

大英圖書館特藏
中國清代外銷畫精華
第柒卷

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閱覽

Chinese Export Paintings of the Qing Period
in The British Library
Volume VII

Andrew Lo Song Jiayu Wang Tzi-Cheng Frances Wood



廣東省出版集團
廣東人民出版社

Guangdong Provincial Publishing Group
Guangdong People's Publishing House

· 廣州 ·
Guangzhou

J222.49
20116
7



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十四 北京社會生活與風俗組畫

14. Paintings of Beijing Life and Customs

Jinggang, or showing
with two knives



柳斗荆筐陳廟會 鴿市花廠見民生

——清末畫家周培春和他的北京社會生活風俗畫

宋家鈺 盧慶濱 助編 劉政江

一、北京畫家周培春的創作時期及其作品

呈現在讀者面前的是大英圖書館特藏的約200幅圖文並茂、廣泛反映清末北京社會生活與風俗的彩色圖畫。它的作者，到目前為止，我們主要是從部分畫上的朱色印章，得知是“北京周培春畫”。這位畫家在國外清代外銷畫或風俗畫的研究中頗為著名，其作品在歐美許多博物館、圖書館和私人收藏家中都有收藏。但是，在清末民初的北京史志文獻及現代出版的北京地方史、繪畫史的研究論著中，均未見到有關他的記述。他的衆多畫作在國內基本上沒有收藏。二十多年前出版並於近年再版的《北京民間風俗百圖》，是我們至今知道的國內唯一收藏的一冊周培春的作品（或是其仿製品）。由於當年出版時不知畫冊的作者是誰，只能大概確定是清末“民間藝人”所繪，這也說明我們長期對這位風俗畫家基本上是無所瞭解的。

根據我們的初步調查，周培春的作品有關情況如下：

在大英圖書館收藏的周培春作品中，Or. 11539 f. 129畫上的英文解說，題有“87年”的英文年代。如果這是1887年寫的，那就是清光緒十三年。這是周培春的作品可以確定的最早的年代。

1866—1884年在俄國駐北京大使館任醫師的布列斯奈德 (Emil Vasilyevich Bretschneider)(1833—1901)，‘‘聘請了北京當地藝術家，替他繪製了當時北京各階層的生活’’，每幅上有“中文解說”。1995年，在英國出版了這批畫的選集，收錄126幅畫。可惜的是，編輯者將原畫上的中文、英文解



拉酒大車圖

周培春繪組畫(20幅)第20圖，25.5釐米×35.5釐米

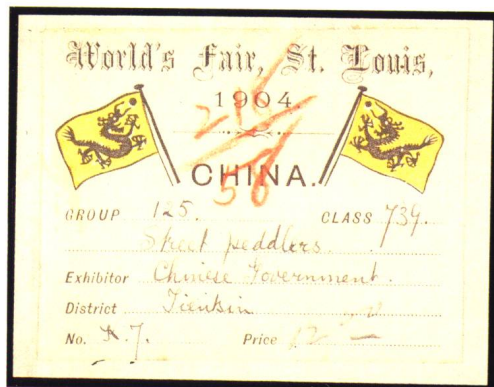
1904年美國聖路易世界博覽會展出，倫敦惠康圖書館藏 Or. 190/III f.20

A Chinese wine cart, Zhou Peichun, No. 20 out of a total of 20, 25.5 cm. × 35.5 cm.

Exhibited at World's Fair, St Louis, USA, 1904. Wellcome Library, Or. 190/III f.20.

說裁去，我們只能看出其中有14幅畫和大英圖書館收藏的周培春畫相近。據索羅尼 (K. Y. Solonin) 在《序言》中的介紹，這是從布列斯奈德的六本畫冊中選出的。布列斯奈德畫冊現藏俄國科學院東方研究所。^①這是我們目前所知道北京藝人最早創作的北京風俗畫。

1904年，美國在聖路易舉行世界博覽會，清政府派了代表團參加。周培春的畫被送到會上展出。這批畫後為英國一著名製藥企業家巴洛斯 (Burroughs) 收藏，現藏於倫敦惠康圖書館 (Wellcome Library)。據該館目錄，



1904年美國聖路易世界博覽會展周培春《小販》畫作英文標籤
倫敦惠康圖書館藏 Or. 190/IV
Label of drawings of street peddlers, Zhou Peichun, World's Fair, St. Louis, USA, 1904. Wellcome Library, Or. 190/IV.



三品武官豹補服圖

周培春繪組畫(17幅)第12圖，25釐米×17釐米

1904年美國聖路易世界博覽會展出，倫敦惠康圖書館藏

Or. 190/I f.12

Third rank military official, surcoat with leopard rank badge, Zhou Peichun, No. 12 out of a total of 17, 25 cm × 17 cm

Exhibited at World's Fair, St Louis, USA, 1904.

Wellcome Library, Or. 190/I f.12.



這批畫共有186幅，主要是：北京百業、文武品官、刑罰、店舖招幌、馬車。每一類畫都附有一張英文說明卡片，上面繪有清政府的龍圖旗幟，並注明來自中國天津。

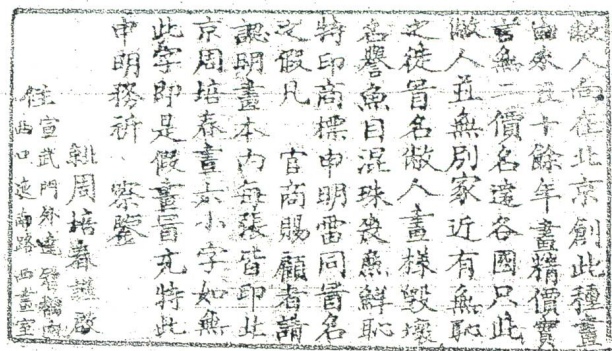
1991年，香港藝術館舉辦館藏周培春畫和其他外銷畫展覽。展覽會的一份說明書中說，周培春的美術畫室，出售有30種不同題材的北京風俗畫，其中1—12類畫上，都有英文解說。^②

美國作家葛蕾 (Louise Crane) 到中國考察後，於1926年在倫敦和上海出版了《從招幌看中國的古今生活》一書^③，這是西方最早和全面介紹中國招幌的專門著作。書中共收入102幅中國店舖招幌圖畫和一幅大型喪事儀仗圖，^④其中99種招幌圖，基本上與大英圖書館的藏品相同。書中的圖畫都是葛蕾丈夫重繪的，招幌圖原作上周培春的紅色印款可能被省略，但在喪事儀仗圖上，則留有“北京周培春畫”的清楚題名，據此可以肯定書內所錄店舖招幌圖畫，應是周培春畫室的作品。

俄國學者阿維那理烏斯 (Г. Г. Авенариус) 曾編輯《中國工商同業公會 (附工商營業標幌圖式)》一書，於1928年在哈爾濱出版。該書主要收錄了周培春繪北京店舖招幌畫9幅，共有招幌彩圖99種，每幅畫後附有俄、英文解說。該書中文《序言》說：“書內所列之標幌，係前清宣統二年(1910)於北京西河沿街一美術工廠內，華人周培春君所製就者……總之，大部分標幌於十九年前在北京所繪者，於中國舊都市大商埠中，尚可尋覓。”^⑤這是國內最早的彩色印刷的店舖招幌，同時也是周培春畫室地址的較早記載。該書所收99種彩圖、標題與大英圖書館收藏的周培春畫99種彩圖、標題完全相同。

1897年 (光緒二十三年)，清政府開始發行郵資明信片之後，就有商家利用明信片的背面，加工手繪成彩圖明信片出售。近年收藏家發現，其中有清代1907年第四次發行的大清郵政明信片雙片的正片，加蓋 (1912年) “中華民國”四字印章，背面繪北京風俗圖，旁鈐“北京周培春畫”圖章。^⑥此種加蓋印章的清代明信片一直出售到1913年終，使用截止日期為1914年9月1日。這可能是有可靠年代的周培春最晚的畫作。

除北京社會生活和風俗畫外，周培春似乎也創作其他繪畫。2006年初，一位收藏者在網上公佈了一幅周培春以傳統工筆畫法精繪的《西遊記》中“四聖試禪心”故事畫，表現了周培春具有很高的國畫創作藝能。在華納 (E. T. C. Werner) (1864—?) 1922年出版的《中國神話與傳說》書中，附有32幅彩色插圖，內容為中國三教人物和五張《西遊記》小說中的場面。插圖上雖然沒有周培春的印，但繪畫風格與網上公佈的《西遊記》故事畫相同，當是周培春的畫作。華納1884年為英國領事館駐華人員，1914年卸任福州領事



周培春防偽聲明

大英圖書館藏Or. 14329畫冊

Zhou Peichun's warning against forgeries of his work, Album Or. 14329, The British Library.

退休。^⑦

最近幾年，在西方的拍賣市場上，不斷有周培春的作品拍賣。2006年10月佳士得 (Christie's) 在荷蘭拍賣會的目錄上，就有八種200多幅周培春的北京風俗畫拍賣。其中有十幾幅觀音和神像畫、馬車驅車畫、刑罰畫，是大英圖書館藏品中所未見的。英國維多利亞阿伯特博物院也藏有五種周培春的畫冊，包括鬼、神、刑罰、北京招幌和女士髮型畫等。

其實，流傳至西方的周培春畫作，有些並非周培春所繪，而是其他繪畫者的仿製品。在大英圖書館收藏的周培春畫冊 (Or. 14329) 中，兩處鈐有木刻周培春關於其作品的防偽聲明：

敝人向在北京，創此種畫，由來五十餘年，畫精價實，言無二價，名遠各國，只此敝人，並無別家。近有無恥之徒，冒名敝人畫樣，毀壞名譽，魚目混珠，喪廉鮮恥，特印商標，申明雷同冒名之假。凡官、商賜顧者，請認明畫本內每張皆印北京周培春畫六小字。如無此字，即是假畫冒充。特此申明，務祈察鑒。

北京周培春謹啓

住：宣武門外，達智橋內西口，迤南路西畫室

根據以上資料，我們可以肯定以下幾點：

- (1) 周培春創作北京風俗畫的時期，大致是在晚清至民國初，即19世紀晚期至20世紀初，他從事北京風俗畫創作近六十年。
- (2) 周培春的畫室在北京宣武門外達智橋胡同，能“生產”大批的相同畫作。



(3) 周培春畫室的繪畫題材，主要是北京地區的社會生活和風俗，也有部分是中國各地共同的社會生活和風俗。其題材種類有30種之多。

(4) 周培春畫作銷售對象，主要是訪問或是住在北京的西方人士，從他的北京社會生活與風俗畫的圖上中文第一句寫法：“此中國×××之圖”，當可理解為對西方顧客的介紹。周培春防偽聲明中提到的“官、商賜顧者”，可能是指清政府和商人為參加1904年在美國聖路易舉行的世界博覽會，購買周培春的作品，在展覽會上介紹中國的社會風俗。在西方各國公私收藏者收藏的周培春北京風俗畫或其仿製品，已知的就有兩千多幅。

(5) 周培春在中國傳統的工筆畫方面，有深厚的功底，曾創作過《西遊記》故事工筆畫和手繪明信片上的北京風俗畫。

(6) 流傳至西方的周培春畫作，有些並非周培春所繪，而是其他繪畫者的仿製品。

周培春用生動的繪畫和通俗易懂的語言，向世界展現了古老的北京。他無疑是一位傑出的北京風情畫家。他的畫作對世界各國和後世的人們瞭解清代北京的社會生活和風俗，做出了巨大貢獻。

二、本書編釋周培春畫作的幾個問題

本書收入大英圖書館收藏的周培春有關北京的繪畫，主要有三類：

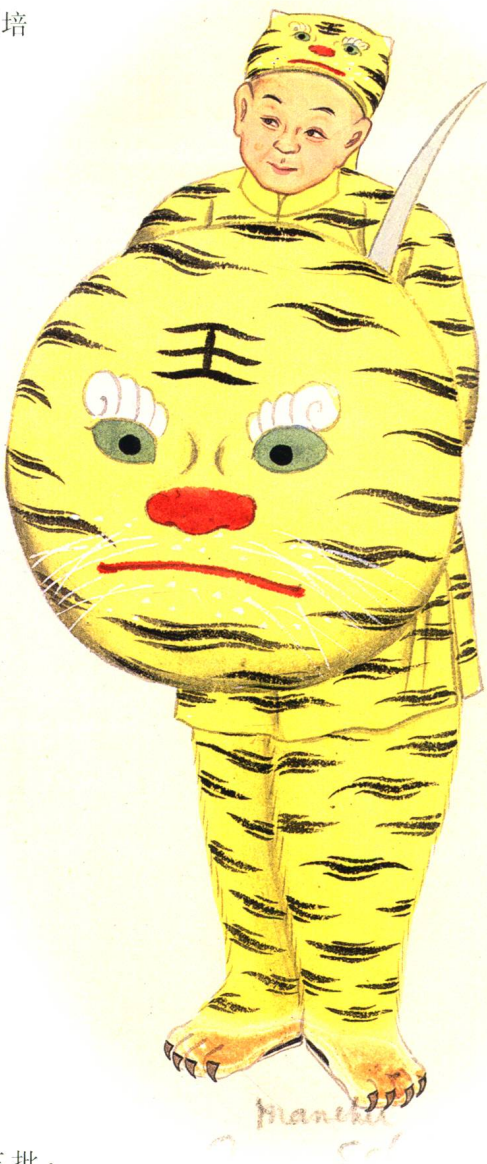
- (1) 北京街市百業與民間生活畫。
- (2) 北京兒童遊戲畫。
- (3) 北京店鋪招幌畫。

大英圖書館收藏的周培春畫作，共有三批：

Or.14329、Or.11539、Or.15929。Or.14329一冊，在我們編著此書期間，一直未能找到，直至最近才尋獲。此畫冊於1986年入藏，內容包括20幅兒童遊戲畫，20幅街市百業畫，每一幅均鈐有“北京周培春畫”，且兩處印有周培春防偽聲明，惜這40幅畫已不及收入本書。Or.11539一

冊共145幅，1934年入藏；Or.15929是67幅兒童、商販散頁畫和18幅店鋪招幌畫，2002年入藏，其上均蓋有“北京周培春畫”紅色印章。比較其中相同的幾幅畫，大致可以確定是同一時期的作品（相同的畫作，本書僅注明，不重複收入）。與北京國家圖書館所藏《北京民間風俗百圖》比較，有42幅基本相同，但畫圖的勾綫、著色和文字說明，則具有顯著的差別。《北京民間風俗百圖》可能是周培春畫室不同時期的作品或其他畫師仿製他的作品。因為其中有的畫，說明文字雖然相同，畫圖卻有所修改。例如剃頭圖，在大英圖書館收藏的畫作中，只繪了剃頭匠一人，在《北京民間風俗百圖》中，則改繪成剃頭匠正在為人剃頭。^⑧這兩個時期畫作上的文字說明，都有不少訛、漏，基本相同的42幅圖、文，有多處可以互校、互補。

據上述的有關資料顯示，周培春畫作題材有30種之多，目前我們所知的僅有9種。本書第柒卷編入的第一類畫中的少數圖畫，如Or.11539 f.39“藤牌手”圖，是有別於北京社會生活的其他題材畫作。由於不清楚原作的分類，我們暫且分為上述三種。周培春的這些畫，基本上是北京社會生活、風俗畫，但是畫上的說明卻都是“此中國×××之圖”，而不是“此北京×××之圖”。有的學者解釋說，畫上說明的“中國”即指“京師”，沿襲古代的稱謂。我們認為，更可能的原因，是由於這些畫是“外銷畫”，為了便於西方人理解，所以畫上的說明都是“此中國×××之圖”。其中所繪社會生活、風俗，事實上有些也是中國各地共同的，並非僅是北京地區的，如剃頭、磨刀、箍桶、祭竈等。特別是在刑罰畫中，他明確區分為中國的、中國京都的和中國外省的三種，如：



此中國殺人之圖也。每於斬犯出（處）決日期，綁至菜市口……。

此中國打問板之圖也。京中刑部衙門內有此刑法。如犯罪之人不說實供，用此刑法……。

此中國外省衙門刑法，與京都不同。將賊匪拿住，用皮條將賊人手拉起，則能取出實言，名曰偏跨。（參見本書第叁卷《刑罰組畫》概述部分）



因此，某些周培春的畫作既可稱為北京社會生活、風俗畫，也可稱為中國社會生活、風俗畫，這與廣東的外銷畫是相同的，都屬於清代外銷中國社會生活、風俗畫範疇。

周培春的作品與廣州的外銷畫相比較，它有以下特點：

- (1) 每幅畫圖上有簡要的文字解說，具有歷史記載的珍貴價值。
- (2) 每幅畫作基本上是寫實的，從有關的歷史記載可以得到證實。

(3) 繪畫的風格主要是中國傳統的工筆畫法，但也融有一些西方的透視、明暗畫法。因此在人物的寫實表現和色彩運用上，雖不及廣州的外銷畫鮮豔逼真，卻畫得十分生動，充分表達出北京平民的質樸情態。

(4) 畫作的藝術水平，有的相差較大。一些出自周培春繪製的作品，如收藏於倫敦惠康圖書館 (Wellcome Library) 的馬車等畫，就描繪得十分精細，線條勾勒和著色，均有較高的工筆畫水平。但某些從同一底稿複製出來的畫，就顯得粗拙，可能是畫室的一些低水平畫工繪製的。

周培春畫作的最大價值，是他用圖文並茂的形式，幾乎是全面、系統地記錄下了北京地區晚清時期的社會生活、風俗習尚。經過一百多年的歲月，它們絕大多數成為歷史的陳迹，其中許多內容，如無他的圖文，我們就很難理解。

類似周培春畫作題材的繪畫，除廣東外銷畫中有題名“三百六十行”的街市商販畫外，^⑨最早的是浙江畫家方薰呈獻給乾隆皇帝的百幅《太平歡樂圖》，^⑩福建單幅年畫街市《九流圖》，^⑪蘇州對屏年畫《三百六十行》圖，^⑫晚清嵩山道人繪蘇州冊頁年畫《三百六十行圖》、《市井各業》圖、清末上海《圖畫日報》刊登的360行《營業寫真》白描畫、民國初陳師曾水墨畫《北京風俗圖》，^⑬美國康斯坦特的《京都叫賣圖》，^⑭民國時期出版周其亮繪96幅《北京的三百六十行》(部分仿自周培春畫)^⑮等。由此可見，這類題材繪畫，有各種名稱，而用得較多的是“三百六十行”。

據有關研究，“行”的起源大約與秦漢以前定期市場上同類行業配列一起的“列”、“列肆”、“行列”有關。古代正式制訂工商業以“行”分類的法律，目前所知最早是在隋唐時期。《唐令·關市令》規定：“諸市，每肆各標行名，市司每行准貨物時價為三等……”^⑯關於“三百六十行”說的歷史源流，一般認為是明代才較流行，在此之前的唐宋時代，則多稱“一百二十行”。^⑰最早見於記載的是唐代洛陽城內的“南市”：“隋曰豐都市，東西南北居二坊之地，其內一百二十行，三千餘肆，四壁有四百餘店，貨賄山積。”^⑱日本學者加藤繁認為，“行”在這裏的意義是指“同業商店的街區”，“一百二十行”也非確實數字，只是形容行業眾多的概數。^⑲這與

徐珂在《清稗類鈔》中的見解相同：“三十六行者，種種職業也。就其分工而約計之，曰三十六行，倍之，則為七十二行；十之，則為三百六十行，皆就成數而言，俗為之一一指定分配者，罔也。”^⑳

隨着商品經濟的發展，唐代的城坊制度和官府管轄的固定交易區域的市制，在宋代逐漸瓦解，工商店舖遍佈城內，“行”的涵義由工商業同業街區，演變為各類工商業者維護自己利益的組織和官府課稅的重要渠道。有的所謂“行”甚至與工作類別的劃分毫無關係：“京肆謂之行者，因官府科索而得此名，不以其物大小，但合充用者，皆置為行。”^㉑

大致說來，宋代官府註冊登記的納稅“行”數，有的記載是一百六七十行，多的時候則達四百餘行。“行”的這種雙重性質，為後來明清時代繼承。根據《宛署雜記》的記載，明代北京宛平、大興兩縣在冊登記繳納稅銀的“舖行”總數為一百三十二行。萬曆十年(1582)，戶部奏准免除三十二行下等“舖行”稅銀，它們是：網邊行、針篋雜糧行、碾子行、炒鍋行、蒸作行、土鹼行、豆粉行、雜菜行、豆腐行、鈔報行、賣筆行、荆筐行、柴草行、燒煤行、等秤行、泥罐行、裁縫行、刊字行、圖書行、打碑行、鼓吹行、扞刷行、骨簪蘿圈行、毛繩行、淘洗行、箍桶行、泥塑行、媒人行、竹篩行、土工行等。這次免稅措施還規定：“其他如賣餅、賣菜、肩挑背負販易雜貨等項，看守九門各官，不許勒索抽分。”^㉒清代社會無疑承續了前朝舊有的行業，包括舖戶和肩挑背負、走街串巷的小販，其中許多正是周培春畫作中所繪的行業。從這方面說，周培春畫作有部分內容屬於明清時期民間泛稱的“七十二行”、“三百六十行”雜業雜販內容。

但是，周培春畫作還有許多內容不屬於“三百六十行”雜販範圍，有的明顯屬於風俗類，如祭竈、送財神、圓墳、燒包袱、還贊身





等；還有的則屬於非工商交易性質的社會生活類，如小兒遊戲、狀元遊街、枷號人、捨粥、放花炮、店舖招幌，以及未收入本書的刑罰畫、神像畫、車馬畫、服飾畫等。根據這些分析，我們確定周培春畫作內容應是比較廣泛的有關北京社會生活（包括政治、經濟和文化）和風俗的繪畫。當然，這裏所說北京社會生活，主要還是限於平民的社會生活，當時在京城居重要地位的皇室、官員和官府的生活習尚，則大多不在其內。

周培春的每幅畫作上，都有近於白話的文字說明。其中有些內容，不

僅國外讀者，就是當今的國內讀者也不易理解。因此，我們根據明清時期有關北京的文獻記載，有選擇地做了部分考釋。為便於讀者進一步瞭解和研究文獻記載，我們較多地引用原文，並注明其出處。同時，收入本書的大部分畫上，留有當時買畫者根據畫師的介紹寫的英文解釋，其中雖有誤解，卻也是頗有歷史價值的記載，我們照實譯出，以饗讀者。由於有關北京的文獻記載十分豐富，當代學者的論著也甚多，限於時間與能力，無法進一步查考，我們的說明難免有所疏漏失誤，期待專家們的指正。

① 索羅尼 (K. Y. Solonin): 《布列斯奈德畫冊：十九世紀中國風俗畫》(英文版), 第7—9頁。

② 見華雷芬 (Hartmut Walravens): 《惠康醫學史研究所圖書館藏中文典籍稿本目錄》(英文版), 第93頁。

③ [美] 葛蕾 (Louise Crane): 《從招幌中看中國的古今生活》(英文版)。

④ 此北平喪事儀仗圖，曾以黑白圖版刊載於威廉斯 (C. A. S. Williams) 的《中國象徵與藝術主題概要》(英文版), 第114頁。書中亦以黑白圖版刊載周培春繪的北平婚事儀仗圖，見同書第268頁。

⑤ [俄] 阿維那理烏斯 (Г. Г. Авенариус) 編: 《中國工商同業公會 (附工商營業標幌圖式)》(Китайские Цехи) (*The Chinese Guilds*), 第12頁。

⑥ 夏大緯: 《談大清片的背面玄機》, 第23、27、28頁。

⑦ 華納 (E. T. C. Werner): 《中國神話與傳說》(英文版)。插圖應該是特別訂購的，現為英國私人收藏。

⑧ 佚名: 《北京民間風俗百圖》, 第1頁。

⑨ 黃時鑒、[美] 沙進編著: 《十九世紀中國市井風情——三百六十行》。

⑩ 方薰: 《太平歡樂圖》(董榮臨摹本)。

⑪ 王樹村: 《中國民間年畫史圖錄》, 第407頁。

⑫ 王樹村: 《中國民間年畫史圖錄》, 第260頁。

⑬ 嵩山道人: 《三百六十行圖》、《市井各業》圖、《圖畫日報》360行《營業寫真》畫、陳師曾的《北京風俗圖》, 均見王稼句編: 《三百六十行圖集》。

⑭ [美] 塞繆爾·維克多·康斯坦特: 《京都叫賣圖》。

⑮ 周其亮: 《北京的三百六十行》。該畫冊50幅有中文標題, 36幅有英文標題。

⑯ 天一閣博物館等校證: 《天一閣藏明鈔本天聖令校證》, 下冊, 第535頁。

⑰ [日] 加藤繁: 《論唐宋時代的商業組織“行”并及清代會館》, 見《中國經濟史考證》, 第1卷, 第346頁。

⑱ 徐松: 《唐兩京城坊考》, 第160頁。

⑲ 參見注⑰加藤繁文。唐代的“行”實際也包括前店後廠的作坊在內。

⑳ 徐珂: 《清稗類鈔》, 第5冊, 農商類, 第2288頁。徐珂曾將清末店舖分為食料店、金銀店、畜牧漁撈及種植類店等16類, 並“略舉”各類行、店名一百餘個, 如米行、油坊、首飾店、金店、豬行、藥行、木器店、毯子店等。《清稗類鈔》, 第2279頁。

㉑ 見注⑰加藤繁文, 第357頁引《都城紀勝》。

㉒ 沈榜: 《宛署雜記》卷一三, 《舖行》, 第96頁。



Wicker baskets and the like laid out for sale at temple fairs; from the pigeon markets and flower shops we see the life of the people — The late Qing painter Zhou Peichun and his paintings of Beijing life and customs

Andrew Lo and Song Jiayu, with the assistance of Liu Zhengjiang

(1) The period and work of the Beijing painter Zhou Peichun

The albums presented here contain around two hundred coloured paintings reflecting the social life and customs of late Qing (1644-1911) Beijing in the collections of the British Library. For the moment, it is only from red seals in some of the paintings that we know that they are the work of Zhou Peichun of Beijing. For those researching Chinese export paintings abroad, he is an important figure. His paintings are included in the collections of libraries, museums and private collectors in Europe and America, yet in materials of the late Qing and early Republican period (1912-1949) relating to the history of Beijing, and in modern publications of the local history of Beijing and studies on the history of painting, there is almost nothing about him. Very few of his paintings appear in Chinese collections. In the volume printed over twenty years ago in China, and recently re-issued, *Beijing Minjian Fengsu Baitu* (A hundred paintings of Peking customs), we can see the only collection of his paintings (or those imitating his style) preserved in China. As the publishing house knew nothing about him, they could only state that these were painted by a folk artist, which only goes to show that for a long period, we have known little of this artist.

From our preliminary research, we can offer the following information about Zhou Peichun:

In the Zhou Peichun albums in the British Library, in the English explanations written in pencil upon the paintings, there is one date, "87." (See Or. 11539 f.129.) If this means 1887, it is the earliest date associated with the work of Zhou Peichun.

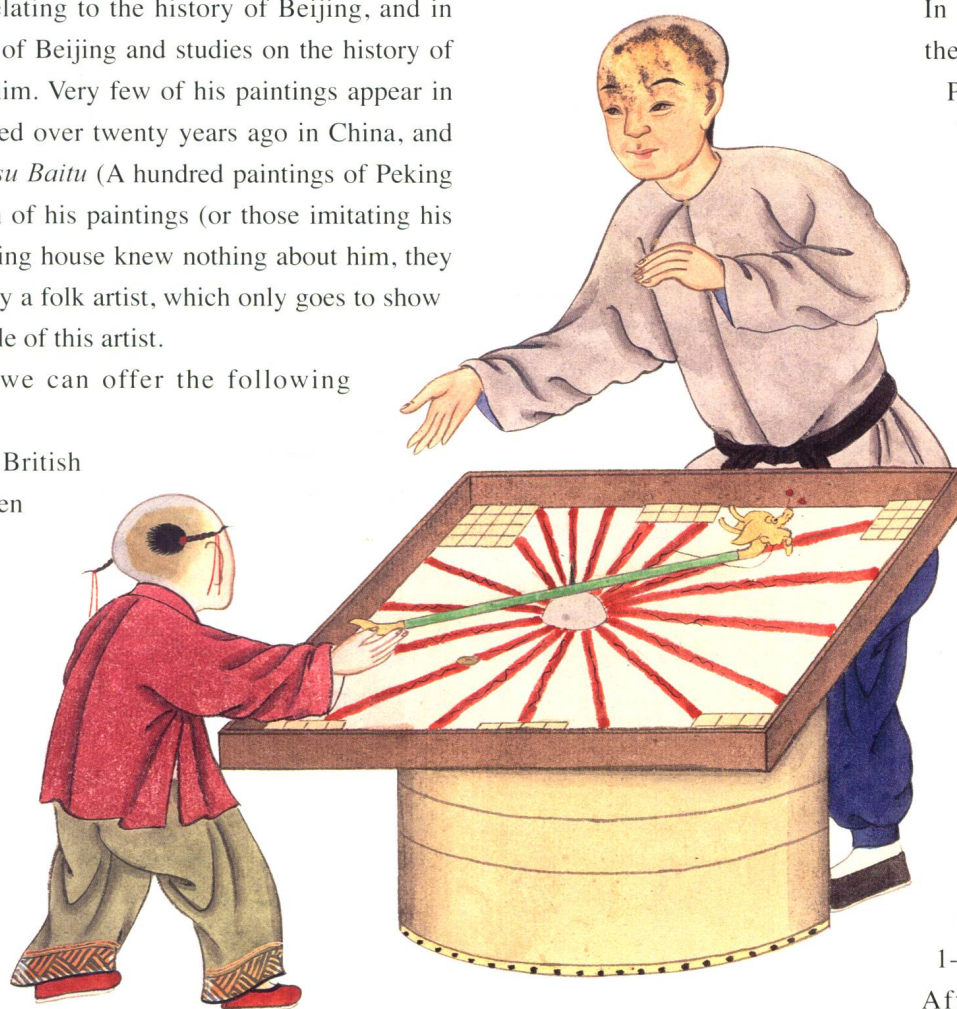
Emil Vasilyevich Bretschneider (1833-1901), a doctor attached to the Russian Embassy in Beijing from 1866 to 1884, wrote that he had asked a local painter to depict the daily life of Peking, with Chinese explanations for each picture. In the Bretschneider album

published in England in 1995 (in co-operation with the Oriental Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg), 126 paintings are reproduced, unfortunately with the Chinese and English explanations omitted. Some fourteen paintings are similar in content to those in the British Library's collection and, according to the preface by K. Y. Solonin; these were selected from the six Bretschneider albums now held in the Russian Academy of Sciences Oriental Institute collections.^① This is the earliest date that we are aware of Beijing artists associated with drawing pictures of Beijing life and customs.

In 1904, the Qing Government participated in the St. Louis World Fair, sending some Zhou Peichun paintings as part of their exhibit. When the World Fair ended, the paintings were purchased by Burroughs, a director of the pharmaceutical company now known as Burroughs-Wellcome, and they are now in the Wellcome collection on the history of medicine in London. According to the Wellcome library catalogue, there are 186 paintings including the "hundred trades of Beijing," civil and military officials, punishments, shop signs and carts and carriages. A card is included for each group of pictures, with the dragon flag of the Qing drawn on it, and noting that the pictures are from Tianjin, China.

In 1991, the Hong Kong Museum of Art held an exhibition of export paintings including some by Zhou Peichun. According to the catalogue, they included some thirty categories of depictions of Beijing social life and customs, of which nos. 1-12 had original English language captions.^②

After the American writer Louise Crane visited Beijing, she published her work *China in Sign and*





Symbol in 1926 in London and Shanghai, the first western monograph study of Chinese shop signs.^③ Her work includes one hundred and two shop signs, and a long illustration of a funeral procession in Beiping (Beijing).^④ The illustrations were all redrawn by her husband. The shop illustrations do not have the seal imprint of Zhou Peichun, but they are essentially similar to the British Library illustrations. The funerary procession illustration, however, has a seal imprint of Beijing Zhou Peichun, and so we can probably assume that the shop illustrations came also from Zhou's studio.

In his book *The Chinese Guilds: Brief Sketch of their History with Colour Printed Signs Representing Different Lines of Trade* published in Harbin in 1928, the Russian scholar G. G. Avenarius included nine paintings by Zhou Peichun of shop signs amongst the ninety-nine colour illustrations, all of which had Russian and English explanations. In the Chinese preface, it states the following, "The shop signs in the volume were drawn by Zhou Peichun, a Chinese, in an art studio at Xiheyuan Street, Beijing, in 1910... Basically, most of the shop signs were drawn in Beijing nineteen years ago, and they can still be found in old cities and commercial ports in China."^⑤ Avenarius' book was the earliest coloured printed reproduction of shop signs in China, and is a relatively early record of the address of Zhou Peichun's studio. The ninety-nine coloured illustrations and their captions are identical with the ninety-nine paintings of shop signs in the British Library collection.

In 1897, after the Qing government began to issue postal stationery, entrepreneurs began to hand paint the reverse of the cards, and to sell them as coloured postcards. A collector has recently discovered the printed part of the fourth issue of the Qing period double leaved postal card (issued in 1907) with the "Republic of China" overprint (issued in 1912), and on the reverse, there is an illustration with a seal reading "Painted by Zhou Peichun of Beijing."^⑥ This type of overprinted Qing period postal card was sold until the end of 1913, and could be used until September 1, 1914. This may be the latest known date for paintings by Zhou Peichun.

Apart from the scenes of Beijing life and customs, Zhou Peichun also made paintings of other themes. In early 2006, a collector posted on the Web a painting by Zhou Peichun in traditional Chinese "gongbi" style (characterised by fine lines and accurate depiction of detail) depicting the scene "The four sages test the Chan mind" from the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) novel *Xiyou Ji* (*The Journey to the West*), demonstrating Zhou Peichun's skill in traditional Chinese painting. In E. T. C. Werner's (1864-?) *Myths and Legends of China* published in 1922, there are thirty-two coloured illustrations, illustrating famous figures from Chinese Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, and five scenes from the novel *Xiyou Ji*. Although none of these illustrations have Zhou Peichun's seal, the style is similar to the illustration from the novel on the website, and these must all have come

from the studio of Zhou Peichun.^⑦ E. T. C. Werner joined the China Consular Service in 1884, and retired from his post of Consul at Foochow in 1914.

In recent years, Zhou Peichun paintings have appeared frequently in the auction rooms of the West. In a catalogue issued by Christie's Amsterdam saleroom in October 2006, there were eight lots comprising two hundred paintings by Zhou Peichun. These included more than ten paintings of Guanyin and other deities, horse carts and carriages, and punishments which are not included in the British Library collection. The Victoria and Albert Museum in London also has five Zhou Peichun albums, including those on ghosts, gods, punishments and torture, shop signs and hairstyles of women.

However, there are "Zhou Peichun paintings" in the West which are definitely not by him but by others imitating his style. In a Zhou Peichun album (Or. 14329) in the British Library, there are two similar woodblock printed notices which warn against fakes:

In Beijing, I created this style of painting, and have done so for more than fifty years. The paintings are fine and the prices honest, and my fame has spread abroad. There is just me, and there are no other establishments. Recently, shameless people have been using my name and designs, endangering my reputation, "passing fish eyes off as pearls" shamelessly. I have made a special seal to distinguish the genuine from the fake. All officials and merchants, please check that each page in album has the six-character seal "Painted by Zhou Peichun of Beijing." If there are no such characters, the paintings are fake. I issue this statement, and thank you for your attention.

Issued by Zhou Peichun, Beijing.

Address: Studio at western entrance of Dazhi Bridge, heading south, and on the west, outside Xuanwu Gate.

From this we can learn:

1. Zhou Peichun painted the customs of Beijing from the late Qing to the early Republican (1912-1949) period, that is, from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, probably for some sixty years.

2. Zhou Peichun's studio or workshop was in Dazhi lane, outside the Xuanwu Gate district where he turned out a large quantity of similar works.

3. His main themes were the daily life of Beijing and its customs, but he also painted aspects of daily life and customs that were common throughout China. His themes amounted to about thirty different types.

4. His customers were foreigners from all the countries in the West who came to visit or live in China. From the formulaic first line Chinese captions on his paintings on Beijing life and customs, which read, "This is a picture of × × × in China," we can appreciate his intention of introducing China to his western customers. The officials and merchants referred to in Zhou Peichun's warning



of fakes may refer to the Qing officials and merchants who were purchasing his works to introduce Chinese life and customs at the St. Louis exhibition in 1904. There are at least two thousand paintings by Zhou Peichun or attributed to Zhou Peichun in western collections, public and private.

5. Zhou Peichun was a skilled painter in the traditional Chinese “*gongbi*” style (characterised by fine lines and accurate depiction of detail) as seen in his illustrations of *The Journey to the West* and the postcards.

6. Some of the “Zhou Peichun” paintings in the West are not genuine but are imitations of his style.

Zhou Peichun’s lively paintings were accompanied by simple, easy to read descriptions and he introduced “Old Peking” to the world. He was certainly an expert and has made a significant contribution to the understanding of life and customs in late Qing Beijing both in the outside world and by later generations.

(2) A few remarks on the editing of the section on Zhou Peichun’s paintings

The book contains the British Library’s collection of Zhou Peichun paintings and they are mainly of three types:

1. Beijing street and marketplace occupations, life and customs;
2. Children’s games and amusements;
3. Shop signs.

There are three collections of Zhou Peichun paintings in the British Library, Or. 14329, Or. 11539 and Or. 15929. Or. 14329 was missing until recently, and could not be included in this work. This album was acquired in 1986, and includes twenty paintings of children’s games and twenty paintings of Beijing street and marketplace occupations. Each has the six-character red seal “Painted by Zhou Peichun of Beijing,” and there are two pages with Zhou Peichun’s woodblock printed warning against forgeries of his work. There are 145 paintings in Or. 11539, which was acquired in 1934. There are sixty-seven paintings of children’s amusements and trades in Or. 15929, and eighteen pictures of shop signs; these were acquired by the Library in 2002: they all have the six-character red seal “Painted by Zhou Peichun of Beijing” mentioned above. By comparing similar paintings, it is possible to conclude that they were painted at the same time (these similar paintings are indicated in the notes but not included here). Comparing the “Hundred paintings of Beijing customs” in the National Library of China to the British Library paintings, there are forty-two paintings which are very similar, but there are differences in the line, quality and the explanatory text, and the former may either be late works or perhaps by others imitating his style. Some, though with identical explanations, bear clear signs of alterations in the paintings. For example, in the painting of a barber in the British Library’s collection, the only figure is the barber, whilst in

the National Library of China’s picture, the barber is shaving another man’s head.^⑧ The explanations on the paintings of these two different periods show mistakes and omissions, and the forty-two paintings which are similar can be usefully compared.

Zhou Peichun appears to have worked on over thirty themes, although we are only aware of nine at the moment. In the paintings of Beijing street and marketplace occupations, there appear to be a few paintings that belong to other categories, such as folio 39 of Or. 11539, a rattan shield soldier. Since we are unclear about the original classification of Zhou Peichun’s paintings, we have divided them into the above three groups. Though these paintings are of Beijing street scenes and customs, the explanatory text invariably states that the subject is in “China,” not Beijing. It seems most likely that since these were “export paintings,” the explanations were for foreigners and this was a simplification. There are some customs depicted which are common to all parts of China and not restricted to Peking, such as the shaving of men’s foreheads, knife-sharpening, bucket-making, making offerings to the stove god, etc. On the paintings of “punishments” in particular, he distinguishes between those of China, those of the capital, Beijing, and those of other provinces. For example,

This is a picture of an execution in China. The condemned are taken out on fixed days, tied up and taken to the vegetable market . . .

This is a picture of interrogation using bamboo sticks in China. In the Beijing office of the Board of Punishment, this method is used if a prisoner is not telling the truth . . .

This is a form of punishment in yamen offices in other provinces, and is different from that in the capital. When a criminal is captured, they use a leather strip to tie and pull up one of the criminal’s hands (over a bar, and then pull down), and can thus get the truth. This is called “single crossover.” (See preface to Paintings of punishments.)

For these reasons, Zhou Peichun’s paintings may be described as representing Beijing’s social life and customs and also the social life and customs of China. In this way they are similar to the export paintings from Canton and fall very much within the same category of depictions of Chinese social life and customs for an overseas market. In comparison with the Canton export paintings, Zhou Peichun’s works have the following defining characteristics:

1. Each painting has a brief explanatory text written beside it which adds enormously to its worth as an historical record.
2. Each painting is done in a naturalistic style, and this can be demonstrated through historical records of the same topic.
3. The paintings are basically in the Chinese traditional “*gongbi*” style (characterised by fine lines and accurate depiction of detail), although they show some western influence in the use of perspective and shading. Though they are not



as vivid and naturalistic as the Canton paintings, many of the figures are painted in a lively style, accurately depicting the plain and ordinary people in Beijing.

4. Not all the paintings are uniformly good. Some, such as the series of carts and carriages in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, are extremely fine and of a high artistic standard, others, reproduced from a master copy, are rather crude and may have been made by unskilled workers in the studio.

The great contribution of Zhou Peichun is the systematic record of the social life and customs of Beijing in the late Qing, through painting and written explanation. Over a hundred years after they were painted, many of these scenes have faded, and would be difficult to imagine without his work.

Apart from the Canton export paintings of professions in the series known as the “360 trades,”^⑨ the earliest examples of paintings with similar content to those of Zhou Peichun are the hundred paintings entitled “Paintings of peace and happiness” presented by the Zhejiang artist Fang Xun to the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1736-1795),^⑩ the Fujian single sheet “New Year” print of a street scene entitled “The various trades,”^⑪ the pair of Suzhou “New Year” prints of the 360 trades^⑫ and the album of Suzhou prints of the same title and subject by the late Qing artist Songshan Daoren, and also his album entitled “Various marketplace occupations,” the line drawings of trades and occupations in the late Qing Shanghai paper *Tuhua Ribao* (Pictorial Daily), the watercolour painting “Beijing customs” by Chen Shizeng of the early Republican period,^⑬ the Beijing Street peddlers painted for the American Samuel Victor Constant (published in Beijing as *Calls, Sounds and Merchandise of the Peking Street Peddlers*, 1937)^⑭ and the ninety-six paintings of the “360 trades of Peking” by the Republican period painter Zhou Qiliang, some of which were adapted from those by Zhou Peichun,^⑮ etc. It is evident that there were varied titles for this sort of painting, for which the most commonly used title was *Sanbai liushi hang* or “The 360 trades.”

It seems that the word “*hang*” (which also means “row” or “line”) was applied to trades from before the Qin (221-206 BC) and Han (206 BC-AD 220) periods, when the dates for markets were fixed, and all the stalls of the practitioners of the same trades were ranged together in neat rows. The earliest surviving regulations describing the different sectors of industry and commerce as “*hang*” or trades, date from the Sui (581-618) to Tang (618-907) periods. The *Guanshi Ling* (Statutes concerning leaving and entering the national boundary passes and those concerning the market places) section of the *Tang Ling* (Statutes of the Tang), notes, “For the various markets, each stall displays a sign of the trade it belongs to, and the Supervisory Office sets the price of the goods in three classes...”^⑯ The term “360 trades” seems to have been quite widely used by the Ming, marking an expansion from the term “120 trades” used in the Tang and Song (960-1279) periods.^⑰ The earliest reference is to the southern market in the city of Luoyang,

“In the Sui period, it was called Fengdu Market, and occupied an area of two wards. Within this market, there were 120 trades, with over three thousand shops, and all around, there were over four hundred shops arranged along the walls of the market enclosure, and goods were piled up in mountains.”^⑱ The Japanese scholar Katō Shigeru considers that the term “*hang*” means the street where all the shops of the same trade are clustered and that the number 120 is not an actual number but simply shows that there was a great proliferation of trades.^⑲ This view is similar to that of Xu Ke in his *Qingbai Leichao* (Random jottings of the Qing period, arranged in categories), where he notes, “The term thirty-six occupations refers to various occupations. From their different functions, there are thirty-six as a rough figure. Double this figure and we get seventy-two occupations, and three hundred and sixty if we multiply it by ten. These are all round numbers, and to assign one to each would be a mistake.”^⑳

Following the development of the commodity economy, the system of the city ward and the fixed location of business overseen by the government in the Tang dynasty gradually dissolved in the Song dynasty, and commercial shops were spread all over the city. The meaning of “*hang*” evolved from a ward where shops of a similar profession were located, to mean an organization where the various commercial businesses protected their own interests, and whereby the government levied tax. Some of the “*hang*” were no longer associated with a single profession. “The ‘*hang*’ referred to in the capital gets its name from the tax levied by the government. It is not based on the category of goods, and as long as a combination of professions grouped arbitrarily under one category works, a ‘*hang*’ is established.”^㉑

In general, in the Song period, the number of registered trades and crafts varied from 160 to 170, and sometimes it was as high as over four hundred. The double nature of the term “*hang*” continued into the Ming and Qing. According to the *Wanshu Zaji* (Miscellaneous jottings at the Wanping district magistracy), during the Ming, the two Beijing districts of Wanping and Daxing had 132 different trades or shops registered. In 1582, the Board of Revenue was given permission from above to exempt thirty-two low category trades from paying shop tax. These included net-makers, sellers of needles, combs and foodstuffs, millers, makers of frying pans, steamed food sellers, makers of bean flour, vegetable peddlers, makers of bean curd, news vendors, brush peddlers, makers of baskets, sellers of firewood, coal sellers, sellers of scales, sellers of clay pots, tailors, block-cutters, booksellers, stela carvers, musicians, painters, makers of knitting wool, washers, bucket-makers, clay figure makers, match-makers, makers of bamboo sieves and builders, etc. Furthermore, there was the following rule, “The officials on guard at the nine city gates are not to extort from trades people such as pancake vendors, vegetable peddlers and those who carry their goods on shoulder poles or on their backs.”^㉒ These trades certainly continued to exist in the



Qing dynasty, including shops and street vendors, and many of those noted appear in Zhou Peichun's paintings. Thus some of Zhou Peichun's paintings fall into the category of depictions of the 72 or 360 trades of the Ming and Qing periods.

Some of his paintings, however, fall outside the category of trades and occupations and depict folk customs, such as sacrifices to the kitchen god and the god of wealth, offerings at funerals, returning a substitute in praise, etc. Others include non-commercial social activities, such as children's games, the first candidate in the palace examination parading in the streets, a person in a cangue, donating porridge, lighting firecrackers, and those not included in the British Library's collection, such as those on punishments, gods and spirits, carriages, and costumes, etc. Thus the broad scope of his paintings tells us much about the social life of Beijing, including political, economical and cultural, and local customs.

The social life of Beijing which he depicts is mainly that of the ordinary people, and other inhabitants of the capital, such as those in the imperial city and high officials are largely absent from his paintings.

Each of Zhou Peichun's paintings has an explanatory text in near colloquial Chinese. Some of these are hard even for Chinese readers today. For this reason, we have made notes, primarily based on original texts from Ming and Qing descriptions of Beijing. Many of the texts also have a contemporary description in English pencilled in, based on the explanation of the Chinese painter, which we have translated into Chinese, despite the occasional misunderstanding. As there is a mass of historical and contemporary material on Beijing, we have been unable to include every reference, and we hope that scholars will point out errors and omissions.

① K. Y. Solonin, *The Bretschneider Albums: 19th Century Paintings of Life in China*, 7-9.
② See Hartmut Walravens, *Catalogue of Chinese Books and Manuscripts in the Library of The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine*, 93.
③ Louise Crane, *China in Sign and Symbol: A Panorama of Chinese Life, Past and Present*.
④ This painting of the funeral procession is printed in black and white in C. A. S. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism & Art Motives*, 114. The work also contains a black and white printing of Zhou Peichun's painting of a wedding procession in Beiping. See p. 268.
⑤ G. G. Avenarius, *The Chinese Guilds: Brief Sketch of their History with Colour Printed Signs Representing Different Lines of Trade*, 12.
⑥ Xia Dawei (夏大緯), "Tan DaQing Pian de Beimian Xuanji," 23, 27, 28.
⑦ E. T. C. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China*. The paintings, apparently specially commissioned, are now in a private collection in the United Kingdom.
⑧ Anonymous, *Beijing Minjian Fengsu Baitu*, 1.
⑨ Huang Shijian, and William Sargent. *Customs and Conditions of Chinese City Streets in 19th Century — 360 Professions in China*.

⑩ Fang Xun (方薰), *Taiping Huanle Tu*.
⑪ Wang Shucun (王樹村), *Zhongguo Minjian Nianhua Shi Tulu*, 407.
⑫ Wang Shucun (王樹村), 260.
⑬ See Wang Jiaju (王稼句), ed., *360 Hang Tuji*.
⑭ Samuel Victor Constant (塞繆爾·維克多·康斯坦特), *Jingdu Jiaomai Tu*.
⑮ Zhou Qiliang (周其亮), *Beijing de 360 Hang*.
⑯ Tianyige Bowuguan (天一閣博物館) ed., *Tianyigecang Ming Chaoben Tianshengling Jiaozheng*, 535.
⑰ Katō Shigeru (加藤繁), "Lun TangSong Shidai de Shangye Zuzhi 'Hang' bingji Qingdai Huiguan," 1: 346.
⑱ Xu Song (徐松), *Tang Liang Jing Chengfang Kao*, 160. See also note 17.
⑲ See note 17. The "hang" in the Tang period included the shop in front and the workshop behind.
⑳ Xu Ke (徐珂), *Qingbai Leichao*, 5: 2288.
㉑ See note 17.
㉒ Shen Bang (沈榜), *Wanshu Zaji*, juan 13, 96.