
TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

I. Alimov

“Records of the Delights About the Eastern Capital”: Information About the Outer City

The work of Meng Yuan-lao (孟元老, the 12th century) “Dong jing meng hua lu” (“東京夢華錄”, “Records of the Delights about the Eastern Capital”) dates to 1147 and is one of the rare Song texts, which gives a detailed description of the eastern capital of the empire — the city of Kaifeng. “Dong jing meng hua lu” is the most important source for the reconstruction of the outward appearance of the Song Kaifeng and its structure — city walls, quarters, markets, etc., as well

as the actual capital life with its manners, customs and traditions. “Dong jing meng hua lu” handed down to our times unique information about the Song Kaifeng, which are nowhere else to be found, which insistently demands that this written monument is to be introduced to broad scientific circulation. Below the reader is given a small fragment from the beginning of “Dong jing meng hua lu”, supplied with necessary commentaries.

The Outer City of the Eastern Capital (*fig 1*)

The perimeter of the wall of the Outer City [1] of the Eastern Capital is forty *li* and more. The city ditch is called Hulonghe [2], it is ten *zhang* [3] and more and on both [banks] it is planted with poplars and willows; there [stands] a white wall, [in it] there is a red door — no entry. The wall by the gate [4] is three-level high, the gates [in it] are located on each sides [of the city gate] and only by the gates of Nanxunmen [5], Xinzhengmen [6], Xinsongmen [7] and Fengqumen [8] [the wall by the gate] is two-level high, and [the gate in it] are located strictly across the gates — for this gate is the main one, through which the imperial road lay.

There are three gates in the southern walls of the Outer City [9]: the one strictly [facing] south is called Nanxunmen, to the east of it is the gate of Chenzhoumen [10] and right next to it there is a lock, [through which] Caihe [11] [flows]; to the west of it is the Dailoumen gate [12] and there is a lock right next to it, [through which] Caihe [flows]. The real name of Caihe is Huiminhe, but [it] is called Caihe, because [this river] flows through Caizho [13].

There are four gates in the eastern wall: the gate in the southern part is called Dongshuimen, Eastern lock [14]; this is where the Bianhe river flows, the lock is located on its bed and has an iron fold, which goes down into wa-

ter at nightfall, and on both banks of [Bianhe] there are special gates to pass through, and in between the corner gates [in the wall by the gate] from one bank to the other there is one hundred *zhang* and more; the next [gates] are called Xinsongmen; the next ones are Xıncaomen [15]; and there are also Dongbeishuimen, the South-Eastern lock, through which the Wuzhanghe [river flows]

There are four gates in the western wall: the one in the southern part is called Xinzhengmen; the next one is called Xishuimen, the Western lock, though which Bianhe [river flows]; the next one is Wanshengmen [16]; and the following one is Guzimen [17]; and there is also Xibeishuimen, the North-Western Lock, where the Jinshuihe river flows

The northern wall has four gates: the most eastern one is called Chenqiaomen [18] (here was the road that was used by embassies of the Great Liao Dynasty [19]); the next gate is called Fengqumen (this is where the august [exit] to the northern suburb lay [20]); the next one is called Xinsuanzaomen [21]; the next one is called Weizhoumen [22]. (All these names for the gates are colloquial; their real names are as follows: for Xishuimen it was Lize[men], Xinzhengmen in reality was named Shuntianmen, Guzimen in reality was Jinyaomen).

After every one hundred *bu* there are battle ledges *mamian* [23] and defence planking built into the wall of

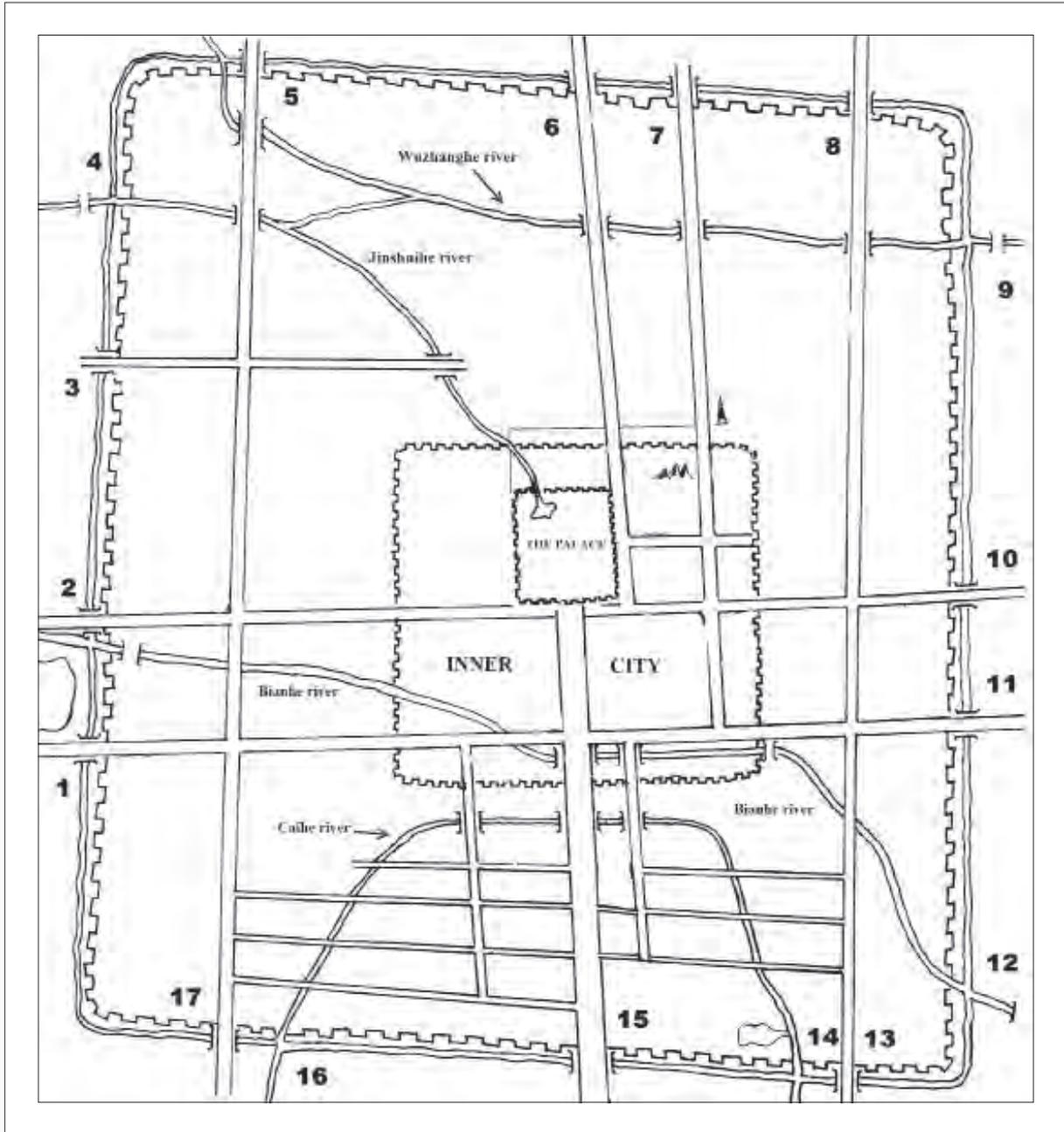


Fig. 1

the Outer City, and merlons are made in thick rows [on the top of the wall] — all of the aforementioned is maintained in constant-ready status and looks rather impressive from a distance (*fig. 2*).

Elms and willows, providing shade, are planted on both sides of all public roads; defence depots are set up

every two hundred *bu*, where arms are stored for the purpose of defending the throne [from its enemies, and twenty detachments of *zhihui* [24] foot soldiers exercise daily, all of which is run by the special Office of Capital Fortification [25].

Annotation. It is known that in the time of Chunqiu (770—476 BC) in place of current Kaifeng there was a settlement known as Xun (浚), which acquired its name on account of the river Xunhe, flowing to the north of it; it was a town-like settlement, that is walled around; Chinese archaeologists confidently date this district to the period of Zhanguo (475—221 BC), when in 361 BC the capital of the Wei kingdom was transferred here; it was then called Daliang (大梁), and was located in the north-eastern part of modern Kaifeng; it used to be a rather populated and busy centre of the crossroads of trade routes, blossoming in the course of over 300 years until it was flooded in 225 BC during combat operations, the result of which was the destruction of Wei. In the times of the Han Dynasty about twenty-five kilometres to the south-east from the hillfort of Daliang an administrative settlement of Chenliu (陳留) emerged, as well as a small populated locality of Xunyi (浚儀), which remained in place of Daliang, and found itself to be in subjection to its administrative order. In the following military uprisings and collisions these lands suffered a great deal, and only under the Eastern Wei (534—550) the region of Liangzhou (梁州) was established, and then later under the Northern Zhou (557—581) it was renamed into Bianzhou (汴州). When China became united by the Sui Dynasty (581—618), rather rapidly Bianzhou reclaimed the reputation of a significant trade location in the country, which was strengthened during the Tang rule, when its administrative status repeatedly changed (thus, in 756 Bianzhou became the administrative centre of the general governorate of Henen, which included 13 military districts; in 759 it was subjected to the general governorate of Biangu; in 762 the status of the general governorate of Henen was restored and 8 districts were given under subjection of Bianzhou, and so on and so forth). The thorough reconstruction of the city of Bianzhou was begun in 781 under the governor general and pluralistically the head of the homonymous district, a relative of the ruling kin of Li Mian (李勉, 717—788) — and first of all it concerned the Outer City, the perimeter of the wall of which at that time was about 20 *li* (a traditional measure of length, in the time described it was 559 meters); it was at that time that the river of Bianhe started flowing through the territory of the city; the locks, however, were not yet built in the city walls. The locks were introduced in 798, when the local governor general appointed the court official and minister Don Jing (董晉, 723—799). In 907 an important event took place in the history of Kaifeng: after the collapse of the Tang Dynasty (618—907) Zhu Wen (朱溫, also known as 朱全忠, 852—912), proclaiming the establishment of his own estate — the Later Liang, issued the decree of granting Bianzhou the status of the eastern capital of his country (simultaneously declaring the city of Luoyang to be its western capital, and the Tan capital, the city of Changan, reducing it to the status of provincial city). For the first time in Chinese history the future Kaifeng became the capital city — although the large-scale reconstruction, fitting for the capital, and improvement of the city Zhu Wen did not manage to undertake, and thus the majority of his time he was spending in Luoyang, which had status palace establishments available. Later, under the Later Tang (923—936), which destroyed Liang, the main capital was transferred to Luoyang, but under the Later Zhou (951—960) it was reclaimed — in 952 large-scale reconstruction of the city walls began, which continued up to year 956 with some interruptions; after that the perimeter of the outside wall made up 48 *li* and 233 *bu* ("step", traditional length measurement of about one meter and a half), i. e. about 27 km. Later Zhou rulers did a great deal for the improvement of Kaifeng — for instance, decrees were made, which strictly regulated the width of main streets, in accordance with which fitting reconstructions were undertaken, it was decreed to plant trees on the streets; the territory of the city was enlarged several times over, and the planning of the city was made significantly better. It is known that after the unification of the country, which was made possible by the Song Dynasty, there was a discussion in the court in regards to where exactly the capital of the new empire will be located: Tai-zu (on the throne from 960 to 975) was originally inclined to declare Luoyang as the main capital of the empire, whereas his advisers convinced him to leave it at Kaifeng; thus the city became the capital of the Song Empire. Officially the capital was called Dongjing (東京), the Eastern capital; in the written monuments, however it was not infrequently referred to as Dongdu (東都), the Eastern capital (the meanings of hieroglyphs "京" and "都" are identical in this case); since that is where the administrative region centre Kaifengfu (開封府) was situated, and the city itself was often called by this name; its other historical names of various times, such as Daliang (大梁), Yimen (夷門), Liangyuan (梁苑) were also used but not as often. The modern researcher by the name of Zhou Bao-zhu (周寶珠, born in 1934) also notes other used names — Bianjing (汴京), Biandu (汴都) and Bianliang (汴梁), which, in opposition to the existing opinion concerning their later origin, were already well-used during the Song times, which is rather true and is proved by numerous examples from the north-Song collections of *biji* [26]. By the time considered Kaifeng preserved the three-part structure — the Outer City of Waicheng (外城), also known as Xincheng (新城), Guocheng (國城), Luocheng (羅城), one of the three parts of Kaifeng (Bianliang), the largest one, in the centre of which the so-called Inner or Imperial City was located, and within which — Gongcheng, the palace city, where the august family dwelled. Each part of the city was walled about. In the course of wars of subsequent times the Outer City wall, as well as Kaifeng itself, was subjected to significant destruction, so much so that by the Jin time the former city was practically annihilated, and today, apart from the written testimonies of ancient texts about the Song Kaifeng, we possess only the results of the works of Chinese archaeologists, studying the preserved remnants of the architecture of the former Song capital [27].

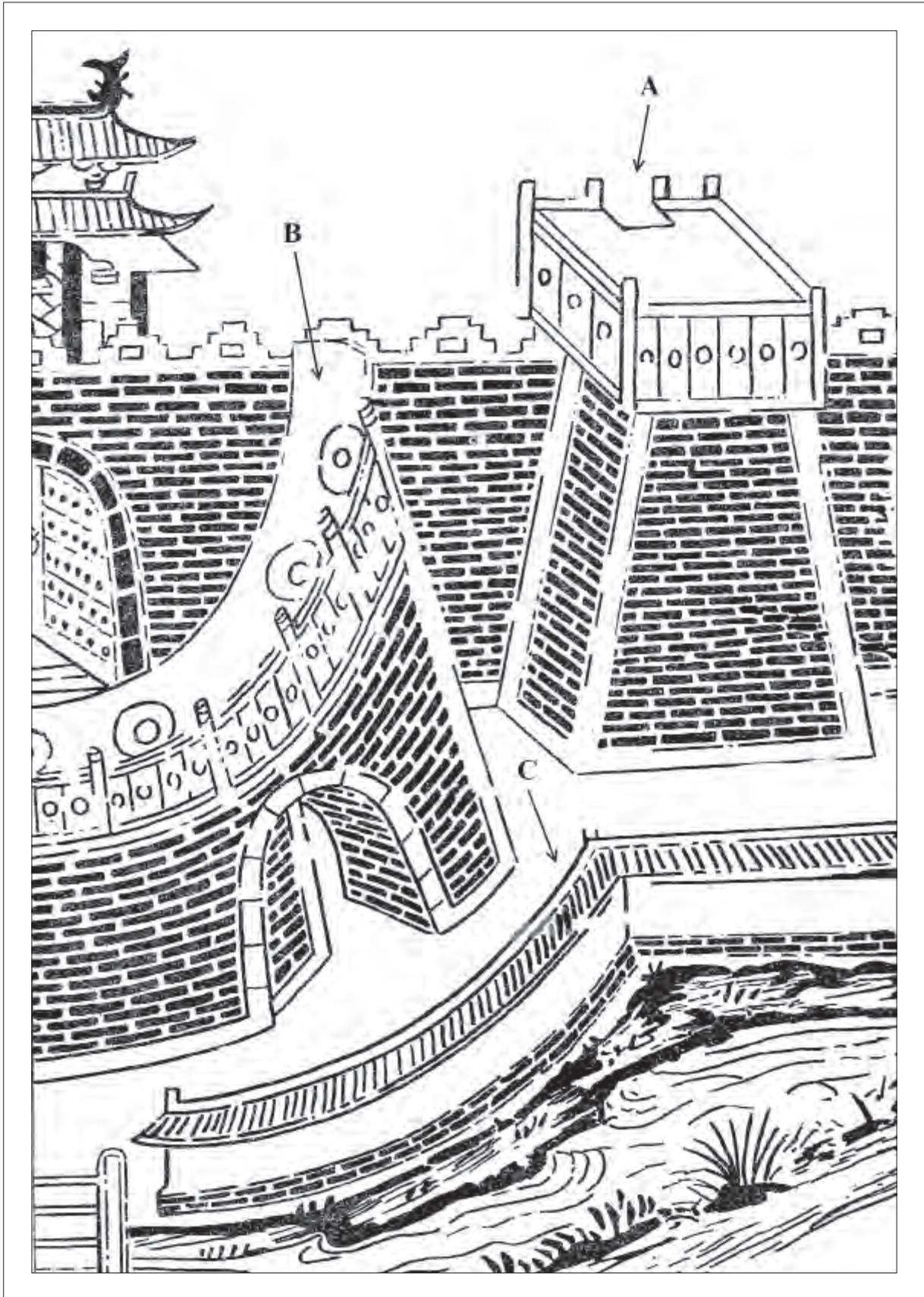


Fig. 2

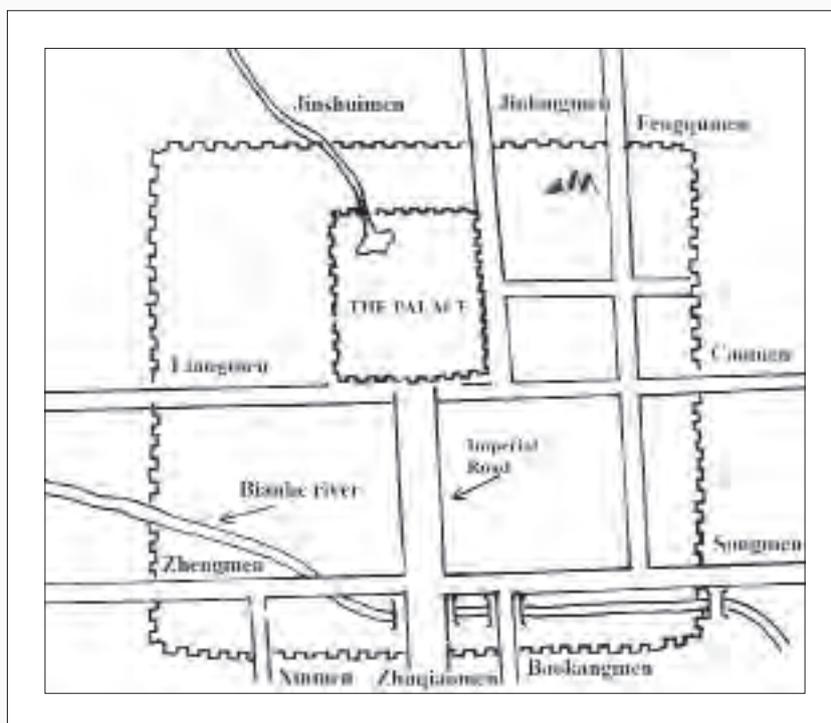


Fig. 3

The Old Capital City [28] (*fig 3*)

The perimeter of the Old City wall makes up for a little over twenty *li*. The southern part of the wall has three gates: one, strictly [facing] south, is called Zhuqiaomen [29]; one to the left is called Baokangmen [30]; and one to the right is called Xinmen [31]. The eastern part of the wall has three gates: on the southern bank of Bianhe, which flows from the south, there is the corner gate [32], and the one on its northern bank is called Songmen [33]; the following gate is called Jiucaomen [34]. The western part

of the wall has also three gates: one to the south is called Jiuzhengmen [35]; the following one — the corner gate on the northern bank of Bianhe; and the following one is Liangmen [36]. The northern part of the wall has three gates as well: one from the east is called Jiufengqumen [37]; the following one is called Jinglongmen [38], (it is [located] opposite to the corner part of the palace city of the palace of Baolugong; and the following one is called Jinshuimen [39].

notes

1. Zhou Mi (周密, 1232—1298) in his “Gui xin za zhi” (“癸辛雜識”, “Miscellaneous Observations from the Year of gui-xin”) says:

The Wall of the Outer City Bian[jing], built in the times of Shi-zong of Later Zhou [ruled from 954 to 959 — *I. A.*], strengthened under the [Song] Shi-zong [ruled from 1067 to 1085 — *I. A.*], is as high as the skies, solid and secure, powerful and strong.

(Zhou Mi, “Gui xin za zhi”, *Song Yuan biji xiaoshuo daguan* (Shanghai, 2001), vi, p. 5837). According to the testimonies of the numerous sources, it was Shi-zong of Later Zhou issued the decree not only about the construction of the new wall but also about the improvement of the Outer City:

Xincheng, the New City, was built under the rule of Xian-de (955) according to the decree issued by Shi-zong of Zhou in the fourth moon of the second year; the perimeter of the wall made up forty eight *li* and two hundred thirty three *bu*, and it was named Waicheng, also known as Luo Cheng, and also Xincheng.

(Zhao Lin-shi, *Hou qing lu* (Great Repast) (Beijing, 2004), p. 93). Such decision was dictated by the thinking of economic nature, as well as by the military needs of strengthening the defence capability of the capital. It should be noted that in spite of the fact that each Song emperor made efforts directed at renewal and improvement of the Outer City and the walls surrounding it (for instance in 1008, 1016—1018 and in 1023); it was during the rule of Shen-zong that the works in this direction reached its greatest scope and proved to be the most effective — since 1075 over five thousand people were regularly used in the construction works, and the construction work was over three years later, in celebration of which the stone stele with the corresponding inscription was erected by the Nanxunmen gate; the composition of it was given to the imperial advisor Sun Zhu (孫洙, 1031—1079), but he did not manage to finish the text — he passed away, and in place of Sun Zhu it was completed by Li Qing-chen (李清臣, 1032—1102), who took his place.

The results of the work of Chinese archaeologists prove the witness of the written Song monuments (for instance “Ting shi” (程史, “Stories from a Desk”) by Yue Ke (岳珂, 1183—1240), pp. 20—21) that speaks about the fact that the wall of the Outer City in its blueprint looked more like a square; the wall was embanked, made of soil, and as high as 8.7 meters on average, up to 4 meters in width at the top and up to 34.2 meters at the foundation (Qu Gang, “Bei Song Dongjing waichengde chengqiang he chengmen” (“The city wall and city gates of Western capital of Northern Song”), *Kaifeng kaogu faxian yu yanjiu* (Archaeological findings at Kaifeng and Their Study) (Zhengzhou, 1998), p. 146). In general and in specifics it corresponds to the definition of Zhou Mi “solid and secure, powerful and strong”. It is even more evident after the reconstruction and partial rebuilding undertaken by Shen-zong in 1075—1078, which is revealed in the perimeter of the external wall that grew a little and became fifty *li* and one hundred sixty five *bu* (29 kilometres and more), with average width at the foundation is about 20 meters, and the height is about 13.5 meters (*ibid.*, p. 144).

2. Hulonghe (護龍河), the river, protected by the dragon. Summing up available evidences, Zhou Bao-zhu believes that there are enough grounds to assume that at least in some form (more narrow and not completely closed up around the city wall) this ditch existed even under the Later Zhou — as a result of dredging, needed for the construction of the city fortifications; the Hulonghe ditch absolutely definitely existed at the beginning of the Song Dynasty — in the capacity of the deliberately built defence perimeter, behind which the whole staff of special clerks supervised the maintenance of this water artery in good condition; there were numerous debates at the court concerning whether the Hulonghe ditch needed to be widened and what was the fitting maintenance for the ditch (Zhou Bao-zhu, *Songdai Dongjing yanjiu* (The Research of East Capital of Song Dynasty) (Kaifeng, 1999), pp. 49—52).

3. *Zhang* is the traditional length measurement of a little more than three meters; thus, the width of the Hulonghe ditch was over thirty five meters in width at the time described by Meng Yuan-lao.

4. *Wengcheng* (瓮城) or *yuecheng* (月城) (both names date back to the objects that remind this wall with their shapes — a jug and a moon). The defensive wall, built as a semicircle (in rarer cases as a rectangle in blueprint; in that case it was called *fangcheng* (方城), where *fang* is “square”) provides gates with an additional protection. The first regular description of the wall by the gate is

contained in “Wu jing zong yao” (“武經總要”, “Collection of the Most Important Military Techniques”, 1044) of Zeng Gong-liang (曾公亮, 998—1078) and Ding Du (丁度, 990—1053), where the twelfth *juans* of the first part says

The wall by the gate, which is behind the city [wall] — or the [semi]circle or square one; it is constructed in relation to the landscape; its height and width is as that of the city [wall], but there is only one set of gates, to the side, either left or right, depending on circumstances.

That is the gates were also built into the wall by the gate, but for the purpose of impeding the advancement of the attackers into the city they were not situated across the city gates, but rather to the sides (and “Wu jing zong yao” does not introduce any strict regulations as to where exactly they were situated, but rather “depending on circumstances”). The exceptions, which is apparent from the text of Meng Yuan-lao below, were the main gates in the Kaifeng city wall: Nanxunmen, Xinzhengmen, Xinsongmen and Fengqumen, in the walls by the gate in front of which the gates “were situated strictly across the gates — for these gates are the main ones, through which the imperial road lay”. In front of the wall by the gate the auxiliary wall *yangmacheng* (“羊馬城”, “the wall for sheep goats and horses”, since peasants arriving to the city during peaceful times left their cattle there) was also built, but contrary to the one by the gate, in width and height not equal to the main city one, this wall was up to 2 meters in width and up to 3 meters in height.

5. Nanxunmen (南薰門, The Gate of the Southern Wind). Under the Later Zhou this gate was called Jingfengmen (景風門, The Gate of the Gracious Wind); in the ninth moon of the fourth year under the rule of Tai-ping xing-guo (979) the proclamation was issued concerning its renaming into Nanxunmen (its official name). The main capital gate was where the Imperial Road (御街) started, crossing the Song Kaifeng from south to north. The Nanxunmen Gate had three passages: the central one, the Imperial which was forbidden to be used by commoners, and to both sides of it there were two more — for others. According to the data of Qu Gang, *wengcheng*, the wall by the gate near Nanxunmen in the Song times, more likely, was of rectangular form, of 210 meters in length and about 15 meters in width (Qu Gang, “Bei Song Dongjing waichengde...”, p. 147; Sun Xin-min, “Luetan Bei Song Dongjing waichengde xingfei” (“Shortly about flourishing and decline of external wall of North Song’s Eastern capital”), *Kaifeng kaogu faxian yu yanjiu*, pp. 151—152).

6. Xinzhengmen (新鄭門, The New Gate at Zheng[zhou]). Under the Later Zhou it was called Yingchunmen (迎春門, The Gate of Spring Arrival); together with Nanxunmen this gate was renamed into Shuntianmen (順天門, The Gate of Obedience to the Will of Heaven) (its official name), and in colloquial language it was called Xinzhengmen, since that was where the straight road to Zhengzhou began. Behind this gate in the capital suburbs there was the lake of Jinmingchi, therefore the august court used this gate, going to the park planted around the lake. Qu Gang testifies to the similarities of the *wengcheng* construction of this gate and Nanxunmen with the only difference that the length of *wengcheng* of Xinzhengmen was about 285 meters (Qu Gang, “Bei Song Dongjing waichengde...”, p. 147).

7. Xinsongmen (新宋門, The New Song Gate). Under the Later Zhou it was called Yanchunmen (延春門, The Gate of Eternal Spring). In 979 the throne granted the gate the name of Chaoyangmen (朝陽門, The Gate of the Morning Sun) (its official name), but its colloquial name was Xinsongmen.

8. Fengqumen (封丘門, The Gate into Fengqiu). Modern Chinese researcher Yi Yun-wen (伊永文, born in 1950) draws attention to the fact that there were two sets of gates in the Song Kaifeng with this name: one gate was in the northern wall of the Outer City, the second one — from the eastern side; the other set was in the northern wall of the Inner City (Meng Yuan-lao, *Dong jing meng hua lu* (Beijing, 2006), i, p. 6). Zhou Bao-zhu identifies this gate with Jingyangmen (景陽門, Jingyang Gate) (its official name, whereas its colloquial name is Xinfengqumen (新封丘門, New Gate to Fengqu), obviously in order to distinguish them from the gate of the same name in the wall of the Inner City) — under the Later Zhou it was called Changjingmen (長景門, The Gate of Splendid Views), and in 979 it was renamed into Jingyangmen (Zhou Bao-zhu, *op. cit.*, pp. 48—49, 58). However, Zhou Cheng of the Qing Dynasty (周城, the late 17th century — the first half of the 18th century) in “Song dong jing kao” (“宋東京考”, “The Search on the Eastern Song Capital”) reports that this is the gate of Tongtianmen (通天門, The Gate Leading to Heaven) (see below), which in the early years under the rule of Tian-sheng (1023—1031) were for a while renamed into Ningdemen (寧德門, The Gate of Appeasing Virtue) (Zhou Cheng, *Song dong jing kao* (“宋東京考”, “The Search on the Eastern Song Capital”) (Beijing, 1988), p. 1), but that, apparently, was a mistake.

9. Unfortunately, of the majority of the city walls of the Song Kaifeng only the names came down to our days, and these names contain certain confusion, connected to the repeated renaming of the gates as well as to their colloquial names, existing simultaneously with the official ones and to the source, located nearby the designated city walls, regions and districts. The Song monument titled “Yu jian ji wang” (“愚見紀忘”, “What the Fool has Seen: Notes to Remember”) says:

The gates that are in the wall of the Outer City of Bian[jing] — their names have meanings. For instance, it is called Zhengmen because the road to Zhengzhou lay through it, and Suanzaomen — because the road to Yanjin, which is the old region of Suanzaoxian, lay through it. Only the name Guzimen has no meaning...

(as cited in the book of Zhou Cheng, *op. cit.*, p. 4). The noted confusion found its reflection in the text of Meng Yuan-lao (where it, for instance, runs: “There are four gates in the eastern wall”, — whereas in actuality there are three full-fledged gates and two more locks in this wall; making it five in total), where mainly the unofficial names of the gates are used. Presently historical sources speak of 21 gates and lock gates, which existed at various times in the Outer City wall; Chinese archaeologists managed to discover and examine the remains of the ten of them, and the suggested locations of the rest of them are located either underneath the territories of

industrial and other significant projects of the modern Kaifen, or underneath living quarters; thus becoming inaccessible for archaeological digs (Qu Gang, “Bei Song Dongjing waichengde...”, pp. 146—147).

10. Chenzhoumen (陳州門, Chezhou Gate). Under the Later Zhou was named Zhumingmen (朱明門), and in 979 the throne granted the gate the name of Xunhuamen (宣化門, The Gate of Universal Enlightenment) (its official name), and in colloquial speech it was referred to as Chenzhoumen, since the road in the direction of the region of Chenzhou started by this gate.

11. Concerning all rivers flowing through the Song Kaifeng, see the notes to the corresponding section of the book of Meng Yuan-lao.

12. Dailoumen (戴樓門, The Gate, Carrying the Tower-Chamber). Under the Later Zhou it was named Weijingmen (畏景門, The Gate of the Summer Sun), in 979 it was renamed into Anshangmen (安上門, The Gate of Conciliation of Superiors) (its official name), and it was precisely referred to as Dailoumen in colloquial speech.

13. The region, which was located in the district of the modern-day city of Runan, the Henan Province.

14. The Eastern Lock (東水門). Meng Yuan-lao lists six lock gates in the wall of the Outer City: the Eastern, Dongshuimen (東水門), the North-Eastern, Dongbeishuimen (東北水門), the Western, Xishuimen (西水門), the North-Western, Xibeishuimen (西北水門), and he also mentions locks by the gates of Chenzhoumen and of Dailoumen, but does not specify it by its name.

The most remarkable among these locks is the Eastern one, which according to the description of Meng Yuan-lao, represented the whole complex of edifices: “...the lock stands on its riverbed [that of Bianhe — *I. A.*] and it has an iron line, which is lowered into the water at nightfall, and on both banks [of Bianhe] special gates are established for the purpose of passage”. Zhou Bao-zhu explains it thus: in actuality on both banks of Bian He there were gates — Shangshanmen (上善門, The Gate of the Elevation of the Most Worthy Ones) on the southern bank, and Tongjinmen (通津門, The Gate of River Crossing) on the northern one. A similar edifice was also set up by the Western Lock, where on the banks of Bianhe were established the gate of Datongmen (大通門, The Gate of the Wide Path) (on the southern bank) and the gate of Xuanzemen (宣澤門, The Gate of All-Encompassing Benefaction) (on the northern bank) (Zhou Bao-zhu, *op. cit.*, pp. 48—49). Modern Chinese researcher Wan Fang believes that four more locks had similar auxiliary gates (Wan Fang, “Bei Song Dongjing shuimen kao” (“On locks of the Eastern Song Capital”), *Journal of Xiangtan Teachers Academy* IV (1992), pp. 152).

It is known that the North-Eastern Lock also bore the name of Shanli shuimen (善利水門, The Lock of Good Benefit), the North-Western — Xianfeng shuimen (咸豐水門, The Lock of Universal Abundance), and nameless, according to Men Yuan-lao, locks bore the names of Guangli shuimen (廣利水門, The Lock of Broad Benefit) (by the gate of Dailoumen) and Puji shuimen (普濟水門, The Lock of Various Helps) (by the gate of Chenzhoumen). Meng Yuan-lao also mentions the lock by the gate of Weizhoumen, and it was named Shuishun shuimen (水順水門, The Lock of Submissive Water).

15. Xincoumen (新曹門, The New Gate of Cao[zhou]). Under the Later Zhou it was named Yinbingmen (寅兵門, The Gate of Warrior Brothers), in 979, as was the case with many other gates, the throne granted the gate the name of Hanhuimen (含輝門, The Gate, Concealing Shine) (its official name), and colloquially it was known as Xincoumen. Its colloquial name dates back to the name of the region of Caozhou in Shandong, the direction that started by this gate.

16. Wanshengmen (萬勝門, The Gate of Wansheng[zheng]). In 979 the court granted this gate the name of Tongyuanmen (通遠門, The Gate of Penetration into Distances), in the early years under the rule of Tian-sheng (1023—1031) it was renamed into Kaiyuanmen (開遠門, The Gate, Opening Distances) (its official name), and colloquially it was referred to as Wanshengmen. It is known that under the Later Zhou this gate in the wall of the Outer City was missing; obviously it was constructed under the Song Dynasty — mainly for the purpose of easier communication with Wanshengzhen, the main trade and economy centre of Henan of that time.

17. Guzimen (固子門, The Stronghold Gate). Under the Later Zhou it was called Suzhengmen (肅政門, The Gate of Solid Rule), in 979 it was renamed into Jingyaomen (金耀門, The Gate of Golden Shine) (its official name), colloquially known as Guzimen

18. Chenqiaomen (陳橋門, The Gate by the Bridge to Zheng[zhou]). Under the Later Zhou it was called Aijingmen (愛景門, The Gate of Splendid Views) or Lijingmen (辰景門, The Gate of Near Views), under the Song Dynasty in 979 it was renamed into Yongtaimen (永泰門, The Gate of Eternal Harmony) (its official name). Colloquially it was referred to as Chenqiaomen

19. The Great Liao — the state formation of the Khitan, formed by the tribal chief Yelü Abaoji (Apoki, 耶律阿保極, 872—926, Taizu, 太祖, ruled from 916 to 926) in 916 receiving its name the Great Liao Dynasty in 947 and wiped out by the Jurchen in 1125. The Khitan invaded Chinese territories back during the decline of the Tang Dynasty, in the period of Five Dynasties, in 936, the heir of Tai-zu, Yelü Deguang (耶律德光, 902—947, Tai-zong, 太宗, ruled from 927 to 947) concluded the alliance with the governor general of the Later Tang (923—936) Shi Jing-tang (石敬瑭, 892—942), who began a rebellion with his support and funding his own dynasty, the Later Jin (936—946); in place of his gratitude for the help given, Shi Jing-tang gave the Khitan the sixteen northern prefectures that were originally Chinese and started calling Yelü Deguang as his father, acknowledging himself to be his son (which, by the way, did not rescue his dynasty from the destruction caused by the same Yelü Deguang). Actually those sixteen northern prefectures caused the subsequent military collisions of the Khitan and the Chinese — the army of the Later Zhou (951—960) rather successfully attempted to fight those lands back, then the Song Dynasty attempted to do the same thing several times, but in 1004 it suffered a defeat and made humiliating peace with the Liao, obligating it to pay significant annual tribute to the Khitan

20. For the purpose of holding annual imperial offerings.

21. Xinsuanzaomen (新酸棗門, The New Gate, [Where There is Outgrowth of] Jujube). Under the Later Zhou it was called Xuandemen (宣德門, The Gate of All-Encompassing Virtue), in 979 it was given the official name of Tongtianmen (通天門, in

the early years under the rule of Tian-sheng it was renamed into Ningdemen 寧德門. Later the gate was given its former name of Tongtianmen.

22. Weizhoumen (衛州門, The Gate Defending the Region). This name was born in the early years of the Song rule; in 979 the throne granted the gate the name of Ansumen (安肅門, The Gate of Appeasing Awe) (its official name)

23. Battle ledge *mamian* (馬面) — “the horse’s muzzle”, an exterior ledge of the fortress wall, a distant analogue of the bastion.

Bulges in the body of the wall in the form of external ledges looked a lot like the bastions with the faces on the sides of the square. Apparently, the name was given it on account of its shape — a horse’s muzzle, protruding forward and located the closest to the enemy. Contrary to the towers, the *mamian* ledges were not raised above the wall. On top of them sheds, combat and watch towers were constructed, and stationary missile weapons were set. Official rules for the construction of *mamian* ledges were introduced only in 1075 at the initiative of Shen Kuo (沈括, 1032—1096), who was an active proponent of their use in fortress combat.

S. A. Shkoliar, *Kitaïskaiia doognestrel’naia artilleriia* (Chinese Pre-Firearm Artillery) (Moskow, 1980), p. 355). Shen Kuo even had one special essay on this topic — “Xiu cheng fa shi tiao yue” (“修城法式條約”, “Regulations Concerning Fortress Repair”); it is lost now, but indirect evidences say that “Regulations” had two *juans*, and the main content corresponded with the title, i. e. it was mainly devoted to the building of city fortifications; it may be assumed, that some fragments from the collection by Shen Kuo “Meng xi bi tan” (“夢溪筆談”, “The Dream Pool Essays”) reflect what is written in “Xiu cheng fa shi tiao yue”. For instance

The city walls there [in Yanzhou — *I. A.*] are not overly thick, but *mamian* are rather high. I personally sent people to measure [those], and it turned out that they were four *zhang* in height [over 12 meters — *I. A.*]... If *mamian* are high, attackers can be hit with arrows at he approaches to the city walls... The best method is not to allow enemies to approach the city.

(Shen Kuo, *Meng Xi Bi Tan Xin jiaozheng Meng xi bi tan* (Beijing, 1958), p. 121).

24. *Zhihui* (指揮) — a military foot unit, consisting of five *du* (都, hundred); i. e. five hundred foot soldiers. *Zhihuishi* headed the *zhihui* unit, and was assigned an assistant — *fuzhihuishu*. People were recruited into *zhihui* as fulfilment of their labour dut .

25. *Xiu zhi jingchengsuo* (修治京城所), a unit, which was under the jurisdiction of the Highest Military Council (Shumiyuan), and which maintained the defensive edifices of the city and everything related to it

26. Zhou Bao-zhu, *op. cit.*, pp. 25—26.

27. For more details see, for instance: *Kaifeng kaogu faxian yu yanjiu*.

28. The Old Capital City (舊京城), also known as Licheng (里城), the Inner City, also known as Quecheng (闕城), the About-Palace City, was built under the Tang governor general Li Mian (the construction began in 781) and looked like a square in the blueprint. The length of its wall was twenty *li* and one hundred fifty *bu*, i. e. a little less than eleven kilometres; it has eleven gates. In accordance with the data collected by Chinese archaeologists the remains of only two gates came down to present time — Zhuqiaomen and the western corner gate; as for the rest of them, only the names came down to the present (Qu Gang, “Bei Song Dongjing neichengde chubu kantan yu ceshi” (“Primary prospecting and investigation of North Song’s Eastern Capital Inner City”), *Kaifeng kaogu faxian yu yanjiu*, p. 157).

29. Zhuqiaomen (朱雀門, The Gate of the Deity of the South). The main southern gate. The oldest name of this gate is Weishimen (尉氏門, The Gate of the Wei Family); under the Later Liang it was renamed into Gaomingmen (高明門, The Gate of Enlightened Minds), and under the Later Jin — into Xunfengmen (薰風門, The Gate of the Fragrant Wind). Its official name, Zhuqiaomen, was granted by the highest decree in 1012.

30. Baokangmen (保康門, The Gate That Preserve Peace). It is known that the gate of Baokangmen was built only in 1012 in accordance with Emperor Zhen-zong (ruled from 998 to 1022), when large-scale reconstruction of this district was undertaken, which included building several new bridges. Zhou Bao-zhu also notes that behind the gate of Baokangmen there was the residence of the prominent early Song official Ding Wei (丁謂, 966—1037), which beyond any doubts assigned particular significance to Baokangmen (Zhou Bao-zhu, *op. cit.*, pp. 41—42).

31. Xinmen (新門, The New Gate). Under the Later Zhou it was called Xinglimen (興禮門, The Gate of the Welfare of Rituals), and under the Song Dynasty in 979 it was renamed into Chongmingmen (崇明門, The Gate of Wisdom Adoration) (its official name); whereas colloquially it was referred to as Xinmen.

32. The Corner Gate (角門子, *jiaomenzi*). Apparently it did not possess a significant name and was built exclusively for the comfort sake, primarily of the governmental officials. At least “Tie wei shan cong tan” (“鐵圍山叢談”, “The Collection of Stories from the Mountain of Tieweishan”) of Cai Tao of the Song Dynasty (蔡條, the 12th century) runs as follows:

The hall of Daqingdian — is the closest from the west to Mishusheng, the Imperial Library, thus the closest route to the corner gate [lies] through the gallery of [this] hall... The clerks of Mishusheng, the Imperial Library, enter through the corner gate and gather together in the court of the hall of Daqingdian... and return using the same route... Therefore, all *xiaoshu*, learned men, use the corner gate in order to get to the hall of Daqingdian.

(Cai Tao, *Tie wei shan cong tan* (Beijing, 1997), p. 15).

33. Songmen (宋門, The Song Gate). Under the Later Liang it was called Guanhuamen (觀化門, The Gate of the Contemplation of the Enlightenment), under the Later Jin — Renhemen (仁和門, The Gate of Philanthropic Harmony), under the Song Dynasty in 979 it was renamed into Lijingmen (麗景門, The Gate of Splendid Views) (its official name), and colloquially it was named Songmen or Jiusongmen (舊宋門, The Old Song Gate).

34. Jiucaomen (舊曹門, The Old Gate of Cao[zhou]). Under the Later Liang it was known as the gate of Jianyangmen (建陽門, The Gate of Reaching the Light), under the Later Jin — as Yingchumen (迎初門, The Gate, Facing the Springs), in the beginning of the rule of the Song Dynasty — as Hezhengmen (和政門, The Gate of Harmonious Rule), but in 979 it was decreed to give the gate the official name of Wangchunmen (望春門, The Gate of Anticipation for Spring). Colloquially this gate was called Caomen (曹門, The Gate of Cao[zhou]) or Jiucaomen.

35. Jiuzhengmen (舊鄭門, The Old Gate of Zheng[zhou]). Under the Later Liang it was named Kaimingmen (開明門, The Gate of Pure Wisdom), under the Later Jin — Jinyimen (金義門, The Gate of Treasured Loyalty), in 979 the Song court renamed the gates into Yiqiumen (宜秋門, the Gate of Love for Autumn) (its official name), and in colloquial speech it was referred to as Jiuzhengmen or Zhengmen (鄭門, The Gate of Zheng[zhou]).

36. Liangmen (梁門, The Gate of Liang). Under the Later Liang were called Qianxiangmen (乾象門, The Gate of Heavenly Signs), under the Later Jin — Qianmingmen (乾明門, The Gate of Perfect Wisdom), at the beginning of the rule of the Song Dynasty were named Qianqiumen (千秋門, The Gate of Thousand Years), but in 979 the decree was issued regarding the renaming of this gate into Lühemmen (閩闔門, The Gate, Closing the Settlement), and a little later — into Liangmen.

37. Jiufengqumen (舊封丘門, The Old Gate to Fengqiu). Under the Later Liang it was named Hanhuimen (含輝門, The Gate, Hiding the Glitter), under the Later Jin — Xuanyangmen (宣陽門, The Gate Facing the Light), in 979 the Song court gave the gate the official name of Anyuanmen (安遠門, The Gate of Distant Tranquillity), and in colloquial speech it was referred to as Jiufengqumen or Fengqumen (封丘門, The Gate to Fengqiu).

38. Jinglongmen (景龍門, The Gate of the Great Dragon). Under the Later Liang it was named Xinghemen (興和門, The Gate of the Welfare of Harmony), under the Later Jin — Xuanhuamen (玄化門, The Gate of Upbringing by Means of Goodness), in 979 it was given the official name of Jinglongmen. In colloquial speech it was referred to as Suanzaomen (酸棗門, The Gate, [Where There are Outgrowths of] Jujuba) (or Jiusuanzaomen (舊酸棗門), The Old Gate, [Where There are Outgrowths of] Jujuba).

39. Jinshuimen (金水門, The Gate of Golden Waters). Under the Later Liang it was named Daanmen (大安門, The Gate of Great Tranquillity), the Song court in 979 renamed this gate into Tianbomen (天波門, The Gate of Heavenly Waves) (its official name), and colloquially it was referred to as Jinshuimen.

illustrations

fig. 1. The North Song Kaifeng. Gates and locks in the wall of the Outer (New) City according to Meng Yuan-lao:

1. Xinzhengmen, 新鄭門.
2. Wanshengmen, 萬勝門 (and the Western Lock by it 西水門).
3. Guzimen, 固子門.
4. The North-Western Lock, 西北水門.
5. Weizhoumen, 衛州門.
6. Xinsuanzaomen, 新酸棗門.
7. Fengqumen, 新封丘門.
8. Chenqiaomen, 陳橋門.
9. The North-Eastern Lock, 東北水門.
10. Xıncaomen, 新曹門.
11. Xinsongmen, 新宋門.
12. The Eastern Lock, 東水門.
13. Chenzhoumen, 陳州門.
14. The Lock of Puji shuimen, 普濟水門.
15. Nanxunmen, 南薰門.
16. The Lock of Guanli shuimen, 廣利水門.
17. Dailoumen, 戴樓門.

fig. 2. (A) Battle ledges *mamian*; (B) the wall by the gate; (C) the auxiliary wall (a ditch filled with water is in front of it).

fig. 3. The North Song Kaifeng. The gates in the wall of the Inner (Old) City according to Meng Yuan-lao.