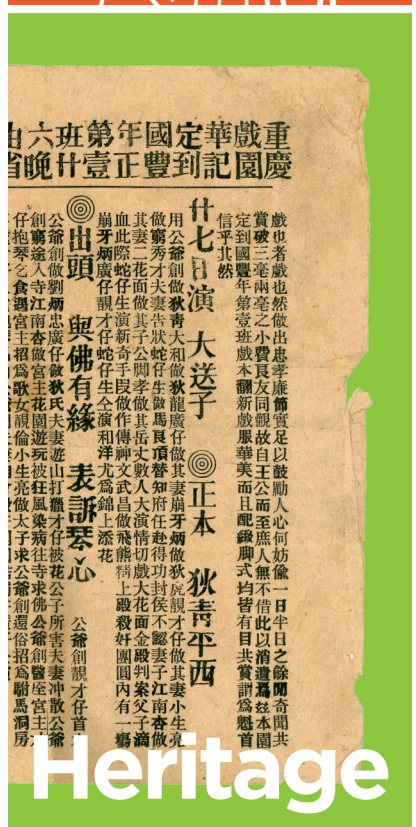
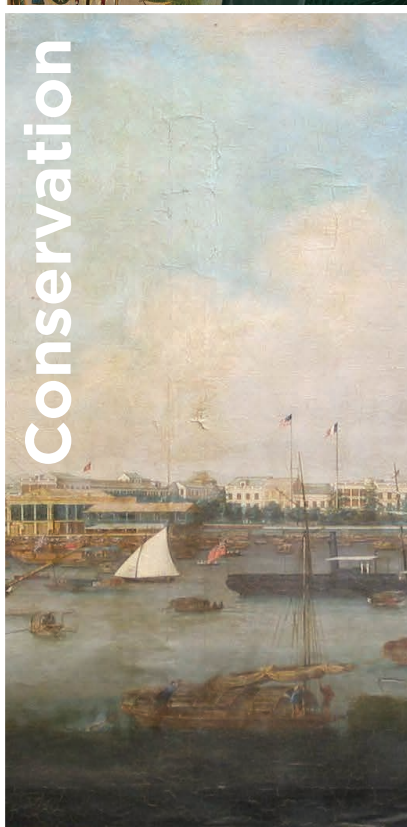
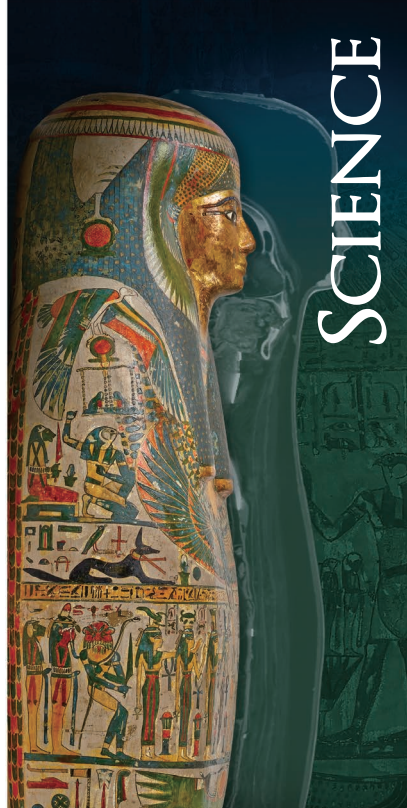




History



HONG KONG MUSEUM BULLETIN 香港博物館誌

#002



**HONG KONG
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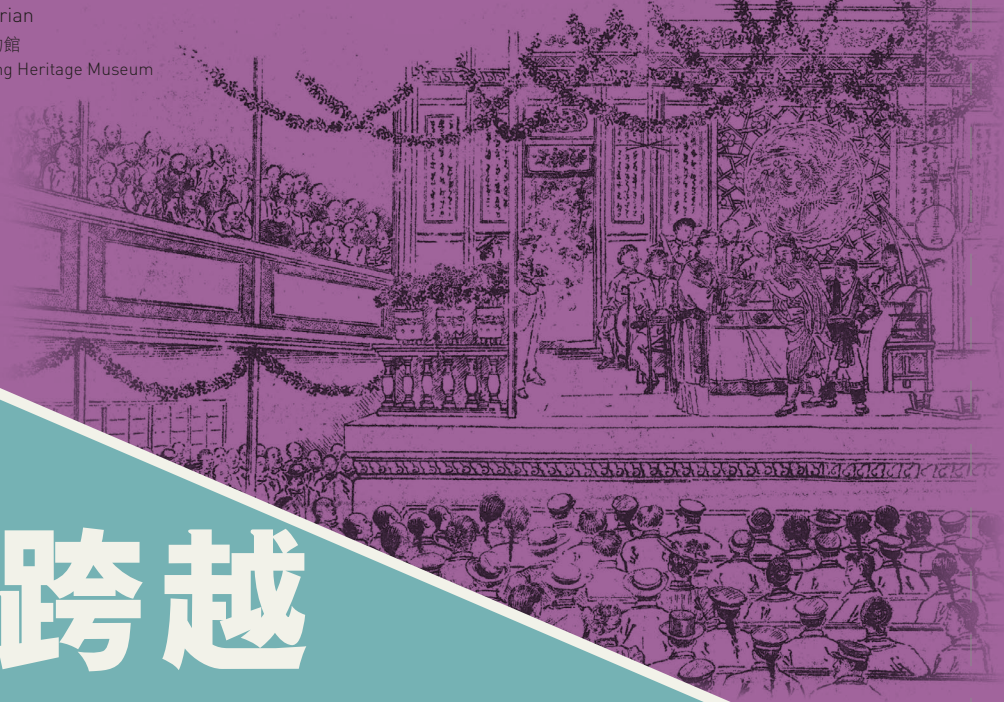
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過去 • 現在

十九世紀香港戲園的 建築特色和演劇內容

Chinese Theatres in 19th-Century Hong Kong: Architectural Features and Theatrical Performances

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傳統戲曲演出場地主要分為豪門宅第內的戲台、節日神誕的劇場——包括臨時搭建的戲棚和座落在廟宇、祠堂等公共建築內的戲台，以及清中葉以前已經盛行於北京、蘇州和楊州的商業劇場，由於清政府限制八旗當差人員到遊藝場所作樂，故此它們多以「茶園」、「園」或「樓」來命名，觀眾看戲只需繳付茶資，不用買票。¹

Venues for Chinese traditional theatre performances were broadly categorised into theatre stages in private mansions, theatres for festive activities – including temporary bamboo theatres and permanent theatre stages located at public facilities (such as temples and ancestral halls) – and commercial theatres, which were already popular in Beijing, Suzhou and Yangzhou before the mid-Qing dynasty. Since the Qing court forbade people of the Eight Banners who served in the civil service to seek pleasure at places of entertainment, these venues were usually called ‘tea gardens’, ‘gardens’ or ‘pavilions’ to conceal their real function. The audience only needed to pay for the tea while admission was free.¹

本文撰寫過程中，承蒙馬冠堯先生、許崇德先生提供協助，得以查證相關政府檔案資料，謹此致謝。

My gratitude to Mr Ma Koon-yiu and Mr Hui Sung-tak Bernard for their assistance in accessing the related government archives during the writing process of this article.

¹ 薛林平：《中國傳統劇場建築》（北京：中國建築工業出版社，2009），頁 464-465。

Xue Linping, *Zhongguo chuantong juchang jianzhu* (Traditional Chinese Theatre Architecture) (Beijing: Chinese Construction Industry Publishing House, 2009), 464-465.

戲園

香港富商家中未見築有戲台，本地廟宇亦只有戲曲題材的裝飾構件，沒有戲樓，然而每逢節慶神誕，廟前仍會搭棚演戲。部分廟宇的清代碑刻提到了演戲，² 更發現戲班的名字，³ 可見這類演出由來已久。至於商業性質的場劇，香港直接稱為「戲園」，起步遠在內地城市之後，但在建築設計和規模上卻有後來居上之勢，對粵劇的傳承和發展，起著十分重要的支持作用。

香港開埠之初，人口驟增，對娛樂事業需求甚殷，首個劇場可能早於 1843 年出現，⁴ 1846 年鴉片煙商盧亞貴在下市場經營劇院，由業餘劇團演出西方戲劇，甚受本地居民歡迎。⁵ 1851 年《中國之友與香港公報》報道荷李活道有劇場搬演中式戲劇，⁶ 1853 年 2 月再有戲班在太平山一個名為 *Sans-Souci* 的場地演出，⁷ 年青演員翻跟斗的技巧令觀眾目眩。⁸ 同年《德臣西報》提到太平山區有華人戲園落成，⁹ 但名字不詳。

However, there were no theatre stages in the homes of the rich for theatrical performances in Hong Kong, only temporary bamboo theatres occasionally built in the front yards of temples to celebrate festive events. Other reminders of Chinese opera were the architectural features and inscriptions in some temples from the Qing dynasty which describe theatre performances² and record the names of opera troupes.³ This testifies to the fact that performances date back to a long time ago. As for the profit-making theatres, they were known as *xiyuan* (theatre gardens) in Hong Kong. Although they started much later than their counterparts in the cities on the Mainland, they caught up very quickly in architectural design and scale, so much so that this resulted in a tremendous impact on the development of Cantonese Opera in the main.

There was a sudden surge in population, as well as in the demand for entertainment, during the early days of Hong Kong as a British colony. The first theatre possibly appeared before 1843.⁴ In 1846, the opium merchant Lo Aqui opened a theatre at the Lower Bazaar where an amateur opera troupe performed Western theatre works that were well received by the local people.⁵ In 1851, *The Friend of China & Hong Kong Gazette* reported that there was Chinese theatre performance in a theatre on Hollywood Road.⁶ In February 1853, a theatre troupe from the Mainland performed at a venue called *Sans-Souci* in Tai Ping Shan,⁷ and audiences were dazzled by the young actors’ stunning somersaulting skills.⁸ In the same year, *The China Mail* mentioned the completion of a Chinese theatre in the Tai Ping Shan District;⁹ however, the name of the theatre was not specified.

² 元朗十八鄉大樹下天后廟、大澳關帝古廟、九龍寨城和大嶼山東涌侯王廟的清代碑記都提到演戲，見科大衛、陸鴻基及吳倫霓霞編：《香港碑銘彙編》（香港：香港博物館，1986），頁 107, 109, 214, 342 及 395。

Inscriptions from the Qing Dynasty found in Tin Hau Temple of Yuen Long Shap Pat Heung, Kwan Tai Temple of Tai O, Kowloon Walled City and Hau Wong Temple of Tung Chung on Lantau Island all mention about theatre performances, see *Historical Inscriptions of Hong Kong*, eds. David Faure, Bernard Hung-kay Luk, and Alice Ngai-ha Lun Ng (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum, 1986), 107, 109, 214, 342 and 395.

³ 堯天樂班名字出現在 1868 年重修大坑天后廟的碑記上，幸康年班則曾在 1910 年東涌侯王廟重修開光時演出。同上註，頁 132 及頁 402。

Theatre troupe Yiu Tin Lok was first mentioned in the inscription in the Tin Hau Temple of Tai Hang when it was rebuilt in 1868; theatre troupe Hang Hong Nin performed in 1910 to celebrate the completion of the reconstruction of the Hau Wong Temple of Tung Chung. Ibid., 132, 402.

⁴ E.H. Malcolm, “Theatres in the British Colonies,” in *Colonial Magazine and Commercial-maritime Journal*, ed. Robert Montgomery Martin (London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1843) Vol. 3, 201.

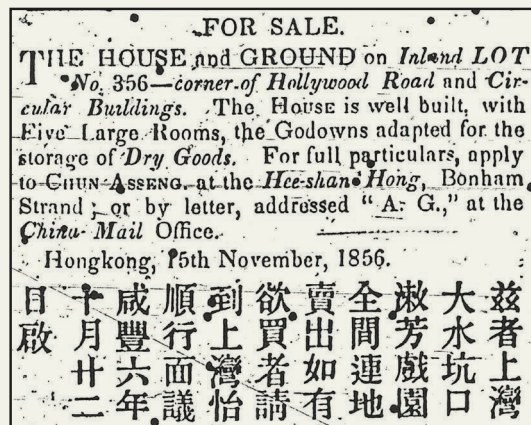
⁵ *The Hong Kong Register* (27 January 1846).

⁶ *The Friend of China & Hong Kong Gazette* (17 November 1851).

⁷ *The Friend of China & Hong Kong Gazette* (19 February 1853).

⁸ *The Friend of China & Hong Kong Gazette* (23 February 1853).

⁹ *The China Mail* (31 March 1853).



現時所見最早提及本地戲園名字的文獻，要數 1856 年《中國之友與香港公報》所載漱芳戲園的出讓告白，¹⁰ 該戲園有五個大房間，位於荷李活道正對著水坑口街的一段，鄰近大笪地，該區正是開埠初期娛樂場所和妓院的集中地¹。

早期戲園的建築佈局

漱芳戲園位於市區第 356 號地段，昇平戲園後來在同一地點開業，到 1870 年拆卸重建時，¹¹ 地盤擴展至毗鄰的 569 及 699 號地段，新大樓盤踞於荷李活道與墳墓街（即今普仁街）交界位置，面積變得更寬敞，¹² 然而 1872 年 6 月 14 日復業後不久，就因結構牆移位而被當局勒令停業，經加固後才獲准繼續經營。¹³ 從老照片所見，戲園屋頂採用重檐歇山頂設計，附有「昇平戲園」的招牌，外牆開有多個窗戶，向墳墓街的一段立面卻建有迴廊，整座大樓混合了中外建築的特色，外觀十分雅緻²。

¹⁰ *The Friend of China & Hong Kong Gazette* (3 January 1857). In this bilingual advertisement, the name of the theatre only appears in the Chinese version.

¹¹ 馬冠堯：《香港工程考 II》（香港：三聯書店（香港）有限公司，2014），頁 110。政府檔案指重建工作要到 1871 年 3 月才開展，見英國殖民地部檔案 CO129/158，頁 485。

Ma Koon-yiu, *Xianggang gongcheng kao II* (History of Hong Kong Engineering II) (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (HK) Ltd., 2014), 110. According to the government records, the reconstruction work commenced in March 1871. See *British Colonial Office Records*, CO129/158, 485.

¹² *The China Mail* (27 March 1872).

¹³ 同註 11，頁 110-111。從昇平戲園後來向承建商提出的訴訟可見，這次改善工程可能用了 180 天，參見 *The Hong Kong Daily Press* (1 February 1873)。

See Note 11, 110-111. Based on the later litigation by Shing Ping Theatre against its contractor, this corrective measure might have taken 180 days. See *The Hong Kong Daily Press* (1 February 1873).

¹ 1856 年《中國之友與香港公報》轉讓廣告最早刊載香港戲園的名字
The 1856 advertisement of a property offered up for transfer of title in *The Friend of China & Hong Kong Gazette* is the earliest published mention of the name of a local Chinese theatre

The advertisement of the sale of a house previously used as a Chinese theatre in *The Friend of China & Hong Kong Gazette* in 1856 is considered the earliest published mention of the name of a local Chinese theatre.¹⁰ Consisting of five big rooms, the Sau Fong Theatre was situated on Hollywood Road facing Possession Street, close to the Tai Tat Tei and adjacent to the area where most of the places of public entertainment and brothels were located since the early years of the colony¹.

Architectural Layout of the Early Theatres

The Sau Fong was located on lot 356 in the city, the same location where the Shing Ping Theatre was to be built later on. In 1870, when the Shing Ping was demolished and reconstructed,¹¹ it expanded to adjacent lots 569 and 699. The new theatre was situated at the junction of Hollywood Road and Cemetery Street (Present-day Po Yan Street) and occupied a much larger area.¹² Yet soon after the theatre reopened for business on 14 June 1872, the government ordered it to be shut down because of the irregularities found on its structural wall. Not until the wall had been reinforced was the theatre allowed to reopen for business.¹³ From some historical photographs, one can see that the theatre had a gable and hip roof with a multiple eaves design and the sign 'Shing Ping Theatre' displayed on its exterior. The outer wall had multiple windows with a winding corridor on the side facing Cemetery Street. The entire building was an eclectic mix of Chinese and Western architectural features for an elegant appearance².



² 從太平山區北眺維多利亞港，可以看到昇平戲園（圖中白色建築物）和以高牆圍繞的同慶戲園（香港歷史博物館藏品）。

From Tai Ping Shan District overlooking the Victoria Harbour to the north, one can see Shing Ping Theatre (the white structure in the photo) and Tung Hing Theatre surrounded by high walls (Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of History).

早期戲園室內面積廣大，屋頂的重量全由樑柱和結構牆承擔，然而為了方便觀眾欣賞演出，柱子數目不可太多，再加上香港夏天炎熱潮濕，容易滋生害蟲，所以一旦缺乏足夠保養，戲園就會變成危樓。同慶戲院於 1865 年建成，樓座和堂座共有約 1,500 個座位，¹⁴ 但開業 25 年就因木繫樑嚴重腐朽，導致部分屋頂塌下，幸好觀眾走避及時，只有六個人受傷。¹⁵ 該戲園雖然一再重修，最終仍然逃不過拆卸重建的命運³。¹⁶

³ 同慶戲園在太平山區南端，背靠山坡，入口位於街市街（即今普慶坊）和墳墓街交界處（香港歷史博物館藏品）。

Built on mountain slopes, Tung Hing Theatre is located at the southern end of Tai Ping Shan District, with its entrance at the junction of Market Street (Present-day Po Hing Fong) and Cemetery Street (Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of History).



¹⁴ *The Hong Kong Daily Press* (23 January 1890).

¹⁵ 同上註。
Ibid.

¹⁶ *The Hong Kong Daily Press* (6 May 1892).

中外建築特色

同慶的重建工程由丹尼遜 (Albert Denison) 監督，1892 年完工後改名為重慶戲園。據報章所載，新大樓按照現代意念興建，同時沒有忽略傳統風俗元素，牆壁以紅磚砌成，地板用料上注意防火。戲園地面一層有四間店舖，入口設於街市街一段外牆的中間部分，售票處在入口兩側，觀眾買票後沿著花崗石樓梯往上走，就可進入堂座和樓座。堂座出入口開在舞台前方兩端，由於地台前低後高，座椅順勢一排高於一排，大堂內任何角落都可看到舞台上的演出。樓座則設於兩側高處，正對舞台的地方屬廂座，與樓座處於同一水平但以鐵板分隔。廂座空間寬敞，可以用屏風按需要劃分成不同面積的廂房。戲院內更設有四個獨立包廂，貴賓可從專用樓梯出入，免受騷擾。屋頂、樓座和廂座都用美觀的鐵柱支撐，不會防礙觀眾看劇。另園內設有廚房，觀眾可以一邊看戲一邊用膳，甚至在園內宴請賓客。全院除了四個主要出入口外，另設有 12 個緊急逃生出口，可容納約 2,000 名觀眾^{4 5}。¹⁷

¹⁷ 同上註。
Ibid.



⁴ 普仁街上的重慶戲園招牌，攝於 1894 年 8 月（夢周文教基金藏品）。

The signage of Chung Hing Theatre on Po Yan Street; photo taken in August 1894 (Collection of The Moonchu Foundation).

The reconstruction of the Tung Hing occurred under the supervision of Albert Denison, and it was renamed the Chung Hing Theatre after its completion in 1892. According to a newspaper report, the new building was built in accordance with modern ideas but at the same time with consideration of traditional Chinese customs. The walls were built with red bricks, and fire resistance was considered when materials for the floor were selected. There were four shops on the ground level of the theatre; the entrance was in the middle of the outer wall on Market Street, with a ticket office on each side. After admission, the audience would go up a granite staircase to the stall and the gallery. The entrances to the stall were on two sides on the front of the stage. Because the floor was lower at the front and gradually rose toward the back, the rows of seats were installed at a gradient, enabling audience to view the stage from all parts of the theatre. The gallery was situated high on both sides. The stage boxes were in the section opposite the stage at the same level as the gallery but separated from it by artistic iron partitions. They were spacious and could be partitioned into different sizes as needed by movable screens. Each of the four stage boxes was equipped with a private staircase that VIP members could use to enter or leave without being disturbed. The roof, gallery and boxes were all supported by beautifully decorated iron pillars that did not obstruct the audience's views. The theatre also had a kitchen; audience could eat while enjoying the performance or even entertain guests with a banquet and a performance at the same time. Other than the four main entrances, there were 12 emergency exits, and the theatre could seat approximately 2,000 ^{4 5}.¹⁷



⁵ 重慶戲園屋頂開有天窗方便採光，觀眾從舞台前方進入堂座（夢周文教基金藏品）。

For efficient lighting, there is a skylight on the roof of Chung Hing Theatre; the audience enter the stall at the front of the stage (Collection of The Moonchu Foundation).



⁶ 位於皇后大道的高陞戲園，屋頂呈金字型（香港歷史博物館藏品）。

Situated on Queen's Road, Ko Shing Theatre has a slanted roof (Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of History).

當時與昇平和同慶鼎足而立的，是位處西區新填地的高陞戲園，由富商李陞投資興建，並聘請著名的羅齡建築師樓（Messrs. Rawling, Medlen and Co.）監工，屋頂由四條大鐵柱支撐，全院不再用油燈，改以煤氣燈照明，舞台上更設有大吊燈，裝潢十分華麗，¹⁸ 1870 年 10 月開始演戲。¹⁹ 另從消防部門的年報得知，1887 年高陞樓座發生小火，²⁰ 後來為了加強防火，園內特別安裝消防箱，內有輕便工具方便撲滅火種，港島上只有少數公共設施獲分發同樣裝備⁶。²¹

早期戲園演劇內容

同慶戲園在 1865 年 4 月 27 日開業前，在《孖刺報》上刊登廣告，預告有來自北京的男女演員，表演一些已在廣東絕跡近 20 年的劇目，日場在早上 11 時開始，下午 5 時結束，晚上演員會裝扮成獅子、老虎等動物出場，廣告聲明場內會加強照明，保證觀眾能清楚觀賞，收費港幣一圓。²² 同慶在外文報章上的廣告持續多年，除了開業廣告外，其餘都沒有提到演員來自哪裡。然而從這則資料可見，戲園自落成之初，即要考慮票房問題，為了吸引觀眾買票進場，不得不安排戲曲表演以外的節目。

¹⁸ *The Hong Kong Daily Press* (19 November 1870)

¹⁹ 高陞戲園最早的廣告見於 1870 年 10 月 11 日《孖刺報》，首天演出在 10 月 14 日舉行。

The advertisement for Ko Shing Theatre first appeared in *The Hong Kong Daily Press* on 11 October 1870. The premiere was staged on 14 October.

²⁰ *Report of the Superintendent of Fire Brigade for 1887*

²¹ *Report of the Superintendent of Fire Brigade for 1894*

²² *The Hong Kong Daily Press* (24 April 1865)

On equal footing with the Shing Ping and the Tung Hing was the Ko Shing Theatre situated on the reclaimed land in the Western District. It was an investment of a wealthy businessman, Li Shing, and the construction was carried out under the supervision of the renowned architectural firm, Messrs. Rawling, Medlen and Co. Four big iron pillars supported the roof, and gas lights were used for lighting instead of oil lamps. The decoration was very glamorous, with a starlight chandelier hung over the stage.¹⁸ The first performance was staged in October 1870.¹⁹ According to the annual report of the Superintendent of Fire Brigade, there was a small fire in the gallery of the Ko Shing Theatre in 1887,²⁰ after which a fire dispatch box containing simple fire extinguisher tools was installed in the theatre as a fire safety measure. Such equipment was installed in only a few public facilities on Hong Kong Island at that time ⁶.²¹

Performances at the Early Theatres

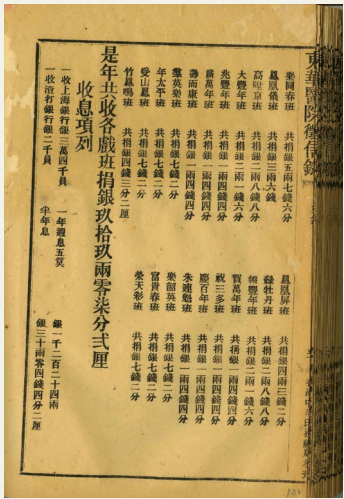
Before it opened for business on 27 April 1865, the Tung Hing put an advertisement in *The Hong Kong Daily Press*, announcing that the actors from Beijing, both male and female, would perform repertoires that had not been performed in Guangdong province for almost two decades. The matinee went from 11 o'clock in the morning until 5 o'clock in the afternoon. In the evening show, actors would come on stage representing animals such as lions and tigers, and the lighting would be enhanced so that audience could see clearly; admission was one dollar.²² The Tung Hing continued to advertise in the English newspaper for many years, but other than in the first advertisement, there was no further mention of where the actors came from. One can see that since the beginning of the theatre, the box office had always been the primary concern, and to attract the audience, theatres must provide performances other than Chinese operas.

香港大賀壽

舞台戲劇化

十九世紀香港戲園演劇的資料十分零碎，只知曾上演《指日加官》、《六國大封相》、²³《八仙賀壽》、《天姬送子》、²⁴《阿蘭賣豬》²⁵等傳統粵劇劇目，另從《東華醫院徵信錄》得知，當時活躍於戲園的戲班，有堯天樂、瑞麟儀、國豐年和樂同春等。另據《徵信錄》所載，當時有所謂「高陞京班」，甚至後來馳名歐美的華裔魔術師朱連魁亦曾在戲園中獻技⁷。²⁶ 1880年普樂戲園發生意外，一位外籍女演員在台上受傷，終導致流產，²⁷可見當日戲園除演出粵劇外，還有京劇、魔術，甚至外籍演員獻技，同時亦不理禁令，安排男女同台演出。²⁸

雖然至今仍未發現早期戲班演出的照片，但任職中國海關的何耕（Charles Halcombe）卻在他的訪港遊記中，記述了1893年在高陞戲園觀劇的經過。按他的描述，高陞的售票處設在入口處的左方，外圍裝有木柵和鐵網，觀眾付款後會獲發得一張紅色的戲票，樓座的票價由五毫至一圓不等，部分用作女賓專區，堂座不設劃位，票價則在一毫至二毫半之間，觀眾可以隨意坐，甚至可以坐在椅背上或選擇坐到舞台邊，近距離觀看伶人演出。整個戲園呈四方形，舞台在一邊，其餘三邊都設有面向舞台的樓座，舞台沒有布幕和道具，無論是高山、城牆、廟宇和皇宮，一律以椅子來表示，不少場景都用意會的手法來表達。樂師坐在舞台中央的後方，接近通往後台的出入口處。²⁹

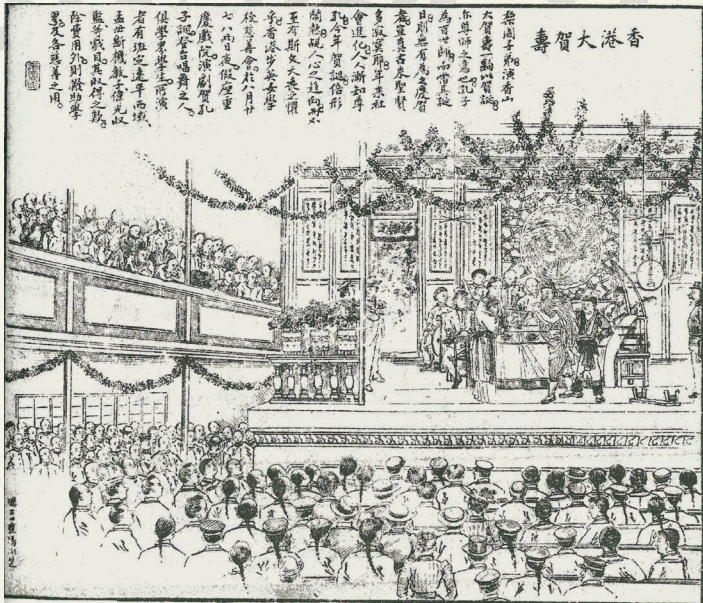


7 1893 年《東華醫院徵信錄》
內頁 (東華三院文物館藏品)

The Inner page of the 1893
Tung Wah Hospital Annual
Report (Collection of Tung Wah
Group of Hospitals Museum)

There are only a few fragmented materials about the Chinese theatrical performances in 19th-century Hong Kong. We know only that traditional repertoires, such as *Blessing of Promotion*, *The Investiture of the Prime Minister of Six States*,²³ *Birthday Greetings from the Eight Immortals*, *A Fairy Returns Her Son to the Mortal Father*,²⁴ and *Ah Lan Sells His Pig*²⁵ were performed. Also, from the *Tung Wah Hospital Annual Report*, we know that Chinese opera troupes active in theatres at that time included Yiu Tin Lok, Shui Lun Yee, Kwok Fung Nin and Lok Tung Chun. According to the Annual Report, the so-called Ko Shing Peking Opera Troupe and, later on, Ching Ling Foo, the first Chinese magician who achieved world fame later, also performed in the theatres.²⁶ Further, we know that in 1880, there was an accident in the Po Lok Theatre where a foreign actress was injured on stage and suffered a miscarriage.²⁷ The above exemplifies that other than Cantonese Opera, other forms of entertainment - Peking Opera, magic shows and even shows with foreign actors - were performed in the theatre in those days, and despite the government restriction, both male and female actors performed on the same stage.²⁸

To date, no photographs of performances of the early theatre troupes have been found; however, Charles Halcombe, who worked for the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs Service at that time, recorded in his journal about his visit to Hong Kong in 1893 and his experience watching a performance at the Kow Shing (*sic*) Theatre. According to his description, the ticket office was to the left of the theatre's entrance, enclosed by wooden bars and wire latticework. A patron attending a performance would receive a red ticket after paying it; tickets for the gallery cost from 50 cents to a dollar, and certain sections were reserved for women only. Tickets for the stall varied from 10 cents to 25 cents, and the audience was free to choose where they sat, including on the back of a chair or by the side of the stage so they could watch the actors performing at close range. The arena was square in shape with the stage on one side and galleries on the three sides facing the stage. There were no curtains or props on the stage; whether high mountains, city walls, temples or palaces, all were represented by chairs, and changes of settings were represented through symbolic gestures. The musicians sat upstage centre, near the entrance or exit to the backstage.²⁹



9 1907年《時事畫報》所見重慶戲院演劇情況
An illustration published in *Shishi huabao* depicting the Cantonese opera performance at Chung Hing Theatre in 1907

當時戲園競爭激烈，為了吸引觀眾入場，更想出改編報章新聞為演出內容，使香港戲園成為最早上演粵劇時事劇的地方。其中普樂戲園在 1881 年 11 月上演的《火燒長壽寺》，靈感就是源自廣州群眾搗毀長壽寺的新聞，³⁰事發後民眾普遍認為審訊不公，所以當該劇公演時，即吸引大批觀眾入場，看到官差拉人及處決罪犯一幕，大家便破口大罵，一聞而散。³¹同年 12 月同慶戲園原打算公演同名戲劇，但演出當天戲園內人山人海，或許是害怕觀眾起鬧鬧事，園方臨時以尋常劇目取代，觀眾氣憤受騙，因而大肆搗亂，結果要由警方派員到場鎮壓⁸⁹。³²



9 二十世紀初重慶戲園戲橋（香港文化博物館藏品）
A handbill of the early 20th century publicising the Cantonese performances at Chung Hing Theatre (Collection of the Hong Kong Heritage Museum).

Competition among theatres was fierce at that time. To attract viewers, theatres came up with the idea of adapting newspaper reports into stage performances, making Hong Kong theatres the first to stage Cantonese Opera on topical affairs. Among them, the Po Lok Theatre staged *Setting the Longevity Temple on Fire* in November 1881, a play inspired by the news of a group of people in Guangzhou storming the Longevity Temple.³⁰ The general opinion was that the resultant trial had not been fair, so when the play came on, it drew a huge box office. When the scene of the Qing soldiers arresting people and executing the criminals took place on stage, the audience grew wild and stormed out of the theatre after shouting abuse.³¹ In December of the same year, when the Tung Hing decided to stage a play of the same title, the house was so packed on the day of the performance that the theatre management was worried that the audience might get out of control, and decided to replace it with another show. The audience felt they had been cheated and rampaged the theatre; finally the police were called in to restore order.³²

²³ 〈俄皇子在港觀劇〉，《申報》（1872.10.15），頁4。
“Russian Prince Attended Theatre Performance in Hong Kong,” *Shun Po* (15 October 1872), 4.

²⁴ *The Hong Kong Telegraph* (3 April 1870).

²⁵ A. Lister, H.M.C.S., "A Chinese Farce," *The China Review, or notes & queries on the Far East* 1, no. 1 (1872): 26-31.

²⁶ 《1893年東華醫院徵信錄》，頁50。

1893 *Donghua sanyuan zhengxin lu* (1893 Tung Wah Group of Hospitals Annual Report), 50.

27 〈狡跌續聞〉，〈循環日報〉(1880.5.3)
 "Actress Fell on Stage," *Universal Circulating Herald* (3 May 1880).

²⁸ *Hong Kong Government Gazette* 26 (5 May 1885)

²⁹ Charles J. H. Halcombe, *The Mystic Flowery Land* (London: Luzac & Co., 1896), 182-183.

³⁰ 亨特《舊中國雜記》都有記載長壽寺被毀事件。William C. Hunter, *Bits of Old China* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1911), 63-68.

The storming of the Longevity Temple was mentioned in William C. Hunter, *Bits of Old China* (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1911), 63-68.

³¹ 〈開演新劇〉，《循環日報》(1881.12.3)。

"Premiere of a New Play," *Universal Circulating Herald* (3 December 1881).

³² 〈演劇滋事〉，《循環日報》(1881.12.6)。

"Troubles in the Theatre," *Universal Circulating Herald* (6 December 1881).



10 十九世紀伶人裝扮的影樓照片（香港歷史博物館藏品）
Actors posing in a 19th-century studio (Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of History)

1884年8月普樂戲園上演另一套以中法越南戰爭為題材的時事劇，演員穿戴成法國官兵，與扮作清軍元帥的武生在台上模擬艦艇對陣，據說更有短兵相接的戰鬥場面。³³ 由此可見，時事劇在當年甚受歡迎，演員會穿著時裝甚至西服演戲，這可說是後來時裝粵劇潮流的先導¹⁰。

In August 1884, the Po Lok Theatre staged a contemporary opera production having the Sino-French War as its theme. Actors dressed up as French soldiers and mimicked the battle with the Qing commander played by a Chinese *wusheng* (martial male role). It was said that the performers' combating skills were appealing to audience.³³ One can see that productions on topical issues were popular at that time, with actors wearing modern or even Western costumes. They can therefore be regarded as pioneers setting the stage for Cantonese Operas in modern costume¹⁰.

³³ 聞朔：〈早期的粵劇現代戲〉，《南國紅豆》（6，1997），頁35-36。
Wen Shuo, "Modern Play in Chinese Opera," *Nanguohongdou* 6 (1997): 35-36.

結語

1876年上海《申報》有論說指，由伶人「設館演戲賣錢」的戲園，³⁴ 實在是從香港開始出現的。這說法雖然有點誇張成分，但從戲園的建築風格和現代化裝備，例如煤汽燈和防火設施等來衡量，香港的戲園確實與傳統茶園有很大的分別。再者，內地劇場經常受到官府干預而需要停演，香港戲園則沒有這方面的限制，所以一直成為廣東一帶戲班賴以謀生的平台，同時吸引到廣州的觀眾乘船來港觀劇，甚至留港消費三五天，³⁵ 這對支持和推動粵劇的發展，起著十分重要的作用。

城市劇場為戲班提供了收入來源，而與新式娛樂的競爭又促使戲園主人推陳出新。個半世紀以來粵劇的發展，正就是依循著「城市化」和舞台戲劇化的道路前進，才蛻變成現今大家所熟悉的演出形式，³⁶ 而這一切的轉變，主要都是發生在戲園之內，而香港戲園在推動粵劇發展的作用，實在不容忽視。

Conclusion

In 1876, the Shanghai newspaper *Shun Po* disclosed that the first commercial theatre set up by actors actually originated in Hong Kong.³⁴ Although there is an element of exaggeration in this, in terms of architectural features and modern facilities such as gas lights and fire safety measures, theatres in Hong Kong were vastly different from conventional 'tea gardens'. At a time when government officials often interfered with theatres and interrupted shows on the Mainland, theatre productions in Hong Kong did not have such issues. As such, Hong Kong theatres gradually became the platform through which troupes in the Guangdong area made a living. They also attracted vast audience from Guangzhou who came by boat to go to the theatres in Hong Kong or even stayed on for several days to spend their money.³⁵ This had a tremendous impact on the support and development of Cantonese Opera in Hong Kong.

Theatres in the city provided income to theatre troupes, and the competition with new forms of entertainment made theatre owners keep innovating. The development of Cantonese Opera in the last one-and-a-half centuries was in fact on an upward trajectory of the urbanisation and dramatisation of the stage, which evolved into the performance format with which we are all familiar.³⁶ All these changes happened mainly inside the theatres, and the impact of Hong Kong theatres on promoting the development of Cantonese Opera should not be overlooked.

³⁴ 「昔時戲館之設，惟京師、保定、天津、蘇州數處，餘則未聞。……自通商之後，凡西商租界，皆許伶人設館演戲賣錢，始則創於香港，繼則及於上海，後則至於鎮江，今則又聞寧波亦有戲館之設。」〈論禁戲〉，《申報》（1876.10.18）。

"In those days theatres were built in several cities, such as Beijing, Baoding, Tianjin and Suzhou, but they were not heard of in other places. ... Since the opening of the treaty ports for trade, all foreign concessions in the ports have allowed actors to set up commercial theatres. The trend started first in Hong Kong, later in Shanghai, followed by Zhenjiang, and it is heard that there are now theatres in Ningbo, too." (translation from the original Chinese text) "On the Ban of Theatres," *Shun Po* (18 October 1876).

³⁵ 「香港名班薈萃，而往來之船價又極公道，儘有專為聽戲而至香港消停數日者。」〈廣東禁戲〉，《申報》（1876.10.13）。

"There are many excellent theatre troupes in Hong Kong, and the boat fare to Hong Kong is also very reasonable; therefore, many people making special trips to Hong Kong for the theatres would stay there for several days." (translation from the original Chinese text) "Theatre Ban in Guangdong," *Shun Po* (13 October 1876).

³⁶ 黎鍵：《香港粵劇敘論》（香港：三聯書局（香港）有限公司，2010），頁10。

Lai Kin, *Xianggang yueju xulun* (Introduction to the Hong Kong Cantonese Opera) (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (HK) Ltd., 2010), 10.



香港文化博物館 HONG KONG HERITAGE MUSEUM

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國人自辦第一館—— 南通博物苑對現代博物館的啟示

The First Museum run by a Chinese: Inspirations of the Nantong Museum towards Modern Museums

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導論

就中國博物館事業的發展而言，必先從十九世紀的社會狀況說起。自第一次鴉片戰爭以降，中國受到外國勢力步步進逼，中國陷入一連串民族危機。一班致力於救國的人士，為了要改變長期積弱的傳統政治體制，嘗試以不同形式、不同方法扭轉這個頹局。即使眾多的知識份子企圖以較溫和的方式扶助這個陷入崩潰邊緣的帝國，但由於社會內部環境情況複雜，百廢待舉，包括中央政府對地區經濟支援不足、社會上各界對清廷推行「新政」意見分歧、地方政府缺乏執行改變社會的專才等等，導致這班溫和派的救國人士並沒有取得太大的成功。¹

Introduction

When talking about the development of the museum business in China, one should first study the social circumstances in the 19th century. After the First Opium War, the foreign powers became more oppressive, and China was exposed to a series of national crisis. In a bid to change the traditional political system, which had long been declining, a group of people with the prime mission of saving the country tried different ways and means to transform the deteriorating situation. Despite the fact that many intellectuals attempted to save the nearly collapsed country in a rather moderate manner, they ended up failing to achieve tremendous success. It was attributed to the complicated internal situation of society, such as inadequate support of the regional economy from the central government, divergence of views of various sectors of the community on the “New Policies” enforced by the Qing dynasty, and a lack of talent in the local government to implement reforms.¹

¹ 1901年1月慈禧太后(1835-1908年)正式下令推行新政，並於同年4月設立督辦政務處以管理新政的各項細節。一般而言，清末新政運行的年份由1901年起至1911年結束，部分政策於辛亥革命後仍繼續。新政涵蓋範圍是多方面的，當中包括政治、經濟、教育及軍事等各個層面。有關新政的資料及分析評論，參見《光緒二十六年十二月初十下詔變法》，載龔鑫圭、唐良炎編：《中國近代教育史資料匯編·學制演變》（上海：上海教育出版社，1991），頁2-3；《清實錄第五十八冊—德宗景皇帝實錄（七）》（北京：中華書局，1987），卷481，頁345及朱英：《清末新政與清朝統治的滅亡》，《近代史研究》（2，1995），頁76。

In January 1901, Empress Dowager officially announced to implement the New Policies and set up the Supervisory Administration Office to monitor all aspects of the New Policies. In general, the implementation of the New Policies was started in 1901 till 1911 and some of the policies were continued even after the Revolution of 1911. Information and analysis can be seen from “Guang Xu er shi liu nian shi er yue chu shi ri xia zhao bian fa” (Political reform issued on the tenth day of December in 26th years of Guangxu), in Qu Xingui and Tang Liangyan, eds., *Zhong guo jin dai jiao yu shi zi liao hui bian · xue zhi yan bian* (Collection of Modern Education in China: School System Reform) (Shanghai: Shanghai jiao yu chu ban she, 1991), 2-3; *Qing shi lu di wu shi ba ce — de zong jing huang di shi lu qi* (Qing Dynasty Historical Archive Volume 58: Record of the Guangxu Emperor) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1987), Vol. 481, 345 and Zhu Ying, “Qing mo xin zheng yu Qing chao tong zhi de mie wang” (The downfall of Qing’s New Policies and Ruling), *Jin dai shi yan jiu* (1995), Vol. 2, 76.

南通博物苑

1 南通博物苑今貌
Nantong Museum
at present



然而，在這個動蕩的時代，依然有文人雅士不甘受到約束，嘗試創建一套新式的教育方法改變社會。1905年張謇(1853-1926年)於江蘇南通創辦的南通博物苑，就被譽為中國人一手籌劃的第一所綜合型博物館¹。這所博物苑不僅是國人自己辦理博物館的先聲，更為中國近代博物館事業揭開了嶄新的一頁。無論對近代中國博物館事業的發展，抑或對博物館學理論的進程均有舉足輕重的影響。過往，縱使有不同類型的學術論文探析張謇及其南通博物苑的發展，²但是對於二十一世紀的「後博物館」時代來說，南通博物苑的影響依然有進一步的討論空間。³由是，本文希望能夠爬梳前人的研究，並歸納南通博物苑對現今博物館的啟迪，嘗試窺探出一些正面的影響。

During the chaotic era, however, some literati were still not reconciled to constraints and attempted to create a new form of pedagogy to transform the society. In 1905, Zhang Jian (1853-1926) founded the Nantong Museum in Nantong, Jiangsu, which was honoured for being the first integrated museum wholly run by the Chinese¹. Not only was this museum regarded as the prelude of the Chinese self-run museums, but it also turned over a new leaf for the contemporary museum business in China. It has a profound impact on both the development of the contemporary museum business in China and the theoretical development in museum studies. In the past, despite the fact that there were different kinds of scholastic works with analyses on Zhang Jian and the development of his Nantong Museum,² the influence of the Nantong Museum still has room for further discussion pertaining to the era of the “post-museum”.³ In light of this, the article aims to sort out the research conducted by predecessors and conclude the inspirations of the Nantong Museum towards modern museums, attempting to explore some positive influences.

² 關於張謇創設南通博物苑的事跡，有多篇論文提及，包括周國興：〈我國自辦第一個博物館—南通博物館〉，《大自然》（1，1980），頁70-72；穆烜：〈張謇與中國博物館事業的肇始〉，《東南文化》（1985），頁101-109；曹志君：〈狀元張謇與中國近代博物館事業〉，《文博》（2，1988），頁80-82；高榮斌：〈我國早期博物館的創辦者—張謇〉，《遼寧大學學報》（4，1988），頁95-96；呂濟民：〈張謇開創博物館理論與實踐的重大意義—紀念張謇先生誕辰140週年〉，《中國博物館》（3，1993），頁2-4等。

There are a number of articles mentioned about the development of the Nantong Museum established by Zhang Jian, including Zhou Guoxing, “Woguo ziban diyige bowuguan — nantong bowuguan” (The first museum established in our nation — Nantong Museum), *Da ziran* (1980), Vol. 1, 70-72; Mu Xuan, “Zhang jian yu zhongguo bowuguan shiye de zhaoshi” (Zhang Jian and the Beginning of the Chinese Museum), *Dongnan Wenhua* (1985), 101-109; Cao Zhijun, “Zhuangyuan Zhang jian yu zhongguo jindai bowuguan shiye” (Scholar Zhang Jian and the Museum Business in Modern China), *Wenbo* (1988), Vol. 2, 80-82; Gao Rongbin, “Woguo zaoqi bowuguan de chuang banzhe — Zhang Jian” (The First Creator of museum in the Earlier Period of our Nation — Zhang Jian), *Liaoning da xue xuebao* (1988), Vol. 4, 95-96; Lu jimin, “Zhang Jian kai chuang bowuguan li lun yu shi jian de zhong da yi yi — jinian zhang jian xian sheng dan chen yi bai si shi zhou nian” (Significance of Zhang Jian’s Museum Theory and its Implementation — Commemoration of the 140th Birth Anniversary of Mr Zhang Jian), *Zhongguo bowuguan*, (1993), Vol. 3, 2-4 and etc.

³ 「後博物館」(Post Museum) 這個概念是由著名博物館學者 Eileen Hooper Greenhill 在其著作 *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (Routledge, 2000) 中提出。扼要地說，「後博物館」的理念是要令博物館呈現出多元型態，以應付當今的不同需要，尤其注重人與人及物與人之間的相互關係，展覽並不是博物館最主要的項目。

The ideology of “Post Museum” was first mentioned in a publication, namely *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (Routledge, 2000) written by museology scholar Eileen Hooper Greenhill. In short, the “Post Museum” theory is to let a museum to be diversified in order to satisfy various needs at present, especially the interrelationship between humans or object and human. Exhibition is not the main project of a museum.

對近代中國的啟示

十九世紀下半葉至二十世紀初年，中國經歷了天翻地覆的改變。1905 年成立的南通博物苑「是誕生在中國近代化改造的高潮中」。⁴ 前揭所指的改造是多方面的，既包括了政治制度上的改造、社會整體發展的改造、甚至是中國人民思想上的改造等。最明顯不過的是中國由傳統封建社會踏上共和憲政的道路。這些改造，在許多方面也影響著後人，其中博物館在二十世紀的中國開始興起，更加帶動了以博物館成為輔助教育思潮的一種工具。

張謇針對博物館撰寫的著述甚豐，筆者不在此贅。⁵ 其博物館理論的特點，透過探討南通博物苑的成立，大致可以歸納為以下三個層面：

首先，南通博物苑具有獨特的指標性。張謇的南通博物苑是二十世紀伊始時，中國走向現代化其中一項不可欠缺的文化事業。但礙於當時較為落後的社會環境、國民素養根本未符合標準等問題，南通博物苑所發揮的實際作用只局限於江蘇南通一帶，直接來說只為通州師範學校的師生服務。⁶ 雖然博物苑最終的目的是要把普及教育帶到每一個人，但在實際的營運方面是不可行的。畢竟，以這種新式文化機構應用於教育上，無論對經營者還是參觀者來說均是一項新的挑戰。即便如是，當細心探究南通博物苑的成立動機以及其具體運作後，不難發現這所利用私人財力物力籌辦的博物苑有很多方面值得今天借鑒，包括博物苑的整體規劃、搜集文物的方針、為器物作科學性分類、展品陳設方式、人才聘用等多個範疇。在推動博物館的思潮上，南通博物苑無論在清末抑或民初均

Inspirations towards Contemporary China

From the latter half of the 19th century to the early 20th century, China underwent earth-shaking changes. In 1905, the Nantong Museum was “born amid the climax of the modernisation of China”.⁴ The aforementioned transformations covered diverse aspects, including the political system, the overall social development, and even the thoughts of the Chinese. The most obvious one was that China has transformed herself from a traditional feudal society to a constitutional republic. These transformations still have an impact today in various aspects. Amid them was the emergence of museums in the 20th century, which further promoted museums as a tool for nurturing the ideology of education.

Zhang Jian had a rich array of discourse about his museum.⁵ Through investigating the establishment of the Nantong Museum, the features of his museum principles are generally summed up as the following three aspects:

First and foremost, the Nantong Museum served as a unique indicator. Zhang Jian’s Nantong Museum was one of the indispensable cultural enterprises in modernising China at the beginning of the 20th century. But the real effects of the museum were limited to Nantong, Jiangsu, to be more precise, it only served the teachers and students of the Tongzhou Normal School, owing to some unresolved issues such as the backward social environment and the sub-standard of the national literacy.⁶ Although the ultimate goal of the museum was to let all people receive universal education, its implementation was out of the question in reality. After all, applying this kind of new cultural organisation to education was a new challenge to both museum operators and visitors. Having said that, when going into the motivation of establishing the Nantong Museum and its operation, it is not difficult to find out that this museum, which was set up by personal financial and power resources, has a wide spectrum of worth learning areas, including the overall planning of the museum, the policy of collecting relics, the scientific categorisation of wares, the display styles of exhibits and the recruitment

擔當了指標性的角色，因此，南通博物苑具有實質和精神雙重意義。

此外，除了張謇，晚清時期的一些學者和收藏家，也相繼成立陳列室、博物館等。例如 1905 年學部侍郎兼教育家嚴修 (1860-1929 年)，在天津的城隍廟開設了教育品陳列室，目的是「陳列理化儀器、博物標本多種，縱人觀覽。」⁷ 張謇好友端方 (1861-1911 年)⁸ 則於 1911 年開辦了陶齋博物館，展視其私人珍藏。⁹ 以上私人設置博物館的舉措無疑促進了博物館在中國的發展。這些陳列室無論在規模、功能及延續性等各方面均比南通博物苑為弱，有自我抬舉之嫌，以致其影響力較遜。但以私人名義開設具部分博物館功能的陳列展示室，已成為當時收藏家的一種趨勢，對於國人提升博物館的認識有一定的作用。這同時反映出當時的社會精英，持續利用自身的能力與識見，在一些國家無暇顧及的範疇上，嘗試為社會帶來改變。這種私人辦館風氣，時至今日仍具有一定的吸引力。¹⁰

of talent. For promoting the ideology of museums, the Nantong Museum played the role of an indicator in the late Qing dynasty and the early Republic. Therefore, the Nantong Museum embraced the dual meaning in both pragmatic and spiritual matters.

Apart from Zhang Jian, some scholars and collectors of the late Qing dynasty set up showrooms and museums one after another. For instance, the Minister of Education and educationist Yan Xiu (1860-1929) established a showroom for education exhibits in Tianjin in 1905, with an aim to “display science instruments and a rich array of museum specimen for public appreciation.”⁷ Duan Fang (1861-1911),⁸ Zhang Jian’s comrade, founded the Taozhai Museum in 1911 for displaying his personal collections.⁹ The above initiatives in founding museums by personal efforts undoubtedly fostered the development of museums in China. Compared to the Nantong Museum, these showrooms were less competent in terms of scales, functions and sustainability. The intention of these museum founders was doubted as they appeared to cherish their low-value collections, resulting in a weaker impact. However, opening showrooms with museum functions under a personal capacity became a trend of collectors at that time, definitely arousing public awareness of museums. Meanwhile, this trend also reflected that the social elites at that time constantly applied their ability and knowledge to certain areas the country had yet to attend, attempting to bring about some changes to the society. The trend of opening private museums still appears to be well-received today.¹⁰

⁷ 《各省教育彙誌》、《東方雜誌》(2(3), 1905), 頁 50。

Ge Sheng Jiao yuhui zhi (Education Vocabulary in Different Provinces), *Dongfang zazhi* 2, no. 3 (1905): 50.

⁸ 端方，滿州正白旗人，字午橋，號匋齋。曾任湖北巡撫，亦是晚清「五大臣出洋」的其中一位。著作有《陶齋吉金錄》、《端忠敏公奏稿》等。他同時是清末有名的金石學家及收藏家。

Duan Fang, was a member of the Plain White Banner of the Eight Banners with a courtesy name Wuyiao. He used to be the Hubei governor and one of the five officials who visited several foreign countries. His publications included *Taozhai jijinlu*, *Duan zhong min gong zou gao* and etc. He was also an epigraphy scholar and collector.

⁹ 就端方成立博物館的資料，其友鄭孝胥 (1860-1938 年) 在日記中有以下記載：「二月初四 (1911 年 3 月 4 日) 屠翰甫、林宰平來。午帥約至萬福居，座有鰲仙、黃伯雨、李平書，同至琉璃廠觀所營博物館，在廣甸內，地約六七畝，年底可成。午帥以所藏金石、書畫、古器捐設其中，誠盛舉也。」載中國歷史博物館編、勞祖德整理：《鄭孝胥日記》(第三冊) (北京：中華書局，1993)，頁 1310。

References of Duan Fang establishing his own museum can be found in the diary of Zheng Xiaoxu (1860-1938). *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan* and Lao zude, eds., *Zheng Xiao Xu ri ji (di san ce)* (Diary of Zheng Xiaoxu) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1993), Vol. 3, 1310.

¹⁰ 以香港為例，私營博物館的數量與日俱增，社會上不同人士「選擇以建立博物館的方式，把個人的興趣和收藏與社會共享。」參見陳己雄：〈逆水行舟——香港私營博物館的發展〉，《香港博物館期刊》(1, 2017)，頁 89。

Using Hong Kong as an example, the number of private museums is increasing and various people from the society are “willing to share their interests and collections with the public through establishing museums of their own.” See Chan Kai Hung, “Against all Odds — The Development of Private Museums in Hong Kong,” *Hong Kong Museum Journal* 1 (2017): 89.

⁴ 蘇東海：〈南通博物苑誕生的歷史性貢獻〉，中國博物館學會編：《回顧與展望——中國博物館發展百年》(北京：紫禁城出版社，2005)，頁 2。

Su Donghai, “Nantong bowuyuan dansheng de lishixing gongxian” (Historical Contribution of the Birth of the Nantong Museum), *Zhongguo bowuguan xue hui ed.*, *Huigu yu zhanwang — zhongguo bowuguan fazhan bainian* (Review and Look Up Onward — Development of Chinese Museums in a Hundred Years) (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2005), 2.

⁵ 張謇有關博物館的著述，較為重要的撰於 1903 年的《上南皮相國請京師建設帝室博覽館議》及《上學部請設博覽館議》，載《張謇全集》(第 1 卷：公文) (2012)，頁 113-117。

Zhang Jian’s writing related to museum were those written in 1903 *Shang nan pi xiang guo qing jing shi jian she di shi bo lan guan yi* (Proposal to Minister on Building an Imperial Museum in the Capital) and *Shang xue bu qing she bo lan guan yi* (Proposal to Education Bureau on the Establishment of Museum), *Zhang Jian quanji* (Complete Works of Zhang Jian)(2012), Vol. 1, 113-117.

⁶ 1903 年開設的通州師範學校，是張謇開展普及教育的首個試金石，亦是中國第一所私人自資的師範學校。

In 1903, the Tongzhou Normal School was opened. It was regarded as the first touchstone Zhang Jian carried out universal education and was the first self-funded normal school in China.

第二，南通博物苑是張謇揉合多種文化後衍生出來的產物^②。不能否認的是，1903 年的東遊對張謇構思南通博物苑有決定性的影響。雖然東遊前張謇所撰的《大學堂辦法》¹¹ 及《變法平議》¹² 對創設博物苑有了初步構思，但這些構思均是比較概括性和理論性，沒有真正觸及籌建博物苑的核心問題。在日本的考察過程中，張謇參觀了大阪博覽會和一些地區博物館。當然，我們也不能夠忽略西方文化對張謇在思想層面上所構成的影響。張謇創立南通博物苑可以說是「在歐風美雨中創造中國的近代文明」，¹³ 意思是他既能堅守民族主義感情之餘，同時也順應了世界潮流，有意識地「把民族的振興寄托於民族的近代化。」¹⁴ 南通博物苑的建成，是張謇結合了東遊時的所見所見聞以及自身對西方博物館的理解所產生。誠然，西方人士在中國建立的博物館或多或少對張氏創設博物苑之舉有影響；南通博物苑在規劃、展示、藏品分類等也受日本及西方博物館方面的影響，但「它是建立在中國自己文化的價值基礎上的，同時又利用自己文明的成就體認世界文化的其同性而創造新的價值趨向，符合中國人現代追求的基本訴求。」¹⁵ 故此，南通博物苑具有獨特的精神面貌與內涵，並充滿傳統文人士大夫愛國的高尚情操，與十九世紀在上海一帶由西方人士建立的博物館有本質上的分別。

Second, the Nantong Museum was the outcome of blending various cultures initiated by Zhang Jian^②. It is undeniable that his trip to Japan in 1903 had a decisive influence on his founding of the Nantong Museum. Although he had initial ideas about opening a museum when he wrote *Zhang Jian quanji* (Complete works of Zhang Jian)¹¹ and *Bianfa pingyi* (Discussion on the Political Reform)¹² before the trip, the ideas were comparatively more general and theoretical, without addressing the core issue of planning the establishment of a museum. During the course of his research in Japan, Zhang Jian visited Fifth National Industrial Exhibition (also known as the Osaka Exposition) and some regional museums. Needless to say, we cannot neglect the influences of Western cultures in terms of the ideological aspect of Zhang Jian. His founding of the Nantong Museum was said to be “creating contemporary Chinese civilization amid Western cultures”,¹³ which means he managed to maintain a strong national sentiment; meanwhile, he followed the worldwide trend in “entrusting national rejuvenation to national modernisation”¹⁴ in a conscious manner. The establishment of the Nantong Museum was the integration of what Zhang saw and heard during his trip to Japan and his understanding of Western museums. In fact, the establishment of museums in China by the Westerners had more or less influenced Zhang in light of founding a museum. The planning, display and classification were also influenced by both Japanese and Western museums, but “its establishment was based on the value foundation of the Chinese culture, and made use of the achievements of civilization for realising the parallelism between the national as well as the world culture, creating a set of new value orientations for meeting the basic needs of what the Chinese pursue today.”¹⁵ In this connection, the Nantong Museum embraces unique spiritual attitude and inner quality, and is full of noble patriotic sentiments of traditional literati and scholars.

¹¹ 張謇：《大學堂辦法》，《張謇全集》（第 6 卷：日記）（南京：江蘇古籍出版社，1994），頁 409-410 及 857。
Zhang Jian, *Zhang Jian quanji* (Complete Works of Zhang Jian) (Nanjing: Jiang Su gu ji chubanshe, 1994), Vol. 6, 409-410 and 857.

¹² 張謇：《變法平議》，《張謇全集》（第 4 卷：論說·演說）（上海：上海辭書出版社，2012），頁 34-62。
Zhang Jian, *Bianfa pingyi* (Discussion on the Political Reform), *Zhang Jian quanji* (Complete Works of Zhang Jian) (Shanghai: Shanghai ci shu chubanshe, 2012), Vol. 4, 34-62.

¹³ 陳旭麓：《近代中國社會的新陳代謝》（上海：上海人民出版社，1992），頁 228。
Chen Xulu, *Jindai Zhongguo she hui de xin chen dai xie* (Metabolism of Modern Chinese Society) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992), 228.

¹⁴ 同上註。
Ibid.

¹⁵ 梁吉生：〈中國博物館的驕傲——關於張謇及其博物苑的隨想〉，中國博物館學會編：《回顧與展望——中國博物館發展百年》（北京：紫禁城出版社，2005），頁 18。

Liang jisheng, “Zhong guo bowuguan di jiaobao — guanyu Zhangjian ji qi bowuyuan di sui xian” (The Pride of Museums in China — Thoughts about Zhangjian and his Museum), *Zhongguo bowuguan xue hui*, ed., *Huigu yu zhanwang — zhongguo bowuguan fazhan bainian* (Review and Look Up Onward — Development of Chinese Museums in a Hundred Years) (Beijing: Zijincheng chubanshe, 2005), 18.

張謇

② 南通博物苑創辦人張謇
Zhang Jian, Founder of
the Nantong Museum



南通博物苑雖然有模仿西式和日式博物館的成分，當中固然可以看到受外國博物館影響的痕跡，但從博物苑的內蘊中，不難發現中國式的傳統思想與文化的特色，甚至有一份彰顯民族國家的情懷。簡單而言，南通博物苑這種以愛國形式進行教育的方法，亦影響中國各地的博物館發展，甚至伸延到今天。¹⁶

第三，南通博物苑正式確立了以博物館為普及教育的其中一種手段。教育是社會持續發展的主要元素，普及教育則有效加快社會發展的步伐。如果說十九世紀中上海一帶的外國人士最先把西方博物館這種文化設置帶進中國，那麼張謇的南通博物苑就是把博物館這種設置率先加入中國特色，然後再推向中國各地的首個成功個案。「設為庠序學校以教，多識鳥獸草木之名」，¹⁷ 不僅是南通博物苑創苑的宗旨，更加為近代博物館的職能下了一個清晰的定義：就是要以教育為先，再利用博物苑把地區人民的整體知識水平提高，繼而推廣至其他範疇。

It is different in nature from the museums founded by Westerners in Shanghai during the 19th century. Despite the fact that the Nantong Museum has some imitations of Western and Japanese museums to a certain extent, traces of some impact from Western museums can definitely be seen, it is not difficult to discover the features of traditional Chinese thoughts and cultures from the intrinsic value of the Nantong Museum, which even reveals a sense of nationalism. To put it simply, the Nantong Museum educating people in a patriotic manner also influences the development of museums in different regions of China, this phenomenon even lasts until today.¹⁶

Third, the Nantong Museum officially established one of the means of using museums as a tool for universal education. Education is the core element for sustaining social development, universal education speeds up the development of a society. If one says Westerners in Shanghai first introduced museum to China in the mid-19th century, Zhang Jian's Nantong Museum was the first successful example of taking the first step to incorporate Chinese features into the museum and promote it to other regions of China. “Established to educate the public, the museum lets you know more about the names of birds, animals, grass and trees in nature”,¹⁷ which is the mission of the Nantong Museum as well as a precise definition of contemporary museums: putting education as the first priority, making use of the museum to enhance the overall education level of people living there and promoting the museum culture in other areas.

¹⁶ L.D. Tracey Lu, *Museums in China: Power, Politics and Identities* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 88.

¹⁷ 張謇：《張謇全集》（第 6 卷：日記）（1994），頁 566。
Zhang Jian, *Zhang Jian quanji* (Complete Works of Zhang Jian)(1994), Vol. 6, 566.

對中國博物館的意義

南通博物苑的意義，在於它是由傳統中國知識分子為了普及教育而一手建立的文化機構。作為封建走向現代化的過渡人物，張謇的個人思想轉變，正好投射在南通博物苑的各項制度上。從張謇的個人經歷與南通博物苑的興衰，也有助了解中國於十九世紀末至二十世紀初的社會、政治及經濟等變化。再者，沒有到過西方考察的張謇，僅靠在日本 70 天考察的資料以及對西洋事物的認識，建立南通博物苑，這足以印證了中國新式知識份子靈活變通、兼容並包的特質，也是張謇提倡「祈通中西，力求精進」¹⁸ 的精神。張謇的個人生活與博物苑也是連成一線，他不僅在博物苑內蓋建「濠南別業」，又把博物苑當作一個社交場地，招待社會各界的不同人士參觀。南通博物苑在張謇這個新式知識份子的經營下，變得兼容並蓄。1917 年成立的中華職業教育社，張謇也是該社的發起人之一。該社的組織大綱也列明設立教育博物院之必要，「凡關於職業教育與普通學校之教材皆搜集陳列……使小學校之教授獲此觀感，漸近於實際」。¹⁹ 這就說明了張謇以博物館為學校教育後盾的構思，已經被當時的教育團體所採納。正規教育與博物館互相協作的方式，更成為二十一世紀博物館的趨向。

¹⁸ 「祈通中西、精益求精」是取自張謇分別為南通醫學院專門學校及南通紡織專門學校所題的訓詞「祈通中西，以宏慈善」、「忠實不欺，力求精進」結合而成。「祈通中西，力求精進」更成為 2004 年成立的南通大學校訓。參見陳寶忠、沙銀芬：〈南通大學校訓「祈通中西，力求精進」內涵探析〉，《南通大學學報（教育科學版）》（2，2005），頁 1-4；南通大學網址 <http://www.ntu.edu.cn/xxgk.htm>；張謇：《各學校校訓》，《張謇全集》（第 4 卷：論說、演說）（2012），頁 445。

“Blending China and West, Seeking excellent from excellence” is the motto from Zhang Jian extracted from various occasions and became the motto of the Nantong University in 2004. See Chen Baozhong, Sha Yinfen, “Nantong daxue xiao xun qitong zhong xi li qiu jing jin nei han tan xi” (Analysis the Content of the Motto of the Nantong University), *Nantong daxue xue bao jiao yu kexue ban* (2005), Vol. 2, 1-4; Nantong University website: <http://www.ntu.edu.cn/xxgk.htm>; Zhang Jian, *Ge xuexiao xiao xun* (Mottos from different schools), *Zhang Jian quanji* (Complete Works of Zhang Jian)(2012), Vol. 4, 445.

¹⁹ 黃炎培：〈中華職業教育社宣言書〉，載黃炎培著、田正平、李笑賢編：《黃炎培教育論著選》（北京：人民教育出版社，1993），頁 86。

Huang Yanpei, “Zhonghua zhiye jiaoyushe xuan yan shu” (“Declaration of the National Association of Vocational Education of China”), in *Huang Yanpei jiaoyu lun zhu xuan* (Collections of Huang Yanpei Writing for Education), eds. Huang Yanpei, Tian Zhengping, and Li Xiaoxian (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1993), 86.

The Significance to Museums in China

The significance of the Nantong Museum is that it is the cultural entity set up by traditional Chinese intellectuals for universal education. Zhang Jian was changing his personal ideology while transitioning from feudalism to modernisation, which happened to reflect on various policies within the Nantong Museum. The personal experience of Zhang Jian and the rise and fall of the Nantong Museum also shed light on the changes of the society, politics and economic development of China in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In addition, Zhang Jian never conducted field visit in the West, he merely utilised his research information collected from the 70-day trip in Japan and his understanding of Western cultures to establish the museum, which truly proved that the new Chinese intellectuals were characterised for their resilience and compatibility. It was also the spirit Zhang Jian advocated through his motto “Blending China and West, Seeking excellent from excellence”.¹⁸ Zhang Jian’s personal life and his museum were aligned together, not only did he build the “Hao Nan Mansion” in the museum, but also used the museum as a place for social gathering and having people from all walks of life. Having been managed by Zhang Jian, who was such a new type of intellectual, the Nantong Museum has become all-inclusive. Zhang Jian was also one of the founders of the National Association of Vocational Education of China set up in 1917. The outline of the association also stated that the establishment of museums was essential, “the teaching materials related to vocational training and general education are collected and displayed... enabling the primary school teachers to achieve this nearly pragmatic perspective”.¹⁹ It clearly demonstrated Zhang’s idea about using the museum as the backup for school education was adopted by the education institutes at that time. The mutual cooperation between formal education and museums becomes a trend of museums in the 21st century.

另外，南通博物苑確立了博物館這種設置在中國社會上的地位。作為中國人自辦的第一間博物館，南通博物苑為政府和參觀者帶來實際的營運經驗與參觀體驗，為之後成立的博物館樹立了楷模，在中國博物館的歷史上是有其重要貢獻。需要一再強調的是，南通博物苑的公共性與公眾開放的程度，與中國博物館的發展有著密切的關係。晚清時期有關公共或公眾的意識是十分薄弱的，以博物館作為普及教育的其中一種手段，對大部分國人而言是陌生的，加上博物館作為一種特殊的教育場所，對於公眾的要求也相對不同。²⁰ 中國人自辦的博物館對外開放，更加是前所未有的新嘗試。到了民國初期，就前清皇朝所擁有的古物珍藏，應否屬於私藏抑或國家遺產也有很大爭議。²¹ 這就說明了要把古物向公眾展示，在長期受到封建意識影響的中國社會是一件非常不容易的事。導致這個情況的主要原因是國人的思想，無論是一般人抑或是有份參與博物館建設的人，仍未有足夠的準備，以及欠缺足夠的社會條件去實踐。透過南通博物苑局部性的對外開放，顯示出張謇於封建與現代化之間的過渡時期，把一向被視為「珍藏」——一種屬於社會上較高層次人士的特權，以無償的方式轉至一些沒有權勢的人士，甚至是社會未來棟樑的身上。這種早期的公共思想是具前

On the other hand, the Nantong Museum formulated the status of museums in the Chinese society. As the first museum run by the Chinese, the Nantong Museum brought about real business operations and visiting experience for the government and visitors, as well as playing a role model for the future museums. It has significant contributions to the history of Chinese museums. What needs to be emphasised more is that the commonality and public accessibility of the Nantong Museum were closely related to the development of Chinese museums. In the late Qing dynasty, the awareness of commonality and public access was still very low, using museums as a medium for universal education was unfamiliar to most civilians. Besides, the demand from the public was relatively different when museums were used as a special venue for education.²⁰ The public access to the museums run by the Chinese was an unprecedented attempt. In the early years of the Republic of China, whether the relics possessed by the former Qing dynasty was a private property or a national heritage triggered tremendous controversies.²¹ It explains that the public display of relics in the Chinese society, which had long been influenced by the feudal ideology, was by no means easy. This situation was mainly attributed to the thoughts of the Chinese, who were either civilians or the people involving museum establishment, which lacked sufficient social conditions to make this happen. The partial public access to the Nantong Museum showed that Zhang Jian was transitioning from feudalism to modernisation. He transferred the assumed valuable “collections”—a privilege enjoyed by the people of higher social status in the community, to the underprivileged and even the next

²⁰ 就中國對博物館公共開放的概念，多位論者都認為中國在這方面的發展時間比較遲。例如，南通學者金鈺指出「考察近代博物館的誕生，不難看出，向公眾開放這種『公共意識』是其標誌，而這種公共性恰恰是中國傳統社會所缺乏的，所以中國傳統社會產生不了博物館。」參見金鈺：〈張謇博物館思想中的國家觀念和公共意識〉，《中國博物館》（4，2006），頁 89。另外，邵勤也觀察到「公眾這一概念很難界定，它從來都不意味着所有的社會成員。事實上在每個特定社會裏，說到公共參與，總是意味着有社會性的或者自我性的排除。……博物館的公眾特別要求有一定的文學、藝術和觀察的修養。從這個意義上講，博物館本身就是排他性的。」參見邵勤：〈現代化和中國博物館事業的創始〉，《學術月刊》（4，2005），頁 107。而徐玲則認為「直到二十世紀二十年代，中國古物歸屬觀念仍然十分模糊，中與西、中央與地方、公與私關於古物的歸屬權之爭此起彼伏。」參見徐玲：〈西方博物館觀念在中國的早期傳播〉，《中國博物館》（2011 年合刊），頁 100。

A number of scholars thought that the development of the idea of open to the public in the museums of China is a bit late. For instance, Nantong scholar Jin Yan pointed out that, “when observing the birth of modern museums, the notion of open to the public is the indication of public awareness, and this public notion, which is insufficient in a traditional Chinese society, that is why museum cannot be created in the Chinese traditional society.” See Jin Yan, “Zhang Jian bowuguan sixiang zhong di guo jia guan nian he gong gong yi shi” (The National Identity and Public Awareness of Zhang Jian’s Museum Ideology), *Zhongguo bowuguan* (2006), Vol. 4, 89. In addition, Shao Qin also noted that, “the idea of public is hard to define, it always implies that not all social members are included. In fact, when talking about public engagement in a specific society, it means there is seclusion in view of sociality or ego. … museum audience are expected to possess a certain level of accomplishment in terms of literature, arts and observation. From this point, museums are exclusive in nature.” See Shao Qin, “Xian dai hua he zhongguo bowuguan shi yi di chuang shi” (The Beginning of Modernity and the Chinese Museum Business), *Xueshu yue kan* (2005), Vol. 4, 107. Xu Ling thought that, “in the 1920s, the idea of Chinese antique attribution is very vague. The argument related to the attribution of antiquities has ups and downs in respect to East and West, centralise and local, private and public.” See Xu Ling, “Xi fang bowuguan guan nian zai zhongguo di zao qi chuan bo” (The Spread of Western Museum Ideas in China during the Earlier Period), *Zhongguo bowuguan* (2011), 100.

²¹ 季劍青：〈「私產」抑或「國寶」：民國初年清室古物的處置與保存〉，《近代史研究》（6，2013），頁 80。

Ji Jianqing, “Si chan yi huo gobao: Minguo chu nian qing shi guwu di chu zhi yu bao cun” (“Property” or “National Treasure” — Handling and Preservation of the Antiques from Qing Court during the Early Years in the Republic of China), *Jin dai shi yan jiu* (2013), Vol. 6, 80.

瞻性的，今天中國博物館標榜的全民參與，也可以說是從南通博物苑那時局部開放的嘗試累積而成。²²

注重地區經濟發展的同時，張謇意識到教育和慈善是完善其「新世界」²³ 不可或缺的元素，令南通一帶的人民產生更大更強的凝聚力。博物苑肩負了傳播文明的責任，令現代化不單是滿足經濟效益及實業上的發展，而是要兼顧到人民精神生活和文化教育的進步。必須承認的是，南通博物苑是在一個相對封閉的社會環境下創設的，加上完全由張謇直接控制，因而令博物苑在多方面也有局限。這些限制包括對入場人士的規管、對文物搜集的控制以及展示的方式等等。即便如是，南通博物苑是張謇教育慈善事業中眾多產業下的其中一個機構，雖然博物苑未必是張謇投放最多資源的地方，但它的影響力，不獨影響着南通一帶，中國博物館的整體發展也受到其薰陶。南通博物苑更為中國帶來了一個新的文化思潮，除了博物苑外，一系列的文化設施如翰墨林編譯印書局(1902年)、圖書館(1912年)、南通五公園(1917年)、更俗劇場(1919年)、伶工學社(1919年)、中國影戲製造有限公司(1919年)等等，不僅為通海地區建立了一個完整的文化網絡，這種鼓吹保留舊有文化及開拓新文化的風氣更成為中國各省份的參考對象。²⁴ 顯然，張謇嘗試以南通博物苑打破時代給予他的局限是成功的。

generation of the society in a non-rewarding manner. Such ideology focusing on public was progressive at that time. Today, museums in China advocating whole people participation is said to be the accumulated outcome derived from the trial of partial public access to the Nantong Museum at that time.²²

Zhang Jian placed emphasis on regional economic development; meanwhile, he also recognised that education and charity were indispensable elements for completing his “New World”,²³ these two elements empowered people in Nantong with a stronger cohesive force. The Nantong Museum shouldered the responsibility of disseminating civilization, which made modernisation a means for fulfilling economic returns and enterprise development, and for enriching people’s spiritual life and cultural education as well. It must be admitted that the Nantong Museum was founded in a relatively feudal society, in addition to Zhang Jian’s direct supervision, the museum development was rather limited in multiple aspects, such as restrictions on visitors, control on acquiring relics and display styles. Having said that, the Nantong Museum was one of the organisations among a host of educational charities of Zhang Jian. Although this museum might not be the one where Zhang put the most resources, its influences spread throughout the Nantong region along with the overall development of Chinese museums. The Nantong Museum also brought about a new cultural ideology to China. Apart from the museum, a series of cultural facilities such as Han Molin Press (1902), library (1912), Nantong Five Parks (1917), Gengsu Theatre (1919), Nantong Drama School (1919) and Zhongguo Yingxi Zhizao Gongsì [China Movie and Drama Making Limited] (1919) established a comprehensive cultural network in the Tonghai region, followed by forming a trend which advocated conservation of traditional cultures and exploration of new cultures, and became a reference model for various provinces in China.²⁴ Obviously, Zhang Jian’s attempt to make use of the Nantong Museum to breakthrough the limitations of his era was successful.

²² 2008年1月，國家文物局及相關部門宣佈全國博物館、紀念館免費對外開放，目的是「加強社會主義核心價值體系建設和公民思想道德建設的有效手段，是進一步提高政府為全社會提供公共文化服務水平的重要舉措，是實現和保障人民群眾基本文化權益的積極行動。」參見《關於全國博物館、紀念館免費開放的通知》，中宣發[2008]2號，載中華人民共和國中央人民政府網頁，http://www.gov.cn/gzdt/2008-02/01/content_877540.htm。

In January 2008, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage and other relevant departments announced that all museums and memorials will be free for public entry. The aim is to “strengthen the core value of the establishment of socialism and as an efficient means to establish the citizen moral ideology. It is also a major move to further elevate the standard of public cultural services provided by the government, which is a proactive action to safeguard the basic cultural right of the general public.” See *Guan yu quanguo bowuguan jinianguan mianfei kaifang de tongzhi* (A Notice regarding Free Admission to All Museums and Memorials), Zhong Xuanfa (2008), no. 2, in the official website of the State Council, the People’s Republic of China, http://www.gov.cn/gzdt/2008-02/01/content_877540.htm

小結

中國的社會發展，基本上是追隨世界步伐並迎合了社會潮流，在文化建設方面，博物館的功能是多元化的。有論者分析「博物館是人們反思舊集、領會差異的地方。博物館幫助人們重塑社會特點及其環境。」²⁵ 博物館在文物方面的角色，包括儲藏、展示及研究等；透過上述的功能，博物館與群眾的距離得以拉近。南通博物苑的出現，率先打破了數千年來皇室秘藏只是作為表達一個朝代威儀的手段，或者只供社會上流人士觀看、陶冶性情的局限，也為普羅大眾帶來當時屬於難能可貴的學習機會。所以張謇在創苑時所提出的「播於公眾，永永寶藏」²⁶ 是具劃時代的意義，對於現代博物館亦有借鑒之用。

Conclusion

The social development of China basically keeps pace with the world and caters to the social trend. The functions of museums are diversified. Some critics analysed museums are “places for people to reflect the past and appreciate the differences. Museums can help people to reshape both social features and environment.”²⁵ Museums play the roles of collecting, exhibiting and researching on cultural relics. With the aforementioned functions, the gap between museums and the public can be dwindled. The Nantong Museum first decomposed the tactics of manipulating royal collections for showing the majestic presence of a dynasty and limiting the access to social elites only for their spiritual nourishment, such tactics had been used for thousands of years. The museum also brought about some invaluable learning opportunities to the public at that time. Therefore, what Zhang Jian stated “Sowing seeds for the public, cherishing the treasure forever”²⁶ at the time of founding the museum has an epoch-making significance, it provides a reference guide for modern museums.

²³ 張謇所指的「新世界」，主要分成三個層面：第一個層面是實業為主，以大生紗廠為核心的一眾相連企業，包括工業、手工業及交通運輸。第二個層面就是由不同類型學校所組成的教育系統，包括最先成立的通州師範學校、高等學校、特殊及職業教育、普通國民教育等接近400所學校機構。至於第三個層面是一系列的社會公益慈善事業，包括公園、養老院、育嬰堂、警察局、圖書館等等。南通博物苑就是介乎教育及社會公益事業之間的一所文化機構。

In accordance with Zhang Jian’s “New World”, it can be divided into three levels. For the first level, the core is the Dashen Mill and its enterprises, including industries, handicrafts and transportation. The second level is the school network formed by different schools including the very first Tongzhou Normal School, high schools, special and vocational schools, ordinary schools for the general public with around 400 educational institutions. The third level is the charities including gardens, homes for the elderly, nurseries, police stations, libraries and etc. The Nantong Museum is a cultural institution in between education and social charity.

²⁴ 莊安正：〈張謇的文化觀研究〉，《南通師範學院學報（哲學社會科學版）》（3，2003），頁32-33。

Zhuang Anzheng, “Zhang Jian de wenhua guan yan jiu,” (Research on Zhang Jian’s Cultural Views) *Nantong shifan xue yuan xue bao zhe xue she hui ke xue ban* 3, (2003): 32-33.

²⁵ 張仁卿：〈沒有博物館，城市將變得貧窮〉，《文匯報》（2005.10.4）。

Zhang Rencing, “Meiyou bowuguan chengshi jian bian de pinqiong” (Without Museums, the City will turn into Poverty), *Wenhui pao* (4 October 2005).

²⁶ 張謇：《上南皮相國請京師建設帝室博覽館議》，《張謇全集》（第1卷：公文）（2012），頁117。

Zhang Jian, *Shang nan pi xiang guo qing jing shi jian she di shi bo lan guan yi* (Proposal to Minister on Building an Imperial Museum in the Capital), *Zhang Jian quanji* (Complete Works of Zhang Jian) (2012), 117.

綜上，作為地方上的一所小型文化設置，南通博物苑在反映晚清與民國初期的社會轉折同時，也把中國人對知識的探索帶到另一個境地。南通博物苑除了向民眾，尤其是為通州師範學校的學生提供教學的支援之外，亦肩負起塑造民族身份認同、弘揚中華民族優良文化的功能。可以這樣說，南通博物苑成為了中國日後博物館的先驅與指標；張謇則是中國近代博物館的第一位實踐者。張氏帶給國人的，除了南通博物苑的實體建設，他的博物館理論和理念，除了孕育出南通博物苑這顆「掌上明珠」²⁷外，至為重要的，是他為其後的博物館留下了一套通過實踐而得出的博物館理論。南通博物苑見證了由理論到實踐，再由應用到功能上的轉變的一個過程。其中對於藏品的真確性及陳設，張謇下了很大的工夫。而把自己的珍藏公諸同好，在當時不穩的社會環境下更顯得難能可貴。雖然以現今的角度來看，這套理論仍有很多可以改善的空間，但對於開拓中國近代博物館事業的確有奠基作用，由是，我們可以把南通博物苑定性為一所帶有教育、慈善和社交功能的一所綜合性質的私人博物館。

總的來說，中國博物館的發展雖然與西方國家的仍然有一段差距，這是源於起步點的不同，但這種距離正透過博物館的新技術與經驗的累積逐漸收窄。今天當我們為中國博物館事業在獲得這些優秀成績而感到自豪的同時，不妨回顧百多年前，處於半封建半殖民、中國走向現代化這個新舊交替、崢嶸歲月下的一位實業教育家——張謇，為創設南通博物苑曾經付出過的一切。

With a brief account of the general outline, the Nantong Museum, as a small-scale regional cultural entity, revealed the social transition from the late Qing dynasty to the early years in the Republic of China; meanwhile, it led the Chinese to explore knowledge in another territory. Apart from providing teaching support for the public, especially the students of Tongzhou Normal School, the Nantong Museum also shouldered the responsibility of shaping the awareness of the national identity and propagating the outstanding Chinese culture. It can be said that the Nantong Museum has become the pioneer and benchmark for the future museums in China, and Zhang Jian was the first man who initiated the development of contemporary Chinese museums. What Zhang brought to the Chinese was not limited to the establishment of the Nantong Museum, but also his museum theories and concepts, which nurtured the Nantong Museum as “a pearl in the palm”,²⁷ the most important of all was that he devised a set of museum theories through his real practice for the latter museums. The Nantong Museum has proven a transition process from theory to practice, and from application to implementation. Zhang Jian made tremendous efforts in verifying the authenticity of relics and displaying them. He was praiseworthy for presenting his own collections to the public in such an unstable social environment at that time. From today's perspective, although this theory has much room for improvement, it has definitely contributed to the foundation for business expansion of contemporary Chinese museums. Thus, we can define the Nantong Museum as a private integrated museum equipped with education, charity and social functions.

To recapitulate, there is still a large gap between the development of Chinese museums and that of the Western countries, which is due to the differences in terms of the starting points. Yet, such gap has been dwindling with the emergence of new techniques and accumulation of experience. Today, when we are proud of the superb achievement of the Chinese museum business, we should also take a look back over a hundred years ago and remember Zhang Jian, an enterprise educator living in the eventful years when the society was semi-feudal and semi-colonized, and China was transitioning from the old to the new during modernisation, for all his contributions to founding the Nantong Museum.

²⁷ 章開沅：《開拓者的足跡——張謇傳稿》（北京：中華書局，1981），頁340。

Zhang Kaiyuan, *Kaituo zhe de zuji — Zhang Jian zhuan gao* (The Footmarks of a Pioneer — Biography of Zhang Jian) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 340.

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香港海防博物館

HONG KONG MUSEUM OF COASTAL DEFENCE

座落於筲箕灣的香港海防博物館，前身是舊鯉魚門炮台，百多年前是香港最具規模的防禦工事，也是 1941 年香港保衛戰的戰場之一。堡壘原配備兩門六英吋後裝「隱沒式」大炮，四周建有壕溝；炮台更備有當時世界上最具威力的布倫南魚雷。時至今日，炮台已活化成博物館，透過展示的文物及古蹟徑向大家娓娓道出香港的海防歷史。海防館為迎接 20 周歲的來臨，現正閉館進行大型更新工程，提升館內外的設施，務求為大家帶來耳目一新的參觀體驗。

Situated in Shau Kei Wan, the Hong Kong Museum of Coastal Defence is housed in an old Lei Yue Mun Fort built more than 100 years ago. At the time, it was the most formidable redoubt in the territory, and it was a battlefield during the Battle for Hong Kong in 1941. The redoubt was armed with two 6-inch breech loading disappearing guns and surrounded by ditches. The site was also equipped with the world's most powerful Brennan Torpedo. Today, the fort has been revitalised to present the history of Hong Kong's coastal defence through a rich variety of military relics and a historical trail. Approaching its 20th anniversary, the museum is currently closed for a major renovation and upgrading of facilities, in order to bring visitors a brand new experience.

香港筲箕灣東喜道 175 號
175 Tung Hei Road, Shau Kei Wan, Hong Kong

<http://hk.coastaldefence.museum>

香港海防博物館自 2000 年 7 月開放至今，已陪伴大家走過 18 個寒暑。我們正準備在慶祝 20 周歲時以一個全新的面貌為大家服務，更新後的常設展將透過新穎的演繹手法，以嶄新的題材，生動地闡述香港的海防和軍事歷史。我們也會優化古蹟徑沿途景點的展示，以更富趣味性的手法向觀眾解說展品內容。閉館期間，我們仍會進行外展活動，繼續為公眾提供優質的服務，詳情請留意網站消息 <http://hk.coastaldefence.museum>。

The Hong Kong Museum of Coastal Defence has warmly received visitors for 18 years since its opening in July 2000. We look forward to meeting you with a fresh look when we celebrate our 20th anniversary. The new permanent exhibition, to be enriched with new topics, will adopt the latest display methods to narrate the history of Hong Kong's coastal defences and military affairs. We will also revamp the display along the Historical Trail for a more dynamic illustration. During the closure, our outreach programmes will be held as usual in order to continue providing quality service to the general public. For more details, please visit <http://hk.coastaldefence.museum>.

ACROSS BEYOND

跨界 • 跨越

東西？中國外銷油畫的顏料分析

Local or Foreign?

Pigment Analysis of China Trade Paintings

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概要

中國外銷畫，亦稱為外貿畫，是於十八及十九世紀在中國及澳門（當時為葡萄牙殖民地）海港城市由本土畫家繪畫，並大量生產的畫作。當時攝影技術還沒有引入中國，這些畫作專為外國商人及旅客繪製及出售，是大受歡迎的紀念品。中國外銷畫以多元媒介及底材繪製，包括油彩及水彩類顏料。畫家以水彩、水粉彩¹或水墨於紙本、通草紙、²象牙或絹上繪畫，題材大多描繪本地人的生活及行業、商品生產過程（例如茶葉及絲綢製作）、本地花卉及其他富有東方色彩的事物 (Crossman, 1973, 93-118)。那些以油彩繪畫的畫作通常以海事、港口風景、船舶及人物肖像為題材 (Crossman, 1973, 49-78)。由於畫作的本質是商業紀念品，所以在這些由本地畫家或畫室繪製的外銷畫當中，除了有部分出自少數為人熟悉的中國外銷畫畫家外，大部分作品均沒有署名及繪畫年份。當時繪製中國外銷畫的本地佚名畫家，現今統稱為中國畫派外銷畫家 (Tibbles, 1999, 55)。雖然畫作的質素異常參差，但時至今日，這些作品的人物事略、地域及歷史背景均受到高度的評價。

Abstract

China trade painting, also known as Chinese export painting, is a genre of paintings that were mass produced in the seaport cities of China and Macau (then a Portuguese colony) by local artists throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. These paintings were produced and sold as popular souvenirs to Western merchants and travellers prior to the arrival of photography. China trade paintings were produced in a variety of mediums and supports including oil-based and water-based mediums. Paintings produced in watercolour, gouche¹ or ink on paper, pith,² ivory or silk, most often depicted the lives and occupations of the locals, industrial processes (such as tea and silk production), local flora and things that were considered oriental (Crossman, 1973, 93-118). Those produced in oils often depicted marine themes, port scenes, sea vessels, and some were Western-style portraits (Crossman, 1973, 49-78). Due to their intrinsic nature as commercial souvenirs, most paintings produced by local artists or studios were unsigned and undated apart from those produced by a few recognised Chinese artists. Today, the local artists to whom these anonymous China trade paintings were attributed are collectively acknowledged as the Chinese School artists (Tibbles, 1999, 55). Although the quality of paintings varied considerably, they are highly prized for their biographical, geographical and historic context today.

¹ 水粉彩又名不透明顏料，水彩本身是一種透明度高的顏料，而水粉彩即水彩加入白色顏料（如鋅白）或白色填充劑（如碳酸鈣）後成為不透明水彩。不透明的程度視乎白色顏料或填充劑的多寡而定 (Brigstocke, 2013)。

Gouache, also known as bodycolour, is watercolour made opaque by adding white paint, white pigments (e.g. Chinese white) or white substances (e.g. chalk or marble dust). The degree of opacity varies with the amount of white added (Brigstocke, 2013).

² 通草紙由通草的莖髓製成，經常被誤認為「米紙」(Webber, 2004, 4)。這種植物生長於南中國及台灣。

Pith paper is made from the inner pith (stem) of the tree *Tetrapanax papyrifer*. It was miscomprehended and frequently incorrectly referred to as 'rice paper' (Webber, 2004, 4). The plant is native to Southern China and Taiwan.

雖然這些畫作大受歡迎，情境極為豐富，但對畫作的材料，特別是顏料及色料的相關研究仍然不足。本研究旨在探索中國外銷畫家最常用的藍色及綠色顏料，特別集中十九世紀的油畫，因為該時期正是中國與西方進行貿易的全盛時期，有各式各樣的顏料供應給中國畫家使用，包括本地生產、進口、天然及合成的顏料。中國畫家在繪畫油畫時亦逐漸熟習西洋繪畫技法，本研究重點探索他們是否採用了外國進口的顏料。

作為商業畫作的中國外銷畫

在十九世紀，中國外銷畫備受中國的知識份子非議。中國的傳統文化中，繪畫、書法和作詩是知識份子必備的三大才華；國畫³的精粹在於意境，透過控制筆觸、用墨及設色，將畫作主體的優美和雅致表現出來 (Ng, 1993, 5-6)，並賦以書法題詩。國畫與中國外銷畫的風格大相逕庭，後者對於主題的寫實描繪、透視法處理、明暗法技巧⁴及顏料應用方面，均反映了西方繪畫的元素 (Clunas, 2009, 194)。這亦證明本地畫家為了迎合西方市場，學習及改變繪畫風格。

有關中國外銷畫家的習畫與技法，均沒有詳盡的文獻記載，再加上不少畫作為佚名作品，中國畫派外銷畫家及畫作的資料更難以蒐集和確定。正因如此，中國外銷畫更具神秘感和吸引力。現今，中國外銷畫的藝術價值、其揉合中西式繪畫技法、獨特的創作和作為早期中國畫家應用西洋繪畫風格、技法及材料的佐證等各方面，已備受肯定。此外，這些畫作對於歷史事件、地理及人物主題描繪細緻，為文字記錄提供了附加資料，有助研究人員進行相關探討。繪畫港口風景、船舶及以海事為題的畫作（大部分以油彩繪成）更別具歷史意義，亦為十九世紀後半期前，攝影技術還未普及的時候，提供了

Despite their popularity and rich context, the materials from which they were constructed, particularly pigments and colorants remain largely under-researched. This study aims to investigate the most commonly found blue and green pigments on the palettes of the China trade artists. In particular, it focuses on 19th-century oil paintings, as it was a period in which the trade between China and the West thrived, a variety of local, imported, natural and artificial pigments were available to Chinese artists. While the local artists became adapted to Western painting techniques and conventions to produce their paintings in oils, a key aspect is to investigate if they also adapted to working with foreign imported pigments.

China Trade Paintings as Commercial Art

China trade paintings were discredited by the Chinese intellectual elite circles in the 19th century. In Chinese traditions, painting is one of the three accomplishments that members of the intelligentsia should possess, the other two were calligraphy and poetry. The spirit of Chinese brush painting³ focuses on symbolic expressionism, which captures the essence of grace and elegance of its subject through the control of each brushstroke, use of ink and colour, and is often inscribed in calligraphy with a poetic inscription that compliments the painted image (Ng, 1993, 5-6). The dissimilarity in styles between Chinese brush paintings and China trade paintings is striking. The realistic depiction of the subject, treatment of perspective, *chiaroscuro* technique⁴ and diverse colour palettes all reflect Western painting elements (Clunas, 2009, 194). It is evident that local artists learnt and adapted to painting in a style that was more appealing to the Western market.

Unsurprisingly, the practice and techniques of the China trade artists were not well documented, plus the anonymity of many untitled paintings, which increased the difficulty in obtaining more information about the local artists and the attributions of these paintings. Yet these features might contribute to the mystical and charismatic elements of these paintings. Today, China trade paintings are recognised for their aesthetic values, blending quasi-Western painting with hints of Chinese painting conventions, the unique creation and testimony of early Chinese artists adapting to Western painting styles, techniques and materials. Furthermore, the meticulous depiction of historic events, geographic and

³ 國畫採用水溶性媒介，與西方水彩畫相似。

Chinese brush painting is a water-based painting medium, sharing similarities with Western watercolour painting.

⁴ 明暗對照法是一種利用強烈明暗對比的色調，以表達光影及塑造三維立體效果的繪畫技法 (Brigstocke, 2013)。

Chiaroscuro ("light-dark" in Italian) is a term used to describe the effect of gradients of light and darkness in a work of art. It is a technique for achieving a contrasting visual effect (Brigstocke, 2013).

圖像記錄。可惜的是，當攝影技術盛行後，中國外銷畫的需求逐漸減少，到了二十世紀初期更完全被淘汰 (Ting, 1982, 11)。

中國外銷畫畫家及外銷畫畫室

十六世紀末，西方美術法則及油畫技法引入中國，可是，這些技法對中國藝術和繪畫方面所帶來的影響，以及傳教士兼畫家繪畫的作品，只局限於中國宮廷內。十八世紀末隨著對外通商口岸的數目不斷增加，再加上西洋畫家來到澳門及中國，令更多本地畫家認識到西方繪畫概念及技法。有些本地畫家為了爭取機會繪製畫作，運銷海外，賺取利潤，因而迅速學習西方美術法則及油畫技法，並將之融會貫通。

一般中國外銷畫畫室位於兩層高的建築物內，地面是店舖，而主畫室則設於店舖上層。主畫室是一個設有大窗戶的小房間，室內溢滿天然日光，畫工並排而坐，以流水作業的方式來繪畫，畫作的主題草圖經描繪或複製後，每名畫工負責繪畫當中指定的部分，外銷畫大量地生產。至於外銷畫畫師的畫室則設於最高樓層。有消費能力的顧客可委託畫師親自操刀，一般以肖像畫為多。亦有些外銷畫由個別本地畫家繪製，他們的工作情況或異於上述的畫室，但由於缺乏畫作的出處及相關記載，故難以進行深入研究。

透過當時外國商人的日誌及遊記所記載有關中國外銷畫畫室及中國外貿歷史，可以大致推斷出外銷畫的起源、風格、影響及製作等資料。據 Sirr (1849, 106-114) 所記載，林呱 (譯音) 拒絕公開他採用的油彩顏料供應及處理詳情。由於中國色料的質素相比歐洲進口的色料為差，中國外銷畫畫家有可能從商館⁵ 購入繪畫材料。本研究項目的目的正是針對這方面，探索畫家採用甚麼顏料繪畫中國外銷油畫。

biographical subjects in these paintings offers an alternative or perhaps additional information to written documentation, benefiting researchers in the related fields today. Marine paintings of port scenes and sea vessels (mostly produced in oils), in particular, are recognised for their historical significance, as they provide visual representation records before photography became common in the latter half of the 19th century. Sadly, the demand for China trade paintings declined when photography became popular and eventually ceased by the early 20th century (Ting, 1982, 11).

China Trade Artists and Trade Painting Studios

Western artistic conventions and oil painting techniques were introduced to China in the late 16th century. Nevertheless, their influence on Chinese art and the paintings produced by the missionaries-painters remained within the walls of the Chinese Imperial Court. With the expanded number of ports for foreign trade in the late 18th century and the arrival of Western artists in Macau and China, Western painting concepts and techniques reached more local artists. Some local artists seized the opportunity to make a profit by producing paintings for the export market and quickly adapted themselves to Western artistic conventions and oil painting techniques.

The typical China trade painting studio was housed in a two-storey building. Directly above the shop on the ground floor was the main studio, which was a small room fitted with large windows and filled with natural light. Apprentices sat in rows and their workload was divided like an assembly production line in a factory. Each apprentice was in charge of a specific decorative element. The subjects of the paintings were sketched or copied, they were then painted and mass produced in the studio by apprentices. The master's studio was on a separate floor at the top of the building, and customers who could so afford to commission the master to paint personally, usually commissioned Western-style portraitures. Undoubtedly, some trade paintings were produced by individual local artists (Chinese School artists) whose working conditions might have some differences but the lack of provenance and documentation obstructs further study.

Through eye-witness accounts of the trade painting studios and the history of foreign trade in China, much could be deduced about the origins, styles, influences and production of China trade paintings. In an account by Sirr (1849, 106-114), he mentioned that Lamqua was reluctant to disclose the supply and preparation of his oil pigments. As Chinese pigments were generally considered inferior in quality compared to those imported from Europe, it was possible that Chinese artists sourced imported painting materials from the *hongs*.⁵ It is the objective of this research project to investigate the materials used in producing China trade oil paintings.



① 香港一景 | 佚名 | 十九世紀
修復前
香港藝術館藏品 AH1964.0204
View of Hong Kong | Anonymous | 19th Century
Before conservation treatment
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art, AH1964.0204



② 從對岸遠眺廣州新商館區 | 新呱 (譯音) | 約 1847
修復前
香港藝術館藏品 AH1964.0226
Guangzhou New Factories from the Other Side of the River
Sunqua | Circa 1847
Before conservation treatment
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art, AH1964.0226

兩幅十九世紀中國外銷畫的個案研究

十九世紀是中國與西方進行外貿及文化交流的巔峰時期，有各種繪畫材料供應給中國畫家，對於中國畫家是否採用國畫常用的傳統顏料，還是外國進口的顏料來繪畫油畫，確實是有趣的研究課題。無容置疑，本地畫家習畫最初是學習中國畫風和技巧，熟悉以水溶性顏料作畫，由水溶性媒介轉移到以油性媒介作畫，必然是一項挑戰，因為兩者的應用技法截然不同，包括顏料處理、使用特性及影響顏料色調和透明度的折射率。⁶ 由於以海事為題的外銷油畫流行，並採用了大量藍色和綠色顏料，本研究集中分析這兩種中國外銷畫畫家最常用的顏料。

兩幅來自香港藝術博物館藏品的十九世紀中國外銷油畫進行修復期間，畫中的藍色及綠色顏料被收集進行研究。這兩幅外銷畫分別是由佚名的中國畫派外銷畫家所繪製的「香港一景」^① 和由新呱 (譯音) 繪製的「從對岸遠眺廣州新商館區」^②。

A Case Study of Two 19th-century China Trade Paintings

Foreign trade and cultural exchanges between China and the West was at the height of thriving in the 19th century. A wide range of artists' materials were available to artists in China. It was interesting to investigate whether local artists worked with their more familiar palette of traditional pigments used in Chinese brush painting or imported pigments to produce their oil paintings. Local artists most certainly began their training in Chinese brush painting techniques and were familiar with painting in a water-based painting medium. The transition from this medium to an oil-based medium must have been a challenge, the differences lay in their application techniques including pigment preparation, handling properties and refractive indices (R.I.),⁶ which affect the hue and transparency of paint. The aim of this research is to identify the blue and green pigments most commonly found on the palette of the China trade artists. There are ample presence of these two colours in the popular marine-themed trade oil paintings.

Two 19th-century China trade paintings were selected from the Hong Kong Museum of Art collection for this study. They are “*View of Hong Kong*” by unknown Chinese School artists ^①, and “*Guangzhou New Factories from the Other Side of the River*” by Sunqua ^②. The blue and green pigments on these two paintings were analysed while they were undergoing conservation treatment at the Hong Kong Conservation Office.

⁵ 在中國外銷歷史上，「行」或「商館」最初在廣東出現，即提供給洋人商住兩用的行館，進行貿易生意。
In China trade history, a *hong* or 'factory' was a premise or an agency for foreign trading and commenced in Canton (Guangzhou).

⁶ 折射率 (R.I.) 是光在真空中的傳播速度與光在該介質中的傳播速度之比例數值。涉及可見光與顏料和媒介產生相互作用，因此同一顏料配合不同折射率值的媒介使用時，將顯示出不同的色調及不透明度（或透明度）。

Refractive index (R.I.) of a substance is a value which describes the interaction of light as it propagates through the substance. The perceived hue and opacity of a paint colour involve visible light rays interacting with pigments and the medium they are bound-in, so the same pigment bound in two mediums of different R.I. appears differently in hue and opacity (or transparency).

表一：油彩樣本資料
Table 1: Details of paint samples

樣本編號和顯微影像 Sample no. and its microphotograph	取樣位置 Sampling position
A 	「香港一景」畫中描繪的「海」 Painted sea in 'View of Hong Kong'
B 	「從對岸遠眺廣州新商館區」畫中描繪的「天」 Painted sky in 'Guangzhou New Factories from the Other Side of the River'
C 	「從對岸遠眺廣州新商館區」畫中描繪的「海」 Painted sea in 'Guangzhou New Factories from the Other Side of the River'

藍色和綠色油彩樣本的科學分析

本研究從這兩幅油畫當中，收集了三個油彩樣本（表一）。

各樣本以平嵌技術 (Khandekar, 2003, 54) 鑲嵌於合成樹脂 Bio-Plastic® 後，進行橫切面分析。

於光學顯微鏡下觀察樣本的橫切面，發現顏料的多層結構排序及各層的特徵，例如厚度、狀況及成分分佈等。在顯微鏡加上紫外光光源，有助進一步理解各層的結構，尤其可辨識在可見光下難以察覺的兩層之間的界面。跟著在油彩樣本塗上少量石墨導電液，進行低真空掃描電子顯微鏡 (FEI Quanta 200)/X-射線能譜 (SEM-EDX) 分析。綜合光學顯微鏡和 SEM-EDX 的顏料層研究和元素分析結果，從而推斷油彩顏料成分。

Technical Analysis of the Blue and Green Paint Samples

Three paint samples were collected from various locations of the two paintings (Table 1).

The flat-embedding technique (Khandekar, 2003, 54) was employed to prepare samples for the cross-sectional study. Individual paint samples were set into resin blocks of Bio-Plastic® for subsequent technical analyses.

Optical microscopy was used to perform stratigraphic analysis on each embedded paint sample, which revealed the structural layering, thickness, condition and composition of each paint layer. The optical microscope was equipped with ultraviolet (UV) light source which enhanced the observation of the different structural layers especially the interface that could not be discerned under reflective (visible) light. The embedded paint samples partially coated with conductive liquid (colloidal) graphite were further studied with scanning electron microscope (FEI Quanta 200) with Energy Dispersive X-ray spectroscopy (SEM-EDX) under low vacuum. The pigments were identified with a combination of optical microscopic analysis, stratigraphic analyses and elemental analysis by SEM-EDX.

顏料層研究及顏料分析

將油彩樣本 A 的橫切面放大後，可見畫作底層由兩層組成，在紫外光下，這兩層在視覺上的差異顯而易見：上層呈綠藍色熒光，顯示此層含鋅白；下層則呈白綠色熒光。經 SEM-EDX 的元素檢測，結果亦吻合，底子的上層明顯含有鋅 (Zn)，而下層則含有鋅和鉛 (Pb)，顯示畫作底子層含有鋅白和鉛白。此外，底層上方出現鋅及鉛白的薄層，反映畫家先塗上一層白色顏料，然後再塗上藍色顏料。在最上的淡藍色顏料層中的一顆黃色粗粒裡，檢測到砷 (As)，推斷是雌黃 (As₂S₃)。而在較幼細的淡藍色顏料層中則發現含微量的鋁 (Al)、矽 (Si)、鐵 (Fe) 及汞 (Hg)，該顏料可能是土綠 (K[(Al,Fe^{III}),(Fe^{II},Mg)] (AlSi₃,Si₄)O₁₀(OH)₂)。透過反射光觀察下，發現淡藍色顏料層含有非常幼細的橙紅顏料粒子，而少量的汞 (Hg) 或來自這些橙紅顏料顆粒，顯示出橙紅顏料為朱紅 (HgS)。⁷

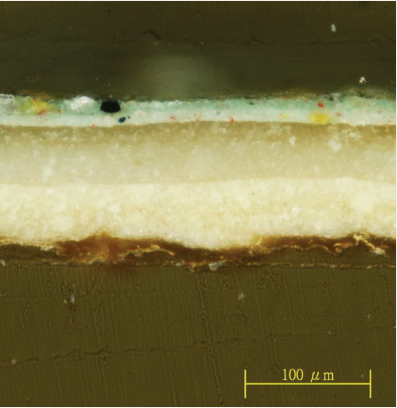
Stratigraphic and Pigment Analysis

When the cross-section of paint sample A was viewed under magnification, the ground layer appeared to be built up by two coatings. The visual differences between the two coatings were most evident under UV light. The upper white ground layer showing greenish-blue fluorescence indicated the presence of zinc white whilst the lower exhibited more white-greenish fluorescence. Elemental analysis with SEM-EDX supported this. The presence of prominently zinc (Zn) was detected in the upper ground layer, and in the lower layer both Zn and lead (Pb), suggesting zinc white and lead white were used in priming the canvas. Over the ground layer there was a thin coat of zinc and lead white paint, which possibly served as a white foundation for the subsequent application of blue paint. In the topmost pale blue paint layer, arsenic (As) was detected in the coarse yellow pigment particle, most likely to be orpiment (As₂S₃); and in the finer pale blue paint traces of aluminium (Al), silicon (Si), iron (Fe) and mercury (Hg) were detected, suggesting the pigment was possibly the green earth (K[(Al,Fe^{III}),(Fe^{II},Mg)] (AlSi₃,Si₄)O₁₀(OH)₂). Traces of Hg were likely from the very fine orange-red pigment particles observed under reflective light and identified as vermilion (HgS).⁷

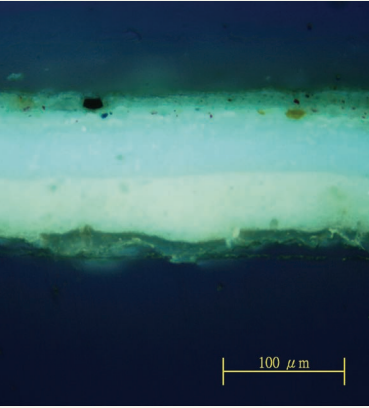
⁷ 朱紅是一種橙紅色的顏料，可合成或由天然礦石朱砂粉末製成。
Vermilion is an orange-red pigment which may be synthetic or made from the powdered form of the mineral cinnabar.



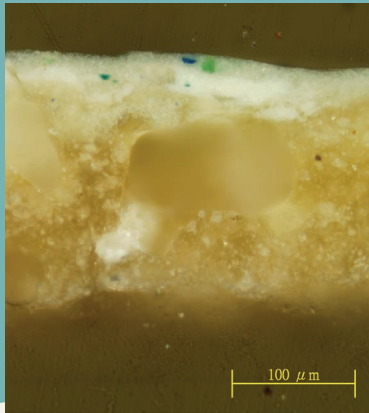
掃描電子顯微鏡 (FEI Quanta 200) 配備 X-射線能譜儀 (SEM-EDX)
Scanning Electron Microscope (FEI Quanta 200) with Energy Dispersive X-ray spectroscopy (SEM-EDX)



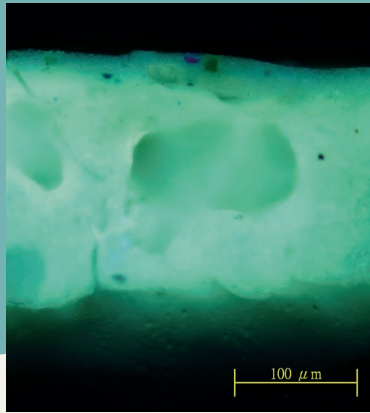
在可見光下放大 200 倍的油彩樣本 A 的橫切面
Cross-section of paint sample A examined with a microscope under reflective light (200x)



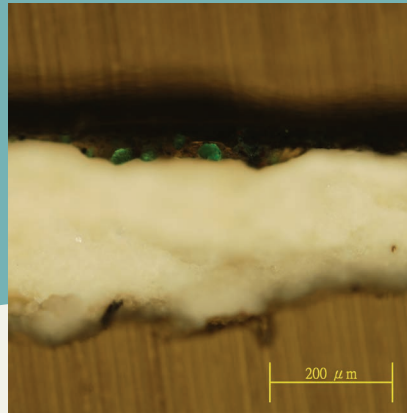
在紫外線下放大 200 倍的油彩樣本 A 的橫切面
Cross-section of paint sample A examined with a microscope under UV light (200x)



6 在可見光下放大 200 倍的油彩樣本 B 的橫切面
Cross-section of paint sample B examined with a microscope under reflective light (200x)



7 在紫外線下放大 200 倍的油彩樣本 B 的橫切面
Cross-section of paint sample B examined with a microscope under UV light (200x)



8 在可見光下放大 200 倍的油彩樣本 C 的橫切面
Cross-section of paint sample C examined with a microscope under reflective light (200x)

觀察油彩樣本 B 6 7 及 C 8 9 的橫切面，發現有趣的情況，兩個樣本的顏料層均有完整和較大的藍色和綠色顏料顆粒，顏料樣本 B 經檢測後，細小的深綠色及藍色顏料顆粒分別含有銅 (Cu) 和鐵 (Fe)，加上顯微鏡下的觀察，推斷深綠色顏料為孔雀石 ($\text{Cu}(\text{OH})_2 \cdot \text{CuCO}_3$)，而藍色顏料為普魯士藍 ($\text{M}^{\text{I}}\text{Fe}^{\text{III}}\text{Fe}^{\text{II}}(\text{CN})_6$, $\text{M}^{\text{I}} = \text{K}^+, \text{Na}^+, \text{NH}_4^+$)。本研究發現油彩樣本 B 也含有鋅白和鉛白底層。

在油彩樣本 B 及 C 的淺綠色顏料層，則發現含有砷 (As) 及銅 (Cu) 10，顏料大有可能是翠綠 ($3\text{Cu}(\text{AsO}_2)_2 \cdot \text{Cu}(\text{CH}_3\text{COO})_2$)。

油彩樣本 C 的 SEM-EDX 分析，顯示碳含量高於一般水平，加上樣本呈黑綠色，推斷顏料是由碳黑及翠綠混合而成。

外銷畫畫家的顏料

透過元素和顏料層分析這兩幅十九世紀的中國外銷畫，可推斷出大量資訊。這些外銷油畫有著相似的結構——於畫布塗上一層比顏料層厚大概三倍的白色底子，再塗上薄薄的白色顏料作為基層；繼而塗上藍綠色的顏料來繪畫藍天的部分。從這兩幅外銷畫的油彩樣本中可鑑別出多種顏料，包括：土綠、孔雀石、翠綠、普魯士藍、雌黃、朱紅和碳黑。

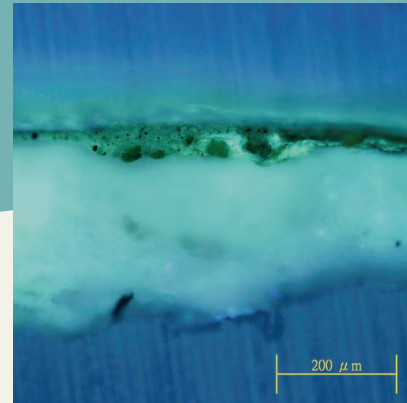
The cross-section of paint samples B 6 7 and C 8 9 showed more interesting results, as both samples happened to contain relatively large blue and green pigment particles which remained intact in the paint layer. In sample B, the small dark green and blue pigment particles were found to consist of copper (Cu) and iron (Fe) respectively. When this finding was interpreted with the visual information from optical microscopy, the dark green pigment was identified to be malachite ($\text{Cu}(\text{OH})_2 \cdot \text{CuCO}_3$) and the blue pigment to be Prussian blue ($\text{M}^{\text{I}}\text{Fe}^{\text{III}}\text{Fe}^{\text{II}}(\text{CN})_6$, $\text{M}^{\text{I}} = \text{K}^+, \text{Na}^+, \text{NH}_4^+$). Paint sample B was also found to contain a ground layer of zinc and lead white.

The lighter green pigment found in both paint samples B and C contained arsenic (As) and copper (Cu) 10, and was most likely emerald green ($3\text{Cu}(\text{AsO}_2)_2 \cdot \text{Cu}(\text{CH}_3\text{COO})_2$).

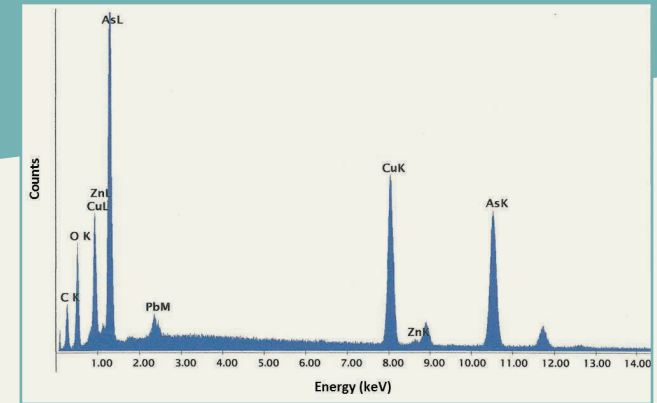
A high quantitative signal for carbon (C) was detected in paint sample C, which was not common. The dark black-green colour of sample C would suggest the paint layer was a mixture of carbon black and emerald green.

Palette of the China Trade Artists

Through elemental analysis and stratigraphic analyses, a great deal of information has been deduced from the two 19th-century China trade paintings. These paintings shared a similar structural composition — a typical white ground of almost three times in thickness than the paint layer, and a thin foundation layer of white paint applied under a blue-green paint layer depicting a pale blue sky. A variety of pigments were identified in the paint samples from the



9 在紫外線下放大 200 倍的油彩樣本 C 的橫切面
Cross-section of paint sample C examined with a microscope under UV light (200x)



10 油彩樣本 B 中的綠色顏料粒子的 SEM-EDX 光譜，顯示含有砷 (As) 及銅 (Cu)，綠色顏料推斷為翠綠。
SEM-EDX spectrum of the green pigment particle in the paint layer of sample B, the presence of As and Cu indicated the green pigment as copper arsenic green, most likely emerald green.

除了藍色和綠色的顏料，雌黃、朱紅和碳黑都是傳統國畫中常用的顏料 (Yu, 1988, 3-10)，估計畫家添加這些顏料作調色用途。無疑值得進一步研究這些顏料，惟這並不在本研究的範疇內，因此以下會集中討論在兩幅十九世紀的中國外銷畫中的藍色和綠色顏料的分析結果，包括：土綠、翠綠、孔雀石和普魯士藍。

土綠

土綠是天然的黏土礦物，盛產於世界各地 (Grissom, 1986, 141)。SEM-EDX 光譜顯示畫作顏料含微量鋁、鐵和矽，剛好是土綠包含的元素，然而這些元素並不限於此顏料才有，在其他繪畫材料也可以找到。因此，畫作是否真的含有土綠顏料，確實值得進一步研究證實，如能透過查閱文獻及科學研究推斷它的來源，或會有進一步的發現。

當土綠混合油性媒介使用，顏色呈半透明用作釉彩；用作顏料時土綠常混合其他較為不透明的顏料一併使用，這正好解釋在這兩幅中國外銷畫也有各種顏料與土綠混合一起的原因之一。

two paintings, including green earth, malachite, emerald green, Prussian blue, orpiment, vermilion and carbon black. Besides the blue and green pigments identified, orpiment, vermilion and carbon black are pigments well established as artists' pigments in traditional Chinese brush painting (Yu, 1988, 3-10), they were most likely added to alter the hue. Undoubtedly, these pigments deserve further investigation but it is outside the scope of the current study, so the following discussion focuses on the blue and green pigments identified in the two 19th-century China trade paintings, including green earth, emerald green, malachite and Prussian blue from the two paintings.

Green Earth

Green earth is a naturally occurring clay mineral found in abundant quantities around the world (Grissom, 1986, 141). SEM-EDX detected traces of Al, Fe and Si, which is consistent with the elemental composition of green earth; however, these elements are not limited to green earth and may also be found in other painting materials. Therefore it is worth further investigation and verification, and it will also be interesting to determine its origin and sources through a combination of literature and scientific research.

The translucent quality of green earth in oil-based mediums means that unless it is applied as a glaze, it is often used with more opaque pigments to provide coverage. Therefore, it might be one of the reasons why a variety of pigments were used in combination with green earth in these paintings.

port scenes

孔雀石

孔雀石是國畫最普遍的顏色之一，因此這顏料用於中國外銷畫並不出奇。據 Wise and Wise (2007, 127) 的資料顯示，大量孔雀石顏料可以從中國的銅礦床採出。在這畫作中，驟眼看似塗上統一均勻的綠色顏料，但樣本分析結果顯示是由多種顏料混合而成，包括少量孔雀石，這種情況也出現在一系列十九世紀以通草紙本水粉外銷畫中 (Wise and Wise, 1997, 129)，其顏料分析結果顯示翠綠與天然及合成的孔雀石以不同比例混合一起；推斷採用這種手法的幾種原因包括：純粹改變色調；透過減少有砂礫質感的天然孔雀石比例，改善顏料混合及應用性質；或基於天然孔雀石在當時屬昂貴顏料，畫家可能將少量孔雀石與其他較為相宜的綠色顏料混合使用。

翠綠

含有銅及砷的綠色顏料可能是翠綠或謝勒綠，自十九世紀初，較為穩定的翠綠經發明後便取代謝勒綠，由此可見，翠綠較有可能於十九世紀引入中國。此外，在數幅十九世紀中葉後的通草紙本水粉外銷畫找到翠綠顏料 (Wise and Wise, 1997, 129)，而翠綠亦用作建築物的裝飾顏料 (Cheng et al., 2007, 1278)。由於翠綠含砷，毒性異常劇烈，到了二十世紀中便停止生產。

Malachite

Malachite is one of the most commonly used colours in Chinese brush painting, so it is unsurprising to find its application on these paintings. Furthermore, according to Wise and Wise (2007, 127), there was an ample supply of the pigment from copper ore deposits in China. In the paint samples malachite was present in small quantities, it was used in combination with other colours. The use of multiple green pigments in an area which appears to be homogenous was also found on a series of China trade paintings on pith paper (water-based medium) dated 19th century (Wise and Wise, 1997, 129). A mixture of emerald green with both natural and artificial malachite in various proportions was identified. There might be several reasons for such practice—simply altering the hue, improving the working property of the paint mixture by reducing the ratio of the gritty natural malachite, or the fact that natural malachite was an expensive pigment at that time, it was thus applied sparingly and mixed with other more affordable green pigments.

Emerald Green

The green pigment in the painting was found containing copper arsenic and is most likely emerald green. Scheele's green, an earlier copper arsenic green pigment, had been largely replaced by the more stable emerald green since its invention in the early 19th century, which revealed that emerald green was more probable to have been imported to China by the 19th century. In addition, emerald green was identified in several China trade pith paper (water-based medium) paintings from the mid-19th century onwards (Wise and Wise, 1997, 129) and was used as a decorative paint in architectures (Cheng et al., 2007, 1278). The arsenic content made emerald green extremely poisonous and the production of this pigment ceased in the mid-20th century.

普魯士藍

顯微鏡下觀測油彩樣本含少量普魯士藍，此顏料着色力強，應用少量已達到淺藍色的調色效果。雖然在 SEM-EDX 分析中檢測出鐵的成分，證明可能含有普魯士藍，但由於訊號較為微弱，或需要其他分析方法進一步驗證結果。

十八世紀末，大量普魯士藍顏料進口中國，但在十九世紀有廠房於廣州設立，進行生產普魯士藍，導致停止輸入普魯士藍顏料，在貿易記錄上，也反映這種情況 (Bailey, 2012, 117-118)。由於顏料於本地生產，因此價格較為相宜，普魯士藍於整個十九世紀在中國有持續供應。在一項對三幅由十八世紀末到十九世紀中的外銷油畫的保存處理研究中，也鑑定得出普魯士藍顏料 (Reuss et al., 2014)。

中國外銷畫畫家的繪畫風格

無論在底子構成、油彩應用和顏料材質，兩幅油畫都甚為相似。由此證明外銷油畫大多以相同的繪畫技法及材料製作，是以標準化的配方製作生產的商品畫。特別有趣的發現是，兩幅油畫描繪淺藍色天空的方法都相當一致—首先塗上一層白色底層，然後再塗上藍綠色，而顏料的組合也甚為相似，顏料層的厚度及顏色亦均勻一致，表示顏料是早於調色板上混合後應用，並不是於繪畫過程中在畫布上混塗而成。

從油彩樣本分析結果，識別出兩種純綠色顏料。綠色並不是畫家用的三原色之一，可由藍色和黃色混合而成。雖然在幾個樣本中識別到些少普魯士藍，亦在其中一個樣本發現有雌黃（黃色顏料），但分析結果顯示，中國外銷畫師似乎在使用綠色顏料時，偏好添加少量藍或黃色來調校色調，反映他們備受國畫設色理論和技法的影響 (Wang, 1679-1701, 585)。無需混合顏色，以不同顆粒子大小的孔雀石來着色，達致不同深淺的綠色，是繪畫國畫的悠久傳統設色技法。

Prussian Blue

Prussian blue was found in small traces in the microscopic analysis. With high tinting strength, a small amount of Prussian blue is enough to achieve a pale blue colour. Although Fe was detected in SEM-EDX analyses, which might support the presence of Prussian blue, the signal was relatively weak and perhaps other analytical methods can be applied to validate the results.

Prussian blue was imported in large quantities to China in the late 18th century. However, a factory plant was set up in Canton (Guangzhou) for manufacturing the pigment locally in the 19th century, which practically led to cessation of its import, as reflected in the trading records (Bailey, 2012, 117-118). As Prussian blue was relatively affordable by the time the local production of the pigment became available, this pigment was consistently available in China throughout the 19th century. In a conservation treatment study on three China trade oil paintings from the late 18th to mid-19th century, Prussian blue was also identified (Reuss et al., 2014).

Painting Style of the China Trade Artists

In this study, the two China trade paintings shared a lot of similarities in terms of the structural layering of the ground layer, the paint applied and the use of pigment. Both paintings had almost standardised recipe-like production style, which again emphasised their nature as commercial paintings. It was especially interesting to find their consistency in the depiction of the pale blue sky—first a foundation white paint layer was laid before applying a thin layer of blue-green paint consisted of a similar combination of pigments. The coherent colour of the blue-green paint and relatively consistent thickness of the paint layers suggested colour mixing was done on the palette, not on the canvas.

From the analysis on the paint samples, two pure green pigments were identified. The colour green is not one of the artists' primary colours, it can be achieved by mixing blue and yellow. Although traces of Prussian blue were found in several samples and traces of orpiment (yellow pigment) were identified in one of them, it might seem the Chinese artists preferred to work with green pigments by slightly adjusting the hue with traces of blue and yellow pigments. They might be influenced by their knowledge of colour mixing theories in Chinese brush painting techniques (Wang, 1679-1701, 585), the long-established tradition of employing various grades (particle size) of malachite in Chinese brush painting, which effectively achieves various dark to light shades of green without colour mixing.

顏料中除了孔雀石外，其他的藍和綠色並不是傳統國畫常用的顏料。在中國油畫畫家的調色板上，發現外來的顏料或許並不出奇，基於光學和折射率的原理，顏料於油性及於水溶性媒介中有著不同的效果，中國畫家採用適合油畫使用的外國進口顏料，這亦理所當然。此外，由於在十九世紀，技術及工業化迅速發展，生產力大幅提升，國際貿易發展蓬勃，大大增加了外國及本地的合成及天然繪畫顏料的供應，令本地畫家也有能力購買。于非闇 (Yu, 1988, 30) 於第一次鴉片戰爭 (1839-1842) 後寫道，「大量外國化學顏料進口」，部分更迅速盛行起來，取代了本地類同的顏料，應用於紡織印染、建築及民間藝術方面。于非闇提及外國顏料「廉價、效果良好及方便使用」，於中國得以盛行，並導致一些生產顏料的本地工廠倒閉。

本研究顯示和探討了中國外銷畫的新一面。中國與西方繪畫材料及技法的巧妙融合，正好反映了外銷畫的結構和材料裡蘊藏著西方貿易和文化的各項影響。

Except malachite, the other identified blue and green pigments are far from those associated with traditional Chinese pigments. Perhaps it is not surprising to find foreign pigments on the palettes of Chinese oil painters, due to the principle of optics and refractive indices, pigments exhibit differently in oil-based and water-based mediums, so logically Chinese painters had to adapt to pigments that are suitable for painting in an oil medium. Moreover, owing to the rapid development of technology and industrialisation in the 19th century, productivity increased dramatically with the thriving global trade, a wide range of foreign and local, synthetic and natural artists' pigments became available and affordable to Chinese artists. After the First Opium War (1839-1842), Yu wrote (1988, 30), "foreign chemical pigments were imported in increasingly large amounts" during the Qing dynasty and some foreign pigments became instantly popular and replaced the local equivalent in textile dyeing, architecture and folk art. Yu explained that foreign pigments were "inexpensive, gave good results, and were convenient to use", the popularity of foreign pigments even led to the closure of some local pigment manufacturing industries in some cases.

This study has demonstrated and explored a new dimension of the China trade paintings. The evidence of trade and cultural influences from the West is hidden within the construction of these paintings and reflected by the unique combination of Western and Chinese painting materials and techniques.

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文物修復辦事處 CONSERVATION OFFICE

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www.lcsd.gov.hk/CE/Museum/Conservation

SPARK BLAZE

展燃 • 延展

「…傳說」中的策展方程式 “Exploring…” the Ways of Curating an Exhibition

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2017 年是香港博物館豐碩的一年，康樂及文化事務署（康文署）轄下多間博物館，為慶祝香港特別行政區成立 20 周年，舉辦了一系列多姿多彩的展覽和公眾活動，其中四間博物館，包括香港文化博物館、香港歷史博物館、香港藝術館和香港科學館，舉辦的專題展覽，共錄得接近 200 萬的參觀人次。在芸芸展覽項目中，香港科學館與大英博物館聯合策劃的專題展覽「香港賽馬會呈獻系列：永生傳說——透視古埃及文明」（「永生傳說」），成績更是驕人，四個多月的展期共錄得超過 850,000 人次參觀，成為康文署歷年最受歡迎的展覽之一。

2017 marked a fruitful year for the museums in Hong Kong. To celebrate the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, many of the museums of the Leisure and Cultural Services Department (LCSD) organised a series of fabulous exhibitions and public events. Amid them the thematic exhibitions held by the Hong Kong Heritage Museum, the Hong Kong Museum of History, the Hong Kong Museum of Art and the Hong Kong Science Museum recorded almost two million visitors in total. Among the various exhibitions, “The Hong Kong Jockey Club Series: Eternal Life – Exploring Ancient Egypt” (“Eternal Life”) co-organised by the Hong Kong Science Museum and the British Museum had a remarkable achievement, attracting more than 850,000 visitors during the four-month exhibition period. It has become one of the most popular exhibitions of the LCSD over the years.



1 2 「永生傳說」展覽展出逾 200 件珍貴文物

The “Eternal Life” exhibition displayed over 200 cultural relics of ancient Egypt



3 4 文物珍貴精緻，吸引觀眾細意欣賞。

The audience was captivated by the precious and exquisite cultural objects

「永生傳說」展覽在 2017 年 6 月 2 日至 10 月 18 日舉行，展出六具擁有 1,800 至 3,000 年歷史價值的埃及木乃伊和逾 200 件珍貴文物 1 2。展覽深受歡迎，最高單日參觀人次更超過 13,000 人 3 4，到底箇中有甚麼重要的成功元素呢？我們希望在此藉着分享籌辦的經驗，從不同的範疇剖析策展的思路、設計和鋪排，嘗試與大家找出一個策展方程式。

主題吸引 故事精采

博物館一個重要的功能就是展覽，透過展示文物提升人民的文化認知和素養。要籌辦一個叫好又叫座的展覽，主題是很重要，好的展覽主題，已是成功的一半。博物館界有個說法，有兩個展覽主題，賣座率會是很高的，就是史前恐龍和古埃及木乃伊。這兩個主題康文署的博物館過去都曾舉辦過，大可以用數據去直接證明這說法是否可信。

The “Eternal Life” exhibition was held from 2 June to 18 October 2017, displaying six Egyptian mummies between 1,800 and 3,000 years ago and over 200 cultural relics 1 2. The exhibition recorded over 13,000 daily visitors at its peak 3 4. What were the key success factors? We hope to share our experience through exploring the line of thought, design concept and arrangement of the exhibition from different perspectives, attempting to work out the ways of curating an exhibition together.

Enticing Themes and Fascinating Stories

One of the key functions of museums is exhibiting. Museums enhance the cultural awareness and literacy of the public through displaying cultural relics or museum collections. To organise a popular and widely-acclaimed exhibition, the theme is of paramount importance. A good exhibition theme has achieved half success. In the museum field, it has long been said that there are two exhibition themes drawing considerable acclaims, namely, prehistoric dinosaurs and ancient Egyptian mummies. Since the LCSD museums has held exhibitions on both themes before, the above saying can be directly verified with the attendance figures of these exhibitions.

ancient
Egyptians



5 2013 年的「巨龍傳奇」展覽
“Legend of the Giant Dinosaurs” in 2013

香港科學館在過去 20 多年，一共舉辦過五次以恐龍為主題的展覽，最近的一次是 2013 年舉辦的「巨龍傳奇」⁵，五個月的展期吸引了 772,000 人參觀。香港藝術館在 1998 年與大英博物館合作，首次在香港展出木乃伊和多件文物，在短短的兩個月內吸引了 310,000 人。這兩個展覽平均每月參觀人數多達 150,000，恐龍和木乃伊的受歡迎程度，實在毋庸置疑。

既然好的主題是賣座的保證，那就要積極搜羅。香港科學館於 2015 年得悉大英博物館以木乃伊的最新研究為主題，策劃巡迴展覽，遂開始與他們商討，爭取將這個精采的展覽帶到香港。過往有關歷史文物的展覽，多在香港藝術館或香港歷史博物館展出，而這個展覽則是透過利用新科技研究文物，除歷史外亦有科學的元素，加上我們表示會參照「巨龍傳奇」的成功之道，以創新手法增添展覽的趣味性，結果得到大英博物館答應，與香港科學館合作籌辦。

然而，縱使有了吸引的主題，還需有動聽的故事來闡述。展覽其實就是在說故事。這次大英博物館挑選了六具不同身份的埃及木乃伊，並且用了一個全新的角度來闡述，就是透過電腦斷層掃描這種新科技，在無須損傷文物的情況下，對木乃伊作出前所未有的深入研究，就好像為木乃伊進行體格檢查一樣，再把它們的體檢結果娓娓道來。

The Hong Kong Science Museum has held five dinosaur-themed exhibitions over the past 20 years. The latest one was the “Legend of the Giant Dinosaurs” exhibition held in 2013 ⁵. The five-month exhibition drew a total of 772,000 visitors. In 1998, the Hong Kong Museum of Art collaborated with the British Museum to display mummies and numerous cultural relics in Hong Kong for the first time. The two-month exhibition received 310,000 visitors. The average monthly number of visitors of these two exhibitions reached 150,000. Undeniably, both dinosaurs and mummies are popular among the general public.

Being well aware that a good theme guarantees an unrivalled success of an exhibition, we have been proactively sourcing relevant possibilities. In 2015, having understood that the British Museum had been planning a touring exhibition on the latest researches on their mummies, we started negotiating with them in the hope of bringing this wonderful exhibition to Hong Kong. In the past, the exhibitions about historical relics were mostly held in the Hong Kong Museum of Art or the Hong Kong Museum of History. However, this exhibition was different in that it was about the use of new technology to study cultural relics, thus embracing both historical and scientific values. In addition, we expressed that we would take the success of the “Legend of the Giant Dinosaurs” exhibition as a reference and spice up the exhibition with lots of fun by diverse innovative means. At last, the British Museum agreed to collaborate with the Hong Kong Science Museum to co-organise this exhibition.

An enticing theme made a good start only. We should also narrate the entire exhibition with an appealing story. Curating an exhibition is like telling a story. The British Museum selected six Egyptian mummies with different identities and narrated the display objects from a brand new perspective. It adopted a cutting-edge technology, namely, computed tomography scan (CT scan), to conduct an unprecedented in-depth research on mummies without inflicting damage on them. The process is like doing a physical examination for mummies and reporting the results in detail.

大英博物館這次由兩位館長負責策展內容，一位是丹尼爾·安托萬博士，他是一位人類學專家，負責大英博物館的人類遺骸，以及處理和分析電腦掃描資料；而另一位瑪麗·范登博伊施博士則是古埃及研究專家，主要研究木乃伊和古埃及相關的喪葬傳統和宗教習俗。兩位館長互相配合，分別從人體結構和歷史的角度，揭開木乃伊的神祕面紗。因此，這些木乃伊除了有個共同的體檢故事外，每具亦附有它自己獨特的小故事，例如喪葬時的儀式、祭祀用的樂器⁶及食物、對美貌的追求等。可以說，這是一個融合了科技和歷史的故事。

除了大英博物館訴說的故事外，香港科學館亦特意在這些故事上，添加了一個大故事，就是古埃及人對永生的追求。古埃及人相信，死亡只是通往永生的途徑，他們死後製成木乃伊，就是為達至永生而準備。我們就是基於這個大前提，去制定「永生傳說」這個展覽名稱，亦在展覽的開首部分，製作了一個大型的多媒體節目，以其中一個木乃伊為主角，闡述她如何在死後被帶到諸神的面前，通過審判和考驗，成功進入永生的國度。我們希望觀眾能對木乃伊背後所蘊藏的意義有更深入的了解。

The exhibition was planned by two curators of the British Museum. Dr. Daniel Antoine is a curator specialising in physical anthropology and is responsible for the Museum's human remains. He processed the CT scanned data and analysed the information. Dr. Marie Vandenbeusch is a curator whose research focuses on funerary and magical beliefs in ancient Egypt. The two curators collaborated with each other to unearth the mystery of mummies from the perspectives of anatomy and history. Therefore, apart from sharing the common story of physical examination, each of the mummies had its own unique story, like the funerary practices, musical instruments ⁶ and food, and the pursuit of beauty, among others. This was a story integrated with technology and history, so to speak.

On top of the stories told by the British Museum, the Hong Kong Science Museum especially crafted another big story about the pursuit of eternal life by ancient Egyptians, who believed death was a way to eternal life. Thus, getting their bodies mummified after death were the preparations for eternal life. Based on this idea, we created the title “Eternal Life” for the exhibition and produced a large-scale multimedia programme which was played at the beginning of the exhibition. One of the mummies was set as the leading role in the story, which depicted how she was brought in front of the gods and delved into the realm of eternal life successfully after overcoming her trials. We hope visitors could have a better understanding of the meanings behind the mummy.



6 祭祀用的樂器 — 魯特琴
Harp - a kind of musical instrument in ancient Egypt

場景布局 營造氣氛

縱使有了精采的故事內容，如果只是平鋪直敘，語調乏味，故事的吸引力難免大打折扣。因此，成功的展覽除了展品本身的質素之外，展場的設計，包括氣氛和環境布局也很重要。我們這次細心鋪排，把展覽分為三大展區，包括多媒體展示區、文物展示區和展品互動區。每一個展區的設計各具特色，讓參觀者從館外到廳內，都能感受歷史氛圍，就好像時光隧道一樣，頃刻間帶領觀眾，由現代回到埃及昔日的黃金盛世。

首先，在戶外廣場樓梯、外牆和正門入口，我們特別以古埃及神廟的概念設計大型戶外裝飾，包括神獸和繪畫了壁畫的柱等^{7 8}。這些建築物是古埃及新王國時期的重要標誌和設施，選取這些元素，主要希望帶出今次展出的木乃伊和文物所屬的歷史年代。



^{7 8} 以古埃及神廟為設計藍本的戶外裝飾
The design concept of the outdoor settings was inspired by the temples in ancient Egypt

之後，觀眾會經過一條長而帶點神秘的永生通道，兩旁都飾以《死者之書》裡的諸神祇，如果死者要得到永生，便要得到祂們的同意，確實他們生前沒有犯罪。這條通道的裝飾可作為起承轉合的作用，利用環境引領參觀者到多媒體展示區^{9 10}。

Striking Ambience created by Breathtaking Settings

Even we had a fascinating story, the exhibition could hardly draw attention from the public if the story was presented in a straightforward and traditional style. Therefore, apart from the nature of exhibits; the design of exhibition areas, including ambience and spatial arrangement, also contributes to a successful exhibition. Having planned meticulously, we demarcated the exhibition into three main zones, including the multimedia experience zone, the cultural objects zone and the interactive zone. Each zone had unique features and enabled visitors to feel the historical moments from both outdoors and indoors as if they passed through a time tunnel to travel from the modern times to the golden age of ancient Egypt in a moment.

First, we embellished the exterior with large-scale adornments by adopting the temples in ancient Egypt as our design concept. We decorated the stairs in the open piazza, facades and the main entrance with mythical gods and columns decorated with ancient Egyptian styles^{7 8}. These infrastructures were very popular and iconic in the New Kingdom in ancient Egypt. We selected these elements for the sake of highlighting the historical period of mummies and the relevant cultural relics.

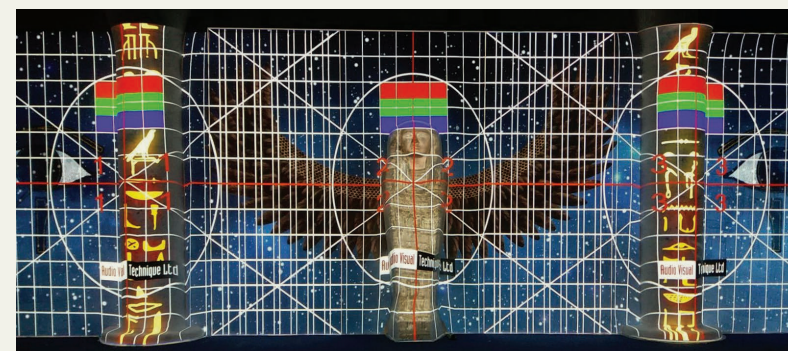
Visitors would then pass through a long and somewhat mysterious eternal life passageway, both sides adorned with the numerous gods as stated in *Book of the Dead*. If the dead wished to have eternal life, they must get consent from the gods and were assured they have no criminal conviction during their lifetime. The adornment of this passageway served as a transition, creating a striking ambience to lead visitors to the multimedia experience zone^{9 10}.



^{9 10} 展覽通道的設計概念來自《死者之書》內的故事
The design concept of the exhibition passageway was inspired by the stories of the numerous gods as shown in *Book of the Dead*

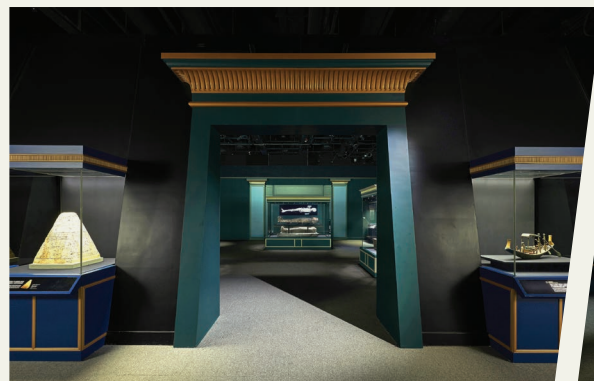
如前文提及，這套多媒體節目是闡述古埃及人如何在死後經過考驗得到永生。我們特意挑選了文物區內第一具展示的木乃伊作為主角，運用動畫和立體光雕技術，把女主人翁生前的形象和死後的木乃伊，交織成一個通往永生的動人故事^{11 12}。所有觀眾在參觀文物前，都會首先觀看節目，待他們一進入文物展示區，呈現眼前的就是這具木乃伊，這樣可以令他們對這位躺在華麗棺木內的女士多了一份認識，對她追求永生的努力多了一份感受。

As mentioned above, this multimedia programme depicted how ancient Egyptians lived eternal life after overcoming trials upon their death. We particularly selected the most representative mummy as the leading role and portrayed her image before death and her mummified body after death by using animation and 3D projection mapping, creating a touching story about how she was led to eternal life after death^{11 12}. All visitors were arranged to watch the programme first before seeing the real mummified body. After moving to the cultural objects zone, they saw the mummy and would have a better understanding of this woman lying in a finely decorated coffin and get to know more about her endeavours in pursuing eternal life.



^{11 12} 光雕投影技術可以把影像投射在不規則形狀的物件上，增強立體視覺效果。
The projection mapping technology enables the images to be projected onto irregularly shaped objects, thus enhancing the 3D visual effect.





13 展場的場景燈光
The theatrical lighting effect of the exhibition

在文物展示區內，我們刻意把木乃伊和棺木，與死者的電腦斷層掃描影像放置在一起，讓觀眾用視覺把兩者聯繫起來，就好像死者親自向他們細說前生往事。而場內的燈光設計較為昏暗，這除了因應文物本身的要求外，還可營造出神廟的內部氣氛，襯托出文物的神秘感，同時亦突顯屏幕上的電腦影像，由此帶出這次展覽跨越科技和歷史界限的特色。

說起燈光設計，這次在展廳內的燈光主要分為三部分，第一組燈光是展櫃內的燈，用來照射文物，每一類文物的燈光角度和亮度都有所不同，以製造不同的效果；第二組燈光是展櫃前方的燈箱，我們把文物的文字解說製作成燈片，利用燈箱展示，這樣可使資料在昏暗的環境下容易閱讀，亦加添了展場的神秘氣氛；第三組是掛在天花的燈，主要用來照射通道、牆上的裝飾和展板等 13 14。

這種三組式設計的好處，是避免燈光互相影響，特別是展櫃由玻璃造成，如果文物或者文字解說要靠外面的燈光照射，由於玻璃會反射光線，這就會影響文物的觀賞，而場區的燈光亦更難調校。



14 展櫃和文字解說的燈光
The lighting of display cases and light boxes for object labels

In the cultural objects zone, we deliberately displayed the mummies and coffins alongside with the CT scanned images of the dead to make a visual connection for visitors, as if the dead told them their life before death. The exhibition areas were rather dark, which fulfilled the strict requirement of displaying mummies and cultural relics, and it also created an environment of ancient temple. Such lighting arrangement accentuated both the mystique of the mummies, cultural relics and computerised images on the screen, through which feature of this exhibition, namely, traversing the boundaries of technologies and history, was highlighted.

Concerning the lighting design, the lights were classified into three main groups. The first group was the lights inside the display cases. They were used for focusing on the objects. To create different effects, the illuminating angle and brightness were unique for each kind of objects. The second group was the light boxes in front of the display cases. By using light films, light boxes were used for displaying labels of objects. Such an arrangement allowed visitors to read the information more easily in a dark environment and reinforced the mystic ambience of the exhibition hall. The third group was the lights hanging on the ceiling. It was used as a kind of theatrical lighting to create exciting spaces while still focusing on the passageways, the wall decorations and the display boards, among others 13 14.

The advantage of such lighting design is avoiding the lights from affecting one another, especially the reflection from glass panels of display cases. If the mummies, cultural relics and exhibition information were illuminated by the lights outside the cases, the glass would reflect light rays and affect the perception of the mummies and cultural relics, and adjusting the lights in the exhibition areas would become more difficult.

至於最後互動展品區，整體的燈光和場景布局和前面的截然不同。這兒燈火明亮，無論是裝飾的圖像或展品的設計，都以輕鬆活潑的卡通形式表達，目的是把沉浸在神秘氣氛的觀眾喚醒起來，刺激他們積極操作展品或參與活動 15 16。

In the last interactive zone, the overall lighting and set design were entirely different from that of the previous two zones. This zone was brightly lit. Both the decorative images and exhibit design were presented in the form of lively cartoons, which aimed to awaken the visitors who had been lost in the mystic atmosphere and encourage them to operate the exhibits and join the activities proactively 15 16.



15 16 互動展品區的場景設計
The set design of the interactive zone

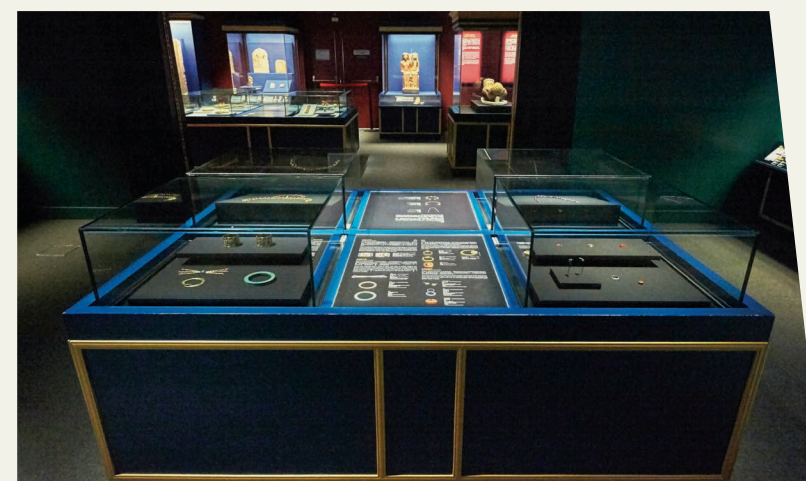


展櫃設計 襯托文物

好的展櫃設計，能令文物錦上添花，顯出不同的格調。科學館向來以互動展覽為主，較少籌辦文物展覽，因此這次我們花了不少心思，四處搜尋最好的展覽文物設備。經過一番研究，我們特別添置、借用和自行研發 60 多個不同尺寸的展櫃，務求令文物展得更为出色，展廳佈置更具彈性 17。

Display Cases Accentuated Relic Features

Delicately-designed display cases can underscore the unique attributes of cultural relics, featuring a rich array of styles. Over the years, the Hong Kong Science Museum has been mainly holding interactive exhibitions, whereas exhibitions about cultural relics are rather uncommon. Therefore, we paid tremendous efforts in searching for the best equipment for displaying the mummies and cultural relics. After a thorough research, we particularly purchased, borrowed and designed over 60 display cases with different sizes, so as to highlight the features of cultural relics and enhance the flexibility of the setting arrangement 17.



17 展示文物用了各種不同種類的展櫃，以配合文物的特色。
Different kinds of display cases were used to display cultural relics for highlighting their unique features



18 19 特別訂製的展櫃，令木乃伊和其棺木能分層地放在一起展示。
Tailor-made display cases enabled the mummies and their coffins to be displayed in a relevant position

由於六具木乃伊和它們的棺木體積較大，因此我們特別訂製了數個玻璃面特大而無縫的展櫃，不但能讓木乃伊莊嚴優雅地置身其中，亦擴大可供觀賞的範圍，讓參觀者更容易看到整具棺木上的內外圖案 **18 19**。

以環保概念策展，是我們的其中一個目標，為了減省開支，我們特別從香港藝術館借來舊展櫃，並加以改裝翻新使用。改裝工程包括更換玻璃軌道槽及膠邊，以及更改燈盤組件，採用發光二極管 (LED) 燈泡，以便更能嚴格控制櫃內的光度、濕度和溫度。至於精緻細小的文物，例如首飾、護身符等，我們更成功自行研製了配備電動升降玻璃罩的桌面式展櫃 **20**，一方面可讓觀眾近距離欣賞製作這些文物的精湛技藝，另一方面由於整個玻璃罩可以電動升降，令文物的擺放變得更快和容易。



20 香港科學館自行研發配備電動升降玻璃罩的桌面式展櫃
The Hong Kong Science Museum developed and tailor-made tabletop display cases with electric lifting shelves

As the six mummies and their coffins were quite large, we tailor-made a few seamless display cases with extra-large glass surfaces. These cases not only enabled the mummies to be placed within them in a solemn and graceful manner, but also widened the viewing perspective and enabled visitors to see both the interior and exterior patterns of the entire coffins more easily **18 19**.

Incorporating the concept of environmental sustainability into the exhibition was one of our missions. In an attempt to reduce expenses, we especially borrowed some old display cases from the Hong Kong Museum of Art and refurbished them by replacing glass rails and plastic rims and improving the lighting effects by adopting LED light bulbs. This improvement allows a better control of the brightness, humidity and temperature inside the display cases. For small-sized objects, such as accessories and amulets, we successfully designed and built tabletop display cases with electric lifting shelves. Such special design let visitors get closer to the objects and appreciate their sophisticated design. It also enabled the mounting work of objects to be carried out more easily as the whole glass shelves could be lifted by electric power **20**.



21 層次分明的文字資料
The exhibition text was displayed in layers

22 有機發光二極體 (OLED) 屏幕的使用突破文字資料的展示限制
OLED screens break free from the display constraints of textual information

文字資料 分層展示

文字解說是展覽核心的一部分，是細說文物和了解歷史資料的重要媒介。冗長的文字會教人難以理解，亦減低閱讀的意欲。大英博物館的策展館長把所有文字資料以層遞方式分層展示出來，他們先把木乃伊和展品分為六大組別，涵括古埃及人的生活習慣、喪葬習俗、祭祀禮儀、童年生活等，再把每一組的文字細分為主題展板、副題展板、分區展板、每件展品的說明和引自古埃及文獻的語句。每一組解說均言簡意賅，部分文字更輔以圖片、圖表或地圖 **21**。

除了以燈箱的形式展示展品的解說外，由於這次展覽的重點是木乃伊，預計會有較多觀眾駐足觀賞，為了讓他們易於閱讀，我們特別裝置了六個透明的有機發光二極體 (OLED) 電子屏幕。使用這種屏幕的好處，是可以把文字放大，和把相關的圖表製作成小型動畫，亦可把棺木上的圖案放大，加上標誌。同時，它還有一個優點，由於它的透明特性，不會遮擋物件，把它擺放在文物的一端，既可以把觀看文物和文字的觀眾分開，改善人流，又可以讓觀看文字的觀眾同時看得見文物，可謂一舉兩得 **22**。

Hierarchical Display of Exhibition Context

Exhibition context includes panels, captions and labels. It is an integral part of an exhibition and a significant medium for disseminating historical information of the objects. Clumsy and long captions are incomprehensible and deter visitors from reading them. The curators of the British Museum arranged the display of information in multiple layers. They classified the mummies and other exhibits into six categories, covering the living habits of ancient Egyptians, funerary practices and childhood, among others. Each set of textual information was further divided into main panels, sub-panels, large labels, zone panels, objects labels and the quotes extracted from the historical documents of ancient Egypt. The illustration of each category was simple and concise, and part of the context information was complemented with photos, diagrams or maps **21**.

The focus of this exhibition, mummies, was expected to draw substantial visitors, thus we particularly installed six transparent OLED screens alongside with the display cases for displaying the context in a dynamic way. The advantage of using this kind of screen is that the text can be enlarged and the relevant diagrams can be transformed into an animated short film. The images on the coffins could also be enlarged with clear indications. One more advantage is that the transparent screen does not block any objects visually. When the screen is placed on one side of a relic, it does not only separate the spectators viewing the objects from those reading the context, but also improves visitors flows. In addition, visitors can read the context and view the objects at the same time. Just a single move can achieve two advantages **22**.

互動展品 首尾呼應

香港科學館展覽的一大特色，是有很強的互動性，鼓勵觀眾親身動手去探索。我們在過去幾個文物的展覽中，都加入了自行設計和製作的互動展品，這次當然不會例外。我們特別製作了一系列的互動展品，放在展覽的最後部分，讓參觀者欣賞完展櫃內的文物後，在互動展品區與文物再遇，達到首尾呼應的效果²³至²⁷。在製作過程中，我們挑選一些既配合文物，又與現代人的生活息息相關的主題，其中一個例子，就是賽尼特遊戲棋。

賽尼特遊戲棋是古埃及非常流行的棋盤遊戲，不論帝王貴族或平民百姓都很喜愛，參加者透過擲骰來令自己的棋子最快走出棋盤。這玩法看來平平無奇，那為甚麼可以風靡一時呢？我們經過仔細研究，製作了類似的遊戲²³，參觀者在文物展示區內看過文物後，可在互動展品區與親友對弈，親身體會箇中樂趣，這樣不但可以令他們與古埃及人產生聯系，亦賦予了文物生命。

Interactive Exhibits Echoed with the Theme

One of the significant features of the exhibitions held by the Hong Kong Science Museum is a high degree of interaction, and visitors are encouraged to operate and explore exhibits themselves. We have designed and produced our own interactive exhibits in a few previous exhibitions about cultural relics, and this exhibition was no exception. We deliberately designed a series of interactive exhibits placed at the end of the exhibition, which enabled visitors to encounter the cultural relics again in the interactive zone after viewing them in display cases, in such a way the interactive exhibits could echo with the theme naturally²³⁻²⁷. During the production process, we selected some themes which fitted in with the cultural relics and lives of people nowadays. One of the examples was the Senet game.

The Senet was an exceptionally popular board game in ancient Egypt. It was well received by royals and nobles, as well as ordinary folks. Participants have to get all their pieces off the board by throwing a dice. The play method seems to be nothing special, so why did Senet become a much sought after board game? After a thorough research, we produced a similar kind of board game²³. When visitors just enjoyed viewing the mummies and the objects, they could play the board game with their family and friends in the interactive zone and have fun there. In this way they did not only connect with ancient Egyptians, but also had a deeper understanding of the cultural relics.



²³ 複製賽尼特遊戲棋
A reproduction of the Senet game



²⁴ 共進佳餚——使用基準標記辨識技術和多點觸控桌創作遊戲，用文字、圖像和動畫描述古埃及人製造食物的方法。
Let Us Dine – It was a game supported by the fiducial marker recognition technology and multi-touch tables, through which the food processing methods of ancient Egyptians could be presented in the form of text, images and animation.



²⁵ 古墓探險記——利用虛擬實境技術，讓觀眾沉浸在電腦建立的古埃及陵墓環境中，展開一次探險旅程。
Virtual Tomb Adventure – Visitors could explore an ancient Egyptian tomb generated by computers and embark on an ever exciting adventure with the VR technology.



²⁶ ²⁷ 美的比拼——觀眾拍攝照片後，再以假髮和首飾等文物裝扮，電腦會以古埃及人的審美標準評分，看看自己是否屬於美麗一族。
Beauty Contest – After taking photos, visitors could edit their portraits with hair wigs and accessories. They would know if they were beautiful by a computerised rating system. The photos were rated based on the aesthetic standard of ancient Egyptians.



利用創新科技設計互動展品，是不可或缺的一環。我們採用了立體投射技術讓金字塔重現香江，亦用了基準標記辨識技術和多點觸控桌，讓觀眾發掘古埃及的佳餚美酒²⁴，而其中一個極受歡迎的展品，就是利用了近來十分熱門的虛擬實境技術，觀眾只要戴上設備，便彷彿置身古埃及陵墓，與考古學家一起探險²⁵。為縮短輪候時間，我們亦採用了配合虛擬實境技術的專有程式，同時控制十多台設備的運作，大大改善了流程。

Designing interactive exhibits with cutting-edge technology is an indispensable part of the exhibition. We adopted the 3D projection technology to reproduce the Egyptian pyramids, and also let visitors explore the food and fine wine of ancient Egypt by means of the fiducial marker recognition technology and multi-touch tables²⁴. One of the most popular exhibits was supported by the virtual reality (VR) technology, which has been prevalent these years. Visitors simply put on the VR equipment and felt like being inside an ancient Egyptian tomb and joining an adventure with archaeologists²⁵. In an attempt to shorten waiting time, we adopted a special programme tailored for the VR technology and monitored the operation of over 10 pieces of equipment simultaneously. It greatly enhanced the operational efficiency.

這次展覽內容所涉及的科技是電腦斷層掃描，沒有這科技，研究人員就不能找到有關木乃伊的新資訊。因此，我們特別希望在展覽中介紹相關的技術和操作原理，而有甚麼能比展示一部真實的電腦斷層掃描儀器更有效呢？可是，要在香港找一部儀器只供展示之用，實在談何容易！在幾經波折下，我們終於得到一間儀器製造商幫助，特別組裝一部電腦斷層掃描儀器讓我們展出，這部儀器的組件與真實的幾乎完全一樣，只是沒有 X 光發射器部分而已。我們更設計了一個電腦遊戲，深入介紹儀器的操作原理和它的應用²⁸。

²⁸ 電腦斷層掃描儀器
A CT scanner



互動展品的好處，是讓參觀者透過操作展品來學習，但如果設計不周或維護不足，令展品稍一操作便損壞，要時常掛著維修牌，那就適得其反了。在思考製作互動展品時，我們特別留意幾個重點：

（一）操作時間不可太長，最好能在兩分鐘內完成操作，減少參加者的輪候時間；

（二）指示簡單清晰，操作容易，並利用錄像節目作簡介，取代太多的文字；

The exhibition involved the CT scan technology, without which researchers could not obtain the new information about mummies. As such, we aspired to introduce the relevant technology and the working mechanisms to visitors in the exhibition. What was more effective than showing a real CT scanner? It is by no means easy to find one that is solely for display purposes in Hong Kong. After overcoming many hurdles, we were able to obtain the help of an equipment manufacturer which assembled a CT scanner for our exhibition. The components of this scanner were exactly the same as those of a real one except the absence of an X-ray emitter. We also designed a computer game to make an in-depth introduction of the operation principles and applications of CT scanners²⁸.

The advantage of interactive exhibits is that visitors can learn by operating them. However, if the design is not good enough or maintenance is inadequate, the exhibits are vulnerable to damage upon operation. The entire scheme just backfires if the exhibits are always under maintenance. While planning the production of interactive exhibits, we paid particular attention to the following points:

1) keep the time for each operation short, better within two minutes, so as to save the visitors' waiting time;

2) assure the instructions are simple and concise and exhibits are easy to operate. Use a video programme for briefing instead of a wordy introduction;

（三）內容設計具有挑戰性元素，讓不同年齡的觀眾也可參與，有不一樣的體驗；

（四）選用耐用性能良好的配件和物料，令展品操作穩定，設計時也必須考慮日後能方便維修；

（五）定期維護展品，包括清潔和更換零件，這有助減少展品的損壞和因缺乏維修而停止運作；

（六）對預計受歡迎的展品多添置一部，讓更多觀眾能同時操作；

（七）盡量利用新科技，帶出創意和驚喜。但在這兒必須指出，科技只是一種展示手段和媒介，不是內容的一部分（介紹新科技除外）。其實每個展覽都各有特色，因此並非每次都要追求高科技，畢竟內容的訊息和文物的意義才是最重要。

總結

要籌辦一個優秀展覽，就好像要創作一個精采的故事，讓觀眾看得趣味盎然。總括而言，展覽要有好的主題、好的展品，除此之外，展示手法還必須有創意，適當運用新科技把展覽主題加以發揮，在整體設計必須以觀眾的參觀體驗為出發點。隨著觀眾的文化水平日漸提高，展覽的策展方向都必須追上社會發展步伐，我們應多留意世界各地博物館的發展，才能把展覽的質素提升。在這兒與大家分享了「永生傳說」展覽的策展概念和布展設計，當然其中仍有不足之處，希望能啟發同業與大眾市民的思考。

「永生傳說」展覽為香港科學館創造了一個傳奇，成為城中熱話。展覽的成功，除策展之外，還有賴其他方面的全力配合，例如教育活動、場地管理和參觀服務等，團隊都懷著致力為觀眾提供優質服務的心意，藉此向他們致以由衷的謝意。

3) incorporate challenging elements into the content so that visitors of all ages can participate in the programme and have unique experience;

4) choose durable components and materials to assure stable operations of exhibits. Exhibits should be designed in a way that future maintenance can be done easily;

5) maintain exhibits regularly, including cleaning and replacement of components, which helps reduce damage of exhibits and avoid the cease of operation due to the lack of maintenance;

6) prepare an additional set for those most popular exhibits so that more visitors can operate them simultaneously;

7) adopt new technology as far as possible to bring innovation and surprise. However, we would like to point out that technology is just a kind of display method and medium, and is not a part of the content (except for the introduction of new technology). In fact, each exhibition has unique features and it is unnecessary to utilise advanced technology in every exhibition. After all, the messages behind the content and the meanings behind the cultural relics are of utmost importance.

Conclusion

Curating a great exhibition is like creating a fascinating story, which enables visitors to have an enjoyable visiting experience and learn something new. All in all, an exhibition should have attractive themes and high quality exhibits. Besides, the display tactics should be innovative with applications of new technology to elaborate the exhibition theme. The overall design should be based on visitor experience. With the rising intellectual standard of visitors, the curatorial direction must keep pace with the social development. We should be sensitive to the development of museums worldwide in order to enhance the quality of local exhibitions. We have taken the opportunity to share the curatorial and design concepts of the "Eternal Life" exhibition here. Certainly there were some inadequacies still and we hope we can inspire our counterparts and the general public to think about that.

The "Eternal Life" exhibition has created a legend for the Hong Kong Science Museum and become the talk of the town. The success of the exhibition was not only attributed to the curatorial strategies, but also an all-round collaboration with other aspects; for example, educational activities, venue management and visitor service, among others. Our team was dedicated to offering quality services to visitors. We would also like to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to them.

剖析電腦斷層掃描技術 Analysis of the CT Scan Technology

電腦斷層掃描於 1970 年面世，是醫學造影技術上的一大突破。這技術不但能提高成像的解析度，還能讓病人得到更好的醫療診斷服務。它摒棄了傳統 X 光造影技術的塑膠片，並以數碼方式儲存圖像（稱為容體數據），革新醫療診斷的效率和成效。

電腦斷層掃描的使用非常方便。首先醫療人員把物件放在儀器的輸送床上，掃描器的發射器會從多角度射出 X 光，並照射到物件上，掃描器內的感應器會接收貫穿物件的 X 光，並加以分析，再將所得的數據轉化為影像。由於電腦斷層掃描可圍繞著目標高速旋轉，因此掃描整個物件，甚至人體也只需幾分鐘時間，便能收集到大量數據。這些數據就是數以千張把物件或人體從頭到腳逐層切開的二維 (2D) X 光影像，或稱為斷層照片，影像經電腦專用軟件處理後，即所謂容體重建繪製，會變為三維 (3D) 影像，這些 3D 影像稱為「成像」。

物件經過掃描後，所得的分層次切面圖像，可製成一個互動的三維成像模型，有了這個模型，操作人員便能一層一層地剖析物件的內部結構²⁹ ³⁰。它是現今臨床醫學診斷不可或缺的重要工具。

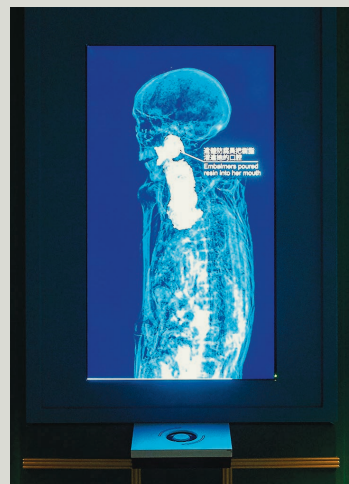
The CT scan technology was invented in 1970, representing a breakthrough for medical magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) technology. This technology not only enhances image resolution, but also enables patients to obtain better diagnostic services. It abandons the plastic films of traditional X-ray MRI technology and saves images (called volumetric data) by digital formats, bringing the medical diagnostic technology to the next level.

It is very convenient to operate a CT scanner. First of all, medical staff put the object on the conveyor bed. The emitter then generates X-ray beams from multiple angles and the beams penetrate the object subsequently. Next, the detector receives the X-ray beams which have penetrated the object and performs analyses. The resulting data is transformed into an image. As the CT scan system can rotate along the circumference of an object at a high speed, it just takes a few minutes to scan an entire object or even a human body and collect a bulk volume of data. The data collected are thousands of 2D X-ray images or cross-sectional images which deconstruct an entire object or a human body in terms of multiple sections. The 2D images are transformed into 3D images by specialised application software, the so-called volumetric reconstruction technology. Such 3D images are called "imaging".

After the object is scanned, the cross-sectional images generated can be processed into a 3D imaging model. With this model, operators can perform analyses on the interior structure of the object by sections²⁹ ³⁰. Nowadays, CT scanners have become indispensable tools in clinical diagnosis.



²⁹ 電腦斷層掃描成像顯示的內部結構
A CT scanned image revealed the interior structure of a mummy



³⁰ 電腦斷層掃描成像顯示木乃伊內的填充物
A CT scanned image revealed the packing material inside the mummy



³¹ 倫敦皇家布朗頓醫院為木乃伊進行電腦掃描
The mummy being CT scanned at the Royal Brompton Hospital in London
©The Trustees of the British Museum

近年，大英博物館及不少海外博物館均開始使用這種技術，取代 X 光研究木乃伊，取其效率高和影像更清晰。

在研究木乃伊的過程中，最大挑戰是把木乃伊送到醫院，進行電腦斷層掃描。大英博物館的研究員事前做好準備功夫，先與醫院溝通，安排在周末不影響病人的日子，把木乃伊包好及做足防震設施，以防止木乃伊在運輸途中「不適」。送到醫院後，研究人員把木乃伊放在電腦斷層儀器上³¹，只需要十多分鐘的時間，便能掃描整具木乃伊，繪製出三維成像。透過觀看這些成像，研究員便可由外到內，在無須解開包裹物料的情況下，都能仔細地研究木乃伊，特別是身體內部結構，並推斷死者的年齡和性別、製成木乃伊的過程、飲食習慣、健康狀況，甚至死因等。

現時，電腦斷層掃描技術已開始更廣泛應用在其他考古和文物研究上，為了解人類的文明作出重要的貢獻。

In recent years, the British Museum and many other overseas museums have started using the CT scan technology, instead of the X-ray technology, to conduct researches on mummies, for the former has higher effectiveness and generates clearer images.

During the course of studying the mummies, the biggest challenge was delivering the mummies to the hospital for CT scanning. The researchers of the British Museum liaised with the hospital staff in advance and did some preparation work, including packaging the mummies and making sufficient shock-absorbers to prevent them from damage during delivery. They also arranged delivery of the mummies at the weekend to avoid disturbing patients. After delivering the mummies to the hospital, the researchers put the mummies on the CT scanner³¹. It just took about 10 minutes or so to scan the entire mummy and generate a 3D image. Researchers could study the mummies inside out without removing the packaging materials. Through examining the interior structure of the mummified bodies, researchers could deduce their age and gender, mummification process, former dietary habits, state of health and even the cause of death.

Today, the CT scan technology has been widely applied to the studies of other archeological and cultural relics, making significant contributions to the studies of human civilisation.

香港科學館 HONG KONG SCIENCE MUSEUM

香港科學館是一個探尋科學知識的好地方，館內陳列豐富而有趣的互動展品，鼓勵大眾親身體驗，學習科學知識和認識科技發展在社會上的應用。展館題材廣泛，包括磁與電、生命科學、運輸、電訊、食物科學、生物多樣性、家居科技等。香港科學館亦定期舉辦專題展覽以介紹科技新知，以及提供各種推廣和教育活動。

Hong Kong Science Museum is a fun place for learning science. It houses a number of engaging interactive exhibits, aiming to arouse curiosity and inspire interest in science by providing fun and hands-on learning experiences. The museum's galleries cover a wide range of topics including electricity and magnetism, life sciences, transportation, telecommunication, food science, biodiversity, home technology, among others. The museum also regularly organises thematic exhibitions on latest development in science and technology, and provides a multitude of extension and education programmes.

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