



Shaoxing's Ancient
Village Theatrical Stages

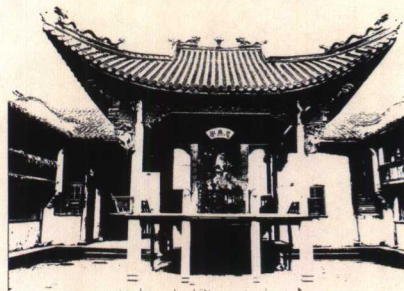
绍兴市文化广播电视新闻出版局 编

绍兴古戏台

陈永福



浙江摄影出版社



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前言

在鲁迅先生的名篇《社戏》中，有如下一段描写：

最惹眼的是屹立在庄外临河的空地上的一座戏台，模糊在远处的月夜中，和空间几乎分不出界限，我疑心画上见过的仙境，就在这里出现了。

这种临河空地上“仙境”般的演艺夜景，凡绍兴人都不陌生。明、清以来，绍兴戏曲声腔繁盛，民间戏班穿梭于阡陌市井，香市、神诞、会市终年不断，城乡不仅广建精构的“万年台”，而且还在晒场、空地应时因地加建临时的“草台”；繁盛的戏曲声腔艺术，不仅活跃了城乡的经济生活，活跃了人们的精神文化生活，更重要的还在于，在没有现代科技通讯和媒体传播的历史环境中，它传承了中国的古代文明，通过戏台这一建筑空间，向人们演绎和汇集了历史的、道德的、哲学的众多信息量，戏台从物的空间，转而成为一座经过艺术浓缩了的世态空间，它一代一代培育和造就成像王阳明、徐渭、刘宗周、张岱，以及晚清的葛云飞、徐锡麟、秋瑾、陶成章等等众多的思想家、军事家、革命家和艺术家，而教育家蔡元培、文学家鲁迅则又是清末民初在绍兴灿烂的星空中格外醒目的两颗星星。我们不能无视地方戏曲和它的载体古戏台的历史功绩，尽管一个杰出人物的脱颖而出还有众多的环境条件，但鲁迅的成长，以及他在浩瀚的作品中所涉及的诸多戏曲题材，正雄辩地证明了我们上述的观点并非空穴来风。

绍兴素称“鱼米之乡”，经济富裕，明、清以来，通常一村一戏台，大的自然村甚至多到二至三座戏台。“万年台”有庙台与祠堂台之分。庙台指土谷祠，大姓宗祠则建祠堂台。县城或大的集镇建城隍庙，里面的戏台规模一般都大于土谷祠戏台；此外，尚有纪念性的先贤祠(庙)，或诸路杂神，如关(羽)帝庙、岳(飞)庙、马(臻)太守庙、汤(绍恩)太守庙、张(巡)神庙、严助庙等等，也都建有戏台。这些戏台从构筑的类型看，则有“鸡笼顶”与“八角覆斗”、“卷棚”式和平铺天花板的不同形制，也有少量为了减低造价，仅用不经雕琢的梁袱叠架，通过桁椽，直接可望到屋(台)顶；凡台顶上凹且布满精巧斗拱并呈螺旋形，状若鸡笼的形制，农村都习称“鸡笼顶”戏台。这种戏台，往往是经济实力强的村落所常见的；旧中国，在交通、传媒信息极端闭塞的生活条件下，他们都借助于酬神、媚神的祭祀性活动，通过演戏这一礼仪性形式，以达到娱人的目的。大的城市，在清代中晚期，由于商业繁荣，商人们还以行业建戏台，称“会馆戏台”，如绍兴城区花巷有布业会馆戏台，上大路、下大路有箔业会馆戏台、药业会馆戏台等。会馆戏台形制与庙台大致相同，唯所祀之神仅限于各路之行业神，如药业会馆祀“药王菩萨”，布业祀“机神”，锡箔业祀“焙笼菩萨”，酒酱业祀杜康等等，这些行业神大多“史”出无凭，纯属宗教心理所驱使。

绍兴江河交叉成网，土地紧缺，水乡人民习惯利用水面构筑戏台，故又有“水台”、“河台”之称，而筑于岸上之“草台”又称“旱台”；“旱台”，相对于“水台”而言，如马山东安城村有一“十方土地庙”戏台，背水齐岸，六架石墩全立水中，仅前面二墩倚岸。在原偏门外之钟堰庙河台(上世纪60年代初曾为电影《舞台姐妹》外景地)，非常壮观，可惜在“文化大革命”中被毁。前几年当地乡民自发集资重新重建，移水台为旱台，风姿已大不如前。

在城镇，如绍兴城区新建南路的土谷祠戏台(旁长庆寺)，有的还尚有沿街而建的戏台，有的还称“街台”或“露台”，如钱清的大王庙街台、嵊州施家岙附近的苍岩街台、新昌的镜澄埠路台，等等。

绍兴古戏台在构筑上均采用三面伸出式，以此扩大与观众的接触面，更利于观众观瞻。由于水乡多雨、潮湿，构筑上多采用下石上木式，即台基为石质，台板(演区)以上为木质，分台基、台板、台顶和厢房四个大部，戏台左右设厢楼，为妇女和儿童专席，规定“男人不准上楼”，以维护戏场秩序，保护妇女儿童安全。清末民初，嵊州、上虞的有些戏台已体现了观演一体的观念，不少戏台的观众席建有路廊(顶棚)，可免日晒雨淋。戏台大多坐南朝北，面对神殿，至今保留着祭祀这一职能。所以，历来是“明为娱神，实为娱人”，以神(如诞辰)为号召，便于筹资演戏，达到活跃经济(如会戏)，调节城乡文化生活的目的。

绍兴古戏台之美，不仅表现在它的构架，它的造型，同时也表现在它的大小构件中渗透着诗情画意，从台前的“牛腿”到上下场口的台柱上，以及桁枋和厢房墙壁、楹联、题壁，无不蕴含着缘情、喻意的建筑语言，使观众和游人沐浴于雅兴逸致之中，成为观剧以外的精神余补，例如明代徐渭用“盛”和“行”二字的不同读法，组成了一副楹联，道出了戏场的热闹场面：“盛盛盛盛盛，行行行行行行。”嵊州瞻山庙的台联是：“凡事莫当前，看戏何如听戏好；为人须顾后，上台总有下台时。”诸暨枫桥大庙戏台的楹联是：“数尺地五湖四海；几更时三朝六代。”绍兴城区延庆寺戏台的楹联为：“戏场小天地，天地大戏场。”不少台联或一语双关，针砭时弊；或朗朗上口，体现了人生的哲理；或道出了戏台的社会功能和戏台表演艺术的文化底蕴。此外，留在台后厢房墙壁上的戏码和感叹诗，也可想见到传统戏班子的演艺生活，为各地声腔剧种的流变提供了可靠的依据。

古戏台的存在，是历史上戏曲繁荣的见证，也是地域性经济和文化在特定历史条件下发展的必然结果，它有待于我们作更深入的考查和研究。

Foreword

In the well-known Village Theatrical Performance, Lu Xun writes:

The most noticeable is a stage that stands on a cleared ground on the riverbank outside the village. Far away, it blurs under the moonlight, as I cannot tell it from the space. I suspect it must be the fairyland on the picture ...

Every Shaoxinger is familiar with the above fairyland-like night view on the riverbank. Since the dynasties of Ming and Qing, operas boomed in Shaoxing and civil theatrical troupes performed in both cities and rural regions. The Pilgrim's Fair, the God's Birthday and the Temple Fair came one after another all year round. The city and the countryside built many finely-structured "Ten-Thousand-Year Stages", as well as temporary "Thatched Stages" on the threshing ground and other open spaces. The flourishing operas revitalized the economy and the cultural life in the urban and rural areas. They also managed to carry on the ancient civilization, without the help of modern communication technologies or propagation media. On the stage - the architectural space, they explained and summarized a huge amount of information on history, ethics and philosophy. The stage, a space of things, was transformed artistically into a miniature world. Through all ages, it has bred and created a good many thinkers, strategists, revolutionists, artists and educationists, including Wang Yangming, Xu Wei, Liu Zhongzhou and Zhang Dai before the Qing Dynasty; Ge Yunfei, Xu Xilin, Qiu Jin and Tao Chengzhang in the late Qing Dynasty; and Cai Yuanpei and Lu Xun after the Qing Dynasty. We should never disregard the historical contribution of the local operas and their vehicle—the ancient theatrical stage. Although the other environmental conditions may also contribute to the success of local celebrities, the growing up of Lu Xun and his so many works on the subject of opera are strong evidence that the contribution of the operas and stages is well grounded.

Reputed as "a land of fish and rice", Shaoxing was rich since the dynasties of Ming and Qing. One natural village would have one theatrical stage in general or even two or three stages if it was a large one. The Ten-Thousand-Year Stage, as mentioned above, is divided into the temple stage and the clan stage. The temple stage is located in the Temple of Village Gods, and large family clans build their own clan stages. The stage can also be found in the Temple of City God in the county or a larger town, which is generally bigger than the one in the Temple of Village Gods, and in other ancestral memorial halls (temples) or temples of various gods, including Guan Yu, Yue Fei, Prefecture Chief Ma Zhen, Prefecture Chief Tang Shao'en, Zhang Xun, Yanzhu, etc. In terms of construction, the stage can be divided into the "chicken-cage ceiling" and the "octagonal coffered ceiling", the "rolled ceiling" and the "flat ceiling". To lower the cost, a few stages were built with unsculpted beams and the roof can be seen directly through the purline. If the ceiling is full of the spiral dougong, the bucket arches, of fine workmanship and looks like a chicken cage, the stage is customarily called "chicken-cage" stage. The chicken-cage stage is often seen in the village with a strong economy. As the communication and the media information were extremely blocked in the old China, people offered their sacrifices to reward or commend the god and entertain themselves through theatrical performances. With the development of commerce in the middle and late Qing Dynasty, merchants began to build stages according to the trade they were involved in large cities, which were called "guild stages", such as the cloth trade stage at Huaxiang Street in the downtown of Shaoxing, the tinfoil trade stage and the herb trade stage at Shangda Road and Xiada Road. Almost the same as the temple stage in the form, the guild stage is different only in the god that it offers sacrifices to. For example, the medicinal herb trade worships the "Herb Bodhisattva", the tinfoil trade worships the "Oven Bodhisattva", and the liquor and sauce trade worships "Du Kang", the liquor god. Most of these so-called gods are not historically based, but were driven only by the religious concepts.

As many large or small rivers run through Shaoxing, the people of the water region are used to build stages on the water. Hence comes the "water stage" or "river stage". The "thatched stage" which is built on the riverside is also called "dry stage" as against the "water stage". There is a stage named "Ten-Direction Village God Temple Stage" at Dong'an Cheng

Village of Mashan, which was built along the riverside. It has six rock piers standing in the water and two standing against the bank. There was another water stage at Zhongyan Temple outside the former Pianmen (the outdoor location for the movie Stage Sisterhood). It was grand, but was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution unfortunately. The local village people had it rebuilt a few years ago out of their own pocket and turned it into a dry stage. The rebuilt one is far behind the original in style.

Moreover, "street stages" or "road stages" are also built along the street in the town, such as the stage of the temple of village gods (near Changqing Buddhist Temple) at Xinjian Road South in the downtown of Shaoxing, the street stage of Dawang Temple at Qianqing town, the Cangyan street stage close to Shijiada, Shengzhou City, and the road stage at Jingchengbu, Xinchang County.

In terms of structure, the ancient stage reaches out on three sides, so that the spectators can gain a larger view. Because the weather is rainy and damp, the stage is mostly built with stone below and wood above, i.e. the foundation is made of stone and the stage floor and above is made of wood. The stage is divided into the four parts: foundation, the floor, the roof and the wing. On the right and left of the stage are the wing rooms that are dedicated to women and children. Men are not allowed upstairs. It is to keep order and protect the women and children. The concept to unite performers and spectators is represented in the stages at Shengzhou city and Shangyu city in the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China, with roofs built above the spectator seats, to keep spectators from the sun and rain. Mostly the stage faces north where the shrine is located, and the function to offer sacrifices has remained until today. Therefore, traditionally the stage has "entertained the god in name and the people in fact". The god (such as the birthday of the god) is used to raise fund for theatrical performances, to revitalize the economy (joint such as the joint performance of operas, for example) and enrich the cultural life in the urban and rural regions.

In addition to structure and shape, the beautifulness of the ancient Shaoxing stage is represented also by the poetic and picturesque components. The corbels in the front, the stands at the entrance and exit, the purline, the wing wall, the couplets, and the writings on the wall all speak an architectural language of luck and moral, so that both the audience and visitors are immersed in an aesthetic mood and a leisure air. They constitute a cultural supplement to the opera on the stage. For example, there is a couplet by Xu Wei of the Ming Dynasty which is made with two Chinese characters "盛" and "行". Because "盛" (pronounced as "Sheng" or "Cheng") and "行" (pronounced as "Xing" or "Hang") can have different pronunciations with different meanings, the couplet presents a lively scene: "盛盛盛盛盛盛盛" ("sheng cheng, sheng chang, sheng sheng chang". its pronunciation is assimilated to the deafening sound of beating the gongs and drums on the stage), and "行行行行行行行" ("xing hang, xing hang, xing xing hang" is to describe the jolly and noisy audience under the stage.) Another stage couplet at Zhanshan Temple of Shengzhou City reads, "Never come ahead of others, for the opera is better to listen to rather than to watch; Be wary of the consequences, for one is bound to go down the stage after finishing performance on the stage". The couplet at the stage of Fengqiao Temple in Zhujia City reads, "Five Lakes and Four Seas are contained in this few feet of land; Three Dynasties and Six Generations were changed in these several hours of time". The couplet at the stage of Yanqing Buddhist Temple of the downtown Shaoxing reads, "the stage is a small world; the world is just a stage". Mostly the stage couplet has double meanings, one to point out the social errors and the other offer salutary advice as well. It can be read aloud fluently and always reflects philosophy of life. It reveals the social role the stage plays and the cultural details of the performance arts. The opera menu and the poems on the back wing wall of the stage not only reveal a real life of the traditional theatrical troupes and performers, but also provide credible evidences to the development and transformation of the local operas.

As a symbol of the prosperity of operas in the history and a natural outcome of the local economy and culture under special historical conditions, the existing ancient stages invite our further investigation and research.

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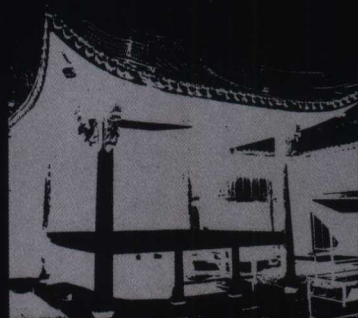
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社庙戏台

社庙,即土地庙。南宋陆游的诗稿中常提到巫在社庙中代神“降语”,手舞足蹈化妆鼓乐的情景,这可看做是演社戏的古形态。远溯上古,一个自然村相似于一个先民的部落。在绍兴城乡几乎每一个自然村落都设有社庙,一庙一戏台。清末民初各式戏台数以千百计,若以全市五千多个自然村为基数,那么,在戏曲发展的鼎盛时期,精构的社庙戏台之多当数以千计,但留存至今的仅为一二百座了。



新昌县三坑真君殿戏台

新昌县三坑真君殿戏台位于巧英乡三坑村。始建于明，称五灵山庙，《万历新昌县志》有记载。据现存清乾隆二年(1737)《重兴云竹禅院碑记》，天启时又经重修，称云竹庵。清雍正时整修扩建，始称五灵山真君殿，现称三坑真君殿。

三坑真君殿为新昌现存较早且最完整的古建筑群，三进两厢，依山势逐进升高。进门即是戏台，戏台坐南朝北，台宽5m，进深4.80m，台板至檐口高2.48m，台基高1.80m。戏台藻井用十六组螺旋形雕花板镶嵌结成，逐层缩小至顶，其缩小比例准确，雕饰精致，反映了中国古代民间高超的建筑技艺。有楹联“悬一幅舆图公开博览可是阳春烟景；把千秋史事合作新闻居然大块文章”，“古往今来只如此；淡妆浓抹总相宜”。1980年，县人民政府将它列为县级文物保护单位。







绍兴鉴湖栖凫社庙戏台

绍兴鉴湖栖凫社庙戏台坐落在鉴湖镇坡塘乡栖凫村社庙。戏台单檐歇山，宽4.96m，深5m，台板离地1.43m，框架近3.60m，特高敞。后厢房进深6.53m，宽与台齐，左右回廊无楼，通体水泥结构，为新加坡一华裔为故乡出资重修。坡塘、栖凫、南池均属越国文物出土最多的地方，旧时演剧活动繁盛，“徐”姓为村中之大族，社庙紧贴徐家祠堂，但徐祠无戏台。





绍兴县稽东镇耀峰土谷祠戏台

绍兴县稽东镇耀峰土谷祠戏台坐落在稽东耀峰村，民国初期作品。戏台坐北朝南，台宽4.30m，进深4.18 m，台板至檐口高2.40m，台基高1.70m。现建筑屋顶已废置不见，无龙吻等瓦件，台板以上为木结构，仅前柱为通体石质，牛腿为原木深雕戏曲人物，前柱楹联为：“托古人提醒今人，借虚事指点家事”；屏风右为：“高歌数阕水面风清”；左为：“长笛一声山头月白”。匾额为“有声图画”；左右门楣为“出将”“入相”。屏风左右各置小梯可登厢房，构件简朴。





绍兴鉴湖琵琶山庵戏台

绍兴鉴湖琵琶山庵戏台坐落在鉴湖镇于江村，出南门数里，台隐于（琵琶）山丛林深处。戏台古朴简陋，平常乏人问津，从该庵碑碣考查，晚明和清康、乾间已有“歌舞”“弦乐”活动，但未见明载戏台字样。现戏台似属清末重修，台宽4.9m，进深3.9m，框高2.47m，台基高1.56m。左右有廊，但无看楼，台顶为卷棚天花，戏台前柱所镌一副楹联为：“衣冠留优孟为惩为劝莫道虚文，箫鼓赛田祖或舞或歌欣逢乐岁。”





绍兴越城火神庙戏台

绍兴越城火神庙戏台原建筑坐落在越城新建北路与团结巷交叉口（绍兴第一医院食堂后壁），因拆迁改道，以原构件移至府山公园越王殿近侧。火神庙建于明万历戊戌年（1598）。清道光九年（1829）碑有关于加建戏台的明确记载。戏台宽4.7m，进深4.7m，台板至檐口高2.75m，台基高1.82m。“鸡笼顶”保存完整，由16组斗拱回旋结顶，无后厢房，前柱楹联为：“父老闲观消白昼，儿童归去话黄昏。”惜原碑碣没有随台移入。

