
HUIANWOMEN

惠安女服饰与刺绣

THE COSTUME AND
MANUAL EMBROIDERY

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序

吴 川

福建省惠安县东部沿海的崇武、大岞、山霞、小岞和净峰等渔村，由于历史、地域和婚俗的原因，当地妇女的服饰一直保留着与外界不同的特色。这种特色被戏称为“封建头、民主肚、节约衣、浪费裤”。意思是头部包得严严实实，肚皮却露了出来，上衣又窄又短，裤子却宽阔松软。这样的装束真是奇特而美观。你看那迎面走来的惠女，在黄灿灿竹笠的下面，蓝绿底缀白花的头巾中间，悄悄露出美好的笑容。短而窄的上衣紧紧地裹住丰满的胸脯和手臂，而宽松的黑绸裤则随风飘动。五颜六色的腰带是自己编织的。如果是已婚妇女，还要加上一条银裤链，通常由五至七股，甚至八、九股组成，吊在腰间极显辉煌。看来，上衣裁得那么短，就是为了炫耀这腰饰，即使露出肚皮也在所不惜。正是这袒露扭动的腰身和宽松飘荡的裤管互相呼应，形成灵动而和谐的韵律，惠女那婀娜多姿的身影才给人留下那么鲜明难忘的印象。

惠女爱美的天性还表现在刺绣上。她们“挖空心思”地在裤腰带、竹笠带、领口和袖口上绣出各式各样妙不可言的图案。领围是另做的，绣好了再扣到领子上。解放前，小岞一带还流行一种“巾仔头”刺绣，上面绣着渔船、人物、水族、昆虫和花卉等各种图案。此外，惠东地区还流行着各种布什物刺绣。以上种种刺绣皆构图饱满而灵活，造型稚拙而生动，处处流露着惠女爱美的心声和智慧，具有很高的民间艺术审美价值。

哈克的故乡在崇武，他从小生活在由惠女服饰和刺绣交织而成的美好世界里。他对惠女服饰和刺绣的钟爱之情似乎是与生俱来的。长大学习美术专业，尤其毕业后从事广告、展示策划工作以来，这种钟爱之情更逐渐转化为对惠女服饰和刺绣有意识的搜集、调查和研究。此次，他在长期研究并拥有大量资料的基础上，经反复比较、严格筛选和精心设计，最终将精选的摄影作品集结编印成书。在此过程中，他始终以展现惠女服饰与刺绣艺术的美感作为编书的宗旨。而将这种美感传达给读者，和读者共享欣赏的快乐，并以此报答对故乡的恩情正是哈克的夙愿。

Preface

Wu Chuan

Because of the special history, location and wedding customs, the women in Eastern-Huian have retained their own features in clothing, which are quite different from the outside world. Its features have been dubbed as "a feudal face but a democratic belly, a saving blouse but a waste of trousers", which means that when wearing a scarf, a woman usually packages her head tightly, only leaving her eyes, nose and mouth exposed, while when dressed, she always wears a short blouse, leaving her belly exposed. And it is also strange that her blouse is so short and close-fitting while her pants are so loose and wide. The costume is so fantastic and attractive that when you see a woman coming towards you, you cannot help having a second look at the bright smile between the blue or green scarf with small white flowers under the yellow bamboo hat. You cannot be impressed by the colorful woven belt around her waist under the blouse. In addition, when a woman is married, she would like to add a silver belt around her waist. It appears that wearing a short and close-fitting blouse is to show off her beautiful belt and It is this twisting bare waist and loose flutter trouser that forms a smart and harmonious rhythm, which you cannot miss appreciating.

Their nature of loving beauty is also reflected on the annual embroidery. Huian Woman do their best to embroider a variety of patterns on waist belts, collars, small cloth accessories on buns and cloth products for wearing, which particularly presents the beauty and wisdom of Huian Woman and has a high aesthetic value of folk culture.

Ha Ke, the writer and photographer, was born in such districts. From the early age, he was living in a fantastic world full of costumes and annual embroideries. As a result, he was born with the love for the Huian Woman's costumes and annual embroidery. After his graduation in arts and especially being engaged in advertising, he has expanded his love into collecting Huian Woman's costumes and taking great interest in such research and study. This pictorial is just based on the photographs that he's taken and collected and his long-term study. During the process, he always aims at presenting Huian Woman's costumes and manual embroideries. It is his long-term wish to have the readers impressed by this pictorial and have the readers enjoying the pleasure of reading this pictorial. And the most important thing is that he has an opportunity to repay his homeland and realise his dream.

撩起闽南文化的一角

——《惠安女服饰与刺绣》序

张铭清

打开哈克先生的《惠安女服饰与刺绣》，从一幅幅构图别致、五彩缤纷的画面中，款款走来的是婀娜多姿的惠女；迎面扑来的是波翻浪卷的大海边浓郁的渔乡气息；感受到的是风情万种的闽南文化。这部摄影作品集图文并茂，装帧精美，观之赏心悦目，掩卷受益良多。

图片是构成本书的主要篇幅。无论是光线、构图，还是角度、技巧，展现了作者高超的摄影技巧和拍摄的独特视角，给人以美的享受，令人击节称赞。两篇研究惠安女服饰和民间刺绣的文章，谈古论今，广证博引，探讨惠安女服饰和民间刺绣的历史渊源、艺术特色和风格追求，颇有见地。

闽南文化是中华文化一个重要的组成部分。哈克先生的《惠安女服饰与刺绣》，从服饰与刺绣入手，通过展现惠安女服饰与刺绣之美，向读者撩起了作为地域文化的闽南文化的一角。为我们解读、辨识闽南文化打开了一扇窗子。读来令人耳目一新。

有五千年悠久历史的中华文化，之所以生生不息、绵延不断，一个重要原因是她是发源于上古时代多个区域、多个民族、多种形态的文化综合体。文明的多样性是人类文化存有的基本形态。不同的地域环境和历史过程，产生了色彩斑斓、异彩纷呈的地域文化和人文图景。对不同地域的行为方式和习俗，理应给予普遍的理解与尊重。因为他们之间的不同，正是相互解读、辨识、对话和交融的前提。

闽南文化是中华文化的重要组成部分。国家公布的十个文化自然生态保护区中，唯一的一个汉族文化自然生态保护区就是闽南文化自然生态保护区。其他的九个是少数民族文化自然生态保护区。因此，研究闽南文化具有十分重要的意义。作为一个闽南人，哈克先生似乎有一种与生俱来的文化自觉，或者说，他有一种责任感。所以，几十年来，他没有放弃对闽南文化美的追求，自觉地投入了这一研究。这是非常难能可贵的。

惠安女服饰与刺绣，在外人看来是一道亮丽的风景线。但是，作为土生土长的惠安人，是很容易习以为常的。有道是“不识庐山真面目，只缘身在此山中”。但是，哈克先生却是个例外。罗丹说过“世界不缺少美，而是缺少发现。”哈克敏锐的发现和独到的审美情趣固然与他受过美术专业训练有关，但是，我以为，在他精湛的技巧和独特的视角后面，是他对家乡和乡亲的挚爱，以及由此产生的对惠安女服饰与刺绣进行深入研究和深刻理解的结果。他把挚热的爱升华到审美的境界，把自己专业的美术功力倾注在对惠安女的服饰与刺绣审美上，从而淋漓尽致的抒发了他对家乡和乡亲炽热的情怀。我揣测，这也是他的责任感产生的基础。

人类文明进化的历史，从物质方面来看，可以概括为“衣、食、住、行”。之所以以“衣”为首，恐怕与其在文明进化中的地位有关。从树叶、兽皮蔽体，到纺织制衣，乃至以服饰成为官阶、时尚的标识。这一切都和每个时期人类对自然规律的认识水平及对相关技术的综合能力有关。因此，哈克先生的研究还有深化的空间。我期望他有更深入研究的成果问世。

一本书之所以要序，是因为要说明该书出版的宗旨，介绍编次、体例和作者情况的。当然，也包括对作者和作品的评价以及对相关问题的阐述。我对服饰、刺绣可以说是门外汉，更谈不上研究。之所以斗胆动笔，主要是为哈克先生的精神所感动。当然，也想借题发挥，说一点对文化的粗浅的看法、班门弄斧，以求教于方家。

巴金老人谈到序的作用的时候，说过一句很通俗的话：“序文充其量是鼓动人步入作品里屋的作用”。不知道我这篇序能否起到这个作用。但是，我还是诚恳的鼓动人步入哈克的作品里屋看看，相信会必有所得。

(本文作者系海峡两岸关系协会副会长、厦门大学新闻传播学院院长)

2009.2.12于北京

A Window for Understanding Minnan Culture

— foreword for revised edition of *Costume and Embroidery of Hui' an Women*

Zhang Mingqing

When opening *Costume and Embroidery of Hui' an Women* by Mr Ha Ke, from pictures with unique composition and fancy colors, we seem to see the graceful Hui' an women walking towards us, as well as the rich flavor of fishing region along the choppy seashore blowing towards us; also we can feel the charming and touching Minnan culture. This album of photographic works is excellent in both pictures and literary compositions. With delicate and beautiful decoration, it can give us scenery pleasing to eyes and mind, as well as many benefits.

The major space of this book has been occupied by the pictures, in which all the light, compositions, view points and skills not only demonstrate the superior photography skill and unique shot visual angle of the writer, but also give us enjoyment of beauty; thus it really deserves our great admiration. Two essays studied on costumes and folk embroidery of Hui' an women talk over the past and present, and quote extensively for researching on the historical origin, artistic characteristics and styles of Hui' an women' s costumes and folk embroidery. The essays are rather sensible and knowledgeable.

The Minnan culture is an important component of Chinese Culture. This book begins from the costume and embroidery to introduce part of Minnan culture as a regional culture through showing the beauty of Hui' an women' s costume and embroidery for readers, which has opened a window for us to read and recognize the Minnan culture. Sure, it brings us everything fresh and new.

A reason for the continuous and successive Chinese culture with a history of five thousand years is that the Chinese culture is a complex of many cultures originated from Early China which are from many regions, races as well as many different forms. The diversity of civilization is the basic form for exist of human culture. As the different regional environments and historical process have given birth to colorful, diverse regional culture and cultural images, people should give common understandings and esteem to manners and customs of different regions. The premise of mutual interpretation, recognition, communication and integration is just the fact that they are sharing.

Minnan culture is a very important part of Chinese Culture. Of the ten natural ecological reserves released by the state, the only one natural ecological is Minnan cultural natural ecological reserve while the other nine reserves are natural ecological reserves of the minority cultures. Therefore, it is of great significance to study the Minnan culture. As one of Minnaners, Mr. Ha Ke seems to have an inbred cultural self-consciousness, in other words, he has a sense of responsibility. Therefore, over the past decades, he has never given up pursuing the beauty of Minnan culture and consciously devotes himself to this research, which is rather valuable.

In the eyes of outsiders, Hui' an women' s costume and embroidery is very beautiful scenery, however, native Hui' aners are quite accustomed to it. There is a famous poem saying "the truth is incomprehensible to one too deeply involved to be objective", but Mr. Ha Ke is an exception. Rodin once said that "the world is not in want of beauty, but in want of discovery". Admittedly, Ha Ke' s acute discovering ability and unique aesthetic sentiment are closely related to his early professional artistic training, nevertheless, in my opinion, his exquisite skill and original angle of view are originated from the true love to his homeland, and in-depth study and profound understanding on Hui' an women' s costume and embroidery. This kind of true love is elevated to aesthetic state. He devotes his professional grounding in art to appreciate the beauty of Hui' an women' s costume and embroidery, thus, thoroughly expressing his passionate feelings to his homeland. I guess that it is the base of his sense of responsibility as well.

Seen from material conditions, the evolutionary history of human civilization can be summed up as "food, clothing, shelter and transportation". "Clothing" is put in the first place. The reason is possibly related to its status in civilized evolution. From covering the body with leaves and animal skins to textile products, and even clothing ornament becoming the logo of official rank and fashion, all these are related to mankind' s awareness of natural laws and comprehensive ability of related technologies in each period. Therefore, the research of Mr. Ha Ke has deepening space. I expect that he has more deep research achievements to be presented.

A book needs introductory because it shall explain its publishing purpose, introducing the order of its arrangement, its style and its author. Of course, it should include the evaluation of the author and his works as well as the research and development of related problems. Although I am a layman for clothing ornament and embroidery, let alone research, I still make bold to write, mainly affected by the spirit of Mr. Ha Ke. Certainly, I also seize upon this opportunity and say some simple opinions, though it may be like teaching fish to swim. But I' m really eager to consult masters for advice.

The great writer, Ba Jin talks about the role of introductory, saying the popular words that "the role of introductory is to stir people to read the works at the best". I don' t know whether my introductory can play the role as Ba Jin requires, but I sincerely encourage people to go into Ha Ke' s works and take a close look. I believe that you will obtain something.

(The writer is the vice-president of Association for Relations across the Taiwan Strait and President of Journalism and Media School of Xiamen University)

In Beijing, on February 12, 2009

惠女服饰沿革

The Evolution of Costumes for 哈 克 Huian Women



当你来到福建省惠安县东南部的崇武沿海一带，就会被那奇特的惠女服饰所吸引：黄灿灿的斗笠下面，淡绿色白点的花头巾紧紧地包着那白里透红的秀丽脸庞；只及腰际衣沿为椭圆形的蓝色短衬衫紧裹着丰满、健美的上体；环绕腰际的则是五色鲜艳的塑料丝裤带和熠熠发光的银饰裤链，连同不时外露的肚皮，十分显眼；宽裤管的黑绸裤，伴着步伐轻盈飘动，荡漾出一股浓浓的海边风情……这便是人们流传的惠女服饰的特点：“封建头、民主肚、节约衣、浪费裤”（见P24-25）。

崇武古城，在它周围分布着大岞、前垵等渔村，是我国东海突出部的南北航线要冲。大岞龙喉岩后新石器时代遗址的发现，说明我们祖先早在两千多年前就在这一带渔猎生栖。宋代以来特别是明洪武二十年崇武古城的建置，使这里成为海防的军事要地。定居的驻军和原住民的融合，外来文化与本地文化的融合，形成特有的历史文化沉积区域。

然而，现在流行的这奇特服饰，并不是有史以来就定型的，而是近百年来经过三至四代人不断沿革的结果。整个演变过程概括起来大致可分为三个阶段。

一、清末民初出生的妇女服饰

“接袖衫”（长袖挖襟衫，见P74），其特征：衣甚长；胸、腰、臀围宽阔；衣沿稍微弧形外展。整件式样和清代流行的“大夫衫”（长式挖襟衫）有所相似，不同的是袖口偏窄，长袖（又称“接袖”）。为的是在新婚之时，新娘提起长袖遮面入洞房，以表示害羞之意。等到过门第三天才从袖长的一半处翻挽固定缝住。在反面袖口有一圈由三块三角蓝布拼合的长方形。领根下中线左边也有同样一块长方形的蓝布。黑边白底的圆领刺绣着连续的纹样图案，在挖襟边滚缝一条黑色布边。中式纽扣：领前两粒，肩胛处两粒，袖笼一粒，腰围间分开一段距离各两粒，总共九粒。衣服的颜色呈褐红、黑蓝两色，给人以古朴、深沉的感觉。布质多为粗布、红麻布两种，分春夏、秋冬穿着。

裤则是玄色，裤筒宽约一尺左右，接近直筒，有利于下海挽裤脚方便。裤头为臀部的一倍多宽，上边缝接一块约十公分的蓝色布边。着装时裤头插迭套于臀部，再系上裤带或一至数股的银裤链。

短黑色百褶裙：由两片硬黑布重迭成百褶，距离一段，分别缝接在一条有色布上，系围腰际处，在劳动时或外出，用于遮掩偶尔外露的腰臀部，如果是青年渔女，若在干弯腰的活儿没有围系，就会招惹老年人的非议。

腰巾是一条长方形的黑布，下沿呈小桃圆形，上边缝在一条花布上，花布的两头镶饰一组梯形和两三组三角形拼成长方形的色布。两条腰巾带：分别带头花纹、黑束须尾，围系外衣上。这样既保暖，又免于脏物直接沾染。

褡裤（又称“扞么”，是一种口袋）：呈长方形，用蓝黑布缝制，中间开口，两头装东西，在开口的两边分别缀接各一半长的黑、绿色布，并刺绣简单的花纹。四个角有四束金黄色的须。这是早期妇女不可缺少的物件；因为衣服没有口袋，渔女出门，特别是回娘家较远的路程，一些物件尤其是衣服都要装在里面，轻则手提，重则背搭肩上（见P70）。

头饰由一块黑厚布折成长方形罩，套在头顶部，三分之一伸出额头，后部的“畚箕形”盖住后脑的结发，围上黑纱巾，上面插着两支大约二十公分长的黑尖刀形硬布，网套结发上装饰着各式各样的金银首饰、骨饰，活像清朝慈禧太后的头饰（见P73）。

此外，当时衣服的颜色只有褐红、黑蓝两色，这可能与手工落后以及和外界少接触有关。在那外地普遍使用洋布的年间，这里妇女的衣着还是当地盛产的红麻布经原始漂染方法，用“红薯榔”反复染晒而成的布料制成品。

这辈人服饰的出现，是有着历史根源及其局限的。在当时封建社会里，妇女所遭受“三从四德”礼教的束缚，也表现在服饰打扮上也是如此。如上所述在干活时，没有系上黑色百褶裙，就会招惹老年人的非议便是一例。固然如此，但在某些方面也不完全受到世俗的支配。由于当地妇女有着自己缝制服饰的习俗。对上辈传承的服饰，总免不了根据自己的爱好对局部的滚饰、缝镶进行缝制修饰。

二、建国前后的妇女服饰

这一时期的妇女服饰，根据上一辈服饰的基础作了改革。在繁杂的工艺中力求美观，色彩趋向绚丽，造型有所变化。

“缀做衫”（中式挖襟衫，见P71）：明显的对“接袖衫”作了各部位的收缩，衣沿的弧度增大，臀围的宽度加阔往外弯展，有一定的曲线感；腰围处的中式纽根减少成三个联在一起，袖口环绕一圈蓝布边，颜色仍为褐红色。领围上的刺绣图案由简单趋向复杂，而且表现一定装饰的内容。类似一些抽象与具象相结合的刺绣图案，大都是摹仿民间艺人的手艺；有的则是根据主观愿望而设计，体现了渔女对美的追求和象征吉祥的寓意。领根下原方形色布改为三角形刺绣花布。前胸、后背片中线左右两边又增加缀接两块约十五公分长的方形黑布，各块布的左右上下方又镶饰四块三角形的黄白绿等色布，在褐红色和黑色的陪衬下很显眼，有较强的装饰感，所以此服饰得以在渔女中普及。由于整件上衣用若干色布拼合，于是人们把它称之为“缀做衫”。此衣在节日或喜庆时穿上，平时一般没有任何“缀接”色布的专黑色或黑蓝色“中式挖襟衫”。

裤依照原来的体式，没有作任何改变。

此外，这代人还有一件外套的对襟“贴背”（紧身夹，见P72）：无袖、蓝色，前短后长。后胸片呈椭圆形的衣沿由另一块宽阔的棕色布缝接。前胸衣长至腰际，衣沿平直，下半部用花色布滚缝，上半部的色蓝布上，有两组三个白色中式纽根。对襟旁边左右两个开口，是两只手可以插进去取暖或装钱等物件的奇特“口袋”。“贴背”正反两面均可穿着，既美观又实用。

头饰除了废除长方形黑色布罩，其他部分仍然保留，这是年纪稍大妇女的一种打扮。另一种多半适应年轻渔女的梳妆，则是将长发编织于头顶中，留有两撮毛发，垂于头的两侧。头顶中央插饰着骨梳或木梳，这样便构成了这代人普及的头饰。

至于“腰巾”、“褡裢”样式则保留着，不过在布边上增加许多色彩绚丽的刺绣图案。

总之，这代人服饰的沿革，正处在社会大变革时期，旧社会偏僻的渔区妇女，在长期繁重的劳动中，不适应上辈延续的繁杂头饰和甚长的“接袖衫”等装束，可能是促使改革服饰的原因之一。其次，艰辛的生活，不可能按照世俗的惯例去要求，一套完整的服饰，是要花一定代价去换来的。

因而，在不同程度上，废除上辈一些繁杂的不实用装饰俗例，以实用为出发点，按照自己的意愿在条件允许下加以改革。更为突出的是后期节日喜庆穿的“缀做衫”，服饰的圆领刺绣图案和局部色布的装饰，其内容丰富，色彩鲜艳，装饰感强，在繁杂的工艺中求美观，这就是这一时期服饰的特色所在。

三、现在流行的服饰

对比上一辈的服饰，不管是造型、结构、色彩，又提高了一步，形成自己的格调，更富于装饰性。

“节约衣（见P27）：在“缀做衫”的基础上，去掉三角形色布和方形黑色的繁杂镶接工艺。胸围、袖管收缩紧裹着丰满的胸部和圆润的手臂，充分体现了上身的曲线美。衣袖长仅至小臂的一半，衣长仅至腰位。臂围呈大弧度的桃圆形，并且长度增宽，往外弯展至袖笼。倘若把衣铺平正面观看，犹如古代“板斧”的形状。这样的造型，据说，为的是编织的五彩塑料丝裤带和银裤腿能显耀于众。其次，就是到海边、山上干活，免得衣沿、衣袖接触水面或脏物。由于衣长甚短，加上内衣又不长，难免在干活之时外露肚皮，所以就有“节约衣”“民主肚”的戏称。上衣虽然没有刺绣任何图案，采用专色布做成，但在袖口边镶饰着各式各样的花边布纹样。每个渔女的衣服仍然保留上辈人自己剪裁缝制的习惯。衣的颜色：冬春分为湖蓝、孔雀蓝、黑色三种。在新婚之时，新娘要穿全套黑色衣服，梳披肩发，撑雨伞过门。黑色在这大喜日子是庄严的。平时多为穿着湖蓝和孔雀蓝两

种颜色的“节约衣”。夏秋普遍穿白色短“节约衣”，白袖口镶饰黄色或蓝色花布边，在半臂处至肩和胸部位另外缝接上一块淡绿色布（见P72）。这样，不仅在劳动挑担时起着垫肩的作用，而且丰富了整体色调。尖头黄色竹编斗笠：可防雨淋、日晒。一年四季，妇女出门都要随身携带。因为有这样的习俗，尽管是在露天干活，但大部分妇女的肤色，仍然保持红润白晰，若与“挡风拍浪”的“讨海哥”黝黑的肤色相比，简直是两种美的对比。

头饰则是在上辈基础上更新，把辫子盘结在头顶和两侧构成小等腰三角形：有的则剪一段比头稍长的辫子股单独结扎于头顶中央成八字型，以便包上花头巾时有棱角感，同时能显露天屏部位插饰着的几个红、绿、黄的塑料梳子以及插扎在辫子顶部的塑料花、羊毛编织的扎花等，五彩缤纷，犹如孔雀开屏。再包上花头巾，戴上尖头的黄色竹斗笠，把那秀丽端庄的脸容衬托得更加妩媚动人。难怪她们经常拿着随身的圆镜子修饰打扮。哪怕是在繁忙的劳动之余，也要对照镜子“孤芳自赏”，端正塑料梳子，羊毛扎花的位置或几络刘海的整齐等等。惠安女喜欢打扮，却不肯让别人详细欣赏饱尽眼福。外地人对她们的好奇，更使她们敬而远之。即使新婚之夜，她们也总是包着花头巾，据说也有戴斗笠低着头不肯让新郎深情端详，以致出现在街上买东西时争执吵架互不认识的笑话。

宽裤管黑绸裤，依然保留上两辈的体式，没有任何改变，穿着时裤的造型犹如“喇叭裙”形状，与上衣呼应，充分体现了女性特有的曲线美。给人以静站婷婷玉立，走动飘逸柔和的感觉。此裤在塑造形体节奏感方面，起着重要作用。

其次，用黄色小竹篮代替上辈的褙裤，有同等实用价值，如同城市人所使用的手提包一样。

此外，构成服饰的另一特色，就是色彩方面的讲究。局部颜色的设色：如黄色的斗笠，在蓝色调上衣、湛蓝的大海、蔚蓝的天空的陪衬下，形成对比色很突出，犹如“万绿丛中一点红”的意境。倘若从整体色调看，似乎是按照色彩的规律而排列：黄（斗笠）、绿（花头巾）、蓝（短衫）、黑（绸裤），颜色逐渐加深，加上衣服的造型富有曲线美；在运动时给人产生一种“光效”的感觉，很有吸引力。生长在海边的渔女，对大海有着特殊的感情，大海的气魄赋予她们任劳任怨的质朴淳真的性格，蓝色在她们心中是纯洁、充满活力的象征，她们把“节约衣”设为蓝色，扎花羊毛线也是蓝的。还有那些红的、黄的、绿的、黑的颜色。所有这一切，无不统一在蓝色的基调里。从而使服饰的整体色调，既调和又对比，既统一又变化。

纵观现代流行的惠女服饰，之所以能以奇特的风姿而闻名，有以下几个因素：建国以来渔区文化生活水平的提高，人们思想解放，妇女地位发生了根本性的变化，还有各种纺织品、花布接踵出现等等。这一切无不成为服饰的改革创新提供了良好的条件；为了适应自然环境，在生产劳动实践中创新修饰服装以更为实用，如改革袖管于短而紧束手臂，为的是在拖网、捡贝壳、海带场等水边干活儿时免于经常性挽袖管的麻烦。再如为什么要包花头巾、戴斗笠？其中原因之一是：生活在海边的渔女，常年累月与风沙打交道，迫使她们通过各种办法来防御。而将裤管做得宽松和上衣短而窄也是为了下蹲和劳作的方便。

在新的历史时期，现在流行的服饰，面临着改革趋势；各色各样花布的出现，使上衣和花头巾颜色出现五颜六色局面，惠安女服饰变形乃至不协调的现象屡见不鲜。但是，随着“惠安女”被确定为福建省推介的“五大旅游品牌”之一。惠女服饰越来越引起人们的注目，以惠女服饰为蓝本的礼仪服饰、演出服饰活跃于各种庆典、赛事活动和各类舞台上（见P48-51），惠女服饰影响扩展至国内外，反过来又影响了惠女实用服饰更多和更快的变化。

总之，虽然我们暂时还不能追溯服饰的渊源及其所属的族类，但综上所述服饰沿革，使我们初步地证实了：惠女服饰是随着时代的发展和人们的审美观以及文化水平的提高而变革的。同时，与当地的民情风俗有着密切的联系。各个时期的服饰都形成自己的格调，但比较起来还是现代流行的“封建头、民主肚、节约衣、浪费裤”的服饰，更别具一格。渔女在吸取传统的基础上，别出心裁地创造了色彩艳丽雅观，款式适体飘逸，线条柔和变化，富有地方特色，具有时代感的服饰，达到实用与美观的统一，举世闻名，使人称赞不已。

注：本文探讨的惠女服饰仅指崇武地区。

The Evolution of Costumes for Huian Women

Ha Ke

When you come to the Chongwu coastal areas in the southeastern part of Hui'an County, Fujian Province, you will be attracted to the unique Hui'an women's costumes. Under the yellow bamboo hats, the pink-and-white beautiful faces tightly wrapped by the light green flower scarf with white spots. The plump and bonny upper bodies wrapped by the waist-high blue short blouses with peach-shape hem. The bright colorful plastic silk belts and sparkling silver trousers chains are around the waists. Together with the exposed bellies standing out well, the black silk pants with loose pant-cuffs accompanied by the slim and graceful steps form a fantastic atmosphere at seaside. Those are the best-known features of Hui'an women's costumes, which are dubbed as "Feudal heads, democratic bellies, economical blouses and consumptive pants"(see P24-25).

Dotted with fishing villages such as Dazuo, Qian'an, Chongwu ancient city is the strategic pass of North-South routes in the salient areas of the Donghai Sea of China. The discovery of the Neolithic sites after the Longhou Cave in Dazuo indicates that as early as more than 2000 years ago, our ancestors were hunting and fishing hereabout. Since the Song Dynasty, especially the building of Chongwu ancient city in the 20th year under the reign of Hongwu (1387), it has become a military site in coastal defense. The integration of the resident garrison and indigenous people, as well as the integration of foreign culture and local culture, form a unique region with historical and cultural deposition.

However, the popular unique costume at present did not look like this in history but it is the result of constant evolution by three to four generations in the past hundred years. Generally, the whole process of evolution can be broadly divided into three stages.

1. Costume of the Women Born in Late Qing Dynasty and Early Republic China

"Set-in-sleeved blouses" (Long-sleeved border-removed blouses, see P74) has their own characteristics-very long clothing; broad bust, waistline and hip circumference. The hem slightly stretches forth in a curved line. The whole design looks similar to "Scholar-bureaucrat shirts" (Long-sleeved border-removed shirts, which were popular in the Qing Dynasty), while the difference is that it has narrow cuffs and long sleeves (also known as "Set-in sleeve"), so as to be used to cover the bride's face when entering the bridal chamber on wedding, showing that the bride is too shy to see her bridegroom and to be seen by her bridegroom. Three days after the wedding ceremony, the sleeve is turned over to its half and kept in place with threads and needles. On the opposite of the cuff there is a circle of rectangles formed by three pieces of blue triangle fabric. On the left side of midline under the stand collar there is also a piece of blue triangle fabric. Round collars with black edges on the white background are embroidered with continuous patterns, while on the place where the border removed it will be sewn with a piece of black fabric edge. There are 9 Chinese buttons on the blouse: two in the front of the collar, two on the shoulder blades, one in an armhole and each two on the waist. The colors of the costume are maroon and blue black, which impresses people with the feelings of being simple and deep. The blouses are mainly made of coarse cloth and ramie cloth, which are to be worn in spring and summer or in autumn and winter respectively.

The pants are black, and the width of the trouser is about one foot. They are nearly straight-leg pants, which is convenient to pull over the pant-cuffs when going to sea. The waistband is more than twice the width of the hip, while on the top it is sewn with a piece of blue fabric edge of about 10 cm. When dressing, the waistband is set in over the hip, and then is tied on the belt or a silver trousers chain with one or several strands.

Short black pleated skirts: They overlap pleated by two pieces of hard black cloth, and are respectively attached to a piece of colored cloth separated from some distance, and then tied to the waist. When laboring or going outside, it is used for covering up the occasional exposed lumbar hip. It is a custom that if a young fishing girl doesn't tie this pleated skirt when she is working stooping down, she will provoke criticism from the elderly.

The hip scarf is made of a piece of rectangular black cloth with a little-peach-shape bottom. The top is attached to a piece of flower cloth, which is veneered with a group of trapezoid and two to three groups of triangles which form rectangle on both sides. Two hip scarf belts are like this: they respectively have patterns on the outset and black beams on the end. The Huian Woman ties them to the overcoat so that it will keep them warm and be free of direct contamination from the dirt.

Cloth wrapper (also called "Qian Me" in Minnanese), a kind of oblong sack is sewed with blue black cloth with an opening in the middle so that its two ends can pack things. Each of the two sides of the opening is sewed with black and green cloth of half length. The two pieces of cloth are embroidered with simple decorative patterns with four golden fringes on the four corners. This is the necessary article for women in earlier age. As there isn't any pocket on their clothes, when the fisher woman needs to go out, especially go for a long way such as visiting her parental home, some articles, especially clothes can be packed in it. If articles are not many, they are usually carried by hand, and if articles are too many or heavy, they are usually carried on the women's shoulders. (See in P70)

Headwear is a thick black cloth folded into a rectangular head cap and put over the head while one-third of it is left to stretch out from the forehead. The back "dustpan-shape" covers the bun on the afterbrain, and the black scarf with two black dagger-shaped stiff cloth of about 20 cm is tied on it, and with all kinds of gold and silver jewelry, bone ornaments decorated on the bun. So it's a good likeness to the headwear of Empress Dowager Cixi of the Qing Dynasty (see P73).

In addition, the colors of the costumes were just maroon and blue black, which may be related to the backward craftsmanship as well as having few contacts with the outside world. During that period when foreign cloth was commonly used in other places, the women here were still using the local ramie cloth, which was manufactured by repeatedly dyeing the "sweet potato palm", the original dyeing methods.

The appearance of the costumes of this generation has its historical roots and limitations. In the feudal society, women suffered the shackles from the "Three Obedience and Four Virtues", morality rules of propriety. Similarly, it was the same with costumes. For instance, the woman who did not tie the black pleated skirt when she was working would provoke criticism from the elderly. However, in some respects they are not completely controlled by the secular concepts. For example, despite the costumes passed down by the last generations, the local women have their own customs for sewing costumes, some partial decorations and seams to the costumes are inevitable, and the women will sew and modify the costumes according to their favors.

2. Costume of the women before and after the founding of the PRC

They make innovations on the basis of the costumes of last generation, which is to strive for the beauty among the complicated craftwork, to make the color close to floweriness, and to change the styles.

"Pieced blouse"(Chinese lapel eliminated coat, see P71) has obvious shrink at many parts of "coat connected with sleeves", The arch of fringe has been enlarged, and the width of buttocks has been enlarged, extended and curved to have a certain curve. The Chinese buttons at waist have been reduced into three and connected together. The cuffs of sleeves have a circle of blue fringe. The color of coat still remains maroon. Embroidered patterns at collar become more complicated, showing certain functions of decoration. Most of embroideries with combination of abstractness and concreteness take example from the craftsmanship of folk artists, some of which are designed according to our wishful thinking. These patterns symbolize the pursuit for both beauty and the implied meaning of good luck. Also, the original colored square cloth under the collar is changed into triangular embroidered cloth. Two sides of centerlines of chest and back are sewed with two square black cloth of about 15cm long. The left, right, top and low parts of each cloth are decorated with four pieces of triangular yellow, white or green cloth. Contrasted with maroon and black, these four pieces of cloth are staring and have strong function of decoration. Therefore, such costumes become popular among the fisher women. As the entire costume is sewed with pieces of cloth of various colors, people call it "pieced blouse" They usually wear such blouses at festivals or joyous days, while on ordinary days they only wear black and midnight blue lapel eliminated blouse without any pieced colored cloth. However, pants are still in accordance with the original style and have not any changes at all.

Besides, people of this generation also have a front opening blouse (tight-fitting jacket, see in P72), which is sleeveless and blue. Its front is short while the back is long. The peach-shaped cloth of the back is sewed with another piece of wide brown cloth. The front of the blouse with the level and straight bottom reaches the waist and its lower part was trimmed with embroidery cloth. On the blue cloth of upper part are three white Chinese buttons in two groups. There are two openings at the two sides of lapels. They are unique pockets which can be used for warming your

hands and storing money as well as other articles. The "tight-fitting jacket" is reversible, thus achieving the functions of beauty and practicality.

Apart from having abolished the oblong black fabric covering, other parts of headwear still remain. This is the dressing of elder women. Another type of dressing is mainly suitable for the young fisher women. They usually braid their long hair at the top of head and leave two tufts of hair, their loose hair hanging down at two sides of the head. Bone comb or wooden combs are inserted into the middle of their buns, which forms the popular headwear of this generation.

The "scarf" and "sack" still remain. Nevertheless, many colorful embroidered patterns have been added to the rim of cloth.

In a word, the change of clothing of this generation is taking place just in the period of social reformation. In the old days, due to the long-term hard work, women from remote fishery zones could not spend enough time on the complicated headwear and long "coat connected with sleeves", though they had been handed down by their elder generation. This may be one reason for promoting the clothing reformation. Secondly because of the arduous life, they could not afford a complete set of clothing according to customary practice, because this set of clothing cost a lot.

Therefore, people have abolished some complicated and impractical decorations on clothes to some extent. With more practice as a starting point, people reform it according to their own wishes under permitted conditions. The more outstanding example is the "pieced blouse" for festivals with embroidered patterns at the round neck and decorations of partial colored clothes. Such a blouse has its own rich contents, bright colors and strong functions of decoration. Searching for beauty from complicated workmanship is the character of clothing of this generation.

3. The present popular costumes

Compared with the costumes of the last generation, the present costume has enhanced, formed its own style and become more decorative regardless of its shapes, structures and colors.

"Economized blouse", (see in P27) based on "pieced coat" has eliminated the triangular colored cloth and the square complicated splice. The chest and sleeves have been shrunk to wrap the voluptuous breast and full arms tightly, thus showing the curves of upper body. The sleeves only cover half of the arm, and the blouse is only to the waist. Upper-arm circumference of it is just like peach of big arc, as well as it has been lengthened, and extended into armhole. If you unfold the clothes levelly and look squarely, it just looks like the shape of an ancient broad axe. It is believed that this form is for showing off the multicolored plastic silk waist belt and silver chains of trousers. Secondly, when women are working at the seashore and mountains, the bottom of the blouse and sleeves can avoid contacting with water or dirt. Their blouses are short as well as the underwear is not long either, their abdomen may be exposed when working. That is how the joking designation of "economized blouse" and "democratic abdomen" has come from.

Although the blouse is made from one-color cloth without any patterns on it, while at the cuff, there decorates various patterns of embroidery cloth. The fisher women also have the custom of cutting and sewing the clothes by themselves. The colors of clothes contain turquoise blue, peacock blue and black for winter and spring. On the wedding day, the bride should wear a set of black clothes, the shoulder-length hair and hold an umbrella because black is dignified on this red-letter day. In normal times, they usually wear turquoise blue and peacock blue economized blouse. In summer and winter, they usually wear short white "economized blouse" with yellow or blue decorative borders at the white cuff of sleeves, which has another absinthe green cloth among half of arms, shoulders and chest. (See in P72). Thus, it can serve as shoulder pad when carrying load, which has enriched the whole colors tone of blouse. They use the pointed yellow bamboo-braided rain hat to protect themselves from rain and sunshine. In four seasons, women all take along this sort of hat. Because of this, although they work outdoor most of the time, their skin color is still rosy and white. Compared with the dark skin of the fishermen, who work at the sea all the year around, it is just a vivid contrast of two beauties.

Headwear is renewed on the basis of the last generation. The plait braided is put at the top of the head and small isosceles are made into triangular shapes on both sides. Some girls will cut a strand of plait, which is slightly longer than the head, and put it at the center of the hair like a figure eight, so that it will be of angular sense when putting flower headbands on it, and to reveal several red, green and yellow plastic combs on the hair as well as the plastic flowers, woolen embroideries and others at the top of the plait. It is so colorful that it looks like a peacock displaying its feathers. Whenever they go, they put on the flower headband and then the cuspidal yellow bamboo hats to make the dignified and beautiful face become more charming. It is no wonder that they often carry small round mirrors to trim themselves up. Even during the busy work-hours they will also spare some time to "enjoy themselves alone" in the mirrors, adjusting the positions of the plastic combs or woolen embroideries or making the fringe neat. Though they like to dress up, they refuse to let other people feast their eyes on them. Strangers' curiosity to them will even keep them at a respectful distance. Even if on the wedding night they are always wrapped with their flower headbands. It is said that on a wedding night, a bride will wear bamboo hat with her head turned down and refuse to be appreciated by the groom. This even results in such a joke that the couple disputes to each other when buying things because they don't recognize each other at all.

The loose pant-cuffs and black silk pants are still keeping the style of last two generations without any change. When wearing the pants, it looks like the shape of "bell-bottomed skirt" echoing to the jupes, which fully reflects the unique curve of beauty of females. It impresses people with the feeling of their being slim when standing quietly and elegant when walking. This kind of pants plays an important role in shaping the rhythm of physical sense.

Secondly, using little yellow bamboo baskets to replace the old-style bags is of the same practical value, just the same as the handbags used by city people.

In addition, another feature of clothing is its special requirements to color. Tint of local color: for example, if a blue shirt, the blue sea and the bright blue sky serve as contrasts of a yellow broad-brimmed rain hat, it will form obvious contrasting color as if "a single red in the midst of thick foliage". Seen from the whole tint, it seems to be arranged according to law of color: yellow (broad-brimmed rain hat), green (color headscarf), blue (shirt) and black (trouser) with color deepened gradually and curvy shape of clothes. While taking exercise, it can give people a feeling of "luminosity efficiency" and make them very attractive. The fisher girls living by the sea have a special feeling to the sea and they are endowed with simple and honest characters by soul of the sea. In their hearts, blue symbolizes "pure and vitality". The "economized blouse" and embroidered wool are designed in blue by them. Besides, there are red, yellow, green and black. All of these are unified in the tone of blue. Thus, the whole tint of clothing is both harmonious and contrasting, both uniform and changed.

Taking a wide view on modern fashionable women's costumes, there are several factors to explain why they are famous for unique style. Since 1949, with the rising living standard and cultural levels in fishing area and ideological emancipation, women's society position has fundamentally risen and a great variety of textile products and cotton prints have appeared one by one, all of which have provided favorable conditions for reform and innovation of clothing. In order to be adapt to natural environment, it is further helpful to make innovation and modification to clothing in productive labor and social practice, for example, changing sleeves into short sleeves to bind arms which can avoid troubles of frequently rolling up sleeves while trawling, picking up shells or working in the kelp field. And why should fisher girls wear color scarf and broad-brimmed rain hats? One of the reasons is that these fisher girls must come into contact with sand throughout the year, so they have to protect themselves. Moreover, loose trouser and short and tight blouses are convenient to squat down and work.

In the new historical period, the current fashionable clothes are facing reform. With the appearance of all kinds of cotton prints, blouses and color headscarves are full of variegated colors. Although it is not rare to see deformation and disharmony in Hui'an women's costumes, "Hui'an woman" is identified as one of recommended "five tourism brands" in Fujian province. The Hui'an women's clothing have become more and more attractive and the ceremonious costumes taking Hui'an clothing as prototype have appeared in all kind of festivities, contests and stages (see p48-51). The influence of Hui'an women's clothing extensively spreads at home and abroad, and in return, it also promotes more and faster changes in Hui'an women's clothing.

In general, although we temporarily cannot trace the sources of clothing and its classes, with the evolution of clothing mentioned above, we can primarily prove that Hui'an women's clothing is changing with the development of time and the improvement of people's aesthetic standards and cultural standards. Meanwhile, it is closely related to local customs. It has different style in different periods, but clothes of modern "feudal head, democratic belly, economized blouse and thriftless trouser" are having unique styles by comparison. On the basis of absorbing traditional features, the fisher girls have ingeniously created clothes with bright and elegant color, comfortable and graceful styles, soft and changeable lines, local features and sense of times, wonderfully realizing combination of utility and beauty and making people praise incessantly.

Note: Hui'an women's clothing discussed in this article only refers to Chongwu District.

惠东民间刺绣

Manual Embroidery in Eastern-Huian 哈克



惠安东部沿海地区分布着崇武、前垵、大岞、小岞、净峰，等渔村。男人大都出海打渔或外出做工，女人既担负农渔业劳作又要做家务和抚育子女。早年，女子受到封建礼教的束缚特别严重，她们大都没有接受过文化教育。当地流行童婚，十来岁的小女孩，就坐着花轿嫁到外村。婚后，一年中只有在重大节日才能在夫家留住一宿（直至生育子女才能留住夫家），其他的大部分岁月则长住娘家。在繁忙的劳动之余，渔女们从小受长辈约定俗成的传统程式所陶冶和姐妹们影响，刺绣工艺便成为她们精神生活的一种慰藉和实用功能的需要（见P206）。

此外，宗教礼仪也是产生渔区刺绣艺术的另一历史根源（据传说这一带刺绣来源于心灵手巧、缝做衣裳、绣花针黹的棕蓑娘娘）。解放前后，闽南一带宗教礼仪活动名目繁多，比如，酬神庙会、佛生日、挂香等各种宗教祭祀。在惠东地区特别信仰马祖娘娘，盛行为“佛生日”挂香过炉的隆重仪式所举行的全民性“游境”的文娱活动（见P168）。在热烈狂欢的节日中，为了表示虔诚，年轻的母亲们，纷纷拿出结婚前后费了多少心血，织绣而成的“星帽、披肩、偶财帽”和其它装饰品，把孩子们娇装打扮起来，让他们挑着香担打着钱鼓或骑上马，跟随着游行的队伍尽情享受节日的欢乐。

总之，当地的民情风俗、宗教祭祀以及各代人的审美观，与民间刺绣艺术有着密切的联系，不同地区和实用功能的需要，又形成了各自不同的艺术特色和刺绣风格。

大岞等渔村的绣品，着重体现在“缀做衫”的领围上（见P206）。缀做衫的领围是妇女服饰很重要的一部分，因此，为了显示刺绣手艺的高超，大部分的女子除了在衣服上固定地缝上一条领围外，往往还会储备几条赠送女伴。

小岞地区的绣品，主要是上个世纪50年代妇女。用来装饰“双股头、螺棕头”上头髻两侧的两片“巾仔头”。白的底色绣上五颜六色、色调明亮的图案。由早期的简单几何纹样（见P260），逐步演变为内容多样的连续性画面（见P243）。

关于刺绣，当地流传着这样一句口诀：“绣花有花样，牵枝腹内想”，意思是绣花有个谱，这谱就是世代流传下来的纹样。尽管有些纹样传承上辈的，但具体画面的格局色彩和内容则根据渔女自身感受而自由创作。因此，在领围、巾仔头刺绣中，无不倾注每一代渔女的思想观念和生活感受。尤其是现代刺绣图案，取材广泛，内容丰富多彩，既有传统的戏装人物；也有生动别致的捕鱼场面；各式各样的鱼虾水族；千姿百态的花卉鸟蝶等等饶有风趣的画面，形象地体现了渔女对美好生活多层次多方面的追求。可以说，此类刺绣是近百年以来惠东民间刺绣艺术的精华。如果说上一辈的布什物绣品与黄河流域一带民间艺术有所缘由的话，那么，中年人的领围、巾仔头图案更以它崭新的形式美预示新艺术的崛起，在我们面前呈现出一个五彩缤纷的艺术世界。

以下对几种常见的图案作粗浅的论述

一、布什物绣品（大岞、小岞地区）的传统图案

由宗教礼仪和节日喜庆活动出现的刺绣品如星帽、虎帽、披肩和踏轿鞋等（见P262-267）图案大致可以归纳为双凤朝牡丹的吉祥图案和鸟戏莲生贵子的生殖崇拜两大类。

双凤朝牡丹的吉祥图案：开放型的牡丹图案为主体纹样，被安排在画面上半部中央处，两边也就是帽子两角分别伫立各一只俯视护卫牡丹的侧面凤鸟，身体和头部的造型较写实，而尾巴、翅膀和爪牙则演变成上下弯曲的几何图形并与下半部的花枝纹样连接起来，构成饱满匀称的适合纹样，呈现出喜气洋洋的氛围，以此来寄托驱邪镇妖、吉祥如意的良好意愿。在绣法上，凤鸟的身体、头部和尾巴之处用网格、齿纹、点线表示羽毛，细致的绣工与整个图案粗淳的花纹形成对比，红色情调的吉祥图案融汇于节日的热烈气氛中，显得格外耀眼。

此外，刺绣中经常出现蝙蝠的形象借助“蝠”与“福”谐音来托求幸福的心愿。有的纹样是民间生殖崇拜中“莲代女下体、鸟戏生贵子”的另一种表现形式。

总之，布什物刺绣富有平面装饰效果。纹样布局和装饰部位的外形有机结合，形成表示驱邪符号的外轮廓和象征吉祥含义的内容统一的整体图案。这与宋以来特别是明清时期的吉祥图案的处理形式是相通的。其共同之处在于通常以图案纹样为象征符号并借助其他纹样组合成谐音的吉祥语或是其它形象，以此来寄寓某种心愿。画面多以中心团花式为主体纹样，按中轴线左右对称的格式向四周展开连成整体，构成画面饱满、格律谨严的适合纹样。凤鸟造型的格律与商代、战国青铜器和明清时期的部分刺绣纹样有所类似，凤鸟侧面伫立，仰首或俯视，尾长往上、下弯曲，头部略带写实，身体特别是凤尾处理成几何花纹与主体纹样浑然一体，有着浑厚、粗犷、古朴之风度。技法上，通常采用线、色块的配合和晕染法，常用平针、套针绣多种相结合手法。在色彩的运用上，以主体花纹为主色调，而关键的局部及衬景的部位，点缀对比色及其它颜色，使画面有着红艳热烈的情调。

二、领围、巾仔头刺绣图案

下面我们把领围、巾仔头图案按题材归纳三个方面加以说明它们与人们生活直接联系和多层次的精神追求。

1. 爱情的追求

我们知道，由于落后的婚俗所致，当地妇女真正的爱情生活的全部内容都是在五年八载生儿育女后才开始建立的。以致出现了不幸的精神病以及用跳海等多种自杀方式来抗争封建礼教对她们摧残的历史悲剧。然而，大部分妇女尽管无可奈何地承受种种感情折磨生活着，但她们同样通过日常生活各种途径，间接或直接地表露出她们渴望自由婚姻，向往幸福家庭，追求爱情生活的信念。其中借助领围刺绣那细腻、含蓄的图象来表露她们的心声便是一例。

这是一件艺术性较高，形神兼备引人入胜的佳作（见P208）。整个画面由四个部分组成。第一部分：以菊花纹组成散点式的图形。第二部分：画面的底部是两条象征男性器官的鱼在相对“吐水”。在它们的头部中央处上方，站着一个手插腰挑担的女子，其正面头部的五官处理，用黑、红两色表示眼睛和嘴巴，而动态则通过人体的主要部位和关节，用直线、块面加以体现，使之接近自然形态的写实风格。人物动态优美，形象动人。应着重指出的是，在花盆上方按惯例应装饰莲花的位置上，代之以栩栩如生的女子形象，而在她的下部又是对鱼的特定安排，这种巧妙精心布局的画面，是典型的生殖崇拜形象化的图象。其象征爱情的含义，意境深远，耐人寻味。第三部分：上半部是传统的双凤朝牡丹图案，显得秀丽典雅，下部分中央处的花盆上又站着一只凤鸟，一个画面同时出现三只凤鸟，在其它图案中是很少看到的。第四部分：图案的下面排列着虾、螃蟹等水族纹样，隔着花枝上面站着两个大姑娘，中间牵着一个小女孩，她们手拿雨伞和小竹篮，人物曲尽其态，景物宜人，简直是一首田园的抒情诗。别有一番风味，这无疑是当地逢年过节走亲戚风俗的真实写照。此类题材在许多领围、巾仔头刺绣图案中均有出现（见P243）。

2. 憧憬美满富裕的生活

这是一幅以渔民海上捕鱼的特定生活内容为题材的画面，作者以具象结合变形的手法，生动地描

绘了一艘扬起风帆，载着两个渔民的渔船。同时，通过船前头两行纵横的虾、螃蟹的渲染，使之更形象化地蕴含“万里碧波放鱼钩，千箩白鱼堆满仓”的丰收景象。整个画幅给人以遐思的感染力，具有浓厚的生活气息（见P234-243）。出海捕捞是渔民赖以养家的主要经济来源。但是，“行船走马三分命”。对于出海捕鱼的丈夫，在家的渔妇是何等的牵肠挂肚。因此，她们借助刺绣来寄托出海安全，满舱而归，富裕生活的良好祝愿。这是广大渔妇的强烈心声。可见一个领围图案的审美功能远远超过其本身实用价值的范畴。同样，如上述表现捕鱼场面的题材在许多巾仔头、领围均有出现（见P224-243）。但处理的手法不同，有的稚拙色彩讲究、细节丰富、绣工精细。有的画面天上鸟儿飞行，水中鱼虾游嬉，与渔船浑然一体，充满诗情画意；有的则人物、花鸟鱼纹作衬景，围绕渔船构成平面装饰。总之，图案是随着时间的推移和民情风俗等原因，通过渔女们不断交流、增减充实、修饰、发展而趋向完美的。

3. 爱美天性的表达

生活中既有痛苦，也有欢乐，随着时光的流逝，痛苦的回忆渐渐淡泊，而美好的印象却难以忘却。这种美好的回忆，自然而然地反映到渔女的刺绣中。

这幅画以夸张的笔法，形象地再现了“游境”的场面（见P216）。你看坐在白马上的男孩，不正是少男少女穿着戏服骑马享受节日欢乐的缩影吗？右边那手插腰挑香担的女子，不正是“游境”中挑香担姑娘的真实写照吗？她是广为少女们所羡慕的角色，并且把她作为美的典范，仙女般的形象加以仿效崇拜，正因如此，在刺绣中经常出现她那美丽动人的身影。同时，有的渔女把挑香担姑娘与戏剧中弹琵琶的男演员结合成一个画面，这就使形象显得更加丰满了。婚嫁的场面在刺绣中也表现得生动别致（见P250）。

其次，民间戏剧的形象也经常出现在刺绣中出现，如骑马拉战车的武将、民间舞蹈的抛球场面等等，都被渔女们绣得有声有色，跃然绣品上。随着时代的变化，双凤朝牡丹的题材绣品也被赋予了更高的艺术水准和丰富的生活内涵，双凤纹样与喜庆的坐轿婚嫁情景、劳动生活场面的完美结合，使刺绣内容更贴近生活，更表现出渔女对生活吉祥如意的美好心愿（见P245-248）。

综上所述领围、巾仔头图案艺术是多方面的：

首先，图案的内容富有浓郁的渔乡气息。以生活中的景物为依据，运用写实与变形相结合的手法 and 高度概括能力，毫无顾忌的创作意念以及天真浪漫的审美情趣，以童孩般的思想、稚拙、夸张正面地塑造她们想象中喜爱的艺术形象。其次，通过不同内容的生活场景的画面，巧妙地排列构成不同内容形式的画面作反衬烘托、深化其主题的艺术思想境界。同时展示各自的含义，主次分明、层次清晰、构图疏密恰当，达到整体与局部完美的统一。从而体现了渔女们多层次的审美要求和多方面的美好心愿。让领围、巾仔头图案在实用价值的前提下，充分展示出它的审美功能。此外，色彩方面，通常一个纹样一个物象由好几种颜色组成色泽鲜艳的画面，很少重复，往往与底布的黑或白色统一形成既调和又对比的强烈装饰感，使之具有纯朴隽永、清新秀丽、色彩斑斓之特色，而且，由于绣艺精细，针法多样，以平针套针绣等多种相结合的技法，使刺绣图案在形式上更加完美，从而产生具有惠东渔区特色的民间刺绣艺术。