

花園子與花樹店

——明清江南城市的花卉種植與園藝市場

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摘要

本論文選擇明清南京、揚州、蘇州、杭州與上海為主要觀察的城市，考察其花卉種植與其交易的情況。內容分為三個部份，其一談城市周邊花卉種植的情況，其二談專業栽培技師與名匠之出現，並談清代時溫室栽培法在江南之復興，其三則談市場擴張與花木批發之情況。

明清江南城市，文人多、富人多、妓女多、節慶多、交際多、休閒多，在這樣的環境下，花與這些人、這些活動的聯結相當密切。基於此，城市周邊的花卉種植日趨興盛。在 15 世紀中葉以前，花卉種植以南京、蘇州較盛，以後則揚州、杭州也大量種植，18 世紀以後上海也繼起直追。在這幾個城市之中，蘇州是最大的集散地，南來北往的花卉多在此交易，本身所生產的花卉也輸往上海、南京、揚州等地。在 18 世紀末，蘇州的花卉業者，還組成花商公所。

花農在城郊所種植的花卉，主要為供應城市有錢人消費，為了吸引客源與提高附加價值，花匠莫不試圖改良品種，培植出更好的花色或異種，或者利用其他技術克服氣候條件，栽培出異地的花卉。甚至想辦法超越其他地方，如 16 世紀末，水仙栽培技術以嘉定第一，至 17 世紀中葉，南京則已經取而代之。明清時期，盆景更是花卉市場上最重視的商品，往往可以賣得極高的價格，也非中下階層消費得起。由於其附加價值高，南京、蘇州、揚州等地，均有不少士人投入栽培，不過絕佳的作品常需數十年才能雕琢好。另外，在 18 世紀末，溫室栽培自北京引入，使許多春天才能上市的花卉，如牡丹、芍藥等，在春節時已經成為熱賣的商品，其價格相對也較高，種者從而可以獲致更好的收益。

江南城市的花卉市場，自 16 世紀初起日趨蓬勃，交易圈由原來城郊供應城市，進而 100 公里內的花卉也輸入到較大的城市（如杭州）。而透過四通八達的水運交通，城市與城市之間形成花卉的交易網絡，至 17 世紀初，蘇州的盆景甚至賣到 200 公里外的揚州，與 250 公里外的南京。相對地，許多外地的花卉，也因為栽培技術的提升，與商品交易的發達，在市面上不難見到。17 世紀初，江南城市的賣花業大興，為小孩、老嫗提供了不少就業的機會。18 世紀以後，透過海運的聯結，廣東與福建的茉莉、蘭花也直接進入江南城市，其市場規模與交易範圍更大。

清代江南城市的花卉交易分為幾個類型，其一為商人先至花田訂花，花農再送至城中交貨；第二種是花農將花卉運至花市，花卉商人直接向花農購取。另外，還

有一種方式是，花卉商人再將花轉賣給較小的花販子。當然，市面上也有花農直接挑花沿街叫賣。清代蘇州花卉市場，分爲賣盆花、插花、花籃、簪花四種，地點各有不同，其中盆花的市場最大，插花次之，主要提供官宦、富豪或店舖擺設裝潢之用。後兩者的對象主要是婦女，尤其是妓女。基於婦女對簪花的需求，還有販子提供送花包月的方式。另外，沿街叫賣的花販，往往也吸引女子揭簾購買。在花卉交易上，明代南京曾出現租花的方式，至清代蘇州、杭州也有這樣的例子。

Gardening and Its Trading in Cities in Lower Yangtze Region , 1400-1900

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Abstract

The present article chooses the cities of Nanjing, Yangzhou, Suzhou, Hangzhou and Shanghai during the Ming and Qing dynasties as the cities to be studied, and to investigate the varieties of flowers and plants found in them; and the trading involving such flowers and plants. The contents are divided into three parts. The first part discusses the situation regarding the varieties of flowers and plants found in the peripheral regions of the cities; the second part discusses the appearance of professional cultivation technicians and craftsmen, as well as the revival of the Qing dynasty greenhouse cultivation technology in Jiangnan, while the third part discusses the market expansion and wholesale distribution of flowers and plants.

In the city of Jiangnan during the Ming and Qing dynasties, there were many literati, rich people, prostitutes, celebrative festivals, social interactions, and leisurely activities. Within such an environment, flowers have a relatively close affinity with the aforesaid people and activities. Consequently, the varieties of flowers and plants found in the peripheral regions of the city become more flourishing with each passing day. Prior to the middle of the 15th century, there were more varieties of flowers and plants in the cities of Nanjing and Suzhou, but after that, there were also a large number of varieties of flowers and plants in the cities of Yangzhou and Hangzhou. After the 18th century, the varieties of flowers and plants also began to increase in Shanghai. Among the previously mentioned cities, Suzhou may be considered as the center of the flowers and plants market, and most of the trading of the flowers and plants take place there. The flowers and plants that are produced in Suzhou itself are also transported to Shanghai, Nanjing and Yangzhou. At the end of the 18th century, the flower and plant merchants in Suzhou set up the Trade Association of Flower Merchants.

The flowers and plants that are grown by the flower growers in the outskirts of the cities are primarily used for the wealthy folks, as the consumers, in the cities. In order to attract customers and increase the added value, all the flower craftsmen would seek to improve the varieties, in order to cultivate flowers and plants with better designs and

colors and of better breeds. They would also make use of other techniques to overcome the conditions of the climate, and cultivate flowers and plants that outside Jiangnan. They would even strive to surpass the products of other places. For example, at the end of 16th century, the best cultivation technique for the narcissus was found in Jiading, but by the middle of the 17th century, it had already been surpassed by Nanjing.

During the Ming and Qing dynasties, the bonsai was the most valued product in the flower and plant market, and it would often be sold for relatively high prices, and would not be affordable among the middle and lower class consumers. Due to the high added value, there were many people in Nanjing, Suzhou and Yangzhou who invested in its cultivation, but top-grade products would often take a long time before they were created.

In addition, at the end of the 18th century, the greenhouse cultivation technique was introduced through Beijing, thus enabling several flowers and plants that would ordinarily be put in the market only in Spring to be sold for a long time already by the beginning of the Chinese New Year's Day. The prices of these products are also relatively higher, and the growers were thus able to obtain higher profits.

The flower and plant market of Jiangnan city began to flourish at the beginning of the 16th century, and the trading originally began with the outskirts of the city supplying to the city, and then the flowers and plants were further transported to bigger cities within a 100 kilometers distance (such as Hangzhou). Through the well-connected water channels, a trading connection was established between the cities for the flower and plant market. By the beginning of the 17th century, the bonsai that is produced in Suzhou was sold as far as Yangzhou which was 200 km away, and even to Nanjing which was 250 km away. At the beginning of the 17th century, the market for the sales of flowers in the city of Jiangnan expanded quite a bit, thus offering opportunities for children and elderly women to do some business. After the 18th century, through the communication lines established along the seas, the jasmines and orchids grown in Guangdong and Fujian were also introduced directly into the city of Jiangnan, which had a bigger market scale and wider scope of trading.

There are a few models of trading for the flowers and plants in the cities during the Ming and Qing dynasties. The first model has the merchants first going to the flower farms to place their orders, and then the flower growers would send the flowers and plants to the city. The second model involved the flower growers transporting the flowers and plants to the city, and the flower merchants would then buy directly from the flower growers. In addition, another trading method was the flower merchants selling the flowers to smaller flower dealers. Of course, there would also be flower growers who peddled their flowers for sales directly along the streets.

The flower and plant market of Suzhou during the Qing dynasty can be divided into

the sales of potted flowers, flower arrangement, flower baskets and flowers used as hairpins. The locations for them are different. The market for potted flowers is the largest, followed by the market for flower arrangements, and these two markets were primarily targeted for the furnishings and decorations of the government officials, wealthy households, and shops. The latter two markets were primarily targeted at women, especially the prostitutes. Due to the requirements of the prostitutes for hairpins, there were dealers who carry out supplies on a monthly basis. In addition, the dealers who peddled their flowers for sales directly along the streets would often catch the attention of women along the way. In the trading of flowers and plants, there was the model for renting of flowers in Nanjing during the Ming dynasty, and such a model could be seen even in Suzhou and Hangzhou in the Qing dynasty.