WESTERN FASHION THEORY: AN ANNOTATED READER

西方时尚理论注释读本

史亚娟 主编

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内容提要

本书是一本时尚理论方面的专用教材，主要面向文艺学、艺术学理论专业的研究生和其他从事相关学术研究的专业人员。全书共分为八个部分，围绕与时尚研究相关的八个主题收集整理了三十篇二十世纪六十年代以来西方时尚理论方面的英文著述。这八个主题分别为：时尚·语言·符号；时尚·心理·动机、时尚·身体·性别；时尚·身份·文化、时尚·现代·后现代、时尚·艺术·影像、时尚·媒介·传播、时尚·生产·消费。本书在编写过程中精选材料、压缩篇幅，略去了一些文章中可读可不读的段落，并对文章中出现的重要专有名词、专业术语、难词难句等内容进行了翻译或注释；为方便读者更好把握文章思路及主旨，在每篇文章前后分别添加了原文导读和思考题。虽然多数所选文章后面都有参考文献，但鉴于文章发表年代不同，恐怕无法涵盖最新的研究成果，所以本书最后附有与各部分主题相关的推荐阅读书目。

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

西方时尚理论注释读本：英、汉 / 史亚娟主编. —
重庆：重庆大学出版社，2016.5
ISBN 978-7-5624-9830-8

Ⅰ.①西… Ⅱ.①史… Ⅲ.①社会生活—西方国家—英语、汉语 Ⅳ.①D58

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2016)第 116018 号

西方时尚理论注释读本

史亚娟 主编
责任编辑：杨 琪 版式设计：黄俊棚
责任校对：张红梅 责任印制：张 策

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重庆大学出版社出版发行
出版人：易树平
社址：重庆市沙坪坝区大学城西路 21 号
邮编：401331
电话：(023) 88617190 88617185(中小学)
传真：(023) 88617186 88617166
网址：http://www.cqup.com.cn
邮箱：fxk@cqup.com.cn (营销中心)
全国新华书店经销
POD：重庆新生代彩印技术有限公司

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开本：787mm×1092mm 1/16 印张：25.25 字数：523千
2016 年 5 月第 1 版 2016 年 5 月第 1 次印刷
ISBN 978-7-5624-9830-8 定价：68.00 元

[前　言]

本书是一本时尚理论方面的专用教材，主要面向文艺学、艺术学理论专业的研究生及其他从事相关学术研究的专业人员。作为艺术学理论的一个重要分支，西方时尚理论的发展一直备受瞩目。提起西方时尚理论，长期以来占据理论高峰的大概非美国经济学家凡勃伦、德国社会学家齐美尔、英国心理学家 J. C. 鲁格尔等人莫属。他们分别从社会学、哲学和心理学等角度出发对时尚的形成及属性等问题进行了深刻阐述。然而，随着时光的流逝、社会的变迁，他们的理论受到了来自各方面的挑战和质疑，西方时尚理论也随之入了一个新的发展时期，呈现出前所未有的多元化态势，陆续涌现出一大批专家和理论学者，他们分别从更广泛的学科视角（如文化、艺术、传播、身体、性别、身份、影像、经济等）思考、观照时尚及其相关领域出现的种种现象和问题。这些研究一方面大大丰富和拓展了人们对时尚现象的理解与认知，另一方面也以精深的理性思考和人文意识切中时弊、发人深省。

为了帮助国内读者深入了解近年来西方时尚理论的研究成果，并在一定程度上推动国内学界在时尚理论研究方面的发展，本人在广泛搜集资料的基础上主编并注释了这本《西方时尚理论注释读本》。全书共分八个部分，围绕与时尚密切相关的八个主题收集整理了三十篇二十世纪六十年代以来西方时尚理论方面的重要英文文章。这八个主题分别为：时尚·语言·符号；时尚·心理·动机、时尚·身体·性别；时尚·身份·文化、时尚·现代·后现代、时尚·艺术·影像、时尚·媒介·传播、时尚·生产·消费。

由于所选英语文章具有很强的理论性和专业性，本书在编写过程中精选材料、压缩篇幅，略去了一些文章中可读可不读的段落，并对文章中出现的重要专有名词、专业术语、难词难句等内容进行了翻译或注释；为方便读者更好把握文章思路及主旨，在每篇文章前后分别添加了原文导读和思考题。虽然多数所选文章后面都有参考文献，但鉴于文章发表年代不同，恐怕无法涵盖最新的研究成果，所以本书最后附有与各部分主题相关的推荐阅读书目，列出一些未能收录的重要文献或是该领域的一些新作，希望读者也能够从中获益。

本书在编写过程中得到了首都师范大学、国内知名文化学者陶东风教授和邱运华教授的热心指导，在此深表感谢。本书中大部分英语文章都是编者在美国麻

省大学波士顿分校访学期间收集的，所以也要对该校教育领导系主任严文藩教授表达由衷的谢意，感谢他曾经给予的鼓励与支持。北京服装学院外语系研究生武趁趁、宋雷雷同学帮助进行了部分校对工作。

最后，尽管编写过程中本人翻阅了大量英文资料，多次增删、广泛求证，但受到篇幅等因素影响可能会遗漏一些很有影响力的学术文章，且由于水平有限，注释中有些失误在所难免，请广大读者朋友批评指正、多多包涵。除此之外，所选文章的主题和内容涵盖面非常广，彼此之间交叉重复，任何简单的归类都显得有些唐突，因此书中八个相关主题分类仅供参考。本书为北京服装学院校级团队项目“外国服饰文化理论研究”（2014A-26）和“中外服饰文化研究与传播项目”（PTTBIFT-TD-001）的部分研究成果。

史亚娟

2015 年 12 月 31 日

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第一部分
时尚·语言·符号

Written Clothing

Roland Barthes[①]

［原文导读］

本文从符号学的视角讨论了三种不同的服装：意象服装、书写服装和真实服装。前两种服装都统一于两者所代表的现实中的服装。这里作者借助索绪尔关于语言(langue)和言语(parole)的概念来解释服装体系，并运用语言学和符号学的知识将时装杂志视为一种书写的服装语言来分析，把这种书写的服装看作制造意义的系统，也就是制造流行神话的系统。意象服装的结构是形体上的，书写服装的结构是文字上的，而真实服装的结构则是技术上的。技术结构是真实服装赖以产生的母语，是“言语”(parole)的一部分，时装杂志语言是从母语中“转译”过来的衍生语言。它们像媒介一样，介于母语和“言语”(真实服装)之间。真实服装经由一定的操作者——转换语(shifters)——转化为“表象”(representation)。转换语的作用就是将一种结构转变为另一种结构，或者说，从一种符码转移到另一种符码。文中列出了三种供我们支配的转换语：从真实到意象、从真实到语言以及从意象到语言。第一种主要指从技术服装到肖像服装，基本转换语是制衣纸版；第二种是从技术服装到书写服装，基本转换语是服装的裁剪制作流程或方案；第三种是从肖像结构转换为言语结构，从服装的表象转向叙述。

A leather belt, with a rose stuck in it, worn above the waist, on a soft Shetland dress[②].

I The Three Garments

1.1 Image-Clothing and Written Clothing

I open a fashion magazine; I see that two different garments are being dealt with here. The first is the one presented to me as photographed or drawn—it is image-clothing. The second is the same garment, but described, transformed into language; this dress, photographed on the right, becomes on the left: *a leather belt, with a rose stuck in it, worn above the waist, on a soft Shetland dress*; this is a written garment. In principle these two garments refer to the same reality (this dress worn on this day by this

① Roland Barthes：罗兰·巴特(1915—1980)，法国文学批评家、文学家、社会学家、哲学家和符号学家。主要作品有《写作的零度》(1953)、《神话》(1957)、《符号学基础》(1965)、《批评与真理》(1966)、《S/Z》(1970)、《文本的快乐》(1973)。

② Shetland dress：雪特兰长裙；雪特兰羊毛。Shetland：雪特兰群岛，英国苏格兰东北部的一个郡。

woman), and yet they do not have the same structure,[①] because they are not made of the same substances and because, consequently, these substances do not have the same relations with each other: in one the substances are forms, lines, surfaces, colors, and the relation is spatial; in the other, the substance is words, and the relation is, if not logical, at least syntactic; the first structure is plastic, the second verbal. Is this to say that each of these structures is indistinguishable from the general system from which it derives—image-clothing from photography, written clothing from language? Not at all: the Fashion photograph is not just any photograph, it bears little relation to the news photograph or to the snapshot, for example; it has its own units and rules; within photographic communication, it forms a specific language which no doubt has its own lexicon[②] and syntax[③], its own banned or approved "turns of phrase."[④] Similarly, the structure of written clothing cannot be identified with the structure of a sentence; for if clothing coincided with discourse, changing a term in the discourse would suffice to alter, at the same time, the identity of the described clothing; but this is not the case; a magazine can state: "Wear shantung[⑤] in summer" as easily as "Shantung goes with summer," without fundamentally affecting the information transmitted to its readership. Written clothing is carried by language, but also resists it, and is created by this interplay. So we are dealing with two original structures, albeit derived from more general systems, in the one case language, in the other the image.

1.2 Real Clothing

At the least we might suppose that these two garments recover a single identity at the level of the real garment they are supposed to represent, that the described dress and the photographed dress are united in the actual dress they both refer to. Equivalent, no doubt, but not identical; for just as between image-clothing and written clothing there is a difference in substances and relations, and thus a difference of structure, in the same way, from these two garments to the real one there is a transition to other substances and other relations; thus, the real garment forms a third structure, different from the first

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① "最好是用物而不是用词来加以界定,但是既然现在人们对结构这个词寄予如此厚望,那么,在这里,我们就转借其在语言学中的意义:具有内在依赖性的自在体。"(L. Hjelmslev, *Essays in Linguistics*, 1959)

② lexicon: 词汇。

③ syntax: 句法;语法。

④ turns of phrase: 惯用的措词。这里我们遇到了摄影传播的矛盾:原则上,照片是完全相似的,可以定义为一种没有符码的信息;但事实上没有意指作用的照片是不存在的。所以我们必须假定,一种照片符码只是在第二层面上起作用,这个第二层面我们将称之为含蓄意指层面。("Le message photographique," Communications, no. 1, 1961, pp. 127-38, and "La rhétorique de l'image," Communications, no. 4, 1964, pp. 40-51.) 就时尚插画而言,问题就更简单了,因为每张图片的风格都指涉一个公开的文化符码。

⑤ shantung: 山东绸,茧绸。

two, even if it serves them as model, or more exactly, even if the model which guides the information transmitted by the first two garments belongs to this third structure. We have seen that the units of image-clothing are located at the level of forms, those of written clothing at the level of words; as for the units of real clothing, they cannot exist at the level of language, for, as we know, language is not a tracing of reality; ① nor can we locate them, although here the temptation is great, at the level of forms, for "seeing" a real garment, even under privileged conditions of presentation, cannot exhaust its reality, still less its structure; we never see more than part of a garment, a personal and circumstantial usage, a particular way of wearing it; in order to analyze the real garment in systematic terms, i.e., in terms sufficiently formal to account for all analogous garments, we should no doubt have to work our way back to the actions which governed its manufacture. In other words, given the plastic structure of image-clothing and the verbal structure of written clothing, the structure of real clothing can only be technological. The units of this structure can only be the various traces of the actions of manufacture, their materialized and accomplished goals: a seam is what has been sewn, the cut of a coat is what has been cut; ② there is then a structure which is constituted at the level of substance and its transformations, not of its representations or significations; and here ethnology might provide relatively simple structural models. ③

Ⅱ Shifters④

1.3 Translation of Structures

There are, then, for any particular object (a dress, a tailored suit, a belt) three different structures, one technological, another iconic, the third verbal.

These three structures do not have the same circulation pattern. The technological structure appears as a mother tongue of which the real garments derived from it are only instances of "speech." The two other structures (iconic and verbal) are also languages, "translated" from the mother tongue; they intervene as circulation relays between this mother tongue and its instances of "speech" (the real garments). In our society, the circulation of Fashion thus relies in large part on an activity of *transformation*: there is a transition (at least according to the order invoked by Fashion magazines) from the technological structure to the iconic and verbal structures. Yet this transition, as in all

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① 参见: A. Martinet, *Elements of General Linguistics*, 1.6.

② 当然,除非这些术语是在一个技术语境下,比方说,一个生产程序下提出的。否则,有着技术初源的这些术语,就会有不同的价值。

③ 例如,古汉(A. Leroi-Gourhan)把衣服区分为两边平行直垂的,以及剪裁和敞开式、剪裁和闭合式、剪裁和双排纽式等。(*Milieu et techniques*, Paris, Albin-Michel, 1945, p.208)

④ shifter: 转换语。

structures, can only be discontinuous: the real garment can only be transformed into "representation" by means of certain operators which we might call *shifters*, since they serve to transpose one structure into another, to pass, if you will, from one code to another code. ①

1.4 The Three Shifters

Since we are dealing with three structures, we must have three kinds of shifters at our disposal: from the real to the image, from the real to language, and from the image to language. For the first translation, from the technological garment to the iconic garment, the principal shifter is the sewing pattern②, whose (schematic③) design analytically reproduces the stages of the garment's manufacture; to which should be added the processes, graphic or photographic, intended to reveal the technical substratum④ of a look or an "effect": accentuation⑤ of a movement, enlargement of a detail, angle of vision. For the second translation, from the technological garment to the written garment, the basic shifter is what might be called the sewing program or formula⑥: it is generally a text quite apart from the literature of Fashion; its goal is to outline not what is but what is going to be done; the sewing program, moreover, is not given in the same kind of writing as the Fashion commentary; it contains almost no nouns or adjectives, but mostly verbs and measurements. ⑦ As a shifter, it constitutes a transitional language, situated midway between the making of the garment and its being, between its origin and its form, its technology and its signification. We might be tempted to include within this basic shifter all Fashion terms of clearly technological origin (*a seam*, *a cut*), and to consider them as so many translators from the real to the spoken; but this would ignore the fact that the value of a word is not found in its origin but in its place in the language system; once these terms pass into a descriptive structure, they are simultaneously detached from their origin (what has been, at some point, sewn, cut) and their goal (to contribute to an assemblage⑧, to stand out in an ensemble); in them the creative act is not perceptible, they no longer belong to the

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① 雅各布森(Jakobson)把转换语这个词的意义限制为符码和信息之间的中介要素(*Essais de linguistique générale*, Paris, Editions de Minuit, 1963, chap. 9)。这里,我们扩大了这个词的意义。

② sewing pattern: 制衣纸板,制衣纸样。

③ schematic: 图解的,图示的。

④ substratum: 下层,底层;基质,基层。

⑤ accentuation: 强调;重读。

⑥ formula: 方案; 公式,准则。

⑦ 例如:"把所有布片沿着你要剪裁和缝制的画线摆好,垂直对折,用长针做稀疏缝线: 边宽 3 厘米,肩底 1 厘米。"这就是一种过渡语言。

⑧ assemblage: 组合,集合;装配;组合成的艺术品。

technological structure and we cannot consider them as shifters.① There remains a third translation, one which allows the transition from the iconic structure to the spoken structure, from the representation of the garment to its description. Since Fashion magazines take advantage of the ability to deliver *simultaneously* messages derived from these two structures—here a dress photographed, there the same dress described—they can take a notable shortcut by using elliptical② shifters: these are no longer pattern drawings or the texts of the sewing pattern, but simply the anaphorics of language, given either at the maximum degree ("this" tailored suit, "the" Shetland dress) or at degree zero ("a rose stuck into a belt").③ Thus, by the very fact that the three structures have well-defined translation-operators at their disposal, they remain perfectly distinct.

Questions for Discussion

1. What are the difference between Image-Clothing and Written Clothing?
2. What are the functions and features of Real Clothing?
3. How do you understand the three thrifters defined in this article?

【本文选自】

Barthes, Roland. (1990). *The Fashion System*. Trans. Matthew Ward, Richard Howard. University of California Press. 3-7.

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① 我们可以把服装目录视为一种转换语,因为它的目的,是想通过语言这一中介来影响实际的购买行为。然而,事实上,服装目录遵循时装描述的所有规范:它不会为了说服我们相信某件衣服正在流行而刻意去解释它。

② elliptical:省略的。

③ anaphoric:首语重复;照应,前指;前指的。Anaphora:按照语言学家特斯尼耶尔(L. Tesnières)的说法,首语重复(Anaphora)"一个没有相应语法结构的补充性语义连接"。指示代词"这个"和衬衫图片之间没有结构性联系,但却可以说,这二个结构之间存在着纯粹且简单的冲突。(*Eléments de syntaxe structurale*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1959, p. 85)

The Fashion System

Grant Mccracken

[原文导读]

本文通过与广告中意义流动方式的比较论述时尚体系中意义流动的过程及其主要特点。广告公司从文化建构的世界中获取意义，并将这种意义通过广告的形式转化到某种消费品中去，而时尚体系中意义的流动则具有更多的意义来源、转化代理和传播媒介。时尚体系中意义转化的方式主要有如下三种潜在特征：首先，时尚体系从文化建构的世界中将意义转化到消费品中的过程和广告对意义的转化具有相似性。时尚采用新式服装或家装风格并将其与既定的文化范畴和文化原则相联系。其次，时尚体系以一种适中的方式发明新的文化意义，这种发明是由“意见领袖（Opinion Leaders）”完成的。“意见领袖（Opinion Leaders）”本身就是意义来源，他们帮助塑造、提炼现有的文化意义，鼓励文化范畴和文化原则的改革，并利用自身的身份和地位影响周围的人进行模仿，从而完成文化意义的转化与传播。第三，时尚体系不仅参与文化意义的创造，而且以一种激进的方式来变革这一创造，这主要是由于人们生活的世界不仅仅是文化建构的也是历史建构的，社会历史的变迁（尤其是剧烈的变迁）同样会引起时尚文化意义的改变。如活跃在二十世纪六七十年代的朋克、嬉皮士、同性恋等社会边缘人群，这些人用服装衍生出新的文化意义从而重新定义了当时的文化范畴和文化原则，最后被主流社会所接纳。随后，文章还对时尚体系中完成意义转化的代理人进行了分类，其一是时尚产品设计师；其二是时尚记者和社会观察家，这些人共同参与，将时尚的文化意义转化到消费品中去。

Less frequently observed, studied, and understood as an instrument of meaning is the fashion system. Yet this system, too, serves as a means by which goods are systematically invested and divested of their meaningful properties. The fashion system is a somewhat more complicated instrument for meaning movement than advertising. In the case of advertising, movement is accomplished by the advertising agency and its effort to unhook meaning from a culturally constituted world and transfer it to a consumer good through the means of an advertisement. In the case of the fashion system, the process has more sources of meaning, agents of transfer, and media of communication. Some of this additional complexity can be captured by noting that the fashion world works in three distinct ways to transfer meaning to goods.

In one capacity, the fashion system performs a transfer of meaning from the culturally constituted world to consumer goods that is remarkably similar in character and effect to the transfer performed by advertising. In the medium of a magazine or newspaper, the same effort to conjoin aspects of the world and good is evident, and the same process of glimpsed similarity is sought. In this capacity, the fashion system takes

new styles of clothing or home furnishings and associates them with established cultural categories and principles. Thus does meaning move from the culturally constituted world to the good. This is the simplest aspect of the meaning-delivery capacity of the fashion system and the one, ironically, that Barthes (1983 [1967]) found so perplexing and difficult to render plain.

In a second capacity, the fashion system actually invents new cultural meanings in a modest way. This invention is undertaken by "opinion leaders" who help shape and refine existing cultural meaning, encouraging the reform of cultural categories and principles. These are "distant" opinion leaders: individuals who by virtue of birth, beauty, celebrity, or accomplishment, are held in high esteem. These groups and individuals are sources of meaning for those of lesser standing. It is suggested in fact that their innovation of meaning is prompted by the imitative appropriations of those of low standing (Simmel 1904). Classically, these high-standing groups are a conventional social elite: upper-upper and upper-lower classes. These are, for instance, the origins of the "preppie look"① that has recently "trickled down"② so widely and deeply. More recently, these groups are the unashamedly nouveau riche③ who now predominate on evening soap operas such as *Dallas and Dynasty* and who appear to have influenced the consumer and lifestyle habits of many North Americans. Motion picture and popular music stars, revered for their status, their beauty, and sometimes their talent, are also the occupants of this relatively new group of opinion leaders. These groups all invent and deliver a species of meaning that is largely fashioned by the prevailing cultural coordinates established by cultural categories and cultural principles. These groups are also permeable to cultural innovations, changes in style, value, and attitude which they then pass along to the subordinate parties who imitate them.

In a third capacity, the fashion system engages not just in the invention of cultural meanings but also in its radical reform. Some part of the cultural meaning of Western industrial societies is subject to constant and thoroughgoing change. The radical instability of this meaning is due to the fact that Western societies are, in the language

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① preppie look:预科生风格,二十世纪七八十年代流行于美国,主要指来自哈佛、普林斯顿、耶鲁等重量级名校的学生着装风格,其风格标志是板球毛衣和衬衫。

② trickle down:涓滴效应(Trickle-down effect,又译作渗漏效应、滴漏效应)也称作"涓滴理论"(Trickle-down theory,又译作利益均沾论、渗漏理论、滴漏理论等),由优先发展起来的群体或地区通过消费、就业等方面惠及贫困阶层或地区,带动其发展和富裕,这被称作是"涓滴效应"。在奢侈品和时尚营销中这种效应用得非常多。社会上层尤其是富人的时尚或奢侈消费方式为中产阶级和低收入家庭设立了一个他们试图模仿的新标准,为了赶上"时代的步伐"他们不惜用入不敷出的方式疯狂消费。

③ nouveau riche:<法语词>暴发户。