

Newly Recovered Anecdotes from Hong Mai's (1123–1202) *Yijian zhi*

B. J. ter Haar
Sinological Institute, Leiden

Students of Song history are fortunate to possess Hong Mai's 洪邁 (1123–1202) remarkable collection of anecdotes, the *Yijian zhi* 夷堅志 (*The Record of the Listener*; hereafter *The Record*).¹

I wish to express thanks to Valerie Hansen, Christian de Pee, and James M. Hargett for their kind help and criticism.

¹On Hong Mai, see the standard chronological biography by Wang Deyi 王德毅, "Hong Rongzhai xiansheng nianpu" 洪容齋先生年譜 (hereafter "Nianpu"), in *Youshi xuebao* 幼獅學報 3.2 (1961): 1-63, and the shorter biography by Chang Fu-jui in Herbert Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976), 1:469-78. Wang Deyi's biography is based on an earlier chronological biography by Qian Daxin 錢大昕. There are two short studies in Japanese; namely, Ōtsuka Hidetaka 大塚秀高, "Kō Mai to *Iken shi*: rekishi to genjitsu no kyōkan nite" 洪邁と<夷堅志>:歴史と現實の狭間にて, *Chūtetsu bungaku kaihō* 中哲文學會報 5 (1980): 75-96, and Suzuki Kiyoshi 鈴木青, "Kō Kō to Kō Mai" 洪皓と洪邁, *Hōsei daigaku kyōyōbu kiyō jimbunkagakuhen* 法制大學教養部紀要人文科學編 74 (1990): 1-17. A biography that integrates the extremely rich evidence on Hong Mai and his family in *The Record* itself with more conventional sources has yet to be written. On a recent trip to Taiwan, I came across the following unpublished, but very useful Ph.D. dissertation: Wang Nianshuang 王年雙, "Hong Mai shengping ji qi *Yijian zhi zhi yanjiu*" 洪邁生平及其夷堅志之研究 (Guoli Zhengzhi daxue, 1988). Special features are a detailed bibliographical discussion of *The Record*, biographical information on Hong Mai, his relatives, and contributors, and a detailed analysis of the contents of *The Record*. I have drawn on this dissertation when it contributed significantly to my argument. The best description of the contents of *The Record* is Chang Fu-jui, "Le Yi Kien Tche et la société des Song," *Journal Asiatique* 256 (1968): 55-93, and his short bibliographical note in Yves Hervouet, ed., *A Sung Bibliography* (Hong Kong: The Chinese Univer-

The material therein covers the entire spectrum of twelfth-century society, especially (but not exclusively) from northern Jiangxi, northern Fujian, and the Lower Yangzi region. Although Hong Mai provides names for the sources of many of his anecdotes, a detailed study of the social and intellectual background of his informants has yet to be carried out. My own investigation of the names of all these informants has led to the preliminary finding that Hong Mai obtained most of his anecdotes from relatives such as his brothers, in-laws, and close friends.²

sity Press, 1978), 344-45 (Hervouet's table of lost installments contains numerous mistakes, as a comparison with the table of contents of the 1981 edition shows). In her *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 16-23, Valerie Hansen discusses the value of *The Record* as a source.

²Hansen, *Changing Gods*, 19, argues that Hong Mai gathered his anecdotes from informants of all walks of life, based on a remark by Hong that "[my stories] do not necessarily come from present-day wise ministers or high officials, but poor people, monks living in retreats, retired officials, Daoist priests, blind shamans, ordinary women, lowly clerks, and runners; all come with strange stories . . ." See Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 4.537. I have made a cursory check of Hong Mai's statement, limiting my investigation to those informants who contributed one or more complete *juan*. Wang Nianshuang, "Hong Mai," 231-341, gives a survey of all informants, but does not present any further analysis. A complete report would take too much space, but out of at least sixteen persons who contributed one or more *juan*, only one did not have an official background and/or some examination degree (or was not studying for it): the fortune-teller (*shushi* 術士 and *bushi* 卜士) Xu Qian 徐謙 from Raozhou (see *The Record*, *zhigui*: 8.1282 and *sanxin*: 9.1453). He contributed the contents of *The Record*, *sanji*: 2, and many individual anecdotes. Since he could write classical Chinese, his intellectual framework differed considerably from that of the average population. On the other hand, Lü Daniao 呂大年 (*zi* Deqing 德卿) contributed seven complete *juan* (*The Record*, *zhijing*: 3, 4; *zhigui*: 2, 3; *zhigeng*: 4; *zhiding*: 2, 3), in addition to individual anecdotes. He was the grandson of a government minister (*The Record*, *bu*: 14.1682) and occupied various minor official posts. See Wang Nianshuang, "Hong Mai," 261. Zhu Conglong 朱從龍 contributed six *juan* (*The Record*, *zhiyi*: 1; *zhijia*: 1, 2, 3; *zhiding*: 9; *sanji*: 3) as well as many

Hong Mai started collecting anecdotes in 1142 or 1143 and completed his first collection in 1161. It seems very likely that the return of his father, Hong Hao 洪皓, from the North in 1143 contributed to Mai's undertaking. As many as eleven out of the nineteen stories in the first chapter of *The Record* probably originated with Hong Hao (five of them are quoted from Hao's *Songmo jiwen* 松漠紀聞). Many editions of this first compilation appeared immediately in Fujian, Sichuan, Wuzhou, and Hangzhou. Because of its immense success, Hong Mai published a second installment in 1166 and continued to produce new installments throughout the rest of his life, with ever shorter intervals between each sequel.³ As a result of this method of publication, even during the Song only a few people were able to possess the complete collection and since then about half the collection has been lost.⁴ A number of anecdotes have been preserved as quotations in other collections of anecdotes, medical works, encyclopedias, and local gazetteers, from which some of the lost material has since been recovered.

In 1927, Zhang Yuanji 張元濟 published an important edition of *The Record*, which brought together all the extant installments (with text-critical comments), as well as a large appendix (*bu* 補)

individual anecdotes. He also once held an official post and his father had been friends with two *xiuca* (*The Record*, *zhijia*: 2.722-23 and *sanji*: 4.1330).

³On the date that he started collecting anecdotes, see *The Record*, preface *zhijia*: 711 (dated 1194), which says "fifty-two years ago"; for the date of the completion of the first installment, cf. *The Record*, preface *yi*: 185 (dated 1166), which gives "five years ago." On the basis of a lost preface quoted in the *Bintui lu* (see n. 4 below), Suzuki Kiyoshi, "Kō Kō," 12-15, argues for 1143. He also analyzes the relationship between Hong Hao's return and *The Record*. Hansen, *Changing Gods*, 18, gives 1157 for the first edition, which seems to be incorrect.

⁴One of the few persons, even during the Song, to have seen all installments was Zhao Yushi 趙與時. See his *Bintui lu* 賓退錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), 8.97-100, where he quotes from Hong Mai's prefaces.

comprised of all the additional material found in a topically arranged edition by Ye Zurong 葉祖榮 (from a Ming manuscript based on a Song edition). Furthermore, Zhang himself had traced a number of lost anecdotes from *The Record* in a variety of miscellaneous sources, which he included in a separate appendix (*zaibu* 再補). In 1976, Chang Fu-jui 張馥芯 (Zhang Furui, Tchang Fou-joui) published an index using the French transcription system, based on the 1927 edition. It consists of four different indices, which cover the names of persons (indicating their professions, when known) and places, as well as the titles of books quoted in (or quoting from) *The Record*, and, finally, an alphabetically arranged list with the headings of all the anecdotes. The index gives the *juan*, page number, and—very conveniently—the number of the story in the *juan*.⁵

In 1981, He Zhuo 何卓 published a modern edition, which was largely based on Zhang Yuanji's version. He added a third appendix (*sanbu* 三補) of anecdotes, which he had gathered (with one exception) from the *Great Collection of the Yongle Period* (*Yongle dadian* 永樂大典). An important feature of this edition is a four-corner index to the names of persons, compiled by Wang Xiumei 王秀梅.⁶ It only partly supersedes the indices by Chang Fu-jui, but is certainly much more convenient. Sadly, neither of these two indices include the names of Hong Mai's informants, which are usually indicated in small print, nor do they give the names of deities.

In a 1989 article in *T'oung Pao*, Wang Hsiu-huei demonstrated that at least fourteen of the attributions by Zhang Yuanji and He Zhuo in their second and third appendices (*zaibu* and *sanbu*) are

⁵Zhang Yuanji, *Yijian zhi* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1927); Chang Fu-jui, *Index du Yi-Kien Tche* (Paris: L'institut des hautes études chinoises, Collège de France, 1976) (Chinese title: Zhang Furui, *Yijian zhi tongjian* 夷堅志通檢, Paris, 1975 [sic]).

⁶Hong Mai, *Yijian zhi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981). All references in this article are to this edition of *The Record*.

incorrect and come from entirely different sources.⁷ The first and longest appendix (*bu*), however, seems to be reliable. Many of the mistakes in the second and third appendices were caused by confusing *The Record* with one of its sequels, an anonymous collection dating after 1302 and titled *Huhai xinwen yijian xuzhi* 湖海新聞夷堅續志 (*The Sequel Record of the Listener [Based on] New Hearsay from the Lakes and Seas*; hereafter *Sequel Record*).⁸ These last two appendices must be used with caution. Furthermore, Wang herself adds another twenty-seven lost anecdotes, recovered mainly from Song and Yuan local histories. She also provides detailed summaries of these anecdotes.⁹ In 1989 the author also published in *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 a different version of her *T'oung Pao* article. I saw this article only after finishing my own.¹⁰

⁷Wang Hsiu-huei, "Vingt-sept récits retrouvés du *Yijian zhi*," *T'oung Pao* 75 (1989): 204-06. She also gives a list (206-07) of repeated passages in different sections of *The Record* as reconstructed by Zhang Yuanji and He Zhuo.

⁸Wang Hsiu-huei, "*Yijian zhi*," 204-06. This sequel, by an anonymous author, has been republished together with another sequel, the *Xu Yijian zhi* 續夷堅志 (*A Sequel to The Record of the Listener*) by Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190-1257), as *Xu yijian zhi; Huhai xinwen yijian xuzhi* 續夷堅志湖海新聞夷堅續志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986). On the earlier editions of the *Sequel Record*, see the editor's Preface. Anecdote with the latest date: *Sequel Record*, 294. Although this source contains much unreliable information, likely copied from earlier sources, it also contains many late Southern Song and early Yuan anecdotes. It thus neatly supplements *The Record*, which stops before 1202.

⁹Wang Hsiu-huei, "*Yijian zhi*," 194-203.

¹⁰Wang Hsiu-huei (Wang Xiuhui) 王秀惠, "*Yijian zhi yishi jibu*" 夷堅志佚事輯補, *Hanxue yanjiu* 7.1 (1989): 163-83. This article contains the original anecdotes. Although the presentation in the *T'oung Pao* article is sometimes clearer, the two articles are best consulted together. In the following list I have added the numbers of the *T'oung Pao* article materials in parentheses after the numbers in the *Hanxue yanjiu* article: 1 (18), 2 (19), 3 (1), 4 (2), 5 (3), 6 (4), 7 (5), 8 (6), 9 (7), 10 (8), 11 (9), 12 (10), 13 (11), 14

The work of recovering anecdotes has also continued on Mainland China. Kang Baocheng 康保成 published an article in 1986 that I have not yet seen, but which was partly corrected by Cheng Hong 程弘 in 1987. More recently, Li Yumin 李裕民 also published a lengthy supplement, consisting mostly of materials not included in Wang Xiuhui's (Wang Hsiu-huei) articles.¹¹

I propose that another forty-four anecdotes also stem from lost installments of *The Record*. Two anecdotes are in the section on exceptional events in the 1637 Jiaxing 嘉興 county gazetteer. They are quoted under the title of *The Record* and present no difficulties in identification. I will discuss them in the second part of the Appendix below. There I also discuss a reference to an anecdote from the lost *geng* installment. This is found in the *Qingbo zazhi* 清波雜誌, a work by Hong Mai's contemporary Zhou Hui 周輝 (1127-after 1198).

As many as forty-two additional anecdotes are found in the little known compilation *Yiwen zonglu* 異聞總錄 (*Comprehensive Record of Strange Hearsay*; hereafter *Comprehensive Record*), probably dating from the Yuan. These are not quoted under the title of *The Record*. The remainder of this article is devoted to demonstrating that these anecdotes have come from lost installments of *The Record*. The results are presented in the first part of the Appendix.

(12), 15 (13), 16 (15), 17 (16), 18 (17), 19 (20), 20 (21), 21 (22), 22 (23), 24 (25), 25 (26), 26 (27), 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. No. 14 in the *T'oung Pao* article is not included in the *Hanxue yanjiu* article. Nos. 27 and 28 are from Zhipan 志磐, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記. Nos. 29-30 are from the work discussed in detail below.

¹¹Kang Baocheng, "Yijian zhi jiyi jiuzhe" 夷堅志輯佚九則, *Wenxian* 29 (1986): 21-24; Cheng Hong, "Guanyu Yijian zhi yiwen ji 'Dongchuang shi-fan'" 關於夷堅志佚文及〈東窗事犯〉, *Wenxian* 文獻 32 (1987): 285-86; Li Yumin, "Yijian zhi buyi sanshize" 夷堅志補遺三十則, *Wenxian* 46 (1990): 172-84 (including the original anecdotes).

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the *Comprehensive Record* is transmitted only in Ming or later collectanea (*congshu* 叢書). The compiler has remained anonymous. I have used the edition in the *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 筆記小說大觀, also reprinted in the *Congshu jicheng* 叢書集成.¹² The editors of the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, or *Complete Books of the Four Treasuries*, already noticed that the *Comprehensive Record* was compiled by gathering material from different sources. They added that one of the anecdotes must have originated from a lost installment of *The Record*.¹³ Their conclusion was based on the following passage:

A certain courtesan was able to compose *shi* 詩 and *ci* 詞 poetry with the turn of her hand. I once gave her paper and brush at a dinner party and she composed a *ci* poem. It generally praised me and my brothers, saying: "The heroic spirit of the River Po has convened the three talents."¹⁴

Hong Mai and his two elder brothers were known as "the three talents" because all of them had passed the *jinshi* examination. Thus, there can be little doubt that this anecdote is from *The Record*.

The remark by the editors of the *Complete Books of the Four Treasuries* catalog has never prompted any further research, no doubt because the *Comprehensive Record* never explicitly men-

¹²These modern editions are based on the rare Ming collectanea by Shang Jun 商潛, the *Baihai* 裨海 (also known as *Bogu cunshi* 博古存什). I have used the Yangzhou guji shudian edition of 1983, which has different pagination than the Xinxing shuju edition for a number of books, including the *Comprehensive Record*. For more information on the *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* see my Appendix.

¹³See *Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書 (rpt., Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983 onwards), *Qinding Siku quanshu zongmu* 欽定四庫全書總目, 144.8b-9a (vol. 3: 1046). Contrary to He Zhuo's note in *The Record*, *sanbu*: 1815, the characters for *Yijian zhi* are written correctly in the catalog (at least in this copy).

¹⁴*Comprehensive Record*, 4.9b. Quoted in *The Record*, *sanbu*: 1815.

tions any of its sources. However, a close reading of that compilation clearly reveals that it indeed quotes extensively from extant installments of *The Record* and numerous other collections of anecdotes. As a first step, I have attempted to trace all *Comprehensive Record* anecdotes in extant installments of *The Record*, with the aid of the above-mentioned indices by Zhang Furui and Wang Xiumei. In my Appendix, all anecdotes common to these two works are marked with a "+" sign. The textual differences between the shared anecdotes are negligible, except that the compiler of the *Comprehensive Record* has left out all titles of the anecdotes.¹⁵

Significantly, there is a clear pattern to the quotations from *The Record* in the *Comprehensive Record*:

a. All quotations in the *Comprehensive Record* are from the consecutive *bing* 丙 (published in 1171) and *ding* 丁 (publication date unclear) installments of *The Record*.¹⁶ They are quoted in the same sequence as they appear in *The Record* and are from a limited number of *juan*: *bing*: 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16, and *ding*: 15, 19, and 20.

b. Virtually all anecdotes from the *bing* and *ding* installments are quoted in the first half of the first *juan* of the *Comprehensive Record*, except for three other anecdotes from these installments, which appear in the first half of the second *juan* in the *Comprehensive Record*.¹⁷

¹⁵For example, *Comprehensive Record*, 1.2b-3 quotes *The Record*, *bing*: 14.487, but also provides its source; *Comprehensive Record*, 1.4b-5a quotes *The Record*, *ding*: 15.66, but not its comments; *Comprehensive Record*, 2.2b quotes *bing*: 10.447-48, but with a serious error in the last line concerning its source.

¹⁶*The Record*, preface *bing*: 363 and *ding*: 537.

¹⁷*Comprehensive Record*, 2a-b and 4a; *The Record*, *bing*: 7.421, 10.447-48, and *ding*: 20.703-04.

c. Three anecdotes in the *Comprehensive Record* are from other lost installments, which have been preserved in the topical collection of Ye Zurong and are therefore found in the first appendix (*bu*) of the 1927 and 1981 editions.¹⁸ A fourth anecdote is the one from which I quoted above.

The next step is to ascertain which anecdotes in the *Comprehensive Record* definitely do not come from *The Record*. The material in *The Record* was related to Hong Mai by informants who had witnessed the events in the anecdotes or were close to people who had participated in the events described. As a result, most material dates from the last two decades of the Northern Song and from the Southern Song, before Hong Mai's death in 1202 (we do not know when the last and now lost installments were published, but I have not yet found anecdotes dated after 1200). Anecdotes in the *Comprehensive Record* that fall outside this time-span can safely be excluded as material from *The Record*. In addition, many anecdotes in the *Comprehensive Record* can be identified as quotations from earlier collections. Anecdotes in the *Comprehensive Record* that can be dismissed from further consideration—in other words, material that has not come from lost installments of *The Record*—are indicated with a “—” sign in the Appendix.

The anonymous compiler of the *Comprehensive Record* uses the same pattern of quotation used by Hong Mai in *The Record*. This is especially clear from the manner in which the compiler systematically quotes from one part of the *Xuanguai lu* 玄怪錄 (*Record of Strange and Weird Affairs*) by Niu Sengru 牛僧儒 (779-848) and from one *juan* of the *Later Collection* (*houji* 後集) of the *Sequel Record* (after 1302).¹⁹ Not only are the anecdotes quoted in clusters from other works, but in the *Comprehensive Record* itself,

¹⁸*Comprehensive Record*, 1.10a-b, 4.2b-3a, and 4.3a-b; *The Record*, *bu*: 21.1741-42, *bu*: 17.1706-07, and *bu*: 17.1710-11.

¹⁹The *Sequel Record* was published not as one complete work, but like its model *The Record* in parts.

too, the quotations from works other than *The Record* are all contained in the second parts of *juan* one and two and make up all of *juan* three. The pattern of clustering is almost perfect, with the exception of one anecdote from *The Record* at the end of *juan* one.

One can almost see the anonymous compiler of the *Comprehensive Record* sitting at his writing desk in his study. He has borrowed some installments of *The Record* and other works from his friends, which he is now reading. Now and then he copies into his notebooks some anecdotes that he finds particularly interesting. This method of compilation, which fails to say a word about original sources, is typical of the way in which scholars in traditional China amassed collections of materials. Many miscellaneous notes (*biji* 筆記), local gazetteers, and collections of anecdotes have been compiled in this way.

The material that I have been unable to identify as deriving from extant works can be divided into two groups. One group is the second half of *juan* one, which contains late Southern Song and early Yuan material and therefore dates from after the compilation of *The Record*. A likely source would be the Yuan *Sequel Record*, which also provides a series of anecdotes in the first half of *juan* three of the *Comprehensive Record*. Nevertheless, I have been unable to trace the second half of *juan* one in the *Sequel Record*.

The second group of unidentified material is formed by the first half of *juan* two and by *juan* four. Dating from the same period as *The Record* and presented in the same way (many anecdotes are followed by editorial comments in typical Hong Mai style), the action is set predominantly in the same three regions as in the extant installments of *The Record*. Some known anecdotes from *The Record* are interspersed throughout this material, including the anecdote pointed out by the editors of the *Complete Books from the Four Treasuries* catalog. Clearly, this material could well come from lost installments of *The Record*. If we can demonstrate that a significant part of this group of anecdotes stems from *The Record*, then we can assume that the rest of this group also comes from *The Record*, since we have already established

that the compiler of the *Comprehensive Record* always quotes clusters of anecdotes (especially of *The Record*) in the same sequence as the original source.

In addition to the story already identified by the editors of the *Complete Books from the Four Treasuries* catalog, seven stories from the *Comprehensive Record* can be identified with certainty as material from *The Record*. The first five of these stories involve informants and/or protagonists who were close relatives or friends of Hong Mai:

1. Hong Mai's younger brother Jingpei 景裴;²⁰
2. Fang Zizhang 方子張, who was Jingpei's father-in-law;²¹
3. Hong Mai's close friend Li Yong 李泳 (*zi* Ziyong 子永; died ca. 1185);²²
4. Another close friend of Hong Mai, Xin Qiji 辛棄疾 (*zi* Youan 幼安) (1140-1207);²³

²⁰*Comprehensive Record*, 4.2a-b. This brother frequently occurs as an informant and/or protagonist. For some examples see *The Record: Wang Xiumei's Index*, p. 62 item 3418₁:60. The brother is referred to as "younger brother Jingpei," "younger brother Pei," and "Jingpei." I am not certain which of his five younger brothers (See "Nianpu," p. 3) used Jingpei as his *zi*, or courtesy name. Wang Nianshuang, "Hong Mai," 39-41, suggests it was the eldest of those five, Hong Ti 洪遯.

²¹*Comprehensive Record*, 4.1a. *The Record*, *zhiyi*: 5.830, states that Hong Mai's informant "younger brother Pei" was the "son-in-law of Fang Zizhang," who was himself married to the daughter of the protagonist in this particular story (cf. also *The Record*, *yi*: 20.356). In *The Record*, *zhijing*: 2.890, Jingpei is also the informant for a story involving Fang Zizhang. Fang Zizhang is himself an informant as well, for instance in *The Record*, *yi*: 11.279-80.

²²*Comprehensive Record*, 4.3b-4a. On Li Yong's connection to Hong Mai see *The Record*, *sanji*: 8.1368. He appears as an informant in *The Record*, *sanji*: 8.1364, 1366-67. See Chang Bide 昌彼德 et. al., comps., *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 宋人傳記資料索引 (Taipei: Dingwen shuju, 1974-76) 2:835.

²³*Comprehensive Record*, 2.3b-4a; also appears in *The Record*, *zhiwu*: 8.1114. On the friendship between Hong Mai and Xin Qiji see "Nianpu," 8, 43,

5. Hong Mai's own father-in-law (*waijiu* 外舅), Zhang Zongyuan 張宗元 (*zi* Yuandao 淵道). In this case, we can be even more specific and identify the story as a lost anecdote that is also found, in fragmentary form, in *juan* 20 of the *bing* installment of *The Record*. The first five (and only remaining) characters of the text are the same, and the extant title "daughter of Zhang Chao 張朝" fits the contents of the *Comprehensive Record* precisely.²⁴

A sixth anecdote can be identified, not on the basis of the relationship between Hong Mai and the informant or protagonist(s), but in the same way as the preceding anecdote; that is, as the lost version of another fragmentary (though much longer than the previous instance) anecdote, also in *juan* 20 of the *bing* installment. It features a certain Xiao Zhu 蕭注, or Sixth Young Man Xiao.²⁵ The sequence of the last two anecdotes is the same in the *Comprehensive Record* and in the original installment of *The Record*.

The seventh anecdote from the *Comprehensive Record* that can be identified with considerable certainty as material from a lost installment of *The Record* is also one of the most interesting. The informant and protagonist is Li Zhiji 李知己, *zi* Zhizhong 智仲 (*jinsi* 1151). He is featured three times in extant installments of *The Record*.²⁶ The name of Li Zhiji as an informant in the *Com-*

which is based on a poems and inscriptions. See also Wang Nianshuang, "Hong Mai," 61-62.

²⁴*Comprehensive Record*, 1.4a and *The Record*, *bing*: 20.533. Zhang Zongyuan is featured in at least ten anecdotes, which often specify his family relationship. See *The Record*, *jia*: 6.48, 13.115, and 116; *yi*: 5.224, 13.291, and 16.318; *bing*: 14.482-84 (three anecdotes specifying the source as "father-in-law"); *ding*: 11.631. He was the informant for even more material. See also Wang Nianshuang, "Hong Mai," 54-57.

²⁵*Comprehensive Record* 1.4a-b; *The Record*, *bing*: 20.534.

²⁶As a protagonist, *The Record*, *zhigeng*: 2.1150 and 10.1214-15; as an informant, *The Record*, *zhiwu*: 10.1133. See Wang Nianshuang, "Hong Mai," 255.

prehensive Record anecdote is followed by one of Hong Mai's characteristic editorial comments: "Told by Zhizhong. Guo Tuan's 郭象 *Record of the Cart Full of Ghosts* (*Kuiche zhi* 睽車志) also carries this one. It mistakes Mrs. Chen for Mrs. Shi." And indeed, the *Record of the Cart Full of Ghosts* (probably compiled in imitation of early installments of *the Record*; completed in or shortly after 1181) carries a shorter version of the same story from a different source. This latter version also mentions Zhizhong, but only as a protagonist.²⁷ On stylistic grounds, and because the informant and protagonist Li Zhiji is featured three times in extant installments of Hong Mai's collection, the anecdote can be identified with some confidence as stemming from a lost installment of *The Record*.²⁸ The principal difference between the shorter version in the *Record of the Cart Full of Ghosts* and the longer version by Hong Mai is that the latter contains more specific details. Otherwise, the plot is exactly the same.

Another eleven anecdotes from the first half of *juan* two and the entire *juan* four of the *Comprehensive Record* contain nine

²⁷*Comprehensive Record*, 4.4a-b; the corresponding anecdote is in the *Record of the Cart Full of Ghosts* (*Biji xiaoshuo daguan* ed.), 1.5b. In another instance Hong Mai relates the same story, using only different wording. See *The Record*, *sanxin*: 8.1444, and *Record of the Cart Full of Ghosts*, 2.3a-b. In addition, *The Record*, *zhiding*: 8.1028-29, explicitly quotes a story from the *Record of the Cart Full of Ghosts*, 6.2b-3a. The title of *Record of the Cart Full of Ghosts* refers to the *Yijing* 易經 (*Book of Changes*), Trigram 38. The note by Chang Fu-jui in Hervouet, *A Sung Bibliography*, 346, dismisses the *Record of the Cart Full of Ghosts* as bad literature, because it is supposedly made up of fantastic stories. Actually, the book imitates the format of *The Record* and is as reliable (or unreliable) as Hong Mai's work. This collection deserves more frequent use by Song scholars. My date for the work is based on the latest anecdotes in the *Record of the Cart Full of Ghosts*, 2.4a and 3.1a.

²⁸Except for a certain Chen Zirong 陳子榮 (informant for *The Record*, *sanxin*: 8.1444, and *Record of the Cart Full of Ghosts*, 2.2b), these two works do not share their informants.

(groups of) informants and/or protagonists, who are also known from *The Record*:

1. Ye Yuanhuan 葉元澣(浣), a nephew of Ye Yong 葉頤 (*zi* Ziang 子昂; 1100-1167), from Xianyou 仙遊.²⁹
2. The divinity Ouyang Hu 歐陽祐, from Shaowu 邵武.³⁰
3. A certain "Liyou puchen" 李祐普臣, which makes no sense and should probably read "Li You, [*zi*] Jinren 晉仁." The characters are similar.³¹ A figure with this name occurs in *The Record*, in roughly the same function (local official), same period (early twelfth century) and same region (northwest China).³²
4. Wu Fei 吳芾 (*zi* Mingke 明可; 1104-1183), as a prefect of Yuzhang 預章 in 1169-1170.³³
5. Cheng Changyu 程昌禹 (*zi* Pingguo 平國), at a post in Dingzhou 鼎州 in the Shaoxing period (1131-1162) (*The Record*) or in Shaoxing 5 (1135) on his way back from this same post

²⁹*Comprehensive Record*, 2.1b; *The Record*, *zhijia*: 10.789; *zhijing*: 8.942; *zhiwu*: 1064 (specifies Xianyou as their ancestral home). *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 4:3242-43.

³⁰*Comprehensive Record*, 2.2a; *The Record*, *zhiwu*: 7.1103; *sanren*: 2: 1480-81; and *bu*: 20.1739-40. On this deity, cf. B. J. ter Haar, "The Genesis and Spread of Temple Cults in Fukien," in E.B. Vermeer, ed., *Development and Decline of Fukien Province in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Leiden: E.J., Brill, 1990), 363-65, 380-81.

³¹*Comprehensive Record*, 2.3b. This person served in the Taiyuan 太原 region as a *shuai* 帥 during the Zhenghe (1111-1118) period. *Shuai* is sometimes used as an unofficial term for a prefect. See, for instance, *The Record*, *yi*:16.318 or *ding*: 19.699.

³²*The Record*, *zhiding*: 5.1009, as a *yunshi* 運使 active during the Zhenghe and Xuanhe periods (1111-1126) in the Jingxi region. Similar copyist errors occur repeatedly in the *Comprehensive Record* (see also nn. 15 and 39).

³³*Comprehensive Record*, 4.1a-2a; *The Record*, *ding*: 19.698-99. *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 2:1099-1100.

(*Comprehensive Record*). In both instances, the anecdote is told by Changyu's son, Xi 禧, and this piece of information is recorded in exactly the same way. Cheng Changyu was known for his resistance in these years to the local rebel Yang Yao 楊么.³⁴

6. Huang Ban 黄彪 (*zi* Biaofu 彪父; fl. 1165-1173) and his son-in-law Cai Hengqian 蔡亨謙.³⁵

7. Lü Yijian 呂夷簡 (posthumous title Wenjing 文靖) (979-1044), ancestor of Lü Shuzhao 呂叔炤 and his sons Bizhong 必中 and Huizhong 會中.³⁶ They are scions of a famous Song literati family.³⁷

8. Xu Du 徐度 (*zi* Duanli 端立; fl. 1131), who appears as an informant for one *Comprehensive Record* anecdote on the Lüs, also appears as an informant in *The Record* three times.³⁸

9. The medical doctor Yong Youwen 雍友文.³⁹

My overall argument can now be summarized as follows:

a. The compiler of the *Comprehensive Record* systematically quotes clusters of anecdotes from other sources, while retaining the original sequence in his own text.

³⁴*Comprehensive Record*, 4.2b; *The Record*, *bu*: 2.1564. *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 4:3042.

³⁵*Comprehensive Record*, 4.8a and 8a-b; *The Record*, *ding*: 11.627-28. *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 4:2876.

³⁶*Comprehensive Record*, 4.8b, 8b-9b, and 10a; *The Record*, *zhijing*: 9.948, and *sanren*: 2.1482.

³⁷Franke, *Sung Biographies*, 2:706-07, 713-35, 744-47. On Lü Yijian see *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, 2:1202-03.

³⁸*Comprehensive Record*, 4.9b-10a; *The Record*, *yi*: 2.200 and 202, *zhiding*: 1.974. See Wang Nianshuang, "Hong Mai," 287-88.

³⁹*Comprehensive Record*, 4.10a-b, emending *zhiwen* 支文 to *youwen*; *The Record*, *zhigui*: 9.1293 (two anecdotes).

- b. The two extant installments of *The Record* are principal, identifiable sources for the *Comprehensive Record*.
- c. Every anecdote in the first half of *juan* two and all of *juan* four fits the criteria for inclusion in *The Record*. The dates, writing style, and locations are all correct.
- d. In this last group are several known anecdotes from *The Record*. In addition, seven other anecdotes can be identified as material from *The Record* with almost total certainty. Another eleven anecdotes feature the same informants and/or protagonists in the extant installments of *The Record*.
- e. Accordingly, I conclude that the entire first half of *juan* two and the entire *juan* four come from lost installments of *The Record*. In the Appendix, I have marked all of these forty-three anecdotes with an asterisk. It is impossible to establish with any certainty from which installment(s) these anecdotes come.

Appendix

A. *The Provenance of Anecdotes from the Comprehensive Record*

In this part of the Appendix, I summarize the various sources for the material in the *Comprehensive Record*, as far as I have been able to determine. For the forty-two anecdotes that stem from lost installments of *The Record*, I give the name(s) of the main protagonist and the informant and available dates.

In the left column I have placed the anecdotes from the *Comprehensive Record* (the page numbers refer to the *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* ed.). Reprints of the pre-war *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* are available in the editions from the Xinxing shuju (Taipei, 1973) in the first (*zheng* 正) series, vol. 2, 860-876, and from the Yangzhou Guji Shudian (Yangzhou, 1983), in vol. 1, 267-285. However, these two editions cannot be used interchangeably. Although they contain the same works, the sequence of these works is quite different. More annoyingly, the pagination of some works differs as well. This is the case with the *Comprehensive Record*, but not with the *Record of the Cart Full of Ghosts*. I suspect that a number

of works in the Yangzhou edition have been recopied. Such works with different pagination can be identified, because the printing is lighter than the other works and because they have a colophon at the beginning, which is printed in set type. Normally, such colophons are handwritten. All references are to the Yangzhou edition. Whenever the corresponding pagination in the Xinxing shuju edition differs, additional page references are provided in parentheses.

The *Comprehensive Record* is also included in the *Congshu jicheng* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937; vol. 2719), with the same *juan* division, but different pagination again. People who only have access to the *Congshu jicheng* edition can easily check the information in the Appendix below by referring to the names of the protagonist and/or informant. Since both the *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* and the *Congshu jicheng* are available in most sinological libraries, I have not included summaries of the anecdotes.

In the right column I give the various sources (if known) for the anecdotes in the *Comprehensive Record* or indicate the date of the anecdote. Again, all references are to the 1981 edition of *The Record*. To facilitate the use of this Appendix, I have indicated the status of each anecdote in the *Comprehensive Record* with respect to *The Record* as follows:

- the anecdote is definitely not from *The Record*
- + the anecdote is from extant installments of *The Record*
- * the anecdote is from lost installments of *The Record*

CR:
juan one

Original Source:

+1a	<i>The Record, bing:</i> 8.435-36.
+1a-b	<i>The Record, bing:</i> 11.458-59.
+1b	<i>The Record, bing:</i> 11.460.
+1b	<i>The Record, bing:</i> 11.461.
+1b-2a	<i>The Record, bing:</i> 12.468.
+2a-b (2a)	<i>The Record, bing:</i> 12.471.
+2b (2a-b)	<i>The Record, bing:</i> 13.478.

- +2b-3a *The Record, bing*: 14.487.
 +3a *The Record, bing*: 15.494.
 +3a-b *The Record, bing*: 16.498-99.
 +3b-4a (3b) *The Record, bing*: 16.502.
 *4a (3b) *The Record, bing*: 20.533; (probable) protagonist daughter of Zhang Chao; informant: Zhang Zongyuan (zi Yuandao) (discussed above).
 *4a-b (4a) *The Record, bing*: 20.534; protagonist Xiao Zhu (discussed above).
 +4b-5a (4a-b) *The Record, ding*: 15.660.
 +5a-b (4b-5a) *The Record, ding*: 15.661-62.
 +5b-6a (5a) *The Record, ding*: 15.664-65.
 +6a (5a-b) *The Record, ding*: 15.665.
 +6a (5b) *The Record, ding*: 19.697.
 +6a-b (5b) *The Record, ding*: 19.698.
 +6b (5b-6a) *The Record, ding*: 20.701.
 +6b-7a (6a) *The Record, ding*: 20.709.
 -7a (6a) 1273 (I have attempted to trace this and the following anecdotes in the *Sequel Record* without success.)
 -7a (6a-b) 1241-1252
 -7a-b (6b) 1297
 -7b (6b) 1294
 -7b-8a (7a) 1265-1274
 -8a (7a) after 1276
 -8a-b (7a-b) 1265-1274
 -8b (7b) 1253-1258
 -8b-9a (7b-8a) Song, but no precise date is given. The explicit mention of the dynasty “Song” and the dates of the preceding and following anecdotes suggest that the story was recorded during the Yuan.
 -9a (8a) 1276
 -9a-b (8a-b) Song, but no precise date is given. See preceding comment.

- 9b (8b) 1234-1236
 -9b-10a (8b-9a) 1265-1274
 +10a-b (9a-b) *The Record, bu*: 21.1741-42. This anecdote is out of place here, amidst a series of anecdotes post-dating the *Comprehensive Record*. It comes from the generally reliable topically arranged collection by Ye Zurong.
- 10b-11a (9b-10a) 1265-1274
- CR:* *Original Source:*
juan two
- *1a protagonist Ge Wenkang 葛文康
 *1a protagonist Liu Jingzhen 劉景真
 *1a-b protagonist Mr. Zhu 朱; 1157
 *1b protagonist Ye Yuanhuan (discussed above)
- *1b-2a (1b) protagonist Wansi Yan 萬俟彥; informant Cao Jinzhi 曹進之; 1186
- *2a Ouyang Hu cult in Shaowu (discussed above)
- +2a-b (2a) *The Record, bing*: 7.421.
 +2b (2a-b) *The Record, bing*: 10.447-48.
 *2b-3a (2b) protagonist Chen Boxiu 陳伯修
 *3a (2b-3a) Temporary Palace of the (Emperor of the) Eastern Peak; 1146, 1151
- *3a-b (3a) protagonist Wu Zhengguo 吳正國
 *3b (3a-b) protagonist Li You (discussed above); 1111-1117
- *3b-4a (3b) protagonist Han Yuanying 韓元英, informant Xin Youan (discussed above)
- +4a (3b-4a) *The Record, bing*: 20.703-04.
 *4a-b (4a) protagonist a shaman Zou 鄒; 1195
 -4b-5a (4a-b) 1237-1240

- 5a (4b) *Nandu lu* 南渡錄. Traditionally ascribed incorrectly to Xin Qiji, Hong Mai's friend. See *Zhongguo neiluan waihuo lishi congshu* 中國內亂外患歷史叢書 (Shanghai: Shenzhou guoguangshe, 1946, 1947 rpt.), 4.237.
- 5a-b (4b-5a) *Nan du lu*, 4.237-38.
- 5b-6b (5a-b) Niu Sengru, *Xuanguai lu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), 127-29.
- 6b (6a) Li Fang 李昉, *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961, 1986 rpt.), 299.2375-79 (quoted here in shortened form).
- 7a (6a-b) in the capital region (called Jingzhao 京兆, a term which is never used in *The Record*).
- 7b (6b-7a) located in Songzhou 宋州 (Tang place name)

CR:
juan three

Original Source:

- 1a-b *Sequel Record, hou*: 2.233-34 (also in *Taiping guangji*, 305.2419-20).
- 1b *Sequel Record, hou*: 2.235.
- 1b *Sequel Record, hou*: 2.235-236.
- 1b-2a *Sequel Record, hou*: 2.236.
- 2a *Sequel Record, hou*: 2.236-237.
- 2a-b *Sequel Record, hou*: 2.237.
- 2b *Sequel Record, hou*: 2.237-238.
- 2b-3a *Xuanguai lu*, 81 (*Taiping guangji*, 303.2904-05).
- 3a-b (3a) *Xuanguai lu*, 92.
- 3b-6a (3a-5b) *Xuanguai lu*, 93-97.
- 6a-7a (5b-6b) *Xuanguai lu*, 114-16.
- 7b (6b-7a) *Xuanguai lu*, 117-18.

- 8a (7a) mentions the Tang as period of action.
- CR:*
juan four
- Original Source:*
- *1a protagonist Fang Zizhang (discussed above)
- *1a-2a protagonist Wu Fei (discussed above)
- *2a-b (2a) protagonist Wu Yi 吳一; informant Hong Jingfei (discussed above)
- *2b (2a-b) protagonist Cheng Pingguo; informant Cheng Xi (discussed above)
The Record, bu: 17.1706-07.
- +2b-3a (2b) *The Record, bu:* 17.1710-11.
- +3a-b (2b-3a) Li Ziyong (discussed above)
- *3b-4a (3a-b) protagonist and informant Li Zhiji, zi Zhizhong (discussed above)
- *4a-b (3b-4a) protagonist Huang Kangguo 黃康國
- *4b (4a) protagonist Zhao Zai 趙再
- *4b (4a) protagonist Ban Zhi 班直
- *4b-5a (4a-b) protagonist Yu Renfu 余仁甫
- *5a (4b) protagonist Zhu *xiucai* 祝秀才
- *5a-b (4b-5a) protagonist Qian Wenli 錢聞禮
- *5b (5a) protagonist Shen Weizhi 沈唯之
- *5b-6a (5a-b) protagonist gardener
- *6a (5b) protagonist Zhu Songqing 朱宋卿
- *6a-b (5b) protagonist Kuan Fu 寬夫
- *6b (5b-6a) (no protagonist given)
- *6b (6a) protagonist Li *zhubo* 李主簿
- *6b-7b (6a-b) protagonist Lü Zhuang 呂莊
- *7b (6b) protagonist Zou Zhiqing 鄒直清
- *7b-8a (7a) protagonist Huang Ban (discussed above)
- *8a (7a) protagonist Cai Hengqian (discussed above)
- *8a-b (7a-b) protagonist LüYijian (discussed above)
- *8b (7b) protagonist LüYijian (discussed above)

- *8b-9a (7b-8a) protagonist Lü Shuzhao; informant Lü Huizhong (discussed above)
- *9a (8a) protagonist Huang Fu 黃輔
- *9a (8a) protagonist Wang Yinshi 汪尹師
- +9b (8b) *The Record, sanbu*: 1815 (discussed above).
- *9b-10a (8b-9a) mentions LüYijian; informant part anecdote Xu Du (discussed above)
- *10a-b (9a-b) protagonist and informant Yong Youwen (discussed above)

B. Other Recovered Anecdotes from *The Record*

1. The following two lost anecdotes are in the section on disasters and auspicious events in the *Jiaxing xianzhi* 嘉興縣志. See *Riben Zhongguo hanjian difangzhi congkan* 日本中國罕見地方志叢刊 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1991) 16.48b (p. 663) and 51a (p. 665). The gazetteer also quotes numerous other anecdotes from extant installments of *The Record*.
2. Zhou Hui (1127-post 1198), *Qingbo zazhi* (1192; *Biji xiaoshuo daguan*; Hervouet, *A Sung Bibliography*, 337-38), 9.5a-b, contains an anecdote about an early morning visit by two literati to a courtesan. One of them composes a suitable poem. The author then concludes his note with the remark that the *geng* installment of Hong Mai's *The Record* also contains this and the three poems in the preceding anecdotes.
3. In the second appendix (*zaibu*) of the 1927 edition, Zhang Yuanji includes a long note from Yue Ke's 岳珂 (1183-post 1240) *Tingshi* 程史 (preface dated 1214, but completed only after that date; Hervouet, *A Sung Bibliography*, 338-39), because it refers to an anecdote in *The Record*. Yue himself states that the contents of his note are approximately the same as Hong Mai's anecdote. Actually, Yue Ke's note consists of two anecdotes. Hong Mai's version of the first one is still preserved in *The Record*. It differs considerably from the later version recorded by Yue Ke. Both versions are based on an oral tradition in the Suzhou 蘇州 region

and close comparison may throw further light on the transmission of local stories. For the original version of the first of the two anecdotes see *The Record*, *bu*: 12.1657-60; on Yue Ke's version see *The Record*, *zaibu*: 1785-87 or *Tingshi* (*Biji xiaoshuo daguan* ed.), 3.4a-5b.