



明清

山东运河区域社会变迁

王云 著

人民出版社



明清

山东运河区域社会变迁

王云 著

人民出版社

责任编辑:许运娜

装帧设计:鼎盛怡园

责任校对:阎 宓

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

明清山东运河区域社会变迁/王云著

—北京:人民出版社,2006.6

ISBN 7-01-005626-9

I. 明... II. 王... III. 大运河-影响-社会变迁-研究-
山东省-明清时代 IV. K295.2

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2006)第 061631 号

明清山东运河区域社会变迁

MINGQING SHANDONG YUNHE QUYU

SHEHUIBIANQIAN

王 云 著

人 民 出 版 社 出版发行

[http://www. peoplepress. net](http://www.peoplepress.net)

(100706 北京朝阳门内大街 166 号)

北京瑞古冠中印刷厂印刷 新华书店经销

2006 年 6 月第 1 版 2006 年 6 月北京第 1 次印刷

开本:880 毫米×1230 毫米 1/32

字数:300 千字 印张:12.25

ISBN 7-01-005626-9 定价:26.00 元

邮购地址:100706 北京朝阳门内大街 166 号

人民东方图书销售中心 电话:(010)62520042 65289539

序

京杭大运河,尽人皆知,是世界上最长的人工运河,其实远不止此,在明清时期,在近代海运兴起以前,运河也是全国政治信息沟通、南北物资输送、各地文化传播、全国人才交流的最重要通道。明清时期的人,凡是有一定文化的,中过举的,做过官的,可以说没有不经过运河的。其时的外国使节,无论来自早期“西洋”的东南亚以及东非各国,还是来自与中国一衣带水的“东洋”日本、琉球等国,无一不是取道运河北上的,甚至后来来自“西洋”欧美各国的使者,也有不少是由运河抵达北京的。运河,是联结中国南北、贯通中国与世界,集中展现明清政治、经济、文化和外交里程的人类宝贵遗产。

明朝代元而兴,山河一统,幅员广阔,“滇南车马纵贯辽阳,岭徼宦商横游蓟北”^①,运河作为南北大通道,较之前代更为重要。明

^① 宋应星《天工开物·序》,上海古籍出版社,1993年版。

廷为了利用贯通南北的大运河转输漕粮,先于永乐九年(1411)由工部尚书宋礼、侍郎金纯等重浚会通河,负重载的大船得以通过;又于永乐十三年由平江伯陈瑄等开凿淮安附近的清江浦,引管家湖水入淮,设闸建坝作涵洞,以时启闭,从此漕船直达通州,大大节省了挽运之劳^①。漕粮官物通过运河转输的同时,数量更为可观的民间商品也经由运河南北贩运。从此,在南北大运河上,商品流通极为繁忙,嘉靖、隆庆时江西人李鼎说:“燕赵、秦晋、齐梁、江淮之货,日夜商贩而南;蛮海、闽广、豫章、南楚、瓯越、新安之货,日夜商贩而北……舳舻衔尾,日月无淹。”^②在隆庆时徽商黄汴所描绘的全国143条通道中,运河无疑是最为重要的物资流通通道。

运河流经山东近千里,使得山东在运河文化中的地位十分突出,明清时期的全国商品生产结构,使得山东运河的作用发挥得淋漓尽致。江南是全国最大的丝绸和棉布生产中心,需要通过运河将成品销往华北、西北、东北的广袤地方,也需要通过运河输入原料、辅料等。诸如嘉定棉布,“商贾贩鬻,近自杭歙清济,远至蓟辽山陕”^③,常熟棉布,“捆载舟输,行贾于齐鲁之境常十六”^④,以致形成“吉贝则汎舟而鬻诸南,布则汎舟而鬻诸北”的商品花、布流通格局^⑤,以致“秦、晋、燕、周大贾,不远数千里而求罗绮绸币者”^⑥,必定取道运河,使山东临清、济宁成为运河上的重要商业都市,临清

① 《明史》卷85,《河渠三》,中华书局本。

② 李鼎《李长卿集》卷19,《借箸篇·永利第六》,万历四十年豫章李氏家刻本。

③ 万历《嘉定县志》卷6,《物产》。

④ 嘉靖《常熟县志》卷4,《食货志》。

⑤ 徐光启《农政全书》卷35,《蚕桑广类·木棉》,上海古籍出版社1979年校注本。万历后期人王象晋则在《群芳谱·棉谱》小序中说:“棉则方舟而鬻诸南,布则方舟而鬻诸北。”

⑥ 张瀚《松窗梦语》卷4,《商贾纪》,上海古籍出版社1986年版。

更成为全国最大的江南棉布中转都市。山东运河区域的地位如此重要,如能深入考察作出学理分析,无疑是富有学术价值和现实参考意义的。

有王云者,生于山东,长于山东,供职于运河边的聊城大学,熟知山东运河区域的风土人情,对山东、对山东运河怀有深厚感情,她利用地利和感观之便,以近十年之力,较为全面深入地探讨了山东运河区域,撰写成《明清山东运河区域社会变迁》一书,对明清时期山东运河区域的社会变迁作了富有学术价值和现实意义的新探索。该书提供了诸多未见前人征引的碑刻、家谱及地方文献,并利用大量新资料,从新的角度,对明清时期山东运河区域的社会变迁、戏剧等文化交流、不同区域民间信仰的相互交融,以及运河区域社会变迁的特点与趋势等作出了具有新意的分析,尤其在运河城镇的分布与空间结构特点,社会变迁的表现、深度及其特点,各地地域商人势力的分布消长,民间信仰的交融等方面,更多创见。全书立足新资料,没有凿空之论,运用历史学、地理学和民俗学等多种学科的理论方法,在厘清明清时期山东运河区域社会变迁的轨迹和揭示其特色与趋势方面作出了贡献,从而在一定程度上深化和推进了山东区域社会史、运河文化史和中国商帮史的研究。

《明清山东运河区域社会变迁》一书,既是国家社会科学基金课题,又是在博士学位论文的基础上修改提高而成的。忆及数年前,聊城大学王云教授负笈南下,到南京大学历史系攻读博士学位。当时明清史研究方向的同届四位博士生,都有一定的社会阅历,态度既极为自觉,快马自无需加鞭,治学又有一定门径,钻研极其用功,处世更懂得厚人惠人,互谅互助,常在一起讨论学问,其乐融融的光景,至今令人难忘。我以同行和朋友的身份与他们相处,与他们讨论交换意见,平时则只能靠他们自身利用南京大学学习

条件虽然简陋但是学术氛围较为浓郁的环境自学。三年中,我既深受他们执著学问和惜时如金的感染,又从他们那里学到很多知识,所谓教学相长,到那时才有真正体会。对于运河文化,我完全不懂,对于山东区域,我更是一窍不通。王云就读其间,奔波于南京与聊城之间,常常有新的发现,不断访求到新的资料,喜形于色,相告惠示,我也备感欣慰,深受鼓舞。我深深感佩王云的学术努力和学术业绩,又与她忝有师生之谊,现在能够优先读到她的成功之作,由衷地感到高兴,相信她能够以此区域史研究的力著为新起点,不断有学术的新创造。

明末清初的思想家昆山顾炎武在其《日知录》卷十九《书不当两序》中认为,“凡书有所发明者,序可也”。笔者以为,王云的《明清山东运河区域社会变迁》一书,在探讨明清山东运河的社会变迁方面,是有所发明者,是以乐为之序。

范金民

2006年3月30日

于南京港龙园寓所

摘 要

明清两代,京杭运河自江淮北上,由峰县台儿庄入山东,循山东西境穿鲁西平原而过,由德州入直隶,全长近千里。山东运河处于京杭大运河的中段,北系京师,南控江淮,是每年数百万石漕粮转输的必经通道,地理位置十分重要。山东运河的畅通,引起了沿岸城乡及辐射区域剧烈的社会变迁,其变迁的深度和广度在整个华北地区的历史上都是空前的。

本书主旨在于考察京杭运河兴衰对山东运河区域社会变迁的巨大影响,探究变迁的态势、轨迹和特点。全书由五部分组成:

绪论部分。对上个世纪以来山东运河区域的研究作学术史的回顾,总结中外学者关于山东运河开挖管理、漕运与漕政、经济发展与商业城镇等方面的研究成果,分析上述研究的薄弱环节。明清时期山东运河区域是中国北方的经济文化发达地区,这种领先地位持续了数百年,开展对该区域社会的变迁的研究具有一定的典型意义。本书的学术价值在于以历史学、历史地理学、民俗学等多种学科理论

为指导,运用综合研究、个案研究、比较研究相结合的方法,对明清时期山东运河区域的社会变迁作一综合、深入的考察,以期弥补运河区域社会史研究的不足。

上篇:运河贯通和鲁西区位优势的形成。京杭运河在山东境内的开挖、沿革与管理,带来了地理环境的根本变化,形成了以运河为轴心的四通八达的交通网络。明清两代山东运河漕运兴盛,沿岸设置众多的水次仓和国家税关,极大地提高了该区域的政治经济地位;由此促成的大规模南北物资交流,对鲁西区位优势的形成起到了至关重要的作用。山东运河城镇地理分布密集,并呈现出了不同于传统城市的空间结构特点:社区种类多样化,商业社区大为拓展,政治社区空间比例缩小。本篇将以上问题置于大的历史社会环境中进行综合分析考察,揭示明清时期山东运河区域社会变迁的历史动因。

中篇:商业的繁荣与产业结构的新变化。山东运河区域社会变迁最根本的表现是经济结构的变化。明清时期的山东运河区域以其开放的流通格局,形成了以运河城镇为中心的市场网络体系,临清、济宁成为全国性的商品流通枢纽城市,山东运河区域市场成为全国市场的重要组成部分。全国各地的商人商帮来此经营,明代徽商势力独占鳌头,入清山陕商帮后来居上,其他地区的商帮纷至沓来,鲁西平原出现了前所未有的商业的繁荣。商业发展带动了区域产业结构调整,种植业和城镇手工业内部构成发生了明显的变化,尤其是沿运城镇的手工业,表现出依赖运河、服务于流通的生产特点。本篇对山东运河区域商业的考察,将静态研究与动态研究结合起来,既考察市场网络体系的架构,更注重探讨商人商帮在鲁西地区的分布与经营活动;对沿运手工业的考察,其立意不在于展示其生产状况,而着重从流通的角度考察其原料来源和产品销路走向,勾勒其与运河兴衰密切相关的发展态势,探讨运河区域的产业结构调整对周边地区

经济发展的辐射与影响。

下篇:南北文化交流与社会风俗变迁。文化与社会风俗变迁是社会最深层的变迁。明清时期山东运河区域是南北文化交流融汇之地,书院遍布,科举兴盛,文风浓郁,鸿儒硕卿,代不乏人。杨氏海源阁藏书楼在山东运河岸边的崛起给中国传统的藏书文化格局以极大的冲击,南来北往的戏班在聊城山陕会馆戏楼留下的生动文字是各地戏剧文化交汇融合的结晶;民间信仰的多元化和世情民风嬗变,折射出漕运文化、市井文化及南北各地不同的风情文化与鲁西地区民众心态和社会风俗的碰撞与交融。

结语:山东运河区域社会变迁的历史趋势及特点。明清时期山东运河区域经历了从荒僻到繁荣,又渐趋沉寂的类似马鞍型的社会变迁过程,其特点有三:社会变迁的动力主要来自交通环境改善与漕运政策等外部因素;以开放的态势吸纳融汇各区域物质文化精华;濒河城镇与运河腹地社会发展不平衡。该区域大起大落的变革态势及特点,给后人以深刻的历史启迪和警示。

ABSTRACT

In Ming and Qing Dynasties, Jing-Hang Canal was about 1000 li long, which started from the valley of Yangtze-Huai River, extended to north China, and passed Taier Village of Yi county to Shandong province. Then it wandered through the western plain of Shandong and flew into Zhili from Dezhou. Shandong portion of the Canal, which was the middle section of Jing-Hang Canal and linked Beijing with Yangtze-Huai River, was the necessary waterway for the transportation of salt and grain. As a result, its geographic location became very important. The navigation of the Canal in Shandong brought about great social changes to the urban and rural areas along the Canal. The depth and width of the changes was unprecedented in the history of northern China.

The purpose of the book is to investigate the great influence brought about by the rise and decline of the Canal on the social transformation in Shandong portion of the Canal, and probe into the tracks and characters of this transformation. The book includes five parts.

Introduction: This book is to review the academic history of research on Shandong portion of the Canal since last century, to sum up the academic achievements about the digging and management of the Canal, the water transport of grain and transportation management and analyze the weakness of the above-mentioned research. In Ming and Qing Dynasties, Shandong portion of the Canal is advanced with economy and culture in north China and its advantage lasted for several hundred years, so it is of typical significance to carry out the study of social change in this district. The academic value of this book lies in the using of multifold theory of history, history and geography and folklore and the methods of synthetic study, case study and comparative study, to investigate the social transformation in a comprehensive and deep extent, and tries to cover the shortage in the research of social history on canal districts.

Chapter I: *Run-through of Jing-Hang Canal and formation of locality-privilege.* The digging, evolution and management of the Canal in Shandong brought about great changes in geographic environments, and formed into a transportation network extending in all directions centered on the river. With the prosperity of water transport of grain in Shandong, many sumps and country tariff were built along the river in this district. Consequently, the political and economical position of this area was improved and contributed to the exchange of goods through north to south. These are the most important factors that caused the locality-privilege to the western part of Shandong province. Along Shandong riverside, many densely located towns had its own peculiarity: diverse community, enlarged commerce community and reduced political community. In the broad social background, this book delineates the historical reasons that

lead to the social transformation of Shandong portion of the Canal.

Chapter II: *The booming in trade and the new change in industrial structure.* Economical structure change is the most radical manifestation effected by the social transformation of Shandong portion of the Canal. In Ming and Qing Dynasties, with its trade-opening pattern, a trade system centering on the river was built around Shandong portion of the Canal. The market of Shandong portion of the Canal occupied an important part in the national market system. Linqing and Jining changed into pivotal city in circulation of commodities. This system attracted businessmen and trade organization throughout the country. In Ming dynasty, Huizhou businessmen took the first place. When it came to Qing dynasty, Shan-shan businessmen, newcomers became the first, and other trade organizations also came thick and fast. All these factors brought about unprecedented trade flourish to the western plain of Shandong province. The trade development led to the adjustment of industrial, planting and handicraft-industrial structure in the riverside areas. The handicraft industry in the towns along the Canal, in particular, showed how these areas depended on the Canal and served the transportation. With the combination of static and dynamic research, the chapter not only investigates the structure of market network system, but also discusses the distribution and business activities of businessman and trade organizations in the western plain of Shandong province. The purpose is not to show the productive conditions, but to inspect material source and production outlet and draw the outline of its relations to the rise and decline of the Canal, accordingly, observe how the adjustment of industrial structure influenced the surrounding areas.

Chaper III: *Culture communication and transformation of social cus-*

toms. The transformation of culture and social customs is the greatest transformation in a society. In Ming and Qing Dynasties, the Canal in Shandong portion stood where the north and the south culture meet. The academy of classical learning could be found everywhere, civil-service examination was popular and learned scholars and high officials came forth in large number. The building up of Yang's Haiyuan Attic Library along the Canal in Shandong territory greatly pounded at the cultural structure of Chinese traditional library. The characters left in Shanshan Gorge by the theatrical troupe from all parts of the country are the products of the blending of the theatrical cultures. The diversity in country religious belief and the great change in social customs are a reflection of the conflict and mixture of the water transport culture, folk culture and different traditions from different regions with people's state of mind and social customs in western part of Shandong.

Conclusion : *The historical characters and its tendency of social transformation in Shandong portion of the Canal.* In Ming and Qing Dynasties, the Shandong portion of the Canal went through a long process from desolation to prosperity, and then to unknown to public gradually, as if a saddle model. The social transformation process have three traits: firstly, the driving force mainly came from the external factor, such as improvement of traffic environment and the policy of water transport; secondly, with the opening posture, this district absorbed from and blended with the material culture essence from others; thirdly, there was imbalance in social development between the towns closer to the river and the inland from the river. The features and trends of rising and falling radically in this district would enlighten and inspire the future generation.

目 录

序.....	(1)
摘要	(1)
ABSTRACT	(4)
绪 论:	
一、明清山东运河区域研究的学术回顾	(1)
二、本书的学术价值与基本思路.....	(22)
上 篇:运河的贯通和鲁西区位优势的形成	
一、会通河的疏浚与鲁西交通网的形成.....	(28)
1. 明初会通河的疏浚与大运河的南北贯通.....	(28)
2. 明清时期山东运河的修治与管理.....	(31)
3. 以山东运河为轴心的区域交通网的形成.....	(41)
二、漕运兴盛与南北物资交流的活跃.....	(47)
1. 山东运河漕政与漕运.....	(47)
2. 运河沿岸的水次仓.....	(50)
3. 临清关与济宁关.....	(58)
4. 南北物资交流.....	(71)
三、山东运河城镇带的形成.....	(79)
1. 山东运河城镇的地理分布.....	(79)
2. 山东运河城镇空间结构与特点.....	(91)

中 篇:商业的繁荣与产业结构的新变化

- 一、市场网络体系的建立与各地商帮的活跃 (106)
 1. 以运河城镇为中心的市场网络体系 (106)
 2. 山陕商人在山东运河区域的分布与经营 (129)
 3. 徽商在山东运河区域的经营活动 (146)
 4. 江苏商人及其他商帮在山东运河区域的
经营活动 (165)
- 二、因运河而兴起的手工业 (187)
 1. 临清烧造和贡砖生产 (188)
 2. 融汇南北的酿造业 (199)
 3. 竹木加工与沿运城镇的竹竿巷 (206)
 4. 皮革加工与“千张袄” (213)
 5. 丝织业与临清哈达 (219)

下 篇:南北文化交流与社会风俗变迁

- 一、南北文化的交流融汇 (225)
 1. 书院遍布,科举兴盛 (226)
 2. 运河岸边的藏书楼——海源阁 (243)
 3. 聊城山陕会馆戏楼墨记与区域戏剧文化交流 (253)
- 二、运河与民间信仰的多元化 (269)
 1. 漕运之神——金龙四大王崇拜的形成和传播 (270)
 2. 海运之神——天妃信仰的北上传播 (287)
 3. 财、义之神——关帝崇拜的泛滥 (295)
- 三、运河城乡社会风俗的变迁 (303)
 1. 由“织穉为生”到“民竞刀锥” (304)
 2. 由“民尚俭朴”到“靡然向奢” (307)
 3. 由循规蹈矩到“违礼越制” (311)

4. 嗜酒与尚武	(315)
5. 山东运河区域风俗变迁的社会原因	(325)
结 语:明清山东运河区域社会变迁的历史趋势及特点	
一、山东运河区域社会变迁的趋势	(330)
二、山东运河区域社会变迁的特点和影响	(349)
主要参考文献	(359)
后 记	(366)