

花園子與花樹店—— 明清江南的花卉種植與園藝市場

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明清江南地區，由於文人、富人、妓女多，加上節慶、交際、休閒活動頻繁，對於花卉的需求甚大。因此，許多大的城市，如南京、揚州、蘇州、杭州與上海，在城市外圍出現了專業化的園藝種植。更因其經濟利潤高於種植稻米，許多農田紛紛轉為花田，栽植各種奇花異卉。值得注意的是，在十八世紀末，蘇州種花業者與花卉商人組成了花商公所，後來上海在十九世紀末也出現同樣的組織，可見花卉業者之間的組織與聯繫日趨緊密。

另外，許多專事栽培特種花卉的花匠，為了招徠上階層客人光顧，以賺取更大利潤，無不尋求技術上的革新與品種改良。十八世紀末，揚州、蘇州等地出現了塘花法，上海在十九世紀也隨之跟進。原在春天才開花的許多花卉，透過此一技術，農曆春節前後已經上市，成為大家競相選購的商品。除了塘花法之外，又利用嫁接等技法，栽植非江南原生的花卉。而隨著城市之間的互相競爭，個別花卉的栽培中心常有轉移，如明代時栽植牡丹的中心，由蘇州轉至江陰，清代時上海又取而代之。水仙栽培本以嘉定最負盛名，清初時南京已經加以超越。在技術競爭之下，花匠無不保守其技術機密，防止外人竊取。盆景之栽培，更呈現風格上的競爭。明初以來，南京、蘇州的盆景各自有其市場。至十七世紀初，嘉定的盆景異軍突起，成為江南最受讚譽的名品。至清代，雖然蘇州、揚州、杭州等地也有盆景栽培，但嘉定盆景還是相當有名，原因即在於其盆景風格最具畫意。

在市場交易方面，江南是明清最大的花卉消費市場。其貿易網絡，以蘇州為中心，西北至南京，北至揚州，西南至杭州，成為一個涵蓋二百五十公里的市場圈。花卉的交易主要透過水路，船隻扮演重要角色，清代花農甚至利用夜航船載花入城售賣。必須指出的是，明清江南的花卉交易，呈現蜘蛛網式的交織，而其交織的密度是空前的。除了江南各城市彼此貿易之外，江西、福建的許多花卉，如茉莉花、

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蘭花等，也透過水路或陸路，運至南京、蘇州、杭州、上海等地。清代以後，東南沿海的出海管制逐漸鬆綁，福建、廣東的蘭花、茉莉也由海船運來，貿易圈進一步擴大，供貨量與到貨的速度均較以前增加。而且，隨著對外貿易日增，外國的花卉也傳進來，成為市場上的新貴。至於花市交易，賣連根花木、盆栽、花枝，及賣簪戴花蕊者，各有其不同的市場，彼此互相區隔。花市交易有一種撮合買賣的中間商，交易完成後從中抽取佣金。有些花商則至花田中直接訂花，而大部份的花卉均由花農挑入市中交易，或在大街小巷中叫賣。另外，明代的南京，清代的蘇州、杭州，還提供顧客租花回家擺放。清代揚州的花匠，於庭園中代客佈置花卉，甚至提供保固的服務。

關鍵詞：花商公所 塘花法 技術機密 盆景風格 貿易網絡

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Gardeners and Flower Shops: Flower Cultivation and Gardening Markets in Jiangnan During the Ming and Qing Dynasties

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During the Ming-Qing era, due to the number of literati, wealthy people and courtesans in the Jiangnan area, as well as the high frequency of festive celebrations, social interactions and leisure activities, there was a huge demand for flowers. In many large cities such as Nanjing, Yangzhou, Suzhou, Hangzhou and Shanghai, several specialized gardening plantations appeared on the peripheries of the cities. Since the planting of flowers brought higher economic returns than the planting of rice crops, many agricultural farms were converted into flower farms, and a wide variety of flowers were planted. It is worth noting that at the end of the 18th century, the flower gardeners and flower merchants of Suzhou established the Trade Association of Flower Merchants, and a similar organization subsequently also appeared in Shanghai at the end of the 19th century. This shows that the organizational and commercial ties between the members of the flower industry were becoming increasingly strong.

In order to attract the patronage of wealthy customers and increase profit, gardeners continually innovated their planting technologies to improve their breeds. At the end of the 18th century, greenhouse cultivation appeared in Yangzhou and Suzhou, and subsequently also appeared in Shanghai at the end of the 19th century. As a result of this new technology, many flowers and plants which originally could only bloom in the springtime were now on the market before the arrival of the Chinese New Year's Day, and became highly coveted products which everyone rushed to purchase. Apart from greenhouse cultivation, the method of grafting was also used to plant flowers that were not originally found in Jiangnan. Due to stiff competition between various cities, there was a noticeable shift in each of the cultivation centers. For example, during the Ming Dynasty, the cultivation center for peonies shifted from Suzhou to Jiangyin, and then shifted to Shanghai during the Qing Dynasty. Jiading was originally famous for the cultivation of narcissus, but by the beginning period of the Qing era, this center had

already been surpassed by Nanjing. Faced with fierce competition, the gardeners would protect their breeding and planting technologies and prevent third parties from obtaining such secrets. One such example is the Jiading bonsai. Since the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the bonsai in Nanjing and Suzhou each has its own thriving local market. By the beginning of the 17th century, the bonsai in Jiading had made an impressive entry into the market due to its unique features, and soon became the most popular product in Jiangnan. Although bonsai cultivation was prevalent in Suzhou, Yangzhou and Hangzhou up until the Qing Dynasty, the Jiading bonsai continued to be relatively popular, primarily due to the fact that its shape resembled the trees of a traditional Chinese painting.

In terms of economic trading, Jiangnan was the biggest flower consumption market during the Ming-Qing era. Its trade network had Suzhou as the center, and extended into the northwest to Nanjing, into the north to Yangzhou, and into the southwest to Hangzhou, thereby forming a market hub that covered 250 kilometers. Since flower trading and selling were primarily carried out using the waterways, vessels played a very important role. During the Qing Dynasty, flower farmers and merchants even made use of passenger ships that operated at night to transport the flowers and plants into the cities to be sold the next day. The network of flower trading in Jiangnan during the Ming-Qing era formed a spider-like web, and the density of this network was unprecedented in history. Apart from the mutual trading between various cities in Jiangnan, many flowers from Jiangxi and Fujian (such as the jasmine and orchid) were also transported to the big cities in Jiangnan through the waterways or on land. In the Qing Dynasty, the custom controls for the export of goods from the coastal regions along the southeastern sea were gradually relaxed, and jasmine and orchids from Fujian and Guangzhou were transported to Jiangnan by the sea. With the expansion of the trading hub, the volume of goods that were supplied and the rate of goods that were received increased significantly. Moreover, following the increase of trade with overseas countries, flowers from overseas also entered into the domestic market, becoming the new novelties on the market. The sale of flowers and plants spurred the emergence of a series of auxiliary products and services, each of which had its own niche market, thus existing harmoniously alongside each other. Middlemen who shuttled between buyers and

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sellers would receive a commission upon a successful transaction. Some flower merchants would go directly to the gardens to place their orders, but most of the flowers and plants were harvested and then carried to the cities by the gardeners themselves, or were peddled along the streets. In addition, customers could even rent flowers and plants in Nanjing during the Ming era, and in Yangzhou and Hangzhou during the Qing era. During the Qing Dynasty, gardeners in Yangzhou would help the customers to arrange the flowers and plants in their gardens, and even provide warranty services.

Keywords: The Trade Association of Flower Merchants, greenhouse cultivation, bonsai style, technology secrets, trade network