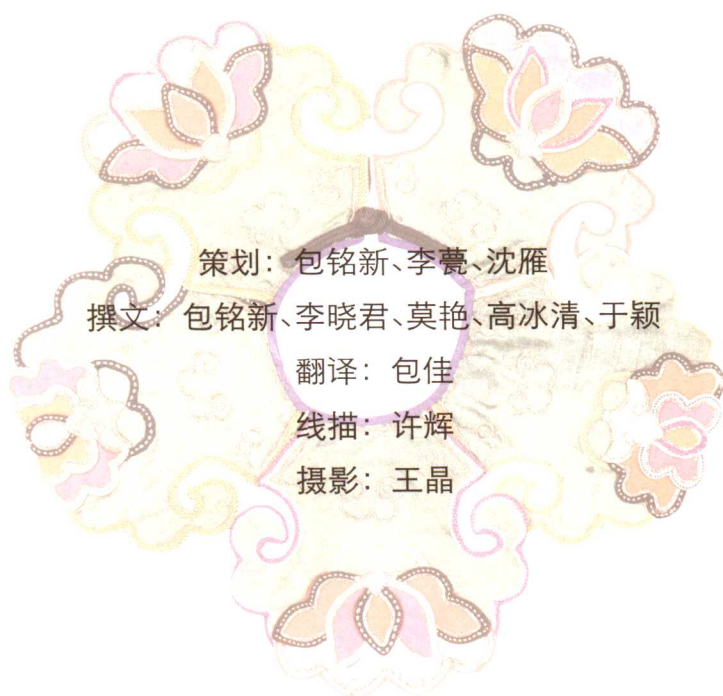


近代中国童装实录

The Chinese Children's Wear
in Late Qing Dynasty and Republic Period

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概 述

童装两字的组合用来指称儿童的服装是再贴切自然不过了，但它却并不见于中国古代文献。我们有理由设想，作为一个稳定的名词，它的问世应该不会早于晚清。它怎么看也像是英语 children's wear 随手拈来的绝佳对译，但又没有什么证据因此说它是外来的。中国自古以来就有很多儿童专用的服饰，如肚兜、虎头帽、围涎、襁褓、毛衫儿和百家衣等。但是，作为事物的一个大门类，似乎缺少一个泛称或统称。而且，从古代汗牛充栋的典籍中，童装各种样式的专门称谓也不多。二十四孝中的老莱子“着五彩斑斓之衣，为婴儿戏于亲侧”，这“彩衣”应该就是童装或仿童装，形式是童装，尺寸要大一些。

童在汉语中可泛指未成年人。由此衍生出儿童和童子等相应的词汇。另外，又有婴、幼、少儿和少年，与童及其衍生词一起可以用以指称不同年龄的未成年人。现代童装行业中有以小童、中童和大童来区分年龄阶段的标准称谓，溯其源不会早于民国晚期，本书不加采用。我们宁可以婴儿、幼童、童、少年来分别指年龄在“人始生”至三岁左右，三岁左右到六七岁，七八岁到十岁左右，以及十岁以上十五岁以下年龄段之人。

儿童服饰是服饰中有特色的一部分，在不同历史时期和不同国家或地区都受百姓的重视和珍爱。在当代的服装设计和营销中，童装的内容所占的比例也不算小。但是，对童装的历史或历史上的童装，真正学术意义上的研究却难得一见。有所涉及的偶一见之如董学增之《从小铜人看辽金时代女真人的童装》，分析了收藏在吉林市博物馆中的一个小铜人所着服装等。这种研究的缺失，在一定程度上也许是因为研究资料的稀少。古代童装的出土实物极少，新疆丝绸之路上出土了一些，但这些墓葬主人的身份复杂，从古欧罗巴人地中海东支到高加索与蒙古人的混合种都有，其服饰大多与中原地区并无多大的渊源关系。文献记载也不多（专门名词大大少于成人服饰名称这一现象与此高度相关），图象资料则相对要多一些。

但是，较之于古代，可资研究近代童装的材料更为丰富。传世实物留存仍多；图象资料中，虽然绘画等的程式化现象降低了作品的写实性和研究的可靠性，但加入了大量的摄影作品，以及新兴的写实西画，后者反映现实真实性较高。文献资料虽然仍相对匮乏，但比古代有所增加。所以，把近代中国童装作为研究中国童装史的一个切入点，也许容易收到事半功倍之效。

近代中国社会已经在很大程度上受到西方的影响。童装也不例外，甚至比成人服装西化还要快，尤其是城市小孩之穿着。其中有一些完全采取了西方童装的样式、色彩组合和图案。这些都被排除在本书的研究范围之外。进入我们视野的，是那些中国传统的童装，包括纯粹意义上的传统和掺杂了外来元素但基本上还保持了传统形式的童装。从近代摄影资料上可以见到很多传统袍褂与外来鸭舌帽、铜盆帽的配伍，本土丝绸与进口毛呢的组合。

本书所谓的近代，乃指晚清和民国。近代中国的童装传统，可以上溯到清代以前。虽然经过明清鼎革剃发易服和辛亥革命服制改革两次巨变，成人服饰面目全非而儿童服饰之传统仍能得到一定的传承。清代童装中保持了很多明代的形式或元素，民国童装中也不难找出清代的遗存。例如，清代有一种对襟褂子，领下胸前有领抹，颇似明代上衣。这种带领抹的上衣，在明代也被称为道衣，小儿用之则可避邪。父母担心幼儿夭折，寄名于道观佛寺，以避阎罗王之召。小道衣制成后，去道观钤印，印文一般为求神避凶趋吉之语，钤印后之小道衣方显灵验，正如佛器之开光，有时亦成寺庙敛财之一法。《金瓶梅》中西门庆中年得子体弱恐夭折，请吴道官准备“玄色纱丝道衣”便是，并配有销金道髻，黄绒线绦道索和黄绦符等饰品。本馆（东华大学中国服饰博物馆）收藏有一件小道衣，制作中规中矩，所用大云缎乃八枚正反暗花缎。图案乃元明间流行，清代中期以后即渐渐少见。故又可推测，衣虽为晚清所制所用，但衣料乃清前期之旧料。而且，面料色近橙黄，虽非明黄等皇家正色，但在一般情况下，非皇家成员使用已属犯禁，只有出家人可违例。



领抹之服式可上溯至宋代，多用于背子。领抹多单独制作，饰以织花绣花印金，再缝缀于衣上。《东京梦华录》、《武林旧事》和《梦粱录》中多有关领抹买卖之记载，图象资料如卷轴画、壁画和砖刻中亦不难寻见。南宋福州黄昇墓等遗址亦多有出土。宋代领抹多一抹到底长至衣摆，而明代开始有仅剩半截止于胸前系带处。清代童装沿袭明代之制。民国初年仍能见到，并发展成可用于大襟，于胸前右折延至腋下。而领抹本身已少见传统之织染绣品，改用进口之洋花边，与我们于民初女上衣下摆及裤脚管边缘所用相同。

中国古代或传统童装之样式可分为两个极端。婴儿之服多体现女性或母亲审美，不守成法，图案配色多自出机杼。特别是内衣如肚兜，在《金瓶梅》中官哥儿所用之“锦缎肚兜，上带小银坠儿”。近代童装中则可见肚兜上多绣各种图案，或吉祥文字。更有以丝线络成圆形，以盛银币或花钱。年岁稍长之儿童或少年，则衣式多趋同于成人，只尺寸较小而已。甚至也会为婴儿备下这种“小成人衣”。男童之衣袖较长，女童之衣袖较短，也与成年男女之衣所见相类。这也是为什么古代文献中少见童装名目，多于成人服饰名目上冠一小字，如《金瓶梅》中之“白绫小袜”、“青潞绸衲脸小履鞋”、“绿云缎小衬衣”等等。这种习俗，到晚清不变，至民国则虽有变化，仍多遗存。

旧时儿童之夭折一直是父母最担忧者。认为将小孩身份降低，或使男童作女童装束（因重男轻女），可避免恶鬼觊觎缠身，故常取猫狗之名。童装上多见各种象征寓意形式以祈福避祸，上述之小道衣即一例。另一典型是百家衣，儿童之百家衣与明清女装中之水田衣者在形制上异曲同工，皆由许多零碎织物面料拼接而成。认为可避邪镇祸的虎头帽、虎头鞋、麒麟帽和五毒纹饰等等也在此列。

童装上的图案，由于包含着长辈对小辈的众多期许，常常也别有寓意。如在未成年男子的服装上绣文曲星，意为望子成龙。在女童帽上缀以小剪子和小尺为饰，鼓励女孩子将来相夫教子、节俭持家、要精于女红。另这一时期有送儿童补子的习俗，此补子尺寸与成人正式补子相同，只无标志官阶的动物纹样。送时包上红纸，上写“恭贺某某公子开蒙之喜”等吉语，望其成年后能位及人臣，光宗耀祖。

古代和近代的中国成人装普遍偏大，童装亦然，胸围、腰围及袖口等尺寸比实际需要大得多，如袍过长则需掖进些许并绗缝以固定。有时甚至超过现代成人装，只在领围上可看到儿童的真实尺寸，这也成为区别童装与成人装的特征之一。

童装中亦具备各种标识性礼仪和品级之服，少年皇子亦有小龙袍，色彩形制皆遵守制度。中国历史上有少年早慧得志，小小年纪即有功名，应该也有小补服存在，只是实物罕见难觅。著名织绣鉴赏家 Chris Hall 存于新加坡亚洲文明博物馆的藏品中有一批尺寸很小的补子（高 14.8cm 或 18.7cm，宽 14.8cm 或 19.3cm），他们将此类小尺寸补子命名为“童补”。南洋一带也留存不少华人儿童穿补服的图象资料。

与成人装款式相同的童装，也会有一些为儿童着想的细微之处。如童装的里料多用棉布；闭合方式比较多地采用系带；纽扣等服饰配件的使用比较自由，不如成人循规守矩讲求节奏。





INTRODUCTION

'Tong Zhuang' is the most appropriate word in Chinese for garment worn by children. However, it seldom appeared in ancient Chinese literatures. Therefore, it's reasonable to conceive that, as a stable term, it wasn't commonly used until Late Qing Dynasty. 'Tong Zhuang' is a perfect counterpart to Children's Wear in English though there's no evidence showing that 'Tong Zhuang' is a loanword. From old times on, there were many terms for children's clothes and accessories, such as Du Dou (肚兜, a kind of bellyband), Hu Tou Mao (虎头帽, tiger-head hat), Wei Xian (围涎, swaddling clothes), Bai Jia Yi (百家衣, patchwork jacket) and etc. However, as a big category of things, it lacked a general term. However, there aren't many special terms for children's wear from a immense number of ancient books and records. In the Twenty-Four Stories of Piety, Lao Cai Zi 'wore colorful clothes pretending to be a child'. The 'colorful clothes' should be children's wear or at least in the form of children's wear but larger in size.

In Chinese, 'Tong' (child) applies to anyone under age, from which derives other words such as 'Er Tong' (young child) and 'Tong Zi' (boy). Many other terms, together with 'Tong' and its derivatives, refer to people who are under age. 'Xiao Tong', 'Zhong Tong' and 'Da Tong' are standard name for different age periods in modern industry of children's wear. However, these standard terms are originated no earlier than the Late Republic Period, and therefore it's not adopted in this book. We prefer to use baby, kid, child and teenager respectively for people less than 3 years old, 3-6 years old, 7-10 years old and 10-15 years old.

Children's wear is a unique part of garment, treasured and cherished by folks at different historical periods and different countries or regions. Children's wear occupies a significant proportion in modern fashion design and marketing. However, real academic research on the history of children's wear or on historical children's wear is almost blank. Some literatures touched this topic a little bit, such as one of Dong Xuezheng's book analyzing the clothes worn by a small brass human figure collected by Jilin Municipal Museum. The shortage of such research is, to some extent, attributed to the lack of research materials. Few ancient children's wear was unearthed and there weren't many documentary records (The fact that special terminology of children's wear is much less than that of adult's wear is high related to lack of documentary records), not to mention graphic materials.

However, compared with ancient times, modern times provide abundant materials for reasearches on children's wear. There are many existing children's clothes and graphic materials. Although the stylization of paintings lowers the authenticity and reliability of these works, the addition of large amount of photographs and the emerging of western realism paintings help to create a realistic vision. Documentary records are still rare but at least more than old times. Therefore, more can be achieved with less effort made if making modern Chinese children's wear a cut-in point of research on the history of Chinese children's wear.

Modern Chinese society was under great influence of the west. Fashion, including children's wear, is no exception. In modern China, some children's wears have fully adopted western style, combination of colors and patterns. These elements are not included in the research scope of this book. What comes into our eyeshot is traditional Chinese children's wear, including both those purely traditional and those mixed with foreign elements but still keeping traditional form.

The modern times in the context of this book refer to Late Qing Dynasty and the Republic Period. The tradition



of children's wear of modern China can be traced back to before Qing Dynasty. Although adults' wear presented an entirely new appearance after two tremendous changes, one in Qing Dynasty due to the change of dynasties and the other after the Revolution of 1911, the tradition of children's wear was still well maintained and inherited. Children's wear of Qing Dynasty kept many styles and elements of Ming Dynasty while carry-overs from Qing Dynasty are easily found in children's wear of the Republic Period.

For example, there's a kind of a jacket with front opening in Qing Dynasty, which has a Lingmo (领抹, front decoration) below the neckline in front of the breast, similar to jackets of Ming Dynasty. Such kind of jacket with Ling Mo was also called Dao Yi (道衣, Taoist jacket) in Ming Dynasty and children could wear it to ward off evil. In JIN PING MEI, Xi Mengqing got a son in middle age. The baby was so weak that Xi Mengqing was afraid that it might die at young. So he asked Wu Daoguan to prepare a 'black silk Dao Yi' decorated with other accessories such as Taoist Bun. Such Ling Mo could be traced back to Song Dynasty and was mostly applied to Beizi (背心). Ling Mo was usually made separately from other parts of a jacket and decorated with embroideries, gold print or woven pattern. Documentations about Ling Mo could also be largely found in ancient classics books. Ling Mo in Song Dynasty was as long as the trim of the jacket while in Ming Dynasty it became very short in front of the breast. Ling Mo in Qing Dynasty was inherited from that of Ming Dynasty. Ling Mo was still in use in the Earlier Republic Period and could even be applied to big openings. However, traditional decorations such as embroideries were replaced with imported western laces, same as the trimmings of other women's clothes in the period.

The styles of Chinese ancient or tradition children's wear have two extremes. Babies' wear mostly represented feminine or mother's aesthetic taste, conforming to no pre-set rules. The pattern and combination of colors were mostly from the loom, such as the 'colorful clothes' of Lao Cai Zi. This applies to underwear such as Du Dou in particular. For example, Guan Ge Er in JIN PING MEI wears 'a brocade Du Dou with small silver pendant'. In modern times, Du Dou is usually embroidered with all kinds of patterns or blessings. Silk threads were even made in string bags to hold silver coins on some Du Dous. The style of clothes for elder children or teenagers was similar to adults' clothes but in a smaller size. Sometimes 'small adults' clothes' were also prepared for babies. That's why few terms of children's wear were found in ancient documents. Terms of adults' wear plus the word 'small' were used to refer children's wear, such as 'small socks made of white damask silk', 'small shoes with stitched faces made of blue silk', 'small blouse made of green satin with cloud pattern' and etc. (JIN PING MEI). Such custom didn't change until the Republic Period but the change was limited.

In the old times, parents worried about most of kids' abortion and they believed that evils could be avoided by lowering kid's social status and therefore often named their kids after cats and dogs. Different kinds of meaningful patterns could be found on children's wear in the purpose of praying for blessings and avoiding disasters. The children's wear mentioned above is an example. Another typical example is Bai Jia Yi. Children's shares the same form with, a kind of women's wear in Ming and Qing Dynasties, both of which are kind of patchwork made of bits and pieces of textile. Tiger-head hat and shoes, kylin hat and hat embroidered with five poisonous creatures (scorpion, viper, centipede, house lizard and toad) were all deemed to be able to drive away evils and suppress disasters.

Patterns on children's wear, reflecting parents' expectation on the children, often imply special meanings. For example, star embroidered on the clothes of teenage boy delivered the message that the parents expected him to be successful. Girls were encouraged to take good care of her future husbands and children, be hardworking, thriftily, and good at needlecraft when her clothes were embroidered with small scissors and rulers. Besides, during that period of time, it's a custom to give children mandarin square as present. The mandarin square was in the same size as that of adults' but without any patterns of animals. It was wrapped up in red



paper with congratulations or greetings written on the paper when given out with good wishes that the boy would achieve high official rank and bring honors to his ancestors.

Adults' wear in both ancient and modern China was generally loose, so was children's wear. Sizes of breast, waist and wristband were much larger than actual, sometimes even larger than those of today's adults' wear. Only the neckline reflected the real size of a child, which also becomes one of the features to distinguish children's wear from adults' wear.

There are also children's wear of courtesy or different classes. Young prince has his own dragon robe with specifications on color and form. Teenagers who achieved scholarly honor or official rank should also have Bufu (补服, special uniforms), which, unfortunately, couldn't be found any more today. Chris Hall, famous textile connoisseur, collected some small-sized mandarin squares (14.8cm or 18.7cm in length, 14.8cm or 19.3cm in width) conserved in Asian Civilization Museum in Singapore. These small-sized are named 'children's mandarin square'. Graphic materials of Chinese children wearing Bu Fu are found in Southeast Asia.

Children's wear in the same style of adults' wear is also slightly changed in consideration of children. For instance, cotton are used as linings for children's wear; tied strings are adopted to fastening the opening; the use of accessories such as distribution of buttons are more flexible, rules applied to adults' wear not conformed.



目录

Contents



概述		Introduction
童袍	001	Children's Robe
童褂	031	Children's Jacket
童坎肩	085	Children's Vest
童裙	118	Children's Skirt
童裤	125	Children's Pants
配饰	143	Accessories
实物分析	173	Documentation
名词解释	188	Terminology
后记	194	Postscript
参考文献	195	Bibliography

■ 童袍 ■



晚清的儿童，特别是男童和旗下的女童，仍以袍服为主。其款式与当时的成人之袍并无大的差异。晚清旗装的汉化，在很大程度上是以风格而不是细节来体现的，而风格变化的大势则为由紧身合体趋于宽博。箭袖还是箭袖，但已难以举弓；开襖仍可为四，但亦不便蹬腾。晚清男童常着一种素简无饰窄袖窄身之袍，常被今人误认为民国初年的女童旗袍。童袍之尺寸，虽然比成人小了很多，但在现代人眼中仍然很大，简直可以让较为瘦小的成人试穿。这一点在正式的礼服上表现得特别显著。

民国的童袍，就女童而言，就是旗袍。式样之丰富，亦不多逊于成年女性。男童之袍也一似成人，配以坎肩或马褂。男童袍如成年男袍但袖长稍逊，袖口常反掖，行礼则放下；女童则袖短（《梅兰芳珍藏老像册》第40页载梅葆琛所着之短而倒大之袖实属例外），露出小臂手腕，亦一如成年女子。与之配伍者，常见西式之手编对襟毛衣。因为此时袍上加绣之比例大大减少，有纹饰者不外机织和印花。这样的面料多为近代工业化产品，较少区分成人儿童。童袍之尺寸较小，相对就衬出纹饰之循环单位大得不成比例。

为方便计，披风等少数并非袍类而能包裹全身者并入此章。

这一时期，变化较为显著者，为婴儿之所用。如前所述，婴儿之衣多由母亲或其他女眷手制，别出心裁，不守成规。有些实例掺入较多西方元素，色彩鲜艳，款式变化亦大，似袍非袍，而近于今之连衣裙，则并入童裙一章。



CHILDREN'S ROBE

Children in Late Qing Dynasty, especially boys and Eight-Banners' girls, usually wore robes, whose style had no significant difference from adults' robe. The Han-Nationalization of Eight-banners' clothes of Late Qing Dynasty is embodied mostly in style but not in details. The biggest change of style is from tight silhouette to loose. The arrow-shaped sleeves are still the same but one couldn't raise a bow in such sleeves; there are still four slits but they make riding a horse almost impossible. Although the size of children's robe is much smaller than that of the adults, yet it's still very big in modern people's eyes and a slim adult can fit in. This feature is more obvious in formal dress.

In the Republic Period, children's robe for girls is the same as the Eight-Banners' robe. The variety of style is no second to that of adult females. Boy's robe is also similar to that of man and is matched with Kan Jian(坎肩, vest) or Magua (马褂, jacket). Therefore, embroidery is much less seen on the robes and most of the patterns are printed or woven by machines. The fabrics are also most products of mass production with no differentiation between adults and children. The size of children's robe also reflects the disproportion of the size of the prints.

For the purpose of convenience, non-robes, such as cloak, which can also wrap the whole body are not included in this chapter.

During this period of time, babies' wear changed most obviously. As mentioned before, babies' clothes are usually handmade by the mother or other female members of the family, who follow no rules and are willing to make changes. Some babies' clothes are mixed with western elements and in bright colors with little changes in style, which is more close to today's one-piece dress. And therefore, they are included in the chapter of children's skirts.





1 蓝色缙丝吉服袍 19世纪后期
blue kesi Jifu robe late 19th century



2 金黄妆花缎朝袍 19世纪后期
golden zhuanghua satin Chaofu late 19th century





3 赭石缎地五彩绣大襟吉服袍 19世纪后期
colorful embroidery on brown satin ground Jifu robe late 19th century



4 银红花卉纹暗花绸丝绵袍 19世纪后期
 silvery-red floral damask robe padded with silk floss late 19th century





5 大红缎心彩绣镶边女袍 19世纪后期
girl's red satin robe with embroidered trimming late 19th century



6 紫色菊花万字纹二色绸女袍 19世纪末20世纪初
purple floral silk , girl's robe late 19th century - early 20th century



7 壳青散点花卉纹暗花绸单袍 19世纪末20世纪初
grey blue scattered floral damask robe late 19th century - early 20th century





8 灰褐色纺绸夹袍 20世纪初期
grey brown silk robe with lining beginning of 20th century



旧照片 20世纪20年代
old photo 1920s