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HISTORIC HOUSES IN FLIAIRI 福建经典古民居

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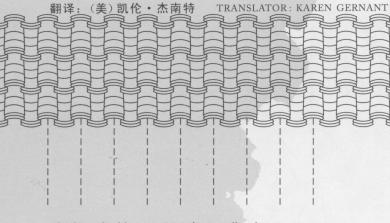
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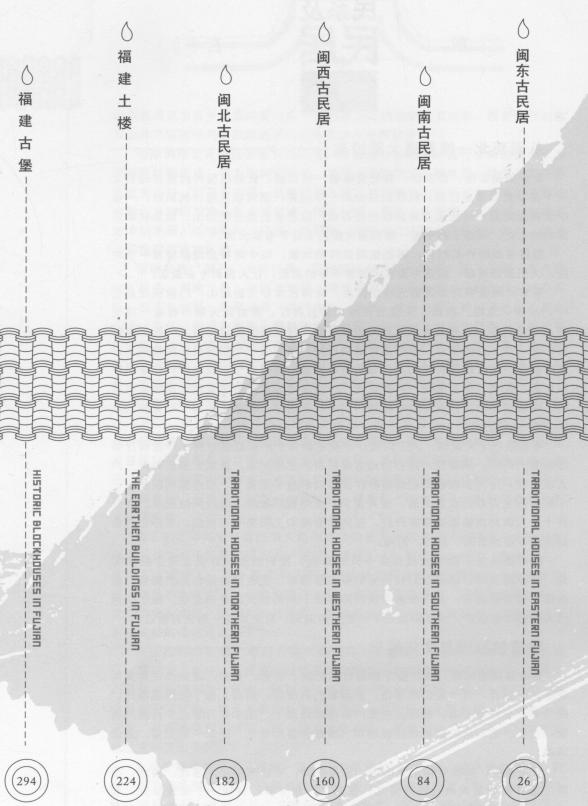
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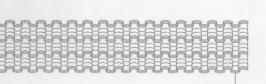


# ()前 言 CONTENTS 目 PREFACE



### 福建的 民系及 民居

言〇





#### 从闽西北一幢普通大厝说起

( 前

故乡就是家园。而家园,首先意味着一幢房屋。我的孩提时代是在闽西北一个河谷盆地里度过的。村庄紧依山脚一字排开,面向稻浪起伏的田野,一条小溪蜿蜒流过,对面矗立着险峻的红石山,以及重重叠叠的远山。我最初和最深刻的记忆,来自于村子里一幢烟熏火燎的老房子萧家大厝。

福建各地的许多村落,都能见到类似的场景。每个河谷盆地都藏着一个村庄,人们聚族而居,建造与萧家大厝差不多的房屋,让人感到十分亲切。

萧家大厝是典型的闽西北传统民居,背倚古木参天的后山,门前依次是空坪、水井、池塘、稻田。大厝五开间,前后两厅,左右风火墙外各有一排配房。从结构看,天井是大厝通风采光的中心,接受四面屋顶的落水,民间称四水归堂。而大厝的核心,显然是宽敞的正厅,那里有一个供奉萧氏始祖昭穆牌位的神龛,所有的重大仪式,例如祭祖与婚丧,都在这个厅堂举行。传统的中国民居,死者与生者混居,死者优先;一幢房屋最重要的位置必定是留给祖宗的。中国的建筑为什么讲究中轴线?因为只有这样,才能找出那个最重要的位置:居中;居上。

萧家是一个大家族,人丁兴旺,分家后的每个小家庭都分得正厅或前厅旁的房屋一两间,不够住,就在附近另建新房。上世纪末,萧家大厝只剩两三户人家留守,绝大多数都搬到新建的砖混结构的房子里去了。曾经深情庇护过一个家族两三百年的萧家大厝,被人遗弃,在短短20年间,进入风烛残年。因为数十户人家对这幢祖宅拥有产权,任何改变事实上都是不可能的,等待它的命运就是不断地衰败,腐朽,坍塌。

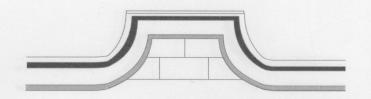
这也是绝大多数传统民居在今天的命运。我们的生活方式发生了巨大变化,传统建筑难以满足我们对住宅的多方面需求,正在迅速退出历史舞台,被拆毁,或者被遗弃。几千年来中华民族累积下来的悠久的建筑文明,除了个别作为文物加以保护,大多数将在半个世纪内消失。历史像被一把快刀斩过。

#### 福建的地理与文化板块

要理解福建民居,首先要了解福建的地理、语言、人民。建筑传统是文化传统的一部分,先于我们而存在,又因我们而改变。闽南人去了台湾或南洋,建造的还是红砖大厝;欧洲人在厦门鼓浪屿建房子,范本是万里之外的西洋别墅。然而,它们都根据当地的地理和气候条件有所变化,新添一些元素,渐成风格。

从地理看,福建号称东南山国,东南临海,与台湾相望,东北、西北、西南三面分别有高大的山脉与浙江、江西、广东分界,自成一个地理单元。其中,山地和丘陵面积占80%以上,素有"八山一水一分田"之称。与海岸线平行





的两条绵延五百多公里的大山脉 —— 斜贯西北边境的武夷山脉、斜贯闽中的戴云山脉把福建纵向切割成西北山区和东南沿海两部分。

福建的河流多半往东南方向入海,对西北方向的山地进行横向切割,从而形成散碎的区域。最大的河流闽江,其三大支流沙溪、富屯溪、建溪发源于西北武夷山脉,汇聚于南平,流经福州入海,贯通闽北山区和闽东沿海。发源于中部山系的闽东南几条主要河流,如木兰溪、晋江、九龙江,流程短,有较大的冲积平原,流域间相互联系比较紧密。闽西的汀江则由广东注入韩江,闽西与粤东同属客家区域。

福建简称"闽"。大体说来,福建可以分为四个地区:闽江上游(古代建宁、延平、邵武三府)的闽北地区;闽江下游及东北沿海(古代福州、福宁两府)的闽东地区;南部沿海(古代漳州、泉州、兴化三府)的闽南地区;西南山区(古代汀州府)客家人聚居的闽西地区。其中,个别县市因历史沿革而有所变迁,比如,兴化府的莆田、仙游,宋代就从泉州府独立出来,语言和文化有自己的特色,人们通常视为独立的区域,很少包括在闽南范围;而龙岩、漳平,本该属闽南地区,现今在行政区划上却划归闽西地区。

福建的语言非常复杂。李如龙《福建方言》把福建分为七个大方言区:闽东方言区,其代表是福州话;莆仙方言区;闽南方言区,现今的代表是厦门话;闽北方言区,其代表是建瓯话;闽中方言区,其代表是永安话;闽西客家方言区,其代表是长汀话;闽西北赣方言区,其代表是邵武话。我们如果把闽中方言和闽西北方言看成闽北方言的变体,就会简单得多,只剩闽北话、闽东话、闽南话、闽西话,再加一个莆仙话。福建各个方言区与地理区域的划分基本是重合的。

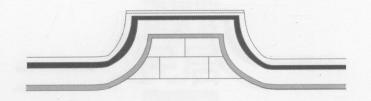
方言的差异通常还意味着人民与文化的差异。陈支平《福建六大民系》将福建人分为六个民系:闽北人,闽东(福州)人,闽南人,闽西(客家)人,兴化人,龙岩人。各个民系创造了不同的地方特色文化,例如闽北的理学文化,闽东的官宦文化,闽南的海洋文化,闽西的农耕文化,莆仙的科举文化,龙岩的商业文化。而种种文化差异,直接影响到各地的建筑形态,于是出现了多姿多彩的福建民居。

现在的行政区划,有的突破了地域的文化属性。1970年,闽中设三明地区,后改为三明市,从闽北和闽西各划出数县,组建成一个新的地区。于是人们开始说闽西北这个概念。闽西北从来不是一个文化概念,历史上泰宁县、建宁县隶属邵武府,将乐县和沙县隶属延平府,属于闽北文化系统;宁化县、清流县、明溪县隶属汀州府,属于闽西文化系统。谈到文化,我们不得不回到文化生成的历史年代。

自秦设闽中郡以来,福建一直是一个单独的行政板块,疆域变动不大。同时,因为处处崇山峻岭,内部交往困难,各个区域相对独立,有自己的发展脉络。汉唐之后,北方汉民大量移居福建,闽北、闽东和闽南地区先后得以开









发。两宋三百年,闽北文化大放光芒,以朱熹为代表的闽学将福建文化推上顶峰,标志着中古时代华夏民族的思想深度。闽东文化在一千年里表现得相当稳健,清中叶以后却有了一个大爆发,出现"晚清人物数侯官"的盛况。莆仙为文献名邦,由宋至明中期,一直领袖全闽,可惜1562年被倭寇攻破府城,逐渐消沉。泉州虽然是宋元时期的国际大港,人文荟萃,但一直到明清两代,闽南文化才异军突起,呈现海洋文明的华彩。闽西开发较迟,宋以后汉族移民才大量从赣南迁入,并形成独特的客家民系,其文化在明清之际开始引人注目。

福建的传统民居,也因闽文化的多元组合,变得丰富多彩。从闽北的青砖灰瓦,到闽南的红砖红瓦,再到闽西南的圆形土楼,反差是何等剧烈!全国各地很少像福建拥有这么丰富的民居类型。当然,每一种民居类型,都不是偶然形成的,它必定深深奠基于人民的生活方式之中。

#### 闽北古民居: 华美的雕花门楼

闽江上游三大支流的广大流域,历史上分属闽北三府十七县管辖。建溪流域诸县属建宁府,府治在今建瓯市;富屯溪流域上游诸县属邵武府;富屯溪下游和沙溪中下游流域诸县属延平府,府治在今南平市。闽北地区的特点是山高林深,河流湍急,平地很少,但由于与江西、浙江接壤,成为北方汉族移民入闽的第一站,开发最早。

汉晋时期开始入闽的移民,在闽北定居下来,男耕女织,秋收冬藏。宋代的闽北已进入文化高度成熟时期,科举繁盛,人才众多,还涌现了朱熹、李纲、杨时、真德秀、柳永、严羽等一批著名人物。所谓闽学,其骨干朱熹及其师友弟子多半是闽北人,并且主要在闽北发展,逐渐形成一个重要学派。无论思想深度还是影响力,闽学堪称福建文化的一个顶峰。

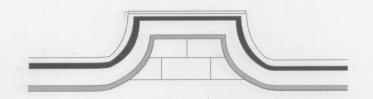
明中叶以后,由于战乱等原因,闽北文化开始衰弱,但是理学传统的深厚 积淀,依然表现在各个方面。闽北的建筑,肃穆质朴,英华内敛,呈现出一种 理性与节制之美。众多豪门大宅,混杂在寻常巷陌,只有登堂入室,细细品 味,才能领略其深沉的意味。

泰宁的尚书第就是这样一个例子。所谓尚书第是明朝泰宁籍兵部尚书李春烨的府第,门面小而朴实,夹杂在一大片明清建筑群中。然而进入甬道,你会发现这是一座庞大的建筑,五幢三进院落一字排开,气势恢弘。传统的三厅九栋布局,幢与幢之间既独立,又有回廊与侧门沟通。简练的石雕,粗大的梁柱,深邃的庭院,都充分体现明代建筑的雄浑大气。现存福建古民居多建于清代,明代的十分罕见,论规模之大保存之完好,尚书第为绝无仅有的一座。

尚书第大量使用了花岗岩。事实上,因为采石不易,闽北建筑里石材的使用十分俭省,只在门楼、天井、走廊、檐阶等少数地方铺设。比较气派的闽北建筑,多为砖木结构,寻常人家则使用土木材料。

从前闽北人建房子,并不复杂。先弄堆石料来做地基,没有方石,就去河





里找鹅卵石。瓦片当然是必需的。而最重要的是上山砍来一堆大杉木。杉木是闽北的特产,树干直,重量轻,木中所含杉脑可防虫蛀,是理想的建筑材料。一幢普通的房屋可以全由杉材建成,并且不施油漆,叫清水杉。逢年过节,用水刷洗板壁,便露出黄褐的杉木本色,仿佛宋元古画,花纹诱人。房屋的木构部分建成后,就可以入住了。如果你想结实点,农闲时请几个亲朋好友帮忙夯土墙,做个围护。如果你有经济实力,改砌砖墙,再搞个精美的雕花门楼,就足以炫耀乡里了。

典型的闽北建筑受徽派建筑影响较深,青砖灰瓦,朴素大方。普通人家的屋脊都是平直的,只在檐角起翘,像伊秉绶隶书里的刚劲而短促的燕尾;高大的马头墙错落起伏,形成梯级形态。其质朴的造型,刚硬的风骨,深沉的色调,都让人想起仁义礼智忠孝节悌这些传统价值。闽北建筑也有华丽的成分,那就是砖雕。朴拙厚实的青砖,一旦雕上栩栩如生的花草鸟兽、神仙人物、戏曲故事,就有了灵气,像黑白照片那样纯净雅致。在武夷山五夫里的连氏节孝坊,那面精彩绝伦的雕花门楼混杂在一片老旧建筑中,孤立无援,仿佛幽雅贞静的古典女子沦落街头。现在还保存着最多精美砖雕的,也许是武夷山市的下梅村,数十幢古民居的门楼,极尽雕饰之能事。那天傍晚,我看到斜阳照耀着邹氏家祠门楼洋洋洒洒铺排开来的雕花图案,锦缎一般绚烂。

闽北的木雕也是很精彩的。邵武金坑有座名叫儒林郎的建筑,六扇镂空的隔扇门,左右厢房窗格,到处雕刻春兰夏荷、苏武牧羊、喜鹊登梅等图案。刀法明快,构图简洁,意趣动人。这是我在普通民居中见到的最出色的木雕艺术。

闽北的古民居,都默默隐藏在乡村里,无声无息地老去。有一次,我们在建瓯寻找一个叫五石的小村子。荒野里,路很小,我们正疑惑这里不像有村庄,没想到小村子猛然显现,村里居然矗立着三幢装饰极其精美的老宅。清代工匠的细致和耐心让我们叹服。柱础、柱头、斗拱、梁枋、窗格、花板,一切可装饰的部分,无不精雕细刻,美轮美奂;两个藻井的修辞更是铺张扬厉,极尽奢华;壁画和彩绘依然生动传神。最奇妙的是,当初的浓墨重彩,经过百余年沉淀,已经归于淡雅。一种意味深长的宁静开始生长。

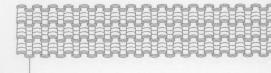
房子的主人不在,一条狗懒洋洋地趴在大厅一角。虽然只有两个儿童在走动、说话,但古宅里竟然回荡着金属般的声音。

我们离开时,村口的一位妇女说:"都是破房子,有什么好看的?"

一幢老房子,不仅是人类的作品,也是时间的作品。或者说,人类和时间 在创造中共谋。光人类是不能抵达事物的核心的,还要潮水般的光阴来冲刷。 最后,伪饰剥落,事物显露内心,如同鹅卵石裸露最深邃的断裂。

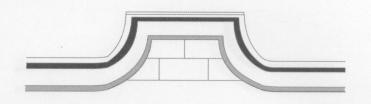
#### 闽东古民居:飞腾的风火墙

闽东地区包括两个部分,闽江下游的福州地区和古代福宁府(府治在今 霞浦)管辖的闽东各县。两地虽然都属于闽东方言区,但地理、经济和文











化等方面,都存在极大的差异。

福州坐落在闽江下游临近出海口的冲积盆地上,开阔平坦,土地肥沃,东有高山阻挡台风,却不妨海潮直抵城下。江海交汇,上控下引,福州的地理位置十分重要。宋代名臣蔡襄形容说: "福建一路州军,建、剑、汀州、邵武军,连接两浙江南路,乘船下水三两日可至福州城下。其东界连接温州,并南接兴化军,泉州漳州各在海畔,四向舟船可至闽中。诸州皆以福州为根本。"福州先天具有成为福建政治中心的优势。

然而福州城却无险可守。有句古谚形容福建上四府的形势:铜延平,铁邵武,豆腐建宁府,纸褙福州城。意思是说南平和邵武地形险要,固若金汤;建瓯像豆腐,早早投降算了;福州是纸糊的城市,不堪一击。最后这句还带点写实,旧时福州到处是连片的木房,板壁缝隙往往用纸张裱糊,一把火就会烧个干干净净。质诸古史,果然是这样,闽越国、闽国、明初陈友定割据,都不成气候。

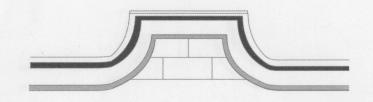
福州迟迟不能确立自己作为文化中心的位置。宋代,福建的文化和学术中心在闽北,福州进士虽多,却很少有学术建树,就连附近的莆仙也比它牛气。到了明中叶,闽北文化和莆仙文化相继衰落,没想到闽南突然间人文蔚起,声势之盛,一点不让闽东。这似乎是一场福建各区域接力与省会城市进行的文化竞赛。

福州最后还是无可争议地成为了福建的文化中心。清乾隆年间,厦门港衰落,导致闽南经济和文化衰退,而福州则欢天喜地迎来了一个科举盛世。这也许是1707年省城创建的鳌峰书院有了出人意料的成果。有清一代,闽县、侯官两县考取的进士,占全省总数的40%左右。科举盛况还带来了文化的繁荣,一大批高官显宦和名流才俊,在事功和学术上均有建树,例如林则徐、沈葆桢、林旭、严复、林纾等,都曾经站在历史的潮头,深刻地影响着中国的现代化进程。

这里所提到的几位近代福州名人,都在三坊七巷住过。福州古民居,最有人文意蕴的,当然就是市中心的三坊七巷。这片古街区始建于五代,一千年了,不过今天的遗存多半来自明清,总共200多座建筑。我们欣赏古民居,见到一座两座精品,已是万幸,谁敢奢望整片古代街区完整展现在我们面前呢?更何况其中不少是耳熟能详的名人故居!人们不必计较它已经破败,走在窄窄的石板巷道上,粉墙黛瓦,曲线山墙,坊门跨巷而立,仿佛旧日时光重现。

三坊七巷的房屋门面都很朴实,不事张扬,与闽北大宅的雕花门楼无法相比。走进去,才知道其中另有天地,厅堂布局森严,高大开敞,不失官宦人家的气派。庭院的布置匠心独运,一个六角亭,一株荔枝树,一片假山石,都安置得停停当当,意趣盎然。其内部装饰的重点,似乎在于隔扇、窗棂、栏杆等细部,精雕细刻,毫不含糊。





福州长期作为国都、州治和省城,福州人变得儒雅、规矩、精明。明万历年间的《福州府志》说:"其俗尚文词,贵节操,多故家世族,君子朴而守礼,小人谨而畏法。"大量福州人通过科举走上仕途,进入历代王朝的官僚体制,从而形成一种注重礼仪正统保守的文化传统。福州古民居与闽南古民居正好形成有趣的对比:前者注重经营建筑的内部,门面刻意低调,表现了福州官宦文化的谨慎;后者特别讲究建筑的门面,内部反而不大在乎,体现了闽南商业文化的张扬。一个图实惠,一个要面子。

闽东虽然临海,却是临海的山区,一点不亚于闽西北。闽东的山,往往被海水洞穿心腹;闽东的海,则陷入了群山的重围。海岸线就在山与海的贴身肉搏中回肠九曲,迂回往复。美则美矣,却成了交通的难题。福州与京城的联系,本来取道闽东到温州、台州最为便捷,结果因为畏惧险阻,改走闽北出境。闽东变成死角。

706年,长溪县(县治在今霞浦)的薛令之为福建夺得了第一个进士。薛令之的故乡福安廉村,诗书传家,历代在科举上都有所斩获,至今还保留下数十幢明清时代的宗祠和豪宅。然而,闽东地区开发虽早,发展却比较迟缓。由于缺乏经济腹地,沿海也无法形成重要商港,只能依靠渔业捕捞,山区依然是传统农业,自给自足。

闽东古民居,给人最强烈的视觉特征是弯曲的风火墙。闽北古民居的风火墙是阶梯状的,线条硬朗,气韵沉雄。闽东各地的风火墙是曲线的,优美生动,随着屋顶的高低而起伏,当地人称马鞍墙。它们更像两条腾飞的龙,勾勒出建筑的左右边界,翘首栖落在宅门两侧。前面说过,福州人对建筑的外表不太重视,低调从简,但惟独对风火墙特别热衷,宅门两侧的山墙排堵,泥塑彩绘,颇费心思去装饰。俯瞰福州老城,黑压压的一大片瓦房,无数条粉白的风火墙波浪般起伏,仿佛万马奔腾,千龙竞渡。

一张完全静态的民居画面,竟让人感觉风生水起,马嘶龙吟!我们说福州古民居含英咀华韬光养晦,然而忍不住偶尔露峥嵘。飞翔的风火墙,也许就是福州人鸿鹄之志的象征吧。

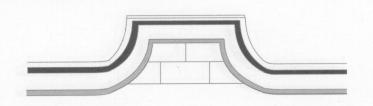
#### 闽南古民居:鲜艳的红砖大厝

闽南古民居的风格极其鲜明,令人过目不忘。乍看,会让人惊叹:怎么每幢房子都像座小庙!闽西北古民居的屋脊是平直的,只有庙宇和宗祠才有弧形屋脊,檐角高翘。然而,所有闽南古民居的屋脊都弯成弧线,有的呈马鞍状,有的是两端斜入高天的长燕尾形。

闽南古民居的另一个特点是红砖红瓦,特别俗艳。这是很奇怪的。中国各地的民居,都以青砖灰瓦为主,不但因为青砖的质量优于红砖,还有建筑制度上的原因。红色是高等级建筑才能使用的颜色,例如皇宫和寺庙。闽南古民居









不但铺红瓦,还使用红色筒瓦,的确是僭越了分寸。

闽南人自豪地称他们的房子为"皇宫起",也就是皇宫体的民居。有个民间故事解释了这种建筑样式的来源:闽王王审知的王后黄惠姑是泉州人,每到连绵阴雨天气,往往伤心落泪,闽王问她为什么。王后说她想起了娘家房屋破漏,不能阻挡风雨。闽王当即说:"赐你一府皇宫起。"圣旨传到泉州,民众误以为泉州一府都可以建皇宫式建筑,遂大兴土木。有人密告闽王,说泉州人到处建皇宫,准备谋反。闽王想起是圣旨有误,连忙下旨停建,可是泉州晋江一带的房屋都已经建好,只好算了,圣旨传到南安地界时,南安的屋顶仅砌了三槽筒瓦,奉令即停。这样,南安的皇宫起大厝便保留下一个鲜明的特色,屋顶仅在两边砌三槽筒瓦。

闽南古民居的结构都差不多。普通的面阔三间,称"三间起",中间为厅堂,左右各有一间房。屋脊要么用马背脊,要么用燕尾脊,都是中间凹陷两端微翘的优美曲线。燕尾脊更正式,翘得高昂,尖细,有轻灵飞动之势。大一点的是"五间起",面阔五间,在"三间起"左右各加一开间,屋顶再多出两条燕尾,仿佛一大一小两双翅膀在低空飞翔。闽南的大户人家一定要建院落。前落是门厅,后落是主屋,再加上左右两排护厝或廊庑,团团围着一个天井,形成一个紧凑密封的合院。最典型的闽南大厝,如漳州蔡竹禅故居,就是三进双护厝。南安蔡氏古民居群,面阔一般为五开间,两进或三进,左右带一排或两排护厝。

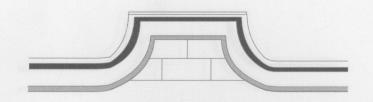
红砖红瓦成了闽南建筑的独特视觉特征。在亚热带的强烈阳光下,碧海边,龙眼树与荔枝林的绿阴间,一幢幢鲜艳的红砖大厝显得特别明净亮丽、优雅动人。闽南人喜欢红色,也许与他们喜欢张扬和热闹的性格相关吧。

通常说的闽南,指的是原泉州、漳州两府的辖地,现在则分属厦门、泉州、漳州三市。从地理看,闽南地区有三个重要的特点。首先,它是福建最炎热的地区,临近北回归线,终年花果飘香。其次,闽南有漫长的海岸线,厦门干脆就是个海岛,面向世界的海洋对于闽南文化有决定性的影响。第三,闽南拥有福建四大平原中的两个,宽阔平坦,交通方便,语言相通。闽南是福建的精华所在。

闽南地区属泉州开发最早,宋元时代已成为整个东方世界最大的海港,是海上丝绸之路的起点。明代泉州港衰落,然而漳州的月港在明后期崛起,继续保持闽南人的航海优势。明清之际,郑成功一度控制了南中国海的海权,并从荷兰殖民者手中收复台湾。这是大航海时代欧洲殖民势力在全世界范围内遇到的一次重大挫败。清初,月港衰败后,它下游的厦门港横空出世,成为闽南地区的最大出海口。通过厦门,闽南人源源不断移民台湾和南洋。

闽南人的主体也是北方汉族移民,熟悉的是耕作农业,随着泉州平原的开发,部分人口开始往更南的漳州以至粤东潮汕地区迁徙。唐宋时期,漳州平原





还地广人稀,一片田园牧歌。明代闽南人多地少的矛盾日渐激化,沿海居民遂铤而走险,扬帆出海,开展海上走私贸易。明初厉行海禁,海上贸易具有违法性质,官府称之为海盗;明后期开放海禁时,海盗摇身一变,成了海商。闽南人走向海洋,是在官府打压的情况下进行的,亦商亦盗。这也使闽南人勇于冒险的性格得到强化。

海外贸易带来的巨大财富和宽阔眼界,造就了闽南文化迅速崛起。施鸿保《闽杂记》说: "明时,兴化、泉州科甲之多,乡试每占通省之半。"兴化军是宋太平兴国四年(979年)从泉州分出去的,深究起来属于闽南文化系统。宋代莆田、仙游两县的人才超过福州、泉州这些大府,自成一军。明中叶以后,闽南与福州相比,无论科举人才还是学术成就,都有后来居上的势头。泉州的晋江、漳州的漳浦涌现了蔡清、陈紫峰、黄道周、蔡世远等一批著名学者,成为闽学重镇。文学上,福州的"闽中十才子"尊唐,闽南地区的文人多半反对,王慎中另开宗宋一派针锋相对,自创晋安诗风。

地域差异导致的文化差异很有意思。在民间,人们也经常认为,闽南人与福州人性格完全相反,互不买账。我有个朋友开玩笑说: "福州人叫线面,闽南人偏偏要倒过来称面线;福州人说煎海蛎,闽南人就说海蛎煎。反正事事要反着来。"林鸿尊唐,王慎中偏偏要宗宋,也有点反着来的意味。

清中叶后厦门港衰落,闽南文化滑坡,福州无可争议成了全省的文化中心。不过,闽南与福州之争并未落下帷幕。上世纪末,闽南经济已经远远超过闽东,这是否意味着闽南文化即将复兴,并重启两地五六个世纪以来的文化竞争,还未可知。

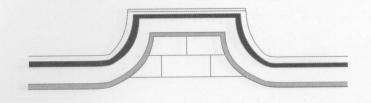
民居的形态往往反映人民的性格。闽南人是晚近挟巨大的商业财富崛起的,年轻气盛,踌躇满志。起建豪宅大厝,是他们炫耀家族社会地位的一种方式。福州人那样讲究内部装饰,在闽南人看来是锦衣夜行,浪费银子,他们认为最重要的应该是建筑的外观。闽南地区盛产石材,好的建筑一定大量使用石料,看上去能传诸久远。高翘的屋脊很神气,红砖红瓦喜庆,他们拿来就用,全不管是否合乎礼制。

闽南古民居的装饰重点是门面。石雕、砖雕、镶嵌、瓷塑什么都往门楼上堆积,满满当当,花花绿绿,成为民间工匠展示才艺的场所。我去龙海石码看杨家大厝,还未进门,就被门墙上的各种装饰吸引了,使劲拍照,那真叫精美。如果是新建的门楼,你可能觉得俗不可耐,时间一久,再俗丽光鲜的事物也会沉静下来,变得雅致。我的胶卷已消耗大半,还没进门呢。没想到转进厅堂一看,已没什么可拍的了。

闽南建筑的屋脊装饰特别丰富。大约他们觉得这么显眼的位置闲着可惜, 于是发展出泥塑、剪粘和交趾陶的技术,弄一排栩栩如生的神仙人物站在那 里,五彩缤纷,煞是好看。屋顶垂脊正前方的牌头,什么亭台楼阁、鸟兽虫









鱼、花果器具,都往上面堆垛,像满族妇女盛妆时满满当当的头饰。

很可惜,闽南本土现在已经很少见到这种刻意经营屋顶的建筑了。前些年 我到马来西亚的槟城参观龙山堂,一座保存极其完好的闽南宗祠,首先就被它 屋顶的豪华装饰震撼了。回国后我对曲利明说:"我们在闽南采访过那么多闽 南建筑,我告诉你,我见过的最好的闽南建筑在马来西亚。"

#### 闽西古民居: 有永久居民的碉堡

客家是最迟入闽的一个民系。到了宋代,福建大部分地区都已经被开发了,只留下偏僻的崇山峻岭。客家人从赣南一带进入福建的宁化、长汀,就此定居下来。

传统所说的闽西,是指古汀州府管辖的八县。从地理上看分为两片,北片是闽江支流沙溪的上游地区,如宁化、清流、明溪和连城,与闽北、闽东联系较密切;南片是汀江流域的长汀、武平、上杭和永定,汀江流入广东,与粤东北有较多的互动。客家人最早进入闽西的北部,因为东部早已被闽北人开发,更多的移民只好继续往南迁移,然而不久他们又遇到闽南人的阻挡,被迫往西沿着汀江出闽,进入广东。所以客家人聚集的区域多在赣南、闽西、粤东。

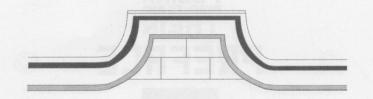
闽西是客家人关键的一站,不少学者认为,客家人正是在宁化、长汀落脚后,凝聚起族群意识,形成一个独特的民系。

"汀,山多田少,土瘠民贫。"宋代的《临汀志》说。闽西的自然条件不好,否则早就被更早的汉族移民占领了。后来为客,面对当地土著居民,宋以后的这批汉族移民自称客家。由于文化和人口优势,他们很快反客为主,成为闽西的主人。

落后的经济影响了闽西文化的发展。北片闽江流域的几个县,受闽北文化和闽东文化辐射,相对比较发达。唐代宁化就出过一个进士,宋代又诞生过郑文宝这样的名诗人。然而,直到明清之际,闽西才出现第一批在全省乃至全国有影响的人才,例如文人李世熊、黎士弘,书画家上官周、黄慎、伊秉绶。特别值得一提的是,宁化和连城两县涌现了阴承方、雷鋐、童能灵等重要理学家,当福州学风转为朴学后,他们还在从容不迫地研究朱子理论,支撑闽学残局。

客家人是一支长途跋涉辗转迁徙的民系,具有特别强烈的宗族意识和正统观念。这很容易理解,越是远离故土,越是需要团结,需要血缘与文化的认同。体现在建筑上,就是聚族而居,讲究礼制传统。客家人特别热衷于宗祠的建设,有大宗祠、小宗祠、房系宗祠等等,形成一个宗祠体系。看上杭的李氏大宗祠,那规模气势,让我们感动于客家人慎终追远的情怀。地形再不利,他们也要按中轴线起造大厝,为的是取中,给祖先的神主牌留个最好的位置。被称为"太师椅"的围垅屋,随山就势,导致后屋高出正厅,这本来不大妥当,但因为建筑结构保证了中堂坐落在中心位置,就有了可以接受的理由了。至于





圆形土楼,众望所归的圆心,必定建造一个公共祖堂,好一起祭拜列祖列宗。

客家人移民较晚,南方膏腴之地已经尽属先前的移民,只好深入山区,与土著居民进行种种争夺,斗争十分激烈。客家地区随处可见的土楼和围屋,反映了这一历史进程。

土楼是最具特色的闽西南民居。它们太独特了,与其他传统民居形成较大的差异,人们往往将它们单独论列。土楼,我们不妨视之为有永久居民的碉堡,一般建成圆形或方形,外墙用生土夯筑,厚实高大。闽西北也筑土墙,我自己就干过这活,手掌起过好多血泡。然而看过闽西土楼后,人们不得不佩服,打土墙的本领还是客家人厉害。在永定、平和寻找土楼的过程中,不时看见路边荒野立着几面孤零零的土墙,几乎完好无损,而房屋的木构部分却早已荡然无存。那些倔强的土墙像是永不瞑目的幽灵,要站到地老天荒。

那年正月,蒙蒙细雨,我们曾在永定的振成楼住过一夜。三楼,房间很小,有些潮湿,厕所在土楼外,所以天黑后就放个马桶在内圈廊道上。土楼内的住户大多数搬走了。深夜起来吸烟,一走动,廊道上的木楼板就发出响亮的咯吱声,似乎还有回声。四周静悄悄的,楼下祖堂剩下一个模糊的轮廓。土楼的大门都已关上,看不见星空,居住在土楼里的人像是安全地蜷缩在蛋壳里,或是子宫中。

客家区有一种被称为"九厅十八井"的大型民居,意思是有九个厅堂、十八个天井、上百个房间。连城培田的继述堂就是如此布局的,主体建筑是四进院落,左边一排右边三排横屋,共有18个厅堂、24个天井、72间房屋。培田还有幢叫"官厅"的建筑,结构更严谨,前塘后阁,中央五进院落,左右各带一排横屋。这种大型民居,是为了满足超大家族居住的需要而建造的,福建其他地方也有,但闽西地区最常见。聚族而居是汉族人的习惯,只是客家人特别重视而已。

生活在艰苦的闽西山区,形成了客家人朴实、坚毅的性格,漂泊与迁徙的族群经验,又使他们勇于闯荡,适应力强。例如同属农业社会,闽北人安土重迁,保守知足;客家人习惯于背井离乡,追寻新的生存空间。闽西的大山困不住他们。到了清代,客家人终于来到海边,毫不犹豫地远涉重洋,移民海外。被迫迁徙是一种苦难,然而深刻的迁徙记忆,对一个血气方刚的族群来说,也是一种财富。





## PREFACE



#### A large northwestern Fujian house that I lived in

When one talks of one's home village, or rather of one's homestead, one is referring first of all to the house one used to live in. I spent my childhood in a valley in northwestern Fujian. The village is a strip spread out along the foot of a hill and facing undulating paddy fields. A small brook winds through the village. On the opposite side, standing tall and upright, is the rugged Red Rock Mountain, as well as layers of distant mountains. My earliest and strongest memories come from an old house, sooty from the kitchen smoke—the Xiao family home.

I have also visited numerous villages in all parts of Fujian, where I have seen similar scenes. Concealed in every valley is a village where a clan lives together, building houses much the same as the Xiao family home. I feel completely at home in these other villages.

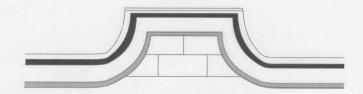
The Xiao family home is representative of traditional houses in northwestern Fujian, with a mountain in back covered with ancient tall trees. The front of the house looks out on open land, a well, a pond, and paddy fields. An expert told me that this was determined by fengshui. The large house, surrounded by a firewall, has two rows of buildings that are divided into five rooms. The larger middle two rooms serve as halls. Outside the firewall, on each of the left and right sides is another row of rooms. The courtyard is the center for ventilation and light in the house. Water from all four sides of the roof falls here: the people call this "four waters gathering in the center." The political core of the home is in the high, spacious main hall, where there is a shrine for sacrificing to the Xiao ancestors. Important ceremonies, such as ancestor worship, weddings, or funerals, all take place in this hall.

I often need to explain to people that in traditional Chinese homes, the quick and the dead live together, and the deceased take precedence. The most important place in a house must be given to the ancestors. Why are Chinese structures built carefully along axes? Because this is the way that people can decide where the most important places should be: in the center and higher.

The Xiao family is a large clan which has flourished over the years. After the division of the family, one or two rooms, including a hall, went to each nuclear family. Because the resulting space was limited, the people built additional houses in the vicinity. At the end of the 20° Century, when I went back to my old home, only two or three households were left there. Most people had moved to newly built brick houses. The Xiao family home, where a clan had lived in affection for two or three hundred years, had now been abandoned. In a short twenyt-year span, the old house now had one foot in the grave. Because dozens of families had property rights to this ancestral home, it was impossible to make any changes: the fate awaiting her was continuous ruin, decay, and collapse.

This is also the fate of most of the traditional houses today. Our lifestyle has changed greatly, and traditional construction can't easily satisfy the many demands we make of our housing. In a rapid retreat from the stage of history, these old houses are being demolished or abandoned. This is the first time in the last few thousand years that only a few of them will be preserved as examples of cultural relics; most of the traditional Chinese domestic architecture will completely vanish within half a century. It's as if history has been cut by a sharp knife.





#### A large northwestern Fujian house that I lived in

In order to understand the traditional domestic architecture of Fujian, one must first understand Fujian's geography, languages, and people. The architectural tradition is one part of the cultural tradition. It existed before we did, and yet it has changed because of us. People who emigrated from southern Fujian to Taiwan or Southeast Asia also built large red brick houses such as they once had in their homeland. When Europeans went to Gulangyu island in Xiamen, they imitated the western villa from thousands of miles away. But they were all changed to adapt to the geography and climate: new features were added and new styles gradually evolved.

Geographically, Fujian is known as the southeastern mountain land. Southeastern Fujian faces the ocean and Taiwan. The northeastern, northwestern, and southwestern regions all have high mountain ranges dividing Fujian from Zhejiang, Jiangxi, and Guangdong, thus forming a geographical unit. Mountains and hills occupy at least 80% of the land area. This is referred to as "80% mountains, 10% water, and 10% arable land." The two continuous 500-kilometer-long mountain chains paralleling the coastline-Wuyi Mountain on the northwest border and the Jiufeng-Zaiyun mountain range in central Fujian-divide Fujian into the northwestern mountain region and the southeastern coastal region.

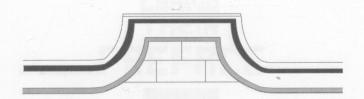
Most of Fujian's rivers, cutting through the mountainous northwest, flow southeast into the ocean, thus leaving a fragmented region in this area. The largest river, the Minjiang, has its sources in the northwestern Wuyi mountains. The streams converge in Nanping, and the Min then flows through Fuzhou and enters the ocean. It runs through the northern mountain region and the eastern coastal region. Several important rivers flowing through southeastern Fujian, such as the Mulan River, the Jin River, and the Jiulong River, have their sources in the central mountains of Fujian. These rivers are short, and their alluvial plains are rather wide and close to each other. The Ting River in western Fujian goes through Guangdong and enters the Han River. Western Fujian and eastern Guangdong together make up the Hakka region.

In general, Fujian can be divided into four regions: northern Fujian on the upper reaches of the Min River (the three ancient prefectures of Jianning, Yanping, and Shaowu); eastern Fujian on the lower reaches of the Min River and including the northeastern coastal area (the two ancient prefectures of Fuzhou and Funing); southern Fujian along the southern coast (the three ancient prefectures of Zhangzhou, Quanzhou, and Xinghua); and western Fujian in the southwestern mountain region (in ancient times, the Tingzhou prefecture), where the Hakka people live. Of course, we have to adjust these divisions a little. For example, Xinghua, now known as Putian and Xianyou, has been separated from Quanzhou since the Song dynasty. Their language and culture have their own special characteristics. People generally regard them as an independent region; seldom are they included in the concept of southern Fujian. In addition, geographically, Longyan and Zhangping should be part of southern Fujian, but today they are administratively part of western Fujian.

Fujian's languages are very complicated. In *Fujian Dialects*, Li Rulong divides Fujian into seven large dialect regions: eastern Fujian, represented by the Fuzhou dialect; Putian and Xianyou; southern Fujian, represented today by the Xiamen dialect; northern Fujian, represented by the Jian'ou dialect; central Fujian, represented by the Yong'an dialect; western







Fujian, represented by the Changting dialect; and northwestern Fujian and Jiangxi, represented by the Shaowu dialect. If we considered the central Fujian dialect and the northwestern Fujian dialect as variations of the northern Fujian dialect, the picture would be less complicated, for we would then be left with only the northern, eastern, southern, and western Fujian dialects, as well as the Putian-Xianyou dialect. The regions of the Fujian dialects would then essentially correspond with the geographical divisions.

The differences in dialects generally are predicated on the differences in peoples and cultures. In Fujian's Six Major Peoples, Chen Zhiping divides Fujian people into six groups: the northern Fujian people, the eastern Fujian (Fuzhou) people, the southern Fujian people, the western Fujian (Hakka) people, the Xinghua people, and the Longyan people. Each of these groups created a different, distinct culture. For example, there were the Neo-Confucian culture in northern Fujian; the government officials' culture of eastern Fujian; the ocean culture of southern Fujian; the farming culture of western Fujian; the imperial examination culture of Putian and Xianyou; and the commercial culture of Longyan. The differences in cultures directly influenced the style of building in each place, thus engendering all kinds and styles of residences in Fujian.

The present administrative divisions have sometimes confused the distinctive regional cultural characteristics. In 1970, the new city Sanming was established in central Fujian by combining part of the northern region and part of the western region. It was then that people started talking of northwestern Fujian. In terms of geography, my ancestral homeTaining county belongs to northwestern Fujian. I often need to explain to my friends that northwestern Fujian was not a cultural concept in the past. Taining county and Jianning county were part of Shaowu prefecture. Jiangle county and Sha county were part of Yanping prefecture. All four belonged to the northern Fujian culture system. Ninghua county, Qingliu county, and Mingxi county-all part of Tingzhou prefectu-rebelonged to the western Fujian culture. When we talk of culture, we have to return to the historical times when the cultures were shaped.

From the time the Qin dynasty [221-206 B.C.] established the central Min prefecture, Fujian has been a separate administrative entity, with its borders changing little. At the same time, because of the high mountains everywhere, transportation and communication within this area were difficult; thus, each region was comparatively independent and developed separately. Beginning in the Han [206 B.C.-220 A.D.] and Tang [618-907 A.D.] dynasties, large numbers of northern Han people migrated to Fujian; northern Fujian, eastern Fujian, and southern Fujian opened up one after the other. During the 300 years of the Northern and Southern Song dynasties [960-1279], the northern Fujian culture was kindled. With Zhu Xi [1130-1200] as the representative figure in the process, Min learning propelled Fujian's culture to its zenith, symbolizing the profound thought of the ancient Chinese. In a 1000-year period, the eastern Fujian culture was relatively stable, but it exploded greatly after the middle Qing period, with "many notables coming from here during the late Qing dynasty." [Qing dynasty: 1616-1911] The Putian-Xianyou area distinguished itself by producing scholars from the Song to the middle of the Ming dynasty [Ming dynasty: 1368-1644]; in this, it continuously led the entire province. Unfortunately, in 1562 its capital was destroyed by the attacks of Japanese pirates, and it declined. Although Quanzhou was the main international port and cosmopolitan city during the Song [960-1279] and Yuan [1206-1368] dynasties, it was only during the Ming and Qing dynasties that its culture suddenly burst forth with the splendor of the ocean culture. Western



