

Local Structures in China

The Pivot of Yin-Yang Natural Principles, The Criterion of Human Relations

中国乡土建筑

阴阳之枢纽 人伦之轨模

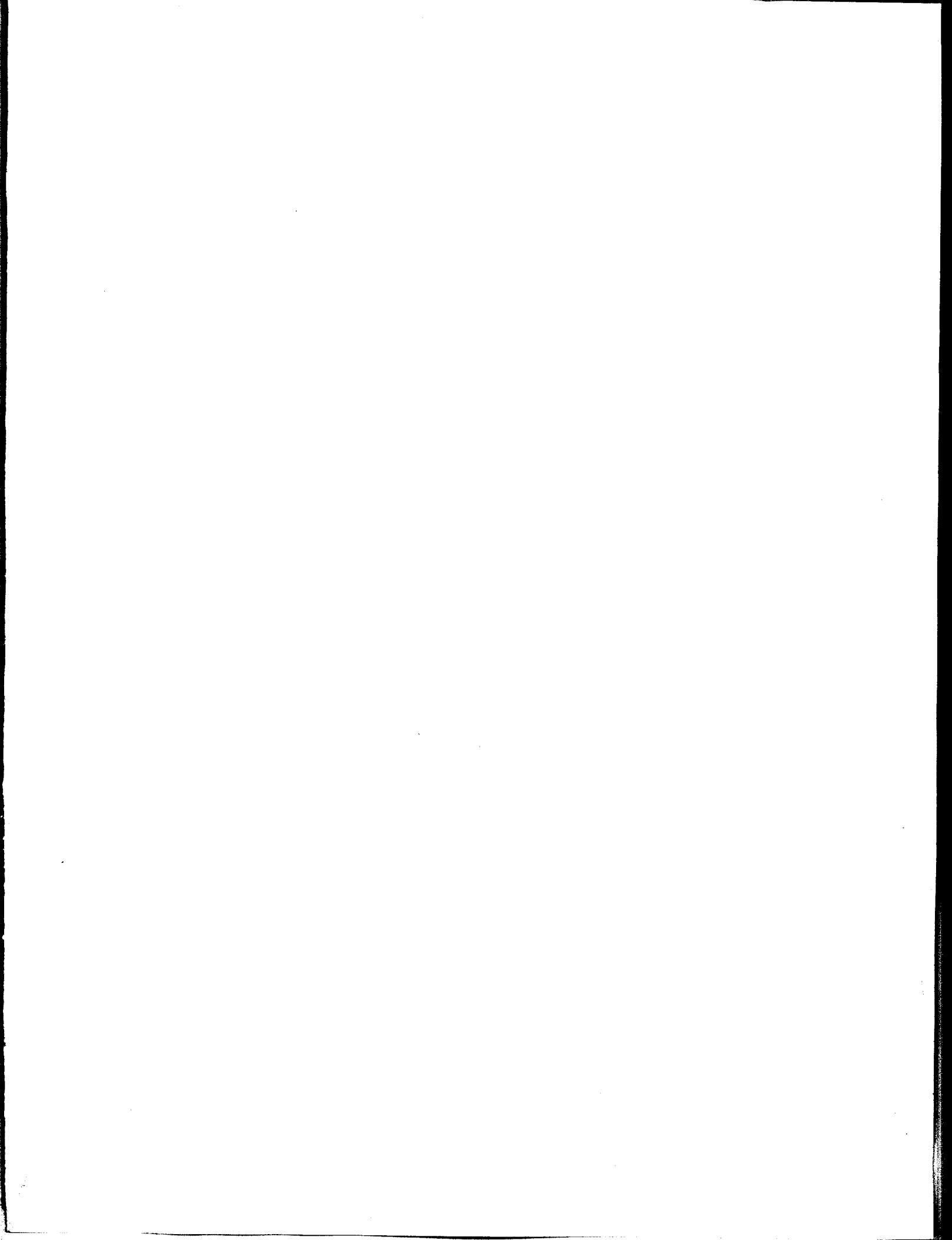
云之南（云南）

South of the Yun Ridge(Yunnan)

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中国乡土建筑总是掩映在树荫之中，静静地面对苍天，无声地表白着自己的心境，如同居住着的各民族的人民一样，谦恭地向人类表示着自己的智慧与文化的辉煌。

Nestling in green woods and opening to the azure sky, Chinese local buildings are laying bare their inner recesses of heart, just like the people of all nationalities living there who reveal modestly to mankind the splendour of their culture and wisdom.

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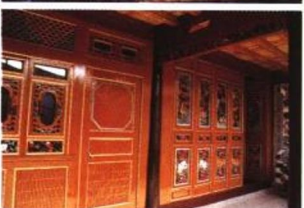
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阴阳之枢纽 人伦之轨模

——中国民居的文化意味

王鲁湘



云南瑞丽等喊弄寨傣族民居



云南大理白族民居

1、跨越四个气温带，包罗山地与平原、沙漠和水乡，由56个民族不同风土所孕育的中国民居，分布于祖国辽阔壮美的四面八方。北京的四合院，西南的吊脚楼，陕北的窑洞，闽南的土楼，青海的庄巢，广西的麻栏，草原的毡包，高原的碉房，傣家的竹楼，大理及丽江的“三坊一照壁”、“四合五天井”……可谓异彩纷呈，姿态万千，是一笔远未得到开发就开始消失的文化遗产！

当我们为文明的现代形态而骄傲的时候，民居以其朴素简陋的外表不动声色地提醒我们：自从人类的祖先从树上下来，学会用木头和泥土建筑房屋后，多少个千年以来，我们的居住方式从本质上说几乎没有什么变化。

不管各个地区的民居在制式和风格上呈现多么巨大的差异，有两个基本点是一致的：它们既是从其所依附的独特的地理和气候中派生出来的，同时又是居住于其地的人们组织社会的一种文化创造。民居能够最有力地帮助我们认识文化所具有的风土性。

中国民居，以其匠心独运、意匠经营而成为建筑艺术的瑰宝，以其因地制宜、巧借风水而成为人民智慧的结晶，以其注重伦理、调和礼乐而成为民族文化的表现，以其递嬗迁变、盛衰兴败而成为社会历史的见证。它们背负历史的信息，挺立于原野之上，昂首苍穹，迎送多少寒暑，阅尽多少春秋，以满身沧桑进入我们的岁月，至今仍在庇护我们，使我们平凡的生活能够继续，日出而作，日落而息，炊烟天天升起，鸡犬日日相闻。

优秀的民居精华，以其亲切无比的乡土风情、质朴率真的建筑品格，同自然和谐相宜的精神以及富含创造的哲理，陶染过一代又一代华夏儿女。今天，当我们义无反顾地大步穿越现代文明的时候，这些民居的命运会有一个什么样的归宿呢？我们应当如何来认识这些民居的价值呢？

2、中国古代建筑文化可以分为三个主要层次，或者说三种主要类型：一是表现官文化的官式建筑；二是表现士文化的文人建筑；三是表现俗文化的民间建筑。套用《诗经》的分类，民间建筑是“风”，文人建筑是“雅”，官式建筑是“颂”。合而观之，是一部建筑的“风雅颂”。

官式建筑如宫殿、苑囿、陵寝、学宫以及府第等，无不追求雄伟壮丽，所谓“非壮丽无以重其威”，要的就是那股威仪，因此无论在规模、

体量、造型、色彩、装饰等方面，都要求与众不同，惟我独尊。崇高宏展的庞大空间，雕梁画栋的繁复工艺，华丽夺目的强烈色彩，无不显现出神圣庄严的煊赫气派，明确无误地表达了建筑的主人在社会上的统治和支配地位。

文人建筑如其居室、园林、书院以及一些文人活动场所，莫不追求幽静、素雅的情调以颐养心性。诗情画意的境界，朴实、淡雅、自然、含蓄的风格，正如文人画的水墨写意，清新明快，淳和闲适，淡淡地散发出温文尔雅的斯文气息。

民间建筑，也有人称之为风土建筑。它是原始建筑的继承和发展，人们可以从中看到纯粹的传统形态，在它的深处可以找到人类生活的原点。它土生土长，乡土气十足，反映了一个特定民族、特定地域所独具的生活理念。它不拘一格，自由活泼，同自然环境融为一体。它产生于民众生活，崇尚实用性和功能性，与民间习俗相结合，成为各种民俗文化活动的空间和场所，本身也构成民俗环境的一部分。

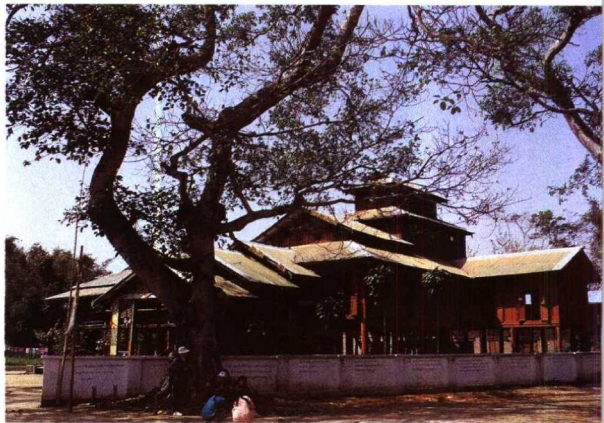
官式建筑因其政治形象的要求而遵循严格的“营造法式”，未免有千篇一律之憾；文人建筑由于内蕴的文化意趣趋于一致，故而无论建于何地，其精神风貌大体类似，恰如士人衣冠，大同小异；惟有民间建筑，因与风土密切相关，随着地理、物候而婉转多姿，呈现出惊人的多样性和鲜明的区域个性。

3、 我国中古时期流传于敦煌一带的《宅经》告诉人们：“宅者人之本，人者以宅为家。居若安，即家代昌盛；若不吉，即门族衰微。”我们的先人把安家建宅的事看得相当严重，严重到以宅为人本的程度，认为它不仅关系到一家一代的昌盛，而且关系到整个门族的兴衰，是兴也由宅，败也由宅。所以，“卜居相宅”这个词中的“卜”和“相”，绝非我们今天说的“看房子”那么简单，它形成了一套风水理论，把堪舆、阴阳、五行、八卦的学说都纳入其中，笼罩着一片神秘文化的迷雾。

宅求其安，是终极目的。“安”字包括安定、安全、安稳、安适、安乐。宋代哲学家邵雍就把自己的居所称做“安乐窝”。在中国民居的门口经常可以看到这样的春联：“和顺满门添百福，平安二字值千金。”“安居地利千年盛，乐业人和万代兴。”“吉星高照平安宅，福曜常临积



云南大理白族民居



云南瑞丽东门村傣族民居



云南大理白族民居

善家。”“岁岁平安日，年年如意春。”

一个“安”字，道尽中国民居的全部寄托。围绕着“安”字，中国民居从虚的观念到实的形制，下足了功夫。

那么，如何才能做到居安呢？

环境是首先必须考虑的。

中国民居对于环境，自古强调风水。何谓“风水”？一言以蔽之：藏风聚气。居室是养生之所，养生离不开环境。中国古人凭着直觉发现和经验积累，把坐北朝南、背山面水的环境视为好风水。好风水要觅龙、观砂、察水、点穴。觅龙是看山脉，视野常在上百公里，要求山脉来势深远，丰满圆润，沉雄敦厚。观砂是看龙脉以外的山势，要求曲折多变，层次丰富，拱卫中心。察水是看水体，既要源源不绝，又不可过于躁急，而要平和缓易，生生不息。点穴是指择基定址。宅基所在，应是龙、砂所结，是整个环境的原点，能成为生活的中心，形势上要求阴阳分明，凹凸有致。

这样的环境，就能藏风聚气，做到山水交汇，动静相乘，阴阳相济。民居择基于此，背有依托，前有屏障，左辅右弼，犹如摇篮和太师椅，安全、安妥、安适，可为久居之计。

风水对“气”给予特别重视，并引出“天气”、“地气”，“阴气”、“阳气”，“风气”、“水气”等等成对成双的范畴。“气”是一个综合指数，包括了温度、湿度、日照、风向、空气清洁度甚至于负氧离子含量等等，总之是人身这个小宇宙与环境的大宇宙如何全面协调，以求得平衡的能量交换，使人的身心感觉维持在一种健康舒适的状态，减少疾病的发生。身体健康，心理平和，能给家庭和家族带来两个直接的后果：一是子孙绵延，人丁兴旺；二是敦睦和谐，同心协力。于是，“安居地利千年盛，乐业人和万代兴”。“乐业人和”的前提是“安居地利”。所以，古代的宅书开宗明义即讲：“顺阴阳之气以尊民居。”

在中国，没有古希腊那种不可捉摸的命运观。风水理论告诉人们，只要顺从自然，就会给你的家族带来好运气。个人的命运，甚至家族的命运和子孙的命运，都可以在一定条件下自主操纵。这个条件在以农为本的自然经济的中国似乎不难做到，卜居相宅时给自己选择一处好风水就可以了。

4、毫无疑问，风水理论保留了许多原始巫术成分，古代的风水先生为了职业的需要，也故意附加了许多扑朔迷离的糟粕，风水理论的合理内核也大都停留在直觉和经验的水平上。即使如此，风水理论在实践中对于中国古代的村镇布局和民居形制，还是带来了积极的建设性的影响。其中最重要的，是根据风水的理想模式，在顺应自然的同时，对并不理想的地形地貌进行积极的改造。最主要的手段，就是理水和植树。

除空气外，人类生存最基本的资源是水。乡土集落无不以水为命脉。风水理论认为：“人身之血以气而行，山水之气以水而运。”水不仅为发展农业生产所需要，集落居民的生活也离不开水，这都是实际的功用。在观念上，气以水而运，就把水对于乡土集落和居民的意义提高到了—种更神秘更玄妙的地位，水也就超越其实际功用而成为财源和吉利的象征。

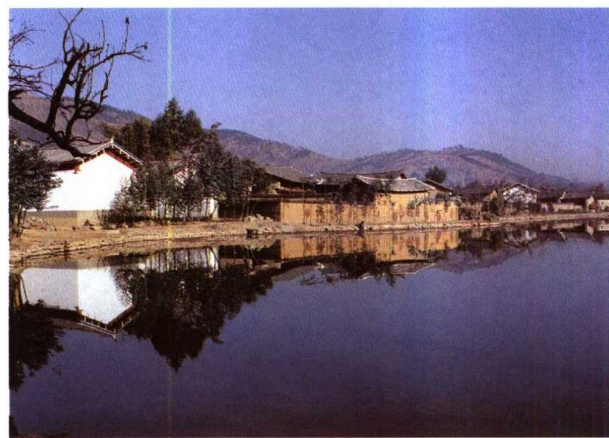
也许正是由于风水观念对水的意义的升华，才给了人们规划村镇和屋舍时理水的强大精神动力。比如有850年历史的徽州黟县宏村，乡民历经数百年完成的村落水系工程，就很难说是出于纯粹的生产生活的功利目的。它是族中长老以文运昌盛、科甲绵延为号召，以风水理想为模式，以风水观念作指导，激发起族人对凶祸的恐惧、对吉福的渴望而完成的一项“风水工程”。它已经成为中国民居集落理水的典范，受到世人的赞誉。它改善了集落小气候，美化了环境，方便了生活。村因水而秀，人因水而灵。所以徽人常说：“宁可食无鱼肉，不可居无好水。”

中国东南一带许多宗氏族谱记述其村落形势时，常有这样的话：“前有山峰耸然而特立，后有幽谷窃然而深藏，左右河水回环，绿林阴翳……”；“前有溪，清波环其室；后有树，葱茏荫其居；悠然而虚，渊然而静……”

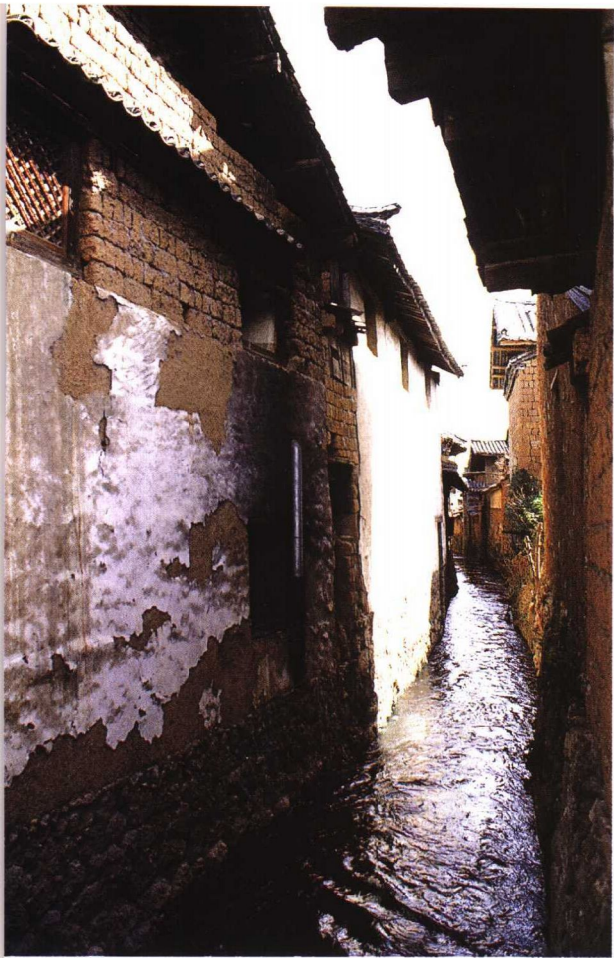
水为血脉，则草木为毛发。毛发繁盛则说明气血旺。因此，在风水观念看来，草木繁则气运昌。对于民居来说，通过植树可以补充和修正风水的某些不足，规避凶煞；而对于一个村寨来说，有一大片茂密的“风水林”则是村寨长治久安的保证。一般来说，有点历史的村子，其村口或村中心，总有一株古老沧桑的“风水树”。在南方，“风水树”常常是榕树或樟树，在北方则多为古槐。“风水树”如亭如盖，巍然耸立，俨然是村寨的守护神；浓荫匝地，凉爽沁人，更像族中的老祖母。



云南瑞丽等喊弄寨傣族民居



云南永胜汉族民居



云南丽江纳西族民居

“风水树”是不能砍伐的。“乡中有多年之乔木，与乡运有关，不可擅伐。”“盖树之位吉者，伐则除吉；位凶者，动亦招凶。”正是这样的风水观念，才产生强大的文化禁忌作用，使我们的国土上至今尚能见到根深叶茂的老树。

5、 中国古代哲人老子说：“万物负阴而抱阳，冲气以为和。”这也是中国民居空间模式的经典表述。

中国从南到北最普遍的院落式民居，无论是三合院或四合院，其主要建筑面南背北，四面围合，前低后高，中间空虚，就是一个“负阴抱阳”的理想模式。这个模式，酷似一个双手环抱于丹田之前正在纳气的人体形象。它以中厅为身，两耳房为肩，两厢为臂，两廊为拱手，天井为口，看墙为交手。这样的平面格局在风水观念看来有吉无凶，因为它围合了一个负阴抱阳、藏风聚气的居住空间，成为“阴阳之枢纽”。人居其中，头顶青天，脚踏实地，前有屏，后有靠，中庭有回旋，左右环伺，极具安全依托之感。合院的四向，从四个方向带入四季信息，人在任何时候都能有选择地享受到不同朝向所带来的日照与阴影，享受到凉与暖的温差，享受到既避风又通风的好处。这种令人愉快又启人幽思的阴阳交替的韵律，每口每时都在宅院中发生着。人生活在这样一个空间里，“顺四时而适寒暑，和喜怒而安居处，节阴阳而调刚柔”。房屋由一个遮风避雨的处所而升华成为一个“与天地合其德，与日月合其明，与四时合其序”的“阴阳之枢纽”。

6、 中国民居既然是中国文化的载体之一，也必然从形态上反映出中国宗法社会的礼乐秩序和纲常伦理。事实上，住宅不仅是“阴阳之枢纽”，更被要求成为“人伦之轨模”。

在《周易》六十四卦中，有一个“家人”卦。卦辞说：“女正位乎内，男正位乎外；男女正，天地之大义也。”后人解释说：“人人皆有家，可勿忧而吉。一家之家道立，一家之人交相爱；一国之家道立，一国之家交相爱；天下之家道立，天下之家交相爱。”

中国传统的家庭有其讲究尊卑名分、长幼有别的一面，也有要求家庭成员交相爱、和为贵的一面。前者为礼，后者为乐。礼乐相互制约、相互补

充，合而为礼乐秩序。

同官式建筑一样，民居也有主轴线。作为礼乐秩序重要体现者的厅堂和院，一定都在主轴线上。

厅堂是礼乐秩序中象征礼的实体，而院则是象征乐的虚体。

厅堂是一家人内聚的核心场所，家庭成员参加各种公共活动的地方。然而，在多数场合下，厅堂都是家长行使权力和施展影响之地，这里供奉祖宗牌位，有些还写着“天地君亲师”。厅堂居尊的地位在中国传统民居中从未受到挑战，因其居尊，所以居中，所以居上，所以乃大，所以乃高，是一个在形制和氛围上都比较严肃的地方。

而院子则不同了。在多数情况下，院子是大人踱步、小孩嬉戏、老人纳凉晒暖、妇女从事部分家务的地方。节庆日，它还是举行各种民俗活动的场所。院里如果种树栽花，掘池叠山，那么它就成了一个私家花园——春华秋实，诗情画意，其乐融融，其乐陶陶。

礼和乐是中国文化中理与情的互补。厅堂和院子正好反映了中国人在家居生活中对这种互补文化的要求。

7、 为了安居，为了居安，中国人围绕着自己的住宅，从天上、地上、人间，做足了文章，下足了功夫。汉族不算是一个宗教民族，民间也不尽信鬼神，惟有在家宅上，中国人却到处请神安神：大门口有“土地”，门上有“门神”，厨房有“灶君”，宅基有“地主”，墙中有“石敢当”，床下有“送子娘娘”，而厅堂正中供奉“九尊”，儒道佛三教神明统统供起，历代祖先左右排列。可以说是里里外外，每一个机关都驻有一路神灵，前后左右上下立体呵护。正所谓“英雄镇宅丁财旺，义气登堂老少安”。

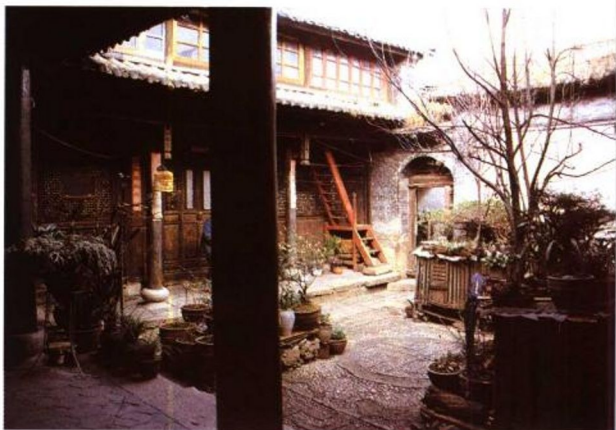
也许，世界上只有中国人才如此地把他们的全部梦想和祈求，把他们的今生来世和子子孙孙无穷尽的幸福，统统寄寓在卜居建宅之上。正因为寄寓的是人生的一切，所以，安居或者居安，在中国人的生活中才显得这般重要，这般值得关切。朴实的民居也因此而充满精神和文化的意味。

让我们再一次重复儒家的美好理想吧：

“人人皆有家，可勿忧而吉。”



云南大理白族民居



云南丽江纳西族民居

The Pivot of Yin-Yang Natural Principles, The Criterion of Human Relations

——The Cultural Significance of Chinese Civilian Residence

Luxiang Wang

1. Chinese civilian residences, carrying within themselves 56 different native climates and customs, are spread over all areas of our vast and magnificent motherland, which extend across four atmospheric temperature zones, covering mountainous and flat lands, desert and water regions. The quadrangles in Beijing, suspension houses in southwest China, cave dwellings in the north part of Shaanxi, adobe houses in the south part of Fujian, “Zhuang Chao” dwellings in Qinghai, “Ma-lan” railings in

Guangxi, felt yurts in grasslands, pillbox-shaped houses on highlands, bamboo houses of Dai nationality, the “Three compounds and a screen wall” and the “Four compounds with five courtyards” in Dali and Lijiang, Yunnan...all that blossoming in radiant splendour, appearing in all their glory, are really a sum of cultural heritage that has begun to vanish far before their being opened up!

tical: The residences are not only derived from the specific geographic and climate conditions to which they are attached, but also a kind of cultural creation in organizing society of the people who live there. Civilian residences can most powerfully help us to recognize the nature of local conditions and customs within such culture.

Chinese civilian residences have become a precious gem of architectural art because of their ingenuity and artistic conception in creation and a



When we are proud of our modern architecture formation, the civilian residences may calmly and collectedly remind us, with their simple and crude appearances, that: Since the ancestors of mankind climbed down the trees and learnt how to build houses with mud and wood, for thousands of years past, our residing form has virtually had little change.

No matter how great the difference in the form and style might be among the civilian residences of various areas, there are two basic points that are identical:

crystallization of people's wisdom by suiting measures to local conditions and skillfully using the geomantic omens. They have become a manifestation of national culture because they lay stress on ethics and are able to harmonize ethics with recreation. They have been the witness of social history by means of their progressive evolution and transmutation and their vicissitudes as well. They carry, on their back, the information of history, standing erect on the campaigns, holding up their heads toward the firmament, seeing how many times summer and winter come and go, watching how many times the spring and autumn seasons passing by. They enter our years covered all over with their vicissitudes and still so far shelter us, ensure us in our ordinary life the possibility of going out to work when the sun rises and of coming back to rest when it sets. Depending on them, we are guaranteed to have our

daily meals and a peaceful life day in and day out.

The excellent cream of civilian residences has edified and influenced Chinese people from generation to generation with its cordial local colours, and its simple and sincere architectural style; and with the spirit that is suitable to and harmonious with the nature, and the philosophy that contains fully creativity as well. Nowadays, when we stride forward to the modern civilization without ever turning back, what kind of the end-result would the destiny of such civilian residences come to? How should we come to recognize the value of such residences?

2. The Chinese ancient architectural culture can be differentiated into three main levels or three main types: the official type, manifesting the official culture, the scholar type, manifesting the scholar culture, and the type of civil structures which expresses the popular culture. Quoting the classification from The Book Of Songs: Civil structure is



called “Feng” , consisting of ballads; the scholar one is “Ya” , consisting of dynastic hymns and the official one is “Soong” , consisting of sacrificial songs.

Official structures, such as palaces, enclosed gardens, mausoleums, institutes, mansions, temples, etc., all without exception, demand strongly to be magnificent and sublime to show the dominant social position of the master of the structures.

Scholar structures, such as their dwellings, gardens, private schools and other places for their activities, all without exception, seek for a kind of quiet, simple and elegant sentiment to keep one’s mind easy and fit.

Civil structures, which are also called native structures, are the only kind of structures that needs no architect. Such type is the inheritance and development of primitive structures. We can see in it the pure traditional formation and find in its depths the

original point of human life. It reflects the idea of life which only a specific nationality and specific region could have. It integrates itself with folk customs and becomes a space and place for all kinds of activities of folk custom and culture to make itself a component part in the folk custom environment.

Official structures, because of the requirement of their political images, have to follow the strict “Rules of Architecture”, so there would be unavoidably regrets for the repetition of their types and styles; as to scholar structures, owing to their implicit cultural interests and charms tending to identity, no matter where they are built, their mental attitudes are roughly similar; only the civilian structures because they have intimate concern with local conditions and customs, along with the respective features of geography and phenology, become so mild and tactful with all kinds of postures to display their astonishing manifold characters and distinctive regional individu-

alities.

3. The Book Of Residence, which widely spread in the Dunhuang area in middle ancient times, tells us that:“Residence is the root of mankind, and mankind makes it their home. Residing in security and comfort, the family gets prosperity ; if not, decline.” Our ancestors regarded building a residence for a home as quite a serious matter, so serious that they took it for the root of mankind, and considered it to have a bearing not only on the prosperity of a family, a generation, but also on the rise or decline of the whole clan: hence the expression: “To choose a residence by means of divination, to observe a house for the influence it would have on us” . Here, “To choose by divination and to observe for the influence” is by no means what we nowadays so simply look at a house just as a place to live in. It forms a set of theory of geomantic omen, bringing together the doctrines



of the geomancy, the two opposing natural principles Yin and Yang, the five elements of universe and the Eight Diagrams into its

content to shroud itself in mysterious cultural mist.

A residence, for its terminal goal, demands to be stable, secure, steady, comfortable and peaceful.

It is this goal that expresses thoroughly what the Chinese civilian residences entrust themselves to. For this goal, Chinese civilian residences have exhausted all their efforts, from the virtual conception to the actual formation.

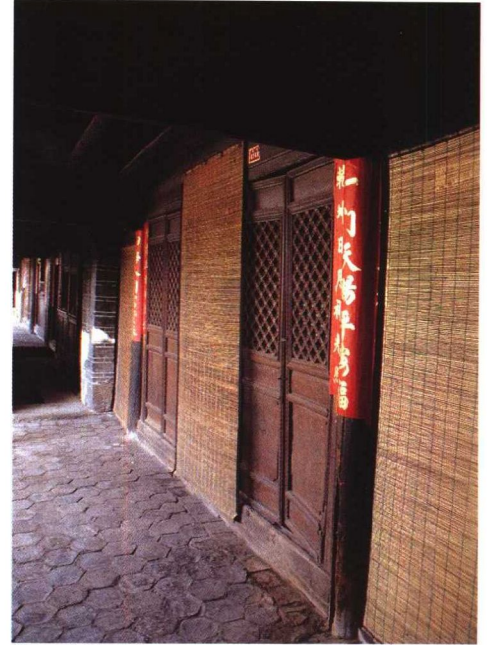
And how can we get to this goal, then?

Environment is the first point to consider.

To the environment, Chinese civilian residences since ancient times, have put emphasis on geomantic omen. What is meant by “geomantic omen”? To be terse, it means to shelter people from wind (destroying force of nature) and concentrate the breath (productive energy of nature) for them. A dwelling is a place to preserve one’s health which cannot be sustained without a favorable environment. Relying on intuitive discoveries and accumulation of experiences, the Chinese ancients regarded such environment as a good geomantic place that has its location towards south or facing waters and at the same time backing on to mountains. A place of good geomantic omen demands the procedure of seeking dragon, surveying sand, observing waters and pointing out cave. Seeking dragon means to look for mountain range with a perspective of hundred kilometers, with the oncoming force profound and lasting, plump and mellow, and vigorous and steady as well; surveying sand is to check the other mountains around the dragon range, which is required to be tortuous and varied, abundant in tiers, surrounding the centre to protect it; observing waters means to inspect the regimen of water, which is required to flow steadily and not impetuously, to run mildly and slowly but without cease; pointing out cave means to choose a foundation for a location, foundation is located, it must be a place where the dragon range and its sur-

roundings (other mountains) join. It is a master spot of the whole environment which tends to become the centre of human life. In circumstance, it is demanded to have a clear boundary between the Yin (shady or lower part) and the Yang (projecting part), that is said to have obvious sharp contours of mountain peaks or ridges and those of valleys or waters.

An environment like this would be able to shelter people from the destroying force of nature and concentrate the productive energy of nature for them. Civilian residence chooses its



foundation here to possess prop at the back and protective screen in front, to have supplement on the left and assistance on the right, just like settling in a cradle or a big chair, so secure, proper and comfortable that it can be considered a place for constant residing .

Geomantic omen pays special attention to what is called “breath” , from which some couplets derive such as: breath of heaven and of earth, breath of Yin and of Yang, breath of wind and of water, etc.. “Breath” , a kind of natural energy, is a composite index including temperature, moisture, sunshining, wind direction, the cleanness of air and even the content of oxygen anion etc.. It is, in short, a matter of how to make the mini-universe of a human body coordinate completely with the grand-universe of environment to achieve the balanced exchange of the energies, and to make the feeling of one’s body and mind preserve a healthy and comfortable state to reduce diseases. Physical fitness and mind at ease would result in two direct consequences to a family or a clan: one is the descendants coming along con-