

Thesis Title: The Narrative of Theater in Urban Space: Lin'an in Southern Song Dynasty

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Abstract

The thesis focuses on the textual representation of theaters in Hangzhou during the Southern Song Dynasty. The booming economy during the Song Dynasty stimulated the recreational consumption, especially the development of comedies and dramas. Such trend contributed to the emergence and improvement of theatrical spaces. As the thriving performances boosted the dividing hierarchies of the theatrical spaces, the most talented folk artists and performers presented performances in the central stages and had opportunities to serve the court. The mutual influences between court bureau and folk artists promoted the development of the theatrical spaces, attracting merchants and vendors to do business in the theatrical spaces. In the urban literature, the related recordings were enriched with the descriptions narrating the transformation of theatrical spaces. Repeated in the urban literature with different representations, the images of theatrical spaces were represented as commercial centers or part of urban spaces. Such representations made the theatrical spaces gradually become the symbol of the dynamic urban life and the memory of urban prosperity.

Key words: theatrical spaces, pleasure precincts, performance, representation, urban life, Southern Song Dynasty

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Introduction

1. Purpose

The thesis will focus on the textual representation of theaters in Lin'an (modern Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province). Examining the primary materials written in Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279), the thesis will trace the developmental process of theaters in the documents. As the capital of the Southern Song Dynasty, Hangzhou was renamed as Lin'an for temporary peaceful purpose. With the advantage of political position and geographical location, the economy of Hangzhou significantly boomed during this era. The theatrical spaces in Hangzhou followed the thriving trend and became popular objects in urban literature. This thesis will examine the images of theatrical spaces, discussing how these spaces were characterized as symbols of urban memory. Influenced by *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 that created the genre of urban literature, the primary materials quoted in the thesis delineated the prosperous profile of urban life and built the urban memory. The textual repetition of theatrical spaces exactly reflected the nostalgia of capital. Such repetition was reinforced in various urban literature, developed the textual representation of theatrical spaces from self-memory to collective memory. The thesis will present how the theatrical spaces were represented in the texts and become part of the urban memory.

The spotlight will focus on these questions: What is the relationship between performances and theatrical spaces? What are the textual representations of theatrical spaces in different recordings? How does the textual representation of theatrical space change? How does the textual representation of theatrical space become part of urban memory?

2. Historical background and terms

In Song Dynasty, the commercial places with various entertaining vendors were called *Washe* 瓦舍, or *Wazi* 瓦子, *Wasi* 瓦肆. Stephen West and Wilt Idema translated these terms

as “Pleasure precincts”, which is applied in this thesis to describe such kinds of theatrical places.¹ The pleasure precincts attracted many performers, artists and actors to perform comedies and other entertainments. The places gradually developed as the ancient theaters thereby growing into a hub for performing artists. Inside the pleasure precincts, there were many *Goulan* 勾栏, or various stages at that time. *Goulan*, as the professional place for performance, means tortuous railings. The wood railings divided a place as the stages. *Gou* 勾 could be defined either as tortuous or connective. The *Goulan* was particularly used to refer the performance space in Song and Yuan Dynasty. According to *Dongjing menghua lu*, actors performed comedies or dramas in a space that divided by some railings decorated with colorful ribbons.² Then, the rising performing sheds involved the tortuous railings and became the most popular places for dramas and comedies. *Dongjing menghua lu* also recorded that many sheds inside the pleasure precincts attracted dramatists and magicians to give performance. There were over fifty *Goulan* in pleasure precincts with the biggest one having the capacity of holding about a few thousand audiences.³ Due to the fact that the *Washe* were stated more frequently in the documents to represent *Goulan*, the discussion below would use pleasure precincts (the translation of *Washe*) to indicate *Goulan*, which was the theater in Southern Song Dynasty.

The definition of *Washi* generally referred to the feature of *Wa* 瓦, the tiles. For example, Naideweng 耐得翁 explained that:

Wa means something that can be assembled or separated easily.

瓦者，野合聚散之意也。⁴

Menglianglu 梦梁录 explained as below:

The meaning of *Washe* is that when people gathered resembled as assembling of tiles and when they left resembled as tiles collapsed

瓦舍者，谓其‘来时瓦合，去时瓦解’之义，易聚易散也。⁵

As early as Northern Song Dynasty, there had emerged places named after *Wazi* to

¹ Idema, Wilt L., and Stephen H. West. *Chinese Theater, 1100-1450: A Source Book*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982, 15.

² Meng, Yuanlao, etc.孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录（外四种）. Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 35.

³ Ibid, 14.

⁴ Ibid, 95.

⁵ Ibid, 298.

divide pleasure precincts.

There are two main reasons that contribute to the prosperity of pleasure precincts. One is the commercial development and the other is the rising dramas and comedies in literature. The rising commercial development led to an improving economy of the state. Specific entertaining districts were required as the economic rise boosted more consumption of goods and services, thus stimulating the interests of dramas and comedies. More and more pleasure precincts with theaters constituted the thriving areas in the urban life.

The theatrical entertainment flourished between Song and Yuan Dynasty, with *Beiqu* 北曲(Northern Drama, also known as *Zaju* 杂剧, comedies) and *Nanxi* 南戏(Southern Drama) generally evolving in this period.⁶ The thriving dramas and comedies between Song and Yuan Dynasty had close connection with the growth of verbal performances during this period.⁷ The verbal performance, or *Shuohua* 说话, was a kind of oral entertainment that gave vivid monologue about legends or historical tales. The *Zaju* 杂剧, which combined with verbal performance, puppet display, poetry and the drama tradition, was developed as a new kind of popular entertainment that displayed the dramas and comedies. Such kind of performance was also developed in the areas of Jin Dynasty (1115-1234), a minority state that took over the northern part of China. The name of dramatic performance in Jin Dynasty was called *Yuanben* 院本, a general term meaning “scripts from the entertainers’ quarters”.⁸ The dramas and comedies soon became prevalent in the urban life and gained important performing status in the pleasure precincts.

In addition to the backgrounds above, it is necessary to illustrate the primary materials quoted in this thesis. The *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 by Meng Yuanlao 孟元老, which was allegedly written during 1100-1125, recorded the urban custom and courts events of Bianliang (modern Kaifeng) in the Northern Song Dynasty.⁹ This book provided

⁶ Idema, Wilt L., and Stephen H. West. *Chinese Theater, 1100-1450: A Source Book*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982, 1; Wang, Guowei. *Songyuan xiqu shi* 宋元戏曲史. Shanghai: shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998, 14.

⁷ Wang, Guowei. *Songyuan xiqu shi* 宋元戏曲史. Shanghai: shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998, 29.

⁸ West, Stephen H. *Vaudeville and narrative: aspects of Chin theater*. Wiesbaden: Rudolf Steiner Press, 1977, 6.

⁹ Idema, Wilt L., and Stephen H. West. *Chinese Theater, 1100-1450: A Source Book*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982, 11.

detailed descriptions of the pleasure precincts, which were inherited by the descendant materials. It was thought to create the genre of urban literature that transferred the concentration from political history of city to the folk life.¹⁰ Then, the next four materials were all written in the Southern Song Dynasty or even later. *Duchengjisheng* 都城纪胜 and *Xihulaoren fanshenglu* 西湖老人繁胜录 were written during the flourishing period of the Southern Song Dynasty before 1250, recording the thriving urban life of Hangzhou.¹¹ These two books could be categorized in similar genre due to the reviving theme of both books. Finally, *Menglianglu* 梦梁录 by WuZimu 吴自牧 and *Wulinjiushi* 武林旧事 by Zhou Mi 周密 were written after the surrender of the Southern Song Dynasty.¹² Both books take the view of memory to recall the urban life of preceding thriving era.

In brief, the rising theaters in the pleasure precincts had connections with the expansion commercial spaces and the development of dramas during Song Dynasty. The commercial improvement created material basis for the emerging theaters, and the growth of dramas prompted the theaters with cultural benefits.

3. Literature review

The existing research on Chinese ancient theaters could be categorized in two branches: firstly, the discussions of theater are included in general analysis of studies on urban history; secondly, some monographs particularly study the history of theaters, which offered references for this thesis.

On the general studies of urban history, theaters or recreational spaces are often regarded as the reflection or the spectacle of prosperous urban life. For example, Stephen West focuses on the urban life in Northern Song Dynasty and regards the textual representation of Bianliang (modern Kaifeng, the capital of Northern Song Dynasty) as the release of desire of the inhabitants. The theatrical performances are conducted on the

¹⁰ West, Stephen H. "Huanghou, zangli, youbing yu zhu-Dongjingmenghualu he dushi wenxue de xingqi" (Empresses and funerals, pancakes and pigs: *Dreaming a Dream of Splendor Past* and the origins of urban literature, 皇后、葬禮、油餅與豬—《東京夢華錄》和都市文學的興起). Lee, Fong-mao, ed. *Wenxue, wenhua yu shibian* (Literature, Culture, and Historical Transitions, 文學、文化與世變). Taipei: Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, 2002, 197–218

¹¹ Idema, Wilt L., and Stephen H. West. *Chinese Theater, 1100-1450: A Source Book*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982, 11.

¹² Ibid, 11.

choices and trends of public opinions and desires.¹³ Other studies on urban history, such as *Songdai dongjing yanjiu* by Zhou Baozhu, *Songdai shimin shenghuo* by Yi Yongwen, and *Fangqiang daota yihou* by Li Chuntang.¹⁴ These books generally analyze the prosperous urban life in Song Dynasty, regarding the pleasure precincts as part of thriving urban life. Jacques Gernet also introduced prosperous life in Lin'an in the eve of Mongolian invasion, putting the urban life under a historical lens. His work implicitly attributes the fall of Southern Song Dynasty to the luxurious life. Hence, the thriving pleasure precincts become part of the reason that caused the collapse of the state.¹⁵ Furthermore, the consideration of the transformation of urban spaces urged the question that how to examine the recreational spaces in the view of urban history. The research by Victor Xiong and Xu Yinong respectively provided references on this issue. Victor Xiong's research on Chang'an in Sui and Tang dynasty stressed the foundation and influence of palaces on the urban space. His work referred to the process that the expansion of palaces invaded the recreational spaces.¹⁶ His work mainly takes the view of urban spaces. Xu Yinong's research on Suzhou not only focuses on the changing spaces, but also concentrates on the transformation of urban spaces in a consecutive timeline. Building on the background of the medieval urban transition and regional social history, Xu Yinong's research on Suzhou probed the differences between local city and capital city in process of economic development.¹⁷ These monographs usually present panoramic description of the urban life, reckoning the pleasure precincts as the recreational spaces without specific analysis.

¹³ West, Stephen H. "Spectacle, Ritual, and Social Relations: The Son of Heaven, Citizens, and Created Space in Imperial Gardens in the Northern Song." Conan, Michel, ed. *Baroque Gardens, Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion* (2005): 291-321; West, Stephen H. "Huanghou, zangli, youbing yu zhu-Dongjingmenghualu he dushi wenxue de xingqi" (Empresses and funerals, pancakes and pigs: *Dreaming a Dream of Splendor Past* and the origins of urban literature, 皇后、葬禮、油餅與豬—《東京夢華錄》和都市文學的興起). Lee, Fong-mao, ed. *Wenxue, wenhua yu shibian* (Literature, Culture, and Historical Transitions, 文學、文化與世變). Taipei: Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, 2002, 197-218.

¹⁴ Zhou, Baozhu. *Songdai dongjing yanjiu* 宋代东京研究. Zhengzhou: Henan daxue chubanshe, 1992; Li, Chuntang. *Fangqiang daota yihou* 坊牆倒塌以后. Changsha: Hunan chubanshe, 1993; Yi, Yongwen. *Songdai shimin shenghuo* 宋代市民生活. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui chubanshe, 1999.

¹⁵ Gernet, Jacques, *Daily Life in China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion, 1250-1276*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962.

¹⁶ Xiong, Victor. *Sui-Tang Chang'an: A Study in the Urban History of Medieval China*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan Ann Arbor, 2000.

¹⁷ Xu, Yinong. *The Chinese City in Space and Time: the Development of Urban Form in Suzhou*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000.

The study of pleasure precincts is synonymous with the study on the history of ancient theaters in the Southern Song Dynasty. For instance, the *Zhongguo gudai juchangshi* by Liao Ben traced the history of Chinese ancient theaters from Han Dynasty.¹⁸ The book examines the theaters in Chinese history in detail with the concrete discussion on theaters in the Southern Song Dynasty. Long Denggao discusses the recreational spaces to analyze the position of pleasure precincts in urban management. He argues that the pleasure precincts participated in characterizing and producing citizen culture.¹⁹ This argument asserts that it is necessary to pay attention to the ideologies behind the recordings and examine how the authors represents pleasure precincts in literature. Such research views pleasure precinct as participants exerting influences on urban culture or urban space.

Zhang Xiaohong's article highlights similar findings, which argues that the locations of recreational spaces lay down the foundation of festival celebration.²⁰ Stephen West and Wilt Idema collaborated with each other on the study of Chinese theaters from 1100-1450, suggesting that the interaction between developmental plays and changing formation of theater.²¹ The similar research could also be seen as Wu Sheng's book that examines the relationships between pleasure precincts and comedies.²² These studies on the cultural discussion of the city suggest the literary reflection and the narrative image of the pleasure precincts, connecting the city life with the spirit of recreational places. However, these studies usually ignore the subtle differences among various materials that recorded the pleasure precincts based on multiple themes. It is necessary to distinguish different recordings and the representations of the pleasure precincts.

¹⁸ Liao, Ben. *Zhongguo gudai juchangshi* 中国古代剧场史. Zhengzhou: zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1997.

¹⁹ Long, Denggao. "Nansong Lin'an de yuleshichang" (南宋临安的娱乐市场). *Lishi yanjiu*, vol.5, 2002, 29-41.

²⁰ Zhang, Xiaohong, Mou, Zhenyu, Chen, Li, Ding, Yannan. "Nansong Lin'an jierihuodong de shikongjiegouyanjiu"(南宋临安节日活动的时空结构研究). *Journal of Chinese Historical Geography*, vol.4 No.23, 2008, 5-22.

²¹ Idema, Wilt L., and Stephen H. West. *Chinese Theater, 1100-1450: A Source Book*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982.

²² Wu, Sheng. *Washe wenhua yu songyuan xiju* 瓦舍文化与宋元戏剧. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2001.

4. Outline

This thesis contains five parts. The introduction will briefly interpret the major argument and purpose of the thesis, constructing the historical background of the period that the thesis mainly focuses on. The terms used in the thesis will be explained and defined. Existing literature review and the interpretation of outline will also be presented.

Chapter one will lay down and interpret the basic information of theatrical spaces. The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the relationship between performances and theatrical spaces. Discussing the recordings of performances, this chapter will argue the developmental performances in the theatrical spaces.

Chapter two will examine the representation of theatrical spaces. Enriched by the increasing commercial operations and merchants, the textual image of theatrical spaces diversified especially in the recordings written in the Southern Song Dynasty. This chapter will present the transitional process of the theatrical spaces in recordings.

Chapter three will concern the relationship between text and urban memory. The theatrical spaces were recorded in all the five primary materials quoted by the thesis, proving the special position of theatrical spaces in the text. This chapter will argue how the textual representations of theatrical spaces distinguish from other urban spaces and became part of urban memory.

The final part will present the conclusion.

Chapter 1: The establishment of theatrical spaces: the performances in the pleasure precincts

This chapter will carefully probe the feature of performances in the pleasure precincts and the developmental trajectory of the pleasure precincts in the text, concretely analyzing the differences of performance among texts. The first section will examine the representation of pleasure precincts as performative spaces and generalize the similar features in different materials. Then, the following two sections will respectively argue the textual discrepancy in recording the performances and hierarchies of performing spaces.

1. The developmental representation of pleasure precincts

The main function of pleasure precincts is to provide stages for troupes to perform comedies, which attracted the affluent and the idlers to enjoy recreational pleasures. This could be examined from the definitions in the materials:

The talents and skills of the capital district were taken in charge by Zhang Tingsou and Meng Zishu since the eras of Chongning (1102-1107) and Daguan (1107-1110). The mainstays of the “Little Chants”: Li Shishi, Xu Poxi, Feng Yinu, Sun Sansi and so on, who are best. Singers of Dirty Songs: Zhang Qiqi, Wang Jingnu, Zuo Xiaosi, An Niang, Mao Tuan and so on. Little comedies performers as Ren Xiaosan who played the sticks puppet premiered the program early morning everyday, which cannot be seen later. The hanging puppet: Zhang Jinxian, Li Waining. Medical puppet: Zhang Zhenmiao, Wen Nuge, Zhen Geqiang, Mo Boji, Xiao Diaodao. There are performances like ropes twisting skeleton, acrobatics, and eyes all over body. Li Zongzheng and Zhang Ge were professional in performing balls. Sun Kuan, Sun Shiwu, Zeng Wudang, Gao Shu, Li Xiaoxiang are good at history telling. Li Zao, Yang Zhongli, Zhang Shiyi, Xu Ming, Zhao Shiheng, Jia Jiu are good at telling fictions. Zhang Zhennu is expert in dancing. Yang Wangjing is skilled in sumo. The programs of comedies and playing knives have professional artists like Dong Shiwu, Zhao Qi, Cao Baoyi, Zhu Po’er, Mo Kuntuo, Feng Sengge, Zu Liujie. DingYi specializes in Shadow plays and Shou Ji’s majority is acting shadow plays. Liu Baiqin offers bugs plays, Kong Sanchuan chants sorehead songs, Mao Xiang and Ho Bochou specializes

in riddles. WuBa'er performs collective comedies. Zhang Shanren specializes in oral performances. Liu Qiao, He Beizi, Bo Sui, Hu Niu'er, Da Yanwuchongming, Qiao Luotuo, Li Dun are in extra comedies. Sun San plays ghost and Huo Sijiu gives verbal performances of Three Kingdoms, Yin Chang performs oral programs in history of the five dynasties, and Wen Baniang's program is in chanting fruits with many other countless performances. Audiences are full of the fence all days long no matter what weather conditions are. The Court Entertainment Bureau invites audiences to watch their performances every break in the month. When it comes to some imperial feasts, the Court Entertainment Bureau will organize the performers to rehearse the music, dances and comedies one month in advance.

崇、观以来，在京瓦肆伎艺：张廷叟，孟子书主张。小唱李师师、徐婆惜、封宜奴、孙三四等，诚其角者。嘌唱弟子张七七、王京奴、左小四、安娘、毛团等。教坊减罢并温习，张翠盖、张成弟子、薛子大、薛子小、俏枝儿、杨总惜、周寿奴、称心等。般杂剧，杖头傀儡任小三，每日五更头回小杂剧，差晚来不及矣。悬丝傀儡张金线、李外宁。药发傀儡张臻妙、温奴哥、真个强、没勃脐、小掉刀。筋骨上索、杂手伎、浑身眼。李宗正、张哥，球杖踢弄。孙宽、孙十五、曾无党、高恕、李孝详，讲史。李慥、杨中立、张十一、徐明、赵世亨、贾九，小说。王颜喜、盖中宝、刘名广，散乐。张真奴，舞旋。杨望京，小儿相扑。杂剧、掉刀、蛮牌董十五、赵七、曹保义、朱婆儿、没困驼、风僧哥、俎六姐。影戏丁仪，瘦吉等弄乔影戏。刘百禽弄虫蚁、孔三传耍秀才诸宫调、毛详、霍伯丑商谜。吴八儿合生。张山人说诨话。刘乔、河北子、帛遂、胡牛儿、达眼五重明、乔骆驼儿、李敦等杂班外入。孙三神鬼，霍四究说三分，尹常卖五代史，文八娘叫果子，其余不可胜数。不以风雨寒暑，诸棚看人，日日如是。教坊，钧容直，每遇旬休按乐，亦请人观看。每遇内宴，前一月，教坊内勾集弟子小儿，习队舞作乐，杂剧节次。²³

——*Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录

This recording was the most original texts about the pleasure precincts quoted by this thesis. It offered the information that the pleasure precincts were under supervision of administrators from the court. In addition to the introduction of managers, all the recordings were devoted to enumerate the performances and players. The last three sentences conclude the thriving scene of the pleasure precinct that audiences were almost crowded to watch the recreational programs everyday. While the author spent large words on the introduction of performances and players, the locations of the pleasure precincts were mixed up with other recordings of urban architectural spaces. It could be concluded that the author deliberately highlight the performances and folk artists of the theatrical spaces, representing the pleasure

²³ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 29-30.

precincts with the image of performative spaces.

When it comes to the recordings of Southern Song Dynasty, the recordings of pleasure precincts began to trace the origin of the theatrical spaces and focus on the thriving scene:

瓦 (Wa 瓦, the first character of “pleasure precinct”), symbolizes or illustrates the meaning of easy assembling and disseminating, was unknown the original time. However, when in the Jingshi era (Northern Song Dynasty), the pleasure precincts were places for rich playboys to spend time, and for indulgence of idlers e obsessed with recreation.

瓦者，野合易散之意也，不知起于何时；但在京师时，甚为士庶放荡不羁之所，亦为子弟流连破坏之地。²⁴

——*Duchengjisheng* 都城纪胜

The term pleasure precincts is inclusive of the south pleasure precinct, the middle pleasure precinct, the big pleasure precinct, the north pleasure precinct and the Puqiao pleasure precinct. The north pleasure precinct is the biggest one comprising of thirteen theatrical stages. There are usually two theatrical stages specially performing verbal programs of history, which are presented by Qiao Wanjuan, Xu Gongshi and Zhang Jieyuan. The back of the north pleasure precinct is called Lotus Shed, which particularly presents the comedies that serve the court with classical comedies like *Peaceful Banquet in Song State* and performers like Zhao Tai, Wang Xi, Qing Chutou and Duan Zigui.

南瓦、中瓦、大瓦、北瓦、蒲桥瓦。惟北瓦大，有勾栏一十三座。常是两座勾栏，专说史书，乔万卷、许贡士、张解元。背做莲花棚，常是御前杂剧，赵泰、王喜、《宋邦宁河宴》、清锄头、段子贵。²⁵

——*Xihu laoren fanshenglu* 西湖老人繁胜录

While the *Dongjing menghualu* 东京梦华录 took the view of memory to narrate the previous glory and prosperity, the *Duchengjisheng* 都城纪胜 and *Fanshenglu* 繁胜录 described the pleasure precincts to emphasize the splendid era that the authors were experiencing. The author of *Duchengjisheng* 都城纪胜 particularly focused on comparing the development of Hangzhou with previous eras so that he could highlight the Southern Song Dynasty, especially the so-called “middle revival” (Zhongxing 中兴) era with indicating the resurgence of the Southern Song Dynasty. As the symbol of thriving urban life, the pleasure precincts were symbolized in the description to illustrate the recreational

²⁴ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 95.

²⁵ Ibid, 123.

life in the city had recovered to the level of the prosperous time in the Song Dynasty.

Then, the recordings after the collapse of the Southern Song Dynasty implicitly expressed the indulgence and depravation, blaming the luxurious entertainments of pleasure precincts:

The pleasure precinct means that the persons in the space gather as paving tiles and separate as tiles breaking. When the pleasure precincts originated is unknown; thus eventually becoming hubs of indulgence and pleasure for intellectuals and playboys. During the Shaoxing era (1131-1162), general Yang Hewang set his troops in Hangzhou and built the pleasure precincts for his soldiers who were mostly from the northwest, providing a recreational place for soliciting prostitutes and attracting performances.

瓦舍者，谓其“来时瓦合，去时瓦解”之义，易聚易散也。不知起于何时。顷者京师甚为士庶放荡不羁之所，亦为子弟流连破坏之门。杭城绍兴间驻蹕于此，殿岩杨和王因军士多西北人，是以城内外创立瓦舍，招集妓乐，以为军卒暇日嬉戏之地。²⁶

——*Menglianglu* 梦梁录

The selected recordings above are the definitions of pleasure precincts, thereby expressing that the space is not totally fixed. The pleasure precinct had a relatively fixed physical place, but the stages and performances inside the space were flexible. The crowds gathered in the pleasure precincts when performers and troupes performed; then the audiences departed on completion of the performance.

When these pleasure precincts were established, nothing is recorded about the majority of consumers visiting the pleasure precincts. It is in the recordings written in the Southern Song Dynasty that describes majority of the civilians spending a lot of time and money in the pleasure precincts were aristocrats and idlers. Hence, the image of the pleasure precincts was developmentally built and enriched with adding more details.

The origin of the theatrical spaces was not stated in the *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录, which predates the other three materials. However, the definition of the pleasure precincts and their main consumers were recorded in the latter materials. In addition to the different emphasizing themes of the four books, the growing importance of the theatrical

²⁶ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录（外四种）. Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 298.

spaces that attracted more and more consumers should be the reason that caught recorders' attention in materials. The authors began to realize the meaning of the pleasure precincts. They seek to explain the name and traced the history of the pleasure precincts. However, this process also diversified the image of pleasure precinct, which added the image of purify recreational space in the recordings of Northern Song Dynasty with various consumers, histories and dominant performances.

In brief, the representation of the pleasure precincts transferred from the performative spaces to the symbol of the thriving urban life and finally became the blaming reason for the fall of the state.

2. The growth of performances in pleasure precincts

Folk artists presented the performances in the pleasure precincts under the supervision of administrators of court bureau. However, the condition changed in the Southern Song Dynasty. This section will examine the related recordings to interpret that how the folk artists exerted an influence on the court performances, prompting the growth of performances in pleasure precincts. The transforming pattern of collaboration between court and folk artists will be illustrated by comparing the materials written in the northern and southern state.

The performances recorded in the *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 are quoted below:

Zhang Tingsou and Meng Zishu of the Chongning (1102-1107) and Dagan eras (1107-1110) supervised the precincts and the performances conducted.

崇、观以来，在京瓦肆伎艺：张廷叟，孟子书主张。

The Court Entertainment Bureau invited audiences to watch their performances during the break period of every month. When it comes to some imperial feasts, the Court Entertainment Bureau would organize rehearsals of the music, dances and comic performers one month in advance.

教坊，钧容直，每遇旬休按乐，亦请人观看。每遇内宴，前一月，教坊内勾集弟子小儿，习队舞作乐，杂剧节次。²⁷

²⁷ Meng, Yuanlao, etc.孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录（外四种）. Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 29-30.

The two parts reflected that the pleasure precincts were under the supervision of two managers who were recorded to serve the Court Entertainment Bureau (Jiaofang, 教坊) during Chongning and Dagan period (1102-1110).²⁸ The Court Entertainment Bureau not only sent administrators to manage the pleasure precincts, but also trained the selected performers. The second part above expressed that the Court Entertainment Bureau organized rehearsals in the pleasure precincts every month. It could be consequentially concluded that the Court Entertainment Bureau supervised the theatrical spaces and participated in the rehearsals and performances during the Northern Song Dynasty.

Moving to Hangzhou after the collapse of the Northern Song Dynasty, the state could hardly organize bureaus for performances due to the poor finance at first. In fact, the Court Entertainment Bureau was abandoned and put into “Xiuneisi jiaoyuesuo” (Music Institution, 修内司教乐所).²⁹ The new institution no longer had sufficient professional performers as well as the capacity to manage and organize in the pleasure precincts. Due to the lack of performers, folk artists in the pleasure precincts were frequently recruited to perform in the court banquet and ceremony. The recordings in *Duchengjisheng* 都城纪胜 described how folk artists were required to serve the court rituals:

Comedians wore *Hunguo* and others wore hats and headgears. Then, the department of comedies had children group and girls who performed picking lotus sequence. Further, the department had fisher groups, following with four Meng who rode horses and play music. They imitated the traditional tales. To celebrate the thirty-first year of the era of Shaoxing, a sumptuous feast was held in the court banquet, the *Xiuneisi jiaoyuesuo* temporarily recruited performers from Lin'an to perform at the feast as the state abolished the Court Entertainment Bureau.

杂剧部又戴诨裹，其余只是帽子、幞头。以次又有小儿队，并女童采莲队。又别有钓客班，今四孟随在驾后，乘马动乐者，是其故事也。绍兴三十一年，省废教坊之后，每遇大宴，则拨差临安府衙前乐等人充应，属修内司教乐所掌管。

Performance such as Kick and play (Tinong, 踢弄), were required to be held which included competing against golden chook after grand rituals when amnesty was announced.

踢弄，每大礼后宣赦时，抢金鸡者用此等人。

Yell (Jiaosheng 叫声) was originated in Bianliang. The oral performance mixed

²⁸ Wang, Mingqing. *Huizhulu* 挥麈录. Shanghai: shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2001, 99; Xu, Mengshen. *Sanchaobeimenghuibian* 三朝北盟会编. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987, 588.

²⁹ Zhao, Sheng. *Chaoyeleiyao* 朝野类要. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007, 19.

up with the yell of selling commodities in the market and the court music.

叫声，自京师起撰，因市井诸色歌吟卖物之声，采合宫调而成也。³⁰

These recordings reflected that the court frequently recruited folk artists to perform during important events or rituals. This proved that on one hand, the court did not have enough performers to prepare for the ceremony; on the other hand, some talented folk artists were capable of performances provided they fulfilled the court criteria. During the period of Emperor Xiaozong (1162-1189), the bureau even had to hire large numbers of folk artists to perform in the courts. This phenomenon is called “Hegu” (Hire, 和顾).³¹ This was connected to the fallen state of Northern Song Dynasty. The turmoil of northern state resulted in the dissemination of the artists. Lots of artists moved to the southern area in order to escape the war, which enriched the abundance of the performers in Hangzhou.³² Due to the weakness of southern state, the court lost many excellent artists during the process of running to Hangzhou. Therefore, the folk artists gradually took the leading position of performances in the pleasure precincts and had more opportunities to serve the court. In the Southern Song Dynasty, the court just built the pleasure precincts as the descriptions that *Menglianglu* 梦梁录 and *Wulinjiushi* 武林旧事 recorded:

During the Shaoxing era (1131-1162), general Yang Hewang set his troops in Hangzhou and built the pleasure precincts inside and outside the city for his soldiers who were mostly from the northwest, providing a recreational place for soliciting prostitutes and attracting performances.

杭城绍兴间驻蹕于此，殿岩杨和王因军士多西北人，是以城内外创立瓦舍，招集妓乐，以为军卒暇日娱戏之地。³³

——*Menglianglu* 梦梁录

The Xiuneisi supervised the pleasure precincts inside the city and the Dianqiansi supervised those outside the city.

城内隶修内司,城外隶殿前司。³⁴

³⁰ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 96-97.

³¹ Tuotuo, eds. *Songshi* 宋史. Beijing: zhonghua shuju, 1977, vol.10, 3359.

³² Liao, Ben. *Zhongguo gudai juchangshi* 中国古代剧场史. Zhengzhou: zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1997, 41-46.

³³ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 298.

³⁴ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 440-41.

The state still took the supervision of the pleasure precincts, but the authority was not intensified. According to *Menglianglu* 梦梁录, the pleasure precincts were initially established by troops outside the Hangzhou, which distinguished the differences between pleasure precincts inside and outside the city. This was the reason that the pleasure precincts in *Wulinjiushi* 武林旧事 had clear distinction that the theatrical spaces inside and outside the city were supervised by two departments. The separate supervision further weakened the control of state over the pleasure precincts, which conversely promoted the folk artists to develop performances without strict supervision. In brief, the folk artists in the pleasure precincts gained more flexibility in the Southern Song Dynasty. The court dominated the performances and tramps of pleasure precincts in the Northern Song Dynasty, while the condition changed in the southern state. The folk artists in the pleasure precincts grew as an important group that served the court.

3. The divided space of performance in pleasure precincts

The performative spaces in the pleasure precincts were not clearly divided during the Northern time; hierarchies of comic performance spaces in pleasure precincts were gradually developed in Southern Song Dynasty. As the pleasure precincts increasingly attracted troupes and performers, competitions among performers increased. Therefore, only the popular performers or troupes could enjoy the central stages in the pleasure precincts. Then, the performers in the pleasure precincts divided performing spaces. While the troupes consisting of skilled performers occupied the pleasure precincts inside the city, players with poor performances who belonged to no troupes had to present performances in the pleasure precincts that were outside the city. This could be seen in the *Wulinjiushi* 武林旧事:

There are more pleasure precincts outside the city, especially with thirteen performing sheds in the North pleasure precincts. There are some mobile performers who do not perform in the pleasure precincts, serving performances at the extensive grounds. Those who decorated the place are called “Dayehe” and they are at the bottom of performing system.

外又有勾栏甚多，北瓦内勾栏十三座最盛。或有路岐，不入勾栏，只在耍闹

宽阔之处。做场者，谓之“打野呵”，此又艺之次者。³⁵

The selected recordings above recall the living conditions of less skilled performers who even could not play in the theatrical spaces. Those players in the bottom of the performing system had to hold single performances on the grounds outside the pleasure precincts. The similar condition could also be seen in the *Fanshenglu* 繁胜录:

There are also isolated pleasure precincts a little far from the center with the night markets holding kites flying performances. The kites flying are played with wheelbarrows of different sizes painted either red or black. Bets were placed on these kites. The loser in the gambling may spend two to three qian of money and the conditions are the same every day.

馀外尚有独勾栏瓦市，稍远于茶，中作夜场，街市举放风筝轮车数椽，有极大者，多用朱红，或用黑漆，亦有用小轮车者，多是药线，前后赌赛输赢。输者顷折三二两线，每日如此。³⁶

Compared with the recordings in *Wulinjiushi* 武林旧事, the performers in this selected part even organized gambling to make money. The performances they held were not on high quality, which were just kite flying with wheelbarrows. Obviously, these performances could not catch up the level of performances inside the city for two reasons. Firstly, on the extent of performances, more and more performers and troupes crowding into the pleasure precincts would result in fewer spaces; then, competitions among performers and troupes were unavoidable. Only the popular performers and troupes could keep the positions in the pleasure precincts inside the city. Secondly, on the extent of pleasure precincts, the recordings in *Fanshenglu* 繁胜录 revealed that the division on the function of pleasure precincts were gradually ongoing. The increasing pleasure precincts inside and outside the city had to assume different functions in terms of the locations. The pleasure precincts inside the city attracted talented performers and troupes, while those outside the city assembled vendors and poor performers. It is possible that the less skilled performers and vendors occupied the pleasure precincts outside the city due to their poor performances. The recordings in *Fanshenglu* 繁胜录 made the pleasure precincts outside the city more like commercial center rather than purify theatrical spaces. The performances help the pleasure

³⁵ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 440-41.

³⁶ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 123-24.

precincts divide hierarchies that differed from inside and outside the city. Further, the division of pleasure precincts promoted the separation of different performances, characterizing performing groups like “Dayehe” that specialized in presenting performances outside the city.

Chapter 2: From custom performance to urban space: the transitional representation of pleasure precincts

This chapter will interpret the recordings of pleasure precincts under the skeleton of urban spaces. The pleasure precincts comprised the dynamic part of urban spaces, keeping being characterized and enriched. The thriving theatrical spaces, especially during the Southern Song, attracted various merchants and vendors to operate business. The developmental process of pleasure precincts was reflected in the materials, expressing the transitional images.

1. The expansion of pleasure precincts

From the Northern Song Dynasty to the Southern Song Dynasty, the expansion of the pleasure precincts was embodied in two extents. On one hand, the locations of the pleasure precincts extended to the suburban areas as compared to the Northern Song Dynasty that the pleasure precincts were only built inside the city; on the other hand, the pleasure precincts scattered to more and more cities and counties in Southern Song Dynasty, which was not limited in capital Lin'an as *Dongjing menghualu* 东京梦华录 recorded. The following discussion will interpret respectively.

During the Northern Song Dynasty, the pleasure precincts were mainly distributed inside the city. Related materials evidence this phenomenon:

Further to the east [and on the north] is the Xu Family Calabash Stew Shop (Xu jia hugengdian 徐家瓠羹店); south of the avenue is the Sang Family Pleasure Precinct (Sangjia wazi 桑家瓦子). Nearby and to the north is the Middle Pleasure Precinct (Zhong wazi 中瓦子) and next in line the Interior Pleasure Precinct (Nei wazi 内瓦子). Of the fifty or more theaters within these pleasure precincts, the Lotus Flower Theater (Lianhua peng 莲花棚) and the Peony Theater (Mudan peng 牡丹棚) of the Middle Pleasure Precinct and the Elephant (Xiang peng 象棚) and Yaksha Theaters (Yechapeng 夜叉棚) of the Central Pleasure Precinct (Li wazi 里瓦子) are the largest. They can hold several thousand people. From the generation of Ding Xianxian 丁先现, Wang Tuanzi 王团子, and Seventh Sage Zhang 张七圣, people of later times were

allowed to perform here. Inside of the pleasure precincts one finds many purveyors of medicinal simples, sellers of hexagram fortunes, hawkers of old clothes, those who barter and wager on food and drink, silhouette cutters, [singers of] ditties, and the like. One can stay here the whole day without being aware of the approach of nightfall.³⁷

街南桑家瓦子，近北则中瓦，次里瓦。其中大小勾栏五十余座。内中瓦子莲花棚、牡丹棚、里瓦子夜叉棚，象棚最大，可容数千人。自丁先现、王团子、张七圣辈，后来可有人于此作场。瓦中多有货药、卖卦、喝故衣、探搏、饮食、剃剪、纸画、令曲之类，终日居此，不觉抵暮。³⁸

——*Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录

The recordings above reflected that there were several large pleasure precincts inside the city. These theatrical spaces presented comedies as the major performances, with other commercial operations offering various services. It is noticeable that these several pleasure precincts were built inside the city. However, the condition changed in the Southern Song Dynasty.

There are also isolated pleasure precincts a little far from the center with the night markets of which hold kites flying. The kites flying are played with wheelbarrows either in red or black paint of big size or small size driven by line, with betting involved. The loser in the bet may spend two to three qian of money and the conditions are the same every day. At the wide area, merchants chant the special songs, play the quailfighting, and sell paintings of gatekeepers and mahogany board in golden paint. Some merchants sell spring labels with decades of categories. The night markets also sell wolf head hats, small scarfs, willow box, headwear, golden hats, cudgels, rattan products, glass lights, silver products, bestseller books, porcine pancreas pancakes, screens, ebony flower products, revolving lights, fragrant balls, hawthorn, candles, fish, kerchief, fried lotus roots, red pancakes and honey sugar pancakes.

此外尚有独勾栏瓦市，稍远于茶，中作夜场，街市举放风筝轮车数椽，有极大者，多用朱红，或用黑漆，亦有用小轮车者，多是药线，前后赌赛输赢。输者顷折三二两线，每日如此。宽阔处踢球，放胡哮，斗鹤鹑，卖等身门神、金漆桃符板、钟馗、财门。有百余家赏春贴子，有十数般春幡、春胜、锦背历日。夜市扑卖狼头帽、小头巾抹头子、细柳箱、花环钗朵篋儿头、销金帽儿、罗木桶杖、诸般藤作、琉璃炮灯、银丝合子、时文书集、猪胰胡饼、挂屏头屋儿、乌木花动使、行灯、香圆、查子、画烛、鱼鲜、头巾、炸藕、红边糍、蜂糖饼。³⁹

——*Fanshenglu* 繁胜录

During the Shaoxing era (1131-1162), general Yang Hewang set his troops in Hangzhou and built the pleasure precincts inside and outside the city for his soldiers

³⁷ West, Stephen H. "Playing with food: Performance, food, and the aesthetics of artificiality in the Sung and Yuan." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57.1 (1997): 76.

³⁸ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 14.

³⁹ Ibid, 123-24.

who were mostly from the northwest, providing a recreational place for soliciting prostitutes and attracting performances.

杭城绍兴间驻蹕于此，殿岩杨和王因军士多西北人，是以城内外创立瓦舍，招集妓乐，以为军卒暇日娱戏之地。

There are seventeen pleasure precincts in Hangzhou.

其杭之瓦舍，城内外合计有十七处。⁴⁰

——*Menglianglu* 梦梁录

The Xiuneisi and Dianqiansi supervise pleasure precincts inside and outside the city respectively.

城内隶修内司，城外隶殿前司。

There are more pleasure precincts outside the city, especially with thirteen performing sheds in the North pleasure precincts. There are some mobile performers who do not perform in the pleasure precincts, serving performances at the extensive grounds. Those who decorated the place are called “Dayehe” and they are at the bottom of performing system.

外又有勾栏甚多，北瓦内勾栏十三座最盛。或有路岐，不入勾栏，只在耍闹宽阔之处。做场者，谓之“打野呵”，此又艺之次者。⁴¹

——*Wulinjiushi* 武林旧事

All of the three selected recordings from materials written in Southern Song Dynasty stated the pleasure precincts built outside the city. From the recordings in *Fanshenglu* 繁胜录, the pleasure precincts were more prosperous compared with those of Northern Song Dynasty, with more vendors and multiple commercial exchanges. *Menglianglu* 梦梁录 count that the number of pleasure precincts inside and outside the city was more than twenty. Compared with the number of pleasure precincts recorded in the *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 that were no more than ten, the figure of theatrical spaces in the Southern Song Dynasty had increased remarkably. *Wulinjiushi* 武林旧事 also described the performances in the pleasure precincts outside the city. No matter what profiles the three texts emphasized, they all referred to the theatrical spaces that extended to the suburban Hangzhou. It could also be found that the pleasure precincts in the Southern Song Dynasty grew as a crowded commercial space. The pleasure precincts not only provided stages for performances, but also attracted vendors and merchants to operate commodities selling.

⁴⁰ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录（外四种）. Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 298

⁴¹ Ibid, 440-41.

This new situation was also not seen in the Northern Song Dynasty.

Apart from the extension of pleasure precincts from inner city to outside city, the theatrical spaces in the Southern Song Dynasty were not limited in capital area as the conditions of Northern Song Dynasty. More cities and counties had built pleasure precincts as entertaining places for pleasure. The trend of building pleasure precincts firstly spread in cities and counties around Hangzhou. It could be found from the materials that the pleasure precincts were popular in Zhejiang and Jiangsu province.⁴² Such theatrical spaces even extended as far as Jiangxi and Sichuan province according to related recordings.⁴³ These materials evidenced that appreciating comedies and performances in pleasure precincts had become a major entertaining popularity of social life. The establishment of theatrical spaces was not exclusive in the capital, but scattered in most parts of the territory.

In brief, the chain of listed materials reflected two developmental trajectories of pleasure precincts from Northern Song Dynasty to Southern period. One is the circulation of theatrical spaces from inner Hangzhou to the outside area of the city; another is the spreading process that the entertaining spaces disseminated to many cities and counties in the Southern state.

2. The enriched image of pleasure precincts

The main feature of pleasure precincts transformed from performance to urban space. In the initial recordings of pleasure precincts in *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录, the pleasure precincts were highlighted with feature of performance. This could be examined from the contents of Meng Yuanlao's book.⁴⁴ The book contains ten chapters. The "Pleasure Precincts and Entertainment" was in the fifth chapter. The first five chapters, which mainly describe the boundaries and miscellaneous urban districts, are clearly

⁴² Zhang, Li, Hao, Jing. "Lun washe goulan de xingfe yu shuohua yishu 论瓦舍勾栏的兴废与说话艺术 (The Studies on the Prosperity and Decline of the pleasure precincts and Oral Performances)". *Folklore Studies*, No.4, 2013, 114-23.

⁴³ The Sichuan Provincial Cultural Relics and Archeology Research Institute, eds. *Luxian Songmu* 泸县宋墓 (The Tombs of Song Dynasty in Lu County). Beijing: wenwu chubanshe, 2004, 137-43.

⁴⁴ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 2-5.

separated from the latter five chapters, which chronologically traced the festival celebrations and emperor's events. Although the content is compiled in fragmented order that contingently presented the local knowledge of the capital memory on Stephen West's sense, the obvious fifty-fifty division boundary between the former and latter five chapters revealed the compilation of which is based on the skeleton of space and time.⁴⁵ The major description of pleasure precinct in *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 could be found in the chapter five "Pleasure Precincts and Entertainment", and the selected part in the chapter two "Avenues and Alleys at the East Tower". The discussion in detail will present below.

Chapter five contains four notes, the note on "Customs" being predominantly explained. Apart from the "Pleasure Precincts and Entertainment", both of "Marriage" and "Adopting Children" have close connections with the customs. The concrete descriptions of these two sections record the customs of that time, which grounded the chapter with custom description. The combining title of "Pleasure Precinct and Entertainments" that parallels the description of the theatrical space and performance expresses the close connection between pleasure precinct and customs, with particularly stressing on the folklore performance. Instead of narrating the pleasure precinct together with other urban spaces like restaurants or meal shops in the chapter one or chapter four, it is noticeable that the author did not merely regard the pleasure precinct as a common part of urban space. Positioning among descriptions of customs, it is consequentially that the feature of pleasure precinct was folk performances.

The description of pleasure precinct listed various categories of performances in the pleasure precincts and the renowned performers, while the descriptions of concrete spatial distribution of the pleasure precincts was recorded in another section, under the title of "Avenues and Alleys at the East Tower".⁴⁶ Without cautiously distinguishing the materials,

⁴⁵ West, Stephen H. "Huanghou, zangli, youbing yu zhu-Dongjingmenghualu he dushi wenxue de xingqi" (Empresses and funerals, pancakes and pigs: *Dreaming a Dream of Splendor Past* and the origins of urban literature, 皇后、葬禮、油餅與豬—《東京夢華錄》和都市文學的興起). Lee, Fong-mao, ed. *Wenxue, wenhua yu shibian* (Literature, Culture, and Historical Transitions, 文學、文化與世變). Taipei: Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, 2002, 197–218.

⁴⁶ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 14.

it is hard to find out the hidden introduction of the pleasure precincts, which were mingled with other consumptive spaces in the whole section. This reflected that the representation of pleasure precincts in the Northern Song Dynasty mainly focus on the performative feature.

However, the representations of pleasure precincts in the Southern Song Dynasty gradually transferred to describe the feature of being an urban space. The recordings of pleasure precincts not only focused on listing the categories of performances, but also added description that narrated how prosperous the theatrical spaces were. For example:

In the thirty-first year of the era of Shaoxing, when there held sumptuous feast in the court and the players were required, the Xiuneisi jiaoyuesuo recruited temporary players from Lin'an after the state abolished the Court Entertainment Bureau.

绍兴三十一年，省废教坊之后，每遇大宴，则拨差临安府衙前乐等人充应，属修内司教乐所掌管。

Performance such as Kick and play (Tinong, 踢弄), were required to be held which included competing against golden chook after grand rituals when amnesty was announced.

踢弄，每大礼后宣赦时，抢金鸡者用此等人。⁴⁷

——*Duchengjisheng* 都城纪胜

At the wide area, merchants chant special songs, play the quail fighting, and sell paintings of gatekeepers and mahogany board in golden paint. Some merchants sell spring labels with decades of categories. The night markets also sell wolf head hats, small scarfs, willow box, headwear, golden hats, cudgels, rattan products, glass lights, silver products, bestseller books, porcine pancreas pancakes, screens, ebony flower products, revolving lights, fragrant balls, hawthorn, candles, fish, kerchief, fried lotus roots, red pancakes and honey sugar pancakes.

宽阔处踢球，放胡哮，斗鹌鹑，卖等身门神、金漆桃符板、钟馗、财门。有百馀家赏春贴子，有十数般春幡、春胜、锦背历日。夜市扑卖狼头帽、小头巾抹头子、细柳箱、花环钗朵篋儿头、销金帽儿、罗木桶杖、诸般藤作、琉璃炮灯、银丝合子、时文书集、猪胰胡饼、挂屏头屋儿、乌木花动使、行灯、香圆、查子、画烛、鱼鲜、头巾、炸藕、红边糍、蜂糖饼。⁴⁸

——*Fanshenglu* 繁胜录

Both recordings emphasized different profiles of pleasure precincts. The *Duchengjisheng* 都城纪胜 linked the performances in the pleasure precincts to the court rituals, interpreting the official connection with the pleasure precincts. *Fanshenglu* 繁胜录 emphasized the commercial function of the pleasure precincts, presenting various

⁴⁷ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 96-97.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 123-24.

commodities sold in the pleasure precincts. No matter what parts of pleasure precincts were presented, the authors in the Southern Song Dynasty were no longer limited to list categories of performances in the pleasure precincts. They started to concentrate on the various images of pleasure precincts that diversified the urban life. Such trend was reinforced in the recordings that written at the late period of the Southern Song Dynasty.

3. Pleasure precinct as the urban space

When it came to the Southern Song Dynasty, the texts of *Menglianglu* 梦梁录 and *Wulinjiushi* 武林旧事 recorded the locations of pleasure precincts and separated the recordings of performers and comedies in other chapters.⁴⁹ The image of pleasure precincts was totally transferred to “part of urban spaces”.

The authors of the two books regarded the concept of pleasure precinct as an urban space that offered recreational pleasure and attracted customers and aristocrats to indulge in the performances conducted. Both books highlighted the function of service rather than the performative representation of the pleasure precinct, paralleling the recordings with other places of occupations that served civilians or government. The related recordings in *Menglianglu* 梦梁录 and *Wulinjiushi* 武林旧事 reflected how the author presented the names and locations of pleasure precincts:

There are seventeen pleasure precincts in Hangzhou. The one besides the Xichun Loft near the Qingling bridge is South pleasure precinct; the one in front of the Beisanyuan Loft in the southern market is Middle pleasure precinct; the one in the Sanqiao Avenue in the western market is Big pleasure precinct, which was also called Shang pleasure precinct; the one in front of the Nanyangpeng Loft near the Zhong’an bridge is Xia pleasure precinct, which was also called northern pleasure precinct before; the Puqiao pleasure precinct in the east of the Pu bridge, which was also named as East pleasure precinct, is now abandoned as residential houses; the one outside the Dongqing Gate near the Caishi bridge is Caishi pleasure precinct; the one in the south of Zhangjia bridge outside the Chongxin Gate is Jianqiaomen pleasure precinct; the one in the south of the Xinkai Gate is Xinmen pleasure precinct, which was called Sitong House before; the one outside the Bao’an Gate is Xiaoyanmen pleasure precinct; the one in the north of the Houchao Gate is Houchaomen pleasure precinct; the one in the north of the Bian

⁴⁹ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 440-41.

Gate is Bianmen pleasure precinct; the one in front of the horse institution outside the Qianhu Gate is Qianhumen pleasure precinct, which is also abandoned as residential houses now; the one in front of the back barrack is Chishan pleasure precinct; the one beside the Xingchun bridge of Lingyin tianzhu Road is Xingchun pleasure precinct; the one in front of the north Tax Bureau is Beiguo pleasure precinct, which is also named as Datong House; the one under the Mishi bridge is Mishiqiao pleasure precinct; the one in the Maxian Avenue in the north of the Shibeitou is Old pleasure precinct.

其杭之瓦舍，城内外合计有十七处，如清泠桥西熙春楼下，谓之南瓦子；市南坊北三元楼前谓之中瓦子；市西坊内三桥巷名大瓦子，旧呼上瓦子；众安桥南羊棚楼前名下瓦子，旧呼北瓦子；盐桥下蒲桥东谓之蒲桥瓦子，又名东瓦子，今废为民居；东青门外菜市桥侧名菜市瓦子；崇新门外章家桥南名荐桥门瓦子；新开门外南名新门瓦子，旧呼四通馆；保安门外名小堰门瓦子；候潮门外北首名候潮门瓦子，便门外北谓之便门瓦子；钱湖门外南首省马院前名钱湖门瓦子，亦废为民居；后军寨前谓之赤山瓦子；灵隐天竺路行春桥侧曰行春瓦子；北郭税务曰北郭瓦子，又名大通店；米市桥下米市桥瓦子；石碑头北麻线巷内则曰旧瓦子。⁵⁰

——*Menglianglu* 梦梁录

The Xiuneisi and Dianqiansi supervise pleasure precincts inside and outside the city respectively. The pleasure precincts include South pleasure precinct (at the Xichun Loft near the Qingleng Bridge), Middle pleasure precinct (at the Suanyuan Loft), Big pleasure precinct (at the Sanqiao Street, also named as “Shang pleasure precinct”), North pleasure precinct (at the Zhong’an Bridge, also named as Xia pleasure precinct), Puqiao pleasure precinct (also named as East pleasure precinct), Bianmen pleasure precinct (outside the Bian Gate), Houchao Gate pleasure precinct (outside the Houchao Gate), Xiaoyan Gate pleasure precinct (in front the of the Xiaoyan Gate), Xin Gate pleasure precinct (also named as Sitongguan pleasure precinct), Jianqiao Gate pleasure precinct (in front of the Jianqiao Gate), Caishi Gate pleasure precinct (outside the Caishi Gate), Qianhu Gate pleasure precinct (in front of the Horse Bureau), Chishan pleasure precinct (in front of the back barrack), Xingchun Bridge pleasure precinct, North city pleasure precinct (also named as “Datongdian”), Mishi Bridge pleasure precinct, Old pleasure precinct (also named as Shibantou), Jiahui Gate pleasure precinct (outside the Jiahui Gate), Beiguan Gate pleasure precinct (also named as New pleasure precinct), Genshan Gate pleasure precinct (outside the Genshan Gate), Yangfang Bridge pleasure precinct, Wangjia Bridge pleasure precinct, and Longshan pleasure precinct. The pleasure precinct like North pleasure precinct or Yang shed are also called “Moving shed”. There are more pleasure precincts outside the city, especially with thirteen performing sheds in the North pleasure precincts. There are some mobile performers who do not perform in the pleasure precincts, serving performances at the extensive grounds. Those who decorated the place are called “Dayehe” and they are at the bottom of performing system.

⁵⁰ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录（外四种）. Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 298

（城内隶修内司,城外隶殿前司）南瓦（清冷桥熙春楼）中瓦（三元楼）大瓦（三桥街。亦名“上瓦”）北瓦（众安桥。亦名“下瓦”。）蒲桥瓦（亦名“东瓦”。）便门瓦（便门外）候潮门瓦（候潮门外）小堰门瓦（小堰门前）新门瓦（亦名“四通馆瓦”）荐桥门瓦（荐桥门前）菜市门瓦（菜市门外）钱湖门瓦（省马院前）赤山瓦（后军寨前）行春桥瓦,北郭瓦（又名“大通店”。）米市桥瓦,旧瓦（石板头）嘉会门瓦（嘉会门外）北关门瓦（又名新瓦）艮山门瓦（艮山门外）羊坊桥瓦,王家桥瓦,龙山瓦。如北瓦、羊棚楼等,谓之“游棚”。外又有勾栏甚多,北瓦内勾栏十三座最盛。或有路岐,不入勾栏,只在耍闹宽阔之处。做场者,谓之“打野呵”,此又艺之次者。⁵¹

——*Wulinjiushi* 武林旧事

Both selected recordings recorded the concrete locations of pleasure precincts in Hangzhou. Some pleasure precincts were near the markets, probably providing business convenience; some were near the departments of government and some were abandoned as residential houses. These recordings regarded the pleasure precinct as another simple urban space that offered recreational service and pleasure. Although the numbers are different, both books reflected the how flourishing the pleasure precincts was. The two recordings revealed specific information of the pleasure precincts without few words describing the performances. Compared with the recordings quoted previous in this thesis, these two materials removed recordings of various performances and artists in the pleasure precincts to other chapters. The highlighting descriptions of the pleasure precincts were the spatial recordings under the skeleton of urban spaces. Both recordings try to restore the map of Hangzhou city according by presenting the shops, pleasure precincts, palaces and streets. The difference between these two books and the resources written in the Southern Song Dynasty is the angle. *Menglianglu* 梦梁录 and *Wulinjiushi* 武林旧事 recalled the memories of the urban life. However, the narrative style of the two books looks like the authors were recording what they saw. It is such narrative style that represented the texts of pleasure precincts as part of urban spaces rather than thriving commercial center or performative spaces.

The representation of pleasure precincts was the space for custom performance in the preceding materials. Then, the connection between pleasure precincts and court rituals were

⁵¹ Meng, Yuanlao, etc.孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录（外四种）. Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 440-41.

added to the findings recorded in the texts. The meaning of political performance was strengthened within the description of performances serving the court ceremonies. When we examine the recordings written in the later period of Southern Song Dynasty, the locations and names of the pleasure precincts were presented, which unfolded that the theatrical spaces disseminated in Hangzhou. The wide circulation of pleasure precinct inside Hangzhou enriched its image with the symbol of urban spaces.

Chapter 3 From self memory to collective memory: the textual position of pleasure precincts

This chapter will discuss the textual position of pleasure precincts. Among different recordings from Northern Song Dynasty to Southern Song Dynasty, the pleasure precinct was always the object that experienced the prosperity and decline of the city. Therefore, the specialty of pleasure precinct raised the question that what feature distinguished the pleasure precinct from other urban spaces. Such feature help the textual representation of pleasure precinct become the comprising part of the urban image. As dynamic urban spaces, the pleasure precincts were recorded to capture the urban memory and prove the prosperity that the city used to be. This contributed to transformation of the pleasure precinct in the texts from the textual spaces in self-memory to collective memory. The representation of pleasure precincts as part of the collective memory constituted the profile of urban image.

1. The specialty of pleasure precincts compared with other urban spaces

The original pleasure precincts in the Northern Song Dynasty were just places for performances. The recordings of pleasure precincts only described the performances and artists. When it came to the Southern Song Dynasty, the theatrical spaces boosted with a surge of merchants and performers. The pleasure precincts developed as commercial districts, which mixed up with other urban service. For example, the recordings of pleasure precinct in *Fanshenglu* 繁胜录 also narrated several restaurants that were operated in the pleasure precincts:

There are several restaurants inside. The big restaurants use ten pigs every day without the viscera, feet, head and blood. The pigs are butchered and skinned in the night under the bright lights. The brawny men could only order the pork worthy of thirty-eight qian every time and they packed the skin and bones with lotus leaves because those were cheap.

内有起店数家，大店每日使猪十口，只不用头蹄血脏。遇晚烧晃灯拨刀，饶皮骨，壮汉只吃得三十八钱，起吃不了，皮骨饶荷叶裹归，缘物贱之故。

The luxurious restaurants used silverwares. The upstairs usually use silver chopsticks to serve the customers. Every three cups of wine will transform the dishes with thirty different cuisines. Even there are only two customers buying fifty-two qian of wine, the chopsticks and dishes can be serviced.

大酒店用银器，楼上用台盘洗子银箸菜糟藏甚多。三盏后换菜，有三十殿，支分不少。两人入店买五十二钱酒，也用两支银盏，亦有数般菜。⁵²

The two selected descriptions reveal the detailed operation of restaurants in the pleasure precincts that the diet cooperated with the performances and became profitable with considerate service. The pleasure precincts in the inner city had evolved into a recreational space with food and performances that meet multiple wants of consumers. In addition to the restaurants, the number of knickknack peddlers selling various goods increased in the pleasure precincts as the discussion in chapter two reflected. The pleasure precincts were no longer the single places with performances, but transferred as comprehensive places that concentrated various shops and vendors. Let us compare the recordings of other urban spaces:

The streets and allies are fully filled with various vendors, linking doors to doors without empty rooms.

自大街及诸巷，大小铺席，连门俱是，即无虚空之屋。⁵³

The locations of magistrates are prosperous with vendors. Numerous people with prosecutions crowded the ministry, gradually forming the selling markets.

府治前市井亦盈，铺席甚多。盖经讼之人，往来骈集，买卖耍闹处也。⁵⁴

There are several noodles restaurants in the main streets and west square of market that opening all night till the morning. The restaurants attract government officers and civilians to take the night snacks here due to the active policies of curfew.

最是大街一两处面食店及市西坊西食面店，通宵买卖，交晓不绝。缘金吾不禁，公私营干，夜食于此故也。⁵⁵

In front of the Red Branch of Heping Gate, there crowded with various vendors selling vegetables, meals, drinks, vinegars, fresh fruits and seafood. The chants of vendors resonated the streets and markets, remaindering the scene of Bianjing.

和宁门红杈子前买卖细色异品菜蔬，诸般嘎饭，及酒醋时新果子，进纳海鲜品件等物，填塞街市，吟叫百端，如汴京气象，殊可人意。⁵⁶

The recordings in the *Menglianglu* 梦梁录 described how crowded the streets and

⁵² Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 124.

⁵³ Ibid, 241.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 211.

⁵⁵ Ibid 241.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 242.

avenues were, that the shops and vendors were full around markets. These urban spaces contributed to the thriving markets and fairs. Among various temple fairs, the Xiangguo Temple 相国寺 dominated because of its frequent holding days, transportation position and wide space. Even in the Xiangguo Temple, the temple fairs were held as many as eight times a month.⁵⁷ However, the division between markets and temple fairs was not clear. Civilians and the vendors did not need to wait for particular days of temple fairs to purchase or exchange because the crowded markets and even more frequent fairs that opened days to nights had already met needs of daily necessities. The recordings of urban spaces deliberately avoided the rituals and courts, portraying the conventional scenes of customs. Such kind of narrative recalled the life scene of city as well as the memory.⁵⁸

Compared with the recordings of pleasure precincts and other urban spaces, the main distinguishable feature of theatrical spaces from other urban spaces was the developmental diversity. The pleasure precincts initially just attracted folk artists and performers to play comedies and entertainments. Later on in the Southern Song Dynasty, the pleasure precincts grew as the commercial centers that had diversified commerce. The development of pleasure precincts was also embodied in the distinction of hierarchies that the recreational spaces inside and outside the city had different functions. Such distinction benefited from the dissemination of pleasure precincts under the background of urban expansion. The pleasure precincts symbolized the dynamism of urban spaces as well as the feature of city in the text of Southern Song Dynasty that characterized the state as a flourishing empire. The urban literature aimed to cherish the memory and implicitly express the faith of wishing to rebuild the state. The vivid descriptions of the pleasure precincts in materials were used as propaganda to suggest how greater success the Southern Song Dynasty had achieved and how prosperous the temporal state had developed. The pleasure precincts were described

⁵⁷ *Yanyi yimoulu* 燕翼诒谋录. Shanghai guji chubanshe, ed. *Songyuan biji xiaoshuo daguan* 宋元笔记小说大观. Shanghai: shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007, vol.5, 4603; *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录. Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 19.

⁵⁸ West, Stephen H. "Huanghou, zangli, youbing yu zhu-Dongjingmenghualu he dushi wenxue de xingqi" (Empresses and funerals, pancakes and pigs: *Dreaming a Dream of Splendor Past* and the origins of urban literature, 皇后、葬禮、油餅與豬—《東京夢華錄》和都市文學的興起). Lee, Fong-mao, ed. *Wenxue, wenhua yu shibian* (Literature, Culture, and Historical Transitions, 文學、文化與世變). Taipei: Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy, 2002, 206-210.

with a plethora of descriptive words.

2. Recording spaces: the pleasure precincts and the urban literature

Pleasure precinct was not alone in the recordings that described the urban culture. In addition to pleasure precincts, other symbolic urban spaces were also stated. Here is the first five chapters of *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录:

Chapter 1: External City of East Capital, the Old Capital, Watercourse, the Grand Interior, the Internal Departments, the External Departments;

Chapter 2: the Imperial Street, the Palaces in front of Xuande Loft, Avenues and Alleys outside the Zhuque Gate, the Night Markets of Province Bridge, Avenues and Alleys at the East Tower, Avenues and Alleys at the East Pan Loft, Restaurant, Drink and Fruits;

Chapter 3: Clinic along the North of Horse Guild Avenue, Avenues and Alleys outside the Youye Gate at the right of Grand Interior, Avenues and Alleys at the East of the Province Bridge in front of the Grand Interior, Trade Markets in the Xiangguo Temple, Avenues and Alleys at the Sidong Gate, Shangqing Palace, Shops and Stalls Along Horse Guild Avenue, Commodities on the Boats, Currency of the Market, Hirelings, Fireproofing, Civilians Going to the Market in the Morning, Various Commodities;

Chapter 4: Military Department, Prince Marrying Concubine, Princess on Egression, Queen on Egression, Commodities, Fixing Commodities and Offering Monks and Taoist Priest, Parties and Renting, Huixian restaurant, Restaurants, Meal Shop, Pancake Shop, Fish Shop;

Chapter 5: Customs, **Pleasure Precincts and Entertainments**, Marriage, Adopting Children;

卷第一：东都外城，旧京城，河道，大内，内诸司，外诸司；

卷第二：御街，宣德楼前省府宫宇，朱雀楼外街巷，州桥夜市，东角楼街巷，潘楼东街巷，酒楼，饮食果子；

卷第三：马行街北诸医铺，大内西右掖门外街巷，大内前州桥东街巷，相国寺内万姓交易，寺东门街巷，上清宫，马行街铺席，船载杂卖，都市钱陌，雇觅人力，防火，天晓诸人入市，诸色杂卖；

卷第四：军头司，皇太子纳妃，公主出降，皇后出乘輿，杂货，修整杂货及斋僧请道，筵会假赁，会仙酒楼，食店，肉行，饼店，鱼行；

卷第五：民俗，京瓦伎艺，娶妇，育子。⁵⁹

The last five chapters of *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 recorded the festivals and celebrations in a year sequence, so here the selected first five chapters that recorded the

⁵⁹ Meng, Yuanlao, etc.孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录（外四种）. Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 2-5.

Bianliang city. It could be concluded that some urban spaces such as palaces, departments of government, night markets, restaurants, meat shop, fish shop and pancake shop were recorded. These spaces mostly sold foods and drinks to its consumers in addition to other entertainment.

Then, we examine the recorded spaces in *Fanshenglu* 繁胜录. The book records about the communities and societies (Shetuan 社团), restaurants (Shidian 食店), festivals (Jieri 节日), taverns and wine shops (Jiusi 酒肆), streets and markets (Jieshi 街市), palaces (Gongdian 宫殿), etc.⁶⁰ The recorded spaces in *Duchengjisheng* 都城纪胜 were similar to those in *Fanshenglu* 繁胜录. There are fourteen notes in aggregate:

Marketplace, Various Businesses, Wine Shops, Restaurants, Tea Shops, Four Divisions and Six Bureaus, the Various Performances in the Pleasure Precincts, Communities and Societies, Gardens, Boats and Ships, Shops and Stalls, Courtyards, Idlers, Other Places out of Three Religions.

市井，诸行，酒肆，食店，茶坊，四司六局，瓦舍杂伎，社会，苑囿，舟船，铺席，坊院，闲人，三教外地⁶¹

Compared with the contents of *Dongjing menghualu* 东京梦华录, more than half of the notes were stated before. Given that the places of interests in the *Duchengjisheng* 都城纪胜 were selected to represent the urban custom, the repetition revealed that on one hand, the urban structure inherited from Northern Song Dynasty; on the other hand, the most prosperous urban spaces remained as before, reflecting the vitality of the thriving spaces in urban life. Among the three books, there are several instances that all the books recorded palaces, food and drink shops, markets and pleasure precincts. These urban spaces provided service for customers in diet and enjoyment of entertainment. They were not the daily necessities, but brought extra pleasure. We could not find out any recordings about how much paycheck the civilians earned for a living, or the price of rice and vegetables. Conversely, all the recordings in these materials expressed how people could enjoy life and have pleasure. The genre originated from *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 depicted and portrayed an image of a metropolis with endless pleasure. The pleasure precincts and

⁶⁰ Meng, Yuanlao, etc.孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录（外四种）. Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 111-26.

⁶¹ Ibid, 90.

night markets opened every day. The various consumptive spaces were so attractive that even a whole day was not enough to spend. This is the textual feature of *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 that built an urban image with desire, profit and consumption.⁶² The following literature that mimicked the style of *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 formed the genre of urban literature. From the contents of books quoted above, it could be concluded that these materials particularly recorded the consumptive spaces or the bright side of the urban life. The dark side or the poverty in the urban life was deliberately ignored or re-written as the beneficial life profile.⁶³

As one of the dynamic urban spaces, the pleasure precincts were described to reflect the prosperity of urban image. It is not contingent that the pleasure precincts were selected to symbolize the urban image. The various performances, versatile folk artists and crowds of audiences all proved the energy and the brightness that a metropolis should be capable of. Furthermore, the performances showcased instances of the urban daily life and highlighted the ideal city life that various audiences desired. In the course of indulging in their desires by viewing various performances held in the pleasure precincts; the audiences further indulged themselves while consuming food and drinks. The pleasure precincts were reflected as the symbol of entrainment in the cities.

⁶² West, Stephen H. "Spectacle, Ritual, and Social Relations: The Son of Heaven, Citizens, and Created Space in Imperial Gardens in the Northern Song," *The Social Reception of Baroque Gardens*. ed. Michel Conan. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2004. 319-320.

⁶³ Egan, Ronald. "Songdai wenxianzhong de ducheng mianmianguan 宋代文献中的都城面面观". National Institute for Advanced Humanistic Studies of Fudan University, eds. *Dushi fanhua: yiqianwubainianlaide dongyachengshi shenghuoshi* 都市繁华：一千五百年来的东亚城市生活史. Beijing: zhonghua shuju, 2010. 95-96.

Conclusion

To summarize the feature of the pleasure precincts in the recorded texts, the abundance of performances, diverse commercial description and the textual position of the theatrical spaces constituted the fragment of the urban recognition in scholars. Such urban recognition initially creating in the *Dongjing menghualu* 东京梦华录 fabricated the urban images through contingent narrative of spaces and folk narrative, which resisted the conventional history recordings that specialized in court and emperor. The pattern of recordings compiled later than *Dongjing menghualu* 东京梦华录 followed the genre created by this book of memory, recalling the flourishing urban life. These literary documents recorded the festivals, recreational places, performances, gardens and markets as well as the pleasure precincts to express the dynamism and energy of urban life.

The textual narrative of pleasure precincts experienced the gradual transformation from performing stages to the commercial centers. Moreover, the pleasure precincts had spread to many counties and cities in the Southern Song Dynasty, especially the cities near Hangzhou such as Mingzhou, Pingjiang, Zhenjiang and so on.⁶⁴ Benefiting from the wide dissemination and improvement, the narrative of theatrical space in the texts grew as the nostalgia of previous prosperity of the performances and urban life, which was constituted by the Court Entertainment Bureau and the folk performers. It was mutually influenced that the participation of the official entertaining institution enhanced the performance of the comedies in the pleasure precincts and the folk performers had more opportunity to serve the court performances. This contributed to the thriving society that accepted the popular culture, especially the comedies that became the most significant style of performances during the Southern Song Dynasty. Thus, the comedies had the opportunities to be brought into the court through the performance in the pleasure precincts, which were partly intervened by the official institution. Since the middle era of the Southern Song Dynasty,

⁶⁴ Liao, Ben. *Zhongguo gudai juchangshi* 中国古代剧场史. Zhengzhou: zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1997, 43.

the gradually developed comedies even became the common programs being presented in the festival celebrations and court performances, let alone the popularity of the comedies in the Yuan Dynasty. The pleasure precincts provided platforms thereby making it possible for popular culture to be communicated to the intellectuals and aristocrats. As a terrace that culture mixed together, the pleasure precincts made various performances compete against each other and the interests of audiences determined the elimination.

The process of textual composition enriched the images of pleasure precincts, which also brought the spaces under the skeleton of urban narrative. In the *Dongjing menghualu* 东京梦华录, the author mainly described the conventional performances in the pleasure precincts in order to emphasize the performative feature of the theatrical spaces. What was more, the thriving environment of the pleasure precincts made contrast to the fall of the Northern Song Dynasty. Here the author aimed to highlight the prosperity of the city. However, the descendants of the *Dongjing menghualu* 东京梦华录 specialized on the city itself, transferring the narrative focus to the construction of urban memory. The descriptions of urban spaces were reinforced with recording the detailed location of the pleasure precincts. The recordings of the urban spaces constructed panoramic memories, which were the reflection in the *Menglianglu* 梦梁录 and *Wulinjiushi* 武林旧事. In particular, the descriptions placed emphasis on the objective recordings of the names and locations of pleasure precincts. Separating the performing performers and places, both of the books focused on the locations of the pleasure precincts and the majority of customers. Given that the two books were written after the fall of the Southern Song Dynasty, the views of the books traced the prosperity and the decline of Hangzhou. This could also be evidenced by the preface of *Wulinjiushi* 武林旧事.⁶⁵ The two books criticized the aristocrats and idlers as the main consumers who indulged themselves in the performances, thus leading to a phenomenon of extravagant life style and depravation that eventually undermined the imperial foundation. Therefore, the recordings on one hand recorded the scattered pleasure precincts inside and outside the city; on the other hand reflected that so many theatrical

⁶⁵ Meng, Yuanlao, etc. 孟元老等. *Dongjing menghua lu* 东京梦华录 (外四种). Beijing: gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957, 329.

places were also the symbol of indulgence, thereby affixing responsibility for the collapse of the state.

The representation of pleasure precincts in the materials constituted the memory of city together with other spaces. This memory was no longer based on the history, geography, magistrates and government management of city, as the traditional genre recorded in the documents like *Qiandao Lin'an zhi* 乾道临安志, *Chunyou Lin'an zhi* 淳佑临安志 and *Xianchun Lin'an zhi* 咸淳临安志. The daily life became the spotlight. In fact, the recordings of urban life could be summarized in two timetables. On the time of one single day, the performances and consumption in the pleasure precincts could be contained in a single day's enjoyment together with other entertainments. These recreational pleasures comprised a person's possible consumption. On the time of one year around, the festivals and ceremonies held around the year are recorded in the materials to present the critical points in a timeline of the year. The urban inhabitants participated in the various festival celebrations, which represented that they experienced all the important rituals in a year. The representation of these events based on time symbolized the thriving development of city. As part of the representation, the recordings of pleasure precincts participated in those recreational ceremonies or rituals, contributing the dynamic memory to the urban life. Further, the authors intended to portray a flourishing empire and the pleasure precincts were shaped as dynamic spaces that offered various performances.

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