



时间 2019年4月4日 **地点** 江西省婺源县严田村 **拍摄** 俞孔坚

在古徽州地区的婺源县严田村，有一对兄弟为了在干旱的炎炎夏日里生存下来，经过与大姓家族的协商和交涉，终于在不属于自家的土地上挖出了一眼保命的泉水，拯救了族人。数百年过去，这眼泉水被完好地保留了下来。

严田村不仅完整保留了“桃花源”般的理想景观格局，也留存了丰富的多中心社会治理遗产，包括多处家族祠堂和一处难得一见的“巡检司”遗址，以及无处不在的理学家规和家训。正是这些家规、族规、村规，以及代表国法的巡检司等多重制度的约束，造就了这般“水旱从人，不知饥馑”的美丽而充满韧性的景观。

Date April 4, 2019 **Location** Yantian Village, Wuyuan County, Jiangxi Province **Photographer** Yu Kongjian

There is a story about a well in Yantian Village of Wuyuan County, part of the ancient Huizhou Region: During a dry summer, after consultation and negotiation with most respectable families in the village, two brothers dug the life-saving well on the land that was not owned by their family. Hundreds of years passed, the well has remained intact.

Yantian Village retains an ideal landscape pattern of the Peach Blossom Land, and holds the rich heritage under the polycentric social governance, including ancestral halls, a rare Xunjiansi (an ancient patrol division) site, and family disciplines and exhortations. It is the network of family disciplines, clan rules, and village agreements, as well as the national law conducted by Xunjiansi, that has created such a beautiful and resilient landscape.

从“桃花源”看社会形态与景观韧性

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摘要

笔者首先从社会形态与景观韧性之间的关系入手展开探讨，提出多中心治理模式有利于提升景观韧性。接着对“桃花源”的社会治理模式与景观模式进行了分析，揭示出正是草根自治社会与可持续丰产景观共同塑造了这一虚构的理想世界。随后，笔者以古徽州地区为例，阐述了当地以家规、族规、民间信仰和伦理为主，皇权为辅的社会治理模式如何长期维护着这片富有韧性的美丽而丰产的可持续生态景观，使这处东南丘陵中的盆地得以成为远离自然灾害和战乱的“桃花源”。最后，笔者提出，虽然工业文明的出现导致中国大地上的秀山丽水逐渐丧失了韧性，但在生态文明理念指导下的美丽中国建设，尤其是美丽乡村建设正使得一处处新时代的“桃花源”得以重现。

关键词

社会形态；景观韧性；桃花源；多中心治理

“社会形态与景观韧性之间的关系”是一个非常有意思又极具挑战性的话题。景观是人类活动在大地上的烙印，因此，景观形态亦反映了人类的社会形态。而景观韧性则是指，景观作为一个生态系统，在不确定环境中和外力冲击（诸如飓风、干旱、洪水、地质灾害、环境污染等）下自我适应、自我修复和自我健全的能力，通常表现为生态系统服务（或景观服务）的可持续性。与自上而下的管理模式相比，多中心治理模式更有利于实现公共资源的有效保护和合理利用，也更有利于提升景观韧性。关于这一认识，有必要再次回到中国文化中的“桃花源”来进行论述。

在中国文化中，“桃花源”被视为理想的景观，这里的“理想”具有双重含义——理想的社会治理模式与理想的景观模式。据陶渊明的《桃花源记》所述，一方面，“桃花源”中的村民“自云先世避秦时乱”而来，“乃不知有汉，无论魏晋”——它是一个远离中央集权制和郡县制等政治制度、远离苛捐杂税的草根自治社会，这里拥有着夜不闭户的和睦邻里关系、童叟无欺的平等人际交往、“村中闻有此人，咸来问讯”的通畅信息交流、“余人各复延至其家，皆出酒食”的物资共享理念；另一方面，这里“屋舍俨然，有良田美池桑竹之属”——在秦至东晋太元年间近六百年的漫长时间里，这里维持着一种人与自然和谐共处的可持续丰产景观，堪称韧性景观的典范。

值得说明的是，虽然“桃花源”是虚构的理想世界，但其原型在中国的秀山丽水之间却并不乏见，在某种意义上，正是这种对于理想世界的初步构想使得中国跨越几千年的超稳定农业文明得以实现。在众多农业文化景观区域中，位于中国东部的古徽州地区尤使我陶醉。在这里，多中心社会治理与景观韧性被展现到了极致！在一个个互相连系的山间盆地中，山林环护的村落紧凑有致地分布在山脚之下，俨然的屋舍掩映在村口的水口林和背靠的龙山之间，留白处则以“良田美池桑竹之属”点缀。阡陌纵横，河渠蜿蜒，塘堰密布，井然有序，千百年来以极其有限的自然资源，维系着一村一族的生存和繁衍。与此同时，各个村落中的祠堂成为不同亲疏远近的族人的议事场所和决策机构，加之“巡检司”这样的官设机构，构成了一个地道的多中心治理社会；土地庙、水神庙、山神庙与道观、佛寺、理学书院则共同塑造着多样化的伦理和精神教化体系。在多重因素的叠加作用下，这里形成了以家法、族规、民间信仰和伦理为主，皇权为辅的社会治理模式，长期维护着这片富有韧性的美丽而丰产的可持续生态景观，使这片东南丘陵中的盆地得以成为远离自然灾害和战乱的“桃花源”。

工业文明的出现伴随着大一统的市场、标准化的技术、规模化的资金流，以及自上而下的单极社会管理模式，也使得中国大地上的秀山丽水逐渐丧失了韧性：蜿蜒的河流被水泥硬化和渠化，调节旱涝的池塘被填平为耕地，溪涧上用于合理分配水资源的片石低堰被更高更大的水泥大坝所代替，依赖化肥和农药的单一作物品种取代了丰富多样的乡土作物，大棚温室里铺天盖地地培育着反季节作物……值得庆幸的是，我们已经惊喜地看到，在生态文明理念指导下的美丽中国建设，尤其是美丽乡村建设的作用下，一处处新时代的“桃花源”正在重现！

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LESSONS FROM THE SOCIAL FORM AND LANDSCAPE RESILIENCE OF THE PEACH BLOSSOM LAND

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ABSTRACT

This article firstly examines the relationship between social form and landscape resilience and argues that a polycentric governance model is conducive to enhancing landscape resilience. By analyzing the social governance model and the landscape pattern of the Peach Blossom Land, it reveals how this fictional world was ideally shaped by an autonomous grassroots society and sustainable productive landscape. The ancient Huizhou Region perfectly illustrates how a local social governance based on family disciplines, clan rules, folk beliefs, and ethics, supplemented by the imperial power, has maintained the resilience and sustainability of its beautiful and productive ecological landscape in a long term, making itself a Peach Blossom Land in the hilly area of Southeast China and free from natural disasters and wars. Finally, the author proposes that although the Industrial Civilization has undermined the resilience of China’s landscape, Peach Blossom Lands are now reemerging under the Beautiful China Construction and Ecological Civilization programs.

KEY WORDS

Social Form; Landscape Resilience; Peach Blossom Land; Polycentric Governance

The relationship between social form and landscape resilience is a challenging but thought-provoking topic. Landscapes are the imprint of human activities on the earth, and their forms reflect social and cultural forms. Landscape resilience is the ability of a landscape or an ecosystem to adapt to and recover from environmental uncertainties and impacts such as hurricanes, droughts, floods, geological disasters, and pollution. It mirrors the sustainability of ecosystem services and landscapes. Compared with the top-down authoritative hierarchies, a polycentric governance model can ensure effective protection and smart use of public assets so as to enhance landscape resilience. To understand why this is true, it is necessary to understand the Peach Blossom Land context.

The Peach Blossom Land is an ideal Chinese landscape, and the “ideal” here is sending two messages — an ideal social governance model and an ideal landscape pattern. According to Chinese poet Tao Yuanming’s *Peach Blossom Spring*, once there was a fisherman accidentally encountering a secluded village, called Peach Blossom Land. People lived there to avoid the chaos of the Qin Dynasty. The fisherman was surprised that they were completely cut off from the world and had not even known about the dynastic changes in centuries. They lived in an autonomous grassroots society far away from the centralized system of prefectures and counties, and exorbitant taxes or levies. The neighborly relationship within the community enabled the doors left unlocked and everyone was treated honestly and equally. The communication was so open that the news of the fisherman’s arrival spread quickly. Then, the fisherman was invited to have shared meals and drinks. Moreover, the rows of houses were aligned on the smooth and flat land, and fertile farmlands, ponds, mulberry gardens, and bamboo forests composed the surroundings. In a long period of nearly 600 years, the generations there had maintained a sustainable and productive landscape where human beings and nature lived in harmony — a model of landscape resilience.

While the Peach Blossom Land may be fictional, it is not difficult to find such real places exist between China’s beautiful mountains and rivers. The initial conception of this ideal world makes a stable Agricultural Civilization for thousands of years in China. Among numerous agricultural cultural landscapes in China, the ancient Huizhou Region in Eastern China appeals to me particularly, which perfectly demonstrates both the polycentric social governance and landscape resilience. Across the inter-connected basins, compact villages lie around the bottom of hills. Tidy houses are hidden between the forests at the village entrances and mountains at the backside, while other spaces are interspersed by fertile farmlands, ponds, mulberry gardens, and bamboo forests. Straight paths cross the fields; rivers and canals meander, and ponds and reservoirs intersperse densely. For centuries, with extremely limited natural resource, such systems maintain the survival of the local generations in each village. The ancestral halls are the venue and the main body for decision-making among different clansmen, supplemented by official institutions such as Xunjiansi (an ancient patrol division), making the region a polycentric-governance community. Temples for the land god, the water god, and the mountain god, as well as Taoist, Buddhist, and Neo-Confucianism academies formed a diverse system of ethical and spiritual beliefs. Under these multiple factors, a social governance model based on family disciplines, clan rules, folk beliefs, and ethics, supplemented by the imperial power, has maintained the resilience and sustainability of the beautiful and productive ecological landscape, making itself a Peach Blossom Land in the hilly area in Southeast China and free from natural disasters and wars.

The Industrial Civilization has unified the market, standardized technologies, enlarged capital flows, and led to a top-down social management model. These practices have eroded China’s landscape resilience: the meandering rivers are now replaced by concrete canals, the ponds that once addressed droughts and floods now have been occupied as cultivated lands, and the low-lying slab weirs used for distributing water resources have been transformed into higher and larger cement dams. Worse, various native crops are disappearing due to the prevailing monoculture that heavily relies on fertilizers and pesticides, while greenhouses now are filled with anti-seasonal crops. Nevertheless, it is fortunate to see the effect, especially in rural areas, of Beautiful China Construction under the Ecological Civilization — a return of Peach Blossom Lands!