

# 天方 還是 地方?

## A STORY OF HAKKA COILING DRAGON HOUSE

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為了我的碩士論文，我在廣東梅州的客家村落度過了二零一零年的夏天。彼時以藍天白雲為廬，有青山綠水作伴，而最難忘的，莫過於當地的民居建築——圍龍屋。圍龍屋與讀者們熟知的「土樓」有相似之處，其中間為方形堂屋，前有月池，後有圍龍，各呈半圓形狀將堂屋包圍起來。天圓地方渾然一體，隱藏著天人合一的哲學意涵。站在老屋之中仰望廣闊蒼穹，環視四周殘舊的青磚綠瓦，彷彿時間瞬間凝固，又彷彿一眨眼的功夫便天荒地老。

As part of my master thesis, I spent the 2010 summer in a Hakka village in Meizhou in Guangdong province. Those were the days when I slept under skies of blue and clouds of white, enjoying hills and waters of green. What impressed me the most was the local Hakka-styled walled village, literally “weilong (which means ‘coiling dragon’) house” as it looks like rows of rooms coiled up to embrace the main rectangular hall in the middle. There is a half-moon pool in front of the house, forming a perfect circle together with the semicircular coils of rooms. It reminds me of an old belief, that the sky is round and the earth is rectangular. Or, philosophically, it shows the unity of men and nature. I stood among the old houses with mossy green bricks and tiles, staring at the vast heaven. Was I in the past, or did it grow a century old in just a wink?

STORIES UNDER  
THE MOSSY  
GREEN TILES

青磚綠瓦  
道出的故事



某日偶得村裡一位文人的自傳，他這樣描寫自己生長的地方：「我童年時認為神奇的河山岩（註：當地山名），有一條約一米寬的小溪分岔出來，彎彎曲曲從東向西流淌。它又分出許多小渠，流入阡陌田園，縱橫交錯的水渠和鄉村小道把綠茵茵的水田和巍巍壯觀的圍龍屋，輔之於竹林茅舍，連結在一起，織成一幅沒有污染的純自然生態型村莊。」這是梅州大部分客家村落的自然寫照。如今圍龍屋之間林立著許多新式樓房，靜淌的河流見證著一切的變化。

從田間望去，圍龍屋防衛嚴實、簡單大氣，然而在一牆之隔的內部，卻有著慎密複雜的空間安排，聚族而居的客家人上演著活生生的人間劇情。屋內的天井最是熱鬧，一副桌椅、一套茶杯，便成為村民小聚的地點。年長的鄉紳向我談及建築規則的時候，常常用「這你就知道了」作為開頭，語氣中帶一絲神秘。不時有幹農活的婦女經過，駐足加入討論，講述過去圍屋裡的故事。

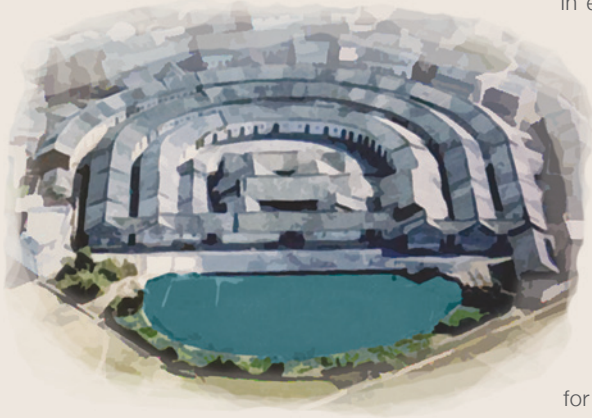
One day I read an autobiography written by a local elite. This is how he depicted his home: "Heshanyan, once a miraculous mountain in my childish eyes, provides waters for a stream of a metre wide, meandering from east to west. Its ditches branch and flow over the fields. Waters and footpaths crisscross with the paddy fields, the majestic Hakka weilong houses, the bamboo groves and the thatched huts. Together it forms a pollution-free and purely natural eco-village." This is also the picture of most Hakka villages in Meizhou. Now we found modern houses standing between the "coiling dragons". The rivers remain the only silent witness.

Looking across the fields, the "coiling dragon" looks like an unadorned fortress. Looking inside, we could be amazed by the meticulous and complex use of space in the house. The Hakkas used to live by clans. The clansmen play their everyday dramas in every corner of the house, but the courtyard is usually the loudest - a table, chairs and teacups make the best gathering place. When I asked about the architectural rules, mostly the village seniors would start cryptically with "you obviously don't know..." Sometimes, the returning farmwives would stop by, and share with us their past stories in the walled house.





圍龍屋是粵東地區最典型的客家民居建築，主要分布在粵東客家中心地區——興寧和梅縣，從中心區向周邊擴散，東至大埔，北至蕉嶺、平遠以及福建邊界，南至五華、豐順等地。隨清末客家人的遷徙，圍龍屋輻射至粵西，甚至更南的深圳、香港和台灣台南六堆等地，也出現與粵東地區類似的圍龍屋。粵東北地區均為山區，自古有「八山一水一分田」之說，其間夾雜大小盆地，為客家人用作農業耕種。圍龍屋始於唐宋，盛於明清。大量的客家族譜，反映出現存的大型民居，大部分是這個時期由有財勢者創建的，尤其是清末時期。一座圍龍屋是一個宗族的繁衍地，因此圍龍屋大部分是單姓。地方望族往往佔有較大土地，故在盆地較廣、交通便利且商業較為發達的梅縣、興寧兩地較為集中。粵東北地區的圍龍屋較之閩西和贛南圍屋，其防禦色彩不那麼鮮明，形式上已從全封閉走向半封閉，甚至部分開放。但歷史的不穩定記憶和遷徙經驗還是深厚地影響了粵東北地區的圍龍屋，具有防禦色彩的建築痕跡依然清晰可見，至今圍龍屋裡仍能看到許多的槍眼。



The "coiling dragon" is the most typical Hakka architecture in eastern Guangdong, found mainly in the Hakka hub of Xingning and Meizhou, radiating east to Dabu, north to Jiaoling, Pingyuan and the peripheral of Fujian, and south to Wuhua and Fengshun. Due to the Hakka migration to the end of Qing Dynasty, similar Hakka houses emerged in western Guangdong, southernmost to Shenzhen, Hong Kong and Liudui of Tainan, Taiwan. Northeastern Guangdong is mostly hilly - since the very old times, mountains have already accounted for about 80% of the lands.

The basins in between become good agricultural lands for the Hakkas. "Coiling dragon" first appeared in Tang and

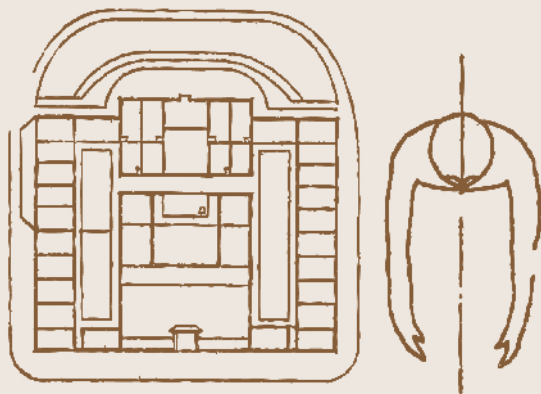
Song and flourished in Ming and Qing dynasties. Hinted by the substantial amount of Hakka pedigrees, most of these huge dwellings were built by rich clans of those times, especially in late Qing. A clan multiplies within its own walled village; hence most residents in the same house share a surname. Eminent families occupying greater lands mostly reside in Meizhou and Xingning, where there are larger basins, better transportation and thriving businesses. As opposed to those in Western Fujian and Southern Jiangxi, the Hakka houses in Northeastern Guangdong are less self-defensive - they are semi-enclosed rather than completely shut off, some even partially open. Still, we see profound traces of unstable histories and frequent migrations on the Northeastern Guangdong houses, such as the numberless loopholes on the walls.



何處藏  
風水WHERE DOES  
FENGSHUI LIES?

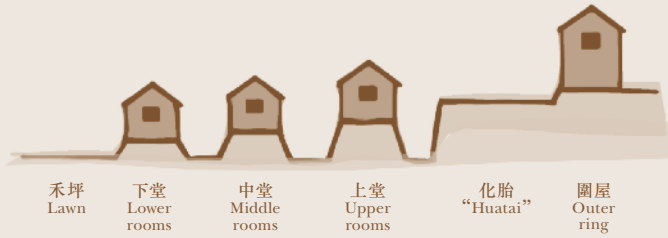
清代《陽宅會心集》這樣描述中國屋式：「正屋兩旁，又要作輔弼護屋兩直，一向左一向右，如人兩手相抱狀以護為懷……此為最上格，其次則莫如三間兩廊者為最，中廳為身，兩房為臂，兩廊為拱手，天井為口，看牆為交手，此格亦有吉無凶。」在這裡，空間觀念朝「人」的形像發生了轉向。圍龍屋的建制與此上描述一致，空間組成被比喻成人體的不同部位，形像生動。同時，圍龍屋的人像化也是風水思想的體現，一來在總體形態上是山勢環抱屋宇，二來在圍屋內部是圍龍環抱祖祠。除了講究圍龍屋自身的和諧之外，當地人還將「人」的概念結合風水思想，放在屋宇與屋宇之間的整體空間格局之中。他們認為，自家圍龍屋的左右兩邊最好要有其它小型圍屋護衛，老屋如坐在椅子上的人，需要有左右兩個扶手才能坐穩。有位村民站在屋門口指著前方的小圍龍屋，得意地告訴我，「左右扶手還不夠，你看前面這個是腳踏。」

In the book *Concepts of Living Houses of Qing dynasty*, the form of Chinese houses are described as follows: "Seeing from above, the best layout for a home comprise of two vertical rooms protecting the horizontal main room at the top, like two arms hugging the heart. The second best layout is three rooms and two corridors: the central hall as the body, two rooms as the arms, two corridors as cupping hands, courtyard as the mouth and the guarding walls as crossing arms. It also brings no bad luck but good ones." Such personified concept of space conforms to the constitution of the "coiling dragon", matching parts of the house to human parts. It is where *fengshui* is embodied: externally, the house is embraced by the hills; internally, the ancestral hall is embraced by the coiling rooms. Apart from architectural harmony, the locals incorporate the concept of "man" into the geomantic plan of the houses. For instance, they think it is better to have two smaller replicas at both sides to protect their own "coiling dragon" in the middle - just like an old man on a chair with two armrests. A villager chatted with me at the door, pointing at the small "coiling dragon" in front, "See, not only armrests, we have a footstool as well!"



客家圍龍屋對風水地理的重視還體現在選址上，講究天人合一。村民們說起自家村落的風水，都能言其一二。一位風水先生告訴我，屋址要選在山嶺之下，以便龍神從山頂下到圍龍屋。不僅如此，山和屋的大小需相互配合，小山配大屋抑或大山配小屋，都是忌諱。屋的朝向以座北向南走向為佳，周圍自然環境要有溪流環繞，水勢回環，山水相映，蘊含宅基陰陽平衡之意。

The Hakkas value *fengshui* and geography when they chose where to build the "coiling dragons", with regard to unity with the nature. Every villager could say a few words on the *fengshui* of their own village. Told by a geomancer, their houses are built right below mountains for the ease of the Dragon God to land on their homes from the peak. The sizes of the house and the mountain need to be in reasonable proportion - you should never build a small house under an enormous mountain, or vice versa. The front door should be south-facing, with flowing streams and mountains around the house - it makes the best balance of *yin* and *yang* of the homestead.



此外，從圍龍屋的整體空間走勢來看，趨勢是前低後高。具體來說，圍屋稍高於化胎，化胎高於正堂，正堂裡的三個廳又呈依次下降的趨勢。照當地人的說法，這種走勢也是出於風水考慮。按照龍氣從屋後的山林進入屋內的軌跡，為使其順暢流通，整個圍龍屋的層次逐漸趨向下。除風水考慮之外，我認為這種形態同時也是自然環境作用的結果。客家地區山地為多，地勢多不平坦，圍龍屋依山而建，地面多為向下傾斜。客觀地從實用角度來看，居住空間處於高勢，有利於排水；圍龍屋坐西北向東南



的朝向，也有利於採光。另

外，圍龍屋中線穿越的房間之間毫無阻隔的設計，對聚落空間的通風也相當有幫助。在圍龍屋的世俗空間裡，客家人除了實踐風水觀念的運行邏輯，還將自然環境賦予的空間改造成非常適宜人類居住的場所，統合了人與自然環境的和諧。之所以說圍龍屋體現了「天人合一」的觀念，想必這也是原因之一。

The "coiling dragon" is lower in front and higher at the back. More specifically, the rows of rooms are built higher than the "huatai" (a mound between the main house and the ringed rooms), and the huatai is built higher than the main house. The three halls in the main house are also built in a descending trend. This is another *fengshui* consideration, according to the locals, so that the lucky breath of the dragon could blow smoothly into the house from the woods behind. But I think the hilly and uneven terrain of the Hakka regions also accounts for this. Built on the hillsides, the floors of the "coiling dragons" are usually slanted. It is practically useful for the living rooms to locate higher, as it provides better drainage. The southeast-facing ensures that good amount of daylight can enter the house. Moreover, the house is well ventilated as air can move freely through the corridors between the rooms. On a secular piece of land, the Hakkas have successfully lived up their belief in *fengshui*, as well as building a pleasant residence for men in the natural environment. I think this is how men and nature could be united.





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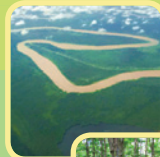
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隨著居住觀念和條件的改變，人們漸漸搬離了圍龍屋。可是，圍龍屋的社會功能依然鮮活，當地居民的祭拜活動和其它公共活動都集中在此，如繼嗣祖先、賞燈放孔明燈、鬧元宵、婚喪吉慶等。在這一點上，圍龍屋仍一點一滴地滲入村民的觀念和記憶當中，深不可搖。猶記得觀音誕那天，圍龍屋的天井一早便升起裊裊煙霧，村民們紛紛前來祭拜神明。一柱檀香、一縷輕煙，敢問這天地之間，界限在何？



With changing living concepts and conditions, people have been constantly moving out of the traditional weilong houses. They are not forgotten though, especially during social events such as worships, coming-of-age ceremonies, releasing of sky lanterns, celebration of lantern festival, weddings and funerals, bringing together the local villagers. For this, "coiling dragons" are still deeply rooted in every clansman's mind and memories. I still remember that the smoke rose from the courtyard on the day of Kwun Yam's birthday since early morning. Villagers came and offered their sandalwood joss sticks and prayers to the gods they trust on. Where lies the boundary of heaven and the earth?