

南京城墙与 罗马城墙比较

Comparative Study on the City Walls of



Nanjing and Rome

陈 薇 [意]路易吉·戈佐拉
CHEN WEI (ITALY) LUIGI GAZZOLA

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著 者 陈 薇 [意] 路易吉 戈佐拉
Chen Wei [Italy] Luigi Gazzola
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序一

路易吉·戈佐拉

Preface I

Luigi Gazzola

一个地区的文化特色只有通过不断更新才能有效地延续并且永葆生机。本书的出版便是源于这个共同的信念。

近些年来，中国与意大利两国在文化与专业领域方面的交流日益增强。在建筑与城市研究领域，特别是遗产的保护、修复和政府举措方面的合作有显著进展。两国数千年的文化，塑造了两国人民不同的性格，也成为双方寻求合作的根源。概括来说，首先，意大利针对文化遗产的保护措施，不论是理论还是实践，都得到了中国学者的高度关注。其次，中国对于文化遗产的保护措施，不再仅仅停留于对历史建筑物的关注，而开始考察建筑物与其所处环境背景之间的关系。此外，合作交流，也开启了历史脉络的保护——关注意大利文化，这对已有详尽成果与成熟实践经验的罗马时期文化研究，同样具有十分重要的意义。

南京东南大学和罗马萨皮恩扎大学（Sapienza Università di Roma）在各自国家的历史文化研究中均有重要建树。双方试图利用各自的研究成果展开合作交流，但是不可避免地遇到了选择研究对象的问题。研究对象必须是双方所共有的，既可以满足在理论与实践上进行对比分析，又可以使研究成果在实际工作过程中得到运用，而不只存在于“学术”讨论中。

南京东南大学建筑学院与罗马萨皮恩扎大学建筑系（Dipartimento di Architettura e Progetto Sapienza Università di Roma）回顾历史发现：研究与比较两座城市的城墙可以立刻成为最为合适的合作项目选题，原因有以下三点：

1. 罗马与南京城墙均为了限定城市范围而建造，当时，两座城市均是帝国的都城；两者基本完整地保留了原貌，建造范围内地形多变，平原、山川、河流交替出现；城墙沿途都经过陡峭的山坡、曲折的河岸，穿越了高度城市化的区域和公共绿地；并且两者在建造技术方面有诸多可比性。

This publication is born of the common conviction that cultural identities can continue to grow in quality and remain vital only through continuous updates that are part of an incessant and reciprocal confrontation.

During recent years, cultural and professional exchanges between China and Italy have intensified. In the field of architectural and urban studies there has been a particular growth in those related to the conservation, restoration and valorisation of heritage. The roots of this reciprocal interest are also to be found in the millenary culture that characterizes both populations, but above all in the attention that Chinese intellectuals focus on everything produced by Italian culture in relation to both theory and practice in cultural heritage safeguarding. What is more, China's culture of safeguarding no longer considers exclusively the historical monument, but also examines its relationship with the context in which it is located. In addition there is also an opening towards the conservation of historical fabrics, a field in which Italian culture, and that of Rome in particular, has elaborated studies and matured practical experiences of specific importance.

However, when the Southeast University of Nanjing and the Sapienza University of Rome (Sapienza Università di Roma), important university structures from both countries with differing millenary cultures, intended to compare their work and collaborate, their inevitably arose the problem of identifying a common object of research for a comparison of theory and practice, a theme of research that would allow for a parallel in the real world, and not only in an academic setting.

The School of Architecture at the Southeast University of Nanjing and the Department of Architecture at the Sapienza University of Rome (Dipartimento di Architettura e Progetto Sapienza Università di Roma) were assisted by history: the study and comparison between the city walls of the two cities immediately appeared the most suitable topic for a coordinated research project. This was the case for three reasons:

- The walls of Rome and Nanjing were constructed to defend two cities that, at the time, were capitals of enormous empires; both are almost wholly conserved and run across a variegated terrain, comprised of alternations between plains, hills and rivers; they climb steep slopes, run along watercourses and cross highly urbanized areas, public parks; what is more, they are constructed using techniques that offer various analogies.
- Both have been or are the object of interventions and/or projects of restoration, consolidation, urban requalification and the application of new restrictions, etc., by different public entities.

2. 罗马与南京的城墙曾经或当今正是所在城市维护与修复的对象, 经历了被不同朝代的执政者重建以用于重新限定城市范围。

3. 两所大学里的学者均参与过或正在进行与古城墙相关的规划设计工作, 这个幸运的巧合使得对城墙的合作研究成为可能。

以上原因表明了此次研究项目的可操作性, 也为避免研究沦为纯理论探讨提供了基础性条件。

由此, 双方决定从五个方面(历史演进、城墙与所处环境背景的关系、城墙的修复、城市规划与城墙、城墙与都市计划)对城墙进行研究, 为已完成的(或即将完成的)项目中出现的问题和亟待解决的问题提供文化和技术上的综合性视角。联合研究以两地同步的方式展开, 学者们在已达成的共识下从五个角度出发, 分别研究南京明城墙和罗马奥勒良(Aurelian)城墙, 并进行比较分析。

这项联合研究是两校长期深入合作的成果之一: 东南大学与萨皮恩扎大学之间的学术交流已持续了多年。两校合作始于2004年6月德阿申齐奥(D'Ascenzio)校长率团访问南京。同年11月, 南京召开了第三届东亚建筑文化国际学术会议, 会上正式确定了两校联合研究的计划。在会议过程中, 双方共同描绘了项目研究的方式, 确立了联合研究计划的发展方向, 同时互派教授、博士生, 共享资源信息。城墙在当代扮演了特殊而重要的角色, 修复工程方面的合作将进一步深入, 并且两校都在各自城市的城墙发展和历史研究中作出过杰出的贡献。这些事实促成了合作研究的深入发展。2008年, 两校正式签署了文化合作协议文件, 将两座城市的城墙定为首个研究对象, 补充了项目研究的具体细节, 规定了合作形式、研究时间表, 并任命陈薇教授和路易吉·戈佐拉教授作为双方合作牵头人。

2008年11月, 第四届国际城市化论坛在南京举行。论坛中, 两校的学者举办了南京与罗马城墙比较研究研讨会, 将合作的初期和中期成果进行了展示。这本书收录了联合研究的最新成果, 研究成果包含了在文化、技术与操作层面上的类比与差异。新增了两国学者如何利用研究成果丰富本国文化的实践对比。

中国正处在急速发展、寻求新的国际地位的时期, 在这一过

– It was possible to exploit the fortunate coincidence that many professors from both faculties are, were, or were about to be commissioned to design varying interventions involving the historical walls in these two cities.

The above data projects this research into a field of operability, a fundamental condition for avoiding the purely theoretical nature of the results developed by the studies.

As a result, five interrelated fields of research were selected (historical evolution, the relationship between the walls and their context, the restoration of the walls, planning and city walls, city walls and urban projects), with the intent of providing a comprehensive vision of the cultural and technical problems related to completed interventions (or to be completed), and problems yet to be resolved. A joint research was thus developed by moving along parallel lines of analysis, treating each of the five themes from common points of view and comparing the results of the Chinese research involving the walls of Nanjing with those of the Italian scholars examining the Aurelian Walls in Rome.

This coordinated study is one of the first results of a collaboration matured over time: the academic exchanges between the Southeast University and the Sapienza University of Rome have been underway for many years. They began in occasion of the visit by a qualified delegation of professors from Rome, under the guidance of its Rector Mr D'Ascenzio, to Nanjing in June 2004. A common line of research was identified in November of the same year, during the "3rd International Conference on East Asian Architectural Culture", held in Nanjing. This occasion was also used to delineate a number of approaches and to define the modalities for the development of a coordinated research project and an exchange between professors, doctorate students and scientific information. In particular, it was established that relations in the field of restoration would continue to grow, both due to the contemporary nature and importance of this subject, as well as because both universities have made the greatest contributions to the development (and history) of this field in their respective countries. This approach was rendered more concrete in occasion of the official signing of a Cultural Agreement between the two universities, in 2008, when the urban walls of the two cities were selected as the first theme of joint research. This occasion was also used to define the modalities and timing of the study and nominate its coordinators, professors Chen Wei and Luigi Gazzola.

An initial and interim conclusion to the coordinated research was provided in November 2008 with the Seminar "International Forum on the Comparative Study for the City Walls of Rome and Nanjing", in occasion of the 4th World Urban Forum, held in Nanjing, when scholars from the two universities presented the results of their research. The most recent conclusion, instead, is presented in this publication, which reveals cultural, technical and operative analogies and differences, in addition to explaining how the comparison between the work of scholars from the two countries offered responses that enriched both cultures.

程中必然会与其他重要文化产生碰撞。中国与意大利距离遥远，语言系统建立在不同的（如果说不是相反）逻辑上。然而，我们能否在两个国家间建立一种意义深远而不同以往的紧密合作关系呢？也许是有这种可能的。

中国在上个世纪初已经开始了文化交流方面的工作，此项工作在毛时代结束后的 1980 年代得到延续。中国在文化遗产保护方面的开端可以追溯到 20 世纪初，这也正是中国文化观念和技术发生剧烈变革的时期。1919 年，朱启钤先生创立了中国营造学社，创办刊物《中国营造学社汇刊》。学社成员大多拥有国外教育背景，他们试图将所学到的方法运用于中国的古迹修复、古建筑的历史研究和测绘工作中。但不幸的是，在接下来的时间里，中国动荡的时局阻碍了学者的研究活动，物质与非物质的文化遗产遭到大量破坏，中国传统文化体系也遭到严重威胁。

时至今日，两国高层次的文化交流合作仍需要一个相当漫长的时间。因此两校间的学术人才交换也是一个长期的项目。持续的合作才能确保研究向更深层次发展，中意两国还将逐渐扩大研究范围，使得研究不但取得理论上的成果，而且可以运用到操作实践中。

China currently finds itself in an era of boundless change and the pursuit of a new global position, in many cases confronting other important cultures. However, is it possible that two countries, in this case China and Italy, can develop a significant intellectual affinity without any tradition of past exchanges, given both their geographic distance and the fact that their languages are based on different (if not opposing) logics? It is possible.

The Chinese people began working in this direction at the beginning of the past century, with a return after 1980, following the period of Maoist rule. In the field of cultural heritage conservation, the bases and beginnings of a radical theoretical and practical change can be dated back to the early 20th century, when Zhu Qiqian, in 1919, organised the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture, publishing the *Bulletin of the Society for the Research in Chinese Architecture*. His students and followers, many of whom were educated abroad, sought to impose some methodologies within Chinese research into practices of restoration, historical studies and surveying. Unfortunately, the historical events of the following decades impeded any significant practical follow up to these theories, while the destructive force of material and immaterial objects proved all too powerful, threatening the formation of a modern Chinese cultural identity. However, the confrontation between two important cultures at an elevated intellectual level requires a lengthy period of time, and thus the exchange between the two faculties is a long-term programme. Successive collaborations are ensuring ever more in-depth investigations, involving other research bodies (both in Italy and China), extending it into progressively vaster fields and producing research that is not only theoretical, but also operative and practical.

长时间以来，我们比较敏感和注重研究东西方文化的差异。往往在这种寻觅中，发现各自的独特魅力，并力图进行心理上的认可和行为上的发扬。在文化冲突、社会变迁、探寻途径的过程中，这种比较研究的现象和心态尤为突出。但是从文明发展的角度而言，人类在认识事物的本质、理解自然的规律、探求技术的进步、提高认知的心性、追求社会的美好上，其实是相通和一致的。也就是说，文化的果实各滋各味，但在孕育和浇灌形成果实的过程中，其内驱力是基本相同的。从这样的视角来考察中西方文化，既可以观赏到它们的千姿百态，也可以领略到它们拥有的境界。

对南京城墙和罗马城墙的比较研究，乃试图揭开这两个世界著名历史城市的城墙存有差异的形成过程，而不是从结果图解和剖析它们的不同。本书的篇章结构和内容试图展示这样的思考。如筑墙史与城市史相关联，如城门启闭、开墙打洞与城市道路发展相关联，如城壕功能与城市变化相关联，如修缮保护技术与城墙遗址相应的材料和风土相关联，如保护规划与都市发展相关联等，尽管在具体的两座城市的城墙遗址上表现的形态不一，但从方法论上看，不同文化体系下的建设成就、发展思考、技术运用等，是有着共同追求的，乃对先人智慧的尊重，对文化遗产的珍重，对城市生活的关注，对城市文脉的理解。

另一方面，我们还从两个不同历史城市的城墙史、发展变化和保护经验中，体会到城墙作为一种载体所透射出的文化差异和技术手段的异趣，这是十分有价值的，也是在不断加强的文化和学术交流中，值得比较推敲、相互学习、共同探讨、形成见识的。

从个人的角度，偏爱这两个历史城市的城墙、发现彼此的相关、又流连差异的追寻，源于16年前在欧洲的建筑考察。1998年，我独自登上意大利罗马台伯河侧的雅尼库伦山（Gianicolo），鸟瞰罗马城墙，其曲折变化、其顺山依水、其沧桑巨变，一时梦回南京，宛若在紫金山看到“龙脖子”（城墙蜿蜒曲折的形象俗称）、在九华山视及“台城”（六朝宫墙的北段），游子之心怦然而动。但只是瞬间，意大利语、德语不绝于耳，幡然梦醒，此乃西方文

We have long been sensitive to the cultural differences between the East and the West, and paid addictive attention to study them. The scrutiny of cultural differences, however, would sometimes bring out unexpected charms embedded in each other's unique culture, heralding a psychological recognition and encouraging a behavioral acceptance. In a world teemed with cultural conflicts, social changes, and explorations, it is understandable that people would automatically use comparison to satisfy their curiosity. From the perspective of human civilization, people, no matter what country they are originated from, are quite consistent in understanding the nature of things, reading the law of nature, exploring technological advancement, improving their perceptions, and in pursuing a positive social development. In other words, different cultures, though differed in the flavor of their fruits, are essentially stemmed from the same internal driving force that shapes up the breeding, developing, and fruiting process of human society. In this context, one would be overwhelmed by the unexpected charms gushed out from Eastern and Western cultures, and thus led to feel what they are meant for him or her.

The comparative study of the ancient walls in Nanjing and Rome is designed to understand the differences in the process of shaping up the two world famous historical walls, rather than to anatomize and illustrate the differences in results. This book's structure and content are therefore aligned to show the intention. One would, from a methodological point of view, see the same pursuit for achievements, development, and technological advancement under a different cultural system, when examining the historical ties between the wall and the urban development, between the opening/closing of a city gate and running through the wall to facilitate the traffic flow of urban roads, between moat functionalities and changed urban life, between wall repairing and protecting techniques and traditional materials applied to build the walls, and between protection planning and urban development. The comparison helps people respect their ancestors' wisdom, cherish the cultural heritages they left behind, look at today's urban life in an enlightened context, and understand the city's culture from a new perspective.

On the other hand, one can enjoy the different charms of cultures and techniques embedded in the walls, from reading the history of two different historical walls and their development, change, and protection, which makes the study worthy. Thanks to the increasingly enhanced cultural and academic exchanges, people are given opportunities to scrutinize the walls, discussing and sharing the anecdotes behind the walls, and deepening their knowledge of the walls.

My personal curiosity to know the ancient walls in the two historical cities, and to see the relevance as well as the difference between the two was originated from an architecture tour I made in Europe 16 years ago. In 1998, I climbed up to the top of Gianicolo on the left bank of the Tiber River in Rome, taking a bird's eye view of Roman Wall and its twists and

明之地，非金陵故乡。这样的兴趣和记忆一直萦绕于心。

2007年，我和我的工作团队受南京市政府委托，承担全国重点文物保护单位南京城墙的总体保护规划工作，开始全面认识南京城墙——历史的和现在的、保护的和发展的、本体的和环境的等等，2008年我们完成了这项艰巨而重要的工作。恰逢机缘，通过东南大学和罗马萨皮恩扎大学的学术交流平台，也因为阅读过意大利学者路易吉·戈佐拉（Luigi Gazzola）教授的《凤凰之家——中国建筑文化的城市与住宅》（*La casa della Fenice: la città e la casa nella cultura architettonica cinese*），得以了解西方学者视野下的城市，以及以路易吉·戈佐拉教授为领衔及其同事长期在罗马城墙研究方面的学术积累和操作经验。于是经过磋商，在南京东南大学召开“南京城墙和罗马城墙比较研究”国际研讨会，本著作乃这个会议后双方深入研究的成果。

从两校学术交流和东西方文化交流的角度而言，这本著作只是开端，但已领略况味：艰辛和乐趣。

感谢罗马大学路易吉·戈佐拉教授对于著作目录的编排建议，感谢他带领的团队对罗马城墙研究和实践的贡献并予以分享，感谢他多次为出版事宜亲赴南京共商切磋，感谢他联系的意方多米齐亚·曼多莱西（Domizia Mandolesi）女士为出版出谋划策，感谢罗马大学建筑学院前副院长乔治·迪·乔治（Giorgio Di Giorgio）亲临南京参加研讨。作为南京城墙保护规划的负责人，感谢南京市文物局、规划局、建设局及东南大学城市与建筑遗产保护教育部重点实验室主任董卫教授在此过程中的组织、指导、建议和帮助，感谢南京城墙管理处杨孝华先生和文物局姜继荣先生在盛夏酷暑导引我们开展调研，感谢南京各界专家和国家文物局专家的建设性意见。作为尝试用双语出版的著作，尤其是进行中文和意大利文之间的转换，实际上我们开展了中、英、意三语言的沟通和交流，这是一件十分费力和需要严谨态度操作的事情，感谢所有学者和研究者、译者、出版社和友人及留学生杨慧的无私贡献以及共同的认真负责。即便如此，还是存有不少错误，出版之际，难免忐忑。

《诗经·小雅·鹤鸣》曰：“它山之石，可以为错；它山之石，可以攻玉”。如果说进行南京城墙和罗马城墙比较研究有什么体会的话，或许可以改为：“它山之石，可以润玉”，“它山之石，可以固玉”，横批：“玉石一体”。在繁琐的后期校核和制作过程中，想到这些，不禁喜上眉梢。

turns along the mountains and waters, and envisioning the vicissitudes, which stirred in me a nostalgia for a range of similarities of things in Nanjing, including the zigzagging "Dragon Neck" Wall on the Purple Mountains, the landscape view of Jiuhua Mountain, and the northern section of the city walls built in the Six Dynasties. Then, I was awakened by the Italian, German, and other undistinguished languages murmuring around me to the reality that I was on the land of Western civilization, rather than in Nanjing, an ancient Chinese city. The curiosity and memory stemmed from that trip has been lingering in my mind for a long time.

In 2007, my team and I were assigned by the Nanjing Municipal Government to make a master plan for wall protection, which prompted the team to have an in-depth look at the past and present pictures of the city wall, its protection and development, and its survival and environment. In 2008, the painstaking planning work was completed. My personal curiosity led me to acquaint myself with the ancient walls under Western scholars' eye, either through academic exchanges between Southeast University and Sapienza University of Rome, or through reading the *Phoenix City (La casa della Fenice: la città e la casa nella cultura architettonica cinese)* by Prof. Luigi Gazzola, a Roman scholar. An international symposium was then held at Southeast University to discuss the ancient walls in Nanjing and Rome. This book reflects the results derived from the joint study conducted after the meeting.

The book is a beginning, in the context of academic and Eastern and Western culture exchanges between the two schools, though we have already tasted joys as well as difficulties doing that.

I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Luigi Gazzola for his suggestions concerning the arrangement of contents, and for sharing with us the findings derived from the studies conducted by him and his team. Prof. Luigi Gazzola also showed untiring support to the publication of the book by personally visiting Nanjing several times, and by inviting Ms. Domizia Mandolesi to be part of the publication planning. I would also like to thank Giorgio Di Giorgio, former vice-president of University of Rome School of Architecture, for his personal attending the meeting held in Nanjing. Additionally, I want to acknowledge the following for their guidance, suggestions, comments, and assistance: Nanjing Cultural Heritage Bureau, Planning Bureau, and Construction Bureau, Prof. Dong Wei, dean of key Laboratory of Urban and Architectural Heritage Conservation (Southeast University), Ministry of Education, China, Mr. Yang Xiaohua of Nanjing City Wall Management Division, Mr. Jiang Jirong at Cultural Heritage Bureau, and specialists from involved disciplines and from State Administration of Cultural Heritages. The book, published in both Chinese and Italian languages, went through a process of communication and exchange made in three languages, including Chinese, English, and Italian. Here, I am especially grateful to all the scholars, researchers, translators, publishers and friends and overseas student Yang Hui who are part of the process for their hard working and devoted contributions. Even so, I would ask for forgiveness if a mistake is found here or there.

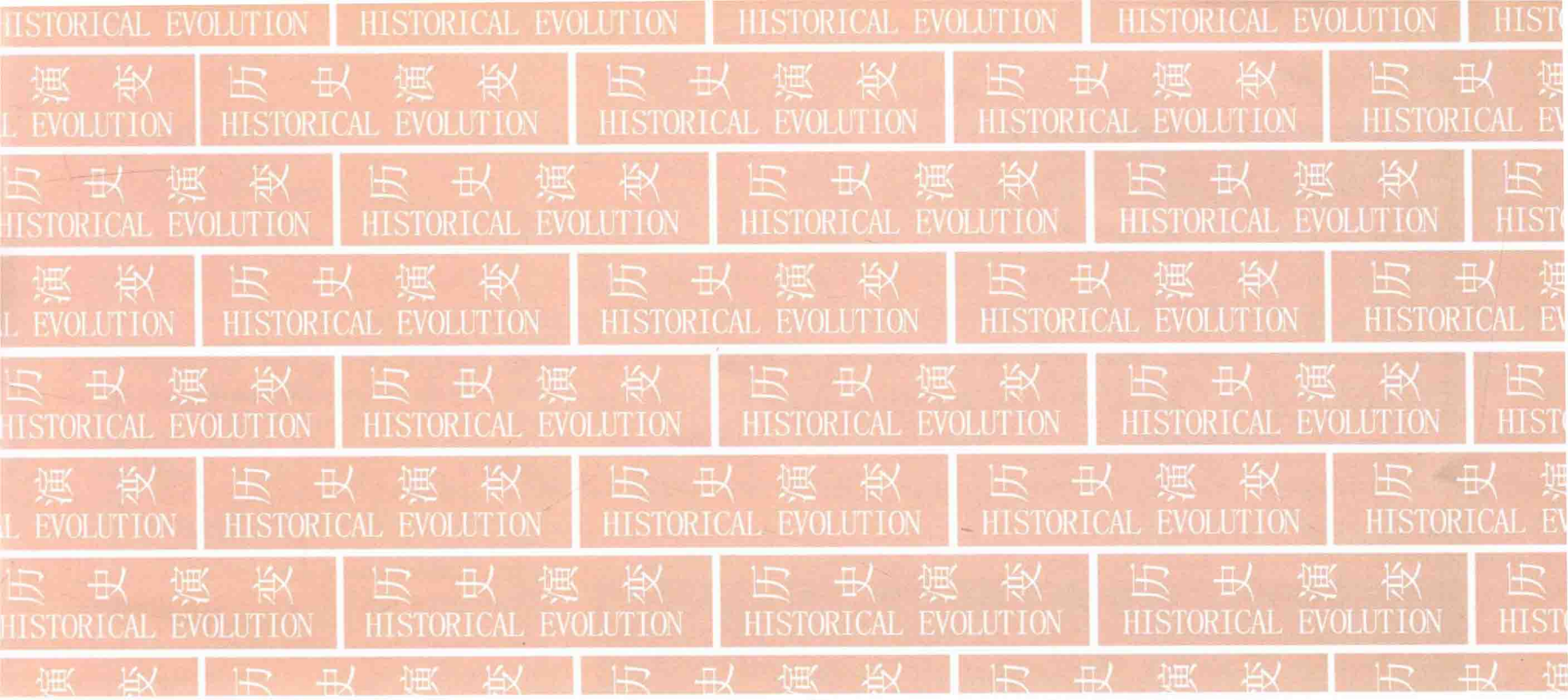
It says in an ancient Chinese book discussing poems and songs that stones from the hills that produce no jade can be borrowed to polish or carve jade. When studying the ancient walls in Nanjing and Rome, we perceive that stones from the hills that produce no jade can be applied to nourish and strengthen jade, making jade and stone into one. These are the feelings cropped up in the tedious process of publishing the book, though to my delight as enlightenment.

1. 本书为中英文双语，图片共用，图版采用原图及文字。
1. This book is in bilingual of Chinese-English but shared same photos. The original languages and drawings are used in the plates.
2. 外文人名、地名、书名一般均于首次出现时加注原文；中文人名、地名、书名一般均以汉语拼音在英文中出现，个别书名和地名，辅以意译，便于读者理解。
2. The original texts of people's names and place names are given when first from foreign language to Chinese. Chinese Pinyin codes are used when from Chinese to English for names of Chinese, place and book. English explanation for some important Chinese book titles and place names are provided, in addition to Pinyin.
3. 个别意大利人名和地名在相关字典未检索到的则直接引用。
3. Some Italian names and place names are cited directly if they cannot be found in dictionaries.
4. 各节图片分别顺序编号，注释和参考文献附于各节之后。
4. The figures in each chapter are numbered separately. The notes and bibliography are listed after each chapter.
5. 书中所用图表、照片，未注明出处的，均系作者绘制和拍摄，相应版权分别归本合作研究的中、意双方负责人所有。
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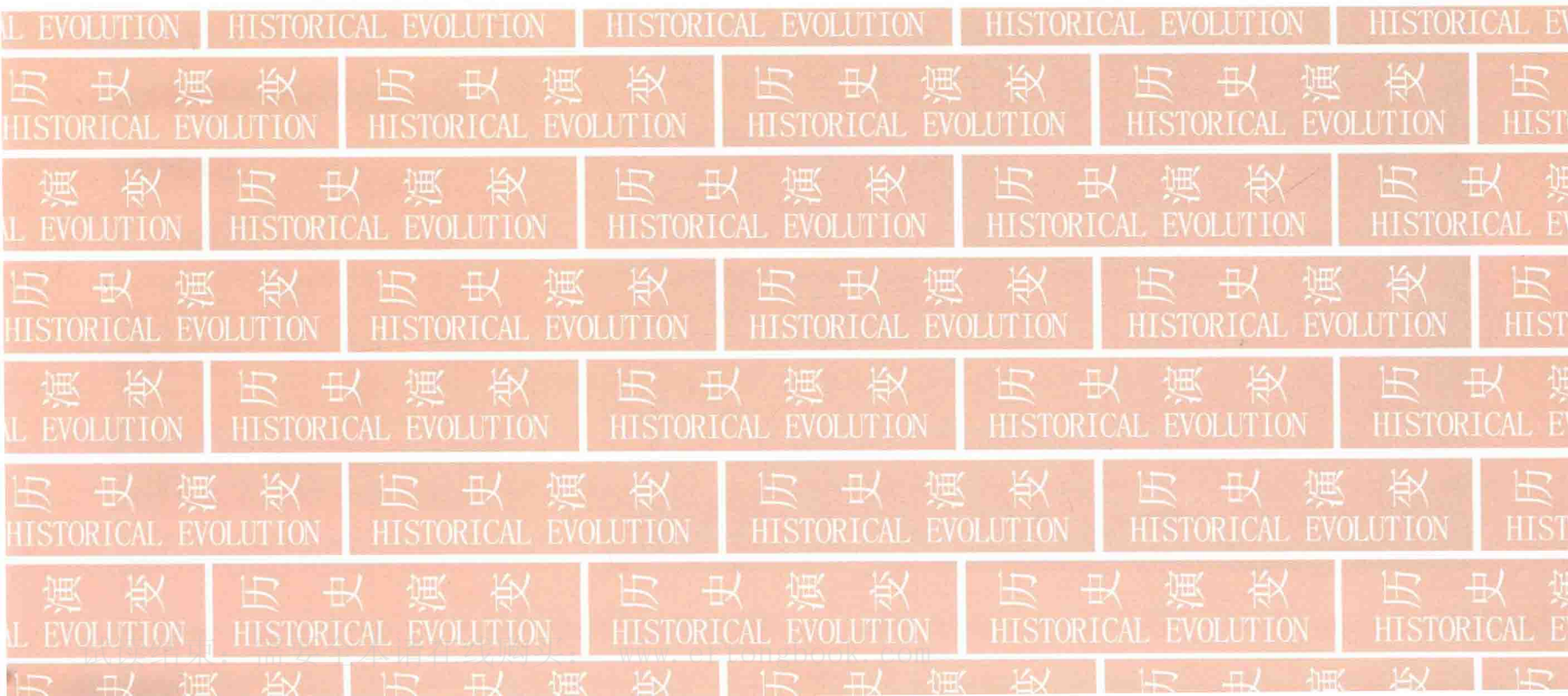
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第一章 历史演变

1 Historical Evolution



第一节 南京城墙建置史

1.1 A History of Constructing the Nanjing City Wall

诸葛净 Zhuge Jing
张剑葳 Zhang Jianwei

南京城墙的建设可追溯至公元3世纪的前半叶，自那以后的近2000年里，南京城墙被不断地建设、毁弃、整修与重建。现存的南京城墙，包括城墙和郭墙，基本为14世纪后半叶明代所新建或在前代基础上改扩建而成。南京明城墙实测总长为35.267 km，目前保存较完好的有25.091 km，遗迹（地面有4~5 m以下高度）、遗址（地面无城墙）共10.176 km；郭墙总长60 km，目前走势尚存的有42 km(图1)。其规模在中国古代城市的现存城墙中首屈一指。

The Nanjing City Wall was initially built in the first half of the 3rd century. The wall has experienced expansion, demolition, repairing, rebuilding, and restoration over the past 2,000 years. The surviving walls, including the city walls and defensive walls, were mainly rebuilt or expanded in the second half of the 14th century, based on the wall foundations built in the preceding dynasties. The city walls built in the Ming Dynasty measured 35.267km long. The sections, deemed reasonably well preserved, ran 25.091km long, with the remains walls (under 4 ~ 5m in height) and the sites (without walls) at 10.176km in length. The defensive walls have a total length of 60 km, though only 42km of them showing the course (Fig.1). The Nanjing City Wall has topped other ancient Chinese city walls survived the times in terms of scale.



图例

- 河流湖泊
- 明代外郭（有遗迹）
- 明代外郭（无遗迹）
- 明代内城墙（有遗存）
- 明代内城墙（无遗存）
- 明代皇城遗址
- 明代宫城遗址

图1 南京明城墙范围、规模和保留现状
Fig.1 The spread and scale of the Ming City Wall of Nanjing

1. 南京古代城墙建设

1) 明代以前 (1366 年以前)¹

建于周元王三年 (公元前 473 年) 的越城是南京城市区域内有明确记载的最早古城, 周显王三十六年 (公元前 333 年) 楚在此筑金陵邑, 则是南京地区第一个行政政治所²。但明以前南京城墙的大规模修建主要集中在两个建都时期: 三国两晋南北朝 (220—588 年) 及南唐五代 (892—960 年)。

中国古代历史上的汉代之唐代之间, 经历了 300 年左右的大分裂, 即三国两晋南北朝, 在此期间中国被三个或更多的地方政权割据。今天的南京先是成为三国时吴国的都城, 之后成为南朝各王国的首都。这些地方割据政权都面临来自北方的威胁, 对这些王朝来说, 长江是天然屏障, 江边的丘陵山岗则提供了良好的据守高地。

212 年吴国国王孙权改秣陵为建业³, 并改筑金陵邑城为石头城以储存粮食与武器。至 229 年, 孙权定都建业, 在石头城以东的腹地新建了一座城池。东晋六朝皆因之⁴, 但 317 年城名改为建康。

石头城清凉山一带, 长江绕其西侧而过, 是石头城的天然护城河, 成为都城建业西面最重要的军事堡垒。今天在清凉山还能看到一些石头城遗迹, 斑驳迷离, 雄踞城西, 由于其砖石表层剥落, 原深红色山石和脱落的白色表层, 形成一些图面, 被称为“鬼脸城”。尽管这段遗迹表面砖石已非六朝原物, 但墙体走向与山崖紧密结合的关系仍非常清晰, 展现出当年“因山以为城, 因江以为池”的险要地势 (图 2)。



图 2 石头城
Fig.2 The Stone City

1. Constructing of the Nanjing City Wall

1) Before the Ming Dynasty (before 1366)¹

The Yue City, appeared in 473 BC, is the earliest city on the territories of the Nanjing City having a written record. In 333 BC, the Chu State founded there a city named Jinling. It was the first administrative district in the Nanjing area². However, before the Ming Dynasty, major activities to build and expand city walls were mainly made during two periods: the period of the Three Kingdoms, the Two Jins, and the North and South Dynasties (220—588), and the period run by the Five South Tang Dynasties (892—960).

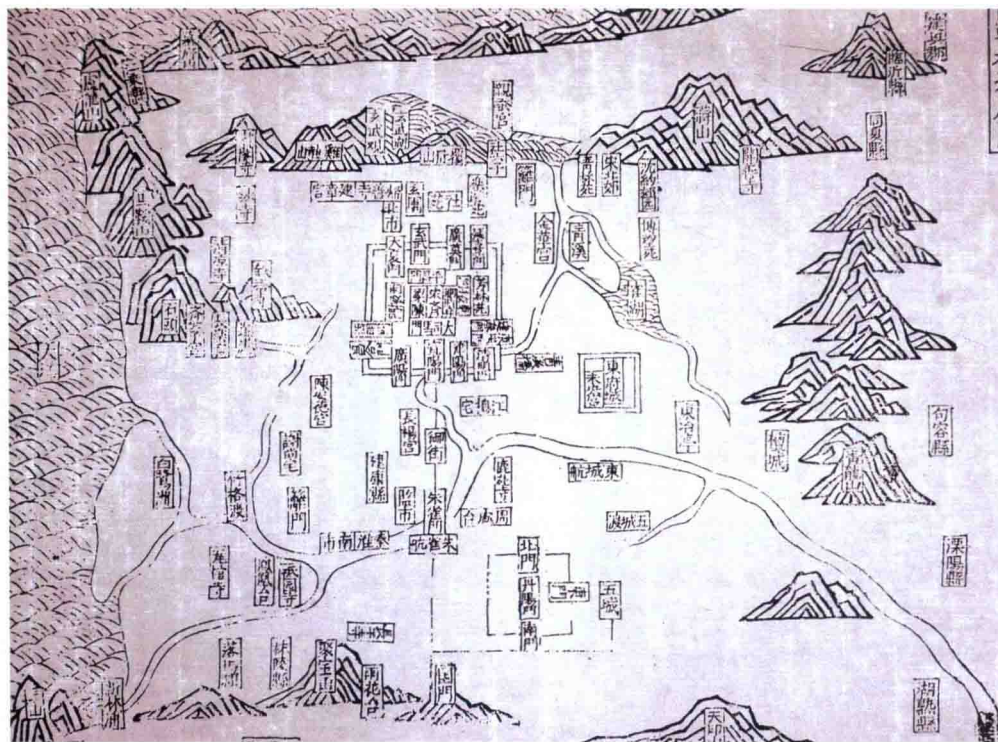
In the Chinese history, a major split occurred between the Han Dynasty and the Tang Dynasty, which lasted for some 300 years. Historically, the period is referred to as the period of the Three Kingdoms, the Two Jins, and the North and South Dynasties, where ancient China was split into three or more local domains. Today's Nanjing was then the capital of the Wu State (one of the Three Kingdoms), though served as the capital of other kingdoms in the South Dynasties as well. Local warlords had to deal with the threats stemmed from the north. To them, the Yangtze River made a natural barrier to fence off the possible attacks from the north. The hills and mountains sitting along the River became a desirable fortification.

In 212AD, Sun Quan, the King of the Wu State, changed Moling into Jianye in name³, and renamed the Jinling City a "Stone City" to keep food and arms. In 229AD, Sun Quan founded his capital in Jianye, and built walls and moats in the east part of the Stone City. The East Jin and the Six Dynasties followed suit⁴, though the city was renamed Jiankang in 317AD.

The Stone City sat in an area called Mount Qingliang. Passing by the Stone City in the west, the Yangtze River was apparently a natural moat, and the most important military fortification in the west of the capital city Jianye. In today's Mount Qingliang, one is still able to see some traces left by the Stone City in the west. The weathered original bricks showed some weird patterns, as the color faded from crimson to whitish. Folks termed the mutated wall patterns as "ghost face". The wall went in a well-defined course heading for the nearby mountains, indicating the tough terrains it had worked with to be a city defended by mountains as the walls and rivers as the moat, even though the surface bricks on the relics were no longer the one laid in the Six Dynasties (Fig.2).

公元 589 年，建康城被隋的统治者平毁。隋在这个地区设置了蒋州，治所安置在石头城中。

这一阶段的城池建设基本揭示了南京所在地区地理环境特点对城市建设的制约，即适合城市建设发展的区域主要在北至覆舟山、南至秦淮河、西至清凉山、东至燕雀湖的范围内；该区域周边的山岗，尤其是沿江的丘陵，提供了扼守水、陆通道，据险防御的地势。因此城市建设也形成以建康城为中心，周边堡垒相环护卫的态势（图 3、图 4）。



In 589 AD, Jiankang was flattened by the ruler of the Sui Dynasty. Authorities set up an administrative district called Jiangzhou there, and homed its headquarters in the Stone City.

The development of city walls and moats in the period suggests the limits imposed by the geographic environment on the development of a city, confining the major development of the city to an area stretching to Mount Fuzhou in the north, the Qinhuai River in the south, Mount Qingliang in the west, and Yanque Lake in the east. The surrounding hills, especially the one sitting along the rivers, made a fortification to both land and water ways, desirable for defense. As a result, the urban area was developed with Jiankang as the center, protected by an array of strongholds in the vicinity(Fig.3, Fig.4).

图 3 玄武湖南侧的明城墙（上）

Fig.3 The Ming City Wall on the south of the Xuanwu Lake (up)

图 4 南朝都城建康图（引自《金陵古今图考》）（下）

Fig.4 The map of the capital city Jiankang of the South Dynasties (from: *Jinling Gujin Tu Kao*) (down)

唐朝末年，中国再次分裂。南京所在地区先为杨吴所占据，接着直到宋代都在南唐的统治之下。公元914年，杨吴改筑为金陵府城。932年，徐知诰主持改筑，在原有基础上拓广甚多，奠定此后数百年城池规模。937年，南唐以金陵为都城。金陵城同样以西侧长江及南侧秦淮河为天然屏障（图5）。

宋沿用了这一城池，城周二十五里四十四步，有八门⁵。而因宋金对峙之特殊形势，长江南岸的宋建康府城是前线的军事要地，采取了增立女墙，加厚墙身，建硬楼壅城，浚城壕，立羊马墙等一系列措施，使围绕城墙建造的一套防御体系得以加固与完备⁶。

元代该城作为集庆路治，城墙仍保持南唐初建时的规模走向，直至1366年朱元璋大规模扩建才使城墙规模、形制发生巨大变化。

2) 明之建设 (1366—1911年)

元末朱元璋起兵抗元，至1366年，朱元璋虽未称帝，但已在钟山（今紫金山）之南新建宫殿，并初次拓展元之集庆路旧城，将新宫纳入城中⁷。

公元1368年，朱元璋以元集庆路（已改名为应天府）为明帝国的都城，其后虽有

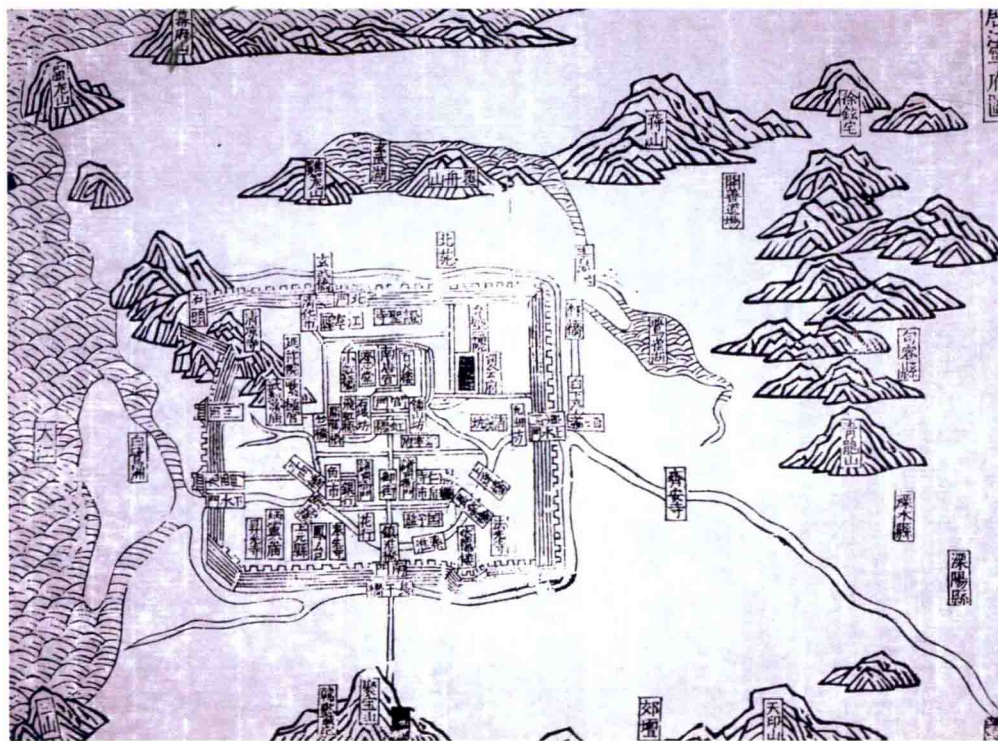


图5 南唐江宁府图（引自《金陵古今图考》）

Fig.5 The map of the Jiangning (Jinling) city in the South Tang Dynasty (from: *Jinling Gujin Tu Kao*)

China split again at the end of the Tang Dynasty. The area where Nanjing stands today was occupied by the Yang Wu State, and then placed under the rule of the South Tang Dynasty till the Song Dynasty. In 914 AD, Jinling was rebuilt into a capital city in Yang Wu period. In 932 AD, Xu Zhihao presided over the city expansion. The massive expansion efforts created a solid foundation for the expansion of walls and moats in the following hundred years. In 937 AD, the South Tang authorities made Jinling its capital. In the same manner, Jinling enjoyed the role played by the Yangtze River in the west and the Qinhuai River in the south as a natural barrier (Fig.5).

The city wall and moat stretching over 13km and associated 8 gates⁵ also survived the Song Dynasty. The confrontation between the Song and the Jin made the Jiankang City built in the Song Dynasty on the southern border of the Yangtze River a military fortification. The city wall was enhanced and fortified with a range of practices, including erecting the parapet wall, thickening the wall, building the bastions, and deepening the moat⁶.

In the Yuan Dynasty, the city was made a prefecture named Jiqing, though the city wall retained its original course and scale as it was built in the early South Tang Dynasty. In 1366, Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang ordered a massive expansion of the wall, which led to a huge change of the walls in both scale and structure.

2) City walls in the Ming Dynasty (1366—1911)

Zhu Yuanzhang launched a rebellion uprising at the end of the Yuan Dynasty. In 1366, Zhu built a new palace in the south of Mount Zhong (today's Purple Mountain), though not yet made himself an emperor⁷.

In 1368, Zhu made the Jiqing prefecture that was established in the Yuan Dynasty (already renamed as Yingtianfu) the capital of his Empire. The city struggled to keep its capital status in a range of changes. Zhu expanded the city in a well-planned manner. The city was made up of four inner parts: the palace, the imperial city, the capital city, and external defensive enclosure. The so-called Nanjing Ming City Wall is technically the walls built to defend the capital city at the time. In 1373, the wall of the capital city underwent another round of expansion⁸, with raised height and width. The expansion was basically completed in 1386. The city wall was rebuilt on the foundation built in the times of the Stone City in the west, and on the wall remains left by the South Tang Dynasty in the southwest part of the city⁹. The rest of the city walls went further eastwards and northwestwards, encompassing the highlands along the rivers from Mount Shizi to Mount Qingliang.

反复，但最终确立应天府都城地位，并逐次营建，形成宫城、皇城、京城与外郭四重城的规模。通常所说的南京明城墙指的就是京城城墙。1373年京城城墙再次改扩建⁸，将第一次拓建城墙加宽加高，至1386年基本完成。新的城墙西侧一部分以石头城的遗存为基础，西南段的走向以南唐城墙为基础⁹，其他部分除向东扩展，亦向西北扩展，将狮子山至清凉山一线的沿江高地纳入城中。

最后建造完成的南京城墙总长实测为35.267 km，高度在12~26 m之间，城顶最宽处达19.8 m，包围了城市三个不同的功能分区：①从东水关经聚宝门到石头山为市区；②石头山逶迤而北而东而南到太平门一带，依山傍湖，据险而设，为军事区；③从朝阳门到通济门围护皇宫¹⁰。共设城门13座。

到1390年，最外一重郭城也初具规模。外郭西侧以长江为防，自幕府山迤东而南而西，联络岗阜，将南京地区外围的丘陵山岗包绕入城，全长约60 km（图6）。外郭墙体以土墙为主¹¹。

The city wall, when completed, reached a length of 35.267 km, with a height between 12 m and 26 m. The widest part of the wall top measured 19.8 m. It embraced three functional zones: ① the city proper running from the East Water Pass to Mount Shitou via Jubao Gate; ② a military zone covering the northern, east, and southern part of the city from Mount Shitou to Taiping Gate, against the mountains and lakes; and ③ the imperial palace stretching from Chaoyang Gate to Tongji Gate¹⁰. The wall had 13 gates.

In 1390, the outmost part of the defensive wall was completed of construction. The outer defensive wall sat against the Yangtze River in the west, snaking along Mount Mufu to meet other mountains, making outside hills part of the city. The defensive wall accounted 60 km in length (Fig.6). The outer defensive wall was built mainly with earth¹¹. When expanding the city walls, Zhu Yuanzhang employed a strategy to build the walls on the sur-

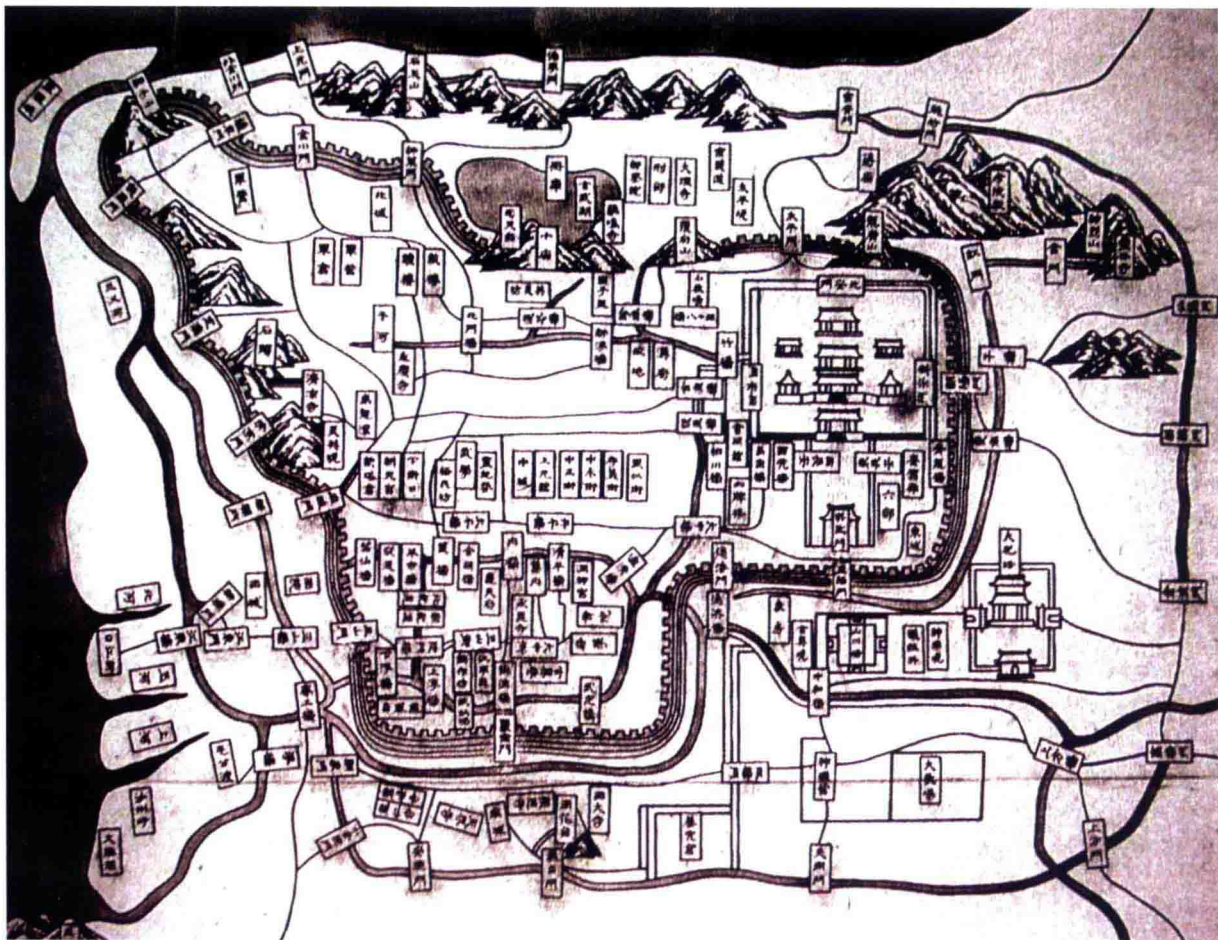


图6 (明南京)街市桥梁图
(引自:《洪武京城图志》)
Fig.6 The streets and bridges map of Ming Nanjing City (from: *Hongwu Jingcheng Tu Zhi*)



图7 明城墙与南唐至元代的城墙
Fig.7 The Ming City Wall and the South Tang to Yuan City Walls

在具体的建造中，朱元璋并未将原有城墙彻底拆除，而是尽可能在原有基础上利用改筑（图7），但需要新建之处也不吝人力与物力。

据《景定建康志》等文献记载，南唐金陵城东南隅偏南外侧有伏龟楼。此楼始建于南唐，南宋时增筑，除主要用于军事瞭望守备外，还兼有登高观赏之功能。直至朱元璋攻打元集庆路时，伏龟楼的名称仍出现在文献中¹²。2001年5月，南京文物部门的工作者在维修明代南京城墙东南转角一段时发现了一处古代建筑遗迹。从其形制及构筑特征判断，是一处大型建筑的台基，很可能就是作为旧城附属建筑的南唐伏龟楼基址（图8）。

城墙建造所需的大量人夫以军役、丁役和罪役等几种方式解决。军役是征发部队

living foundations, rather than dismantling the old walls completely(Fig.7).Meanwhile, he spared no resources to build the new walls, when necessary. According to *Jingding Jiankang Zhi* (The Gazetteer of Jiankang in the Jingding Reign Period), there was a Fugui Castle (The Crawling Turtle Castle) outside of the southeast corner of the Jinling City Wall. The castle was first built in the South Tang Dynasty, and was expanded in the South Song Dynasty. In addition to its fortification functions, it was employed by folks to enjoy a bird's-eye view. The name of the castle was still mentioned in the historic texts even when Zhu attacked the Jiqing prefecture established in the Yuan Dynasty¹². Archaeologists in Nanjing discovered in May 2001 the remains of an ancient structure when repairing the southeast corner of the Ming City Wall. The remains were identified to be the foundation of a large structure, it was believed that the structure was built in the times of the Yang Wu State, or in the South Tang Dynasty, probably the remains of the Fugui Castle built in the South Tang Dynasty, an auxiliary structure attached to the city wall(Fig.8).

The huge labor force needs for building the city walls had to be addressed in a combined manner, including the labor services provided by servicemen,



图8 南唐伏龟楼基址
Fig.8 The remain of the Fugui Castle's foundation