



徽州古建筑丛书

棠樾

ANCIENT ARCHITECTURE IN HUIZHOU - TANGYUE VILLAGE SERIES

徽州古建筑丛书

Ancient Architecture in Huizhou Series

棠樾

TANGYUE VILLAGE

东南大学建筑系

The Department of Architecture of Southeast University

歙县文物事业管理局

The Relics Preservation Administration of Shexian County



东南大学出版社
Southeast University Press

主 编: 龚 恺
本书策划: 龚 恺 陈 薇 丁宏伟 单 踊 程 平 鲍 雷
文字编撰: 龚 恺
英文翻译: 那仲良 刘 捷
摄 影: 亚 禅 鲍 雷
责任编辑: 亚 禅

Written by: Gong Kai

Translated by: Ronald G. Knapp, Liu Jie

Chinese edited by: Ya Chan

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

棠樾: 汉英对照/龚恺等编著. - 2版. - 南京: 东南大学出版社, 1999. 8
(徽州古建筑丛书; 1/龚恺主编)
ISBN 7-81023-781-0

I. 棠… II. 龚… III. 民居-研究-中国-徽州-汉、英 IV. TU241.5

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(1999)第 28778 号

徽州古建筑丛书——棠樾

东南大学建筑系 歙县文物事业管理局 编著

东南大学出版社出版发行

(南京四牌楼 2 号 邮编 210096)

江苏省地质测绘院印刷厂

(南京高楼门 20 号 邮编 210008)

江苏省新华书店经销

开本 787 毫米×1092 毫米 1/12 印张 13

1999 年 8 月第 2 版 1999 年 8 月第 1 次印刷

印数 3001—5000

ISBN 7-81023-781-0/TU·48

定价: 32.00 元

徽州古建筑是中华建筑文化之瑰宝,始于宋代,盛极于明清,在国内乃至世界享有盛誉。徽州古建筑以民居、祠堂、牌坊称绝,造就了极富个性的一方地域建筑文化。其村落集合之丰富,内外空间组织之精到,绿化、水池与建筑安排之巧妙,建筑形态之清新高雅,砖雕、石雕、木雕之精湛,均受世人称颂。徽州古建筑于朴实中寓精巧,又于满密里显空灵,以特有的韵律和魅力,吸引着中外游客。自刘敦桢先生以来,无数专家学者曾涉足徽州古建筑,发表了不少有见地的论文、专著。

为了系统地发掘、研究徽州古建筑,使其更好地为现代化建设服务,我系计划出版徽州古建筑丛书。借开放型办学之机,每年组织一批高年级学生实地测绘,再经有关专家、教师整理研究,作出理论上的阐述。我们企求从开发珍贵史料的角度出发,将分散的资料以聚族村镇为主线,系统地将徽州古建筑这一宝藏呈献给专业人员和广大读者。

应该指出,徽州古建筑毕竟是农耕社会商贾初萌时代的产物,它带有明显的历史印记,与现时生活有一定差距。缘此,我们在许多实例现场发现,这些虽经历史锤炼的精品,往往并不一定受当地村民的赞赏和认同,也没有受到很好的保护,尤其是民居。随着西学东渐和现代文明的推进,如何对待历史留给我们的宝贵遗产,这不只是建筑师、艺术家和文物专家的事。最近,我在瑞士,考察了不少城市和村镇。许多城市中的旧城,大多是十六、十七世纪留下的民宅。旧城的街道、广场、房屋基本上保持原貌,但内部却完全现代化了,有的还改造成商店、餐厅,甚至大型超级市场。在苏黎世市郊的一些村镇,许多传统民居,外观保留着明露的木构架、白粉墙、坡瓦屋顶,内部有的虽已改作餐厅、小商店,但仍保持室内原来古色古香的氛围;不加装饰露木纹的楼梯、楼板搁栅,旧式家俱,手工编织地毯和古典式壁炉。身临其境,旅游者的思古之幽情油然而生。在西欧,这样的实例也随处可见。这于我国的古建筑保护、利用以及旅游业的开发是不无借鉴意义的。

我们对徽州古建筑的开发研究,具有三层含义。一是作为珍贵中华建筑文化遗产的系统整理和再认识;二是在此基础上,拓展对其自身的改造、利用,赋予新的生命;三是藉实地测绘,让学生在

华建筑文化沃土中汲取营养,领略其多姿风采和神韵,从而提高建筑素养并激发爱国热忱。

没有前辈的开拓和后生的奋力,本书的出版是难以置信的。歙县文物管理所除了为学生讲课、沟通与住户联系、具体指导测绘、解决实测中的许多困难外,还提供了部分测绘经费。这项工作还得到了我校领导和校科研处的大力支持。许多专家、学者和朋友们从此项工作一开始就热忱关心指点,现记于此,以致谢悃。

愿本丛书能受到一切关心徽州古建筑的朋友们的厚爱!

东南大学建筑系主任 王国梁

1992年12月

全国历史文化名城歙县,其有文物价值之古建筑数以百计,分散于城乡各地。如何将它们保护好,是一项十分复杂而艰巨的工作。尤其是明、清时期的民居,随着广大住户经济收入的增加,时时都有被拆改的可能。近年来,我们虽做了不少的工作,但限于财力和专业技术人员的缺乏,保护工作中必需的基础资料收集,尚未得到全面的开展。

今年,东南大学建筑系提出由他们每年安排一批高年级的学生,来歙县进行有指导的测绘实习,双方合作搞好古建筑保护这项工作,并在暑假中率先完成了对棠樾村落的测绘。在测绘工作的基础上再进一步整理出版,这对徽州古建筑保护工作实在是一件绝大的好事。对东南大学建筑系师生辛勤劳动取得的成果,我们表示由衷的祝贺。

《徽州古建筑丛书——棠樾》一书的出版,是这一项系列工程的首功,我们希望和祝愿这一事业能按计划继续进行下去,为弘扬徽州建筑文化作出贡献。

歙县文物管理所所长 邵国柳

1992年12月

前言 Foreword

·再版前言·

歙县是国家历史文化名城，以歙县为中心的徽州传统建筑是徽州明、清地域文化的积淀，也是中华民族文化不可缺少的重要组成部分。自1952年刘敦桢先生发现歙县明代建筑以来，徽州传统建筑的研究经历了从史料学工作向着史学研究迈进的过程。70年代以来，多限于史料的收集，50年代末出版的《徽州明代住宅》一书至今仍然是徽州传统建筑研究和保护工作者的重要参考资料。80年代以来，国内外学者对徽州传统建筑产生了极大兴趣，其中尤以东南大学建筑系对此最为关注。在潘谷西先生倡导下，不少中年专家在掌握分析大量实例和史料的基础上，对徽州传统建筑的产生、发展和历史进行了许多理论研究，如杜顺宝、朱光亚诸先生一些论著；同时一批青年学者又引入新观念，创新和拓宽研究方法，并运用计算机作为辅助工具，使研究工作令人耳目一新。《徽州古建筑丛书》即是这一时期较系统、全面研究徽州传统建筑包括传统村落的专著，它们将徽州传统村落作为研究对象，从建筑单体到建筑群体组合，从村落的形态、结构到村落的文化内涵，进行了全方位、多层次的研究，取得了丰硕的成果。

1994年11月，单士元先生等数十名国内古建筑专家曾联名提出保护与抢救徽州传统建筑建议书，建议中“强调传统建筑整体保护，即不仅要保护建筑单体，还要注意保护村镇总体布局、聚落空间以及周围的自然环境”。《徽州古建筑丛书》的问世，无疑对徽州传统建筑的保护有重要的指导意义。作为一名长期从事徽州传统建筑研究和保护工作的建筑师，我倍感欣慰。我谨代表歙县文物管理部门衷心感谢龚恺诸先生和东南大学建筑系师生在徽州传统建筑研究方面的开创性工作，并殷切期待《徽州古建筑丛书》陆续出版，早成巨帙。

歙县文物事业管理局局长 程极悦
1999年6月于十驾楼

Ancient architecture of Huizhou is a unique treasure of Chinese Architectural Culture. In order to explore and study ancient architecture of Huizhou systematically, and to make contributions to the modernization of China, our department are planning to publish in joint efforts a series of books of "Ancient Architecture of Huizhou". With the assistance of "Open Teaching System", we'll organize a group of senior students every year for on-site surveying and measuring. Then experts and teachers will do research on and make representation of these first hand material, and give a clarifying explanation of it in theory. Our theory intention is to systematically introduce the treasure of ancient architecture of Huizhou to experts concerned and all the readers with interest through the exploration of the unique historic material and connecting different single instances, which were based on the form of living with the clan as a center.

Therefore, it consists of three meanings: first, as systematic organization and recognition of unique heritage of Chinese architectural culture; second, on this basis, trying to improve and reuse it and put new life into it; third, by means of the survey on the site, our students could get a chance to absorb nutrition from Chinese architectural culture, help to develop their capacity for architectural research and to awake a love for our country. The work has been carried out with the help of The Relics Preservation Administration of Shexian County from the beginning to the end. We also got strong support from our chief leader and the Department of Scientific Research of the University, active meaningful support is given us from Mr Yan Longyu, editor of Southeast University Press. Warmest acknowledgements are given to those experts, scholars and friends who gave much concern over and advice on our work.

We hope the series of books could get appreciation from all the friends who are interested in ancient architecture of Huizhou.

Prof. Guoliang Wang
Dean, Department of Architecture
Southeast University, Nanjing
Dec. 1992

“空谈误国，实干兴邦”。这虽然是针对一个时期的不良政风提出的口号，但对我们建筑界的学风也不无警惕作用。前些年，在建筑刊物和建筑系研究生的论文中出现了这么一些现象：或对三十多年来纠缠不清的老问题津津乐道，不厌其烦地喋喋不休；或写一些大而空的文章，总想“独创”一个涵盖一切的“体系”，这些作品除了哗众取宠于一时之外，只给人们留下一个虚幻的泡影；或引进西方社会学、心理学等方面形形色色的说法，套到建筑上，创造一系列的新名词、新概念，使从事几十年建筑业务的人看了也莫名其妙，如同看天书一般。这股风，一个时期吹得还相当猛烈，不仅贻误了一部分人的宝贵年华，也污染了建筑界的学风。

建筑是一门实践性很强的学科。建筑理论也不是深奥莫测、玄之又玄的东西，它只能从实践中升华提炼而来，又反过来指导建筑实践，所以应是容易被人们所理解和接受的。应该说，实践是建筑理论的出发点，也是建筑理论的归宿。再者，建筑是一种为人的物质生活和精神生活服务的产品，研究建筑（包括城镇、村落、园林等广义的建筑）必须首先研究人，研究人的需要、喜好、人与人的关系以及由此而产生的相关行为方式。脱离了人这个主体，孤立地就建筑谈建筑，或是采用某种死板的形式分析方法来研究建筑，其结果只能是表象的，甚至是扭曲的。

龚恺、陈薇、丁宏伟、单踊诸君此书，通过棠樾这个皖南村落，用典型实例揭示一般特征，使读者能较为具体、深刻地理解传统村落的内涵与形态，从认识论和方法论上说，是科学的；他们又以村落的主体——鲍氏宗族的源流兴衰、社会参与、伦理观念等为线索，展开对棠樾村发展过程的探讨，并由此归纳出这座皖南名村建设中的诸多特色。这是一次真正意义上的建筑文化研究。

徽州是我国古代民居与村落遗存最丰富的地区之一。从1953年刘敦桢教授著文介绍，到1957年《徽州明代住宅》（张仲一等著，中国建筑工业出版社出版）的问世，以后国内外学者到徽州考察村落与民居者络绎不绝。80年代后期，张十庆、董卫二君又对徽州村落进行调查，发表了《徽州传统村落初探》等文章。但总的看来，系统介绍徽

州民居与村落的著作还很少，因此本书的出版将弥补这方面的不足。

明清时期徽州是我国经济、文化最发达的地区之一，徽州商人遍布全国各地，所谓“无徽不成镇”，说明徽人对商业渗透之深和影响面之广。另一方面，徽州又盛文风，素有“东南邹鲁”之称，明清以降，仕途得意的人很多；绘画方面则有著名的新安画派；其他如徽州版画、文房四宝都是闻名天下的国粹精品。富裕的经济、发达的文化、奇秀的山水，培育了徽州特有的精湛建筑文化，留下一大批优秀民居与村落，是我国一份珍贵民族文化遗产。

和另一处精美的江南民居与村落遗存区——苏州洞庭东山、西山相比，徽州地区的遗存显得数量更多，历史文化的内涵更为丰富。苏州东、西山也有一批明清住宅分布于两山的周围，其建筑技艺水平不亚于徽州，不过，东、西山村落的分布主要沿太湖岸线展开，依山傍水，占地较为平坦，各村都挖河港引太湖水通至村内，水上交通便利，和苏州、湖州、杭州等大城市联系密切，其建筑风格和苏州无甚区别。而地处皖南山区的徽州，对外交通不便，文化的封闭性强，个性的延续也较明显，至今我们仍可强烈地感觉到村落发展过程中宗族这一强韧纽带所起的作用，也可以看到兴盛的文风、风水学说以及当地手工艺对建筑产生的影响。当人们看到成组的牌坊与祠堂、精心经营的“水口”村头文化景点、富有诗情画意的“四景”、“八景”、“十二景”等题名时，不得不深深赞叹这些村落确实是丰富的传统文化的载体，其意义和价值远不止是建筑学和规划学方面的。

愿此书成为一系列徽州村落民居专著的首卷，也希望此书为建筑学的研究注入一股新风。

东南大学建筑系教授 潘谷西

1992年11月于兰园

Architecture is a kind of subject emphasizing much on practice. The architecture theory is not very profound. It is extracted from practice, and it, in turn, guides the practice of architecture, so it can be easily understood and accepted by people. It should be noted, practice is both the starting point and the last destination of architecture theory. What's more, architecture is a kind of products serving the material and spiritual life of people. To study the architecture (including county, village, garden etc.), we should first study people, study their requirements, their likes, their relations and related ways of action. Apart from people, to study the architecture through itself or to study and analyze the architecture in mechanical way, we can only get superficial or even tortured results.

Through the description of Tangyue, a village in southern Anhui province and by typical examples, the book written by Mr. Gong Kai, Ms. Chen Wei, Mr. Ding Hongwei and Shan Yong reveals its general features, thus allowing readers to get a detailed and deep understanding of the contents and formations of a traditional village. This is scientific in methodology and epistemology. The book extends its study to the development of Tangyue and induces the features of building famous village, by tracing back the main subject of the village, that is, the ups and downs, the social participation and the moral principles of the Bao clan. This is really a study of architectural culture.

Huizhou is one of those areas where a number of undamaged old houses and village had been left behind. Since Prof. Dunzheng Liu first introduced in 1953 and the book entitled "Housing of Huizhou in Ming Dynasty" by Prof. Zhang Zhongyi was published in 1957, scholars at home and abroad have been consistently going to Huizhou to face a study of it. In the late 1980's, Mr. Zhang Shiqing and Dong Wei investigated the village of Huizhou and wrote

such articles as Primary Study of Huizhou Traditional Village etc. But generally speaking, few books were devoted to the systematical introduction of houses and village of Huizhou. The publication of this book will make it up, I believe.

As compared with the houses and the small town on another famous village site—Dongshan and Xishan at Suzhou, the traces of Huizhou area are large in number and rich in content. As for Huizhou, owing to its poor location in mountainous area and its inconvenient transportation to outside world, it had a very strong closed culture and obvious expansion of individual character. Up to now, we can still sense the major role played by the clan in the development of the village, or we can feel the influence of prosperous culture geomancy and handicrafts on the architecture. Today when we see groups of memorial archways and ancestral hall, elaborated scenic spots "water gate", "Four pieces of scenery", "Eight pieces of scenery", "12 pieces of scenery", we can't help praising that the village is indeed the carrier of traditional culture and its significance and value are not only limited to architecture and program.

It is our hope that this book will be the first volume of a series of books specializing in the houses and village of Huizhou. It is also our hope that the book will inject something new into the architectural study.

Prof. Guxi Pan at Lan Yuan
Nov. 1992

前言 Foreword

序 Preface

第一部分 Part 1

棠樾村落形态变迁 The Transformation of Tangyue Village

歙县简图——棠樾的地理位置 Location of Tangyue Village

明、清棠樾村图 Plan of Tangyue Village in Ming and Qing Dynasty

棠樾村总图 Masterplan of Tangyue Village

第二部分 Part 2

1. 鲍象贤尚书坊 Shangshu Memorial Archway for Bao Xiangxian

2. 鲍逢昌孝子坊 Xiaozhi Memorial Archway for Bao Fengchang

3. 鲍文渊妻节孝坊 Jiexiao Mimorial Archway for the wife of Bao Wenluan

4. 鲍漱芳父子义行坊 Yixing Memorial Archway for Bao Sufang

5. 鲍文龄妻节孝坊 Jiexiao Memorial Archway for the wife of Bao Wenling

6. 慈孝里坊 Cixiao Li Memorial Archway

7. 鲍灿孝子坊 Xiaozhi Memorial Archway for Bao Can

8. 驄步亭 Congbu Pavilion

目录 Contents

9. 敦本堂(男祠)	Dunben Ancestral Hall	42
10. 清懿堂(女祠)	Qingyi Ancestral Hall	58
11. 世孝祠	Shixiao Ancestral Hall	76
12. 毕德修宅	Bi Dexiu Residence	78
13. 程遂林宅	Cheng Suilin Residence	85
14. 毕顺生宅	Bi Shunsheng Residence	93
15. 江忠来宅	Jiang Zhonglai Residence	98
16. 存爱堂(鲍世长宅)	Cun'ai Tang (Bao Shichang Residence)	101
17. 慈孝之门(鲍训正宅)	Cixiao Zhi Men (Bao Xunzheng Residence)	111
18. 欣所遇斋(鲍树民宅)	Xin Suo Yu Zhai (Residence of Bao Shumin)	120
19. 存养山房(黄国胜宅)	Cun Yang Shan Fang (Residence of Huang Guosheng)	127
20. 保艾堂	Bao'ai Tang	132
21. 大和社、掌书园、鲍氏始祖墓	Dahe Temple, Zhangshu Garden, Tomb of the Eldest Baos'	136
22. 大房(粮库)	Da Fang (Granary)	137
23. 从心堂	Cong Xin Tang	142
24. 村景	Views of Tangyue Village	144
后记	Afterword	148

第一部分

PART 1

左:鲍氏始祖鲍荣像
右:四世祖鲍居美像



棠樾，位于歙县城西南十五华里处，北靠松林茂密的灵山支脉——龙山，南临徽州盆地，一展平原沃野，源自黄山的丰乐河由西向东穿流而过，远处以富亭山为屏，是风水说称谓“枕山、环水、面屏”选址的理想位置。早在明代，村落就有“复古虹桥”、“令尹清泉”、“横塘月霁”、“龙山雪晴”四景之说，以表现该村落优美的自然环境。至今，村口依然高耸着历代兴建的七座高大的石碑坊群，构成徽州村落中独一无二的壮丽景观。同时，村中现存的祠堂、民居，也有代表性地反映了徽州建筑的“三绝”。

棠樾村的形成可追溯到南宋建炎年间(约1130年)。当时徽州府邑(今歙县县城)西门一位以文著名的鲍荣，虽未当过大官，但一生在西乡恢拓产业，逐步成为大户，他看中今棠樾是一处理想的造园休闲之所，遂营建别墅于此，后棠樾鲍氏尊其为始祖公。

“棠樾”，这个特殊的村名，其来源史中无明确记载，族谱中有元代咏棠樾诗云：“遥想棠阴清昼永”，考“棠阴”典故出自《诗经》，其词后被喻为“德政”。“樾”字《玉篇》上释：“樾……楚谓两树交阴之下曰樾”。据云此处最初是建作园林，树木葱郁，甘棠浓阴，这个美丽的名称大概由此而生。

村中现有“鲍氏始祖墓”，墓门上用红砂条石门楣，年代较早，其地即为鲍荣昔建别墅处。东侧有“掌书园”。园以掌书名，传为来自鲍荣曾当过文学一类的官吏。荣妻先卒，葬别墅之左，鲍荣则卜葬于村西之西沙溪畔，基地为螃蟹出泥形。村人遂呼村中之墓为“孺人坟”，此处应是棠樾村最早的营建属地。

鲍荣之后，棠樾尚只是作为一处鲍氏的园林别业，并无他建。至四世曾孙鲍居美“察此处山川之胜，原田之宽，足以立子孙百世大业”，遂自府邑西门携家定居棠樾。自此而后八百多年，棠樾村落作为鲍氏氏族聚居之地，盛衰起伏，并一直留存至今。

宋末元初，鲍氏八世孙鲍宗岩、鲍寿孙父子两人为躲避盗乱藏于龙山，后父被盗贼发现所执，藏身于草丛中的儿子挺身而出愿代父死，父则以香火延续系子一身为由，坚愿已死。父子争执不下，感动盗贼，均释之。此事充分体现了封建伦理的“父慈子孝”思想。在儒学三纲五常中有：“孝为百行之首”，“生民之德莫大于孝”，这件事无疑具有典型教育意义，因而先后被载入《宋史·孝义传》、《明史·孝顺事实》、清《钦定古今图书集成》，广为流传，棠樾村亦以“孝”而闻名。元至正年间(1341~1368)，鲍元康在龙山之巅建慈孝堂，供奉鲍

宗岩父子,记刻争死一事。堂有多进,相当于家庙性质(至清末才废),这是棠樾村中第一座祠堂建筑。

元时棠樾村内的建筑主要是围绕始祖墓而建,现可考的有墓西鲍宗岩的“慈孝之门”宅,掌书园东北角的状元坊,旌表元代泰定年间蒙古文状元鲍同仁,及村东首的西畴书院等。

元明之际,棠樾村人进行了较大规模的水系改造活动。原棠樾之水发源于灵山,分为两条:一股自东山槐塘而来,过村北流入横路塘;另一股在村西沿灵山山脉下至西沙溪,此是棠樾村的主要水源。元至正年间,鲍伯源倡导氏族人员在此河上距灵山五里处截流筑石碣——大母碣,灌溉良田六百余亩,确保以农耕为主的棠樾村能旱涝保收。同时引水入村,沿村南环绕如带(村人称为水畔,后在60年代开展血防工作时被填),又引横路塘水绕村东,两股水在蹕步亭附近汇合,流至七星墩水口。由于大母碣对村落发展起着重要的作用,明永乐十八年(1420)冬至十九年(1421)春又对其重建,以后又在大母碣下陆续挖掘了一连串的水塘做为调节水库,主要有和大母碣隔软桥而建的小母碣,及村西北角的德公塘等。这些池塘均用条石砌筑,规模较大。村中还有一条东西的暗道流水,埋设在主要街道下。这样,就有北、中、南自西向东三股水道流经棠樾,满足了村民日常生活所需。

棠樾的水口按当地普遍流行的风水说,设在村落“巽位”吉方的东南角,由于此处地势较为平坦,为增加锁钥气势,彻底把住关口,在水口旁人工砌筑了七个高大的土墩,俗称七星墩,墩上植大树以障风蓄水,至今尚存。墩尽处为一村诸水尾,跨水建桥,桥上原有义善亭。这组水口建筑,在村外构成了棠樾颇具魅力的村落标志。

明代是徽州发展的重要时期。明中叶后,徽商兴盛,成为全国最大的一个商帮,大批经商致富的徽商纷纷在家乡购田置屋。同时文化教育也随之兴盛,程朱理学发展到极盛,书院林立;宗族势力加强,大批祠堂由此而兴建。这是徽州地区大规模建设时期,这股浪潮同时波及到棠樾村。另外,在明代嘉靖至万历年间(1529~1578),棠樾出了个工部尚书鲍象贤。这些社会、政治、经济的综合因素作用,推动着棠樾,使其在明代中后期掀起了一个营建高潮。

鲍象贤生于明正德元年(1506),卒于万历六年(1578),为鲍氏

第十六世孙。其父鲍光祖曾任监察御史,鲍象贤排行第三,嘉靖八年(1529)进士,历任户部右侍郎、右都御史、兵部左侍郎等职。他文能安邦,武能兴兵,曾平定过南方之乱,被誉为嘉靖朝“中兴辅佐”,明史有传。但他生性耿直,得罪了朝中权贵,曾一度被罢官归故里,后又复被起用,卒时封赠为工部尚书,享葬祭。其祖父鲍灿、父鲍光祖都被追赠兵部右侍郎。由于他显赫的政绩和帝王的恩荣,在族中赢得了崇高的威望,尊称尚书公,后成为棠樾鲍氏宣忠堂支派之祖,棠樾村这时期的建设处处体现出他的影响。

此时棠樾,已具相当规模,村内有一条东西向的主要街道,名前街,全以青石板铺成。鲍象贤自建宅宣忠堂位于前街北侧,居一村之中,面南。其宅制经皇帝特许,门屋为五开间,檐下悬“宣忠”匾,门前另置一对旗杆,宅内纵向五进,是村中等级最高的建筑。宅后有一片空地,当地俗称“后坦”。鲍象贤卒后因宅为祠,宅前部作为尚书公家庙,祭祀鲍象贤和孝子公(祖父鲍灿),并作族内处理纠纷之用;后部作后代住宅。在村通府邑大道的最东端,建立旌表鲍象贤的尚书坊。与宣忠堂隔街相向,是鲍象贤祖父鲍灿宅,称诚孝堂。鲍灿是当时著名的孝子,为母口吮脓疽,又以孙官禄庇荫,卒后宅亦改祠,并在前街东首立了一座三开间高大的孝子坊。村西口有鲍象贤父郭山公墓,墓旁有为其建立的“监察御史坊”。鲍象贤祖孙三代的宅坊,成为这时期棠樾村最主要的建筑和标志物。

史书记载:明嘉靖时(1522年始)“许民间皆得联宗立庙”。故鲍象贤致仕家居时,在村东拓西畴书院遗址,创建万四公支祠(即敦本堂),作为整个鲍氏分支的祠堂。供氏族祭拜祖先,举行各种仪式及族众团聚之用。祠堂形制与现存清代重建的略同,分三楹的门屋和五楹的厅堂,这是当时宗法制度加强的必然反映。

终明一代,棠樾村的村口建筑已初具规模,除万四公支祠外,明洪武至宣德年间(1368~1435),移大和社于村东(今棠樾小学址),社内设坛,缭以垣墙,祭祀农业神。社旁即前街东口大片空地,俗称社屋坦,供村人春秋祈报完毕后,演戏乐神等用。大和社北古柏苍然直上,建为古柏园。明初永乐帝有感于父子争死一事,曾御制慈孝诗二首,刻碑建亭立于龙山之巅,旌表棠樾为“慈孝里”,并建慈孝里坊于村口,更加浓重地渲染棠樾之“孝”。隆庆年间(1567~1572),在村

头建驄步亭,作为从郑村小路入村转折处的路亭。后又在尚书坊东南建尚书祠(清代曾改作棠樾、蜀源、岩寺鲍氏三支的统宗祠),这样,棠樾村口已具有三坊、一亭、二祠、一社的公共建筑群。

明代棠樾村内建筑可以考证的主要有:建于始祖墓东侧的“棠樾四景”之一——复古桥;建于前街中部为户部员外郎鲍楠所立的地官坊;明正德年间(1506~1521)为宗老会宴游建于村南屏富亭山上的清逸亭。住宅有:地官坊北侧,主讲师山书院的鲍伯源之耕读堂(后称翰林祠);始祖墓西侧,鲍灿之父的居古屋,主厅称“存爱堂”,明周懿王曾为其题匾;大和社北侧的亦政堂等。因这一时期棠樾村多出官宦,住宅形制等级均较高,非徽州其他村落商贾住宅所能比拟。

清代棠樾村落的建设在明代的基础上又有较大的发展,在乾隆至嘉庆年间(1736~1820),形成再一次的建设高潮。如果说明代棠樾是因鲍象贤为官而建造的话,这次则是徽商荣归故里而大兴土木,因为这个时期棠樾鲍氏出了一家祖孙三代的大盐商——鲍志道、鲍漱芳、鲍均,现遗留下来的棠樾村落建筑,大都是这家人的义举。

鲍志道(1743~1801)是明尚书鲍象贤九世孙,出身贫寒,凭其精明干练,传奇式地白手起家致富,成为当时最富有的徽商之一,任两淮盐务总商二十年,清王朝曾封其六个虚职官衔,后长子漱芳接任总商,二子勋茂为乾隆侍御。他们一家集官、商、儒于一身,在家乡,除“独不喜建佛堂道院”外,乐于把钱花在修桥铺路,办书院、筑水利工程等方面。特别在故里棠樾不惜投下重金,大力修建祠堂、置义田、为节孝人请旌、树立牌坊、修街道和农田水利等公益事业,成为这时期棠樾建设最大的投资者。

在祠堂建设上,鲍志道、鲍漱芳父子重建了作为棠樾支祠的敦本堂,并根据“孝”的思想,本大夫三庙之义,别出心裁地增筑了“世孝祠”和“女祠”,将考、妣分祠而祀,曾有诗曰“三庙毗连一坛(指大和社)巩固”。鲍志道所建“世孝祠”为棠樾村所独有:祠三进,内附宋、元、明、清各时期棠樾出的孝子,将孝行事迹刻碑镌于寝堂左右壁,显示棠樾村以“孝”传家的特点。女祠“清懿堂”为鲍志道弟鲍启运、侄鲍有莱所建,专祀节烈贞孝等妇女之牌位,旨在颂扬母恩母德。另外,鲍志道夫妇各自用银购置义田,入男祠、女祠,鲍启运则捐

义田一千二百亩,在女祠西侧建“四穷仓”,专门用来救济族内鳏、寡、孤、独四类穷人。

此三祠规模宏大,在建造上极有特色,为取阴阳相悖之义,男祠朝南,女祠朝北,相向而立。世孝祠夹于两祠之间,虽规模略次,但地位显要。三祠门楼的砖雕,祠内厅堂梁架的木雕等均精美异常,表现了清中后期徽商的审美情趣和经济实力。此三祠后成为棠樾鲍氏主要的公共祠堂。

鲍志道、鲍启运兄弟二人的住宅,则成为此时期村中最大的建筑。因当时宣忠堂仍存(鲍志道花银重修),鲍志道兄弟住宅向村西南发展,将元明时供水的南道水畔改成暗渠,建成和前街平行的后街,鲍志道宅保艾堂和鲍启运宅遵训堂就相对位于其街西部的两侧。

保艾堂是徽州地区最大的一幢住宅,坐后街南朝北,建成时有一百零八间房,三十六个天井,按八卦方位避凶就吉,组合而成。宅内有装饰精美的白果厅、楠木厅、红木厅三厅,宅后有园林。遵训堂虽正房已不存,但从其东侧尚在的侧厅“存养山房”和“欣所遇斋”来看,其规模也是相当可观的。

鲍志道一家虽为商人,但其建筑非一般商人建房极尽奢华之能事,而体现浓郁的传统文脉影响,这主要是鲍志道好儒,广交文彦所致。鲍氏祠堂中之楹联、匾额等都为清代名士所撰,乾隆时著名才子诗人袁枚与志道深交莫逆,袁枚有《为鲍肯园(注:肯园为鲍志道字)题龙山慈孝堂图》诗十解,后收入《小仓山房诗集》。清代名书法篆刻家邓石如,更是鲍志道家的长年食客,鲍氏世孝祠、文会、驄步亭等匾额及男祠中巨幅屏门漆刻《鲍氏五伦述》等,均出自邓的手笔。这批文人常为棠樾村的营建活动出谋划策。另外鲍琮(和志道平辈)后代鲍文斌,是棠樾有特长的设计师,专事鲍家祠堂的建设,从而形成了现存的棠樾村落形态。

至清代,棠樾村口建筑已蔚为大观,除上述三祠一坛外,在敦本祠东侧有重建的西畴书院;西侧有文会(供前八世祖牌位,是乡族缙绅议事之所)三进,门前植紫薇、桂花两树,内附厨房。在明代已有的尚书、慈孝、孝子坊间又陆续加建了四座石坊,形成按“忠”、“孝”、“节”、“义”排列的七座牌坊群。坊下以长堤一线相连,堤旁遍植古

梅,间以紫荆,加上祠前空阔的广场,形成独具特色的村口景观。

村西为进水水口,亦有少量公共建筑,在明监察御史坊西建有先达祠,祭祀自始祖以下,凡以文章行谊政绩见称于世者,坊东立有申明亭,悬书族民之善恶,用以劝惩。

村落逐步形成东西向的前、后街二横道格局,两街之间有数条南北向的小巷相通。村内建筑主要为私宅和家祠,并附有为数不少的小型园林,如著名的“慈孝之门”宅南的南园(内原有爱日山房),其东的“燕斋”及中门巷南端的“绿野园”等。

清代较豪华的住宅,多集中于后街,除保艾、遵训两堂外,尚有鲍文斌的大房及二房至五房等宅,有部分已不可考。

徽州在明清之际教育非常发达,棠樾村也不例外,除古西畴书院外,村南中门巷口有希大公书院,村东北复古桥畔还建有两层的“藏书楼”。

清末的盐政改革对徽商的打击极大,棠樾建设的经济支柱迅速衰落。在咸丰同治年间(1851~1874),太平军与清军在徽州拉锯战达十年之久,使该地区遭受自古罕见的灾难,棠樾村中像遵训堂等精美的建筑,均毁于这个时期。棠樾鲍氏外流避乱,打破了千年不散的血缘氏族集居制度,棠樾村落的建设也就自此式微了。

在棠樾村落形成过程中,观念上非常明显地呈现受中国传统思想——儒文化的影响。棠樾村历代推崇的孝子孝迹,正是儒家伦理道德熏陶下的产物,因而被明、清的统治者所倡导。例如:明永乐帝为棠樾题“慈孝里”,赐御诗;清乾隆帝则赐楹联:“慈孝奕世无双里,衮绣清朝第一乡。”这些刻意的提倡,又深刻反映到物化的棠樾村落形态上。纵观棠樾村每次大的营建活动,均以“孝”为指导思想,各类建筑的设置、布局也是为了体现“忠孝”精神,教育鲍氏后人,这就不难理解何以一个棠樾村落,竟有那么多与“孝”有关的建筑。儒文化对这一地区营建中流行的风水说等往往是排斥的,故而在村内很少见徽州村落中常因风水而设的斜门左道,为避免气冲而立的屏墙、照壁、或当路放置的“泰山石敢当”等符镇,而是多轴线明确、卑尊有序的各式住宅,这是因观念影响造成棠樾村有别于其它徽州村落的特殊性所在。当然,在一些细部处理和具体做法上比如水口等,也采用当时较为通行的风水说作为依据,但在“忠孝”这个主题统率下,

则显得较为次要了。

棠樾村落的结构模式十分清晰。由于该村的规模在徽州村落中只能属于中小型,构成村落骨架的道路系统为一横主干,后因村落扩大,至清代逐步形成平行的二横主干道,二干道在村口汇合形成全村唯一的广场。徽州村落中重要组成要素的水系,在该村四周形成环状,限定了村落的区域,在村内则和主干道重合,作成上为路下为水的暗水道形式,这个水网体系联结分散布置在全村近十口水井和池塘,较理想地解决了村里农作、饮用、排水、观赏等用水问题。

今天在新形势下,棠樾村落的保护、开发、利用矛盾日趋突出。目前棠樾村已被列入省级文物保护单位,是重点旅游区,但传统民居在功能、技术上已不能适应今天棠樾人生活的需要,目前全村已建有为数不少的新建房,而遗留下的绝大多数传统住宅也面临着更新的问题;村落的水系经多年的淤积和人为的填塞,已不复存在,水溪上原有的多座桥梁(如四景之一的复古桥)随之消失;徽州村落原十分重视植树绿化,认为草木繁而气运昌,尤其棠樾因园林而起,旧时村中各种树林成荫,构成村落景观的一大特色,但目前村内所留古木极少,原有密林的七星墩、古柏园也为农田、杂草所替代。如何保护好这个有八百年历史的村落建筑文化遗产,将成为一个迫切的问题需要当代人去解决。

本文主要参考文献:

明·弘治《鲍氏族谱》

清·乾隆《鲍氏族谱》

清·嘉庆《宣忠堂家谱》



始祖鲍荣墓图
(螃蟹出泥形)

Tangyue village is situated 15 li southwest of the city of Shexian. With the densely pine forests of Longshan Mountain—an outlier of Longshan Mountain—to its north and the fertile Huizhou basin on its south, the Fengle River flows down from Huangshan through the village from west to east. With Puting Mountain serving as a screen in the distance, Tangyue's location is regarded as ideal from the point of view of Fengshui: "hills behind, wrapped by water, and screened in front." As early as the Ming Dynasty, the village was renowned for its beautiful scenery that was expressed in four "scenes": "Fugu Rainbow Bridge", "Lingyi Clear Spring", "Moonlighted Hengtang" and "A Sunny Day after Snow in Longshan". Even today at the entrance of the village, one can see seven great memorial gateways from different periods that are unmatched among Huizhou villages in their magnificence. Together with the clan halls and dwellings within the village, they constitute the three matchless aspects of Huizhou architecture.

The formation of Tangyue as a settlement can be dated back to about 1130 AD during the Song Dynasty. At that time Bao Rong, famous for his literary talent, lived by the west gate of Huizhou Fu (today's Shexian city). Although not a prominent officeholder, he was able to expand his estate all his life in Xixiang and gradually came to form a large household. He thought that Tangyue would be an ideal place to construct a garden for his own relaxation and therefore built a villa there. Thereafter, the Bao clan in Tangyue has honored him as their principal ancestor.

There are no clear records of the origin of the peculiar name "Tangyue" for the village. Genealogical records include a Yuan period poem with "Tang" as a

character which can be referenced to the Book of Songs as a kind of birchleaf pear tree. "Yue" possibly means "in the shadow of trees". It is possible that this beautiful name can be related to the original building of the garden with its substantial shade beneath the trees.

The village still contains the grave of the first Bao ancestor with an inscribed stone lintel made of red sandstone above it. The mausoleum is where the Bao villa once stood and to its east is the Zhangshu Garden. The garden took the name "holding books" to represent Bao Rong having been a kind of literary office holder. Bao Rong's wife died first and was buried to the left of the villa while Bao Rong was buried along the banks of Xisha Stream on the west of the village. Villagers refer to the burial sites as "the graves of Confucian scholars" and this place marks the first building in Tangyue village.

After Bao Rong's death, Tangyue was still only comprised of the single Bao family villa. It had no other houses until Bao Rong's great grandson Bao Jumei realized that "the beauty of the mountains and rivers and the abundant resources of the plain were excellent for him to establish his business for the good of later generations," according to early records. He then moved with his family from the west gate area of the town to Tangyue. For more than 800 years to the present, Tangyue's physical form has reflected the accumulated ups and downs of the Bao clan.

During the transition period from the Song Dynasty to the Yuan Dynasty, Bao's 8th grandson Bao Zongyan and his son Bao Shousun hid themselves in the Longshan Mountain to escape bandits and disorder. After the father was

eventually captured by the bandits, his son, who had hidden in the grass, came out boldly and asked them to kill himself instead of his father. However, the father Bao Zongyan insisted that he be killed instead of his son. As each stuck to his own sacrificial position, it is said that the bandits were so moved by this that they released both the father and the son. The story was a typical example of feudal ethics: love on the father's part and filial obedience on the son's part. According to the Confucian point of view elaborated in the "Three bonds and five cardinal virtues," filial obedience on the son's part was the most important virtue. The story doubtlessly had didactic value and thus was included later in "filial piety" sections of "The Song Dynastic History", "The Ming Dynastic History" and the Qing period "Imperial Encyclopedia". The story spread far and wide and Tangyue was acclaimed for its "filial devotion." In the Yuan Dynasty between 1341 and 1368, Bao Yuankang built the Compassionate Filiality Hall [Cixiao Tang] on the top of the Longshan Mountain to honor the father and the son, and it was here that the story was inscribed. This multi-jin hall was very much like an ancestral hall and was the first to be built in Tangyue; it was not until the end of the Qing period that it fell into disuse.

During the Yuan Dynasty, most houses in Tangyue were built around the tomb of the principal ancestor. One can still discern the Loving Filiality Gate residence to the west of the tomb, the Zhuangyuan Scholar Memorial Archway on the northeast corner of the Zhangshu Garden, and the Xichou Academy on the east.

During the transition period from the Yuan to the Ming Dynasty, villagers created an extensive water network throughout Tangyue. Originally the water supply for Tangyue stemmed from the Lingshan Mountain and divided into two branches. One water source came from the Huaitang Pond on Dongshan Mountain, passing along the north of the village before pouring into Henglu Pond, while the other flowed from the Lingshan Mountain to the Xisha Stream. Together they constituted the main water sources for Tangyue village. During the Yuan Dynasty, Bao Boyuan led the clan to build a dam, the Damu ["First Mother"] Dam in order to cut the flow 5 li away from the Lingshan Mountain so as to irrigate more than 600 mu of land. This ensured stable yields in Tangyue in spite of drought or excessive rainfall. The water was also led into the village. Around the south of the village the water flowed like a belt. Around the

east the two streams converged near the Congbu Pavilion and flowed to the mouth of the Qixingdun embankment. Since the Damu Dam played an important role in the development of the village, it was rebuilt during winter of 1420 into the spring of 1421. Subsequently, a series of ponds were dug to better control the water. The main projects included the Xiaomu ["Second Mother"] Dam and the Degong Pond northwest of the village. Ponds were all built of rectangular slab stones and were all relatively extensive in scale. There was also a west-to-east underground water course in the village under the main street. Altogether there were three west-to-east water courses passing through Tangyue, clearly sufficient to meet the daily requirements of village residents.

Based on the requirements of Fengshui, a shuikou or "watergate" was constructed at an auspicious location southeast of the village. In order to enhance the concentration of qi by controlling the flow of water, seven high soil dams were built beside the shuikou and were called the Seven Stars [Qixingdun]. High trees were planted on the dams to block the wind and retain water; these features can still be seen today. At the end of the dams was the terminus of the village's water system. A bridge was built over the water, upon which once stood the Yishan Pavilion. This group of architectural features around the shuikou has come to form an enchanting marker of the village of Tangyue.

The Ming Dynasty was an important period in the development of Huizhou. After the middle of the Ming Dynasty, merchants from Huizhou prospered and became China's largest "confederation" of merchants. Many rich merchants bought land and built residences in their home villages. At the same time, culture and education flourished as well. Lixue, a Confucian school of idealist philosophy, attained its golden age and study halls were erected everywhere. As the power of clans strengthened, a large number of ancestral halls were built. In short, this was a period in which the Huizhou area saw an extraordinary level of building construction, spilling over as well to Tangyue village. In addition, a Tangyue resident called Bao Xiangxian was appointed as minister in the Ministry of Works from 1529 to 1578. These social, political, and economic factors propelled Tangyue forward leading to a high tide of construction during the mid-to-late Ming Dynasty.

Bao Xiangxian, born in 1506 and died in 1578, was the 16th generation

grandson of the first ancestor. His father Bao Guangzu was a prominent official and Bao Xiangxian was his third son. In 1529, Bao Xiangxian passed the highest imperial examinations, attaining the jinshi degree. He successively held the posts in the Ministry of Revenue, as well as the in the Ministry of War. He was well-versed in polite letters and martial arts. He had suppressed a rebellion in the south so he was thought of as a pillar of Jiajing period and his biography was included in the "History of the Ming Dynasty". However, it was said that, since he was upright by nature and offended influential officials who had him dismissed from office, he returned to live in his hometown. Subsequently, he was called back to an official position, becoming the Minister of Works and died in that post. His grandfather Bao Can and his father Bao Guangzu were both conferred a posthumous degree in the Ministry of War. Because of his achievements during his official career, he had high prestige in the clan and became the first ancestor in the ancestral hall of the Xuanzhong branch clan. Construction throughout this period in Tangyue clearly reflected his influence.

During this period, Tangyue was rather large. The village had an east-to-west main street called Front Street [Qianjie] which was paved with stone slabs. Bao Xiangxian's residence—the Xuanzhong Tang was located on the north of Front Street at the center of the village, and faced south. With the permission of the emperor and against sumptuary regulations, his residence was 5 bays wide. A horizontal inscribed board was hung under the eaves with two characters xuanzhong ["proclaiming loyalty"]. In front of the gate stood a pair of flagpoles. Inside the residence there were five rows of horizontal structures. The residence represented the finest architecture in the village. Behind the residence was an open ground called "Rear Level Space" [houtan]. After Bao Xiangxian's death the residence became an ancestral hall, with its front part serving as a family altar for worshipping Bao Xiangxian and his grandfather Bao Can; in addition it came to serve as a place to handle contradictions among the Bao clansmen. The back part of the dwelling continued to serve as a residence for Bao descendants. In order to memorize Bao Xiangxian, the Shangshu [Respect Learning] Memorial Archway was built at the east end of the main road. Opposite the Xuanzhong Hall on the opposite side of the street was the Chengxiao Hall, the residence of Bao Xiangxian's grandfather Bao Can. Bao Can was a famous dutiful son in his time, who, it is said, once sucked pus from his mother's ulcer. His residence was also changed to an

ancestral hall, and a large three-bay Xiaozi [Filial Son] Memorial Archway was built at the eastern end of the village. At the west end of the village was the tomb of Bao Xiangxian's father, beside which was another memorial archway. The residences and memorial archways of three generations of Bao were prominent architectural markers in Tangyue village during this period.

According to historical records, non-government temples were permitted to be built during the Ming Dynasty after 1522. When Bao Xiangxian retired and went back to his home town, he built Wan Sigong Ancestral Hall (later Dunben Hall) as an ancestral hall for all branches of the Bao clan to worship their ancestors, perform rites, and hold clan reunions. The form of the original ancestral hall was quite similar to the existing one that was actually rebuilt during the Qing Dynasty. The hall was divided into an entrance hall with three principal columns and a main hall with five principal columns. These forms inexorably reflect the strength of the patriarchal clan system at that time.

By the end of the Ming Dynasty, the houses at the entrance to the Tangyue village had already taken their fundamental dimensions. Between 1368 and 1435, Daheshe, an Altar for the God of the Earth, was moved to the east of the village; today this location is the site for Tangyue's primary school. Within Daheshe there was an altar with walls enclosing it for worshipping the deity of agriculture. Beside the she at the eastern entry to Front Street there was a broad empty space called Shewutan, a square for opera performances after the spring and fall periodic offerings to the gods. North of Daheshe was a grove of old cypress trees.

At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty when the Emperor Yongle was so deeply affected by the story of the father and the son striving to die for each other, he wrote two poems about love and filial obedience. He ordered the erection a pavilion on the Longshan Mountain that was to include within it upright stone tablets with his poems inscribed on them. In addition, he proclaimed Tangyue "the Land of Love and Filiality" and had a ceremonial archway built to strengthen the atmosphere of filial devotion of Tangyue. During the reign of the Emperor Longqing (1567–1562), the Congbu Pavilion was built at the village entrance as a roadside pavilion marking the turn in the path from Zhengcun village into Tangyue. Afterwards to the southeast of Shangshu Memorial Archway, the Shangshu Ancestral Hall was built (during the Qing Dynasty, it