



中国传统农业社会  
最后的标本

# 流坑

LIUKENG

Last Specimen of Chinese Traditional Society

张新民 著

浙江摄影出版社



# 中国摄影文化系列画册

ISBN 7-80536-711-6



9 787805 367118 >



自然所ZR008939

ISBN 7-80536-711-6/k·1

定价: 92.00 元

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29.3925  
548

ADG 15/04

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Traditional Agricultural Society

by Zhang Xin Min

Zhejiang Photographic Press





策划出版：卫卫工作室  
责任编辑：葛旦旦  
特约编辑：李 媚  
装帧设计：王义钢  
英文翻译：黄继功  
英文编辑：高 扬  
责任校对：朱晓波  
责任印制：汪立峰

## 图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

流坑：中国传统农业社会最后的标本 / 张新民著  
杭州：浙江摄影出版社，2000.3  
(中国摄影文化系列画册，2. 历史留痕)  
ISBN 7-80536-711-6

I . 流… II . 张… III . 居住遗址—江西—摄影集  
IV . K878.3-64

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2000) 第 13407 号

## 历史留痕 01

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出版：浙江摄影出版社  
发行：浙江摄影出版社发行部  
(杭州葛岭路1号 邮编：310007)  
经销：全国新华书店  
制版：深圳利丰雅高电分制版有限公司  
印刷：利丰雅高印刷(深圳)有限公司  
开本：150mm × 215mm  
印张：5.5  
字数：40千  
2000年5月第1版  
2000年6月第1次印刷  
印数：2500册  
ISBN 7-80536-711-6/K·1  
定价：92元  
(如有印、装质量问题，请寄本社出版室调换。)



# 关于流坑

## —— 代前言

### —

流坑是一个村庄。一个很地道的、在中国这块土地上存在了一千多年的村庄。

今天，尽管中国的绝大多数村庄都已经变得(或者说发展得)跟流坑这样的村庄不一样了，其中相当一部分已经非常城镇化，甚至城市化、现代化，没有了农耕，没有了田地，村民的吃、喝、拉、撒、睡已经完全和城市居民一样。但是我们一想到村庄，脑子里依然是山地、田野、荷塘、炊烟，有打鸣的公鸡，有对生人始终保持警惕的狗，还有牛，有猪，有光屁股小孩在河里洗澡。我们的村庄概念是很顽固的，是渗透在血液里、渗透在骨髓里的。并没有因为现实村庄的变化而改变，因为我们过去是现在仍然是一个农业大国，今天，至少还有一半以上的中国人生活在乡村。我们之中的很多人，是直接从小村庄里走出来的。对于传统意义上的乡村，我们常常可以不带脸红地、大大方方地说：那太熟悉不过了。所以有些最卖座、最有收视率的电影、电视连续剧，除了描写宫廷，以及死了八辈子以上的古人外，剩下的就是描写乡村和农民，而且，大多数都是过去的乡村和过去的农民。

乡村和城市看似越来越近，其实越来越远。传统的、自然的、尤其是古朴的乡村，慢慢地、悄悄地，先是在我们四周消失，然后在我们的视野里消失，最后，将可能在我们的版图上消失。倘若，能有一个偶然的时机，面对一个在某个地方活了一千多年的村庄，那是我们的运气。

流坑，就是这样的一个村庄。

## 二

我们有很多昔日的村庄，现在已经扩展壮大成为乡、镇，乃至升格为县、市。只有流坑，不管它资格有多老，规模有多大，人口有多众，档案里有多少辉煌的记载，它始终是一个村，一个社会最基层的细胞。作为村，也有名气很大很大的，比如华西村，大邱庄，南街村，等等，它们之所以有名，很大程度是因为它们的富裕。流坑不富裕，确切地说，还很贫困。所以，跟中国大多数乡村一样，在很长很长的时间里，并没有多少人去正眼瞧它一眼，流坑村普普通通，默默无闻，藏在山中人未识。终于，在20世纪90年代初的某一天，流坑村民听说自己居住的这个村子“被外界发现了”。



董仲舒画像



董合画像

感谢发现流坑的学者专家们，因为他们的“发现”，我们才得以知道流坑的确切位置。

流坑，位于江西省抚州地区乐安县西南部，距县城38公里。流坑村现有居民820户，4700多人，村庄面积3.61平方公里，耕地3572亩，山地53400亩。是全县数一数二的大村子。

我们还知道了流坑曾经拥有的、令世人惊讶的、辉煌过去。

流坑村始建于五代南唐昇元年间(937—942)，全村绝大多数人姓董，尊西汉儒家董仲舒为始祖，董合为流坑董氏的一世开基祖。北宋初年，流坑董氏第三代孙董文广兴教办学，倡导科举仕宦之路，因而在两宋时期(960—



流坑古村藏在山中人未识



1279)，流坑曾经仕宦鼎盛，人才辈出。宋仁宗甲戌年(1034)，董文广的侄子董洙、董汀，侄孙董仪、董师德、董师道一门五人同时考中进士，族人为此在村中建“五桂坊”以显殊荣；两宋三百年，董氏一族共出了26名进士；宋、元、明三朝，流坑人中进士者达33人，其中文、武状元各一人；官职上至宰相、司徒、司空、师保、尚书、侍郎，下至知府、知县、主簿、教谕的流坑人氏达200余人。

明清以降，流坑的科举仕宦日见式微，但流坑董氏的学术、文化、政治、工商活动却呈现旺势。明代董姓学人共有著述38种，有诸多名流贤达为流坑董氏撰文、赋词、赠诗、题匾，如王安石、梅圣俞、朱熹、文天祥、吴澄、罗洪先、聂豹、曾国藩、左宗棠等，都为流坑留下墨迹。而明末清初乌江上游的竹木贸易空前繁荣且为流坑董氏所垄断，崛起的富商捐钱买官，营造豪宅，复兴宗祠，修撰谱牒，扩大族产。以其严密的宗法制度将流坑庞大的族群凝聚维系到20世纪中叶，以至一村一姓延续千年，历尽沧桑几经战乱而不散。

**现在的流坑令世人刮目相看，除了它的千岁年龄外，还相对完整地保留了大量的古文化遗存。**

流坑村现存明代建筑19处(含遗址)，清代建筑250余处，其中牌坊楼阁26座、祠堂50多座，整个村庄的平面布局基本上保持了明代中晚期的格局，街巷交错，井然有序。明清住宅、建筑大多有匾额、楹联，匾、联多有出处，有年代可考。全村现存木匾约170余幅，墙匾250多幅，楹联100多幅，许多匾、联出自名家之手。古建筑群中的木雕、砖雕、石雕、壁画、彩绘作品随处可见。

**如何看流坑？研究古建筑的、研究地方史的、研究古代文化艺术的、研究民俗民风的、研究典籍碑铭的、研究文物保护和生态环境保护的，以及搞**

旅游的、搞各种艺术创作的，都会根据自身的经验和感受，在这个不足4平方公里的村庄里寻找自己的答案。

### 三

第一次去流坑，大京九铁路刚刚通车不久。我手里拿着地图，地图上没有流坑村，只有乐安县。瞪大眼睛再寻找距离乐安最近的火车站，那个车站叫八都，很小的一个站，普通快车不停。侥幸的是，那天列车到八都却意外地停下来加水。我大着胆子跳下车，结果蒙对了，去乐安方向的叉路就在车站附近。于是在路口拦汽车，等了一个多钟头终于等来了一辆，但只去永丰县城。到了永丰再转车，又等，等了两个小时，终于挤上了一辆去抚州的车。车速比自行车快不了多少，因为修路，到处都在开挖，车子走走停停，三四十公里走了两个多小时。到了鹅潭路口，距县城还有4公里，再换车，进县城住下时天已经全黑了。第二天，找去流坑的车，没有。车只到牛田，牛田距流坑还有大约8公里，没有车，找到镇长，镇长开着北京吉普把我送进了流坑村。从八都车站到流坑不过80公里，在1996年的冬天，我走了一天半，还是搭乘汽车。

1999年我又去了一趟流坑，在吉安乘班车，只用了三个多钟头就进了流坑村。吉安到流坑140公里。

发展很快。变化很快。

江西省境内曾经出过30名以上进士，在历史上显赫一时的村落也还有许多，王安石、曾巩、晏殊、乐史几大家族在当地都是名门巨姓，但这些曾经旺极一时的村落都没能留下多少文物遗存，唯独流坑，基本上保持了历史的原貌。原因当然很多，但有一个因素不能忽视：交通闭塞加上自我封闭。默默无闻，不为人知，是流坑村进入现代社会以后，得以躲过无数次有形和无形的劫难、保持着历史原貌，让古建筑学家、历史学家、古文化研究者感到“相见恨晚”的一个重要因素。这一相见，一下子缩短了流坑和外界的距离，

流坑开始面临剧变，有点像潘多拉的盒子，一旦打开，其变数，就不是打开盒子的人的主观愿望所能左右的了。

以后多次出入流坑。虽然流坑给了我很多意外，但并没有改变我对它的初衷。流坑的历史遗存是罕见的，罕见在于它不是一处古遗址，也不是一座纪念馆，它不属于僵化、死亡了的名胜古迹之类，它是一个有着千年生命的，至今还活生生的、经典的、自然的中国村庄。

## 四

流坑作为一个乡村的纯粹和丰富，让我多次往返其间。宿在昔日的大队办公室，吃在村民家里，没有电话，没有报纸，获取外界信息的惟一渠道是村民家里的黑白电视机。我记录着今天的流坑因为我知道，今天的流坑将会很快成为历史陈迹，如同昔日的流坑，已经成为历史陈迹一样。

我用照片记录流坑村今天的生活片段，以为照片具有切割时空的功能，可以留住这个自然村落在20世纪末的一系列自然形态。但是我低估了流坑和外界贯通之后其内涵的转变速度。每一次进入流坑村，我都会感觉到上一次见过的人和事已经与这一次大不一样。今天拍摄的流坑已经不是昨天的流坑。

过去20年，中国发生的变化不可估量，无论在城市、在乡村，我们都身处变化之中。虽然因为长久的封闭，流坑才得以向世人展现它“千古未变”的一面，它所保存的历史遗存也给表现这个村庄的过去提供了丰富的视觉元素，但是流坑不仅仅是过去的流坑以及它的延续，对于我来说，更重要的是今天的正在经历前所未有的变化的流坑，尽管这变化显得稍稍来迟了一步。

我知道，照相机只能截取现在时态的一个切片，通过这个切片去暗示过去和未来。对于叙述一种变化过程来说，摄影的局限性是显而易见的，叙述性文字的出现，势在必行。记录流坑村普通老百姓的衣食住行、生老病死、所思所想及荣辱沉浮，除了照片，我想还应该流坑村村民自己的声音。因此，在文字叙述部分，我有意识地采用了访谈实录的方式，和流坑村的老人

姓聊天，听他们讲流坑过去的事，听他们讲自己家里的事，听他们发牢骚，听他们谈希望，同时用录音机原原本本录下来。

现在，我把这些有关流坑的图片和文字和盘端给你们，期待更多关注中国农村、关注中国变化的读者的参与——

看照片里的故事，读故事里的照片。

然后，作出自己的判断。

1999年10月于深圳

# Liu Keng

Last Specimen of Chinese Traditional Agricultural Society Preface To Liu Keng

## I

Liu Keng is a village, a very typical village that has existed for one thousand more years in the land of China. Today, although most of the Chinese villages have changed (or developed) into a kind of villages which are different from the Liu Keng village, and quite a part of them have been modernized a lot to become a town and even a city, there are no more tillage and field in them, the villagers have done their eating, drinking, shitting, pissing and sleeping in the same way as a citizen in city does. If we once think of a village, there are still in our brains hilly fields, farmlands, lotus ponds, smokes from kitchen chimneys, and crowing cocks, and dogs which always keep vigilance over strangers, and cows, pigs, and naked children bathing in a river etc. Our conception of village is obstinate, it permeates into the blood and marrow and will not alter with the actual change of the village, because ours was and is now still a large agricultural country and there are now at least still more than a half of Chinese people living in countryside, and many of us are directly coming out from villages. As to a village, in its traditional significance, we can often easily say without blush: It couldn't be more familiar. That's why the serials of movie or TV shows, which are most attractive and have largest audiences, tend to describe, besides the description of royal courts and ancestors that had been no more for a long long time, the subject of country village and peasants, and most of them are of past.

Country and city look to be closer and closer, but in fact they are farther and farther. The traditional, natural villages, specially the primitive ones have vanished slowly and quietly at first in the area around us and then in the field of our vision and probably at last away from

our territory. Supposing there would be an occasional opportunity for us to find ourselves facing somewhere a village which has lived for thousand more years, that 's our luck.

It is Liu Keng that is such village.

## II

We have in our country many villages of former days, which have now developed to be as large as township, town, and even advanced to be county or city. But only the village Liu Keng is all along a village, a most primary cell of the society, no matter how senior its qualification is, how large its scale or its population is, and how plenty its brilliant records, which have been placed on file, are. As village, there have been also some very famous ones such as Hua Xi Cun Village, Da Qiu Zhuang Village and Nan Jie Cun Village etc. The reason why they are famous is to a great extent that they are rich. Liu Keng isn ' t rich, or rather, very poor yet. Therefore, like most Chinese country village, in a long long time, few people would cast an attentive eye over it. It is ordinary and obscure, hiding itself in the mountain unknown to the public. At long last, on a certain day in early 90 ' s of 20th century, Liu Keng villagers found that their own village which they were living in was said "to be discovered by the outside world."

Much obliged to the scholars and specialists who discovered Liu Keng Village. Owing to their "discovery", we could just get to know its exact location.

*Liu Keng, located in the southwest part of Le An county in the Fuzhou area of Jiangxi province, is 38 kilometres from the county seat. There are now 820 households in the village with a population of villagers over 4700, its area 3.61 square kilometres, cultivated area*

3572 Mu, hilly area 53400 Mu. It is one of the biggest village in the whole county.

We know too, its astonishing and splendid past which Liu Keng has ever possessed.

Liu Keng Village was initially established in "Shengyuan" period of Southern Tang Dynasty of the Five Dynasties(937-942). Most of the villagers are surnamed Dong. They regard the Confucianist Dong Zhong Shu as their earliest ancestor while Dong He as the initial ancestor of the Dongs ' first generation in Liu Keng. In the early of Northern Song Dynasty, Dong Wen Guang, the grandson of the third generation of the Dongs, set up their education and initiated an approach to official career by passing the imperial examinations, hence the plenty of officers and talents out of Liu Keng in the period of Northern and Southern Song Dynasties (960-1279). In the "Jia Xu" year of emperor Renzong of Song Dynasty, Dong Wen Guang 's nephews Dong Zhu and Dong Ting, grandnephews Dong Yi, Dong Shi De and Dong Shi Dao, five members of the same family, were all the successful candidates to have passed the highest imperial examinations. The clan 'smen built up an archway "Wu Gui Fang" (Five laurels archway) to show the honour; during the three hundred years in the North and South Song Dynasties, Dongs ' family had emerged 26 successful candidates who passed such examinations; and in the three dynasties of Song, Yuan and Ming, the number of Liu Keng successful candidates amounted to 33, within them there were a civil No.1 champion and a military No.1 champion respectively; the number of natives of Liu Keng reached 200 more who gained their official positions high as prime minister, in turn, situ, sikong, shibao, shangshu, shilang and the positions low as governor of a Fu(greater than a county), and in rank order, governor of a county, zhubu, jiaoyu etc.

From the Ming to Qing Dynasties, the circumstances of Liu Keng 's official approaches resulting from the imperial examinations began waneing day by day, while the activities on learning culture, politics and business of the Liu Keng Dongs appeared yet with vigorous momentum. Dongs ' scholars in Ming Dynasty had their works come to 38 kinds. There were

*lots of worthys and personages who respectively composed articles, poems, songs and inscribed horizontal boards for them, they were Wang An Shi, Mei Sheng Yu, Zhu Xi, Wen Tian Xiang, Wu Cheng, Luo Hong Xian, Nie Bao, Zeng Guo Fan, Zuo Zong Tang and others, all of them had left their calligraphies for Liu Keng. In the period between Ming and Qing Dynasties, trades in bamboo and wood in the upper reaches of Wujiang River grew unprecedentedly prosperous and were monopolized by the Liu Keng Dongs. The rising rich merchants of them came to contribute money for office, construct luxury residences, revive their ancestral halls, rewrite their family tree notes and enlarge their family properties. With the compact patriarchal clan system, they coagulated the enormous clan groups in Liu Keng and made the coagulation last to the middle of the 20th century, and as a result, every village and every family in Liu Keng have lasted for thousand years and experienced all vicissitudes of life and never dispersed with all battles they met.*

Liu Keng nowadays may gain from people a look with new eyes, besides its seniority of thousand years, it has yet made a great mass of ancient cultural remains reserved relatively intact.

*There are now 19 structures of Ming Dynasty (including the sites) and 250 ones of Qing in Liu Keng Village, among them are 26 archways and pavillions, 50 more ancestral halls. The plane layout of the whole village has basically maintained the pattern of the middle and late Ming Dynasty with streets and alleys crisscrossing in order. Most residences or constructions of Ming-Qing period have horizontal inscribed boards and pillars with couplets, and most of such boards and couplets have their sources with dates for reference. The wooden inscribed boards which the whole village has now preserved are about 170 pieces, the inscribed boards on walls are more than 250, and the pillar couplets more than 100 couples, most of them are out of famous experts' hands. Also can we see everywhere among the ancient constructions wood carvings, brick carvings, stone carvings, mural paintings and*



*works of coloured drawing.*

How do we look at Liu Keng? Those who make researches on ancient structures can, according to their own experiences and feelings, find out respectively their own answers in this village which covers an area less than 4 square kilometres, so it was with those who make researches on local history, ancient culture and arts, on customs and habits or stele inscriptions, on protection of cultural relics and of ecological environments; and with those who are engaged in tourism or in all kinds of art creation.

### III

The time I first went to Liu Keng was not long after the great Jing-Jiu railway was open to traffic. I had a map in my hand, Liu Keng Village was too small to be found in the map, the smallest unit in the map was Le An county. I opened my eyes wide to look for the station nearest to Le An county and found it a very small station called Ba Du, at which the ordinary express I took would not stop according to regulation. But fortunately the train stopped that time at Ba Du for replenishing water. I encouraged myself getting off the train to bet my luck and soon found I was right doing that. The side road toward Le An county was really nearby the station. Then I stood at the fork to catch the car passing by. One more hour passed, there finally came a bus, as it was only for Yong Feng county town, I had to transfer again. Another waiting for two hours, again I wedged myself onto the bus for Fuzhou. The bus ran not much quicker than a bike because the road was just in mending, everywhere were pits, the bus moved intermittently and took two more hours to cover 30-40 kilometres to come to the crossing of E-Tang road and it was therefrom still 4 kilometres to go to the