



徐家汇藏书楼文献译丛



西方学者解读中国商业文化

中国招牌

China in Sign and Symbol

[英] 鹤路易 Louise Crane 著

王仁芳 译 包中 校

上海科学技术文献出版社

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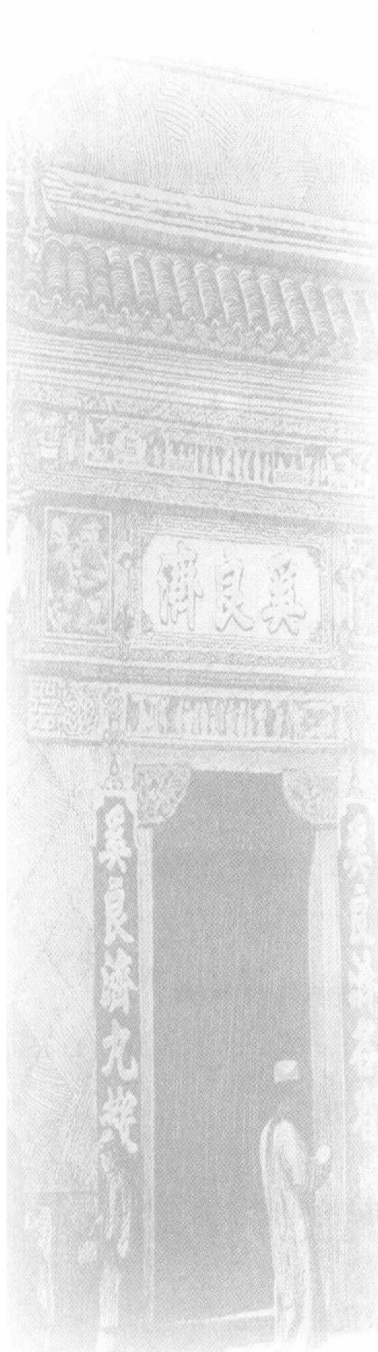
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导言



符号具有广泛的用途，可以追溯至远古。鹤路易女士在本书中描述了华人社会生活中观察到的部分符号。以往留存至今的符号也许起源于远古史前时期。那些看似生疏的符号或许承载着厚重的悠久历史。许多符号的起源现已难以追溯。符号是否存在于言语产生之前仍然是个尚未确定的疑点。许多人认为符号的使用早于言语的产生，那时人与人之间有许多交流方法。起初，符号总是在人们的视力范围之内，但是时至20世纪初，符号的使用缩短和消除了沟通的距离。符号甚至试图穿越远至火星的空间，但是大都止步于天地之间，并满足于停留在地球遥远的地方。符号成为我们的信号使者。科学家使我们相信我们人类的真实部分——物质与我们没有基本联系，但是整个物质存在具有符号的功能。无论如何，符号已经成为我们生活的很大组成部分。我们采用密码、符号等物质手段通过空气振动来传递信息，并凭借其常规痕迹来记录信息，从而形成图像。图像对还未识字的孩子和文盲而言具有显而易见的吸引力。

在符号、标志、象征等三个关连词中，符号最具宽泛性和通用性。符号内涵具丰富多样性，而标志总能凭肉眼见到——一个圆可以是永恒的标志，在中华文化中我们有一个相应的纹章图案代表包含阴阳两仪的“太极”。

象征是其所代表理念内涵的符号，是代表整体的真实部

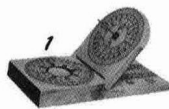
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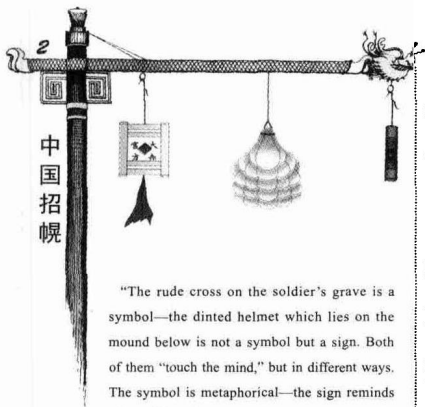


All symbols are of universal use and date from earliest antiquity. Mrs. Louise Crane has taken in hand in this volume to describe some of the symbols she has observed in the social life of the Chinese. The symbols that exist in modern times may have their origin in prehistoric days. That which looks new may yet carry the weight of innumerable years. It is difficult to trace the origin of many of these. Whether symbols and signs existed before speech is an undetermined point. Many maintain that symbols were used before speech. There are many ways of communication between men. At first they extended only as far as the eye could see; but symbols are now employed for long distances and signs are used to annihilate space. They are trying to penetrate as far as Mars, but most stop nearer and are satisfied if the distant parts of the earth are reached. Symbols are our agents. Some scientists would have us believe that we have no essential connection with matter—as a real part of our being—but that the whole of material existence is symbolic. In any case, symbols form a great part of our life. By means of codes, of signs, and material means we send messages by the vibration of the air, and record them by conventional traces. Then again there are pictures. These appeal to children and the illiterate before words.

Of the three allied words sign, emblem, symbol, sign is the most comprehensive and generic. Sign has manifold meanings: an emblem is always visible to the eye—a circle is the emblem of eternity: in Chinese we have a corresponding picture representing T'ai Chi, or the Absolute.

A symbol is a sign included in the idea it represents: an actual part to represent the whole. A lion is the symbol of courage. On the other hand, conventionally we speak of tears as the signal of grief. The science of Mathematics is largely symbolical.





"The rude cross on the soldier's grave is a symbol—the dented helmet which lies on the mound below is not a symbol but a sign. Both of them "touch the mind," but in different ways. The symbol is metaphorical—the sign reminds of something that has happened or that is true. In marriage, for example, the ring is a symbol—of perpetuity and fidelity. The grasping of hands is a sign, de presenti, of the covenant then made. The Cross is a symbol of sacrifice; the crucifix is not a symbol, but a sign—it reminds of the actuality of an atonement. A symbol signifies—a sign shows."

Symbol has been defined as, "Anything that stands for something else."

The pictures on the clay cylinders are symbols. By a common understanding it was agreed on that the pictures of certain animals should be always used as symbols to represent certain things. These hieroglyphics then are symbols, the key of which being known, help the Egyptologist to understand and interpret these mysterious signs.

Readers of Mrs. Crane's book are introduced into manifold views of the social life of the Chinese as the authoress pictures one phase of the people's life after another.

The literature and the cosmogony of this ancient nation are full of symbolic ideas. To take colour alone, it introduces us at once to a deep and complex series of ideas some of which are most suggestive.

Take for example white, which has been the colour worn during mourning from times immemorial and which is frequently mentioned by Mrs. Crane in this book. The Chinese think it was adopted because it was the simplest and the purest—they had not yet got a Newton to tell them it was composed of about seven different colours—and being the simplest it was in their minds the most consonant for the purpose of grief. Though there is no documentary evidence to prove it, nevertheless, the real reason for its adoption lay in the fact that it was looked upon as the least conspicuous, and, therefore, the wearer

分。狮子是勇武的象征。另一方面，我们习惯上视眼泪为忧伤的信号。数学本身多半具有象征意义。

士兵坟墓上简陋的十字架是一种象征——坟墩下压扁的帽盔不是象征却是符号。两者都“触及理念”，但表现方式不同。象征具有隐喻性——而符号提醒人们已经发生的或真实的事情。例如在婚礼中，戒指是永久和忠贞的象征。握手是礼节的符号。十字勋章是献身的象征，而带有耶稣受难像的十字架不是象征，却是符号——它提醒人们耶稣基督为人类赎罪的现实。象征寓意——而符号示形。

象征被定义为“用以表达特殊意义的具体事物”。

干泥圆筒版上的象形文字是象征。按照通常理解，人们一致认为某种动物的象形文字总是被用来象征特定事物。然后这些象形文字作为象征符号保存下来，成为帮助埃及学家解读这些神秘标志的钥匙。

鹤女士通过描绘华夏民族生活长卷中的某一阶段，向本书的读者展示了中华传统社会生活的方方面面。

古老华夏民族的文学和创世神话充满了象征的理念。仅举色彩为例，本书即向我们展示了深邃而复杂的系列理念，其中某些理念最能引起人们的联想。

以白色为例，白色自远古以来就已经成为人们服丧戴孝期间的主色调，也是鹤女士在本书中经常提到的颜色。中国人认为使用白色是因为它简洁——此前虽然还没有牛顿式人物告诉人们白色由七色色谱组成——在人们心中，白色由于其简洁最适合悲痛伤心的场合。虽然还没有史料证明，但使用白色的真正原因在于白色看上去最不显眼，因此服丧戴孝

者不会轻易被死者的灵魂或其他鬼魂发现。白色还具有强烈的象征意义。黑色也同样如此。黑色被公认为表示尊严高贵的颜色。黑色也因为其中性和尊贵的象征成为往日法官偏爱的色彩。

在华夏创世神话中，五色（青、白、赤、黑、黄）色彩扮演着重要角色。星辰都有其象征色彩。同样，五行（金、木、水、火、土）、五脏（肝、肺、心、脾、肾）、五方（东、西、中、南、北）、五德（仁、义、礼、智、信）等等也都有其象征色彩。每一要素、体脏、方位、德行都有其相应的色彩。其结果是，各行、脏、方或德之间形成了相应的内在联系（土生金，金生水，水生木，木生火，火生土——五行顺应自然，是无为之道；土克水，水克火，火克金，金克木，木克土——五行逆运有为，为变化之道），五色色彩的象征意义成为其联系的环节。

深红色大理石对朝廷而言，因是和平和繁荣的象征而备受礼赞。同样，表示吉祥预兆的罕见的麒麟和凤凰也受到人们极其热烈的欢迎。创造孕育神奇思想的环境，几乎足以确保人们五德浪漫传奇的真实性。

华夏最庄严的符号可以在祭祀祖先的仪式上见到。在祭祖仪式上，我们将列祖列宗的牌位请到活着的家族代表面前。这是个非常庄严隆重的场合。令人尊敬的祖宗仿佛真的就在眼前，族长与家族其他代表祭祀着先辈亡灵。牌位放那儿，象征其祖先。华夏社会生活中这种令人敬仰的象征符号含有极其高尚的深刻思想——因为谁会不珍惜在这一年一度的隆重祭祀仪式上感受与深爱着的故人相思相聚的难忘时刻？

在北京皇城南门外的南坛，我们再一次见到那些象征性仪式。这些几千年来人们定期举行的盛大而隆重的仪式直到新观

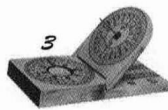
would not be easily found by the ghost of the dead person, or other spirits. It therefore has much symbolic significance. So has black. This is the colour of common dignity. It was the colour for the magistrate in days gone by, and esteemed for its neutrality and dignity.

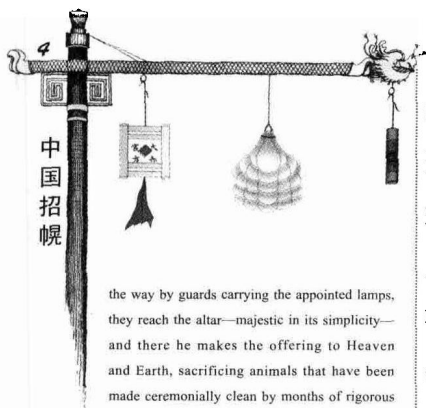
In Chinese cosmogony colours play an important part. The stars and constellations have their symbolic colours, and so, likewise, have the Five elements, the Five viscera, the Five points of the Compass, the Five virtues and others. Each member, in each of these groups, is related to some colour, and as a consequence, there is an interrelation between each and all, the symbolic significance of colour being the uniting link.

The deep-red marble is highly prized, for it betokens peace and prosperity to the reigning house. Equally the arrival of those infrequent ambassadors of good omen, the Chilin and the Phoenix, are highly welcome and the atmosphere of magical ideas which they create is almost enough to ensure the truth of the romantic legend about their virtues.

One of the most august symbols in China is that seen at the ancestral ceremonies where we have the dead ancestor present in a living representative of the family. This is a very solemn occasion. The revered ancestor is supposed to be actually present and to partake with the other representatives of the clan of the sacred offering to those gone on before. The "Live Corpse" is there and symbolizes his ancestor for he stands for something else other than himself. This venerated symbol in the social life of the nation has very ennobling thoughts—for who would not wish to feel that the beloved dead were with us even though it be only once a year at the great feast.

Then again we have those symbolic rites performed at the South Altar outside the South Gate of the capital. We must picture that great and solemn ceremony carried on regularly for thousands of years and only suspended with the coming of a new regime of unanimated ideas. Think of the emperor fasting for three days, then proceeding on the destined day, long before dawn, in his chariot with the particular horses harnessed suitably for the occasion. He wore the imperial tassels with their symbolic significance, with the banners and streamers and the gonfalon spread. Travelling slowly over the swept ground, lit along





the way by guards carrying the appointed lamps, they reach the altar—majestic in its simplicity—and there he makes the offering to Heaven and Earth, sacrificing animals that have been made ceremonially clean by months of rigorous seclusion and special care. Now, every article, every bit of drapery, every movement had a symbolic idea. This highly significant ceremony has been observed through long ages and the Altar of Heaven in Peking today testifies to the high place these symbolic acts had in the national life. But now the precincts are desecrated since the idea behind the symbol is obscured.

It is perhaps in the Sacred Dance, or Eurythmics that we see the most perfect example of symbols. By means of the movement, and the wands and castanets, the jade and the battleaxe, the various influences and deeds of virtuous rulers were symbolized. For example, the music of Wen Wang (12th Century B.C.), one form of which is called Nan Yoh, was danced to the accompaniment of the flute along. A spectator exclaimed "How beautiful it is, and yet it brings a certain sadness with it". In the opening movement, the march of the dancers towards the north indicated the march of the armies of Wu against Shang. Another movement depicts the overthrow of Shang and the victory of Wu: the third shows the return south and the delimitation of territory: the fifth round shows how the Dukes of Chou and Shao were delegated with the authority of west and east: the sixth round depicts the gathering at headquarters in the south to display homage to the Son of Heaven. Two men, one on each side of the performers, excite the movement of the dancers with bells. Four times they stop and thrust in order to reveal the abundant awe which King Wu inspired in the Middle States.

Then there was the dance of the Yun Men, or, "The Gates of the Cloud". This dance was intended to symbolise the active sympathy of the Emperor Yao, with the ways of Heaven: and another dance symbolised his accord with Earth.

念的进入才被中止。想象皇帝斋戒三天，然后在预定的日子开斋。早在黎明曙光初现之前，便在套上专用马匹的双轮敞篷马车内静候仪式的开始。皇帝穿穗戴纓的朝服具有象征意义，祭祀队伍前后打着横幅和条幅，旌旗招展。祭祀队伍在清扫过的场地上缓慢前行，开路神君提着装饰灯笼一路照亮着道路，抵达祭坛——简约而又雄伟——皇帝在那儿祭祀天地，祭祀用的动物早在几个月前就被严密隔离并给予特殊照料。此刻，每件物品、每块布料、每项活动都有其象征理念。这极其重要的祈年祭祀仪式历经漫长岁月，而北京的天坛见证了祭坛在国家生活中的象征意义。但在20世纪初，天坛的神圣遭到了亵渎，因为象征符号背后的理念变得模糊而逐渐被人淡忘。

也许正是在宗教“圣舞”或韵律舞蹈中，我们看到了最完美象征的范例。挺杖和响板、翡翠和战斧，通过舞动的方式，象征着帝王的影响和德行。例如，周文王(公元前12世纪)之乐俗称为“周南之乐”，通常由长笛吹出，伴随舞蹈节奏。有观众兴奋地大声说道“多美呀，且音乐声中还带有某种悲哀的思愁。”在开幕仪式舞蹈中，舞蹈者北上行进表示周武王之师行军去讨伐殷纣。再一轮舞蹈表示武王之师推翻商殷和庆贺武王建立西周伟业的胜利。第三轮舞蹈表示武王之师南下凯旋和划定领土疆界。第五轮舞蹈表示周公姬旦和召公姬奭分治陕以东和陕以西成为诸侯王的经过。第六轮舞蹈表示八百诸侯会师盟誓于南方(盟津)以向天子武王表达敬意。仪式中有两人，分别立于舞者两边，摇动响铃激发舞者舞蹈。其间有四次暂停和推延以表达对武王的深度敬畏，

而这敬畏正是武王在中央之国所鼓励倡导的。

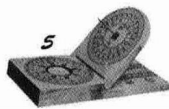
然后是“云门”舞。“云门”舞是用来象征唐尧对天道的深切赞同和对地行的完全遵从。还有更重要的舞蹈用来象征祠堂人神合一。根据记载，春秋吴国公子季札目睹有韵律节奏并优雅挥舞挺杖的“韶”舞时，大声说道“德至矣哉，大矣，如天之无不帙也，如地之无不载也！”至此，我已经用足够的篇幅来展示象征的重要功能。

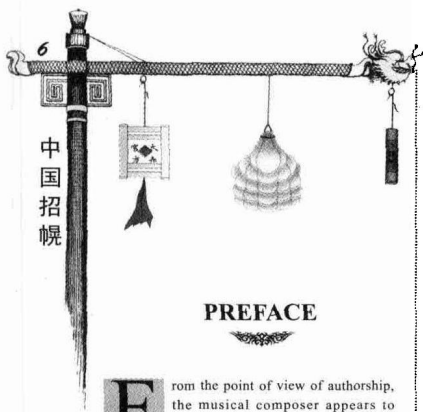
鹤女士成为中华社会生活的忠实观察者，中华习俗与习惯不懈的调查者。详述生活各个方面盛行的象征意义，成为鹤女士的乐趣之一。在商铺门外的招幌、节假日、丧葬仪式和婚庆典礼中，鹤女士发现了各种象征意义。这些象征意义展现在本书中，呈现给广大读者。通过字里行间的阅读和招幌插图的欣赏，外国读者可以透彻了解和打开中华民族社会生活的画卷。通过这一窗口，人们将能够拓宽视野，观察人口众多的继承优秀文化遗产的中华民族。

莫安仁 (Evan Morgan, 1860-1941)

A still more important dance was intended to symbolise the communion of men and spirits in the Ancestral Temple. Again, it is recorded that when Wu Chi Chia witnessed the dance of Shao with its rhythmic motions and the waving of the wands so beautifully executed, he exclaimed "How great the virtues of Shun. Lofty as the dome of Heaven which embraces everything, vast as the earth which sustains all things." But perhaps enough has been said to show the great part played by these symbolic representations.

Mrs. Crane has been a faithful observer of the social life of the Chinese, and a diligent investigator of their customs and manners. It was a happy idea of hers to seek for and expound the symbolism that are prevalent in every avenue of life. She has found them on the signs outside the shop, in their festivals, in the rites of mourning and the ceremonies of marriage. These are set out in the work now presented to the public. In the letterpress and by the illustrations readers in foreign lands will be well instructed in the social life of the nation, and by means of this window they will be able to look out on a vast community of people which has a great inheritance.





PREFACE

From the point of view of authorship, the musical composer appears to enjoy a decided preliminary advantage over the literary craftsman, in that the former feels himself under no imaginable obligation of apologizing for the prelude, by means of which he prepares the mood of his audience for the reception of his theme. The author of a book, on the other hand, allows himself the privileges of a preface in no manner of doubt as to its fate at the hands of the usual percentage of readers, in whom the aversion for introductions is broad, impartial, and sustained by the conviction that no hunt is improved by the conscious selection of an obstacle at the outset. It is, therefore, without illusions on this score that the author of the present offering ventures, under this formidable title, on a few prefatory remarks, intended solely to suggest some of the peculiar circumstances attending the exploration of the subject. The high visibility of its external marks, the Huang-tze, is amply demonstrated in our succeeding pages, and they may be depended upon to speak for themselves in their proper turn. The conventionalized, or seal characters appearing on our title page represent the term applied to the shop device, as distinguished from the inscribed signboard, or Tiao-pai, the other of the two classes of signs employed by the Chinese shopkeeper.

In short, these introductory paragraphs are undertaken in the belief that they will be of special interest to the reader who brings to the perusal of this volume a more or less considerable previous knowledge of China, and who for this reason will be subject, inevitably, to certain initial errors of thought. It may be that his experience will have been gained in the outports, or, perhaps, in the port cities of bygone days, when native shop symbols were still contributing their very large quota to the decorative aspect of Chinese streets. In this event, he will have become so familiar with the sight of the emblems, by means of which the Chinese shopkeeper avoids the commonplace in announcing the character of his wares, that he may long since have accepted, without understanding them. Or, again, moved by an occasional vagrant impulse in the latter direction, he may have assumed that their elucidation might be had, at any time, for the mere asking. In this comfortable conclusion, it seems desirable to point out, he would ultimately have found himself mistaken.

序文



以作者观点来看，作曲家似乎比文学工匠更占有确定无疑的优势。因为前者感觉自己没有为前奏曲缺憾表示歉意的义务，而只需通过序曲铺垫将听众情绪引入其音乐主题即可。但作家却毫无疑问地需要将自己的序言的特权及其命运交在读者手中，而读者对序言的反感是明显、公正而持续的，因为人们不会在求索初始就有意识地给自己设置障碍。因此，作者在此对自己的冒昧尝试不存幻想，只是想探索本书主题的特征。招幌的外部特征在本书接下来的章节里得到充分展现，它们将轮番出场展示自己。出现在我们书名上的“招幌”作为专有名词应用于店铺的标志，与刻字标牌的“招牌”相区别，两者共同构成中国商铺业主常用的两大标识符号。

简言之，相信这几句开场白能够引起读者的特殊兴趣，来细读这本或多或少反映中国传统文化风俗的书籍。读者不再因此陷于以往的错误认识。或许那是个体在昔日常外港或通商口岸遭遇的经历，其时琳琅满目的本土店铺标志依然是中国都市街道点缀装饰的主角。结果自然是，人们对眼前各家中国商铺与众不同的标识符号如此熟悉，他们虽然还未明白理解其确切含义，却早已接受心仪这些店铺标识了。或者由于一时游移不定的冲动，在向街市一头轻移步伐时，人们也许会在少数询问中随意臆断这些标识的含义，但需要指出的是，其最后询问结果往往出乎意料。

另一个易犯的错误同样与认识中国事物有关。即探究店铺标识的沿革和意义也是穿越迷人而多彩的中华帝国历史的旅程，是在史学专家、国学大师或无所不在、无所不知的古玩商的指导下的意外而愉快的历史发现和旅途经历。人们总是不会轻易放弃人文知识探索的原始目的，想象自己身处旅途，陶醉在迷人的柳暗花明的探访中，终于不期而遇已故名人的故居旧址，在死者后代及遗物的无声指引下，华夏民族焕发着独特的个性和活力。

难以想象的是：类似偶遇的某件中国文物，无论是汉、宋、明还是其他什么朝代，都可以引出难以释放、无穷无尽、滔滔不绝的故事和传说。比如其不容置疑的古老年代，其功用，以及将整个中国艺术、其自身和历史串联起来的无形线索。

这在不久以前简直是难以置信的。当时中国人对皇家的富丽堂皇还记忆犹新，还觉得是引以为豪的事情。确实，对大众而言，特别准确的直觉使得人们把苦力之上的中国各个阶层视为潜在艺术家。在20世纪20年代，不时地，人们甚至对出自社会底层苦力工匠之手的文物表示惊讶。

这种探访的方式也有可能使纷繁难懂之物的阐述更为充分愉悦和生动有趣。在华夏逗留时，在日常生活的安逸和宁静中，只须通过购买一件古董，便可获知其身后的故事和传奇。笔者总是首先产生疑虑，然后获知原委。笔者把探访的愉悦和希望寄托在各位有关专家权威身上。显然，专家权威是神圣情感的卫士，他们往往给予买主以完全的忠心，他们不能忍受买主被肆无忌惮的小贩盘剥的窘迫，在争取自身利润最大化的同时，在不可避免或无意中与古董商交涉时，获取更多的信息。换言之，笔者对某一古董背景知识的最终理解仅仅局限于自己倾听和吸收的能力。

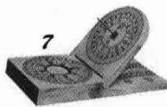
Another faulty, though natural deduction, equally arising from an acquaintance with matters Chinese, would be the presupposition that the inquiry into the history and significance of shop-sign symbology is one that may be conducted along the lines of any other excursion into the fascinating and colourful past of Imperial China; and that it promises the same sort of incidental and delightful experiences which properly belong to such journeys—as who will not testify, who has ever made one, whether guided by the historian, the Chinese teacher, or the omnipresent and omniscient curio-dealer? And who, among such, would not almost as lief surrender the original object of the intellectual expedition, as to imagine himself travelling its paths, bereft of the charming detours, where were revealed unexpected glimpses at dead-and-gone personalities, whose interpretation, under the touch of the living representative of the departed, gave rise to grateful reflections on the abiding vitality of the national characteristics of the Chinese.

Was ever, for example, such a contingency conceivable, as that a relic of the celestial Empire—whether under the Han, Sung, Ming, or some other era of epoch-makers—might be presented by one who could not unloose inexhaustible rivers of eloquence as to its incontrovertible antiquity, its functions, and, in fact, the invisible threads by which it held together the entire fabric of Chinese art, of its own and preceding periods?

It was plainly unthinkable, in the days, not so long ago, when monarchical magnificences still lingered fondly in the memory of the Chinese people; and were a matter of personal pride, and, indeed, of such extraordinarily accurate instinct with so large a majority that, unwittingly, one came to regard all classes of the Chinese, above that of the coolie, as potential artists. And one was not without encountering a surprise, now and then, even at the hand of the coolie.

This road to knowledge, too, was susceptible of being pleasantly enlivened and extended by manifestations of the intricacies with which, for instance, so simple an act as the acquisition of a curio was involved with the easy tranquillity of one's daily life in China. This truth one learned from the carefully-insinuated doubts of the Number One Boy, and an innumerable train of related authorities in whom one's well-being reposed. Actuated, ostensible, by the purest sentiments of devotion to a master whom they could not endure to see despoiled by an unscrupulous vendor, these guardians of one's sanctity, while delicately disclosing the source of greater profit to themselves, could be counted upon to open up further channels of information in the inevitable, and apparently accidental, visits of rival dealers. In other words, one's arrival at ultimate understanding was limited only by one's physical capacity to listen and absorb—when it was not interrupted by a superseding interest in another offering.

And similarly, in other fields of inquiry. Whatever the institution, whatever the page in the Book of Life in ancient China to which one might be minded to turn, one found its interpreter not too far off. And it is by no means intended to suggest



that such adventures, to some extent, may not be experienced to-day. They must, of course, be sought in the districts removed from the wave of modernism that has swept over the port cities, destroying the atmosphere of old China, and creating in its place a prodigious rush for foreign clothes, motor-cars, "foreign"-style homes, and similar blessings derived from the West. It has also produced another kind of curio-shop, presided over by haughty and uninformed young clerks; and a fraternity of itinerant vendors bearing the familiar blue-cotton bundles, but equally ignorant and unskilled in the art of which the distributor of Chinese curios should be the master. Yet all of these are far from being typical of the real China of to-day.

This being so, then, who, among the initiated, would have predicted that, in the single instance of so universal, and equally authentic an expression of life under the Empire, as the Chinese shop symbol, the inquirer into its history would be forced to blaze his own trail? What previous experience would prepare him for the astonishing circumstance that the simple question, as to the origin of the Huang-tze, proves to have power to strike dumb the most loquacious? Pointed in every imaginable direction, and at representatives of all classes of the Chinese, the query only succeeds in plunging the interrogated into a condition of profound—and silent—bewilderment. In fact, one feels like the discover of the original Chinese puzzle; or like the propounder of another riddle of a Chinese Sphinx, which awaits solution at the hands of an Oedipus—though, fortunately, in this case the question is not attended by the dire consequences of silence that afflicted the people of Thebes.

Such, then, is the excuse for these introductory pages—the fact that the quest, whose results are recorded in the following chapters, is probably unique among expeditions into Chinese history, insofar as its modus operandi is concerned; this having been developed, bit by bit, under the persistence with which the subject eluded pursuit, and conducted, at first, to a discouraging succession of blind alleys. One is forced to conclude that the custom has always been, and that its explanation lies in the predominating illiteracy of the Chinese public. At which a whimsical, and perhaps altogether reprehensible thought rises to mind: Supposing ignorance to be more or less generally responsible for such artistic effect as it carries in this instance, how difficult might it not become to plead the cause of knowledge

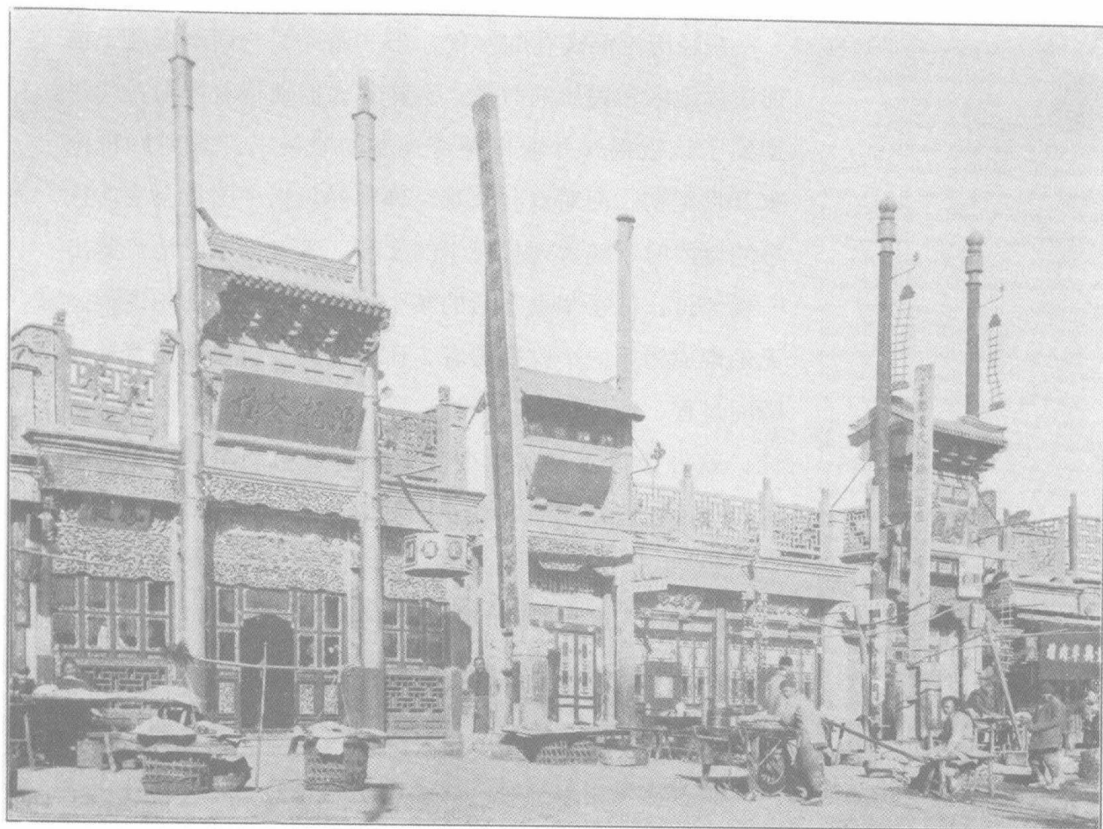
在其他场合的探访也同样如此。无论遇到什么中国习俗,无论翻到生活经典的哪一页,笔者总能就近找到解释者。这并不是说这些便利在20世纪20年代会荡然无存。当然,笔者得到远离近代时尚浪潮的地方去寻觅其文物兴趣。近代时尚浪潮在席卷各通商口岸的同时,破坏了中国古色古香的乡村氛围,带来了西方铺天盖地的西服、轿车、洋房和西方宗教。20世纪20年代已经出现由倨傲不逊的穿制服的年轻店员把持的另一种古玩商店,成为穿蓝褂长衫的行商的翻版,却对中国古董商应该掌握的知识 and 技艺一无所知。幸亏这一切在现实中国远非典型。

这一切尚且如此,那么,谁会料到笔者对像中国店铺标识符号那样随处可见又可信的生活表达方式根源的探究竟然是头一遭?前人究竟留下了多少相关资料,竟然使得过于健谈的人面对招幌由来那样的简单问题都哑口无言?无论请教的华夏地域和阶层有多广,这样的问题都使得被问者陷入某种困惑和沉默。笔者感觉就像发现新的中国难题,或提出另一个中国斯芬克司之谜,等待俄狄浦斯探究底细。幸运的是,解决这一难题并没有伴随折磨“底比斯”人的沉默的悲惨后果。

以上便是本序的理由——在中国历史考察中,招幌根源的探求在传统方法范围内也许是独一无二的,其探求结果记载在以下章节中。这些结果是在坚持不懈的努力下一点一滴取得的,如果没有毅力,招幌的研究就决不会取得任何进展,也不会在遇到一连串挫折时另辟蹊径而绝处逢生。笔者不得不作出结论:千百年来中国民众身在其中习以为常而熟视无睹的主要原因在于其受教育程度的低下。由此,心中不免产生离奇或许应受严责的想法:假如无知或多或少影响着艺术效果,那么对知识的探求或许不会如此艰难。

리 쿨

PRELIMINARIES



On the left, a large Tea shop. On the extreme right, a Candle shop.

大型茶舖和燭舖

CHAPTER ONE: THE SYMBOLS' BACKGROUND

*"The ten chapters of the Great learning finish
with words about profit;*

*The half of the book Chow-kwan discourses about
wealth"*

—Typical pillar inscription of Chinese shop

In a time-and-space-defying era like the present, when the word "remote" is more and more sparingly applied to distant lands and peoples, it was to be anticipated that even the rigid barrier of ancient Chinese reserve was due to meet dissolution at the magic touch of progress. Nevertheless, one can but yield to a momentary surprise, now and then, when comparing the seemingly impenetrable obscurity that enveloped the social structure of the Chinese nation until a decade or two ago, with the frank revelations that are now in daily process of being exposition has been carried on within somewhat fixed limits, as if certain phases of native life had fallen, naturally, or by design, into a category that provides a kind of First Course for Beginners. Whosoever's may have been the guiding hand, the success of the programme was immediate; and its popularity is by way of being augmented day by day, as though in response to some mysterious edict which has decreed that for all time to come, and with the regularity of the moon and tides, the Western world shall impinge on the established order of things in the Far East; and that it shall return to its orbit daily charged with impressions, which shall be disseminated abroad and verified, in due course, by a newly-appointed body of representatives.

In these circumstances, it plainly behoves one to observe a measure of reasonable restraint in touching on the subject of the Chinese shop, as that institution discloses itself to view in Peking. The celebrated "black velvet door" and the delights that lie beyond it, may be assumed to have achieved universal fame, since legions of uninitiated tourist heels already have been soundly whacked by an engaging contrivance

第一章 招幌的背景知识

“十章大学^①终言利；一部周官半理财”

——典型的中国店铺立柱对联题词

在经历沧桑洗礼的年代，当“遥远”一词不再用于描述边远地区和民族的时候，意味着人们期待着中国古代秘密到了该被揭开并取得神奇进展的时候了。直到19世纪末20世纪初，面对看起来难以理解的包括中国社会生活往事的谜团时，随着现代科学的发展，笔者会不时地流露出一丝惊讶，似乎华夏生活的某个阶段已经进入初始课程。无论谁成为第一个吃螃蟹者，研究发现获得成功是直接的瞬间过程，而研究结果的推广往往引起日复一日的旷世争论，就好像是应对某些难以理解的暗示，注定未来西方世界会冲击远东已有的秩序；就像月缺月圆、潮起潮落的自然规律，到时候它又将回到自身的日常轨迹，传播到国外，并得到专家和权威的认可。

在这种情况下，笔者在涉猎店铺招幌与牌号这一主题时应该合理拿捏分寸和尺度，即将它作为出现在北京街头的民俗来观察。就像远近驰名的“鸡尾酒门”及其所带来的愉悦情趣，也许会被普遍接受而赢得知名度，因为接踵而至的众多游客门外汉对迷人的发现乐此不疲。而起初导

致发现时的疑虑和迷惑对游客而言并非门径而是厚重的帷幕，面对木质金字横匾时，更觉丈二和尚摸不着北。笔者显露一脸无知的神色，不久便对其潜在的背景知识印象深刻。笔者发现自己的探询往往过于机敏和简练，在逾越门槛或拉开帷幕时，惟恐失手给门夹住，而身体却被挡在门外。一旦买卖成交，我尽情陶醉于不慌不忙的交易的非同寻常的奢侈享受中，其中，消磨的时间显然是西方人恋物情结的一部分，而不被视作与敬茶和敬烟具有同等地位的因素。友好易货贸易时，我急于寻找与中文对应的恰当的英文词汇。有一张灌录生动交易叫卖声的中国唱片，其制作显然是为满足学生及爱好者的娱乐需求。这些不足为奇却时常幸运保存下来的载体，使得招幌知识背景的探求更为迷人。

然而，就招幌这一主题而言，虽然手头资料并没有多少可以用来扩展内涵，却在本书章节需要全面覆盖和得到深入浅出的阐述。不管怎样，我们应该有义务尽力构建这一领域的基本框架，其理由是，这些存世但又边缘的与传统民俗相关的研究在前人留下的著作阐述中却是凤毛麟角。

另一方面，招幌生动造型的知识背景对于熟悉北京的读者而言并不陌生。各种店铺平房鳞次栉比，本地店铺忙着各自的生意，店铺正面常以镀金精心雕刻和装饰，横向挑出的铁制幌杆两端雕着龙头，幌杆下悬挂着色彩艳丽而奇特迷人的各式招幌，而招幌的传奇故事成为本书各章的主体。作为至今还未揭开的市民生活奥秘的一部分，这些商家店铺的户外场景及其附带的传奇故事在一般洋人眼中也许构成负面印象，但恰恰是它们提供了充满华夏古老皇城城市井气息的街市景象，也常使得心

which, of course, is not a door at all, but a heavy curtain, reinforced at intervals with horizontal strips of brass-studded wood. Innocent-looking enough, its potentialities soon impress themselves on the novice, who finds them demanding the utmost dexterity and economy of movement, lest one be caught somewhere in the process of lifting the "door," insinuating one's body, and vaulting over the high sill. The feat accomplished, one is free to revel in the unwonted luxury of leisurely methods of trade, in which time is shown to be a mere fetish of the Occidental, and far too gross an element to be weighed against the enticements of tea-and-cigarettes; the friendly barter of English words for their equivalents in Chinese; the enlivening shrieks of the Chinese record on the gramophone--obviously functioning for the entertainment of servitors, as well as patrons--and other less commonplace incidents that now and then fall to the lot of the fortunate, to enhance the charms of these interior explorations.

The theme, however, has not awaited expansion at our hands, having been abundantly and eloquently covered, long since. And, in any event, we should be obliged to skin but lightly over the field mapped out by the guide-book cartographer, for the reason that these necessarily perfunctory contacts with old China play no part what ever in our present narrative.

On the other hand, the background of our series of tableaux vivants is by no means an unfamiliar one, at least to the eye of the reader acquainted with Peking. Into its composition enter those long stretches of low buildings, in which the strictly native shops ply their trades. Their facades, elaborately carved and touched with gilt, bristle with a horizontal forest of iron poles ending in dragon's heads; and from these swing the gaily-coloured and intriguing symbols whose elucidation forms our text. As part of the hitherto unexplored mystery of native life, these shop exteriors and their incidentals will have registered negatively, perhaps, in the foreign mind; but they will none the less have provided the settling for many a vision of the street scenes of the old imperial city, such as the thoughtful tourist seeks involuntarily to recreate for himself. His fantasies, to be sure, are peopled, usually, with folk arrayed in the garments comprising his store of mementoes; and in the pride of a newly-acquired knowledge of Chinese design, he fancies himself readily distinguishing the marks of rank displayed by the members of these brilliant companies of his imagination. Here and there he takes note of the colour of cap buttons, or the device worn on the front and back of gorgeously embroidered robes; while yonder, perhaps, an approaching sedan chair proclaims its occupant to

