

走在运河线上

大运河沿线历史城市与
建筑研究(上卷)

Walking on the Canal Line
A Study of the Historical Cities and Architectures
along the Great Canal

陈薇 等著

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Preface

A Revolution that Looks Down

Chen Wei

In the summer of 1995, I took my students to map the ancient architectural structures in Gaoyou, a canal city in ancient times. Gaoyou, known for having an ancient post office, still keeps a plain and honest aura at the end of the 20th century, though commercial activities became increasingly important to the city. When visiting the dam between the river and the city, I would always wonder about the historical development of the canal, the city, and the architectural structures in the city. That starts my study of the topic.

Before embarking on the study, I was part of a National Natural Science Foundation project led by Professor PAN Guxi that studies the historical rendezvous cities bordering the Beijing-Hangzhou Grand Canal built in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties, which enlightened me to the fact that these canal cities and their architectural structures have played an important role in shaping up the development pattern of the late feudal society. At that time, the Grand Canal was the most important means of transportation, which not only controlled the lifeline that ships food grains from the south to the north and served as an important channel for delivering the emperor's orders or instructions to the local authorities, but also provided the momentum to spur up the development of canal cities and their architectural structures. To deepen my understanding of this, I applied in 2002 for a National Natural Science Foundation project to study the historical cities bordering the Beijing-Hangzhou Grand Canal built in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties and their architectural structures. I was granted in 2003 to start the study together with my students. The project was successfully completed in 2005. However, the study will not simply stop at that point, as the topic involves numerous historical facets that one needs to sort out the core, in an attempt to view the things from a historical perspective.

Fundamentally speaking, the development of the canal cities and their architectural structures manifests a core value that is bound to trespass the traditional boundaries or concepts about the north and the south, created a greater region for the political, cultural and economic integration, which in turn played an important role in the development of the late feudal society. One of the changes brought up by the canal is a revolution that looks down. That means the growth and development of the canal cities and their architectural structures became less affected by the hierarchy system,

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眼光向下的革命

陈薇

1995年夏，我带领学生在中国古代运河边上的江苏高邮市测绘古建筑。高邮，这个因邮驿而得名的城市，在20世纪末仍民风淳朴、市民商贾活动频繁。每日往返于河、城之间的堤坝，脑中时常萦绕这样一个问题：运河与城市及建筑的历史发展是怎样的？这是我真切关注这个课题的开始。

之前，我曾在潘谷西教授主持的国家自然科学基金重点项目《中国建筑史研究·元明卷》中承担“元明时期京杭大运河沿线集散中心城市”的研究工作，认识到沿运河城市和建筑在中国封建社会晚期，承担着重要的社会转型职能。因为当时大运河作为最重要的交通方式，不仅是南粮北运的命脉、上传下达的孔道，还是带动沿线城市和建筑变化发展的动因。在此认识基础上，我于2002年向国家自然科学基金委申请开展“元明清时期运河沿线城市与建筑研究”，2003年获准，并和我的研究生们一起展开工作。2005年项目顺利结题，但研究并未止步，这个题目实际牵涉广泛，如何抓住核心，在史学层面层楼更上，始终萦绕于心。

从根本上说，大运河沿线城市与建筑发展，核心价值是跨越了传统南北的界限和概念，呈现政治、文化和经济一体的地文大区格局，在封建社会晚期发挥了重要作用。其中之一是它们因水路一线而带来“眼光向下的革命”，即城市生长和发展、建筑转型或新类型出现，较少受等级制左右，而呈现迅猛、多元和融合的趋势，尤以商业为主导、漕运管辖为带动的城市和建筑发展特点为突出。

but rather enjoyed a rapid, diversified and integrated development. The development is dominated by commercial activities, with the canal economy as the momentum.

When viewing the canal cities from the perspective of architectural history, one has to admit that architectural structures built to serve commercial or functional activities are traditionally ignored in architectural history studies due to the inherent Chinese traditional concept about architectural structures. As a result, it is extremely difficult for one to find the traces of commercial or functional architectural structures in ancient literatures or in the papers dealing with the history of architecture. They are barely mentioned even in generic monographs, such as *The History of Chinese Architecture*. However, history reveals the fact that the majority of intelligentsias in the Song Dynasty and after came from merchants' families, which blurred the demarcation between intelligentsia and merchants. The novelty of *Complete Works of YANGMING* written by WANG Yangming is that the author believes the equal footing of intelligentsia, farmers, workers, and merchants before Taoism, and that they are not superior or inferior from one another. His philosophy of conscience became known to intelligentsia, farmers, workers, and merchants, and is the theoretical basis for the doctrine of "people in the streets are the saints". As a result, the way of doing business becomes a social conscience. In the context of social development, the commercial economy that made its debut in the late feudal society played an irreversible role in promoting commercial activities. In this context, the canal cities and their architectural structures can serve as the best platforms to study and examine the phenomenon. They are also the voids that need to fill in when writing a generic history for ancient Chinese architectures.

Canal is an artificial river dug out by humans for survival, for development, and for changing nature. There are numerous canals in diversified forms in the world. While created to meet the needs of economic development, they also bred out and spread the cultures. Some of the canals have been abandoned or simply disappeared. However, the intangible cultures created by these canals survived the time and space. It works like an old philosophical saying "constantly flowing water never stops". While discussing the canal cities and their architectural structures, we would also bring to our readers the changed intelligentsia cultures because of the revolution that looks down.

从建筑史研究的角度来看，商业性或功能性城市和建筑，由于受中国自先秦以来的传统观念影响，历来不受重视，史书亦鲜见记载，从而在建筑史研究领域没有一席之地，在“中国建筑史”这类的通史专著中，我们会发现它十分苍白。然而，中国历史史实是，从人本来讲，宋以后的士多出于商人家庭，以致士与商的界线已不能清楚划分。王阳明《阳明全书》最为新颖之处，是肯定士、农、工、商在“道”的面前处于平等的地位，更不复有高下之分。“其尽心焉，一也”一语，即以他特殊的良知“心学”，普遍推广到士、农、工、商四“业”上面，是“满街都是圣人”之说的理论根据，“贾道”已是社会的一种自觉。从社会发展来讲，商业经济在中国封建社会晚期，起到不可逆转的推动作用。而沿运河的城市和建筑，无疑是研究和剖析这种现象的最佳切入点，也是我们补阙中国古代建筑通史部分空白的首选研究对象。

运河，是人类为生存和发展以改造自然的智慧和力量开凿成的人工河流。世界上各种运河，在担负经济发展重任的同时，也都孕育和传播着文化。有些运河固然业已湮没，但无形的文化却跨越时空留存下来。一如人们关于“文化”和“水”的比喻及烂熟于心的哲理：流水不断。本书在探讨大运河沿线城市和建筑的同时，也将展现一些“眼光向下的革命”而带来的“阳春白雪”文化的变化和更新。

运河，在中国古代是变化的，其兴盛或衰败往往不由人力，但其发展过

In ancient China, canals were changing. Their rise or decline is not entirely the results of human doing. However, the cultures stemmed from the development of the canals have a surprisingly strong vitality. The street culture prevailed in the canal cities in ancient China became so eye-catching and gorgeous in the late stage that it influenced and enriched intelligentsia cultural system. The street culture has played a role quite similar to the one played by the unique Florence urban culture in Italy that had a direct bearing on the uprising of the European Renaissance. This makes another facet of my interest to understand a revolution that looks down.

On the other hand, one would wonder if there had been a history from below in the late Chinese feudal society. This depends on if the grassroots structure has eventually shaped up grassroots politics. The answer is apparently No. Farmers and citizens in the grassroots did not create their own politics, neither did the intelligentsia class. They have developed the consciousness of fighting the power politics, and the self-awareness of seeking for truth. However, they never went beyond that. That explains the fact that ancient China bred out the seeds of capitalism, but never came to the point that would further to a renaissance campaign, let alone the capitalism.

Today's China enjoys a flourishing economic growth. One would wonder if the development would also bring out a great culture. The purpose of studying history is to learn ancient wisdoms while focusing on the reality on the ground, promoting the progress and development of human society. I hope the publication of this book will achieve the purpose.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Chenwei". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first letter "C" being large and looping.

Drafted in the winter of 2007

Revised on December 12, 2009

Finalized in the summer of 2012 at the Orchid Garden, Nanjing

程中所蕴含的文化传播却赋予蓬勃生命力。中国古代沿运河城市中的市井文化，到了晚期更是醒目和绚烂，以至于影响和充盈了如士大夫阶层的文化体系。这种情形和意大利佛罗伦萨深厚的市民文化背景直接导致了欧洲文艺复兴运动的兴起，十分相像。这也是我关注“眼光向下的革命”的兴趣所在。

另一方面，中国封建社会晚期，是否真的存在“自下而上的历史”（history from below）呢？这取决于“下”（底层）的意识的独特结构是否塑造了底层政治。显然，其时并没有。底层中的农民、市民没有，即使是士大夫阶层，也没有。他们有抵抗权力的意识，甚至有寻求理想的自我觉醒，但从未有真正的自主。这使得我们理解为何中国古代即使在学界认为有资本主义萌芽、但并未真正诞生文艺复兴和资本主义的原因。

中国如今正经历经济发展的岁月，能否应运而生和整合出更优秀的文化？治史的真正意义，就在于能够把握古人智慧并关爱现实，从而增进人类的进步和发展。我希望本书的出版能产生这样一点启示意义。



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FOREWORD

In the Center or on the Edge

Chen Wei

绪言

中心与边缘

陈 薇

Fig.1: The Grand Canal in the Yuan Dynasty

Fig.2: The Grand Canal was built to connect four provinces, joining the political and economic centers in the east part of the country. The original map is shown in *An Atlas of Ancient Chinese Maps* by Li Xiaocang, collected by the Library of the United States Congress. Cultural Heritage Press, October 2004, Fig. 93.

Chinese ancient canals had their heyday in the Sui, Tang, Yuan and Ming Dynasties. The Beijing-Hangzhou Grand Canal, also known as the Grand Canal, was mainly built and heavily used during the Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties. The Grand Canal made a sophisticated water shipping route that involves not only the rivers but also the land and the sea. It runs from Beijing in the north to Hangzhou in the south, covering a course as long as 1800km that connects four major river basins, including the Yellow River, Huai River, Yangtze River, and Qiantang River (Fig. 1). Technically, it runs the shortest distance covering the most prosperous coastal areas in eastern China, facilitating the communications between the political and economic centers in the country (Fig. 2). The time frame covered by this book, though basically focusing on the dynasties mentioned above, would stretch a bit further to refer to the origin of the Grand Canal and some major events occurred after that. In this context, when referring to Yangzhou that has a close link to the canal, we prepared some historical facts on the Han City and Hangou in the Spring and Autumn Period. Meanwhile, an alley named Rong in Wuxi that used to be the cradle of modern industry started by the Rong's Family also has a canal story. These 'edges' would betray the traces of ups and downs of the Grand Canal, and hence became a natural part of the study.

Spatially speaking, the Grand Canal is a national 'highway' that runs from the north to the south, covering the country's political and economic centers in the east. Before the Yuan Dynasty, China's political center would be shifted here and there along the Yellow River and the Yangtze River, suggesting that at the time major historical cities were built along the east-west river systems, including the Grand Canal built in the Sui and Tang Dynasties. In this context, the rise of these cities and the construction of new buildings along the Grand Canal in the Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties started a process that would change the role of the edge and the center, though bit by bit. A revolution that looks down as such brought up system renovation, cultural diversity, and economic development that left a huge impact on the development afterwards. This book is designed to show the cities and their architectural structures that are barely mentioned or simply neglected, and became an 'edge' in the studies of Chinese architectural history.

When studying the management system of the Grand Canal, one became sensitive to the combination of the center (central) and the edge (local), an exemplary model of duality in ancient Chinese history of management. For example, the then canal transport management is something like today's Ministry of Communications, under the direct jurisdiction of the central government. In the early Yuan Dynasty, a canal transport management division was created to take care of the relay of canal water and land transport from the south to the north under an agency called Zhong Yang Hu Bu, a central government

中国运河的重要发展时期是隋唐和元明时期。京杭大运河习惯称为大运河，主要为元明清时期建设、发展和使用。大运河经历水陆联运、海河转运、漕河贯通的过程。开通后的大运河，北至北京，南到杭州，全线以长约1800km的距离，把我国黄河、淮河、长江、钱塘江四大流域连接起来（图1）。它以最短的距离，纵贯当时最富庶的东部沿海地区，实现了国家政治中心和经济重心的结合（图2）。本著作研究的时间段主要集中于此，不过由于大运河前有发源，后有接续，因此本著作所述内容也不完全拘泥于该中心时段限制，如和运河密切相关的扬州，可追溯到春秋时期邗城与邗沟的开启，而无锡荣巷与荣宗敬家族开启的近代工业发展，则和运河不可分割，这些前推后延的“边缘”内容，恰能表达大运河的继承创新与生生不息，自然成为研究框架的一部分。

从空间而言，大运河是南北向的国道，也是当时国家政治和经济的中心区域，位于中国东部。但由于元代以前中国的政治中心多沿黄河和长江沿线迁移，即其时重要的历史城市沿中国最主要的东西向水系存在，包括隋唐大运河。因此，元明清大运河沿线城市的兴起与发展、新建筑类型的出现，在当时乃新生事物，也是从边缘逐步走向中心的一个过程。其中蕴含的“眼光向下的革命”而带来的制度更新、文化多元、经济发展，对后世的影响是巨大的。本著作研究的城市和建筑对象，多为中国建筑史中属于边缘的或被忽视的，是故呼之欲出。

在研究大运河管理制度中，我们敏感地发现，其双重性在中国古代管理历史上堪称典范，即中心（中央）和边缘（地方）的结合。漕运管理相当于如今的交通部，由中央管辖，元初遂在中央户部设京畿都漕运使司，其下有若干仓库、新运粮提举司以及若干仓库隶属，在外设有分司，分管漕运相关事宜，主要解决南方“承运”和北方“接运”的系统管理。河道管理则相当于如今的水利部，除有专门水利官员管理河道外，多依赖沿运河地方官员参与河道管理，尤其在河道落差大、设闸多的地方，管理机构建筑就多。从这个角度出发，就能够理解为何我们会开展一些小城镇诸如太仓和南旺的研究，因为前者为南方漕运“承运”之地，后者则为大运河地形落差最大之处，为河道管理重镇。而淮安是漕、河两套管理系统交合的重地。虽然我们研究的是物质层面的城市 and 建筑，但有了中央和地方相关管理制度的认识，有了与之相对应的地理认识，物质形态的逻辑便清晰起来。

就沿运河的具体城市与建筑关系而言，也有着从边缘到中心的迁移过

agency equivalent to today's Ministry of Finance. The river course management is the responsibility of a government agency equivalent to today's Ministry of Water Resources. Apart from the management exercised by central government officials, local officials played a large part in managing the river course in the locality. Management bodies were mostly set up for the sections that have a large water level gap and numerous water gates. That explains why we would choose some small townships, such as Taicang and Nanwang as the objects, as the former started the water transport, while the latter started another water transport course having the largest water level gaps. Huai'an stands as the conjunction between the two. When studying the physical urban areas and their architectural structures, one has to deal with them along the management practice exercised by the central and local authorities. Meanwhile, some geographic knowledge is needed to define the logic lines of the physical things.

One also can see the shift from the edge to the center in the context of physical urban areas and their architectural structures. For example, clubs would be initially built on the edge of a city that borders the river, or a place that sees bustling commercial activities, such as in Suzhou. Thanks to their increased contributions to the city, the increased preferential treatments offered by the local government, and their enhanced social and political status, merchants would later prefer to build their residence or clubs near the city center, such as Huai'an canal governor's residence. The residence was initially built nearing the canal, before moving to the city center, and further to the central axis of the city. Consequentially, the cities, sections, and architectural structures along the Grand Canal would present a landscape that shows the development pattern and tastes of the cities, or the 'edge style' as I termed. This book spared quite some space to discuss the 'edge style'. On the one hand, the cities, sections, and architectural structures discussed would have an 'edge style' one way or another. On the other hand, they are defined by the local culture. The communications between the north and the south, the marriage of different cultures, and the rapid economic development brought up a political stability that led to the final dazzling magnificence of the Chinese feudal society.

图1. 元代大运河

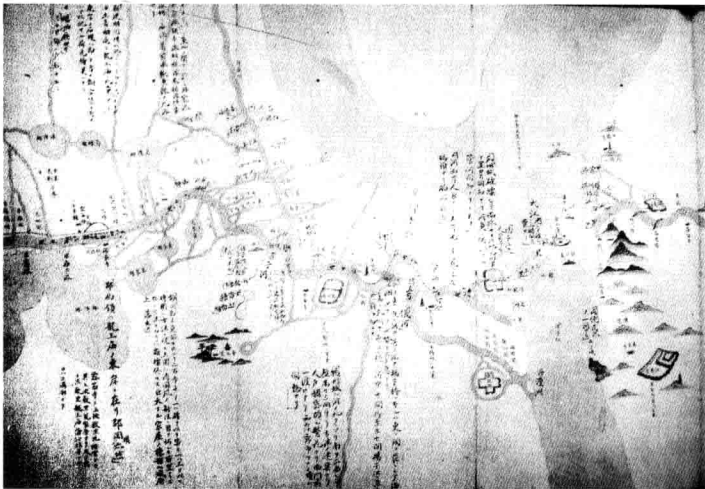
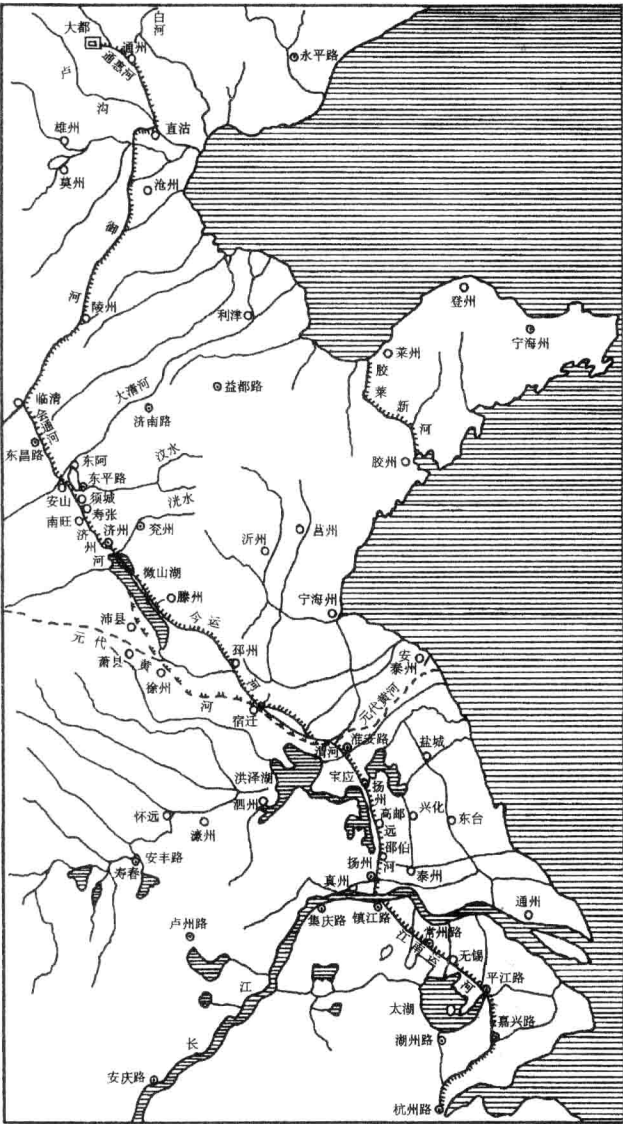


图2. 大运河联系下的四省，形成政治和经济中心在国家东部的重合
原图：《四省运河水利泉源河道全图（局部）》李孝聪 编著，美国国会图书馆藏中文古地图叙录，文物出版社，2004年10月；图九十一（一）