

帕内建筑艺术 与近代岭南社会

THE ARCHITECTURAL ARTS OF A.W. PURNELL
AND THE MORDERN SOCIETY OF LINGNAN

李穗梅 主编



广东省出版集团
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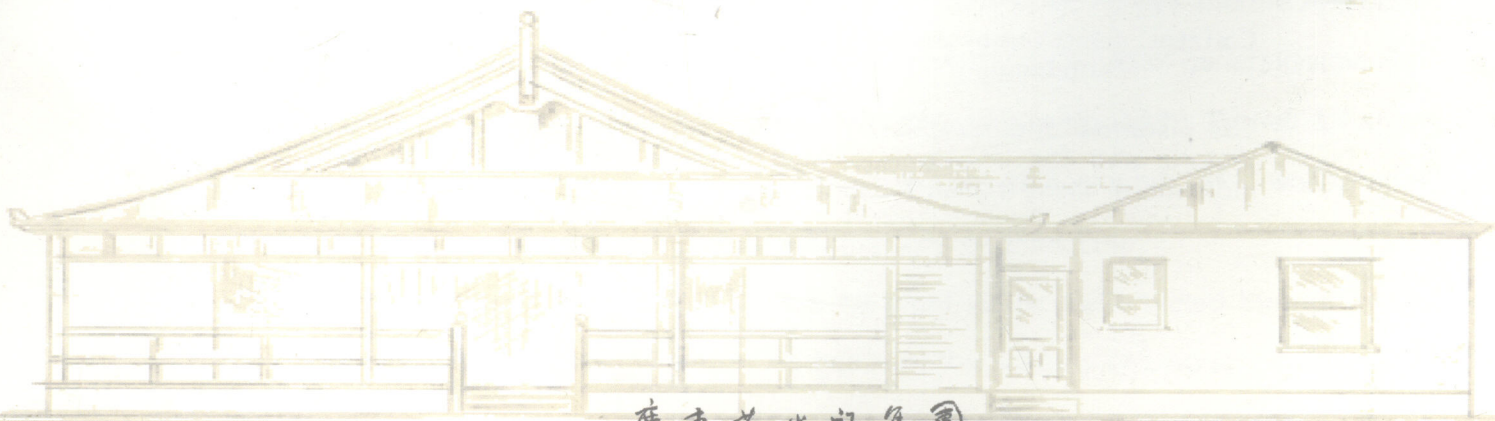
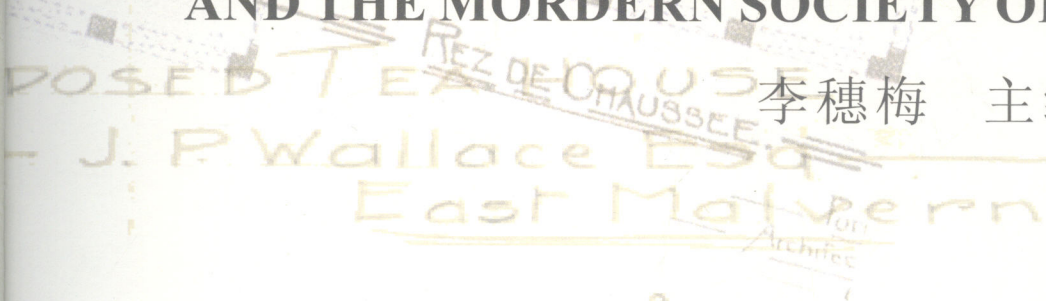
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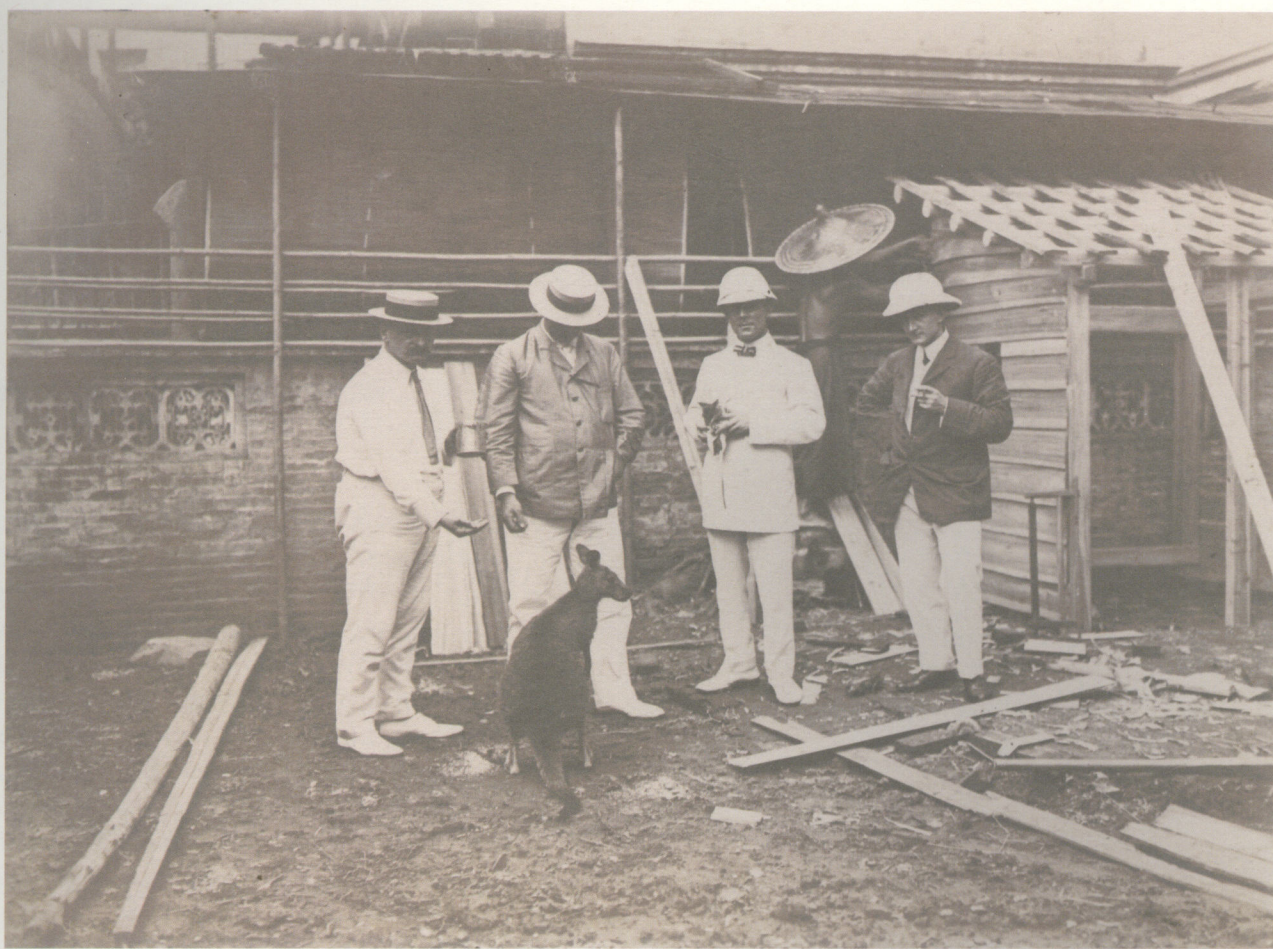
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帕内（右二）和伯捷（右一）在广州某建筑工地
Purnell(second from right) and Paget(first from right) at a construction site in Canton

亚瑟·威廉·帕内（Arthur William Purnell）是澳大利亚建筑师，他出身于建筑世家，成年后多方游历，1904年与美国建筑师查尔斯·伯捷（Chales Paget）在广州沙面开办了治平洋行，承接各类建筑设计及施工工程，如广东士敏土厂（现孙中山大元帅府纪念馆）、沙面粤海关俱乐部（红楼）等。1911年前后，帕内离穗返澳，治平洋行由伯捷主持，继续在广州从事建筑设计和营造活动。

帕内作为建筑设计师在广州生活了8年，工作之余，他的足迹遍布广东、广西等多个省市，并用相机记录了岭南的山水风景、城市面貌、名胜古迹、世间百态，以一个西方人的视角真实地记录了西风东渐、传统嬗变之际多姿多彩的岭南社会。

Arthur William Purnell, a famous Australian architect, came from a family of architects and traveled a lot after he grew up. In the early 20th century he came to China and finally settled down in Shameen, Canton. Purnell & Paget, a western firm of architecture active in the early 20th Century Canton, was established by the Australian architect Arthur W. Purnell and the American Chales Paget. Such as Kwangtung Cement Factory (the memorial museum of generalissimo Sun Yat-sen's mansion nowadays), Imperial Maritime Customs were designed by Purnell & Paget. Purnell withdrew from the Purnell & Paget, Architects & Engineers around 1911, while Paget continued to take charge of the designing and construction work of the firm.

As an architect, Purnell had lived in Canton for eight years and traveled through many provinces such as Guangdong and Guangxi. He has kept the scenery of Lingnan, cities' view, historic sites and all looks in society with his camera, and reflected truly the colorful life of Lingnan during the period of East meets West from the point of view of a westerner.

序

广州是一座有着2000多年历史的文化名城，也是中西文化融合之地。在广州城市历史发展过程中，伴随着西方建筑艺术的传入，涌现了许多凸显西方文化特色的宗教建筑、纪念性建筑、公共建筑和商业建筑。与此同时，中国传统的市构建筑和设计理念也影响了国外的建筑师，以致今天我们在世界各地都能看到具有中国特色的各式建筑。其中澳大利亚建筑师亚瑟·威廉·帕内（William Arthur Purnell）先生在一个世纪以前就在中澳建筑史以及中澳文化交流上作出了突出贡献。

20世纪初，帕内先生来到了中国。在随后的近十年里，他结合岭南地方气候特点，糅合西洋建筑风格，在广州设计了许多独特的建筑，例如粤海关俱乐部、广东土敏土厂办公楼、广州邮政总局、五仙门发电厂以及一些民居和公司楼宇，其中广东土敏土厂办公楼在1917年和1923年曾经两次被孙中山先生征用为大元帅府，成为孙中山先生领导中国人民进行民主革命的重要阵地。至今该建筑保存完好，并被辟为孙中山大元帅府纪念馆，每天接待来自世界各地的游客。此外广州还保存着10余座帕内先生设计的建筑，其中9座位于广州的沙面，这些都是中西建筑艺术的结晶。1910年帕内先生回到澳大利亚以后，设计了数百座建筑，其中不少建筑受到中国文化的影响。位于墨尔本阿玛戴尔区芒侬街十七号取名“Shameen”（沙面）的建筑就是最有力的实例。这些分布在南半球和北半球的历史建筑，见证了亚瑟·帕内先生在建筑艺术和中澳文化交流上做出的杰出成就。

非常感谢歌福斯博士（Dr.Derham Groves）提供他数年来收集、研究和保存帕内先生的许多珍贵资料，使我们得以在广东土敏土厂建成已届百年之际举办此次“帕内建筑艺术展”，相信观众和读者一定能从中深入地了解帕内先生在建筑领域留下的珍贵遗产，认识到广州现存的20世纪早期西洋建筑的历史价值。同时，我也深信读者定能从这个展览中分享到中澳两国在建筑领域的共有遗

产，架起中澳文化交流的新桥梁，促进两国文化事业的沟通与合作。

愿更多的人能从中了解到亚瑟·威廉·帕内先生在中澳建筑史上做出的贡献！愿中澳两国的友谊之花常开！

陈文双

广州市文化局副局长



Preface

Canton, a cultural city of more than 2000 years history, is a place where the Chinese culture meets and blends with the western one. Throughout the process of its development, enormous western-style architecture came up after the western architectural arts were introduced into Canton. Those buildings were playing diversified functions of religious, memorial, public and business uses. Meanwhile, the traditional Chinese architecture was also influencing the western architects, which therefore gave rise to the Chinese-style buildings located in many parts of the world. It is worthwhile to mention that William Arthur Purnell, an Australian architect of a century ago, has made remarkable contribution to the architectural development of both China and Australia as well as to the cultural exchanges between the two countries.



Purnell came to China in 1900's. During the following almost a decade, he adapted the western style to the climate of Canton so that he designed many buildings of unique styles, such as the Canton Customs Club, Office Building of the Kwangtung Cement Factory, the Imperial Post Office building, China Light & Power Company building and some civil dwellings and business premises. Among them, the Office Building of the Kwangtung Cement Factory was in 1917 and 1923 twice expropriated as the Presidential Palace of Generalissimo Sun Yat-sen. It was therefore regarded as an important base for Sun Yat-sen to lead the Chinese democratic revolution. The building is preserved to this day and reopened as the Memorial Hall of the Presidential Palace of Generalissimo Sun Yat-sen, which nowadays receives visitors from home and abroad. Besides that, over ten other buildings designed by Purnell are still standing in Canton, nine of them on Shameen Island. They are showcase of the integration of Chinese and western architectural arts. Purnell continued to design several hundred more buildings after he returned to Australia in 1910, some of which had apparent marks of Chinese culture. A typical example of that was the premise named 'Shameen' at 17 Munro Street, Armadale, Melbourne. Such historical legacy spanning the south and the north hemispheres represents what Purnell has achieved in architecture and cultural exchanges between China and Australia.

Taking this opportunity, I would like to express our enormous thanks to Dr. Derham Groves. If he did not present the precious documents on Purnell that he has studied and cherished all these years, we could not have been able to hold the Exhibition of Purnell's Architectural Arts at the centenary anniversary of the establishment of the Kwangtung Cement Factory. I believe that through the exhibition and the theses, the interested visitors will get a clearer view of the valuable legacy left by Purnell in architecture, and realize the historical value of the early 20th Century western architecture remaining in Canton today. In the mean time, I am confident that the readers will have better access by this collection to the common architectural heritage shared by China and Australia. This will help build up new channels of cultural exchanges and cooperation between the two countries.

I hope that our efforts will give more people an understanding of Purnell's contribution to the architectural development of China and Australia. Wish the Sino-Australian friendship a longstanding prosperity!

Chen Yuhuan

Deputy-Director of the Guangzhou Municipal Bureau of Culture

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尊重历史，传承建筑文化

从中国近代租界建筑发展大背景中认识帕内先生

施红平

作为城市规划师，应当懂得历史，尊重历史。研究帕内先生建筑艺术，要先了解中国近代租界建筑发展的历史。

随着人类社会生产力的进步，散居在世界各地的民族开始了长距离的跨海交往与交流。这种交往和交流可以分为两种方式。一种是以郑和七下西洋和中西海上通商丝绸之路为代表的友好型文明方式；一种则是以发现“新大陆”、拓展殖民领地的海盗型野蛮方式。

十八世纪，西方文化开始以传教士传播宗教的方式浸入东方。西方建筑文化首以教堂建筑形式进入中国。1840年鸦片战争爆发，固步自封、闭关锁国的满清政权节节败退。随着一系列丧权辱国的不平等条约的签订，领土的割让，华夏从此金瓯残缺；巨额的赔款，中国从此万劫不复。列强瓜分中华国土的狂潮汹涌而至。重农抑商，闭关自守，由五口通商倒退到一口通商的满清王朝被迫陆续开通了更多的城市口岸，开始了被动的对外开放。短短几十年，一个内向封闭型的封建国度迅速瓦解，沦为了外向开放型的半封建半殖民地。国门洞开，西方列强纷纷在中国广袤的国土上划分势力范围。丧失主权的门户开放代价是惨重的。至满清末年，中国沿海沿江至少有十六个城市设立了外国租界，大大超越了《南京条约》中允许外国商人及眷属可以寄居的五个通商口岸城市的规定。

“租界”，是指允许外国以居住和经商为名永久租用的地段，是不平等条约的主要内容之一。列强在华租界多达四十三处，其中三十八处为专管租界，五处为公共租界（即英美共管的租界）。英国在华设立的租界最多，为十一处。单个城市设立多国租界的，以天津为最，有九国。在租界里，列强随心所欲，视同家园。继而又设立警察取代清朝更夫，并擅设税种抽收税捐，侵犯和排斥中国政府

和国人在租界区所保有的权益和司法治理权。清政府为谋求列强镇压太平军而被迫承认“租界不可侵犯”，租界几乎等同割让，“华人与狗不得入内”。然而，贪婪的野心未有终极，列强继而又以“租借地”、“港地”、“铁路用地”、“铁路附属地”甚至“中立区”等形式，变着花样强占、蚕食中国大片领土，并通过驻军设治、强征税捐、颁布施行法令和法制，将清朝政权的管制逐步排挤出大片的中国疆土，实行殖民地统治。如德国把山东胶州湾视同非洲殖民地（图1），设立总督府（图2，P₃）。先后颁布一系列法令达188种，从军事、经济、文

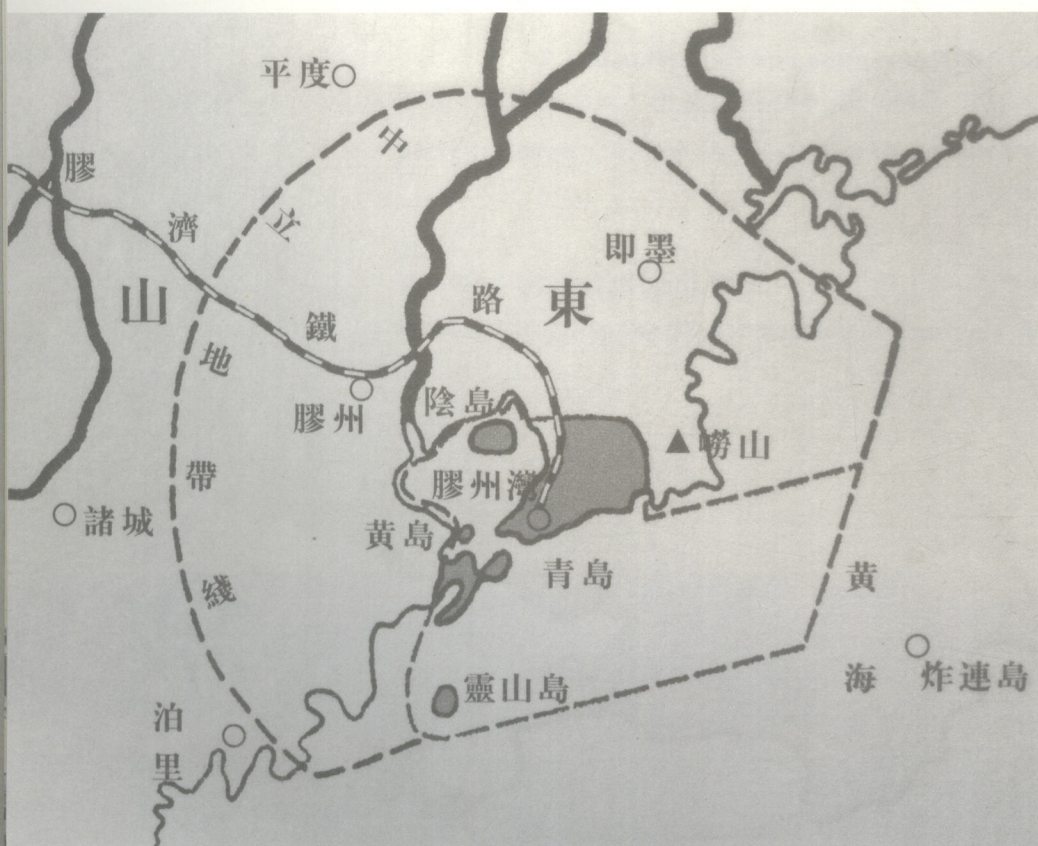


图1：山东青岛胶澳租界地范围图。摘自上海历史博物馆等编：《中国的租界》。

Fig.1: Australia Colony in Tsingtao, Shangdong Province
(Source: *The Foreign Concessions in China*)



图2: 山东青岛市建筑, 原德国总督府, 现市人大政协。
Fig.2: Office building of Tsingtao People's Congress and CPPCC (former office building of German Governor)

化、税捐到婚丧嫁娶、生活细节, 无所不包。这些侵略者无视中国传统文化和行政治理制度, 更谈不上尊重中国的城市规划和建筑文化, 视租界的建设和规划为本国事务, 动辄强征强拆。租界成了帝国列强进一步瓜分中国疆土、掠夺资源、倾销商品(甚至毒品)和进行文化入侵的桥头堡, 是中国上个世纪中叶之前百年屈辱史的活生生的写照。

如上海。1267年设镇治, 称“上海镇”。鸦片战争前夕, 上海已有街巷63条, 商业林立、鲜萃羽集, 被称为“江海之通津, 东南之都会”。

1845年, 上海道台宫慕久与英军上尉, 即后来英国首位驻沪领事巴富尔, 签订了《上海土地章程》, 在上海建立了中国史上第一个租界(图3), 面积830亩。之后美法相继在沪设立租界。当年, 上海外滩建成了11幢大楼。开设了23家洋行。1853年英美驻沪领事藉口防御太平军, 宣布上海租界“中立”, 压满清政府承认“租界不可侵犯”原则。次年英美法三国公使擅自修改上海租地章程, 经

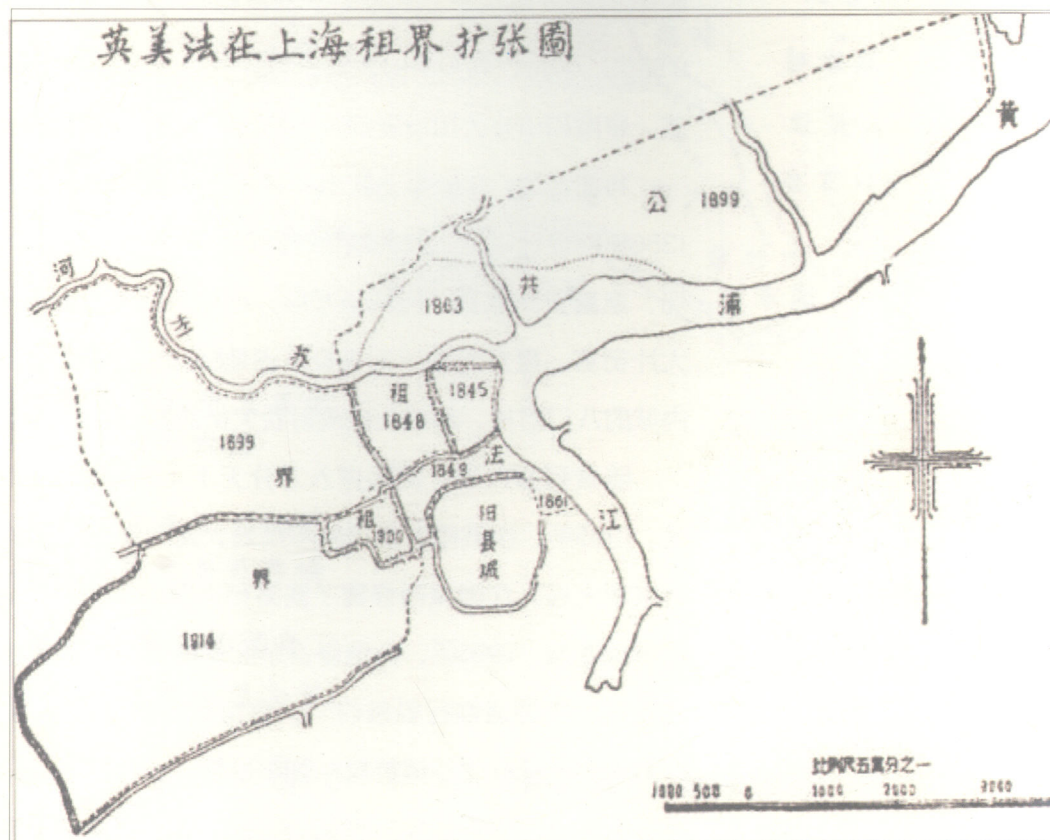


图3: 英美法在上海的租界扩张图。摘自上海历史博物馆等编:《中国的租界》。
Fig.3: Extension map of French, American and British colonies in Shanghai (Source: The Foreign Concession in China)



图4: 1930年的上海外滩。摘自上海历史博物馆等编:《中国的租界》。
Fig4: Shanghai Bund (Source: *The Foreign Concessions in China*)

所谓“租地人会”通过,并不和上海道台协商即公布实施。在租界内设立“警察”,取代“更夫”,更抽收税捐。同年7月,租界设立“上海工部局”,由各国领事兼任董事,下设若干委员会,并不断扩大租界行政管理权,逐渐排挤中国政府在租界行使的司法权。从此,上海租界成为在中国设立租界的范本。

1300多米的上海外滩,五十二座风格迥异的建筑,构成了灯红酒绿的“东方华尔街”(图4),永恒记载着华夏资源与血汗被疯狂豪夺榨取的上海近代半殖民地租界史。

如天津。明设卫筑城,清改卫为州,再由州升府。历经先市(天津市)后城(卫城),形成了“市在城外,城在市旁,卫城封闭,城市开放”的商埠和畿辅首邑的卫城(图5, P₅)。

1860年英法联军攻占天津,津城沦为对外商埠,英美法获“租界权”。1890年,租界标志性建筑戈登堂建成,为租界工部局办公楼(图6, P₆)。甲午战争后,德日在津设租界。1898年戊戌变法失败。两年后八国联军再次攻占天津。联军组成的“暂行管理津郡城乡内外地方事务都统衙门”强令拆除卫城城墙,辟为马路,天津卫再也无城可守。之后,俄意比奥相继设立租界,英法德日继续强扩租界,租界区面积多达23350.5亩(图7, P₇),相当于1860年天津建成区的3.47倍,卫城的9.98倍。而且,列强争纷割据,租界各自为政。加上各据母国传统实施城市规划,租界间的路网形式、密度和市政公用设施都互不衔接,建筑风格、功能布局各异。

再如沈阳。1206年,铁木真登基称成吉思汗,攻下辽国所筑的土城沈州。1296年改称沈阳路。1386年明设沈阳卫,改砖城。1625年,清迁都沈阳,称盛京。盛京的规划遵易学外圆内方的城市格局,意寓天圆地方。内城呈方形,占地约1.5平方公里(图8, P₈)。井字形街道网将内城分割为九大片街坊。皇宫居中(太极位)占地6公顷。外城为圆形,占地约十五平方公里,设八个城门,与内城的八门对接,形成八条放射状大街的城市格局,极像马车车轮的形状(图9, P₉)。

随着列强入侵,沈阳进入三分天下(老城区、军阀新管辖区、铁路附属地商埠区)的发展历程。1895年,沙俄攫取修筑哈尔滨到大连的铁路特权和东清铁路沿线的行政权和采矿权,不久又强租旅顺大连。沈阳城西修建了铁路和火车站(图10, P₁₀),占地六平方公里。此时俄租界与沈阳卫城形成双城。1900年,沙俄侵占东北主要城镇和交通线,盘踞沈阳。1903年,联军逼满清政府签订“中日、中美通商行船条约”,将沈阳附属地以东、外城以西十平方公里地区划为“商埠地”。1904年,日军取代沙俄特权,驻军设警,设置税捐、司法、邮政等机构,他们公然认为,“从行政管理角度看,的确是像一真正的国家那样,它是一个完整独立的地区”,“因此,在这里进行城市

规划，也是理所当然的事。”此外，军阀张作霖在城西北建设了惠工工业区，城东建设了东塔兵工区，城东北建设了沈海市场。各种政治势力的角力，都给城市布局和景观留下了深深的痕迹。古城格局荡然无存。

回头看广州。公元前214年，秦攻下陆梁地（今两广和越南北部地区），南征将领任嚣被任命为南海郡首任郡尉，筑城在古番山和古禺山上，即古番禺城，亦称“任嚣城”。后龙川令赵佗继任，改称“佗城”。公元210年，重修番禺城，恢复州、郡、县同治，始称广州。

古时交通，除乘马步道，多依赖水路。广州扼控珠江三江，南濒大海，兼海运河运互换和水运路运对接之便利，加上远离中原，政治动乱鞭长莫及，权策掌控式远力微，使广州这个南蛮边陲城市渐渐“民庶稠聚，海舶鳞凑”、“番夷络绎，商贾接踵”、“百货之肆、朱楼十里”，发展成为中国两千多年里唯一没中断过的对外贸易通商口岸。逐渐形成了开放务实的粤商传统，孕育积淀了中西交融的岭南文化。

鸦片战争后，香港岛被割让，广州失去中国第一大通商口岸的地位。但其优越的地理区位仍被列强视作进出南中国的门户。他们盯上了珠江白鹅潭畔毗邻十三商行的一块叫沙面的沙洲。1857年，英法联军籍口十三商行被焚，攻陷广州，强占沙面。1861年9月，《沙面租借协定》签订，为期99年。英法在沙面开挖了一

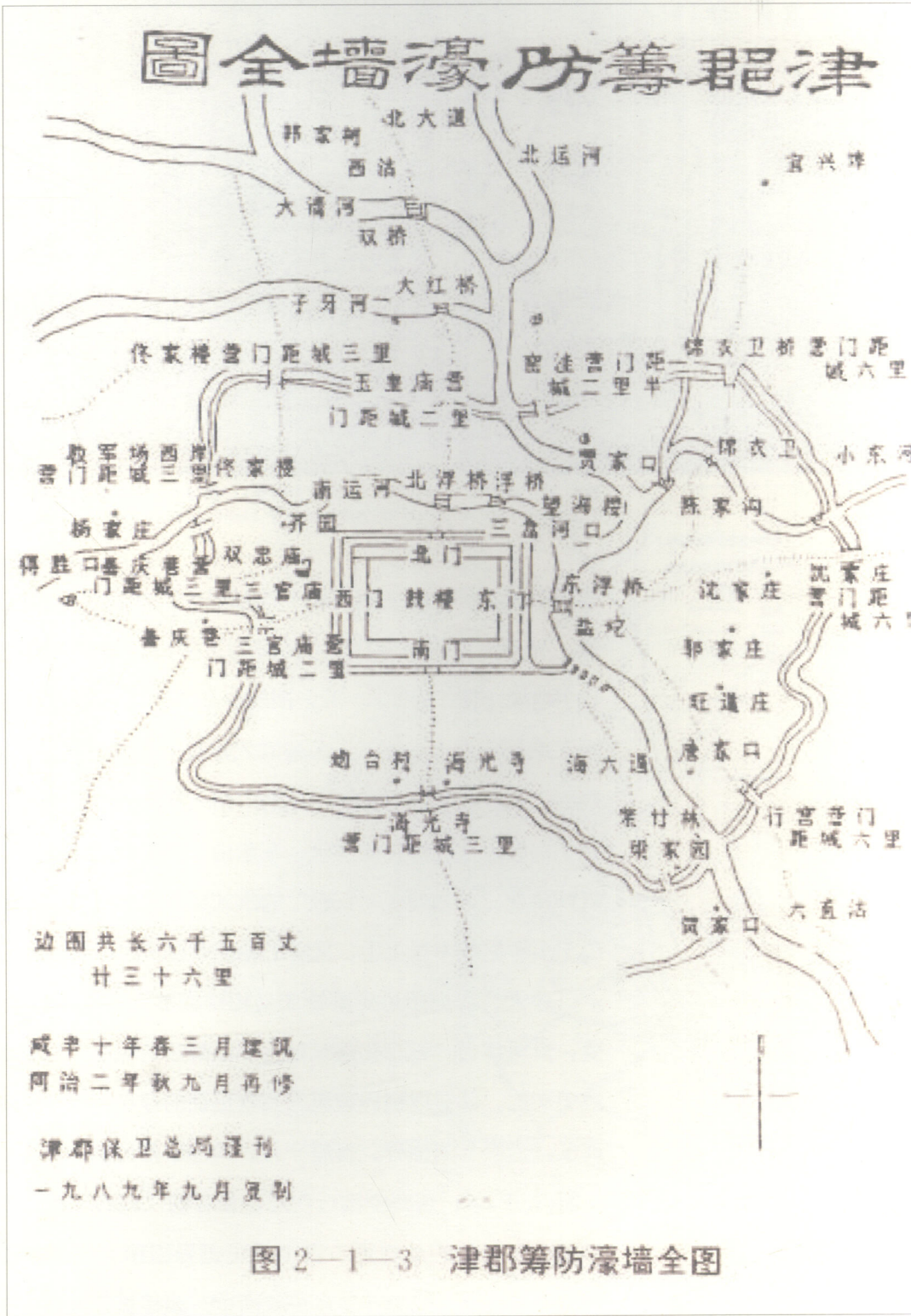


图5: 天津古城平面图。摘自《天津城市规划志》
Fig.5: Map of ancient Tianjin city (Source: Tianjin urban planning annal)



图6: 建于1890年的天津英租界工部局(戈登堂)。摘自上海历史博物馆等编:《中国的租界》。
Fig.6: Industrial Bureau in the British colony (built in 1890) ,Tianjin (Source: *The Foreign Concessions in China*)

条宽40米,长1200米的河涌(沙基涌),建成了仅设东西两座桥对外交通的环水小岛。按欧洲模式,一条贯穿东西带有街心花园的主干道,辅以五条南北向次干道以及一条环岛路将沙面岛分为12个地块(图11, P₁₂)。22公顷的小岛,西部五分之四为英租界,东部五分之一为法租界,统由租界工部局管理。一百五十多幢欧式建筑中,多为各国的领事馆、银行、商行和教堂(图12, P₁₃)。同时,善于吸纳融汇外国文化的广州人在华界地区推动了建筑风格的变异,远洋淘金而归的商人建起了商居兼用的骑楼式建筑,在东山、西关建起了花院式南洋小墅。政府和一些企业家也请外国建筑师操业,一幢幢更“正版”的欧式建筑陆续耸立在沙面和珠江两岸。使广州这块反复耕耘涂画了二千多年的岭南沃土上,又多了斑斑点点的西洋浓彩!

今天,我们用历史唯物主义和辩证唯物主义观点分析中国近代史中城市规划和建筑文化的演变,真可体会“城市和建筑是人类最鲜活的史书”这句话的分量。最能说明中国近代半封建半殖民地史实的,就是以租界建筑为实物见证的存在。除了以上提到的四个城市外,还有“九省通衢”的武汉。当年五国租界,各霸一方,约1.8平方公里的国土上洒落着十九国领事馆和五百余处外国建筑(图13, P₁₄);还有中国近代史中著名的“五四”运动发祥地青岛,德日争霸数十年,在胶州湾东岸和八大关处的丛林里,留下了斑斑异国建筑风情(图14, P₁₅)。不一而足,不胜枚举。江河南北,山关内外,究竟还有多少幢西欧东瀛建筑依然在守护着这段历史?恐怕至今还没有人一幢一幢

地去统计过。可以说，这是中国历史上第一次如此大范围大规模地“移植”外国建筑艺术和建筑技术。说到这里，值得一提的，是一位澳大利亚建筑师，亚瑟·威廉·帕内（Arthur Purnell）先生。

为了谋生，也为了寻找更宽阔的舞台施展建筑艺术才华，22岁的帕内先生远渡重洋来到广州。八年里，他主持和参与了超过二十五项工程的设计与施工。不仅有沙面租界里的建设项目（如粤海关俱乐部、瑞记洋行、万国银行等），也有租界外更多的实业建设项目（如中山大学马丁堂、广东士敏土厂、五仙门电厂、广九火车站和宿舍、中法韬美医院等），既推广了当时最新的钢筋混凝土技术，又尝试运用了中西合璧的建筑设计手法。1910年，帕内先生返澳。中华文明的熏陶，使他情不自禁地在澳洲不少工程项目中借用了中国传统设计手法和建筑元素，以至于干脆用“沙面”命名他的作品，以寄托他的中国情结，体现了帕内先生对中华文化的依恋和欣赏。当然，帕内先生可能至死都不知道，他设计的广东士敏土厂后来成为中国民主革命的总指挥部——孙中山大元帅府。帕内先生以他的作品见证了中华民族从实业救国到武装救国的艰辛历程。载入了中华民族近代民主革命的史册，值得我们永远尊敬和怀念！

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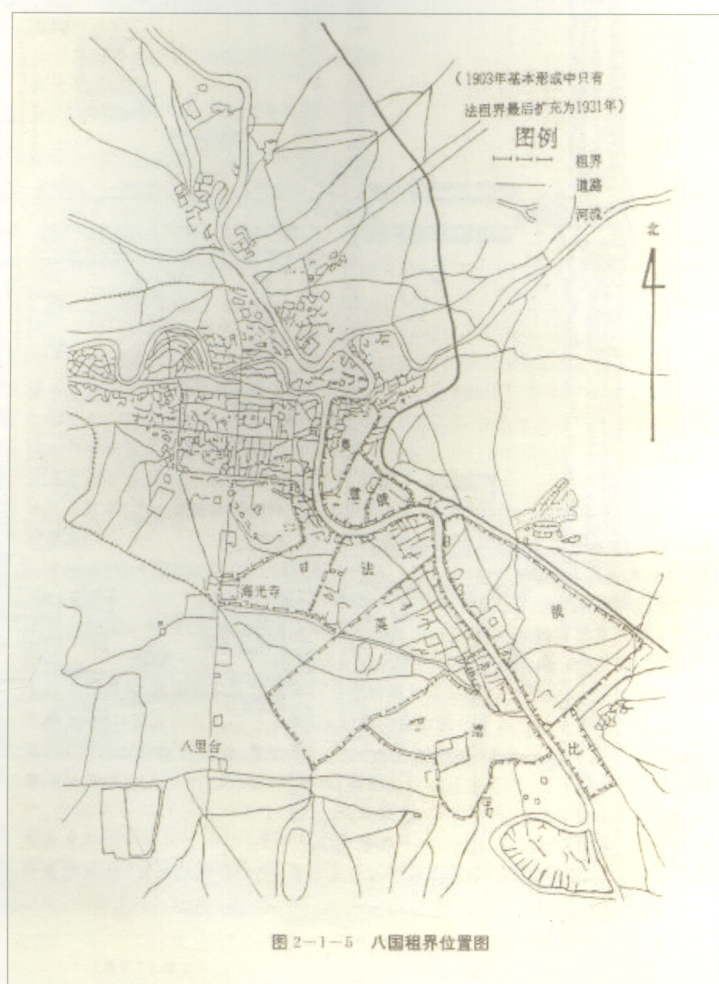


图7：天津租界平面图。摘自《天津城市规划志》。
Fig.7: Map of Tianjin colony (Source: *Tianjin urban planing annal*)

Conveying Architectural Culture with Respect for History:

Understanding Mr. Purnell under the Historical Background of Chinese Architectural Development in Colonies in the Late 19th and Early 20th Century

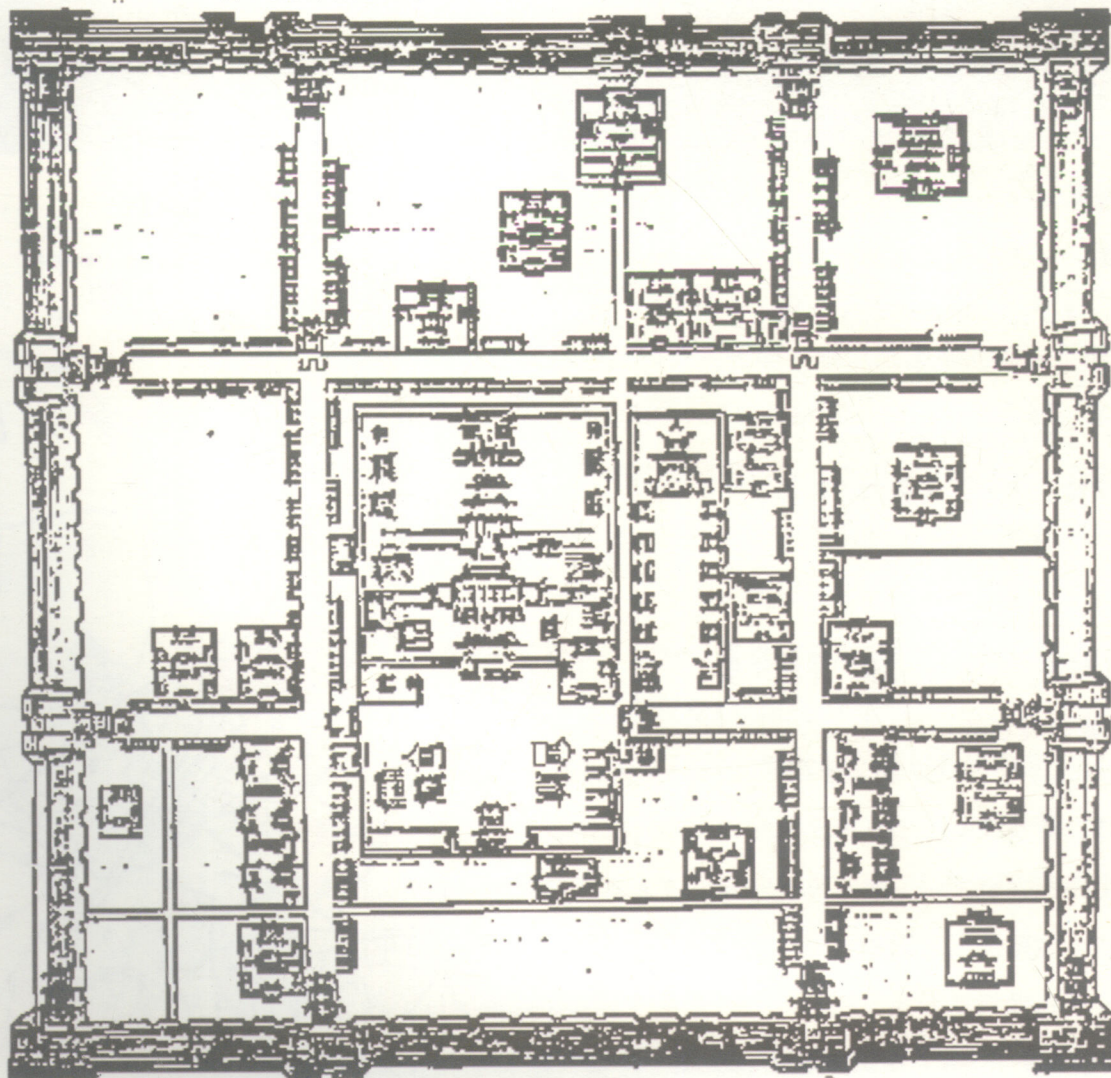
Shi Hongping

A city planner has to understand history and respect history. To conduct research on Mr. Arthur Purnell's architectural art, it is necessary to learn about the history of Chinese architectural development in colonies in the early twentieth century.

Along with the development of social productivity, nations scattered around the world started their transoceanic long journey of exchange and communications. Generally, this is in two ways: a peaceful way represented by Zheng He's seven expeditions and the Sino-western silk road on sea, and a buccaneering way to discover "new continent" and expand colony.

In the 18th century, western culture was introduced to China by missionaries through the spread of Christianity. Western architecture was firstly adopted in China in the form of

Fig.8: Inner city map of ancient Shenyang (Shengjing) (Source: *Shen Yang City Planning Records*)
图8: 沈阳市古城(盛京)内城平面。摘自《沈阳城市规划志(稿)》。



churches. In 1840, Opium War broke out. The conservative and self-conceited government of Qing Dynasty retreated in defeat continuously. A series of unequal treaties were signed under humiliating conditions of territorial cession and huge war compensation, which tore up the country into pieces. The government of Qing Dynasty, which used to suppress commerce and trade and retreated from five-port foreign trade to one-port trade policy, was forced to open more cities along coast and rivers as ports. In several decades,

an introverted feudal nation collapsed rapidly into a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. Western powers at the time rushed into China to set up their own sphere of influence. The Opening-up with sovereignty infringed ended up with disastrous results. In the late Qing Dynasty, foreign colony territories were marked off from 16 cities along coast or rivers, which largely exceeded the term of opening-up of five port cities for foreign trade and residence as settled in Nanjing Treaty.

Colony territory is the district that allows foreigner's permanent residence and trade and a major term in many unequal treaties. At the time, there were 43 colony territories in China, 38 of which were dedicated colonies and another 5 were international settlements (co-governed by Britain and USA). The number of British colonys was the largest. There were eleven. Tianjin had the largest number of colonys within a single city. There were nine. Within the territory of colonys, western powers enjoyed priorities. Police authorities were subsequently established to replace Gengfu (bellmen) in Qing Dynasty; additional taxes were imposed and human rights and judicatory rights of Chinese people in colonies were infringed and excluded. The impotent Qing government was forced to declare the inviolability of colonies for exchange of foreign army's support in repression of Taiping rebellion. The Qing government actually gave up its governance over colonies. "Dogs and Chinese not admitted" was an epitome of the reality in colonies. Later on, settlement, port land, railway land, attached land to railway and neutral area were used as excuses for grabbing more Chinese territory and garrison, governance, tax, legislation and judicature were established to exclude Qing government from a massive area of Chinese territory and actually achieved colonial rule. Germany treated Jiaozhou Bay of Shandong as the same as African colony (Fig. 1, P₂) and built the Governor's Office (Fig. 2, P₃). 188 statutes were promulgated to cover military, economic, cultural, tax, marital and daily affairs. These invaders pushed aside traditional Chinese culture and administrative system, let alone Chinese culture of city plan and architecture. The development and city plan of colony territory was seen as homeland affair rather than local affair. Colonies served as bridgeheads for invasion into inner China, for plunder of resources, for dumping commodities (and even drugs) and for cultural invasion. The history of colonies is the one-hundred-year history of humiliation before the middle of last century.

Shanghai is an example. Shanghai was set up as town in 1267 and named as Shanghai Town.

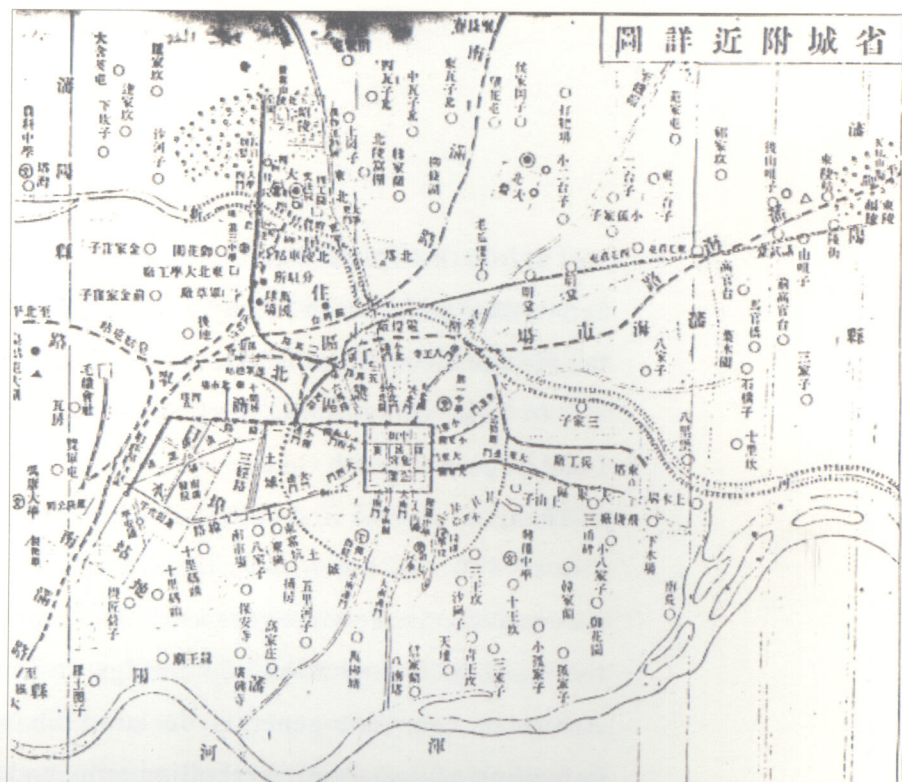


Fig.9: Map of ancient Shenyang (Shengjing) (Source: Shen Yang City Planning Records)
图9: 沈阳市古城(盛京)内城平面。摘自《沈阳城市规划志(稿)》。