hong Fozhi* 洪佛子). Following the fall of the Northern Song to the Jurchen tartars—ancestors of the Manchus, Hao received a recommendation from Zhang Jun 張浚 (1097–1164)—first grand councilor of the Southern Song—and was dispatched to the Jurchen court as a peace envoy. Unfortunately, the Jurchen emperor detained

him for over fourteen years from 1129–1143, during which time he acted as a tutor for one of the Jurchen princes, Wushi 悟室 (dates uncertain).

Hong Mai was the third of nine brothers among whom the two eldest, Zun 遵 (1120–1174) and Gua (or Kuo) 适 (1117–1184), were the most famous. Both enjoyed successful careers in the civil service while Gua served as grand councilor from 1165–1166.

Hong Mai was born in Xiuzhou during his father's incumbency as a provincial official. When his grandfather died in 1128 in Poyang, his father Hao returned to attend the funeral while leaving his family in Xiuzhou. It was during this time that Xiuzhou was ravaged by rebellious troops, yet—miraculously—they refrained from ransacking the Hong residence. This was thought to be due to Hao's fine reputation as a benevolent administrator. Hao departed as an envoy to the Jurchen court the following year where he was to remain until 1143. Hong Mai, therefore, bade his father goodbye at the age of six (seven *sui*) and was not to see him again until he was twenty.

A somewhat lengthier account from the *Record* gives us a picture of Hong Mai's early family life, especially the family's religious practices. The event here recorded was said to have occurred in 1125. As Hong Mai was but three *sui* at the time, he undoubtedly heard it second-hand at a later date. The venue was the record office in Xiuzhou where the family was then domiciled.

#### THE OFFICE OF THE RECORD KEEPER IN XIUZHOU

There were many strange apparitions in the office of the record keeper (*silu*) in Xiuzhou (Jiaxing county, Zhejiang). One always wore a green kerchief and cloth robe, had a short and broad shape, and walked with slow and heavy steps. A woman also went out every night and bewitched and beat the runners.

At the time my father occupied this post, my older brother the future grand councillor was just nine. In broad daylight he opened his eyes and stared just as if he had seen something and said, "Water, water." Only when we moved him did he regain consciousness.

Two days later, my father came home late from the office. A concubine grabbed his robe from behind, suddenly called out, and fell to the ground. My father had heard that ghosts feared leather belts, so he took one to bind the concubine and carried her to bed. After a long while, [the ghost speaking through her] said, "This person has previously insulted ghosts and gods. Just now he is carrying something in his right hand that is frightening [the belt]. I do not dare to come close. Furthermore he does not know I come from the left, I was just captured, and that I have been detained by an official who uses the Zhong Kui [a famous demon queller] method. I will go now without causing mutual inconvenience."

He was asked, "Who are you?"

He did not want to answer.

After several repetitions he said, "I am farmer Stem Nine (Zhi Jiu) from Jiaxing. With my fellow canton resident Water Three (Shui San), we had nine mouths in our two households. During the flood two years ago we all began to wander begging for food. We died just before the officials began famine relief. Now I live on top of the big tree behind your house. Several days ago, the one the little official [your son] saw was Water Three.

My father said, "I worship Zhenwu [a star divinity] because he is very efficacious, and I also have images of the Buddha, and of the earth (*tudi*) and stove god (*zaoshen*). How is it that you come here?"

The ghost said, "The Buddha is a benevolent deity who does not concern himself with such trivial matters; every night Zhenwu unbinds his hair, grasps his sword, and flies from the roof. I carefully avoid him, that's all. The earth god behind your house is not easily aroused. Only at the small temple in front of your house [to the stove god] am I reprimanded every time I'm seen. I just entered the kitchen, and His Lordship asked, 'Where are you going?'

"I answered, 'I'm just looking around.'

"He upbraided me, 'You're not allowed here.'

"I said, 'I do not dare,' and came here."

My father said, "What are the two things that always come out?"

The ghost said, "The one with the kerchief is Shi Jing, who's called Gentleman Shi. He's just under the hedge outside the study window, about three *chi* [90 cm] under the ground. The woman is Qin Erniang. She's lived here a long time."

My father said, "I give paper money to the earth god on the first and fifteenth day of every month. How can he allow ghosts from outside to come in? You go and ask him for me. Tomorrow I shall destroy his shrine."

The ghost said, "Do you mean to say you don't understand? Even though he has money, how can he go without food? When I enter your house, if I get something, I must give him a share to keep him quiet, and that is why he has always permitted me to come." He ate for a while and then spoke again, "Were I to proceed as you admonish and tell the earth god, he'll be angry that I'm so loquacious, and will use a stick to drive me out."

My father said, "Have you seen my family's ancestors or not?"

He said, "Every time there is a holiday and you make offerings, I definitely come to observe. I smell the fragrant food and want to eat it but do not get any. Among the places are a few empty places, but if a yellow-clothed woman sees me, she gets angry."

After looking around, the ghost gasped and became pale. Eventually he spoke, saying, "Just as I reached the door, I was chased by a woman carrying a stick. I quickly ran in the other direction and barely escaped."

The woman he spoke of was my great-grandmother Jiguo.

My father had asked all that he wanted and said, "You're consumed by suffering and hunger. Would you like a meal? Some wine and a fat chicken? I will offer them to everyone. It won't be like usual when I give a skinny chicken."

When my father had finished speaking, the ghost cocked his ear as if someone had called him and said, "The earth god is very angry and has expelled out two households. Now we'll briefly go to the top of the city wall. We have nowhere to return to. Please free me quickly. I won't dare to come again."

My father undid his belt. The concubine slept in a daze for several days and then woke up.<sup>22</sup>

This account displays a remarkable degree of attention to historical detail. As Hansen has noted, the stellar deity Zhenwu was often depicted with his hair loose.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, the flood and famine mentioned in the account was the above-mentioned disaster for which Hong Hao earned the nickname "Buddha Hong." It is also a rare example of ghost storytelling within Hong Mai's own family. Given that several similar stories also appear in the *Record*, it suggests that Hong's role in recording stories heard at social functions was not purely passive; that is, rather than always being "the listener," he too indulged in the telling of strange stories. To be sure, it would seem unlikely that he would sit there doing nothing but listen to the stories of others without swapping some of his own. Therefore, perhaps the translated title of *Record of the Listener* needs rethinking.

Furthermore, this anecdote affords a valuable glimpse at the range of deities worshipped in the Hong household during Hong Mai's infancy, as well as at the types of offerings made by Hong Hao. The story also supports recent studies which demonstrate how Confucian-trained officials also subscribed to religious ideas not necessarily compatible with orthodox Confucian thought.<sup>24</sup>

The following year, 1130, saw Xiuzhou fall to invading Jurchen troops. So as to escape the ensuing mayhem, Hong Mai was taken with his family to their paternal home in Poyang where he and his brothers remained under the care and tutelage of their mother until her death in 1138. The boys then moved to their maternal uncle's home in Wuxi 無錫 (modern Wuxi in Jiangsu) where they continued to prepare for the imperial examinations. In the *cike* 詞科 examinations of 1142, both his elder brothers passed while Hong Mai, unfortunately, failed. An anecdote from the *Record* relating to this provides a glimpse into contemporary superstitions.

## PINE CONES

It was during the winter of the *wuwu* year of the Period of Continued Ascendancy (1141) when my brothers and I went to attend the funeral of our good mother. We stayed in our maternal clan's mourning-hut by the cemetery at Big Lake Dike in Wuxi. There were twenty thousand or so enormous pine trees all around the shrine. That spring, two of the four or five meter-tall pines produced a cone each. The cones grew at the tree's apex and were surrounded by a halo of bright green leaves, yet they appeared completely natural.

Shaoming, the monk at the mourning-hut, told us,



“There was a pine beside the grave of a Madame Bian from a nearby village which did the same thing, except its cone was somewhat smaller. And her grandson, Master Anye, passed the imperial exams. Now there are two large ones. Does this mean that Madame Shen<sup>25</sup> has two sons who will pass?”

At the time, my two cousins, Shen Ziqiang and Ziqiu, had just sat for the examinations. Both, however, were unsuccessful. Nevertheless, my eldest brother and second brother passed the *boxue cike* division in the *renxu* year (1142). Since they happened to be staying in the shrine when they were preparing for this division, their subsequent passing of the exam fulfilled the omen of the pine cones.<sup>26</sup>

This is one of several stories which exhibits Hong Mai's belief in what may be understood as *guai* phenomena; although, in this case, rather than dealing with ghosts and other-worldly matters, the story is predicated on the traditional Chinese notion that auspicious and calamitous happenings could be foretold through omens made manifest in the natural world. Indeed, the Confucian idea of the mandate of heaven was part of this tradition. Hong's implied actual belief in prognostication may help explain why he devoted so much of his life to almost obsessive collecting and recording of anomalous accounts.

The year following the eldest and second eldest Hong brother's academic success (1143) saw the return of their father, Hong Hao, from detention in the north. Hao brought with him numerous stories and anecdotes which were later published by Hong Gua as the *Songmo jiwu* 松漠記聞 in 1155 following Hao's death. Significantly, several of these also appear in the first chapter of the *Record*.<sup>27</sup> This strongly suggests that Hong Hao and his anomalous accounts inspired his son, Mai, to begin collecting and recording similar stories.<sup>28</sup> Yet we cannot be certain exactly when he began putting writing brush to paper, given that Hong Mai's stated year of commencement has not survived (at least as far as we know; I will discuss Hong's commencement year below).

A mere month following his return in the ninth lunar month of that year, Hao raised the ire of the then all-powerful grand councilor, Qin Gui 秦檜 (1090–1155), whose power base at court relied on sustained peace with the Song's powerful northern neighbors, the Jurchen. Hao, contrary to Qin, very likely supported the “war party”: that is, officials who opposed the pacifist policies which kept the Song Empire a vassal of the Jurchen. The “war party” wished to annul the disgrace of invasion and subjugation of the central plains by an ethnic group who Song subjects referred to as “barbarians.” The fact that Hao received his appointment as ambassador to the Jurchen by the then grand councilor Zhang Jun—head of the “war party”—cannot but support such a possibility. Accordingly, Qin was understandably anxious to have Hao away from court lest he persuade the emperor to adopt a hostile policy toward the Jurchen. If successful, this would have almost certainly resulted in Qin's loss of power. Yet, whether Hao's banishment from court was due to this or due to Qin's having felt threatened by Hao's renown or both, is unclear. Certainly Qin's hostility toward Hao is well documented by the latter's biography in the

*History of the Song* (*Song shi* 宋史).<sup>29</sup> As a result, after initially being sent to Raozhou 繞州 (in modern Zhejiang), Hao was eventually banished to remote Yingzhou 英州 (modern Yingde 英德 in Guangdong Province) in the Song Empire's "deep south." This was to be his final post.

Returning to Hong Mai, it was not until 1145 that he passed the *boxue hongci ke* 博學宏詞科 examination, an anecdote about which appears in the *Record*. Hong writes how he and fellow candidates visited a courtesan's house in Lin'an (Hangzhou) just after the completion of the examination but before the results had been announced. The courtesan foretold his success based on a lyric he wrote before the assembled company.<sup>30</sup>

### THE CANDLE AND FLOWER LYRIC OF THE SMALL PAVILION

On the fifteenth day of the third month in the fifteenth year of the period of Continued Ascendancy (1145), I emerged from the examination hall after having completed the third round of the *cike* division held in Lin'an. It was still early, and my fellow candidates He Zuoshan, courtesy name Boming, and Xu Bo, courtesy name Shengfu, and I ventured into town. At the time my paternal uncle, Hong Bangzhi, courtesy name Yingxian, and our compatriot Xu Liangyou, courtesy name Shunju, had both completed the provincial exam. So we all went together.

Having reached Embracing the Sword Street, Boming dragged us off to visit the famous courtesan, Sun Xiaojiu, with whom he had enjoyed a long-standing acquaintance. Wine cups were laid out in her small pavilion. The moon that night illuminated the sky as if it were day, and we repaired to the balustrade to partake of its beauty. There were twin candles which formed snuff-flowers, and they sparkled like a string of pearls.<sup>31</sup>

The ever intelligent and perceptive Miss Sun addressed the assembled company.

"The man in the moon is so bright tonight and the snuff-flowers are a lucky omen. You five gentlemen have displayed your talents in the exams. One of you will pass with honors, of that there can be no doubt. I would like each of you to compose a lyric to commemorate this day which will become the stuff of a good yarn in times to come."

She then took out five sheets of Wu paper and placed them on the table. Shengfu, Yingxian and Shunju each made their excuses, while the dapper and talented Boming seized a brush and composed a lyric to the tune of "On the Banks of the Washing Stream." One of the stanzas read:

Cups and dishes quickly spread  
 We visit the pretty one.  
 Snuff-flowers bring good tidings,  
 Our party lends joy to spring.  
 You would have us find some lines,  
 which must be fine and rare.

Shallow brow and sparkling eyes,  
 Brimming with feeling  
 Clouds are light,  
 Willows weak,  
 Yet their intent is genuine.  
 The breeze and moon  
 Henceforth belong to the leisurely.

Everyone looked on in admiration, only regretting the slight imperfection in the final line. I followed with a lyric to the tune of “Immortals Facing the River.”

Gathered on a brocade mat,  
 Our company warm and gay.  
 In the tower tall,  
 Good tidings come our way.  
 A hair pin,  
 An ancient script,  
 The candle-flowers crimson.  
 Happy times will soon arrive  
 And reward their master fine.  
 The cassia moon is full,  
 Half of spring has gone.  
 Time in the Palace of Vast Chill  
 Passes far too fast.  
 Heng'e<sup>32</sup>  
 faces east  
 beside the winding railing  
 Knowing the cloud ladder  
 Is not so far away.  
 Steadily she steps,  
 Making obeisance to the east.

“You, sir, will surely pass with flying colors,” announced Miss Sun as she filled a cup to the brim. “The omen is probably meant for you.”

Not long after that, I actually did pass the exam. The other four had no luck.<sup>33</sup>

Here, then, is another instance of Hong being personally touched by what could be construed as the “paranormal.” The dovetailing of lyric poetry in this account is a typical stylistic feature found throughout the *Record*, and demonstrates its formalistic affiliation with *chuanqi* texts of the Tang Dynasty.

Shortly after the examination, Hong was appointed to a post of reviser in the Law Office of the State Affairs Bureau. Unfortunately, it was not long before he was forced to resign this post after having been criticized by the censor, Wang Bo 汪勃 (1088–1171), for lending undue support to his father

who—as noted above—had been banished to the south by Qin Gui. Hong was subsequently demoted to the position of an education officer in Fuzhou 福州 (modern Fujian), but did not take up the post until 1148. He spent the next couple of years there.

The large number of *Record* accounts derived from this locality were apparently collected and recorded during this time.<sup>34</sup> One of them reveals a rare instance of Hong Mai's having personally witnessed a ghostly apparition. This supposedly occurred in 1147 during a stop-over in Qianzhou 虔州 (modern Ganzhou 贛州 in Jiangxi).

### THE CITADEL TOWER OF QIAN PREFECTURE

In the summer of the seventeenth year of the period of Continued Ascendancy (1147), my younger brother and I accompanied our good father when he moved to the south. We reached Qian Prefecture on the second day of the eighth month. Mooring our boat under the Floating Bridge, we repaired to the citadel tower to take our rest. Then the prefect, Zeng Duanbo, came to see us.

“This is not a place to stay,” he warned. “Only the Yugu Terrace will do. Zhou Kangzhou has gone there first, but he will be leaving on the morrow. You may therefore stay here for one night.”

That night, we made up a bed for our father in the central hall, and my brother and I slept on some mats to the side. At around two in the morning, I rose to visit the privy, going out from the north door. There was a person doing their hair which trailed to the ground. Our two servants, Wang San and Cheng Qi, were sleeping inside at the time. Thinking that it was one of these two, I called out but received no response. I then went back inside to take a look, only to find that both were sleeping soundly as before. Having suspected that something was amiss all along, I went back outside. It still had not finished combing its hair. Facing the crenellated wall, its legs were hanging halfway outside and the wind was whipping its hair into waves. Shaken, I returned to bed.

The following day my father asked me, “Where did you go in the night? I heard one of the old guards say that there have always been apparitions in the tower which are sure to appear every night.”

I therefore told of what I had seen the previous night. That day we went with our father to Yugu, yet I could not sleep the whole night.

I also heard that when Zhou Kangzhou was staying there, someone opened the Three-Fold Door and went out. Thinking it to be a thief, Zhou had his son follow. Yet he found that the door had never been opened.<sup>35</sup>

It is interesting to note that, much like the ghost and anomaly stories in Xu Xuan's 徐鉉 (915–991) *Jishen lu* 稽神錄 (*Examining Spirits*), this account lacks the didactic twist exhibited by numerous others in the *Record*. Hong's purpose in recording this account was presumably to record an encounter with

the strange, rather than engage in didactic moralizing for which so many of his other accounts were utilized. Indeed, this example demonstrates Hong and his father's belief in the existence of ghosts and further illustrates prevailing religious ideas in Song society.

Hong left Fuzhou in 1150 to visit his father, who was by then in Yingzhou. The several accounts from Yingzhou which appear in the *Record* must have surely been collected during this sojourn.<sup>36</sup> Five years later, in 1155, Hong took up a posting as controller-general in Yuanzhou 遠州 (modern Yichun 宜春 in Jiangxi), yet his tenure was cut short by the necessity to mourn his father who died in the tenth lunar month of that year. In 1158, at the conclusion of the mourning period, he attained a posting as a palace library official at the Southern Song capital, Lin'an (Hangzhou). Other appointments soon followed. Accounts appearing in the *Record* derived from the capital and vicinity, as well as those heard from informants known to have been officials serving in the capital at the time, indicate that Hong was still working on his first installment during this period.

Hong Mai probably completed the first twenty chapter installment of the *Record* around 1160, during his time in the capital. Unfortunately, the preface of this inaugural installment was lost as early as the Yuan Dynasty and, with it, most likely, the date or year of completion. Nevertheless, 1160 as a likely year can be inferred from Hong's other prefaces in which he discusses the time he spent on the *Record*. To explore this thoroughly, we would need to delve into details of textual history which is beyond the scope of the present volume. Briefly, though, if Hong Mai began writing in 1143, 1160 as a year of completion can be inferred from his comments in the preface to the *Geng zhi* (sixth installment) which, although no longer extant, have been summarized in Zhao Yushi's *Record After the Guests Retire* (henceforth *Guests Retire*). In this, Hong wrote that he spent eighteen years working on the initial installment. If one were to include 1143 as the commencement year and count to eighteen, one arrives at 1160. We can be reasonably certain that Hong counted this way since, in another preface for an installment which took only forty-four days to complete, he clearly specified both the commencement and completion day and included each.<sup>37</sup>

Further evidence is found in the preface to the second installment, dated the 18<sup>th</sup> day of the twelfth lunar month of 1166, in which Hong briefly discusses the initial reception of the *Record*.

When the first installment of the *Record* was complete, it was circulated among gentlemen and scholar officials. Today it has been published in Fujian, in Sichuan, in Wuzhou as well as in Lin'an. Every household has a copy.<sup>38</sup>

While he does not specify the form in which this initial installment "circulated," it may well have been a manuscript.<sup>39</sup> Significantly, it also suggests a gap between the work's completion and its initial publication. To be sure, it would have been unlikely for a work such as the *Record* to have been published

immediately after its completion. And if the second installment was completed in 1166 after five years, as Hong also tells us in the same preface, we would arrive at 1162 as the commencement year for this second installment using the same method of counting. As I will discuss below, given that he returned to his native Poyang in 1162 after having been relieved of official duties, 1162 is the most likely year of commencement for the second installment. The gap hinted at in the preface is, therefore, all the more plausible.

With regard to internal evidence, the latest date in the initial installment is the fourth lunar month of 1159. Nevertheless, Okamoto Fujiaki argues that a round of imperial examinations held in Lin'an in 1160 acted as the venue for at least one account found in the initial installment. During this time, Hong Mai, along with twelve other officials who also provided him with stories appearing in other parts of the *Record*, were locked together for many days in the examination hall where they acted as supervisors. Hong's fellow examiners told him stories relating to previous examinations held at the same venue, one of which appears in chapter 18 of the first installment.<sup>40</sup> If correct, this is evidence that Hong was still working on the first installment in 1160. After 1160, however, Hong would likely have been far too preoccupied with his duties as a war-time official to commit brush to paper, given the outbreak of war with the Jurchen in 1161.

When hostilities began, Hong Mai was given a post in the Bureau of Military Affairs. He soon after drafted the proclamation of hostilities at the behest of the Gaozong emperor. The following year saw him embark on a peace mission to the Jurchen. This, however, did not go well, as a dispute arose about the wording of documentation. At Hong's prior suggestion, the state documents and official letters had been worded in such a way as to accord enemy status to the Jurchen state. Prior to this, the Song Empire acknowledged itself as a vassal of the Jurchen according to the peace treaty of 1141, which had been rigorously enforced by Qin Gui. Hong insisted that the wording remain, while the Jurchen were adamant that it be changed. Hong relented only after having been held under house arrest without food for three days. After his return to Lin'an, he was criticized by the censor, Zhang Zhen 張震 (1151 *jinsbi*), for having dishonored the Song. He returned to his native Poyang after being forced to quit his post. Following this incident, one of the national university students composed a satirical lyric poem to the tune of "Southern Landscape" (*Nanxiangzi* 南響子), criticizing Hong for not having shaken his head when he should have, thus poking fun at Hong's occasional involuntary head movement. This was recorded in Luo Dajing's 羅大經 (?-after 1248) *Conversations Carried on at Helin* (*Helin yulu* 鶴林玉露), from which the following passage was translated.

The year of Hsin-ssu of the Shao-hsing period (1161), the Jurchen chief Wan-yen Liang (1122-1161) had been assassinated and Prince Ke (Shih-tsung, 1161-1189) ascended the throne as the ruler of the Chin. He sent an envoy to talk peace with the Sung. In return, Hung Mai was dispatched to

the Chin court as an envoy to congratulate the new ruler on his inauguration. As soon as he entered the Chin territory, Hung negotiated on protocol with the Chin minister, who came to meet him at the border. It was agreed that the two states should be accorded equal status. Hence, this was reflected in all documents and credentials, the same as those written in the old Eastern Capital [Pien-liang] days.

Soon, however, all the documents were rejected. Hung was told to change the wording of the documents according to the current form [that is, to address the Chin court from the position of a dependant state]. As Hung refused to do so, the Jurchens locked him and his party up without supplying them any food. The next day, the Chin minister who claimed to have studied with his father Hung Hao (1088–1155) when the latter was an envoy to the Chin court, came to explain the situation to Hung. The visitor advised him not to be too obstinate and warned that unless there was some accommodation on his part, the worst could happen. Fearing to be detained in the enemy country, Hung agreed to change the format of the documents.

Hung was afflicted with a kind of palsy which made his head shake slightly. One of his contemporaries wrote a poem to ridicule his capitulation as follows:

For nineteen years Su Wu in  
 Captivity suffered privation.  
 A modern envoy can't endure hunger  
 Even for a day's duration.  
 Let there be a word of advice  
 To the wise  
 You should have shaken your  
 Head even if it's not your choice.<sup>41</sup>

The poem's reference to the Han Dynasty minister Su Wu can also be read as an oblique reference to Hong Mai's father, Hao. Su Wu's twenty or so year detention during his diplomatic mission to the Xiongnu hordes—a non-Han Chinese enemy of the Han state—was well known at the time. His loyalty to the Han court henceforth became the stuff of legend. Similarly, after his return to the Southern Song court after fourteen years, Hong Hao was compared to Su Wu by none other than the Gaozong emperor; it is no wonder that Hao incurred the enmity of Qin Gui. Therefore, the poet here seems to be ridiculing Hong Mai's inability to live up to his father's determination and courage.

As noted above, judging from the preface to the second installment of the *Record*, work began on this installment around or shortly after Hong's return from his mission, during which period he spent much time in the vicinity of Raozhou and Poyang. This second twenty-chapter installment was completed by 1166 and was named with the second heavenly stem: the *Yi zhi* 乙志.

Hong was recalled to Lin'an in 1166 by the recently-installed Xiaozong 孝宗 emperor (r. 1163–1190) and was appointed a drafter of records for rest

and repose (*quju sberen* 起居舍人), that is, the emperor's daily (and nightly) activities. The following year he was appointed to a post of a state (official) historiographer and worked on the *History of the Three Courts* 三朝國史 (*Sanchao guosbi*) as well as the veritable records of the Qinzong 欽宗 emperor (r. 1126). He appeared to enjoy a good relationship with Xiaozong, which was possibly fueled by a mutual love of poetry. It was during this period that he presented an anthology of Tang poems to the emperor. Hence, anomaly accounts were not the only object of Hong Mai the collector. Below is a translation from Song literatus Ye Shaoweng's 葉紹翁 (1175–1230) *Record of Things Heard and Seen in Four Courts* (*Sichao wenjian lu* 四朝聞見錄), which documents Hong's conversation with the emperor regarding these poems.

Once Hung Mai was in attendance upon the emperor Hsiao-tsung who was enjoying his leisure. The emperor mentioned that he was compiling an anthology of four-lined Tang poems to while away his spare time in the palace and that so far he had collected some 600 poems.

"To your servant's recollection, there are a good deal more than that," Hung said.

"How many are there?" the emperor asked.

"I would say about 5000," Hung replied.

"If that's so, I think I'd ask you to compile it," the emperor commanded.

Hung spent over a year searching for Tang poems. He collected about twenty to thirty percent of what he was to collect, supplemented with those contained in novels and supernatural stories as well as poems by women. He presented the finished compilation to the emperor. The emperor knew it was far short of target, but commended the effort nevertheless.<sup>42</sup>

Hong's relationship with Xiaozong, however, evidently gave rise to jealousy and he was forced to leave the capital in 1168 after having been accused of flattery by the vice councilor, Chen Junqing 陳俊卿 (1113–1186).<sup>43</sup> Hong returned to Poyang where he tended his garden and, undoubtedly, devoted more time to the *Record*.

The year 1170 saw Hong take up a position as prefect of Ganzhou 贛州 (Ganzhou in modern Jiangxi). The third installment of the *Record* was completed the following year and published there. While it is unclear whether this edition comprised a single installment or multiple installments, given that there is a listing in the *Bibliographic Treatise* (*Yiwen zhi* 藝文志) of the *History of the Song* for an edition comprising the first three installments, this is a likely reference to the Ganzhou edition. There is not, however, the scope to discuss textual history here.

Hong received a promotion to the large metropolis of Jianning 建寧 (modern Fujian) in 1177, where he remained until 1180. The fourth installment of the *Record* was completed in the seventh month of 1180 and was published together with the first three. We can be sure of this thanks to the oldest extant copy of the *Record* which was reprinted in the Yuan Dynasty using original Song wood



blocks. Some time during the Yuan, the blocks used to print the original Song edition were found in Jianning's prefectural school. Missing blocks were then supplemented so as to produce a new edition.

The first installment of Hong's other major work, the philological *Rongzhai suibi* 容齋隨筆, was also completed in 1180 and, as can be seen from the anecdote below, was well received by the Xiaozong emperor.

In the fourteenth year of the *Cb'un-hsi* period (1188), Hung Mai had a private audience with the emperor Hsiao-tsung one day. "I recently came across a notebook by someone from a certain studio," said the emperor. "I wonder who the author was."

"It is called *Jung-chai sui-pi*, written by your servant," Hung replied. "There is nothing worth reading."

"But there are quite a few good comments therein," the emperor said.

Hung made obeisance to thank to emperor for his kindness.<sup>44</sup>

Hong returned to Poyang after leaving Jianning. He did not take up another post until 1183 when he was sent to govern Wuzhou 婺州 (in modern Jiangxi). He was recalled to the capital in 1185 to serve as an official historiographer and was appointed a Hanlin academician the following year. Unfortunately, he was forced to resign this post in 1188 after being criticized over his proposed temple name for the late Gaozong emperor, in addition to other controversies surrounding Gaozong's memorial. The ensuing years saw him undertake two further provincial postings: Taipingzhou 太平州 (modern Dangtu 當塗 in Jiangsu) from 1188 to 1190, and Shaoxing 紹興 (modern Zhejiang) in 1190. At the end of 1190, he was granted an honorary position with an accompanying emolument and remained in Shaoxing until around 1195 or 1196. The fifth and sixth installments of the *Record* were completed in 1190. By the time Hong left Shaoxing, he had completed ten twenty-chapter installments (two hundred chapters) and had begun work on the second series. In other words, approximately half was completed before Hong's effective retirement. This dispels Lu Xun's misconception that the *Record* is a product of Hong's late years.<sup>45</sup> While Lu undoubtedly made this mistake based on the erroneous biography of Hong Mai in the *History of the Song*, it has unfortunately been parroted by subsequent scholars and editors who have written brief introductions to the work in literary encyclopedias and the like. While there is no extant information on the publication of installments other than what I have mentioned above, we do know that the tenth was published in the Fukienese printing village of Masha 麻沙, which was notorious for its poor quality imprints.<sup>46</sup> Yet whether this was a single installment or a multiple-installment edition is unclear.

The years following 1196 saw Hong devote most of his retirement to the writing of both the *Record* as well as the *Rongzhai suibi*. Judging from remarks made in his prefaces from this period, it is clear that he derived great pride from his writing speed. In the preface to the *Zhijia zhi* (the eleventh

installment), completed in 1194, he discussed the length of time required to complete various installments up until that time. In the preface to the *Zhiyi zhi* (the twelfth installment), dated the twenty-eighth day of the second [lunar] month of 1195, Hong writes that three installments were completed the previous summer and boasts how this twelfth installment was completed in a mere month. In the preface of the *Zhijing zhi* (the thirteenth), also completed in 1195, he tells us that this installment took but ten months to complete. In the preface to the *Zhigeng zhi* (the seventeenth), completed in 1196, he not only brags that it was completed in forty-four days, but—as mentioned above—he even gives us the commencement and completion days: the *gengwu* day of the tenth month to the *guichou* day of the twelfth month.<sup>47</sup> The *Zhigui* installment (the twentieth) was completed in thirty days in 1197. In the preface of the *Sanzhi jia* (the twenty-first) installment, completed between 1197 and 1198, Hong expresses his pride in having completed the installment in a mere fifty days.

Given the frequency of reference, one cannot help wonder if this seeming obsession with writing speed was somehow linked to Hong's ego. An anecdote from Zhou Mi's *Words of a Retired Scholar from the East of Qi* (*Qidong yeyu* 齊東野語) affords a precious glimpse into Hong's life as a Hanlin academician. His preoccupation with writing speed is clearly discernible.

Hung Mai was assigned to the Hanlin Academy as a drafter of proclamations. On one occasion, he drafted no less than twenty documents in a single day. Having finished them, he took a stroll in the courtyard. He met an old man sunning himself in the garden. Upon inquiry, the old man, in his eighties, told Hung that he was a native of the capital and that for several generations his family had been the caretakers of the premise of the Hanlin Academy. Now that his sons and grandsons were continuing his job, he explained, he was spending his last days in retirement. He further mentioned the fact that as a boy, he had met many academicians of the *Yüan-yü* period (1086–1093) at the academy. "I heard that many documents need to be drafted today," the old man added. "Your honor must be rather tired now."

Pleased with what he heard, Hung Mai told the old man that he had drafted over twenty documents that day. "The academician is talented and fast thinking. Few people can be your peers," the old man praised him.

"I would imagine that Su Shih in his days was no better than me," Hung said proudly.

The old man nodded. But after a pause, he said, "Su Shih, indeed, was just as fast as your honor. Only he did not have to look up information from books."

Blushing, Hung Mai hated himself for being so easily carried away.<sup>48</sup>

Hong's self-comparison to a widely recognized genius—Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1101)—in regard to writing speed suggests that, to him, speed was somehow related to self-esteem. Well may we ask, therefore, if he viewed high production

speed as a mark of intelligence? This anecdote suggests that he did and, if so, it helps explain Hong's frequent references to such speed.

Another recurrent idea expressed in these later prefaces was Hong's professed attempts to cease the collecting and writing of strange stories, yet being unable to do so due to force of habit. Consider his words from the preface to the *Zhiren zhi* installment (the twenty-ninth) completed between 1196 and 1197, as paraphrased in Zhao Yushi's *Guests Retire*.

The [preface to the] *Zhiren* states: Male relatives tell me that my devotion to writing and my ceaseless collecting of strange stories is not the kind of rest and relaxation fit for an elderly gentleman, and that I should desist. I took their advice, and within a day I had lost my palate for wine. I felt too constrained for strolling. My heart had lost its repose and my spirit had become dull. Those who had advised me to stop did not know what had come over me. And so, self-satisfied, I laughed at them.

Could this be my destiny? Like a stallion charging down an endless hill, wanting to stop but unable to do so. I am, therefore, giving rein to my urges, and will follow them to the end of this life. Later on, if I become unable to recognize the world around me, I will surrender myself without any outside pressure.<sup>49</sup>

Hong also discusses his ceaseless collecting and recording in the preface of the *Sanzhi ding* installment (the thirty-fourth).

The [preface to the] *Sanzhi Ding* states: When a man reaches seventy or eighty, and should he have the good fortune to enjoy good health and well being, he should [be able to] retire to his retreat, be early to bed and early to rise, mull over books and pledge himself eternally to his good lady.<sup>50</sup>

Otherwise he could entertain seasoned travelers from the four corners of the earth, or else he could meditate and train his body with the climbing bear and gazing owl method.<sup>51</sup> As for the writing of books, this comes from the basest of motives. Yet I cannot release myself from this folly. Regretting it, I once hastily cleared away all my material, not looking at it again. But it was like forbidding a toddler from falling down. Before long, I was once again involved, more so than ever. I will not listen [to the advice of others] again, even should the mountains collapse and the rivers run dry.<sup>52</sup>

Judging from these prefaces, the collecting and recording of anomalous accounts occupied much of Hong's life in retirement. To be sure, the completion dates of each preface bear witness to his rapid rate of production. As can be seen from the table below, even though the completion year for some installments is unknown, we may infer that in the three years of 1196, 1197, and 1198, some sixteen installments were completed. Since each of the later installments comprised ten chapters, we can determine that a massive 160 chapters were completed within three years. In other words, approximately twenty-six percent of the entire corpus was completed in this space of time.

Compared to this, the four years required to write the remaining three installments completed between 1198 and Hong's death in 1202 seem an unusually long time. Given the phenomenal speed maintained in the three years prior to 1198, it is unlikely that Hong would have spent the next four to produce just three installments. Therefore, it seems highly likely that he was too ill to write in the last years of his life. If correct, it is likely that the final installment of the largest single collection of its kind ever to have been written by one person was completed in 1199.

When Hong died in 1202, he was buried at the foot of Roaring Dragon Mountain (*Longhou shan* 龍吼山) in his ancestral Poyang.

TABLE 1: COMPLETION DATES OF  
THE INSTALLMENTS FROM THE *RECORD*.

INSTALLMENT	NO. OF CHAPTERS	COMPLETION DATE	REMARKS
<i>Jia zhi</i>	20	1160?	
<i>Yi zhi</i>	20	1166	
<i>Bing zhi</i>	20	1171	
<i>Ding zhi</i>	20	1180	
<i>Wu zhi</i>	20	1190	lost
<i>Ji zhi</i>	20	1190	lost
<i>Geng zhi</i>	20	unknown	lost
<i>Xin zhi</i>	20	1194	lost
<i>Ren zhi</i>	20	1194	lost
<i>Gui zhi</i>	20	1194	lost
<i>Zhijia zhi</i>	10	1194	
<i>Zhiyi zhi</i>	10	1195	
<i>Zhijing zhi</i>	10	1195	
<i>Zhiding zhi</i>	10	1196	
<i>Zhiwu zhi</i>	10	1196	
<i>Zhiji zhi</i>	10	unknown	lost
<i>Zhigeng zhi</i>	10	1196	
<i>Zhixin zhi</i>	10	unknown	lost
<i>Zhiren zhi</i>	10	unknown	lost
<i>Zhigui zhi</i>	10	1197	
<i>Sanjia zhi</i>	10	unknown	lost
<i>Sanyi zhi</i>	10	unknown	lost
<i>Sanjing zhi</i>	10	unknown	lost
<i>Sanding zhi</i>	10	unknown	lost
<i>Sanwu zhi</i>	10	unknown	lost
<i>Sanji zhi</i>	10	1198	

TABLE I: COMPLETION DATES OF  
THE INSTALLMENTS FROM THE *RECORD*. (continued)

INSTALLMENT	NO. OF CHAPTERS	COMPLETION DATE	REMARKS
<i>Sangeng zhi</i>	10	unknown	lost
<i>Sanxin zhi</i>	10	1198	
<i>Sanren zhi</i>	10	1198	
<i>Sangui zhi</i>	10	unknown	lost
<i>Sijia zhi</i>	10	unknown	lost
<i>Siyi zhi</i>	10	unknown	lost

Source: The information for the above table has been extracted from all extant prefaces, in addition to Chen Zhensun's 陳振孫 *Zhibai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題, ch.11, and Ma Duanlin's 馬端臨 *Wenxian Tongkao jingji kao* 文獻通考經籍考, 217.