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# The Capital Behind the Capital: Life in Kaifeng as Reflected in the *Ducheng jisheng*

Dorothee Schaab-Hanke (Gossenberg)

## Introduction

The source on which the focus of this study lies is entitled *Ducheng jisheng* 都城紀勝 (Splendors of A Capital, Highlighted),<sup>1</sup> a text which is primarily related to Hangzhou, the capital of the Southern Song dynasty. As we shall see, however, the former Song capital Kaifeng is also frequently referred to in this text, and it will be argued that, due to the many comparisons drawn between Southern Song Hangzhou and Northern Song Kaifeng, the former Song capital appears in the text very much like a “capital behind the capital” – hence the title I decided to choose for this paper.

Moreover, the *Ducheng jisheng* is, as will be argued here, closely related to the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* 東京夢華錄 (A Record of Dreaming of Hua [Xu] in the Eastern Capital),<sup>2</sup> written by Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 (ca. 1090 – ca. 1150), the single best source we have to inform us about life, trade and customs in Kaifeng around the year 1120 AD, shortly before the Jurchen soldiers invaded the city and brought the reign of Emperor Huizong (r. 1101–1125) and the Northern Song dynasty to a sudden end. It is thus certainly no coincidence that the compilers of the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* (*wai sizhong*) edition had decided to assemble the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* together with four texts related to Southern Song Hangzhou in one volume, with the *Ducheng jisheng* as the first of them.<sup>3</sup> As some scholars have suggested, the role of the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* with regard to these four texts might even be equated with that of a “canon” (*dianfan* 典范).<sup>4</sup>

In this paper, my interest is a twofold one: On the one hand, I am searching for a possible “capital behind the capital”, more precisely, for the meaning that the former capital Kaifeng, as compared with Hangzhou, had to the author of the *Ducheng jisheng*. On the other hand, I am also searching for a possible “text behind the text”, to understand more closely the author’s intention. There are altogether three questions that I will pursue in this article, namely

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- 1 For other renderings of the title see, e. g., “Les sites fameux de la ville capitale” (Balazs and Hervouet 1978, 153), “A Record of the Splendors of the Metrocapital” (West 1985, 90), “Sämtliche Wunder der Hauptstadt” (Mittag 1990, 107). There is a preliminary translation of the text by Kay Popken (1987), which will soon be published in a revised version.
  - 2 In my rendering of the title I follow Stephen H. West, see e.g., West 1985. Hua 華 alludes to the paradise called Huaxu 華胥 as it is depicted in the philosophical text *Liezi* 列子 as the realm over which Huangdi, the Yellow Thearch, had ruled in mythical times.
  - 3 *Ducheng jisheng*, in: *Dongjing meng Hua lu wai sizhong* 東京夢華錄 (外四種) (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962), 89–110.
  - 4 See, e. g., Yi Yongwen 2009, 114–119; cf. also Huang Shuqi 2010, 57–76.

firstly: How is the former Song capital Kaifeng reflected in the *Ducheng jisheng*? Secondly, how is the *Ducheng jisheng* text related to the *Dongjing meng Hua lu*? And thirdly, what did Kaifeng and the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* possibly mean to the author of the *Ducheng jisheng*?

## 1 Kaifeng as Reflected in the *Ducheng jisheng*

Already in his preface (*xu* 序), dated 1235, the author of the *Ducheng jisheng*, of whom we only know his pseudonym – Guanpu naide weng 灌圃耐得翁 –, points out that in his view Hangzhou and Kaifeng were in a very specific way related to each other. The preface starts out with the words:

聖朝祖宗開國，就都于汴，而風俗典禮，四方仰之為師。自高宗皇帝駐蹕于杭，而杭山水明秀，民物康阜，視京師其過十倍矣。雖市肆與京師相伴，然中興已百余年，列聖相承，太平日久，前後經營至矣，輻輳集矣，其與中興時又過十數倍也。

When the Ancestor of Our Holy Dynasty had established the state, he made Bian his capital, and as regards both people's customs and rites, all the world looked upon it as a teacher. And after Emperor Gaozong has established his temporary residence in Hangzhou – the landscape of Hang(zhou) being so exquisite and the people being so prosperous – that it surpassed the (former) capital already ten times! While the market-areas match the (former) capital, and in the more than a hundred years following the restoration, one holy (emperor) following after the other, during a phase of peace lasting already so long, the administration has by and by moved here, and the center is overcrowded with the carriages (of the high dignitaries). Compared to the time of the restoration, (present Hangzhou) again surpasses (that of a hundred years before) several dozen times!"<sup>5</sup>

The dynamics contained in this passage can be described as a process consisting of three steps. Step 1 refers to Kaifeng (here called by its earlier name Bian 汴) of which the authors says that soon after the establishment of the Northern Song dynasty, it was looked upon everywhere as a "standard" or "prototype" as regards both its customs and rites (*er fengsu dianli sifang yang zhi wei shi* 而風俗典禮，四方仰之為師). As for step 2, after the emperor's flight to the South-East, even at the time when Hangzhou was still only a halting place (*zhubi* 駐蹕) for the Imperial entourage, the author says that it had already exceeded the former capital Kaifeng by far. And finally, as a third step, in (the author's) present time, about one hundred years after the restoration (*zhongxing* 中興), Hangzhou in his words had even come to surpass Kaifeng several tens of times compared to the beginning of the Southern Song dynasty. In other words, the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* claims that the benchmark that Kaifeng had set in the heydays of the Northern Song dynasty had not only been replaced but even exceeded by Hangzhou as it presented itself in the 13th century.

The impression that may be gained from the preface of the *Ducheng jisheng* that Kaifeng must have been of quite some importance to the author of this text is further enhanced by the fact that references to Kaifeng even outnumber those to Hangzhou in the text. While Hangzhou is referred to 25 times, Kaifeng is referred to 26 times in the *Ducheng jisheng* text.<sup>6</sup>

5 *Ducheng jisheng, xu* (WSZ, 89).

In most cases in which Kaifeng is explicitly referred to in the *Ducheng jisheng* the reference is part of a comparison between Kaifeng and Hangzhou. So far, I have been able to count 13 cases in which such a direct comparison is drawn. In several of these passages the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* point out that even in the Hangzhou that he experienced in his life time, the Northern life style and culture that had prevailed in Kaifeng when it was still the capital of the Song empire could still quite strongly be sensed. To give only some examples:

In section 4 (“Restaurants”) of the *Ducheng jisheng* we read:

都城食店，多是舊京師人開張，如羊飯店兼賣酒。

The restaurants in the (present) capital are mostly run by people from the old capital, such as the restaurants specializing in mutton (meat) including the sale of liquor.<sup>7</sup>

Here the author points out that many of the restaurants he encountered in the daily life of Hangzhou were still run by people who had originally come over from the former capital of Kaifeng. Very probably, these were the descendants of those who had come in the entourage of the emperor, to provide those who had moved here from the North with the food they were accustomed to.

Interestingly, slightly later in the same section, the author talks about restaurants in Hangzhou in which so-called “Southern food” (*nanshi* 南食) is being offered. The passage runs:

南食店謂之南食，川飯分茶。蓋因京師開此店，以備南人不服北食者，今既在南，則其名誤矣，所以專賣面食魚肉之屬，如（鋪羊面、生面、姜撥刀、鹽煎面、魚桐皮面、抹肉淘、肉齋淘、棋子、燥子面帶汁煎）下至（撲刀雞鵝面、家常三刀面）皆是也。若欲索供，逐店自有單子牌面。

Restaurants in which Southern style food is offered are called Southern food or (Si)chuan food teahouses. Shops of this kind first came up in the time of the (former) capital; they were opened for people from the South who were not accustomed to Northern food. Nowadays, since they are in the South, the name is wrong; for this reason they specialize in dishes such as pasta with fish or meat, as, for example [...]; this holds true for all of them.<sup>8</sup>

The very term *nanshi*, he explains, takes its origin from the former capital Kaifeng, where such restaurants had been opened to provide Southerners who had come to the North with the food they were accustomed to. Nowadays, he writes, these restaurants were offering all kinds of food, including what was once the Northern food typical for Kaifeng.

Elsewhere, the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* also talks about dishes of which either the name was still preserved in Hangzhou times but the food itself was lost, or the food was preserved, but the name was lost. For both cases he gives examples, such as “gourd soup” (*bugeng* 瓠羹), “Soup in Clay Pot” (*yonggeng* 甕羹), which is nowadays called “Noodles with Leeds” (*jimian* 齋麵), or “White Meat” (*bairou* 白肉):

6 For a closer look at the terminology used to denote both capitals in the *Ducheng jisheng*, see Table 1 attached below. For a comparison with the terminology used in the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* to denote Kaifeng, see Table 2 attached below.

7 *Ducheng jisheng* 4 (WSZ, 93).

8 *Ducheng jisheng* 4 (WSZ, 93).

市食有名存而實亡者，如瓠羹是也；亦有名亡而實存者，如甕羹，今號齏麵是也；又有誤名之者，如呼熟肉為白肉是也，蓋白肉白是砧壓去油者。

As for the food offered in the markets, in some cases the name is still there, but the food itself has disappeared, an example for this is “Gourd Soup”; then, in some cases the name has disappeared but the food itself is still there, an example for this is „Soup in Clay Pot“, which is now called “Noodles with Leeds”; and furthermore, there are cases in which dishes are wrongly denoted, for example, if cooked meat is called „white meat“, while the „white“ in „white meat“ in fact denotes meat from which the oil was detracted though (a special technique of) grinding and pressing.<sup>9</sup>

Moreover, the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* says that in Southern Song Hangzhou there were many merchants who had moved there from the old capital of Kaifeng,

是時尚有京師流寓經紀人，市店遭遇者，如李婆婆羹、南瓦子張家圓子。若遇車駕行幸，春秋社會等，連檐并壁，幕次排列。

At that time there still were broker-merchants from the (former) capital who had moved (to Hangzhou) and mixed with the others. Among them were, for example, Soup-Grandma Li, or the Ricecake-Family Zhang from the Southern Pleasure District. At the times of Imperial excursions or during the festivities around the sacrifices in spring and autumn, the tents (of the vendors) stood tightly one after the other all along the eaves and walls (of people's houses).<sup>10</sup>

And he even mentions whole merchant-families from Kaifeng who managed to gain a monopoly in Hangzhou on certain Northern specialties:

其余店鋪夜市不可細數，如豬胰胡餅，自中興以來只東京臟三家一分，每夜在太平坊巷口，近來又或有效之者。

Apart from this, there are the numerous night markets with their shops and stalls, as, for example, those offering “Barbarian Pancakes” stuffed with pork intestines. From the time of the restoration, the sale of these was solely reserved for three families from the Eastern Capital specialized on intestines. Every night they stood at the street corner of Taiping ward. Only recently, there are even some people who copy them.<sup>11</sup>

Besides, we learn that the frontage decoration of wine houses in Hangzhou can be traced back to Kaifeng of even prior to Song times, namely to the Wudai period, when Guo Wei 郭威, the founder of the Later Zhou dynasty (951–960), during a stay in Kaifeng had visited its famous Pan Tower (*Pan lou* 潘樓) wine house:

酒家事物，門設紅杈子緋緣簾貼金紅紗梔子燈之類。舊傳因五代郭高祖游幸汴京潘樓，至今成俗。

The things (used for decoration) of wine houses are: red cross-ties at the door, red and green curtains at which things such as silken lanterns in the form of gardenias are fixed. According to an old tradition, this goes back to Guo (Wei), who had paid a visit to “Pan Tower” in Bianjing, and thus it is still custom in present-day (Hangzhou).<sup>12</sup>

9 *Ducheng jisheng* 4 (WSZ, 94).

10 *Ducheng jisheng* 1 (WSZ, 91).

11 *Ducheng jisheng* 4 (WSZ, 94).

Not only as far as the realm of culinary events is concerned, but also as regards that of culture and entertainment, the author's message is very much the same. We learn from a lot of examples that in the Hangzhou of his day genres of entertainment, such as „Comedy“ (*zaju* 雜劇), „All Keys and Modes“ (*zhugong diao* 諸宮調), or even a genre called “Vendor's Song” (*jiaosheng* 叫聲) which were very current in the author's present day Hangzhou had either been invented or elaborated and refined already in Northern Song Kaifeng, and we also learn that the entertainment precincts called *wazi* 瓦子 are said to have their predecessor in Northern Song Kaifeng (even though the author emphasizes he does not know exactly where and when these centers arose first):

諸宮調，本京師孔三傳編撰，傳奇、靈怪、八曲、說唱。

The genre „All Keys and Modes“ came up with Kong Sanchuan of the (former) capital. (This genre) comprised the telling of stories of strange occurrence and ghost stories, as well as the Eight Suites and Ballad Telling.<sup>13</sup>

Or,

叫聲，自京師起撰，因市井諸色歌吟賣物之聲，采合宮調而成也。

The vendors' songs arose in the (former) capital; they are inspired by the songs of all kinds of market vendors who used them for selling their goods, and some of them were selected and set to music.<sup>14</sup>

To conclude from the above adduced examples, the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* must have been quite conscious of the strong impact that Northern life, food, culture still had on Southern Song Hangzhou even more than a hundred years after the emperor had left Kaifeng due to the invasion of the Jurchens. As we shall see in the next section, the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* was a quite suitable source for such a comparison. But what did the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* intend by pointing out that life in Hangzhou was still so much imbued by Northern customs and traditions? In my view, he may well have had the intention to criticize subtly that many people in the Hangzhou of his present day were not even aware of this strong Northern element. And, even more importantly, it seems that the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* wanted to emphasize that everything that had existed in the former Song capital Kaifeng was still there in the Hangzhou of his day, that it was somehow digested and further developed in Southern Song Hangzhou, but also that the Hangzhou of his day had much more to offer than only that.

Hangzhou, the author tells us in passages where no direct comparison between the capitals is drawn, had huge markets almost everywhere in the city which were busy almost all around the clock, it offered all kinds of food and all kinds of goods, it had a huge number of entertainment centers, theaters and the best entertainers far and wide. However, the most impressive claims made by the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* regarding the enormous development of Hangzhou as compared with Kaifeng must be read “between the lines”, by comparing descriptions of Hangzhou found in the *Ducheng jisheng* with corresponding passages in the *Dongjing meng Hua lu*.

12 *Ducheng jisheng* 3 (WSZ, 93).

13 *Ducheng jisheng* 7 (WSZ, 96).

14 *Ducheng jisheng* 7 (WSZ, 96).

## 2 The *Dongjing meng Hua lu* and its relation to the *Ducheng jisheng*

For closer examination of the second question, namely how the text of the *Ducheng jisheng* and that of the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* are related to each other, I have chosen an approach from two angles. My first step was to search the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* for passages corresponding to those instances in the *Ducheng jisheng* in which the author explicitly compared features he perceived in his present day Hangzhou with what he knew about life in the former capital. In a second step then, the overall structure of the two texts will be compared with each other.

### 2.1 Comparing corresponding passages and topics in both sources

As for corresponding passages, the search for them in the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* is not so easy, since there are actually no passages running wholly parallel in both texts. Instead, the way in which the later text is related to the earlier one might perhaps best be characterized as the author's digest of what he had read in the earlier text, combined with what he knew and perceived with his own eyes and ears in the Hangzhou of his day.

To illustrate this way of the author's proceeding, let me give some examples for the kind of information that the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* seems to have taken from the *Dongjing meng Hua lu*, the examples being again taken from the two realms mentioned above.

Meng Yuanlao mentions in his text that broker-families (*jingji zhi jia* 經紀之家) in Kaifeng did not use to go home for their meals but instead went to the restaurants on the markets, and he goes on listing various regional styles of cooking available to them, such as restaurants offering "Northern food" (*beishi* 北食) or Southern food" (*nanshi* 南食):

市井經紀之家，往往只於市店旋置飲食，不置家蔬。北食則攀樓前李四家、段家爇物、石逢巴子；南食則寺橋金家、九曲子周家，最為屈指。

The broker-families on the markets used to go to the restaurants on the markets for drinking and eating, they did not cook at home. For (those accustomed to) Northern food there was Roasted Food und Glutinous Bits from Shifeng, that were sold in front of the Fan (Wine) House by the Four Li Families and by the Duan Family. For (those accustomed to) Southern food, there was the Jin Family at Temple Bridge, or the Zhou Family at Nine Creeks who were among the few very best.<sup>15</sup>

In several parts of the *Dongjing meng Hua lu*, Meng Yuanlao mentions dishes which are typical for the Northern kitchen of Kaifeng. Among them are specialties such as "White Meat" (*bairou* 白肉) or "Barbarian Pancakes" (*hubing* 胡餅).

As for gourd soup (*hugeng* 瓠羹), this must have been so common a dish in Northern Song Kaifeng that a whole category of small restaurants, the so-called "Gourd-Soup Shops" (*hugeng dian* 瓠羹店) have been named after this dish.

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15 *Dongjing meng Hua lu* 3.7 (WSZ, 20).

大凡食店，大者謂之「分茶」，則有頭羹、石髓羹、白肉、胡餅、軟羊、大小骨、[...]。更有川飯店，則有插肉麵、[...]。更有南食店，魚兜子、桐皮熟贛麵、煎魚飯。

As for the majority of restaurants, the larger ones among them were called “Teahouses”. There one could get “Head Soup”, “Stonedrum Nipple Soup”, “White Meat”, “Barbarian Pancakes”, “Soft Lamb”, “Large and Small Bones”, [...]. Besides, there were restaurants specializing in Sichuan style. There one could get “Meat-Stuffed Noodles”, [...]. Then there were Southern Style restaurants. They had fish balls, noodles with minced meat, wrapped in pawlonia bark, and dishes with fish fried in oil.<sup>16</sup>

Frontage decoration in these “Gourd Soup Shops” in Kaifeng seems to have very much resembled the decoration described in the *Ducheng jisheng* as typical for Southern Song Hangzhou and of which he knows that can be traced back to Kaifeng of even before Song times:

又有瓠羹店，門前以枋木及花樣杏結縛如山棚，上掛成邊猪羊，相間三二十邊。近裡門面窗戶，皆朱綠裝飾，謂之「驩門」。

Then there were the “Gourd Soup Shops”. The fronts of their gates were decorated with sandalwood and flower-like decorated cross-ties formed to build a kind of canopy. From its top, slices of pork and mutton hang down, alternating with one another, about twenty or thirty slices. The entrance door and the windows near the entrance were all decorated with red and green silk bonds; this was called the “Welcome Door”.<sup>17</sup>

Or, to take an example falling under the rubric “Leisure and Pleasure”: the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* mentions several genres of entertainment that may be reckoned among “Minor Arts”, such as Comedy (*zaju*), Shadow Theater (*yingxi*), as well as the Vendors’ Songs (*jiaosheng*). As for *jiaosheng*, of which the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* says that they originated in simple songs of the merchants advertizing their goods and then developed into a musical genre during the Northern Song period, vendors’ songs called *jiao guozi* 叫果子 (hawking fruit) are listed up in the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* among the pieces of entertainment that arose during the Northern Song dynasty in the capital Kaifeng. Furthermore, the kind of popular comedy in which actors dress as peasants coming to the capital, a genre called *zaban* or *zawang* explained in *Ducheng jisheng* as the final part of a piece of Comedy is mentioned three times in *Dongjing meng Hua lu*:

崇、觀以來，在京凡肆伎藝：[...]等般雜劇。[...]。孔三傳、耍秀才，諸宮調。[...]。文八娘叫果子。其餘不可勝數。

As for the skills and arts of the capital’s pleasure districts since the eras of Chong(ning) and (Da)guan, there were: [...]. They were all specialists for Comedy, [...]. As for “All Key and Modes”, there was Liu Baiqin, the animal trainer, Kong Sanchuan and Shua Xiucai. [...]. As for imitating the Fruit Vendors’ songs, there was Wen Baniang. As for all the others, there were simply too many to mention them all.<sup>18</sup>

16 *Dongjing meng Hua lu* 4.9 (WSZ, 26).

17 *Dongjing meng Hua lu* 4.9 (WSZ, 26).

18 *Dongjing meng Hua lu* 5.2 (WSZ, 30). For a detailed analysis of the development of the entertaining arts and theater from the 7th to the tenth centuries, see Schaab-Hanke (2001).

Only now, after having taken a closer look at passages in the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* which give such kind of information that corresponds to that gained from the *Ducheng jisheng*, can we determine more clearly how the two texts are related to each other. Again we have primarily the two aspects mentioned above that the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* seems to have emphasized, namely first, aspects of what was typical for commerce, consumption and culture in Northern Song Kaifeng and for which the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* almost in every case finds an example of how the same aspects in Southern Song Hangzhou are either equivalent or even outweigh things and events as they had been in Northern Song Kaifeng, and second: since much of the life style as it was typical for Northern Song Kaifeng is, as the author strives to demonstrate, also represented in the Hangzhou of his own present age, he seems to intentionally evoke the message that Southern Song Hangzhou was in many respects somehow all-inclusive, preserving and elaborating “old” Northern traditions and combining them with more recent Southern or South-Eastern customs and traditions.

In other words, the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* seems to have made use of the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* as the equivalent for the way he proceeded as regards his information of the Hangzhou of his present day, which he explicitly describes in his preface in the following words:

仆遭遇明時，寓游京國，目睹耳聞，殆非一日，不得不為之集錄。其已于圖經志書所載者，便不重舉。

I who was blessed with living in an illuminated age, lodged in and wandered through the capital, saw with my eyes and heard with my ears, and since danger is not the matter of only one day,<sup>19</sup> I could not help but had to collect all this and note it down. As for what is already contained in the geographical charts and in the local monographs, this I have not mentioned again.<sup>20</sup>

Even though it is possible that apart from the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* there was still another source offering comparable information on life and events in the city, a source which would not be extant any more, this would not be very probable. Much more plausible, in my mind, would be that the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* with its vivid descriptions of life in the capital of Kaifeng was simply the ideal source for the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* to refer to. From it he drew information on life, customs and traditions in Northern Song Kaifeng that he could refer to in his own text. Based on this kind of information he proceeded to convey the picture of a Hangzhou which, in its role as the new standard of the world, combined the features of Northern Song Kaifeng with an even more multi-faceted new capital of the Southern Song dynasty.

19 Here the author alludes to one of the basic tenets of a historiographer, to make use of historical records to trace the germs of decay in the midst of flourish. For a similar formulation, see *Shiji* 130.3298, where the roots for regicide or patricide are denoted as being not brought about within the span between dawn and evening (of one day), but is developing step by step: 故曰『臣弑君，子弑父，非一旦一夕之故也，其漸久矣』。This passage has a parallel in the *Hanfeizi*, where the same idea is quoted from the Confucius disciple Zixia as being one of the recording principles of the *Chunqiu*. 子夏曰：『春秋之記臣殺君，子殺父者，以十數矣，皆非一日之積也，有漸而以至矣。』 See ICS 34.99.11–12.

20 *Ducheng jisheng*, xu (WSZ, 89).

## 2.2 Comparing the outward and inward structure of the two texts

Let us now take a closer look at the overall structure of the *Ducheng jisheng* as compared with the *Dongjing meng Hua lu*. Already a superficial look at the length discloses striking differences between the two texts. While the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* is a comprehensive work, comprising 10 chapters with altogether about 27550 characters, each chapter again falling into several sections, while the *Ducheng jisheng* is a rather small work, comprising only 10 sections with altogether not more than about 6350 characters; in other words, the length of the *Ducheng jisheng* text is less than a fourth of that of *Dongjing meng Hua lu*.

The differences as regards the inner structure of the two texts are even more striking: The *Dongjing meng Hua lu* can be characterized as consisting mainly of two parts: The first part, comprising chaps. 1 to 5, is topographically arranged. More precisely, it is a survey on what could be seen in the various streets and wards of Northern Song Kaifeng around the year 1120 from the point of view of someone who proceeded, either by foot or in a carriage, through the streets of Kaifeng. The second part assembles, in chronological order, all the major Imperial, religious and popular festivities which took place in Kaifeng in the course of the year.

Quite in contrast, the 14 sections of the *Ducheng jisheng* are arranged in a rather systematic way. Each of these sections has a title which is closely related to the main topic of the section. These topics concentrate on different aspects of Hangzhou, such as its markets, restaurants, pleasure precincts, temples, etc.<sup>21</sup>

The character of the sections that the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* chose for the overall arrangement of his book becomes even more distinct if one assigns to each of them a heading which highlights the facilities offered by a “modern” city to each of these topics, such as “Buying and Selling”, “Eating and Drinking”, “Pleasure and Leisure”, or “Services”. One gains the impression that the reason behind arranging the topics of his text in this way was that it helped him to demonstrate to his reader the degree to which the Hangzhou of his own present met the criteria of what made a city a “worthy” capital, a capital in the succession of Northern Song Kaifeng.

Such an arrangement is indeed much in contrast with the proceeding of the author in the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* text which Stephen West has described as an associative sequence of things perceived by the author and which he compares with the way a camera would ban the impressions of a subjective moment. In his own words,

[...], the text pans in like a camera, focusing on smaller and detail – specificity increases in proportion to familiarity.<sup>22</sup>

Slightly further in the text he adds that,

[...] it is not a viewer, but a memory that moves along the streets of Kaifeng; creating from its segmented spaces a robust but partial narrative of life there.<sup>23</sup>

21 For a closer comparison of the outward structure of the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* and the *Ducheng jisheng*, see Table 3 attached below.

22 [...], 文本如相机一样, 聚焦在越来越小的细节上, 叙述者越熟悉的地方, 叙述就越具体。See West 2002, 208.

23 在开封城的街道上遊動的, 實際上是記憶而非參觀者。是记忆从开封城分隔成不同部分的空间中, 创造出了对当日生活的强烈的, 然而片面的叙述。See West (2002), 209.

To conclude from the above said we may thus say that the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* made use of the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* in a very special way. Rather than denoting the *Ducheng jisheng* as a work “which was written in conscious imitation” of the *Dongjing meng Hua lu*,” as has been suggested by Stephen West in an earlier study,<sup>24</sup> I would prefer to say that by filtrating elements from the earlier work which are presented there in an associative rather than in a systematic order and by arranging them as the main sections of his own text, the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* compiled a “digest” of the material he had found in the earlier text.

### 3 A closer look at the attitude that the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* displays towards the *Dongjing meng Hua lu*

Summing up, the analysis of the *Ducheng jisheng* text has further corroborated the impression gained already from its preface, namely that its author was convinced that the Hangzhou of his present age was not only a worthy match for Kaifeng at the time when it was the flourishing capital of the Northern Song empire but that it had, about a hundred years after the restoration of the Song in the South-East had Kaifeng already outweighed by far.

But what is the message proper that the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* wanted to convey to his reader, did he simply intend to write a propaganda text in favor of Hangzhou, as it has been interpreted by some scholars,<sup>25</sup> or was there also a moral message that should be conveyed to an attentive reader? Let us turn once again to the preface of the *Ducheng jisheng*, where the author explicitly says:

且《洛陽名園記》後論有云，園囿之興廢者，洛陽盛衰之候也。況中興行都，東南之盛，為今日四方之標準；車書混一，人物繁盛，風俗繩厚，市井駢集，豈昔日洛陽名園之比？。

And as for what has been said in the postface of the Record of Famous Gardens of Luoyang, where we find the words that the flourish and perish of the gardens are signs of the rise and decline of Luoyang: Is this not even more the case as regards the restoration of the temporary capital which, as the flourish of the South-East has become the standard of the world of our day? The way that carriages and books have been united in one, the population is flourishing, the customs are being continued, and the marketplaces are overcrowded with people, how can this still (only) be compared with the famous gardens of former Luoyang?<sup>26</sup>

Here, and only here, the author explicitly refers to a book. It is the *Luoyang mingyuan ji* 洛陽名園記 (Record of Famous Gardens of Luoyang), written by Li Gefei 李各非 (? – 1106) shortly before the end of the Northern Song dynasty, and what he quotes is a passage from the author's postface in which he brings the altogether 19 gardens he describes in his text into relation with the inner dynamics of rise (*xing* 興) and fall (*fei* 廢) in history. And these inner dynamics are again combined with the hint at the new status that Hangzhou had at-

24 West 1985, 100.

25 As it has, to give just one example, been argued by Lu Xiaoyao 2005, 56ff.

26 *Ducheng jisheng* (WSZ, 89).

tained by now as the “standard for the world in the present age” (*wei jinri sifang zhi biao zhun* 為今日四方之標準), and he ends with the somewhat puzzling rhetorical question if this present age Hangzhou could be compared with these “Famous Gardens of the Luoyang of Former Times” (況中興行都[...]豈昔日洛陽名園之比? ).

To gain a fuller picture of what Li Gefei in his postface intended to say, let us take a closer look at the context from which the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* had taken his quote. Here is Li Gefei’s essay in full:

論曰：洛陽處天下之中，挾穀澗之阻，當秦瀧之襟喉，而趙魏之走集。蓋四方必爭之地也。天下常無事則已，有事則洛陽先受兵。予故曰“洛陽之盛衰者，天下治亂之候也。

方唐“貞觀開元”之間，公卿貴戚開館別第于東都者，號千有餘邸。及其亂離，繼以五季之酷，其池塘竹樹，兵車蹂踐，廢而為丘墟；高亭大榭，烟火焚燼，化而為灰燼，與唐共滅而俱亡者，無餘處矣。予故嘗曰“園圃之廢興，洛陽盛衰之候也。且天下之治亂候于洛陽之盛衰，而知洛陽之盛衰候于園圃之廢興，而得則名園記之作，予豈徒然哉。

嗚呼！公卿大夫方進于朝，放乎以一己之私自為，而忘天下之治，忽欲退享此樂，得乎？唐之末路是已。洛陽名公卿園林，為天下第一。靖康後，祝融回祿盡取以去矣。

Luoyang is situated in the middle of the world. It is flanked by the Yao and the Mian Passes, serves as the entry to the Qin and the Long Mountains, and functions as the bulwark between the Zhao and the Wei regions. That is why it is a place that all sides have to contest. If there is no disturbance in the world, then everything is fine; if there is a disturbance, then Luoyang is the first to suffer from military conflict. That is why I once observed that the rise and decline of Luoyang are signs of order and disorder of the world.

During the Zhenguan and Kaiyuan reigns in the Tang, the mansions and houses built by dukes and noble royal in-laws in the Eastern Capital are said to have numbered over a thousand. Yet when the city suffered from disturbance, followed by the savagery of the Five dynasties, its ponds and pools, bamboos and trees were trampled by troops and chariots, decaying into ruins; its tall pavilions and grand kiosks were burned in smoke and fire, dissipating into ashes and soot. They all perished with the Tang and none of them survived. That is why I once observed that the flourish and perish of the gardens are signs of the rise and decline of Luoyang. Furthermore, signs of order and disorder of the world can be seen in the rise and decline of Luoyang, and signs of the rise and decline of Luoyang can be gauged in the flourish and decay of its gardens. So how can my writing of the “Record of the Celebrated Gardens” be pointless!

Alas! Dukes, ministers, and grand masters, while occupying high positions at court, would indulge in their selfish pleasures and forget about whether the world is in order or chaos. When they want to withdraw to those gardens to enjoy themselves, would they be able to do it? That was what happened when the Tang started to go downhill.<sup>27</sup>

Li Gefei wrote his text around 1098, when the gardens he described were still fully blossoming before the author’s eyes, about thirty years before the invasion of the Jurchens. The historical lesson he still had in mind was the destruction of the gardens at the end of the Tang dynasty, and he could not know that less than thirty years later Luoyang would again be destroyed, together with Kaifeng, when the Jurchens made an end to the Northern Song. But

27 See *Luoyang mingyuan ji*, 18–20 (“lun” 論). The translation of this passage is taken from Yang Xiaoshan 2004, 250f.

as a scholar trained in the doctrine of historical cycles and conscious of historical precedents he must have perceived the signals of decline in the midst of the flourishing and accordingly wanted to alert his reader to become aware of the impending danger.

With the *Luoyang mingyuan ji* and the context of the passage in mind that the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* refers to here, let us think once more about the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* and the circumstances of its compilation. The work which was finalized more than twenty years after the Jurchens had destroyed Kaifeng is, as is widely known, the meticulous description of the urban joys in a city of which there was, at the time when it was compiled, merely a pile of shards left behind.

Seen in this light, the *Ducheng jisheng* text, far from being a simple propaganda text, seems to have used both the *Luoyang mingyuan ji* and the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* to convey to his reader a serious warning, the warning that precisely due to the fact that the Hangzhou of his day was so flourishing and exactly because it had already come to outweigh Kaifeng as a commercial and cultural center by far, the danger of an impending death was there, very much as it had been presaged by Li Gefei and described as a dream of the past by Meng Yuanlao.

## Closing remarks

In the end, what may have easily been interpreted at first sight as not more than a simple propaganda text drafted by the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* as an eulogy on Hangzhou at closer reading turns out to be a subtle but quite clear warning: the warning that Hangzhou in its present stage resembles not only Kaifeng shortly before it had been invaded by the Jurchens, but also that there was a historic parallel concerning the gardens of Luoyang which had also suffered sudden decline precisely when they had reached the climax of their beauty.

Remarkably, it was not the *Dongjing meng Hua lu* which the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* explicitly mentioned in his preface, but instead the *Luoyang mingyuan ji*, in the postface of which Li Gefei formulated a warning – a warning for which he, by the way, later on earned the reputation of being a prophet, since he seemed to some as having presaged the end of the Northern Song. Very much in the same way the *Dongjing meng Hua lu*, we know, was written in retrospective, by a man who, after the downfall of the Northern Song, dreamt of life as it had been in Kaifeng during the hey-day of the reign of Emperor Huizong. We have thus not merely one “capital behind a capital”, but we have in fact a series of three capitals emerging one behind the other. And what is more, we do not only have one “text behind the text”, namely the *Dongjing meng Hua lu*, lurking behind the *Ducheng jisheng*, but we have, including the *Luoyang mingyuan ji*, three texts that the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* – apparently very consciously – brought into relation with each other. It is precisely the alternating of text passages referred to and of contexts being left to the knowledge of an attentive – and educated – reader which makes the author’s underlying message so intrinsic: By outwardly boasting with Hangzhou as the capital which, at the author’s lifetimes, outweighed not only Luoyang with its beautiful gardens but also Kaifeng which during its heydays was looked upon by everybody as the prototype of a capital, but at closer look emitting to the

attentive reader the message of the impending danger of decline and loss, the author of the *Ducheng jisheng* becomes recognizable as being one among those writers who subtly concealed in their writing a moralistic undertone.

Table 1: Terminology used to denote Kaifeng and Hangzhou in the *Ducheng jisheng*

(a) Terms used in the *Ducheng jisheng* to denote Hangzhou

Terms used	Number of occurrences
“Ducheng” 都城	8
“Xingdu” 行都	6
“Duxia” 都下	4
“Duren” 都人	3
Hang 杭	2
Jingguo 京國	1
Lin’an 臨安	1
altogether	25

(b) Terms used in the *Ducheng jisheng* to denote Kaifeng

terms used	Number of occurrences
“Jingshi” 京師 (incl. compounds and phrases such as “jiu Jingshi ren” 舊京師人, she “Jingshi” 視京師, <i>zi jingshi qi</i> 自京師起, <i>zai jingshi shi</i> 在京師日, as contrasted to “jin” 今)	15
“Kaifeng fu” 開封府	8
“Bian” 汴	2
“Dongjing” 東京	1
altogether	26

Table 2: Terminology used to denote Kaifeng in the *Dongjing meng Hua lu*

Terms used	Number of occurrences
“Jingshi” 京師	9
“Kaifeng fu” 開封府	8
“Ducheng” 都城 (incl. “Ducheng ren” 都城人)	4 (1)
altogether	4

Table 3: Features of Life in the Capital  
as Recorded in the *Ducheng jisheng* and in the *Dongjing meng Hua lu*

Sect.	Section of <i>Ducheng jisheng</i>	Features of Capital Life	Sections with corresponding topics in <i>Dongjing meng Hua lu</i>
1	The Market Places ( <i>shijing</i> 市井)	Buying and Selling	2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.11, 3.12, 4.5, 8.4
2	The Guilds ( <i>zhuhang</i> 諸行)	Buying and Selling	4.8, 4.9–4.12, etc.
3	The Wine Houses ( <i>jiusi</i> 酒肆)	Eating and Drinking	2.7, 2.8, 4.8,
4	The Restaurants ( <i>shidian</i> 食店)	Eating and Drinking	2.7, 2.8, 4.9, etc.
5	The Teahouses ( <i>chafang</i> 茶坊)	Eating and Drinking	2.3, 2.6, 2.8, 3.7
6	Catering Services ( <i>sisi liuju</i> 四司六局)	Various Services	4.7
7	All the Talents of the Pleasure Precincts ( <i>washi chongji</i> 瓦舍眾伎)	Leisure and Pleasure	5.2, 7.3, 7.5, 7.6, 7.8, 8.3, 9.3, 10.12
8	Societies and Clubs ( <i>shehui</i> 社會)	Cultural Activities	7.2, 7.3, 7.7
9	Parks and Gardens ( <i>yuanyuan</i> 園苑)	Leisure and Pleasure	6.8, 7.8, 7.9
10	Boats ( <i>zhouchuan</i> 舟船)	Leisure and Pleasure	7.2, 7.8, 7.9
11	Shops and Stalls ( <i>puxi</i> 鋪席)	Buying and Selling	4.8, 4.9–4.12, etc.
12	The Warehouses ( <i>fangyuan</i> 坊院)	Storage Facilities	1.5, 1.6 ( <i>cang</i> 倉, <i>ku</i> 庫), 9.4
13	Gadabouts ( <i>xianren</i> 閑人)	Various Services	2.8 ( <i>xianhan</i> 閑漢), etc.
14	The Three Doctrines Out-Of-Town ( <i>sanjiao waidi</i> 三教外地)	Religious Services	6.7, 8.1, 8.9, etc.

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