

民俗上海

总主编 尹继佐

如果从考古学上的马家浜文化算起，上海迄今有六千年的历史；如果从唐朝天宝十年

民俗上海

Folk Custom of Shanghai: Jinshan

(75)置华亭县算起，上海有一千三百多年的历史；如果从元朝至元二十八年(28)置县算起，上海有七百多年的历史……



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总主编 尹继佐

Folk Custom of Shanghai·Jinshan

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本卷主编

王宏刚

本卷副主编

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如果从考古学上的马家浜文化算起，上海迄今有六千年的历史；如果从唐朝天宝十年（751）置华亭县算起，上海有一千三百多年的历史；如果从元朝至元二十八年（1291）置县算起，上海有七百多年的历史；如果从1843年开埠算起，上海也有一百六十多年的历史了。

在这绵延的历史中，由于“僻处海奥”，繁衍于上海这块土地上的先民们在创造日渐丰裕的物质生活的过程中，孕育了富有个性的丰富多彩的民俗文化。明正德《松江府志》称：“诸州外县多朴质，附郭多繁华，吾松则反是，盖东北五乡故为海商驰骛之地，而其南纯事耕织，故所习不同如此。大率府城之俗，谨绳墨，畏清议，而其流也失之隘；上海之俗喜事功，尚意气，而其流也失之夸。”“东北五乡”，即上海县辖境。这就是说，至迟到明代正德年间在时人的心目中上海民俗文化已显示出自己独特的个性。

总序

尹继佐

民俗文化由长久的历史积淀而成，是与居民生活密切相关的衣食住行、礼仪、信仰、风尚、娱乐等民间风俗习惯的总和。它蕴藏于普通老百姓中间，与千百万人的日常生活浑然一体，并在社会变迁过程中表现为一种无意识的力量。所以，黄遵宪曾说：“风俗之端，始于至微，搏之而无物，察之而无形，听之而无声；然一二人倡之，千百人合之，人与人相接，人与人相续，又踵而行之，及其既成，虽其极陋其弊者，举国之人，习以为常；上智所不能察，大力所不能挽，严刑峻法所不能变。”又说：“礼也者，非从天降，非从地出，因人情而为之者也。人情者何？习惯也。川岳分区，风气间阻，此因其所习，彼因其所习，日增月益，各行其道。习惯既久，至于一成而不可易，而礼与俗皆出于其中。”这两段出自《日本国志·礼俗志》的话，非常鲜明地点出了民俗文化的两大基本特性，即公共性和稳定性。

所谓公共性，是指任何一种民俗事象都不是个体的，而是特定区域人群的“共有的习惯”，因此，它具有超越个体的普遍性；所谓稳定性，则是指一种民俗事象一旦形成，就不容易改变，因此，它又具有超越时间的恒久性。正因为民俗文化具有超越个体的公共性和超越时间的稳定性，所以，它常常在社会整合、族群凝聚和身份认同等方面都扮演着非同寻常的角色。

然而，民俗文化的公共性和稳定性是建立在特定的生产方式和生活方式基础之上的，一旦这种生产方式和生活方式发生剧烈的变迁，民俗文化也会随之而发生相应的变化，不可能“一成而不可易”。清嘉庆《上海县志》称：“上海故为镇时，风帆浪舶之上下，交广之途所自出，为征商计，吏鼎甲华腴之区。镇升为县，

人皆知教子乡书，江海湖乡，则倚鱼盐为业。工不出乡，商不越燕齐荆楚。男女耕织，内外有事。田家妇女，亦助农作，镇市男子，亦晓女工。嘉靖癸丑，岛夷内江，閭閻凋瘵，习俗一变。市井轻佻，十五为群，家无担石，华衣鲜履，桀诘者舞智告讦，或故杀其亲，以人命相倾陷。听者不察，素封立破。士族以奢靡争雄长，燕穷水陆，宇尽雕楼，臧获多至千指，厮养舆服，至陵轹士类，弊也极矣。”这段话说的就是上海置镇以来随社会变迁而来的民情风俗的变化。

开埠以后，受中外贸易通商的推动，上海以惊人的速度朝着近代化国际性大都市迈进。在这个过程中，上海从城市规模到市政格局，从生产力到生产关系，从社会结构到城市功能，从市民生态到市民心态，从生活方式到价值观念，无不发生了异乎往古的深刻变迁。伴随都市化的进程，以及城市社会经济的结构性转型，特别是1895年以后现代工业制造业的发展，上海的城市人口急剧增长，据统计，上海人口1852年为54.4万，1910年为108.7万，1920年为225.5万，1935年为370.2万，1949年为545.5万。在不足一百年的时间里，上海人口增长了近十倍。上海人口的这种超乎常规的惊人增长，充分显示出上海无所不包的巨大容量、吞吐吸纳的恢宏气概，以及前所未有的多样性，同时也造成了上海中外混杂、多元并存的社会情境：

上海真是一个万花筒。……只要是人，这里无不应有尽有，而且还要进一步，这里有的不仅是各种各色的人，同时还有这各种各色的人所构成的各式各样的区域、商店、总会、客栈、咖啡馆和他们的特殊的风俗习惯、日用百物。

（爱狄密勒：《上海——冒险家的乐园》）

上海一隅，洵可谓一粒米中藏世界。虹口如狄思威路、蓬路、吴淞路，尽日侨，如在日本；如北四川路、武昌路、崇

明路、天潼路，尽粤人，如在广东；霞飞路西首，尽法人商肆，如在法国；小东门外洋行街，多闽人洋号，如在福建；南市内外咸瓜街，尽甬人商号，如在宁波。国内各市民、外国侨民类皆丛集于此，则谓上海为一小世界，亦无不可。

（胡祥翰编：《上海小志》卷十）

这是一个真正意义上的移民城市，据1885年至1935年的上海人口统计资料显示：上海公共租界非上海籍人口占上海总人口的80%以上；即使在上海“华界”，非上海籍人口一般亦占75%左右。1950年的上海人口，上海本地籍仅占15%，非本地籍人口占85%。就是说，移民构成了上海城市居民的主体。这些移民包括国内移民和国际移民，国内移民来自江苏、浙江、广东、安徽、山东、河北、福建、山西、云南、东三省等全国18个行省，其中以江浙移民人数最多；国际移民来自英、美、法、日、德、俄、印度、葡萄牙、意大利、奥地利、丹麦、瑞典、挪威、瑞士、比利时、荷兰、西班牙、希腊、波兰、捷克、罗马尼亚、越南等近四十个国家，最多时达15万人，其中1915年前以英国人最多，1915年后以日本人最多。不同的移民群体带来了各具特色的民俗文化，极大地丰富了上海民俗文化的内涵与外延，所以，才会有所谓“万花筒”、“小世界”之说。

与城市社会经济结构的改组、都市社会生活的确立，以及来自五湖四海的移民的汇聚相适应，在“欧风美雨”的洗礼之下，近代以来上海民俗文化发生了令人瞩目的变化。这种变化主要表现在两个方面：一是“洋俗”的东渐，受其影响，上海风俗日趋洋化，洋气弥漫；一是随着近代工商社会的形成和社会生活的变迁，上海本地风俗以及各地移民偕来的俗尚在上海都市的时空中发生了明显的嬗蜕，并逐渐形成与近代都市生活同步的都市习俗，从而为中国社会的现代变迁提供了一个先锋性的标本。“洋俗”的东渐，以及本地民俗的嬗蜕和各地移民带来的各式各样的



民俗,使上海民俗文化呈现出洋俗与土俗混杂、新俗与旧俗并存的特征。这种特征不仅体现于服饰、饮食、婚丧的嬗变之中,而且体现于年节、娱乐和时尚的日常狂欢与流行之中。多元混杂和并存,促进了不同风格、不同形式的民俗文化的互参与交融,使上海真正成为展示全国各地的民俗文化乃至世界民俗文化的博物馆。这里展出的,既有上海根深蒂固的本地民俗文化,也有许多具有浓厚异地色彩的民俗文化,还有充满浓郁异国情调的民俗文化,真正呈现出一种海纳百川、兼收并蓄的“海派”风格。

新中国成立以后,“科学的、民主的、大众的文化”成为社会主义先进文化建设的目标和方向,这一追求迅速汇成了一股席卷全国的革故鼎新的潮流。正是在这种潮流的洗礼之下,上海民俗文化又发生了深刻的变化:一些与“科学的、民主的、大众的文化”不相符合的旧陋民俗事象,诸如帮会的习俗、迷信的习俗等等销声匿迹了,而另一些过于复杂繁缛的传统民俗得到了彻底的简化。与此同时,又涌现出一大批市民喜闻乐见、内容充实、文明健康的新型民俗。这样,又使得上海民俗文化呈现出活力充沛、日新又新的特点。

“国之形质,土地人民社会工艺物产也,其精神元气则政治宗教人心风俗也”(蒋观云:《海上观云集初编》)。作为上海这座东方大都市的“精神元气”,上海民俗文化五色斑斓、底蕴深厚。它是上海城市个性的表征,也是上海城市文化的根。根深才能叶茂。但是,当今全球化已成席卷之势,原本口耳相传和习得方式传承的民俗文化正在快速式微,甚至归于泯灭,已是不争的事实。在这种背景下,如何寻到这个城市文化之根,又如何培植这个文化之根,已成为摆在我们面前的一项异常艰巨的时代课题。

正是基于这种考虑,我们组织编纂了多卷本的《民俗上海》,原则上每个区县一卷,以图文并茂的方式向世界展示上海民俗文化的瑰丽画卷,并试图通过这一努力唤起全社会对上海民俗文化的关注。

Foreword

By YIN Jizuo

The history of Shanghai, if traced to the archeological unearthings of the Majiabang Culture, is already 6000 years long; if traced to the establishment of the county administration in the 28th Year of Zhiyuan Period during the Yuan Dynasty (i.e., 1291 AD), is over 700 years long; and if traced to the opening of the port in 1843, is then over 160 years long.

Our forefathers, inhabiting in this piece of land that was for long an out-of-the-way seaside place, carved out nevertheless an increasingly plentiful material life, and created a colorful local-specific folk culture. As described in The Records of Songjiang Prefecture published in Zhengde Period of the Ming Dynasty, "The five town areas in the northeast, or areas "on the sea" (literally "Shanghai" in Chinese), show a clear distinction from other areas in terms of customs and habits. Engaged in sea-related commercial activities instead of only in farming and weaving as in their southern neighbors, people in Shanghai demonstrate an enterprising spirit in both words and deeds, rather than strictly following the tradition or succumbing to public opinions." "The five town areas in the northeast" mentioned here later on became the county, and then the city of Shanghai. This means clearly that during the Ming Dynasty at the latest, Shanghai began to exhibit a rather distinct folk culture as recognized by successive generations of observers.

As a distillation of long-time historical experiences, folk culture is a



sum-up of folkways related with such basic necessities of life as food, clothing, shelter and transportation, as well as rituals, beliefs, mores, entertainment, etc. Obviously, folk culture is knitted deeply and pervasively into the daily life of all living beings, and constitutes a silent but dominant force in social changes. Huang Zunxian, a modern Chinese scholar-official, is quoted as saying, "Customs may start from something extremely tiny, almost intangible and unobservable at the outset. However, quite commonly, once initiated by even a couple of leaders, they may be followed by hundreds and thousands of people. With their spread from person to person, customs, including those injurious ones, can become so established that a whole nation may practice them as something innate and natural. When entrenched in them, even the most thoughtful philosophers are not always aware of customs, and intentional activities or even penal sanctions can prove helpless in face of them." These observations have revealed to us the two fundamental features with folk culture, i.e., communality and stickiness.

By "communality", it is meant that every habit or custom is not individual-specific, but shared by a whole community in a particular locale, thus demonstrating a sense of universality. By "stickiness", it is meant that once formed, customs and habits are hard to change, therefore showing a feature of endurance. Thanks to its commonality and stickiness, folk culture invariably makes a major presence in social integration, ethnic solidarity building, identity recognition, and so on.

It should be noticed, however, that community and stickiness of folk culture are, in the final analysis, based on particular modes of production and ways of life. When such modes and ways change radically, those elements in folk culture are bound to experience certain correspondent evolution. For example, according to The Records of Shanghai County

published in Jiaqing Period of the Qing Dynasty, "When Shanghai was only a small town, various sailing boats visited the place, giving rise to business transactions and an accumulation of wealth. After the town was raised to a county status, fishing and salt-making became active trades in the coastal region, while industry and commerce developed generally alongside agriculture. The typical pattern in a household was a basic division of labor with the male doing the farm work and the female doing the spinning and weaving. When the overseas invaders came, the basic socioeconomic structure changed fundamentally, with traditional mores eroded steadily. Instead of following the callings of their parents, youngsters idled about, squandering whatever left in the family, and even engaging in criminal acts. Meanwhile, the elites in the community competed with each other in leading an extravagant life, seriously undermining the traditional social and cultural atmosphere." These remarks reflect the change in folk culture during Shanghai's early modern transformation.

After becoming an open treaty port in the mid eighteenth century, Shanghai embarked on its journey towards a modern international metropolis, chiefly driven by the booming trade between China and the outside world. This process certainly witnessed profound and far-reaching changes in the scale and role of the city, its productive forces and production relations, ways of livelihood for its dwellers, and the mindset of the ordinary people. Particularly noteworthy were the development of modern manufacturing after 1895 and the concomitant rapid growth of population. Statistics show that the population in Shanghai, only 540 thousand in 1852, doubled to 1.087 million in 1910, 2.255 million in 1920, 3.702 million in 1935, and further to 5.455 million in 1949. This means that together with industrial upgrading and economic growth, the population increased by nearly 10 times in less than one century. Such unusual population expansion

bespeaks unprecedented openness of the city, and implies the huge diversity thus produced. Both the Chinese and the foreigners were impressed by the pluralism found in the dynamic metropolis. In their eyes, Shanghai was really a kaleidoscope, available with all kinds of ethnic groups of both China and the world, and available with all sorts of shops, restaurants, hotels and clubs. In one word, Shanghai was the world in miniature.

The nature of Shanghai as a city of immigrants is fully revealed by its demographic statistics from 1885 to 1935. As recorded, the non-native Shanghai people took up over 80% of the population in the Public Concession of the city; even in the "Chinese Areas", generally 75% or so were non-natives. The census in 1950 shows that only 15% of the people were Shanghai natives, while 75% were non-natives. Obviously, immigrants constituted the lion's share of the population. These immigrants had come from both domestic and overseas sources. Domestic immigrants were mainly from 18 Chinese provinces, including Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Guangdong, Anhui, Shandong, Hebei, Fujian, Shanxi, Yunnan and the three northeastern provinces, with immigrants from neighboring Jiangsu and Zhejiang topping the list in terms of the number. International immigrants were from Britain, America, France, Japan, Germany, Russia, India, Portugal, Italy, Austria, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Greece, Poland, Romania, Vietnam, etc. At the peak time, there were 150,000 foreigners from approximately 40 countries living in Shanghai. The British were the predominant immigrant group before 1915, after which they were outnumbered by the Japanese. Various groups of immigrants contributed a rich mosaic of colorful lifestyles to Shanghai, greatly enriching the folk culture in the city. Hence such terms as "kaleidoscope" and "the world in miniature".

In line with the socioeconomic restructuring as well as the gathering of immigrants from diversified sources, folk culture in Shanghai experienced remarkable changes. These changes are mainly evident in two aspects. Firstly, under the influence of western powers, customs and habits in Shanghai began to be imbued with lots of foreign elements, particularly with European and American styles. Secondly, with the emergence of a business-based society, all existing folkways, whether native or foreign, came to be incorporated into one unique modern folk culture in tune with a modern urban life. Changes in these two aspects harbingered the process of modernization for China, and Shanghai was in every way a pioneer in this historical process. This overarching process, of course, involved the transformation, juxtaposition and combination of things native, Chinese, foreign as well as traditional and modern. The hybrid nature of a resultant folk culture was reflected in costumes, food, marriage and funeral ceremonies, festivals, entertainment and almost all other aspects of social life, so much as that Shanghai was truly a museum of countrywide and worldwide folk cultures. When people talk about nowadays the “Shanghai style”, they just mean this all-embracing incorporation of diverse things, as shown in particular by this co-existence, cross-learning, mutual blending and hybridization of folk cultures here.

After the victory of the Communists, the so-called “scientific, democratic and mass-oriented culture” became the direction of the socialist cultural construction, inaugurating a massive wave of nationwide transformation in all walks of social life. Folk culture in Shanghai therefore became transformed once again in an in-depth manner. Certain faulty folkways like rituals in underground gangs and superstitious practices, considered to be not in tune with the new socialist culture, were eliminated, while some other folkways, now seemingly over-elaborate and redundant for a down-to-earth state and

