

大英圖書館特藏
中國清代外銷畫精華
第貳卷

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Chinese Export Paintings of the Qing Period
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Volume II

Andrew Lo Song Jiayu Wang Tzi-Cheng Frances Wood

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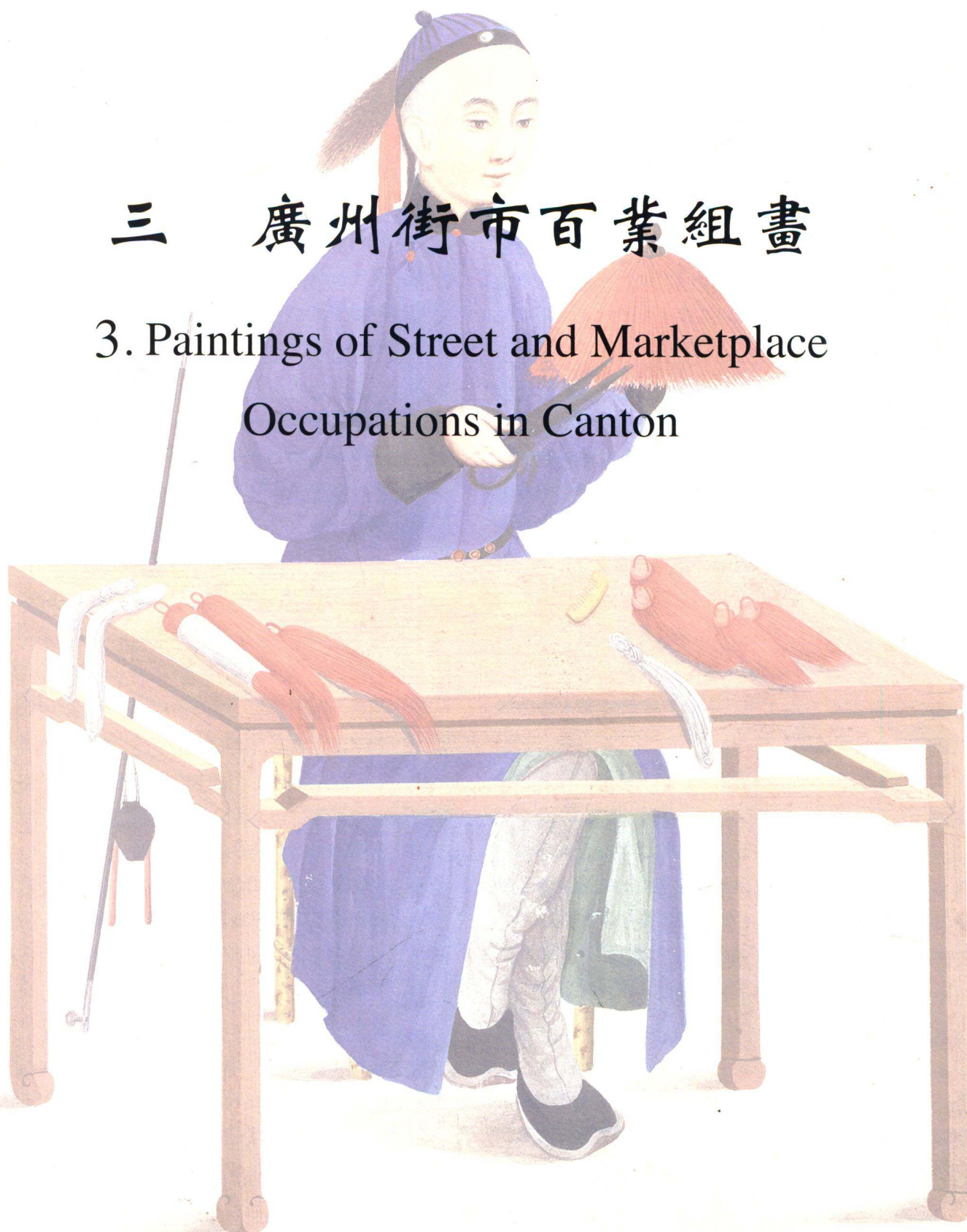
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三 廣州街市百業組畫

3. Paintings of Street and Marketplace
Occupations in Canton





樓臺處處人煙廣 巷陌朝朝客賈喧

——廣州街市百業組畫概述

王次澄 盧慶濱

1880年，原大英博物館圖書部門（今大英圖書館）購入一冊紙本水粉畫，其中61幅畫的是廣州街市百業，39幅畫的是中國歷代各類人物的服飾。原畫附的一張標籤上，寫有三行字迹已經模糊的英文：“Sold at Christy’s 1864”（佳士得1864年出售），說明此畫冊至遲作於19世紀60年代前後的廣州。

這本畫冊每幅右下角除有中文標題外，還有鉛筆書寫的英文標題和編號。後來館方用中國裱畫方法裝裱每幅畫時，擦去畫下的英文標題和號碼，但還留下痕迹。所幸的是，當年細心的館方人員曾將這些英文標題抄錄在一百張標籤上，並在每幅畫的右上方重新寫上英文編號，至於這些編號是否就是原先的英文編號，則不得而知。這些英文標題，部分符合圖畫的真實內容，部分有誤或似是而非。它們可能是不懂中文的書題者，僅據當年廣州講洋涇濱英語的中國人的口譯寫下的。由此我們也可以領悟到，19世紀中英兩國之間要在語言和文化上溝通，是多麼困難。由於這些標題對瞭解這批畫具有歷史記載價值，我們將其譯出，附在每幅畫的中文原題之下。

收入本組畫的是畫冊中61幅廣州街市百業畫，該冊中的39幅人物服飾畫因性質不同，在第壹卷另列一組畫編釋。

在各國收藏的清代廣州街市百業畫中，目前所知有確定年代和作者的最早畫作，是駐印度馬德拉斯（Madras）英國軍官梅森（George Henry Mason）少校1789年在廣州養病期間，從一位廣州畫家的作品中挑選的60幅這類畫。他返回英國之後，以翻雕方法將這些畫重新繪製成黑白圖畫，並加英、法文注釋，於1800年在倫敦出版，書名為《中國服飾（附六十張圖版和英法文解說）》。^①這是中國清代外銷畫首次在國外出版。該書在每幅畫下方都注明是“廣州蒲呱（音譯）畫”（Pu-quā, Canton, Delin）。梅森當年帶回英國的“蒲呱”原作，近年已經發現，2003年為牛津大學的阿什牟理安博物館（Ashmolean Museum）購入收藏。^②

清代外銷畫的起源，吳芳思博士根據大英圖書館的藏品，已可追溯到18世紀初期。至於最早以冊頁形式多幅繪製廣州街市百業的組畫，目前已知的有：1789年梅森在廣州選購的60幅“蒲呱”作品；曼徹斯特大學約翰·來蘭斯圖

書館收藏的1790年的100餘幅作品；維多利亞阿伯特博物院收藏的100幅作品，其中有採用英國瓦曼（Whatman）公司1781—1790年生產的紙繪作的。^③維多利亞阿伯特博物院藏品中有60幅與梅森翻雕的圖畫相同，曾被認為是梅森所據“蒲呱”的原作，現因“蒲呱”原作的發現而被否定。美國皮博迪·艾克塞斯博物館收藏的100幅廣州街市百業畫，有學者以其中24幅畫的結構、畫風與梅森翻雕的圖畫相同，也曾被認為是“蒲呱”原作。^④

大英圖書館所藏的這61幅廣州街市百業畫中，有19幅與梅森翻雕的圖畫相同，42幅與皮博迪·艾克塞斯博物館收藏的相同。曼徹斯特大學圖書館藏品尚未公佈，根據當年我們查閱的印象，其構圖、畫風與“蒲呱”作品相近。經我們仔細比較研究，這幾批組畫雖然部分圖畫的結構基本上與梅森翻雕的圖畫雷同，彼此之間某些圖也基本類似，但細部仍有較多差異，很難確定是否都是“蒲呱”原作。不過，從它們許多構圖大體一致這點，可以肯定是出自同一源頭，而原創作者很可能就是“蒲呱”。直到六十多年後的19世紀中期，一些廣州街市百業畫仍在沿襲仿用這些原稿。

18世紀晚期，廣州已出現大批包括各種題材的外銷畫。僅美籍荷蘭商人范伯覽（Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest），在1795年就從廣州帶回國2100多幅中國各行業、風景、建築、風俗等繪畫十餘種，其中當有用“西畫”方法繪製的外銷畫。^⑤

在大英圖書館的外銷畫藏品中，廣州港長卷風景畫約繪於1760年，廣州海幢寺第二組組畫繪於1776—1790年，作坊畫、室內陳設畫繪於18世紀末至19世紀初。這些題材廣泛的畫作是誰所作，現在已無從知曉。當時的畫家，我們所知的僅有史貝霖、蒲呱、關作霖少數幾人。

蒲呱的作品存世的極少，1784年美國“中國皇后號”船首次來華時，他曾應邀為美國莫里斯夫人製作了六幅繪有中國皇后、貴族的玻璃畫。^⑥這與五年後梅森在廣州購買其畫作時間相近，說明他當時一定是廣州很負盛名的外銷畫家。但在此時期，另一名叫“史貝霖（Spoilum 或 Spillem, Spilum）”的畫家也很著名。據康奈爾（Patrick Conner）在



《中國貿易：1600—1860》一書中說：“史貝霖，……是西方人對第一個用西方手法描繪人像而獲得名聲的廣東藝術家的稱法。”^⑦史貝霖創作繪畫的時期，據其存世作品考查，大致在1774—1810年，並有衆多弟子。^⑧這個時期也正是“蒲呱”作品產生的時期，二者是否就是同一人，或者“蒲呱”是史貝霖的學生，目前則無法考證清楚。

至於有學者認為史貝霖即關作霖之說，實難於成立。宣統二年（1910）刊本《南海縣志》清楚記載：“關作霖，……遍遊歐美各國。喜其油相傳神，從而學習。學成而歸，設肆羊城。……時在嘉慶中葉，此技初入中國，西人亦驚以為奇，得未曾有云。”^⑨清仁宗在位25年時間，所謂“嘉慶中葉”，應是嘉慶九年至十七年（1804—1812）。據此可以確定，關作霖是在1800年以後才開始在廣州成立畫室，製作出售外銷畫，與1774年就已製作外銷畫的史貝霖，並非同一時期，他應是繼史貝霖、蒲呱之後，晚一代的著名外銷畫家。

類似蒲呱的廣州街市百業畫，在清代和民國初有各種名稱。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。美國皮博迪·艾克塞斯博物館收藏的360幅廣州街市百業黑白素描畫，原題也為“三百六十行”，其中部分畫沿襲自蒲呱的畫作。^⑯由此可見，這類題材繪畫，較多稱為“三百六十行”。

上述這些畫作，有的主要是畫肩挑、背負、走街、串巷的行販，攤販、藝人等各色街頭人物，確屬市井雜販人物畫，有的則不全是。收入本書的61幅廣州街市百業畫和皮博迪·艾克塞斯博物館收藏的“三百六十行”畫，其中所繪有許多是店舖、作坊中的工藝人物，如蒸酒、抄紙（造紙）、磨麵、澆燭、榨香、打首飾、刨煙等。皮博迪·艾克塞斯博物館收藏的360幅畫，雖稱“三百六十行”，並非有360行，有的也不是工商行業和街頭雜販。如19幅製茶畫，從“採茶”到“運茶”（“擔茶”、“托茶”），繪的是茶葉生產過程。有的是同一藝業分兩、三圖，如“補衣服婆”與“織補衣服”，“裁縫”與“裁衣”等。為湊足360行之數，畫師甚至將屬於風俗的掃墓、屬於官差的更夫也繪入。

廣州地區的工商業，特別是各種商品製造業，在19世紀中期以前，主要集中在廣州附近的佛山。19世紀後期，才有部分逐漸轉移至廣州省城。本

書所收61幅畫，根據《佛山忠義鄉志》的記載，已查出它們所屬的大部分行業，其中小的行業有店舖數家，大的則有上百家。這些行業的名稱有：絨綫行、元寶行、籬斗行、缸瓦行、木屐行、打錫行、油燭行、煙袋行、戥稱（秤）行、布襪行、雨遮行、成衣行、板箱行、竹器行、盤桶行、香行、蒸酒行、麵粉行、煙葉行、煙絲行、苧麻行、鐵鍋行、燈籠行、髹漆行、唐鞋行、顧繡行、土布行、風爐行、製帽行、車玻璃行、花紗行、宰豬行等。顯然，廣州地區的工商業，是由製作、營銷店舖和走街零售的行販組成，本圖冊所繪則是這種組成的部分情景的寫實呈現，因此我們將其定名為“廣州街市百業組畫”，以符實際內容。

中國古代將工商業分行命名的法律規定，最早見於唐朝的《唐令·關市令》：“諸市，每肆各標行名”。^⑰日本學者加藤繁認為，唐代的“行”是指“同業商店的街區”。^⑱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對象。有的所謂“行”甚至與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。”^⑲“行”的這種雙重性質，為後來明清時代繼承。

將工商各行業統稱“一百二十行”，也始見於唐代記載的洛陽城內的“南市”，^⑳至宋元時期仍大多沿用。“三百六十行”之說，一般認為是明代才較流行。日本學者加藤繁認為，唐宋時代的“一百二十行”並非確實數字，只是形容行業衆多的概數。^㉑清人徐珂在《清稗類鈔》中更清楚地說：“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。”^㉒但是，晚清時期廣州著名的“七十二行”則是一個例外，它在最初不是作為一個俗用概數使用，而是確有72個向官府納稅的行業，後來才成為廣州工商行業的泛稱、俗稱。1931年刊印的《番禺縣續志》記載：

廣州商業，以七十二行著稱。七十二行者，土絲行、洋莊絲行、花紗行、土布行、南海布行、紗綢行、上海綢布幫行、匹頭行、絨綫行、綢綾繡巾行、顏料行、故衣行、顧繡班靴行、靴鞋行、牛皮行、洋雜貨行、金行、玉器行、玉石行、南番押行、下則押行、米埠行、酒米行、糠米行、澄麵行、鮮魚行、屠牛行、西豬欄行、菜欄行、油竹豆行、白糖行、醬料行、花生芝麻行、鮮果行、海味行、茶葉行、酒行、煙葉行、煙絲行、酒樓茶室行、生藥行、熟藥行、參茸行、丸散行、薄荷如意油行、瓷器行、潮碗行、洋煤行、紅磚瓦行、青磚窯行、杉行、雜木行、銅鐵行、青竹行、電器行、客棧行、燕梳行、輪渡



行、書籍行、香粉行、銀業行、銀業公會礦商公會報稅行、北江轉運行、北江棧行、南北行、天津公幫行、上海幫行、四川幫行、金山莊行是也。其在本邑者，不過寥寥數行，然九散行之陳李濟，醬料行之致美齋，酒樓茶室行之福來居，均自開業至今，互一二百年，惠愛街吳遠芳薄荷油店招牌，相傳為順德黎簡(1748—1799)所書，則由來亦已久。

謹按：七十二行之名，係因光緒間(1875—1908)大學士剛毅來粵籌餉，責令粵商各行擔任臺炮經費時，商會尚未成立，由總商岑敬輿將經費分令七十二行擔負，故名稱相沿至今。實則當時已不止此數。其無力者，未有列入也。^{②③}

清代廣州工商業的“行”之所以著名，一是由於它的繁盛，一是它的行規和會館等組織。加藤繁根據日本東亞同文書院當年發表的調查報告概括說：

在清代，廣東(省城)的行是很著名的。廣東的行，俗稱為七十二行，在清

末，實數比這還多，銀行、金行、當行、絲行、茶行等，總計也達九十七個。行有這樣的規定：在同一地方，不加入行，不能經營商業；加入行，必須是有信用的商賈，有行商二三名的保證，交納加入費銀百兩左右，而實際上，據說如果不採用承讓行商店舖的方法，入行是有困難的。有的行建立了會館(也叫做行館或公所)，集合在這裏，或者祭神，或者議事。^{②④}

上述七十二行中的“銀業行”，又稱“銀行”。日本長崎高等商業學校教授武藤長藏在佛山調查，發現當地“銀行會館忠信堂”神壇前鐘上的銘文：“在銀行會館玄壇祖師案前，永遠供，奉旨，康熙五十三年(1714)……佛山隆盛爐造”。說明兩百多年前廣東地方已有今天廣泛使用的“銀行”一詞，這也證明當年廣東經濟的發達和工商業的繁榮。^{②⑤}廣州街市百業畫，再現了當時傳統行業繁榮的部分面貌，這就是它具有無比珍貴價值之處。

① 梅森(George Henry Mason):《中國服飾(附六十張圖版和英法文解說)》(英文版)。

② 詳情見韋恩克(Shelagh Vainker)《中國的服裝》(英文版)，第52—55頁。

③ 參見劉明倩：《貫通中西文化的橋樑——談維多利亞阿伯特博物院藏廣州外銷畫》，載於英國維多利亞阿伯特博物院、廣州市文化局等編：《18—19世紀羊城風物——英國維多利亞阿伯特博物院藏廣州外銷畫》(中英版)，第7頁。

④ 黃時鑒、[美]沙進：《十九世紀中國市井風情——三百六十行·導言》，第7頁。

⑤ 范伯覽所藏中國畫的詳細介紹，參見范伯覽(André Everard Van Braam Houckgeest)《荷蘭東印度公司1794、1795年出使中國皇帝宮廷實錄》(英文版)，第279—324頁。倫敦佳士得1799年的范伯覽藏品拍賣目錄，見文德(J. L. Duyvendak)《訪問中國朝廷最後的一次荷蘭使團(1794—1795)》(英文版)，第117—131頁。

⑥ 黃時鑒、[美]沙進：《十九世紀中國市井風情——三百六十行·導言》(中英版)，第7頁。

⑦ 帕特里克·康奈爾(Patrick Conner):《中國貿易：1600—1860》，第50頁。

⑧ 現存史貝霖作品，最早為1774年的玻璃肖像畫。參見柯羅斯曼(Carl L Crossman)《中國貿易的裝飾藝術——畫、家具陳設和充滿異國情調的古玩》(英文版)，第1章；陳澄：《清代廣州的外銷畫》，載於《陳澄美術文集》，第15頁。

⑨ 桂站等纂：《南海縣志》卷二一，“列傳”第8頁上。

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《北京風俗圖》，見王稼句編《三百六十行圖集》。

⑭ [美]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 黃時鑒、[美]沙進：《十九世紀中國市井風情——三百六十行》。

⑰ 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。

⑱ [日]加藤繁：《論唐宋時代的商業組織“行”並及清代會館》，見《中國經濟史考證》卷1，第346頁。

⑲ 見注⑱加藤繁文，第357頁引《都城紀勝》。

⑳ 徐松：《唐兩京城坊考》，第160頁。參見注⑱加藤繁文。

㉑ 參見注⑱加藤繁文。唐代的“行”實際也包括前店後廠的作坊在內。

㉒ 徐珂：《清稗類鈔》，第5冊，“農商類”，第2288頁。

㉓ 梁鼎芬等修：《番禺縣續志》卷一二，第32頁。

㉔ 東亞同文書院發行《中國經濟報告書》，第11號“七十二行和南北行”，參見注⑱加藤繁文，第362頁。

㉕ [日]武藤長藏：《銀行一詞在約二百年前的中國就已存在的事實發現》，載《長崎高等商業學校研究館年報》，第3冊。轉引自注⑱加藤繁文，第362頁。



There are buildings everywhere with their inhabitants; each morning the customers and peddlers raise a din in the alleyways — Paintings of street and marketplace occupations in Canton

Andrew Lo Wang Tzi-Cheng

In 1880, the British Museum Library (now the British Library) bought an album of paintings, done in gouache on paper, and sixty-one of these were of street and marketplace occupations in Canton, while thirty-nine were of costumes of various classes of people from different dynasties. On an original slip, one can make out three rows of words, which read “Sold at Christy’s 1864,” which indicates that the latest date for this album was the early sixties of the nineteenth century. Besides a Chinese caption at the bottom right corner of each painting, there is an English caption and number written in pencil. Later, when the library had each painting mounted in the Chinese style, the English captions and numbers were erased, but one can still see some traces. Luckily, the librarian copied the English captions onto one hundred slips, and rewrote the English numbers onto the upper right corner of each painting, but we cannot be sure if these numbers are the original English numbers. Some of these English captions fit the content of the paintings, while some have errors. The English writer probably did not know Chinese, and wrote these down according to the Pidgin English spoken by a Chinese in Canton. From this, we can appreciate the difficulty of cultural intercourse between China and England in the nineteenth century.

In this section, we have the sixty-one paintings on street and marketplace occupations in Canton, and because the nature of the thirty-nine paintings on costumes of various classes of people is different, we have included these in a separate section in Vol. I.

In the various collections on street and marketplace occupations in Canton in the Qing dynasty, the earliest works with a definite date and name of painter are the sixty paintings chosen from a Chinese painter in Canton by George Henry Mason, an English major based in Madras, India, when he was recuperating from illness in Canton in 1789. After he returned to England, he had these paintings engraved, also in colour, and added a commentary to each painting in English and French, and this was published in London in 1800 under the title *The Costume of China, Illustrated by Sixty Engravings With Explanations in English and French*.^① This was the first time that Chinese export paintings of the Qing dynasty were published abroad. At the bottom of each engraving, there are the words “Pu-quā, Canton, Delin.” The originals of Pu-quā brought back to London by Mason have been discovered recently, and they were acquired by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University in

2003.^②

Based on the collections in the British Library, Dr. Frances Wood has traced the origin of Chinese export paintings back to the early eighteenth century. As for paintings in albums on street and marketplace occupations in Canton in the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), for the moment, we know of the following: the sixty works by Pu-quā bought by Mason in Canton in 1789; over a hundred paintings in the John Rylands Library, Manchester University, dated 1790; the hundred paintings in the Victoria and Albert Museum, with watermarks of the English company Whatman on some paper produced between 1781-1790.^③ There are sixty paintings in the Victoria and Albert Museum collection similar to those of the Mason engravings, and for a time, these had been regarded as the original works of Pu-quā, but this has been rejected with the discovery of the Pu-quā originals. There are also a hundred paintings on street and marketplace occupations in Canton in the Qing dynasty in the Peabody Essex Museum, and some scholars, based on the layout and style of twenty-four paintings that are similar to the Mason engravings, also considered these to be the originals of Pu-quā.^④

Of the sixty-one paintings in the British Library, nineteen are similar to the Mason engravings, and forty-two are similar to those in the Peabody Essex Museum. The John Rylands Library collection has not yet been published, but from our past viewing, the impression is that the layout and style is similar to the paintings of Pu-quā. After some comparison, we have found that although the basic layout of some of the paintings are similar to the Mason engravings, and certain paintings are basically similar in the different albums, there are still differences in minor details, and it is very difficult to say that they are the Pu-quā originals. However, from the general similarities, we can be certain that they originated from the same sketch, and the creator of these sketches was probably Pu-quā. After over sixty years in the mid nineteenth century, some paintings on the street and marketplace occupations in Canton were still based on these sketches.

By the late eighteenth century, there had appeared large quantities of export paintings on various subjects. The Dutch-American merchant Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest had brought back to Philadelphia around two thousand and one hundred paintings, in over ten categories of occupations in China, scenery, architecture, customs, etc., and there were export paintings done in a “western”



style.^⑤

As for the export paintings in the British Library, the long scroll of the Canton harbour was painted around 1760, the second group of paintings on the Ocean Banner Temple was painted between 1776-1790, and the paintings of handicraft workshops and furnishings were painted between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. We do not know who painted these works, and we only know the names of a few painters of that period, such as Spoilum, Pu-quā and Guan Zuolin.

The extant works of Pu-quā are rare, and when the American “*Empress of China*” came to China for the first time in 1784, he painted for a Mrs. Morris six glass paintings of a Chinese empress and the nobility.^⑥ Five years later, Mason bought his paintings in Canton, and we thus see that he must have been a famous painter of export paintings in Canton. Another painter called Spoilum (or Spillem, Spilum) was also famous from that period.

Patrick Conner writes in *The China Trade 1600-1860*, “Spoilum . . . was the name given by westerners to the first Cantonese artist to earn a reputation for his portraits executed in a western idiom.”^⑦ According to extant works, Spoilum painted between the years 1774 to 1810, and he had many students.^⑧ Pu-quā also worked in the same period, and whether these two are the same person, or whether Pu-quā was a student of Spoilum remains a mystery.

There are some scholars who think that Spoilum was Guan Zuolin, but this is difficult to prove. The *Nanhai Xian Zhi* (Gazetteer of Nanhai District) clearly states the following, “Guan Zuolin . . . visited Europe and America. He liked their oil paintings, which transmitted the true spirit, and studied studying this genre. Having completed his study, he went back to China and set up a shop in Canton . . . The time was the mid Jiaqing period (ca. 1807). It is said that when this technique first came to China, even westerners marvelled at it, and found it to be something new.”^⑨ Emperor Jiaqing was on the throne for twenty-five years, thus the mid Jiaqing period should be between 1804 to 1812. Therefore, Guan Zuolin set up his studio in Canton only after 1800 to paint and sell export paintings, and Spoilum was already painting in 1774, so they were not of the same period. Thus, Guan Zuolin was a famous painter of export paintings after Spoilum and Pu-quā.

In the Qing and early Republican (1912-1949) periods, there were various kinds of names for paintings similar to Pu-quā’s views of streets and marketplaces of Canton. The earliest was the hundred paintings in the “Paintings of Peace and Happiness,” drawn by the Zhejiang painter Fang Xun, and presented to Emperor Qianlong,^⑩ the Fujian Province new year painting “The Nine Types of People,”^⑪ the Suzhou screen new year painting “Three Hundred and Sixty Occupations,”^⑫ the Suzhou New Year pictures painted by Songshan Daoren in the late Qing period entitled “Drawing of Three Hundred and Sixty Occupations” and “Occupations of the Marketplace,” the three hundred and sixty “Sketches

of Occupations” printed in the Shanghai “Daily Pictorial News” in the late Qing period, the ink painting of “Painting of Beijing Customs” by Chen Shizeng in the early Republican period,^⑬ *Calls, Sounds and Merchandise of the Peking Street Sellers* by Samuel Victor Constant,^⑭ Zhou Qiliang’s “Three Hundred and Sixty Occupations of Beijing” published in the Republican period (some adapted from Zhou Peichun’s paintings), etc.^⑮ The three hundred and sixty black and white paintings of street and marketplace occupations of Canton in the Peabody Essex Museum, USA also had the original title of “Three hundred and sixty occupations,” and some of the paintings may be traced to the works of Pu-quā.^⑯ From the above, we can see that quite a few are called “Three hundred and sixty occupations.”

In these works, some concentrate on various types of people on the streets, such as peddlers carrying their loads along the streets, or peddlers who display their wares on the street, or street performers, etc., and these belong to the category of street and marketplace occupations. However, some of the above works do not just limit themselves to this category. In our sixty-one paintings, and in the “Three hundred and sixty occupations” in the Peabody Essex Museum, some of the paintings are of shops and artisans in workshops, such as workers distilling wine, using a mould and paper pulp to make paper, grinding flour, dipping candles, pressing incense, making jewellery, shaving tobacco, etc. Although the 360 paintings in the Peabody Essex Museum are labelled as “Three hundred and sixty occupations,” there are not really altogether three hundred and sixty occupations, and some of them are not commercial enterprises or street peddlers. For example, there are nineteen paintings on the process of making tea, from “picking tea leaves” to “transporting tea.” Some depict the same industry with two or three paintings, such as the paintings of “woman mending clothes” and “mending clothes,” or “tailor” and “making clothes,” etc. To get to the number of three hundred and sixty, the painter has even included the custom of sweeping graves, and the night watchman, who was part of the official establishment.

Before the mid nineteenth century, the commercial enterprises of the Canton area, especially the manufacture of goods, were mainly concentrated in Foshan, near Canton. It was only in the late nineteenth century that some of them moved gradually to the provincial capital. Based on the *Foshan Zhongyi Xiang Zhi* (Gazetteer of Foshan Township), we have ascertained the professions these sixty-one paintings in this section belong to, and of the small enterprises, there are several shops for each category, and near a hundred for the large enterprises.

The names of these professions are the following: makers of velvet thread, ingots, sieves, earthenware jars, wooden shoes, pewter ware, candles, pipes, scales, cloth socks, umbrellas, ready made clothes, wooden boxes, bamboo utensils, basins and tubs, incense, distilled wine, flour, tobacco, cut tobacco, ramie, cloth socks, iron frying pans, lanterns, lacquering, Chinese style shoes,



Gu style embroidery, local cloth, stoves, hat making, polishing glass [bowls], patterned yarn, pig butchering, etc. It is clear that the enterprises in the Canton area are composed of shops which make and sell, and peddlers who sell piecemeal on the streets. Our paintings reflect part of this composition, and we therefore call our group of paintings “Street and Marketplace Occupations in Canton.”

In China, the regulation for the naming of the different professions in commerce appeared as early as in the section on Statues on Customs and Market in *Ling* (Statutes) of the Tang period (618-907), which notes, “For the various markets, each stall displays a sign of the trade it belongs to.”¹⁷ The Japanese scholar Katō Shigeru notes that the *hang* refers to “the ward where shops of a similar profession are located.”¹⁸

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 (960-1279), 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.”¹⁹ The two-fold nature of the *hang* continued in the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing dynasties.

The use of the term “one hundred and twenty occupations” for the different professions of artisans and business first appeared in the record of the Southern Market in the city of Luoyang.²⁰ The term was still used in the Song and Yuan (1279-1368) periods. As for the term “three hundred and sixty occupations,” it is generally thought to have become more widespread in the Ming period. Katō Shigeru is of the opinion that the “one hundred and twenty occupations” of the Tang and Song periods was just a round number, and merely indicated that there were many different kinds of occupations.²¹

In the Qing dynasty, Xu Ke wrote in his *Qingbai Leichao* (Random jottings of the Qing period, arranged in categories), “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.”²² However, the seventy-two occupations in Canton in the late Qing period was an exception. The number was not used as a round number, and there were actually seventy-two professions which paid tax to the government, and then later became a common reference to the artisans

and businesses in Canton. The *Panyu Xian Xu Zhi* (Sequel to Gazetteer of Panyu District) of 1931 records:

The commercial enterprises of Canton are well known by its seventy-two professions. These seventy-two professions are the following: local silk, silk of foreign shops, patterned yarn, local cloth, cloth from Nanhai, gauze and silk, Shanghai silk cloth group, brocade, velvet thread, silk embroidered handkerchiefs, colours and dyes, second-hand clothing, Gu style embroidery and court boots, boots and shoes, ox leather, foreign assorted goods, gold, jade objects, jade stone, two types of pawnshops, rice, wine and rice, rice with husks, clear flour, fresh fish, cow butcher, western pig stall, vegetable stall, oil, bamboo and beans, white sugar, sauces, peanuts and sesame seeds, fresh fruit, seafood, tea, wine, tobacco leaves, cut tobacco, restaurants and teahouses, raw medicine, processed medicine, ginseng and deer antlers, medicinal pills and powders, menthol and “as you wish” oil, porcelain, Chaozhou bowls, foreign coal, red bricks and tiles, green brick kilns, Chinese fir, assorted timber, copper and iron, green bamboo, electrical goods, guesthouses, insurance, ferries, books, fragrant powders, silver, tax reporting for silver guild and mining commerce guild, relay transport for North River, guesthouse at North River, Northern and southern goods, Tianjin public group, Shanghai group, Sichuan group, and San Francisco shops. There are only a few professions in our city, but the Chen Li Ji shop in the medicinal pills and powders profession, the Zhimei Studio of the sauces profession, the Fulai Dwelling of the restaurants and teahouses have a history of one to two hundred years, from the time they first set up shop, and people say that the shop sign for the Wu Yuanfang menthol shop at Huiai Street was written by Li Jian (1748-1799) of Shunde district, and therefore it also has a long history.

One notes that the term “seventy-two professions” arose when the Grand Academician Gangyi came to Guangdong in the Guangxu period (1875-1908) to put together money for the troops, and when he ordered the various professions in Guangdong to pay for the expenses of the batteries, the commercial associations had not yet been established, and the Association head Cen Jingyu apportioned the expenses to the seventy-two professions, and therefore the term has come down to this day. In reality, the number at that time was over seventy-two. It was just that those who could be weak financially were not included.”²³

The *hang* of the artisans and businesses of Canton in the Qing period were famous because of their prosperity, and also because of their own professional rules and guildhalls. Katō Shigeru sums it up:

In the Qing dynasty, the *hang* professions of Canton were very well-known. These were commonly referred to as the seventy-two *hang* or



professions. In the late Qing period, there were actually more than this number, and professions such as those for banking, gold, pawnshops, silk and tea, etc., totalled ninety-seven. The professions had this rule. In the same area, if one did not join the profession, one could not set up business. To enter, one had to be a creditable businessman, and the guarantee of two to three merchants in the profession was required, and the entry fee was around one hundred taels of silver. In reality, one had to sign a lease for a shop owned by a merchant in the profession already, otherwise it would have been difficult to join the profession. Some of the professions established guildhalls (also called *hangguan* or *gongsuo*), and assembled there for sacrifice to the gods or to discuss matters.²⁴

In the above seventy-two professions, the profession of silver (*yinye hang*)

was also called *yinhang*. When Takefuji Nagakura, a professor of Nagasaki Commercial College in Japan, undertook a study of Foshan Town, and noted that the inscription on a bell in front of the altar of the Hall of Loyalty and Trust of the Silver Profession Guildhall read as follows, “Offered in perpetuity in front of the altar to the Black Platform Patriarch of the Silver Profession Guild Hall, and according to the imperial decree in the fifty-third year of the Kangxi reign (1714) . . . Made by Longsheng Furnace of Foshan Town.” This shows that nearly three hundred years ago, the term *yin hang*, nowadays widely used to mean “bank,” was used in the Guangdong area. This also shows the developed economy of Guangdong and the flourishing commercial business.²⁵ The paintings of streets and marketplace occupations reveal once again part of the prosperity of the traditional businesses, and this is their value.

① George Henry Mason, *The Costume of China, Illustrated by Sixty Engravings With Explanations in English and French*.

② For details see Shelagh Vainker, *Costumes of China*, 52-55.

③ See Ming Wilson, “Bridging China and the West — Chinese Export Paintings in the V & A,” in Victoria and Albert Museum, Guangzhou Cultural Bureau et al., eds. *Souvenir from Canton — Chinese Export Paintings from the Victoria and Albert Museum*, 12.

④ See Huang Shijian, William Sargent, *Customs and Conditions of Chinese City Streets in 19th Century — 360 Professions in China*, 21, 22.

⑤ See André Everard Van Braam Houckgeest, *An Authentic Account of the Embassy of the Dutch East-India Company to the Court of the Emperor of China in the Years 1794 and 1795*, 279-324. For the 1799 Christie’s auction catalogue, see J. J. L. Duyvendak, “The Last Dutch Embassy to the Chinese Court (1794-1795),” 117-131.

⑥ Huang Shijian, William Sargent, 21, 22.

⑦ Patrick Conner, *The China Trade 1600-1860*, 50.

⑧ The earliest dated work by Spoilum is a painting on glass of a man, dated 1774. See Carl L Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade: Paintings, Furnishings and Exotic Curiosities*, ch. 1; Chen Ying (陳滢), “Qingdai Guangzhou de Waixiaohua,” in *Chen Ying Meishu Wenji*, 15.

⑨ Guidian (桂站) et al., comps., *Nanhai Xian Zhi*, juan 21, 8a.

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), *Zhongguo Minjian Nianhua Shi Tulu*, 260.

⑬ See Wang Jiaju (王稼句), ed., *Sanbailiushi Hang Tuji*.

⑭ [美] 康斯坦特 (Samuel Victor Constant), *Jingdu Jiaomai Tu*.

⑮ Zhou Qiliang (周其亮), *Beijing de Sanbailiushi Hang*.

⑯ See Huang Shijian, William Sargent, *Customs and Conditions of Chinese City Streets in 19th Century — 360 Professions in China*.

⑰ Tianyige Bowuguan (天一閣博物館) et al., eds., *Tianyige Cang Mingchaoben Tianshengling Jiaozheng*, 2; 535.

⑱ Katō Shigeru (加藤繁), “Lun TangSong Shidai de Shangye Zuzhi ‘Hang’ bingji Qingdai Huiguan,” in *Zhongguo Jingji Shi Kaozheng*, 1: 346.

⑲ Katō Shigeru (加藤繁), 1:357, quoted from *Ducheng Jisheng*.

⑳ Xu Song (徐松), *Tang Liangjing Chengfang Kao*, 160, quoted by Katō Shigeru (加藤繁).

㉑ See Katō Shigeru (加藤繁), note 18. The “hang” in the Tang period included the shop in front and the workshop behind.

㉒ Xu Ke (徐珂), *Qingbai Leichao*, juan 5, 2288.

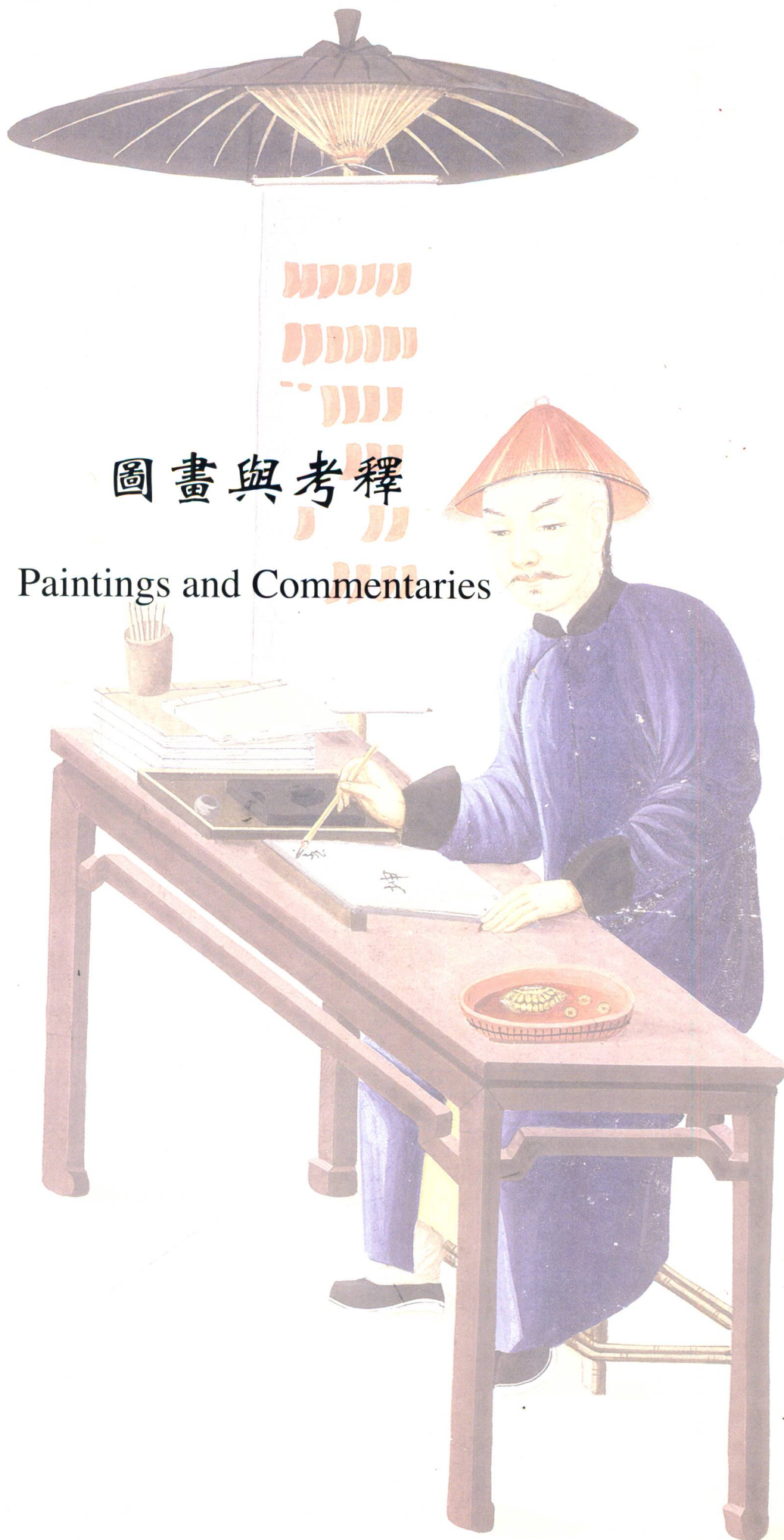
㉓ Liang Dingfen (梁鼎芬) et al., comps., *Panyu Xian Xu Zhi*, juan 12, 32.

㉔ See Katō Shigeru (加藤繁), 362.

㉕ See Katō Shigeru (加藤繁), 362.

圖畫與考釋

Paintings and Commentaries





賣藥

圖下英文原標題：

一位中國醫生

Or. 2262 f. 32

19世紀中期

紙本水粉畫

高36.8釐米、寬27釐米

Selling medicine

Original English caption:

A Chinese Doctor

Or. 2262 f. 32

Mid 19th century

Gouache on paper

H: 36.8 cm W: 27 cm



三 廣州街市百業組畫

3. Paintings of Street and Marketplace Occupations in Canton

此“賣藥”圖，畫的是一位來自北京的賣藥人，他是想藉着京師的名氣在廣州街市擺攤賣藥。地上擺滿各種膏藥丸散，在幾張紅紙上寫有如下文字：

“北京人 精醫天(幼)少男婦 疳疔痔漏等瘡”

“追風膏藥”、“各項丸散”、“京省馳名丸”

《18—19世紀羊城風物》同圖題作“買(賣)江口”。《十九世紀中國市井風情——三百六十行》同圖題作“賣假藥”，該書收錄廷呱綫描畫則題為“賣藥丸”，攤上的字有“馳名第一膏藥”、“跌打追風丸”，沒有“北京人”，其他均與此畫相同。這說明，它們雖出於同一畫稿，但畫師在題名、繪畫內容上，卻有差別。^①

在北京，這類賣藥人俗稱為“賣野藥兒的”。《燕市積弊》：“賣野藥：門戶兒雖不一，性質卻是一樣。有拿着串鈴兒下街的，……有坐舖出攤兒帶賣鋼的(就是連批帶講)，……甚麼百步止嗽，甚麼吃了就好，以及春方兒、打胎、長陽種子、瞧香看

病，總名都叫‘老合(生意)’。”^②(按：“串鈴兒”，指用中空的金屬環，內裝金屬丸，套在手上搖動發聲的響器。“賣鋼的”，為北京方言，指為吸引觀眾而要弄口才。“瞧香”，指巫婆。)

劉景晨《賣野藥》詩：

百病能醫技已神，膏丹丸散總隨身。

倘疑甚藥葫蘆裏，到處何妨說向人。^③

當時廣東的製藥業也很著名，主產地在佛山，行名“蠟丸行”等。據《佛山忠義鄉志》記載，最有名的產品有：蠟丸、抱龍丸、衛生丸、保濟丸、如意油、甘和茶、甘露茶、太平茶、鹽蛇散、百勝散、平安油、萬靈茶、戒煙丸和各種藥酒、膏藥。^④因此，當年在廣東街頭，除有賣北京藥丸的人外，也會有賣廣東藥丸的人。

① 英國維多利亞阿伯特博物院、廣州市文化局等編：《18—19世紀羊城風物——英國維多利亞阿伯特博物院藏廣州外銷畫》(以下簡稱“英國維多利亞阿伯特博物院、廣州市文化局等編：《18—19世紀羊城風物》”)，“買(賣)江口”圖，第182頁；黃時鑒、[美]沙進：《十九世紀中國市井風情——三百六十行》，第64頁“賣假藥”圖、第143頁“賣藥丸”圖。

② 待餘生：《燕市積弊》卷二，第48—49頁。待餘生本名莊蔭堂，生於1869或1870年，卒於

20世紀30年代。他以“逆旅過客”筆名撰寫的《都市叢談》與本書，均是研究清末民初北京和各地社會風俗的重要著作。

③ 李家瑞：《北平風俗類徵》，上冊，第172頁。

④ 汪宗準等纂：《佛山忠義鄉志》卷六，第13頁上下。