



男装长衫

历史文化与工艺

MEN'S CHEONGSAM

History, Culture and Craft

李惠玲

BRENDA LI

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男装长衫: 历史文化与工艺

Men's Cheongsam: History, Culture and Craft

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封面图片 COVER PHOTO

李美贤女士藏二十世纪初牡丹纹提花罗男装长衫
Early 20th-century men's leno jacquard cheongsam
with peony motif. Collection of Ms Lee Mei Yin.

李惠玲摄 Photo by Brenda Li

作者简介 About the Author



李惠玲为香港大学中国文史学士, 英国牛津大学西藏及喜马拉雅研究博士。资深中国文史美术翻译及写作人, 藏学研究者及作者, 身兼多职及涉猎不同的学术范畴。香港历史博物馆、香港文化博物馆特约研究、翻译及编辑。2013年为香港历史博物馆“百年时尚: 香港长衫故事”展览研究女装长衫并撰写图录。2017年为该馆研究其馆藏男装长衫。2019年为香港非物质文化遗产办事处纪录其与香港高等教育科技学院合办的男装长衫技艺传承课程并撰写有关图录。2015年开始任香港大学专业进修学院“长衫制作及设计证书课程”统筹及历史文化导师。香港长衫协会顾问。自小喜欢自制衣服, 亲做男女装长衫钻研工艺并作教学示范, 近年致力推广长衫文化及培育承传工艺的人才。

Brenda Li holds a BA degree in Chinese literature and history from the University of Hong Kong and DPhil and MPhil degrees in Tibetan and Himalayan Studies from the University of Oxford. She is a multi-disciplinary scholar: Tibetologist and author of Tibet-related books; Project-Based Researcher, Translator and Editor of the Hong Kong Museum of History (HKMH) and Hong Kong Heritage Museum (HKHM); Coordinator and Instructor of the Certificate Course in Cheongsam Design and Production at the HKU SPACE; Researcher of the HKMH 2013 exhibition “A Century of Fashion: Hong Kong Cheongsam Story” and their 2018 Men’s Cheongsam Research Project; appointed by the Intangible Cultural Heritage Office (ICHO) in 2019 to write a brochure recording their male-cheongsam-making course launched in association with the Technological and Higher Education Institute of Hong Kong (THE-i); Advisor of Hong Kong Cheongsam Association. Dr Li has been very keen on producing homemade clothes since her girlhood. She makes male and female cheongsams for research and demonstration purposes and has dedicated to promoting cheongsam culture and the transmission of cheongsam-making skill in recent years.

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序 Preface

继2017年荣登“香港非物质文化遗产名录”后，“香港中式长衫制作技艺”2021年6月再获殊荣，晋级成为“国家级非物质文化遗产”。

过去四年开展的传承和保育工作，无可避免地都以女装长衫为焦点。香港的女装长衫老师傅固然极少，能百分百掌握男装长衫经典形制又谨守传统工艺的师傅更如凤毛麟角。因此，男装长衫的经典形制和工艺可谓极度濒危。

男装长衫无缘于五十年代跟随女装长衫时装化，经典形制和工艺反而得以进入凝镜，保存至今。但是隐退了大半个世纪后，虽然近年随着女装长衫的翩然回归而开始受人注意，却因为普罗大众对其经典形制和工艺睽违太久，加上要降低成本，各师各法，以致坊间所见几乎尽是“江湖味、戏装化、粗简化与时装化”的成品，与经典形制的大气恢宏、含蓄优雅相距远甚。

尽管今天男装长衫制作技艺已登录为“非物质文化遗产”，若要抢救并有效传承这极度濒危的“文化遗产”，务必与时间竞赛。本人撰写此电子书并让公众免费下载，是希望把多年对男装长衫历史文化、形制工艺的研究所得与众共享，为保育和传承这宝贵的文化精粹献出一己微力。

衷心感谢非物质文化遗产办事处的启迪与支持，以及多方机构与专家、资深长衫师傅和热心人士提供的指导和支援。深恐挂一漏万，恕未克在此逐一致谢。此书如有疏漏与不足处，敬希不吝指正。

李惠玲

2021年6月

Following its inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Hong Kong in 2017, “Hong Kong Cheongsam Making Technique” has successfully gained a higher honour in June 2021 —being inscribed on the “National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of China”.

Over the last four years, almost all the projects that have been launched to safeguard traditional cheongsam-making technique inevitably focused on the female cheongsam. While veteran tailors of female cheongsam are very few in Hong Kong, those who are thoroughly acquainted with the authentic form and craft of its male counterpart are even less. The classic form and traditional craft of men’s cheongsam are therefore critically endangered.

Lacking the luck to prevail alongside its female version in the 1950s, men’s cheongsam nevertheless serendipitously has its classic form and craftsmanship preserved in freeze frame. Despite enjoying increased public attention in the 21st century following the revival of women’s cheongsam at the turn of the millennium, men’s cheongsam after decades of hibernation has left the public a vague memory of its proper form and craft. Besides, to reduce the cost, different convenient methods have been employed to produce this dress. Consequently, nearly all so-called men’s cheongsams available in the market are products of “Gangster-style, Costume-style, Degeneration and Fashionisation”, lacking the dignity and subtle elegance characteristic of classic male cheongsam.

Although the traditional crafting technique of men’s cheongsam is now among the Intangible Cultural Heritage Items, we must race against time if salvaging of its critically endangered craft is to be carried out, and effective transmission to be achieved. The purpose of writing this e-book and letting the public to download it for free is to share with the public the results of my long-term research in the hope of more effectively promoting the preservation and transmission of this precious cultural heritage.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Intangible Cultural Heritage Office for their edification and support. I also owe my thanks to many institutions, veteran cheongsam tailors, specialists and individuals for their kind assistance, advice and guidance, but please forgive me for not being able to acknowledge them here one by one. The readers are welcome to point out any inadequacies and errors in this book.

Brenda Li

June 2021

【第一章】

探源篇

每一个文化都有其源头，
服装文化也不例外。

要了解过去一个世纪男装长衫的发展，
要从历史入手。



CHAPTER 1

Historical Perspective

Every culture has its origins and so does sartorial culture.
To understand the development of men's cheongsam
over the past century, history is the starting point.

Defining *Cheongsam*

“长衫”这名词，在广东地区以至东南亚由来已久，专指男女装中式长袍。1920年代开始，广州及香港人所说的女装“长衫”其实是指当时开始在上海流行的“旗袍”。至于男装长衫，外省人普遍叫“长袍”，但也有说“长衫”的，北方地区也有“大褂”的叫法。一般而言，“单”层的叫长衫，例如“竹布长衫”、“青布长衫”等；两层或以上的称为“袍”，例如“棉袍”、“袷袍”等，也有两词混称的。但是在香港，不论是单是袷，本地人都惯称“长衫”。

不妨看看辞典中“长衫”、“长袍”、“大褂”的解释。

长衫：长单衣。北周庾信《奉和赵王春日》：“细管调歌曲，长衫教舞儿。”后多指男子穿的大褂。…。鲁迅《呐喊：孔乙己》：“孔乙己是站着喝酒而穿长衫的唯一的人。”

《汉语大词典》，1987年

长衫：一种单层的长罩衫。北方称**大褂**。《二十年目睹之怪现状》第二回：“我看那人时，身上穿的是湖色熟罗**长衫**，铁线纱夹马褂。”...

《近代汉语大词典》，2012年第六版

长袍：旧时男子穿的右开襟的中式长衣，也说**长衫**。

《现代汉语规范辞典》，2010年

大褂：有大襟的右开襟的中式单衣，长可过膝。也作“**长衫**”。

例：**青布长衫**：他穿青布长衫很有复古味道。

《两岸通用词典》，2015年

由此可知，不论是长衫或长袍，其实都是指右边开襟的传统中式袍服。

The word *cheongsam* was first included in the *Oxford English Dictionary* in the 1950s. It is a loanword derived from *Cheong Sam*, the Cantonese pronunciation for “long dress”. Although *Cheong Sam* in Cantonese is gender-neutral and refers to Chinese robes long been worn by both genders in Hong Kong and other Southeast Asian regions, the loanword *cheongsam* initially referred only to the female version of this dress form.

In the 1920s, a particular type of female Chinese costume called *qipao* (allegedly “Manchu robe”) came in vogue in Shanghai. When this fashionable dress form was picked up by Guangzhou and Hong Kong soon afterward, the locals abandoned the term *qipao* and called it by the gender-neutral name *Cheong Sam* which seemed to be more appealing to the Cantonese at that time.

While men’s lined, unlined and padded long robes are traditionally known by different names (*changshan*, *changpao*, *dagua*, *zhaopao*, *mianpao*) in northern China, they have invariably been called *Cheong Sam* by the locals in Hong Kong. In this book, for convenience sake, the men’s long robe will also be called *cheongsam* but prefixed with “men’s” or “male” to differentiate it from its female counterpart.

In Chinese dictionaries, no matter what names they are called, lined or unlined, these traditional Chinese men’s robes are characterised by a wrap-over closure fastened on the right side of the body.

Traditional Sartorial Terms

【襟】 Closure (*jin*)

指上衣或袍的打开处，以便更衣时解开穿上，开口往往被形容为门，因此又称“门襟”。内襟与外襟分别与后幅的右脇和前左幅相连。“襟”也专指右上身斜下扣系的部位。

It is where a dress or robe is opened to allow the wearer to put it on. It may consist of two overlapping flaps—the inner closure-flap (or inner flap) and outer closure-flap (or outer flap). The former is attached to the right back panel by the side seam while the latter is a separately cut piece attached to the left front panel by the centre seam. In a narrower sense, *jin* often refers to the part of the closure slanting down the right chest.

【衽】 Right-fastened (*youren*) and left-fastened (*zuoren*)

指领下的衣襟，右边开襟称“右衽”，左边开襟称“左衽”，传统汉服都是右衽的。

Traditionally, the front of Han-Chinese costume is folded over and fastened on the right side of the body, while non-Han costumes may be fastened on the opposite side.

【交领】 Cross-neck (*jiaoling*)

前襟左右相交而斜下，作“又”字形。

One side of the front panel wraps over the other side giving a V-shaped neckline.

【圆领】 Round-neck (*yuanling or panling*)

又称“盘领”，其实是秃领的设计，右掩的衣襟，绕着颈沿于右边肩头扣系，再斜下右腋前方。优点是衣襟护着胸前，不会敞开。

This is in fact a collarless design. The outer closure flap is closed around the neck, wrapped over, fastened at the right shoulder and then slopes toward the right armpit where it is secured by additional fastenings. This neck design prevents the front of the dress from flaring wide, thus better protects the chest.

【深衣】 “Deep dress” (*Shenyi*)

先秦时期流行的男女装长袍，交领右衽，上衣下裳于腰间缝接成一体，外加腰带。

A unique type of cross-neck right-fastened Han-Chinese robe prevailed in the pre-Qin period. The upper and lower parts of the dress were separately cut, joined by a waist seam and secured by a girdle.

【曲裾】 Triangular side-hem (*quju*)

又称“绕襟”，右掩的交领衣襟向外加长成三角形，旋绕至背后，外加腰带作固定。流行于先秦至汉代时期，用于男女服饰。

The outer closure-flap of the cross-neck robe has an elongated triangular hem on the right to allow it to roll around the body, first to the back and then to the front again. Then the closure is secured by a girdle below the waist. This design was common among male and female robes from the pre-Qin period to the Han dynasty.

【直裾】 Vertical side-hem (*zhiju*)

右掩的交领衣襟于腋下剪裁成垂直，衣裾在穿者右侧或前右侧，以腰带固定。

The right edge of the outer closure-flap of the cross-neck robe is vertical and fastened down the right flank of the wearer, secured by a girdle.

【领衬】 Detachable inner collar (*lingchen*)

是加在圆领袍领口里面的衬子，流行于五代至明代，除了避免外袍的领口与肌肤接触而容易弄污，也起着装饰的作用，乍看好像里面多穿了一件交领或对襟的衬衣。

From the Five Dynasties to the Ming dynasty, a detachable collar was usually worn inside the round-neck robe. Apart from protecting the neck of the robe from being soiled through direct contact with the wearer's neck, it also served as a decorative element. At a glance it gave the impression of a cross-neck dress or a dress buttoned down the front being worn inside the robe.

Traditional Sartorial Terms

【厂字襟】 *Chang-shaped closure (changzijin)*

用于近世的非正式名词，是因为右前襟从喉头向右方伸延的部分，边线轮廓有点像“厂”字而得名。此字读音和解释众多，以当作“廠”字的简体较易记。

This term used in recent times is by no means formal but derived from the “厂” shaped upper contour of the outer closure-flap running from the throat to the right clavicle and then the right armpit. Among its many meanings and pronunciations, the Chinese character “厂” is easier remembered as the simplified form of the character 廠 (*chang*).

【马蹄袖】 *Horsehoof cuff (matixiu)*

又称“箭袖”，满族特色袖子，窄袖口前端接一个形如马蹄的袖头以覆盖手背以御寒。清代官服一律带马蹄袖，平时挽起来，朝见皇帝或拜见王公大臣时熟练地把袖子掸下来。

Also known as “arrow-cuff” (*jianxiu*). A cuff resembling the shape of a horsehoof was attached to the lower end of the sleeve to provide extra protection and warmth for the back of the hand. All official attires of the Qing dynasty were furnished with horsehoof cuffs which were turned back in ordinary times, but deftly brushed down when greeting the emperor, princes and higher officials.

【常服袍】 *Regular robe (changfupao)*

清官服制之“常服”类，于严肃庄重场合如经筵大典、丧期内的吉庆节日、节日期间先皇帝后忌辰等穿的袍。

It belonged to the category of Regular Costume (*changfu*) in Qing imperial dress code. It was worn on solemn occasions including the Classic Lecture presided over by the emperor, festivals during mourning periods, and death anniversaries of former emperor and empress falling within festive seasons.

【便袍】 *Leisure robe (bianpao)*

“便袍”是清官服制“便服”类中的休闲服，类似今天的便服。

It belonged to the category of Leisure Costume (*bianfu*) in Qing imperial dress code, similar to the casualwear of today.

【行服袍】 *Travel robe (xingfupao)*

又称“缺襟袍”，是秉承满族骑射传统的实用服，设计方便跨腿上马及开步射猎。特色是右幅下摆有单独约一尺见方的一幅，以纽扣与袍相系。骑马时将右下襟撩开并向上系，使袍子的右边比左边短一、二尺，便于上下马鞍。

Also called “Robe with incomplete closure” (*quejinpao*). It was a costume specially designed to suit the equestrian-archery tradition of the Manchus. The unique design allowed easy lifting of the leg to mount the horse or striding forward when performing archery. The detachable lower part (about 1.5x1.5 square feet) of the outer flap was connected to the robe by fastenings. When riding, it was flipped up and secured in place. The right side of the outer flap thus became 1 to 2 feet shorter than the left panel. Getting on and off the saddle was thus easier.

【马褂】 *Ma Kwa (magua) jacket*

源自唐宋时期胡人的及肘对襟短袄，便于乘马射猎。元、明、清使用于骑士，是“行服”的一种。清末民初，长衫与袖长及腕的马褂配成一套正装。马褂也有大襟和琵琶襟的。

Like *Cheongsam*, *Ma Kwa* is a loanword derived from the Cantonese pronunciation of the Chinese term for “riding jacket”. The dress form is derived from the centre-fastened short jacket with elbow-length sleeves of the equestrian Hu peoples of the Tang and Song periods, and commonly worn as “travel costume” by equestrians in the Yuan, Ming and Qing times. During the late Qing and early Republican periods, *cheongsam* and long-sleeved *Ma Kwa* made up a set of formal menswear. *Ma Kwa* can also be right-fastened or uniquely fastened off-centre, a style known as *pipajin*.

History as the Starting Point: Is Cheongsam of Manchu Origin?



早在1920年代,出现了“旗袍”这名词,自此很多人理所当然地认为女装长衫是源自清代满族和旗人的女袍。尽管香港最地道的叫法是“长衫”,也难以摆脱这种观念和联想。至于男装长衫,也因为骤看跟明代男子袍服形制有差异,也被断言是来自满族,是满人服装。究竟是否可信呢?

每一个文化都有其源头,服装文化也不例外。要了解过去一个世纪男装长衫的发展,要从历史入手。传统中国在父权社会的观念下,其实男装才是服装的主流,所以不妨从先秦时期开始探源,理出中国历代男子主流袍服的脉络,才能够避免以偏概全,找出真相。

Ever since the first appearance of the term *qipao* in the 1920s, many people have presumed that the female cheongsam (known to many as *qipao*) was derived from the female robes of the Manchus and Bannermen of the Qing dynasty. Despite the popular use of the term Cheong Sam (cheongsam) among the locals in Hong Kong, it is difficult to get rid of this assumption and association. As for men's cheongsam, since at first glance it looks quite different from men's robe of the Ming dynasty, it is commonly believed to be of Manchu origin. How valid is this assumption?

Every culture has its origins and so does sartorial culture. To understand the development of men's cheongsam over the past century, history is the starting point. Due to patriarchal supremacy in ancient Chinese society, sartorial culture was actually dominated by menswear. To avoid overgeneralisation and to unveil the truth, let us start exploring from the pre-Qin period. By unravelling the evolution of men's mainstay robes in the past millenniums, it is hoped that the truth about men's cheongsam will come to light.

追源溯始：
长衫真的是源自满服吗？

古代汉族右衽交领袍的递变：

由“曲裾”至“直裾”

由“上下分幅”至“上下通幅”

Evolution of Han-Chinese Right-Fastened Cross-Neck Robe:

From “triangular side-hem” to “vertical side-hem”

From “waist seam” to “no waist seam”

春秋战国时期(公元前五世纪至公元三世纪),中原汉族上层阶级主要流行上衣与下裳相联、交领右衽的“深衣”。尽管内里没穿绔裤,绕襟旋转而下的“曲裾”设计让席地而坐时下肢不外露。自此,“右衽”的开襟方式成为汉民族服装的最大特色,二千多年后的今天仍然沿用。一个世纪以来的传统男女装长衫,正是右衽的代表。

During the Spring and Autumn period and Warring States period (5th to 3rd century BC), a dress form called *shenyi* (literally “deep dress”) prevailed among upper-class Han Chinese living in the Central Plain. It was a cross-neck right-fastened dress of which upper and lower parts were joined at the waist. Despite that no pants were worn inside, the “triangular side-hem” that wrapped around the body prevented the exposure of the lower limbs when the wearer sat down on the floor. Since then, the “right-fastened” closure format became the most distinctive Han-Chinese sartorial feature, and is still in use today after more than two millennia. This closure format is well represented by the traditional male and female cheongsam over the past century.



长沙子弹库战国楚墓帛画中穿曲裾深衣男子。

Male figure wearing a *shenyi* with triangular side-hem depicted on silk unearthed from a Chu tomb of the Warring States period at Zidanku in Changsha.



长沙陈家大山战国楚墓帛画中穿曲裾深衣贵妇。

Noble woman wearing a *shenyi* with triangular side-hem depicted on silk unearthed from a Chu tomb of the Warring States period at Chenjia Dashan in Changsha.

但宽袖长袍毕竟只适合毋须劳动的上层社会,对经常劳动的普罗百姓和战士来说,还是短衣窄袖较为实际。战国时期战乱频仍,赵武灵王为更有效对付入侵的“胡人”(泛指游牧民族),提倡剪裁较短和紧窄、方便活动的“胡服”作为戎服,腰束革带挂物,配短靴,于是有所谓“胡服骑射”的说法¹,穿胡服成为风尚。

直至秦汉时期(公元前三世纪至公元三世纪),主流袍服仍是宽身阔袖,“曲裾”衣式仍存在,但“直裾”日渐流行。“直裾袍”特色是右掩的衣襟剪裁成垂直,衣裾在穿者右侧,以腰带固定。“直裾袍”初时也上下缝合,慢慢发展为上下通幅。“右衽直裾袍”自此成为中国后世男性袍服主要形制,今日的男装长衫,基本上是继承了这种有二千多年历史的形制。

汉代(公元前206年至公元220年)自张骞通西域后,打开了与西域交流的途径,得与中亚地区进行贸易往来,中原汉人泛称西域与中亚民族为“胡人”。两汉时期,西北远近部族的基本衣着是窄身小袖而衣仅齐膝,与中原汉族皇孙公卿、百官儒生所穿的宽博长袍有很大差异。



甘肃武威汉墓出土西汉彩绘木雕弈棋俑,穿的是直裾袍。

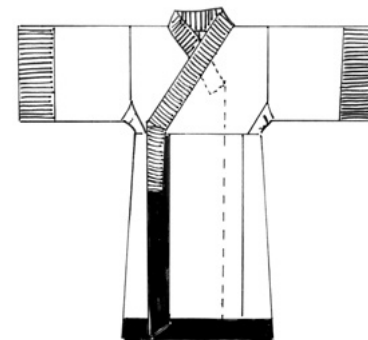
Painted wooden chess-playing figurines wearing robes with vertical side-hem unearthed from a Han tomb at Wuwei in Gansu.

李惠玲线描 Drawing by B. Li

After all, long robes with loose sleeves were only suitable for the upper class who did not need to labour. For the common folk and warriors who laboured often, short dresses with narrow sleeves were by far more practical. Necessitated by the need to combat the intruding Hu tribes (non-Han ethnic groups, often nomadic) during the war-pestered Warring States period, King Wuling of the Zhao state borrowed the idea of Hu costume and ordered his soldiers to change into a shorter, narrower and more convenient military outfit furnished with a leather belt for hanging various utility items, and short boots. “Wear Hu-style outfit to ride and shoot”² was advocated. Cladding in Hu-style outfit also became a fashion.

Up to the Qin and Han dynasties (3rd century BC to 3rd century AD), mainstay robes were still loose-fitting and wide-sleeved. “Triangular side-hem” still existed but “vertical side-hem” became increasingly popular. The latter is characterised by the vertical edge of the right-fastened outer flap which is secured by a girdle. Initially, the robes with vertical side-hem still had waist seam, but gradually the full length of the dress was cut from a single piece of fabric, abandoning the waist seam. Thereafter, “right-fastened closure and vertical side-hem” became the principal closure format of men’s robe of later ages in Chinese history. Men’s cheongsam of today has basically inherited this format passed down from more than two thousand years ago.

After the opening up of the Western Regions by the legendary diplomat Zhang Qian during the Han dynasty (206 BC to AD 220), trade and communication between China and Central Asia was carried out. The Han Chinese broadly called the peoples of the Western Regions and Central Asia “Hu”. During the Western and Eastern Han periods, the ethnic tribes beyond the northwest frontier typically wore knee-length close-fitting kaftan with narrow sleeves, which was distinctly different from the loose-fitting wide-sleeved robes worn by Han-Chinese dignitaries, officials and intellectuals in the Central Plain.



由上而下 From Top to Bottom

战国楚墓出土的穿曲裾深衣彩绘男女俑。

Painted male and female figurines wearing *shenyi* with triangular side-hem unearthed from a Chu tomb of the Warring States period.

湖北江陵楚墓战国中晚期直裾袍结构图。

Sketch showing the structure of a robe with vertical side-hem unearthed from a Chu tomb of the mid to late Warring States period in Jiangling, Hubei.

李惠玲据沈从文《中国古代服饰研究》插图描绘
Drawing by B. Li based on illustrations in Shen Congwen's *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu*

¹ 沈从文《中国古代服饰研究》页66。

² Shen Congwen, *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu*, p.66.

中国传统男装袍服两大主流：

交领袍与圆领袍

Two Staple Styles for Men's Robe:

Cross-Neck Robe Versus Round-Neck Robe

东汉覆亡后，接着的魏晋南北朝时期（公元三至六世纪）经历了三百多年政权大分裂、战乱频仍的局面。然而，政治动荡也成就了中原汉族和周边民族的大融合和文化大交流。南北两地流行的袍服形制并不一样，南朝流行“褒衣博带”，即是穿宽袍、系阔带，被视为儒服，飘逸出尘，蔚成风尚。北朝起初仍然沿袭胡人的短衣窄裤传统，后来也受南方汉晋衣冠形式影响而出现改变。例如，鲜卑拓跋氏建立的北魏，日渐崇尚宽阔衣袍，代替紧窄的胡服。然而，南北两地的服装文化其实互相影响，渐渐地胡化汉服和汉化胡服难分彼此，胡人有穿上宽松飘逸的汉化袍服，不少汉人也穿上窄衣紧袖、下摆开衩和系革带的袍服。

The three centuries following the fall of the Eastern Han dynasty saw a unified China breaking up into many short-lived and co-existing small regimes collectively known in Chinese history as the Wei, Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties (3rd to 6th century AD). Warfare was frequent during this period of division. Nevertheless, political turmoil also prompted ethnic integration and cultural exchange between the Han Chinese and the peoples of the surrounding regions. Robes of different styles prevailed in northern and southern China. “Roomy dress with broad girdle” was embraced in the Southern Dynasties, typically worn by Confucian scholars to manifest their literary elegance. Initially the Northern Dynasties

still maintained the Hu tradition of wearing short jackets and tight pants, but changes gradually took place after absorbing the sartorial culture of the Han Chinese in the southern regimes. For instance, the Northern Wei regime established by the Xianbei-Tuoba tribe increasingly preferred the roomy robes to their own close-fitting Hu outfit. However, the influence was

actually a two-way process. Han elements were gradually fused into Hu costume, and vice versa. The line of demarcation went blurred. There were Hu people wearing loose-fitting Han-style robes as well as Han people wearing close-fitting robes with narrow sleeves, side-slits and leather belts.

故宫博物院藏宋摹本东晋顾恺之《洛神赋图》（局部），显示魏晋南北朝崇尚“褒衣博带”。

Partial view of *Luoshenfu tu* (Goddess of Luo River) ascribed to the Eastern Jin painter Gu Kaizhi in the Palace Museum Collection, showing the kind of loose-fitting dress favoured during the Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties.

图片由故宫博物院提供 Photo courtesy of The Palace Museum





久分必合, 中国经历三百多年的分裂局面后, 终于再次统一。隋朝(581–618)国祚短暂, 继之而起的唐朝(618–907)不但是中国历史上最辉煌的皇朝之一, 更是汉胡、中外文化交融最盛的朝代。

众所周知, 唐宗室并非纯汉族, 唐太宗李世民的祖父、父亲和他本人都是娶鲜卑女子为妻。现存台北的著名宋代摹本《唐太宗立像》, 画中人身穿右肩扣系的窄袖圆领(盘领)直身袍, 长及足踝, 上下通幅, 前幅明显有中缝自领沿直通到底, 下摆两侧开高衩, 腰间束玉带, 脚蹬革靴, 英气逼人。他这身装束正是胡汉服制交融的鲜明例子, 是鲜卑人传统服制结合西域胡人服制后, 再与汉人服饰融合而来, 随着唐室的兴盛流行于中原。窄袖原意是方便策马、射箭和舞刀弄枪等活动; 采用肩头扣系的圆领而非传统汉服的“又”字形交领, 是让前襟紧护胸前, 纵马飞驰时不让寒风钻进衣襟; 侧衩方便提腿跨身上马和大踏步拉弓; 玉带或革带可以扣系悬挂物件, 是游牧民族必备; 靴子也是胡服的一部分。

After a dividing period of three centuries, China was unified once again by the short-lasting Sui dynasty (581–618). The Tang dynasty(618–907) to follow was not only one of the most glorious dynasties in Chinese history, but also the period when Han and non-Han peoples as well as Chinese culture and other cultures mingled most successfully.

It is well known that the royal members of the Tang dynasty were not pure Han Chinese. Emperor Taizong himself, his father and grandfather were married to women of Xianbei origin. The famous Song dynasty copy of the standing portrait of Emperor Taizong now kept in Taipei shows this emperor wearing a round-neck, narrow-sleeved, ankle-length robe fastened at the right shoulder. The robe apparently has no waist seam. The centre seam running down the front from the neckline to the bottom hem is clearly visible. Further enhancing the martial elegance of the image are the thigh-high side-slits, jade-embedded girdle and the pair of leather boots. The stylistic integration of Han and Hu sartorial elements is vividly demonstrated. Hu elements from

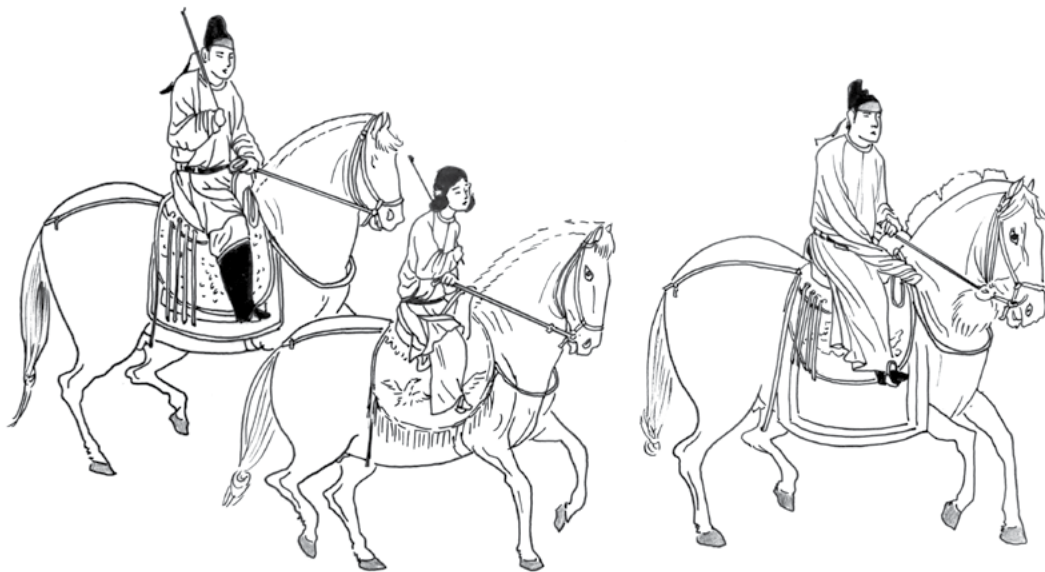
the Western Regions had been absorbed into traditional Xianbei costume and then further integrated with Han elements to give birth to this unique dress form which readily came into vogue in the Central Plain after the Tang court rose to power. The narrow sleeves were initially designed to facilitate riding, archery and manoeuvring of weapons such as spear and sword. Unlike the cross-neck design which would flare open when the wearer was galloping on horseback, the round-neck and shoulder-closure design ensured that the chest would be well guarded from the penetration of cold air. The side-slits allowed easier lifting of the leg when mounting a horse apart from rendering a bold stride easier before shooting an arrow. The jade or leather girdle was an indispensable nomadic accessory for hanging utility items. The pair of boots was an integral part of the Hu outfit.



据台北藏宋摹本《唐太宗立像》(小图)所绘线图。

Linear sketch based on a Song dynasty copy of the *Standing Portrait of Emperor Taizong* (see smaller image) kept in Taipei.

李惠玲线描 Drawing by B. Li



据辽宁省博物馆藏张萱《虢国夫人游春图》后世摹本局部所绘线图，显示穿男装出游的唐代女子。

Linear sketch based on partial view of a later copy of Zhang Xuan's *Guoguoofuren youchuntu* (Lady of Guo on a spring outing) in the Liaoning Provincial Museum Collection, showing a Tang woman travelling in men's robe.

李惠玲线描 Drawing by B. Li



唐代朝服制度，名目与等级极为繁琐，但是不论皇帝、皇子、文武大臣以至中级官员，平时都一律穿肩头扣系的圆领服作常服和公服，式样差别不大，只以衣服颜色和腰带上的装饰区别等级。唐代宫廷贵妇及宫女也流行穿男装，唐玄宗开元、天宝年间尤其盛行，这见于唐代壁画和传世的画卷，例子有敦煌的《都督夫人礼佛图》、张萱的《捣练图》和《虢国夫人游春图》，描绘贵族女侍身穿男装活动，贵妇穿男装出游。当时甚至流行士人妻子穿丈夫靴衫。

The court costume system of the Tang dynasty involved very elaborate designations and strict hierarchical order. However, on ordinary days, the round-neck shoulder-closure robe would be the regular attire and official outfit worn by individuals of all hierarchical levels, from the emperor and princes down to civil and martial ministers as well as all officials of medium rank. Although their robes were quite uniform in style, the rank and status of the wearer were distinguishable by the colour of the robe and the ornamentation on the girdle. It was also a fashion among the noble ladies and female attendants of the Tang court to wear men's outfit. This was particularly common during the Kaiyuan and Tianbao reigns of Emperor Xuanzong. Many evidences can be found on Tang murals and extant Tang paintings. Examples include the Dunhuang mural *Dudufuren lifotu* (The Commander's wife in worship), and Zhang Xuan's paintings *Daoliantu* (Preparing spun silk yarn) and *Guoguoofuren youchuntu* (Lady of Guo on a spring outing). In these works are female court attendants clad in men's outfit engaging in various activities, and noble women wearing men's robe going on an outing. It was even considered stylish for the wife of a scholar-official to dress in her husband's robe and boots.



1950、60年代“肩襟”设计的丝缎香港女装长衫。

1950s–1960s silk satin female cheongsam of shoulder-closure design.

李惠玲藏品 Collection of B. Li

她们穿的就是这种肩头扣系的圆领袍，所谓肩头扣系，是第一对扣在右肩近颈处右耳下，第二对在右腋前侧。香港女装长衫所保留的独特右衽“肩襟”设计，把门襟开在右边肩头，或可看作是这肩头扣系方式的延续。

The kind of men's robe embraced by these ladies was the round-neck robe with shoulder-closure. The topmost fastening device was at the right shoulder close to the neck under the right ear. The second one was near the right armpit on the front. The unique right-fastened shoulder-closure design preserved by some female cheongsams in Hong Kong can be seen as a continuation of the shoulder-closure style of the Tang dynasty.



1930年代海报所绘的“肩襟”设计女装长衫，或可看作是唐代肩头扣系方式的延续和变奏。

1930s posters depicting women in cheongsam with shoulder-closure design. This may be seen as a continuation and variation of the shoulder-closure style of the Tang dynasty.

Photos courtesy of The University of Hong Kong Libraries





传唐代张萱《唐后行从图》局部所绘线图，武后被身穿圆领袍的侍臣簇拥着。

Linear sketch based on partial view of *Tanghou xingcong tu* (The Tang Empress's entourage) ascribed to the Tang painter Zhang Xuan, showing Empress Wu surrounded by male attendants wearing round-neck robes.

李惠玲线描 Drawing by B. Li

传世的唐代画作和敦煌的唐代壁画，可以清楚看到这类融合汉胡服饰文化，窄袖或较宽袖、圆领、肩头扣系、开侧衩并配靴子的直身袍。传为唐代张萱所绘的《唐后行从图》是一例，武则天身旁十多名侍臣身穿代表不同官职等级的五色圆领袍，前幅隐约有直通到底的中缝或下摆接一横襕，衫身和袖子较唐太宗所穿的宽，显示汉胡服制融合并进一步汉化。

This type of round-neck shoulder-closure robes with narrow or wider sleeves and side-slits, to be worn along with boots, are evident of the integration of Han and Hu sartorial cultures. They are clearly depicted in extant Tang paintings and Dunhuang murals of the Tang period. *Tanghou xingcong tu* (The Tang Empress's entourage) ascribed to the Tang painter Zhang Xuan offers a good example. The group of male attendants clustering around Empress Wu Zetian are clad in round-neck robes of different colours designating their official ranks. The front of some robes faintly shows a centre seam extending right down to the bottom hem, while the front bottom of other robes shows a separate band of fabric. The body and sleeves of these robes appear looser than that worn by Emperor Taizong. These features attest to the integration of Han and Hu styles while showing stronger Han influence.

这服制与交领袍代表着公元六世纪以后中国男性袍服的两大主流, 经历宋、明, 直至清代才让交领袍退下来, 圆领袍一枝独秀。现今男性长衫的形制, 基本上仍保持着清代男性长袍的特征, 在西潮东渐的过去百多年里, 从未受西化影响, 与唐太宗身上的一体直身袍无论在结构和外形上, 可谓一脉相承。

因此, 说“长衫”是源自满人之服, 与史实不符。如果说是胡服元素, 那倒说得对, 但这“胡”并非指满族, 而应该追溯至千多二千年前活跃于中国北方与西北的游牧民族, 以至中亚民族。所谓“汉服”在汉代以后其实是不同文化交融和碰撞出来的“混合服”。战国以至魏晋, 是汉胡服制交融的大时代; 唐朝更进一步, 在这基础上再与西域以至世界文明交融。

The round-neck robe and cross-neck robe represent two staple styles for men's robe in China from the 6th century onward. They co-existed through the Song and Ming dynasties until the Qing dynasty when the cross-neck robe was substituted by the round-neck one. Men's cheongsam of today basically preserves the characteristics of men's robe of the Qing period. Its classic form has withstood Westernisation in the past century despite the predominance of Western influence over so many other aspects. The origin of its structure and form can certainly be traced back to the robe with no waist seam worn by Emperor Taizong.

Therefore, it is against historical fact to presume that the cheongsam is of Manchu origin, though it is correct to say that this dress form consists of Hu elements. However, this “Hu” does not mean the Manchus. Rather, it refers to the nomadic tribes active in north and northwest China and even the Central Asian peoples of two thousand years back. The so-called “Han costume” that existed after the Han dynasty was in fact a kind of “fusion clothing” resulted from the collision and integration of different cultures. The period from the Warring States period to the Wei and Jin dynasties was a great era culminating in the blending of Han and Hu costumes. Upon this foundation, Chinese sartorial culture took a step further during the Tang dynasty to integrate with that of the Western Regions as well as other world civilisations.



莫高窟第130窟盛唐男供养像, 圆领袍也非窄袖, 下摆侧面看似有开衩。

Linear sketch of donors' portrait in high Tang Mogao Cave 130 in Dunhuang. The round-neck robes have apparent side-slits, and the sleeve openings are far from narrow.

李惠玲据段文杰临摹图线描
Drawing by B. Li based on Duan Wenjie's copy of the mural

中国文化史上,唐宋两代相提并论。唐朝之后,中国虽然经历五代十国(907–979)的分裂时期,但很快再迎来另一个文化璀璨的朝代。五代及两宋(960–1279)的绘画中,不论文人雅士或武将,穿圆领直身袍者比比皆是。例如五代周文矩的《韩滉文苑图》其中四位官员和文人,以及《韩熙载夜宴图》第二段的南唐宦官显贵,穿圆领袍和交领袍共聚一堂。这些圆领袍的袖较宽长,显示汉胡服制交融后进一步汉化。两幅画作的圆领袍,领圈上还露出少许交领中衣的领沿,显示出圆领、交领两种衣式其实关系紧密,可以同时穿在身上。



故宫博物院藏宋以后摹本五代周文矩《韩滉文苑图》(局部),有穿圆领、交领袍的文士。

Partial view of a Song or later copy of the Five Dynasties painter Zhou Wenju's *Wenyuantu* (Literary gathering in a garden) in the Palace Museum Collection, showing scholars wearing round-neck and cross-neck robes.

图片由故宫博物院提供 Photo courtesy of The Palace Museum

The Tang and Song dynasties enjoy similar status in the cultural history of China. Although the Tang dynasty was followed by the Five Dynasties (907–979), a period of division, another great era of Chinese culture was soon to come. Images of scholars and military commanders in round-neck robe can be found in many Five Dynasties and Song paintings. For instance, the four scholar-officials depicted in the Five Dynasties painter Zhou Wenju's *Wenyuantu* (Literary gathering in a garden) and the Southern Tang dignitaries depicted in the

second section of *Han Xizai yeyantu* (Han Xizai's night banquet) are wearing either round-neck or cross-neck robes. The sleeves of their round-neck robes are relatively long and wide, indicating further Han influence after Han-Hu sartorial integration. The collar edge protruding from under the round-neck robe belongs to a cross-neck middle-garment, indicating the close affiliation between the round-neck and cross-neck dress form. Both could be worn at the same time.



故宫博物院藏五代顾闳中《韩熙载夜宴图卷》(局部),有圆领、交领袍与僧袍。

Partial view of the Five Dynasties painter Gu Hongzhong's *Han Xizai yeyantu* (Han Xizai's night banquet) in the Palace Museum Collection, showing round-neck robes and cross-neck robes including monk's garb.

图片由故宫博物院提供 Photo courtesy of The Palace Museum

Symbol of Status: Round-Neck Versus Cross-Neck, Long Robe Versus Short Dress



故宫博物院藏宋徽宗《听琴图》(局部)。

Partial view of Emperor Huizong's *Tingqintu* (Listening to *qin* music) in the Palace Museum Collection.

图片由故宫博物院提供 Photo courtesy of The Palace Museum

古代服饰是身份地位的标识, 有严格的阶级藩篱。唐初, 虽然交领袍与圆领袍共存, 无分轩轻, 但渐渐地便出现了阶级分野, 穿圆领袍的人都可以穿交领袍, 但不是所有穿交领袍的人都可以穿圆领袍, 五代以至宋代、明代尤其明显, 圆领袍主要是有功名的士子、官员和上流社会男性的外袍, 或者是公职人员的制服, 例如宫廷的太监、侍卫、公差、乐工等。平民百姓、贩夫走卒一般只穿交领服。穿圆领服作公服的人, 闲居也会换上交领服, 方便脱卸。

Clothes were symbols of class and status in ancient China. There were strict class barriers differentiating them. Although cross-neck and round-neck robes co-existed in the early Tang dynasty with little class distinction, gradually a class barrier came between them. Wearers of round-neck robe could also wear cross-neck robe, but not all wearers of cross-neck robe were entitled to wear round-neck robe. From the Five Dynasties to the Song dynasty, and especially later during the Ming dynasty, round-neck robe was a decorous outfit mainly worn by degree-holding scholars, officials, men of high-society, or worn as uniform by minor functionaries including eunuchs, guards, attendants and musicians. The commoners and the labouring class could only wear cross-neck dress. People wearing round-neck robe as official attire or uniform would also change into cross-neck dress at leisure times because the latter was easier to put on and take off.



据中国国家博物馆藏南宋刘松年《中兴四将图》摹本局部所绘线图，四大将的副将紧随其后。

Linear sketch based on a later copy of the Southern Song painter Liu Songnian's *Zhongxing sijiangtu* (Four generals of dynastic revival) in the collection of the National Museum of China. Behind the generals are their respective aides.

李惠玲线描 Drawing by B. Li

宋代重文抑武，文人袍服两袖越趋长大宽博，官员闲居或退職文士也崇尚交领袍，但是官服公服基本上仍是唐朝和五代留传下来的圆领服式样。例如北宋徽宗赵佶所绘的《听琴图》，戴道冠的奏琴者穿道装（不一定是道士，只表示退隐），听琴的两位官员则穿下摆接横襕（宋代特色）的大袖圆领袍。至于武人所穿的圆领服则中缝直通到底，袖管宽度适中，袖口保持紧窄，例如南宋刘松年《中兴四将图》所绘四名南宋大将，所穿的圆领窄袖袍于肩头扣系，形制结构与唐太宗立像所穿的如出一辙，显示这形制的男袍流传有绪，自唐初至南宋（1127–1279）的五百多年间少有变改。紧随四人的副将，基本也是这衣式，只是长短有别，下摆略短或齐膝。

In the Song dynasty, the literati were held in much higher esteem than the military men. The sleeves of their robes grew longer and wider. Although officials off work and retired scholar-officials normally wore cross-neck robes, the round-neck design inherited from the Tang and Five Dynasties continued to dominate the official attire and uniform. For instance, in the painting *Tingqintu* (Listening to *qin* music) by Emperor Huizong of the Northern Song dynasty, while the *qin* player wears a Daoist cap and a so-called “Daoist garb” (not necessarily worn by a Daoist priest, but just alluding to retirement from officialdom), the two officials enjoying the music are clad in round-neck robes with long wide sleeves. The centre seam of their robes does not extend to the bottom hem; a separate piece of broad fabric is sewn across the lower part

of the robe (a Song characteristic). As for military men's round-neck robe, the centre seam did extend to the bottom hem, and the sleeves were neither too wide nor too narrow. For example, the four generals of the Southern Song dynasty depicted in Liu Songnian's *Zhongxing sijiangtu* (Four generals of dynastic revival) are all wearing round-neck robes with shoulder-closure and close-fitting sleeves, identical to that worn by Emperor Taizong in his standing portrait, evidencing that this dress form had been handed down almost unchanged for more than five centuries from the early Tang to the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279). Similar but shorter dresses, either slightly shorter or knee-length, are worn by the four aides standing behind their respective superiors.



据明代山西省右玉县宝宁寺《明官朝拜水陆画》局部所绘线图。

Linear sketch based on partial view of *Mingguan chaobai shuiluhua* (Ming officials at ritual redeeming the souls of the deceased) at Baoning Monastery in Youyu county in Shanxi.

李惠玲线描 Drawing by B. Li

明代文武官员的朝服和常服，式样是圆领的宽袖长袍，前后织有以动物标志区分等级的“补子”。明代历朝皇帝的肖像画可以仔细看到其圆领袍除了两袖宽长、右肩也有纽扣，基本结构跟唐太宗肖像所显示的袍并无异致。那高高竖起的领衬更有着立领的作用。明代士子和退職官员则多穿交

领宽边直身长袍。例子有明代山西省右玉县宝宁寺《明官朝拜水陆画》，前面官员穿圆领宽袖袍，后面的儒士穿交领袍，两种袍式代表着不同的身份地位。

The court costume and regular attire of the civil and military officials of the Ming dynasty were in the form of round-neck wide-sleeved robe, woven or embroidered in the front and back with square insignia badge (*buzi*) featuring zoomorphic motifs emblematic of the wearer's rank. The round-neck, wide-sleeved robes with fastenings at the right shoulder worn by the Ming emperors as shown in their portraits are basically similar in structure to the robe worn by Emperor Taizong of the Tang dynasty in his standing portrait. The detachable inner collar protruding high from under

the round-neck of the robe also functioned as a stand-up collar. Ming scholars mostly wore cross-neck robes trimmed with broad facings. In the religious painting *Mingguan chaobai shuiluhua* (Ming officials at ritual redeeming the souls of the deceased) at Baoning Monastery in Youyu county in Shanxi, the officials in the front are donning round-neck wide-sleeved robes while the scholars behind them are in cross-neck robes. Two different robe styles indicate difference of class and status.



明代刻本《玉杵记》插图局部，前方是穿圆领补服的官员及随员，留意圆领袍领沿内翻出的软领衬。后方为乐队。

Woodcut illustration (partial view) in the Ming dynasty novel *Yuchuji* (Legend of the Jade Pestle). In the front is an official in a round-neck attire with insignia badge over the chest, followed by an aide also wearing a round-neck robe. Please note the soft inner collar rising above the neckline of their robes. Behind them is a music band.

李惠玲据沈从文《中国古代服饰研究》插图线描
Drawing by B. Li based on illustration in
Shen Congwen's *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu*



据元代山西洪洞县广胜寺壁画《买鱼图》局部所绘线图。

Linear sketch based on partial view of the Yuan dynasty mural *Maiyutu* (Buying fish) at Guangsheng Monastery in Hongdong county in Shanxi.

李惠玲据沈从文《中国古代服饰研究》插图线描
Drawing by B. Li based on illustration in
Shen Congwen's *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu*

衫袍的长短也是身份等级的标识。唐代文官的圆领袍长及足踝，武官略短或短至膝下。宋代还有所谓“长衣帮”和“短衣帮”的区分。所谓“短衣”，并非如今日所理解之短至臀部或以上；衣不及膝或衣仅过膝，都属短衣。“长衣帮”指文人、商贾、官吏，其“长衣”包括交领和圆领袍，内穿长裤。“短衣帮”指属于劳动阶层的贩夫走卒，穿交领或对襟短衫，衫短不及膝或仅及膝，衣袖和裤腿较窄，《清明上河图》有很多例子。

元代(1271–1368)由蒙古人统治中原九十多年，典章制度并不完备，除了隆重的朝服外，男性公服仍是宋式的大袖圆领袍，圆领边沿内附领衬，露出那斜边看上去颇有近世长衫立领的影子；民间服饰基本仍依宋制，并继续以长短区分阶级。元代山西洪洞县广胜寺的壁画《买鱼图》，描绘了五名穿宋式圆领袍的汉人，衣长仅过膝，估计是官府的执役，跟一个穿及膝短衫，似属交领服的卖鱼人计较秤价。执役虽非贩夫，但属走卒，阶级虽然略高一点，但那长度仅仅过膝的圆领衫是执役公服，透露了社会地位。

The length of the dress and robe was also an indicator of class and status. The round-neck robes worn by Tang civil officials were ankle-length. Those of the military officials were of midcalf-length or just fell below the knee. In the Song dynasty, social class was also differentiated by the height of the hemline—“long-dress class” (*changyibang*) versus “short-dress class” (*duanyibang*). Here “short dress” does not mean hip-length as understood in modern concept. Any dress with above-knee or just-below-knee hemline was designated “short”. “Long-dress class” refers to the elite class including the literati, merchants and officials. Their “long dress” included round-neck and cross-neck robes worn over a pair of trousers. “Short-dress class” refers to the labouring class including street vendors and errand-runners. Their “short dress” could be cross-neck or buttoned down the centre front, above-knee-length or just knee-length, with relative narrow sleeves and trouser legs. Abundant examples can be found in the famous Song painting *Qingming shanghetu* (Along the river during the Qingming Festival).

For nearly a century when the Central Plain was ruled by the Mongols under the Yuan dynasty, institutions and systems were not

well codified. Except for ceremonious court costume, men’s official attire still maintained the round-neck, wide-sleeve format of the Song dynasty. The sloping edges of the detachable inner collar protruding from inside the round-neck had the similar effect of the stand-up collar of the modern cheongsam. The commoners basically still dressed in Song style while the hemline continued to be a class indicator. Examples can be found in the Yuan dynasty mural *Maiyutu* (Buying fish) at Guangsheng Monastery in Hongdong county in Shanxi. Five Han-Chinese men, probably minor government functionaries, in Song-style round-neck robes reaching just beneath the knee are bargaining with the fishmonger who wears a knee-length and apparently cross-neck “short dress”. Although these minor functionaries are not street vendors and their social status is slightly higher than the fishmonger, they are still errand-runners. Despite the round-neck robe, the wearer’s social status is betrayed by the just-below-knee hemline. Their robe is merely an errand-runner’s uniform.

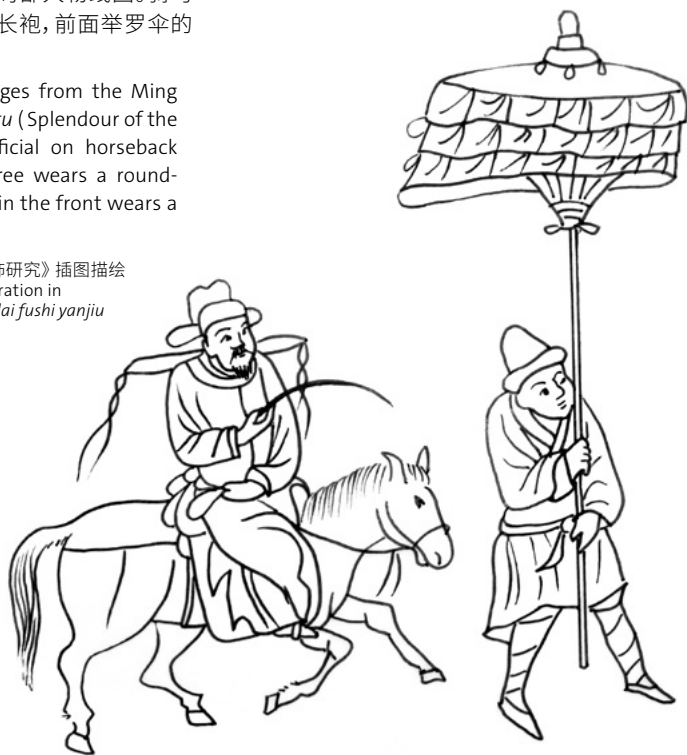
长袍是传统社会有知识、有能力男性的服装，是仕绅服。袍服的长度显示阶级与身份，明代(1368–1644)有不少以刻画社会生活著名的画作，例如描绘明代晚期北京街景的《皇都积胜图》，是对时人衣装的真实纪录，还有大量的木刻插图见于《天工开物》、《御世仁风》等，都证明穿圆领长袍的人大多有特殊的社会地位。

以长衫短衫作为阶级的分野，持续到二十世纪。男装长衫秉承了“长衣帮”的传统，地位高于俗称“短打”的短衫裤，纵便是粗亚麻布的长衫，其品位也高于绫罗绸缎的短衫。鲁迅著名小说《孔乙己》对长衫短衫的阶级分野有尖刻的描写。上世纪前半叶，有资格和经常穿长衫作便服的人大多是文人或官员商贾，短打都是穿在长衫里面作衬底的，有大襟有对襟，是家居服。体面的人外出时都会披上长衫，穿长衫的男性在社会上得到较高的礼遇。

明代《皇都积胜图》内的局部人物线图。骑马背负圣旨的官员穿圆领长袍，前面举罗伞的差役穿交领短衫。

Linear sketch of two images from the Ming painting *Huangdu jishengtu* (Splendour of the imperial capital). The official on horseback bearing the imperial decree wears a round-neck robe. The attendant in the front wears a cross-neck short dress.

李惠玲据沈从文《中国古代服饰研究》插图描绘
Drawing by B. Li based on illustration in
Shen Congwen's *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu*



明代《御世仁风》插画。长衣短衣，明显阶级有别。

Two images from illustrations of the Ming work *Yushi renfeng* (Benevolent ways to rule the people). The length of the outer garment obviously shows social differentiation.

李惠玲据沈从文《中国古代服饰研究》插图描绘
Drawing by B. Li based on illustration in
Shen Congwen's *Zhongguo gudai fushi yanjiu*

Traditionally, the robe has been the clothing for men of knowledge and official duties, hence the outfit of the elite. The length of the robe was indicative of the social class and status of the wearer. There are many famous works depicting people's daily life among Ming dynasty (1368–1644) paintings. For instance, *Huangdu jishengtu* (Splendour of the imperial capital) is known for depicting street scenes of Beijing in the late Ming period. It provides an authentic record of people's clothing style of the time. Large numbers of woodcut illustrations compiled in the Ming books *Tiangong kaiwu* (Exploitation of the works of nature) and *Yushi renfeng* (Benevolent ways to rule the people) also prove that most wearers of round-neck robe enjoyed higher social status.

The practice of differentiating social class by the height of the hemline continued into

the 20th century. Having inherited the social prestige of the “long-dress class”, men's cheongsam was held in higher esteem than men's shirt-and-trouser ensemble. Even though a cheongsam is made of very coarse material, the social status it represents is still higher than that of a silken shirt-and-trouser suit. The social barrier between the long-gown upper class and short-dress lower class is vividly and sarcastically depicted in the short story *Kong Yiji* written by the early 20th-century writer Lu Xun. In the first half of the last century, men who were entitled to wear the cheongsam and often wore it as casualwear were mostly intellectuals, officials or merchants. A shirt-and-trouser suit fastened on the right side or down the centre front was worn underneath. It was a kind of loungewear for the elite who always put on the cheongsam when they went out. Cheongsam wearers were held in higher esteem in the society.

Myth Unravelled: Outcome of Han-Hu Sartorial Integration and Betterment

领、襟、衩的演变

Evolution of the Collar, Closure Style and Side-Slits

明代中叶以前, 中国传统袍服是没有立领的。交领袍讲究其领口与中衣小衣的交领层叠有序, 一般是三层。圆领袍在中唐以后大多露出白色交领中衣领沿或另附的软或硬的“领衬”。明代中叶, 开始出现在交领基础上发展出来的立领, 但主要见于女装衫而非男装袍。及至清代(1644–1911), 男装交领袍鉴于满人的衣着习惯和服制而淡出, 圆领直身袍变得一枝独秀, 但右肩的扣系处降低至右锁骨或稍低; 襟头扣垂直缝缀。其实这是更实用的细节改良, 更方便穿者扣系。初期这位置的襟线轮廓较圆, 后来发展为较方, 即所谓“厂”字襟, 厂字襟和垂直襟头扣自此成为男装长衫经典形制。

Before the mid Ming period, traditional Chinese robes had no stand-up collars. The necklines of the cross-neck robe, middle-garment and undergarment were meticulously arranged to ensure that they overlapped in the right order. Usually three layers of necklines were shown. From the mid Tang onward, the edge of the white collar of the middle-garment and sometimes also a stiff or soft inner collar would be shown above the neckline of the round-neck robe. By the mid Ming period, stand-up collar began to appear on cross-neck costume, but it was mainly found on female dress rather than men's robe. During the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), men's cross-neck robe faded

out due to prevalence of Manchu dressing habit and style. The round-neck robe became the only staple style for men's robe but the fastenings at the shoulder descended to the right clavicle or a bit lower, and were vertically disposed. In fact this was an improvement in practicability because the clavicle fastenings were easier for the wearer to manage. The outline of the outer-flap where the knob of the fastening was attached was quite rounded in the earlier period but grew more angular over time, resulting in the so-called *changzijin* (厂-shaped *jin*-closure). Thereafter, this *jin*-closure style and the upright clavicle fastenings became the classic hallmarks of men's cheongsam.

发源于中国东北部的满族，穿衣特色是紧身窄袖，方便骑射渔猎。入主中原后，清室把坚守满族骑射传统和尚武精神视为关乎社稷江山的头等大事，并通过服饰制度体现出来，至清中叶以后才渐管制松弛。清室把汉族传统纹饰与满族传统服制融合，丰富了后者的内涵。满人或旗人穿袍，紧身窄袖，骤看跟明代的圆领直身袍颇有差异，但基本上仍以流行中原一千多年的圆领右衽直身袍为基础，只是肩扣下移数寸成为襟头扣，窄袖口加上“马蹄袖口”设计。

按北京故宫所藏实物显示，虽然清末受汉化和西化影响而有装上立领的女袍，清宫男袍一直以圆领（秃领）为主。



The Manchus originating from northeast China were used to wear close-fitting and narrow-sleeved clothing to facilitate riding, archery, fishing and hunting. After entering the Central Plain, the Qing court considered upholding their equestrian-archery tradition and martial spirit the foremost important thing concerning the fate of the Qing regime. This was manifested through the dress code system. Strict control over the dress code only gradually slackened after the mid Qing period. The Qing court incorporated traditional Han decorative motifs into traditional Manchu costume, greatly enriching the connotation of the latter. At first glance, the close-fitting narrow-sleeved robes worn by the Manchus and Bannermen seemed to be quite different from the round-neck robes of the Ming dynasty. However, their basic construction was similar to the round-neck right-fastened robe prevailed in Central Plain for more than a thousand years, except that shoulder fastenings were replaced by clavicle fastenings, and horsehoof cuffs were added.

Extant examples in the collection of the Palace Museum reveal that although some female robes of the late Qing period were furnished with stand-up collars due to Han influence and Westernisation, imperial robes for males were predominantly collarless.

故宫博物院藏乾隆“绛色二则团龙纹暗花缎男棉常服袍”，马蹄袖口，四开裾，有当时较罕见的高立领。

Regular robe with horsehoof cuffs, rare stand-up collar and slit in the front, the back and the sides, Qianlong period, in the Palace Museum collection.

图片由故宫博物院提供 Photo courtesy of The Palace Museum



香港艺术馆藏清代织锦八吉祥纹龙袍（正面和背面），圆领，马蹄袖口，前后左右四开裾。

Dragon robe (front and back view) of the Qing dynasty with brocade dragon roundels, round neck, horsehoof cuffs and four slits in the front, the back and the sides, in the Hong Kong Museum of Art Collection.

Photos courtesy of the Hong Kong Museum of Art



清官服制, 只有皇帝及宗室成员才能穿前后左右开衩(又称“开裾”)的常服袍。非宗室人员无论官至几品, 即使权倾一方, 袍子也只能前后开裾, 除非皇帝赏赐, 不得穿四开裾常服袍。其实唐代已有四开裾(前后左右), 用于戎服, 非满人所创, 在清代却成为高贵身份的象征。从清宫保存的清帝袍服, 可以看到十七世纪末清初康熙帝的行服袍以至十九世纪末晚清光绪帝的常服袍, 相距二百年, 造型基本不变, 都是典型的满制袍, 只是前者的“缺襟”具有更鲜明的满族特色。

According to Qing imperial dress code, only the emperor and male members of his family were entitled to wear regular robes with a slit in the front, the back and the sides. Other nobility or state officials, regardless of their rank and status, could only wear robes with front and back slits, unless the robe was bestowed by the emperor. In fact, the “four-slit” robe was not a Manchu invention. The design was already adopted by military attire in the Tang dynasty, but later became a symbol of noble status in the Qing period. Imperial robes of the Qing emperors in the collection of the Palace Museum as exemplified by Emperor Kangxi’s travel robe of the late 17th century and Emperor Guangxu’s regular robe of the late 19th century have proved that the form of these robes was basically unchanged over two centuries. Both are typical Manchu robes, only that the “incomplete closure” (*quejin*) design of the travel robe is more distinctive.



由上而下 From Top to Bottom

故宫博物院藏清初康熙“红色寸蟒妆花缎棉行服袍”, 前右幅下方为“缺襟”设计。

Early Qing red silk padded travel robe with mini-dragon motif, Kangxi period, in the Palace Museum Collection. The lower half of the right front panel features the “incomplete closure” design.

故宫博物院藏清末光绪“草绿团万字菊花杂宝纹理暗花缎男单常服袍”, 圆领, 马蹄袖口, 四开裾。

Late Qing grass green silk regular robe with round neck, horsehoof cuffs and slit in the front, the back and the sides, Guangxu period, in the Palace Museum Collection.

图片由故宫博物院提供 Photos courtesy of The Palace Museum

光绪帝在寝宫闲居所穿的便服袍, 据一画像看也跟汉族袍服一样没有马蹄袖, 袖管袖口也较宽, 前后都没有衩, 只是左右开裾(光绪帝的画像没有显示便服后幅有否开衩, 但按清宫便服形制推断, 后面应该没有衩), 显示出骑射民族的衣衫特色随着适应中原民族的生活模式而改变, 尽管礼仪服和朝服仍刻意保持满族元素, 闲居便服已顺应了满汉融合的文化大潮流。

From a portrait showing Emperor Guangxu in a leisure outfit, we can see that his robe has no horsehoof cuffs and the sleeve openings are relatively wide. There are no slits in the front and back (the portrait of Emperor Guangxu does not reveal the back but other references suggest that there should be no slit in the back) as in the case of robes worn by the Han Chinese. These leisure robes indicate that the costume of the horseback people changed as they adapted to the lifestyle of the Central Plain. Although their ceremonial and court costumes still managed to preserve some Manchu elements, their leisure costumes had joined the big current of sartorial integration partaken by the Manchus and the Han people.



故宫博物院藏《清人画弘历狐获鹿图像轴》(局部)中穿着富有满族特色“缺襟”行袍的乾隆帝。

Partial view of *Emperor Qianlong Chasing a Deer on a Hunting Trip*, in the Palace Museum Collection, showing the emperor wearing a typical Manchu-style travel robe with “incomplete closure”.

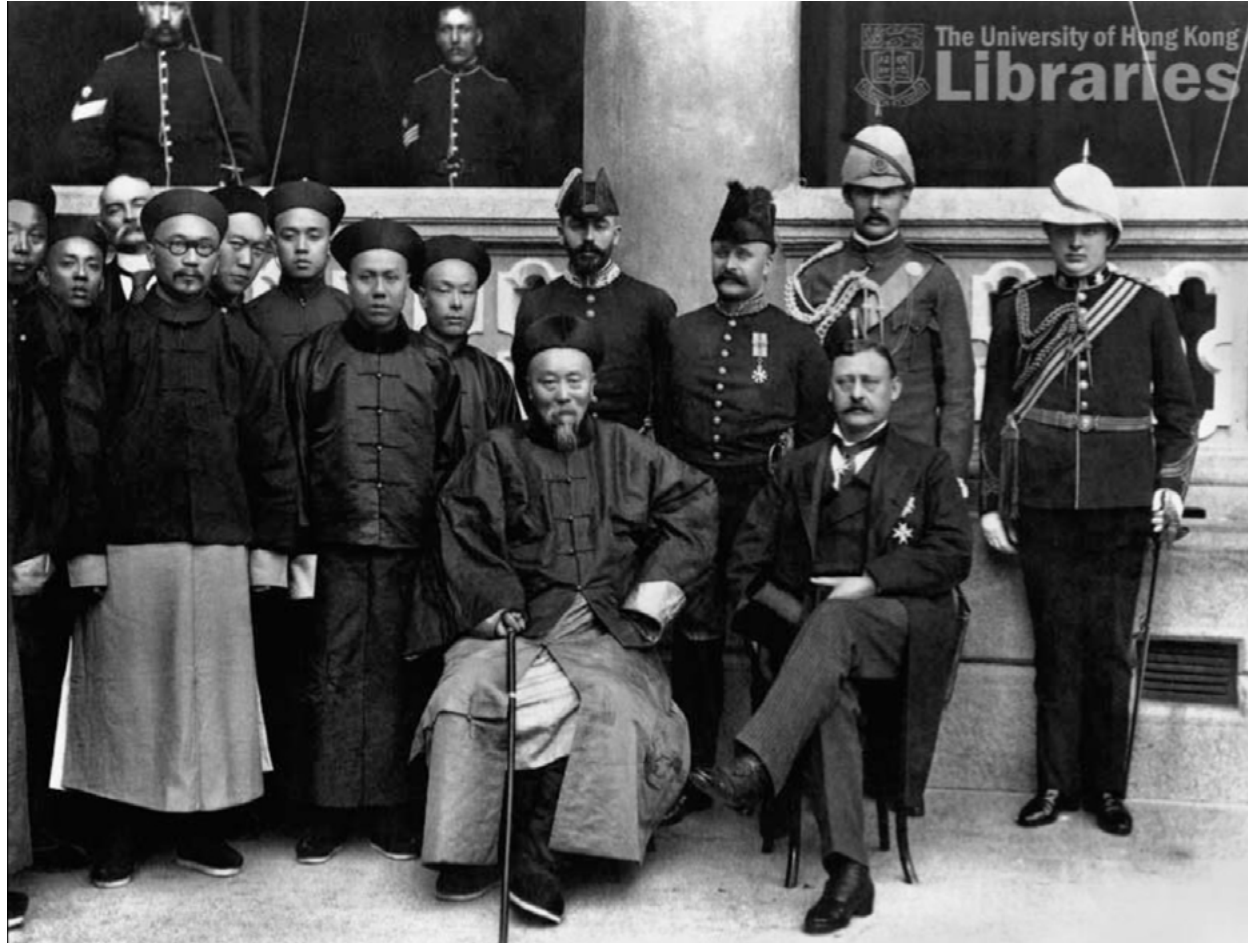
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Photo courtesy of The Palace Museum



故宫博物院藏清末《清人画载湉便服写字像轴》(局部), 无马蹄袖口, 前中也没有衩。

Portrait (partial) of Emperor Guangxu in leisure outfit, late Qing period. The robe has neither horsehoof cuffs nor slit in the centre front.

图片由故宫博物院提供 Photo courtesy of The Palace Museum



1900

两广总督李鸿章于香港与港督卜力会面。他穿的也是满制“行服”的“缺襟袍”。

Li Hongzhang, Viceroy of Guangdong-Guangxi Provinces, is invited by Governor Sir Henry Blake to Hong Kong for a discussion. Li is wearing a typical Manchu travel robe with “incomplete closure”.

Photo courtesy of The University of Hong Kong Libraries



1909

郡王载洵(前排左二)赴欧美考察海军,所穿正是满制“行服”,窄长马蹄袖、四开裾、“缺襟”、腰束行带,跟当时满汉交融的便服袍有很大分别。

Prince Zaixun (2nd left in front row) on an inspection tour of Europe and America. In this photo he is wearing a Manchu-style four-slit travel robe with “incomplete closure”, long narrow sleeves, horsehoof cuffs, and a girdle. The style of his robe is very different from the leisure robe integrating Manchu and Han elements of the time.

Photo courtesy of the Hong Kong Museum of History

至于一般汉族男子的长袍,除了官服外不会有马蹄袖,衩仍旧开在左右两侧,而且袖子明显宽长。《清代学者象传》一、二集所收录的清初、清中叶、晚清学者的肖像画,清楚显示汉族儒士袍服的式样和变化。他们的长袍都是右衽,在右锁骨下方扣系,但不少都是宽身阔袖,袖长过手,下摆有垂至脚面,或露出阔口裤,颇有“褒衣博带”余韵,甚见飘逸;偶尔腰束布带,极少穿靴子,跟满族或旗人所穿的衣装明显有别。初期全是圆领,十九世纪开始出现容易拆卸而不影响领圈结构的软立领,整件长袍跟现时的男装长衫并无异致。

以上对中国传统男性圆领袍的探源和对其流变的阐述,是希望通过历史文献和文物证明所谓男装长衫是“源自满人的袍”这说法的不确。可以说,男装长衫形制是历代汉族与周边民族文化以至近世西方文化碰撞、借鉴、交融、演变、精简和优化的成果,现今的男性长衫是可以代表中华民族身份的男子正装。

The robes worn by the Han-Chinese had no horsehoof cuffs except for official attire. The slits were still restricted to the sides only, and the sleeves were obviously longer and wider. The portraits of many early, mid and late Qing scholars compiled in the book *Qingdai xuezhe xiangzhuan* (Portraits and biographies of Qing scholars) clearly reveal the stylistic evolution of the robes worn by Han-Chinese scholars. All their right-fastened robes have a pair of fastenings below the clavicle, but many of these robes are loose-fitting and wide-sleeved. The sleeves are so long that they conceal the hands when let down. The hemlines are almost floor-length, or allowing the bottom hem of the wide-leg trousers to peep out from underneath. The overall image is reminiscent of the flowing elegance of the “roomy dress with broad girdle” prevailed during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period. They occasionally wear cloth girdles but boots are rare. The robes worn by these scholars are obviously quite different from those worn by the Manchus and Bannermen. Initially their robes are all collarless, but soft stand-up collars that could easily be dismantled without affecting the intactness of the neckline begin to appear from the 19th century onward. Thereafter their robes are little different from men's cheongsam of today.

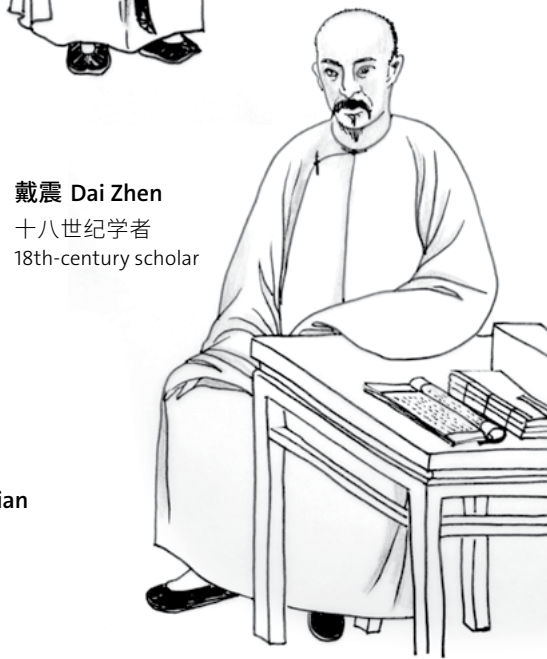
The origin and evolution of men's traditional Chinese round-neck robe elucidated so far is intended to invalidate through historical documents and cultural relics the claim that men's cheongsam is “derived from the Manchu robe”. It can be concluded that the dress form of men's cheongsam is an epitome of the collision, adaptation, integration, transformation, simplification and betterment of the sartorial cultures of the Han Chinese and the surrounding peoples and even Western culture in modern times. Today's male cheongsam justifies as a formal attire emblematic of the wearer's Chinese national identity.



钱谦益 Qian Qianyi
十七世纪学者
17th-century scholar



黄遵宪 Huang Zunxian
十九世纪学者
19th-century scholar



戴震 Dai Zhen
十八世纪学者
18th-century scholar

经典篇

男装长衫自二十世纪中期后被冷落了半个世纪，却不失矜贵。也因为无缘流行，又或一种解释不了的抗衡能力，其经典形制、剪裁和工艺仿佛在一九五零年代进入了凝镜，保存至今。

Classic Elegance

Despite losing popularity after the mid-1950s, men's cheongsam never loses its privileged identity and has since become a symbol of status. Whatever the cause, lacking the luck to prevail or due to an inexplicable power of self-preservation, its classic form, cut and crafting technique seem to have been locked in freeze frame in the 1950s and remain well-preserved today.



Westernisation Withstood: Men's Cheongsam of the Late Qing and Early Republican Periods



抗御洪流，屹立不倒

Withstanding the Tide of Westernisation

清末因为国力衰弱而被列强欺凌，西方文化也大举入侵，国人为了救亡不得不进行西化和现代化。十九世纪末至二十世纪初，正值清末民初，西化潮流席卷全国，服饰居“衣食住行”之首，冲击自不能免，西洋以至东洋的衣装在中国城市开始亮相，改变首先见于女装。

Weakening of national strength in the late Qing period led to humiliation by foreign powers, followed by vast invasion of Western culture. In order to save the nation, the Chinese people had little choice but to seek transformation through Westernisation and modernisation. Around the turn of the 20th century marking the ending years of the Qing dynasty and the beginning of the Republican period, Western culture swept across China. Clothing as the foremost of the “four basic needs of Chinese people's livelihood” (the other three being food, shelter and transportation) was inevitably subject to great impact. Western as well as Japanese clothing styles began to appear in Chinese cities, and changes were first seen in women's clothes.

1890

福州太兴洋行的买办和职员。长衫秃领、袖宽长，无腰带，只有侧衩，配布鞋，大概是当时汉人的长衫形象。

Tai Hing comprador and staff in Fuzhou, Fujian. Their collarless cheongsam with long and wide sleeves, side-slits only and no waist belt, along with cloth shoes, probably provides a common image of Han-Chinese cheongsam wearers of the time.

Photo courtesy of the John Oswald Collection, University of Bristol Library

传统女服由宽身大袖的直身袍或裙褂渐渐变窄, 终于演变出民初时期相对简便俐落的两件头“文明新装”。但是, 尽管不少男性尤其知识分子和需要与洋人交往的各色人等也穿上洋装, 社会上男性穿西服不是主流。民初时期北京的大中小学教师多是外穿蓝布长衫, 下穿西式裤子, 或穿改良自日本制服和学生装的“中山装”。男装长衫虽然也偶尔采用舶来面料, 其形制和剪裁竟然能抵御西化的洪流, 始终保持不变, 长衫马褂仍是最普遍、最得体 and 最为人受落的男服。

Traditional loose-fitting and wide-sleeved female robe or skirt gradually took on a slimmer silhouette and finally gave birth to the relatively simple and neat two-piece ensemble known as *wenming xin Zhuang* (“civilised new outfit”). However, despite support from many Chinese males especially intellectuals and people whose profession necessitated frequent contact with foreigners, Western-style clothing was not men’s wardrobe staple of the time. In the early Republican years, the majority of the male school teachers of all levels in Beijing wore a blue cheongsam over a pair of Western trousers, or some wore centre-buttoned Zhongshan suits inspired by Japanese uniform and Japanese student clothing. Although imported fabrics were occasionally used, the form and cut of men’s cheongsam still managed to withstand the strong tides of Westernisation and remained unchanged. The cheongsam and Ma Kwa (*magua*) jacket ensemble remained the most common, most decorous, and most well-received male outfit of the time.



1907 – 1915

一群估计是山西的基督徒在园中合照。半数长衫有立领, 袖子明显比1890年照片中的短窄。

A group of men, probably Christians in Shanxi, posing in a garden. Half the cheongsams have stand-up collars and most sleeves are obviously shorter and narrower than those in the 1890 photo.

Photo courtesy of the Sydney Smith Collection, University of Bristol Library



1919 – 1922

穿“中山装”的孙中山先生与穿两件头“文明新装”的宋庆龄。

Dr Sun Yat-sen in a Zhongshan suit and Soong Ching-ling in a blouse-and-skirt ensemble known as the “civilised new outfit”.

Photo courtesy of the John Thompson Collection, University of Bristol Library

1919年的五四运动由爱国抗日运动演变一场浩荡的新文化、新思潮运动,影响深远。未知是因为觉得男性长衫比两件头的衫裙方便利落,抑或要与男生看齐,争取男女平权,部分女生披上男装长衫上街示威去,跟著有不少前卫的女生仿效,女穿男袍成一时风尚。这情况令人联想到唐代女穿男袍的风气。穿男装骑马出游或打马球的贵妇英姿飒飒,穿男装的侍女看来分外伶俐敏慧。女穿男装,反映出以传统男性为中

心的社会,以男性为强者,女性对男性尤其是有权力者产生崇拜意识,不自觉地向往男性的形象,甚至潜意识要跟男性看齐。这种心理因素体现于服饰上,最直接的就是换上男装。因此,五四运动时女生穿上男装长衫的动机其实不难理解。然而女性总是爱美,身上的男性化长袍很快便被改造过来,在形制和装饰上加入女性化元素,有说所谓“旗人的袍”的“旗袍”大概由此而来。



1919

6月28日北京。“五四”爱国运动的学生与总统徐世昌会面。同日,中国代表团拒绝在《凡尔赛条约》上签字把德国在山东的全部权益转让日本。男生们都身穿长衫,当年穿男袍上街游行的女生,可能就是穿这些男生的长衫。

28th June, Beijing. Students of the patriotic May-Fourth Movement meet President Xu Shichang. On the same day, China's representatives refuse to sign the *Treaty of Versailles* to transfer Germany's interests in Shandong to Japan. The male students are wearing cheongsam. The female students who take to the street to protest in men's cheongsam are probably wearing the same.

Photo courtesy of Sydney D. Gamble Photographs Collection, Duke University Libraries

The May-Fourth Movement of 1919 started as an anti-Japanese patriotic campaign but soon turned into an overwhelming movement with a far-reaching impact, instigating new culture and new thought. Some female students donned the men's cheongsam when they took to the street to stage protest. It is still uncertain whether they had found the one-piece robe worn by men more convenient than their blouse-and-skirt ensemble, or they actually wanted to be on a par with the men and to fight for gender equality. Anyway, many bold female students followed suit, and female students donning men's robe became a fashion. This reminds us of a similar trend in the Tang dynasty. Noble ladies in men's robe riding on horseback for an outing or a polo game were admired for their valiant demeanour. Their maids in men's robe seem to look smarter and

more agile. In ancient patriarchal societies, men were considered the stronger sex. Women donning men's clothes was a phenomenon reflecting women's worship for men in particular men of power. Women unconsciously adored men's image and even subconsciously longed to keep abreast with men. When this psychological factor was epitomised in sartorial practice, the most direct expression was to change into men's clothes. Therefore, the female students' motive to put on men's cheongsam during the May-Fourth Movement is in fact not difficult to comprehend. However, before long, women's inherent tendency toward beauty prompted them to modify the shape of men's cheongsam and introduce decorative elements to make it look more feminine. The *qipao*, allegedly “Manchu robe”, probably came from this.



1918

穿长衫的孙中山先生,摄于上海莫里哀路的公馆。

Dr Sun Yat-sen in cheongsam, in his Rue Moliere home in Shanghai.

Photo courtesy of The University of Hong Kong Libraries

风靡上海的旗袍以至后来传到广州和香港而被称为“长衫”的女服,过去一个世纪由平面发展至立体结构,经历黄金时期、衰落以至韬光养晦阶段,除了保留了右衽门襟、立领、侧衩和蕴含历代裁缝智慧的工艺外,其外观和不少细节已极为西化。相反地,男装长衫于1950年代以后虽然无缘流行,却是塞翁失马,焉知非福,至今除了仍然保持传统中国袍服的“右衽直裾”、“连肩平袖”和“五身剪裁”的平面结构外,仍然沿用“厂字襟”和布直扣,袖长过腕,衣长几及足踝,从保存传统文化的角度来看,实属弥足珍贵。男装长衫形制幸免于西化,似非人力刻意所为,只可以说是异数。

No matter it was the *qipao* that took Shanghai by storm or the *cheongsam* that later found expression in Guangzhou and Hong Kong, this female dress form has seen great changes over the past century. It evolved from two-dimensional to three-dimensional in structure, enjoyed its Golden Age and then declined in popularity and thereafter kept a low profile. Despite preserving the right-fastened closure, stand-up collar, side-slits as well as the tailoring technique embodying the wisdom of Chinese tailors passed down through generations, the female *cheongsam* is in fact highly Westernised in appearance and details. On the contrary, although men's *cheongsam* ceased to be popular after the 1950s, there is actually a positive twist to the consequence. Fortuitously, its classic two-dimensional structure, “five-body” cut, right-fastened closure style with straight side-hem, omission of shoulder seams and armhole seams, as well as the *changzijin* closure design, straight fabric fastenings, wrist-concealing long sleeves, and the almost ankle-length hemline end up well preserved. This is indeed amazing from the perspective of cultural heritage preservation. That the classic form of men's *cheongsam* has escaped Westernisation seems to have little to do with human effort. It is a miracle perhaps.



1920s – 1930s

出席南京庆典的民国政要和教育家,前排左至右:蔡元培、孙科、伍朝枢、不知名者、胡汉民、不知名者,除了孙科外都穿长衫或加上马褂。

Prominent Nationalist politicians and educationist attending a ceremony. First row left to right: Cai Yuanpei, Sun Ke, Wu Chaoshu, unidentified man, Hu Hanmin and unidentified man.

Photo courtesy of the Fu Bingchang Collection, University of Bristol Library



1. 蔡元培仍穿双梁布鞋
Cai is still wearing a pair of traditional cloth shoes with “double ridges” over the toes



2. 蔡、孙、伍、胡都手拿西式毡帽
Cai, Sun, Wu and Hu have a Western hat in hand



早年大力拥护中装的林语堂。
Lin Yutang, an avid supporter of Chinese clothing in his earlier years.



别无更佳选择而穿长衫的鲁迅。
Lu Xun had no better choice than accepting the cheongsam.

民初有不少学贯中西的学者，其中不乏曾留学欧美的，都欣然接受西式服装，平日中西替换。但是，也有不爱西服而对以长衫为主的传统中国男服推崇备至，其中最具代表性的是林语堂。这位曾留学德国、美国，有“幽默大师”之称的大才子，1934年发表的〈论西装〉把西装说得一文不值，他认为中服的优点“正在不但能通毛孔呼吸，并且无论冬夏皆宽适如意，四通八达，何部痒处，皆搔得着…。将一切重量载于肩上令衣服自然下垂的中服是唯一合理的人类服装”。他对西服的评价非常尖酸和夸大，但对“中服”（应该指长衫）的欣赏和恭维并非盲目，他确是对长衫的结构形制，与穿者身体的配合有独到的观察和认识。

1934年鲁迅于《申报》发表的〈洋服们的没落〉一文说“所以改来改去，大约总还是袍子马褂牢稳。虽然也是外国服，但恐怕是不会脱下的了”。他说“外国服”，明显是以“唯汉族独尊”的狭隘心态认定“满清”是外邦，长衫是“满人的袍”，所以是外国服。但似乎鲁迅的旧照片中，他偏偏就是穿长衫最好看、最有学者风范，也难怪他不打算脱下来。然而，不论是林语堂的真心想拥护，抑或鲁迅的无奈接受，男装长衫的优点实在不容忽视。

In the early Republican period there were many intellectuals who were well-versed in both Chinese and Western learnings. Those who had studied abroad in Europe and the United States gladly embraced Western sartorial culture and maintained a wardrobe consisting of both Chinese and Western clothing. However, there were also intellectuals who disdained Western suits and avidly supported traditional Chinese menswear especially the cheongsam. The most outspoken among this group was the great writer Lin Yutang who was hailed “Master of Humour” for having introduced the Western concept of humour to China. He had studied in Germany and the United States. In the essay “About Western Suit” (1934), he relentlessly jeers at the Western suit and heaps praises on men’s cheongsam which “not only allows the pores of the skin to breath, but also provides comfort in all seasons. The roomy construction also allows the hand to scratch whichever parts of the body that feel itchy.... The shoulder carries the entire weight of the dress, allowing it to drape naturally. Chinese dress (probably referring to cheongsam) is the only reasonable dress for human beings.” His attack on Western clothing is sarcastic and exaggerated, but his admiration and compliments for men’s cheongsam are

by no means irrational. He certainly had a keen observation and understanding of the structure and form of men’s cheongsam and their interaction with the wearer’s bodily form and movement.

Lu Xun’s famous essay “The Downfall of Western Clothing” published in the newspaper *Shenbao* in 1934 contains these lines: “Therefore, despite [the formal dress code] being changed again and again, after all the robe (men’s cheongsam) and *magua* (Ma Kwa) are probably the most reliable. Though foreign clothing they are, I am afraid we won’t do without them.” Calling the cheongsam and Ma Kwa “foreign clothing” blatantly discloses the narrow-mindedness and unduly pride generated from Han chauvinism. Since he considered the Manchus “foreign”, the cheongsam—a Manchu robe in his understanding—was “foreign costume”. Ironically, old pictures of Lu Xun in cheongsam best present his image and capture his scholarly demeanour. No wonder he had no intension of giving the dress up. Anyhow, no matter it was heartily embraced by Lin Yutang or reluctantly accepted by Lu Xun, men’s cheongsam indubitably has unneglectable merits.

中西混搭, 格调独特 Unique East-Meets-West Style



1920s

民初时期中西混搭的例子, 穿长衫马褂配西式帽的男子, 摄于影楼。

East-meets-West style in the early Republican period. Two men posing in a studio wearing cheongsam, Ma Kwa and Western hat.

Photo courtesy of the Hong Kong Museum of History

男装长衫的结构形制没有经历西化, 但不表示与西服绝缘。民初时期的男装长衫也跟女装长衫一样, 流行中西混搭。当时大概受西服的影响, 男装长衫已很少采用女性化的颜色, 中层阶级人士一般不一定在长衫外再罩马褂或坎肩, 但会内穿西装裤甚至西式衬衣, 足蹬革履。比较早期内里仍要以中式对襟短衫衬底的传统穿法, 这中西混搭相对简单, 又比穿整套西服随便适意, 更有民国初年知识分子特有的朴素和温文尔雅气质, 中西融汇, 不卑不亢而与时俱进。有些较讲究的, 仍然穿上坎肩或马褂, 更配备西洋毡帽或巴拿马草帽, 手策“文明棍”(西方绅士手杖), 甚至戴上金丝或玳瑁框眼镜, 冬天时外披西装大衣等, 看上去丝毫没有不协调, 这是民初男性中西混搭的另一典范, 是一种“派头”。当时男装长衫就是以这些方式, 在西化洪流中不但屹立不倒, 还晋身国民政府礼服之列。

Although the structure and form of men's cheongsam have been spared the impact of Westernisation, it does not mean that it was completely immune to Western sartorial influence. Like its female counterpart of the time, early Republican cheongsam for men also joined the East-meets-West fashion trend. Likely due to the influence of the Western suit, men's cheongsam had largely avoided using fabrics of feminine colours, and most middle-class men no longer wore a Ma Kwa jacket or a waistcoat over their cheongsam. Rather, they would wear Western trousers and even shirts

underneath the cheongsam, along with a pair of leather shoes. Compared with the earlier practice of wearing a Chinese shirt-and-trousers ensemble as the underwear for cheongsam, this East-meets-West fusion outfit was relatively simple and at the same time more casual and relaxed than donning a full set of Western suit. This fusion style also emitted an air of modesty and scholarly elegance typical of early Republican intellectuals. It mirrored the integration of Chinese and Western cultures, suggesting neither overbearing nor self-deprecation while keeping abreast of the times. The more fastidious cheongsam

wearers would still wear a Ma Kwa or a waistcoat, complemented by a formal Western hat or Panama hat, a Western gentlemen's walk stick or even a pair of gold-rimmed or turtoiseshell-framed spectacles. In winter time, a Western topcoat would be worn over the cheongsam. Yet, the overall effect never suggested any dissonance. On the contrary, these trappings were considered very stylish and the paragon of trendiness. In this respect, men's cheongsam managed to withstand the strong current of Westernisation of the time. It was even designated men's formal attire by the Nationalist Government.



1940

著名民国政治家和外交官傅秉常(右)与王宠惠(左)摄于重庆巴县独石桥, 身后为1934年产的别克(香港译作标域)轿车。二人皆学贯中西, 着装也是中西混搭, 是民国时期很有派头的打扮。

Prominent Republican politicians and diplomats Foo Ping-sheung (Fu Bingchang) and Wang Chonghui in Dushiqiao in Baxian, Chongqing, with a 1934 Buick behind them. Foo and Wang are well versed in both Chinese and Western learnings. Their East-meets-West dressing style is considered stylish at the time.

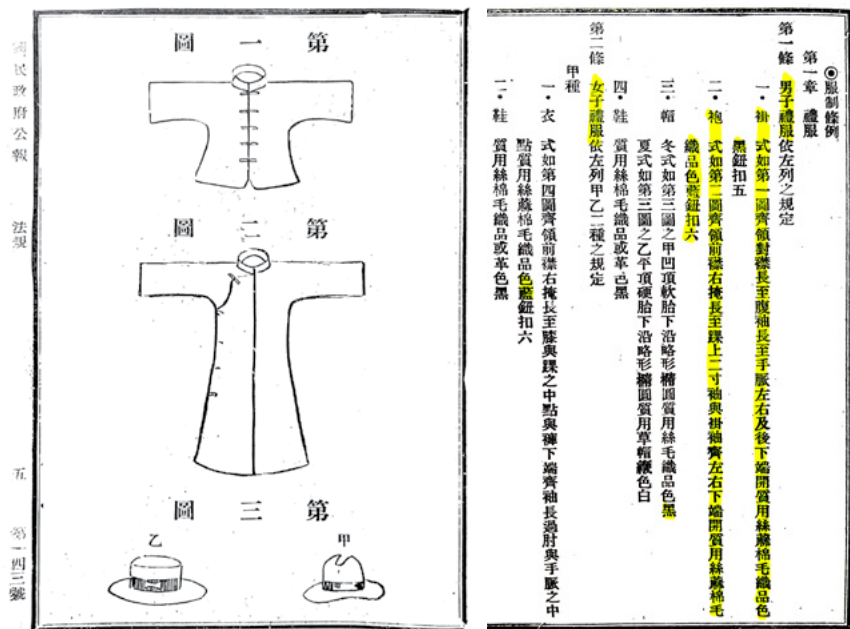
Photo courtesy of the Fu Bingchang Collection, University of Bristol Library

民国时期指定的男性礼服

Men's Formal Attire Designated by the Nationalist Government

民国十八年(1929)四月十六日, 国民政府颁布《服制条例》, 图文并茂, 细节清楚列出, 其中第一条为“男子礼服”:

In the illustrated *Fuzhi tiaoli* (Dress Code) promulgated by the Nationalist Government on 16th April 1929 (18th year of the Republican period), the specifications of “Men's Formal Outfit” are clearly stipulated as follows:



1929年(民国十八年)《服制条例》男子礼服规定和样式。

请留意“第二图”的襟头扣不应倾斜, 当是垂直的, 因为与历史图片和实物中的长衫细节不符。

Specifications and illustrations of men's formal outfit in *Fuzhi tiaoli* (Dress Code) promulgated by the Nationalist Government in 1929 (18th year of the Republican period).

Please note that the clavicle fastenings in Figure 2 should be upright instead of slanting because historical photos and extant examples have proved so.

一 褂 *Gua* (MA KWA)

式如第一图, 齐领对襟, 长至腹, 袖长至手脉, 左右及后下端开, 质用丝麻棉毛织品, 色黑, 钮扣五。

See Figure 1. Square-ended collar; buttoned down centre front; belly-length; sleeves ending at wrist; slits in the lower part in the left, right and back; made of silken, linen, cotton and woollen materials; black in colour; five pairs of fastenings.

二 袍 *Pao* (ROBE)

式如第二图, 齐领前襟右掩, 长至踝上二寸, 袖与褂袖齐, 左右下端开, 质用丝麻棉毛织品, 色蓝, 钮扣六。

See Figure 2. Square-ended collar; wrap-over closure with right fastenings; sleeves same length as the *Gua* (Ma Kwa); slits in the lower part in the left and right; made of silken, linen, cotton and woollen materials; blue in colour; six pairs of fastenings.

三 帽 *Hat*

冬式如第三图之甲, 凹顶软胎下沿略形椭圆, 质用丝毛织品, 色黑。

夏式如第三图之乙, 平顶硬胎下沿略形椭圆, 质用草帽缙, 色白。

Winter Hat: See Figure 3a. Soft hat with indented top and mildly oval brim; made of silken and woollen materials; black in colour.

Summer Hat: See Figure 3b. Stiff hat with flat top and mildly oval brim; woven out of straw; white in colour.

四 鞋 *Shoes*

质用丝棉毛织品或革, 色黑。

Made of silken, cotton and woollen materials or leather; black in colour.

这《服制条例》中的“男子礼服”，明显是中西混搭，因为其中的帽并非传统中式礼帽，也可以配革履，即是西式鞋子。条例中的“袍”就是当时社会上普遍叫“长袍”、“长衫”的男性着装。这条例使当时直至第二次世界大战后初期的男装长衫享有相当崇高的地位，长衫马褂也理所当然的中西混搭。男子公务员则穿改良的“中山装”。至于劳动阶层的男子，多是穿短衫裤和布鞋。

顺带一提，《服制条例》中“女子礼服”的“衣”，基本与“男子礼服”的“袍”同样形制，只有长短和一些细节的差异，而且内穿

长裤，与当时流行的旗袍是两码子的事，因此后世流传“旗袍是中华民国的国服”有商榷处。

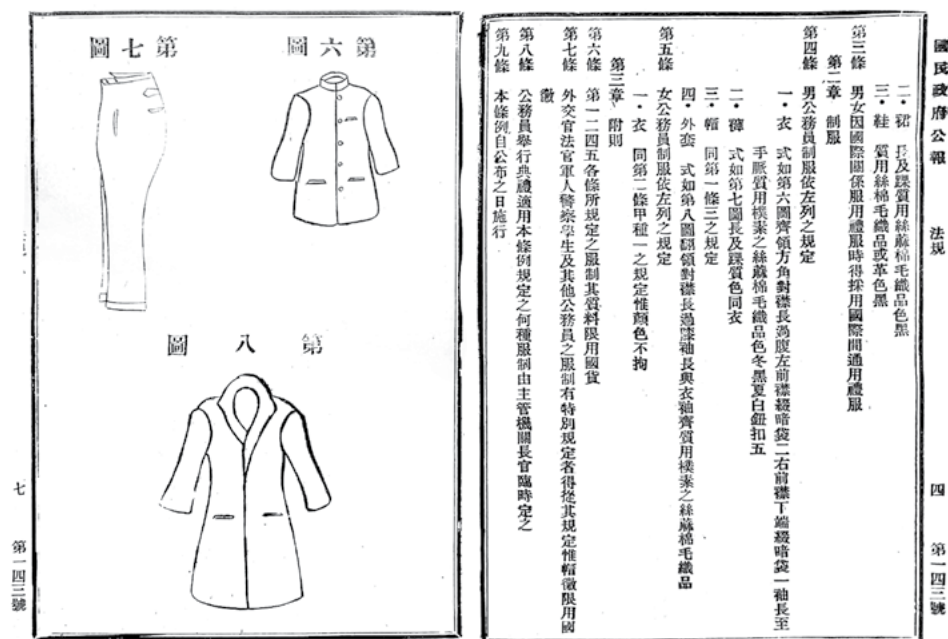
时至今日，不少人仍然把蓝长衫配黑色对襟马褂视为男装中式礼服的首选配搭，例如2010年9月，台湾的马英九和一众官员穿起蓝长衫黑马褂举行祭孔大典；2014年10月元朗厦村乡太平清醮，父老们都穿起蓝长衫配黑坎肩或黑马褂出席典礼；2015年及2018年香港举办的“清明祭祖大典”，主礼嘉宾均穿上蓝长衫和黑马褂作礼服，显示这配搭作为礼服长衫的持续认受性。

The Men's Formal Outfit stipulated in the *Dress Code* is clearly a fusion outfit combining Chinese and Western sartorial elements. The hats are by no means traditional Chinese formal hats (or caps). Leather shoes are obviously Western. *Pao*, literally “robe”, refers to men's robe, commonly called *changpao* or *cheongsam* at that time. As a result of official endorsement, men's cheongsam enjoyed very high status from the 1920s to the early post-war period, and the East-meets-West style of the outfit became a matter of course. Male civil servants wore a modified suit called the “Zhongshan suit” as their uniform. The majority of the labouring class wore the Chinese shirt-and-trousers ensemble and cloth shoes.

It is worth noting that the main item constituting Women's Formal Outfit in the *Dress Code* is called *Yi*, literally “dress”. It is almost identical in shape and cut to the *Pao* in the Men's Formal Outfit, except differing in length and some details. A pair of trousers is required to be worn underneath this

“dress”, further differentiating this female formal attire from the prevalent *qipao* of the time. Therefore, the popular claim in later ages that “qipao was the national costume of the Republic of China” is dubious.

Today, many people still consider the blue cheongsam and centre-buttoned black Ma Kwa the most preferred Chinese formal outfit for men. To name a few examples, in September 2010, the Taiwanese politician Ma Ying-jeou and a group of officials put on the blue cheongsam and black Ma Kwa to officiate the Confucius Memorial Ceremony in Taiwan; in October 2014, the seniors of Ha Tsuen Heung in Yuen Long in Hong Kong attending the Taiping Qingjiao rituals also wore a blue cheongsam under a black waistcoat or black Ma Kwa; in 2015 and 2018, the lay officiants of the Ching Ming Ancestral Worship Ceremony in Hong Kong were largely clad in blue cheongsam and black Ma Kwa. The continuous recognition of this cheongsam and Ma Kwa ensemble as formal outfit is evident.



《服制条例》男子公服规定和样式。

Specifications and illustrations of men's government uniform in *Fuzhi tiaoli* (Dress Code).

不妨比较一下这两幅图片

It is interesting to compare these two photos

左图坐在洋人身旁三位穿西装的中国男子，相信是高级职员，其他穿典型民国式样长衫的可能是文职，也可能是厂房技工，但因为是颁奖典礼，所以都披上长衫出席（前排的可见到革履）。

The three men in Western suit sitting next to Mr Pulman in the left photo are believed to be senior staff of the company while the rest in typical Republican-style cheongsam could be clerks or factory workers. Undoubtedly, the cheongsam wearers have deemed their attire befitting the award presentation ceremony (leather shoes can be seen in the front row).



1930s

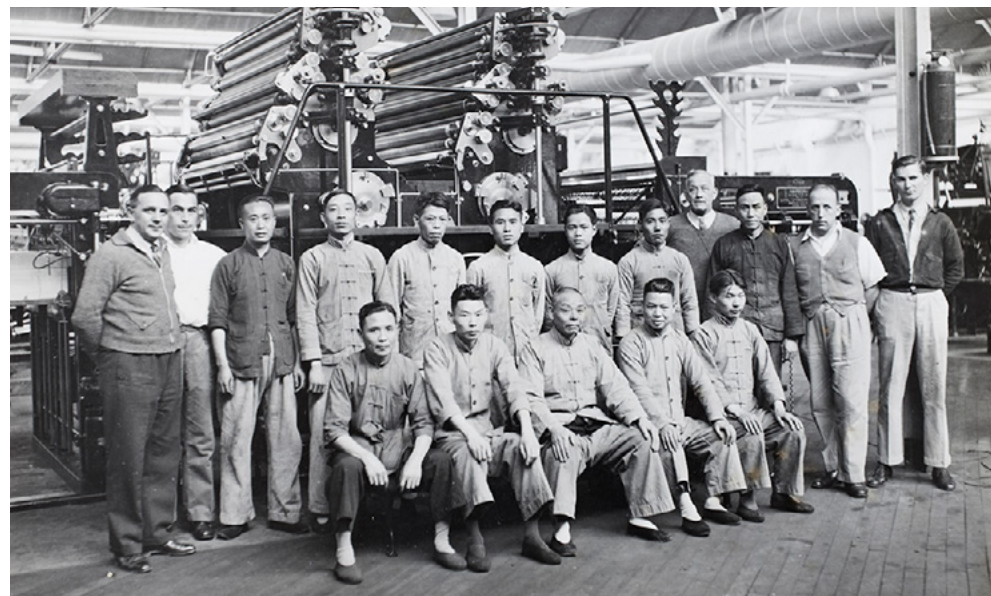
Mr Pulman与印刷厂员工及奖杯，估计摄于上海浦东首善印刷厂。

Mr Pulman with printing factory staff and a trophy cup, probably at Capital Lithographers Ltd in Pudong, Shanghai.

Photo courtesy of the Jack Ephgrave Collection, University of Bristol Library

右图摄于厂内印刷机前，中国职工大部分穿俗称“短打”的对襟衫裤，也有穿中山装。两幅照片是否有相同的人，暂不肯定，但左图没有人穿“短打”，右图没有人穿长衫，显示长衫是正装和出席庆典的得体着装，衫裤则是实用的厂房工作服。说不定右图的职工下班时也会披上长衫体面地踏出厂房。

The Chinese staff in the right photo taken in front of the printing machine are all wearing centre-buttoned shirts. It is not sure whether there are people appearing in both photos, but one thing for sure, nobody wears the shirt-and-trousers ensemble in the left photo, and nobody wears the cheongsam in the right one. This indicates that the cheongsam is a formal attire befitting ceremonial occasions while the shirt-and-trousers ensemble better suits handling the machine. Perhaps some of these factory workers would also put on a cheongsam before they decorously step out of the factory after work.



1930s

首善印刷厂职工摄于印刷机前。

Print workers of Capital Lithographers Ltd in front of the press.

Photo courtesy of the Jack Ephgrave Collection, University of Bristol Library

Locked in Classic Freeze Frame: Men's Cheongsam in 20th-Century Hong Kong



Circa 1875 – 1880

一群留辫的青年摄于香港植物园。所穿长衫都是秃领，袖宽长，只有侧衩。

A group of young men wearing queues posing at Botanic Garden, Hong Kong. Their choengsams are round-neck, with long and wide sleeves, and side-slits only.

Photo courtesy of the Hong Kong Museum of History

十九世纪末及二十世纪初的香港男装长衫 Men's Cheongsam in Hong Kong in the Late 19th century and Early 20th Century

香港昔日虽然曾由英国管治，早期人口却绝大部分来自广东，尽管身处中西交汇、华洋杂处的香港，依然与广东家乡保持密切联系，文化取向仍以国内为依归，潮流文化唯内地大城市马首是瞻。

十九世纪末至1912年民国初立，大部分华人男性仍然留辫，其后才陆续剪掉辫子。民国时期，普罗男性的服装是对襟的“唐装衫裤”，俗称“短打”，教师、商贾和社会阶级较高、较体面的人外出时都披上长衫，各行业楼面掌柜等，也会穿长衫作常服示人。除了一小撮为洋人工作需要经常穿西服的人，或一些除了中装也偶尔穿西服的时髦人士外，长期穿西服的华人极少。

Hong Kong was under British rule for more than a century but the vast majority of its early population were from Guangdong. Despite living in a city where Chinese and Westerners mingled, and different cultures co-existed, these Guangdong immigrants maintained a close bond with their hometown. Hong Kong's culture was still largely China-oriented, and people looked to the big cities in the Mainland for trendy inspirations. Throughout the late 19th century until the beginning of the Republican period in 1912, most Chinese men still wore a queue. It took some time for them to cut it off. During the Republican years, Chinese men's wardrobe staple was the so-called "Tang suit", a traditional centre-buttoned shirt-and-trousers ensemble. Teachers, merchants, men of higher social status and propriety would put on a cheongsam when they went out. Shop managers and sales persons of various trades would also wear cheongsam as their business attire. Other than a small bunch of people who worked for the Westerners and were therefore required to wear Western attire, or some fashion-conscious men who occasionally liked to wear Western clothes for a change, very few Chinese men were habitual wearers of Western clothing.

学府的男装长衫身影

Men's Cheongsam in Schools and University



1897

皇仁书院师生合照。除了三名穿西服的学生外，其他都穿长衫或穿大襟、对襟短衫，款式颜色不划一，相信都是当时的常服。

Staff and students of Queen's College. Except for a few who dress in Western clothing, the other Chinese are either in cheongsam or centre-fastened Chinese shirt of different colours and styles, which are believed to be the regular apparel of the time.

Photo courtesy of The University of Hong Kong Libraries

1912

民国元年三月，皇仁书院得奖学生大多于领奖日改穿西服，并不复留辮。

March 1912 (1st year of the Republican period), award winners of Queen's College. Most of them change into Western suit on Speech Day. Their queues are cut off.

Photo courtesy of Queen's College



1911

皇仁书院的领袖生，显示当时学生普遍穿长衫和留辮。

Prefects of Queen's College. Most of them are wearing cheongsam and a queue.

Photo courtesy of Queen's College



学府的男装长衫身影

Men's Cheongsam in Schools and University



1929

香港圣士提反学堂附设中西半夜义学师生合照。前排七名穿长衫阔管裤布鞋的相信是老师，学生们都穿对襟短衫裤（看放大图）。

Teachers and students of St Stephen's House Free Night School, Hong Kong. Seven men wearing cheongsam, wide-leg trousers and cloth shoes in the front row are believed to be teachers. The students are wearing centre-fastened shirt-and-trousers ensemble (see closeup).

Photo courtesy of The University of Hong Kong Libraries



1937

应许地山邀请于香港大学教授中国文学的著名学者马鉴与学生合摄。二人大概是当时香港大学极少数仍穿长衫的男学者。

Renowned scholar Ma Kiam (Ma Jian) and some of his students. He has been invited by Hsu Ti-shan to teach Chinese Literature at the University of Hong Kong. The two are probably among the very few male Chinese scholars at the University who still wear the cheongsam.

Photo courtesy of the University Archives, University of Hong Kong



1938 – 1939

香港大学教育学会师生合照，前排右一是许地山教授（见放大图），也是唯一穿长衫的男性。

Group photo of teaching staff and undergraduates of the Education Society, University of Hong Kong. Professor Hsu Ti-shan (1st right of 1st row) is the only man wearing cheongsam. Also see closeup image.

Photos courtesy of the University Archives, University of Hong Kong



社会贤达的长衫身影

Community Leaders in Cheongsam

1911

广华医院开幕典礼，出席的华人均穿上长衫，并大部分外加马褂。

Opening Ceremony of Kwong Wah Hospital. All Chinese males in the photo are in cheongsam, most also with Ma Kwa.

图片来源：东华三院文物馆藏
Photo courtesy of Tung Wah Museum

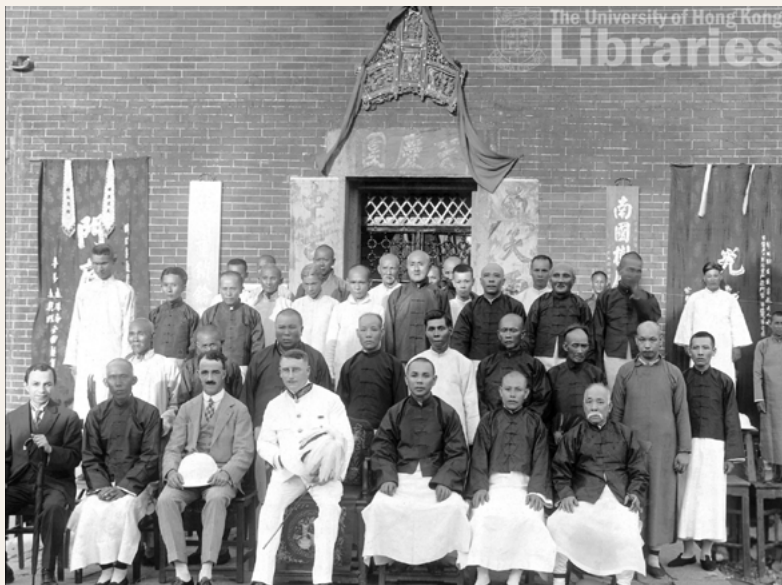


1925

5月26日，港督司徒拔亲临新界锦田吉庆围正式交还英军1899年强夺走的铁门，邓氏父老穿长衫马褂礼服出席仪式。

26th May, Hong Kong Governor Sir Reginald Stubbs formally returns the iron gates to Kat Hing Wai walled village in Kam Tin, the New Territories. The gate was unlawfully seized by the British troops in 1899. The elders of the Tang Clan attend the ceremony in ceremonial cheongsam and Ma Kwa.

Photo courtesy of
The University of Hong Kong Libraries



1910s – 20s

香港企业家和慈善家何东爵士。虽然他是欧亚混血儿，但在香港土生土长，生活方式与衣服完全中国化，长期穿长衫马褂。

Portrait of Hong Kong entrepreneur and philanthropist Sir Robert Hotung. Although of Eurasian descent, he was born and raised in Hong Kong, and his lifestyle and wardrobe were Chinese in every way. Cheongsam and Ma Kwa were his staples.

Photo courtesy of the Hong Kong Museum of History



Circa 1937

香港企业家及慈善家陈符祥先生长衫照。

Hong Kong entrepreneur and philanthropist Mr. Chan Fu Cheung in cheongsam.

Photo courtesy of The University of Hong Kong Libraries



Circa 1950s

何东爵士出席胡惠德医生伉俪的结婚周年庆典，一贯的长衫马褂。

Sir Robert Hotung in cheongsam and Ma Kwa attending the wedding anniversary of Dr. and Mrs. Arthur Woo.

Photo courtesy of The University of Hong Kong Libraries

韬光养晦，凝镜存真

Hibernate and Lock in Freeze Frame



1940年代末，因为政治气候的转变，男装长衫在中国大陆跟女装旗袍 / 长衫一样，自此消失了几十年。香港的女装长衫却适逢天时地利人和，反而得到契机而开展了1950至1960年代“香港长衫”的黄金盛世。然而当时香港始终是由英国管治，二十世纪下半叶男士衣饰迅速洋化，部份原因是为了谋生而不能落后于人，同时也是全球服装渐由西方潮流主导的结果。因此1950年代时，男装长衫和中装在极短时间内被西服取代，很快便消失于日常生活中。时至今日，香港仍然有起码十五间中学以长衫为女生校服，但战后基本上所有男生都不再穿长衫作校服，穿长衫的男教师是有的，但极少。

1931

辛未届东华三院总理合照。大部分总理仍穿长衫马褂。
Directors of Tung Wah Hospital. Most Directors are still in cheongsam and Ma Kwa.

图片来源：东华三院文物馆藏
Photo courtesy of Tung Wah Museum

Due to political changes in the late 1940s, the male and female cheongsams disappeared from Mainland China for decades afterward. Fortuitously, the female cheongsam was given every favourable condition to thrive in Hong Kong, subsequently entering its Golden Age in the 1950s and 1960s. However, Hong Kong was after all under British rule. Menswear Westernised rapidly in the second half of the 20th century, mainly due to the fact that men had to make a living and did not want to look outdated, apart from Western sartorial dominance over the global fashion trend. Thus, men's cheongsam and Chinese clothing of other styles were replaced by Western-style clothing within very short time in the 1950s, and quickly disappeared from daily life. While nowadays the female cheongsam still continues to be worn as uniform by at least fifteen secondary schools in Hong Kong, men's cheongsam was no longer worn as school uniform after the war. Cheongsam wearers could still be found among male teachers in the early post-war period, but extremely few in number.



1952

壬辰届东华三院总理合照。与1931年的合照对比，显示五十年代初的香港男装已基本全面西化。只有一名总理（左四）穿长衫布鞋，其他总理都穿西装革履。

Directors of Tung Wah Hospital. A comparison with the 1931 photo shows that menswear in Hong Kong has basically Westernised in the early 1950s. Only one Director (4th left) wears cheongsam and cloth shoes while all others are in Western suit and leather shoes.

图片来源：东华三院文物馆藏
Photo courtesy of Tung Wah Museum

男装长衫自从二十世纪中期快速消失于普罗大众的眼前, 尽管不再流行, 却自此成为身份地位的象征。虽然被冷落了半个世纪, 却不失矜贵。也因为无缘流行, 又或一种解释不了的抗衡能力, 男装长衫的经典形制、剪裁和工艺仿佛在1950年代进入了凝镜, 保存至今。战后至今, 那些能够经常穿得体的长衫作为礼服、常服以至便服的男性, 都非普罗大众, 而是有身份地位的男士。硕果仅存的老师傅们仍谨守传统的一套, 为这些顾客制作经典形制的长衫。新界的乡绅父老, 遇上特别庆典也会从衣橱中翻出旧长衫披上。

直至二十一世纪来临之前, 男装长衫都没有得到普罗社会的真正关注, 不像女装长衫早已翩然回归, 新形势带来无限商机之余, 还某程度上成为政治符号。然而祸福通常难以从眼前的景象判别, 近年风潮所及, 香港的女装长衫和中国大陆旗袍面临“粗简化”的情况, 男装长衫却因为没有条件时装化, 甚至便服化, 基本上幸免于难, 起码那右衽门襟还存在, 不曾后面长出一道拉链, 也不曾变了短袖。

Men's cheongsam vanished fast from the eyes of the public in the mid-20th century. Despite losing its popularity, this dress form has since become a symbol of status. Although being forsaken for half a century, it never loses its privileged identity. Whatever the cause, lacking the luck to prevail or due to an inexplicable power of self-preservation, the classic form, cut and tailoring technique of men's cheongsam seem to have been locked in freeze frame in the 1950s and remain well-preserved today. From the post-war period to this day, those men who often wear a decorous cheongsam on formal, informal and leisurely occasions were no

ordinary people but men of status. Their bespoke classic cheongsams were made by very few surviving master tailors who still adhered to the strict definition of traditional tailoring. On special festive or ceremonial occasions, the senior members of the rural communities in the New Territories would retrieve old cheongsams from their closet and put them on.

Unlike the female cheongsam whose much earlier return has created a new sartorial scene, unlimited business opportunities and even a political symbol to some extent, the male cheongsam has not received the

true attention it deserves until the arrival of the 21st century. However, there may be a silver lining to an adverse situation. In recent years, the female cheongsam in Hong Kong and Mainland China is widely challenged by “degeneration” of form. The male cheongsam has basically been spared these threats because it lacks the elements to become fashionised or to be worn as casualwear. At least the right-fastened format still functions; a zipper has not been planted into the back; and the dress has not become short-sleeved.



Photo courtesy of New Asia College, CUHK

学府仅余的男装长衫身影 Rare Image of Men's Cheongsam in University

这是新亚书院成为香港中文大学成员书院前, 深水埗桂林街时期(1950–1956)照片, 其创办人钱穆先生身穿长衫坐在第二排中央。钱穆先生上世纪五六十年代任教于新亚书院和香港中文大学时, 是极少数仍穿长衫的男学者之一。

1950–1956, picture taken at New Asia College at Kweilin Street in Sham Shui Po before the College joins the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Mr Ch'ien Mu (Qian Mu) in cheongsam is seated in the centre of the second row. He is among the extremely few male scholars who still wears cheongsam in New Asia College and the CUHK in the 1950s and 1960s.

男装长衫作为礼仪服

Men's Cheongsam as Ceremonial Attire



Circa 1960

一新界庆典仪式上众乡绅与时任理民官钟逸杰(中)及嘉宾合照。

A group of New Territories village seniors posing with guests and Sir David Akers-Jones (centre), then Secretary for the New Territories, on a ceremonial occasion. Four elders are in cheongsam.

图片来源:《几许风雨: 香港早期社会形象1911-1950》, 获作者郑宝鸿授权转载

Photo reprinted from *Images of Early Hong Kong Society: 1911-1950*, courtesy of the author Cheng Po Hung



1965

东华三院永远顾问邓肇坚爵士穿长衫马褂于文武庙主持秋祭典礼。

Sir Shiu-kin Tang, Permanent Advisor of Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, in cheongsam and Ma Kwa, officiating the Autumn Sacrificial Rites at Man Mo Temple.

图片来源: 东华三院文物馆藏

Photo courtesy of Tung Wah Museum

技艺不继, 传承濒危

Crisis of Inheritance and Transmission

二十世纪五十年代或之前, 香港仍有不少人穿长衫和各类中装如棉袄、大襟或对襟唐装衫裤等。不论是本土的广东师傅或南来的江浙地区“上海师傅”, 只要是中装师傅, 基本都是中装通才, 不但懂得做女装长衫, 还会做各式男女中式服装如男装长衫马褂, 满足市场需要。

然而五十年代开始, 男装长衫马褂快速衰落, 女装大襟衫裤亦越来越少人穿, 女装长衫却方兴未艾, 于是女装长衫占中装裁缝生意的八成。此外, 四十年代前后从中国大陆南来香港的男士, 不少都带上一批以前在国内订做的、面料上乘而做工精致的优质长衫。要知道一件优质的男装长衫, 就像一套优质的西服, 可以穿上十年八载, 甚至更长的时间。长衫带来香港后还可以穿上一段日子, 不一定要经常订做新的, 故此他们也较少光顾裁缝订做长衫, 师傅做男装长衫的机会亦越来越少。

此外, 当时流行简约的女装长衫, 熟练的师傅一天可以完成三两件, 简直应接不暇。相比之下, 做男装长衫费时费力得多, 影响营生, 于是大部分师傅或工场都不愿意接男装长衫的生意, 有些规模较大的工场也许会指派其中一名师傅在做女装长衫之外, 兼做男装长衫。一些五六十年代才开始“学师”或出道的中装裁缝, 绝大部分都没机会学做男装长衫, 对经典男装长衫形制规格不甚了了, 又或做得不精。因此, 今时今日懂得传统女装长衫工艺的老师傅固然极少, 懂得经典男装工艺的老师傅更如凤毛麟角。

所谓“男装长衫师傅”, 其实并非一个专门裁缝类别, 只是泛指也掌握男装长衫技艺的裁缝师傅。兼做男装长衫的师傅, 其“学师”过程、裁缝生涯、行规, 工场经营模式等, 基本与其他长衫师傅无异。¹

In the first half of the 20th century, many people in Hong Kong still wore cheongsam or Chinese clothes of various styles such as padded jacket, women's right-fastened blouse-and-trousers ensemble, and men's centre-buttoned shirt-and-trousers suit. Tailors who made these clothes were generally called “Chinese costume tailors” no matter they were local tailors of Guangdong origin or “Shanghai tailors” who came south from around the Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces. They were basically adept at making Chinese clothes of all styles. Apart from female cheongsam, they also made other Chinese outfits for men and women including men's cheongsam and Ma Kwa, to meet market demands.

However, from the 1950s onward, men's cheongsam and Ma Kwa declined rapidly. Women's blouse-and-trousers ensemble also gradually lost popularity. On the contrary, female cheongsam thrived and accounted for 80 percent of the bespoke Chinese tailoring business. Moreover, many men who immigrated to Hong Kong from the north around the 1940s also brought along their wardrobe of fine-quality bespoke men's cheongsam commissioned from the Mainland. These dresses were exquisitely tailored from superior fabric. Like a good suit, a good cheongsam for men can last a decade or even longer. After being brought to Hong Kong, these dresses could still be worn for some more years. The wearers felt no urgency to commission new ones or to visit the cheongsam tailors often. The tailors

were given less and less chance to make men's cheongsam.

Moreover, the prevalence of female cheongsam of minimalist style in those days allowed an adept tailor to produce two to three dresses a day. These orders alone had kept the tailors busy enough. In contrast, making men's cheongsam required much more time and energy, and did not justify the tailor's livelihood. As a result, most tailors and workshops were unwilling to accept orders of male cheongsam. Some sizable workshops may assign one of their tailors to take care of the male cheongsam in addition to making female ones. Most tailors who started serving apprenticeship or entered the trade in the 1950s and 1960s seldom had the chance to learn making men's cheongsam. Either they knew little about its classic form and specifications, or their works were of an inferior standard. Today, surviving veteran tailors adept at making traditional female cheongsam are certainly very few in number, yet still rarer are tailors who can make authentic men's cheongsam.

The so-called “men's cheongsam tailor” is in fact not a specific category of professional tailors. It is only a generic term referring broadly to tailors who also possess the skill of making men's cheongsam. These tailors' apprenticeship, tailoring career, codes of trade and mode of practice are basically similar to other cheongsam tailors in general.²

¹ 详情可参阅2013年香港历史博物馆出版的《百年时尚: 香港长衫故事》展览图录内“香港的长衫师傅和长衫工艺”章节。

² For more details, please refer to the chapter “Hong Kong's Cheongsam Tailors and Their Craft” in *A Century of Fashion: Hong Kong Cheongsam Story* Exhibition Catalogue published in 2013 by the Hong Kong Museum of History.

经典重临，求过于供

Demand Exceeds Supply for Men's Classic Cheongsam

九 港 表 目 價 會 總 工 職 業 縫 海 上									
一九四九年十一月十八日實行									
男 (計身元)					女 (計身元)				
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖

1949

1949年的中裝工錢價目表。男女裝單長衫的標準工錢分別是港幣10元和5元。

Piecework wage sheet of 1949 showing the standard wages received by piecework tailors for making male and female Chinese-style clothing. The respective wages for making an unlined male/female cheongsam are HK\$10 and HK\$5.

直至八十年代之前，訂做男裝長衫其實價錢並不很高，衣料豐儉由人，所以當時不穿長衫不是價錢問題，是風氣問題，說是供過於求也無不可。

據港九上海縫業職工總會的工資表顯示，工場老板付給件工師傅的標準工錢，男裝由1949年單長衫港幣10元起，到1979年的180元，升了十八倍。之后再升至1996年的1,050元，是1979年的六倍。如果工場老板的承做價錢是加一倍的話，九十年代客人便要付2,000多元，衣料還未算在內，工序越繁復工錢越高，可見傳統男裝長衫已成為小众的矜貴衣裝。

Until the 1980s, commissioning a bespoke male cheongsam did not cost much. It was all up to the wearer to decide whether he wanted to use expensive or less costly fabric. Not wearing cheongsam was therefore not a matter of affordability but a general trend. Demand fell short of supply.

According to piecework wage sheets published by the Hong Kong Shanghai Tailoring Workers General Union, the standard wage paid by the contractor for making an unlined male cheongsam rose from HK\$10 in 1949

to HK\$180 in 1979, an eighteen-fold increase; and further to HK\$1,050 in 1996, another six-fold increase. If the contractor charged his patron a tailoring fee double that of the piecework wage, the patron would have to pay more than HK\$2,000 to commission an unlined cheongsam in the 1990s, not counting the fabric cost. The more elaborate the construction of the cheongsam, the higher the tailoring fee. Men's cheongsam thus became a high-end apparel for the elite.

九 港 表 目 價 資 工 會 總 工 職 業 縫 海 上									
★致一結團友工場工各★來起結團友工業縫體全★									
男 (計身元)					女 (計身元)				
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖
單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖	單長衫	拾元	夾長衫	拾元	棉襖

1955

1955年的中裝工錢價目表。因經濟受韓戰影響，男女裝單長衫的標準工錢分別降至港幣9元和4.5元。

Piecework wage sheet of 1955. Due to economic downturn caused by the Korean War, the respective wages for making an unlined male/female cheongsam drop to HK\$9 and HK\$4.5.

1979

1979年的中装工钱价目表。男女装单长衫的标准工钱分别是港币180元和90元，比1949年升了十八倍。

Piecework wage sheet of 1979. The respective wages for making an unlined male/female cheongsam rise to HK\$180 and HK\$90, eighteen times that of 1949.

港九上海縫業成衣價目表

本價目表經全行店舖協商公訂，由1979年4月16日實行

加	附	服	(計身光)	男	
雙大襟		加十二元		單長衫	
綢絨衫	加四十元	夾旗袍	加廿五元	夾長衫	二百一十元
皮	駝絨	單長衫	一百八十元	襯絨袍	三百三十元
駝絨	單長衫	一百八十元		棉袍	三百三十元
單長衫	一百八十元			羔皮袍	五百元
夾長衫	二百一十元	襯絨袍	三百三十元	什皮袍	六百五十元
襯絨袍	三百三十元	棉袍	三百三十元	短衫褲	二百元
棉袍	三百三十元	羔皮袍	五百元	夾旗褲	二百五十元
羔皮袍	五百元	什皮袍	六百五十元	絲棉褲	一百六十元
什皮袍	六百五十元	短衫褲	二百元	馬褂	與長同價
短衫褲	二百元	夾旗褲	二百五十元	背心	照短九折
夾旗褲	二百五十元	絲棉褲	一百六十元		
絲棉褲	一百六十元	馬褂	與長同價		
馬褂	與長同價	背心	照短九折		
背心	照短九折				
加	附	服	(計身光)	女	
雙大襟		加十二元		單長衫	
綢絨衫	加四十元	夾旗袍	加廿五元	夾長衫	二百一十元
皮	駝絨	單長衫	一百八十元	襯絨袍	三百三十元
駝絨	單長衫	一百八十元		棉袍	三百三十元
單長衫	一百八十元			羔皮袍	五百元
夾長衫	二百一十元	襯絨袍	三百三十元	什皮袍	六百五十元
襯絨袍	三百三十元	棉袍	三百三十元	短衫褲	二百元
棉袍	三百三十元	羔皮袍	五百元	夾旗褲	二百五十元
羔皮袍	五百元	什皮袍	六百五十元	絲棉褲	一百六十元
什皮袍	六百五十元	短衫褲	二百元	馬褂	與長同價
短衫褲	二百元	夾旗褲	二百五十元	背心	照短九折
夾旗褲	二百五十元	絲棉褲	一百六十元		
絲棉褲	一百六十元	馬褂	與長同價		
馬褂	與長同價	背心	照短九折		
背心	照短九折				
加	附	服	(計身光)	女	
雙大襟		加十二元		單長衫	
綢絨衫	加四十元	夾旗袍	加廿五元	夾長衫	二百一十元
皮	駝絨	單長衫	一百八十元	襯絨袍	三百三十元
駝絨	單長衫	一百八十元		棉袍	三百三十元
單長衫	一百八十元			羔皮袍	五百元
夾長衫	二百一十元	襯絨袍	三百三十元	什皮袍	六百五十元
襯絨袍	三百三十元	棉袍	三百三十元	短衫褲	二百元
棉袍	三百三十元	羔皮袍	五百元	夾旗褲	二百五十元
羔皮袍	五百元	什皮袍	六百五十元	絲棉褲	一百六十元
什皮袍	六百五十元	短衫褲	二百元	馬褂	與長同價
短衫褲	二百元	夾旗褲	二百五十元	背心	照短九折
夾旗褲	二百五十元	絲棉褲	一百六十元		
絲棉褲	一百六十元	馬褂	與長同價		
馬褂	與長同價	背心	照短九折		
背心	照短九折				

千禧年以后,订做男装长衫的工钱越见高昂,事隔二十年后的今日,一件经典男装长衫的工钱动辄八千至过万港元,看来也颇合理。只是苦无足够的合格师傅,优质的传统男装长衫出现求过于供的现象,穿者付出比女装长衫起码贵两三倍的工钱,得到的却不一定是经典规格和传统优质工艺。

男装长衫传统技艺作为非物质文化遗产,如果有效地传承,延续传统所采用的高规格形制,尽管未必会大受欢迎,肯定仍会有小众市场。掌握了这门独到的手艺的年轻一辈,肩负文化传承重任之余,若果也有经济收益的回报,也可直接成为延续这种传统技艺的原动力,同时也应考虑推动男装长衫作为礼服的其中一个选择,以挽救濒危的宝贵传统裁缝工艺。

[illegible]

After the year 2000, the price for commissioning a bespoke cheongsam for men surged still higher. Today, two decades into the new millennium, it sounds quite reasonable that a tailoring fee of HK\$8,000 to 10,000 is charged for making a classic cheongsam for men. However, there is a lack of qualified tailors to answer this demand. Even if the wearer is willing to pay a tailoring fee of at least double or triple of that of female cheongsam, there is still no guarantee that he can get a cheongsam of authentic classic form and superior traditional craftsmanship.

If the traditional technique of making men's cheongsam as an intangible cultural heritage can be effectively transmitted, allowing the traditional form and superior craftsmanship to sustain, certainly this dress will find a market among the elite despite lacking popularity. Apart from shouldering the important mission of safeguarding cultural heritage, if the younger generation who successfully inherit this unique skill can also make some profit in return, it will probably create a direct incentive contributing to the sustenance of this skill. At the same time, we should also consider promoting men's cheongsam as an option of ceremonial attire in order to save this precious and endangered traditional tailoring craft.

1996

1996年的中装工钱价目表，一件男装单长衫的标准工钱再升至港币1,050元，女装单长衫为500元，是1979年的六倍。

Piecework wage sheet of 1996. The respective wages for making an unlined male /female cheongsam are HK\$1,050 and HK\$500, six times that of 1979.

二十一世纪男装长衫马褂作为礼仪服

Men's Cheongsam and Ma Kwa as Ceremonial Attire in the 21st Century



2015

东华三院乙未年董事局成员与嘉宾在秋祭典礼完毕后，于文武庙外合照留念，不少成员都穿上得体的长衫马褂，显示长衫马褂作为礼仪服的需求增加。

Board of Directors of the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals and guests posing in front of Man Mo Temple after performing the Autumn Sacrificial Rites. Many Directors are decorously dressed in cheongsam and Ma Kwa, indicating an increased demand for this traditional outfit as ceremonial attire.

图片来源：东华三院文物馆藏
Photo courtesy of Tung Wah Museum



2015

4月5日，香港圣贤教育学会“清明祭祖大典”，主礼人士大都穿上蓝长衫黑马褂礼服。

5th April, Ching Ming Ancestral Worship Ceremony organised by Sage Education Association Limited. Most officiants are in ceremonial attire comprising a black Ma Kwa over a blue cheongsam.

图片由圣贤教育学会有限公司提供
Photo courtesy of
Sage Education Association Limited



2018

4月5日，香港佛陀教育协会的清明祭祖大典，主礼人士大都穿上长衫马褂礼服。

5th April, Ching Ming Ancestral Worship Ceremony organised by Hong Kong Buddhist Education Foundation. The lay officiants are also wearing ceremonial attire comprising a blue cheongsam and a black Ma Kwa.

图片由香港佛陀教育协会有限公司提供
Photo courtesy of Hong Kong Buddhist Education Foundation Limited

Surviving Rarity: Master Ting Chao Wen: An Adept in Men's Cheongsam

已届七十八高龄的丁兆文师傅不但是享誉的女装长衫大师傅,更是行内公认的男装长衫高手,也是硕果仅存熟悉男装长衫经典规格和传统工艺的老师傅。丁师傅2012年已退休,但仍偶尔接受委托做长衫,例如2017年香港历史博物馆向丁师傅订制传统丝绸男装长衫马褂作藏品,并录影工序存档。

Master tailor Ting Chao Wen (Ding Zhaowen), aged 78, is not only well known for his fine skill in making women's cheongsam, but also unanimously acclaimed for being an expert in making men's cheongsam. He is also among the extremely few surviving master tailors thoroughly acquainted with the classic form and craftsmanship of men's cheongsam. After retiring in 2012, Master Ting still occasionally offers bespoke service including making a set of men's cheongsam and Ma Kwa in traditional Chinese silk commissioned by the Hong Kong Museum of History in 2017 for collection sake. The production process was also videotaped for archiving purpose.



2017年,丁师傅为香港历史博物馆订制的丝绸男装长衫缝上直扣。

2017, Master Ting attaching straight fastenings to the male silk cheongsam commissioned by the Hong Kong Museum of History.

李惠玲摄 Photo by B. Li



丁师傅接受作者访问。

Master Ting being interviewed by the author.

硕果仅存：
男装长衫专家丁兆文师傅

丁师傅也曾教授短期的长衫课程,例如2018年非物质文化遗产办事处与香港高等教育科技学院合办的“香港中式长衫制作技艺传承计划2018”中的女装长衫班。

Master Ting has also been instructor to some female cheongsam-making short courses including one under the “Transmission Scheme for Hong Kong Cheongsam Making Technique 2018” jointly organised by the Intangible Cultural Heritage Office (ICHO) and the Technological and Higher Education Institute of Hong Kong (THE-i).



2018年, 丁师傅向香港高等教育科技学院的学员示范缝制长衫的技巧, 周素梅师傅在旁协助。

2018, Master Ting demonstrating the sewing technique of cheongsam-making at THE-i, assisted by Master Chow So Mui.

Photo courtesy of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Office



2018年, 丁师傅摄于香港高等教育科技学院, 身旁为协助他授课的周素梅师傅(右)以及该学院设计系特任导师李颂诗女士(左)。

2018, Master Ting at THE-i with his assistant Master Chow So Mui (right) and Ms Eunice Lee (left), Teaching Fellow of Department of Design.

图片由李颂诗女士提供
Photo Courtesy of Ms Eunice Lee

以下丁师傅的访问内容, 是以受访者自述的形式分享, 是珍贵的口述历史, 让读者通过他的裁缝生涯, 窥见过去大半个世纪香港社会的变迁和中装裁缝的艰苦奋斗。

The account given by Master Ting in his interview will be told in his own words, which is valuable oral history. His tailoring career spanning over half a century allows us a glimpse of the vicissitudes of the Hong Kong society and the perseverance and struggles of the Chinese costume tailors.

“我的一生都给了这行业，
回想起来，也是为了生计，
正如家乡的说法：总得有一门手艺。”

丁兆文师傅自述裁缝生涯 Master Ting's Tailoring Career Told in His Own Words



丁师傅住家的工场。

Master Ting at his home workshop.

图片由丁师傅提供
Photo courtesy of Master Ting

我1943年出生于江苏靖江(现属泰州)，祖父和父亲都是裁缝。祖父在家乡营生，父亲丁启荣则只身前往上海的裁缝店打工，抗战胜利后不久便与同业结伴，跟随一些裁缝店老板到香港谋生。乡间生活艰苦，靠耕种过活，我有两弟两妹，我念完小学便下田工作。

1957年，父亲成功申请得虚龄十六岁的我和十四岁的二弟到香港。比我小四岁的三弟是后来才到的。我来港不到三个月，父亲便安排我到铜锣湾道64号的荣记服装店“学师”。老板王荣川是安徽人，来港多年，共收过四名学徒，我是最后一个。我学师时，只剩下两名学徒。王老板明言，店铺对学徒包食包住，学徒要服务所有师傅和负责诸般杂务，师傅除了示范“挑边”(挑缝收边)外，不会特别教授裁缝技巧，想学东西要靠自己观察。

“My whole life has been dedicated to this trade.
Looking back, I would say it is but my livelihood.
Just like an old saying in my hometown:
After all one must learn a craft to make a living.”

I was born in 1943 in Jingjiang (now under Taizhou) in Jiangsu. My grandfather and father were both tailors. Grandfather worked in our hometown while my father Ting Kai Wing (Ding Qirong) travelled alone to Shanghai and worked in a tailor shop there. Soon after the war ended he and some fellow tradesmen followed some tailor shop owners to find a living in Hong Kong. Life in our village was hard and people's livelihood depended on farming. I have two younger brothers and two younger sisters. I had to work in the field after finishing primary school.

In 1957, my father successfully applied for permits to take me and my next younger brother, respectively aged sixteen and fourteen (nominally), to Hong Kong. My youngest brother who was four years my junior joined us later. After hardly three months, under the arrangement of my

father I took up apprenticeship at Wing Kee Tailor Shop at No.64 Causeway Road on Hong Kong Island. Wong Wing Chun (Wang Rongchuan), owner of the shop, was a native of Anhui province and had been in Hong Kong for many years. He had trained up four apprentices and I was the last one. When I was serving apprenticeship there, only two apprentices remained. Master Wong made it very clear from the very beginning that his shop would only provide meals and boarding while the apprentices had to serve all the tailors and do all kinds of chores. The tailors would not make special effort to teach the apprentices any cutting or sewing techniques except simple slip-stitching. The apprentices had to rely on their own observation if they wanted to acquire any tailoring skill.

父亲很有见地,安排我们三兄弟进入不同的服装行业,分散风险。我学做中装,二弟学做男装西服,三弟学做女装西服。父亲不让我跟他学师,是因为教自己儿子是很难教得好的。

我学师三年,除了每月港币八元的零用外,没有工资。每天清早起来准备妥当七八位师傅开工所需如煮浆糊等,晚上十时待老板返回阁楼的住家后,大家才可以收工,没有假期。师傅们不是未婚就是妻子在乡间,所以都住在店内,收工后学徒要收拾裁床上的东西,腾出地方给师傅们作睡床。我有时睡在裁床下,或把一块窄床板架在两凳上作睡床。

王老板的店铺什么中装都做,但没有衣料供应,客人订制衣服都要自携衣料。学师一年后,由于我的挑边工夫颇有成绩,老板把我叫到身旁,拿了一位年老女客的衣料,示范简单的剪裁,然后着我依尺寸自己试裁,我也应付得来。之后老板见我成绩不错,逐步让我做一些较复杂的衣服外,还陆续交托我其他工作。例如每天开工前,师傅们把当天要剪裁的衣料剪下一小角连同缋条色办钉在一起,老板会差我到西区石塘咀水坑口陆焕记配丝里和缋条。不用付现款,货款细项都记在一本小簿上,逢五月节、八月节和年尾才须找清货款。如果衣服有花纽,用剩的缋条会送去做花纽。三年后,我已经

有能力自己做一般的男女中装,但始终没有机会做男装长衫。

三年满师后,我留下来工作了两年,每日工资港币五元。之后便到位于九龙弥敦道的古都丝绸公司当裁缝。工场在店铺后面,老板是北方人,丝绸主要从北方入口。我在古都工作五年,期间二十三岁回乡娶妻,之后夫妻多年分隔两地,我每年都会回乡探望,长女长子要待1976年才成功申请来香港,妻子和两名幼女更多待三年才能够来港一家团聚。我跟父母同住,父亲一直在铜锣湾波斯富街的联合服装店任裁缝。

My father was very insightful. He sent his three sons to be trained in different tailoring trades to spread the risk. I learned to make Chinese-style clothing, my younger brother Western-style men's clothing, and my youngest brother Western-style women's clothing. My father did not take me as his apprentice because it was difficult to train up one's own son.

During my three-year apprenticeship, I had no wages except HK\$8 per month as pocket money. I got up at dawn to get ready all things including preparing starch paste for seven to eight tailors. We all worked until Master Wong left for his residential quarters in the attic around 10 o'clock in the late evening. We had no holidays. The tailors, either still single or married with wife

staying in the Mainland, lived in the shop. The apprentices had to clear the things on the cutting beds to make room for the tailors to sleep on. Sometimes I slept under the cutting bed, or on a narrow wooden plank placed atop two stools.

Master Wong's shop made all styles of Chinese clothing but did not supply fabrics. Patrons had to bring their own fabrics. After my first year there, my slip-stitching was quite satisfactory. Master Wong called me to his side, took a piece of fabric belonging to an elderly female patron, and demonstrated some simple cutting. Then he gave me some measurements and asked me to try cutting on my own. I managed quite well. Afterwards, satisfied with my performance, Master Wong progressively let me handle more complicated clothes. He also entrusted me with other tasks. For instance, every morning before starting work, the tailors would cut a small corner from the fabrics that required cutting that day, and pin a sample binding of matching colour to it. Master Wong would then asked me to take these samples to the accessory shop Luk Wing Kee at Possession Street in Shek Tong Tsui on the west part of the Island to buy silk lining and binding strips of matching colour. No cash was paid on the spot. The purchase details were noted down in a small booklet, and payment would be settled three times a year: before the Dragon Boat Festival in the 5th lunar month, before the Mid-

Autumn Festive in the 8th lunar month and before Chinese New Year. If the clothes were to have ornamental fabric fastenings, I would deliver surplus bindings to the frog-fastening makers. After three years, I was able to make male and female Chinese clothing of general styles independently. However, I had not been given any chance to make men's cheongsam.

After completing the three-year apprenticeship, I stayed for two more years on a daily wage of HK\$5. Afterwards I worked as a tailor in the back room of the Ancient Capital Silk Store on Nathan Road in Kowloon selling mainly silks from North China. The owner was also from the North. I worked there for five years, during which I returned to my hometown to get married at the age of 23. My wife and I lived apart for many years afterward though I would make annual trips to visit her. My eldest son and daughter successfully immigrated to Hong Kong in 1976 but my wife and the two younger daughters had to wait for three more years before the whole family could reunite in Hong Kong. I lived with my parents. My father was a tailor working for Union Tailor Shop at Percival Street in Causeway Bay.

离开古都后我先后在不同的服装店工作过。1985年, 联同父亲、黄新年师傅、商荣堂师傅, 还有几位同业向香港上海缝业职工总会(上缝工会)租用了佐敦文英楼一个一千多平方呎没有间隔的大单位, 分别承接各国货公司如大华和中艺等的中装订单, 并各自聘请师傅。旺角大华国货公司的订单由我承接。大华的疋头部如有客人订做中装, 便约我去量身, 然后我把衣料带回工场交师傅们制作。妻子来港后, 成为我的得力助手, 每天除了为整个工场下厨准备两餐外, 还协助针线工作。全盛期这工场共有二十多名师傅, 但没有收学徒, 因为已经没有人愿意做裁缝学徒。

由于中艺多年赞助无线电视的“香港小姐选举”, 参选佳丽的长衫都交由我们工场制作。

文英楼时期, 我才开始做男装长衫马褂。虽然我父亲是男装长衫高手, 我没有让他教我, 而是观察旁边的师傅怎样做而自学的。男装长衫的客人比女装的少得多, 但平均一个月也做三四件, 年晚会较多, 一般三个星期可以交货。至于衣料, 以丝绸居多, 也有西装料的, 丝绸长衫以裕衫为主, 呢绒长衫则有单也有裕的, 客人中有不少北方人, 也有广东人, 大都是上了年纪的, 有的是为了做寿, 有为了过年, 也有纯粹贪玩。也有订制马褂与长衫配套的。



丁师傅(前排左一)与香港上海缝业职工总会众理事近年在庆祝五一劳动节的联欢晚会上祝酒。

Master Ting (1st left of front row) and Committee Members of the Hong Kong Shanghai Tailoring Workers General Union toasting at a Gala celebrating the May 1 Labour Day a few years ago.

图片由周素梅师傅提供 Photo courtesy of Master Chow So Mui

After leaving Ancient Capital I worked for various other shops. In 1985, my father, Master Wong Sun Nin, Master Sheung Wing Tong, a few other fellow tailors and I jointly rented a spacious (over 1,000 square-foot floor area) and unpartitioned flat at Man Ying Building in Jordan in Kowloon from the Hong Kong Shanghai Tailoring Workers General Union. Each of us solicited business from different sources and hired our own tailors. My patron was the Chinese Merchandise Emporium Limited (CME) in Mongkok while others' patrons included various branches of Chinese Arts and Crafts Limited and other fabric stores. Whenever their customers required bespoke Chinese clothing, CME would ask me to go to their Fabric or Silk Department to take the customers' measurements. Then I would bring the fabrics back to my workshop and pass them to my tailors. After my wife came to Hong Kong, she became my right hand. In addition to preparing two meals daily for the entire workforce, she also helped with stitching. In its heyday, the workshop had over twenty tailors, but there was no apprentice because no more people were willing to be tailoring apprentice at that time.

Since for many years Chinese Arts and Crafts Limited was the sole sponsor of the

cheongsams worn by the contestants of the Miss Hong Kong Pageant organised by Television Broadcasts Limited (TVB), our workshop was responsible for making these dresses.

I only started making men's cheongsam and Ma Kwa after running the workshop at Man Ying Building. Although my father was an adept in men's cheongsam, I did not let him teach me but preferred to learn on my own by closely observing the procedures when other tailors were making men's cheongsam. The demand for men's cheongsam was much less than that of women's, but still there were three to four pieces to be made each month. Demand was higher before the end of the year. Normally the patron had to wait for three weeks to get the cheongsam. As for the fabrics, silk was the most popular but suiting fabric was also used. Silk cheongsams for men were mostly lined while those made of suiting fabric could be lined or unlined. Many wearers were northerners but there were also Cantonese. Most were elderly; some commissioned the cheongsam to celebrate their birthday, some wore it during Chinese New Year, and some wore it for pure fun. Some patrons also commissioned a Ma Kwa to match their cheongsam.

七八十年代,师傅做一件男装单长衫的工钱只是一百多元,但不包括做盘扣(一字直扣),除非额外付费。后来件工的工钱提高了,但另外找人做扣(连缝扣)起码二十元一对,一件长衫六对直扣,仍然贵得不成比例。师傅们也不负责改衣服,客人说成品不合身的话,我要拿回工场自己动手改,所以有些工场会另外聘请专门做扣和修改衣服的长工。

时下坊间很多所谓男装长衫都没有法度、随意简化形制,手工马虎,真是看不下去。男装长衫一定是在右边开襟;一定用“大裁”(前后有中缝)的,不能用小裁(取消中缝);“驳袖”处一定是在下臂,不可以在上臂;领圈要先上了绳条才装立领,那绳条还要滚圆结实,不能扁扁“没有肉”;襟位和两脇要贴“带条”(牵条),否则会拉长变形;领口一定要扣上;整件衫除了布扣外,不用钉缀一颗啪钮;有衬里的长衫要周身“打围”(绗线)防止衬里松垂;“含胸”的穿者要在前幅领圈做“熨拔”(归拨)工夫,才可以减少前幅肩膀两侧的皱褶。

我十九岁满师后便马上加入上缝工会,九十年代初成为工会的理事。2012年退休后,也偶尔接受委托做长衫,也曾教授短期的长衫课程。我的儿子对这行业没兴趣,我也不会让他入行,因为既辛苦又收入不多,没什么前景。我的一生都给了这行业,回想起来,也是为了生计,正如家乡的说法:总得有一门手艺。

In the 1970s and 1980s, the tailor received no more than HK\$200 for making a men's cheongsam excluding the straight fastenings. Extra wage was required to make these fastenings. Later on although the piecework rate was raised, the cost for making and sewing on six pairs of fastenings, at least HK\$20 a pair, was still disproportionately high. Neither would the piecework tailors take care of any alteration work. If the wearer reflected that the dress did not fit, I would bring it back to the workshop and alter it myself. Therefore, some workshop would hire long-term workers to specialise in altering clothes or making fastenings.

Many so-called men's cheongsam now available in the market are unauthentic, degenerated in form and crude in workmanship. I find them very distasteful. Men's cheongsam must be right-fastened, and use “big-cut” (with centre seams front and back) instead of “small-cut” (abandoning centre seams). The sleeve-extension seam has to be at the lower arm instead of the upper arm. The neckline has to be reinforced with a binding before mounting the stand-up collar, and the binding has to be rounded and sturdy rather than flattened and weak. The *jin*-closure and side seams have to be reinforced with strips otherwise they will stretch and deform. The fastenings under the throat must be closed. The entire dress does not need any snap button other than cloth fastenings. The shell fabric and lining of the cheongsam must be tacked all round to

prevent the lining from sagging. The front neckline needs to be reshaped by pressing if the wearer has slouching shoulders, so as to minimise the wrinkles between the neckline and the armpits in the front.

As soon as I completed my apprenticeship at the age of nineteen, I joined the Hong Kong Shanghai Tailoring Workers General Union as a member. In the early 1990s, I became a Committee Member. After retiring in 2012, I still occasionally accept orders to make cheongsams. I have also taught some cheongsam short courses. My son is not interested in my trade. I had never wanted him to join me because this profession is all hard work, brings little income and has

not much prospect. My whole life has been dedicated to this trade. Looking back, I would say it is but my livelihood. Just like an old saying in my hometown: After all one must learn a craft to make a living.



2015年,丁师傅(右二)与香港上海缝业职工总会众理事出席假香港大学美术博物馆举办的长衫讲座后与讲者李惠玲博士(蓝色长衫)及该馆总监罗诺德博士合摄。

2015. Master Ting (2nd right) and Committee Members of the Hong Kong Shanghai Tailoring Workers General Union joined by Dr Florian Knothe, Director of the University Museum and Art Gallery, HKU after attending a cheongsam talk delivered by Dr Brenda Li (in blue cheongsam).

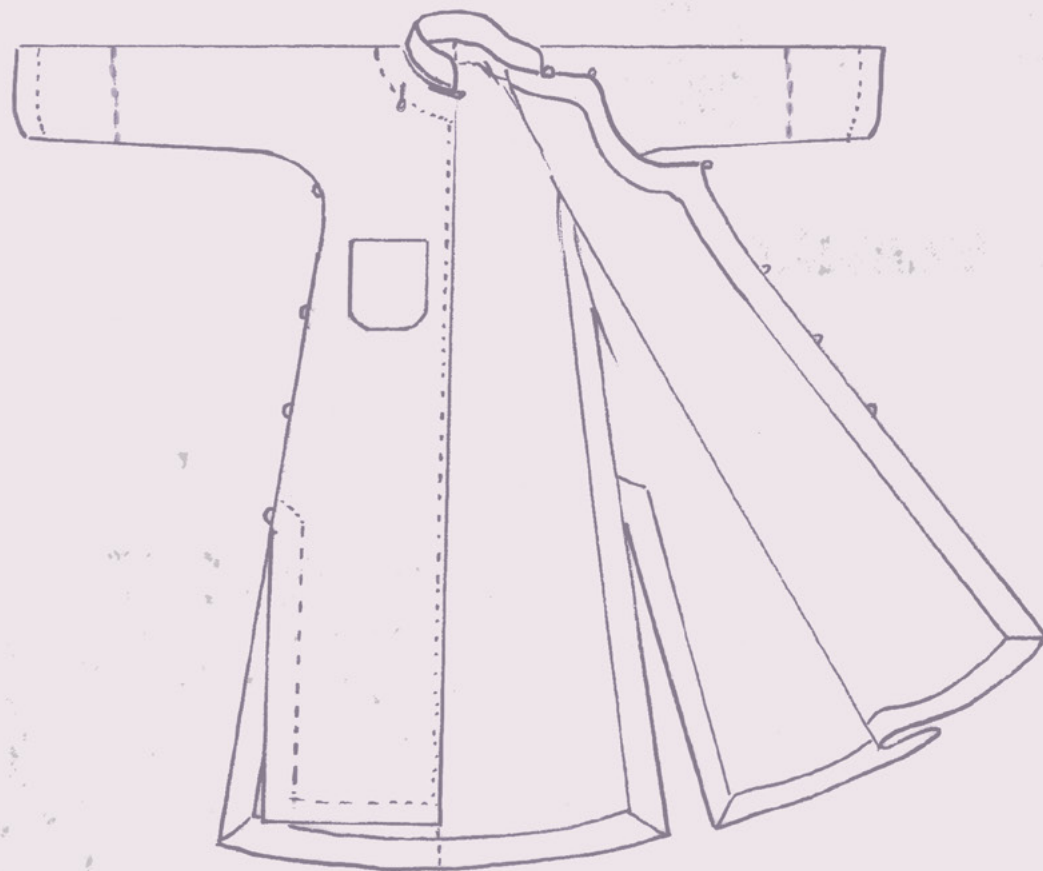
图片由长衫荟提供 Photo courtesy of Cheongsam Connect

要做到活态传承，
必须认真从结构、形制和工艺入手，
对男装长衫的制作技艺
进行全面研究、整理、保育和推广。

CHAPTER 3

Deconstructing Men's Cheongsam

The structure, form and tailoring technique of men's cheongsam must be comprehensively researched, documented, preserved and promoted if active inheritance is to be attained.



随着懂做男装长衫的老师傅们陆续离世，加上坊间所见尽是各师各法的所谓男装长衫，经典男装长衫的制作技艺处于极度濒危状态。

上一章提到近年男装长衫的经典形制和工艺受到威胁，至于其“江湖味、戏装化、粗简化与时装化”会在下一章再作探讨。究其传承危机的根源，主要是现时大众对传统男装长衫的结构、形制、工艺及穿衣方法认识不足，而长衫师傅只受聘做衫，有时也只好顺应潮流。其实二十世纪中期以后男装长衫市场已极度萎缩，女装长衫却刚相反，蓬勃得不得了，因此当时入行的中装裁缝，绝大部分都只集中做女装长衫，没有学过或做过男装长衫，有些只凭男装对襟短衫的形制和工艺推想男装长衫的做法。随着懂做男装长衫的老师傅们陆续离世，加上坊间所见尽是各师各法的所谓男装长衫，经典男装长衫的制作技艺处于极度濒危状态。尽管今天“香港中式长衫制作技艺”已荣登“国家级非物质文化遗产名录”，如要做到活态传承，就必须认真地从结构、形制和工艺入手，对男装长衫的制作技艺进行全面研究、整理、保育和推广。

男装长衫的历史沿革可以从文献和文物中探究，但具体的结构、形制和工艺，一定要通过研究大量实物才可以理出端倪。此书作者致力研究香港长衫历史文化和工

艺，2017年曾对香港历史博物馆所藏的百多件晚清至二十一世纪的男装长衫和三十多件马褂/马甲进行详细研究，并参与纪录老师傅制作男装长衫马褂的录像过程，最后根据研究所得，亲自制作了一些示范作品。这一章会借助这些实物扼要解释男装长衫的结构、形制和工艺，希望能给保育和传承工作提供一些基本的依据。

While the threats faced by the classic form and craft of men's cheongsam have been discussed in the last chapter, its “gangster-style, costume-style, degeneration and fashionisation” in recent years will be further explored in the next chapter. The chief underlying cause of the crisis is the public's inadequate understanding of the structure, form, tailoring technique and dress code of men's cheongsam while the tailors who are only hired to make the cheongsam sometimes have little choice other than following the trend. In fact, the demand for male cheongsam has shrunk radically after the mid-20th century while its female counterpart, on the contrary, thrived tremendously. Therefore, almost all the Chinese costume tailors who entered the trade at that time were given an

With the passing away of old tailors proficient in making men's cheongsam, and the swamping of those so-called “men's cheongsam” with little regard for authentic form and workmanship, the classic tailoring technique of the male cheongsam is in a critically endangered state.

apprenticeship focusing on the female cheongsam. Most of them have never been taught or given any chance to make a male cheongsam. As a result, when these tailors were asked to make one, some would use methods borrowed and modified from that of the centre-fastened Chinese shirt. With the passing away of old tailors proficient in making men's cheongsam, and the swamping of those so-called “men's cheongsam” with little regard for authentic form and workmanship, the classic tailoring technique of the male cheongsam is in a critically endangered state. Although traditional cheongsam-making technique is now inscribed on the List of the National Intangible Cultural Heritage of China, the structure, form and tailoring technique of men's cheongsam must be comprehensively researched, documented, preserved and promoted if active inheritance is to be attained.

While the sartorial history of men's cheongsam can be explored through textual research and cultural relics, the detailed structure, form and tailoring technique of this dress cannot be truly revealed without having studied large

numbers of genuine samples. The author of this book has spent years exploring the history, culture and tailoring technique of the Hong Kong cheongsam. In 2017 she conducted an in-depth research on men's cheongsam and some thirty pieces of Ma Kwa dating from the late Qing dynasty to the 21st century in the collection of the Hong Kong Museum of History were analysed and studied. She also partook in the videotaping of the production process of men's cheongsam and Ma Kwa demonstrated by master tailors. Some samples of men's authentic cheongsam were then made using the technique and specifications gathered from the research. These samples will be used in this chapter to illustrate the structure, form and tailoring technique of men's cheongsam. It is hoped that they will provide useful references for safeguarding this intangible cultural heritage item.

Structure, Silhouette and Cut

结构、轮廓与剪裁

T形结构与钟形轮廓 T-Shaped Structure and A-Line Silhouette

香港男装长衫珍贵之处，是其形制在过去一个多世纪以来从没有西化过，仍然保存着中国几千年来T字形平面“连肩平袖”结构，即是前后幅于肩膊相连，而且肩袖平展。这种中国传统袍服的基本结构一直未有朝“立体化”的方向转变，原因之一是要方便躬身做“拜”和“揖”等问好动作，可以从容把上臂抬高至肩膀，同时不会破坏分布在肩臂部分花纹的构图。这种剪裁方式让肩臂有较大的活动空间，又能适应各种宽窄厚薄的肩膀。此外，平面结构还有利折叠收藏。

连肩平袖的T形结构虽然做成腋下皱褶，但传统中国审美观认为这是自然无碍的，不像西装以斜肩解决这个问题却有碍双臂抬起。



据故宫博物院藏十七世纪初明代陈洪绶《晋爵图卷》局部所描绘之线图，显示古人揖拜的姿势。

Linear sketch based on partial view of the 17th-century Ming painting *Jinjie tujuan* (Congratulations on promotion of rank) by Chen Hongshou, in the Palace Museum Collection, showing the greeting gesture in ancient China.

李惠玲线描 Drawing by B. Li

The most cherished aspect of the male cheongsam is its classic form which has never succumbed to Westernisation over the past century and more. It still retains the T-shaped structure typical of traditional Chinese robe, with neither shoulder seams nor armhole seams. The front panels continue onto the back, and the sleeves grow out directly from the body forming a T-shape. In other words, the basic structure of men's cheongsam originating from traditional Chinese robe has never evolved toward three-dimensionality. One of the reasons accounting for this was to facilitate the wearers bowing low, cupping the hands and raising the arms to shoulder level as a gesture to greet or to pay obeisance. The grown-on sleeves allow the arms to raise with ease. Omitting shoulder and armhole

seams also avoids disrupting the decorative motifs around these areas. This structure allows more room for the arms to move about apart from suiting shoulders of different widths and thicknesses. Moreover, the two-dimensional structure facilitates folding and storage.

Although wearing a dress of T-shaped structure will result in lines of wrinkles between the neckline and the armpits, this was neither unnatural nor unbecoming in traditional Chinese aesthetics. The Western suit employs sloping shoulder and set-in sleeves to eliminate these wrinkles but the Westernised cut prevents the arms from lifting high with ease.

除了连肩平袖的T形平面结构外,长衫外型特色是衫身上窄下宽呈钟形(即所谓A字形),不修腰,袖长至手背,下摆两边外撇,底摆两边略抛高呈弧形,左右高衩以便开步。男装长衫最具特色处是保存了具深厚历史文化底蕴的右衽开襟直裾,整件长衫可以从右边打开,只用朴素的一字布扣,加上凝聚着传统裁缝工艺的智慧结晶,整件衣服简约挺拔却又舒展,与西装的拘谨束缚大相径庭。无论粗布或绸缎,只要剪裁适体,形制合乎法度,同样可以穿得温文尔雅,恢宏大气。

In addition to a T-shaped structure free of shoulder and armhole seams, another stylistic characteristic of the male cheongsam is the A-line silhouette, known as “bell-shape” in Chinese sartorial term. The waistline is unidentified; the sleeves extend to the back of the hand. The flared bottom of the dress has a gently arched hemline and a high slit on either side to facilitate striding. The most distinctive characteristic of the male cheongsam is the right-fastened closure with vertical side-hem, which has endured millenniums of Chinese sartorial history and culture. The dress can be completely opened from the right side. Only straight toggle-and-looped fabric fastenings of basic design are used to close the dress. Adding to the value of this dress is the exquisite workmanship epitomising the wisdom of generations of Chinese tailors. The entire dress looks simple, upright yet relaxed, which set it apart from the rigidity and restraint imposed by the Western suit. No matter it is made of coarse fabric or silken material, as long as the cheongsam is well-cut, well-fit and classic in form and specifications, the wearer will look cultured, elegant, poise and majestic in this dress.



1940s – 50s

祖籍广东顺德的何日东先生(左二穿长衫者)与三名穿西装的男子合照。垂臂时,西装上衣肩臂部分的确观感较好,长衫腋下会有褶皱,但无碍中国传统审美观,而且“平袖”结构方便臂膀的提高和转动。

Mr Ho Yat Tung, a native of Shunde in Guangdong, in cheongsam, posing with three other men in Western suit. When the arms hang down, the shoulders and armholes of the Western jacket do look more structured. The fabric between the neckline and the armpits of the cheongsam gathers into lines of wrinkles, but this is not against traditional Chinese aesthetics. The grown-on sleeves allow the arms to lift high and swing around with ease.

Photo courtesy of the Hong Kong Museum of History

“五身”剪裁与内外襟

“Five-Body” Cut, and Inner and Outer Closure Flaps

“五身”剪裁, 又称“五幅裁”, 师傅普遍叫“大裁”。前后幅于肩膊处相连, 面料分割与接驳减到最少。名为“五身”或“五幅”, 实际长衫的主体只是由三幅衣片构成: 前左与后左连成一幅, 前右的内襟(也称小襟、底襟)与后右连成一幅, 右边外襟(也称大襟、面襟)另成一幅。前后正中均有垂直的接缝, 结构端正, 大气庄严, 如果以传统“比德”审美观解释, 可视之为承上启下、中规中矩、正直无偏。

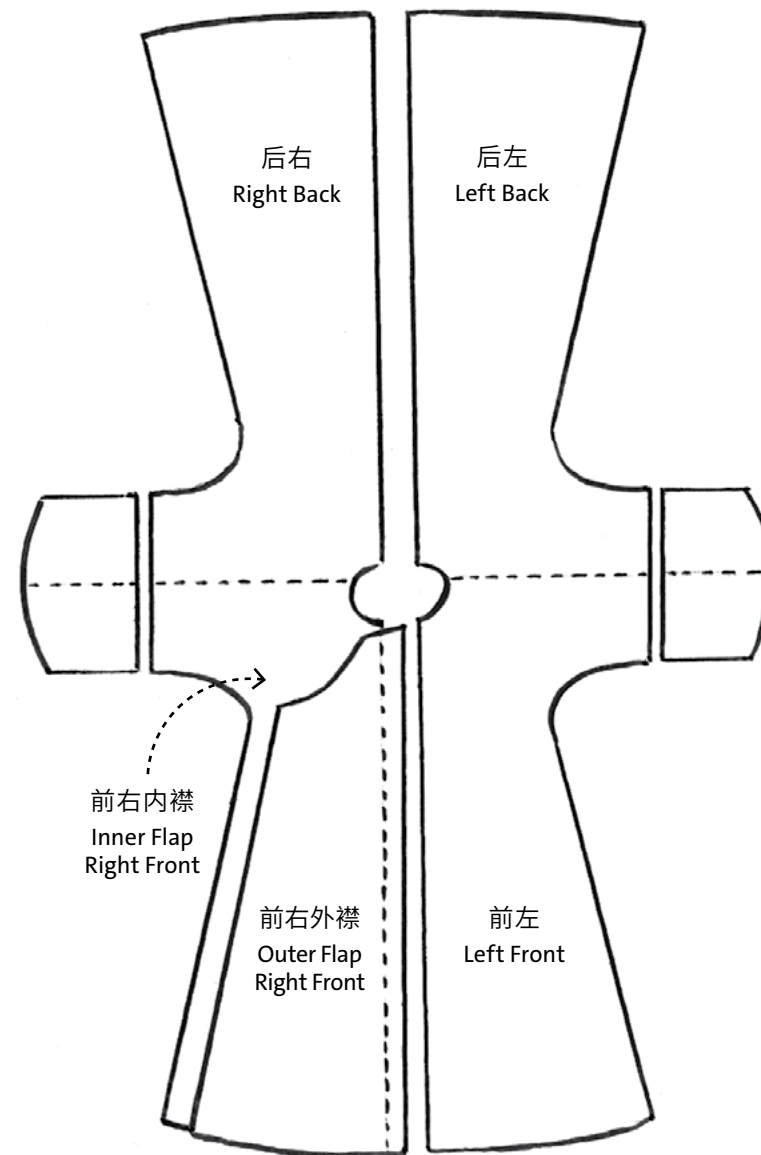


平展两袖的男装长衫, 呈T字形, 衫身上窄下宽呈钟形。

Men's cheongsam with spreading sleeves showing the T-shape structure and A-line silhouette.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

The cut of men's classic cheongsam is traditionally referred to as *wushen*, literally “five-body”, or *wufucui*, “five-panel cut”, while tailors used to call it *dacai*, “big-cut”. There are no shoulder seams. The number of cut-pieces and seams has been reduced to the minimum. The terms “five-body” and “five-panel” are somewhat misleading because the body of the cheongsam comprises only three rather than five cut-pieces. The left front and left back panels form one cut-piece. The inner flap (or under-flap) of the right front and the right back panels form another. The outer flap is cut separately. The left and right panels are joined by a seam running vertically down the centre front and back of the cheongsam, giving the dress an upright, majestic and symmetric look. If the concept of “virtue ethics” in traditional Chinese aesthetics is used to decipher its symbolism, the structure of men's cheongsam would symbolise “inheriting the past and ushering in the future”, “abiding by the norm” and “upright and non-biased”.



传统“五身”结构。如果减去前右身的外襟, 剩下“四身”, 就是对襟衫袍的剪裁。

Traditional “five-body” construction. Removing the outer flap on the right front makes a “four-body” construction typical of the short dress or long coat with symmetrical centre-front closure.

李惠玲制图 Diagram by B. Li

网购和坊间的男装长衫为了省工省料,又或者不懂何谓“大裁”,导致绝大多数不会有中缝,而是用省去中缝的“小裁”。又或者觉得西式剪裁也无不可,于是肩插袖等,这些都不是正规的男装长衫结构和形制。

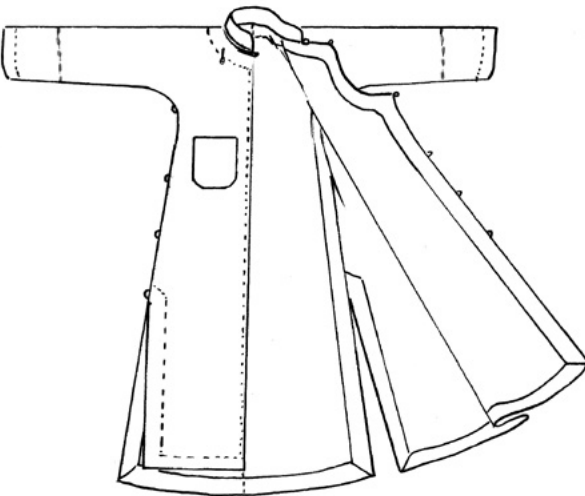
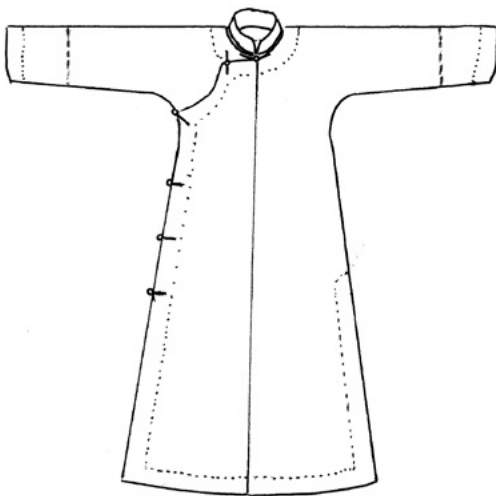
传统长衫基本上是前后幅等宽、等长,可以折叠规整。但偶尔也会有前幅下摆稍宽稍长的,估计是为了配合腹部较为突出的穿者。

然而为了穿上长衫后右脇内襟下摆不外露,内襟一般会短5-10厘米不等,右沿自衩口以下更是垂直而非外撇。

To save labour and material or simply due to ignorance of the “big-cut” method, almost all men’s cheongsams available from online or shops in town have no centre seams because the *xiaocai* (“small-cut”) method has been used. Some even have shoulder seams and set-in sleeves, possibly because the makers believe that Western tailoring method makes little difference. All these cheongsams are by no means authentic in structure and form.

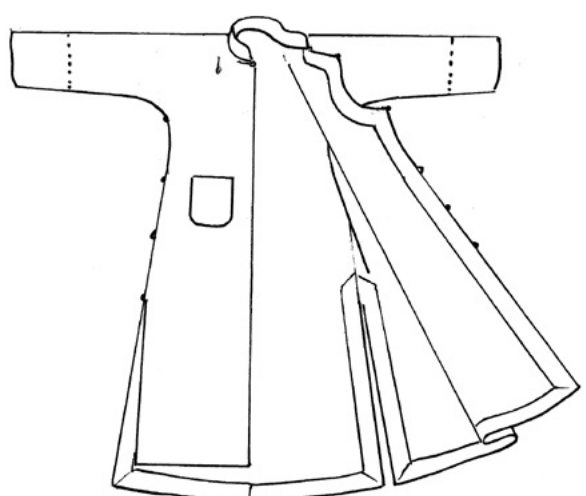
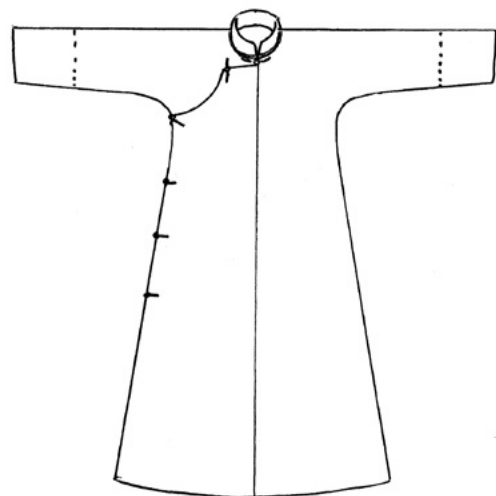
Traditionally, the front and back of men’s cheongsam are equal in width and length. The dress can be folded up neatly and flatly. However, occasionally the front front sweep of some cheongsams is slightly wider or longer, probably for wearers with a protruding belly.

To prevent the lower part of the inner flap from peeping out from the side-slit after the right side of the dress is closed, the inner flap is normally shortened by 5-10 cm, and its right edge from the top of the side slit downward is perpendicular rather than slanting outward.



男装单长衫基本造型线描。

Basic form of men's unlined cheongsam.



男装袷长衫(有衬里)基本造型线描。留意少了一些贴边。

Basic form of men's lined cheongsam. Please note that it has less facings.

Aesthetics and Practicability



传统领圈是先包绳条加固，立领则另外上下边沿缝缀完整。立领基本保持长方形，上沿平直，1970年代以后略有改良，下沿两边稍呈弧形以适应人体颈项前倾的实况。领口小圆角，领里比领表稍紧，让领片自然向内卷。这件长衫领圈裹了幼骨绳。

Traditionally, the neckline is reinforced by a binding before a stand-up collar with well-finished upper and lower edges is mounted onto it. The collar is basically rectangular in shape, with straight upper edge. From the 1970s onward, its lower edge is made to curve up slightly at either end to conform with the forward posture of the human head. The collar has round-off ends. The lining of the collar is slightly made tighter so that it will curl in naturally. A stiff cord has been inserted into the neckline binding shown here.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

领圈与立领 Neckline Binding and Stand-up Collar

领和襟是一件长衫最当眼的部位，也是最显裁缝功夫的地方，长衫是否合乎法度和工艺好坏，单看这两个部分已知七八。所谓“提纲挈领”，首先说领圈和立领。

昔日的长衫可以穿很多年，穿衣、脱衣，以至挂衣的过程，领子很多时要负起整件长衫的重量，领圈做得不结实，容易拉扯变形，影响整件长衫的结构。立领是晚清才普遍出现在长衫上，未有立领之前，为防领圈散口，也为了美观和加固，领圈边沿会包上绳条。其中要注意的是传统领圈绳条，其作法与一般绳条不同，程序较复杂，以滚圆和幼细结实为尚，也有裹绳以加强效果，看上去不但精致，还让穿衣者给人一种精神奕奕的感觉。

The collar and *jìn*-closure of the cheongsam are the most noticeable parts of the dress, and also where the tailor's exquisite craftsmanship are best displayed. Whether a cheongsam is authentic in form or well-made, a glance at these two parts will obtain the answer to a great extent. As the Chinese saying goes, "pick up a dress by its collar", let us start with exploring the neckline binding and stand-up collar.

In the olden days, a cheongsam was expected to last many years. When putting on, taking off and hanging up the cheongsam, the neck opening often had to bear the weight of the entire dress. If the neckline had not been firmly reinforced, it would easily

deform due to frequent tension and thus affect the structure of the entire dress. The stand-up collar only became common in the late Qing period. Prior to its popular use, it was a common practice to bind the edge of the neck opening to prevent fraying and for strengthening and aesthetic reasons. It is important to note that the traditional method of sewing on the neckline binding is different from that of ordinary binding. More elaborate procedures are involved. The neckline binding is typically narrow, rounded and firm. Sometimes a cord is inserted into it. Not only does this binding look exquisite, it also adds charm and spirit to the dress.

立领在清中叶以后出现,初期只是薄薄的双层长方布片,未能用于巩固领圈,因此领圈仍旧要先按传统方法加固,缀好后才与完整的立领底沿缝合。领片与穿者颈部经常接触,份外容易磨损和被汗渍沾污,先缉领圈再缀上立领,拆换领片时就比较容易,拆去领片时也不影响领圈的完整,甚至可以当作秃领长衫来穿。以传统技艺做出的领圈绳条因为形似滚圆狭长的豆角,师傅们也称之为“豆角”。因此这“豆角”并非纯用作装饰,而是有实际的功能。

The stand-up collar that began to appear on the male cheongsam after the mid Qing dynasty was initially made up of two flimsy sheets of rectangular fabric, and thus not very effective in strengthening the neckline. Therefore, the neckline still had to be reinforced using traditional neckline-binding method before the bottom edge of a well-finished stand-up collar was mounted onto it. Since the collar often came in contact with the wearer's neck and would easily become worn or get stained by sweat, from time to time it was necessary to replace the old collar with a new one. Binding the neckline before mounting the collar made the replacement of collar easier. After the old collar was removed, the neckline binding remained intact. Even without a new collar, the cheongsam could still be worn as a collarless one. Since traditional neckline binding is narrow and rounded like a string bean, it is so nicknamed. This “string bean” is not only an aesthetic element, but a functional component.



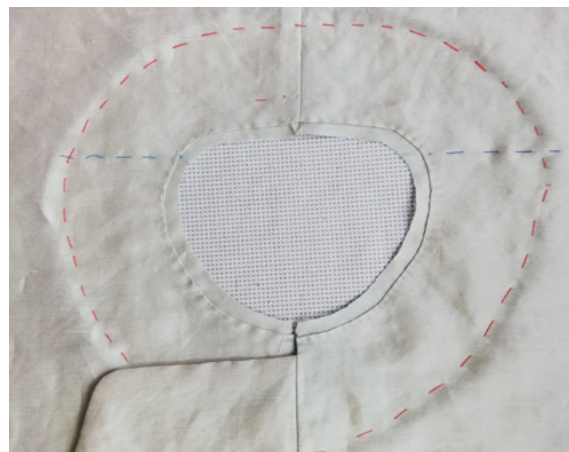
这片立领内纳了稍硬的尼龙芯,配合滚圆结实的“豆角”,看上去精神奕奕。

The stand-up collar has been reinforced with interfacing of medium stiffness. The “string bean” appears rounded and sturdy. Together they add charm and spirit to the dress.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

传统绳领圈

Traditional way of making neckline binding



步骤一 STEP ONE

讲究的作法是不用散口绳边,而是面料领圈与贴边(或衬里)均预出缝份,面料领圈先向内折,让领圈更结实。

Seam allowance is allowed around the neckline of both the shell fabric and the facing (or lining). The allowance of the shell fabric is tucked under to add extra strength to the neckline.

步骤二 STEP TWO

绳条也是边沿先向内折才与领圈缝合,进一步增加稳固度和“豆角”质感,然后把领圈贴边(或衬里)缝份包卷绳条边沿(很厚重的面料,此缝份可剪掉),再把绳条紧紧卷向反面,从绳条正面底沿缝隙落针,穿透至反面并以回针锁紧绳边。

Pre-fold the edge of the binding strip and sew it to the pre-folded neckline to further strengthen the neckline and add firmness and fullness to the “string bean”. Then fold the edge of the facing over the binding (for very thick fabric, this edge can be trimmed away) before tightly folding the other edge of the binding to the wrong side of the neckline. Sturdy back stitches piercing through the seam underneath the binding is used to lock the binding in place.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

二十世纪五十年代之前,大部分男装长衫都按这传统做法先缉领圈再安装领片,但是二三十年代开始出现一种简化做法,领圈不再先包缉条,而是散口的缝份直接与立领领表的底沿缝合,领圈缝份夹进领表和领里中间,领表下沿则做出看似缉边的效果,骤眼看会以为这缉条是包着衫身的领圈,细看才知不然。拆卸领子的话,领圈便会散口,长衫穿不得,当然这做法是预计领子不会拆卸。从美学角度,这条假的领圈缉条当然没有“豆角”的滚圆度和结实度。

直至二十世纪初期,男装长衫立领只是双层长方布片,或夹有薄薄的领芯,领口为方角或小圆角,前后一般高,领里除了用本料也有用其他衣料。战后的女装长衫领片渐渐摆脱长方形,而变成上下沿呈弧形以求切合颈项前倾的情况和营造特别视觉效果。但是绝大部分男装领片仍保持长方形,高矮随颈项长短而定,领口小圆角。直至大约七十年代后,才出现底沿两端略抛高的领片,但上沿仍然保持平直,否则弯弯的领片穿上来很女性化,不够大方。

领表与领里中间有些会纳有芯片,有些没有,芯片厚薄软硬不一,视乎个别长衫质料和穿者的喜好,但以透气为尚。传统是多层白布以浆糊黏合而成的软薄芯,或用麻朴、马毛朴作芯,穿起来较舒服,近年也会采用厚薄不一的尼龙硬芯。

Prior to the 1950s, the neckline of most male cheongsams was reinforced with binding before the collar was mounted onto it. However, an abridged method began to be used around the 1920s and 1930s. Instead of binding the neckline first, the raw edge of the neckline was directly stitched to the bottom edge of the collar. The seam allowance of the neckline was thus sandwiched between the exterior and interior layers of the collar. A narrow raised edge shamming a binding was created along the exterior bottom edge of the collar. At first glance, it did suggest a traditional neckline binding, but a closer look would reveal the truth. Removal of the collar would expose the raw edge of the neckline, and the cheongsam was no longer fit for wearing. Of course this method was used on the condition that the collar would not have to be dismantled. Aesthetically, this sham neckline binding lacks the firmness and fullness of the classic “string bean”.

Until the early 20th century, the stand-up collar of the male cheongsam only comprised two sheets of rectangular fabric; some stiffened with thin interfacing; with square or small round-off ends; front and back of equal height; self-fabric or other fabric can be used for the collar lining. In the post-war period, the stand-up collar of the female cheongsam gradually abandoned the rectangular shape and transformed into an elongated “eye” shape with arched upper

and lower edges to suit the forward posture of the human neck and for aesthetic reason. However, the collar of the male cheongsam remained rectangular in shape with small round-off ends. Its height depended on the length of the wearer's neck. The bottom edge of the collar did not curve up at either end until around the 1970s. The upper edge of the collar remains straight in order not to look feminine and unbecoming.

Some cheongsam collars are stiffened with a layer of interfacing. The stiffness of the interfacing depends on the shell fabric of individual cheongsam and the wearer's personal preference, but breathable material is always preferred. Traditionally, several layers of white cotton cloth were glued together to form a soft, thin interfacing. The moderate stiffness of hemp or horsehair interfacings also ensures comfort. Vinyl interfacings of various degrees of stiffness are also used in recent years.



这件长衫的领圈没包缉条而直接与立领的底沿缝合,只是领表下沿做出看似缉边的效果,不是正宗做法。留意缝于立领内的白布领衬没有高于立领,是正确的做法。

The neckline of this cheongsam has no binding. It is directly sewn onto the bottom edge of the stand-up collar. The binding-like bottom edge of the collar is a sham. This is not an authentic way of finishing the neckline. Please note that the white collar liner does not rise higher than the collar, which is correct.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li



马毛朴软硬适中而且透气,是领芯的理想物料。Breathable horsehair canvas of medium stiffness is a desirable interfacing material for the stand-up collar.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

整体说,立领宜矮不宜高,
宜宽不宜紧,宜软不宜硬。

昔日男性长衫内一般穿浅色对襟立领短衫或底衫,因此领子边沿往往隐约露出一圈浅色内领。近年因为穿衣习惯的改变,长衫内不再穿立领短衫,为了保护领里免沾汗渍,往往会加缀白布领衬。但传统的师傅都知道这领衬不应刻意高于长衫立领,从外面只是隐约看到便可。现时坊间往往刻意让白领衬整整一圈地露出来,其实并无必要,也不太好看。

男装长衫衫身顺着面料的经纹直向剪裁,领子也是。故此直条子图案的长衫上,会看到呈横条子的领,不似五十年代后期的女装长衫,直条子衫身刻意配上直条子立领,以营造长颈的视觉效果。男装长衫的立领也较女装的宽松,尤其预计里面穿西式衬衣的,多留有一点空间没有那么拘谨。



**The rule of thumb for the male stand-up collar is —
better be lower than higher, looser than tighter,
and softer than stiffer.**

In the past, men usually wore underneath their cheongsam a light-coloured Chinese-style shirt or undergarment buttoned down the centre. Very often the upper edge of the stand-up collar of the inner garment could be seen from outside. Due to change of sartorial habits in recent years, inner garment with stand-up collar is not worn under the cheongsam. To protect the collar lining from being soiled by sweat, a white liner is often stitched over it. However, seasoned cheongsam tailors are aware that this liner should not rise conspicuously from behind the cheongsam collar; only a glimpse of it from the outside is allowed. Currently, many male cheongsams in town are often furnished with a white collar liner whose upper edge distinctly protrudes above the cheongsam collar. This is unnecessary apart from unbecoming.

The body panels of the male cheongsam are cut out lengthwise along the grain line of the shell fabric, and likewise for the collar. Therefore, a cheongsam of vertical-striped fabric will have vertical stripes shown on the body but horizontal stripes shown on the collar. This is quite distinct from the aesthetics of the female cheongsam collar from the mid 1950 onward. To make the wearer's neck look longer, a female cheongsam with vertical stripes on the body would also have a collar showing vertical stripes. More ease is allowed for the male cheongsam collar than its female counterpart, especially when a Western collared shirt is expected to be worn underneath it. A looser collar will make the wearer feel less restrained.

留意衫身的直条子与立领的横条子。

Please note the direction of the pinstripes on different parts of the cheongsam: vertical on the body and horizontal on the collar.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

襟与纽扣

Jin-Closure and Fastening Rules

现时女装长衫右衽襟线有很多种形状和线条设计, 纽扣的钉缀方法和位置也是五花八门。但是经典男装长衫仍保持着从千多年前圆领长袍的肩头扣系方式演变和优化而来的“厂”字襟。开襟方式会影响喉头和襟头纽扣的位置, 需要依从严谨的法度, 其中实在大有学问, 沿用老办法不可看成是因循造作。

十七世纪后, 圆领袍由肩头扣系降至喉头右方的锁骨位置, 再发展为近世的厂字襟。厂字襟的宽度跟襟头纽扣的位置、方向, 与人体肩臂活动规律以及力学、美学息息相关。男装长衫整幅外襟的上截就是靠喉头右方一副垂直“一字”布扣(又称“直纽”、“直扣”)挽起来。

The *jin*-closure of modern female cheongsam comes in different shapes and outlines. The sewing method and placement of the buttons are also variegated. However, the male cheongsam still maintains the 厂-shaped closure (*changzijin*) evolved and perfected from the shoulder-closure of round-neck robe that began to prevail more than a millennium ago. The closure style of the male cheongsam determines the placement of the neck and clavicle fastenings, which are governed by rigorous rules defended by sound rationale. These classic rules should not be dismissed as stereotyped or pretentious.

After the 17th century, the shoulder fastenings of the round-neck robe descended to near the clavicle to the right of the throat and then further evolved to become the *changzijin*. The distance between the knobs of the neck and clavicle fastenings as well as their placement and orientation are closely related to the movement of the human shoulders and arms, mechanics and aesthetics. The entire upper portion of the outer flap of the male cheongsam relies on a single pair of upright clavicle fastenings to hang in place.

钉缀于图中红色虚线以内的垂直一字扣最为稳定, 最不受皱褶影响。喉纽和襟纽距离过远会导致中间松坠。

The pair of upright clavicle fastenings affixed within the red dotted line is the most stable and least affected by the wrinkles. Too wide a distance between the knobs of the clavicle and neck fastenings will cause the middle part to sag.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li



战前高档长衫也有领、襟、袖口包边或嵌边的做法，战后基本已极少见。包边或嵌边可以用本料，也可以别出心裁用其他布料或颜色。

Although binding and piping at the collar, *jin*-closure and sleeve openings were not uncommon among men's high-end cheongsams in the pre-war period, these decorative elements were rarely seen after the war. Apart from using self-fabric, binding and piping can also be made from other fabric of the same or different colour to achieve special visual effect.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

无肩缝的“大裁”袍，垂下手臂时，肩膀至腋下位置会自然出现皱褶，避开皱褶靠近喉头的垂直一字扣最为稳定，最能发挥力学原理（垂直最能负重，有些长衫厚重，外襟颇重），可以把外襟系稳而不起皱。外观上喉头和襟头扣一横一竖，符合几何构图的协调美，还让整件长衫看来更挺拔，有男子汉大丈夫顶天立地的象征意义。现时坊间所见的男装长衫，大多襟头扣距离喉头太远，而且不少襟头扣还是45度斜向的，更有把襟头扣的扣襻（扣耳）钉缀在领圈贴边以外小襟的单薄处，导致小襟容易被扯破，凡此种种，都有违力学、美学与逻辑。

其实战前“厂”字襟女装长衫襟头所用的短直扣和花式小盘扣也是垂直的。战后因为演变成立体结构和贴身剪裁，襟头不再单靠一对纽扣固定，女装襟线才变得自由，即

使有盘扣也是斜向的，只用作装饰。由于襟线是斜向而下裁剪的，不论是任何形状的男女装长衫襟线都容易拉扯变形，因此襟位免不了要贴上牵条加固。

“Big-cut” robes with no shoulder seams naturally have lines of wrinkles between the neckline and the armpits when the arms hang down. Advantageously positioned to stay away from these wrinkles, the pair of clavicle fastenings enjoys the greatest stability and best testifies the principle of mechanics (perpendicular hook has the maximum load-carrying capability; the outer flap of a cheongsam made from bulky fabric can be quite heavy). This allows the outer flap to drape comfortably and smoothly over the wearer's body. Aesthetically, the pair of horizontal neck fastenings and the vertical clavicle



传统长衫工艺讲究每一个细节：领圈正前端下方与襟的顶沿之间要留半厘米虚位（图中插针处）以便钉缀喉扣。

Traditional cheongsam tailoring is very punctilious in every detail. A gap of around 0.5 cm has to be reserved immediately below the meeting point of the neckline binding (the point indicated by the needle in the photo) and above the top edge of the *jin*-closure to allow room for affixing the neck fastenings.

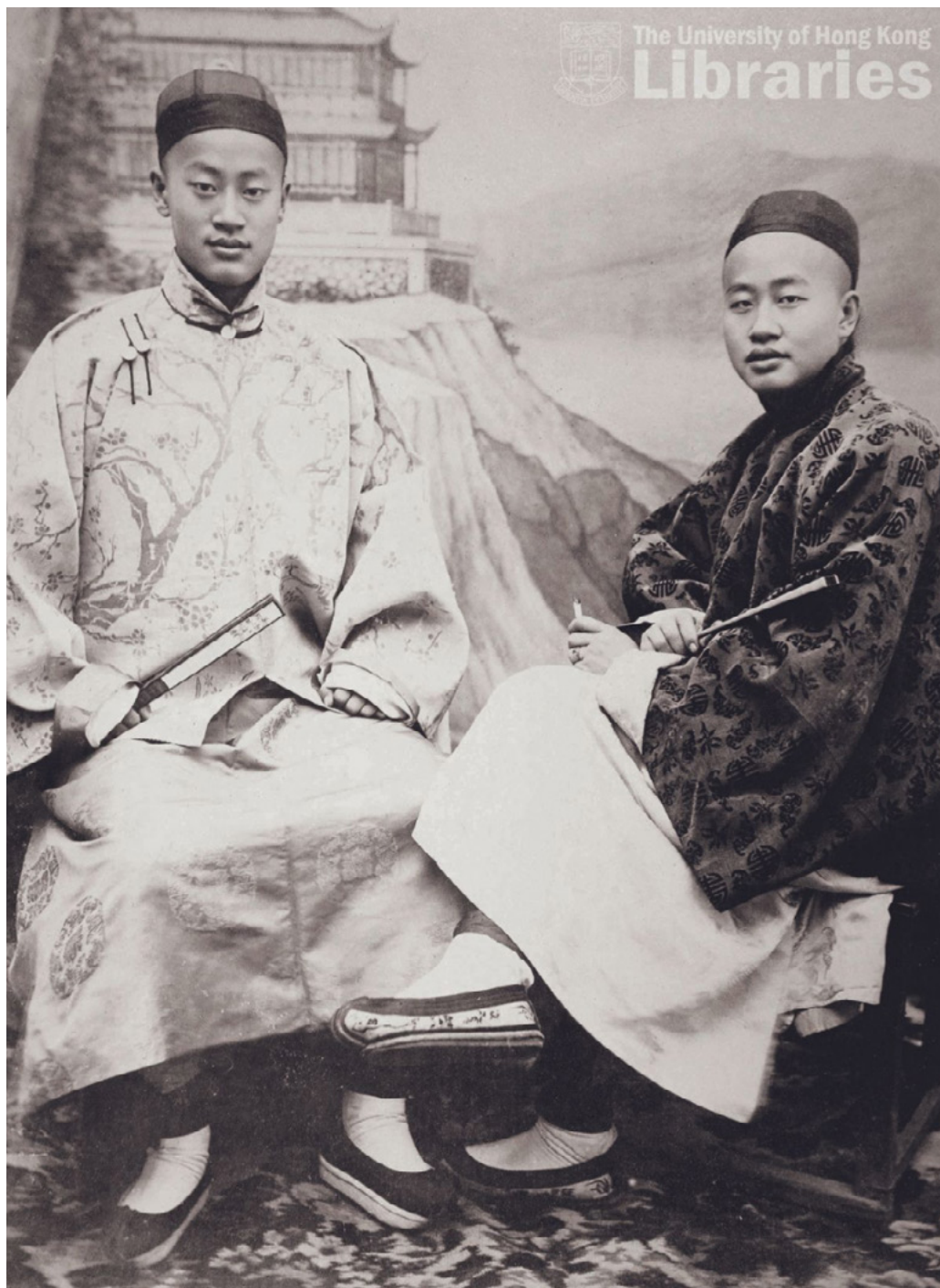
李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li



fastenings bespeak geometric harmony. The charm of the cheongsam is also enhanced, further invoking the exemplary integrity and uprightness in a man's character dearly cherished throughout Chinese history. Today, most male cheongsams seen in town are having the knobs of the neck and clavicle fastenings too wide apart, and many of these clavicle fastenings are oriented at 45 degree rather than upright. Some even have the button loop at the clavicle attached to the unreinforced area of the inner flap outside the neck facing, rendering this part of the inner flap easily get torn. All these are against the principle of mechanics, aesthetics and logic.

In fact, the petite straight or frog fastenings positioned on the right clavicle of the *changzijin* of pre-war female cheongsam were also upright. After the female

cheongsam became three-dimensional in structure and close-fitting in the post-war period, the outer flap no longer relied on a single pair of fastenings to be hung in place. The outline of the *jin*-closure of the female cheongsam was then given more freedom of expression. Thereafter, ornamental fastenings are placed at an angle straddling the *jin*-closure. Since the sloping *jin*-closure of the male or female cheongsam is prone to deform and stretch due to frequent handling, a reinforcing tape has to be glued along its edge to maintain its shape.



男装长衫的纽扣,全部有实际用途,并非装饰。千姿百态的花式盘扣是女装的专利,男装长衫只用简单朴实的直扣,以幼细结实为尚,组条大多用本料,也有用不同布料或颜色;斜开成窄条后缝合而成。若面料太软薄,组条可裹纱布甚至幼绳以增加结实度。一对或一副直扣由纽头和纽襻两部分组成,纽头钉缀于大襟上,纽襻在小襟上及右脇的后方。纽头也可用其他物料如玉、珠、铜钮等替代。

The fastenings of the male cheongsam are all functional rather than decorative. Frog fastenings of variegated shapes and colours are exclusively reserved for the female cheongsam. The male cheongsam only uses simple and modest straight fastenings, preferably slenderly and sturdily braided. They can be prepared from self-fabric or other fabric of the same or different colour. The strips for braiding these fastenings are cut on the bias and stitched into narrow tubes. If the material is too soft, a gauze strip or even a cord can be inserted to add substance and firmness. A pair of straight fastenings comprises two elements—a knotted button and a loop. The button is affixed onto the outer flap while the loop is stitched onto the inner flap and the right edge of the back panel. The knotted button can be substituted by other materials such as jade, bead and brass buttons.



原图片说明为“十九世纪中国青年考状元”。左边青年的大襟马褂立领上额外缀了一对直扣(看放大图),只用布纽头。留意马褂中缝两边“对花”完美,这样大面积的不规则图案也有可能是入口的宽幅印花布,但要对花也要多耗不少布量。

The original caption of this 19th-century photo reads “Chinese young examination candidates”. The young man on the left wears a Ma Kwa; its stand-up collar with an extra pair of straight fastenings with fabric knotted knob (see closeup). Please note that the large irregular patterns on both sides of the centre-seam are perfectly matched (see closeup). Much extra yardage must have been used to achieve this though the fabric is possibly an imported one of much broader width, with printed rather than jacquard patterns.

Photo courtesy of The Hong Kong University Libraries

喉头布扣紧贴领圈之下, 让领口合拢。男装长衫(或马褂)一般不在立领上钉缀纽扣, 虽然清末旧照也曾见立领上有直扣, 上世纪三四十年代的男装长衫也曾短暂流行高领并有在立领上多缀一对纽扣的例子, 但最底下的一对喉扣一定维持在领圈之下, 跟女装分别开来。但不论男女装长衫, 喉扣一定要扣上, 绝不能松开, 男装对襟短衫也是, 否则便是衣衫不整。

The pair of neck fastenings for closing the collar is affixed right below the meeting point of the neckline binding. Normally speaking, men's cheongsam (or Ma Kwa) does not have fastenings stitched onto its collar although examples of straight fastenings being sewn to the stand-up collar can be seen in late Qing dynasty photos, and high collar affixed with an extra pair of fastenings was a fad for men's cheongsam in the 1930s and 1940s. However, the pair of fastenings right under the neckline binding remained the staple no matter how many extra fastenings were stitched onto the collar front, which differentiated the male cheongsam from its female counterpart. Nevertheless, regardless of male or female, the neck fastenings of the cheongsam by all means must not be left unbuttoned. The same rule applies to men's centre-buttoned Chinese shirt or coat. Loosening this button is considered indecorous and uncivil.



纽条以斜开的窄布条缝合而成, 里面可以裹纱布。长短粗细要均匀, 纽头要盘得紧密、结实、滚圆。

The tubes for braiding the fastenings are prepared from strips cut on the bias. A gauze strip can be inserted to add firmness. The tubes have to be even in thickness. The knotted button has to be compact, firm and spherical in shape.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li



钉缀纽扣到长衫上很考功夫, 针步要细密均匀, 扣襻大小适中, 不能让底下衣襟起皱, 钉缀完毕后整对纽扣要呈“一字”笔直。

Stitching the straight fastenings onto the cheongsam is a challenging task. The stitches have to be dense and even. The eye of the loop is just big enough for the button to pass through. The stitches must not cause the fabric underneath it to pucker. The finished piece has to be ruler-straight.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

除了横向的喉扣和垂直的襟头扣, 长衫右边腋下至衩口也有纽扣, 数目没有硬性规定, 但一般四对已足够。腋下第一对纽扣既不是直也不是横, 而是40至50度斜置, 也是基于力学原理, 能发挥吊起外襟的脇边作用, 又兼顾衣片实际结构情况。现时长衫一般总共六对纽扣(1+1+4), 全身除此外完全不需要额外啪钮、暗扣之类。

In addition to the horizontal neck fastenings and the upright clavicle fastenings, there are additional pairs of fastenings between the armpit and slit opening on the right side of the male cheongsam though their number is not mandatory. The one right under the armpit is neither upright nor horizontal but obliquely positioned at an angle of 40–50 degree, which according to mechanical principle lifts up the side-hem of the outer flap most effectively while taking into consideration the actual structure of the related panels. Presently, men's cheongsam is usually furnished with six pairs of fastenings (1+1+4). Apart from these six pairs of fabric fastenings, no snap buttons, hook-and-eye and any other kind of fastenings are required.



右脇纽扣数目没有硬性规定，但一般四对已足够。除了腋下第一对扣是斜向外，其余的都是横向。

The number of fastenings down the right flank of the cheongsam is not mandatory. Normally four is sufficient. Except for the first one under the right armpit which is obliquely positioned, the rest are horizontal.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

二十世纪开头的一二十年，很多男装长衫仍沿袭晚清遗制，右脇只有三对纽扣，也不一定等距，一般第一、第二对扣距离较远。及至二十年代，不少长衫右脇钉缀五对直扣，一般第二对以下等距。三十年代开始，右脇大都采用四对直扣，大抵跟1929年国民政府颁布的《服制条例》中男装礼服的“袍”规定的“钮扣六”有关，即是喉头一、襟头一、右脇四对纽扣。一般也是第二对以下等距。

一字扣讲究左右长短粗细对称，纽条顺直。纽脚是否越长越好看？存世实物显示，清初一字扣的纽脚只长约4厘米或更短；清中叶至清末，不少一字扣的纽脚都长逾5厘米，民初甚至有长达7厘米，但二三十年代开始又规范化了，男装衫纽脚平均长5厘米，女装的更短些。其实中国男性一般身量不高，纽脚越长，越显得穿者身量矮。此外，纽脚长短还要配合襟沿和脇沿的贴边宽度，过长会伸到贴边外，不好看也不受力。再且，钉缀直扣讲究笔直，纽脚越长难度越高，越易露瑕疵破绽，所以长短适中便可。

钉装纽扣还有一小窍门，就是先钉缀喉扣和襟扣才把立领与领圈缝合。这样做让喉扣和襟扣的钉缀更就手，襟扣的定位也更准确，以后若要换领片也不影响喉扣的完整。

In the 1900s and 1910s, many male cheongsams were still furnished with three pairs of fastenings on the right side following the late Qing tradition. These three pairs of fastenings were not necessarily equidistant. Generally speaking, the first and the second ones were wider apart. By the 1920s, many cheongsams were furnished with five pairs of fastenings; usually the second to the fifth were equidistant. From the 1930s onward, four pairs of fastenings on the right side became the norm. This is probably related to the *Fuzhi tiaoli* (Dress Code) promulgated by the Nationalist Government in 1929, which stipulates that the *pao* (robe) constituting men's formal outfit should be furnished with “six pairs of fastenings” — one at the throat, one at the clavicle and four down the right side. The fastenings on the right side are generally equidistant from the second one downward.

Traditional craftsmanship requires the legs of the straight fastenings to be straight, smooth and even in length and thickness. Some people believe that the longer the legs of the fastenings, the more elegant they look. A close study of some extant sartorial examples reveals that the legs of the straight fastenings of the early Qing period only measure around 4 cm or shorter. They grow longer, some exceeding 5 cm on most mid and late Qing examples. Some early Republican pieces are as long as 7 cm.

However, from around the 1920s and 1930s, the length of these fastenings became quite standardised. The average length of the legs of the fastenings on men's cheongsam is 5 cm, and shorter on the female cheongsam. In fact, since the average Chinese men are not tall, the longer the legs of the fastenings will only make the wearer look shorter. Besides, the length of the legs has to match the width of the facings along the side-hem of the cheongsam. Too long a fastening will result in its legs protruding beyond the facing, which is not only unappealing, but also prone to rip the shell fabric outside the facing-reinforced area due to tension. Moreover, the fastenings have to be ruler-straight. The longer their legs, the more challenging will be the stitching and less easy to hide flaws and defects. For these reasons, fastenings of moderate length are advisable.

There is a knack to mount the neck and clavicle fastenings — stitch these two pairs of fastenings onto the cheongsam *before* sewing the stand-up collar to the neckline. This makes mounting both pairs of fastenings easier and ensures more accurate positioning of the clavicle fastenings. Besides, the neck fastenings will not be affected if the collar is to be replaced in future.

衫长、袖长与衩高

Length of Dress and Sleeves, and Depth of Side-Slits



男装长衫下摆几及足踝，袖长过腕。衫长至足踝上约4–5厘米最理想，太长不方便上落梯级，稍短亦无妨，但如果衫长只及膝，传统上会被视作短衫，看来像是店小二或堂倌的制服，并不得体。民国的历史图片中常见到短至腿肚的男装长衫，是因为民国初年的长衫礼服（官方只叫“袍”）有分昼服和晚服，昼服可以短至腿肚，晚服则差不多长至足踝。但大多数男性穿长衫，仍然是一律偏向长过腿肚。

长衫的袖子太长不方便，太短又不好看，标准是垂至手背的中间，袖口宽度约为张开手时拇指与尾指之间的距离，上世纪开头二十年曾经流行紧窄的衫身，袖子狭长而袖口窄小，可能是受当时西服影响之故，应该是当时部分人为追求时尚而特别订制，不是普遍现象。过了二十年代，衫身、袖子和袖口又回复宽松，但比清末时候相对的窄。

Men's cheongsam has an almost ankle-length hemline and wrist-concealing sleeves. The most desirable hemline is around 4–5 cm above the ankle; too long will make ascending and descending stairs inconvenient. A slightly higher hemline is acceptable but knee-length is indecorous because traditionally such a length belonged to the category of “short dress”, while knee-length cheongsams were typically worn as uniform by shopkeepers and waiters. The mid-calf-length cheongsam often appearing in Republican photos were men's “day robe” designated in the Republican *Dress Code* as opposed to the almost ankle-length “evening robe”. However, most cheongsam wearers still preferred a hemline falling below the mid-calf on all occasions.

Too long a sleeve is inconvenient while too short looks unbecoming. The standard length is reaching the middle of the back of the hand. The most desirable width of the

sleeve opening is about the distance between the tip of the thumb and that of the little finger when the fingers are spread out. The close-fitting cheongsam with tube-like narrow sleeves and small sleeve openings in vogue in the 1900s and 1910s was likely inspired by Western fashion. They were probably specially commissioned by some fashion-minded men rather than a norm of the period. After the 1920s, the body, sleeves and sleeve openings of men's cheongsam once again became roomy though relatively narrower than in the late Qing period.

男装长衫是气度恢弘的长袍，至今仍然保持袖长过腕，衫长几至足踝的形制。

Men's cheongsam is an elegant and majestic robe which still maintains the classic features of having sleeves extending beyond the wrist and an almost ankle-length hemline.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

由于传统面料门幅颇窄,衣袖下臂必需接驳。现时尽管有门幅很宽的面料,但排布时若把布幅对折,左右身平排,袖子下截也需接驳,而且要按布幅的经纹接驳。接驳处与手肘或袖口的距离,也有讲究,太贴近手肘或袖口都不好看,一般是距离袖口15–20厘米。袖口可以是平齐,但讲究的会呈弧形向下收。

侧衩是为了方便开步和提腿上楼梯,衩口大约位于腋弯与衫脚之间的中间点。较简

易定高低的方法,是把右边腋下第一枚纽扣与右边下摆衫角对折,取中点。由于有些长衫垂至脚面,有些则在足踝上若干距离,衩口跟臀部的距离难有硬性规定,但太高太低都不适宜。讲究的量身订做长衫,量身时师傅会让穿者手臂自然垂下并将食指弯曲成直角,以此定衩高。穿者上楼梯时不用弯身便可以勾着衩口撩起下摆,既方便又保持仪态和潇洒风度。御寒的棉袍和厚重的镶毛皮长衫,也许会衩口较低,减少冷空气入侵。



下臂接驳处的纹理要跟袖子同一方向,与袖口的最理想距离是15–20厘米。袖口可以是平齐,但讲究的会呈弧形向下收。

The grain line of the forearm extension runs in the same direction as the rest of the sleeve. The most desirable distance between the extension seam and the hem is 15–20 cm. The edge of the sleeve opening can be straight but sophisticated ones will curve in toward the underarm seam.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

Due to the narrow width of traditional Chinese fabric, an extra piece of shell fabric has to be sewn to the lower part of the sleeves to make up the desired length. Although fabric of “double width” is much wider, forearm extensions are also required if the fabric is folded in half along the grain line to allow the left and right body panels to be cut out side by side. The grain line of the forearm extension runs in the same direction as the rest of the sleeve. The distance between the extension seam and the elbow or the sleeve opening is largely defined by aesthetics. Too close to either one is considered unbecoming. 15–20 cm from the sleeve opening is the norm. The edge of the sleeve opening can be straight but sophisticated ones will curve in toward the underarm seam.

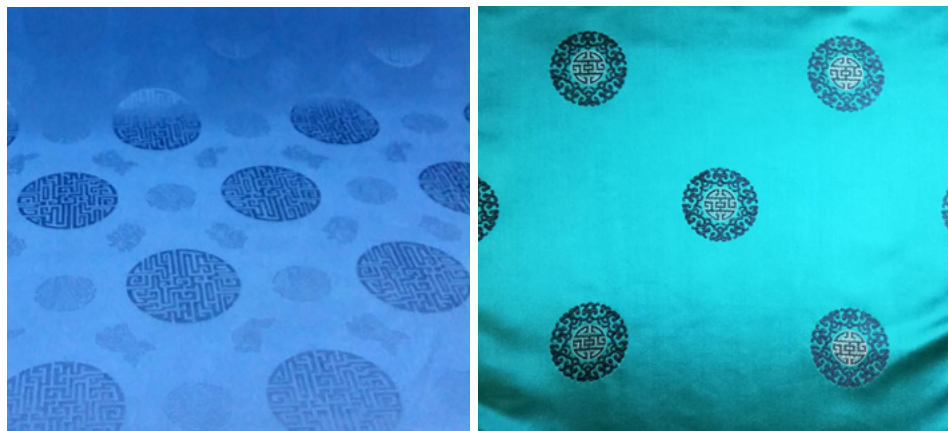
The function of the side-slits is to facilitate walking and lifting the legs when climbing stairs. The slit normally begins from around

halfway between the armpit and the bottom hem. A convenient way to identify this halfway point is to fold the right corner of the bottom hem up to the fastening immediately under the right armpit. However, since the bottom hemline may vary from touching the wearer's instep to some distance above the ankle, it is hard to tell how far should the top of the slit be from the hipline, though too high or too low are both considered inappropriate. Tailors of high-end bespoke cheongsam may ask the patron to hang his arm down naturally and flex his index finger. The flexed knuckle will set the depth of the side-slits. The wearer can easily lift up the front sweep of his cheongsam by inserting his index finger into the slit opening without bending his body when ascending stairs, thus maintaining a composed and elegant posture. Padded and fur-lined cheongsams worn in cold weather may have lower side-slits to reduce the intrusion of cold air.

外内兼顾，一丝不苟 Impeccable Finish Inside and Out

一件优质的男装长衫，不单造型要合乎法度、剪裁要适体、穿起来平服挺拔、表面手工精致而完全不显露车缝线，还要做到里外工艺同样严谨。打开衣服，无论是单衫或衿衫，所有缝份要收纳整齐俐落，贴边完备规整，挑边细密，才算合格。传统长衫工艺讲究内外兼顾，首先从“外”说起。

A high-quality cheongsam for men not only has to maintain an authentic form, fit well, drape smoothly, look handsome, demonstrate exquisite workmanship and show no machine-sewn stitches on the exterior surface, but is also meticulously finished both inside and out. To fulfil the basic requirements, the inside of a cheongsam, whether lined or unlined, must have all seam allowances concealed or tidied, all facings neatly lying in the right place, and slip-stitches densely executed. Traditional cheongsam tailoring pays great attention to both the outside and inside of the dress. Let us start with the Outside.



国产丝绸的图案，一般排列颇有秩序，每组图案重复面积不大，“对花”较容易。

The patterns on Chinese silks are usually regularly distributed and with not too large repeat size, which makes pattern-matching easier.

李惠玲摄 Photos by B. Li

追求完美和谐的“对花” Pattern-Matching: Perfection and Harmony

虽然男装长衫以素色居多，但是如果客人选择了有图案的衣料，不论明花暗花，而布量充足的话，严谨的师傅会尽量周身“对花”，让前后幅左右图案连贯，大小襟、驳袖处图案连贯，领口图案左右对称，内襟的贴袋也要对花，一丝不苟，务求整体和谐完美，精致工整。

除了拼接中缝讲求图案连贯或对称之外，还要留意采用的图案有否“倒顺”问题。传统国产丝绸的图案，大都是一些吉祥纹样，不论疏密，一般排列颇有规律，很多团花和组花都是正看和倒看都不拘的，但有些纹样会有“倒顺”之分。

Although the majority of men's cheongsam are made from plain fabric, if the material provided by the patron is figured, whether self-figured or not, as long as yardage allows, a conscientious tailor would try his best to have the patterns accurately matched throughout the dress, so that the patterns will continue across the centre seams of the front and back, the outer and inner closure flaps, and the sleeve extensions. The patterns on the front ends of the collar also have to be symmetrically disposed. Pattern-matching also applies to the patch pocket sewn to the inner flap. Every detail is impeccably matched to attain perfection and harmony, and a neat and sophisticated look.

In addition to ensuring the continuity or symmetry of the patterns across the centre seams, it is also necessary to find out whether there is an “up and down” or “misorientation” to the patterns. Most patterns on traditional Chinese silks are auspicious motifs with a regular layout no matter they are densely or generously spaced. While many floral medallions or bouquets can be viewed right side up or upside down, other patterns may be directional.

有些花鸟、花树、花瓶、鲤鱼等,或一些特定吉祥图符,只能正看,倒看便不顺眼。要知道男装长衫是连肩的,前身的端正纹样翻过肩头到了后身便倒了过来。例如,原本花枝向上的梅花会变成花枝向下,“倒梅”跟“倒霉”谐音,当然犯禁忌。又例如,头向上的鱼儿代表“鲤跃龙门”,祝愿飞黄腾达,变了鱼头向下当然不妥当。因此,选购有纹样的中国丝绸做男装长衫,要选没有“倒顺”问题的面料。

Some motifs including flowers-and-birds, flowers-and-trees, vases and carps as well as some specific auspicious symbols can only be viewed right side up. They will look disagreeable upside down. Since men's cheongsam has no shoulder seams, the top of the pattern on the body front will become the bottom of the pattern over the shoulder. For instance, the upward branches of the plum blossoms will be pointing downward on the back of the cheongsam. “Inverted plum blossom”, *daomei* in Chinese, is homophonous with “bad luck”, hence a taboo. Another example is the leaping carp with head pointing upward, known as “Carp leaping over the Dragon's Gate”, which is an allusion to “gaining success and heading toward a brilliant future”. Of course no one welcomes the sight of a carp with head pointing down. Therefore, if figured Chinese silk is selected as the material for making men's cheongsam, one must make sure that the motifs have no orientational restrictions.

这件夏衫的面料是义大利提花纱罗,有面积不规则图案,但只要肯花工夫和多耗一两码面料,一样可以做到前后完美“对花”。

This summer cheongsam is made from Italian leno jacquard with irregular patterns of large repeat size. Perfect pattern-matching is not a problem if laborious effort and 1–2 extra yards of material are to be committed.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li



“对花”需要很仔细功夫，
要很有耐性，讲求完美，马虎不得，
尤其是前后身的中缝，
对得不好会很碍眼，
破坏了长衫的整体观感。

不“对花”的多数是一些较不明显或纷杂、
细碎的图案，有些不是“不能”对花，只是怕
麻烦而已。一些入口的面料有大面积重复
的不规则图案，“对花”没有传统中国丝绸
那样容易，要做到前后中缝图案连贯的话
需要一点技巧和多费一点时间和面料，但
为求效果完美，也是值得和有必要的。

有直条子、横条子、格子纹等的面料，也要
条子拼条子、格子拼格子的逐一拼对妥当，
领口的图案也要对称，才见完美。



李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

Pattern-matching demands elaborate skill
and great patience. Perfection is the goal.
Every detail has to match, especially the
patterns across the front and back centre
seams. Poorly matched patterns will be an
eyesore besides affecting the overall appeal
of the cheongsam.

Cheongsams skipping pattern-matching usually have less
obvious or small, irregular patterns. These patterns are in
fact “matchable”, but apparently the tailor did not want to
take the trouble. The pattern-matching process of some
imported fabrics with irregular patterns of large repeat size
is more challenging than figured Chinese silks. More
tailoring skill, time and material are required to attain
perfect continuity of the patterns across the front and back
centre seams. However, it is necessary and worth the effort
for the sake of perfection.

Vertical and horizontal stripes or check patterns also require
to be matched accurately and laboriously. The patterns on
the front ends of the collar also have to be symmetrically
disposed.

体现内在美：缝份收纳、贴边与衬里

Neatening the Inside: Seams, Facings and Lining

跟着说“内”。长衫可以有衬里，也可以没有衬里。前者叫“衿衫”，后者叫“单衫”。单衫因为没有衬布遮盖缝份，所以要求更仔细的收纳缝份和更繁复的手缝挑边工序。单衫里面周身镶贴边，除了加固长衫的边沿不易破损外，还稳定整件长衫结构。单衫尤其两脇有曲尺形贴边，由后幅衩脚向上伸延至腋弯，再伸延至袖口，防止脇边因经常穿脱而拉扯变形。厂襟由喉头至腋下的斜开边沿，要黏贴“牵条”加固。两脇尤其是腋弯容易拉扯变形的部位，视乎面料是否结实，也要全部或局部贴“牵条”加固。“牵条”一般是丝里沿纵纹撕下的窄薄条，没有伸缩力，宽2–2.5厘米不等。

打开传统的单长衫并把袖子反过来，不会看见中缝和驳袖的缝份露出毛边，不论缝份是左右摊开抑或全拨向一方，毛边都会向下扣并稳稳地以斜针与衫身缝合；两脇更完全看不见缝份，因为都收纳于曲尺形贴边内。

长衫外襟反面看到的贴边和缝份。
Facing and seam allowance shown on the wrong side of the outer flap.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

Next, let us take a look at the “Inside” of the cheongsam. Men's cheongsam can be lined or unlined. Since the unlined one has no lining to hide its seam allowances, it demands more meticulous neatening of the seam allowances and more elaborate hand-finished slip-stitching for all the hems and facings. The edges of an unlined cheongsam are furnished on the wrong side with facings, which not only strengthen the edges and protect them from wear and tear, but also serve to stabilise the structure of the entire dress. This is particularly true with the L-shaped facings unique to the unlined cheongsam. They run all the way from the bottom hem to the armpit and then the sleeve opening on either side of the back panel to prevent the side seams from deforming due to tension. A reinforcing tape has to be glued along the raw top edge of the outer flap for the same reason. Since the side seams around the armpit are also susceptible to distortion, they need to be entirely or partially reinforced with tapes depending on the density and sturdiness of the fabric. These reinforcing tapes are



usually non-stretchable narrow strips of 2–2.5 cm in width, torn off from thin silk lining fabric along the selvedge grain.

When an unlined cheongsam is fully open and the sleeves turned inside out, no raw edges of the centre seams and sleeve extension seams will be exposed. No matter the seams are pressed open or pushed to one side, the raw edges will be tucked in and firmly slip-stitched in place. The side seams are completely concealed by the L-shaped facings.



打开单长衫，内里所有缝份收纳整齐。这件衫的周身贴边特意镶了深色嵌条，是为了教学示范用。

The cheongsam fully open, showing the neatened seams. The edges of the facings have been highlighted with dark-coloured piping for demonstration purpose in class.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li



长衫右身。把袖子翻出来，可以看到后幅脇边由衫脚伸延到袖口的曲尺形贴边。

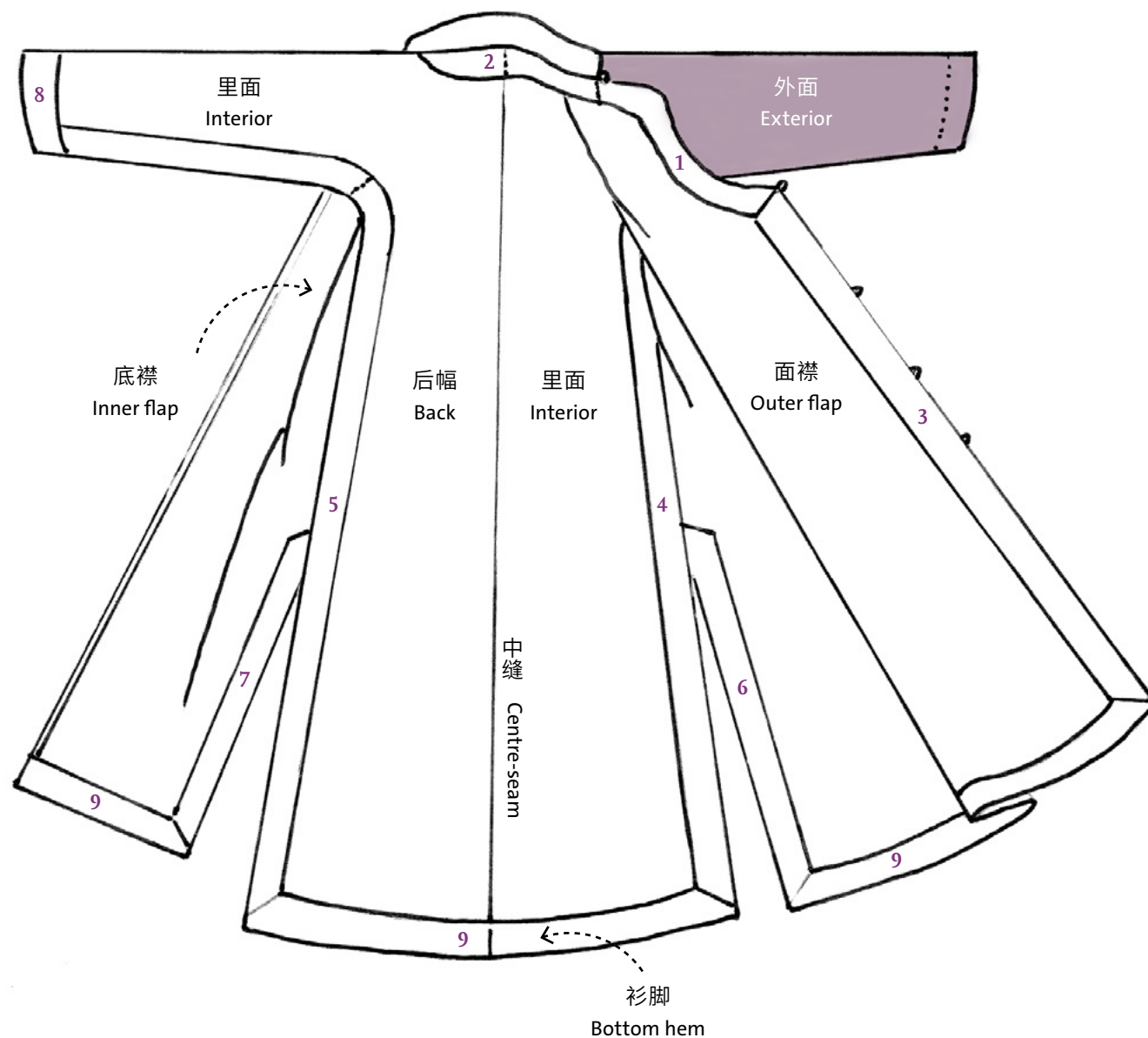
Right half of the cheongsam with sleeve turned inside out, showing the L-shaped facing running up from the bottom hem to the sleeve opening.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

男装单长衫贴边一览

Facings Inside Men's Unlined Cheongsam

- 1 厂襟贴
厂-shape facing
- 2 领圈贴(左右分裁)
Collar facing (left and right halves)
- 3 大襟右沿贴
Side-hem facing on right front
- 4 & 5 后幅左右曲尺贴
L-shaped facings on back
- 6 前幅左衩贴
Side-slit facing on left front
- 7 底襟右衩贴
Side-slit facing on right of inner flap
- 8 袖口贴 x 2
Sleeve hem facing x 2
- 9 衫脚无需贴边, 原身向内翻
No facings. Just turn up the bottom hem.

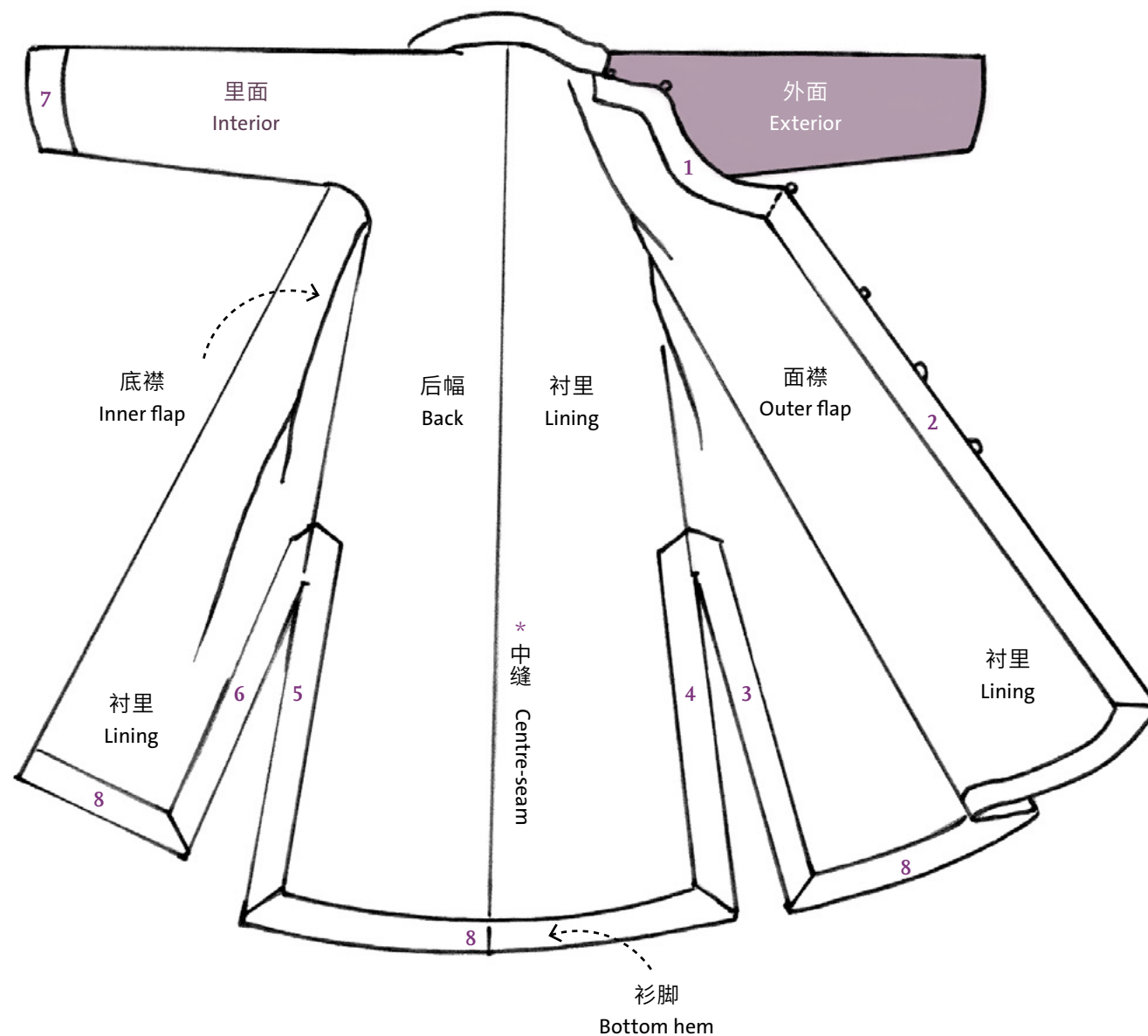


男装衿长衫贴边一览

Facings Inside Men's Lined Cheongsam

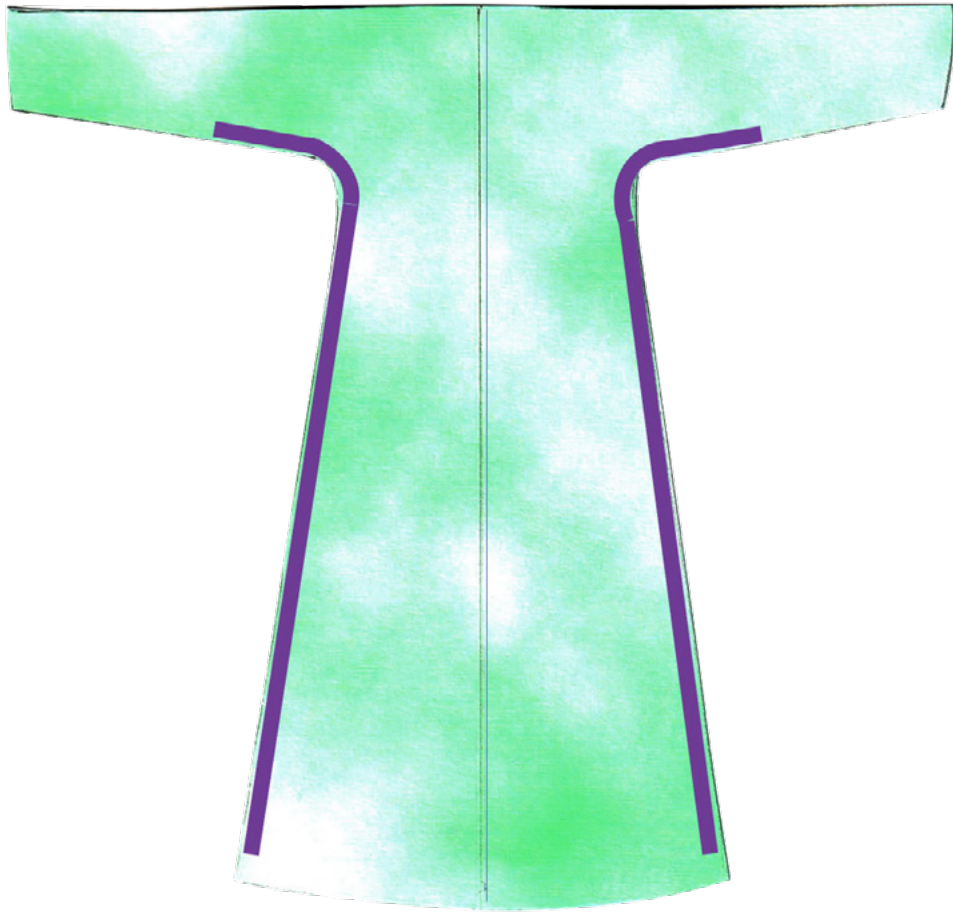
- 1 厂襟贴
厂-shape facing
- 2 大襟右沿贴
Side-hem facing on right front
- 3 & 4 左衽贴一对
A pair of left side-slit facings
- 5 后幅右衽贴
Side-slit facing on right back
- 6 底襟右衽贴
Side-slit facing on right of inner flap
- 7 袖口贴 x 2
Sleeve hem facing x 2
- 8 衫脚无需贴边, 原身向内翻
No facings. Just turn up the bottom hem.

* 小裁衬里没有中缝
No centre-seam for small-cut lining

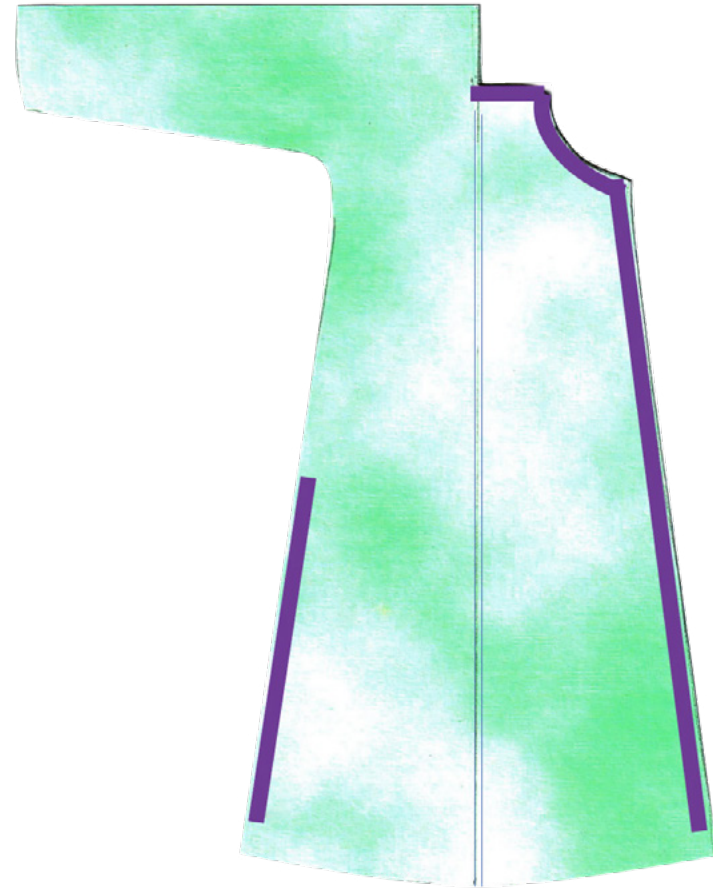


男装长衫需要贴牵条的部位

Parts of Men's Cheongsam to be Strengthened with Reinforcing Tapes



后幅反面
Reverse side of back



前幅反面
Reverse side of front

据存世实物看,清末民初的裕长衫内不流行周身贴边,衬里颜色也不讲究与面料协调,以浅蓝、彩蓝最普遍。1920年代前后,才开始在长衫内周身以本料贴边,包括袖口。衬里的颜色也较多样化,渐渐讲究与面料同色系。裕长衫不论是用薄丝里或较厚的绒里,缝份全被密封着,除了部分棉袍采用所谓“飞里”,一般衫脚也是底面缝合。衫内后幅两脇没有单长衫的曲尺形贴边,贴边止于衩口稍高处。一般领圈也省却贴边。

衬里也分“大裁”和“小裁”。“大裁”就是长衫面料所用的“五身”剪裁,有中缝拼接,前文已述。“小裁”又叫“偷襟”或“挖襟”,女装长衫由平面结构发展至立体结构的过渡期,正是用这种剪裁方式。“小裁”的衬里,前后幅都没有中缝,前幅右方斜斜挖出襟线并接驳一截内襟,两袖也需接驳。这做法减少了面料的分割,也较为省料。“小裁”的

衬里还有一个好处,昔日有些讲究的裕长衫,衬里也有图案,用“小裁”可以让图案连贯,也省了“对花”的工夫。为防衬里松垂,要以手针沿着中缝和大部分贴边内沿仔细“打围”(绗线),外面不着痕迹。

As shown by antique examples, the interior of the lined cheongsams of the late Qing and early Republican periods rarely have facings. The colour of the lining does not necessarily match that of the shell fabric; pale blue and bright blue are the most common. Men's cheongsam from around the 1920s begin to have self-fabric facings around the interior edges including the sleeve opening. Linings come in diverse colours and occasionally match that of the shell. The seam allowances of the lined cheongsam, no matter lined with thin silk or thicker woollen fabric, are completely sealed up within the lining. Except for some padded cheongsams with

semi-attached lining, the bottom hems of the lining and the shell are normally sewn together. The inside of the lined cheongsam has no L-shaped facings flanking the back as in the case of unlined cheongsam. The facings of the side-slits do not extend further up. Often the neck facing is also omitted.

The lining can be of “big-cut” or “small-cut”. “Big-cut” refers to the “five-body” cut applied to the shell fabric, with a centre seam down the front and back, as previously explained. “Small-cut” is also called *toujin* (“shift-closure”) or *wajin* (“gouge-closure”). This was the characteristic cut of the “transitional” female cheongsam when two-dimensional structure was evolving toward three-dimensional. Lining of “small-cut” has no centre seam in the front and back. The closure line is cut in the right front, and the inner flap is added. Sleeve extensions are also required. This cutting method

minimises the division of fabric parts, and also saves fabric yardage. The “small-cut” lining also has another advantage. Some sophisticated cheongsams of the olden days were lined with figured silk. Omitting the centre seams could ensure the continuity of the decorative motifs and save the trouble of pattern-matching. To prevent the lining from sagging, tacking will be carried out discreetly along the centre seams and the inner edges of most facings using a hand needle.



一般下摆毋须另加贴边,只是把弧形的衫脚缝份向内折,然后收纳毛边便成。单衫下摆两角的处理可以较简单,完成所有纵向贴边后把衫脚缝份向上覆盖,两边交角重叠,毛边收纳整齐便可。

Normally, instead of adding a facing, the curved edge of the bottom hem is turned up to the desired width and then the raw edge folded inward. The treatment of the corners of the bottom hem can be relatively simple for unlined cheongsam. After finishing the vertical facings, just turn up the bottom edge of the dress, mitre the corners and conceal the raw edges.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li



裕衫的贴边和衫脚由于要与衬里缝合,交角处理的工序较繁复,纵向贴边车缝到底前,要先与倒折的衫脚缝份交角缝合并“摊骨”(左右摊开缝份),才把贴边缝合到底。与衬里缝合后省却挑边的工夫。

Since the facings and bottom hems of the lined cheongsam have to be attached to the lining, the treatment of the mitred corners is more complicated. The vertical facings are machine-sewn onto the body until the last few inches at the bottom. The bottom hem is folded outward and the corners mitred against the lower ends of the vertical facings. Spread open the mitred seams and finish off the vertical facings. After the facings join the lining, a lot of slip-stitching work will be spared.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

手缝、车缝与挑边

Hand-Finish, Machine-Finish and Slip-Stitching

上世纪三十年代之前,所有男女装长衫都是手缝的。虽然不少三四十年代的长衫已经有车缝痕迹,其实当时脚踏缝衣机并未如战后普及,绝大部分长衫还是全手缝的。车缝主要见于中缝、接袖和脇边,其他地方都是手缝。缝衣机普及后,跟女装长衫一样,男装长衫仍然讲究以手缝结合车缝,因为很多缝合工序是机器代替不了。尽管车缝的部分,针步也以细密为尚。时至今日,老师傅做的高档男装长衫仍然坚持这原则。长衫表面尤其不能露出车缝线,以车缝代替手缝挑边的男装长衫都是坊间的粗糙制品。

袷衫由于缝份全被衬里隐藏起来,加上贴边与衬里的缝合另有一套方式,所以毋须手缝挑边,虽然安装衬里比较复杂,却大大省却挑边的工夫。至于单衫,要收纳缝份并要把贴边和衫脚的内沿以手缝挑边与面料结合,因此挑边工夫比袷衫多得多,并要求更高。大半个世纪之前,挑边的针步细密而牢固,平均每吋12针,也有密至每吋16针的,当然有些较马虎的,例如每吋10针以下,但不多,因此可以理解为何一件优质的长衫可以穿着多年,实在是因为工艺的精细和严谨。六十年代开始,有些师傅为了省工,女装长衫衫脚和袖口收边时,以西式时装惯用的“人字”挑边代替细密得多的传统斜针挑边。但是,“人字”挑边从不会用于工艺严谨的传统男装长衫。

Prior to the 1930s, all male and female cheongsams were handsewn. Although many extant examples from around the 1930s and 1940s already show evidences of machine-work, the sewing machine was not as popular as in the post-war period. The vast majority of the cheongsam were finished by hand. Machine-sewn stitches were mainly found at centre seams, sleeve extension seams and side seams. Other parts were all handsewn. After the sewing machine became popular, like its female counterpart, men's quality cheongsam was still finished by handwork and machine-work combined because many sewing processes could not be substituted by the machine. Despite machine-work, dense stitches are always maintained. To this day, men's quality cheongsam made by master tailors still adheres to this principle. In particular, no machine-sewn stitches should be visible on the exterior. Men's cheongsams with machine-sewn overstitch instead of hand-finished slip-stitch are low-end products in the market.

Since the seam allowances of the lined cheongsam are all hidden inside the lining, and the lining joins the facings in a unique way, slip-stitching is unnecessary. The complication of furnishing the lining is offset by greatly saving the trouble of slip-stitching. Since finishing the seam allowances and facings of the unlined cheongsam involves

laborious slip-stitching, much higher slip-stitching skill is demanded. More than half a century ago, the standard density for slip-stitching was 12 stitches per inch, though some may reach 16 stitches per inch. Sparse ones such as less than 10 stitches per inch did exist though not common. This explains why a high-quality cheongsam can last many years. Exquisiteness and punctiliousness of craftsmanship count. From the 1960s

onward, some tailors began to finish the bottom hems and sleeve hems of the female cheongsam with herringbone stitch (catch stitch) borrowed from Western tailoring in order to save time and labour. However, the herringbone stitch is never applied to men's finely tailored classic cheongsam.

长衫外襟反面,贴边和缝份的挑边细致,每吋10针,与昔日的平均每吋12针比较,已经是较疏了。

Wrong side of the outer flap showing the facing and seam allowance finished with 10 slip-stitches per inch, though this is relatively sparse compared with 12 stitches per inch in the past.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li



暗袋和衩结

Hidden Pocket and Bar-Tacking

缝于内襟的贴袋,位置隐密,昔日是用来放置需要贴身收藏的钱财或文件等。越是早期的长衫,这贴袋越靠胸膛中央,让穿者的右手从襟扣与腋下扣之间探进去取物,外人从右脇伸手进去根本无法取得,正好发挥保护贵重财物的功效。二十年代以后,贴袋逐渐向右移,高低大小不一。近年倾向较接近右脇,方便探手取物。虽然大部分贴袋都是手缝的,也有不少采用车缝的。严谨的师傅们连这个外面看不见的小口袋都会坚持“对花”,很多时不留意的话,打开衣襟也不容易察觉这个口袋的存在。

The patch pocket discreetly sewn to the inner flap was for keeping money or papers close to the wearer's body in the past. The earlier the cheongsam, the closer was the patch pocket to the centre of the chest. To extract the content of the pocket, the wearer's right hand had to glide in through the gap between the clavicle and armpit fastenings. Others could not access the pocket from his right flank. This pocket thus had the function of safeguarding the valuables. After the 1920s, the patch pocket gradually moved toward the right though it could be set higher or lower, and its size varied. In recent decades, this pocket tends to move closer to the right flank to allow easy retrieve of its contents. Although most patch pockets are handsewn, there are also machine-sewn ones. Punctilious tailors would insist on matching the pattern of this concealed pocket with that of the inner flap. The existence of this pocket may skip the inattentive eye when the cheongsam is opened.

图中长衫的贴袋比一般的高,因为腰间另有插袋。就像早期一些接近腋下的贴袋,右手要从襟扣和腋下第一对扣之间探进去取物。高档的长衫连这外面看不见的袋子都要对花或对条子,骤看根本不留意有贴袋存在。这贴袋也是用手针缝缀到内襟上的。

The patch pocket of this cheongsam is relatively high because there is a side pocket below the waistline. To reach this patch pocket, the wearer's right hand has to glide in between the clavicle and armpit fastenings. High-end cheongsam is punctiliously crafted to the degree that even the concealed patch pocket cannot skip “pattern-matching”. One can hardly notice its existence at a glance. This pocket is also handsewn to the inner flap.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li





除了贴袋以外,不少长衫两侧还有插袋,非常实用。

In addition to the patch pocket, many cheongsams also have very practical in-seam side-pockets.

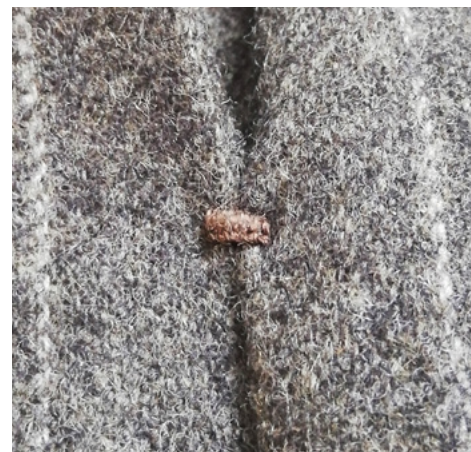
李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

除了内襟的贴袋外,不少长衫尤其是较厚重的衿衫和棉袍等,都有插袋,袋口在脇边腰部和臀部之间,有些只是一边有插袋,但大部分都是左右都有插袋,除了放置物件,冷天还可以把手插进去保暖。

男装长衫的传统技艺还有一些重要的细节不容忽视,衿结(俗称“打枣”、“打虫籽”)是其一,用于加固衿口和插袋的袋口上下端,减少这些部位撕裂的机会。

In addition to the patch pocket on the inner flap, many lined cheongsams especially the heavier ones or padded ones are also furnished with in-seam side-pockets between the waistline and the hipline. Some only have one side-pocket but most have a pair, one on either side. Apart from holding things, the side-pockets also keep the hands warm in cold weather.

There are some other important details about men's traditional cheongsam that should not be overlooked. An example is the handsewn bar-tack reinforcement at the slit opening as well as the upper and lower ends of the side-pocket opening to reduce the chance of ripping under tension.



1. 插袋的袋口上下端也会用衿结加固,防撕裂。

Bar-tacking is also necessary for preventing the upper and lower ends of the side-pocket opening from ripping.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li



长衫衿口必然以衿结加固。

The top of the side-slits of the cheongsam must be reinforced with bar-tacking stitch.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

【第四章】

穿衣篇

不懂穿衣法则，
保育了经典男装长衫也无用武之地，
就像铸造了宝剑而未见剑谱，
缺乏章法下只能乱舞一通。

CHAPTER 4

The Art of Wearing Men's Cheongsam

Safeguarding men's classic cheongsam without knowing the rules of wearing it is like having forged a sublime sword but the sword manual is missing. Without the manual, the sword will never be able to manifest its true strength.

衣装是穿者性格和品味的外在伸展。

You are what you wear. Your clothes speak.

衣服有很多功能：除了最基本的御寒护身、蔽体遮羞外，还具装饰和礼仪作用，在古代尤其是判别身分地位的标识。服制作为阶级藩篱的现象在现代社会虽已淡化，却并非不存在。衣服已成为重要商品，服装设计和制造业不但有庞大商机，推动社会经济发展，更提供了平台让人实现对美的追求，让创意得到发挥。

可以说，衣服是强大的文化载体，是个人心理、生理的折射，以至社会文化、经济政治、民族民生的象征符号和真实映照。

长衫，不论男女装，都有鲜明的民族特色，背后有深厚的文化底蕴。“穿好一件长衫”虽不至于是一门学问，但也需要一些常识，男装长衫尤其如是。当然，若深谙“人穿衣”之道，穿长衫也可以是一门艺术。本章除了探讨男装长衫质料的选择、举出坊间一些男装长衫造型与穿衣习惯的毛病、概谈其穿衣法则外，还加插了一篇二十世纪初经典长衫的赏析，希望加深读者对男装长衫的认识。

In addition to fulfilling the basic function of protecting the wearers' body from environmental hazards and concealing their private parts, dress also serves decorative and ritual purposes, and in particular in ancient times, as an indicator of personal identity and social status. Although social barriers defined by sartorial codes have largely faded in recent times, they have never vanished. Dress has become an important commodity. The industry of clothing design and manufacturing not only has enormous commercial potential and helps promote social and economic development, but also provides a platform for people to realise their aesthetic pursuit and express their sartorial creativity.

Thus it can be said that dress is a powerful cultural carrier; a manifestation of personal psychological and physiological state apart from symbol and true reflection of culture and society, economy and politics, ethnicity and people's livelihood in general.

The cheongsam, men's or women's, bearing distinctive characteristics of Chinese sartorial culture, is endowed with profound cultural connotations. Although “to wear a cheongsam well” does not require any expertise, one does need to grasp some basic knowledge, especially for men's cheongsam. Certainly, for seasoned wearers who know how to be the “master of their dress”, wearing the cheongsam can become an art. In addition to exploring the fabric choices of men's cheongsam, discussing some unbecoming styles and dressing habits related to this dress form, and summing up the dos and don'ts, this chapter has also included a section on the connoisseurship of an early 20th-century men's cheongsam of classic style and craftsmanship to help the readers better understand men's classic cheongsam.



棉麻长衫
Cotton-linen cheongsam

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li

Fabrics for Men's Cheongsam

衣服是用来穿在身上的。
对穿者来说，
“做衣服”的目的是为了“穿衣服”，
“做”一般是交托裁缝完成，
“穿”却是穿在自己身上，
所以长衫衣料一定是自己挑选，
不会假手于裁缝师。

由于二十世纪中期以后男装长衫已经不再是普罗百姓的衣装，跟八十年代以后女装长衫衰落后却变得更矜贵一样，所用面料大多以丝绸为主，让人错觉以为丝绸是男装长衫的一贯选择。其实并非如此，昔日男装长衫就跟其他中装一样，可以是绫罗绸缎，也可以是较廉宜或耐穿的其他物料如棉、麻、毛绒等，视乎穿者的年龄、身份地位、场合、目的、经济条件等。作为礼服的长衫以丝绸作面料是很自然的事，颜色也可以较为华贵。但如果是常出远门的商贾或行人，可耐风霜和深色结实的面料应是首选。学界师生的长衫当然以朴实耐穿为尚。



Since men's cheongsam was no longer popular after the mid-20th century yet still embraced by the elite as in the case of its female counterpart after the latter's decline in the 1980s, silk has become the most preferred fabric for men's cheongsam. This has created the wrong impression that men's cheongsam has always been made of silken materials. In fact, this is hardly true. Like other Chinese clothing, men's cheongsam in the past could be made of various kinds of silk fabrics as well as other cheaper or more durable materials such as cotton, linen or wool, all depending

on the age, status, occasion, purpose and affordability of the wearer. Cheongsam for ceremonial occasions naturally favoured silken material and more luxurious colour. However, durable, windproof and rainproof fabrics of dark colour would be most preferred for merchants or people who often travelled long distance. Cheongsam worn by teachers and students certainly had to be modest and durable.

Dress is made for wearing.

The making of the dress is generally the task of the tailor while the wearer is the one who owns and puts on the dress.

Therefore, choosing the fabric for men's cheongsam is always the privilege of the wearer rather than that of the tailor.

昔日选择单衫、衿衫、衿棉或绒里,甚至镶毛皮的,完全要看气候而定。夏天以颜色浅淡轻薄纱罗单衫最为通爽凉快,春秋两季宜穿衿衫或衿薄绒,或外加坎肩(马甲)与马褂保暖,入冬以后少不了棉袍,有在外面再披上宽大的罩袍或西式大衣都可以。一般用薄丝作衬里,也有较厚的。昔日的镶毛皮长衫也是丰俭由人,貂鼠、狐狸、狼、兔以至狗毛皮都可以御寒。昔日穿毛皮,纵使是非常昂贵的品种,都是镶在袍内的,穿在外会被视为庸俗的暴发户。况且出远门的,总

以低调为尚,穿得太张扬没什么好处。还有一个古老说法,是男性三十岁之前不应穿丝绸,大概意思是年轻人不宜奢侈。

上世纪一二十年代有些面料颜色颇艳丽如紫蓝、杏黄的男装长衫,配上贴身窄袖的剪裁、方角高立领,可以想像是当时一些公子哥儿的时尚衣装。然而,这并非普及的长衫面料颜色和剪裁,绝大多数男性仍是穿款式较朴实,颜色较素净如藏青、深蓝、浅蓝、深灰、浅灰,浅杏等的长衫,纵使有图案都是颇含蓄低调。



Men's cheongsam of the olden days could be unlined, lined, padded or even fur-lined. The option depended solely on the climate. Unlined cheongsam made of breathable gauze or leno of light colour best suited the hot summer while cheongsam with thin lining or flannel lining was suitable for spring and autumn. A waistcoat or a Ma Kwa could be worn over it for extra warmth. Cheongsam padded with cotton or silk floss was indispensable in the cold winter. A surcoat or a Western-style topcoat may also be worn over it. Usually thin silk was used for the lining but sometimes thicker silk fabric was used. Different types of fur lining could be used to suit different budgets. Mink, fox, wolf, hare and even dog



fur could protect the wearer from cold. In the past, fur was always sewn to the inside of the dress even if it was a very expensive type of fur. People wearing fur on the outside would be regarded as uncultured upstarts. Besides, it was wise for long-distance travellers to maintain a low profile; showing off would not do any good. There is also an old saying that men should not wear silk before their thirties, probably suggesting that young people should avoid being extravagant.

Some male cheongsams of the 1910s and 1920s were made of fabric of vibrant colours such as violet and apricot yellow, with a close-fitting silhouette, narrow sleeves and a high stand-up collar with square ends. One can imagine these were fashionable dresses favoured by some privileged young men of the time rather than the norm. Most men still wore modest cheongsam of plain colour such as dark or light blue, dark or light grey, and light beige. Even if figured fabrics were used, the patterns were usually modest and subtle.

二十世纪上半叶,镶毛皮男装深蓝色皱丝长衫,穿者据称是一名珠宝商。面料颜色朴素沉实,与内里的华贵毛皮形成强烈对比。除了领沿露出些微毛锋外,外面不见半点痕迹,可见当时镶毛皮做法的含蓄低调。

First half of 20th century, men's dark blue fur-lined silk cheongsam. The wearer is said to be a jewel trader. The shell fabric of modest and sedate dark blue colour contrasts sharply with the luxurious fur lining. Other than some hairs peeping out from behind the stand-up collar, no sign of fur can be seen from the exterior, suggesting the subtlety typical of fur-lined cheongsam of the time.

Collection and photos courtesy of The Technological and Higher Education Institute of Hong Kong

晚清时期, 中国被迫对外通商导致洋货大量进口, 国产布大受打击。洋布虽然不及土布耐穿, 但较土布细密平滑, 而且色泽鲜艳, 品种多样, 门幅比国产的宽, 于是穿洋布成为新时尚。二十世纪初又有不少图案与传统纹饰迥异的丝绸面料, 有抽象的, 有带东洋风的, 相信其中有来自欧洲或日本的高档舶来品。除了传统国产丝绸外, 以各种档次进口洋布做的男装长衫大概也不少。

三十年代以后, 欧洲尤其是英国进口的呢绒不但是西服的不二之选, 更是男装长衫

的热门面料。呢绒耐穿而不易皱、不易弄污, 精纺羊毛呢绒更是含蓄中见气派, 是常服和便服长衫的最佳选择。呢绒颜色以沉实居多, 不少是混色绒, 纵使有图案也大多是幼条纹、人字纹或千鸟纹。有些布边有机织商标, 或布幅上戳上金印。五十年代末, 还出现了新品种合成纤维布料如涤纶、特丽翎、的确凉等, 由于不皱而耐穿, 更方便洗涤, 尽管订制男装长衫的人已经大幅减少, 这些面料仍属佳选。

After China was forced to open its door to foreign trade in the late Qing period, large quantities of imported goods caused heavy blows to domestic textiles. Although imported fabrics were less durable than domestic product, they were denser and smoother besides more brilliantly coloured, wider in variety and broader in width. Wearing imported fabric thus became a fashion. The early 20th century also saw the availability of many silken fabrics with distinctly unconventional patterns including abstract motifs and Japanese designs. Some

were likely high-end products imported from Europe or Japan. In addition to traditional silks, imported fabrics of different qualities were also used for making men's cheongsam.

From the 1930s onward, not only were European fabrics especially British wool the most preferred suiting fabrics, but also the most welcomed fabrics for men's cheongsam. Woollen fabrics were durable, less likely to wrinkle or get stained. Worsted wool in particular, a type of fabric cherished for its subtle elegance, was the most sought-after material for making men's cheongsam intended for casual or more solemn occasions. Most worsted wool fabrics were modest in colour. Quite a large proportion were heather fabrics with interwoven yarns of mixed colours. Patterns were rare and usually limited to pinstripe, herringbone or houndstooth. Some had trademarks woven along the selvedge or stamped on the fabric. At the end of the 1950s, innovative synthetic fabrics such as Polyethylene, Terylene and Dacron became popular. Since these fabrics were wrinkle-free, durable and easy to wash, they were still much preferred although male cheongsam patrons had decreased significantly.



不同质料、颜色、图案、厚薄的长衫面料。

Cheongsam fabrics that vary in material, colour, pattern and thickness.

李惠玲摄 Photo by B. Li



高档的长衫当然用高档的衣料，战前香港岛的乍畏街（即苏杭街）和九龙的上海街，是售卖苏杭绸缎和呢绒等高级衣料的集中地。普通布疋则集中于荷李活道、伊利近街，以及被称为“花布街”的永安街。战前香港除了先施、大新、永安、中华这四间被称为“四大百货公司”外，还有昭信、瑞兴、丽华、惠罗等，集中于皇后大道中和德辅道中一带，都有售卖高档衣料和订做衣服的部门，是颇热门的选购或订做长衫地点。男装长衫成衣虽然数量不多，也有一定的市场。

High-end cheongsam of course had to be made of high-end fabric. In pre-war times, Jervois Street on Hong Kong Island and Shanghai Street in Kowloon were the hubs of high-end fabrics including silks manufactured in Suzhou and Hangzhou. Mediocre fabrics were mainly sold along Hollywood Road, Elgin Street and Wing On Street (nicknamed “Floral Fabric Street”). Many large emporiums or department stores in pre-war Hong Kong had sections selling high-quality fabrics and offering bespoke tailoring service. In addition to Sincere, Dah Sun, Wing On and Chung Hwa which were collectively known as the “Four Big Department Stores”, there were also some smaller ones such as Chiu Shun, Shui Hing, Lai Wah and Whiteaway Laidlaw. They were chiefly located on Queen’s Road Central and Des Voeux Road Central. These department stores were popular spots providing fabrics and bespoke cheongsam service. Although men’s cheongsam was seldom bought off-the-rack, there was still some demand for it.

Circa 1950s

香港岛皇后大道中疋头店林立，图中左边有上海老介福绸缎庄、上海绸缎庄，右边有先施绸缎批发、大中华公司环球疋头、广安号土布疋头，可见当年买布做衣服的风气盛行。

Queen’s Road Centre on Hong Kong Island is clustered with fabric stores. On the left side of the photo are signboards reading Shanghai Laojiefu Silk Store and Shanghai Silk Store. On the right are signboards reading Xianhua Silk Dealer, Great China International Fabrics and Guang’an Chinese Fabrics. Obviously it was a trend in those days to buy fabrics to have clothes made.

Photo courtesy of The University of Hong Kong Libraries



国产和进口的丝绸、棉、麻、毛绒等都是男装长衫的理想面料。

Domestic and imported silks, cotton, linen and wool are also desirable fabrics for making men's cheongsam.

李惠玲摄于美华丝绸有限公司
Photos by B. Li at Mei Wah Silk and Fabric Company Ltd

纵使时移势易, 今日选择男装长衫面料, 不论是单色、多色或杂色; 素身或提花、传统或现代化图案、条子或格子, 仍然以颜色大方、图案雅致、透气舒适而不太容易起皱的优质面料为佳。莨绸和莨纱(“香云纱”, 其染整技艺名列国家级非物质文化遗产)也是不错的选择。夏天穿较浅色和轻薄的单衫, 冬天不妨穿稍厚的面料或衿衫。

今日室内和交通工具一般都有空调, 抵御严寒的厚重衿长衫已派不上用场, 否则只会让穿者在冬日也汗流浹背。



进口欧洲精纺呢绒在1930年代以后大行其道, 除了做西服, 也是男装长衫的热门面料。

Imported worsted wool fabrics became very popular from the 1930s onward. Apart from making suits, they are also very desirable for making men's cheongsam.

李惠玲摄于利来呢绒行
Photos by B. Li at Lee Loy Piece Goods Company

Despite nearly a century later, the most desirable cheongsam materials of today are still high-quality fabrics of tasteful colour, elegantly patterned (if any), breathable and comfortable, and not easy to wrinkle. They can be single-coloured, multi-coloured or heather; plain or figured, with traditional or modern motifs, striped or checked. Plain-weave or leno-weave gambiered Guangdong silks (also called *xiangyunsha*, whose dyeing technique is a National Intangible Cultural Heritage item) are also good choices. Unlined cheongsam of light-coloured and lightweight fabric is suitable for summer

while lined or unlined ones of slightly thicker fabric are good for winter.

Today, since indoors and vehicles are generally air-conditioned, thick and heavily lined cheongsams worn in the olden days to withstand severe cold weather are no longer desirable, otherwise the wearer will sweat profusely even on winter days.

Gangster-Style, Costume-Style, Degeneration and Fashionisation

香港的经典男装长衫虽然仍得以保存着百年前的剪裁和形制，却不表示其威严大气的形象丝毫无损。事实上，男装长衫已沾上不少江湖气，千禧年后问题更为严峻。当年懂得穿长衫的男性绝大部分已经离世，除了博物馆藏品，坊间基本上看不见经典的实物，对何谓经典形制一知半解，能百分百掌握男装长衫技艺的裁缝屈指可数，技艺极度濒危。

上世纪七八十年代开始，本来离开众人目光已久的男装长衫形象忽尔通过萤幕和银幕上的上海江湖争斗故事重临亮相。普罗大众对经典长衫的穿衣法度

本已颇为模糊，看到江湖英雄们的长衫尽是翻卷起衣袖露出一大截白色袖口，久而久之便认定长衫本该如此，连带一些师傅也主动替客人在袖口内套上白袖衬，并把袖子做长一点，袖口内的贴边做深数寸，以便向外翻卷。

这时期部分男装长衫形制渐走向江湖化和舞台化，有些人甚至把影视中上海黑帮形象跟经典长衫混为一谈。旧日上海确有一些二流子和小混混等，盛行所谓“卷袖开怀”的穿衣风尚，即敞开对襟衫的胸口或松开喉扣，并刻意把“短打”的袖口翻出来，标榜江湖气。

“...可是如果创意只着重打破传统模式和既定框框，为提出与别不同的方式来表现或解决问题，并不是真正创意，只是哗众取宠的戏法。”¹

—— 刘文英

¹ 《想·创·访：香港广告的创意诠释》（2020）页5。作者刘文英是公开大学人文社会科学院高级讲师。

“[...] if creativity only emphasizes breaking the traditional model and the established framework, and suggesting a different way to express or solve a problem, that is not a real creative idea, but just a trick of grandstanding.”²

— JANET LAU

Although Hong Kong's classic male cheongsam has managed to preserve the cut and form of a century ago, it does not imply that its dignified image remains intact. In fact, men's cheongsam has been tainted by gangster-style, which is increasingly worrying after the beginning of the new millennium. Those men who knew the proper way to wear a cheongsam have largely gone. Except in museum collections, physical examples of men's authentic cheongsam can hardly be seen in town. The public have little idea what is meant by “authentic”. Besides, only extremely few master tailors are proficient in making men's cheongsam. This technique is thus critically endangered.

From around the 1970s and 1980s onward, the long-absent images of men's cheongsam suddenly reappeared on TV and cinema screens through intriguing stories of gangsters fighting for power in old Shanghai. Since the public only had a hazy idea of the dress code of men's

classic cheongsam, after repeatedly seeing gangster heroes wearing cheongsam with white turn-up cuffs (actually they were the sleeves of the centre-buttoned shirt being folded over that of the cheongsam), they readily accepted it as “authentic”. Eager to imitate this, some tailors without being asked, took the initiative to lengthen the sleeves, broaden the hem and insert a detachable white liner to facilitate turning up as a cuff.

During this period, some male cheongsams were increasingly affected by this gangster culture shown in visual media. Some people even identified classic cheongsam with the image of the old Shanghai gangsters appearing in TV and movies. “Roll-up sleeves and unbuttoned shirt” was indeed the dress code of the rogues and hooligans of old Shanghai. These people deliberately unbuttoned the neck or the entire front of their shirt and purposely rolled up their sleeves to show off their gangster identity.

² *Creativity in Cultural and Creative Industries: Creative Interpretation of Hong Kong Advertising* (2020), p.5. The author Janet Lau is Senior Lecturer of the School of Arts and Social Sciences, Open University of Hong Kong. English translation provided by Janet Lau.



城中著名品牌为电影红星所制的中式对襟上衣，左胸有一个袋口呈竖弓形的暗袋，造工非常精致，与“月亮袋”异曲同工。

Jet pocket with bow-shaped opening sewn vertically onto the left chest of a centre-fastened shirt made by a famous brand in town for a well-known movie star. The opening is exquisitely crafted. This pocket serves the same function as the “crescent-moon pocket”.

李惠玲摄 Photo by B. Li

又有所谓“白相人”，他们多是专事嬉乐玩耍的有闲子弟，身穿长衫却偏把袖子连内里短衫的袖口一并外翻，以增添“玩味”。如果说是保护长衫袖口免受污损，也有点说不通，难道为了保护西装外套袖口也要把衬衣的袖口向外翻卷？其实饱学之士、殷实世家、有社会地位的人都不会作这扮相，纵使吃饭伏案时需要把袖口上翻，之后必会把两袖恢复原状，不至失礼。除非是江湖中人又刻意标榜其江湖身份，否则何须画蛇添足，翻出一截白色的袖口。细看昔日上海老照片中的青帮大佬杜月笙、张仁奎、张啸林、黄金荣等，都刻意穿得斯文得体，穿长衫未见把里面的袖口翻出来。

有身份的老上海们和香港上一辈惯穿长衫的社会贤达，自然不会跟风，但经过影视的渲染和误导，让大部分人误以为这种“洋场恶少”的流里流气穿法才是正宗。由于顾客至上，很多老师傅尽管知道个中分别，也不方便解释，只是顺着客人的要求，做出翻袖长衫。

近年还有些新晋裁缝师不谙个中含义，刻意在左边襟头挖出弯月形的袋口。这“月亮袋”昔日甚受江湖人士或二世祖之辈青睐，是专用来放怀表的，表顶系有金链，金链另一头扣系于对襟衫的胸前或大襟衫的右襟上，很有江湖味和“捞家”风范。这“月亮袋”再次出现在近年的男装长衫上，加上翻出白袖口，“江湖味”日益明显。

There were also layabouts called *baixiangren* in Shanghai. They were mostly dandies from quite affluent families, who were good at nothing except pleasure seeking. They liked to fold up their cheongsam sleeves along with that of the white shirt worn underneath to add panache to their outfit. Some people may assert that turning up the cheongsam sleeves along with the white cuff liner can protect the former from getting soiled. There seems little ground for this. Should the sleeves of the Western suit jacket be protected likewise by folding the shirt cuffs over the sleeves of the jacket? Learned scholars, men of decent upper-class families and high social status never wore their cheongsam in this manner. They may turn up their sleeves while taking a meal or working at the desk, but afterward they would let the sleeves down so as not to contradict propriety. Unless the wearer was a “man of the world” and wanted to advertise his identity as such, there was no point at all adding frivolous white cuffs to the cheongsam. As shown in old photos of Shanghai, the Green Gang magnates Du Yuesheng, Zhang Renkui, Zhang Xiulin and Huang Jinrong always appeared in decorous cheongsam, never allowing the sleeves of their inner garment to be shown over their cheongsam sleeves.

Seasoned cheongsam wearers among elite Shanghai immigrants and the older generation of community leaders in Hong Kong naturally did not follow suit. However, the exaggerated and misleading messages spread through the visual media were so

influential that most people came to believe that this kind of “gangster” dressing style favoured by the “layabouts of old Shanghai” was authentic. To respect the preference of their patrons, many bespoke tailors would rather keep silent even though they knew the difference. They simply added a turn-up cuff with white liner to the cheongsam as requested.

In recent years, some young tailors would add a jet pocket with slit opening resembling a crescent moon to the left chest of the cheongsam to add a touch of panache. This so-called “crescent-moon pocket” was much favoured by the gangsters and affluent idlers of the olden days. It was sewn onto the left chest of the garment for holding the pocket watch. The golden chain at the top of the watch was secured to the chest of the centre-fastened upper garment or the clavicle fastening of the right-fastened garment. These trappings were typically favoured by the gangsters and “men of the world”. The reappearance of this “crescent-moon pocket” along with the turn-up white cuffs on men’s cheongsam in recent years indicate an increased prevalence of gangster-style.



另一类穿上翻卷白袖口长衫的人士是舞台上的表演者,例如相声先生,拿着折扇或同时披着白领巾,又或是戏曲唱家、中乐的乐师等,形象鲜明。也有不少影视红星穿上名牌“改良”男装长衫出席盛典,配上白袖口与刻意外露的白色领衬。对影视中人来说,现实生活可以是舞台的伸延,所以不妨把这些长衫看成是舞台以外的舞台服。然而,江湖味和戏装化的长衫形制越来越有正规化的趋势,没有多少人关心正统的长衫形制究竟是何模样。不但影视的角色和舞台上的表演者如是,现实生活中,大众以至一些长衫师傅都跟风,坊间和网上的廉价男装长衫成衣更以此为抄袭对象。

Another group of men wearing cheongsam with turn-up white cuffs were stage performers such as the *xiangsheng* (traditional Chinese talk show) artists typically carrying a folded fan and draping a white scarf; Chinese opera singers, and musicians of Chinese orchestras. Their cheongsams were distinctly stage costumes. There are also famous TV and movie stars showing up at promotional events wearing “reformed” men’s cheongsam with white cuffs and white collar-liner whose edge conspicuously rises above the stand-up collar. For artists of the show business, since their off-stage activities can also be regarded as an extension of their stage performance, one might as well see their cheongsam as stage costume off the stage. Unfortunately, what becomes customary is accepted as authentic. Gangster-style and costume-style tend to become the norm. Few people truly care about what authentic male cheongsam is like. In addition to showbiz and stage artists, some people among the general public and even some cheongsam tailors also follow suit indiscriminately, and so do low-priced ready-made male cheongsam sold in shops or online.

1978

名伶新马师曾穿上隆重的中式礼服接受港督麦理浩颁赠员佐勋章(MBE),正好向公众示范了长衫马褂的正规和得体穿法,其义演筹款时经常穿的加上一大截白袖口的长衫,其实只是其舞台形象。

Governor Sir Murray MacLehose presents the famous Cantonese opera singer and actor Sun Ma Sze-tsang (Tang Wing Cheung) with an MBE. The awardee is wearing a ceremonial cheongsam and Ma Kwa set, demonstrating to the public what is meant by authentic and decorous cheongsam; the cheongsam with turn-up white cuffs he often wears when performing for charity on stage is only his stage costume.

Photo courtesy of The University of Hong Kong Libraries

传统男女装长衫工艺登上国家级非物质文化遗产名录后,引起社会上的关注,然而基于成本效益,加上合格的男装长衫裁缝又如凤毛麟角,而纵使是有心人却又无奈对男装长衫缺乏认识,坊间及影视作品尽是所谓“改良”长衫,乍看颇类传统形制,细看才发觉没有中缝而用了战前女装长衫流行的“小裁”,右边的内襟大多不成幅;又或索性用西式剪裁,前后身衣片不相连,插袖,当成时装。这些形制可以节省达四成面料,以成本效益计是划算的。至于工艺,也跟传统长衫技艺沾不上边,只把不同部分按西式做法拼合而成,应该手缝的细部则多以车缝替代。

现今网上虽然有廉价至三五百元一袭的所谓男装长衫,坊间售卖的成衣其实并不便宜,不过绝大部分形神具欠,手工马虎,纽扣粗糙,毫无法度。例如襟头扣倾斜,外襟形状和尺寸怪异,或长度仅过膝等。不仅如此,还有女性化的立领和襟线,有些还胡乱加上一些时装元素等等,甚至有左衽的。这些“粗简化”加上“时装化”的男装长衫成品,充斥市场,再加上“江湖味”和“戏装化”,着实令人忧虑,深怕退隐半个世纪的经典男装长衫一旦重出江湖,会对种种冲击难以招架,不但其体现中华服装文化精粹的经典形制不保,凝聚着历代裁缝师智慧的工艺也可能会湮没。原本大气恢弘、温文尔雅的长衫会被弄得不伦不类。

最可惜的是有些男装长衫的缝工的确挺用心,却因为对经典形制和剪裁缺乏认识而落得非驴非马。穿衣之道和穿衣格调的高低在反映出对历史文化的认识、个人涵养和品味的高下,穿传统服装更关乎民族尊严,不容忽视。

Although the listing of the traditional cheongsam-making technique among the National Intangible Cultural Heritage of China has aroused social attention, many hurdles have yet to be crossed. Cost-effectiveness is a concern. The extreme rarity of qualified tailors of men's cheongsam is another. People who aspire to preserve and safeguard this heritage are checked by their lack of knowledge about this dress form. Many so-called “reformed” cheongsams thus appear in the market and on TV and movie screens. They may appear quite traditional at first glance, yet a closer look will discover that they have no centre seams. The *xiaocai* (“small-cut”) method incurring less wastage of fabric typically used by pre-war female cheongsam is used. The lower part of the inner closure flap on the right is often missing. Or, the dress is restructured using Western tailoring method, introducing shoulder and armhole seams, and becomes “fashionised”. Since up to 40 percent of the yardage can be saved, such a “reform” is indeed cost-effective. As for workmanship, these “reformed” cheongsams involve little or

no traditional tailoring technique. Different parts are sewn together using Western tailoring methods, and parts that should be handsewn are largely machine-finished.

Although men's cheongsam bought online may cost just a few hundred Hong Kong dollars, ready-made ones sold in shops are by no means cheap. Unfortunately, these products are largely characterised by inauthentic shape and cut, inferior workmanship, sloppy fabric fastenings and disregard for classic specifications. For instance, the clavicle fastenings are slanting instead of upright, the outer flap is oddly shaped and sized, or the dress is only of knee-length. In addition to this, some have feminine-style stand-up collar and *jin*-closure with S-shaped outline. Others may be arbitrarily adorned with some fashionable elements, or even fastened on the left side. The market is swamped with this kind of “degenerated” and “fashionised” men's cheongsams whose classic form has already been threatened by “gangster-style” and “costume-style”. The scenario causes grave concern. If men's cheongsam after resurfacing from a half-century-long hibernation fails to withstand this kind of “invasions”, not only will it lose the classic hallmarks embodying the essence of Chinese sartorial culture, the tailoring technique epitomising the wisdom of generations of Chinese tailors will also

vanish. The dignified, elegant and debonair image of men's cheongsam will certainly be ruined.

It is really a pity that some male cheongsams are indeed quite exquisitely crafted but the finished works are hardly presentable due to ignorance of the classic form and cut. The way one dresses and the image it projects honestly reflect the wearer's understanding of history and culture, and the level of his self-cultivation and aesthetic taste. The traditional costume of a nation is also related to national pride and dignity, deserving high regards and great attention.



典型网购的粗简不合法度长衫。

Typical cheongsam of degenerated form and workmanship bought online.

图片由图中奏乐者提供
Photo courtesy of the musician in the photo

男装长衫“粗简化”的实例 Example of a “Degenerated” Men's Cheongsam

图中红色长衫是城中商铺售卖的“改良”男装丝质袷长衫, 售价并不便宜, 却完全无视传统法度: 用上“小裁”而没有中缝, 底襟只有半截, 领圈没缉边而直接缀上立领, 襟头扣倾斜得不像话, 右脇第一对直扣变了水平而非斜置, 襟纽与喉纽距离太远导致中间松坠, 竟然要补上啪钮; 襟扣与腋下第一对扣之间也须补上啪钮遮掩露出的“偷襟”接缝。

The red cheongsam shown in the photo is a “modified” lined silk cheongsam for men sold in a shop in town. The marked price is not cheap but the dress has no regard at all for the traditional specifications of the dress form: “Small-cut” is used and there are no centre seams; the lower half of the inner flap is missing; the neck of the dress has no binding but directly attached to the stand-up collar; the clavicle fastenings are absurdly slanting instead of upright; the first pair of fastenings under the armpit is horizontal instead of angled; the neck and clavicle fastenings are too wide apart, causing the middle part to sag and thus requires a snap button to hold it in place; another snap button is sewn halfway between the clavicle fastenings and armpit fastenings to hide the seam of the inner flap derived from the “small cut”.



穿男装长衫的基本法则

The Dos and Don'ts of Wearing Men's Cheongsam

继承了历代中华服装形制和工艺精粹的经典男装长衫,是凝聚着历代服装文化精粹以及裁缝师智慧的文化遗产。男装长衫体现中国士人的温煦谦厚,具包容性,是体面的常服、外出服,是“正装”,穿起来雍容大气,温文尔雅。在西方穿衣礼仪(Dress code)角度考虑,无论是要求穿便服、常服以至礼服(Black Tie)甚至大礼服(White Tie)的场合,男装长衫都适合,是西服以外一个理想的礼服选项。

穿衣法则第一项是挑选合适的衣服,女装长衫固然如此,男装长衫更不例外。质料华贵抑或普通,颜色亮丽抑或沉实、图案传统抑或现代,要求保暖抑或通爽,都要配合穿者的年纪、身分、场合和气候。寒冬与酷暑、隆重与轻松、欢庆与肃穆、是主是客等,都是主要考虑因素。一位认真的穿者,衣橱里不会只有一件长衫,因为纵使制服也有冬夏之分,实在难以找到能够满足以上种种要求的“百搭”长衫。

穿衣的品味和格调也因人而异,相当程度上关乎穿者的见识和学养,但过分隆重或过分随意都属“失礼”。如果

任何场合的衣着都是千篇一律,这就没法表现人的能动性,以及人对衣服的驾驭能力,也只能说是“衣穿人”,不是“人穿衣”。

As a dress form inheriting the essentials of Chinese costumes and tailoring skills passed down through millennia, men's classic cheongsam justifies being a cultural heritage epitomising the essence of Chinese sartorial culture and the wisdom of Chinese tailors. It embodies the characteristic geniality, modesty and comprehensiveness of Chinese literati. It is a decent dress bespeaking dignity, elegance and taste, to be worn as regular, semi-formal and formal attire. From the perspective of Western dress code, men's cheongsam suits any occasions from Casual and Semi-Formal to Black Tie and even White Tie, offering a sophisticated alternative to Western dinner suits or tuxedos.

The first rule of thumb for dressing is to choose the right dress. This is true for women's cheongsam and even more so for its male counterpart. Whether the material is luxurious or ordinary, the colour vivid or sedate, with traditional or modern patterns, to keep warm or



由左至右:分别用进口呢绒、国产丝绸、进口棉麻、进口提花纱罗制造的四件男装长衫。

From left to right: Men's cheongsam made of imported worsted wool, Chinese silk, imported cotton / linen and imported leno jacquard.

李惠玲制 Samples by B. Li

to reduce heat, a cheongsam should agree with the wearer's age and status as well as the occasion and climate. Whether it is for cold winter or hot summer, for ceremonial or casual, festive or solemn occasions, and whether the wearer is the host or the guest are all major factors to be taken into consideration. A serious cheongsam wearer certainly needs more than one cheongsam in his wardrobe because even a uniform has to come in summer and winter versions. It is unrealistic to expect that there is an “all-purpose cheongsam” to answer every need.

Sartorial taste and stylistic preference vary between individuals. They are largely related to the wearer's insight, experience and level of self-cultivation. Overdressed and underdressed are both considered inappropriate. Wearing the same clothing on all occasions only indicates the lack of human initiative and the wearer's inability to master clothing. In other words, instead of being the master of his clothing, the wearer is mastered by his clothing.

男装长衫折叠和悬挂法

Proper Ways of Folding and Hanging Men's Cheongsam

长衫不穿时要妥为存放。不少上世纪中期的长衫后领圈都缀有挂耳, 以便暂时挂在墙上, 但这样会让领圈太受力, 厚重的长衫尤其不宜。但不论是利用挂耳抑或衣架像其他斜肩衣服一样悬挂, 领片也容易变形, 长衫也特别的皱。最好的做法是把长衫端正地折叠起来, 平放或以衣架挂起, 如果存放较久, 可以放在特制的透气衣袋内。

When the cheongsam is not worn, it should be properly handled or stored. Many cheongsams of the mid-20th century are furnished with a loop at the back of the neck for temporary hanging on the wall. However, this will cause too much stress to the neck of the dress, especially for thick and weighty cheongsam. No matter the cheongsam is hung on the wall or on a coat hanger like other dress with sloping shoulders, the collar will easily deform and the entire dress will crease unnecessarily. The best way is to fold the cheongsam up neatly and then lay it flat or hang it up with a hanger. For long-term storage, the cheongsam can be put into a purposefully made garment bag of breathable material.



平肩的男装长衫, 挂衣方法不同于一般斜肩的衣服, 理想做法是依右文所述方法折叠后以衣架(但不要用电线衣架)这样悬挂。

Unlike clothes with sloping shoulders, the T-shaped men's cheongsam requires a different way of hanging. The proper way is to fold it following the said steps and then hang it up with a clothes hanger (but not a wire one).



男装长衫折叠法

METHOD OF FOLDING MEN'S CHEONGSAM

长衫铺平, 后幅向上, 把左右两侧向内覆, 衣袖垂下, 然后头尾对折再对折。

Spread the cheongsam on a flat surface, back side up. Then fold the left and right sides toward the centre and let the sleeves point downward. Lastly, fold the cheongsam in half, twice and widthwise.



“衣裳常常显示人品。”

——梁实秋引莎士比亚《哈姆雷特》名句的中译

长衫本来就是斯文人的体面着装，更可以作礼仪服。穿长衫的人都会添上几分儒雅和庄重，有相应的仪态去配合这件衣裳，不宜大摇大摆让人侧目，也不应为了别出新奇，崇尚市井气至贻笑大方，或蔑视法度以哗众取宠。诚然，传统并非一成不变，男装长衫多个世纪以来流传有绪的经典形制和工艺尽管得以保持基本原貌，其实造型细节也有与时俱进的微调，面料选择也变得更宽。这些经得起时间考验的“改良”，实无损男装长衫造型和技艺的经典地位。

前文已提到时下男装长衫面临的江湖气、戏装化等的威胁，但是有时候并非长衫的剪裁和形制出问题，而是穿法出了问题，普罗大众对长衫文化不了解所致。纵使有经典的长衫穿在身上，穿者也要懂得长衫的穿衣法则，才能穿得温文尔雅、大气得体，让人赏心悦目，由衷欣赏，体现“人穿衣”的艺术，发挥衣服作为重要文化载体的功能。事隔大半个世纪，昔日随时随地可以向周遭的长衫穿者借鉴的机会不复存在。除了

探查文献实物和访问硕果仅存的老师傅，以努力抢救和恢复经典长衫形制和工艺之外，还要向公众推广穿衣法则，否则保育了经典男装长衫也无用武之地，就像铸造了宝剑而未见剑谱，缺乏章法下只能乱舞一通。

Men's cheongsam is a decorous dress worn by the cultured individual besides being a ceremonial apparel. It lends the wearer an air of scholarly elegance and dignity if his demeanour matches that of his dress. Swaggering along to raise eyebrows is considered lacking propriety. Pursuing vulgar novelty will expose oneself to ridicule. Ignoring classic specifications to impress others is also unseemly. Certainly, “traditional” does not mean “resisting all changes”. Although the classic form and tailoring technique of men's cheongsam have been well-preserved over the past centuries, its form and some details have in fact undergone fine-tuning to keep pace with time. The choice of fabric has also much widened. These time-tested

“For the apparel oft proclaims the man.”

— Famous quote from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*

adaptations are in fact improvements rather than changes undermining the classic form and tailoring skill of men's cheongsam.

The threats of “gangster-style” and “costume-style” confronting men's cheongsam have been discussed in the previous section. However, often the problem does not lie in the cut and form of the cheongsam, but in the way the cheongsam is being worn because the general public have little knowledge of it. Even if a classic cheongsam is available, the wearer must understand the rules of wearing it if he wants to carry the dress in a cultured, elegant, dignified and respectable manner. If the wearer can master the art of dressing, he and his cheongsam will afford a pleasant sight, invite hearty admiration and attest to the role of clothing as an important carrier of culture. More than half a century ago when male cheongsam wearers abounded in Hong Kong, standard bearers could be seen and consulted everywhere. Unfortunately we no longer have such an opportunity today. Therefore, in addition to researching into historical

documents, studying antique cheongsams and interviewing the few surviving master tailors, we must strive to salvage and re-establish the form and tailoring technique of men's classic cheongsam. It is also necessary to advocate the rules of wearing men's cheongsam among the public. Safeguarding men's classic cheongsam without knowing the rules of wearing it is like having forged a sublime sword but the sword manual is missing. Without the manual, the sword will never be able to manifest its true strength. What a shame if the same happens to men's cheongsam.

“在中装固然比较随便,但亦不可太随便,例如脖子底下的钮扣,在西装可以不扣,长袍便非扣不可。”

——梁实秋〈衣裳〉

假定有能力因应场合和气候选择颜色、图案和厚薄皆配搭得当的面料,并由师傅制成剪裁合身和合乎前文所列举的经典法度的男装长衫,穿上时还需要注意以下一些法则:首先,喉扣一定要扣上(长衫短衫都是),著名散文家梁实秋1941年在〈衣裳〉一文中说:“在中装固然比较随便,但亦不可太随便,例如脖子底下的钮扣,在西装可以不扣,长袍便非扣不可。”

其次,白布领衬不需刻意高于立领。如果里面穿西式衬衣,长衫的白布领衬可以索性拆掉。不需要刻意在袖口安装一截白色的袖衬并把袖口翻卷起来。除非是舞台上的相声先生,不要仿效他们的方式披搭围巾。穿上长衫,无论是静是动,是坐是立是走路,都要尽量气定神闲,不卑不亢,减少小动作与大动作,挺直腰板,温煦雍容的风度自然而生。穿者泰然,旁观者也看得自在。一袭着装能潜移默化,改变心态仪态,重塑个人自信与社会形象,正是无价的物质与非物质文化遗产的精神所在。

“Chinese costume is indeed more relaxed, but the wearer should not appear too casual. Take the button under the throat for instance, although the Western outer garment allows this to be undone, definitely it must be closed in the case of a Chinese robe.”

— LIANG SHIQIU, *Yishang* (Clothes)

Suppose the right fabric with pattern, colour and thickness suiting specific climate and occasion has been selected and tailored into a well-fitting cheongsam with regard for classic specifications aforementioned, the wearer still has to observe the following etiquettes. First of all, the fastenings under the throat (for both cheongsam and centre-buttoned Chinese clothes) must be closed. In his 1941 essay *Yishang* (Clothes), Liang Shiqiu the renowned essayist writes, “Chinese costume is indeed more relaxed, but the wearer should not appear too casual. Take the button under the throat for instance, although the Western outer garment allows this to be undone, definitely it must be closed in the case of a Chinese robe.”

Next, the white liner inside the stand-up collar should not intentionally protrude above the collar. If a Western collared shirt is worn inside the cheongsam, the white collar liner can simply be removed. Adding

a white cuff liner to the sleeve and folding it over the sleeve is totally unnecessary. Unless the wearer is a *xiangsheng* talk show performer, there is no point imitating the way these performers wear their scarf on stage. No matter staying still or in motion, sitting or standing or walking, the cheongsam wearer must try his best to maintain composure and poise, self-assured without seeming arrogant, and to reduce habitual minor gestures and exaggerated bodily expressions. Always maintain a good posture by keeping the back upright. By observing these etiquettes, the wearer will look naturally debonair. The more composed is the wearer, the more at ease will be the on-lookers. Imperceptibly, the cheongsam can change the wearers' mindset and deportment, raise their self-confidence and recast their social image. The very essence of the invaluable tangible and intangible cultural heritage is fully manifested.

【人穿衣】之古与今

Master of One's Dress: Past and Present

百年前的佳例 A Century-Old Fine Example

档案称这位家仆作“鸿”(Hung音译),自小伙子时期已为这家庭服务。他的丝质长衫(应是袷丝绵)看来质料上乘,剪裁适体,细节讲究,提花雅致,配上清秀的眉目,整齐的仪容,挺直的腰板,气定神闲,温文尔雅,不卑不亢,除了是个人素质,或许也是长期受雇主家庭熏陶所致,是赏心悦目的“人穿衣”佳例。

According to the archive, the man in the photo was called “Hung” and he began serving the Kelsey family since his boyhood. The photo shows Hung wearing a well-fitting silk cheongsam (probably padded with silk floss) of fine quality, with exquisite details and tasteful jacquard motifs. The cheongsam well complements his handsome features, well-groomed appearance, upright posture, suaveness, and self-assurance without seeming arrogance. Apart from being his personal quality, this was likely also resulted from the long-term influence of the respectable family he served. A fine example of how to be “the master of one's dress”.

1915

伦敦传道会天津新学书院主任Freer Kelsey的家仆摄于影楼。

Studio photo of a domestic servant serving Freer Kelsey, Secretary and Registrar of the Tienjin Anglo-Chinese College founded by the London Missionary Society in Tianjin.

Photo courtesy of the Kelsey Family Collection, University of Bristol Library



今日的“人穿衣” Elegant Examples of Today

借此表现人的能动性和对衣装的驾驭能力 To manifest human initiative and the wearer's ability to master his dress

高等学府的男装长衫身影，睽违大半个世纪，大概也是时候重现风华了。一个世纪前，游走于中装和西服之间、深谙中西混搭窍门的知识分子，当然是得风气之先。百年后的今天，随着长衫技艺荣登“国家级非物质文化遗产名录”，不少人蓦然回首，才发现灯火阑珊处伫立已久的男装长衫。两位香港高等院校的学者，正努力为长衫经典形制和技艺的传承打造一个可持续发展的基础，不但认真钻研男装长衫马褂的制作方法，还身体力行，穿上长衫马褂作示范，让巍峨学府的校园重现庄重而儒雅的男装长衫身影。

More than half a century has gone before men's cheongsam was last seen in the universities of Hong Kong. Perhaps it is time for it to stage a comeback. A century ago, Chinese intellectuals who maintained a bi-national wardrobe and effortlessly demonstrated East-meets-West dressing style were certainly trendsetters. Today, a hundred years later, with the cheongsam-making technique being inscribed on the List of National Intangible Cultural Heritage of China, many people suddenly realise that men's cheongsam has been waiting in solitude in the dim light for long. Two academics in Hong Kong are working hard to build a sustainable base for the preservation of the classic form and craft of the cheongsam. Not only have they delved into the technique of making men's cheongsam and Ma Kwa, they also put on this outfit in the university campus to demonstrate the proper way of wearing it, allowing the dignified and elegant silhouette of men's cheongsam to appear once again in the local universities.



吴国禧博士

香港理工大学纺织及服装学系助理教授（研究）

灰布长衫经常让人联想到穷酸士子、落魄文人，其实那是有诸内而形诸外，是冤枉了灰布长衫。文质彬彬的吴博士穿上典型的学者灰色长衫，倍添书卷气之余，还彰显了“人穿衣”的效果。披上黑色提花马褂后，合成一套正装，更是温煦儒雅中透着贵气。



DR HAZE NG

Research Assistant Professor, Institute of Textiles and Clothing,
Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Men's cheongsam of sober grey fabric often reminds us of the poor and disillusioned scholars of the olden days. In fact, the sober grey fabric is not to be blamed; the sour scholars themselves gave the unpleasant image. Apart from enhancing the literary grace of the wearer, the scholarly grey cheongsam worn by Dr Ng also affords a fine demonstration of how to be “the master of one's dress”. The black jacquard Ma Kwa jacket and the cheongsam make up a formal outfit and add sophistication to the overall debonair image.

今日的“人穿衣” Elegant Examples of Today



陈亚彬博士
香港高等教育科技学院设计学系讲师

男装长衫一般选用较含蓄的中性颜色, 原因之一是因为鲜艳的颜色不容易驾驭, 驾驭不来便会喧宾夺主, 被衣服所支配, 带来“衣穿人”的反效果, 抵销了长衫的大方优雅。然而, 活力非凡的陈博士完全能够驾驭身上的紫色长衫, 披上黑色提花马褂后庄重大气中见风采。

DR ARTHUR CHAN
Lecturer of Department of Design, Technological and Higher Education Institute of Hong Kong (THE-i)

One of the reasons that men's cheongsam is usually of neutral and subtle colour is because bright and vivid hues are difficult to carry. Failure in carrying it may bring countereffect—the wearer being overpowered by his dress, thus nullifying the poise and elegant image expected of the cheongsam. The lively demeanour and stamina of Dr Chan has allowed him to carry this purple cheongsam with perfection. The black jacquard Ma Kwa jacket adds charm and dignity to the overall image.



吴博士和陈博士示范的提花叶纹对襟黑马褂, 前后及两侧均有衩, 是传统的“四开裾”形制。

The black jacquard Ma Kwa jacket with foliage motif demonstrated by Dr Ng and Dr Chan is centre-buttoned and has slits in the front, the back and the sides — a typical “four-slit” jacket.

李惠玲制 Sample by B. Li



镂空卷云纹镀金仿古金属钮。
Gilt metal button with reticulated archaic scrolling cloud motif.

“时间的印记”设计
Design by l'impression du temps

今日的“人穿衣” Elegant Examples of Today



李汉梁先生
设计品牌创办人

李汉梁先生穿上自家出品的深蓝长衫, 配二十世纪初的古董黑马褂(李美贤女士藏品), 合成一套非常大气得体的中式礼服, 出席任何正式和隆重的场合, 不比西式礼服逊色。

MR HERMAN LEE
Design brand founder

Mr Herman Lee in a dark blue cheongsam of his own brand and an early 20th-century antique black Ma Kwa jacket (collection of Ms Lee Mei Yin). This decorous and elegant cheongsam and Ma Kwa ensemble is fit for any formal and ceremonial occasions defined as Black Tie or White Tie in Western Dress Code.



2016年。女穿男袍也可以很帅气。香港大学专业进修学院“长衫设计及制作课程”的导师傅雅君师傅(左四)和李惠玲博士(左五)与部分毕业学员, 各人身上长衫都是自制, 展示了过去一百年女装长衫形制由平面的“大裁”经历过渡期的“小裁”而至今日经典“立体结构”的变化。其中三人穿上男装长衫, 形制与二十世纪初如出一辙。最右为香港长衫协会副会长、“长衫荟”创办人之一的曾舜恩女士。

2016. Women wearing men's cheongsam can be very elegant. Instructors Ms Ellen Fu (4th left), Dr Brenda Li (5th left) and some 2016 graduates of the HKU SPACE Certificate Course in Cheongsam Design and Production, all wearing cheongsam made by themselves, demonstrating the evolution of women's cheongsam from two-dimensional “big-cut” (with centre seam) through the transitional “small-cut” (no centre seam) to the three-dimensional modern classic cut over the past hundred years. Three ladies are in men's cheongsam no different in construction from the early 20th-century ones. Farthest to the right is Ms Anita Tsang, Vice-Chairman of Hong Kong Cheongsam Association and co-founder of Cheongsam Connect.

年青人的长衫身影

Young Cheongsam Wearers

穿上得体的长衫和传统中装, 对年轻人来说是很好的体验, 让他们在西式服装以外多一个选择, 并通过穿长衫认识中国传统服装的形制、工艺与智慧, 学习相应的举止仪态和礼仪, 并有助传承宝贵的非物质文化遗产。

Wearing a decorous cheongsam or traditional Chinese costume offers the young people a good experience and an alternative to Western clothing. It gives them a more concrete idea of the form, craftsmanship and wisdom of traditional Chinese costume, and teaches them the corresponding etiquette and manner, thus contributing to safeguarding the precious intangible sartorial cultural heritage.



2015年, 作者儿子与儿媳摄于蒙嘉模师傅的寿宴。沛澄的长衫和外套是作者所制, 淑芬的长衫是她自制。

2015, The author's son and daughter-in-law at master tailor Mong Kar Mo's birthday banquet. Pui Ching's cheongsam and Chinese jacket are made by the author while Shuk Fan's cheongsam is made by herself.



2018年, 农历新年, 二人给外公拜年。沛澄的长衫是作者所制, 淑芬的长衫是她自制。

2018, The couple paying respect to Pui Ching's maternal grandfather on Chinese New Year's Day. Pui Ching's cheongsam is made by the author while Shuk Fan's cheongsam is made by herself.

An Early 20th-Century Stylish Cheongsam



男装米白地牡丹折枝纹提花罗单长衫
Men's unlined milky-white silk cheongsam
with leno jacquard peony sprays

估计年代: 1900–1920年
李美贤女士藏品

Estimated period: 1900–1920
Collection of Ms Lee Mei Yin

通长(连立领): 137厘米
通宽: 178厘米
底摆宽: 75厘米
袖口宽: 15.5厘米
立领高: 4.5厘米

Overall length including stand-up collar: 137 cm
Width between sleeve hems: 178 cm
Width of bottom hemline: 75 cm
Width of sleeve opening: 15.5 cm
Height of stand-up collar: 4.5 cm

这件古董男装长衫的造型属清末民初典型时尚风格：衫身呈修长的钟形，秀气挺拔；袖窄而特长，垂手时大抵盖过指尖；提花罗丝质面料讲究而新颖，虽然米白色因为久经年月而略变灰黄，仍不减其矜贵雅致；造工精湛，针步紧密，细节考究。可以猜想这件潇洒飘逸的夏衫，应是当年公子哥儿的时尚典雅衣装。感谢研究民族服饰文化和传统织物的专家李美贤女士让这件长衫藏品的图片用于是书的封面和作为本节插图。

This antique dress is typical in form and style of the fashionable men's cheongsam of the late Qing and early Republican periods. The slim A-line silhouette appears upright and urbane. The narrow and extra-long sleeves well conceal the hands. Although the exquisite and innovative milky-white leno silk jacquard fabric has turned slightly greyish yellow with time, it still looks sophisticated and refined. The craftsmanship is superb, the stitches dense, and the details punctiliously observed. It is believed that this charming and elegant cheongsam was the fashionable summer dress of a stylish young man of the privileged class. Thanks to Ms Lee Mei Yin, a specialist in ethnic sartorial culture and traditional textiles, for allowing the pictures of this cheongsam in her collection to be used on the cover of this book and as illustrations in this section.

设计品牌创办人李汉梁先生在古色古香的室内示范穿上这件长衫，重现前人穿上这件夏衫的尔雅风采。原穿者身量不一定矮得多，只是二十世纪初的男装长衫大都是这般长度。特长的袖子设计是为了可以隐藏双手，也是那个时期的风尚。

Demonstration by design brand founder Mr Herman Lee in a room with retro decor, recreating the debonair image of this elegant summer cheongsam being worn a century ago. The original wearer may not be much shorter; the apparently shorter hemline was a norm of the early 20th century. The extra-long sleeves were intended to conceal the hands, also a fashion of the time.

图片由陈恭敬先生提供 Photo courtesy of Mr Albert Chan



传统与创新的结合

A Fusion of Tradition and Novelty

这件优雅精致的古董长衫不但富有美感,其面料、细节和工艺还很有研究价值。感谢香港丝绸专家陈恭敬先生细心研究这件长衫的面料,并发图请国内专研旗袍面料的龚建培教授提供意见。以下是陈先生对面料的总结:

This elegant and exquisite antique cheongsam is not only admired for its aesthetic appeal, its details and craftsmanship also offer great research value. Thanks to Mr Albert Chan, a silk specialist in Hong Kong, for studying the fabric of this cheongsam and sending some closeup images to obtain the opinion of Professor Gong Jianpei who is known for his research on *qipao* and textiles. Mr Chan has summed up his observation as follows:



浙江省桐乡市丝厂的“双宫茧”,可以看到茧内有两个蚕蛹。双宫茧的丝称为“双宫丝”,由于是两条蚕挤在一个茧里吐丝,吐出来的丝较不均匀和粗糙,会堆成粒和节,因此多用于丝棉被或只织平纹布,布料的不规则疙瘩和特有光泽是其特色。

“Double-cocoon” showing two silkworm pupae sharing one cocoon, from a silk manufactory in Tongxiang, Zhejiang province. “Dupion silk” is the silk from a double-cocoon jointly spun by two silkworms. Since the silk fibres are relatively uneven and fluffy, and with specks and slubs, they are usually used for silk quilts or plain weaving. Dupion fabric is cherished for its unique texture and sheen.

图片由陈恭敬先生提供 Photo courtesy of Mr Albert Chan

名称

米白地牡丹折枝纹提花罗

NAME

Leno jacquard with peony sprays on milky-white plain-weave ground

材质

全真丝, 纬线用双宫丝

MATERIAL

Pure silk, weft using dupion silk

生产年代

约1900–1930年

PRODUCTION PERIOD

Circa 1900 – 1930

产地

苏州丝织厂

PLACE OF ORIGIN

Silk manufactories in Suzhou

特点

这面料是二十世纪初吸收外来风格的提花织物,以折枝牡丹花为纹饰题材,原白素色显高贵大气的形象,丰满生动清晰。工艺结构方面,层次表现上加入了浮长¹起花并以平纹实地,是典型的苏州丝织厂工艺“浮”和“罗”的结合,质地透孔,雅致简洁而富有趣意,是中西设计观念交融的典型面料。

CHARACTERISTICS

This jacquard fabric produced in the early 20th century demonstrates a style suggesting foreign influence. It is finely patterned with peony sprays on a plain white ground to look resplendent and elegant. The motifs are opulent, vivid and clearly defined. As for its weave structure, floats² have been used to accentuate and enrich the layers of the motifs against a plain-weave ground. The combined use of “floats” and “leno-weave” has been typically employed by the silk manufactories in Suzhou to produce exquisite and charming mesh openwork patterns. The fabric is a fine example integrating Chinese and Western fabric design.

¹ 在织物组织中,某根经或纬纱上有连续的纱线浮在另一纱线上的长度,称为“浮长”。苏州丝织厂多用于大提花面料织造。

² In weave structure, a length of warp or weft yarn that lays over another yarn is called “float”. The technique is commonly used by silk manufactories in Suzhou to produce large jacquard patterns.

图案揉合了牡丹这寓意吉祥的传统主题纹饰和西方艺术的写实表现风格，以精湛提花技术把牡丹花叶刻画得纹理分明，并凸显明暗对比和光影效果，让图案更立体和富质感，充满动态，新颖多姿。



面料反面的折枝牡丹纹结构。

Structure of the peony motif as seen on the wrong side of the fabric.



While the peony is a traditional Chinese auspicious motif, the realistic rendering of the images reveals the influence of Western art. Superb jacquard technology has been used to produce distinctly defined petals and leaves, create the effect of light and shadow, enrich the texture of the images and heighten the illusion of three-dimensionality. The resulting pattern looks vivacious and innovative.

面料正面的折枝牡丹纹。

Peony motif as seen on the right side of the fabric.



迎光可以清楚看到纱罗的典型网孔。

Mesh openwork typical of leno weave is clearly visible when the fabric is held against the light.

根据中缝与下臂接袖处的距离,并预计了纬纱缩水率(真丝面料缩水率颇高),可以推算出面料幅宽起码74-75厘米,跟当时国产丝绸普遍为76厘米幅宽吻合。由于牡丹图案面积颇大,纵48厘米和横26厘米才重复一次,比传统纹饰的重复面积大得多,这大概是导致前后中缝与接袖处难以完美“对花”的原因。然而,纵使未能完美对花,中缝两边的牡丹花头已尽量做到对称,裁缝师肯定也花了不少心思。

Judging from the distance between the centre seam and the sleeve-extension seam on the lower arm, and taking shrinkage of the weft yarn into consideration (pure silk fabric has relatively high shrinkage rate), the original width of the fabric should be no narrower than 74-75 cm, which coincides with the 76-cm (30-inch) width of many domestic silks of the time. Since the repeat size of the peony motif is 48 (H) x 26 (W) cm, much larger than most patterns on traditional Chinese fabrics, this is perhaps why “pattern-matching” has not been observed along the centre seams and sleeve-extension seams. However, although the patterns do not continue across the centre seam, much effort has been exerted to bring the peony flower-heads to appear in pairs down these seams.



经典细节赏析

Classic Details

长衫的领和襟。领圈先以幼细结实的纈条加固,再装上缝合完整的立领。立领是以两层薄薄的长方形面料合成,没有领芯,领口小圆角,中等高度(前后均高4.5厘米),是当时流行的立领形制。“厂”字襟,喉头和襟头直扣一横一竖,神气悦目。立领沿和襟沿饰有纤细本料纈边,是当时不少男装长衫的做法。

Collar and jin-closure. The neckline is first reinforced with a narrow but sturdy binding before a well-finished stand-up collar is mounted onto it. The collar comprises two rectangular sheets of shell fabric, ends slightly rounded, and no interfacing — prevailing collar style of the time. The outline of the *jin*-closure is typically angular. The horizontal neck fastenings and vertical clavicle fastenings look handsome and spirited. The edges of the collar and upper *jin*-closure are delicately adorned with very narrow self-fabric binding, a decorative method favoured by men's cheongsam of the time

袖口边沿也饰有“前包后嵌”的本料纤细纈边。“后嵌”可以减少纈条与穿者的皮肤或内里衣物的直接接触,从而减低纈条磨损或沾汗渍的机会,是经验累积的智慧。最下方图片袖底的贴边由后幅袖口一直伸延至衫脚,发挥收纳缝份和加固脇边的作用,是单衫的标准做法。

The edge of the sleeve opening is also adorned with binding that wraps over the fabric on the right side but almost hidden behind the facing on the reverse side. The largely hidden “piping” on the back minimises direct contact with the wearer's skin or other clothing worn underneath, and is thus less prone to fraying or staining caused by sweat — a wisdom acquired from accumulated experience. The underarm facing shown in the lowest photo runs from the sleeve hem of the back panel all the way to the bottom hem of the dress to conceal the raw edges of the side seams and reinforce the flanks. This is a standard treatment of unlined cheongsam.



外面看接袖和袖口。
Exterior of sleeve extension and sleeve hem.



翻出袖管看接袖和袖口。
Interior of sleeve extension and sleeve hem.

长衫全以手缝完成, 内里同样讲究, 所有缝份都收纳整齐细致, 贴边各就其位, 挑缝密致。

The entire cheongsam is hand-sewn. The interior is also neatly finished. The seam allowances are either concealed by facings or their raw edges tucked under and densely slip-stitched in place.





长衫上下六对直扣, 四对钉缀于右脇。腋下第一对直扣与斜下的襟线成直角, 并与第二对直扣距离较远。5.5厘米长的纽条纤细但滚圆结实, 钉缀笔直, 看上去很秀气。

The cheongsam has all together six pairs of straight fastenings, four of which down the right flank. The pair right under the armpit is positioned at right angle to the slanting edge of the *jin*-closure and farther away from the second pair of fastenings. The 5.5 cm long legs of the fastenings are rounded, firm and ruler-straight, looking very exquisite.



除了右边最低的直扣用布纽头外, 其余五对都以金属圈缀上鎏金鏤花钮, 非常精致讲究, 是当时的高级风尚。也有可能金属钮是来自旧衣的古董钮扣, 而更早期的袍子一般不会超过五枚钮, 因此这件长衫最下方的直扣唯有用布纽头。

Except for the lowest pair of fastenings which has a knotted cloth knob, the other five pairs are each furnished with a gilt metal button with chiselled design, secured by a metal ring. These sophisticated accessories were the high fashion of the time. It is possible that these metal buttons were antique buttons removed from old clothing. Since clothes of still older times usually had no more than five buttons, perhaps this is why the sixth one on this cheongsam has to be substituted by a cloth knob.

长衫内缝有贴近内襟左沿的贴袋, 袋口高于腋下第一对纽扣。明显穿者要从这对纽扣和襟扣之间探手进去才可以取物或把东西放进暗袋, 也是上世纪初长衫的特色, 是妥善保管贵重财物的设计。

A patch pocket has been sewn next to the left edge of the inner-flap. Its opening rises higher than the fastening right under the armpit. Obviously the wearer's right hand has to glide in between the clavicle and armpit fastenings to extract the content of the pocket. The design safely guards the valuables kept inside the pocket from easy access by others. This is a characteristic of the cheongsams made in the early 20th century.



长衫前幅(左)和后幅(右)下摆的反面。可以看到底沿是以窄窄的“卷边缝”收边, 跟二十年代开始将下摆内折4-5厘米后再收纳毛边的做法很不一样。这也是那个时代的特色, 对判断长衫年代颇有帮助。

The wrong sides of the front (left) and back (right) panels of the cheongsam show a very narrow double-fold hem. The method is quite different from that of the 1920s and onward when the bottom of the cheongsam is folded over for 4-5 cm and the raw edge tucked under. This characteristic hemming method of the period is quite useful in determining the date of the cheongsam.



前幅下摆的反面。
Wrong side of the front panel of the cheongsam.



后幅的反面。
Wrong side of the back panel of the cheongsam.

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