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SHANGHAI  
LONGTANG

上海  
弄堂

上海人民美術出版社

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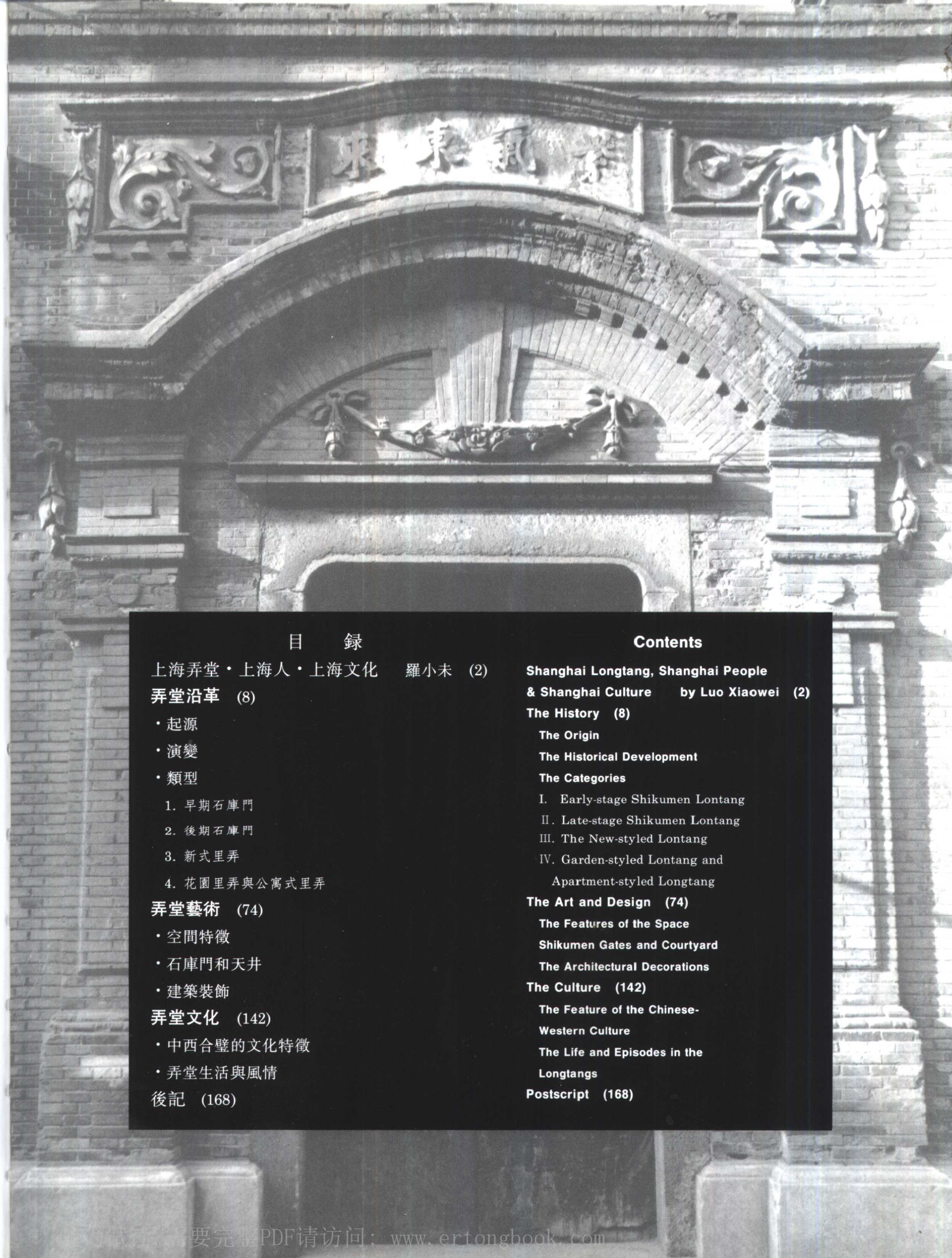
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## 上海弄堂・上海人・ 上海文化

羅小未

“薏米杏仁蓮心粥!”

“玫瑰白糖倫敦糕!”

“蝦肉餛飩面!”

“五香茶葉蛋!”

這是魯迅先生在《弄堂生意古今談》中懷念20年代他初到上海時聞北一帶弄堂內外叫賣零食的聲音。他認為那些口號既漂亮又具藝術性，使人“一聽到就有饒涎慾滴之慨”。

“弄堂”是上海人對里弄的俗稱，“里弄房子”就是弄堂建築。在弄堂里除了有叫賣零食點心之外，還有叫賣青菜、豆腐、瓜菜、雞蛋的，時而還有活雞活鴨；每隔幾天還有把服務送上門的修理棕棚、補皮鞋與彈棉花胎之類。他們各行業有各自的呼喚聲調，使人一聽便知道是什麼行業的人來了。此外，還有算命的、化緣的；晚上，當夜深人靜時還有聲調淒涼的賣炒白果與賣長錠的，更有使人毛骨悚然的為家中病孩召魂的長嚎聲。由於弄堂房子家家戶戶緊挨着，共同分享屋前屋後的弄堂，平時出入照面時常會打個招呼或寒暄幾句。一有叫賣聲，抱有共同興趣的主婦就會應聲而出，於是對貨色評頭論足、討價還價、交流觀點之聲不絕。更有借此機會交頭接耳，交換東家或西家的最新信息，把本來要買東西的原意也忘掉了。它的優點是這裏的生活富於鄰里感，鄰居相互幫助，親如一家，特別是所謂上海人其實多為外來人，“遠親不如近鄰”在這裏最能體現。缺點是，“對於靠筆墨為生的人們，卻有一點害處，假如你還沒有練到‘心如古井’，就可以被鬧得整天整夜寫不出什麼東西來”（魯迅，同上文）。此外，在大型的弄堂里，居民魚龍混雜、人各有志，接近了就難免會生是非，一不小心就會惹出各種各樣的弄堂風波來。人們常說上海人善於處世、門檻精，可能與從小就處在這個微妙的小社會里，接受這個小社會關於人際關係的教育有關。

弄堂與弄堂房子是上海開埠後的土產。起初英國人

祇許中國人在租界工作，不同意居住。後來發現要發揮上海可能成為都市的潛力，僅僅靠那些為數不多的外僑（1865年在法租界的外僑為460人，英租界可能多一些）是不行的。那時恰逢太平天國運動進入江南（1853年），大量富有與中產階級的中國難民要求移入，於是租界當局順水推舟，公開向中國居民開放。為了便於管理，便在指定的地塊上興建大批集體住宅。房子為立帖式結構，像兵營一樣聯立成行，並由行列組成網絡，對內交通自如，對外祇有總弄纔能達到馬路，弄口設鐵門，可以隨時啟閉。沒有想到，這種原本始於方便管理、統一建造的集體住宅很快便發展成為綜合有東西方居住特色的上海弄堂，並在隨後的幾十年中成為上海經濟活動中最活躍與規模最大的房地產業的中堅。大規模建造的弄堂房子不僅租界有，華界亦有。至於它們的類型與各類型的特色，這裏就不贅述了。但從解放前上海418.94萬的居民來看，除了少數的外僑與中國富人（約佔5%）住的花園住宅，與100餘萬貧民住在城市邊沿用草、竹、蘆葦搭成的棚屋之外，絕大多數居民，包括中國與外僑的自領階層均住在各式弄堂中，總面積達兩千餘萬平方米。無怪祇要居高臨下，盡目所及是一片片櫛比鱗次、此起彼伏、像波浪似的各式弄堂的屋面。

建築是社會生活的鏡子，居住建築尤其這樣。在上海能住得上弄堂的，至少也得是有固定收入者，否則無法交付每月到期必須繳納的房租與房租（或稱巡捕捐、綠衣捐）。在舊上海，不交房租就要遷出，這是天經地義的事。

既然社會是分層次的，弄堂也有高、中、低之分。不同級別的弄堂房子在質量上雖有差別，但更重要的是地段。

一般來說，位於閘北、南市的較差，虹口稍為好些，靜安寺路（今南京西路）與霞飛路（今淮海路）一帶最好。故上海有“上隻角”、“下隻角”之稱謂，“上隻角”指城市西區的高級住宅區，兩“角”的房租可以差三四倍甚至十倍以上。南京

路中心地段的弄堂在早期時曾因其商業價值而興旺，它們是上海最早的“商住樓”。當時無論是廣邦或寧邦的“字號”（進出口行）均集中於此。這些房子常為“三上三下”或“五上五下”，開間較大，前店後屋或下店上屋，前面的天井可作臨時貨棧之用，後面還有可供職工居住的“後樓”。30年代，隨着進出口業體制的更新與新型辦公樓的興建，這些弄堂逐漸淪為居住條件較差之列。

弄堂的級別還反映在弄堂里的生活與文化中。“倘若走進住家的弄堂里去，就看見便溺器、吃食擔，蒼蠅成羣的在飛，孩子成隊的在鬧，有劇烈的搗亂，有發達的罵詈，真是一個亂開闢的小世界。”（《上海的兒童》）這無疑是魯迅先生對低級弄堂的寫照。在這樣的弄堂裏，居民為了減輕房租負擔或干脆想通過房子來賺錢，總是把多餘的房間分租出去，自己當起“二房東”來。也有索性把房子橫七豎八地劃分為小間，上面還要搭上攔樓，出租給外地到上海來謀生或逃難的人。因而這裏人口密度高、成份雜、居住條件惡劣、是非多。諷刺劇《七十二家房客》就出於此。另外，本文之初談及的鄰里感特強的弄堂可能屬於中級或中低級。這裏也有“二房東”和“三房客”，但房東對房客是有所選擇的。有趣的是，當時許多為了逃避內地白色恐怖而躲到上海來的進步文人大多落腳在此類弄堂中的亭子間，於是出現了我國近代文學史中的一個小派別“亭子間文學”。“亭子間文學”並非描寫亭子間，而是這些住在朝北的、看不到陽光的、冬冷夏熱的亭子間中的文人，在苛刻的生活條件下寫出來的現實主義進步文學。今天當人們懷念鄰里感時，常常會把上海的弄堂同鄰里感捆在一起，其實並不盡然。看來越是高級的弄堂，其人際關係也就越是淡淡。在那些寂靜而優雅的高級弄堂裏，除了有三五個男孩在那裏玩耍外，很少有人在此停步。偶而有兩三個人聚在一起低聲談話則大多為某家的“娘姨”（保姆）或“大師傅”（廚師）。假如哪一扇門忽然開了在迎賓或送

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客，甚至有些尋常的活動時，人們也祇是裝成漫不經心地遙望着，不會去圍觀。

有些大型的，擁有數百戶甚至成千戶的弄堂，儼然就像一個城中之城。里面有雜貨店、小吃店、理髮店、老虎竈、裁縫店，甚至還有工廠。上海的“弄堂工廠”是上海工業與文化的一大特色。這些廠長大多為技術工人出身，帶着幾個徒弟，運用大廠扔下來的邊腳料或下腳貨，經過因材施用，精心設計，認真製作，竟造出許多人們生活的必需品，並在小商品市場中佔着重要席位。解放後的上鋼八廠便是以幾個“弄堂工廠”為基礎發展起來的。

上海弄堂還有一個特產，就是“弄堂公館”。過去在魚龍混雜、爾虞我詐的舊上海中，人們必須學會一套自我保護的方法，“弄堂公館”就是其一。當時，有些富人在為自己建造大公館時，不是堂而皇之把公館建在大街上而是先在基地沿馬路一帶建一個弄堂，用以出租；自己的公館則建在弄堂末端，隱蔽起來。這些公館規模不小，內部考究，但在外型上卻同周圍的弄堂房子差不多。這說明上海人在住房問題上是同西方人與內地富紳不同的。

弄堂是上海的特產，是屬於上海人的。它記載了上海的故事，反映了上海人的文化、生活方式與心態。上海有各式弄堂房子，每種是上海作為一個整體的一個部分。閱讀上海弄堂，就如閱讀上海與上海人的社會歷史。

目前，儘管上海近幾年的住宅建設年達1000餘萬平方米，但尚有45%左右的人住在舊社會遺留下來的弄堂中。當今，在上海正在進行着的大規模的城市改造中，有些質量較佳的弄堂將予保留或在保留中進行改造，有些危房簡屋或居住條件惡劣的將予拆除改造。在此大發展與大變化的時刻，檢討一下上海弄堂同上海人與上海文化的關係是很有意思的。



## SHANGHAI LONGTANG, SHANGHAI PEOPLE & SHANGHAI CULTURE

Luo Xiaowei

"Jobs tears seed, almond and lotus seed congee!"  
"Rose chip and white sugared rice cake!"  
"Shrimp meat wun-tun (dumpling) with noodle!"  
"Fragrantly spiced egg boiled in tea leaf!"

These were the hawking of snacks in longtangs around Zhabei district, that Lu Xun, the great writer, recalled in his essay "Business in Longtangs of the Past and Present", at the time of his first arrival at Shanghai by the 1920s. The great writer remarked that this kind of hawking was both attractive and artistic, which made people's mouth feel watery while hearing it.

Longtang is the local term used by Shanghai people for lilong. As "long" means a lane and "tang" means an important building or the front room of a house, "longtang" either means a lane that connects houses or a group of houses connected by lanes. According to elucidation, "longtang" might not so explicit as "Lilong" is, for the "Li" in "lilong" means neighbourhood, and people living in a longtang are actually living in a neighbourhood, but it is understandable.

In longtangs, besides hawkings of snack there were hawkings of vegetable, fruit, bean curd, melon and egg, even live chicken and duck; sometimes, once or twice in a week, there would be hawking or rendering services, such as repairing shoes, mending coir ropes stretched on wooden bed frames or flicking of cotton quilt to make it fluffy. Every sort of trades would have their own melodic tune in hawking, people could identify them without stepping out to see. Apart from them, there were fortune-tellers and those begged for alms. Sometimes, in the still of the night, there were shrill hawkings of selling fried ginkgo or selling tin foils for the use of burning to the dead, occasionally there even were melancholy howlings for calling back the soul of a sick child. The houses in longtangs, generally two storied, are proximately attached to each other in rows, sharing the same front and back lanes. People living along the same lane had the habit of nodding or greeting each other when passing by, some even had the mood to chat a little while. Once a hawking was heard, housewives of the same interest would come out, they commented and exchanged opinions on the quality of the goods and bargained or help their neighbour to bargain with the peddler, some of them also took this opportunity to gossip and exchange heresays of the

neighbourhood forgetting what they intended to buy. The advantages of the longtang life lie in the good neighbourhood relationship, "good neighbours are more helpful than far-away relatives" proved to be true in Shanghai, for most of the Shanghai people at that time actually came from other places or cities. However, the shortcoming was, as cited by Lu Xun in ditto essay, "..... for those who make a living on writing, if they fail in training themselves to be as calm as an ancient well, owing to the noise outside, they can write nothing." Moreover, in large longtangs different sorts of people and people with different interest mixed together, frequent contacts occasionally would result in trouble and disputes. Shanghai people are often considered to be ones who are keen on conducting business, smooth in social contact and good in dealing with money. This probably due to the fact that many people of this city lived in such a delicate society of langtang since their childhood and consistently receiving education of handling relationship among different people.

Longtang and the longtang houses were native products of Shanghai soon after the city was forced to be opened to the West as a treaty port. At the beginning, Chinese were not allowed to live in the foreign concessions. Later on the British found that relying on the small sum of Western residents at that time would not be able to tap the big potentiality of Shanghai becoming a metropolis. At the same time, incessant civil wars in China made a large number of wealthy Chinese refugees request to move into the foreign concessions. Then the authorities agreed to have them opened to the Chinese. But for the sake of management, large amount of collective dwellings were built in designate lots of land enclosed by walls. The house, similar in design as the English terrace house, but to suit the Chinese way of living are surrounded by house-walls including a courtyard at front. They were arranged in line like barracks, row after row and could easily be accessed by sub-lanes connected to the main-lane, while only the main-lane could lead to the city road outside through an iron grille gate. Nobody had the idea at that time that such a type of housing built at first for the convenience of management, had later became the main and typical type of housing in Shanghai, and finally turned to be the most active and important part of real estate business which had been the leading business of all of Shanghai's

economic activities for the following decades of years. Large numbers of longtangs were built not only in the foreign concessions but also in the Chinese quarter around the concessions, their total appearance made up the general physiognomy of the city of Shanghai. During the 1940s, out of 4.1894 millions of population in Shanghai, except those very rich (accounting 5%) and those very poor (about one million), the majority of population, nearly three millions, including white-collar Western and Chinese residents, lived in various types of longtangs. Even now although many of them are demolished, when one stands high up looking over from above, what he can see are waves of the roof of longtang one after the other.

Architecture, especially residential architecture, is the mirror of social life. In old Shanghai those who could live in a longtang house could only be people with fixed income. They had to be able to pay the monthly rent and tax for the house, in this case called the police tax. In the foreign concession, if one failed in payment, he must move out right away. Since the society was divided into different strata, the longtang houses were also classified into high, medium and low. Different ranks of longtang houses were indeed different in construction quality, but more ever were different in location. The longtang houses in Zhabei and Nanshi Districts were the lowest in rank, while those in Hongkou District were better, but those located along Bubbling well Road (Now Nanjing Road West) and Avenue Joffre (now Huihai Road) were the highest. There used to be what so called the "Upper Corner" and the "Lower Corner" of Shanghai, the "Upper" was referred to the best of location denoted above, and the "Lower" to the lower and lowest rank of location. The rent of houses in the two "Corners" could differ as much as to four or more than ten times. At the early stage, even the Chinese commercial buildings, such as banks, shops or the import and export firms managed by traders from Guangdong and Ningbo also took the form of longtang but on a larger scale. They usually had three or five front rooms on both first and second floors with a courtyard in the middle and back rooms behind, while the lower floor was for business, the upper floor for living, the back rooms in the first floor used as dormitories for employees and the courtyard a makeshift storage. It was up to the 1930s, improvement of business

systems and many new buildings for office use were built then this sort of longtang gradually turned into residential use.

The difference of ranks of longtang could also be reflected in the life-style and culture in them. "If you enter a longtang you will find urinals, snack stalls, flies flying in hordes, children fighting in groups, fierce turbulences and sharp curses. What a disorderly small world!" This was what Lu Xun wrote in his essay, "Children in Shanghai" to depict a longtang of the lowest class. Residents of such sort of longtang, in order to lessen the burden of rents or to earn some extra money, usually let out their surplus rooms to others and became an "ni vang dong" (literary a second landlord—a sublessors). Some even divided their houses into many small rooms, or built attics above and had them let to people who came to Shanghai to make a living or to take refuge. Thus the longtang became very crowded, bad in living condition and frequent disputes occurred. A satirical play entitled "72 Tenants" did give a vivid description of this sort of longtang. In longtangs of the middle and middle-lower classes, there were also some "ni vang dong" and "san vang ke" (those who rented their rooms from the sublessor), but the "ni fang dong" here would choose their tenants. It is interesting to note that many progressive literary men from interior China at that time lived in the "tingzijian", a small back room in a longtang house, which is cold in the winter and hot in the summer. this evolved the so called "Tingzijian Literature" in the history of modern literature of China. "Tingzijian Literature" is not anything that depicted tingzijian, but a term referred to a category of progressive literature written by some young writers who could only afford to live and work in the tough condition of a tingzijian but looked at the world with a new and realistic view. People nowadays when criticise the indifference of human relationship would like to talk about the good neighbourhood relationship of the past longtang as a universal model. In fact it was only partially true, for it seemed the higher the class of the longtang, the colder the relationship among residents. In those high-class longtang, only a few children could be found playing around, and even fewer people passing by, occasionally two or three maid servants or cooks chatting in low voices by one side, or the gate of one house opened and a host bidding farewells to his guests, those who were passing

by might cast a glance but tried not to pay attention.

In some large longtangs there inhabited nearly a hundreds or hundreds of households, they were like cities in a city. Within them there were groceries, snack shops, barbershops, hot water sellers, tailors and even small industries. "Longtang factory" was one special feature of Shanghai. The owners of these factories were mostly technical workers themselves, through the help of three or four apprentices, by careful design and fine workmanship, they could produce some very good and useful utensils and articles for daily use out from scraps cast away by the big factories. Their production had once played an important role in the small goods market in Shanghai. The present No. 8 Steel Works of Shanghai was actually set up on the basis of several longtang factories after 1949.

The "longtang mansion" was another special feature of Shanghai. In old Shanghai where public order was not good, robbery, kidnap seemed not uncommon, thus some of the wealthy men were afraid to show their wealth. They did not like to build their mansion along the street, but built a longtang in front to conceal their mansion. The mansion usually was big in size, beautifully decorated inside but the outward appearance was made similar to the other houses. Such peculiarity seemed very different from the West as well as from people in interior China.

Longtang was a product of Shanghai and belongs to the Shanghai people. It tells the story of Shanghai and reflects the culture, life-style and philosophy of Shanghai people. There were many types of longtang houses, and every one was a part of the whole. Reading the Shanghai longtangs is like reading the social history of Shanghai and the Shanghai people.

In the recent years, Shanghai has been completing a floor area of 10 million square meters of new housing per year, but there are still 45% of the city population living in longtangs. As the city is now undergoing a large-scale reconstruction, those longtangs of comparative good quality will be conserved and equipped with modern amenities, those of very poor condition will be demolished and those in between will be reformed in different ways, such as preserving their appearance and at the same time making them suitable to modern living. In this period of great

development and drastic change, it is meaningful and important to recall and discuss the relations between the Shanghai longtang, Shanghai people and Shanghai culture.

## 弄堂沿革

### 起源

弄堂，這一上海特有的民居形式，曾經與千千萬萬上海市民的生活密不可分。多少個故事，多少個典故，多少個名人，多少個記憶，與石庫門，與亭子間緊緊地聯繫在一起。可以說，沒有弄堂，就沒有上海，更沒有上海人。弄堂，構成了近代上海城市最重要的建築特色；弄堂，構成了千萬普通上海人最常見的生活空間；弄堂，構成了近代上海地方文化的最重要的組成部份。

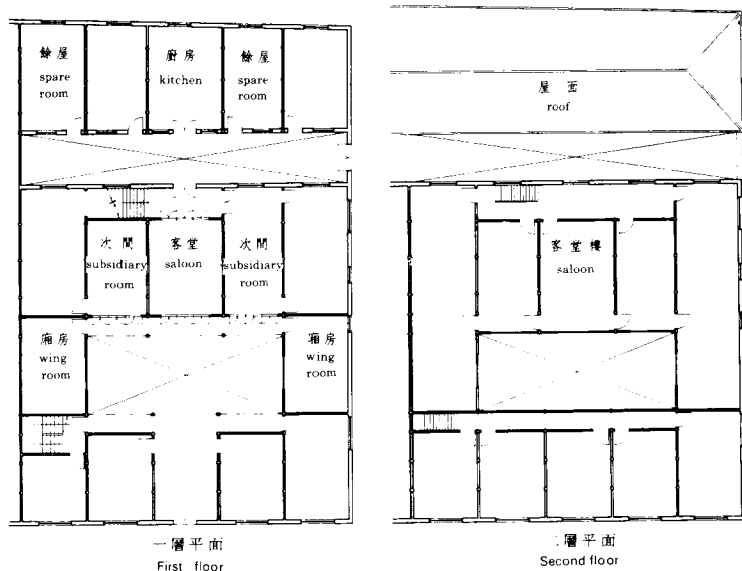
弄堂，上海人對里弄的稱呼，它既不同於傳統的中國江南民居，也不同於任何一種西方的建築形式。然而，它又總是既或多或少地帶有中國傳統建築的痕跡，又或多或少地帶有外來的建築影響。它最能代表近代上海城市文化的特徵，它也是近代上海歷史的最直接產物。

那麼，弄堂從何而來呢？這要追溯到上一個世紀。

第一次鴉片戰爭後，上海被闢為“通商口岸”，外國人被允許在此居住、經商。1845年，當時的上海地方政府公佈了《上海土地章程》，正式確定了第一塊租界的四至範圍。章程中將外國人租地範圍、租地辦法、租界內市政管理方法等加以明文規定，成為上海外國租界最早的法律條文。在此章程中，明確規定“外人不得架造房舍租與華人”，形成了早期“華洋分居”的局面。也就是說，在上海開埠的最初幾年裏，除租界範圍內原有的中國居民外，其他中國人是不允許移居租界內的，租界內的外國人的經濟貿易活動中也不存在房地產經營行為。

然而，1853年的小刀會起義，改變了這一局面。1853年9月，小刀會佔領上海縣城，與清軍展開了長達一年半的拉鋸戰，大量城廂居民為避戰火而移居較為安全的外國租界，“華洋分居”的規定被徹底打破。1854年，英、美、法三國領事乾脆撇開中國政府，自行修改《土地章程》，完





興仁里，建於1872年，位於北京東路之南，寧波路之北，河南中路之東，主弄長達100米，由24個三開間或五開間的單元組成。拆於1980年。

Xin Ren Li, built in 1872, located to the south of Beijing Road, East, to the north of Ningbo Road, and the east of Henan Road, Central. The main longtang is 100 meters long, composed of 24 3-room or 5-room units. Pulled down in 1980.

全刪去了有關不得建屋租與華人的條例，“華洋雜居”得到“法律”承認，租界內外商從事房地產經營終於“合法”。與此同時，太平天國定都南京，攻克鎮江，60年代還三次進軍上海，迫使江浙一帶大量地主、鄉紳、富商、官僚紛紛攜眷湧入上海租界尋求庇護。1853年前，租界內華人僅500人，1854年激增至2萬人，1865年已近15萬人。大量華人進入租界後，極大地刺激了租界內的房地產經營活動。由於人多房少，房價高得出奇，利潤可高達30~40%。許多外商發現，他們興建供華人選住的住宅所能獲得的利潤，遠遠大於也快於貿易利潤，且無任何風險。因此大多數外商都很快將商業興趣轉移到房地產經營中來。一些早期的著名洋行如老沙遜、怡和、仁記等，原來主要從事鴉片貿易，現在也都紛紛投巨資從事房地產經營。許多外商甚至借債造房出租或出售。

最初建造的這類專供向租界內華人出租的房屋，都是木板結構，成本低廉，施工簡單，建造速度快。從1853年9月到1854年7月，不到一年間，廣東路和福建路一帶，就建造了近800多幢這種以出租盈利為目的的木板簡屋。這種出租木板房屋一般採用聯排式總體佈局，並取某某“里”為其名稱，是後來上海弄堂住宅的雛形。到1860年，這種以“里”為名的房屋已達8740幢。1870年後，這種簡易木板房屋因易燃不安全而被租界當局取締，但由於大量建造出租住房可給租界當局帶來最主要的稅收來源，因此房地產經營活動非但沒有被制止，反而越來越繁榮。不過，早期簡易的木板房則完全被一種新型的住宅——石庫門里弄住宅所代替。從此，弄堂住宅開始正式走上上海城市建設活動的舞台，並扮演了越來越重要的角色。

### 演變

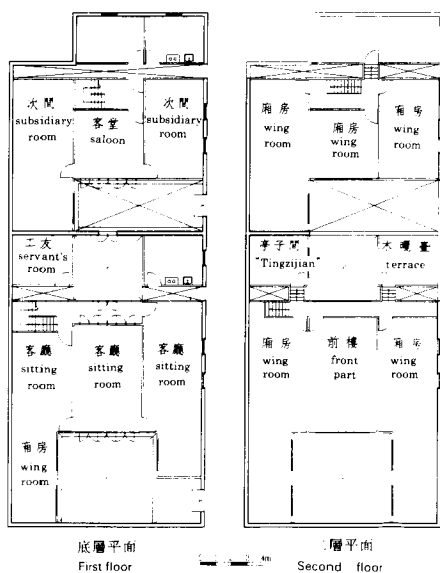
簡易木板房被取締後，上海租界內開始出現用中國傳統的“立帖式”木結構加磚牆承重的方式建造起來的新式住宅。這種住宅比起早期木板房要正規、耐久得多。它

的平面和空間更接近於江南傳統的二層樓的三合院或四合院形式，更適合於中國居民的永久性居住。它雖然無法跟過去傳統民居中層層進進、庭院深深相比，也無法鑿池疊石、賞花折柳，但它畢竟還保持着正當中規整的客堂，有樓上安靜的內室，還有習慣中常見的兩廂，對於那些離開了往日的的生活節奏而開始了現代城市生活但多多少少對傳統生活還有所眷念的上海人來說，倒也更加合適。這種住宅基本保持了中國傳統住宅建築對外較為封閉的特徵，雖身居鬧市，但關起門來卻也可以自成一統。於是這“門”也就變得愈加重要起來。它總是有一圈石頭的門框，門扇為烏漆實心厚木，上有銅環一副。這種式樣的建築被上海人稱為“石庫門”。為跟後來的新式石庫門住宅相區別，早期所建的石庫門住宅又叫作“老式石庫門”。從整體看，一個個“石庫門”單元被聯排在一起，呈西方聯立式住宅的佈局方式。一排排石庫門住宅之間，形成了一條條“弄堂”。

最早的弄堂住宅大多分佈在黃浦江以西、泥城浜（今西藏路）以東、蘇州河以南、舊城廂以北，即今黃浦區範圍內。如建於1872年，位於北京東路之南、寧波路之北、河南中路之東的興仁里；位於廣東路的公順里，等等。至20世紀初，仍有大量老式石庫門弄堂在建造。如位於浙江中路、廈門路的洪德里；位於漢口路、河南中路的兆福里；位於廣西路、雲南路和福州路之間的福祥里，等等。

19世紀末20世紀初，受租界內里弄住宅的影響，上海老城廂內外華界內，也開始大量建造起里弄住宅。如建於南市豆市街的棉陽里、敦仁里和吉祥里等。此外，在滬東一帶，還出現了另一類比較簡陋的弄堂住宅。這種弄堂平面一般為單開間，高二層，外形類似廣東城市的舊式房屋，被稱為“廣式里弄”。如建於1900年左右的通北路八埭頭即為早期廣式里弄較為典型的實例。

20世紀以後，上海的房地產經營活動更加高漲。除老



洪德里單元平面，建於1907年，原為石庫門弄堂，位於寶興路之南，  
浙江路之西，現已部分被拆毀。

The unit surface of Hong De Li built in 1907.  
Early-stage shikymen longtang. Located to the  
south of Xiameng Road and to the west of  
Zhejiang Road, Central. Now it is partly pulled  
down.

牌的沙遜洋行、怡和洋行、仁記洋行等大多將主要業務轉向房地產經營外，新的房地產商更是如雨後春筍。如1901年開設的哈同洋行，1902年開設的美商中國營造公司，1905年開設的英法產業公司，1909年開設的比商義品地產公司等，都是當時極有影響的大房地產商。在大量興起的房地產業刺激下，弄堂住宅空前繁榮，在全市的分佈面也大大擴展了。

本世紀10年代，上海的石庫門弄堂有了一些變化。弄堂的規模比以前增大了，平面、結構、形式和裝飾都和原有的石庫門弄堂有所不同。單元佔地面積小了，平面更緊湊了，三開間、五開間等傳統的平面形式已極少被採用，而代之以大量單開間、雙開間的平面。建築結構也多以磚牆承重代替老式石庫門住宅中常用的傳統立帖式，牆面多為清水的青磚或紅磚，而很少像過去那樣用石灰粉刷，石庫門本身的裝飾性更強了，但中國傳統的裝飾題材逐漸減少，受西式建築影響的裝飾題材越來越多。這種弄堂被稱為“新式石庫門里弄”或“後期石庫門里弄”。其分佈範圍也較老式石庫門弄堂為廣。較典型的例子有淮海中路的寶康里（1914年），南京東路的大慶里（1915年），北京西路的珠聯里（1915年），雲南中路的老會樂里（1916年），新開路的斯文里（1916年）和淮海中路的漁陽里（1918年），等等。

第一次世界大戰後，上海的房地產業進入了它的黃金時期。到30年代，上海經營房地產者已在300家以上。日益高漲的房地產業刺激了上海建築業的繁榮，也帶來了弄堂建築的又一個建設高潮。整個20年代是新式石庫門弄堂最為興盛的時期。由於地價上揚，建築向高發展，傳統的兩層高的石庫門住宅開始向三層發展，室內衛生設備也開始出現。此時期新式石庫門弄堂如尚賢坊（1924年）、四明村（1928年）、梅蘭坊（1930年）、福明村（1931年）等都有相當大的影響。

在新式石庫門弄堂大量建造的同時，又從中演變出一

種新的弄堂住宅形式——新式里弄。在新式里弄中，石庫門這一形式被淘汰了，封閉的天井變成了開敞或半開敞的綠化庭院。形式上更多地模仿西方建築式樣而較少採用中國傳統建築式樣。各種設備也較為齊全了。其分佈也由市區東部向西區發展。新式里弄中較著名者有凡爾登花園（1925年）、霞飛坊（1927年）、靜安別墅（1929年）和湧泉坊（1936年）等。

30年代後，新式里弄進一步發展，演變出一類標準更高的花園式里弄住宅。這種住宅由長條式變成了半獨立式，注重建築間的環境綠化，室內佈局和外觀接近於獨立式私人住宅，風格多為西班牙或現代式。如建於1934年的福履新村、1934年的上方花園和1939年的上海新村等。

還有一些花園里弄，不是每家一幢或兩家合為一幢，而是和公寓一樣，每一層都有一套或幾套不同標準的單元，這種花園弄堂又稱為“公寓式里弄”。如建於1934年的新康花園和建於40年代的水嘉新村等。花園式里弄與公寓式里弄，除了總體佈局還有些類似於傳統弄堂的成片佈局特徵外，其建築單體已很難再視之為弄堂住宅了。

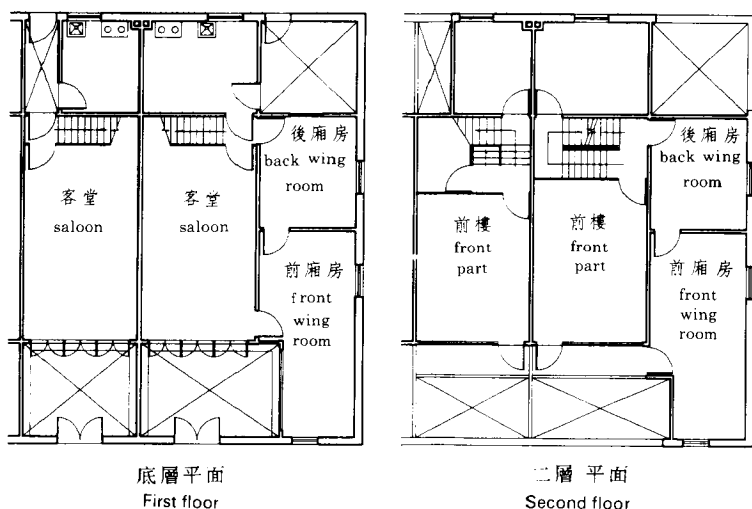
## 類型

### 1. 早期石庫門

早期石庫門弄堂，又叫“老式石庫門弄堂”，產生於19世紀70年代初。在上世紀末本世紀初有較大發展，本世紀40年代後，才逐漸被新式石庫門弄堂所代替。

早期石庫門弄堂的最大特色，就是採用具有濃厚江南傳統民居空間特徵的單元，按照西方聯排住宅的方式進行總體佈局，因此一開始就帶上了中西合璧的色彩。

它的單元平面基本上脫胎於我國傳統民居中三合院或四合院的住宅形式，一般為三開間或五開間，主要部份為二層樓，後部附屬房屋則為單層。它在某種程度上保持了我國傳統民居中封閉式深宅大院的樣式，但面積尺度大大縮小，空間變得局促緊湊了。在縱向佈置上，有一條



單元單元平面，左側為單門單元，右側為雙門單元。

建於1916年，位於新開路之北，南順路之南，大馬路之西，由東、西兩部分組成，是當時上海最大石庫門。有600多個單開間與雙開間單元。因年久失修於1994年啟動改造工程。

Unit surface of Si Wen Li. This is a late-stage shikumen longtang composed of two kinds of units (one and two-room units). Built in 1916. Located to the north of Xinzha Road, to the south of Suzhou Road, South and on the two sides of Datong Road. This was the largest longtang then in Shanghai with eastern and western sections. Composed of over 600 one-room and two-room units. Pulled down in 1994.

明顯的中軸線，平面總是對稱佈局。進門後首先是一個方正的天井，雖不比傳統住宅中的庭院深邃，但也能體現出一些庭院的空間特徵來。正對天井的是客堂間，有可拆卸的落地長窗(其形式為我國傳統格子門的簡化)面向天井。客堂一般闊約4米，深約6米，用於中國傳統起居中最重要的聚會、喜慶、宴請等禮儀活動。客堂的兩側為次間，天井兩側為左右廂房。客堂後面，為通向二樓的橫置單跑木扶梯。再後，則為後天井。後天井的進深一般為前天井的一半，且有水井一口。後天井之後是單層的竈間、貯藏間等附屬用房。這樣一種佈局方式基本滿足了中國家庭的傳統生活方式和居住觀念，又較為節省土地，適應了租界內新的城市空間條件。

老式石庫門弄堂的承重結構，大多採用江南民居中最常見的立帖式木構架外加磚牆圍護結構。其立帖木柱一般為直徑15厘米左右的杉木，4柱或5柱落地。建築材料、構造方式亦均為江南傳統民居的直接繼承。

建築的裝修風格，也呈現出濃厚的傳統江南民居的特色。立面上常看到馬頭牆形式或觀音兜形式的山牆，天井內客堂的落地窗，檐部掛落，以及兩廂的格子窗等，無不來源於傳統作法。與傳統建築相比，最大的不同，莫過於沿弄道一面的“石庫門”了，由此形成了石庫門弄堂住宅最明顯的個性。沿弄道一側的立面，一般由石庫門院牆和兩側略高的廂房山牆組成，後部單層的附屬用房採用單坡屋面，坡向後天井，因此後圍牆的高度接近正面立面高度，形成一圈基本封閉的外立面，真有一點鬧中取靜，任憑左鄰右舍嘈雜喧擾，仍能“躲進小樓成一統”的情調。在正立面位於單元中軸線的位置，即開有“石庫門”。早期的石庫門，一般比較簡單，僅為一簡單的石料門框，內配黑漆厚木門扇。稍晚一些開始注重石庫門本身的裝飾。一般在石料門框上方，有三角形或圓弧形或長方形雕飾，用磚砌成或用水泥做成，其構圖與圖案均開始受到西方建

築風格的影響，有一些門頭裝飾已完全變成了西式門楣或窗楣之上的“山花”，形成了石庫門弄堂中的最有特色的景觀。

如果說早期石庫門弄堂的建築單體還基本保持了傳統民居的特色，那麼它的總體佈局方式則更多地受到西方聯排式住宅的影響。在排列方式上既有南北向相聯的，也有東西向相聯的，主要考慮利用地形，多建房屋，並不太注重朝向。弄道寬度較窄，僅3米左右。一般沒有總弄次弄之分。

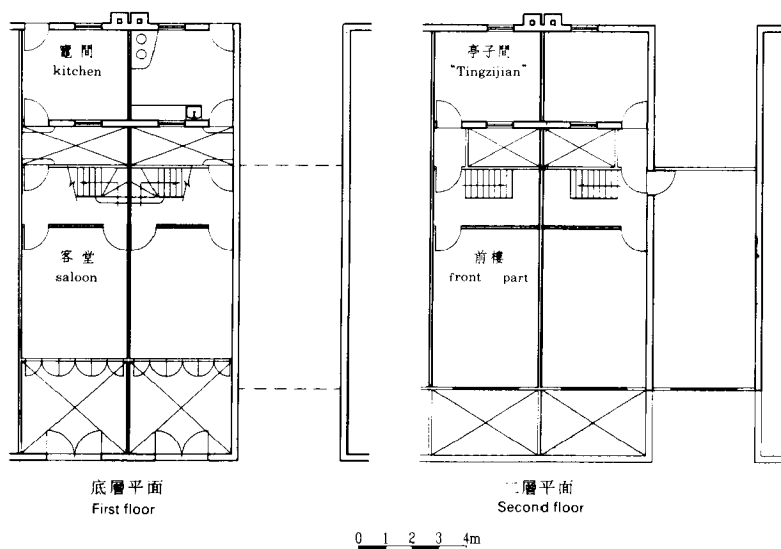
## 2. 後期石庫門

後期石庫門弄堂，又叫“新式石庫門弄堂”，約出現在本世紀10年代以後。

三開間、五開間的平面比較少見了，較多見的是雙開間甚至單開間的平面，傳統二層高的石庫門住宅開始變成三層。在後部出現了後廂房和亭子間。產生這種變化主要有這樣幾個原因：一是城市土地價格的上漲帶來房價的大幅提高，大面積住宅售價的社會承受力大大下降，房地產開發商不得不考慮減小住宅單元的面積，要求住宅空間更為緊湊，並向高發展。二是當時上海居民中小家庭結構日趨普及，對小型居住單元的需求相應增加。三是市民階層的經濟收入發生分化，出現不同經濟層次的住房需求。

後期石庫門弄堂住宅的結構體系也多由早期石庫門的木構立帖式變成了磚牆承重和木屋架屋頂。在弄口、過街樓及門窗等部位開始大量出現磚砌發券。鋼筋混凝土也大量被採用，在亭子間及曬臺等部位使用鋼筋混凝土樓板。石庫門門框也多用清水磚砌或外粉水刷石面層，石料門框很少再被使用。

從總體佈局上看，建築排列更加整齊，有了明顯的總弄、支弄的區別。總弄的寬度增加，考慮到了汽車進出的需要。對通風採光問題也較為重視了。弄堂的規模一般也



寶康里，後期石庫門弄堂。建於1914年，位於淮海中路、黃浦南路、馬當路與英大馬路之隅，全由單開間單元組成，共有120個單元。於1992年進行拓寬改造工程。

Bao Kang Li, late-stage shikumen longtang, built in 1914. Located at the intersection of Huibai Road, Central, Huangpi Road, South and Madang Road. Composed of 120 one-room units. Pulled down in 1992.

較早期擴大，有時甚至包括整個街區。

後期石庫門弄堂住宅的裝飾風格比早期也有較大變化。馬頭牆或觀音兜式的山牆已不再使用，屋面多用機製瓦代替小青瓦，外牆面也多用有石灰勾縫的清水青磚、紅磚或青紅磚混用，早期的石灰白粉牆沒有了。建築細部裝修開始大量模仿西方建築的處理手法。石庫門門頭和窗楣大多採用西式山花裝飾。立面常出現出挑的陽臺。建築風格越來越趨向於西化。

### 3. 新式里弄

新式弄堂住宅是在新式石庫門弄堂住宅的基礎上演變而來的一種新類型，最早約出現在20年代中期。

新式弄堂的單元平面一般不再受單開間、雙開間的限制，而是較自由地進行室內平面佈置。起居室、臥室、廚房和衛生間有了明確的功能區分。一般都有較完善的衛生設備和廚房設備。有的還安排了汽車間。

與石庫門弄堂相比，新式弄堂最明顯的區別是每家入口處的石庫門沒有了，代之以鑄鐵柵欄門。圍牆高度被大大降低或用低矮柵欄代替，甚至干脆用綠籬隔斷。小天井有時被敞開或半敞開的綠化庭院所代替。建築形式更多地模仿西方式樣而很少採用中國傳統裝飾。

新式弄堂一般為三層高，在採用磚牆承重的同時也大量採用鋼筋混凝土構件。鋼窗已相當普及。

從總體佈置上看，房屋的通風、朝向受到重視，故一般都是呈橫向聯立式。弄道寬度增加了，一般多在5米以上，不僅考慮到私人小車的回車需要，也考慮到了消防通車的需要。

### 4. 花園里弄與公寓里弄

花園里弄是從新式里弄進一步發展而演變出的一類標準更高的住宅形式。這種住宅由聯排式變成了半獨立式，更加注重建築間的綠化與環境。花園里弄住宅內的起居方式已完全西化，各種房間的功能均按照西方人的生

活方式佈置，且一般都有比較合理和明確的功能佈局。建築高度一般三層，有的甚至四層。層高及面積都比其他弄堂建築為大，設備標準與裝修標準也較高。

從建築風格上看，大多數花園里弄都是西式的。可以說，這類弄堂除總體佈局上還有某些類似於傳統弄堂的特徵外，實際應被視為聯立的花園住宅。

公寓式里弄與花園里弄類似，且同時期出現。所不同的是它不再是聯立的住宅，而是一種分層安排不同居住單元的集合式住宅。

公寓式里弄的出現，標誌着上海的弄堂建設已進入尾聲。



## The History

### The Origin

"Longtang" (the local term used by Shanghai people for "li long"), a special form of residence in Shanghai, have been closely related to the livelihood of Shanghai people for decades. Many stories, legends, eminent persons and many memories have been tightly associated with "shikumen" (a stoned-framed front gate that leads to a small front courtyard) and "Tingzijian" (a small back room of the longtang house. It can be said if there were no longtang there would be neither Shanghai nor Shanghainese. Longtang constituted the main architectural features of modern Shanghai, constituted the most common living spaces of millions of Shanghainese, and constituted the most important component part of the city's modern local culture.

"Longtang", a special form of residence in Shanghai, either differ from the residences in the regions south of the Yangtze River, or differ from any Western architectures. They are, more or less, tinged with traces of Chinese traditional architectures, as well as were influenced by various foreign architecture to a certain extent. They were the most typical of the urban culture of modern Shanghai, and were the most direct product of modern Shanghai history.

Then, how did the "longtang" come into being? It can be traced back to the last century. In the wake of the Opium War, Shanghai was forced to be opened as one of the treaty port cities, and since then foreigners were allowed to reside and do business in Shanghai. In 1845, the then Shanghai local government issued a Land Law, which officially defined the circumference of the first foreign Settlement in this city. The spheres and methods of leasing land to foreigners, and the ways of city management in the Settlement were clearly stipulated. That "foreigners could not let the houses they built to the Chinese" was clearly mentioned in this law, thus making the Chinese and foreigners live separately at the early stage. At that time no Chinese was allowed to live in the foreign Settlement, except those who were already there before the Settlement took shape. There was no real estate dealings in the trade business by the foreigners in the