

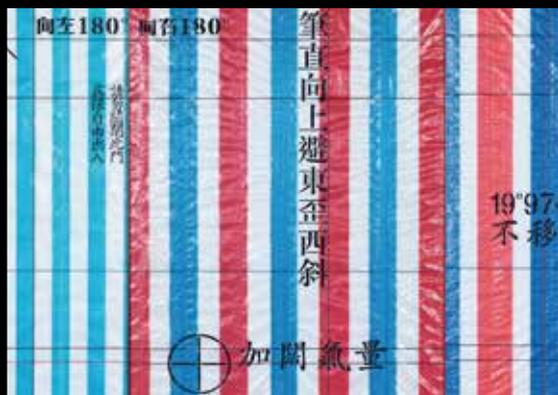


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康樂及文化事務署  
Leisure and Cultural  
Services Department

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# KONG M JOURNAL

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# 香港非物質文化遺產 保護工作十二年：回顧與前瞻

## Retrospect and Prospects: Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Hong Kong Over the Past 12 Years

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① 粵劇於 2009 年列入「人類非物質文化遺產代表作名錄」，圖為 2018 年的蒲台島天后誕粵劇神功戲。

Cantonese opera was inscribed onto the "Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity" in 2009. The photo shows a performance of the Cantonese opera for gods at 2018 Po Toi Island Tin Hau Festival.

### 前言

香港特別行政區政府（香港特區政府或政府）對本地非物質文化遺產（非遺）進行保護，約從 12 年前展開積極的工作。聯合國教科文組織於 2003 年 10 月的大會上通過了《保護非物質文化遺產公約》後，中國政府於 2004 年 8 月經全國人大常委會批准，正式加入公約，成為第六個締約國；同年 12 月，香港特區政府也向聯合國教科文組織遞交文件，確認公約將適用於香港。至 2006 年 3 月，香港特區政府鑑於公約即將於 4 月 20 日正式生效，便在香港文化博物館內新增設了「非物質文化遺產組」，執行公約要求的一系列保護措施，包括對本地的非遺進行調查、認定、立檔、研究、宣傳、教育、推廣、傳承和振興等。至今，香港的非遺保護工作已走過了 12 個年頭，發展長足。期間，政府完成了第一次香港非物質文化遺產普查，並於 2014 年 6 月正式公布了香港首份非物質文化遺產清單（「香港非遺清單或非遺清單」）；政府又協助本地傳承團體，成功將十項香港的非物質文化遺產列入「國家級非物質文化遺產代表性項目名錄」（「國家級非遺代表性項目名錄」），包括粵劇、涼茶、長洲太平清醮、大澳端午龍舟遊涌、香港潮人盂蘭勝會、大坑舞火龍、西貢坑口客家麒麟舞、黃大仙信俗、全真道堂科儀音樂、古琴藝術（斲琴技藝）等十項；又與澳門和廣東省政府聯手，於 2009 年成功把粵劇列入聯合國教科文組織的「人類非物質文化遺產代表作名錄」（「聯合國人類非遺代表作名錄」），成為粵港澳三地共同擁有的世界級非物質文化遺產<sup>①</sup>；此外，也與本地大學、社區組織、傳承團體和相關政府部門保持緊密合作，推展了多項研究、教育、推廣、傳承計劃，提高了民間對非遺的關注和保護意識。

### Introduction

About 12 years ago, the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR Government or the Government) started to take a proactive approach to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage (ICH) of Hong Kong. After the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (Convention) in October 2003, the Government of the People's Republic of China officially ratified the UNESCO's Convention upon its approval by the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress in August of the following year, since then China has become the sixth State Party. In December 2004, the HKSAR Government also made a submission to UNESCO to confirm the Convention would be applicable to Hong Kong. Given that the UNESCO's Convention would soon formally come into effect on 20 April 2006, the "Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit" (ICHU) was newly set up by the HKSAR Government under the establishment of the Hong Kong Heritage Museum (HKHM) in March of the same year to undertake a series of safeguarding measures as stipulated in the UNESCO's Convention, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, and revitalisation of the ICH of Hong Kong. To date, the safeguarding of the ICH of Hong Kong has been ongoing for 12 years, which is undeniably a longstanding development. During this period, the Government conducted the first territory-wide survey on the ICH of Hong Kong and announced the first Hong Kong ICH Inventory in June 2014. In addition, the Government assisted ICH bearer organisations in inscribing ten local ICH items onto the "National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of China" (National List), including Cantonese Opera, Herbal Tea, Cheung Chau *Jiao* Festival, Tai O Dragon Boat Water Parade, Yu Lan Ghost Festival of the Hong Kong Chiu Chow Community, Tai Hang Fire Dragon Dance, Hakka Unicorn Dance in Hang Hau in Sai Kung, Wong Tai Sin Belief and Customs, *Quanzhen* Temples Taoist Ritual Music and The Arts of the *Guzhen* (The Craft of *Qin* Making), among others. On top of that, the Governments of Hong Kong, Macao and Guangdong Province jointly applied for the inscription of Cantonese opera onto the UNESCO's "Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity" (UNESCO's Representative List of Humanity) and the application was approved in 2009, making Cantonese opera the world ICH item in the three regions<sup>①</sup>. The HKSAR Government closely collaborated with local universities, community organisations, ICH bearer organisations and relevant government departments to develop and implement a broad array of research, education, promotion and transmission campaigns, arousing interest in and awareness of safeguarding ICH among the general public.

2015年5月，香港特區政府把非物質文化遺產組升格為獨立的「非物質文化遺產辦事處」（非遺辦事處），並增加了人員編制應付日益繁重的保護工作，為香港非遺保護的重要里程碑。非遺辦事處的工作重點包括深化對非遺項目的研究，並設立資料室和網上資料庫，盡量把研究資料提供給市民參考；又於2016年6月把荃灣三棟屋博物館改稱為「香港非物質文化遺產中心」，透過專題展覽、同樂日、講座、傳承工作坊、研習班等活動，使傳承團體和市民大眾能互動和交流，增進彼此的了解和認同。2017年8月，香港特區政府公布第一份「香港非物質文化遺產代表作名錄」（「香港非遺代表作名錄」），共有20個項目，包括南音、宗族春秋二祭、香港天后誕、中秋節——薄扶林舞火龍、正一道教儀式傳統、食盆、港式奶茶製作技藝、紮作技藝、香港中式長衫和裙褂製作技藝、戲棚搭建技藝等，已列入「國家級非遺名錄」的十個本地項目亦自動納入代表作名錄。非遺辦事處會與代表作名錄的團體和傳承人保持緊密聯繫和合作，加強對代表作項目的教育、推廣及傳承工作。2018年初，香港特區政府在財政預算案中，建議向康樂及文化事務署（康文署）撥款三億元以設立非遺資助計劃，推動社區參與非遺的保護、研究、教育、推廣和傳承工作，提升公眾對非遺的認識和了解。此項資助計劃於2019年推行後，將有助香港非遺的傳承和健康發展。本文將回顧十多年來香港非遺保護工作所走過的路，並闡述未來保護工作的重點方向。

In May 2015, the HKSAR Government upgraded ICHU to an independent organisation, namely, the “Intangible Cultural Heritage Office” (ICHO), and expanded the workforce to cope with the increasingly heavy workload in safeguarding the local heritage, celebrating the key milestone of safeguarding the ICH of Hong Kong. The main duties of ICHO include conducting in-depth research on the inventory items and establishing archives and online database, aiming to give the public full access to the research findings of ICHO. In June 2016, ICHO transformed the Sam Tung Uk Museum into the “Hong Kong ICH Centre”. Through the organisation of various events, such as thematic exhibitions, fun days, seminars and ICH transmitters’ workshops and courses, the Centre enables interactions and exchanges of views between bearer organisations and the general public, enhancing their mutual recognition and understanding. In August 2017, the Government announced the first “Representative List of the ICH of Hong Kong” (Representative List of Hong Kong), which is composed of 20 items, covering *Nanyin* (Southern Tunes), Spring and Autumn Ancestral Worship of Clans, Tin Hau Festival in Hong Kong, Mid-Autumn Festival – the Pok Fu Lam Fire Dragon Dance, Taoist Ritual Tradition of the *Zhengyi* School, *Sek Pun* (Basin Feast), Hong Kong-style Milk Tea Making Technique, Paper Crafting Technique, The Sewing Techniques of Hong Kong-style *Cheongsam* and *Kwan Kwa* Wedding Costume and Bamboo Theatre Building Technique, among others. The ten local items which have already been inscribed onto the National List are automatically included in the Representative List of Hong Kong. ICHO closely connects and collaborates with the organisations and ICH transmitters of the items in the Representative List of Hong Kong in a bid to strengthen the education, promotion and transmission of such items. According to the budget announcement in early 2018, the Government proposed an allocation of 300 million dollars to the Leisure and Cultural Services Department (LCSD) to set up an ICH funding scheme, encouraging the community to take part in the safeguarding, research, education, promotion and transmission of ICH and arousing public awareness and understanding of the ICH of Hong Kong. After its launch in 2019, the ICH funding scheme will help boost the transmission and robust development of the ICH of Hong Kong. This article serves to review what has been encountered in preserving, promoting and transmitting the ICH of Hong Kong over the past decade and elaborate the key directions of safeguarding cultural heritage in the future.

<sup>1</sup> 文化部對外文化聯絡局編：《聯合國教科文組織〈保護非物質文化遺產公約〉基礎文件匯編》（北京：外文出版社，2012）頁10。

Bureau for External Cultural Relations, Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China, ed., *The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization “The UNESCO’s Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage” 基礎文件匯編* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 2012), 10.

## 確認、立檔、研究

保護非物質文化遺產公約第二條「定義」指出，保護非物質文化遺產的措施有九個方面，包括對遺產的確認、立檔、研究、保存、保護、宣傳、弘揚、承傳（主要通過正規和非正規教育）和振興。<sup>1</sup>其中確認、立檔、研究三方面屬於基礎工作，締約國必須因應自己的國情，經由社區和非政府團體的參與和確認之下，擬定一份或數份非物質文化遺產清單，並需定期更新（公約第十二條）。因此，自2006年香港文化博物館「非物質文化遺產組」成立之後，便積極籌劃進行第一次香港非物質文化遺產普查，以確認本地仍然流傳的非遺項目，並對項目進行立檔和研究。另一方面，香港特區政府於2008年中成立了「非物質文化遺產諮詢委員會」，委任約十位本地學者、專家和社區代表為委員，向政府提供保護非遺的意見，並督導普查的進行。在徵詢過委員會的意見之後，政府透過公開招標，於2009年中委聘香港科技大學華南研究中心開展普查工作。

普查的範圍主要根據公約對非物質文化遺產界定的五個範疇：（一）口頭傳說和表述，包括作為非物質文化遺產媒介的語言；（二）表演藝術；（三）社會風俗、禮儀、節慶；（四）有關自然界和宇宙的知識和實踐；（五）傳統的手工藝技能。至於普查的方法，華南研究中心的普查隊，採用了人類學「參與觀察」（Participant Observation）的田野調查方法，對每項非遺活動進行詳細的記錄，包括文字、攝影和錄像等，並對活動的主要傳承人進行口述歷史研究，把活動的源流、發展、傳承譜系和現狀記錄，由此建立起香港首份較完整的非物質文化遺產檔案。普查的項目，除華南研究中心根據文獻資料而整理出的280項的名單外，香港文化博物館和華南研究中心還透過媒體、網頁、小冊頁等作宣傳，邀請市民申報，又派代表出席了18區區議會和鄉議局會議，邀請議員協助申報區內有價值的非遺項目。普查歷時三年多才告完成，其間共調查了約800個項目。至2013年初，華南研究中心提交了詳細的普查報告和一份非物質文化遺產草擬清單，涵蓋了400多個項目。非物質文化遺產諮詢委員會隨即召開了三次會議，詳細審議報告和草擬清單。

## Identification, Documentation and Research

According to Article 2 “definitions” of the UNESCO’s Convention, the measures for safeguarding ICH fall into nine aspects, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalisation of the various aspects of such heritage.<sup>1</sup> Among them identification, documentation and research are three fundamental aspects. The Article 12 of the UNESCO’s Convention stipulates that each State Party shall draw up, in a manner geared to its own situation, one or more inventories of the ICH present in its territory and that these inventories shall be regularly updated. After the establishment of ICHU under HKHM in 2006, the first territory-wide survey on the ICH of Hong Kong was planned actively for identifying, documenting and researching the ICH items of Hong Kong which are still existed in the city. On the other hand, the HKSAR Government established in mid-2008 the “Intangible Cultural Heritage Advisory Committee” (ICHAC) and appointed some ten people, including academics, experts and community representatives, as Committee Members. They gave advice to the Government about safeguarding ICH and monitored the territory-wide ICH survey. After consulting ICHAC, the Government commissioned through open tender the South China Research Centre (SCRC) of the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST) to commence the survey in 2009.

The scope of the territory-wide survey was mainly defined in accordance with the five domains of ICH identified by the UNESCO’s Convention, covering: 1) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; 2) performing arts; 3) social practices, rituals and festive events; 4) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and 5) traditional craftsmanship. Concerning the methodology, the survey team of SCRC conducted the research through participant observation, which is a kind of field research adopted in anthropology. The team recorded each ICH event in detail in terms of text, photos and videos; conducted oral history research on the main heritage bearers of such events, and documented the sources, development, genealogy of inheritance and the current status, from which they established the first relatively comprehensive archive of the ICH items of Hong Kong. Apart from the 280 ICH items of the inventory compiled from historical documents by SCRC, HKHM and SCRC also attempted to collect more ICH items for the survey by inviting the public to declare any ICH items of Hong Kong through promotion via media, websites and pamphlets; they sent delegates to attend the meetings of the 18 District Councils and Heung Yee Kuk and invited District Councilors to assist in declaring some valuable ICH items of their corresponding district. The

香港特區政府十分重視市民大眾共同參與非物質文化遺產清單的編製工作。按公約第十二條和第十五條的要求，非物質文化遺產清單的制訂，必須有社區團體的參與，以及市民的認同。<sup>2</sup> 因此，康文署於2013年7月至11月，就非遺諮詢委員會推薦的清單，展開了四個月的公眾諮詢，邀請市民對草擬清單載列的400多個項目發表意見。同時，非物質文化遺產組和華南研究中心的代表，再次出席了18區區議會和鄉議局的會議，徵詢各區議員對清單的意見。諮詢期內，共收到200多項公眾的意見，經非遺諮詢委員會審訂，以及立法會民政事務委員會討論之後，政府最終於2014年6月正式公布了首份「香港非遺清單」，涵蓋480個項目。<sup>3</sup> 同年12月，非物質文化遺產組得到香港公共圖書館的支持，在圖書館的多媒體資訊系統內，建立了初步的非物質文化遺產網上資料庫 (<https://mmis.hkpl.gov.hk/ich>)，提供480個清單項目的基本資料和照片，讓市民查閱；至2016年8月，網站的點擊率已達25,000多次，顯示市民對本地非物質文化遺產甚為關注。

除普查之外，政府也對本地重要的非物質文化遺產開展專項研究，以加深對遺產的認識。2011年初，康文署委聘香港中文大學歷史系進行「太平清醮與長洲地方社會文化的發展」口述歷史研究計劃，透過資深的研究人員，對地方群體的集體記憶、個人口述歷史和生命史進行系統記錄，重塑過去百多年來，長洲太平清醮這項非物質文化遺產的發展與地方社會的互動關係，研究完成後，康文署會把研究報告公開讓市民和學者參考。此外，為配合國家文化部編纂十部《中國民族民間文藝集成志書》的重點科研項目，康文署於2012年中委聘了嶺南大學群芳文化研究及發展部，進行《中國戲曲志》及《中國戲曲音樂集成》〈香港卷〉（戲曲志及戲曲音樂集成）的編纂計劃，邀得三位本地知名的戲曲學者，即香港中文大學音樂系余少華教授、嶺南大學文化研究系李小良

survey spanned across three years and covered the research on some 800 items. In early 2013, shortly after SCRC submitted a detailed survey report and a tentative inventory of over 400 ICH items of Hong Kong, ICHAC called for three meetings to deliberate the report in detail and propose the Hong Kong ICH Inventory.

The HKSAR Government attaches great importance to public participation in the inventory compilation of the ICH of Hong Kong. According to the requirements as stipulated in the Articles 12 and 15 of the UNESCO's Convention, the inventory compilation of ICH entails the widest possible participation of communities and public recognition.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, LCSD launched a four-month public consultation on the inventory recommended by ICHAC and invited the general public to voice their views on over 400 ICH items recorded in the proposed inventory from July to November 2013. Meanwhile, the delegates of ICHU and SCRC once again attended the meeting of the 18 District Councils and Heung Yee Kuk to solicit opinions on the inventory from District Councilors. LCSD received over 200 submissions during the consultation period. After a thorough examination of all the views received by ICHAC and discussion by the Legislative Council Panel on Home Affairs, the Government officially announced the first Hong Kong ICH inventory which covers 480 items in June 2014.<sup>3</sup> In December of the same year, ICHU garnered support from the Hong Kong Public Libraries (HKPL) and established the Hong Kong ICH Database in the Multimedia Information System of HKPL (<https://mmis.hkpl.gov.hk/ich>), providing the basic information and photos of the 480 inventory items for public access. In August 2016, the cumulative hit rate of this website reached over 25,000, implying the growing public interest in the ICH items of Hong Kong.

Apart from the territory-wide survey, the HKSAR Government also conducted topical studies on some significant ICH items of Hong Kong so as to have a better understanding of such heritage. In early 2011, LCSD commissioned the Department of History of the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) to conduct an oral history research project, namely, "Cheung Chau *Jiao* Festival and the social and cultural development of Cheung Chau". Through systematic documentation of the collective memories, individual oral history and life history of some local groups, the experienced researchers reconstructed the interactive relationship between the development of the Cheung Chau *Jiao* Festival, which is accounted an ICH item, and the local community over the past hundred years.

教授及新加坡國立大學中文系容世誠教授，出任戲曲志及戲曲音樂集成的主編。他們組織了研究團隊，對香港的戲曲音樂作全面而又深入的調查、收集和整理有關的資料，並根據中國傳統方志學的方法編撰志書，由綜述、圖表、志略、傳記四大部類組成，既要以歷史時期為序，依據所掌握的史料，概括香港戲曲孕育、形成和發展的歷史，又要揭示其社會背景和政治、經濟、文化根源，反映戲曲的歷史和現狀。研究團隊於2016年5月完成戲曲志和戲曲音樂集成的初稿後，康文署隨即於同年7月邀請了中國文化部的專家組成員來港出席審稿會議，並與香港戲曲業界進行交流。在聽取了各方面的意見之後，研究團隊正為戲曲志及戲曲音樂集成的最後定稿而努力。

到2016年中，康文署又開展了「香港武術非物質文化遺產調查和研究」計劃。此計劃由三位專家學者主持，包括華南師範大學馬廉禎教授、中華國術總會趙式慶會長和香港浸會大學麥勁生教授，對香港武術的文化生態和譜系進行一次全面調查，從香港武術的源流、代表人物、武術組織、武術活動、發展階段、特徵、武俠文化等方面進行研究，並從人類學、社會學等視角進行考察與分析。這為期三年的計劃完成後，將建立第一個香港武術專項資料庫，供學者和市民參考。

After completion of the research project, LCSD will enable the general public and academics to access the research findings. On top of that, to be in line with the strategic research project of compiling the ten volumes of *Annals and Collection of China Ethnic/Folk Literature and Arts* undertaken by the Ministry of Culture of the People Republic of China (MOC), LCSD commissioned the Kwan Fong Cultural Research and Development Programme (Kwan Fong Programme) of Lingnan University to take on the compilation projects of *Annals of Chinese Opera and Anthology of Chinese Opera Music: The Hong Kong Volume* in mid-2012 and invited three renowned local academics of Chinese opera, namely, Professor Yu Siu-wah of the Department of Music of CUHK, Professor Li Siu-leung of the Department of Cultural Studies of Lingnan University and Professor Yung Sai-shing of the Department of Chinese Studies of the National University of Singapore to be the chief editors of the above two publications. They organised a research team to conduct a thorough and in-depth study on the Chinese opera music of Hong Kong, collect and process the relevant information, and compile the annals according to Chinese local chronicles. The annals are composed of four main parts, including reviews, diagrams, abbreviated records and biographies. Based on the historical data collected, the annals not only summarise and present the history of origin, formation and development of the Chinese opera in Hong Kong chronologically, but also unearth its social background, political, economic and cultural origins and reveal the history and current status of Chinese opera. After the research team completed the first draft of *Annals of Chinese Opera and Anthology of Chinese Opera Music: The Hong Kong Volume* in May 2016, LCSD invited the Expert Panel of MOC to attend the review meeting and exchange their views with their counterparts in Hong Kong. Having collected all the views from various parties, the research team is now endeavouring to finalise the content of the two annals.

In mid-2016, LCSD launched another project, namely, "Survey and Research of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Hong Kong Martial Arts". This project was hosted by three experts and academics, including Dr Lianzhen Ma of the South China Normal University; Mr Hing Chao, Founder of International Guoshu Association and Professor Mak King-sang Ricardo of the Hong Kong Baptist University. They conducted a thorough survey on the cultural ecology and genealogy of the martial arts in Hong Kong through research on a broad array of aspects, such as the origin, representative figures, martial arts organisations, martial arts activities, phases of development, features and culture of martial arts. They examined and analysed the data collected from the perspectives of anthropology and sociology. After completion of this three-year project, the first specific database of the martial arts in Hong Kong would be established, providing academics and the general public open access to the database.

<sup>2</sup> 同上註，頁12-13。

Ibid. 12-13

<sup>3</sup> 香港立法會民政事務委員會（文件）：〈公布香港非物質文化遺產清單〉（2014-6-13），<http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr13-14/chinese/panels/ha/papers/ha0617cb2-1719-4-c.pdf>。

Legislative Council Panel on Home Affairs (Paper), "Announcement of the First Intangible Cultural Heritage Inventory of Hong Kong" (13 June 2014), <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr13-14/english/panels/ha/papers/ha0617cb2-1719-4-e.pdf>.

保護非物質文化遺產公約所闡述的「保存」(preservation)和「保護」(protection)措施，與公約名稱本身所用的「保護」(safeguarding)一詞，在英文語境裡有顯著不同的含義，可惜在中文的翻譯裡，都可譯作「保護」，使概念有所混淆。國內學者周超在討論中國的《非物質文化遺產法》時指出，「保存」應涉及非物質文化遺產名錄和相關實物的保存和管理，「保護」(protection)則應是以非物質文化遺產傳承人的動態性培養為核心，<sup>4</sup>由遺產的傳承人和傳承團體履行世代傳承的責任。從「保存」的角度而言，香港雖然於2014年才公布第一份非遺清單，建立了自己的名錄，但其實早在九年之前，香港已配合國內名錄體制的建設，開始申報香港的項目成為國家級非遺代表性項目。

中國在2004年加入《保護非物質文化遺產公約》之後，即開展非遺名錄體制的建設。2005年3月，國務院頒佈了《關於加強我國非物質文化遺產保護工作的意見》，<sup>5</sup>其中要求建立國家、省、市、縣四級的非物質文化遺產代表作名錄體系，從地方至國家，層層申報，當中以「國家級非遺代表性項目名錄」最具代表性，只有進入該名錄的項目，才有資格申報「聯合國人類非遺代表作名錄」。翌年，國務院宣布第一批共518項「國家級非遺代表性項目名錄」，其中包括了由廣東、香港、澳門三地共同申報的「粵劇」和「涼茶」，消息公布後，即引起香港市民對非物質文化遺產的關注。2007年申報第二批「國家級非遺代表性項目名錄」的時候，由於香港正忙著籌劃第一次非遺普查，因此未有向文化部提交申報書。至2009年，香港特區政府應文化部申報第三批國家級名錄的邀請，挑選了四項在社區傳承超過百年的傳統節慶向文化部獨立申報，這四個項目分別是長洲太平清醮、大澳端午龍舟遊涌、香港潮人盂蘭勝會和大坑中秋舞火龍。至2011年5月，國務院公布第三批「國家級非遺名錄」，香港的四個項目全部入選，隨即

According to the UNESCO's Convention, the terms "preservation" and "protection" defined as measures, and the term "safeguarding" as presented in the title are apparently different in meaning in the linguistic context, though all these three terms can be interpreted as "safeguarding" in Chinese. Thus there is some confusion about the concepts of these three terms. During the course of discussion on the ICH Law of the People's Republic of China (ICH Law of PRC), Zhou Chao, a Mainland academic, stated that the term "preservation" should be referred to the preservation and management of the ICH items of the National List; whereas the focus of "protection" should be the dynamic cultivation of ICH bearers,<sup>4</sup> and it is the responsibility of ICH transmitters and bearer organisations to pass on their heritage to future generations. As far as "preservation" is concerned, despite the fact that Hong Kong did not announce the first ICH inventory and establish its own inventory system until 2014, the city started to submit the application for inscription of some local ICH items onto the National List as early as nine years ago in an attempt to work in tandem with the establishment of the Mainland's ICH inventory system.

Shortly after acceding to the UNESCO's Convention in 2004, China started to engage in establishing its own ICH inventory system. In March 2005, the State Council issued *The Advice on Strengthening China's Intangible Cultural Heritage Protection*,<sup>5</sup> stipulating the ICH inventory system at four levels, covering the national, provincial, municipal and county levels. The inventory system is therefore hierarchically arranged from local to national. Among them the National List is the most representative, only the items having gained entry to the National List are eligible to be inscribed onto the UNESCO's Representative List of Humanity. In 2006, the State Council announced the first batch of 518 ICH items of the National List, including "Cantonese Opera" and "Herbal Tea", which are the ICH items applied jointly by Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao. Such announcement immediately aroused Hong Kong people's interest in ICH. When the application for inscription onto the Second National List was open in 2007, the HKSAR Government was occupied in conducting the first territory-wide survey on ICH and did not submit any application to MOC. Until 2009, the Government addressed the invitation from MOC and submitted independently the application for inscription of the four traditional festivals which have been transmitted over a hundred years, including the *Jiao* Festival of Cheung Chau, the Dragon Boat Water Parade



2 西貢坑口客家舞麒麟於2014年列為國家級非遺代表性項目，師傅在「坑口非物質文化遺產日」教導市民舞麒麟技巧。  
Hakka Unicorn Dance in Hang Hau in Sai Kung was inscribed into the National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of China in 2014. A master is teaching a citizen how to perform unicorn dance on the "ICH Day @ Hang Hau".

引來傳媒的廣泛報道，為香港帶來一陣非物質文化遺產熱潮。至2014年12月，國務院公布第四批國家級非遺代表性項目，香港再有四個項目入選，分別是西貢坑口客家舞麒麟<sup>2</sup>、黃大仙信俗、全真道堂科儀音樂和古琴藝術（斲琴技藝），這四個項目涵蓋公約所界定的「表演藝術」、「社會實踐、儀式、節慶活動」和「傳統手工藝」等類別，顯示香港的國家級非遺代表性項目趨於多元化，獲得社會普遍認同。

除「國家級非遺代表性項目名錄」之外，香港也申報的「聯合國人類非遺代表作名錄」。廣東、香港、澳門三地政府早於2003年初開始，籌劃申報「粵劇」列入聯合國教科文組織的「人類口頭和非物質遺產代表作名錄」，這名錄是根據教科文組織於1998年通過的《教科文組織宣布「人類口頭和非物質遺產代表作」條例》而制訂，<sup>6</sup>分別於2001、2003及2005年宣布了三批共90項「人類口頭和非物質遺產代表作」。至2006年《保護非物質文化遺產公約》生效之後，公約便正式取代了《教科文組織宣布「人類口頭和非物質遺產代表作」條例》的功能。根據2008年締約國大會上通過的「實施公約的業務指南」，教科文組織確認將90項的「人類口頭和非物質遺產代表作」列入公約的「聯合國人類非遺代表作名錄」，同時，也邀請締約國申報新一批代表作。於是，粵港澳即透過中央政府向教科文

of Tai O, the Yu Lan Ghost Festival of the Hong Kong Chiu Chow Community and the Fire Dragon Dance of Tai Hang, onto the Third National List. In May 2011, the State Council announced the Third National List, in which all the above four ICH items were successfully inscribed onto the List, leading to wide media coverage and generating a rave for ICH. In December 2014, the State Council announced the Fourth National List, which includes four more ICH items of Hong Kong, including Hakka Unicorn Dance in Hang Hau in Sai Kung<sup>2</sup>, Wong Tai Sin belief and customs, *Quanzhen* temples Taoist ritual music and the arts of the *Guqin* (the craft of *Qin* making). These four items cover three domains as defined by the UNESCO's Convention, including "performing arts"; "social practices, rituals and festive events" and "traditional craftsmanship", reflecting the ICH items of Hong Kong inscribed onto the National List have been more diverse and widely recognised by the general public.

Apart from the National List, Hong Kong also submitted the application for inscription of the local ICH items onto the UNESCO's Representative List of Humanity. As early as the beginning of 2003, the Governments of Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao joined hands to apply for inscription of Cantonese opera onto UNESCO's Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, which was devised according to the *Regulations in relation to the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* approved by UNESCO in 1998.<sup>6</sup> Three batches with a total of 90 ICH items were proclaimed by UNESCO as masterpieces in 2001, 2003 and 2005 respectively. When the UNESCO's Convention came into effect in 2006, it officially superseded the proclamation programme. According to the "Operational Directives for the Implementation of the UNESCO's Convention for the

<sup>4</sup> 周超：〈論非物質文化遺產「保護」(safeguarding)的法律含義〉，《文化遺產》(3, 2015)，頁5-12。

Zhou Chao, "論非物質文化遺產「保護」(safeguarding)的法律含義," *Cultural Heritage*, no. 3, (2015): 5-12.

<sup>5</sup> 王文章編：《非物質文化遺產概念》(北京：教育科學出版社，2008)，頁317-319。

Wang Wenzhang, ed., *Overview of Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Beijing: Education Science Press, 2008), 317-19.

<sup>6</sup> 鄭啟山編：《人類非物質文化遺產代表作》(鄭州：大象出版社，2006)，頁6。

Zou Qishan, ed., *人類非物質文化遺產代表作* (Zhengzhou: Daxiang Press, 2006), 6.



3 中秋節薄扶林舞火龍活動，於 2017 年列入首份香港非物質文化遺產代表作名錄。  
The Pok Fu Lam Fire Dragon Dance at the Mid-Autumn Festival was inscribed onto the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Hong Kong in 2017.

組織提交「粵劇」的申報，至 2009 年 9 月，教科文組織宣布新一批的「聯合國人類非遺代表作」，中國共有 22 項入選，其中包括了粵港澳共同申報的粵劇。從此，粵劇成為三地共同擁有的首項世界級非物質文化遺產。至今，香港共有十項國家級非遺代表性項目，以及一項世界級的「聯合國人類非遺代表作」，都是政府重點保存的項目。公營的香港歷史博物館和香港文化博物館，收藏了不少與這十項國家級非遺代表性項目相關的文物，供研究和展覽之用；其中香港文化博物館的粵劇藏品尤為豐富，包括文獻、劇本、戲橋、特刊、照片、報章、曲本、服飾、舞台用品、樂器、面譜及唱片等約 30,000 件，更陸續獲得不少粵劇伶人的捐贈，漸成為研究粵劇藝術的寶庫。文化博物館內設有專門的粵劇文物常設展廳，介紹粵劇的源流和發展，提高市民對粵劇這項世界級非遺的認識。

"Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage" adopted in the General Assembly of the State Parties in 2008, UNESCO confirmed the inscription of the 90 masterpiece items onto the UNESCO's Representative List of Humanity. Meanwhile, UNESCO also invited State Parties to submit the application for inscription of a new batch of representative items. As such, the Governments of Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao submitted their application to UNESCO through the Central Government for inscribing Cantonese opera onto the UNESCO's Representative List of Humanity. In September 2009, UNESCO announced a new batch inscribed onto the UNESCO's Representative List of Humanity, among them 22 items belong to China, including Cantonese opera, which was the ICH item jointly applied for inscription by the Governments of Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao. Since then, Cantonese opera has become the first item of the world ICH in the three regions. To date, Hong Kong has a total of ten ICH items inscribed onto the National List and one world ICH item inscribed onto the UNESCO's Representative List of Humanity, all of them are the significant items identified for preservation by the HKSAR Government. The two public museums, the Hong Kong Museum of History and the Hong Kong Heritage Museum (HKHM), have a vast collection of the artefacts associated with these ten national ICH items, they are openly available for research and exhibition. Amid them is a particularly copious collection of Cantonese opera relics in HKHM, including some 30,000 artefacts, such as documentary materials, libretti, handbills, special issues, photos, newspapers, song books, costumes, stage props,

至 2017 年 8 月，康文署公布了第一份「香港非物質文化遺產代表作名錄」（「香港非遺代表作名錄」），表示本地的非遺名錄體系正式形成。制訂香港非遺代表作名錄，目的在清單的 480 個項目之中，挑選一些具代表性又瀕危的項目作重點保護，讓政府投放適當的資源作優先保育。非遺諮詢委員會於 2015 年底展開「香港非遺代表作名錄」的編製工作，歷時兩年多的詳細討論和審議，以及公眾諮詢之後，終於確定了第一批共 20 個香港非遺代表作項目，其中包括了十個國家級非遺代表性項目，以及另外十個新入選的項目，包括南音、宗族春秋二祭、香港天后誕、中秋節——薄扶林舞火龍<sup>3</sup>、正一道教儀式傳統、食盆、港式奶茶製作技藝、紮作技藝、香港中式長衫和裙褂製作技藝<sup>4</sup>及戲棚搭建技藝等。這 20 個代表作項目，涵蓋了公約的「表演藝術」、「社會風俗、禮儀、節慶」、「有關自然界和宇宙的知識和實踐」和「傳統的手工藝技能」四大類，可說相當全面和富代表性。至此，香港正式形成了四級的非遺名錄體系，即香港非遺清單、香港非遺代表作名錄、國家級非遺代表性項目名錄和聯合國人類非遺代表作名錄，奠定了香港非遺保護的框架。

4 第一屆長衫製作技藝傳承計劃 2018，由非物質文化遺產辦事處與香港高等教育科技學院合辦。  
The first Transmission Scheme for Hong Kong-style Cheongsam Sewing Technique 2018 was co-organised by ICHO and the Technological and Higher Education Institute of Hong Kong.



musical instruments, masks and records. More and more artefacts have been donated by Cantonese opera artists and become the operatic treasures for research on the art form of Cantonese opera. HKHM has a permanent exhibition hall for displaying the artefacts of Cantonese opera, it showcases the origin and development history of Cantonese opera and enables the general public to have a better understanding of this world ICH.

In August 2017, LCSD announced the first Representative List of Hong Kong, signifying the completion of the ICH inventory system in Hong Kong. The compilation of the Representative List of Hong Kong aims to select some significant and endangered ICH items out of 480 in the First Inventory List as priority ones, of which the HKSAR Government would allocate appropriate resources in safeguarding. ICHAC started to compile the Representative List of Hong Kong at the end of 2015, after detailed discussions, reviews spanning over two years, together with the views collected from the public consultation, the first Representative List of Hong Kong was announced. It covers 20 ICH items of Hong Kong, in which ten have already been inscribed onto the National List, another ten include *Nanyin* (Southern Tunes), Spring and Autumn Ancestral Worship of Clans, Tin Hau Festival in Hong Kong, Mid-Autumn Festival – the Pok Fu Lam Fire Dragon Dance<sup>3</sup>, Taoist Ritual Tradition of the *Zhengyi* School, *Sek Pun* (Basin Feast), Hong Kong-style Milk Tea Making Technique, Paper Crafting Technique, The Sewing Techniques of Hong Kong-style *Cheongsam* and *Kwan Kwa* Wedding Costume<sup>4</sup> and Bamboo Theatre Building Technique. Embracing the 20 ICH items categorised into the four domains as stipulated in the UNESCO's Convention, including "performing arts"; "social practices, rituals and festive events"; "knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe" and "traditional craftsmanship", the Representative List of Hong Kong is considered utterly comprehensive and emblematic. Up to now, Hong Kong has officially established a four-tier ICH inventory system, which covers the items of the Hong Kong ICH Inventory and the Representative List of Hong Kong, as well as the National List and the UNESCO's Representative List of Humanity, having laid the framework for safeguarding the ICH of Hong Kong.

「保護」(protection) 和「傳承」(transmission) 方面，主要以非物質文化遺產傳承人為核心。早於2007年初，文化部已頒發《關於推薦國家級非物質文化遺產項目代表性傳承人的通知》，要求建立代表性傳承人的制度，並於2008年頒發《國家級非物質文化遺產項目代表性傳承人認定與管理暫行辦法》，明確規定了傳承人的申報機制，以及傳承人的權利與義務。<sup>7</sup> 由是，文化部於2007年6月公布了第一批「國家級非物質文化遺產項目代表性傳承人名單」（「國家級代表性傳承人名單」），共226人；之後，文化部分別於2008年、2009年、2012年公布了第二、第三及第四批「國家級代表性傳承人名單」，使國家級傳承人增加至1,986人，<sup>8</sup> 其中包括了兩位香港的代表性傳承人，分別是2008年由文化部專家組推薦的粵劇項目代表性傳承人陳劍聲女士，她當時任香港八和會館主席；以及2012年由大坑坊眾福利會推薦的火龍總指揮陳德輝先生。至2018年中，文化及旅遊部公布第五批「國家級代表性傳承人名單」，香港鋼琴技藝大師蔡昌壽成為古琴藝術項目的代表性傳承人。按國家規定，文化部每年應為國家級傳承人撥付傳習經費補助，現時每年的補助為人民幣20,000元。按2011年通過的《非物質文化遺產法》第三十一條規定，國家級傳承人應履行傳承遺產的義務，包括參與非遺公益性宣傳、開展傳承活動、培養後繼人才、妥善保存相關的實物及資料等，<sup>9</sup> 香港三位代表性傳承人都履行了相關的義務。

與國內的情況不同，香港特區政府至今並未設立本地的傳承人制度，「保護」和「傳承」工作的重點，在於支持傳承團體和社區組織的參與。透過政府政策上的支持，本地傳承團體可獲得衛奕信勳爵文物信託、香港賽馬會慈善信託、粵劇發展基金等機構的撥款資助，展開各式的傳承活動；政府也透過

On the other hand, the aspects of “protection” and “transmission” focus on ICH bearers. As early as the beginning of 2007, MOC published *The Cognizance and Administration Method of Representative Bearer of the National Level Intangible Cultural Heritage Project*, stipulating the requirements for establishing a representative bearer system. In the following year, MOC issued *The Interim Method on the Safeguarding and Administration of the National Level Intangible Cultural Heritage*, stipulating clearly the declaration mechanism, rights and obligations of ICH bearers.<sup>7</sup> In June 2007, MOC announced the first Representative Bearer List of the National Level ICH (National Bearer List), which includes 226 persons. After that, MOC announced the second, third and fourth National Bearer Lists in 2008, 2009 and 2012 respectively, the total number of the national level ICH bearers rose to 1,986.<sup>8</sup> Amid them are two Hong Kong representative bearers, including Chan Kim-sing, the representative bearer of Cantonese opera recommended by the Expert Panel of MOC in 2008, she was also the Chairman of the Chinese Artists Association of Hong Kong at that time; and Chan Tak-fai, who was the Commander-in-Chief of Tai Hang Fire Dragon Dance, was recommended by the Tai Hang Residents' Welfare Association in 2012. In mid-2018, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism announced the fifth National Bearer List in which the local *Qin*-making master Choi Chang-sau was accorded the National Bearer of arts of the *Guqin*. In accordance with relevant state regulations, MOC should grant the national bearers funding for transmission annually. Currently, the total amount of annual funding is RMB 20,000. According to the Article 31 of the ICH Law of PRC approved in 2011, the national ICH bearers have obligations to carry out transmission of heritage, including participation in the publicity activities for public welfare purposes, organisation of transmission campaigns, nurturance of successors, and proper preservation of relevant objects and resources.<sup>9</sup> Undoubtedly, the three Hong Kong representative bearers have fulfilled their responsibilities.

Contrary to the situation in Mainland China, the HKSAR Government has not yet established an official mechanism for identifying local ICH bearers. The focus of “protection” and “transmission” is supporting ICH bearer organisations and communities in transmitting heritage. Through Government's policy support, local bearer organisations have received funding support from the Lord Wilson Heritage Trust, Hong Kong Jockey Club Charities Trust and Cantonese Opera Development Fund (CODF) for organising

教育局、康文署、民政總署等部門，提供文化空間和技術支援，支持傳承團體的保護和傳承工作。正如《保護非物質文化遺產公約》指出，傳承工作應通過正規和非正規教育以達成，關於這方面的工作，香港一些教育組織已作出了有益的嘗試，如香港大學教育學院中文教育研究中心的吳鳳平博士，她從2006年至2009年，得到粵劇發展基金的資助，先後和11間中學合作，推行「粵劇小豆苗——粵劇融合中國語文科新高中課程及評估計劃」，引導學生認識、欣賞、尊重粵劇文化，為粵劇在正規教育的課程施行指出了方向；<sup>10</sup> 2009年至2012年間，她再次獲得粵劇發展基金的撥款，展開「戲棚粵劇與學校教育」計劃，把學生帶進戲棚，一面感受當中的熱鬧氣氛，一面引導學生反思傳統文化的意義，<sup>11</sup> 深化粵劇傳承的正規教育工作。此外，長洲佛教慧因法師紀念中學與香港大學教育學院中文教育研究中心結成伙伴，並得到教育局的優質教育基金的支持，在2010年至2013年間，於校內推行「以區為本——長洲區非物質文化遺產探究課程」的先導計劃，以長洲島上豐富的非物質文化遺產資源為基礎，以全校參與的跨科組協作模式，把非遺融入18個學科，課程涉及中學三年級至五年級的學生和全校各科教師。為期三年的先導計劃成效顯著，在活動成效的問卷調查中，有84%的學生表示對文化考察課程滿意，更有90%的學生表示課程加深了他們對傳統節慶的了解。<sup>12</sup> 計劃推行期間，不下數十家香港學校的師生，曾到長洲與慧因法師紀念中學的師生進行交流，可以預計，這先導計劃將對香港非物質文化遺產納入本土的正規教育產生深遠的影響。

a variety of transmission events. The Government also provides cultural space and technical support to ICH bearer organisations in heritage protection and transmission through various departments, such as the Education Bureau (EDB), LCSO and the Home Affairs Department. As stipulated in the UNESCO's Convention, the transmission of ICH should be conducted through formal and non-formal education. To make this happen, some educational organisations have already made some favourable attempts. For example, Dr Ng Fung-ping from the Centre for Advancement of Chinese Language Education and Research of the University of Hong Kong (CACLER), received the funding support from CODF and collaborated with 11 secondary schools to launch the “Integrated Cantonese Opera in Education Project” from 2006 to 2009. The project guided students to understand, appreciate and respect the culture of Cantonese opera, setting the direction for the implementation of the formal education curriculum of Cantonese opera.<sup>10</sup> Between 2009 and 2012, she received the funding support from CODF again and launched the “Bamboo Shed Theatre Cantonese Opera Education Project”, through which students had a chance to visit bamboo shed theatres and felt the vibrant atmosphere on the one hand, and pondered the implication of traditional culture on the other hand.<sup>11</sup> Such cultural events have thus enriched the formal education of Cantonese opera transmission. Besides, Buddhist Wai Yan Memorial College (Wai Yan College) in Cheung Chau partnered with CACLER and received support from the Quality Education Fund of EDB to launch the “Community based Cheung Chau Intangible Culture Pilot Curriculum Project” (Pilot Project) in Wai Yan College from 2010 to 2013. Based on the abundant resources of the ICH in Cheung Chau, the project was developed by adopting a cross-curricular approach with the whole school participation. The ICH theme was incorporated into the 18 curricular of the College, in which form three to form five students and all school teachers were involved. The three-year Pilot Project was perceived to be highly effective. According to the survey on the campaign effectiveness, 84% of the College's students were satisfied with the cultural exploration course and 90% said the course had enabled them to have a better understanding of traditional festivals.<sup>12</sup> During the project period, the teachers and students from tens of Hong Kong schools visited Cheung Chau and interacted with their counterparts in Wai Yan College. The Pilot Project is expected to have a profound effect on the incorporation of the ICH of Hong Kong into the local formal education curriculum.

<sup>7</sup> 中華人民共和國文化部：〈國家級非物質文化遺產項目代表性傳承人認定與管理暫行辦法〉（2008-5-14），<http://baike.baidu.com/view/2435138.htm>。

The Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China, *The Interim Method on the Safeguarding and Administration of the National Level Intangible Cultural Heritage* (14 May 2008), <http://baike.baidu.com/view/2435138.htm>.

<sup>8</sup> 陳平編：《非物質文化遺產藍皮書：中國非物質文化遺產發展報告(2015)》（北京：社會科學文獻出版社，2015），頁6-7。

Chen Ping, ed., *Annual Report on the Development of China's Intangible Cultural Heritage (2015)* (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press (China), 2015), 6-7.

<sup>9</sup> 《中華人民共和國非物質文化遺產法》（2011-2-25），<http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/zh/cn/cn179zh.pdf>。

*The Intangible Cultural Heritage Law of the People's Republic of China* (25 February 2011), <http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/zh/cn/cn179zh.pdf>.

<sup>10</sup> 吳鳳平、鍾嶺崇和林偉業編：《紫釵記教室：搭建粵劇教育的互動學習平台》（香港大學教育學院中文教育研究中心，2009）。

Ng Fung-ping, Chung Ling-sung, and Lam Wai-ip, eds., *“Legend of Purple Hairpin” Classroom: Constructing the Interactive Learning Platform of Cantonese Opera in Education* (The Centre for Advancement of Chinese Language Education and Research: 2009).

<sup>11</sup> 吳鳳平、林偉業、陳淑英和盧萬方編：《戲棚粵劇與學校教育：從文化空間到學習空間》（香港大學教育學院中文教育研究中心，2012）。

Ng Fung-ping et al., eds., *Bamboo Shed Cantonese Opera and School Education: From Cultural Space to Learning Space* (The Centre for Advancement of Chinese Language Education and Research: 2012).

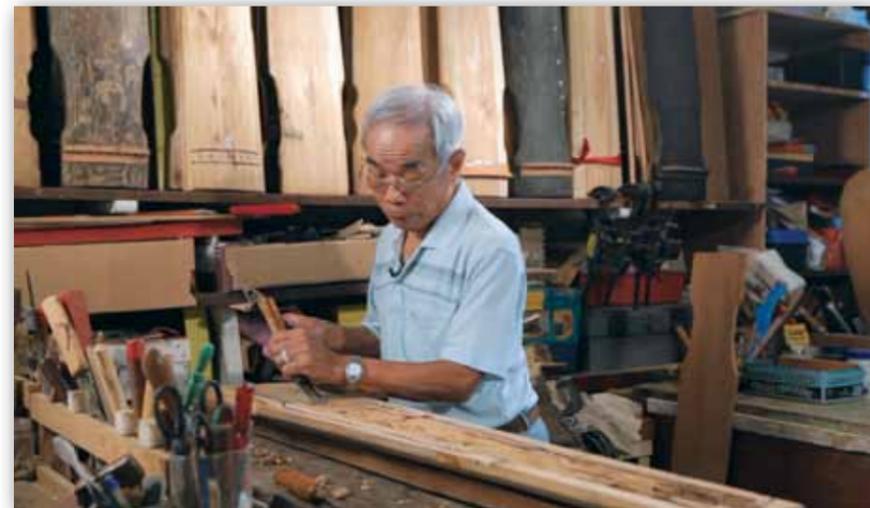
<sup>12</sup> 陳勁佟：〈以區為本：香港慧因中學非物質文化遺產課程教育調研報告〉，載於陳平編《非物質文化遺產藍皮書：中國非物質文化遺產發展報告(2015)》（北京：社會科學文獻出版社，2015），頁280-299。

Chen Jingtong, “以區為本：香港慧因中學非物質文化遺產課程教育調研報告,” in *Annual Report on the Development of China's Intangible Cultural Heritage (2015)*, ed. Chen Ping (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press (China), 2015), 280-299.

## 宣傳、弘揚、振興

非物質文化遺產組自 2006 年成立以來，不斷舉辦各式的宣傳推廣活動，如展覽、公開講座、研討會、工作坊、傳承人示範、實地考察、導賞和出版書籍等，增加市民對非物質文化遺產的認識，以達至弘揚和振興本地非遺的目標。展覽方面，香港文化博物館為弘揚粵劇藝術，除常設的粵劇文物館外，過去十多年間也曾舉辦了多個專題展覽，包括「粵劇花旦王——芳艷芬」、「文武兼擅——吳君麗戲劇藝術剪影」、「戲台上下——香港戲院與粵劇」、「梨園生輝——唐滌生與任劍輝」、「博、精、深、新——林家聲藝術人生」等；此外，文化博物館在 2009 年初與文化部聯合舉辦了「中國非物質文化遺產」大型展覽，介紹中國豐富多彩的非物質文化遺產；又於 2013 年與蔡昌壽斲琴學會合辦了「香江琴緣」展覽，以慶祝古琴藝術入選聯合國教科文組織「人類口頭和非物質遺產代表作」十周年，並向市民介紹古琴藝術在香港傳承的一點薪火<sup>5</sup>。

除博物館外，非物質文化遺產組更多時候是走進社區，與不同團體籌辦展覽以推廣非遺。例如自 2011 年起，非物質文化遺產組均會與康文署娛樂辦事處合作，在農曆正月的元宵綵燈會及 8 月的中秋綵燈會內，邀請本地的師傅，用傳統工藝製作大型的花燈作展覽，以延續製作工藝的生命力，亦讓年輕一代有機會欣賞到傳統製作工藝的優美成品；也自 2011 年起，康文署和文化部聯合在香港舉辦



<sup>5</sup> 古琴藝術（斲琴技藝）於 2014 年列為國家級非物質文化遺產代表性項目，蔡昌壽師傅於 2018 年成為項目的國家級代表性傳承人。  
The Arts of the *Guqin* (The Craft of *Qin* Making) was inscribed into the National List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of China in 2014. Master Choi Chang-sau was conferred as the representative bearer of the Arts of the *Guqin* in 2018.

## Promotion, Enhancement and Revitalisation

Ever since the establishment of ICHU in 2006, a vast variety of promotional activities, such as exhibitions, public seminars, conferences, workshops, demonstrations by ICH bearers, field study, guided tours and book publications have been organised to arouse public awareness of ICH, aiming to enhance and revitalise the ICH of Hong Kong. To promote the art of Cantonese opera through exhibitions, not only has HKHM established the Cantonese Opera Heritage Hall to hold permanent exhibitions, but also organised a lot of thematic exhibitions over the past ten years, including “The Female Cantonese Opera Artist - Fong Yim-fun”, “A Synthesis of Lyrical Excellence and Martial Agility – The Stage Art of Ng Kwan-lai”, “The Majestic Stage: The Story of Cantonese Opera Theatres”, “Splendour of Cantonese Opera: Masters Tong Tik-sang and Yam Kim-fai” and “Virtuosity and Innovation: The Masterful Legacy of Lam Kar-sing”. In addition, HKHM and MOC co-organised a grand exhibition, namely, “Exhibition of Intangible Cultural Heritage in China”, in early 2009, showcasing a copious collection of the ICH artefacts in China. In 2013, HKHM and the Choi Chang-sau *Qin* Making Society co-organised another exhibition, “The Legend of Silk and Wood: A Hong Kong *Qin* Story”, which marked the 10th anniversary of the arts of the *guqin* being inscribed as one of the UNESCO’s Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity and introduced to the public the passing down of this cultural heritage. <sup>5</sup>

Apart from organising exhibitions in public museums, ICHU often reaches out to communities and promotes ICH by co-organising exhibitions with different organisations. For example, in an attempt to let the younger generation appreciate the exquisite artwork of traditional paper-crafting and pass down the artistic excellence of this cultural legacy, ICHU has been collaborating with LCSD’s Entertainment Office since 2011 to showcase the traditional craftsmanship of lantern making. Local masters are invited to construct grand Chinese style lanterns in Lunar New Year



<sup>6</sup> 根與魂：憶江南——浙江非物質文化遺產展覽 2017  
2017 Genesis and Spirit: Recalling Jiangnan - An Exhibition on the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Zhejiang

「根與魂：非物質文化遺產展演」系列活動<sup>6</sup>，至今已籌辦了五屆，除首屆以中國非物質文化遺產為主題外，其餘四屆，分別以四川、貴州、甘肅和浙江等省份的非遺為內容。展演系列包括由表演藝術科人員負責的非遺藝術表演晚會，以及由非物質文化遺產組負責的大型展覽。為深入社區，展覽均在銅鑼灣香港中央圖書館展覽廳舉行，展覽除文字、圖片和實物介紹之外，更有多位非物質文化遺產傳承人在展場內作示範，並與觀眾交流，增進市民對國內非遺的認識。此外，配合在台北舉行的「香港周 2014」活動，非物質文化遺產組於 2014 年 10 月，在台北華山 1914 文化創意產業園區，籌辦了「非常香港——傳統風俗文化」展覽<sup>7</sup>，展出 13 項極富本土特色的香港非物質文化遺產，展覽期間，還舉辦了多場傳承人的講座和示範，以及由學者主持的研討會，向台灣觀眾介紹香港獨特的傳統文化，在短短的 17 天展期內，共吸引了 40,000 多名觀眾，反應非常熱烈。



<sup>7</sup> 2014 年台北「非常香港——傳統風俗文化」展覽  
2014 “Indigenous Hong Kong - An Exhibition on our Intangible Cultural Traditions” at Taipei

Lantern Carnival and Urban Mid-Autumn Lantern Carnival held in the first month and the eighth month of the lunar calendar respectively. LCSD and MOC have also been co-organising an exhibition and performance series, namely, “Genesis and Spirit: A Showcase of the Intangible Cultural Heritage” <sup>6</sup> since 2011. To date, the series has been held five times. The theme of the first Genesis and Spirit series in 2011 was the ICH in China, the other four featured the ICH in Sichuan, Guizhou, Gansu and Zhejiang. The programmes included ICH galas organised by the Performing Arts Division and a grand exhibition organised by ICHU. To further reach out to the community, the exhibition was held in the Exhibition Gallery of the Hong Kong Central Library at Causeway Bay. Apart from the display of text, photos and artefact illustrations, a number of ICH bearers also hosted demonstrations in the exhibition and interacted with visitors to enhance their understanding of the ICH in the Mainland. On the other hand, in a bid to tie in with the events of “Hong Kong Week 2014” held in Taipei, ICHU organised an exhibition, namely, “Indigenous Hong Kong - An Exhibition on our Intangible Cultural Traditions” at Huashan 1914 Creative Park, Taipei in October 2014 <sup>7</sup>. The exhibition presented 13 ICH items of Hong Kong enriched with truly indigenous colours. A number of seminars and demonstrations by ICH bearers and conferences hosted by academics were also held during the exhibition period, introducing the unique traditional culture of Hong Kong to Taiwanese visitors. In just a short period of 17 days, the exhibition received an overwhelming response from over 40,000 visitors.

實地考察和導賞活動，對宣傳和弘揚非物質文化遺產十分有效。自2009年以來，為宣傳和弘揚本地的國家級非遺代表性項目，非物質文化遺產組每年都舉行多次實地考察和導賞活動，參加對象或只限於中學老師，或開放予全港市民報名。活動多由學者和專家主持，帶領參加者進入舉行非物質文化遺產的場地和空間考察，親身感受活動的氣氛，更可與活動的傳承人、團體或社區人士交流，體驗當區的地道文化。例如每年端午節在大澳舉行的龍舟遊涌，雖然承傳已超過百年，但市民對遊涌活動卻不甚了解。近年，非物質文化遺產組與科技大學華南研究中心、大澳傳統龍舟會攜手合作，舉辦龍舟遊涌體驗活動，在端午節當天大清早，邀請百多位參加的老師或市民到大澳，並分配到多所漁民的棚屋內，一面觀看龍舟遊涌的過程，一面與棚屋主人交流，了解棚屋漁民的生活。這種身歷其境的考察活動，既能增進市民對遊涌活動的了解，也達到弘揚這國家級非遺代表性項目的目的。

#### 非物質文化遺產辦事處

香港特區政府於2015年成立「非物質文化遺產辦事處」，標誌著香港的非物質文化遺產保護工作進入了一個新階段。政府在2015年1月發表的《二零一五年施政報告》指出：「為加強保護非物質文化遺產，政府於去年公布首份「香港非遺清單」，並將深化確認、立檔、研究、保存、推廣和傳承等工作，亦會編製『香港非遺代表作名錄』，優先保護具高文化價值和急須保存的非物質文化遺產。」<sup>13</sup> 政府的政策是要強化非遺的保護措施，於是增撥資源給康文署，把原隸屬於香港文化博物館的非物質文化遺產組，於2015年5月正式升格為獨立的「非物質文化遺產辦事處」，並於2016年中，把荃灣的三棟屋博物館轉用為「香港非物質文化遺產中心」，內設非遺展覽和非遺資源角，歡迎市民參觀及使用。非遺辦事處的公務員員工編制共16人，每年營運支出預算約為港幣10,000,000元，在人手和資源的配合之下，非遺辦事處可望深化各項保護措施。

Field trips and guided tours were proved to be highly effective in promoting and transmitting ICH. Since 2009, ICHU has been organising a vast number of field trips and guided tours annually to promote and transmit the ICH items of Hong Kong which have been inscribed onto the National List. Such events are either open to secondary school teachers or the general public for registration, and are mostly hosted by academics and experts. They led participants to conduct site surveys in some ICH venues and spaces. Not only can visitors feel the ambience of the events, but also exchange their views with ICH bearers, organisations and community parties involved in the events and experience the indigenous culture of that particular district. For example, the Dragon Boat Water Parade is held in Tai O at Dragon Boat Festival annually. Although it has been transmitted over a century, the general public has a little understanding of this event. In recent years, ICHU, SCRC of HKUST and Joint Association of Traditional Dragon-Boats in Tai O have joined hands to co-organise immersive field trips for the Tai O Dragon Boat Water Parade. In the early morning of the Dragon Boat Festival, over a hundred teachers or citizens are transported to Tai O and are arranged to stay in a number of stilt-house where the local fishermen live. While watching the parade, participants also chat with the owners of the stilt-house to have a deeper understanding of the life of fishermen who settle there. Such immersive field trips not only enhance public understanding of the Dragon Boat Water Parade, but also fulfil the goal of promoting the ICH items of the National List to the general public.

#### Intangible Cultural Heritage Office

The HKSAR Government established ICHO in 2015, implying that the safeguarding of the ICH of Hong Kong entered a brand new phase. According to the *2015 Policy Address* issued by the HKSAR Government in January 2015, the Government stated, “To enhance the protection of intangible cultural heritage, the Government announced last year the first Intangible Cultural Heritage Inventory of Hong Kong and will strengthen such work as identification, documentation, research, preservation, promotion and transmission of the heritage. We will also draw up the Representative List of Hong Kong to accord priority to the protection of those ICH items which have high cultural value and require urgent preservation.”<sup>13</sup> The Government policy was enhancing the safeguarding measures of ICH by allocating more resources to LCSO. In May 2015, the Government upgraded ICHU established under HKHM to ICHO and transformed the Sam Tung Uk Museum into the “Hong Kong ICH Centre” in mid-2016, since then ICH exhibitions and an ICH resource centre have been open for public access. The civil service establishment of ICHO

非遺辦事處的首要任務是編製第一份「香港非遺代表作名錄」。政府於2014年公布的第一份「香港非遺清單」，共有480個項目，由於每個項目在歷史、文學、藝術、科學、技術或工藝等價值上的重要性各有不同，傳承的情況各異，有些更瀕於失傳的境況，因此，政府希望根據清單項目的重要性和瀕危程度，編製一份「香港非遺代表作名錄」，以便定出優先次序，調撥資源去扶持那些重要而又瀕危的非遺項目，使其繼續傳承和發展。非遺諮詢委員會經參考日本和南韓制訂重要無形文化財，以及國內制訂「國家級非遺代表性項目名錄」的相關標準後，於2015年底落實「香港非遺代表作名錄」的甄選準則，並於翌年成立工作小組，並舉行多次會議，根據甄選準則對清單項目進行嚴格篩選，最終向政府推薦首批共20項代表作項目名單。經公眾諮詢後，政府於2017年8月公布了第一份「香港非遺代表作名錄」。<sup>14</sup>

非物質文化遺產辦事處另一要務是深化本地非物質文化遺產的研究工作。在普查期間，由於調查隊考察部分項目時遇到困難，以致未能搜集到相關資料；又於公眾諮詢期間，必須跟進研究市民提出了一些新的項目。政府在2014年6月呈交立法會民政事務委員會的討論文件內，已詳細載列一份待跟進調查研究項目的名單，<sup>15</sup> 非遺辦事處的研究人員，正展開相關的跟進調查和研究工作。此外，辦事處會繼續聯絡本地研究機構的學者專家，承擔較大型的非物質文化遺產專項研究計劃，例如嶺南大學群芳文化研究及發展部的研究團隊，在即將完成《中國戲曲志》及《中國戲曲音樂集成》〈香港卷〉的編纂之際，已答應繼續進行《中國曲藝音樂集成》和《中國民族民間器樂曲集成》〈香港卷〉的編纂，並於三年內完成編纂工作。另外，辦事處又與中華國術總會所組織的研究

comprises 16 staff and the annual operating expense is about ten million Hong Kong dollars. With the expanded manpower and resources, ICHO anticipates that diverse safeguarding measures can be further enhanced.

The first mission of ICHO was compiling the first Representative List of Hong Kong. In 2014, the HKSAR Government announced the first Hong Kong ICH Inventory which comprises 480 items. As the level of significance of each item in various aspects, including history, literature, art, science, technology or craftsmanship is different among one another, and the transmission conditions of all these items have nothing in common, some of them are even on the verge of extinction. Therefore, the Government aspired to compile the Representative List of Hong Kong according to the level of significance and endangerment of the items in the Hong Kong ICH Inventory, so as to set priorities for allocating resources to uphold those significant and endangered ICH items, as well as transmit and develop them continuously. After ICHAC had considered the criteria for inscribing the significant intangible cultural properties in Japan and South Korea, as well as the relevant benchmarks adopted by the Mainland in compiling the National List as reference, the selection criteria for compiling the Representative List of Hong Kong was set in late 2015 and a working group was established in the following year. After discussions in several meetings, the working group undertook a rigorous selection procedure according to the selection criteria. At last, the working group recommended the first Representative List of Hong Kong with 20 ICH items to the Government. After the public consultation, the Government announced the first Representative List of Hong Kong in August 2017.<sup>14</sup>

Another core responsibility of ICHO is strengthening the research on the local ICH. During the territory-wide survey period, as the survey team encountered difficulties when researching on some ICH items and was not able to collect relevant information; in addition, follow-up research had to be conducted to address the new items proposed by the general public during the Public Consultation period. The Government incorporated in detail a list of ICH items which needed to follow up in the discussion paper submitted to the Legislative Council Panel on Home Affairs in June 2014.<sup>15</sup> The research members of ICHO are now conducting follow-up surveys and research on the above items. On the other hand, ICHO will continue to touch base with the academics and experts of local research agencies to take on some relatively significant ICH special research projects. For example, when the research team of the Kwan Fong Programme of Lingnan University was about to complete

<sup>13</sup> 《二零一五年施政報告》第201段（2015），頁38，<http://www.policyaddress.gov.hk/2015/chi/pdf/PA2015.pdf>。

*2015 Policy Address* (Clause 201, 2015), 59, <http://www.policyaddress.gov.hk/2015/eng/pdf/PA2015.pdf>.

<sup>14</sup> 香港立法會民政事務委員會（文件）：〈香港非物質文化遺產代表作名錄草擬名單〉（2017.2.27），<http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr16-17/chinese/panels/ha/papers/ha20170227cb2-842-1-c.pdf>。

Legislative Council Panel on Home Affairs (Paper), “Proposed Intangible Cultural Heritage Representative List for Hong Kong,” (27 February 2017), <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr16-17/english/panels/ha/papers/ha20170227cb2-842-1-e.pdf>.

<sup>15</sup> 同註3，附件B。

See Note 3. Appendix B.



8 三棟屋博物館於已於 2016 年改用為香港非物質文化遺產中心，2017 年曾舉行多場南音演唱會。

The Sam Tung Uk Museum was transformed into the Hong Kong Intangible Cultural Heritage Centre in 2016. A number of Nanyin concerts were held in 2017.

團隊合作，於 2016 年開展「香港武術非物質文化遺產調查和研究」計劃，調查香港現存各武術門派的現況，包括組織、活動、招式和套路等，並研究各門派的源流、師承及發展，目標是整理出一部詳實的香港武術發展史，從中可挑選合適的項目，列入「香港非遺清單」，甚至是「香港非遺代表作名錄」之內，以加強市民對香港傳統武術的認識。與此同時，非物質文化遺產辦事處正籌備建立一個獨立的網上資料庫，把所有非物質文化遺產普查和專項研究的資料，在不抵觸知識版權和私隱條例的情況下，盡量在互聯網上發放，供學者和市民參考。

在非物質文化遺產的宣傳、教育和推廣方面，辦事處以荃灣三棟屋為中心，深化相關的工作。位於荃灣港鐵總站旁的三棟屋，原是一組客家圍屋，有 200 多年歷史，至 1970 年代，基於當時鐵路的發展，原來的客家村落需要拆卸和搬遷，幸存下來的三棟屋，被政府宣布列為法定古蹟，並改建為博物館以展示客家文化和生活<sup>8</sup>。非遺辦事處將三棟屋改為展覽和資源中心後，除繼續在

the compilation of *Annals of Chinese Opera and Anthology of Chinese Opera Music: The Hong Kong Volume*, they agreed to compile another two publications, *Anthology of Chinese Narrative Sing and Anthology of Chinese Folk and Ethnic Instrumental Music: The Hong Kong Volume* in the following three years. On top of that, ICHO also collaborated with the research team of the International *Guoshu* Association to launch the “Survey and Research of the ICH of Hong Kong Martial Arts” project in 2016. The project mainly conducted research on the current status of a variety of martial arts practices in Hong Kong, such as organisations, events, styles and routines; as well as the origins, transmission and development of different practices, and compiled a detailed and authentic archive of the Hong Kong martial arts history. Appropriate ICH items were then selected from the archive and inscribed onto the Hong Kong ICH Inventory and even the Representative List of Hong Kong, so as to enhance public awareness of the traditional martial arts in Hong Kong. ICHO is now planning to establish an independent online database with open access to academics and the general public on the premise of not contradicting the intellectual property rights and Privacy Ordinance.

Concerning the publicity, education and promotion of ICH, ICHO takes the Sam Tung Uk Museum (STUM) at Tsuen Wan as the central hub for strengthening the above three aspects. In close proximity to the Tsuen Wan MTR Station, STUM was originally a Hakka walled village established over two centuries ago. Until the 1970s, the Hakka walled village on the site of STUM had to be demolished and relocated due to the development of the Mass Transit Railway. The surviving historic architecture was declared

常設展廳展示客家族羣豐富的物質和非物質文化之外，更在專題展廳先後籌辦了「口傳心授：香港非物質文化遺產」和「口傳心授系列 II：香港非物質文化遺產代表作名錄」展覽，介紹香港的國家級和本地代表作項目，讓市民深入了解這些代表性項目的特色。此外，辦事處也與不同的社區和組織加強合作，舉辦各類型的展覽以推廣香港的非物質文化遺產，例如與機場管理局合作，於 2016 年初在香港國際機場的離境大堂，籌辦「南龍紮作技藝」小型展覽；又於 2018 年中合辦「妙繪·香港非遺」展覽，向中外旅客介紹香港的非物質文化遺產。此外，非遺辦事處自 2015 年開始，協助香港潮屬社團總會年度舉辦的盂蘭文化節，在會場內設立展覽，詳細介紹香港潮人盂蘭勝會的歷史和文化特色。非遺辦事處又繼續委聘本地紮作師傅，以傳統工藝製作大型花燈，在元宵燈會和中秋綵燈會展出，使紮作工藝能傳承和發展<sup>9</sup>。

a historical monument and transformed into a museum by the Government for showcasing the culture and life of the Hakka people<sup>8</sup>. After the conversion of STUM to an exhibition and resource centre, ICHO continues to display the abundant collection of both the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of Hakka clans in the permanent exhibition galleries, and has organised two exhibitions in the thematic gallery, namely, “The Oral Legacies: Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region” and “The Oral Legacies Series II: The Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Hong Kong”, which introduced both the local and national representative ICH items of Hong Kong and enabled the general public to have a better understanding of the features of these representative items. Besides, ICHO has also reinforced collaboration with various communities and organisations by co-organising diverse exhibitions to promote the ICH of Hong Kong, such as joining hands with the Airport Authority to organise the two exhibitions, namely, “Paper-crafting Technique on Southern Dragon”, which was a mini exhibition held in the Departure Hall of the Hong Kong International Airport in early 2016, and “An Artist’s Impression of HKICH” held in mid-2018, aiming to introduce the ICH of Hong Kong to visitors from the Mainland and other overseas countries. In addition, ICHO has been organising exhibitions at the Yu Lan Cultural Festival held annually by the Federation of Hong Kong Chiu Chow Community Organizations since 2015 to introduce the historical and cultural features of Yu Lan Ghost Festival of the Hong Kong Chiu Chow Community to the general public. Apart from that, ICHO also commissioned some local paper crafting masters to make grand lanterns with traditional craftsmanship and displayed them in both Lunar New Year and Mid-Autumn Lantern Carnivals, sustaining the transmission and development of paper crafting tradition<sup>9</sup>.



9 非遺辦事處每年都邀請本地師傅紮作大型燈飾於綵燈會展出，圖為維園中秋綵燈會 2016。

Every year, ICHO invites local masters to construct grand Chinese style lanterns and display them at the Lantern Carnivals. The photo shows 2016 Mid-Autumn Lantern Carnival at Victoria Park.

非遺辦事處也會深化與國內和海外保護機構的交流。海外方面，為慶祝香港回歸二十周年，非遺辦事處與香港駐倫敦經濟貿易辦事處、倫敦明愛學院合作，在2017年11月在倫敦華埠舉辦了「香港非物質文化遺產展覽」，還有講座和由非遺傳承人主持的紮作和港式奶茶工作坊，促進了香港和倫敦兩地的交流。內地方面，自2011年起與文化部合辦了五屆根與魂非遺展演系列以來，已有多個省份的非遺機構和傳承人來港交流；為促進雙向交流，在文化與旅遊部的推動下，非遺辦事處於2018年底，在北京恭王府博物館舉辦「口傳心授：香港特別行政區非物質文化遺產」展覽，向北京市民介紹香港的非遺代表作項目；又計劃於2019年11月在上海舉行的「香港周」期間，在上海市群眾藝術館舉辦「香港非物質文化遺產展覽」，向上海市民展現香港地方社羣世代相傳的傳統文化。此外，在粵、港、澳文化合作會議的框架下，三地繼續加強非物質文化遺產的研究、展覽、推廣等方面的合作，特別是粵劇方面，會深入研究三地粵劇的發展歷史，搶救瀕於消失的粵劇文物和資料。

Apart from strengthening collaborations with local communities, ICHO also strengthens its bond with both Mainland and overseas safeguarding organisations. Concerning the overseas network, ICHO joined efforts with the Hong Kong Economic and Trade Office and the Ming-Ai (London) Institute to co-organise “Hong Kong Intangible Cultural Heritage Exhibition” in the London Chinatown in November 2017 to celebrate the 20th Anniversary of the return of Hong Kong to our Motherland. Besides the exhibition, there were also seminars, paper crafting and Hong Kong-style milk tea making workshops hosted by ICH bearers, which fostered the exchange of views between Hong Kong and London. Concerning the Mainland connection, ICHO has been collaborating with MOC to co-organise the “Genesis and Spirit: A Showcase of the Intangible Cultural Heritage” exhibition and performance series since 2011 and it has been held five times so far. During the event period, a number of ICH organisations and bearers from different provinces visited Hong Kong and exchanged their views among one another. To foster mutual exchanges among ICH organisations and bearers with the support from The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the People’s Republic of China, ICHO organised “The Oral Legacies: Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region” exhibition at the Prince Kung’s Mansion Museum in Beijing at the end of 2018. The exhibition introduced the ICH items of Hong Kong in the Representative List to Beijing citizens. ICHO is also planning to organise the “Hong Kong Intangible Cultural Heritage Exhibition” at the Shanghai Public Art Museum during the “Hong Kong Week” taken place in Shanghai in November 2019. The exhibition aims to showcase the traditional culture which has been transmitted from generation to generation by the local communities in Hong Kong to Shanghai citizens. Apart from that, under the framework of the Greater Pearl River Delta Cultural Cooperation Meeting, the Governments of Guangdong, Hong Kong and Macao will continue to strengthen collaborations in the research, exhibition and promotion of ICH; particularly Cantonese opera, in-depth research on the historical development of Cantonese opera in the three regions will be conducted in the hope of protecting the historical artefacts and documents of Cantonese opera from disappearing.

## 前瞻

香港特區政府在2012年3月提交立法會的文件中，闡述了非物質文化遺產的保育政策方針：「政府重視保護非物質文化遺產，致力提升社會對非物質文化遺產的認知及對保護這種文化資源的重視。政府一方面支持非物質文化遺產的保護、傳承和推廣工作，並且鼓勵社會參與，令香港文化傳統得以保護、延續和發展。」<sup>16</sup> 非物質文化遺產辦事處的成立，正展現了香港特區政府對保護非物質文化遺產的重視和決心。

隨著2017年首批「香港非遺代表作名錄」的公布，政府於2018年的財政預算案中宣布，會預留三億元撥款，作為加強非遺的保護和傳承之用。非遺辦事處在徵詢過非遺諮詢委員會後，正籌備運用撥款於2019年成立非遺資助計劃，市民可申請經費進行本地非遺的研究、保存、教育、傳承和弘揚等工作，長遠來說，有利於香港非遺的保護和發展。然而，單靠政府的資源，不足以令遺產的保護工作可持續地發展，因此，辦事處的工作方向是深入社區，鼓勵社區團體共同參與，因為「我們深信，只有透過公私營合作的保護模式……非物質文化遺產保護工作才能得到公眾的認同，從而發揮凝聚社區的作用」，<sup>17</sup> 為香港社區傳承非物質文化遺產，給市民一種認同感和歷史感，從而促進了文化的多樣性和人類的創造力，這是公約的精神，也是香港特區政府在過去12年走過和未來必須走的路。

## Future Outlook

The paper submitted by the HKSAR Government to the Legislative Council in March 2012 covered the conservation policy direction of ICH, “The Government attaches great importance to the safeguarding of ICH and strives to raise the Hong Kong community’s awareness of the importance of ICH and the need to protect such heritage as our cultural resource. The Government supports the protection, transmission and promotion of ICH, and encourages the participation of the community in the safeguarding of ICH to ensure the continuing development of our local culture and traditions.”<sup>16</sup> The establishment of ICHO truly demonstrates the seriousness and determination of the HKSAR Government in safeguarding the ICH of Hong Kong.

In the wake of the announcement of the first Representative List of Hong Kong in 2017, the Government made an announcement in the 2018 Budget that 300 million dollars would be reserved for strengthening the protection, promotion and transmission of ICH. Having consulted ICHAC, ICHO is now planning to establish an ICH Funding Scheme in 2019. The general public can apply for funding for the research, preservation, education, transmission and enhancement of the ICH of Hong Kong. In the long run, it is favourable to the safeguarding and development of the ICH of Hong Kong. Having said that, the government funding alone is not good enough to sustain the safeguarding of the local heritage. Therefore, what ICHO does is reaching out to communities to encourage community organisations to take part in safeguarding ICH collectively, for “we believe that the safeguarding of ICH can garner public recognition and foster strong mutual support among communities only when both public and private sectors cooperate together dedicatedly.”<sup>17</sup> The spirit of the UNESCO’s Convention is passing down the ICH items of Hong Kong from generation to generation in the community and giving the general public a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity, which is also the mission the HKSAR Government has undertaken over the past 12 years and has to continue in the future.

<sup>16</sup> 香港立法會民政事務委員會（文件）：〈保護非物質文化遺產〉（2012.3.15），<http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr11-12/chinese/panels/ha/papers/ha0315cb2-1325-1-c.pdf>。

Legislative Council Panel on Home Affairs (Paper), “Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage,” (15 March 2012), <http://www.legco.gov.hk/yr11-12/english/panels/ha/papers/ha0315cb2-1325-1-e.pdf>.

<sup>17</sup> 鄭興華：〈公私協作：保護非物質文化遺產的香港經驗〉，載於李向玉編《非物質文化遺產保護的東亞經驗》（澳門：澳門理工學院，2014），頁110-119。

Chau Hing-wah, “公私協作：保護非物質文化遺產的香港經驗,” in *Fei wu zhi wen hua yi chan bao hu de dong ya jing yan*, ed. Li Xiangyu (Macao: Macao Polytechnic Institute, 2014), 110-119.

# 香港經驗 · 香港實驗—— 香港藝術一瞥

## Hong Kong Experience · Hong Kong Experiment— A Glimpse of Hong Kong Art

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1 香港建築——紅白藍 03 2002 | 又一山人 (黃炳培) | 絲印紅白藍膠布

Building Hong Kong - Red White Blue 03 2002 | Anothermountainman (Stanley Wong) | Silkscreen on red/white/blue plastic sheet  
AC2004.0078

### 前言

1988年，又一山人在倫敦偶然發現某商店煞有介事地陳列銷售紅白藍袋，這觸發他思考香港文化的價值所在。2001年，他推出首件紅白藍作品；2005年，他以紅白藍系列代表香港參展第51屆威尼斯雙年展<sup>1</sup>，紅白藍成為又一山人的藝術符號，也成為香港精神的象徵。從日常生活地道物料到國際藝壇的前緣創作，既有社會集體回憶，亦具無窮創意。是藝術？是設計？難分界線。作品中展現的複雜性、靈活性和實驗性，就好像反映百年來香港藝術的發展之道。

### 1920年代至1940年代

#### 香港的名字正式登上歷史舞台

1842年鴉片戰爭後，香港正式登上歷史舞台。清政府與英國簽訂南京條約，乃是中國近代史上第一條不平等條約。香港變成英國的遠東殖民地、商業港。在這個華洋雜處之地，原有的生活形態迅速改變，加之十九世紀中期以後，中國政局持續動盪，因戰火不絕，大量人口南移，激化社會變遷，亦加速城市發展。各種前所未有的事物應運而生，在中西建築、土產洋貨之間，新的社會需求締造全新的視覺文化。

#### 月份牌畫：適應新時代的視覺文化

十九世紀後期，上海、廣州及香港等地洋貨遍市，洋商競以海報作宣傳促銷，為迎合華人社會，更聘用本地畫師，以中國化內容加上月曆，遂產生出月份牌畫。關蕙農(1880-1956)的家族在廣州開設畫館，經營外銷畫。<sup>1</sup>因此，他能承襲家學掌握西洋繪畫的寫實技巧，同時他又曾拜師於人物畫家馮潤芝(1852-1937)和花鳥畫家居廉(1828-1904)，得中國人物、花鳥的精髓。1915年，他在香港創立亞洲五彩石印局，<sup>2</sup>創作出一

### Introduction

In 1988, Anothermountainman (Stanley Wong) came across a shop displaying red-white-blue bags in a portentous manner, which inspired him to ponder the cultural value of Hong Kong. He created his first photographic work with the theme of red-white-blue fabric in 2001. Four years later, he represented Hong Kong to take part in the 51st Venice Biennale with his red-white-blue fabric series <sup>1</sup>. Since then red-white-blue has become the symbol of his art and a popular icon of the Hong Kong spirit. From the materials used in local daily life to the predestined creation of the international art scene, red-white-blue not only embraces the collective memory of Hong Kong, but also boundless creativity. Is it an art form or a design motif? It is by no means easy to define. Apparently, the subtlety, resilience and experimentation portrayed in Anothermountainman's works signify the rise of Hong Kong art over the past century.

### From the 1920s to the 1940s

#### Hong Kong made its first formal appearance in the history

After the end of the Opium War in 1842, Hong Kong officially entered the stage of history. The *Treaty of Nanking* was the first unequal treaty signed between the governments of the United Kingdom and China under the Qing regime. Hong Kong became a British colony and a trade port in the Far East. In the city where East meets West, the original mode of living underwent rapid changes. On top of that, China suffered from political instability after the mid-19th century. The ongoing outbreak of wars made a vast number of people move southward, triggering social transformation as well as speeding up the city development. A diverse range of unprecedented objects came into play, such as Eastern and Western architecture, domestic and foreign goods, among others. The emergence of new social demands constructs a brand new visual culture.

#### Calendar posters: the visual culture adapted to the new era

In the late 19th century, a variety of foreign goods swamped the markets of Shanghai, Guangzhou and Hong Kong.

<sup>1</sup> 《月份牌王關蕙農》參見〈香港記憶〉[https://www.hkmemory.hk/MHK/collections/calendar\\_poster/about\\_kwan/index\\_cht.html](https://www.hkmemory.hk/MHK/collections/calendar_poster/about_kwan/index_cht.html)，檢索日期：2018-12-19。另見李世莊：〈世紀初香港及廣州的月份牌〉，《左右》（香港：香港藝術歷史研究會，1997），頁98-99。

Calendar Posters of Kwan Wai-nung in *Hong Kong Memory*, [https://www.hkmemory.hk/MHK/collections/calendar\\_poster/about\\_kwan/index.html](https://www.hkmemory.hk/MHK/collections/calendar_poster/about_kwan/index.html), accessed on 19 December 2018. Also see Jack S.C. Lee, "A study of Calendar Poster Paintings in the Early Twentieth Century Hong Kong and Canton", *BESIDES* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Art History Research Society, 1997), 98-99.

<sup>2</sup> 同上註。

Ibid.



2 由關蕙農設計及香港亞洲五彩石印局印刷的月份牌畫

香港文化博物館藏

The calendar poster designed by Guan Huinong and printed by Asia Lithograph Company.

The Hong Kong Heritage Museum

1999.82.42



3 村前 | 1938 | 關蕙農 (1880-1956) | 水墨設色紙本

Village Front | 1938 | Guan Huinong (1880-1956) | Ink and colour on paper

AC2001.0129

系列家傳戶曉的月份牌畫如「廣生堂」，成就他「月份牌王」的美名<sup>2</sup><sup>3</sup>。月份牌畫成為當時城市大眾接觸最多的新生型態視覺文化產品。由於他的月份牌畫遠銷至上海及東南亞等地，使他成為早期名播海外的香港藝術家。<sup>3</sup>

Merchants competed among one another by making calendar posters for sales promotion. They commissioned local painters to create calendar posters which combined calendars and Chinese-style pictures, making them more appealing to Chinese people. The family of Guan Huinong (Kwan Wai-nung, 1880-1956) set up a studio in Guangzhou and dealt in China trade paintings, which enabled him to inherit the family legacy through mastering the Western realistic painting techniques.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime, he was under the tutelage of portrait painter Feng Runzhi (1852-1937) and bird-and-flower painter Ju Lian (1828-1904), and managed to grasp the significant skills. In 1915, he established Asia Lithograph Company and created a series of calendar posters,<sup>2</sup> such as "Two Girls", which became a household name and garnered Guan a prestigious title, "The King of Calendar Posters"<sup>2</sup><sup>3</sup>. In light of this, calendar posters became a newly generated type of visual and cultural product mostly accessible by Hong Kong people. As the calendar posters created by Guan were also on sale in Shanghai and South East Asia, he was the Hong Kong artist who made a name for himself overseas in early years.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> 同註 1。

See Note 1



4 粉彩螳螂紋碟 | 約 1909 | 高劍父 (1879-1951) | 陶瓷

「廣東博物商會製」款

Dish with Mantises Design in

Fencai Enamels C. 1909 |

Gao Jianfu (1879-1951) | Ceramics

Mark of "Guangdong Bowu Shanghui Zhi"

C1978.0211

### 比大灣區概念早上百年的粵港藝術圈

廣東是近現代中國革命的發祥地，而香港則是培養新思潮的溫床。早在 1870 年代，近代著名的思想家及報人王韜 (1828-1897) 在香港創辦首份華資中文報紙《循環日報》，推動變法維新思想。晚清的革命思潮不僅改變政治體制，更廣及社會文化的革新。曾是革命黨人的高劍父 (1879-1951)、高奇峰 (1889-1933) 兄弟，在辛亥革命 (1911) 之後全力投入藝術改革，提倡「折衷中外、融合古今」的「新國畫」，開創影響深遠的「嶺南派」。同時，又出畫報、開學校、辦展覽，以新形式推動藝術。

早在 1909 年，高劍父一方面發展新的陶瓷工業，也藉此籌集資金進行革命工作。他曾以「廣東博物商會」的名義在香港舉行展銷會。圖 4 展示其製作的瓷碟產品，碟上的花紋，不是傳統的富貴花鳥，而是以更近寫實的新畫法繪成的一群螳螂。

另一位革命元老潘達微 (1881-1929) 於民國成立以後，不願從政，1914 年到香港加入南洋兄弟煙草公司任廣告部美術主任，繼續推動藝術，改造社會。1923 年在威靈頓街開設寶光照相館，曾展出一眾當代名家之國畫。<sup>4</sup> 同時，又參與組織藝術團體和出版畫報。他對 1920 年代在香港發揚中國藝術，貢獻良多。

### The Guangdong-Hong Kong art community emerged a century earlier than the conception of the Greater Bay Area

Guangdong Province is the origin of the revolution of modern China, whereas Hong Kong is the hotbed for nurturing new trends of thought. As early as the 1870s, Wang Tao (1828-1897), a renowned ideologist and newspaper publisher in modern times, founded the first Chinese-funded newspaper, *Tsun Wan Yat Po*, in Hong Kong. It was a Chinese-language daily newspaper which promoted thoughts about the Reform of Hundred Days. The revolutionary trend of thought of the late Qing dynasty not only transformed the political system, but also led to the reform of the social culture in China. Two brothers, Gao Jianfu (1879-1951) and Gao Qifeng (1889-1933), who were once the members of the Chinese Revolution Party, engaged dedicatedly in the art reform after the end of the 1911 Revolution. Together they founded the profoundly influential Chinese painting style, "Lingnan School of Painting", advocating a "new form of Chinese painting" by "embracing East and West, old and new". Meanwhile, they adopted new approaches to art promotion, such as publishing pictorials, opening an art school and holding exhibitions.

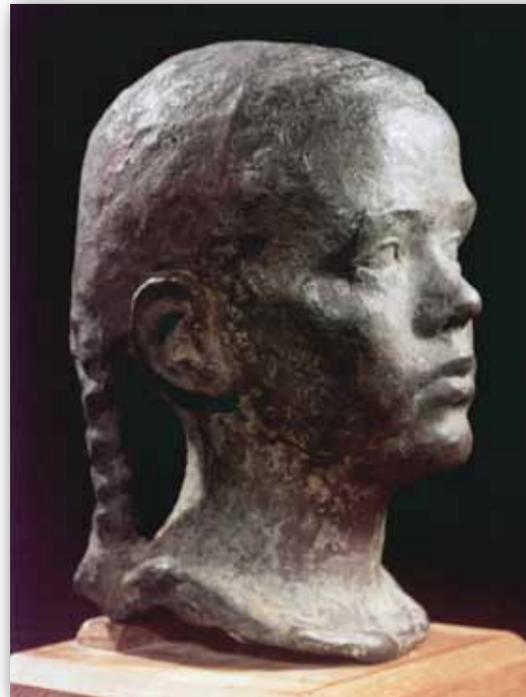
As early as 1909, while Gao Jianfu was developing his new business in the ceramics industry, he allocated the revenue to support the revolution. He once organised a trade fair in the name of "Guangdong Bowu Shanghui". Fig. 4 shows one of its ceramic dishes. Instead of the traditional auspicious motif of birds and flowers, this ceramic dish is adorned with mantises by applying a new realistic painting technique.

<sup>4</sup> 「時人書畫展覽會」廣告的照片，見〈黃般若年表〉，載香港藝術館編：《香港景·山水情——黃般若藝術展》（香港：康樂及文化事務署，2008），頁 165。

The illustration of the advertisement for "Exhibition of Chinese Painting by Contemporaries" in the Biographical Notes of Huang Bore, in The Hong Kong Museum of Art, ed., *An Eulogy of Hong Kong Landscape in Painting: The Art of Huang Bore* (Hong Kong: Leisure and Cultural Services Department, 2008), 183.



5 為君裁 | 1941 | 王少陵 (1909-1989) | 油彩布本  
Sewing for You | 1941 | Wang Shaoling (1909-1989) | Oil on canvas  
AC1991.0022



6 英國女童 | 1950 | 陳錫鈞 (1893-1951) | 青銅  
Anthony Chan, Elisa Chan 及 Victor Chan 捐贈  
Heather's Modelling | 1950 | Chan Shek-kwan (1893-1951) | Bronze  
Donated by Anthony Chan, Elisa Chan and Victor Chan  
AC2017.0076

1926年，一批具有新時代意識的傳統畫家亦在廣州成立了當時南中國最大的藝術組織「廣東國畫研究會」，同時由潘達微、鄧爾雅 (1884-1954) 及黃般若 (1902-1968) 在香港成立分會，將香港與華南藝壇連繫起來。

#### 泊來的藝術：西洋畫與雕塑

1920年代至1940年代期間，香港是當時西化最深的華人社會，西洋藝術亦較早流入大眾的文化視野。當然，其時仍以洋人和精英階層為主。香港首個註冊成立的西畫團體「香港美術會」(1925)就是以西人為主，最早的華人成員，要數王少陵 (1909-1989) 和陳福善 (1905-1985)，他們都是自學成才的。相對於消閒性質的洋人成員，他們兩人都達到專業畫家的水平<sup>5</sup>。

Pan Dawei (1881-1929), another veteran reformer who was unwilling to engage in politics after the establishment of the Republic of China. In 1914, he served as the Art Director in the Advertising Department of Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company and continued his endeavours in art promotion and social reform. In 1923, Pan opened *Baoguang* Photo Studio and showcased a vast collection of Chinese paintings of eminent contemporary artists.<sup>4</sup> In the meantime, he participated in establishing arts organisations and publishing pictorials. He made far-reaching contributions to promoting Chinese art in Hong Kong in the 1920s.

In 1926, a group of traditional painters who were well aware of the new era established the Guangdong Chinese Painting Research Society, the largest ever arts organisation in South China at that time. In the same period, Pan Dawei, Deng Erya (1884-1954) and Huang Bore (1902-1968) established a Hong Kong branch, closing ties between the art scenes of Hong Kong and South China.

#### Art imported by sea freight: Western paintings and sculptures

Hong Kong was the most westernised Chinese society between the 1920s and the 1940s, Western art was introduced into the cultural milieu of Hong Kong in the early days. Nevertheless, the local art community was

1930年代，從海外接受正規學院訓練後的藝術家，陸續來港發展。1929年第一代留洋的西畫家李鐵夫 (1869-1952) 自美國歸來。畢業於加拿大安略省立藝術學院的李秉 (1903-1994) 和余本 (1905-1995)、菲律賓大學的伍步雲 (1905-2001) 及畢業於加拿大並曾遊學歐洲的雕刻家陳錫鈞 (1893-1951) 亦相繼來港<sup>6</sup>，他們設立畫室授徒，把西洋藝術植根到華人藝術圈。

從1920年代以來，香港不斷出現私立藝術學校，既有傳統書畫的「萬國藝術專科學校」(1931)，還有從日本京都市立藝術大學畢業的鮑少游 (1892-1985) 創辦的「麗精美術學校」。兩校在港經營逾半世紀，為當時社會提供了藝術教育的機會。

在二十世紀初，這些藝術家或因避難、或為謀生、更或是追求拓展抱負而到香港，有些成為過客，有些長居斯地。不管如何，他們為原本荒蕪的香港，開拓出一片藝術園地。

## 1950年代至1970年代

### 世界格局重整與香港狀況

1945年，第二次世界大戰結束後，世界格局重整，形成資本主義與社會主義兩大陣營對峙。從政治、軍事、經濟到意識形態的互相抗衡，影響二十世紀後半期的全球發展。戰後香港，既保持西式的社會制度，但地緣上又與中國大陸相連，它既是在兩大文化的邊緣，亦在兩大意識形態的邊緣，遂迎來不同意識形態在此較勁，構成戰後香港複雜紛陳的新文化生態。

still dominated by Westerners and elite classes. The first registered Western painting organisation in Hong Kong, the "Hong Kong Art Club" (1925), was mostly composed of foreigner members. Wang Shaoling (1909-1989) and Luis Chan (1905-1985) were considered the Chinese members who joined the Club the earliest. They learned Western painting through self-study. Contrary to those Western counterparts who painted for leisure, the painting techniques of Wang and Chan were comparable to those of professional artists<sup>5</sup>.

In the 1930s, more and more artists who had received formal education overseas returned to Hong Kong and developed their career. Amid them were Li Tiefu (1869-1952), who specialised in Western painting and was the first generation Chinese artist studying abroad, returned to Hong Kong from the United States in 1929; Li Bing (1903-1994) and Yu Ben (1905-1995), who graduated from the Ontario College of Art and Design, Canada (now known as the OCAD University); Ng Po-wan (1905-2001), who graduated from the University of Philippines and Chan Shek-kwan (1893-1951)<sup>6</sup>, who graduated from a university in Canada and took study tours in Europe. The above artists landed in Hong Kong one after another. Through opening art studios and offering apprenticeships, they aspired to incorporate Western art into the Chinese art community.

Since the 1920s, a vast number of private art institutes had been flourishing in Hong Kong. Amid them were International Art School (1931), which specialised in traditional calligraphy and paintings; and Lai Ching Art Institute founded by Bao Shaoyou (1892-1985), who graduated from the Kyoto Municipal College of Art, Japan. These two institutes operated in Hong Kong for over half a century, offering opportunities of arts education for the community in the 1920s.

In the early 20th century, these returning artists came to Hong Kong because of a number of reasons, such as taking refuge, making a living or realising an ambition. Some were just passersby and some settled in Hong Kong. Regardless of their aspirations, they altogether cultivated an art land in Hong Kong, which was previously a rather art-barren city.

## From the 1950s to the 1970s

### Remodelling of the world structure and the situation in Hong Kong

In 1945, the end of the Second World War triggered the remodelling of the world structure, leading to the standoff between capitalism and socialism. From politics, economics to the mutual confrontations of their ideologies, the remodelling affects the global development in the latter half of the 20th century. After the War, Hong Kong retained the social system as adopted in the Western world, but it was also adjacent to the Mainland geographically. Hence,

## 戰後復甦

戰後的香港百廢待舉，國內局勢卻未因抗戰勝利而得到和平，國共內戰隨之而來。隨着戰火蔓延，國內人士紛紛南遷。香港人口急增至 236 萬。<sup>5</sup> 他們為香港復員帶來了資金和勞動力，也帶來了複雜的人口結構，開展一個南北匯聚的時代。

從《華僑日報》出版的 1949 年《香港年鑑》，可略窺 1948 年的藝壇情況：

這一年香港可以叫做藝術年了……戰後，新生的香港，潛著藝術的種子，萌發了新芽怒茁著……香港的金融安定，也是無可諱言的，年來內亂頻繁，因著生活的需要，許多藝術家都從各地跑來香港居住，或過境性質，來開開展覽（香港人生活較為安定，購買力比國內強得多）……時至今日，居留香港的藝術家可以知道的人數，也有一百之多。<sup>6</sup>

這段記錄，說明了經濟復甦帶動了藝壇的復甦。藝術團體的活動亦再次活躍起來。1948 年成立的「圓社」，會員包括南北畫書篆刻名家，融和南北，正如社會人心在長期分裂及戰亂之後，趨求團結的表現。<sup>7</sup> 歷史悠久的「香港美術會」亦於 1948 年復會。其時，該會原以西畫為主的情況亦因時而變，不單大量招收華人會員，之後陸續有華人出任副會長之職。<sup>8</sup> 此外，陳海鷹（1918-2010）在 1952 年成立「香港美術專科學校」，成為戰後第一所私立美術學校，推動寫實風格的西方繪畫。

the city positioned herself at the borders of both Eastern and Western cultural realms, as well as the margins of the ideologies of capitalism and socialism, resulting in the rivalry among different ideologies and the emergence of a complex form of cultural ecology in the post-war era.

## Post-war rejuvenation

Many issues had yet to be ironed out in post-war Hong Kong. The Mainland did not come to peace even after the victory of the Chinese People's War of Resistance. The civil war between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party followed subsequently. As the war kept raging on, more and more Mainlanders moved southward. The population of Hong Kong soared to 2.36 million.<sup>5</sup> They brought capitals and manpower to post-war Hong Kong, and made the demographic structure more complex than ever, embarking on the new era of North-South integration.

From 1949 *Hong Kong Year Book* published by *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, we can have some general ideas about the art scene of Hong Kong in 1948:

This year could be coined "The Year of Art" to Hong Kong... After the war, the dormant seeds of art in newborn Hong Kong began to germinate and the new sprouts emerged exuberantly... The financial status of Hong Kong was unquestionably stable. Over the past year, civil disturbances became a common occurrence. For the sake of their livelihood, lots of artists from all over the country opted for settling down in Hong Kong, or just passed by and held exhibitions (Hong Kong people lived a relatively stable life and their purchasing power was much greater compared to Mainlanders')... To date, the number of artists settled in Hong Kong that we can identify is about a hundred.<sup>6</sup>

This historical record clearly illustrates how economic recovery fostered the rejuvenation of the Hong Kong art scene. Various arts organisations were revitalised and became active again. Amid them was the "Yuan Society" founded in 1948, its members included the renowned artists of the Northern and Southern Schools of painting, calligraphy and seal cuttings. Such North-South integration truly reflected the urge for unity after long-standing social divisiveness and the turbulent days of wars.<sup>7</sup> The historic "Hong Kong Art Club" resumed operation in 1948.

<sup>5</sup> 元邦建編：《香港史略》（香港：中流出版社有限公司，1993），頁 11。

Yuan Bangjian, ed., *Xianggang shi lü* (A Brief History of Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Zhongliu Publishing Company, 1993), 11.

<sup>6</sup> 《香港年鑑》第二回（香港：華僑日報，1949），中卷，頁 18-19。

*Hong Kong Year Book*, Vol. 2 (Hong Kong: *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, 1949), *juan* 2, 18-19.

<sup>7</sup> 《圓社月刊》，參見《華僑日報》（1948-7-9）。

*Yuan she yuekan* (Yuan Society Monthly), see *Wah Kiu Yat Po* (Overseas Chinese Daily), 9 July 1948.

<sup>8</sup> 《華僑日報》（1949-11-26）

*Wah Kiu Yat Po*, 26 November 1949.



7 畫中畫 | 1960 年代 | 丁衍庸 (1902-1978) | 油彩板本

黃易先生捐贈

Painting in Painting | 1960s | Ding Yanyong (1902-1978) | Oil on board

Donated by Mr Wong Yi

FA2009.0073

Previously, the Club had been dominated with Western painting, which was changed in light of the prevailing circumstances. Apart from a large number of Chinese members being recruited by the Club, more Chinese people took the role of the Vice-President.<sup>8</sup> Besides, Chan Hoi-ying (1918-2010) founded the Hong Kong Academy of Fine Arts in 1952, it was the first post-war private art institute which promoted the realistic approach of Western painting.

## Southbound artists resumed the experimentation in art

Since 1919, a vast number of artists delved into the craze of Chinese art reform; however, they were deterred from going further due to the outbreak of wars. After 1949, many Southern artists resumed their unfinished art experimentation in Hong Kong. Amid them were Chen Shiwen (1907-1984) and Ding Yanyong (1902-1978) <sup>7</sup>, both of whom had studied abroad and been active in Shanghai. They took the lead in promoting Western art in China in the early 20th century and were the significant contributors to the preliminary development of the Department of Fine Arts of the New Asia College (now known as The Chinese University of Hong Kong [CUHK]).<sup>9</sup>

## Reflection of social reality through artistic creations

As early as the 1930s, the left-wing literati had been active in Hong Kong. For example, Huang Xinbo (1916-1980) was the first artist returning to Hong Kong and founded the Ren Jian Art Group, which had an impact on the arts and cultural development in post-war Hong Kong to a certain extent. After the inception of New China, the left-wing literati were still active in Hong Kong, they urged the artists there to return and contribute to the Mainland, which received support from Li Tiefu, Yu Ben and Xu Dongbai (1900-1989). In those days, the topic of social reality underlined by Left Activists echoed with the social and political confrontation triggered by the thought on socialism. Other artists such as Wong Chiu-foon (1896-1971) and Ng Po-wan also advocated this trend of thought through their works of art <sup>8 9</sup>.

## 南來藝術家：延續未竟的藝術實驗

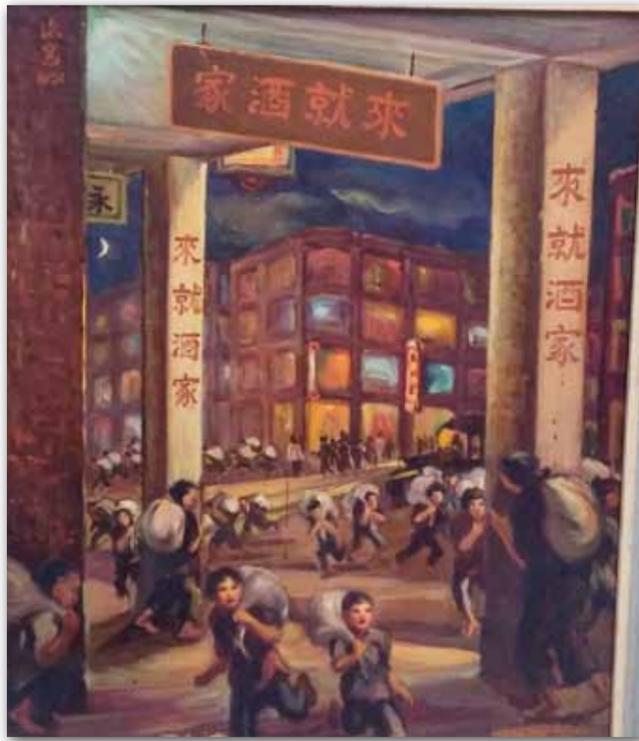
自 1919 年以來，不少藝術家投入革改中國藝術的大潮流，然因連年戰火窒礙發展。1949 年後，許多南來藝術家在香港進行他們未竟完成的藝術實驗。陳士文（1907-1984）及丁衍庸（1902-1978）都曾留學外國、活躍於上海，成為二十世紀前期在中國推動西方藝術的先鋒 <sup>7</sup>。1957 年，他們同為新亞書院（即現今香港中文大學，下簡稱「中大」）藝術系初創時期的骨幹。<sup>9</sup>

## 以作品反映社會現實主題

早在 1930 年代，左翼文化人便在香港活動，如黃新波（1916-1980）等率先回港，成立「人間畫會」，對戰後香港的文化藝術發展，產生一定影響。新中國成立後，左派文化人繼續在港活動，例如策動藝術家回國建設，得到李鐵夫、余本、徐東白（1900-1989）等響應。當時左翼人士強調的社會現實主題，與當時社會主義思想提出的社會政治抗爭互相呼應，其他藝術家如黃潮寬（1896-1971）及伍步雲亦響應這股思潮，以作品反映現實 <sup>8 9</sup>。

<sup>9</sup> 李潤桓：〈一位香港高等藝術教育的創建者〉，載於香港中文大學藝術系、藝術系系友會編：《陳士文：香港高等藝術教育創建者》（香港：香港中文大學藝術系、藝術系系友會，2016），頁 37-38。

Lee Yun-woon, "Yiwei Xianggang gaodeng yishu jiaoyu de chuangjianzhe (A Founder of Hong Kong's Higher Art Education)," in *Chen Shiwen: Xianggang gaodeng yishu jiaoyu chuangjianzhe* (Chen Shiwen: A Founder of Hong Kong's Higher Art Education), ed. The Department of Fine Arts and the Alumni Association of the Department of Fine Arts of The Chinese University of Hong Kong (Hong Kong: The Department of Fine Arts and the Alumni Association of the Department of Fine Arts of The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2016), 37-38.



8 來就酒家 | 1951 | 黃潮寬 (1896-1971) | 油彩布本  
黃其光先生、黃其偉先生及黃其超先生捐贈  
Loy Jau Restaurant | 1951 |  
Wong Chiu-foon (1896-1971) | Oil on canvas  
Donated by Mr Wong Kay-kwong, Mr Wong Kay-wai  
and Mr Wong Kay-chui  
AC2017.0112

### 西方現代主義藝術思潮的傳播

二十世紀前期在歐洲生成的各種現代藝術風格，於二戰前後移入美國，原本是「為藝術而藝術」或「挑戰大眾品味」的前衛藝術竟然成為市場機制的新寵兒。市場導向同時改變環環相扣的藝術生態，整個藝術圈都共同擁抱現代藝術，使原本作為顛覆的小眾審美品味，變成主流；同時，更因美國領導下的西方文化推向世界各地。

1956年馬朗主編的《文藝新潮》為1950年代的前衛文學期刊，當中刊載多篇翻譯西方現代主義的重要文章。<sup>10</sup> 此前，1955年法國文化協會舉辦卡繆（Albert Camus, 1913-1960）及沙特（Jean-Paul Sartre, 1905-1980）兩位諾貝爾文學獎得主的演講。五十年代後期，青年作家結集的風氣轉盛。1958年岑崑南、王無邪和葉維廉共同創辦《詩朵》，是介紹現代文學的重要刊物。

在現代主義的影響下，藝術家專注於如何建立自己的一套藝術語言，以表達個人的體驗、追求超越傳統、脫離現實桎梏、不干涉社會及政治、亦不關注經濟或任何物質的創

### Dissemination of the thoughts on Modern Western Art

During the post-Second World War, diverse styles in modern art nurtured in Europe in the early 20th century were introduced into the United States. The avant-garde, which had been previously an innovative approach to art making derived purely “for the sake of artistic creations” or “to challenge the interest of the general public”, became a new artistic style much sought after in the US market. The market orientation also transformed the entire interlocking art ecology. The whole art community advocated modern art, turning the once-subversive niche art form into the mainstream culture. In the meantime, Western culture led by the United States also spread across the world.

*New Tides of Literature and Art* edited by Ma Long in 1956 was a progressive literary journal in the 1950s. It published a myriad of significant translated articles about Western Modernism.<sup>10</sup> In 1955, Alliance Française organised seminars hosted by the two winners of Nobel laureates in Literature, Albert Camus (1913-1960) and Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980). In the late 1950s, more and more young authors collaborated on a variety of literary initiatives. In 1958, Shum Quanan, Wucius Wong and Yip Wai-lim founded *Poetry Petals*, which was a significant journal focusing on modern literature.

Under the influence of Modernism, artists concentrated on establishing a set of own languages of art, expressing individual feelings, reaching beyond the tradition, getting rid

<sup>10</sup> 黃鑾持、盧璋鑾、鄭樹森：《香港文學大事年表》（香港：香港中文大學出版社，1996），頁18。

Wong Kai-chee, Lo Wai-luen and William Tay, *Xianggang wenxue dashi nianbiao* (A Chronology of Major Literary Events in Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1996), 18.



9 我們要活下去 | 1952 | 伍步雲 (1905-2001) | 油彩布本  
伍步雲先生捐贈  
We're to Struggle on | 1952 | Ng Po-wan (1905-2001) |  
Oil on canvas  
Donated by Mr Ng Po-wan  
AC1995.0035

作心態和形式。這群年青藝術家所留心的，是當時藝壇的一些現象，「盲從外國」與「固守傳統」是他們最大的心理掙扎。<sup>11</sup> 在這種情況下，他們選擇了現代主義下的不同藝術形式及技法，並注入了中國藝術的元素，力圖建立「東西融合」的現代風格。

### 打開香港現代藝術之路

1958年，正在法國藝壇冒起的趙無極（1921-2013），應新亞書院之邀到港任教一年，其間與不少本地藝術家交流，對香港的現代繪畫興起，產生積極作用，呂壽琨（1919-1975）、王無邪、杜格拉斯·白連（Douglas Bland, 1923-1975）、韓志勳（1922-2019）等均受其影響。杜格拉斯·白連曾表示，與趙無極的交流，徹底改變了他的藝術風格<sup>10</sup>。<sup>12</sup> 他是將中國元素融入現代西畫的非華人畫家，也是推動香港藝術走向現代之路的先驅之一。

<sup>11</sup> 伍希雅：〈香港藝術之建立〉，《文林月刊》，（15，1974），頁20。

Wucius, “Xianggang yishu zhi jianli (The Establishment of Hong Kong Art),” *Grove Magazine*, no. 15 (February 1974): 20.

<sup>12</sup> 約翰·溫納：〈An interview with Douglas Bland〉，<https://douglasblandartist.wordpress.com/an-interview-with-douglas-bland/>，檢索日期：2018-12-19。

John Warner, “An interview with Douglas Bland,” <https://douglasblandartist.wordpress.com/an-interview-with-douglas-bland/>，accessed on 19 December 2018.



10 明藍 | 1962 | 杜格拉斯·白連 (1923-1975) | 油彩布本  
Ming Blue | 1962 | Douglas Bland (1923-1975) | Oil on canvas  
AC1964.0032

of real-life shackles, restraining themselves from intervening society and politics, and being indifferent to economics, the creative mentality and forms of any substances. These young artists were only concerned about some phenomena of the current art scene. They were caught in a serious dilemma between being the “blind followers of Western Modernism” and the “advocates of traditional culture”.<sup>11</sup> Under this circumstance, they combined the diverse artistic styles and techniques of Western Modernism with features of Chinese art in an attempt to create a modern art form with a seamless blend of East and West.

### Exploration of Hong Kong modern art

In 1958, Zao Wouki (1921-2013), who was a newly emerged artist in the French art scene, was invited to teach in the New Asia College for a year. While teaching in Hong Kong, Zao had mutual exchanges with a number of local artists. It helped boost the development of the modern painting in Hong Kong, exerting influences on the painting styles of Lui Shou-kwan (1919-1975), Wucius Wong, Douglas Bland (1923-1975) and Hon Chi-fun (1922-2019). Bland once mentioned that his artistic style had changed utterly after exchanging views with Zao<sup>10</sup>.<sup>12</sup> He was a non-Chinese painter who assimilated Chinese elements into modern Western painting and also one of the forerunners in navigating Hong Kong arts towards modernity.



11 原 | 1968 | 張義 | 木  
Genesis | 1968 | Cheung Yee | Wood  
AC1968.0011

### 「現代文學美術協會」開風氣之先

同年，「現代文學美術協會」成立，其中包括主幹人物如呂壽琨、王無邪、韓志勳、李英豪、岑崑南等。這群具有不同學歷背景的青年藝術家積極推動現代主義的新藝術風格，曾舉辦過三屆「國際繪畫沙龍」，對於1960至1970年代的香港藝術起了決定性的作用。他們不單在個人創作上建立強烈風格，更在創辦畫會方面領導潮流。他們發展現代風格，以西方的思維、形式、技法等重新演繹中國傳統，正與當時提倡的「東西融合」社會氣候結合起來。

### 中元畫會：1960年代前衛藝術的新力量

1964年成立的「中元畫會」，創會成員包括王無邪、韓志勳、尤紹曾（1911-1999）、徐榕生、林鎮輝（1932-2013）、郭文基（1944-約1980）、建築師潘士超，以及台灣師範大學藝術系畢業的張義、文樓、金嘉倫等，他們代表了1960年代中期香港前衛藝術的新力量<sup>11</sup>。當中如韓志勳是推動現代繪畫的靈魂人物，他以揮灑筆觸、幾何構圖與拼貼現成物創作，並且率先加入中國傳統文化元素，如佛像、經書、碑刻書法，亦利用絲印將影像移印到畫作上<sup>12</sup>，都是當時嶄新的藝術實驗。



12 緣牒 | 1968 | 韓志勳(1922-2019) | 絲印版  
Karma Passport | 1968 | Hon Chi-fun (1922-2019) | Silkscreen  
AC1968.0007

### The Modern Literature and Art Association—a pioneer in inspiring new styles

The Modern Literature and Art Association was founded in 1958. The main founders included Lui Shou-kwan, Wucius Wong, Hon Chi-fun, Lee Ying-ho and Shum Quanan, among others. Having different education backgrounds, these young artists actively promoted a new artistic style of Modernism and had organised International Salon three times, which played a decisive role in boosting Hong Kong art in the 1960s and the 1970s. Not only did they imbue an impressive style into their individual works, but also became trendsetters in founding painting organisations. They developed modern painting styles which reinterpreted the Chinese tradition by adopting Western thoughts, styles and painting techniques, and integrated them with the social climate of “East-meets-West” being advocated during that period.

### The Circle Art Group: the new power of the avant-garde in the 1960s

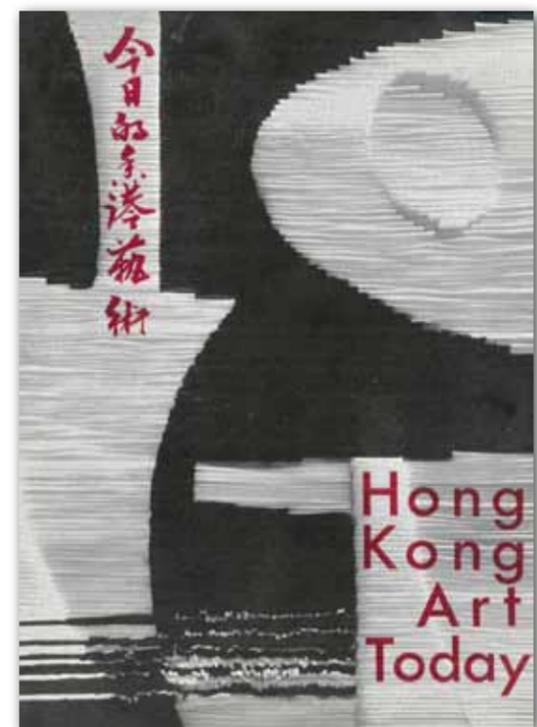
The Circle Art Group was founded in 1964, the founders included Wucius Wong, Hon Chi-fun, Jackson Yu (1911-1999), Chui Yung-sang, Lam Chun-fai (1932-2013), Kuo Ven-chi (1944-circa 1980), architect Pan Sze-chiu, as well as the three graduates from the Department of Fine Arts, National Taiwan Normal University, namely, Cheung Yee, Van Lau and King Chia-lun. They represented the new power of the avant-garde in Hong Kong in the mid-1960s<sup>11</sup>. Hon Chi-fun, in particular, was the soul for promoting modern paintings.

中元成員所追求的現代風格，緊貼其時美國的抽象表現主義、普普藝術、極簡主義藝術等，表現自我的獨特性，追求「原創性」，以簡化、幾何及抽象的手法，擺脫陳規舊矩，並與西方主流配合。而他們與西方風格的最大分別，正是注入了中國元素。

### 大會堂美術博物館

這股現代思潮，同樣體現在首任大會堂美術博物館館長約翰·溫納（John Warner）身上。他一上任，即透過邀請和公開徵集，舉辦了「今日的香港藝術」作為揭幕展<sup>13</sup>。他將這座新生的美術博物館的未來收藏和展覽方向，建立在前衛藝術上，應是受紐約現代藝術博物館的影響，以當代藝術作為主體，這亦是充滿實驗性的嘗試。

在西方，現代藝術的興起與藝術展覽、畫廊、美術館、藝術市場、藝評及收藏家連成緊密的關係，各個因素相輔相成。1960年代的香港竟然巧合地匯聚了上述的因素，中元成員的前衛創作，可謂適逢其時。既有香港大會堂美術博物館的成立，加上私人畫廊如雅苑畫廊、三集畫廊的推廣，為香港現代藝術的興起，創造了空前的機遇。



He created his works by bold brush strokes, geometric compositions and montages, and incorporated the Chinese traditional cultural elements into his creation, like Buddha images, scriptures, inscriptions and calligraphy. Besides, he also imprinted images on his works by silk screen printing<sup>12</sup>, which was a brand new art experience in the 1960s.

What modern painting styles the Circle Art Group's members pursued were in line with some prevalent artistic styles of the United States, such as Abstract Expressionism, Pop Art and Minimalism. They generated a sense of self-uniqueness and pursued originality by adopting simple, geometrical and abstract techniques; getting rid of old rules and catering to the mainstream Western styles. What differed most between their styles and the Western's was the incorporation of the Chinese art elements.

### The City Museum and Art Gallery

This modern trend of thought was also embodied in the attempt initiated by John Warner, the first Curator of the City Museum and Art Gallery. Once he was on board, he immediately organised the “Hong Kong Art Today” exhibition as an opening exhibition by invitation and open submission<sup>13</sup>. Having been inspired by the Museum of Modern Art, New York, Warner developed the direction for future collections and exhibitions of this new art gallery on the basis of the avant-garde. It was a truly experimental attempt by taking contemporary art as the fundamental basis of this gallery.

In the Western world, the emergence of modern art forged close ties with art exhibitions, galleries, art museums, art markets, art critique and collectors; each of them complemented one another. In the 1960s, Hong Kong embraced all of the above elements coincidentally. Hence, the Circle Art Group's members were just at the right moment to create the avant-garde art pieces. The establishment of the City Museum and Art Gallery, and the art promotion initiated by the Chatham Gallery and Sally Jackson Art Gallery nurtured the modern art in Hong Kong.

13 1962年舉辦的「今日的香港藝術」展覽  
“Hong Kong Art Today” exhibition held in 1962

## 水墨革新：中國文化再造

革新中國畫的思潮，早在 20 世紀初已展開。然而，深受傳統思維、教學模式和社會文化氛圍的影響，革新的步伐顯得緩慢。戰後香港的水墨畫能有突破性的發展，正是因其偏離傳統社會文化的新社會所締造的機遇。而適逢其時流行的現代主義思潮亦帶動了新水墨的興起。

### 呂壽琨與王無邪：香港新水墨的始作俑者

由廣州移居香港的呂壽琨，早有改革中國繪畫的志向。1950 年代，他不滿於中國畫界的因循，亦見西方現代藝術的日新月異的飛速演變，從 1950 年代始接觸西方現代藝術，從西方現代藝術的發展軌跡中得到啟迪，反思傳統中國繪畫元素。他主張引入中國傳統中的筆墨元素創作，但絕不能模仿，必須加以提煉以變成自己的風格。他自己亦曾作過多方面的實驗，包括以中國畫的方法再現透納 (John Mallord William Turner, 1776-1851)、派博 (John Piper, 1903-1992)、立體派、乃至抽象表現主義和美國的行動繪畫。但他不是模仿，而是有意識地藉此「重溯中國繪畫的抽象及表現性元素」。<sup>13</sup> 從 1960 年至 1970 年



14 禪之四 | 1970 | 呂壽琨 (1919-1975) | 水墨設色紙本  
Zen 4 | 1970 | Lui Shou-kwan (1919-1975) | Ink and colour on paper  
AC1970.0030

## Reform of Chinese ink painting: reconstruction of Chinese culture

The thoughts on reforming Chinese painting had already begun in the early 20th century, though the progress was rather slow due to the impact brought about by the traditional thinking, pedagogy and ambience of social culture. The breakthrough in the development of Chinese painting in post-war Hong Kong was attributed to the opportunities driven by the new society diverging from traditional social culture. What's more, the rising popularity of Modernism also triggered the rise of new Chinese painting styles.

### Lui Shou-kwan and Wucius Wong: the initiators of the new ink painting movement in Hong Kong

Having migrated from Guangzhou to Hong Kong, Lui Shou-kwan aspired to reform Chinese painting for long. Ever since he was first exposed to Modern Western Art in the 1950s, he had been discontent with the conventional styles of Chinese painting. While observing the rapid evolution of Modern Western Art, he was also inspired by the course of development of Modern Western Art and reviewed the traditional Chinese painting elements. Lui suggested incorporating traditional Chinese painting features into his new works, but the technique must be meticulously refined so as to create an individual style completely free from imitation. He made several attempts regarding this approach, such as adopting Chinese painting techniques to reconstruct paintings imbued with the artistic styles of John Mallord William Turner (1776-1851), John Piper (1903-1992), Cubism, Abstract Expressionism and Action Painting prevalent in the United States. "He did not imitate the works of American action painters but rediscovered the abstract and expressionistic elements of early Chinese painting."<sup>13</sup> From the 1960s to the early 1970s, while drawing sketches of Hong Kong sceneries, Lui also took an active approach to decompose the essence of painting techniques of traditional Chinese painting by copying and developed his original abstract Chinese painting style—Zen Painting<sup>14</sup>.

Wucius Wong proposed the "Movement of Cultural Reinvention",<sup>14</sup> which advocated gaining a foothold in traditional Chinese culture and opening up to the world. He changed his profession from literature to painting. When he studied arts and design in the United States in 1961, he was inspired



15 歸思 | 1965 | 王無邪 | 水墨紙本  
王無邪先生捐贈  
Home Thoughts | 1965 |  
Wucius Wong | Ink on paper  
Donated by Mr Wucius Wong  
AC2007.0008

代初，他一方面以香港景物作寫生，同時積極以臨摹方式，拆解傳統中國繪畫的墨筆精髓，發展出獨創的抽象水墨——「禪畫」<sup>14</sup>。

王無邪提出「文化再造運動」，<sup>14</sup> 主張立足於繼承中國傳統文化和面向世界。他從文學轉向繪畫，1961 年更赴美國攻讀藝術設計，深受講求理性思考和元素分析應用的包浩斯風格影響。他將設計理念與水墨結合，創出水墨畫構成的新模式，影響深遠<sup>15</sup>。

呂壽琨以中國繪畫對西方現代藝術的挪用、轉化，進而超越中西畫道，建立個人面貌的主張，與王無邪的「文化再造運動」，均可理解為「中西交匯」的模式，可謂體現了共同的時代思潮。<sup>15</sup> 1966 年之後，呂壽琨開始在中大校外進修部設水墨畫及藝術設計課程，王無邪回港之後，亦加盟該校，他們的創作經驗和思想，深遠影響 1970 年代至 1980 年代的藝術方向。靳埭強、梁巨廷、畢子融等為在往後的藝壇和設計界雙向產生廣泛影響的人物，他們皆是呂壽琨和王無邪的學生。呂氏的其他學生先後成立「元道畫會」(1968) 及「一畫會」(1971)，成為 1970 年代到 1980 年代推動水墨發展的主動力。

### 不遑多讓的傳統書畫界

1960 年代，傳統書畫界也非常蓬勃，大型畫會如「香港中國美術會」(1958) 繼續運

by the Bauhaus style, which stresses rational thinking and the application of element analysis. He blended his design concept with Chinese ink painting, creating a new painting style with profound influences<sup>15</sup>.

Lui Shou-kwan established his individual approach to creating his signature painting style by diverting and transforming Modern Western Art in Chinese painting, subsequently going beyond the Chinese and Western painting principles. Lui's novel painting approach and Wucius Wong's "Movement of Cultural Reinvention" were interpreted as the styles featuring "East-meets-West", reflecting the common trend of thought at that time.<sup>15</sup> After 1966, Lui organised courses on Chinese painting and arts and design in the School of Continuing and Professional Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUSCS). Wong also joined CUSCS after returning to Hong Kong. Their artistic experience and thoughts had a profound impact on the art direction during the 1970s and the 1980s. Kan Tai-keung, Leung Kui-ting and Aser But were the significant figures who had widespread influences on the art scene and the East-West approach in design in the latter period. They were also the students of Lui and Wong. Some other students of Lui founded the In Tao Art Association and One Art Group in 1968 and 1971 respectively, which became the key driver to foster the development of Chinese ink painting from the 1970s to the 1980s.

### The equally prosperous development of traditional calligraphy and painting

In the 1960s, the development of traditional calligraphy and painting also flourished vibrantly. Some well-established art associations, such as the Chinese Art Club (1958), were still

<sup>13</sup> 香港大會堂美術館編：《呂壽琨近作展》（香港：香港市政局，1964），頁 3。

Hong Kong City Hall Art Gallery, ed., *Lui Shou-kwan* (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1964), 3.

<sup>14</sup> 王無邪：〈現代繪畫運動在中國〉，《筆匯月刊》(2 (7)，1961)，頁 15。

Wucius Wong, "Xiandai huihua yundong zai Zhongguo (Modern Painting Movements in China)," *Bihui yuekan* (Pen Monthly) 2, no. 7 (May 1961): 15.

<sup>15</sup> 文潔華：《香港視覺藝術家 (1970-1980) ——新水墨運動後的實驗與挪移》（香港：商務印書館（香港）有限公司，2018），頁 11。

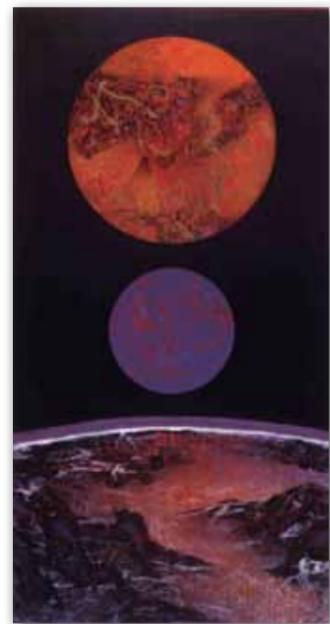
Man Kit-wah Eva, *Xianggang shijue yishujia (1970-1980): xin shuimo yundong hou de shiyan yu nuoyi* (Hong Kong Visual Artists (1970-1980): Experiments and Shiftings After the Ink Movement) (Hong Kong: Commercial Press Limited, 2018), 11.

作。1960年由任真漢(1907-1991)、李汛萍(1913-1993)、鄭家鎮(1918-2000)等成立的「庚子畫會」(1960)是1960年代少數與國內藝壇有交流的團體。其時，由師生班底組成的團體漸漸興起，由不同嶺南派師生組成的有「今畫會」(1961)、「蒼城畫會」(1955)及「香港美學會」(1968)。1958年成立的「中國書法協會」是書法團體的先河，繼有1966年成立的「中國書法研究會」。畫會的興盛，成為當時推動藝術的重要動力。<sup>16</sup>

### 1970年代的穩步發展與更替

1970年代社會轉趨平穩，經濟進入高增長年代，令香港步向現代化都市的行列。經濟上取得的成就，更提升了香港的國際地位。七十年代，可說是香港歷史發展中最具獨立發展精神的時代。<sup>17</sup>

1960年代至1970年代，本港的正規藝術教育得到較大的發展空間，如1963年香港中



<sup>16</sup> 地球何許？之五十 | 1969 | 劉國松 | 水墨，塑膠彩及裱貼紙本

Which is Earth? No.50 | 1969 | Liu Guosong | Ink, acrylic and collage on paper  
AC2003.0043

in operation. The Gengzy Calligraphy and Painting Society founded by Yam Chun-hon (1907-1991), Li Xunping (1913-1993) and Cheng Kar-chun (1918-2000) in 1960 was among a few arts organisations staying connected with the art scene in China in the 1960s. During that period, more arts organisations constituted by masters and their apprentices were established, such as the Today's Art Association (1961), Cang Cheng Art Studio (1955) and Hong Kong Fine Arts Association (1968) composed of masters and apprentices from different Lingnan Schools of Painting. The Chinese Calligraphy Association established in 1958 was a premier calligraphy organisation, coming next was the Chinese Calligraphy Research Association founded in 1966. The rise of art associations played a significant role in fostering the art development in Hong Kong.<sup>16</sup>

### The stable development and alternation in the 1970s

In the 1970s, the Hong Kong community became more stable and the economic growth soared to new heights, Hong Kong further developed into a modern city. The remarkable economic achievement enhanced the international status of the city. The 1970s can be regarded as the era characterised by the most independent spirit of development in the history of Hong Kong.<sup>17</sup>

From the 1960s to the 1970s, formal art education in Hong Kong enjoyed a greater room for development. For example, the Department of Fine Arts of the New Asia College became the first official tertiary arts education institute, leading to the establishment of CUHK in 1963. The art courses organised by the Extra-Mural Departments of The University of Hong Kong and CUHK developed swiftly. Coming next was the Department of Design at the Hong Kong Technical College (now known as the School of Design of The Hong Kong Polytechnic University) established in 1967. The new generation stood a better chance to get themselves exposed to Western art and modern art, and the students who had completed their overseas studies were dedicated to shaping the art scene gradually, generating a brand new perspective in Hong Kong. Since the establishment of the City Museum and Art Gallery in 1962, it had been promoting Western art and the newly emerged Hong Kong art in an ongoing manner. What's more, the Contemporary Hong Kong Art Exhibition held in 1969, 1972 and 1975 served as a premier exhibition leading to the Contemporary Hong Kong Art Biennial. All the above initiatives fostered the transformation of the art trend rather rapidly.

<sup>16</sup> 張惠儀：《香港書畫團體研究》（香港：香港中文大學藝術系，1999），頁54。

Cheung Wai-ye, *Xianggang shuhua tuanti yanjiu* (Studies on Hong Kong Painting and Calligraphy Societies) (Hong Kong: The Department of Fine Arts of The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1999), 54.

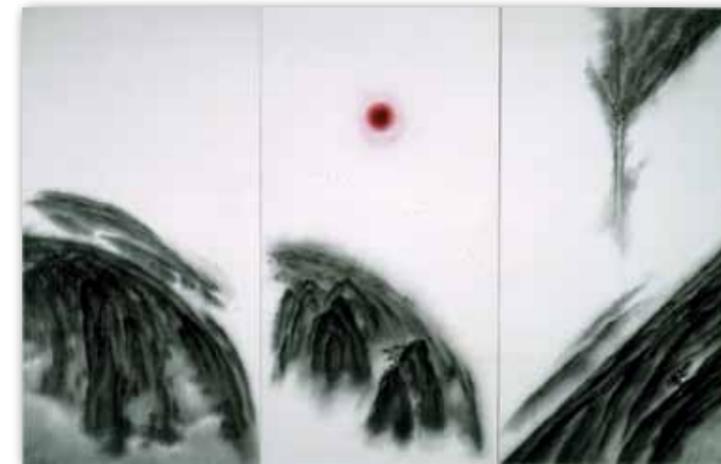
<sup>17</sup> 同上註，頁55-58。

Ibid., 55-58.

文大學正式成立，源於新亞書院的藝術系成為本港首個正式專上藝術教育機構；香港大學（港大）和中大的校外進修部各自開辦的美術課程均發展迅速；1967年香港理工學院設計系（即現今「香港理工大學設計學院」）成立。更多接觸西方藝術和現代藝術的新一代，加上外國學成歸來者，慢慢塑造藝壇的新面目。此外，自香港博物美術館於1962年成立後，不斷推介西方藝術和香港的新興藝術，並於1969年、1972年及1975年相繼舉行「當代香港藝術展覽」，成為日後「當代香港藝術雙年展」的先河，加速了藝術潮流的轉向。

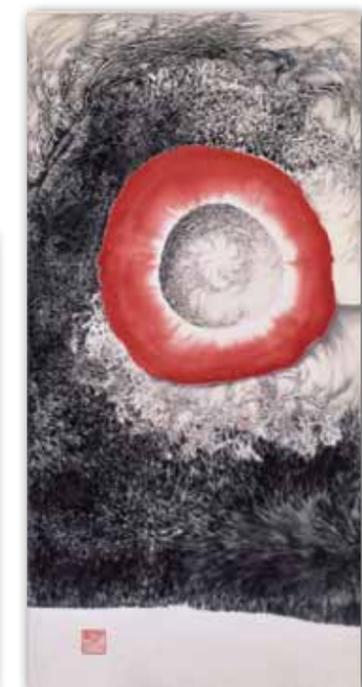
### 新水墨潮流的形成

1960年代興起的新水墨，在1970年代漸入高峰。早在1950年代帶動台灣現代藝術運動的劉國松，在1971年應聘到香港中文大學任教，於本港大力發展「現代水墨」，於1977年組成「香港現代水墨畫協會」。自從他來港任教後，加速了香港水墨畫現代化的發展。他敢於大膽開拓實驗各種技法，將水墨發展推向更廣闊的領域<sup>16</sup>。前述的「一畫會」在1970年代正發揮廣泛的社會影響力。在兩者各自的推動下，新水墨成為了當時的藝壇主流<sup>17 18</sup>。<sup>18</sup>



<sup>17</sup> 空山·旭日·泉聲 | 2000 | 靳埭強 | 水墨設色紙本

Three Movements: Space Time Voice | 2000 | Kan Tai-keung | Ink and colour on paper  
AC2001.0208



<sup>18</sup> 仲夏 | 1983 | 周綠雲(1924-2011) | 水墨設色紙本

Midsummer | 1983 | Chou Lok-wen, Irene (1924-2011) | Ink and colour on paper  
AC1983.0042

### The rise of the new ink painting

The rise of the new ink painting style in the 1960s gradually reached its peak in the 1970s. As early as the 1950s, Liu Guosong advocated the modern art movement in Taiwan. After he was appointed to teach in The Chinese University of Hong Kong in 1971, he was dedicated to developing the "modern Chinese ink painting" in Hong Kong and founded the Hong Kong Modern Chinese Ink Painting Association in 1977. Ever since Liu taught in Hong Kong, he had been fostering the modernisation of Hong Kong ink painting. He took a bold approach to explore and attempt different techniques, fostering the development of ink painting to a wider horizon<sup>16</sup>. One Art Group, as aforementioned, exerted a widespread influence on the community in the 1970s. Thanks to the relentless efforts of Liu and One Art Group in promoting the novel art form independently, the Hong Kong ink painting style became the mainstream in the local art scene in the 1970s<sup>17 18</sup>.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> 黎明海、文潔華編著：《與香港藝術對話1980-2014》（香港：三聯書店（香港）有限公司，2015），頁362-363。

Lai Ming-hoi Victor and Man Kit-wah Eva, ed., *In Conversation with Hong Kong Art: 1980-2014* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (Hong Kong) Company Limited, 2015), 362-363.

## 多元化的藝壇

在本港或海外接受藝術訓練的新一代，亦紛紛組織起各種媒介的團體。1974年，一群以西方媒介為主的年青藝術家組成了「視覺藝術協會」（後易名為「香港視覺藝術協會」），他們主要來自港大校外進修部（即現今「香港大學專業進修學院」）的藝術與設計文憑課程的學員，其中包括：陳餘生、呂豐雅、畢子融、朱興華、郭孟浩、李其國、唐景森(1940-2008)等。其他團體包括：1976年成立的「香港版畫協會」、1978年成立的篆刻團體「友聲印社」，以及專注美術教育發展的「國際美育協會香港分會」。

傳統書法團體亦有長足的發展，「香港中國書法學會」（1971）、「香港中國書道協會」（1973）和「南薰書學社」（1979）相繼成立。這些團體舉辦的海外交流及展覽，使書法趨向國際化。在中國仍處於封閉之時，負起播揚傳統藝術的任務。<sup>19</sup>

## 1980年代至1990年代中期

### 港式潮流的興起

承接著1970年代的經濟起飛，社會穩定，城市大規模建設，使香港在1980年代成為亞洲的先進城市。自1970年代以來不斷建塑成型的香港國際形象、生活模式、文化特質亦於此時邁向成熟。1980年代，香港的工業產品以及電影、電視、粵語流行曲等流行文化產物把握了地緣政治環境的優勢，廣受歡迎，令香港成為文化的輸出地。

## Diversity of the Hong Kong art scene

The new generation receiving art training in both Hong Kong and overseas countries also founded various arts organisations specialised in different media. In 1974, a group of young artists focusing on Western media established The Hong Kong Visual Arts Society. They were largely the students studying the Diploma programme in Art and Design of the Department of Extra Mural Studies (now known as “The School of Professional and Continuing Education”), The University of Hong Kong, including Gaylord Chan, Eddie Lui, Aser But, Chu Hing-wah, Kwok Mang-ho, Victor Li and Tong King-sum (1940-2008), among others. Several arts organisations were established thereafter, such as the Hong Kong Graphics Society founded in 1976, the Hong Kong Friendly Seal Engraving Company founded in 1978 and the Hong Kong Committee of the International Society for Education Through Art, which focused on the development of art education.

Traditional calligraphy organisations, such as the Institute of Calligraphy Hong Kong, the Chinese Calligraphy Society of Hong Kong and the Southern Breeze Art Institute founded in 1971, 1973 and 1979 respectively, had a long-standing development in Hong Kong. These organisations held international exchange programmes and exhibitions, transforming calligraphy into a more globalised art form. When China had not yet opened up, they played a significant role in disseminating traditional art across the world.<sup>19</sup>

## From the 1980s to the mid-1990s

### The rise of Hong Kong style

In the wake of the economic takeoff in the 1970s, Hong Kong people enjoyed a more stable society. A myriad of grand-scale infrastructures transformed the city into a modern metropolis in Asia. Since the 1970s, Hong Kong has been progressively shaped to be an international city, the modes of living and cultural attributes were also well developed. Having secured the geopolitical advantages, Hong Kong became the hub of cultural output, where popular cultural products, such as industrial products, films, TV programmes and Cantonese pop songs received overwhelming responses.

## 改革開放與香港藝術風

1978年中國改革開放，香港成為中國發展現代化的重要楷模，在戰後30年當中，香港藝術走了一條相當獨特的路途，藝術家對如何將中國元素與現代藝術架接起來，作過種種嘗試，他們的探索成果，成為中國當代藝術發展的借鑒對象。

王無邪與靳埭強於1978年率先到廣州美術學院講學，介紹現代設計，開拓中國當代設計的發展里程。<sup>20</sup>1981年劉國松獲邀回中國大陸參加北京中國畫研究院成立典禮及展覽，其中國水墨新形式轟動當時的大陸藝壇。從1982年至1985年，他的巡展從北到南，到過18個城市，引發了創新當代中國水墨的熱潮。<sup>21</sup>1981年在廣州魯迅紀念館舉行的「香港現代藝術作品聯展」，是香港的現代藝術家首次在中國大陸參展，別具時代意義。<sup>22</sup>香港水墨的現代化經驗，對改革開放後中國藝術現代化的進程所發揮的影響和貢獻，尤其深遠。

### 香港藝術的分水嶺

「1980年代初香港藝術確有一番景象，一切都是來自人，一群新人類從美國、英國、法國都跑回來。」<sup>23</sup>其中包括：創辦「進念·二十面體」的榮念曾、創辦「城市當代舞蹈團」的曹誠淵、在英國專修雕塑的麥顯揚(1951-1994)、在美國唸哲學和藝術的韓偉康、留學芝加哥的蔡仞姿、學攝影的王禾璧、法國學畫的黃仁達、加拿大習陶瓷的曾鴻儒、意大利學雕塑的朱漢新等。他們帶來了實驗劇場、現代舞、新的視覺藝術，而且，部分藝術家曾參與不同媒介創作，促成了跨媒介的相互影響。

## China's reform and opening-up versus the art trend in Hong Kong

China underwent economic reform and opening up in 1978, Hong Kong became a significant role model for China's modernisation. During the 30 years after the war, the development of Hong Kong art entered an exceptionally inimitable phase. Artists made every attempt to merge the elements of Chinese art and modern art. The outcome of their exploration has turned out to be a valuable reference for contemporary art development in China.

In 1978, Wucius Wong and Kan Tai-keung first conducted seminars in The Guangzhou Academy of Fine Arts, where they introduced modern design and explored the development of contemporary design in China.<sup>20</sup> In 1981, Liu Guosong was invited to participate in the inauguration ceremony and exhibition of the Research Institute of Traditional Chinese Painting in Beijing. His new Chinese ink painting style shocked the art scene in China. From 1982 to 1985, Liu showcased his works from north to south and left his footprints on 18 cities of China, triggering off a craze for the innovation of contemporary Chinese ink painting.<sup>21</sup> Held in the Luxun Museum, Guangzhou, in 1981, the Hong Kong Modern Art Joint Exhibition was the Hong Kong modern art practitioners' debut exhibition in China, it was said to be an event of epoch-making significance.<sup>22</sup> The impact and contribution driven by the modernisation of Hong Kong ink painting were particularly significant to the modernisation of Chinese art after the economic reform and opening up.

### The watershed in Hong Kong art

“In the early 1980s, Hong Kong art was in its heyday. It was all people-driven by newcomers returning from the United States, the United Kingdom and France.”<sup>23</sup> They included Danny Yung, who founded Zuni Icosahedron; Willy Tsao, who founded City Contemporary Dance Company; Antonio Mak (1951-1994), who studied sculpture in the United Kingdom; Josh Hon, who studied philosophy and fine arts in the United States; Choi Yan-chi, who received education in Chicago; Wong Wo-bik, who studied photography; Wong Yan-kwai, who studied painting in France; Tsang Hung-yu, who learned ceramics in Canada and Chu Hon-sun, who studied sculpture in Italy, among others. They brought with them experimental dramas, modern dance and new visual arts to Hong Kong. In addition, some of the artists participated in multimedia creation, generating cross-media impacts.

<sup>19</sup> 劉舫西：〈本會成立的意義及其工作方針〉，載於《香港中國書法學會會刊》（香港：香港中國書法學會會刊編撰委員會，1971），頁12。

Liu Fangxi, “Ben hui chengli de yiyi ji qi gongzuo fangzhen (The Significance of Establishing the Society and Its Work Direction),” in *Xianggang Zhongguo shufa xuehui huikan* (Publication of the Chinese Calligraphy Society of Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Editorial Committee of the Chinese Calligraphy Society of Hong Kong, 1971), 12.

<sup>20</sup> 同註11，頁32。

See Note 11, 32.

<sup>21</sup> 蕭瓊瑞：《現代·水墨·劉國松》（台北：藝術家出版社，2017），頁108-111。

Hsiao Chung-ray, *Xiandai · shuimo · Liu Guosong* (Modernity · Ink Art · Liu Guosong) (Taipei: Artists Press, 2017), 108-111.

<sup>22</sup> 香港現代藝術作品聯展籌備委員會編：《香港現代藝術作品選》（廣州：新華書店，1981）。

Preparation Committee of Joint Exhibition of Modern Hong Kong Art, ed., *Xianggang xiandai yishu zuopin xuan* (A Selection of Modern Hong Kong Artworks) (Guangzhou: Xinhua Bookstore, 1981).

<sup>23</sup> 蔡仞姿：《又·物聚——蔡仞姿跨媒介創作鍊歷的三十年》（香港：Para/Site 藝術空間，2006），頁28。

Choi Yan-chi, *[Re-] Fabrication: Choi Yan-chi's 30 Years, Paths of Inter-disciplinarity in Art* (Hong Kong: Para/Site Art Space, 2006), 28.

## 打破框框

1977年成立的「香港藝術中心」及1983年成立的「藝穗會」，成為年青新進藝術家聚首之地，其中麥顯揚<sup>19</sup>、韓偉康等都曾在香港藝術中心舉辦個人展覽，也曾在藝穗會的天台辦「自由美術學院」。這些新成立的藝術機構提供了實驗新藝術的條件，新劇場、新電影、新展覽、新課程陸續出現，為藝壇注入新動力。

除了新的展示空間，還有1979年成立的「城市當代舞蹈團」、1982年成立的「進念·二十面體」和1985年的「錄像太奇」，他們所作的跨媒介實驗，啟發了青年一代顛覆傳統創作模式和開闊了當代藝術視野。當時流行的口號是「打破框框」，從固有的創作典範中進行蛻變，跨媒介創作正是主要的實驗方向<sup>20 21</sup>。<sup>24</sup>



<sup>19</sup> 從自我越出(一) | 1983 | 麥顯揚(1951-1994) | 樹脂  
Man Coming Out from Himself I | 1983 |  
Mak Hin-yeung, Antonio (1951-1994) | Resin  
AC1995.0015

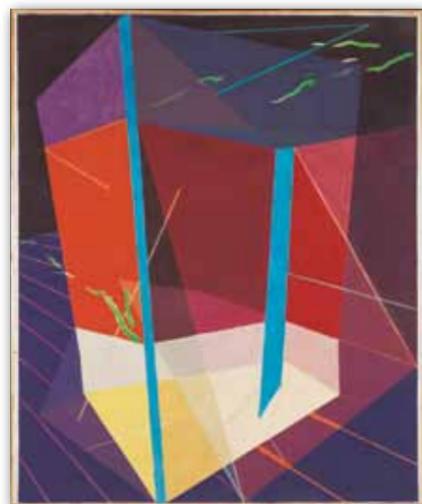


<sup>21</sup> 似是故人來 | 1992 | 鮑藹倫 | 錄像  
The Song of Goddess | 1992 | Ellen Pao | Video  
AC2019.0023

## Smash the frames

The Hong Kong Arts Centre (HKAC) and The Fringe Club founded in 1977 and 1983 respectively have become the popular hubs for newly emerged young artists. For example, Antonio Mak<sup>19</sup> and Hon Wai-hong once held exhibitions in HKAC and organised the “Free Academy of Art and Design” on the roof garden of the Fringe Club. These brand new arts organisations provide the conditions for new art experimentation, fostering the ongoing proliferation of new dramas, new films, new exhibitions and new courses, which energises the art scene in Hong Kong.

Apart from new display spaces, the cross-media experiments conducted by the City Contemporary Dance Company, Zuni Icosahedron and Videotage founded in 1979, 1982 and 1985 respectively inspired the young generation to subvert conventional creative styles and broaden the perspective of contemporary art. The prevalent slogan for art at that time was “smash the frames”, which implies transforming the existing creative models. Cross-media creation is the core focus of experimentation<sup>20 21</sup>.<sup>24</sup>



<sup>20</sup> 分期·幾何 | 1980年代 | 韓偉康 | 油彩及粉彩布  
On Credit, Geometric | 1980s | Hon Wai-hong | Oil and pastel on canvas  
AC1987.0119



<sup>22</sup> 從荃灣到中環 | 1992 | 王亥 | 油彩布本  
From Tsuen Wan to Central | 1992 | Wang Hai | Oil on canvas  
AC1992.0077



<sup>23</sup> 傳 | 1996 | 謝明莊 | 正片及照片  
Generation | 1996 | Tse Ming-chong |  
Transparency and print  
AC1998.0022

## 多元文化身份

由1960年代以來開始建立的「中西結合」的概念，到了1980年代已經不足以反映當時的情況，具有多元「混雜」色彩的香港文化迅速滋長。因此，1980年代成為香港人建立自身文化身份的關鍵時期。作為戰後移民第二代和土生土長的香港人，成長於1970年代至1980年代的一代所建立的生活方式和社會價值理念，成為今天普遍認同的香港文化基礎，而文化身份從1960年代至1970年代滋長，建立「獅子山下」精神，就是身份意識的具體表現。<sup>25</sup>然而，內地新移民潮和港人移民海外潮，交織成為1980年代至1990年代香港社會的新景象。兩種移民都令香港人的身份變得複雜，也構成身份的「多元性」。

藝術家以不同的形式，反思自己的多元身份、價值系統和世界觀，尤其是有關個人經歷及社會文化境況所帶來的各種影響，這種發展勢態，構成了1990年代藝術的特徵<sup>22 23</sup>。

## Hybrid cultural identity

The “East-meets-West” concept, which was initially developed in the 1960s, was no longer identified in the 1980s due to the swift proliferation of a hybrid culture in Hong Kong. Hence, the 1980s was the critical period for Hong Kong people to develop their own cultural identity. As the second generation of post-war immigrants, the native Hongkongers brought up between the 1970s and the 1980s established specific lifestyles and social values, which have constituted the foundation of Hong Kong culture commonly recognised today. The nurturance of the cultural identity of Hong Kong between the 1960s and the 1970s has cultivated the “Spirit of Lion Rock”, which is the embodiment of the cultural identity of Hong Kong.<sup>25</sup> Having said that, the new immigrants from China and the waves of emigration of Hong Kong intertwined to form a new social perspective in the city from the 1980s to the 1990s. These two groups of immigrants made the identity of Hongkongers more complicated, resulting in a hybrid culture.

Hong Kong artists reflected on their hybrid identity, value system and world view by means of a wide variety of styles, particularly the different impacts brought about by personal encounters and socio-cultural circumstances. This trend of development contributed to the features of Hong Kong art in the 1990s<sup>22 23</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> 同上註。

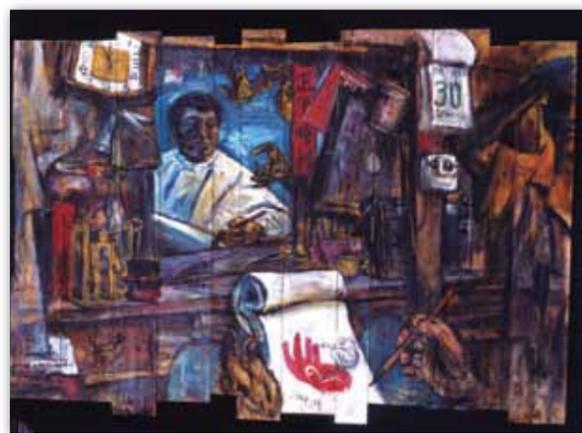
Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> 吳偉光：〈反思香港的文化身分理論〉，《文化研究@嶺南》(35(1)，2013)，頁1-18，<http://commons.ln.edu.hk/mcsln/vol35/iss1/3/>，檢索日期：2018-12-26。

Wu Weiguang, “Fansi Xianggang de wenhua shenfen lilun (A Reflection on the Theory of Hong Kong's Cultural Identity),” *Cultural Studies@Lingnan* 35, no. 1 (2013): 1-18, <http://commons.ln.edu.hk/mcsln/vol35/iss1/3/>, accessed on 26 December 2018.

1980年代以來的反建制及反傳統的藝術風氣和社會思潮，在國際上蔓延，如英國青年藝術的崛起、台灣在1987年解嚴後出現的政治藝術，以及經歷了1979年星星美展和85新潮以後的中國當代藝術的「政治波普」潮流等。1980年代後期香港政制改變，拓闊了港人參與社會政治的空間，藝術界亦在轉向，造就1990年代藝術家以作品回應政治與社會狀況的新趨向<sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup>。

The artistic atmosphere and social thoughts driven by anti-establishment and anti-tradition during the 1980s spread all over the world. For example, the emergence of the Young British Artists in the United Kingdom; the Political Art arisen in Taiwan during the post-Martial Law period in 1987; and the rise of Political Pop of the contemporary art in China after the Star Art Exhibitions held in 1979 and The 85 New Wave. The transformation of the political system in Hong Kong in the late 1980s enabled more possibilities for Hong Kong people to engage in social and political issues. The changing direction of the art development inspired Hong Kong artists to address the new trend of political and social circumstances by means of their artistic creations in the 1990s<sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup>.



<sup>24</sup> 等待 | 1996 | 王純杰 | 油彩板本  
Waiting | 1996 | Wong Shun-kit | Oil on board  
AC1997.0046



<sup>25</sup> 美麗、快樂及智慧 VI | 1995 | 鄧凝姿 | 混合素材布本  
Beauty, Happiness and Intelligence VI | 1995 | Tang Ying-chi | Mixed media on canvas  
AC1997.0004



<sup>26</sup> 第一號議程 | 2003 | 劉小康 | 木、不銹鋼、藤及金屬網  
香港藝術館之友捐贈  
Agenda No.1 | 2003 | Lau Siu-hong, Freeman | Wood, stainless steel, rattan and metal net  
Donated by The Friends of the Hong Kong Museum of Art  
AC2005.0134

新資源與新機遇

1990年代以來，香港的藝術生態出現前所未有的發展機遇，社會上給予藝術發展的資源和社會對藝術的關注也是空前的。1995年成立的香港藝術發展局及2000年政府成立康樂及文化事務署，同時設立了文化委員會，以制定推動本港文化長遠發展的原則。而基建方面，在《一九九八年施政報告》中提出西九龍文化區的構想。<sup>26</sup>《二零零五年施政報告》提出加快推動文化及創意產業。<sup>27</sup>藝術教育的資源亦大幅增加：1998年香港城市大學成立創意媒體學院、2004年香港浸會大學成立視覺藝術學院、2000年香港藝術中心亦成立香港藝術學院，以及薩凡納創意專才大學於2010年在香港成立分校。<sup>28</sup>香港在藝術上從硬件到軟件的改變，造就了新的藝術生態。

New resources and new opportunities

Since the 1990s, unprecedented opportunities were available for fostering the growth of the art ecology in Hong Kong. The resources for art development and the care given by society were also matchless. The Hong Kong Arts Development Council founded in 1995 and the Leisure and Cultural Services Department established by the Government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region in 2000 set up the Cultural Committee simultaneously for devising the principles for fostering the long-term development of Hong Kong culture. Concerning the infrastructure for cultural development, the proposal of establishing the West Kowloon Cultural District was stated in the 1998 Policy Address.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, the 2005 Policy Address stated that the local government would foster the development of the cultural and creative industry.<sup>27</sup> During this period, the resources for art education were vastly expanded. City University of Hong Kong founded the School of Creative Media in 1998, Hong Kong Baptist University established the Academy of Visual Arts in 2004, the Hong Kong Arts Centre inaugurated the Hong Kong Art School in 2000 and the Savannah College of Art and Design opened its Hong Kong branch in 2010.<sup>28</sup> Hong Kong art encountered changes in both hardware and software, leading to the generation of a brand new art ecology.

<sup>26</sup> 時任特首董建華在《一九九八年施政報告》中提到政府「擬訂計劃，在九龍興建設備先進的新表演場地，以建立香港作為亞洲娛樂之都的地位。」<https://www.policyaddress.gov.hk/pa98/chinese/highc.htm>，檢索日期：2018-12-26。

The then Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa mentioned in the 1998 Policy Address that the Government would “draw up plans for a new state-of-the-art performance venue in Kowloon to boost Hong Kong’s status as Asia’s entertainment and events capital,” <https://www.policyaddress.gov.hk/pa98/english/high.htm>, accessed on 26 December 2018.

<sup>27</sup> 時任特首曾蔭權在《二零零五年施政報告》中提到「我們說的創意產業，是指以創意為主要增值手段的行業。按照現行分類，香港的創意產業包括設計、建築、廣告、出版、音樂、電影、電腦軟件、數碼娛樂、演藝、廣播、古董與藝術品買賣等十一種……我們看到，在全球化的新競爭年代，要提升產品和服務的附加值，便要通過設計、包裝、形象和廣告等手段，實際上是凝結和體現文化的無形價值。因此，我認為應把先前所說的『創意產業』，改稱為『文化及創意產業』，藉此更清楚表明我們努力的方向。」<https://www.policyaddress.gov.hk/2005/chi/p83.htm>，檢索日期：2018-12-26。

The then Chief Executive Donald Tsang mentioned in the 2005 Policy Address that “creative industries are ones in which creativity is the principal means for adding value. Creative industries in Hong Kong encompass 11 categories: design, architecture, advertising, publishing, music, film, computer software, digital entertainment, performing arts, broadcasting, and antiques and art dealing. Some fall under our core industries, such as tourism. Creative industries can be extended to cover areas such as community building and the creation of an urban image. In this new competitive era of globalisation, adding value to products and services through design, packaging, image building and advertising serves to consolidate and realise the intangible values of culture. For this reason, I consider that the term ‘cultural and creative industries’ should replace ‘creative industries’. This new term is a clearer expression of our direction,” <https://www.policyaddress.gov.hk/2005/eng/p83.htm>, accessed on 26 December 2018.

<sup>28</sup> Frank Vigneron, “The Ever-changing Hybridity between Global Art Practices,” in *Hong Kong Artists / 20 Portraits*, ed. Cordelia and Christoph Noe (Nuremberg: Moderne Kunst Nürnberg, 2012), 14–15.

## 藝術空間的拓展

由1980年代催生了各種新思潮和新媒體，傳統展覽空間已不能滿足藝術家的需要，他們嘗試尋求另類藝術空間。由於獲得香港藝術發展局撥款資助，藝術家或獨立策展人組織的另類藝術空間相繼出現，計有梁志和、黃志恆、曾德平、文晶瑩、梁美萍等組成香港首個藝術家自主空間的「Para/Site」（1996），王純杰、杜煥等組成的「藝術公社」（1997），林漢堅創辦的「環境現代藝術館」（1998），以及蔡仞姿創辦的「1a 空間」（1998）。<sup>29</sup>

2000年後，自營藝術空間已不獨作為展覽空間，更以各自的定位，走向更專門的範疇，如保存亞洲近代藝術歷史資料的「亞洲藝術文獻庫」（2000）、推動社區藝術的「社區文化發展中心」（2004）、關注本港藝術生態及生產模式的「C&G 藝術單位」（2007）、推動聲音藝術多元創作的「Soundpocket」（2008），以及專注城市研究、文化評論及藝術的「城市創作實驗室」（2009），這些自營藝術空間皆展現了多元化的空間實踐。<sup>30</sup>

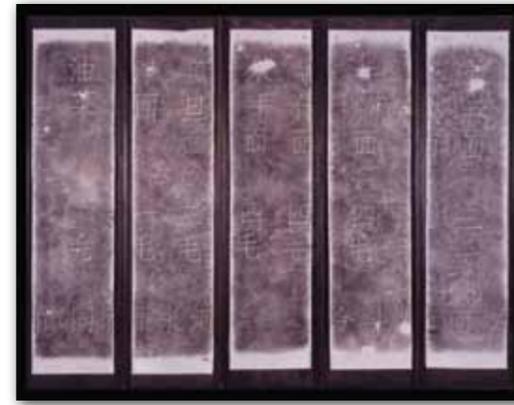
1998年，藝術家及藝術團體以短期租約租用北角油街前政府物料供應處大樓作為工作室，形成香港首個民間組成的藝術村。油街的大樓拆卸後，部分單位遷至土瓜灣舊屠房，形成運作至今的牛棚藝術村。近年，藝術家更在舊區開設另類空間，如灣仔富德樓的「藝鵠書店」、深水埗有王天仁的「合舍」、李傑的「咩事藝術空間」等，嘗試社區合作的新方式。這些機構不僅讓藝術家有相當的寬大彈性進行實驗藝術，也將當代藝術帶入不同社區<sup>27</sup>。<sup>31</sup>

## Expansion of alternative art spaces

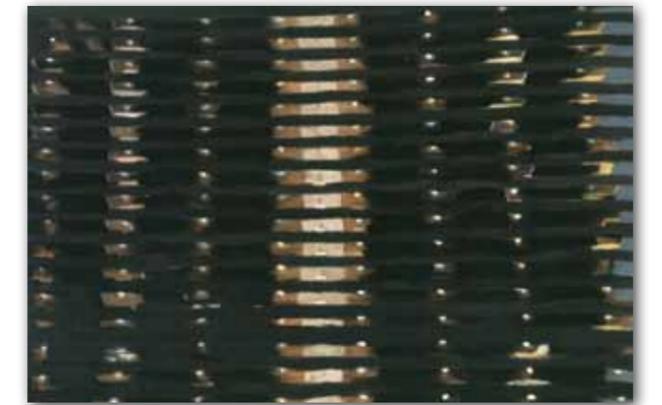
A broad array of new trends of thoughts and new media were augmented during the 1980s, traditional exhibition venues were no longer enough to meet the expectations of local artists who attempted to seek alternative art spaces. Having received funding support from the Hong Kong Arts Development Council, more and more alternative art spaces have been organised by artists or independent curators, such as Para/Site, which is the first self-initiated art space in Hong Kong established by Leung Chi-wo, Wong Chi-hang, Tsang Tak-ping, Man Ching-ying and Leung Mee-ping, among others, in 1996; Art Commune founded by Wong Shun-kit and To Wun in 1997; MOST initiated by Lam Hon-kin and la Space created by Choi Yan-chi in 1998.<sup>29</sup>

After 2000, self-run arts organisations were not only used for exhibitions, but also positioned themselves with specific scopes of services. For example, the Asian Art Archive set up in 2000 documents the multiple recent histories of art in Asia, the Centre for Community Cultural Development established in 2004 promotes community art, C&G Artpartment founded in 2007 focuses on the local art ecology and mode of production, Soundpocket established in 2008 promotes diverse vocal art creations and the Hong Kong Urban Laboratory founded in 2009 focuses on urban research, cultural critique and art. All these arts organisations demonstrate how art spaces can be diversified to fit for a variety of purposes.<sup>30</sup>

In 1998, some Hong Kong artists and arts organisations rented the former Government Supplies Department complex in Oil Street, North Point on a short lease as their studio, forming the first Hong Kong art village constituted by ordinary folks. After the demolition of the premise in Oil Street, some of the tenants moved to the former slaughterhouse at To Kwa Wan and developed into the Cattle Depot Artists Village today. In recent years, local artists have set up alternative spaces in some old districts, such as the ACO Book at Foo Tak Building, Wong Tin-yan's Form Society and Lee Kit's Things That Can Happen at Sham Shui Po, among others. These arts organisations attempted a new style of artistic practices through collaboration with various communities. Not only do they render artists tremendous flexibility in creating experimental art, but also bring contemporary art to different communities<sup>27</sup>.<sup>31</sup>



<sup>27</sup> 無題《城西夢續》| 1996 | 梁志和 | 油彩紙本  
Untitled (After Dream of a Path) | 1996 |  
Leung Chi-wo, Warren | Oil on paper  
AC1997.0005



<sup>28</sup> 火·炭 | 2003 | 林東鵬 | 墨、炭筆、油彩及沙板本  
Fotan | 2003 | Lam Tung-pang | Ink, charcoal, oil and sand on board  
AC2004.0086

## 創作空間的星火

創作空間的局限，也是香港藝術家長期以來難以解決的問題，然而，2000年後，卻出現新的契機，就是因經濟轉型而產生的大量空置工廈單位。2001年，香港中文大學藝術系的學生率先合夥租用火炭區的工廈單位作為工作室，最早進駐的包括了林東鵬<sup>28</sup>、周俊輝、白雙全、馬志恆等，還有當時任教中文大學藝術系的呂振光。風氣一開，藝術家陸續遷入，形成一個獨特的群落。<sup>32</sup>火炭的經驗，成功重構了一個社區，影響到其他地區如香港仔、黃竹坑。此外，香港首間由整幢舊式工廈活化而成的藝術村兼藝術中心——賽馬會創意藝術中心於2008年啟用。<sup>33</sup>2015年，藝發局亦推出首個藝術空間計劃，在黃竹坑的工廠設立「ADC 藝術空間（創協坊）」。<sup>34</sup>

## The creative sparks triggered by multiple art spaces

The limitation of working spaces has long been the insurmountable problem of Hong Kong artists. Nevertheless, new opportunities arose after 2000, a vast number of vacant units in factory buildings were available due to economic restructuring. In 2001, a group of students from the Department of Fine Arts of The Chinese University of Hong Kong took the lead to lease a unit in a factory building at Fo Tan as their studio. The artists who first used the studio were Lam Tung-pang<sup>28</sup>, Chow Chun-fai, Pak Sheung-chuen, Ma Chi-hang; as well as Lui Chun-kwong, who taught at the same university at that time. Once they had moved into this industrial area, many more local artists followed suit one after another, creating a unique artistic community.<sup>32</sup> The art studios and workshops at Fo Tan reconstructed a vibrant community which has affected the art studio development in other districts, such as Aberdeen and Wong Chuk Hang. In addition, Jockey Club Creative Arts Centre, which is the first factory-turned artist village and arts centre in Hong Kong, was inaugurated in 2008.<sup>33</sup> In 2015, Hong Kong Arts Development Council also launched the first art space scheme by setting up the ADC Art Space in an industrial building at Wong Chuk Hang.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup> 約翰·伯德：〈香港獨立藝術空間的緣起〉，國際藝評人協會香港分會，2018-04-23，<http://www.aicahk.org/chi/spacedetail.asp?id=442&pg=1>，檢索日期：2018-12-27。

John Batten, "The Origins of Hong Kong's Independent Art Spaces," International Association of Art Critics Hong Kong, (23 April 2018), <http://www.aicahk.org/chi/spacedetail.asp?id=442&pg=1>, accessed on 27 December 2018.

<sup>30</sup> 張焯森：〈藝術空間的新興年代：以小型的自營藝術空間為例〉，載於唐錦騰編：《香港視覺藝術年鑑 2015》（香港：香港中文大學藝術系，2016），頁106-107，<http://hkvisualartsyearbook.org/details/cBn7uZ9Q4prTfY1v-LgJOW>，檢索日期：2018-12-27。

Cheung Wai-sum Eddie, "The Emerging Era of Art Spaces: Taking Small-scale Artist-run Spaces as Examples," in *Hong Kong Visual Arts Yearbook 2015*, ed. Tong Kam-tang (Hong Kong: The Department of Fine Arts of The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2016), 106-107, <http://hkvisualartsyearbook.org/details/cBn7uZ9Q4prTfY1v-LgJOW>, accessed on 27 December 2018.

<sup>31</sup> 同上註，頁113-115。

Ibid., 113-115.

<sup>32</sup> 林東鵬：〈從火炭到伙炭〉，《二十一世紀》（101，2007），頁92-94，<http://www.lamtungpang.com/writings/files/d6af0c4ff5d4cd37a535cc595f9371ba-11.html>，檢索日期：2018-12-27。

Lam Tung-pang, "Cong Huotan dao Huotan (From Fo Tan to Fotanian)," *Twenty-First Century* 101 (June 2007): 92-94, <http://www.lamtungpang.com/writings/files/d6af0c4ff5d4cd37a535cc595f9371ba-11.html>, accessed on 27 December 2018.

<sup>33</sup> 「關於 JCCAC」，[https://www.jccac.org.hk/?a=group&id=b\\_1](https://www.jccac.org.hk/?a=group&id=b_1)，檢索日期：2018-12-27。

"About JCCAC", [https://www.jccac.org.hk/?a=group&id=b\\_1](https://www.jccac.org.hk/?a=group&id=b_1), accessed on 27 December 2018.

<sup>34</sup> 立法會討論文件〈在前香港仔消防局用地興建藝術空間及香港藝術發展局永久辦事處〉，立法會 CB(2)228/15-16(03) 號文件，<https://www.legco.gov.hk/yr15-16/chinese/panels/ha/papers/ha20151113cb2-228-3-c.pdf>，檢索日期：2019-02-28。

Legislative Council Paper "Development of Arts Space and a Permanent Office of the Hong Kong Arts Development Council at ex-Aberdeen Fire Station Site", LC Paper No. CB(2)228/15-16(03), <https://www.legco.gov.hk/yr15-16/english/panels/ha/papers/ha20151113cb2-228-3-e.pdf>, accessed on 28 February 2019.

## 國際空間的邁開

早在 1960 年代，香港藝術家已見於英聯邦藝術節和巴西聖保羅雙年展。然而，國際對香港藝術的更全面關注，則要到 1997 年，在全球聚焦香港回歸前後，香港藝術家獲得更多的國際曝光率<sup>29</sup>。自 2001 年起，香港更每屆選派代表參加「威尼斯雙年展」，<sup>35</sup> 其他國際藝術活動如「光州雙年展」及「上海雙年展」亦有香港藝術家的身影。<sup>36 37</sup>

## 市場空間的膨脹

西方現代藝術發展過程中，藝術市場被視為其中一個主導因素，一方面它直接建立市場認可而產生的巨大正向推動力，把一浪接一浪的藝術潮流推向社會。另一方面，它也引起藝術家的反撲，以顛覆的形式創出種種違反市場規律的新形式。香港藝術的特殊性，在於長期缺乏藝術市場，這種情況直至 2000 年代中期才急劇轉變，國際藝廊陸續進駐，帶動本地畫廊亦如雨後春筍。在全球化的影響下，由全職藝術家、國際展覽、畫廊與拍賣所組成的藝術生產模式，正逐漸塑造香港藝術的未來生態。

## 公共、歷史與自然空間的探索

新世紀以來，香港藝術家更積極關注及介入公共空間，由實體空間例如街道、公園、商場到非實體空間如大眾傳媒或網絡世界，他們嘗試以各種手段改變空間的定義，或以行為、生產方式、運作模式帶出比原有空間更多想像的弦外之音。其中佼佼者如白雙全，他的兩項藝術創作包括地鐵站的《等一個朋友》和《明報》的星期日專欄，都是在反思常規化都市生活的意義，發掘公共空間與個人思考之間的無限可能性。<sup>38</sup>

## Wider exposure in the international art scene

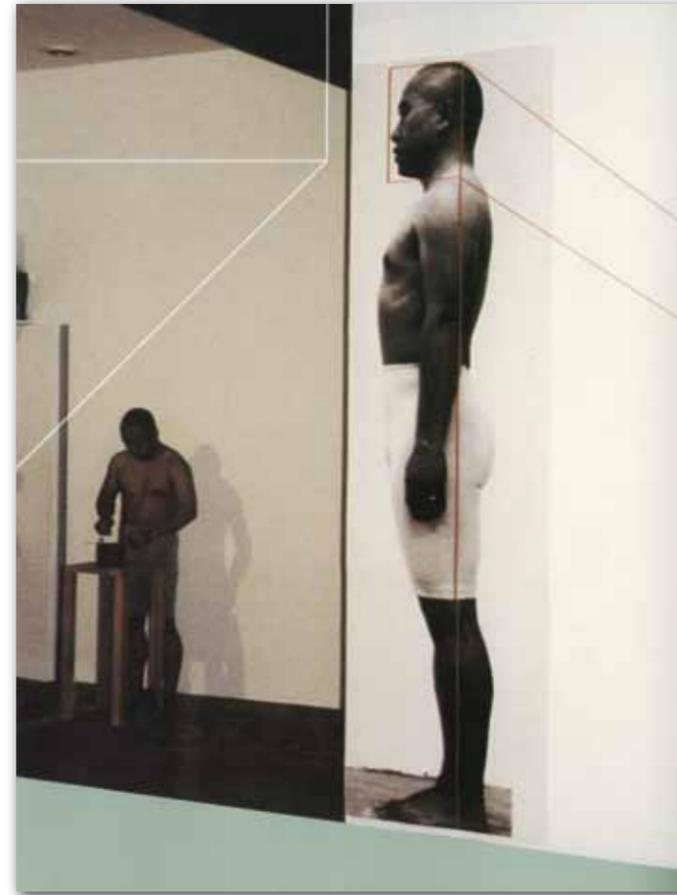
As early as the 1960s, Hong Kong artists took part in the Commonwealth Arts Festival and Sao Paulo Art Biennial. Having said that, it was not until 1997 did Hong Kong art draw worldwide attention from the international art scene. Hong Kong was the global focus before and after her handover to China. Local artists were able to gain wider exposure in the international arena<sup>29</sup>. Since 2001, Hong Kong has been sending delegates to participate in Venice Biennale.<sup>35</sup> Other international art activities such as Gwangju Biennale and Shanghai Biennale have also exhibited the works of Hong Kong artists.<sup>36 37</sup>

## Market Expansion

To sustain the development of Modern Western Art, art markets are considered to be one of the dominating factors. On the one hand they render market recognition which drives immense exposure of a variety of popular art forms in the city, on the other hand they inspire artists to break free from convention towards innovating a rich array of brand new artistic creations against the market principles in a subversive manner. The uniqueness of Hong Kong art lies in the barrenness of art markets for a long time. It was not until mid-2000 that the situation underwent rapid and drastic changes. The inception of more and more international galleries in Hong Kong fostered the proliferation of local galleries. To be in line with the global trend, the art production mechanisms constituted by full-time artists, international exhibitions, galleries and auction houses have been gradually shaping the new ecology of Hong Kong art in the future.

## Exploration of public, historical and natural spaces

Over the new century, Hong Kong artists have been taking a more proactive approach to care about or get involved in a variety of public spaces, ranging from physical spaces like streets, parks, shopping malls to non-physical spaces like mass media or the cyber world. They attempted to transform the definition of spaces by diverse means or imbue the original space with more conceivable implications in terms of behaviours, production methods or operation models. Tozer Pak, who is one of the representative figures, once produced his artistic works through the two initiatives, *Waiting for a Friend (Without an Appointment)* at an MTR station and contributing to a column in the Sunday Supplement of *Ming Pao Daily*. Both initiatives probed into the true meaning of city routines and explored the boundless possibilities between public spaces and individual thinking.<sup>38</sup>



<sup>29</sup> 黃金比例 | 2000 | 何兆基 | 錄像及數碼影像  
Golden Proportion | 2000 | Ho Siu-kee | Video and digital image  
AC2000.0048

<sup>35</sup> 研究報告由香港藝術發展局委約撰寫。Tobias Berger, 伍穎瑜：〈總結香港參與威尼斯雙年展的經驗—探討未來向海外推廣香港視覺藝術的策略〉，1.1.15 段，[http://www.hkadc.org.hk/wp-content/uploads/ResourceCentre\\_ResearchReport/20160714/VB%20Study\\_Executive%20Summary\\_Chi.pdf](http://www.hkadc.org.hk/wp-content/uploads/ResourceCentre_ResearchReport/20160714/VB%20Study_Executive%20Summary_Chi.pdf)，檢索日期：2019-02-28。

The study was commissioned by the Hong Kong Arts Development Council. Tobias Berger and Elaine W. Ng, "Consolidating Hong Kong's Experience of Participating in the Venice Biennale – Review of the Future Strategy in Promoting Hong Kong Visual Arts Overseas," paragraph 1.1.15, [http://www.hkadc.org.hk/wp-content/uploads/ResourceCentre\\_ResearchReport/20160714/VB%20Study\\_Executive%20Summary\\_Eng.pdf](http://www.hkadc.org.hk/wp-content/uploads/ResourceCentre_ResearchReport/20160714/VB%20Study_Executive%20Summary_Eng.pdf), accessed on 28 February 2019.

<sup>36</sup> 程展緯與梁碩恩獲邀參加光州雙年展 2018。光州雙年展 2018 參展藝術家，參見〈Here's the Artist List for the 2018 Gwangju Biennale〉，<http://www.artnews.com/2018/04/02/heres-artist-list-2018-gwangju-biennale/>，檢索日期：2019-01-26。

Ching Chin-wai and Simon Leung were invited to participate in the 2018 Gwangju Biennale. For the participating artists of the 2018 Gwangju Biennale, see "Here's the Artist List for the 2018 Gwangju Biennale," <http://www.artnews.com/2018/04/02/heres-artist-list-2018-gwangju-biennale/>, accessed on 26 January 2019.

<sup>37</sup> 唐納天、楊嘉輝和李繼忠獲邀參加上海雙年展 2018。上海雙年展 2018 參展藝術家，參見 <http://www.shanghaiennale.org/cn/artist/showlist/95.html>，檢索日期：2019-01-26。

Nadim Abbas, Samson Young and Lee Kai-chung were invited to exhibit their works in the 2018 Shanghai Biennale. For the participating artists of the 2018 Shanghai Biennale, see <http://www.shanghaiennale.org/cn/artist/showlist/95.html>, accessed on 26 January 2019.

<sup>38</sup> 黃韻然：〈論香港藝術的「小」〉，《博文集第 1 期：視覺文化》（M+ 故事，2018.1.5），<https://stories.mplus.org.hk/tc/podium/issue-1-visual-culture/on-smallness-in-hong-kong-art/>，檢索日期：2019-01-26。

Winnie Wong, "On Smallness in Hong Kong Art," *Podium Issue 1: Visual Culture*, M+ Stories, 5 January 2018, <https://stories.mplus.org.hk/en/podium/issue-1-visual-culture/on-smallness-in-hong-kong-art>, accessed on 26 January 2019.

成長於歷史變遷的一代，很自然對過去充滿想像，然而急速的城市發展，歷史空間日漸消隱。年輕藝術家會嘗試用文字、影像，以至口述故事等元素，拼湊、審視、詰問，並重新梳理歷史，而在藝術轉化的過程中，他們往往加入個人想像，以對應當下息息相關的境遇<sup>30</sup>。

二十世紀是全球進入工業大規模生產的年代，從工廠製造出來的產物進入市場成為商品，藝術創作也有機會變成純粹的商品，藝術家反思都市的消費模式，希望重投大自然，尋找藝術和人生，透過身體力行去探索和演繹香港的大自然，以喚起大家去思考和關懷生長於斯的自然環境<sup>31</sup>。

Having grown up amid vast historical changes, Hong Kong artists unquestionably have a great stretch of imagination towards the past. However, historical sites have been further shrunken due to rapid city development. Young artists attempted to merge, review, interrogate and sort out the history in terms of text, images and oral history. During the course of art transformation, they always incorporate their personal imagination so as to address all the interlocking circumstances<sup>30</sup>.

The 20th century was the era when the global world engaged in large-scale industrial productions. The products manufactured by factories entered the market and became commodities. Artistic creations may also become purely commodities, artists reviewed consumer behaviours in the city, aspiring to delve into nature, and pursue artistic excellence and a meaningful life. Having taken actions to explore and interpret Hong Kong's nature, local artists inspired us to think and care about the natural environment where we grow and live<sup>31</sup>.



<sup>30</sup> 舊地重遊 | 2018 | 謝淑婷 | 白瓷、鐵櫃、LED 燈箱及錄像  
照片由 Touch Ceramics 提供  
RE VISIT | 2018 | Tse Suk-ting | White porcelain,  
iron cabinet, LED light box and video  
Photo imaged by Touch Ceramics  
AC2019.0026

## 結語

藝術作為某一時空的特定產物，或多或少刻下時代的印記。然而，它不同於文字的直接，藝術家的不同處理手法，往往滲入個人經驗與文化脈絡，這種轉化可以成為一種隱喻，省去千言萬語，留一片想像空間；也可以帶出不同視點，在大歷史和主流之外，寄託個人情志。本文所呈現的脈絡，藉著香港藝術館的部分藏品所建構的一個敘述，一如藝術作品，它讓讀者窺見從過去到現在香港藝術發展的一個可能性，而就算同樣的作品，不同的讀者帶着他們各自的認知和經驗，也可拼湊出另一個脈絡和敘述。「看山是山？看山不是山？看山還是山？」全在觀者視點。

## Conclusion

As the product of a particular space and time, art is a sign of times to a certain extent. Nevertheless, it is different from words which can convey messages directly. The different ways employed by individual artists in art creation are normally imbued with their personal experience and cultural contexts. This kind of transformation can form a metaphor which presents a work of art wordlessly and leaves some room for imagination, generating diverse perspectives and enabling artists to have spiritual sustenance apart from disseminating historical significance and mainstream cultures. The train of thought presented in this article is based on the narrative constructed by the partial collection of the Hong Kong Museum of Art. Just like a work of art, the article enables readers to catch a glimpse of the feasibility of the Hong Kong art development from the past to present. For even the same art piece, individual readers can come up with unique trains of thought and narratives based on their own knowledge and experience. "Is the hill one perceives a hill or not a hill? Is the hill one perceives still a hill?" It all depends on each observer's viewpoint.



<sup>31</sup> 八仙嶺（從春風亭到獅子亭）| 2018 | 黃進曦 | 油彩布本  
Pat Sin Leng (from the Spring Breeze Pavilion to the Lion Pavilion) |  
2018 | Wong Chun-hei, Stephen | Oil on canvas  
AC2018.0071

# 香港大亨何甘棠

## Hong Kong Tycoon Ho Kom-tong

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Curator (Special Duty) | Hong Kong Museum of History



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1 1920 年代的何甘棠  
Ho Kom-tong, circa 1920.

何甘棠 (1866 年—1950 年)，字棣生，又名何啟棠，是香港著名商人及慈善家<sup>1</sup>。與同母異父的兄長何東及何福一樣，何甘棠在追求財富外，亦致力爭取改善本地華人的社會地位，並與其他華人社會領袖設立慈善組織，造福社群。本文將簡介何甘棠的家族背景到發跡經過，細說他的傳奇一生，並介紹其府第甘棠第的變遷。

### 何甘棠的家族背景

何甘棠於 1866 年 9 月 16 日在香港出生，母親施氏共有九名子女，何甘棠於家中排行第五，他有一位姊姊 (名字不詳)、三位兄長 (分別為何東、何福及何啟滿)、兩位妹妹 (其中一人名為何瑞亭，另一人名字不詳) 及兩位弟弟 (較年長的一位名為何啟佳，又名「Walter Bosman」；另一名弟弟出生後不久即夭折)<sup>1</sup>。

關於何甘棠之母施氏的出身，有說她來自上海崇明島的大富之家，因家道中落而被賣到香港；<sup>2</sup> 亦有學者認為她是祖籍廣東寶安的「水上人」<sup>2</sup>。<sup>3</sup> 不論哪個說法較為可信，



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2 何甘棠的母親施氏，約 1890 年。  
Ho Kom-tong's mother Sze, circa 1890.

Ho Kom-tong (1866-1950), also known as Dai-sang and Kai-tong, was a renowned Hong Kong merchant and philanthropist<sup>1</sup>. Like his half brothers Sir Robert Ho Tung and Ho Fook, Ho Kom-tong combined the accumulation of wealth with efforts to improve the social status of Chinese people, setting up charitable organisations with other leading Chinese residents in Hong Kong to benefit the local community. This essay will shed light on the legendary life of Ho Kom-tong, including his family background and his rise to prominence, as well as the history of his residence Kom Tong Hall.

### Ho Kom-tong's Family Background

Ho Kom-tong was born in Hong Kong on 16 September 1866. His mother Sze had nine children, of whom Ho was the fifth in the family. He had an elder sister (name unknown); three elder brothers, namely, Ho Tung (later Sir Robert Ho Tung), Ho Fook and Ho Kai-moon; two younger sisters (one named Ho Sui-ting, the other unknown) and two younger brothers (Walter Bosman and a younger one who died in infancy).<sup>1</sup>

It has been said that Sze originally came from a wealthy family that lived on Chongming Island in Shanghai, but was sold to Hong Kong when her family's fortunes collapsed.<sup>2</sup> Some academics, on the other hand, believe that she was a 'boat dweller' from Baoan, Guangdong.<sup>2</sup><sup>3</sup> Both views, however, point to the fact that Sze came from a poor background. Before she met Dutch-British merchant Charles Henry Maurice Bosman of the firm Bosman & Co., Sze had already had a daughter, whose father was unknown. She later had four sons with Bosman: Ho Tung (the second child), Ho Fook (the third child), Ho Kai-moon (the fourth child) and Walter Bosman (the sixth child). Her

<sup>1</sup> 有關何甘棠的家族背景，參見 Frances Tse Liu 著，Frances MacDonald 編：《Ho Kom-tong: A Man for All Seasons》(香港：Compradore House Limited, 2003)，頁 12。

For Ho Kom-tong's family background, see Frances Tse Liu, *Ho Kom-tong: A Man for All Seasons*, ed. Frances MacDonald (Hong Kong: Compradore House Limited, 2003), 12.

<sup>2</sup> 有關何甘棠母親施氏的出身，同上註，頁 11。

For Sze's background, see *ibid.*, 11.

<sup>3</sup> 有學者以施氏與歐洲商人有跨種族婚戀而推測她為「水上人」。見鄭宏泰，黃紹倫著：《香港大老：何東》(香港：三聯書店(香港)有限公司，2007年)，頁 50-57。另施其樂研究涉外婚婦時，發現當中有被稱作「鹹水妹」的水上人。參見施其樂著，宋鴻耀譯：《歷史的覺醒：香港社會史論》(香港：香港教育圖書公司，1999年)，頁 3。

Some academics have inferred from her interracial relationship with a European merchant that Sze was a "boat dweller". See Victor Zheng and Wong Siu-lun, *Xianggang dalao: He Dong* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (Hong Kong) Company Limited, 2007), 50-57. And, in his research on protected women (Chinese women "owned" by foreigners), Carl T. Smith found that there were boat dwellers known as "handsome maids". See Carl T. Smith, *A Sense of History: Studies in the Social and Urban History of Hong Kong Chinese*, trans. Song Hongyao (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Educational Publishing Co., 1999), 3.

都證明施氏出身清貧。施氏結識「波時文公司」（Bosman & Co.）的英籍荷蘭裔商人何仕文（Charles Henry Maurice Bosman）以前，已育有一名女兒，父親身份不詳，及後她與何仕文誕下四名歐亞混血族裔的兒子——何東（第二子）、何福（第三子）、何啟滿（第四子）及何啟佳（第六子）；第五子何甘棠則為施氏與另一何姓華人男子所生；排行最後的三名子女為施氏與南北行郭姓富商所生。<sup>4</sup>

在早期香港的殖民地社會中，雖然外國人與華人在貿易時有頻繁接觸，但由於種族和文化上的差異，社會氛圍仍未能接受歐洲男子與華人女子之間的異族交往。至二十世紀初，不論歐洲人或華人，受到文化本位的心理影響，均羞於與「非我族類」的外國人為伍。<sup>5</sup> 對華人而言，他們不齒那些為金錢而與歐洲人交往的華人婦女；對歐洲人而言，他們則擔心與華人相戀甚至通婚會影響其社會地位。<sup>6</sup> 所以歐洲商賈即使在東方與華人女子相戀，亦只能暗地生活在一起，免遭同行的流言蜚語及排擠。<sup>7</sup>

更甚的是，他們所生的孩子均被視為私生子看待。不論華洋父母雙方的結合是否基於合法婚姻，這些由異族婚戀誕下的歐亞混血兒女都被社會歧視和排斥。<sup>8</sup> 施氏與何仕文所誕下的四名歐亞混血兒子，均被視為私生子。第五子何甘棠雖然並非何仕文的兒子，但亦為施氏與沒有婚約的男子所生，同樣被視作私生子。

何仕文於 1869 年因生意失敗而離開香港，令施氏與六名年幼子女頓失生活依靠。後來施氏成為南北行郭姓富商的妾侍，獲得其經濟上的接濟，並居於荷李活道的大宅內。<sup>9</sup> 伴隨作為涉外婚婦的母親生活在華人社會邊

fifth child, Ho Kom-tong, was fathered by a Chinese man by the surname of Ho, while the father of her three youngest children was a wealthy merchant named Kwok who owned one of the Chinese entrepôt trading firms that were collectively known as Nam Pak Hong.<sup>4</sup>

Although foreigners and the Chinese enjoyed close business contacts in Hong Kong's early colonial society, relationships involving European men and Chinese women were generally perceived as unacceptable on account of racial and cultural differences. Until the early 20th century, European and Chinese people were influenced by ethnocentric beliefs and generally ashamed to be associated with people who did not belong to their own kind.<sup>5</sup> Chinese people despised the women of their own race who dated European men for money, while Europeans worried that a romantic involvement with or even marrying a Chinese woman would prejudice their own social status.<sup>6</sup> European merchants who fell in love with Chinese women in the East had to be exceptionally discreet about their relationship in order to avoid becoming the subject of spiteful rumours and possibly even social outcasts.<sup>7</sup>

To make things worse, their children were all considered illegitimate. Whether the Chinese and foreign parents were legally married or not, Eurasian children from interracial relationships suffered from discrimination and marginalisation.<sup>8</sup> The four Eurasian sons of Sze and Bosman were therefore not recognised as lawful offspring. Although Sze's fifth child, Ho Kom-tong, was not fathered by Charles Bosman, he was nonetheless born out of wedlock and thus also illegitimate.

Charles Bosman left Hong Kong after his business failed in 1869, and his sudden departure meant that Sze and her six young children lost their source of financial support. Sze later became the concubine of the Nam Pak Hong merchant Kwok, who provided her with money to cover their living expenses and let her live in his mansion on Hollywood Road.<sup>9</sup> As Sze's children resided with her – a protected woman – on the margin of Chinese society, they could choose which cultural spheres to take part in, East or West, and their lives thus took different turns. Ho Tung, Ho Fook and Ho Kom-tong considered themselves the Chinese

緣，子女們可以選擇融入東方或西方的文化圈子，各有不同際遇：何東、何福及何甘棠三兄弟其後融入華人社會，以華人自居，並利用精通中、英文的優勢活躍於政、商界；四子何啟滿在年幼時已過繼鮑姓家庭；而六子何啟佳則選擇融入歐洲人圈子，並採用父親的姓氏 Bosman，到英國留學及當工程師，完全切斷與華人社會的關係。<sup>10</sup>

### 何甘棠的發跡經過

施氏十分重視兒子們的教育，教授方法之一就是灌輸中國經典，從而讓他們認識做人處世之道。<sup>11</sup> 為了培養中國文化的興趣，施氏亦讓子女到戲院看戲劇表演，並鼓勵他們轉述情節。<sup>12</sup> 此事令何甘棠對戲劇產生濃厚興趣，日後更在舞台上粉墨登場。

然而單靠母親身教並不足夠，施氏即使生活拮据，仍先後遣送兒子何東、何福、何甘棠及何啟佳入讀中央書院。<sup>13</sup> 兒子們明白到母親施氏身兼父職，仍送他們入學的苦心，所以各人都努力讀書，並於中央書院取得好成績。1882 年 2 月 10 日，何甘棠獲得三級獎（Central School Prize, Third Class）；1883 年 1 月 30 日，他獲得歷史科二級獎（Central School History Prize, Second Class）。<sup>14</sup> 值得一提的是，何甘棠在中央書院學習時，可能已認識當時同讀高中部的校友孫中山。<sup>15</sup>

and joined the Chinese community, later becoming active players in political and business circles thanks to their bilingual capabilities; Sze's fourth son, Ho Kai-moon, was adopted by a family named Bao when he was small, while her sixth son chose to mix with Europeans and adopted his father's surname, Bosman. Walter later studied in Britain and became an engineer, severing all connections with Chinese society.<sup>10</sup>

### Ho Kom-tong's Rise to Prominence

Sze placed great value on her sons' education. She exposed them to the Chinese Classics to learn the ways of the world.<sup>11</sup> She also let her children go to the theatre to watch Chinese operas and encouraged them to retell the story afterwards, in an effort to cultivate their interest in Chinese culture.<sup>12</sup> Ho Kom-tong developed a keen and long-lasting interest in Cantonese opera and even performed on stage later in life.

Nevertheless, Sze knew her sons needed more than a mother's good example. Even though she was struggling to make ends meet, she sent her sons Ho Tung, Ho Fook, Ho Kom-tong and Walter Bosman to the Government Central School.<sup>13</sup> The boys understood it was not easy for their mother, a single parent, to pay for their education, and they worked diligently to achieve good grades: Ho Kom-tong was awarded the Central School Prize, Third Class, on 10 February 1882 and received the Central School History Prize, Second Class, on 30 January 1883.<sup>14</sup> It is worth noting that Ho Kom-tong may already have become acquainted with Dr Sun Yat-sen at that time, as both attended the Upper School at the Government Central School.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>4</sup> 有關何甘棠的家族背景，參見註 1，頁 12。

For Ho Kom-tong's family background, see Note 1, 12.

<sup>5</sup> 鄭宏泰，黃紹倫著：《香港大老：何東》（香港：三聯書店（香港）有限公司，2007），頁 28。

Victor Zheng and Wong Siu-lun, *Xianggang dalao: He Dong* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (Hong Kong) Company Limited, 2007), 28.

<sup>6</sup> 同上註，頁 53。

Ibid., 53.

<sup>7</sup> 有關涉外婚婦的地位，參見上註，頁 27-32 及 53-54。

For the social status of protected women, see *ibid.*, 27-32 and 53-54.

<sup>8</sup> 有關歐亞混血兒女的地位，參見上註，頁 30-31。

For the social status of Eurasian children, see *ibid.*, 30-31.

<sup>9</sup> 同註 1，頁 12。

See Note 1, 12.

<sup>10</sup> 施其樂著，宋鴻耀譯：《歷史的覺醒：香港社會史論》（香港：香港教育圖書公司，1999 年），頁 19-20。

Carl T. Smith, *A Sense of History: Studies in the Social and Urban History of Hong Kong Chinese*, trans. Song Hongyao (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Educational Publishing Co., 1999), 19-20.

<sup>11</sup> 同註 1，頁 14。

See Note 1, 14.

<sup>12</sup> 鄭何艾齡：《Intercultural Reminiscences》（香港：香港浸會大學林思齊東西學術交流研究所，1997），頁 23-24。

Irene Cheng, *Intercultural Reminiscences* (Hong Kong: David C. Lam Institute for East-West Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University, 1997), 23-24.

<sup>13</sup> 同註 5，頁 62。另參見何文翔著，關懷遠編：《香港家族史》（香港：明報出版社，1992），頁 7-8。

See Note 5, 62. See also Ho Man-cheung, *Xianggang jiazushi*, ed. Guan Huaiyuan (Hong Kong: Ming Pao Publications Limited, 1992), 7-8.

<sup>14</sup> 同註 1，頁 237。

See Note 1, 237.

<sup>15</sup> 據黃宇和的研究，以孫中山當時的年齡、學歷及完成學業的決心，他最有可能跳班入讀中央書院的高中部。參見黃宇和：《三十歲前的孫中山——翠亨、檀島、香港 1866-1895》（香港：中華書局（香港）有限公司，2011），頁 294-296。另孫中山在中央書院求學期間（1884 年 4 月 26 日至 1886 年秋），何甘棠亦升讀高中。由此推斷，何甘棠與孫中山可能是同班同學。

According to the research by Wong Yue-wo John, given Dr Sun Yat-sen's age, academic background and his determination to finish his education, it is possible that he skipped grades to enrol in the Upper School at the Government Central School. See Wong Yue-wo John, *Sanshisui qiande Sun Zhongshan - Cuiheng, Tando, Xianggang, 1866-1895* (Hong Kong: Chung Hwa Book Company (Hong Kong) Ltd., 2011), 294-296. And given that Ho Kom-tong was an upper school student during Dr Sun's time there (26 April 1884 to autumn of 1886), it is possible that Ho Kom-tong and Dr Sun could well have been in the same class.



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④ 何甘棠、何東、何福（前排左三至五）三兄弟與他們的兒子合照，約攝於 1918 年。

Ho Kom-tong, Ho Tung and Ho Fook (front row, third to fifth from left) with their children, circa 1918.

在華洋彙集的殖民地社會，中、英雙語教育為何氏三兄弟（何東、何福和何甘棠）在商界發展奠下基礎<sup>④</sup>。<sup>16</sup> 1878 年，何東憑藉流利的中、英語就職於廣東海關。<sup>17</sup> 1881 年，他毅然離開這份高薪厚職，轉而出任渣甸洋行（Jardine, Matheson & Co.）華人部初級助理員，負責食糖進出口業務。他因表現出色獲得洋行大班賞識，被多次予以提拔。<sup>18</sup> 1883 年，何東被薦升為渣甸洋行買辦，接替因英語水平欠佳而離職的姐夫蔡昇南。<sup>19</sup> 何東擔任買辦不久，即被委派到渣甸洋行新成立的附屬公司——香港火燭保險公司及廣東保險公司，成為這兩間公司的總買辦。<sup>20</sup>

In a colonial society where Chinese and foreign people lived side by side, the Chinese-English bilingual education that the three Ho brothers Ho Tung, Ho Fook and Ho Kom-tong received laid a solid foundation for their later achievements in the commercial sector<sup>④</sup>.<sup>16</sup> Ho Tung, who was fluent in both Chinese and English, joined the Imperial Maritime Customs Service at Canton in 1878,<sup>17</sup> but left the highly paid job in 1881 to take up a position at Jardine, Matheson & Co. as a junior assistant in the Chinese Department with responsibility for sugar trading. Thanks to his outstanding work, he earned the high regard of the managers in the company and was promoted several times.<sup>18</sup> In 1883, Ho Tung was recommended for the position of comprador, to succeed his brother-in-law, Choy Sing-nam, who had to leave the company because of his poor English.<sup>19</sup> Soon after this promotion, Ho was assigned to serve as Chief Comprador at two newly established Jardine Matheson subsidiaries, the Hongkong Fire Insurance Company Limited and Canton Insurance Company.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> 何家第六子何啟佳前往英國留學，及後成為工程師，沒有留在香港發展。參見註 1，頁 12-14。

The family's sixth child, Walter Bosman, studied in Britain and became an engineer after graduation. He did not return to Hong Kong. See Note 1, 12-14.

<sup>17</sup> 同註 5，頁 65。

See Note 5, 65.

<sup>18</sup> 同上註，頁 66。

Ibid., 66.

人脈關係是職場穩步向上的條件。何甘棠於 1886 年從中央書院畢業，隨即經兄長何東的引薦，加入渣甸洋行出任保險部的華人代理。<sup>21</sup> 1890 年至 1894 年間，何甘棠出任渣甸洋行的助理。<sup>22</sup> 何東一心自立門戶，一面繼續擔任買辦，一面創立何東公司，<sup>23</sup> 發展自己的商貿生意。何東夥同弟弟何福及何甘棠從事東南亞食糖貿易，由菲律賓、印尼等盛產食糖的地方輸入廉價食糖，再轉售到中國內地或在香港內銷賺取利潤。其後，他們又投資東南亞的甘蔗種植及食糖提煉生意，並發展航運以便運送食糖。<sup>24</sup>

1900 年，何東以健康欠佳為理由離開渣甸洋行，其三弟何福接任為總買辦，而五弟何甘棠則晉升為何福的助理買辦，<sup>25</sup> 期間何甘棠到中國及東南亞等地為公司及自己謀取生意機會。他亦運用自己作為「中間人」的角色，控制商品在市場上的供應與需求，從而在交易中賺取巨額利潤。<sup>26</sup>

除食糖生意外，何甘棠亦涉足棉紗紡織業、銀行業以至鴉片買賣。1906 年，何甘棠與何福共同投資一間名叫「生昌發」的棉紗紡織公司。<sup>27</sup> 1914 年，何氏三兄弟擴展業務至銀行金融業，他們與友人劉鑄伯、羅長肇、陳啟明等，合資 60 萬港元的本錢，於皇后大道中 181 號創立大有銀行，是繼廣東銀行

Interpersonal networks have always been crucial in the business world. After graduating from the Government Central School in 1886, Ho Kom-tong was referred by his brother Ho Tung to Jardine, Matheson & Co. for the position of Chinese Agent of the Insurance Department,<sup>21</sup> and he proceeded to work as an assistant at the company from 1890 to 1894.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, Ho Tung was determined to set up his own trading business. He founded Ho Tung & Company while continuing to work as a comprador.<sup>23</sup> Along with his younger brothers Ho Fook and Ho Kom-tong, Ho Tung engaged in the sugar trade in Southeast Asia, importing cheap sugar from the Philippines and Indonesia and selling it in Mainland China or Hong Kong for a profit. Later, the brothers invested in sugarcane plantations and sugar refineries in Southeast Asia and also opened a shipping company to transport sugar.<sup>24</sup>

Ho Tung left Jardine, Matheson & Co. in 1900 for health reasons. His younger brother Ho Fook succeeded him as Chief Comprador, while Ho Kom-tong was promoted to Assistant Comprador.<sup>25</sup> During this time, Ho Kom-tong travelled throughout China and Southeast Asia in search of business opportunities for his company and for himself. He also took advantage of his role as a middleman to control the demand and supply of different goods and thus to make huge profits in business deals.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to the sugar trade, Ho Kom-tong was also involved in the textile and banking industries as well as the opium trade. In 1906, he and his brother Ho Fook jointly invested in a spinning and weaving company called Sang Cheong Fat.<sup>27</sup> In 1914, the three Ho brothers turned

<sup>19</sup> 同註 1，頁 16。

See Note 1, 16.

<sup>20</sup> 同註 5，頁 83。

See Note 5, 83.

<sup>21</sup> 同註 1，頁 173。

See Note 1, 173.

<sup>22</sup> 同上註，頁 237。

Ibid., 237.

<sup>23</sup> 同註 5，頁 90。

See Note 5, 90.

<sup>24</sup> 有關何東、何福及何甘棠三兄弟的食糖貿易，參見上註，頁 90-91。另參見 W. H. Morton-Cameron 及 W. Feldwick 編：《Present Day Impressions of the Far East Prominent & Progressive Chinese at Home and Abroad》（香港：Globe Encyclopedia Co., 1917），頁 582-583。

For the sugar business of the three Ho brothers, see *ibid.*, 90-91. See also W. H. Morton-Cameron, W. Feldwick eds., *Present Day Impressions of the Far East Prominent & Progressive Chinese at Home and Abroad* (Hong Kong: Globe Encyclopaedia Co., 1917), 582-583.

<sup>25</sup> 同註 1，頁 173。

See Note 1, 173.

<sup>26</sup> 同上註。

Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> 同上註。

Ibid.

後本港的第二間全華資銀行。<sup>28</sup> 此外，當鴉片生意仍屬合法時，何東家族曾染指鴉片貿易。在 1903 年 9 月 3 日《士蔑西報》一則有關爭奪鴉片專營權的報道中，何甘棠排行在議政局（今行政會議）已核實競投鴉片專營權名單中的第二位，證明何東家族有參與鴉片貿易的投標。<sup>29</sup> 至 1909 年，港英政府亦曾把鴉片專營權批予何東家族的財團。<sup>30</sup> 1916 年，何甘棠正式離開其服務長達 30 年的渣甸洋行而專注於自己的生意。<sup>31</sup> 到 1936 年，年屆 70 歲的何甘棠退出商界，過著退休生活及繼續公益事務。

### 何甘棠的嗜好

除經營生意上的智慧和膽色外，何甘棠亦多才多藝，在戲曲、賽馬、風水命理、中醫藥、園藝及攝影方面均有研究。在母親的悉心栽培下，何甘棠自小對粵劇產生了濃厚興趣，<sup>32</sup> 日後不但結識梅蘭芳等京劇大師，更多次為慈善籌款而登台表演。例如 1938 年，他為東華三院及中國婦女會粉墨登場，飾演戲曲《蘇武牧羊》中牧羊人蘇武一角。1947 年，何甘棠更以 81 歲高齡，於香港大學的慈善晚會上表演粵劇《霸王別姬》中的項羽。除了文武生外，何甘棠亦在《六國大封相》一劇中反串花旦。<sup>33</sup>

何甘棠亦是愛馬之人，他是香港賽馬會的第一位華人會員，也是第一位擁有競賽馬匹的華人。<sup>34</sup> 1942 年，他更成為香港競馬會（日佔時期的香港賽馬會）的首位華人主席。<sup>35</sup> 在高峰時期，何甘棠曾在賽馬會的馬房安置 75 匹馬，擁有全港最多的競賽馬匹。1928 年 2 月 15 日，何甘棠以其衛城道七號大宅

their attention to the banking industry: together with a group of friends that included Lau Chu-pak, Lo Cheung-shiu and Chan Kai-ming, they invested HK\$600,000 to set up the Tai Yau Bank, which was headquartered at 181 Queen's Road Central and was Hong Kong's second wholly funded Chinese bank after the Bank of Canton Limited.<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile, the opium trade was still a legitimate business. In a report on the tender for the opium franchise published in *The Hongkong Telegraph* on 3 September 1903, Ho Kom-tong was the second name on the list of opium franchise bidders endorsed by the Executive Council, indicating that the family of Ho Tung was at least interested in the opium trade,<sup>29</sup> with its participation confirmed when the family's consortium was awarded the franchise by the Hong Kong government in 1909.<sup>30</sup> In 1916, after 30 years in the company, Ho Kom-tong left Jardine, Matheson & Co., Ltd. (formerly known as Jardine, Matheson & Co.) to focus on his own business before retiring from the commercial sector in 1936 at the age of 70 and devoting the rest of his life to charity work.<sup>31</sup>

### Ho Kom-tong's Hobbies

Ho Kom-tong was not only a bold and skillful merchant, but he also possessed several other talents and a keen interest in Cantonese opera, horseracing, feng shui, Chinese medicine, horticulture and photography. Brought up by a thoughtful mother, he developed an enthusiasm for Cantonese opera as a child,<sup>32</sup> and later in his life he not only became acquainted with renowned Peking opera singers such as Mei Lanfang, but also performed on stage for charity. For instance, in 1938, he played Su Mu the Shepherd in a production of the Cantonese opera *Su Mu Tending Goats* to raise funds for the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals and the Chinese Women's Club. In 1947, at the age of 81, he played the role of Xiang Yu in *Farewell My Concubine* at a charity gala for The University of Hong Kong. He was also cast as the leading female role in an opera performance of *Prime Minister of Six States*.<sup>33</sup>



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命名的馬匹「甘棠第」於「Phaethon」錦標賽中勝出<sup>4</sup>；<sup>36</sup> 1929 年 2 月 26 日，何甘棠另一匹購自蒙古、名為「President Hall」的駿馬亦奪得香港打吡大賽的冠軍，使他成為第一位在香港打吡大賽中勝出的華人馬主。

何甘棠擅長風水命理，其家族私人墓園的位置是他經堪輿選定的，以作為母親施氏的墓地。<sup>37</sup> 為了取得這片風水寶地，何甘棠與何東特地前往英國，從軍政部門取得批准，進行墓園擴建，命名為「昭遠墳場」。<sup>38</sup> 篤信風水的何甘棠在設計「甘棠第」大宅時，也刻意迎合風水，例如「甘棠第」的正門本應位處堅道，正對著沿山坡建成的鴨巴甸街，何甘棠認為這段由半山向下伸延的斜路不利家宅，會令屋主錢財盡散，於是命人把正門設於衛城道方向。另外，何甘棠家人搬入「甘棠第」前，何甘棠特地在屋外建棚作「神功戲」表演，以安撫亡靈。<sup>39</sup>

4 何甘棠的愛駒「甘棠第」於 1928 年的賽事中獲勝  
Ho Kom-tong's horse Kom Tong Hall won a race in 1928

Ho Kom-tong was also a horse lover. He was the first Chinese member of the Hong Kong Jockey Club and the first Chinese person to own a racehorse.<sup>34</sup> In 1942, he even became the first Chinese chairman of the Hong Kong Race Club (the Hong Kong Jockey Club during the Japanese occupation).<sup>35</sup> At one time, Ho kept as many as 75 horses in the Jockey Club's stables, the largest number of racehorses owned by any individual in Hong Kong. On 15 February 1928, Ho's horse, 'Kom Tong Hall', which was named after his mansion at 7 Castle Road, won the 'Phaethon' race<sup>4,36</sup> On 26 February 1929, another horse of his, 'President Hall', was imported from Mongolia and was the first past the post in the Hong Kong Derby, making Ho the first Chinese racehorse owner to win the prestigious race.

Ho Kom-tong was knowledgeable about feng shui. Based on the principles of this geomantic philosophy, he chose the location of his private family cemetery as an eternal resting place for his mother.<sup>37</sup> In order to secure this plot of auspiciously sited land, he travelled with Ho Tung to Britain to obtain permission from the military authorities to expand the cemetery, and he later named it Chiu Yuen Cemetery.<sup>38</sup> A firm believer in feng shui, Ho made sure the design of Kom Tong Hall conformed to its principles. For instance, the front door of the mansion was originally located on Caine Road facing Aberdeen Street that was built along a slope. Ho believed that the slope, extending downwards from Mid-Levels, provided bad feng shui and would cause the owner of the house to lose their entire fortune, and so he asked the builders to move the front door to Castle Road. In addition, before his family moved into Kom Tong Hall, Ho had set up a stage outside the mansion for the performance of a shengong opera to appease the spirits.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>28</sup> 同註 5，頁 118。惟何東於 1916 年 2 月退股。參見〈Notice of Dissolution of Partnership〉《香港政府憲報副刊》，1916，頁 81。See Note 5, 118. Ho Tung ceased to be the shareholder in February 1916. See "Notice of Dissolution of Partnership," *Supplement to The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 1916, 81.

<sup>29</sup> 同註 5，頁 117。  
See Note 5, 117.

<sup>30</sup> 英國殖民地部檔案 C.O. 129/358，頁 374-377。另參見上註，頁 117-118。  
C.O. 129/358 of British Colonial Office records, 374-377. See also *ibid.*, 117-118.

<sup>31</sup> 同註 1，頁 174。  
See Note 1, 174.

<sup>32</sup> 同註 12，頁 23-24。  
See Note 12, 23-24.

<sup>33</sup> 同註 1，頁 190，192 及 195。  
See Note 1, 190, 192 and 195.

<sup>34</sup> 同上註，頁 184。  
*Ibid.*, 184.

<sup>35</sup> John M. Carroll：《Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong》（香港：香港大學出版社，2005），頁 184。  
John M. Carroll, *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), 184.

<sup>36</sup> 同註 1，頁 185。  
See Note 1, 185.

<sup>37</sup> 同註 5，頁 68。  
See Note 5, 68.

<sup>38</sup> 香港政府檔案處案卷 HKRS58-1-14-44 及英國殖民地部檔案 C.O. 129/411，頁 481-483。另參見註 1，頁 197。  
File HKRS58-1-14-44 of Government Records Service of Hong Kong and C.O. 129/411 of British Colonial Office records, 481-483. See also Note 1, 197.

<sup>39</sup> 同註 1，頁 102。  
See Note 1, 102.

何甘棠對醫術也有濃厚興趣。他向蔡永楠醫師學習中醫藥，多次按「望聞問切」的傳統方法診斷病情，成功治癒其家人及朋友。他的女兒何柏娥憶述何甘棠曾以粉末吹入她的喉嚨，治癒她的扁桃腺炎，後來更準確地診斷出她患上盲腸炎，及時送她到醫院進行手術。<sup>40</sup> 另外，何甘棠亦擅長園藝，屢獲園藝比賽獎項。<sup>41</sup> 他以自己獨有的園藝技術栽種出香豌豆及菊花，用來裝飾他的另一個居所「細屋」及私人墳場「何莊」的庭園。他又從外國引入新品種植物到香港。<sup>42</sup> 1922年，何甘棠獲邀擔任香港園藝會（Hong Kong Horticultural Society）花卉展覽的評審。<sup>43</sup> 翌年，何甘棠更出任該會主席。他又積極參與國際園藝交流計劃，與英國皇家植物園（The Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew）、哈佛大學（Harvard University）等合作機構交換種子。<sup>44</sup>

何甘棠又鍾情於攝影，為家人拍下不少照片。<sup>45</sup> 從一張相信是由何甘棠於1911年拍攝的照片可見，他已掌握雙重曝光技術<sup>5</sup>。與何甘棠志同道合的有其大女婿謝家寶。在1930年代，謝家寶是全港少數擁有電影攝錄機的華人，他拍攝了不少具歷史價值的活動片段，亦為家人記錄了珍貴的聚會時刻。<sup>46</sup>

Ho Kom-tong also had a very keen interest in medicine. He studied Chinese medicine with a local practitioner, Choy Wing-nam, learning to make diagnoses through the four diagnostic methods (observing, listening, questioning and palpating), and on several occasions he successfully prescribed cures for his family and friends. His daughter Stella Ho Pak-ngor recalled that Ho once blew powder into her throat to treat her tonsillitis, and he later accurately diagnosed her appendicitis, upon which she was rushed to hospital in time for surgery.<sup>40</sup> At the same time, Ho's horticultural skills led him to win a number of awards in competitions.<sup>41</sup> With his own exclusive techniques, he grew sweet peas and chrysanthemums with which he decorated his second home, *Sai Uk*, and the garden of his private cemetery, Ho Chong. He also brought new plant species to Hong Kong.<sup>42</sup> In 1922 he was asked to serve as a judge at the Hong Kong Horticultural Society's floral exhibition;<sup>43</sup> Ho became the Chairman of the Society the following year. He also actively took part in international horticultural programmes, exchanging seeds with partner organisations including the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, and Harvard University.<sup>44</sup>

As a photography enthusiast, Ho Kom-tong took many photographs of his family.<sup>45</sup> One photo that is believed to have been taken by him in 1911 shows that he mastered the technique of double exposure<sup>5</sup>. Sharing his dedication to photography was Tse Ka-po, the husband of Ho Kom-tong's eldest daughter. One of the few Chinese people in Hong Kong who owned a movie camera in the 1930s, Tse documented many historically significant events and captured precious moments at family gatherings.<sup>46</sup>

## 何甘棠的慈善事業

誠如其兄何東及何福，何甘棠在商場上大展拳腳的同時，也為社會的慈善事業出力。在醫療方面，何甘棠致力改善華人社會的衛生狀況及醫療水平。1894年，鼠疫在香港爆發，何甘棠捐款50,000港元及提供藥物治療患者。<sup>47</sup> 1904年，鼠疫再次來襲，何甘棠聯同其他華人領袖設立華人公共診所。1907年，天花肆虐香港，何甘棠捐款3,000港元籌建一間專門治療天花的醫院。1908年，他更成功遊說政府以中醫藥診治天花。其後，何甘棠亦多次響應華人公共診所的募捐活動，例如在1914年與他人合捐3,000港元興建新油麻地公共診所。1938年，何甘棠又親自到電台呼籲華人接種天花疫苗。<sup>48</sup>

## Ho Kom-tong's Charity Work

Like his brothers Ho Tung and Ho Fook, Ho Kom-tong made significant contributions to charitable activities while expanding his business empire. Improvements in the hygiene conditions and healthcare of the Chinese community were the primary focus of his efforts. During the bubonic plague that broke out in Hong Kong in 1894, Ho donated HK\$50,000 and provided medicine to those affected.<sup>47</sup> In 1904, Hong Kong was once again struck by plague and Ho joined with other leaders in Chinese society to set up public dispensaries for Chinese people. When Hong Kong was affected by a smallpox epidemic in 1907, Ho donated HK\$3,000 to establish a specialist smallpox hospital, and in 1908 he successfully petitioned the government to provide Chinese patients with medical treatment for smallpox. Ho often responded enthusiastically to calls for donations from public dispensaries for Chinese people; for instance, in 1914, he and others jointly donated HK\$3,000 to set up a new public dispensary in Yaumatei. In 1938, Ho went on a radio broadcast to persuade people to get a vaccination against smallpox.<sup>48</sup>



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<sup>5</sup> 何甘棠運用了雙重曝光技術，為女婿謝家寶及外孫女在衛城道七號的大宅花園內拍照，約攝於1911年。Having mastered the techniques of double exposure, Ho Kom-tong took this photo of his son-in-law Tse Ka-po and his maternal grandchildren in the garden at 7 Castle Road, circa 1911.

<sup>40</sup> 同上註，頁189。

Ibid., 189.

<sup>41</sup> Arnold Wright 及 H.A. Cartwright：《Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong: History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources》（新加坡：Graham Brash，1908），頁176。

Arnold Wright and H.A. Cartwright, *Twentieth Century Impressions of Hong Kong: History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources* (Singapore: Graham Brash, 1908), 176.

<sup>42</sup> 同註1，頁187及228。

See Note 1, 187 and 228.

<sup>43</sup> 《孖刺西報》，(1922.3.3)。

*The Hongkong Daily Press*, 3 March 1922.

<sup>44</sup> 同註1，頁243。

See Note 1, 243.

<sup>45</sup> 同上註，頁187。

Ibid., 187.

<sup>46</sup> 同上註，頁63-65。

Ibid., 63-65.

<sup>47</sup> 同上註，頁175。

Ibid., 175.

<sup>48</sup> 同上註，頁239-241及244。

Ibid., 239-241 and 244.

何甘棠在華人醫療方面的貢獻，使他於1906年晉身為東華醫院理事會主席。鑑於華人對醫療服務需求與日俱增，自1907年起，他多次捐款給雅麗氏利濟醫院。1906年至1911年間，他更與東華醫院的多名理事參與廣華醫院的籌建工作，為九龍居民提供醫療服務。<sup>49</sup> 另外，1915年何甘棠等人倡議創辦香港聖約翰救傷隊，翌年救傷隊成立，何甘棠是該機構往後12年的唯一捐助人<sup>6</sup>。

On account of his contributions to the healthcare of the Chinese population, he became the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Tung Wah Hospital in 1906. Starting in 1907, he repeatedly donated funds to the Alice Memorial Hospital so that the Chinese demand for medical services could be met. Between 1906 and 1911, he and other Tung Wah directors endeavoured to establish Kwong Wah Hospital to provide healthcare services for residents in Kowloon.<sup>49</sup> Besides, Ho was one of the founders calling for the establishment of Hong Kong St John Ambulance Brigade in 1915; after the brigade was founded in the following year, Ho remained the organisation's sole benefactor for the next 12 years<sup>6</sup>.



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<sup>6</sup> 身穿聖約翰救傷隊制服的何甘棠  
Ho Kom-tong in the uniform of the  
St John Ambulance Brigade

<sup>49</sup> 同上註，頁239-240。在廣華醫院於1911年啟用以前，港府成立了一個由華民政務司主持的委員會，為籌建中的醫院作募捐和物業管理。參見〈Government and Aided Institutions〉載於《Report on the Blue Book for 1911》（香港：香港政府印務局，1912），頁15-16。

Ibid., 239-240. Before Kwong Wah Hospital was opened in 1911, the Hong Kong Government had set up a special committee under the chairmanship of the Registrar General for the dual purposes of collecting subscriptions and supervising the building. See "Government and Aided Institutions," *Report on the Blue Book for 1911* (Hong Kong: Government Printer, 1912), 15-16.

何甘棠亦關心華人的殮葬。在1894年鼠疫橫行期間，何甘棠為因病身故的貧困人士提供棺材。<sup>50</sup> 1898年，他又奔走於各大華人商行之間，為東華醫院的殮葬服務籌款。1904年至1927年間，他為無數貧窮或露宿者提供殮葬服務，使他們死後不用橫屍街頭。<sup>51</sup> 在何甘棠等華人的建議下，港英政府於1913年撥出香港仔的土地，首個沒有宗教背景及專為華人關設的永遠墳場遂於1915年正式啟用。<sup>52</sup> 1920年，何甘棠躋身華人永遠墳場管理委員會，負責管理墳場事務。

在婦女服務方面，何甘棠於1908年成為保良局總理之一。為配合保良局防止拐賣婦女的宗旨，他解放家中兩名婢女。<sup>53</sup> 1916年，他付出一半的建築費，在花園道興建梅夫人婦女會，為歐洲職業婦女提供居所。1929年，他再捐出1,000港元修建梅夫人婦女會位於柯士甸道的分址。<sup>54</sup>

在教育方面，他為聖士提反女子中學成立獎學金，資助女生完成學業，又多次為拔萃男書院、皇仁書院、英皇書院等學校設立獎學金，供助貧窮的學生升學。<sup>55</sup> 何甘棠亦熱心於醫療教育和研究，分別於1898年及1917年捐款給倫敦熱帶醫學學院（London School of Tropical Medicine）及香港大學的熱帶病與病理學系，作培訓及興建教學大樓的用途。<sup>56</sup>

Another concern of Ho Kom-tong was burial services for the Chinese. During the plague of 1894, he provided coffins for poor people who died from the disease.<sup>50</sup> While visiting a myriad of city's Chinese trading companies in 1898, he raised funds for Tung Wah Hospital's funeral and burial services. Between 1904 and 1927, he offered funeral and burial services for numerous poor and homeless people, so that they could find eternal peace.<sup>51</sup> In 1913, the Hong Kong government accepted the proposal from Ho Kom-tong among other Chinese people to allocate land in Aberdeen to build a Chinese cemetery, and Hong Kong's first Chinese non-religious permanent cemetery opened in 1915.<sup>52</sup> In 1920, Ho even became a member of the Board of Management of the Chinese Permanent Cemeteries, overseeing their management.

Ho Kom-tong also played an important role in the provision of services for women. He became a director of Po Leung Kuk in 1908. To set an example for the organisation's objective of preventing the abduction and sale of women, he freed the two maids he employed in his household.<sup>53</sup> In 1916, he paid half of the construction expenses for the Helena May Institute for Women on Garden Road, which provided refuge for European women working in Hong Kong. In 1929 he donated another HK\$1,000 for the establishment of a branch of the institute on Austin Road.<sup>54</sup>

Concerning education, Ho Kom-tong established scholarships at St Stephen's Girls College to allow female students to finish school and at Diocesan Boys' School, Queen's College and King's College to help poor students remain in school.<sup>55</sup> At the same time, Ho was an enthusiastic supporter of healthcare education and research, and he made donations to the London School of Tropical Medicine and The University of Hong Kong's Schools of Tropical Medicine and Pathology in 1898 and 1917 respectively to pay for training and the construction of teaching buildings.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>50</sup> 同註1，頁175。

See Note 1, 175.

<sup>51</sup> 同上註，頁238-239。

Ibid., 238-239.

<sup>52</sup> 主催者除何甘棠外，還有何啟、韋玉、劉鑄伯和何福等華人領袖。參見《香港政府憲報》公告編號：229（1913.7.24），頁312-314。

Apart from Ho Kom-tong, the Chinese advocates included Ho Kai, Wei Yuk, Lau Chu-pak, Ho Fook and several others. See Government Notification No. 229, *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 24 July 1913, 312-314.

<sup>53</sup> 同註1，頁178。

See Note 1, 178.

<sup>54</sup> 同上註，頁181及242。另見Robyn Mclean：《A History of the Helena May Institute》（香港：梅夫人婦女會，1994），頁7-8。

Ibid., 181 and 242. See also Robyn Mclean, *A History of the Helena May Institute* (Hong Kong: The Helena May Institute, 1994), 7-8.

<sup>55</sup> 同註1，頁178及245。

See Note 1, 178 and 245.

<sup>56</sup> 同上註，頁178、238及242。

Ibid., 178, 238 and 242.

此外，何甘棠經常為災民慷慨解囊。1906年，他以自己在商界和慈善團體的影響力，為颱風救援基金（Typhoon Relief Fund）籌得180萬港元善款。同年，他又把基金中的60萬港元捐給香港政府以建造油麻地避風塘。<sup>57</sup> 他的樂善好施並不局限於香港。1908年，何甘棠捐出50,000港元援助廣東省水災的災民，又與友人舉辦賑災籌款活動，籌得40萬港元善款。<sup>58</sup> 為表揚他的救災扶貧，多位民國總統曾向何甘棠頒授勳章，如1916年袁世凱頒發的「三等嘉禾勳章」、1918年馮國璋頒發的「二等嘉禾勳章」，以及徐世昌頒發的「二等大綬嘉禾勳章」。<sup>59</sup>

何甘棠亦因慈善事業而與英國政府建立良好關係。1901年，何甘棠與其他善長合共捐出45,000港元，援助在波爾戰爭（Boer War）中身亡的士兵家人。<sup>60</sup> 1914年第一次世界大戰爆發，英國對德國宣戰，他與大有銀行股東在1915年高調捐出飛機，以支持戰事。<sup>61</sup> 其後，他多次籌辦英國皇室成員的歡迎會及加冕慶祝會，出錢也出力。上述的捐獻令何甘棠獲得不少勳銜：1906年的太平紳士勳銜、1927年的大英帝國官佐勳章及1941年的大英帝國司令勳章。<sup>62</sup> 誠如其兄何東，何甘棠對英國政府的捐獻可能也是一種政治投資，充當一位與英國政府保持良好關係的華人領袖，有利他在殖民地香港經商。<sup>63</sup>

Ho Kom-tong often made donations to help people affected by natural calamities. Using his influence in the commercial sector and among charitable organisations, he raised funds totalling HK\$1.8 million for the Typhoon Relief Fund in 1906, taking HK\$600,000 from the fund in the same year to donate to the Hong Kong government for the construction of Yaumatei Breakwater Shelter.<sup>57</sup> Ho's benevolence extended beyond Hong Kong's borders. In 1908, he donated HK\$50,000 in support of relief efforts for flood victims in Guangdong, and he also co-organised fundraising activities with his friends for disaster relief that collected HK\$400,000.<sup>58</sup> Ho was awarded a number of medals by successive presidents of the Republic of China in recognition of these efforts: Yuan Shikai awarded him the Order of the Golden Grain, Third Class, in 1916; Feng Guozhang awarded him the Order of the Golden Grain, Second Class, in 1918; and Xu Shichang awarded him the Order of the Brilliant Golden Grain, Second Class.<sup>59</sup>

Thanks to his charity work, Ho Kom-tong always remained on excellent terms with the British government. In 1901, he and other donors gave HK\$ 45,000 to help the families of soldiers killed in the Boer War.<sup>60</sup> Later, when the First World War broke out in 1914, Ho and other shareholders of Tai Yau Bank donated an aircraft to support Britain's efforts against Germany the following year,<sup>61</sup> and after the war, he organised a number of welcome receptions and celebrations for the members of the British royal family. These donations earned Ho several honours: he was appointed as a Justice of the Peace in 1906, an Officer of the Order of the British Empire in 1927 and a Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1941.<sup>62</sup> Like those of his brother Sir Robert Ho Tung, the donations Ho made to the British government may well have been a political investment: being on good terms with the British government as a leader of the Chinese community would undoubtedly have been beneficial to his business in colonial Hong Kong.<sup>63</sup>

## 何甘棠的府第——「甘棠第」

由於何甘棠生前居住的大宅今已改建為香港孫中山紀念館，所以筆者擬於下文介紹該府第在香港的變遷，從一個側面補充何甘棠的事跡。在香港致富的華人商賈，一般不會視香港為永久居住地，而把大部分財產匯到家鄉購買田產及興建府第，以便衣錦還鄉時有安居之所。何東、何福和何甘棠三兄弟有別於一般香港華商，他們早已斷絕與父親的聯繫，一直跟隨母親施氏在香港定居，視香港為落地生根的家園。<sup>64</sup> 他們不惜斥巨資興建富麗堂皇的大宅，建立家族的私人墓地「昭遠墳場」，正反映他們紮根香港的心態。

自香港開埠以來，半山堅道、堅尼地道、干德道及羅便臣道一帶已成為歐籍富商聚居的地方。根據1888年《歐人住宅區保留條例》（The European District Reservation Ordinance），規定威靈頓街和堅道之間只可興建西式樓房；<sup>65</sup> 所以直至十九世紀末始有華人進駐，而何氏三兄弟中的何東就是第一位獲准搬入半山區的非高加索裔人（non-Caucasian）。<sup>66</sup> 1897年，何東以妾侍張靜蓉的名義買入西摩道八號的地皮，並興建一座名為Idlewild的大宅。由於大宅的外牆紅色，故名為「紅樓」或「紅行」。<sup>67</sup> 何福在1898年起居於堅道十號的大宅，<sup>68</sup> 而何甘棠亦於1899年搬進半山區居住。至於山頂地區，根據1904年的《山頂區保留條例》（The Hill District Reservation Ordinance），更被劃為非華人居住地，<sup>69</sup> 直至第二次世界大戰後才被取締。

## Kom Tong Hall, Residence of Ho Kom-tong

As the Dr Sun Yat-sen Museum now occupies the former residence of Ho Kom-tong, it is worth mentioning about the history of this elegant residence, which can further enrich our understanding of Ho Kom-tong. At Ho's time, Chinese merchants who earned their fortunes in Hong Kong generally did not regard the city as their permanent home and would send most of their money home to purchase land and build mansions in their hometown, so that they would have a place to retire to when they returned. Unlike most Hong Kong Chinese merchants, the brothers Ho Tung, Ho Fook and Ho Kom-tong had long broken off relations with their father and settled in Hong Kong with their mother Sze, considering the city to be their hometown.<sup>64</sup> They invested large amounts of money in building magnificent mansions and also established a private family cemetery, Chiu Yuen Cemetery, in Hong Kong, further reflecting the roots that they set down here.

After Hong Kong had opened its port to foreign trade, the area encompassing Caine Road, Kennedy Road, Conduit Road and Robinson Road in Mid-Levels became a residential district for wealthy European merchants. The European District Reservation Ordinance gazetted in 1888 stipulated that only Western-style buildings could be constructed between Wellington Street and Caine Road.<sup>65</sup> Until the late 19th century, Ho Tung was the first non-Caucasian to obtain permission to move to Mid-Levels,<sup>66</sup> and in 1897 he purchased a plot of land under the name of his concubine Cheung Ching-yung at 8 Seymour Road where he built a mansion that he named Idlewild. It was also known as the Red House because of its red brick exterior.<sup>67</sup> Meanwhile, his brother Ho Fook had lived in a mansion at 10 Caine Road since 1898 and Ho Kom-tong also moved to Mid-Levels in 1899.<sup>68</sup> The Peak and its vicinity were even designated non-Chinese residential areas under the Hill District Reservation Ordinance until its repeal after the Second World War.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>57</sup> 同上註，頁175及239。

Ibid., 175 and 239.

<sup>58</sup> 吳醒濂編：《香港華人名人史略》（香港：五洲出版社，1937），頁16。

Woo Sing-lim ed., *The Prominent Chinese in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: The Five Continents Book Co., 1937), 16.

<sup>59</sup> 同上註，頁18。另參見註1，頁183。

Ibid., 18. See also Note 1, 183.

<sup>60</sup> 同註1，頁175及238。

See Note 1, 175 and 238.

<sup>61</sup> 同註5，頁237及239。

See Note 5, 237 and 239.

<sup>62</sup> 同註1，頁178及183。

See Note 1, 178 and 183.

<sup>63</sup> 同註5，頁254-255。

See Note 5, 254-255.

<sup>64</sup> 同上註，頁103。

Ibid., 103.

<sup>65</sup> “A Bill: 〈An Ordinance for the Reservation of a European District in the City of Victoria〉，《香港政府憲報》（1888.3.31），頁319。

A Bill, “An Ordinance for the Reservation of a European District in the City of Victoria,” *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 31 March 1888, 319.

<sup>66</sup> 同註1，頁23。

See Note 1, 23.

<sup>67</sup> 土地註冊處物業參考編號C4359246及註冊摘要編號UB23728。另參見註5，頁83。

Land Registry property reference number C4359246 and memorial number UB23728. See also Note 5, 83.

<sup>68</sup> 〈1898年陪審員名單〉，《香港政府憲報》公告編號：80（1898.2.26），頁181。

“Jurors List for 1898, Government Notification No. 80,” *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 26 February 1898, 181.

<sup>69</sup> 〈山頂住宅區保留條例〉，《香港政府憲報》公告編號：4（1904.4.29），頁752。

“An Ordinance for the Reservation of a Residential Area in the Hill District,” Government Notification No. 4, *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 29 April 1904, 752.

1890年代末，衛城道七號及九號原分別建有兩幢名為 Lower Woodlands East 及 Lower Woodlands West 的相連式住宅（即相連共用牆壁）。Lower Woodlands East 面積較大連花園，座落於衛城道七號。自 1880 年代起，何東開始涉足香港房地產，<sup>70</sup> 所以他購入此兩座大宅，並分租予洋行僱員居住。<sup>71</sup> 1899 年 3 月，何甘棠從何東手中，以 13,500 港元購入 Lower Woodlands East 作為新居<sup>72</sup>。同時，何東亦以相同價錢把旁邊衛城道九號的 Lower Woodlands West 售予商人莫厚和。<sup>73</sup>

During the late 1890s, two semi-detached houses, Lower Woodlands East and Lower Woodlands West, were built at 7 and 9 Castle Road. The former was a larger one with a garden. Since the 1880s, Ho Tung had become a player in Hong Kong's real estate industry,<sup>70</sup> and he acquired the two mansions, which he then leased to employees of foreign trading companies.<sup>71</sup> In March 1899, Ho Kom-tong purchased Lower Woodlands East from his eldest brother for HK\$13,500 as his new residence<sup>72</sup>. At the same time, Ho Tung sold Lower Woodlands West to a merchant named Mok Hau-wo at the same price.<sup>73</sup>



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<sup>70</sup> 衛城道七號何甘棠住宅（甘棠第前身），約攝於 1908 年。  
Ho Kom-tong's residence at 7 Castle Road, circa 1908, before Kom Tong Hall was built.

<sup>70</sup> 同註 5，頁 103。  
See Note 5, 103.

<sup>71</sup> 根據 1898 年 2 月的陪審員名單，Lower Woodlands East 的住客是 Francisco José Vicente Jorge，為新旗昌洋行 (Shewan, Tomes & Co.) 的助理。Lower Woodlands West 的住客有 João Eduardo Gomes 及 José Maria Gomes，分別是得忌利士洋行 (Douglas Lapraik & Co.) 和惠通銀行 (Bank of China & Japan, Ltd) 的文員。參見註 68，頁 185 及 187。

According to the jurors list in February 1898, the tenant of Lower Woodlands East was Francisco José Vicente Jorge, an assistant at Shewan, Tomes & Co. The tenants of Lower Woodlands West were João Eduardo Gomes and José Maria Gomes, clerks of Douglas Lapraik & Co. and Bank of China & Japan, Ltd. respectively. See Note 68, 185 and 187.

<sup>72</sup> 香港政府檔案處案卷 HKRS265-11A-841-1。  
File HKRS265-11A-841-1 of Government Records Service of Hong Kong.

<sup>73</sup> 同上註。  
Ibid.



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<sup>8</sup> 約攝於 1914 年的甘棠第  
Kom Tong Hall, circa 1914.

從 1908 年的照片可見，一如《歐人住宅區保留條例》的規定，當時 Lower Woodlands East 是兩層高的西式建築，前面有一個放置了盆栽的小花園，花園內有中式涼亭。其後，何甘棠迎娶了三位妾侍，其中一位是正室施連玉的近身婢女（即妹仔）。家族的成員增多，自然需要更大的住所；適值 Lower Woodlands West 的業主因無法償還樓房按揭，於 1910 年 8 月被何道謙則師 (Abdoolhoosen Abdoolrahim) 接管物業用以抵債。<sup>74</sup> 1912 年 4 月，何甘棠以 24,000 港元從該則師買入鄰宅。<sup>75</sup> 他決定拆卸兩幢樓房，並委託自 1909 年起在香港獲准執業的李杜露則師 (Alexander Colbourne Little) 設計新居。<sup>76</sup> 1913 年，何甘棠耗資達 30 萬港元，興建一座具英皇愛德華時期建築風格的四層大宅，並以他的名字將大宅命名為「甘棠第」<sup>8</sup>。<sup>77</sup>

The photographs taken in 1908 show that Lower Woodlands East was a two-storey Western-style building that fulfilled the requirements of the European District Reservation Ordinance. A small front garden was furnished with several potted plants and a Chinese pavilion. After moving into his new home, Ho Kom-tong took three concubines, one of whom was the maid of his legal wife Sze Lin-yut. With the addition of these new members to his family, Ho needed a bigger house. Coincidentally, the owner of Lower Woodlands West had failed to keep up with his mortgage payments, and the property was taken over by the architect Abdoolhoosen Abdoolrahim in August 1910 to settle the debt.<sup>74</sup> Ho purchased the house from the architect for HK\$24,000 in April 1912.<sup>75</sup> He then decided to demolish the two houses and commission architect Alexander Colbourne Little, whose name was added to the List of Authorised Architects in 1909, to design a new home.<sup>76</sup> In 1913, Ho spent HK\$300,000 to build a four-storey Edwardian mansion, which he named Kom Tong Hall <sup>8</sup>.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>74</sup> 香港政府檔案處案卷 HKRS265-11A-840-7。  
File HKRS265-11A-840-7 of Government Records Service of Hong Kong.

<sup>75</sup> 香港政府檔案處案卷 HKRS265-11A-840-8。  
File HKRS265-11A-840-8 of Government Records Service of Hong Kong.

<sup>76</sup> 同註 1，頁 102。李杜露是香港政府於 1909 年 11 月 4 日根據 1903 年《公共衛生及建築條例》(The Public Health and Buildings Ordinance of 1903) 核准的註冊建築師。參見《香港政府憲報》公告編號：705 (1909.11.5)，頁 902。

See Note 1, 102. Alexander Colbourne Little was an authorised architect under the Public Health and Buildings Ordinance of 1903, effective from 4 November 1909. See Government Notification No. 705, *The Hongkong Government Gazette*, 5 November 1909, 902.

<sup>77</sup> 〈Report to the Director of Public Works for the Year 1913〉載於《Report on the Blue Book for 1913》(香港：香港政府印務局，1914)，附錄 P，頁 21。  
“Report to the Director of Public Works for the Year 1913,” *Report on the Blue Book for 1913* (Hong Kong: Government Printer, 1914), Appendix P, 21.

## 「甘棠第」的變遷

由於元配夫人施連玉的反對，「甘棠第」大宅內只有正室與最早入門的妾侍居住；較後迎娶的妾侍及其子女均被安置到鴨巴甸街的「卅間」，直至何甘棠為他們購入干德道 29 號的居所才搬到新住處。隨著妾侍和子女數目的增加，何甘棠在 1924 年擴建干德道 29 號，增至 50 多個房間，並稱為「新屋」。<sup>78</sup> 雖然「新屋」的面積比「甘棠第」更大，但何府上下仍稱干德道的住所為「細屋」，「甘棠第」反而稱為「大屋」，反映正室與妾侍的地位高低。

樓高四層的「甘棠第」以一條木製的旋轉扶手樓梯連接，梯級鋪上手工精美的波斯地毯，在樓梯的頂層更設有水晶吊燈，<sup>79</sup> 盡顯半山大宅的典雅華麗；傭人則用後面的「妹仔梯」直達除地下低層以外的全屋各層，反映本地上流社會根深蒂固的階級觀念。從正門踏進「甘棠第」便是何家宴客的樓層—地下高層。此層的法式宴會廳（French parlour）是全座大宅中最華麗的房間，用來接待外賓。房間以歐洲風格的裝飾品佈置，並擺放了從法國購置的傢具，<sup>80</sup> 顯示何甘棠西化的一面。

法式宴會廳旁邊的飯廳經常高朋滿座。何甘棠夫婦喜愛宴客，不少晚宴及茶會均在飯廳內舉行。飯廳十分寬敞，有一張能夠容納 36 人的餐桌。<sup>81</sup> 府第附有中、西式的廚房各一間，均設於地下高層與地下低層之間的夾層。<sup>82</sup> 每間廚房各自有一支專業的廚師團隊，以烹調不同款式的食物來宴客。<sup>83</sup> 何甘棠對用膳餐具也一絲不苟，西式的銀器購自英國倫敦，而中式的瓷器則購自江西省景德鎮。<sup>84</sup>

## Changes at Kom Tong Hall

Due to the objections raised by Sze Lin-yut, Ho Kom-tong's legal wife, only Sze and one of Ho's early concubines were eligible to live in Kom Tong Hall. His other concubines and their children were settled in the Thirty Houses in Aberdeen Street until Ho bought a residence for them at 29 Conduit Road and extended it further in 1924 to house even more concubines and children. This residence had over 50 rooms after the extension and was called *San Uk* (New House).<sup>78</sup> Although *San Uk* had a larger floor area than Kom Tong Hall, the Ho family continued to call it *Sai Uk* (Small House) and regarded Kom Tong Hall as *Dai Uk* (Big House), reflecting Sze's status as the legal wife.

The four floors of Kom Tong Hall are connected by a spiral wooden staircase, the steps of which are fitted with delicately crafted Persian rugs and above which hangs a chandelier,<sup>79</sup> thus presenting a fine example of the refined extravagance of mansions in Mid-Levels. The house servants, meanwhile, used a 'servant staircase' to access the different floors other than the lower ground floor, reflecting how the city's elite set themselves apart from people of a different class. The front door to Kom Tong Hall opens onto the upper ground floor, which the Ho family used to receive local and foreign guests. The French parlour on this floor was the most splendid room in the mansion: adorned with European ornaments and furniture bought from France,<sup>80</sup> it illustrated the Western character of the Ho family.

Distinguished guests were often hosted in the dining room next to the French parlour. Ho Kom-tong and his wife enjoyed the company of family and friends, and many dinners and tea gatherings were held in this spacious room, which featured a dining table accommodating 36 people.<sup>81</sup> The mansion had one Chinese kitchen and one Western kitchen, both of which were located on the mezzanine floor between the upper ground floor and the lower ground floor.<sup>82</sup> Each kitchen had its own dedicated team of professional chefs to serve the Ho family's guests a wide array of culinary delights.<sup>83</sup> At the same time, Ho Kom-tong was fastidious about his tableware: Western sterling silver tableware was purchased from London, while Chinese porcelain was bought from Jingde County in Jiangxi Province.<sup>84</sup>

地下高層還有一間用作舉行家庭儀式的房間，位於旋轉樓梯的旁邊，與法式宴會廳和飯廳不同，房間擺放著中式傢具。何甘棠一家只會在特別場合使用此房間，例如舉辦紅白二事。每逢農曆新年前夕，平日主要在「細屋」留宿的何甘棠會特地回到「甘棠第」夜宿，至大年初一早上，何甘棠便攜同家人浩浩蕩蕩由府第前往兄長何東的「紅行」拜年，沿途更會放鞭炮，以嚇退惡靈、迎來好運。何甘棠之後會返回「甘棠第」，逐一會見前來拜年的賓客，並與家人共進晚餐。<sup>85</sup>

「甘棠第」一樓是何甘棠、其正室施氏及第三位妾侍（原為施氏的妹仔）和兒子何世昌的房間；而二樓則是何甘棠三位兒子，即何世傑、何世華及何世文的房間。同層還有一間古董藏品室，何甘棠特別安裝了玻璃飾櫃，擺放從世界各地買回來的中國及日本珍品。何甘棠熱愛古董收藏，曾有澳洲博物館勸他割愛，卻被他斷言拒絕。他的藏品亦陳列於放滿黑檀木傢具的起居室、飯廳及法式宴會廳。<sup>86</sup> 1906 年 11 月 1 日至 3 日舉行的香港藝術暨工藝展覽（Arts and Crafts Exhibition），何甘棠曾借出一幅因義和團事件而從紫禁城散佚於民間的南宋名畫作陳列，可見何甘棠的收藏價值連城。<sup>87</sup>

The room next to the spiral staircase on the upper ground floor was used for family ceremonies. Unlike the French parlour and the dining room, the ceremonial room was furnished in a Chinese style. Ho Kom-tong and his family only used this room on special occasions, such as festivals, celebrations and funerals. Ho, who more or less resided in *Sai Uk*, would spend every Chinese New Year's Eve in Kom Tong Hall. Early in the morning on Chinese New Year Day, he would take his entire family to pay a courtesy call on his brother Ho Tung at the Red House. Along the way, firecrackers would be lit in order to ward off evil spirits and welcome good fortune. Afterwards, Ho would return to Kom Tong Hall to receive the guests who had come to visit him for the New Year and then have dinner with his family.<sup>85</sup>

The first floor of Kom Tong Hall covered the bedrooms of Ho Kom-tong, his wife Sze, his third concubine (who was originally Sze's maid) and his son Ho Sai-cheong; while the bedrooms of Ho's three other sons, Ho Sai-kit, Ho Sai-wah and Ho Sai-man, were located on the second floor. Also on the second floor was a room that housed Ho's collection of antiques. Chinese and Japanese collectibles purchased from around the world were displayed in a glass cabinet inside the room. Ho was an enthusiastic antique collector. A museum in Australia once asked him to part with his treasures, but he firmly refused. Some items of his collection also adorned the blackwood parlour, the dining room and the French parlour.<sup>86</sup> Ho loaned a renowned Southern Song dynasty painting that had disappeared from the Forbidden City during the Boxer Uprising for display during the Arts and Crafts Exhibition held in Hong Kong on 1-3 November 1906. His collection was indeed priceless.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>78</sup> 同註 1，頁 58。

See Note 1, 58.

<sup>79</sup> 同上註，頁 110。

Ibid., 110.

<sup>80</sup> 同上註，頁 119。

Ibid., 119.

<sup>81</sup> 同上註。

Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> 同上註，頁 140。

Ibid., 140.

<sup>83</sup> 同上註，頁 119。

Ibid., 119.

<sup>84</sup> 同上註，頁 119-120。

Ibid., 119-120.

<sup>85</sup> 同上註，頁 129。

Ibid., 129.

<sup>86</sup> 同上註，頁 113。

Ibid., 113.

<sup>87</sup> 《香港週報》(The Hongkong Weekly Press)，(1906.11.3)。

*The Hongkong Weekly Press*, 3 November 1906.

「甘棠第」的每一層（除地下低層外）均設有用作遮蔭及乘涼的陽台，陽台可同時容納幾張圓桌，延伸為宴會場地。大宅的天台亦有用途：天台設有兩個溫室，一個曾用作養蜂，另一個曾用作二樓兒子們的廚房。何甘棠的孫兒及曾孫常到天台玩耍及放風箏。二十世紀初香港尚未高廈林立，在「甘棠第」的天台仍可遠眺維多利亞港。<sup>88</sup>「甘棠第」的地下低層則主要是傭人們的活動範圍，包括兩支廚師團隊、男女裁縫師、負責照顧少主的「媽姐」、負責洗衣的女傭及園丁等。<sup>89</sup>地下低層同時擺放了何甘棠夫婦的坐轎，直到1920年代初，何甘棠才以汽車代步。<sup>90</sup>

在日佔時期，何甘棠沒有跟隨兄長何東遷往澳門，反而留守在香港。日軍還未佔領香港時，「甘棠第」的地下低層曾用作英軍空襲防禦協會（The British Air Raid Precaution Association）的警報室。「甘棠第」在日佔時期未被日軍佔領，全靠其大女婿謝家寶（即何柏齡丈夫）的幫忙。謝家寶在日本郵船株式會社任職買辦時，曾獲日本皇室成員御賜銀煙草盒。當日軍準備進駐「甘棠第」時，何甘棠的外孫、謝家寶之子謝德安向日軍展示這個鑄有日本皇室紋章的煙草盒，日軍遂自動撤離，使「甘棠第」避過一劫，亦令家上下在日佔時期有棲身之所。<sup>91</sup>

There were terraces on every floor of Kom Tong Hall (except the lower ground floor). Designed to offer relaxation in the shade, each of these spacious terraces could accommodate several tables and be used as a banquet venue. The rooftop of the mansion also served specific purposes: two greenhouses were erected there, one for keeping bees and the other as a kitchen for the sons who lived on the second floor. Ho's grandchildren and great-grandchildren often played and flew kites on the rooftop. Very few tall buildings had been constructed in Hong Kong by the early 20th century, and the rooftop of Kom Tong Hall offered a good view of Victoria Harbour.<sup>88</sup> The lower ground floor, meanwhile, was largely occupied by the servants, including two teams of chefs, men's and ladies' tailors, amahs to look after the children, laundry maids, gardeners and several others.<sup>89</sup> The sedan chairs used by Ho Kom-tong and his wife were also placed on the lower ground floor. It was not until the early 1920s that Ho began travelling around Hong Kong by car.<sup>90</sup>

When the Japanese occupied Hong Kong in the Second World War, Ho Kom-tong did not move to Macau as his brother Ho Tung did, choosing instead to remain in Hong Kong. Before the Japanese invasion, the lower ground floor of Kom Tong Hall was used by the British Air Raid Precaution Association as an alarm control room. When the Japanese finally took over the city, Kom Tong Hall was left alone thanks to a sterling silver tobacco case that had been given to Tse Ka-po, husband of Elizabeth Ho Pak-ling and thus Ho Kom-tong's son-in-law, by a member of the Japanese royal family when he worked as a comprador at Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Japan Mail Steamship Company). As a squad of Japanese soldiers was about to enter the mansion, Andrew Tse, son of Tse Ka-po and grandson of Ho Kom-tong, showed them the tobacco case, which was cast with the Japanese imperial seal. The soldiers left voluntarily, leaving the Ho family with a roof over their heads during the occupation.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>88</sup> 同註1，頁140。  
See Note 1, 140.

<sup>89</sup> 同上註，頁144。  
Ibid., 144.

<sup>90</sup> 同上註，頁140。  
Ibid., 140.

<sup>91</sup> 同上註，頁146。  
Ibid., 146.

「甘棠第」在日佔時期總體安然無恙，只是原玻璃大門被震碎<sup>92</sup>，在戰後換成實木大門。<sup>92</sup>根據昭和十七年（即1942年）香港佔領地總督部家屋登錄所的文件顯示，大宅只有「小破」。<sup>93</sup>然而，干德道「細屋」卻未能避過戰機轟炸。當時一枚炸彈落在「細屋」的花園，並炸出大坑；另有一枚落到主屋，幸好沒有即時爆炸。<sup>94</sup>為顧及家人安全，何甘棠在日佔時期把妾侍及子女都搬進「甘棠第」的地下低層內暫住。<sup>95</sup>

Kom Tong Hall was left largely unscathed during the Japanese occupation—the stained glass on the front door was shattered<sup>92</sup> and the original door was replaced by a wooden one after the war—<sup>92</sup> and only sustained minor damage according to the documents of the House Registration Office of the Governor's Office of the Captured Territory of Hong Kong in 1942.<sup>93</sup> *Sai Uk* on Conduit Road, however, fell victim to an air raid, with one bomb landing in the garden and leaving a large pit on the ground and another falling on the main building, fortunately without exploding at that time.<sup>94</sup> For the sake of his family's safety, Ho Kom-tong moved all his concubines and children to the lower ground floor of Kom Tong Hall during the Japanese occupation.<sup>95</sup>



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<sup>92</sup> 何柏齡（何甘棠長女）與其子女在甘棠第原玻璃大門外合照，約攝於1918年。

Elizabeth Ho Pak-ling, the eldest daughter of Ho Kom-tong, and her children in front of the original stained-glass door of Kom Tong Hall, circa 1918.

<sup>92</sup> 同上註，頁102。  
Ibid., 102.

<sup>93</sup> 香港政府檔案處案卷 HKRS57-6-901。  
File HKRS57-6-901 of Government Records Service of Hong Kong.

<sup>94</sup> 同註1，頁102。  
See Note 1, 102.

<sup>95</sup> 同上註，頁146。另據1943年日佔香港時期的《電話番號簿》，以何甘棠名下註冊的地址有出雲通29號（即細屋），電話號碼為20805；下衛城道7號（即甘棠第），電話號碼為20532。

Ibid., 146. According to *Denwa bangōbo* (Telephone Directory) of 1943, Ho Kom-tong had two properties registered under his name during the Japanese occupation: 29 Izumo Dori (*Sai Uk*) with telephone number 20805 and 7 Lower Castle Road (Kom Tong Hall) with telephone number 20532.

安然度過日佔時期的何甘棠，於1950年1月14日去世，並於「甘棠第」大宅出殯。何甘棠正室施氏為遺產的合法管業人，遺產共1,003,000港元。<sup>96</sup>「甘棠第」前後與何家共度近50個寒暑。1960年10月有報紙刊載「甘棠第」易主的消息。<sup>97</sup>根據香港政府土地註冊處的記錄，何甘棠正室施氏早於同年9月與商人鄭景文，以85萬港元的定價簽訂臨時買賣合約，出售大宅。然而，鄭景文在未完成整項交易及物業註冊時，<sup>98</sup>已把物業轉讓予美國鹽湖城耶穌基督末世聖徒教會（The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of Salt Lake City），<sup>99</sup>鄭氏從中獲利超過70,000港元。<sup>100</sup>該教會又將業權轉至其遠東南部分會作為會眾聚集的地方，<sup>101</sup>整項交易於1961年11月21日才完成。交易歷時一年，其間施氏委託了梳沙拍賣行（De Sousa's Auction Rooms），拍賣何甘棠珍藏的玉器和古董。<sup>102</sup>

Having survived the occupation, Ho Kom-tong died on 14 January 1950. His funeral procession began from Kom Tong Hall. His wife Sze became executrix of his inheritance, which amounted to over HK\$1 million.<sup>96</sup> Kom Tong Hall had been the home of the Ho family for almost 50 years, but in October 1960 newspapers reported that the mansion had been sold.<sup>97</sup> According to the records of the government's Land Registry, Sze signed a provisional sale and purchase agreement with a merchant named Chang King-man in September that year; the price for the mansion was set at HK\$850,000. Before the transaction and property registration was completed,<sup>98</sup> however, Chang sold the mansion to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of Salt Lake City,<sup>99</sup> earning an instant profit of over HK\$70,000.<sup>100</sup> The church then transferred ownership of the property to its branch organisation, Southern Far East Mission Limited, to use as a venue for church gatherings.<sup>101</sup> The transaction took over a year but was eventually completed on 21 November 1961. During that time, Sze commissioned De Sousa's Auction Rooms to auction off the jade ware and other antiques of her husband's collection.<sup>102</sup>

耶穌基督末世聖徒教會買入「甘棠第」除作傳教用途外，亦借予教育團體舉辦展覽。<sup>103</sup>教會一直沒有改變大宅的內外貌，只曾在內部加設宗教設施，如受洗池等。1990年，古物諮詢委員會列「甘棠第」為二級歷史建築，而根據2002年香港大學建築學系的評估，教會每年需支付30萬港元來保育「甘棠第」，<sup>104</sup>開支十分龐大。2002年10月，已改名為「耶穌基督後期聖徒教會」的業主向建築事務監督申請拆卸「甘棠第」，並計劃原址重建。這項申請引起社會各界關注，附近的居民及保育團體亦強烈反對，認為政府應保留及活化歷史建築。2004年2月21日，香港政府與教會達成共識，宣佈斥資53,000,000港元收購「甘棠第」，另撥款91,000,000港元作修葺及設立孫中山紀念館。「甘棠第」經過兩年多的復修，在2006年12月以孫中山紀念館的嶄新面貌開放予市民參觀，並沿用至今。

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints acquired Kom Tong Hall primarily to serve its missionary purposes, but it also loaned the mansion to educational organisations for exhibitions.<sup>103</sup> The church left the interior and exterior of the mansion largely unchanged; only religious facilities, such as a baptismal font, were added. In 1990, the Antiquities Advisory Board named Kom Tong Hall a Grade 2 Historic Building. An evaluation by the Department of Architecture of The University of Hong Kong in 2002 concluded that the church would have to conserve Kom Tong Hall at an enormous expense of HK\$300,000 a year.<sup>104</sup> As the owner of the mansion, the church applied to the Building Authority in October 2002 for permission to demolish Kom Tong Hall and construct a new building on the site. The application aroused concern among different sectors of society, particularly the residents in the neighbourhood and conservation groups who voiced strong opposition to the plan; there was a growing belief that the government should preserve and revitalise historic buildings. On 21 February 2004, the Hong Kong government reached an agreement with the church to acquire Kom Tong Hall for HK\$53 million. The government would also allocate funds of HK\$91 million to restore the building and establish the Dr Sun Yat-sen Museum. The mansion took another two years to restore, and in December 2006 Kom Tong Hall was opened to the public as the Dr Sun Yat-sen Museum until now.

<sup>96</sup> 〈故港紳何甘棠遺產百萬〉，《工商日報》，（1950.9.25）。

“Gu gangshen he gantang yichan baiwan” (Deceased Hong Kong merchant Ho Kom-tong leaves an inheritance of one million), *The Kung Sheung Daily News*, 25 September 1950.

<sup>97</sup> 1960年10月21日《大公報》報道「甘棠第」以一百萬元售出，並可能拆卸建造新廈。〈衛城道 甘棠第 傳易主 將改建〉，《大公報》，（1960.10.21）。

*Ta Kung Po* reported that Kom Tong Hall had been sold for HK\$ 1 million and might be demolished to make way for a new building. “Weichengdao gantangdi chuanyizhu jianggaijian” (Kom Tong Hall on Castle Road reportedly changes owner and will be redeveloped), *Ta Kung Po*, 21 October 1960.

<sup>98</sup> 根據土地註冊處的土地登記冊，鄭景文的身份只是第一確認人，即「First Confirmer」，並不是最終買家。土地註冊處物業參考編號C4429839及註冊摘要編號UB354905。

According to the records of the Land Registry, Chang King-man was the “first confirmer” in the sale of Kom Tong Hall, not the final buyer. Land Registry property reference number C4429839 and memorial number UB354905.

<sup>99</sup> 位於美國鹽湖城的耶穌基督末世聖徒教會是該會的總部。該會早期中譯為「耶穌基督末世聖徒教會」，至2000年才將中文名稱改作「耶穌基督後期聖徒教會」。

The headquarters of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is in Salt Lake City, the United States. The church adopted a new Chinese name in 2000, while its English name remained unchanged.

<sup>100</sup> 根據土地註冊處的記錄，物業再以港幣92萬元成交。土地註冊處物業參考編號C4429839及註冊摘要編號UB354905。

According to the records of the Land Registry, the property was sold again for HK\$ 920,000. Land Registry property reference number C4429839 and memorial number UB354905.

<sup>101</sup> 根據1961年6月4日《工商日報》報道，耶穌基督末世聖徒教會買入「甘棠第」作為會眾聚集的地方。〈甘棠第上週已易主 將成為摩門教總會〉，《工商日報》，（1961.6.4）。

*The Kung Sheung Daily News* reported that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had purchased Kom Tong Hall as a venue for church gatherings. “Gantangdi shangzhou yiyizhu, jiang chengwei momenjiao zonghui” (Kom Tong Hall sold to become Mormon headquarters), *The Kung Sheung Daily News*, 4 June 1961.

<sup>102</sup> 1961年5月22日施氏曾刊登廣告，指將會委託梳沙拍賣行進行古董拍賣，拍賣日期為5月24日及25日。〈甘棠第大批玉器古董拍賣〉，《工商日報》，（1961.5.22）。另1961年5月22日《星島日報》港聞、電訊第一版亦刊載這次拍賣的廣告。

On 22 May 1961, Madam Sze placed an advertisement in newspapers stating that she had commissioned De Sousa's Auction Rooms to hold an antique auction on 24 and 25 May. “Gantangdi dapi yuqigudong paimai” (Kom Tong Hall jade ware and antique auction), *The Kung Sheung Daily News*, 22 May 1961. The auction was also advertised in the Local News section and the first page of the Telecommunications News section of *Sing Tao Daily* on 22 May 1961.

<sup>103</sup> 〈舉行校慶師生畫展〉，《華僑日報》，（1969.4.13）。

“Juxing xiaoqing shisheng huazhan” (Exhibition of paintings by teachers and students in celebration of the school's founding anniversary), *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, 13 April 1969.

<sup>104</sup> 《南華早報》，（2002.11.11）。

*South China Morning Post*, 11 November 2002.

# 遙控天文台和天文公園的 光污染監測——談本港星空保育

## Light Pollution Monitoring at iObservatory and Astropark – Insights on Dark Sky Conservation in Hong Kong

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① 地球的夜間影像，由索米國家極地軌道夥伴 (NPP) 衛星的可見光紅外線成像輻射儀 (VIIRS) 所獲取的數據整合而成。圖片由美國太空總署地球觀測站 Joshua Stevens 提供。

The night-time image of the entire Earth assembled from the Suomi National Polar-orbiting Partnership (NPP) Visible Infrared Imaging Radiometer Suite (VIIRS) satellite data. Image courtesy of NASA Earth Observatory, image by Joshua Stevens.

### 概要

社會的急速發展不但帶來空氣和海洋污染，還產生光污染。光污染（又稱光害）是指人造光源令夜空變得光亮，嚴重影響天文觀測。要讓大眾能繼續觀賞璀璨的星空，我們必須保育夜空，讓夜空保持漆黑。

香港太空館（太空館）和香港大學（港大）於 2010 年開始合作，進行有關監測香港夜空光度變化及光污染的研究。研究分別於太空館轄下的遙控天文台和天文公園，兩個可進行天文觀測的地點進行。研究結果顯示夜空光度受到多項因素綜合影響，這些因素包括季節的變化、不同的時間及天氣狀況。隨著夜深，這兩個地點的戶外照明逐漸關掉，天空變得愈夜愈暗。遙控天文台和天文公園的平均夜空光度，比黑暗天空國際標準分別高出 11 倍及 5 倍，而天文公園的夜空比遙控天文台的更暗。研究更發現這兩個地點的夜空光度有微弱變暗的趨勢，幅度約為 37% 至 52%。

本文將與大家分享這項研究項目的成果，提出建議，以助減少光污染對環境的影響，以及加強保育星空。

### 前言

現代社會科技發達，就算是星稀月淡的晚上，城市裡還是燈火通明，人們仍可繼續進行各式各樣的活動。然而，大型的戶外照明裝置和電子廣告宣傳設備會導致光污染。這不但影響大自然生態日與夜的節律，還令動植物的生理機能及行為受到干擾而產生變化 (Irwin, A., 2018)。我們的居住環境如受到強度過高或變化幅度過大的照明滋擾，身體會抑制生產松果體褪黑激素，這種有助調節人體生理時鐘的賀爾蒙如分泌不正常，便會影響我們的健康 (Haim, A. and Portnov, B. A., 2013)。

光污染的源頭廣泛，包括街燈、發光或設有照明裝置的廣告牌、戶外電視幕牆、泛光燈及設於大廈外牆或屋頂的發光裝飾等。設計不當的照明設施會令大量光線直接照射或反射往天空。圖 ① 顯示 2016 年地球在無雲遮蔽時的夜間影像，這影像由「索米國家極地軌道夥伴」衛星上的「可見光紅外線成像輻射儀」獲取的數據整合而成，展示光污染的全球性影響。全球各大城市的燈光照耀夜

### Abstract

The rapid development of the city leads to not only air and ocean pollutions, but also light pollution. The brightening of the night sky due to light pollution worsens the quality for astronomical observations. The dark skies at astronomical sites in Hong Kong have to be preserved to allow people to enjoy the starry spectacle.

The Hong Kong Space Museum (SpM) has partnered with The University of Hong Kong (HKU) on monitoring the sky brightness variations and light pollution conditions since 2010 at two astronomical sites operated by SpM, the Sai Kung iObservatory (iObservatory) and Astropark. Results show that the night sky brightness depends on the combined effects of many factors, including the season of the year, the time of the night and the atmospheric conditions. The night sky gets darker throughout the night in both locations, reflecting the switching off of outdoor lighting adjacent to these sites. The night skies were 11 and 5 times brighter than the international dark sky standard at iObservatory and Astropark respectively. Astropark was found to be darker than iObservatory. We also identified a weak trend of decreasing sky brightness by around 37% to 52% in flux at both locations.

This article reports the results of the study and provides recommendations to alleviate the impacts of light pollution on the natural environment and conserve the dark sky.

### Introduction

People living in the cities today are no longer living in the dark at night. Various kinds of electric light have been developed to extend people's workable hours throughout the night. On the other hand, huge outdoor lighting and illuminated billboards lead to light pollution. Light pollution alters the natural rhythms of day and night, disorients physiological cycles and behaviours of fauna and flora (Irwin, A., 2018). Light nuisance, i.e. excessive illuminations (in either intensity or in variability), in proximity to people's living environment has been shown to have a possible influence on their health due to suppression of the production of pineal melatonin, which is a hormone known for helping us to regulate our biological clock (Haim, A. and Portnov, B. A., 2013).

Sources of light pollution include but not limited to street lamps, glowing or illuminated billboards, outdoor TV walls, floodlights, the glowing ornament on the walls or roofs of buildings, among others. Those poorly designed outdoor lighting fixtures allow a large portion of light to radiate directly or to be reflected upward towards the sky. The global picture of the impact of this form of light pollution is illustrated in Figure ①, which shows a cloud-free mosaic of the Earth at night. The mosaic was assembled from the data acquired by the Visible Infrared Imaging Radiometer Suite (VIIRS) onboard the Suomi National Polar-orbiting



2 城市夜景會導致夜空輝光（泛黃夜空）（「光污染攝影比賽 2014」亞軍得獎作品）。圖片由梁凱傑提供。

The skyglow (yellowing of the sky) caused by city nightscape (the first runner up entry of the "Light Pollution Photography Competition 2014"). Image courtesy of Leung Hoi Kit.

空，即使沒有地圖，也可以識別出各地的位置。

雲層、氣溶膠及懸浮粒子等污染物會散射光線，令光污染更加嚴重，造成夜空輝光，此影響可擴散至遠離光源範圍到達偏遠區域 (Benn, C. R. and Ellison S. L., 1998)，從遠距離可看到光污染令夜空形成光罩 2，甚至令整個夜空發亮。由於夜空輝光減低夜空的光度對比，令肉眼能看見的星星數量減少。Falchi et al. (2016) 指出，全球有超過三分之一人口因夜空變亮而無法看見銀河。全球的光污染情況日益惡化，天文學家更是首當其衝，在光污染的夜空下觀測暗淡的天體，大大降低天文觀測的準確性。

香港位於中國東南沿岸的珠江河口，是一個人煙稠密的大都會，圖 3 顯示 2015 年 3 月於國際太空站拍攝的香港及鄰近珠江三角洲的夜景。圖中最光地區屬商業區及住宅區，高速公路及道路在街燈映照下更見突出，黑色區塊屬於未開發的林地，海面的白點為捕魚船的燈光。上半晚於尖沙咀錄得的夜空光度，比黑暗天空國際標準平均高出逾 1,000 倍 (香港大學理學院, 2013)，香港亦因此高踞光污染城市排行榜的榜首位置 (Shadbolt, P., 2013)。

Partnership (NPP) satellite in 2016. Metropolises all over the world are easily identifiable from the mosaic without referring to a map because of their strong upward shooting light.

The propagation of light pollution in the atmosphere leads to skyglow, which is attributed to the scattering of artificial light by cloud, aerosol and pollutants such as suspended particulates. Scattering spreads light pollution to distances beyond the position of the light source (Benn, C. R. and Ellison S. L., 1998) and forms a light dome when viewed from a distance 2, or even brightens the entire night sky. Skyglow decreases the brightness contrast of the night sky and hence reduces the number of stars visible by unaided eyes. Falchi et al. (2016) estimated that the Milky Way is no longer visible by more than one-third of the world's population due to skyglow. Astronomers are among the worst affected by the worldwide growing light pollution problem due to the diminishing accuracy of astronomical observations on the dim celestial objects under light-polluted skies.

Hong Kong, a populous metropolitan city, is situated at the Pearl River estuary in the southeastern coast of China. Figure 3 shows the night scene at Hong Kong and Pearl River Delta Region taken from the International Space Station in March 2015. The brightest regions indicate commercial and residential districts. The presence of street lighting highlights highways and roads. Black patches are the undeveloped woodlands while the white spots refer to the lights of fishing boats. The night sky measured at Tsim

要將光污染分布情況作量化表述，常用方法是量度夜空輝光的強度變化。港大物理系在香港進行了三項量度夜空輝光的研究項目，首先是「香港光害調查」，於 2007 年至 2009 年間，包括學生、天文愛好者和營地職員合共 170 位義工參與量度夜空輝光，於接近 200 個地點收集近 2,000 組量度數據。經分析後，確定香港的光污染情況嚴重，市區與郊區的光度對比幅度很大（平均相差 100 倍）(So, C. W., 2010; Pun, C. S. J. and So, C. W., 2012)。

第二個項目是「香港夜空光度監測網絡」(NSN)，在 2010 年至 2013 年期間，利用半導體感光儀器，在 18 個地點自動量度夜空輝光，收集了超過 460 萬組量度數據並加以分析。NSN 其中一項重要發現是香港平均夜空輝光比黑暗天空國際標準高出 80 倍 (So, C. W., 2014; Pun, C. S. J. et al., 2014)。

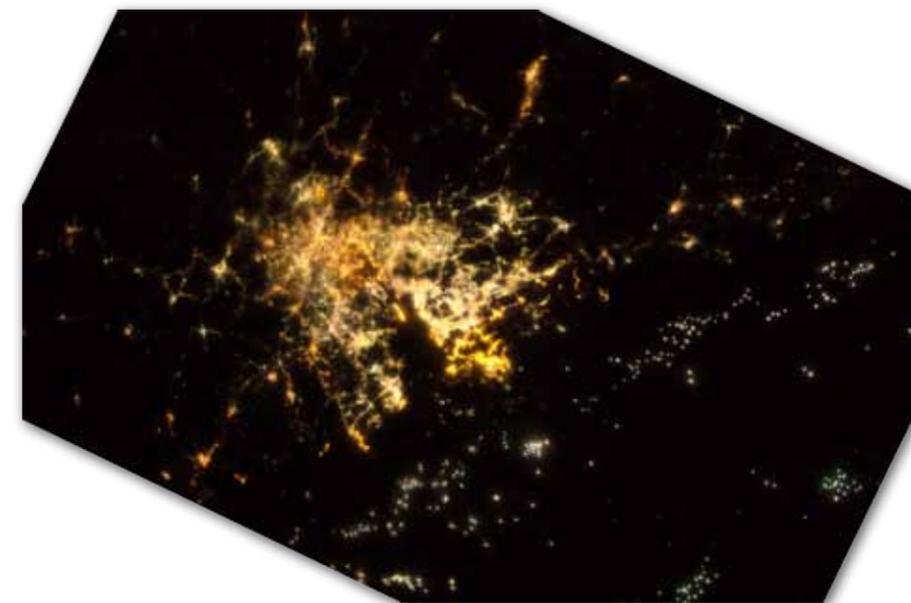
第三個項目，名為「全球夜空光度監測網絡 (GaN-MN)」，是 NSN 在 2014 年開始，在海外進行的延伸項目。截至 2019 年 6 月，這研究項目合共設置了 38 個監測站，其中有部分設於香港。

Sha Tsui in the early evening was on average over 1,000 times brighter than the international standard of dark sky (Faculty of Science, The University of Hong Kong, 2013). Hong Kong tops the list of light-polluted cities (Shadbolt, P., 2013).

A popular method to quantify the distribution of light pollution scientifically is to measure the changes in the intensity of skyglow. The Department of Physics of HKU conducted three skyglow measurement research projects in Hong Kong. The first project was "A Survey of Light Pollution in Hong Kong" in which skyglow was measured manually by 170 volunteers including students, astronomy enthusiasts and campsite staff between 2007 and 2009. From near 2,000 measurements taken at almost 200 locations, it is confirmed that light pollution in Hong Kong was severe, with a large brightness contrast (on average 100 times) between urban and rural locations (So, C. W., 2010; Pun, C. S. J. and So, C. W., 2012).

The second project was "The Hong Kong Night Sky Brightness Monitoring Network" (NSN), in which skyglow was measured automatically by semiconductor light sensors between 2010 and 2013. Over 4.6 million measurements collected from 18 distinct locations were analysed. One of the main findings of NSN was that the average skyglow in Hong Kong was about 80 times brighter than the international dark sky standard (So, C. W., 2014; Pun, C. S. J. et al., 2014).

The third project, namely, the "Globe at Night - Sky Brightness Monitoring Network" (GaN-MN), has been a concurrent overseas extension of NSN since 2014. There are 38 GaN-MN stations as of June 2019. Some of them are located in Hong Kong.



3 在國際太空站拍攝的影像，顯示香港及鄰近珠江三角洲夜景（北為上方，2015 年 3 月拍攝）。圖片由美國太空總署約翰遜太空中心地球科學及遙感單位提供（相片編號：ISS043-E-34620）。

A night-time picture of Hong Kong and Pearl River Delta Region nearby in north-up orientation taken from the International Space Station on March 2015.

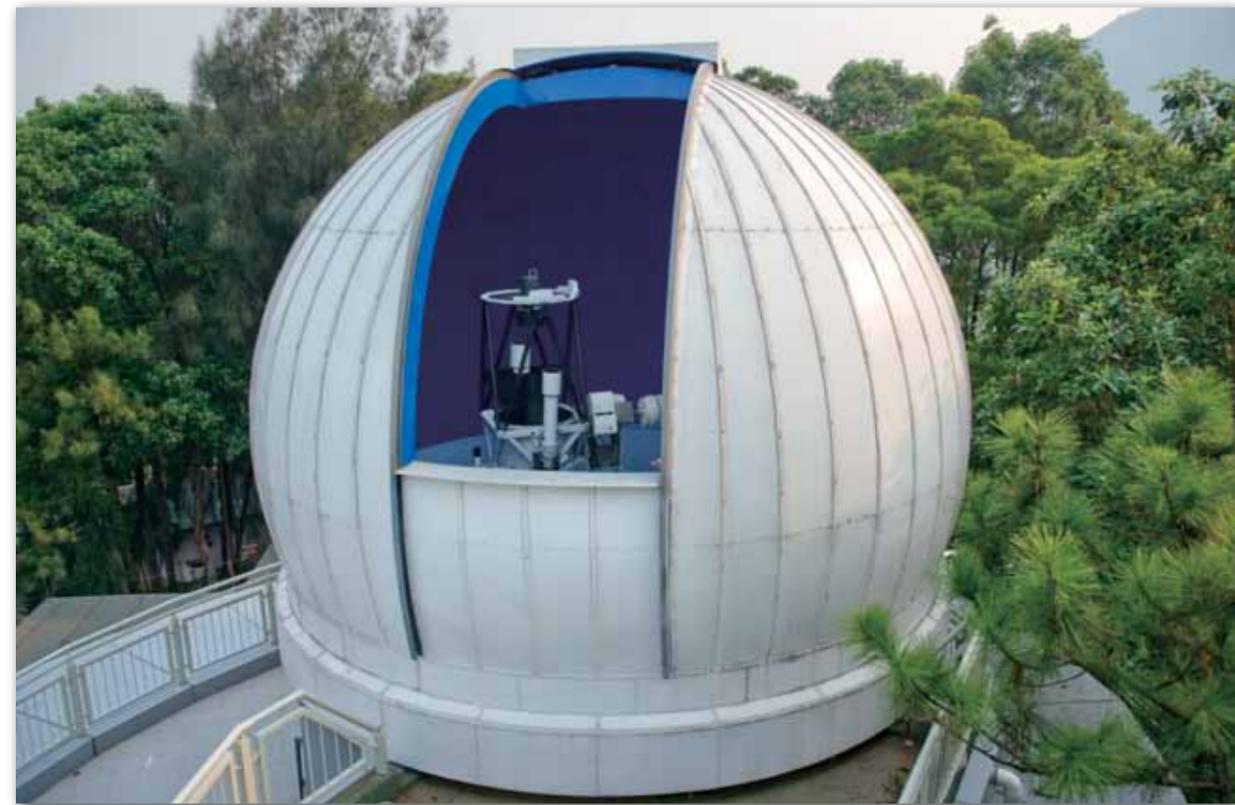
Image courtesy of Earth Science and Remote Sensing Unit, NASA Johnson Space Center (photo ID: ISS043-E-34620).

太空館與港大合作，進行 NSN 和 GaN-MN 研究項目，在四個地點設置感光儀器，包括太空館、位於西貢的遙控天文台及天文公園，以及屯門政府倉庫。其中遙控天文台及天文公園設有天文觀測設施，因此我們特別關注這兩個地點的光污染情況。希望透過在 2010 年至 2018 年持續監察遙控天文台及天文公園的天空光度變化和光污染情況，得到有用的資料，有助減少光污染，以便進行觀測活動。

## 研究方法

### 監測站——遙控天文台

遙控天文台位於西貢西郊野公園的麥里浩夫人度假村（度假村）。當中配備一座 60 厘米口徑的卡塞格林式望遠鏡及專業天文攝影器材<sup>4</sup>。遙控天文台是一所天文教育中心，每年會定期舉行觀星活動，向公眾推廣天文知識。它的樓頂上設有一個夜空光度監測站——iObs 監測站（北緯 22.4083 度、東緯 114.3229 度）。



<sup>4</sup> 遙控天文台圓頂展示內置的望遠鏡

A view of iObservatory showing the telescope inside a dome

SpM collaborated with HKU on the NSN and GaN-MN projects by offering four venues, including SpM in Tsim Sha Tsui, iObservatory and Astropark in Sai Kung, and the Tuen Mun Government Depot, for installing light sensors. Particularly, iObservatory and Astropark are built to offer stargazing facilities for the general public. It is deemed important that the environment there must be well monitored and remained dark for desirable observation being conducted. This article aims to investigate the sky brightness variations and light pollution conditions at iObservatory and Astropark in detail over the period of 2010 to 2018.

## Methodology

### Monitoring Station – iObservatory

iObservatory is situated in the Lady MacLehose Holiday Village (Village) at the Sai Kung West Country Park. It houses a 60 cm aperture Cassegrain telescope with professional astronomical cameras<sup>4</sup>. The facility serves as a platform for astronomy education. Stargazing activities are held regularly throughout the year for promoting astronomy to the public. An iObs station (22.4083°N, 114.3229°E) is installed on the rooftop of iObservatory.



<sup>5</sup> 為減少夜空輝光，遙控天文台的周邊裝置了全截光型燈具。

A full cutoff lamp is used along the boundary of iObservatory to reduce skyglow.

遙控天文台使用有限的戶外照明，以配合適合觀星的黑暗環境，而建築物周圍也特別裝置了全截光型燈具照明，以方便參觀者進出<sup>5</sup>，該設計確保所有光線朝下方直射，而且在有需要時才會啟動。附近光源均來自營舍小屋的戶外固定裝置及度假村內的康樂設施。除此之外，在遙控天文台也可看到來自在西南方，約六公里外西貢市中心所散射的燈光。

### 監測站——天文公園

天文公園是太空館特別設立的郊外觀星場地<sup>6</sup>，位於西貢東郊野公園萬宜水庫西霸創興水上活動中心旁。天文公園展示中國古代天文儀器的複製品及設有觀星設施，讓市民及業餘觀星愛好者可以在這裏進行消閒、教育和天文活動。自 2010 年開放以來，天文公

A limited amount of external lighting is adopted at iObservatory to create a dark-sky friendly environment. Particularly, a full cutoff lamp is intentionally mounted along the boundary of the observatory building to guide visitors<sup>5</sup>. The lamp is switched on only when necessary and is fully shielded such that all light rays are pointed downward. The main sources of light include the external fixtures of the camp cottages and recreational facilities within the Village. Moreover, scattered light from the Sai Kung town centre about 6 km away in the southwest can be noticed from iObservatory.

### Monitoring Station – Astropark

Astropark is a designated stargazing venue designed by the Space Museum<sup>6</sup>. It is located alongside the Chong Hing Water Sports Centre at the West Sea Cofferdam of the High Island Reservoir within the Sai Kung East Country Park. The park displays replicas of ancient Chinese astronomical instruments and equips with setups for stargazing. It is a convenient site which provides recreational, educational and astronomical facilities for the use and enjoyment of



<sup>6</sup> 天文公園

A view of the Astropark



7 從天文公園看到的銀河，位於左前方的物件為明朝渾儀複製品。圖片由 Mew Chu 提供。  
The Milky Way as seen from the Astropark. The foreground object (left) is the replica of the Ming Armillary Sphere. Image courtesy of Mew Chu.

園已成為本地天文愛好者的觀星熱點 7。天文公園內亦設置了夜空光度監測站——AP 監測站（北緯 22.3766 度、東緯 114.3361 度），它距離遙控天文台約 4 公里。

### 測量儀器

研究採用附透鏡和乙太網路接口型號的夜空光度測量錶（Sky Quality Meter - Lens Ethernet，簡稱測量錶）量度天頂夜空輝光的光度，稱為「夜空光度」（Night Sky Brightness, NSB），以「等每平方角秒」作為量度單位<sup>1</sup>（縮寫：mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>）。測量錶採用以近紅外線濾鏡覆蓋的光轉數位轉換器作為感光元件。這個合成感應系統的中心波長為 540 納米（Cinzano, P., 2005），其光譜範圍與香港主要的人造照明光譜範圍一致。

當光源遠離天頂，感光元件的敏感度便會大幅下降，如偏離天頂的角度達 20 度及 40 度，相比在天頂位置，敏感度的跌幅分別達 15

the public and amateur star lovers. Since its opening in 2010, the park has become a popular stargazing venue for astronomy enthusiasts 7. An AP station (22.3766°N, 114.3361°E) is located in Astropark and is about 4 km away from iObservatory.

### Measurement Instrumentation

The Sky Quality Meter-Lens Ethernet (SQM-LE) was chosen to measure the brightness of the skyglow at the zenith, known as the Night Sky Brightness (NSB), in the unit of magnitude per square arcsecond, or mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup> in short<sup>1</sup>. The light sensor of the SQM-LE is a semi-conductor light-to-frequency converter covered by a near-infrared blocking filter. The combined filter-sensor system has a central wavelength of 540 nm (Cinzano, P., 2005). The device's spectral range is overlapped with the range of major artificial emissions in Hong Kong.

The sensitivity drops sharply when the detection is away from the zenith direction. When it is 20° and 40° off-axis, the sensitivity decreases by a factor of 15 and 100 respectively (Cinzano, P., 2007). With such a narrow field-of-view (FOV),

<sup>1</sup> 星等 (Magnitude, mag) 是以對數尺度展示的天體光度量度單位，對於光度較強的天體，星等相對較低。舉例說，天狼星是星空中最光亮的恆星，為 -1.5 星等。1 星等的差別等同觀測所得的光度比例約 2.5<sup>1</sup>，而 2 星等的差別則等同光度比例約 2.5<sup>2</sup> = 6.25，如此類推。另一方面，角秒 (arcsec) 是量度地球長度的單位，1 角秒等同 3,600 份之一度，而受光污染的天空光度則以等每平方角秒 (mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>) 為量度單位。假設 A 地點錄得夜空光度為 20.0 等每平方角秒，代表天空光度等同一個 20 星等的天體覆蓋了天空的一部分，其尺寸為 1 角秒 × 1 角秒。又假設在 B 地點錄得夜空光度為 19.0 等每平方角秒，則代表 B 地點比 A 地點的天空光度高出 2.5 倍。Magnitude (mag) is a unit for measuring the brightness of celestial objects on a logarithm scale. Brighter objects have smaller magnitude values. Sirius, for example, the brightest star in the night sky, has a magnitude of -1.5. A difference of 1 mag refers to an observed light flux ratio of around 2.5<sup>1</sup> while 2 mag difference means the light flux ratio is around 2.5<sup>2</sup> = 6.25 and so on. Arc second (arcsec) is the unit of length on the celestial sphere. One arcsec equals to 1/3,600 of a degree. The brightness of the sky due to light pollution is measured in units of mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>. Suppose the measured NSB at site A is 20.0 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>, then the brightness of the sky is equivalent to a celestial object with the brightness of 20 mag filling up a patch of sky with the area of 1 arcsec × arcsec. Suppose the measured NSB at site B is 19.0 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>, then the sky at site B is around 2.5 times brighter than that at site A.

及 100 倍 (Cinzano, P., 2007)。於稠密市區環境，在如此狹窄的視野範圍下，即使雜散光有機會直接照射感光儀器，帶來的影響亦會減到最低。

每部測量錶均放置在一個防水外殼內。在整段數據收集期間，研究人員在遙控天文台及天文公園先後採用了三種防水外殼，第一種是以聚碳酸酯 (PC) 物料製成的外殼，寬 280 毫米 × 高 280 毫米 × 深 180 毫米，配備透明頂蓋，測量錶裝置於透明頂蓋下，讓光線可以到達測量錶的感光元件。每部測量錶也配置了 3G 路由器以便傳送數據 8。

第二種防水外殼是由第一種改良而成，於測量錶上方的小部分聚碳酸酯外殼，被改成為一個透光度高（波長 425 至 700 納米，透光度達 96% 以上），直徑 25.4 毫米及厚度 3 毫米的圓形反光玻璃窗。

第三種防水外殼是用聚氯乙烯 (PVC) 製成的不透光圓筒，外殼頂蓋設有一個 40 毫米直徑的圓形開口，並由一塊玻璃覆蓋，讓光線能進入測量錶的感光元件。外殼亦裝置了網絡設備，既可供電又能將數據傳送到所需位置 8。

測量錶所量度的夜空光度數值，經 3G 網絡或固網寬頻網絡傳送到數據庫伺服器，數據收集頻率由 2010 年最初設定為每 1 至 5 分鐘一次，到 2011 年 5 月中起，改為每 5 分鐘一次；自 2011 年 12 月中起，增加到每分鐘一次；直至 2018 年 1 月中起，增加到每 30 秒一次。

分析資料來自 NSN 及 GaN-MN 項目所收集的數據。表 1 顯示遙控天文台和天文公園監測站的數據收集詳情。

the effects of stray lighting directly reaching the light sensor in dense urban environments is minimised.

Each SQM-LE was encased in a weatherproof housing. Three kinds of housing were adopted at iObs and AP throughout the analysis period. The first kind of housing was a polycarbonate (PC) enclosure and its dimensions are 280 mm (width) × 280 mm (height) × 180 mm (depth). It was equipped with a transparent cover which enables incoming light to reach the SQM-LE sensor. The SQM-LE was fixed under the transparent cover. The enclosure for each module also included a 3G router for data transmission 8.

The second kind of housing was modified from the first kind in which a small portion of the polycarbonate housing right on top of the SQM-LE was replaced by a 25.4 mm in diameter and 3 mm thick circular anti-reflective glass window with high transmission (>96% in 425-700 nm).

The third kind of housing was an opaque polyvinyl chloride (PVC) cylinder with a light-proof top cap. The cap has a circular opening with a diameter of 40 mm. The opening is covered with a piece of glass which enables incoming light to reach the SQM-LE sensor. The housing also stores a network device which supplies power and allows data transmission 8.

The NSB measurements taken from the SQM-LE were transferred by the Internet to database servers by a mobile 3G network or fixed-line broadband Internet. The data collection frequency was initially set to be once per one to five minutes and five minutes in 2010 and mid-May 2011 respectively and was increased to once per minute since mid-December 2011 and further increased to once per 30 seconds since mid-January 2018.

The current analysis covers the data collected from the NSN and GaN-MN projects. Table 1 summarises the data collection details at iObs and AP.



8 設於天文公園（左）及遙控天文台（右，白色圓筒）的夜空光度測量錶監測站，分別採用了第一及第三種防水外殼。

The SQM-LE station setups adopted the first and third kinds of housing at AP (left) and iObs (right, the cylinder tube in white) respectively.

表 1：兩個監測站的數據收集詳情  
Table 1. Date collection details of the two stations

設定 Setting	項目 Project	遙控天文台 iObs	天文公園 AP
第一種外殼的首次運作日期，取樣頻率為每 1 至 5 分鐘一次 The first operation date with the first kind of housing, sampling frequency once per 1 to 5 minutes	NSN	2010-09-06	2010-12-01
切換取樣頻率至每 5 分鐘一次 Change the sampling frequency to once per 5 minutes	NSN	2011-05-11	2011-05-11
切換取樣頻率至每分鐘一次 Change the sampling frequency to once per 1 minute	NSN	2011-12-16	2011-12-16
切換至第二種外殼 Switch the first kind of housing to the second kind	NSN	2012-05-11	2012-06-12
第二種外殼的最後運作日期 The last operation date with the second kind of housing	NSN	2017-07-18	2017-07-13
第三款外殼的首次運作日期，取樣頻率切換為每 30 秒一次 The first operation date with the third kind of housing	GaN-MN	2018-01-19	2018-01-13
最後數據作分析之用 The last data for analysis	GaN-MN	2018-09-14	2018-01-21

NSN = 香港夜空光度監測網絡 The Hong Kong Night Sky Brightness Monitoring Network  
GaN-MN = 全球夜空光度監測網絡 The Globe at Night - Sky Brightness Monitoring Network

#### 數據品質監控及數據篩選

要準確掌握香港光污染的整體情況，相關的數據質素非常重要。因此，夜空光度測量錶的性能、防水外殼窗的光度衰減及數據收集的安排等，都必須進行品質監控。

測量錶運送到監測站前已經調較準確。測量夜空光度的絕對準確度達  $\pm 0.10$  等每平方角秒。為確保測量錶在運作期間準確無誤，研究人員大約每六至九個月，便會從遙控天文台及天文公園取回測量錶，送到港大實驗室進行測試。每個測量錶以綠色發光二極管作為標準光源，在全黑平台進行測試。研究人員將測試測量錶及參考測量錶的數據互相比較，以找出異常狀況。整體來說，遙控天文台和天文公園所收集的數據皆屬優質數據。研究人員務求確保所有量度結果符合表明的準確度，特此，於 2013 年 10 月將所有測量錶運送到生產商進行詳細測試。結果顯示，所有數據與生產商表明的準確度大致相同。

至於三種防水外殼窗，會令入射光的光度減弱，而且減幅各異，從港大實驗室的量度數據可找出三種外殼窗的光度衰減程度。在分析數據前，只須應用偏移值，便能將不同程度的光度衰減加以修正。

#### Data Quality Control and Data Selection

Data quality is crucial for establishing an accurate picture of light pollution in Hong Kong. The quality control is performed regarding the measurements of the SQM-LE units, the light attenuation of the housing's windows and the occasions of data collection.

All the SQM-LE units had been calibrated before arrival, with a claimed absolute precision of the NSB measurement at  $\pm 0.10$  mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>. To ensure the units were performed normally during the operation period, they were collected from both the iObs and AP stations to the HKU's laboratory roughly every six to nine months for calibration tests. Each unit was tested in a light-shielded platform in which a green LED lamp served as a standard light source. Measurements from the unit being tested were compared to those from a reference unit to identify abnormalities. On the whole, the data collected from iObs and AP were of high quality. In addition, all units were shipped to the manufacturer for a detailed checking in October 2013 and the results were consistent generally with the initial accuracy claimed by the manufacturer.

The three kinds of housing's windows reduced the intensity of incoming light with varying degrees. The amount of attenuation was obtained from the measurements of the HKU's laboratory. The differences were corrected by applying offset values prior to data analysis.

測量錶於每日下午 4 時至翌日早上 9 時運作。所收集的原始數據除了錄取包括平常照明導致的光污染影響之外，還包含其他影響因素。研究人員會先考慮以下因素，才分析和整理數據：

- **陽光**：在臨近日出或日落所收集的數據會受到陽光影響。當太陽位於地平線 18 度或以下，天空便沒有陽光。陽光消失的時段稱為天文黑暗期，本研究只採用在這段期間收集的數據。每晚天文黑暗期的時段由 PHP 編程語言的 date\_sun\_info 功能計算出來。
- **月光**：來自月亮的光是晚間主要的天然光源。月相的變化會對夜空光度產生周期性影響——在接近滿月的時候，天空會較明亮；在接近新月時，天空則較暗。月光光度可透過陽光照明的百分比或月相值量化。舉例說，滿月的月相值 = 1（光度 100%），而新月的月相值 = 0（光度 0%），我們發現當月相值低於 0.2 時，月光所帶來的影響是微乎其微。因此，研究人員進行分析時，為消除月光對夜空光度的影響，月相值等同或少於 0.2 時收集的數據才被採用，所得的數據界定為「沒有月光」。每 30 分鐘的月相值由 Alcyone Ephemeris 4.3 軟件計算出來。<sup>2</sup>
- **其他**：遙控天文台及天文公園屬公共設施，晚間偶爾會舉行觀星活動，在活動舉行期間，均會使用額外照明。為了避免觀測夜空光度受到這類活動影響，活動的舉行日期及時間會被記錄下來，而那些或可能受到影響的數據會在分析階段中移除。同樣地，其他人為活動的影響包括當儀器進行維修或測試期間（測量錶或會暫時拆除），或是因硬件故障，測量錶偶爾錄得的反常數據（數值 > 22 或 < 10 等每平方角秒），和其他未能反映真實夜空狀況的數據均會被移除。

收集數據期間的夜空光度如因受到雲霧、空氣污染物或雨點影響而改變；或因防護窗面積聚了灰塵或其他沉澱物而導致光度衰減，研究人員在進行分析時不會修正這些受影響的數據。

經過上述提及的數據品質監控及篩選後，研究數據的整體準確度可達至 0.1 到 0.2 等每平方角秒，當中 0.1 等每平方角秒為測量錶生產商表明的準確度。

The SQM-LE operated between 16:00 and 09:00 daily. The raw data therefore contain the influence of the factors other than light pollution caused by routine usages of lighting. The following occasions were considered and handled accordingly prior to analysis:

- **Sunlight**: Some data entries were influenced by sunlight if they were collected near sunset or sunrise. The sky is free from sunlight when the solar altitude is more than 18° below the horizon. The period in between is known as the astronomical dark period. Only the data collected within the periods are included in the present study. The daily timings of the period were computed from the PHP programming function date\_sun\_info.
- **Moonlight**: The Moon is the major natural light source at night. During lunar cycles, moonlight poses a periodic impact on the brightness of night sky, i.e. a brighter sky near the Full Moon and a darker sky near the New Moon. The brightness of the moonlight can be quantified by a percentage of sunlight illumination, or the lunar phase value. For example, the Full Moon has the phase value = 1 (100% illumination) while the New Moon has the phase value = 0 (0% illumination). We found that the effect of the Moon was negligible when the lunar phase value was lower than 0.2. Therefore, only the data collected when the lunar phase value was lower than or equal to 0.2 are included in the present study so as to eliminate the effect of the Moon. Those data are classified as "moonlight-free". The phase value was computed every 30 minutes by the software Alcyone Ephemeris 4.3.<sup>2</sup>
- **Others**: iObservatory and Astropark are public facilities where stargazing events are occasionally carried out in the evenings. Additional external lighting may be used during the events. In order to avoid the possible contamination of the NSB data due to such events, the date and time of all those events conducted were recorded. The possibly contaminated data were excluded from the analysis. Similarly, the data which did not truly reflect the general night sky conditions due to the influence of other human activities, such as maintenance or testing (the meter might have been dismantled) of the meter, or hardware failures; as well as occasional abnormal SQM-LE (> 22 or < 10 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>) entries were removed before analysis.

In the analysis, it is observed that any changes in the NSB values due to the presence of clouds, air pollutants, rain droplets and fogs, and the light attenuation caused by dust or other objects deposited on the surface of the protective window throughout the data collection period are not corrected.

After conducting the aforementioned data quality control and selection, it is believed that the overall accuracy of the data in the archive would be of an order 0.1 to 0.2 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>, of which 0.1 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup> was the intrinsic accuracy of the SQM-LE claimed by the manufacturer.

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.alcyone.de/alcyone\\_ephemeris.html](http://www.alcyone.de/alcyone_ephemeris.html)

## 結果及分析

本研究之目的，在於調查人為因素對遙控天文台及天文公園所錄得的夜空光度帶來的影響。得出的結果可提供兩個地點的整體夜空狀況，和夜空光度的時間及地理變化。

### 整體光污染情況

2010年9月至2018年9月期間，遙控天文台及天文公園一共收集了841,347組未受月光影響的夜空光度數據，覆蓋超過70%的沒有月光時段。取樣方面，本研究分析了遙控天文台及天文公園分別歷時6.2年及5.8年所錄得的數據。其中未納入取樣的時段是由於儀器暫停運作及兩個地點受活動影響。用於分析的數據覆蓋了大部分時間，提升研究結果的準確度及代表性。表2總結了兩個地點所錄得的數據分類，以及取樣月份數量和晚上取樣的覆蓋程度等。

表2顯示的平均夜空光度，反映了西貢郊野公園普遍的光污染情況。遙控天文台及天文公園的夜空光度數值分別是18.99及19.80等每平方角秒。這兩個數據可與自然天頂夜空光度，即21.60等每平方角秒作比較，後者乃由國際天文聯會建議，未受人造照明造成光污染的優質天文地點應有的標準夜空光度 (Smith, F., 1979)。相比之下，遙控天文台及天文公園的平均夜空光度比標準夜空光度分別高出2.6及1.8等每平方角秒，光度比例分別高出11.0及5.2倍。由於兩個地點的夜空光度皆高於標準值，反映出香港的郊野公園等保育地區仍然受光污染影響。

大氣狀況不斷變化，特別是時刻轉變的雲量（詳情可參閱 So, C. W. (2014) 雲覆蓋量與夜空光度關係的相關討論），縱使沒有月光及所有照明狀況不變，夜空光度數值亦不會持續不變。換言之，兩個監測站的夜空光度數據均會呈現特定分布。如表2所示，夜空光度數據組的平均值、眾數值及中位數值各異，反映出數據並不是呈正態（或高斯性）分布。

即使未確定數據分布模式，也可從數據組的標準差了解數據離散狀況。研究結果顯示，數據的分布範圍甚廣，遙控天文台的夜空較亮，標準差為0.91等每平方角秒，而夜空較暗的天文公園標準差則為0.72等每平方角秒，前者比後者的數據分布範圍較廣。天

## Results and Analysis

The main purpose of this research is to study the contributions of artificial factors to the NSB measurements at iObs and AP so as to provide an overview of the night sky conditions and reveal the temporal and geographical variations of NSB at both locations.

### Overall Light Pollution Condition

A total of 841,347 individual moonlight-free NSB data were collected from iObs and AP, covering the period from September 2010 to September 2018. The sampling period covered more than 70% of the moonlight-free duration at each location. In terms of sampling, the current analysis covered the samples collected for 6.2 and 5.8 years at iObs and AP respectively. The unsampled periods can be explained by the temporary suspensions of device operation and the exclusions of data taken during non-routine events conducted on sites. The comprehensive temporal coverage of the current analysis enhances the accuracy of the study and representativeness of the results. The breakdowns, including the individual month and night coverages at each site, are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2 shows the average NSB values of iObs and AP, which are 18.99 and 19.80 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup> respectively. They reflect the general light pollution condition in the Sai Kung Country Park. These figures were compared to the natural zenith NSB level of 21.60 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup> suggested by the International Astronomical Union (IAU) as a standard for a good astronomical site with negligible pollution from artificial light sources (Smith, F., 1979). On average, iObs and AP night skies were 2.6 and 1.8 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup> brighter than the standard respectively. In terms of the flux ratio, the skies were about 11.0 and 5.2 times brighter respectively. The substandard brightness of these two sites proves that light pollution was an issue in Hong Kong, even in the protected regions such as country parks.

Even though the Moon was absent and the light conditions remained unchanged, the values of the NSB measurements were hardly the same due to changing atmospheric conditions, particularly varying cloud amount (see So, C. W. (2014) for the discussions on the relationship between cloud coverage and NSB). In other words, there was a distribution of the NSB data at each site. As listed in Table 2, the average, mode and median of the NSB datasets are different, indicating that the data are not normally (or Gaussian) distributed.

Without identifying the underlying type of distribution, the standard deviation of the datasets provides an insight into the spreads of the data. The spreads are quite large that the one at the brighter iObs (0.91 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>) is larger than that at the darker AP (0.72 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>). The presence of clouds enhances the backscattering of light pollution dramatically. The relationship between the size of the

表2：遙控天文台及天文公園的夜空光度取樣詳情及夜空普遍狀況  
Table 2. The NSB sampling and general night sky conditions at iObs and AP

監測站 Station	樣本 數量 Sample size	取樣月份 數量 No. of months sampled	取樣晚數 (覆蓋百分比) No. of nights sampled (% of coverage)	平均值 Average	眾數值 Mode	最亮值 (第5個百分位數) Brightest (5th percentile)	中位數值 (第50個百分位數) Median (50th percentile)	最暗值 (第95個百分位數) Darkest (95th percentile)	離散值 Spread
遙控天文台 iObs	434,314	74	604 (70.6%)	18.99	19.73	17.31	19.11	20.29	0.91
天文公園 AP	407,033	69	590 (76.9%)	19.80	20.68	18.48	19.89	20.80	0.72
兩地差異 AP-iObs	不適用 N.A.			0.81	0.95	1.17	0.78	0.51	不適用 N.A.

平均值、眾數值、中位數值（第50個百分位數）、離散值、最亮及最暗值以等每平方角秒單位顯示。離散值則是數據組標準差，至於夜空光度最亮及最暗值是個別數據組的第5及第95個百分位數，最後一列出兩個監測站的夜空光度差異。

The average, mode, median (50th percentile), spread, the brightest and darkest records are measured in units of mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>. The spreads are measured by the standard deviation of the dataset. The brightest and darkest NSB are at the 5th and 95th percentiles of the individual dataset respectively. The last row lists the NSB differences between the two locations.

空如有雲，會令光散射提高光污染幅度。數據分布範圍與夜空光度是有關係的，光污染較為嚴重的地區（夜空光度數值較小）容易受雲量變化影響。據本研究數據分析顯示，遙控天文台及天文公園所錄得的標準差與 So, C. W. (2014) 發布2011年至2013年的研究結果一致。簡單來說，西貢仍然有光污染問題。

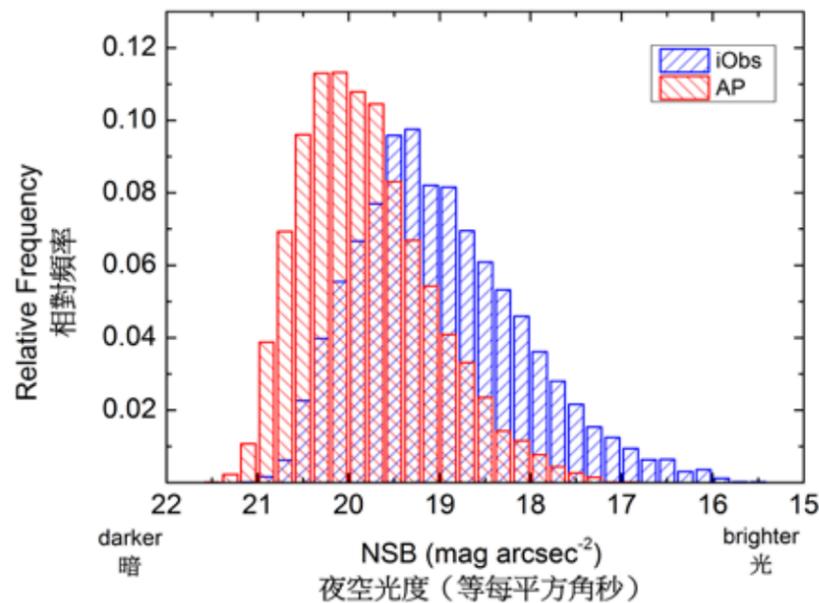
我們為了解光污染如何在極端情況下對夜空構成影響，分別在遙控天文台及天文公園的數據組內抽取第5個及第95個百分位數的夜空光度數值，並於表2分別展示為最亮及最暗值。舉例說，要找出第5個百分位數，必先將夜空光度數值由小至大排序，然後從中挑選第5個百分位的數值。要注意的是，夜空光度絕對最亮值（排列在第一位）及絕對最暗值（排列在最後一位）並不會被採用，以防止因突發事故（例如昆蟲阻擋了感光儀器、光線偶爾直射感光儀器、閃電或硬件故障等）而導致絕對值有所偏差。

遙控天文台及天文公園的最亮夜空光度數值分別錄得17.31及18.48等每平方角秒，與國際天文聯會的黑暗天空國際標準相比，兩個地點的亮度比例分別高出50倍及17倍，而遙控天文台的夜空光度甚至跟香港國際機場附近一帶的平均夜空光度（17.0等每平方角秒）相若，反映出郊野公園環境可達至機場等高度人工化建設周邊的光污染程度，情況令人擔憂。

spread and NSB is that the site suffering from a higher level of light pollution (lower NSB value) is more vulnerable to the change in cloud amount, leading to a larger data spread. The standard deviations of iObs and AP obtained from this analysis agree with the So, C. W. (2014)'s findings of the study conducted between 2010 and 2013. In other words, Sai Kung still suffers from light pollution.

To study how light pollution affected the night sky in extreme cases, the NSB readings at the 5th and 95th percentiles of individual iObs and AP datasets were extracted and listed in Table 2 as the brightest and darkest NSB records respectively. The 5th percentile, for example, was found by firstly sorting the NSB readings in an array and picking the value at the 5% of the sorted array. It should be noted that the absolute brightest (the first value in the sorted array) and darkest (the last value in the sorted array) NSB readings were not used to avoid fake extreme records caused by unexpected events (e.g. blocking of light sensors by bugs, shining light hitting the sensor accidentally, lightning or hardware malfunctions, among others).

The values of the brightest records at iObs and AP were 17.31 and 18.48 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup> respectively. In terms of flux, the skies at iObs and AP were 50 and 17 times brighter than the IAU's dark sky standard respectively. The sky at iObs was almost as bright as the sky near the Hong Kong International Airport (average brightness 17.0 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>). It is highly disturbing because the country park environment could degrade into a highly artificial setting such as the airport surroundings.



9 遙控天文台（藍色）及天文公園（紅色）的夜空光度數據直方圖（展示相對頻率）  
The histogram (in relative frequency) showing the NSB distributions of iObs (blue) and AP (red)

相對地，遙控天文台及天文公園最暗的夜空光度數值分別為 20.29 及 20.80 等每平方角秒，這些數據反映出兩個地點的夜空光度相比黑暗天空國際標準仍然高出最少兩倍。由於以上數據是來自八年的測量結果，足以證明兩個地點環境均受光污染影響，天然黑夜（夜空光度等同國際標準的數值）情況已不存在。

若將表 2 的統計數據進行深層分析，展示兩個地點夜空光度的真實分布狀況 9。從直方圖可看出兩個地點的數據分布傾向於較暗的一面（夜空光度數值較大），而較長的尾巴則傾向較光的一面（夜空光度數值較小）。如此不對稱的數據分布與非高斯分布模式一致，皆是平均值、眾數值及中位數值各異（表 2）。

天文公園的數據分布峰值比遙控天文台的較大，表示前者的夜空比後者的普遍上較暗。兩個地點的峰值相差 0.8 等每平方角秒，與表 2 列出的兩個地點夜空光度平均差異大致相同。

天文公園的夜空光度數值差異範圍達 4 等每平方角秒，光強度相差近 40 倍；至於遙控天文台的同類數值分別為 5 等每平方角秒及 100 倍。由觀察所得的夜空光度數值範圍，反映出兩個地點在收集數據時，狀況極不均匀。遙控天文台的夜空光度離散範圍較廣，如前文所述源於夜空的雲層擴大效應較強，導致光污染情況更為嚴重。

The values of the darkest records at iObs and AP were 20.29 and 20.80 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup> respectively. These figures indicate that the skies at both sites were still at least two times brighter than the dark sky standard. Since these figures are concluded from the measurements collected over a period of eight years, it is clear that both sites suffered from light pollution and the natural dark sky (as dark as the standard) no longer exists.

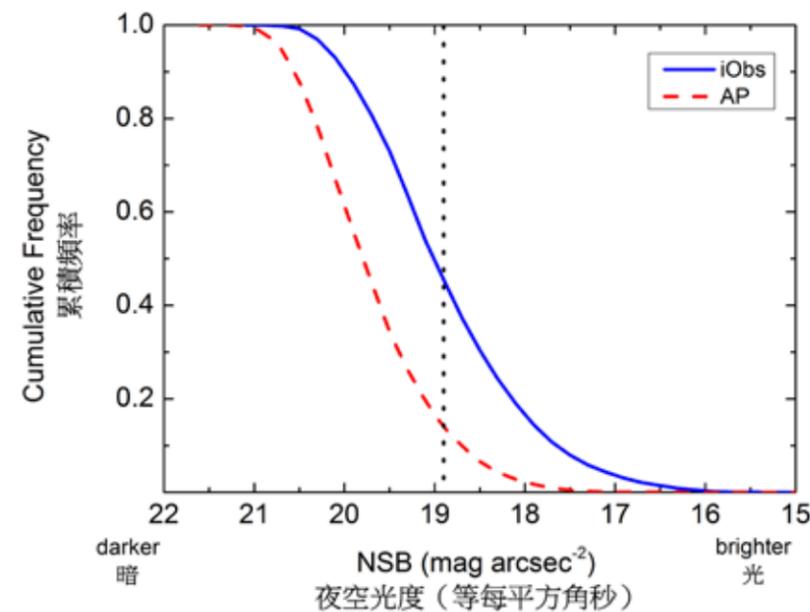
Figure 9 illustrates a more detailed analysis from the statistical figures listed in Table 2 in terms of the actual distributions of the NSB data at both sites. It can be seen from the histogram that both distributions are skewed towards the dark side (higher NSB values) with longer tails towards the bright side (lower NSB values). The asymmetric distributions agree with the properties of non-Gaussian distributions, in which the average, mode and median values are different (Table 2).

The peak of the AP's data distribution is at the darker side (higher NSB values) compared to that of the iObs's, indicating that the AP night sky was generally darker than that of iObs. The values of the peaks are differed by 0.8 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>, which is roughly in line with the average difference between the NSB values of AP and that of iObs as listed in Table 2.

The NSB measurements at AP span a range of 4 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup> difference in brightness, or near 40 times difference in light intensity. The corresponding figures of iObs are 5 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup> and 100 times. The ranges of NSB values observed indicate the huge inhomogeneities of the conditions under which these data were taken. The larger spread of NSB at iObs, as mentioned previously, was explained by the fact that a site with a higher level of light pollution is subject to a larger cloud amplification effect.

圖 10 的累積頻率圖進一步展示兩個地點夜空光度數據的分布狀況。該圖顯示在指定的夜空光度數值或以下（較光）的夜空光度出現機會百分比。

一般情況下，除非天空比 18.9 等每平方角秒的光度更暗，否則眼睛不能適應黑暗調整視力 (Puschig, J. et. al., 2014)。如在圖 10 因應上述基準標上臨界線，可了解人類肉眼的整體夜視能力如何受光污染影響而退化。舉例說，當遙控天文台的累積頻率達 46% 時與臨界線相交，代表這 46% 的數據比 18.9 等每平方角秒的夜空光度更光；換言之，在遙控天文台觀星的人士只能有 54% 機會（在沒有月光夜間，撇除天氣及天體變化狀況，下同）發揮夜視能力。天文公園的情況較佳，觀星者夜視能力的機率达 86%。對於觀星者來說，夜視能力特別重要，因為只有具備暗適應能力的眼睛才可看到銀河 (Schreuder, D., 2008)。據一項有關人造光及天然光對香港夜空影響的研究 (So, C. W., 2014)，其市區夜空光度的數值分布反映香港光污染情況嚴重，觀星者在香港市區不能憑肉眼觀賞銀河。現時遙控天文台、天文公園或西貢郊野公園為觀星者提供僅餘的觀星場地，讓他們有機會在香港欣賞銀河。



10 遙控天文台（藍色）及天文公園（紅色）的夜空光度分布累積頻率圖，累積頻率由 0（0%）至 1（100%）。在 18.9 等每平方角秒位置的垂直虛線，標示肉眼完全適應黑暗所需要的暗度。

The plot of the cumulative frequency of the NSB distributions at iObs (blue) and AP (red). The cumulative frequency ranges from 0 (0%) to 1 (100%). The vertical dotted line at 18.9 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup> indicates the darkness required for the complete dark adaptation of the human eye.

The plot of the cumulative frequency as shown in Figure 10 further visualises the distributions of the NSB data at iObs and AP. Particularly, the plot reveals the percentage of the NSB observations at or below (brighter than) a specific NSB level.

The dark adaptation of the human eye is incomplete unless the sky is darker than 18.9 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup> (Puschig, J. et. al., 2014). If we mark the limit based on the above benchmark in Figure 10, it tells the overall degradation of night vision of the human eye due to light pollution. For example, the threshold meets the cumulative frequency of iObs at 46%, which means 46% of the data are brighter than 18.9 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>. In other words, observers at iObs only had a 54% chance (during moonlight-free nights excluding weather and celestial conditions, same below) to achieve dark vision. The situation was better at AP, where observers had around 86% chance. Dark vision is particularly important for stargazers because the Milky Way is only visible to dark-adapted eyes (Schreuder, D., 2008). According to the urban NSB distribution of a study about the contributions of artificial and natural light factors to the NSB in Hong Kong (So, C. W., 2014), observers in urban areas of Hong Kong would never see the Milky Way as the dark vision can no longer be achieved due to light pollution. iObservatory, Astropark and Sai Kung country parks act as the last resorts for people to enjoy the Milky Way in Hong Kong.

## 光污染的時間及地理變化

每個夜空光度數據均標記着時間，包括量度的準確日期及時間，因此，藉着研究數據可探討光污染隨時間產生的變化。我們會在本章節檢視長期及短期的夜空光度變化，從而了解遙控天文台及天文公園不同的光污染情況。

## 較長期變化

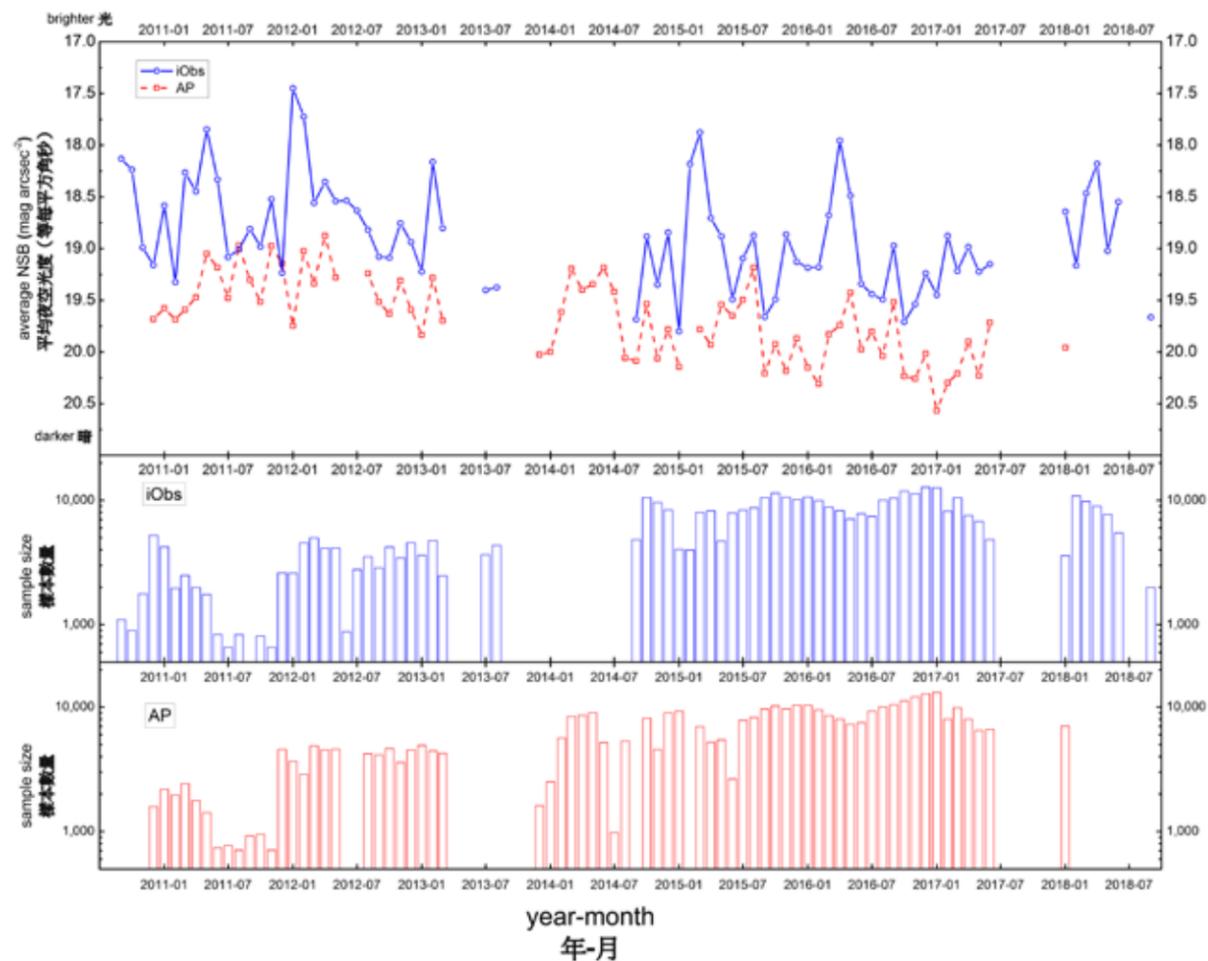
於整個研究覆蓋的時期，我們統計了遙控天文台及天文公園每月平均沒有月光的夜空光度（「每月狀況」），並展示於圖 11 上方，每個符號的位置代表在該月份該地點所錄得的夜空光度平均值。

## Temporal and Geographical Variations of Light Pollution

Each NSB measurement was timestamped to include the exact date and time when the measurement was conducted. Therefore, it was possible to study the temporal variations of light pollution. In this Section, we examine the long-term and short-term changes of NSB to further reveal the geographical variations of NSB, i.e. the difference in light pollution conditions between iObs and AP.

## Long-term Variations

The monthly average moonlight-free NSB (“monthly profile”) at iObs and AP throughout the entire study period is presented in the upper panel in Figure 11. The location of each symbol represents the average value of all the NSB measured at a location within a specific month.



11 遙控天文台（藍色）及天文公園（紅色）每月平均夜空光度的變化（上圖為「每月狀況」）及每月樣本數量（中間圖及下圖，以對數尺度展示），長條之間的斷裂線或間隙反映在整個月內有數據遺失情況出現。

The average monthly variations of NSB (see “monthly profile” in the upper panel) and the monthly sample sizes (middle and lower panels, in a logarithmic scale) at iObs (blue) and AP (red). Disconnected lines or gaps between bars indicate data lost in the entire month.

在圖 11 內，位於中間及下方的圖分別顯示遙控天文台及天文公園收集的每月樣本數量。樣本的規模按地點及月份而有所變化。自 2011 年 12 月中起，取樣頻率統一增加到一分鐘，因此，在該月後，研究人員一般會收集到更多樣本。不同因素如數據品質監控、數據篩選及偶發性的數據遺失，都會令樣本數量在不同月份有所變化。

從每月狀況可觀察到以下四種概況。

第一，除了兩個特殊情況（2011 年 8 月及 12 月）外，基本上遙控天文台的夜空在所有月份也比天文公園的夜空更亮，在相同月份內的夜空光度平均高出 0.79 等每平方角秒或光度比例高出大約兩倍，反映出遙控天文台附近一帶，比天文公園鄰近地區的光污染情況更為嚴重。

第二，兩個監測站的每月夜空光度均呈現起伏變化，變動趨勢大致同步。如連續月份有數據時，約有 78% 的情況，兩個地點的每月夜空光度數值均有相同的變化，例如：於 2015 年 8 月至 9 月兩地的夜空光度同樣下跌。即使出現個別的反常變動，一般是不能以單一原因作解說，但大規模的季節性大氣狀況的變動（例如雲量），就會對兩地的夜空造成程度相若的影響，解釋了連月夜空光度數值朝向同一方向變化的現象。

第三，遙控天文台的每月夜空光度數值（變化幅度平均為 0.45 等每平方角秒）比較天文公園的每月夜空光度數值（變化幅度平均為 0.32 等每平方角秒）更為浮動，夜空光度受雲量影響的敏感度，受制於監測站附近一帶的光污染程度，因為遙控天文台的夜空較為光亮，其夜空光度數值亦相對較為浮動。

第四，在兩個監測站均觀察到天空光度有長期下降（夜空光度數值增加）的趨勢，透過線性回歸分析，計算出遙控天文台及天文公園夜空的變暗程度分別為 36.8% 及 51.5%（以光度為單位）。同一時期（2010 年 9 月至 2018 年 9 月），在尖沙咀香港天文台總部所錄得的每月平均雲量每年增加約 0.6%（香港天文台，2018）。在光污染情況嚴重的地區，雲量愈多會導致夜空更亮（So, C. W., 2014），因此兩地的夜空光度出現微弱的下降趨勢，並非因為每年的雲量變化。

The middle and lower panels of Figure 11 represent the monthly sample sizes at iObs and AP respectively. The sample size varied by site and by month. Generally larger samples were obtained after December 2011 because the sampling frequency was unified and increased to one minute since mid-December 2011. Data quality control, data selection and occasional data lost led to month-to-month changes in sampling size.

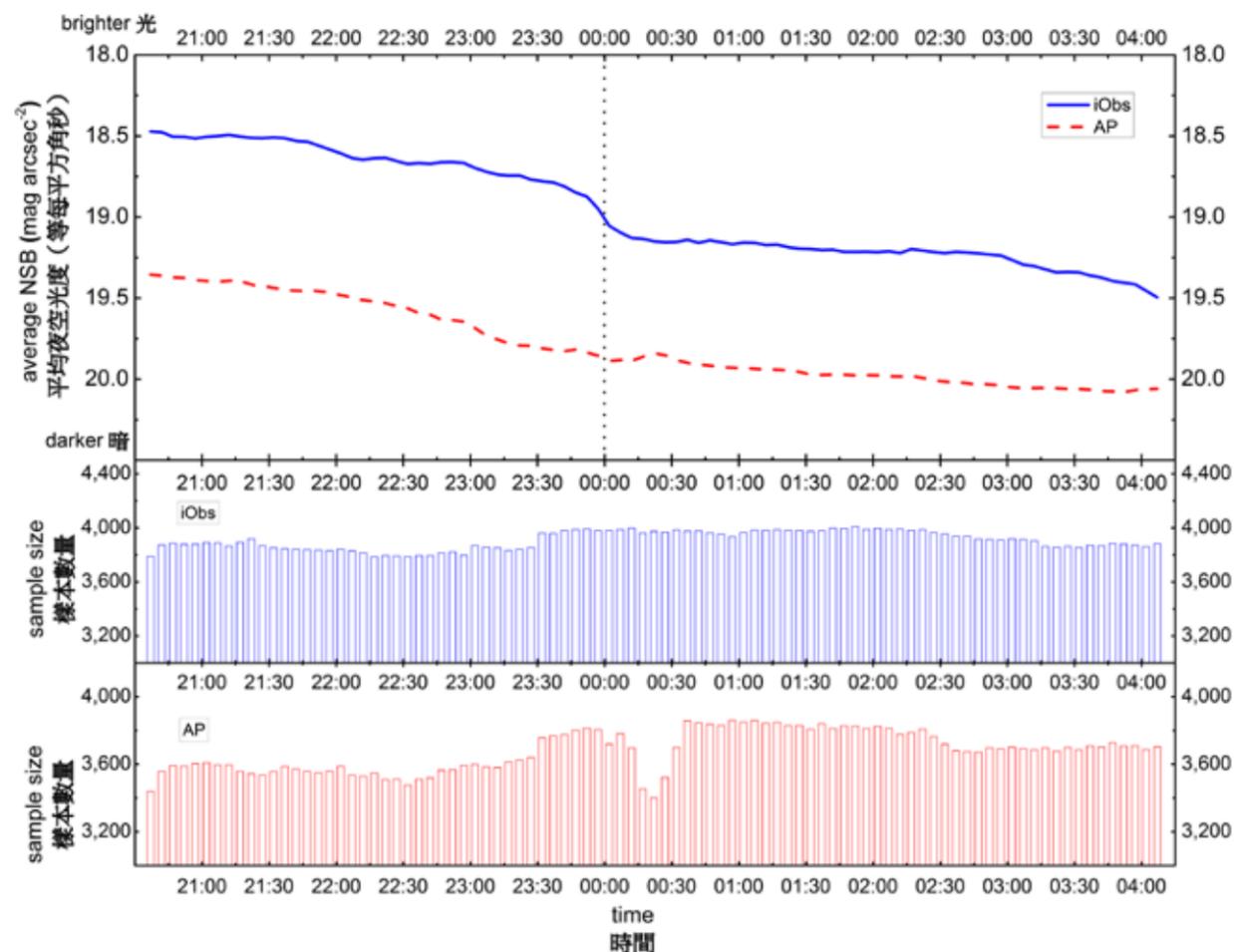
Four major conditions can be drawn from the monthly profiles.

First, apart from two exceptions (August and December 2011), iObs was brighter than AP in all months by 0.79 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup> on average or around 2 times in flux within the same months. That means the light pollution condition near iObs was more severe than that near AP.

Second, there were month-to-month fluctuations in NSB at both sites. The fluctuations were generally in the same phase in the sense that the month-to-month NSB values of around 78% of the cases, in which iObs and AP had measurements in the successive months, varied in the same direction (e.g. both iObs and AP experienced a decrease in NSB from August to September in 2015). While the erratic fluctuations observed cannot be explained by a single factor, it is believed that the same phase fluctuations were partially due to the large-scale seasonal variation in the atmospheric conditions, such as cloud amount, which affected both sites at roughly the same level within a month.

Third, the month-to-month readings at iObs were more fluctuating (the average magnitude of variation was 0.45 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>) than those at AP (the average magnitude of variation was 0.32 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup>) in general. The sensitivity of cloud-NSB interaction follows the level of light pollution near the observing site. iObs fluctuated more because the sky there was brighter.

Fourth, the long-term trends of decreasing sky brightness level (increasing NSB numerical value) are observed at both sites. From the linear regression analysis, the night skies at iObs and AP were darkened by 36.8% and 51.5% in flux respectively. During the same period (September 2010 - September 2018), the average monthly cloud amount measured at the headquarters of the Hong Kong Observatory in Tsim Sha Tsui increased at a rate of around 0.6% per year (Hong Kong Observatory, 2018). In view of the fact that more clouds led to the brighter sky at the locations suffered from light pollution (So, C. W., 2014), the weak decreasing trends of the night sky brightness level observed was not mainly related to the annual change in cloud amount.



12 遙控天文台（藍色）及天文公園（紅色）每晚平均夜空光度的變化（上圖為「晚間狀況」）及每5分鐘樣本數量（中間圖及下圖），垂直虛線顯示午夜12時正。接近午夜，天文公園的樣本數量下跌，這個現象或源於多個月以來每逢午夜時分，定時開關器發生故障，導致測量錶意外關閉數分鐘。

The average nightly variations of NSB (see “nightly profile” in the upper panel) and the sample sizes in every 5 minutes (middle and lower panels) at iObs (blue) and AP (red). The vertical dotted line indicates 00:00. The drop in the sample size near midnight at AP was probably caused by a malfunction timer switch which had unexpectedly powered off the meter for several minutes around midnight for several months.

## 較短期變化

除了調查每月光污染情況外，了解光污染在晚上的變化也是值得探究。由於有許多自然因素決定所觀測的夜空光度最終數值，單憑一晚光變曲線圖（光強度每晚隨時間變動的曲線圖）的數據，是難以了解有哪些人為因素影響著夜空光度變化。另一方面，由於大部分戶外照明依照固定模式運作，加上其他對夜空光度構成影響的因素並無規律性，例如雲塊不會在每晚同一時間出現，只有透過分析多個光變曲線圖，才能探究使用戶外照明對夜空光度帶來的後果。假設樣本數量夠多，並在一段較長時間收集數據，所得出的概括性分析結果，不但將光變曲線圖的不規律影響淡化，還會將突發事故所帶來的影響減到最低，例如臨時增設的戶外照明等。

為製作光變曲線圖，研究人員計算兩個監測站每5分鐘所錄得的平均夜空光度數值，整合成覆蓋整個晚上的「晚間狀況」。圖12上方展示了兩地由晚上8時35分到凌晨4時10分，一個適合取樣的時段所得出的晚間狀況。

我們從晚間狀況找到以下四大特點。

第一，整晚天文公園的夜空比遙控天文台的夜空更暗，兩地的夜空光度平均相差0.83等每平方角秒或光度平均比例相差約2.1倍。遙控天文台的光污染程度在晚間任何時段也平均超出1.7倍。兩個地點的相對照明使用量雖然有所差異，但它們之間的夜空光度差異在晚上11時前一直保持平穩。

第二，據研究資料顯示，入夜後兩地的天空會愈來愈暗，這源於監測站附近一帶減少使用戶外照明。遙控天文台及天文公園於晚上9時的夜空光度相比凌晨3時的夜空光度分別相差0.76等每平方角秒及0.66等每平方角秒（光度比例差異分別約2倍及1.8倍）。遙控天文台的夜空在午夜前後光度變化較大，反映鄰近數量較多或強度較高的燈光在午夜時已經關掉。另一方面，在深夜時段（凌晨3時後）所錄得的夜空光度，則反映由黃昏到翌日黎明時分，一直開啟的燈光（例如街燈及公共場所燈光）的使用量。遙控天文台在深夜時段的夜空較天文公園的光亮，表示渡假村周圍有更多的照明，在深夜必須持續開啟。

## Short-term Variations

Apart from studying the light pollution condition month-by-month, it is also worth studying night-by-night to see whether there were changes in the amount of light pollution throughout the evening. However, multiple natural factors other than light pollution determined the final value of the NSB observed, it is not easy to tell the amount of anthropic contribution just from the appearance of the light curve (a graph in which light intensity is plotted against time within a night) generated from the data of any single night. On the other hand, since the use of the most external lighting follows roughly the same daily pattern and the impacts of other factors on the night sky are somehow irregular (cloud patches, if any, probably do not come at the same time every evening), it is possible to examine the consequence of the routine use of external lighting by studying the generalised trends of a number of light curves. Provided that the sample is large enough and covers a long period of time, such generalisation not only dilutes the influence of irregular changes on the light curves, but also minimises the influence of unaccounted events such as ad hoc outdoor lighting uses on the analysis.

The light curve constructed by calculating the average value of NSB collected every 5 minutes at each site over the course of an evening is known as a “nightly profile”. The upper panel of Figure 12 presents the nightly profiles generated from the data collected in the well-sampled period between 20:35 and 04:10.

We found four major features from the nightly profiles.

First, AP was darker than iObs in view of the entire profiles. They differed by  $0.83 \text{ mag arcsec}^{-2}$  or around 2.1 times in flux on average. iObs was on average 1.7 times more light-polluted at any time of the night. The relative amount of lighting used in these two sites was different but the difference in NSB level remained steady before 23:00.

Second, as can be seen, the skies were darker progressively over the course of an evening, which is attributed to the reduction of the use of external lighting near the observing sites. When the NSB levels of both sites at 21:00 were compared with each other, it is found that iObs and AP were around  $0.76$  and  $0.66 \text{ mag arcsec}^{-2}$  darker at 03:00 (around 2 and 1.8 times in flux) respectively. The greater sky darkening observed at iObs after midnight indicates that more or stronger lighting was switched off near iObs at midnight. On the other hand, the NSB level at very late night (after 03:00) indicates the amount of essential lighting (e.g. street lighting or the lighting in public areas) that was remained switched on from dusk till dawn. The brighter sky at iObs at very late night indicates that more essential lighting in the Village was operated than that at Astropark.



13 由非截光型到全截光型的不同燈具設計。圖片來源：<https://www.iau.org/public/images/detail/light-pollution-brochure/>。  
Different designs of lighting fixtures: from non-cutoff to full cutoff.  
Image extracted from <https://www.iau.org/public/images/detail/light-pollution-brochure/>.

第三，從遙控天文台的光變曲線圖，可看到午夜時的夜空光度大幅下跌，跌幅範圍約為 0.2 到 0.3 等每平方角秒（光度比例約 1.2 到 1.3 倍）。如此大幅度的改變，反映每晚午夜時，在遙控天文台附近一帶均會關閉大量燈光。其中位於距離遙控天文台約 250 米下坡的網球場，其泛光燈可能對夜空光度測量有明顯影響。

第四，天文公園的夜空逐漸變暗，光度沒有突然顯著的變化，如此平穩的轉變與較早期進行的有關人造光及天然光對香港夜空影響研究的發現狀況略有偏差 (So, C. W., 2014)。據較早期的研究顯示，夜空光度在晚上 11 時有明顯下降跡象，這個現象概括了由 2010 年 11 月至 2013 年 3 月的光度變化走勢。雖然新舊研究的數據分析方法有些微出入，但鑑於本研究有更完整的取樣機制，現時錄得的平穩狀況可信度高。本研究的取樣時間主要是 2014 年後的時間，由此可以推論夜空光度於晚上 11 時顯著下降的情況在近年沒有出現；加上天文公園的天空自 2014 年起普遍上逐漸變暗，可以進一步歸納出天文公園附近一帶的光污染情況或已有所改善。

Third, a sharp drop in NSB right at midnight is noticed from the iObs light curve. The size of the drop ranges from 0.2 to 0.3 mag arcsec<sup>-2</sup> (around 1.2 to 1.3 times in flux). The sharp change can be explained by the daily schedule in which large groups of lighting near iObs were switched off at midnight. One possible influence on NSB measurements was due to the floodlights of the tennis courts located downhill about 250 m away.

Fourth, except gradual darkening, the profile of AP lacks any obvious and sudden change in brightness. Its smoothness is inconsistent with the previous version of the profile as presented in the study about the contributions of artificial and natural light factors to the NSB in Hong Kong (So, C. W., 2014). A clear drop in NSB at 23:00 was noticeable from the old profile, which generalised the trends emerged between November 2010 and March 2013. Although the data reductions of the old and new studies are differed slightly, we are confident that the smoothness is true with the support of the comprehensive sampling of the present study. Since the temporal sampling of the current study extended and biased to the period after 2014, it is concluded that the effect of the sudden darkening at 23:00 faded out in the recent years. In addition to the fact that the sky at AP was getting darker generally and gradually since 2014, it can be further concluded that the lighting practice near AP has somehow been improved recently.

## 建議

統合以上結果，這研究證實遙控天文台和天文公園均存在光污染問題。個別地點的光污染程度，大致視乎鄰近的戶外照明狀況。現從研究結果中，歸納出幾項實際建議，冀能透過簡單有效的方法減少光污染對夜空的影響。

第一，要減少光污染影響，使用備有截光功能的戶外燈光裝置實在非常重要 13。在各式裝置當中，以全截光型燈具為例，可大幅度阻截光線向夜空散射。在遙控天文台採用這類照明裝備雖能有效減少光污染，但卻未能從夜空光度數據反映出來，原因在於這類照明設備從遙控天文台開放以來已經一直使用。另 Aubé, M. (2015) 指出該等燈具能將光污染程度降低五倍。

第二，如將照明重心放在地面（如行人路），而非向上空散射，照明裝置就能採用較低耗電量的燈泡，亦能達至相同的照明效果，減少能源消耗。據港大戶外燈光資料庫（香港大學，2018）顯示，雖然全截光型燈具相比其他燈具能更有效防止光污染及節省能源，但並未於本港廣泛使用，這顯示採用這類更優質燈具，仍未受重視，而燈光設計師、建築師或場地經理等使用者亦對減少光污染缺乏概念。縱然如此，我們相信，只要積極向市民宣傳，推行星空保育及環保措施也不算遲。

第三，需要照明時才開燈，是防止光污染的最基本原則。關掉戶外沒有需要的強光照明，定能大大減少光污染。圖 12 展示遙控天文台的晚間狀況及其光污染改善效果，每晚按時關掉網球場的泛光燈，能大幅度削弱夜空光度。如能在較早時段或在網球場空置時關掉泛光燈，光污染的改善效果更佳。一般情況下，這項措施能將光污染減少十倍 (Aubé, M., 2015)，讓市民有機會看見更多星星，甚至能觀賞到銀河。

星空保育並不代表完全撤除戶外照明，也不會犧牲電力照明的好處，上述建議並不會對其他人士帶來不便，也不會令生活質素下降。眾所周知，大部分電力來源皆需要消耗化石燃料，透過節省能源進行星空保育，亦能同時減少溫室氣體排放，最終有助緩和全球暖化問題。

## Recommendations

Results from this study revealed that light pollution was definitely an issue at iObservatory and Astropark. The level of light pollution at a particular location depends primarily on the practice of the outdoor lighting nearby. In particular, the present study leads to several practical recommendations, in which alleviating the impact of light pollution on the night sky is a relatively simple but effective manner.

First, design of shielding outdoor lighting fixtures plays a key role in light pollution reduction 13. Among various designs, the fully-shielded lamps largely prevented emissions from propagating to the sky directly. The reduction in light pollution by the application of these lamps at iObservatory was not reflected in the NSB data because they have been installed since the opening of the observatory. Aubé, M. (2015) modeled that light pollution can be reduced by five times in this way.

Second, by focusing on the lights needed to illuminate the ground (e.g. pavement) rather than the lights spilling upwards, energy consumption is also reduced by using low wattage light bulbs to achieve the same lighting level. According to the Outdoor Lighting Directory (The University of Hong Kong, 2018) maintained by HKU, full cutoff fixtures are unpopular locally, despite the fact that this design outweighs others regarding light pollution prevention and energy efficiency. Apparently, such kind of better fixtures is probably not valued unless lighting designers, architects or venue managers have the concept of light pollution reduction in their minds beforehand. It is not too late to implement dark-sky and eco-friendly measures, provided that more efforts are done on promotion.

Third, using light only when it is necessary is the rule of thumb of light pollution prevention. For example, turning off unnecessary strong external lighting is particularly helpful. The effectiveness is illustrated in iObservatory nightly profile in Figure 12 that the daily scheduled switch-off of tennis court floodlights led to a significant reduction in NSB. It is even better if the floodlights can be turned off earlier or when the court is vacant. This measure reduces light pollution as large as 10 times in general (Aubé, M., 2015). People are benefited from seeing more stars and having a higher chance of viewing the Milky Way after the sky has been dimmed down.

Dark sky conservation by no means gives up all external lighting or sacrifices the benefits of electric light. The above recommendations neither bring inconvenience to non-stargazers nor degrade the quality of life. It is commonly known that a large portion of electricity is generated by burning fossil fuel, conserving the dark sky by reducing energy consumption also means diminishing greenhouse gases emission, and ultimately, relieving the global climate change.

本文主要闡述光污染對天文觀測帶來的影響，而星空保育同時也可帶來其他方面的效益，例如防止人造光侵擾大自然環境，或有助保育夜行動物。有一個本地例子，一種名為米埔屈翅螢（學名為 *Pteroptyx maipo*），是香港獨特的螢火蟲品種。由於螢火蟲依靠光學訊號來找尋伴侶，當牠們棲息地的光強度稍為增加，閃光次數便會大幅度減少，長遠來說會影響螢火蟲的繁殖，數量會大幅度下跌 (Yiu, V., 2012)。我們保育各種生物也同樣重要，以防止生態系統受到威脅。

香港城市急速發展，對本地大自然環境構成相當威脅。目前沒有任何法例監管香港使用戶外照明設備，因此當務之急是向市民灌輸星空保育的知識。近年太空館積極投入星空保育活動，向公眾更深入及更廣泛地傳遞減少光污染的訊息，例如支援港大及各天文組織籌劃公開講座、路演宣傳、學生比賽及展覽等相關活動。

遙控天文台及天文公園為市民提供康樂及文娛活動場地，讓大眾能觀賞星空，從而反思人類在浩瀚宇宙所扮演的角色。聯合國教科文組織指出，天空是全人類共同擁有的遺產 (Fayos-Solá, E. et. al., 2017)，因此維繫無光污染環境以保存純天然星空，完全合乎博物館的核心功能——「為了研究、教育及消閒的目的，保存……人類的文化遺產……。」 (International Council of Museums, 2007) 這個由太空館與港大合作進行的科研項目是為推動星空保育踏出的一小步。

Although this article focuses on the impacts of light pollution on astronomical observations, some other aspects can be benefited from dark sky conservation at the same time. The intrusion of artificial light into the natural environment may give rise to adverse impacts on nocturnal animals, e.g. Mai Po Bent-winged firefly (*Pteroptyx maipo*, a firefly species unique to Hong Kong) responds to artificial light by reducing its flashing frequency significantly. Since fireflies rely on optical signals for finding potential mates, a slight increase in light intensity in their habitat could be fatal to their population in the long run (Yiu, V., 2012). To avoid threatening the ecosystem, it is equally important to conserve wildlife.

Rapid urban developments are posing a significant threat to the natural environment in the territory. Without any law in regulating the use of external lighting in Hong Kong nowadays, educating the public on dark sky conservation is urgently needful. In recent years, SpM has been actively involved in dark sky education. In order to spread the message of light pollution reduction further and wider, the Museum supported HKU and astronomical bodies in organising various activities, for example, public seminars, road shows, student competitions and exhibitions, among others.

iObservatory and Astropark are built to serve as leisure and cultural places for people to adore the starry night so as to introspect the position of mankind in the universe. Since the sky has been considered our common and universal heritage as described by The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Fayos-Solá, E. et. al., 2017), the protection of the light-pollution-free environment for preserving the natural night sky fits naturally into one of the museum's core functions, namely, "conserves...heritage of humanity...for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment" (International Council of Museums, 2007). We hope that this collaborative scientific study jointly conducted by SpM and HKU would act as a model to conserve our night sky environment in society.

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## 達德公所修復計劃的挑戰

# The Challenges in the Restoration Project for Tat Tak Communal Hall

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位於元朗屏山的達德公所，由屏山鄧族於 1857 年興建，作為達德約成員的集會場地。自 1980 年代後期，這座建築物長年受水浸侵蝕及遭背後斜坡山泥傾瀉毀壞，破損情況嚴重。古物古蹟辦事處（以下簡稱「古蹟辦」）在修復達德公所期間，既面對前所未有的挑戰，亦慶幸發現一些湮沒多年的文物如牌匾等等。本文概述古蹟辦制定達德公所保育方案的過程，以及修復工程期間所克服的種種挑戰，冀以之作為採取謹慎方法保育文物建築的參考案例。

Tat Tak Communal Hall in Ping Shan, Yuen Long was established by the Tang clan of Ping Shan in 1857 to serve as an assembly place for the Tat Tak Alliance. Since the late 1980s, the building had suffered from flooding perennially, and was damaged by landslides at the rear slope. The restoration of Tat Tak Communal Hall brought the Antiquities and Monuments Office (AMO) unprecedented challenges due to its adverse conditions, and yet delightful discoveries such as some long vanished plaques. This essay summarised how the conservation approach was formulated and challenges were resolved. The restoration of Tat Tak Communal Hall could serve as an example showing how a cautious approach to conservation was applied.

## 簡介

於 1857 年落成的達德公所，既是鄉約的議事及祭祀場地，亦是元朗屏山市集的管理處。約 1940 年代到 1970 年代，達德公所用作兒童院及學校，對該區的教育和福利服務方面極為重要。

自 1980 年代起，新界西北部迅速發展，西鐵天水圍站毗鄰達德公所。因公所前方的大型填土工程令其比周邊土地低約一米，使建築物長年受水浸侵蝕。公所的背部亦常遭山泥傾瀉損毀，導致修復工程異常困難。

2013 年，達德公所列為法定古蹟。古蹟辦在同年著手展開主要的修復項目，亦徵得渠務署和土木工程拓展署協助，在建築物周邊施行了一系列的防護工程，包括改善排水系統、平整地台及鞏固斜坡。2018 年所有改善項目完成後，達德公所的長年水浸問題得以妥善解決，其主體建築物亦完成修復。

## Introduction

Tat Tak Communal Hall, built in 1857, was both an assembly-cum-worshipping place for a joint village alliance, and the management office of a market place in Ping Shan, Yuen Long. From around the 1940s to 1970s, the communal hall was used as a children's home and school, and played an important role in providing educational and social welfare services for the local community.

In the midst of rapid development of Northwest New Territories since the 1980s, Tat Tak Communal Hall became very close to the Tin Shui Wai Station of the MTR West Rail. Due to the extensive landfilling immediately in front of the premises, the floor level of the building was about one metre below that of the surrounding land. It therefore suffered from flooding perennially. The rear of the building had been damaged by landslides, which made restoration of the communal hall immensely difficult.

In 2013, Tat Tak Communal Hall was declared a monument. The AMO started the major restoration works in the same year. In parallel, a series of remedial measures were carried out in the monument's periphery. They comprised drainage improvement, site formation and slope stabilisation. These works were conducted with assistance from the Drainage Services Department (DSD) and the Civil Engineering and Development Department (CEDD). Upon the completion of these improvement works, the problem of perennial flooding was solved and the restoration of the communal hall's main building was substantially completed in 2018.



1 屏山市的航空照片，攝於 1963 年。中心位置為昔日的屏山市所在地，右上方為達德公所，而左下方則為聚星樓。

An aerial photograph of Ping Shan Market taken in 1963. At the centre was the area previously known as Ping Shan Market, with Tat Tak Communal Hall (upper right) and Tsui Sing Lau Pagoda (bottom left).

© 照片由地政總署測繪處提供，登錄編號：8518，1963  
Courtesy of The Survey and Mapping Office, The Lands Department, acc. no. 8518, 1963

## 建築物的文化意義

達德公所始建於咸豐丁巳年（1857年），是本港現存唯一專為村落聯盟（鄉約）聚會、祭祀，以及作為市集管理處而建的公所，是屏山的社會經濟發展和地區防禦歷史之重要見證。

達德公所的名稱源自達德約。達德約是村落聯盟，約於十八世紀前後成立，致力保護約中各鄉村的經濟及社會資源。鄧瑞泰（1777-1831）為屏山鄧族二十世祖，在達德約成立時擔任領袖。他的三兒子鄧勳猷（1812-1874）繼承為達德約的領袖，上任後倡議興建達德公所。在落成初期，公所為達德約成員聚會及祭祀的場地，以及作為屏山市的管理處。公所後進明間祀奉掌管知識和學業的文昌帝君，以及代表誠信和忠義的關帝聖君，反映達德公所非常重視的價值。

達德公所位於其轄下的屏山市北面<sup>①</sup>，由於地理位置佳，成為屏山一帶村落商人的聚會場地。公所前臨水道龍尾坑，過去曾為該區帶來毗鄰村落以至內地的商人和貨品。

新界鄉民於1899年以武裝行動抵抗英國接管時，達德公所據說是議事場所之一。公所後進明間鑲有一塊鑄於1938年的大理石碑，相傳與抗英行動有關<sup>②</sup>。



② 達德公所後進明間，鑲有鑄刻犧牲烈士名字的大理石碑，祭台兩邊奉祀文昌帝君及關帝聖君的神主。攝於2018年。

The marble plaque with martyrs' names is in the central bay of the rear hall, and the tablets for the gods Man Cheong and Kwan Tai are on the sides of the altar. The photograph was taken in 2018.

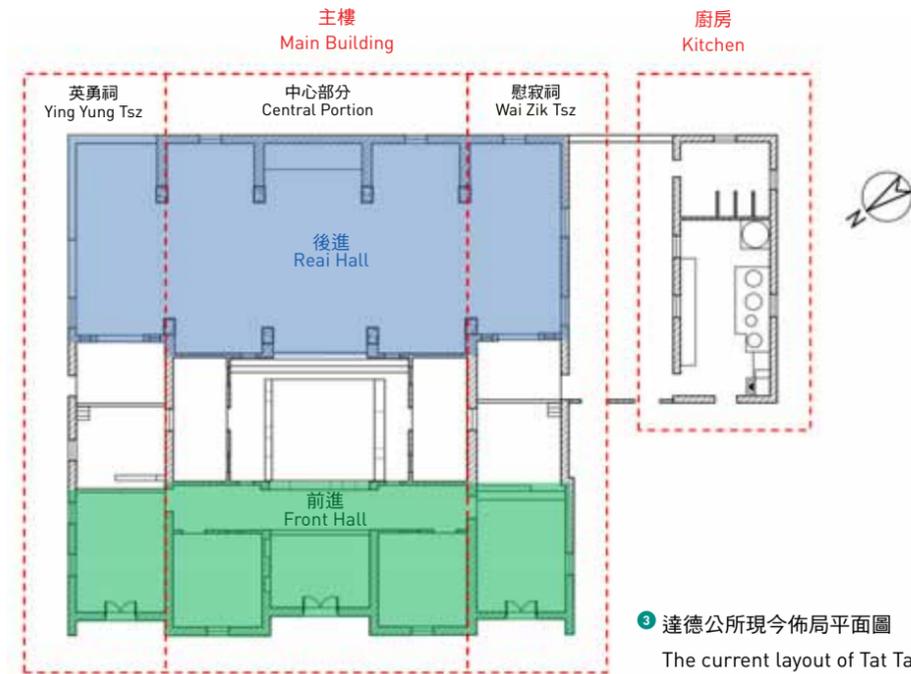
## Cultural Significance

Tat Tak Communal Hall, which was completed in the *Dingsi* year of the *Xianfeng* reign (1857), was the only surviving purpose-built communal hall in Hong Kong that served as both an assembly-cum-worshipping place for a joint village alliance and as the management office of a market place. As such, the communal hall was an important historic testimony to the socio-economic development and local defence of Ping Shan.

The name of the communal hall was derived from the Tat Tak Alliance, a joint village alliance established in around the 18th century to protect the economic and social resources of the member villages. Tang Shui-tai (1777-1831), the 20th generation ancestor of the Ping Shan Tang clan, led the Tat Tak Alliance at the time of its establishment. His third son, Tang Fan-yau (1812-1874) inherited the role of leader of the alliance and initiated the establishment of Tat Tak Communal Hall. From the beginning, it served as the assembly-cum-worshipping place for members of the Tat Tak Alliance and as the management office of Ping Shan Shi (Ping Shan Market). The central bay of the rear hall of the communal hall enshrined the gods Man Cheong (who governed knowledge and studies) and Kwan Tai (who governed integrity and loyalty), which together represented the values held in high regard by the Tat Tak Alliance.

Tat Tak Communal Hall was at the north of the Ping Shan Market which it managed<sup>①</sup>. The favourable geographical location of the communal hall also made it a gathering place for merchants who came from the villages in Ping Shan. Lung Mei Hang, the waterway in front of the communal hall, once brought in goods and merchants from the neighbouring villages and faraway places in Mainland China.

Tat Tak Communal Hall is believed to be one of the initial meeting places in which the armed resistance against the British takeover of the New Territories in 1899 was organised. A marble plaque dated 1938 in the central bay of the rear hall is believed to be related to the anti-British movement<sup>②</sup>.



③ 達德公所現今佈局平面圖  
The current layout of Tat Tak Communal Hall

二次世界大戰期間，香港紅卍字會於1940年及1941年借用達德公所設立屏山慈幼院，為該會從深圳救濟遷港的難童提供教育和住宿。二次世界大戰後，公所曾暫作屏山公立達德學校超額學生的校舍。1951年至1958年間，基督教兒童福利會於公所開設孤兒院——元朗兒童教養院。該院院長是1940年代廣東省僑務辦公室董事長張天爵。1958年孤兒院停辦後，張氏在達德公所開辦私立小學，一直至1970年代，其後荒置。

## 建築特色

因達德公所的用途幾經改變，建築物的形制也按需要數度修改。在落成時期，公所用作祭祀、聚會及營運市集之處；另一方面，也是抵禦海盜的村落聯盟議事場所。達德公所作為聚會議事的場地，設計簡約實用。公所原為一座兩進三開間式建築物，後於左右兩邊各加建了「慰寂祠」和「英勇祠」<sup>③</sup>。公所的中心部分建於1857年，而「慰寂祠」和「英勇祠」則建於同治第五年（1866年），其後建築物的南面加建了一座獨立的廚房。

達德公所於1938年至1939年期間曾作大規模修葺，資金由與達德約有關的鄉村、祖堂和個人捐獻，捐款人的名字鑄刻在公所前進的紀念碑。我們相信經該次修繕後，公所中心部分的後進和兩側祠堂的後進打通成較大空間，由最初的三座建築物融合為一座兩進式建築。

During the Second World War, the Hong Kong Red Swastika Society used Tat Tak Communal Hall from 1940 to 1941 as a sanctuary in Ping Shan to provide education and accommodation for child refugees who were rescued from Shenzhen and resettled by the organisation. After the Second World War, the communal hall was temporarily used for accommodating surplus students from the Tat Tak Public School in Ping Shan. From 1951 to 1958, the communal hall housed the “Uen Long Children’s Home”, which was an orphanage run by the Christian Children’s Fund. Cheung Tin-zoek, the Director of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of Guangdong Province in the 1940s, was in charge of the orphanage at that time. After the closure of the orphanage in 1958, a private primary school was set up by Cheung Tin-zoek. The communal hall was then used as the campus until the 1970s. The school was abandoned afterwards.

## Architectural Features

Tat Tak Communal Hall served various functions throughout its history. The form of the building has been altered several times to meet its needs. At the time it was established, the building served as a gathering point, and a venue for religious ceremonies or business affairs of local markets. It also served as a meeting hall for the inter-village military alliance against pirates. As a venue for meeting, the design of the communal hall was simple yet functional. The communal hall was composed of a two-hall and three-bay main building in the middle, flanked by two subsidiary buildings, Wai Zik Tsz and Ying Yung Tsz, which respectively mean “Hall of Lonesome Consolation” and “Hall of Bravery”<sup>③</sup>. While the central portion was built in 1857, Wai Zik Tsz and Ying Yung Tsz were added in the fifth year of the *Tongzhi* reign (1866). The southern part of the complex was later added as a separate building covering the kitchen.



4 達德公所今貌，攝於 2018 年。  
Tat Tak Communal Hall, in 2018.

蘇格蘭國立圖書館的駱克特藏中有一幅達德公所的圖畫，應繪於駱克擔任香港政府輔政司暨華民政務司期間（1895 年至 1902 年），是目前所知最早的達德公所圖像記錄。<sup>1</sup> 根據圖畫中「慰寂祠」和「英勇祠」的門聯推測，兩祠分別為紀念孤苦無依者和英勇捐軀者而建。現今那些對聯已不復存在，目前掛於公所正面的木對聯是參考該圖於 2018 年重新雕製 4。

公所現時仍然保留不少早期的建築特色，例如青磚和木造結構、花崗石門框和牌匾、正脊的灰塑和琉璃飾件、琉璃漏窗、壁畫及木雕。

公所主要以青磚建造，配以人字屋頂，牆基以花崗石建造。正門上方飾以書法及以孔雀、喜鵲等吉祥物為題的壁畫，簷板則雕琢精緻的花鳥吉祥紋飾。公所前脊綴以龍鳳灰塑，後脊豎立琉璃寶珠。前進橫披上的彩門刻有吉祥花卉和民間故事，雕工精湛。

公所內的西方建築元素，如在青磚牆上架設的鋼筋混凝土結構，相信是二十世紀修葺時加建的。

A major renovation of the communal hall was carried out from 1938 to 1939 with funding donated by the villages, *Tso Tong* and persons related to the Tat Tak Alliance, which was recorded on a memorial stele in the front hall inscribed with the names of the patrons sponsoring the renovation. It is believed that the rear parts of the central portion and the subsidiary buildings were then connected to form a large space. The three buildings were now merged as a complex which consists of two halls, namely, the front hall and rear hall.

In the Stewart Lockhart Collection of the National Library of Scotland is a drawing depicting Tat Tak Communal Hall, which was likely drawn during Lockhart's tenure in Hong Kong as Colonial Secretary and Registrar General of the Hong Kong Government from 1895 to 1902, and is now the earliest known pictorial record of the building.<sup>1</sup> According to the depiction of the couplets at the entrances of Wai Zik Tsz and Ying Yung Tsz in the drawing, the former was probably dedicated to the deceased without relatives, while the latter was for the martyrs who fought and sacrificed for the alliance. The original couplets no longer exist. Now, the wooden couplets on the facade of the communal hall were carved in 2018 with reference to the drawing 4.

The communal hall still retained many early architectural features, such as the grey-brick and timber structure, granite door frames and plaques, plaster mouldings and glazed ceramic ornaments on the main ridges, ceramic window grilles, murals and woodcarvings.

The communal hall was mainly constructed of grey bricks with pitched roofs and granite blocks as the lower course. Murals with auspicious motifs such as peacock and magpie, as well as calligraphy, were found above the entrances of the building. Under the eaves were finely carved fascia boards depicting auspicious symbols including flowers and birds. The front roof main ridge was decorated with plaster

<sup>1</sup> 香港歷史博物館：《甲午戰後：租借新界及威海衛》（香港：康樂及文化事務署，2014），頁 104。  
Hong Kong Museum of History, *The Aftermath of the First Sino-Japanese War: The Lease of the New Territories and Weihaiwei* (Hong Kong: The Leisure and Cultural Services Department, 2014), 104.



5 公所修復前的外觀及四周原本的地面高度，攝於 1986 年。  
The exterior of Tat Tak Communal Hall before restoration with the original ground level, in 1986.

## 現實環境的挑戰

在 1980 年代後期，天水圍發展成新市鎮，農地荒廢 5。周邊的填土工程，令達德公所較四周地面水平低逾一米 6。屏山河被填，公所周邊每有嚴重水浸，室內便會積水 7。建築物下半部的結構在 1990 年代至 2000 年代期間頻遭水淹。

達德公所遭水浸侵蝕逾 20 年，建築物破舊不堪。因長年積水，磚牆和屋頂都已嚴重毀壞；而公所後方斜坡的山泥傾瀉，令建築物坍塌加劇。整座樓宇的結構包括牆壁、立柱、屋頂呈現不穩固狀態。由於公所內外結構因長年積水而嚴重損毀，令我們在修復期間遇到前所未有的挑戰。

mouldings of a dragon and a phoenix, while the rear roof main ridge was adorned with a ceramic celestial pearl. A finely-crafted colourful panel decorated with elaborate flowery carvings and Chinese folklore was placed atop the lattice screen in the front hall.

Western architectural elements in the communal hall, such as reinforced concrete structures on top of the grey-brick walls, are believed to have been added during the renovations carried out in the 20th century.

## The Physical Challenge

In the late 1980s, Tin Shui Wai was developed into a new town and the agriculture was abandoned 5. As a result of landfilling in the surrounding areas, Tat Tak Communal Hall sank more than one metre below the ground level of the periphery 6. As the Ping Shan River was also filled in, severe flooding at the building site made it frequently waterlogged 7. The lower half of the structure remained underwater throughout the 1990s and 2000s.



6 公所修復前的外觀，前方土地已被填高，攝於 2011 年。  
The exterior before restoration with the filled land on the foreground, in 2011.



7 修復前，公所內部長年積水，攝於 2008 年。  
The interior suffering from perennial flooding before restoration, in 2008.



8 英勇祠後方坍塌的屋頂與牆壁，攝於 2010 年。  
The collapsed roofs and walls at the rear of Ying Yung Tsz, in 2010.

### 外部損毀狀況

至 2000 年代後期，因地基水平較周邊土地低而引致的水浸問題，令達德公所備受困擾逾 20 載。緊接建築物後方的斜坡（斜坡編號：6NW-B/C139），亦令公所處於險峻的境地。該斜坡本身為切削斜坡，長 60 米、高 7 米（最高部分），向西北方傾斜，平均斜度為 45 度，鄰近斜坡的土地並無設置帶水管道。據 1949 年至 2007 年期間拍攝的航空照片，公所後方的斜坡自 1963 年以來並沒有任何改動。<sup>2</sup>

該斜坡草木茂盛，下部山泥常有傾瀉，泥土下滑破壞公所後牆和側牆，泥土殘礫堆積後牆約一米深，部分坍塌的牆壁碎片連同泥土殘礫被沖進公所內<sup>8</sup>。這種狀況持續經年，導致建築物的結構受損，亦對身處公所內的人構成危險。因此，我們必須修正公所的低下地勢及受損斜坡，才能進行修復工程。

為斜坡進行穩定性評估及設計鞏固工程時，須要考慮應付降雨狀況，假定十年一遇的雨水回歸期間水位上升至斜坡的三分之一高度。根據地下水質狀況、土壤強度等評估的

Having been underwater for more than two decades, the building encountered even more adverse conditions. Serious deterioration of brick walls and roofs was caused by prolonged flooding. The landslides at the slope behind the communal hall caused further collapse. The building structures including walls, columns and roofs were unstable. Such adverse external and internal conditions made the restoration of Tat Tak Communal Hall the most challenging project we have ever encountered.

### Adverse External Conditions

By the late 2000s, Tat Tak Communal Hall had already suffered from perennial flooding for two decades, due to the lower topography compared with its adjacent land. In addition, the slope feature (Slope No. 6NW-B/C139) located immediately at the rear of the building also posed danger to it. The slope feature was a 60 metre-long and 7 metre-high (maximum height) cut slope with the average slope gradient of 45 degrees dipping northwesterly. No water-carrying services could be found in the vicinity of the slope. The aerial photographs from 1949 to 2007 suggested that no modification has been observed on the slope since 1963.<sup>2</sup>

The slope was then covered by dense vegetation. Previous landslides had taken place at the lower portion of the slope. The soil which had slid down from the slope damaged the rear walls and flank walls of the communal hall. The landslide debris was about one-metre thick at the rear wall of the building and part of the soil debris was washed into the building together with fragments of the collapsed walls<sup>8</sup>. Such a surrounding condition was constantly destroying the fabric of the building and put any person there at risk. The lower topography and failing slope must be rectified before restoring the communal hall.

In order to cater for heavy rainfall, the ten-year return period rainfall was assumed with a water table at one-third of the height of the slope for the stability assessment and design of the slope upgrading works. Based on the results of stability assessments (e.g. groundwater conditions and soil strength), the factor of safety of the existing slope was proven to be inadequate. Upgrading works to meet the current geotechnical standards, such as removal of colluvium and fill on the slope, construction of a retaining wall along the slope toe, levelling of the adjacent land and provision of surface and sub-surface drainage, were therefore required.<sup>3</sup> These were far beyond the scope of historic building restoration, but geotechnical works in fact.

結果，當時公所後方斜坡的安全系數值並不達標。為使斜坡達到現今的土力工程標準，必須清除斜坡上的崩積物及填土、在坡腳建造護土牆、保持建築物與周邊地面水平一致，以及提供地面及地下排污設施等。<sup>3</sup> 這些土力工程已遠遠超越修復歷史建築的範疇。

### 內部損毀狀況

自 1980 年代後期，達德公所逾半被水淹沒。雨季期間，建築物的內部仿如沼澤，惡劣環境幾乎令人無法進入。然而為準備修復工程，古蹟辦必須評估及記錄建築物的最新狀況。為此公所在 2010 年 3 月設置了多個潛水泵將積水抽走，期間發現水蛇蹤跡。由於當時無法確定被水淹沒的建築物狀況，排水過程必須謹慎處理。排水共有十次，每次排水前後均有拍攝相片，核實及記錄建築物有否損毀。排水工程為期十個月，於 2011 年 1 月完成<sup>9</sup>。由於當時公所的地勢仍未修正，旱季過後室內必然回復積水，進出通道只屬暫時。有見及此，我們知道必須把握時間徹底調查公所狀況，以制定合適的修復方案。

### Adverse Internal Conditions

Tat Tak Communal Hall had been half-submerged in water since the late 1980s. In wet seasons, the internal spaces of the building were sodden like a swamp. Hygienic consideration rendered access almost impossible in wet seasons. To prepare for the restoration works, we however needed to assess and document the building's latest condition. Discharge of water from the building was the first step to start with, and it commenced in March 2010. The discharge was operated by several submarine pumps, during which water snakes were found. As the building condition underwater was uncertain, the discharge process had to be carried out cautiously. The pumping was separated into ten visits, with photographic records taken between each visit to ascertain and document if there had been damages to the building. The whole water discharge process lasted for ten months and was completed in January 2011<sup>9</sup>. Since the surrounding landscape had not yet been rectified, access to the building was on a temporary basis. Given that the internal space would be filled with water again after the dry season, we had to complete a thorough condition survey of the communal hall in the shortest possible time, so as to formulate the restoration plan ahead.



9 達德公所後進排水後的狀況，攝於 2010 年。  
The rear hall after dewatering, in 2010.

<sup>2</sup> BMMK Ratcliffe Hoare & Co. Ltd. : 《Final Report for Provision of Consultancy Services for the Detailed Feasibility Study of In-situ Preservation of Tat Tak Communal Hall at Ping Shan, Yuen Long》（香港：古物古蹟辦事處，2010），頁 5-6。

BMMK Ratcliffe Hoare & Co. Ltd., *Final Report for Provision of Consultancy Services for the Detailed Feasibility Study of In-situ Preservation of Tat Tak Communal Hall at Ping Shan, Yuen Long* (Hong Kong: Antiquities and Monuments Office, 2010), 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> 同上註，頁 9-11。

Ibid., 9-11.

我們徹底調查了公所的狀況，確認建築物各處呈現破敗狀態，下半部分陷入周邊土地。公所內部由於長年積水，大部分木結構嚴重損壞，支撐屋頂的木檁條受到蛀蝕，部分更呈現坍塌跡象<sup>10</sup>。此外，室內的地台被鬆厚散泥及淤泥覆蓋，天井地台尤甚，令工程人員難以深入調查建築物低處的狀況。

公所後方斜坡的山泥傾瀉將泥土推進室內，破壞後方部分磚牆<sup>11</sup>，公所內部各處也見雜草叢生。建築物內外的裝飾、壁畫及灰塑皆損壞或褪色，而磚牆上大部分批盪亦已剝落。

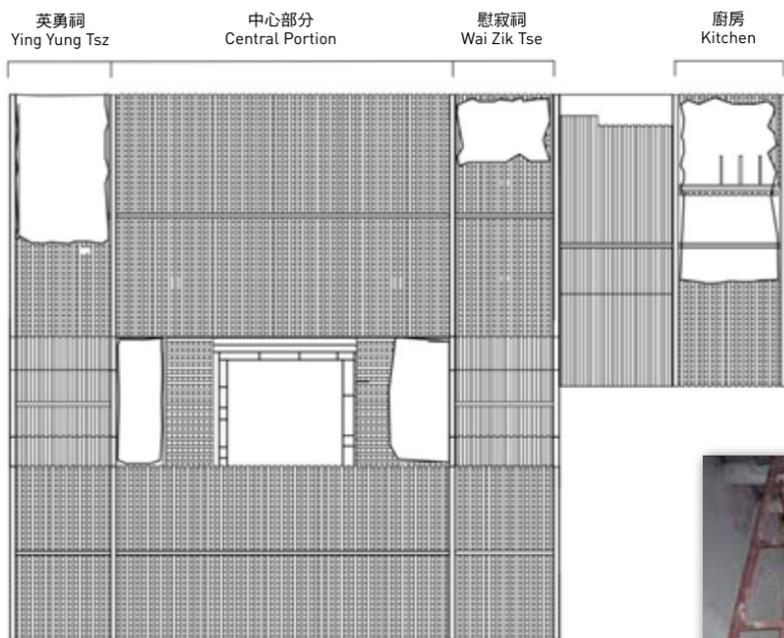
即使公所的整體狀況非常惡劣，修復工程卻不能立刻展開，因為在此之前必須先鞏固鄰近斜坡、重新調整地勢及增設排水系統。

We thoroughly surveyed the building and found, not to our surprise, that it was in a state of dilapidation. The lower half of the building was embedded below the adjacent ground. The interior of the building had suffered from serious flooding. Most of the timber structures had seriously deteriorated. The timber purlins supporting the roofs were infested and partly collapsed<sup>10</sup>.

The floors, especially the courtyards, were covered by a thick layer of loose mud and silt which deterred us from further investigating the bottom part.

The landslides at the rear slope pushed some earth into the building and destroyed part of the rear brick walls<sup>11</sup>. Weeds were found nearly everywhere. The decorative features, murals and mouldings in the interior and exterior of the building were either damaged or faded out. Plaster on the brickwork surface was mostly peeled off.

The building was in a very poor overall condition. However, restoration of the building could not be started immediately since it was obvious that stabilisation of the nearby slope, re-landscaping of the surrounding land and introduction of the drainage system had to be implemented beforehand.



<sup>10</sup> 屋頂狀況調查平面圖，2011年製。  
The roof condition survey, in 2011.



<sup>11</sup> 慰寂祠後進屋頂逾半已經塌下，攝於2010年。  
Half of the rear roof collapsed in Wai Zik Tsz, in 2010.

## 保育理念的挑戰

文物保育的國際標準有助為修復過程的決定作出判斷，然而既定的標準未必能夠套用於個別修復項目的實際情況，保育過程必須小心翼翼。

### 重建與原址保留

在2000年代初期，古蹟辦針對達德公所獨特和複雜的問題進行了各項保育研究，為修復做好準備。2004年，我們進行了一項保育公所的可行性研究，報告提出以下三項建議：

- (一) 將建築物整體抬高，及提高地基水平。
- (二) 保留建築物在原有位置，增設排水及防洪措施。
- (三) 將建築物拆卸並於升高了的地台重建。

由於公所結構受損情況相當嚴重，整座建築物難以承受地面提升的壓力，故此第一選項並不適用；至於第二項建議，如保留建築物在原來低窪位置，並不能徹底避免水浸；餘下的第三項似乎是當時唯一可行的解決方案，因為公所建築物主要由磚塊、木材及混凝土組合而成，理論上經拆卸後是可以重建的。<sup>4</sup>

世界各地有遷移及重建文物建築的案例，例如位於埃及，為興建亞斯旺水壩而被遷移的阿布辛貝神殿。在極端惡劣的情況下，如果達德公所的地勢問題未能解決，將原有的建築物拆卸、遷移及重建似乎是唯一可行的方法，雖然這並不是將古蹟流傳後世的最佳保育方案。

我們針對達德公所的遷移及重建建議，參考了當時的國際保育公約，例如：國際古蹟遺址理事會澳洲分會的《1999年保護具文化意義地方的憲章（1999年巴拉憲章）》（以下簡稱「《巴拉憲章》」）及《2002年中國文物古蹟保護準則》（以下簡稱「《中國準則》」）。

## The Ideological Challenge

While international standards for cultural heritage conservation were available as useful tools in making judgments in the restoration process, their applicability to individual projects always requires careful consideration as sometimes the physical condition and the principles might not agree with each other.

### Reconstruction vs In-situ Preservation

In the early 2000s, we had undertaken various heritage conservation studies to prepare for the restoration works of Tat Tak Communal Hall whose inherent problems were unique and complicated. We had conducted a feasibility study in 2004 on the preservation of the building with the following three options proposed:

- (i) Jack up the existing building for raising the formation level;
- (ii) Leave the building in-situ with improved drainage and flooding protection measures; and
- (iii) Dismantle and reconstruct the building on a raised foundation.

Given that the condition of the building was gravely adverse, option (i) was considered infeasible as the building structure might not withstand such ground-raising action. For option (ii), the risk of flooding could not be completely eliminated if the building was left in-situ. Option (iii) seemed to be the only practicable proposal as the structure of the building, which was mainly composed of brick, timber and concrete, was considered restorable after dismantling.<sup>4</sup>

There had been international examples of relocation and reconstruction of heritage sites, such as the Abu Simbel Temples in Egypt which were relocated prior to the completion of the Aswan Dam. In extreme circumstances, if the topographical problems around Tat Tak Communal Hall could not be resolved, dismantling, relocation and reconstruction could be the last resort, though not a preferred one, to save the building for posterity.

With regard to the proposal of relocation and reconstruction, we consulted international conservation charters then available, such as *The Burra Charter: The Australia's ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1999 (The Burra Charter 1999)* (The Burra Charter) and the *Principles for the Conservation of Heritages Sites in China 2002 (The China Principles)*.

<sup>4</sup> Vigers Hong Kong Ltd., BMMK Ratcliffe Hoare & Co. Ltd.: 《Feasibility Study Report For Preservation of Tat Tak Communal Hall, Ping Shan, Yuen Long, New Territories》(香港: 古物古蹟辦事處, 2004), 頁6。

Vigers Hong Kong Ltd. and BMMK Ratcliffe Hoare & Co. Ltd., *Feasibility Study Report For Preservation of Tat Tak Communal Hall, Ping Shan, Yuen Long, New Territories* (Hong Kong: Antiquities and Monuments Office, 2004), 6.

有關建築物的遷移方面，《巴拉憲章》建議：

「一個地方的實體位置具有其文化含意，無論是該地的建築物、創作或其他與該地方相關的元素，應保留其原有的歷史性位置。一般情況下，遷移建築物是不予以允許，除非遷移是拯救的唯一可行方法。」<sup>5</sup>

至於重建方面，《中國準則》有以下建議：

「原址重建是保護工程中極特殊的個別措施。核准在原址重建時，首次應保護現存遺址不受損傷。重建應有直接的證據，不允許違背原形式和原格局的主觀設計。」<sup>6</sup>

針對解決積水及山泥傾瀉問題，遷移及重建原有建築物看似是理想的解決方案，但我們並不希望拆卸整座建築物，因為此舉會令大量歷史資料遺失，當中最容易遺失的是「該地段的歷史資料，特別是有關坐落於該地段的建築物如何隨著歷史而變遷，或建築物本身帶來的歷史性影響。」<sup>7</sup> 這種方法會削弱達德公所的文化意義，因為「在任何地方，如現今仍保留與原址相關的歷史證明或事件，或大部分在原址的建設仍然完好無缺，相比在該地方進行改動或移除歷史證明，會較具意義。」<sup>8</sup>

我們再三檢討此一拆卸、遷移及重建的策略，務求制定可行的解決方案。為了確保重建並非根據臆測，我們因應《中國準則》的建議，於2006年準備了一套專為拆卸及重建達德公所而設的保育指引。該準則建議：

「必須取得並保留全部原狀資料，詳細記錄遷建、重建的全過程。」<sup>9</sup>

On relocation, The Burra Charter considered that:

*"The physical location of a place is part of its cultural significance. A building, work or other component of a place should remain in its historical location. Relocation is generally unacceptable unless this is the sole practical means of ensuring its survival."*<sup>5</sup>

On reconstruction, The China Principles considered that:

*"Reconstruction in-situ is an exceptional measure undertaken only in special circumstances. When approval has been given to undertake reconstruction in-situ, priority should be given to conserving the remaining ruins without damaging them in the process. Reconstruction must be based on direct evidence. Conjectural reconstruction is not permitted."*<sup>6</sup>

Although relocation and reconstruction might be an enticing solution to the problems of waterlogging and landsliding, we were reluctant to have the building dismantled as too much historical information would be lost. Most obviously, the information accumulated from *"the historical content of the place with particular reference to the ways in which its fabric has been influenced by historical forces or has itself influenced the course of history"*<sup>7</sup> would be lost. The approach would undermine the cultural significance of Tat Tak Communal Hall because *"for any given place the significance will be greater where evidence of the association or event survives in situ, or where the settings are substantially intact, than where it has been changed or evidence does not survive."*<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, this dismantling, relocation and reconstruction strategy was further consolidated for possible implementation. To ensure there would be no conjectural reconstruction, we prepared a set of conservation guidelines for the dismantling and reconstruction of Tat Tak Communal Hall in 2006, following The China Principles which recommended that:

*"All documentation on historic condition must be collected and retained, and detailed records must be made of the entire relocation or reconstruction process."*<sup>9</sup>

與此同時，古蹟辦在取得達德公所業主的同意後，立刻為可移動的文物進行保護工作。雕工精緻的簷板、門板、隔牆、紀念石碑及神主牌獲妥善儲存或按需要進行修復。如情況許可，大部分物品在修復工程完畢後會放回公所內。這些可移動的文物當中，以鑄刻了為達德公所犧牲的烈士名字的大理石碑最引起公眾及傳媒關注，蓋因現時不少人認為這些烈士與1899年的抗英行動有關。這塊石碑懸掛在公所後進明間牆壁上，該牆壁因後方斜坡發生山泥傾瀉而呈現不穩固狀態；而石碑本身也有裂紋，容易碎裂及下墜。當移走石碑後，有報道指公所晚上疑似有士兵幽靈練習步操。<sup>10</sup> 當地村民有見及此，請來道士設立一塊象徵式墓碑，上面裝置一隻大公雞，以之安撫<sup>12</sup>。筆者在撰寫本文之時，該墓碑及公雞像仍設於公所外。



At about the same time, we took initiative to salvage the movable artefacts as soon as we got the consent from the owner of the communal hall. Finely-crafted fascia boards, door leaves, partitions as well as memorial steles and deity tablets were transferred to storage or conservation treatment, if necessary. Most of these objects, if their condition allowed, would later be reinstated in the communal hall. Among these objects, the removal of the marble plaque which recorded the names of martyrs who died for the Tat Tak Alliance aroused public and media attention. Many people nowadays believe it was related to the anti-British movement in 1899. The plaque occupied the most prestigious space in the building. It was installed onto the wall in the central bay of the rear hall, where the wall had already been precarious owing to the landslides at the rear slope. The plaque itself was also cracked and prone to falling. After it was removed, some newspapers reported that the communal hall was haunted by troops of ghosts.<sup>10</sup> Some local villagers employed a ghostbuster to perform rituals to pacify the ghosts. The ghostbuster also set up a symbolic gravestone with a large chicken atop for the same purpose<sup>12</sup>. The gravestone and chicken could still be seen outside Tat Tak Communal Hall at the time of writing.

In the midst of that unexpected attention, we took the last effort to review the conservation strategy and the structural condition of the building, still hoping to preserve the building in-situ. In 2010, we conducted another technical feasibility study on in-situ preservation. The updated ground investigation and drainage assessment revealed that despite the communal hall being situated on the low-lying land, the risk of flooding could be reduced to an acceptable level because the newly developed public drainage facilities of the surrounding areas could drain excess water from this lower topography. It was concluded that if perennial flooding could be resolved, in-situ preservation that retained most heritage values would be the conservation strategy suitable for Tat Tak Communal Hall.

<sup>12</sup> 達德公所外的象徵式墓碑及公雞裝置，攝於2018年。

The symbolic gravestone and chicken outside Tat Tak Communal Hall, in 2018.

<sup>5</sup> 國際古蹟遺址理事會澳洲分會：《1999年保護具文化意義地方的憲章（1999年巴拉憲章）》，第9.1條，<https://australia.icomos.org/publications/burra-charter-practice-notes/burra-charter-archival-documents/>，檢索日期：2018-02-08。

ICOMOS Australia Inc., *The Burra Charter: The Australia's ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1999 (The Burra Charter 1999)*, Article 9.1, <https://australia.icomos.org/publications/burra-charter-practice-notes/burra-charter-archival-documents/>, accessed on 8 February 2018.

<sup>6</sup> 國際古蹟遺址理事會中國委員會：《中國文物古蹟保護準則》（洛杉磯：蓋蒂保護研究所，2002），第33條，[https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/pdf\\_publications/pdf/china\\_prin\\_heritage\\_sites.pdf](https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/pdf/china_prin_heritage_sites.pdf)，檢索日期：2018-02-08。

China ICOMOS, *Principles for the Conservation of Heritages Sites in China*, trans. Peter Barker (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2002), Article 33, [https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/pdf\\_publications/pdf/china\\_prin\\_heritage\\_sites.pdf](https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/pdf/china_prin_heritage_sites.pdf), accessed on 8 February 2018.

<sup>7</sup> 同註5，第3.2(h)條。

See Note 5, Article 3.2(h).

<sup>8</sup> 同上註，第2.3條。

Ibid., Article 2.3.

<sup>9</sup> 同註6，第13節，第13.1.3段。

See Note 6, Section 13, 13.1.3.

<sup>10</sup> 〈元朗屏山夜半鬼操兵〉，《太陽報》，2009-08-30，[http://the-sun.on.cc/cnt/news/20090830/00405\\_001.html](http://the-sun.on.cc/cnt/news/20090830/00405_001.html)，檢索日期：2018-02-08。

“元朗屏山夜半鬼操兵，” *Sun Daily* (30 August 2009), [http://the-sun.on.cc/cnt/news/20090830/00405\\_001.html](http://the-sun.on.cc/cnt/news/20090830/00405_001.html) (Chinese version only), accessed on 8 February 2018.

在這令人意外的事件發生期間，我們盡最後努力檢討保育策略及公所結構，期望能在原址保留建築物。2010年，我們進行了另一項針對原址保留方案的可行性技術研究。據該最新的地基勘探及排水評估結果顯示，公所雖然位於低窪地帶，卻由於附近添置了全新公共排水設施，可以將公所儲存的積水引走，被水浸侵蝕的風險可望減低到可接受的程度。總括而言，如長年的積水問題得以解決，應該原址保留達德公所，以盡量保存建築的文物價值。

### 保育方案

2000年代期間，達德公所的保育方案在重建與原址保留之間持續拉鋸。假若地勢問題無法解決，即使重建公所會破壞公所的文物價值，仍不失為一個可行方案。結果，我們還是遵照《巴拉憲章》提及有關改動的謹慎處理手法：「盡量安排措施加以保護，使其用得其所；同時作出最少的改動，以保留其文化意義。」<sup>11</sup> 因此點考慮，達德公所最終得以原址保留。然而，我們必須增設額外的土力工程及排水設施，以實行這個方案。原址保留能保持建築物的原真性，讓其原貌、設計、建材及技術、位置及背景得以在最低損耗程度下予以保留，亦能讓這些彌足珍貴的實體文物流傳後世。

當原址保留方案獲得確認後，下一步要考慮的事項是如何修復建築物。基於2011年進行的建築物狀況調查結果，我們參照了各相關的國際標準，例如《1964年保護和修復古蹟遺址的國際憲章》（以下簡稱「《威尼斯憲章》」）及《巴拉憲章》，制定了一套包含了以下原則的保育指引：

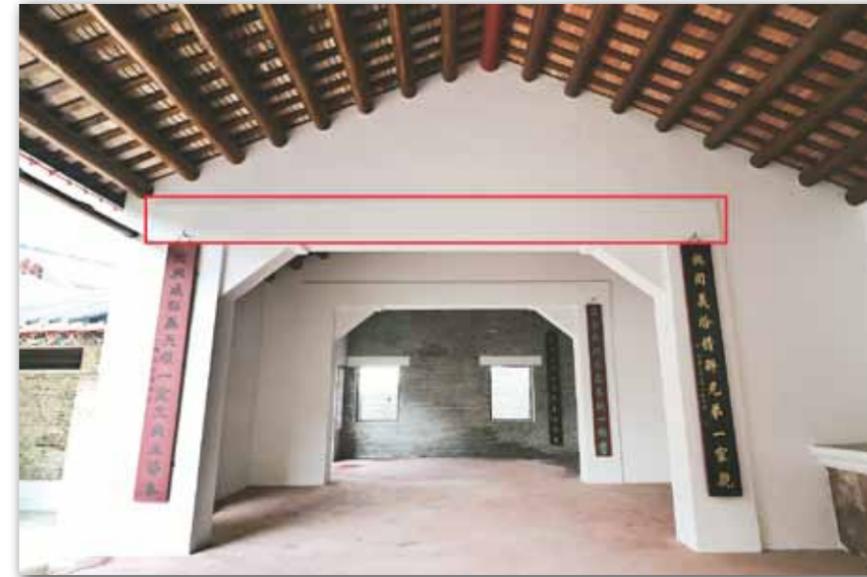
- 原址保留——整座現存的建築物必須盡量在原址保留；
- 最低干預——對現存的結構及建造元素可作必要但最少程度的改動；
- 可逆轉改動——任何必要的改動或加建事項須可以逆轉，並且不能削弱歷史性建築的文物價值；
- 大部分原有的結構及元素應盡量保留及加固；

### The Conservation Approach

The conservation strategy for Tat Tak Communal Hall was being formulated in the 2000s, as a result of the tug-of-war between reconstruction and in-situ preservation. The former strategy, albeit largely to the detriment of heritage values, would have been justified if the topographic problems could not be solved. Nonetheless, we adhered to The Burra Charter's cautious approach to change: "do as much as necessary to care for the place and to make it useable, but otherwise change it as little as possible so that its cultural significance is retained"<sup>11</sup>, which eventually brought in-situ preservation of Tat Tak Communal Hall to fruition. To make possible the building's in-situ preservation, additional geotechnical and drainage works would be required. This approach had the benefit of preserving authenticity, by which the communal hall's original form and design, construction materials and techniques, location and setting, which serve as material evidence for future generations, can all be retained with a minimal loss.

After the feasibility of in-situ preservation had been concluded, the next question would be how the building was to be restored. Based on the results of the condition survey conducted in 2011, we prepared a set of conservation guidelines with the following main conservation principles, with broad reference to relevant internationally accepted standards such as the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monument and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964)* (The Venice Charter) and The Burra Charter:

- Preservation-in-situ approach – The entire existing structures shall be preserved in-situ as a whole as far as possible;
- Minimum intervention–Alteration to the existing structure and elements shall be as little as possible but as necessary as required;
- Reversible alteration – Alteration or addition if necessary shall be made reversible without diminishing the heritage values of the historic buildings;
- The original fabric and elements shall be mainly preserved and consolidated as far as possible;
- Restoration, replacement or reconstruction of any damaged or missing elements or parts of elements shall only be considered if preservation or consolidation is found not feasible;
- The original physical fabric of the exterior and interior shall be retained as much as possible, while new materials should be introduced only when the original fabric is beyond repair;



13 達德公所後進內的鋼筋混凝土結構  
The reinforced concrete structures at the rear hall

- 只有在保留或加固方案不可行時，才考慮修復、更換或重建任何受損、遺失的建築元素或其部分；
- 建築物內外現存的實體結構應盡量予以保留，只有在原有結構不能修補的情況下才添加新物料進行修復；
- 如有需要才更換建築結構，改動後的結構必須盡量符合原有的設計及細節。在進行拆卸、修補及更換工程期間，應做足預防措施，將對鄰近結構造成的損毀減到最低。

達德公所的建築元件共劃分為：(1) 屋瓦，(2) 木桷板、檁條及椽子，(3) 屋脊，(4) 磚作，(5) 批盪，(6) 石作，(7) 門窗，(8) 壁畫及灰塑，(9) 地台，(10) 混凝土橫樑和(11) 天井。工程人員針對上述分類制定了適切的保育方案。在一般情況下，現存的建材及設計會予以保留，受損的部分會利用傳統的材料及技術修補。由於公所過去修葺時曾作出不少改動，保育原則未必容易直接套用，以下是經過審慎考慮的眾多情況中的一些例子。

公所內多處添加了混凝土橫樑以支撐金字屋頂，大部分在後進用以擴闊空間<sup>13</sup>。該支撐結構顯然不是原本十九世紀民間建築的元素。研究期間，曾有討論重建原有的磚木支撐結構，以符合當時的建築風格。

上述建議經過審慎考慮，最終不被採納。儘管沒有明確記載，我們仍可合理推斷早期的結構在1930年代後期已被混凝土橫樑取

- Replacement of any building fabric if necessary shall match the original design and details as much as possible. Effort should be made to minimise the damage to the adjacent element when dismantling, repairing and replacing take place.

The components of the communal hall were categorised into (1) roof tiles, (2) timber battens, purlins and rafters, (3) ridges, (4) brickwork, (5) plaster, (6) stonework, (7) openings, (8) murals and moulding, (9) flooring, (10) concrete beams and (11) open courtyards. Conservation guidelines were devised for each category according to the above conservation principles. In general, the existing materials and forms were preserved while the defective parts were repaired with traditional materials and techniques. The many later-additions to the building made the applicability of principles less straightforward than it seemed. Presented below was one of the many situations which we had carefully considered.

Concrete beams had been added to various parts of the building to support the pitched roof, mostly in the rear halls to allow a larger span<sup>13</sup>. It was certain that such a supporting system was not original to this 19th-century vernacular building. There had been discussions about restoring the structure to its "original" timber and brickwork supporting system, which was supposed to tally with the construction technology originally employed in the historical structure of the building.

We had carefully considered this suggestion before it was finally dropped. The reason was that, despite a lack of record, the concrete beams were most likely added to replace the earlier system in the late 1930s when Tat Tak Communal Hall was about to become a sanctuary to provide education and accommodation for child refugees, hence a spacious layout devoid of columns and walls would be most desirable. We tested the suggestion against The Venice Charter, which advised that:

<sup>11</sup> 同註5，緒言。  
See Note 5, Preamble.

代，因當時達德公所即將成為庇護所，須為難民兒童提供教育及住宿，移除室內的柱子和牆壁正好擴大可用空間。我們以《威尼斯憲章》的相關條文檢驗這項建議：

「鑑於修復的目的並不在於統一設計風格，不同時期在古蹟建築留下的印記必須予以尊重。當一座建築物包含了不同時期添加的層次，只有在非常特殊的情況下才可以被允許揭示底層狀態，同時被拆除的部分影響微不足道，反之被揭示的材料則具有深遠的歷史、考古或審美價值；觀其現狀足以證明揭示的必要性。建築元素重要性的評估，以及拆除結構的判斷，並不能僅僅根據工程主管的意願。」<sup>12</sup>

雖然在十九世紀的民間建築物出現混凝土橫樑支撐結構或令人感覺奇怪，但這正是一項不能隨意丟棄的重要歷史證明。另一方面，拆掉混凝土橫樑會導致現存的建築結構嚴重損毀。參照《巴拉憲章》的審慎保育原則，混凝土橫樑乃建築物的重要結構，值得悉心保育。

「保育的目的是基於對現存建築物的結構、用途、關係及意義表示尊重。對於任何改動應以最謹慎的方法處理，而改變的幅度也須減到最少。」<sup>13</sup>

另一個否決將混凝土結構改變為磚木支撐系統的原因是，我們沒有公所原本的設計藍圖作依據，因此據《巴拉憲章》的理解亦不可能重建。

「重建即代表將建築物還原至最初為人所共知的模樣，與修復的差異之處在於建築物添加了新材料。」<sup>14</sup>

由於我們沒有文字或圖像記錄，也沒有人能憶述當時狀況，據《巴拉憲章》及《威尼斯憲章》，這類臆測性的重建工程並不獲准執行。

「任何改動不能扭曲建築物原有的實體或其他證據，也不能基於臆測而進行任何修改。」<sup>15</sup>

*“The valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of a restoration. When a building includes the superimposed work of different periods, the revealing of the underlying state can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and when what is removed is of little interest and the material which is brought to light is of great historical, archaeological or aesthetic value, and its state of preservation good enough to justify the action. Evaluation of the importance of the elements involved and the decision as to what may be destroyed cannot rest solely on the individual in charge of the work.”*<sup>12</sup>

The concrete beams supporting system might look awkward in a 19th-century vernacular building, it nonetheless was a piece of material evidence accounted as an important part of the communal hall's history which should not be casually dismissed. Also, modification to the concrete beams would incur significant damage to the existing building structure. As an integral part of the building, the concrete beams deserved conservation under the cautious approach of The Burra Charter:

*“Conservation is based on a respect for the existing fabric, use, associations and meanings. It requires a cautious approach of changing as much as necessary but as little as possible.”*<sup>13</sup>

Another argument for not changing the concrete beams structure to a timber and brickwork supporting system was that we had no information about the exact original design as a reference for reconstruction as understood by The Burra Charter:

*“Reconstruction means returning a place to a known earlier state and is distinguished from restoration by the introduction of new material into the fabric.”*<sup>14</sup>

Since we had no written or pictorial record or living memory which hinted a “known earlier state”, we were not permitted to undertake this sort of reconstruction by conjecture, to which both The Burra Charter and The Venice Charter objected:

*“Changes to a place should not distort the physical or other evidence it provides, nor be based on conjecture.”*<sup>15</sup>

*“The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents.”*



<sup>14</sup> 達德公所的立面完整呈現，攝於 2013 年。  
The full facade of Tat Tak Communal Hall, in 2013.

「修復是一項非常專門的工程，其目的在於保育及揭示文物的美態及歷史價值，也基於對原材料及真實文獻的尊重。然而，一旦修復過程有任何臆測成分，也必須立刻終止，在這個情況下，如有一些不能取代的工程必須進行，必先確保這些後加的部分必須容易從建築中識別，並讓人知道是當代的工作。在進行任何修復工程前，必先針對該文物進行考古學及歷史學考察。」<sup>16</sup>

最終，我們保留了達德公所的混凝土橫樑支撐結構，這個討論過程亦套用於公所內其他類別的材料及部件，為往後修復工程制定指引。

## 成功解決問題

今次修復工程與過往同類項目差異極大，我們在修復建築物前，須要先解決建築物外圍的不利因素。在這方面，古蹟辦獲得渠務署及土木工程拓展署的支援，分別進行改善排水及鞏固斜坡工程，我們則主要針對達德公所的建築結構進行修復。

### 改善排水及鞏固斜坡工程

2012 年末至 2013 年初，渠務署在達德公所前方位置進行改善排水工程；大約同期，古蹟辦進行地台平整工程，移除公所前方的填土，兩項工程同樣於 2013 年初完成。公所周邊的地面得以修正至原本水平，讓整座建築物的立面得以完整呈現<sup>14</sup>。

*It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument.”*<sup>16</sup>

We finally resolved to retain the concrete beams. This process of deliberation was applied to every category of materials and every part of the building in order to devise the guidelines which would later shape the restoration process.

## The Challenges Resolved

This restoration project was quite different from the previous ones, as we had to rectify the external adversities before the restoration could take place. In view of this, we solicited supports from DSD and CEDD to undertake the drainage improvement and slope stabilisation works respectively. We would mainly focus on the works for restoring the building fabric of Tat Tak Communal Hall.

### Drainage Improvement and Slope Stabilisation Works

Drainage improvement works at the area in front of Tat Tak Communal Hall were undertaken by DSD in the period between the end of 2012 and early 2013. At almost the same time, we carried out site formation to remove the filled soil in front of the building, which was also completed in early 2013. With the grounds immediately surrounding the building restored to its original level, the full facade finally surfaced<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> 國際古蹟遺址理事會：《1964 年保護和修復古蹟遺址的國際憲章（1964 年威尼斯憲章）》，第 11 條，[https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice\\_e.pdf](https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf)，檢索日期：2018-02-08。

ICOMOS, *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monument and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964)*, Article 11, [https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice\\_e.pdf](https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf), accessed on 8 February 2018.

<sup>13</sup> 同註 5，第 3.1 條。

See Note 5, Article 3.1.

<sup>14</sup> 同註 5，第 1.8 條。

Ibid., Article 1.8.

<sup>15</sup> 同上註，第 3.2 條。

Ibid., Article 3.2.

<sup>16</sup> 同註 12，第 9 條。

See Note 12, Article 9.



**15** 改善排水及鞏固斜坡工程完成後的達德公所，攝於 2015 年。  
The outlook of Tat Tak Communal Hall after substantial completion of the drainage improvement and slope stabilisation works, in 2015.

2014 年初，土木工程拓展署開始在達德公所後方進行鞏固斜坡工程，包括切削斜坡、裝置泥釘、提供排水斜管及種植草木。鞏固斜坡工程並不是純粹從技術角度考量，由於公所位於一座名叫山角子山的山腳位置，據當地人的風水概念，山角子是保護公所的主要後山，因此如要在修復工程中移除樹木，必須在完成後再次種植。為避免公所在工程期間受損，或因鞏固斜坡期間導致建築物發生震盪、傾斜及沉降等，每日工程人員都進行嚴密監察。整項工程於 2016 年初完成。

改善排水及鞏固斜坡工程能保護公所免受現時或未來天災帶來的損毀，亦能讓建築物的修復工程得以順利進行 **15**。

### 拯救原有構件

古蹟辦於 2010 年接納原址保留方案前，已盡力保護達德公所的現存構件。

2011 年，古蹟辦在調查達德公所的狀況期間，發現牆身及屋頂雖然坍塌，但大部分原有青磚及屋瓦仍可使用。<sup>17</sup> 我們為了更妥善保存建築物的原真面貌，決定拯救這些原有建材，以便日後修復時再次使用。翌年，我們收集及用手動工具清潔了這些青磚，清除了積聚的灰泥、苔蘚及污垢，然後再將乾淨的青磚裝載和儲存，待日後再次使用。由於

CEDD commenced slope stabilisation works behind the building in early 2014, including slope cutting-back, installation of soil nails, provision of raking drains and soft landscaping. The slope stabilisation works were not carried out purely under technical consideration. The building was at the foot of a hill called Shan Gok Ji, which served as the main hill to protect the back of the building according to the *fengshui* beliefs of the locals. As such, the trees removed for constructing a retaining wall must be replanted. In order to avoid damage to the communal hall, vibration, tilting and settlement of the building were monitored daily during the course of the stabilisation works, which were substantially completed in early 2016.

These drainage improvement and slope stabilisation works have saved the communal hall from immediate and future threats, and made restoration of the building fabric possible **15**.

### Salvaging Building Materials

Before we could conclude the feasibility of in-situ preservation in 2010, we took the initiative to preserve the existing fabric of Tat Tak Communal Hall as much as practicable.

During the condition survey in 2011, we found that despite the collapse of walls and roofs, the majority of original grey bricks and clay roof tiles were still in usable condition.<sup>17</sup> In order to better preserve the authenticity of the building, we decided to salvage these original materials for re-use in the future restoration. In the following year, we collected the grey bricks and properly cleaned them with handheld

公所的大量磚塊已嚴重損壞，剩餘完好的青磚並不足予修復之用。我們慶幸從另一個舊村落獲得了質素及尺寸類同的青磚，令修復工程得以順利進行。

與此同時，我們亦收集了後進正脊的琉璃寶珠。由於其底座已經破爛，整顆寶珠墜落在屋頂後坡上，多年來不曾被人發現 **16**。我們將每塊碎片妥善收集並小心翼翼地運載，以供修復。

### 修復建築物結構 (2013-2018)

2013 年初改善排水工程完成後，公所內的積水得以永久疏導，長年被水浸侵蝕的情況也得以解決。2013 年中，古蹟辦開始進行公所前進的修復工程。

根據既定的保育指引，我們期望保留原有的物料及技術，所以測試了砂漿、磚塊、混凝土、木材、油漆及其他物料的性質、成分和狀態。公所的建築結構曾經過改動，但基於缺乏原本設計的證據，任何銳意將現存結構修復至原來模樣的嘗試，皆具有臆測成分。因此，各項建築構件盡可能根據現存記錄採取傳統技術修復，大部分現存佈局予以保留。以下為主要的修復工作，並以具代表性的例子說明。

tools to remove the attached plaster, moss and dirt. They were then packed and stored, awaiting to be re-used. Since quite a large amount of bricks of the building were seriously deteriorated, the salvaged grey bricks were not sufficient to complete the restoration works. We were fortunate enough to have the salvaged grey bricks from another old village house, they were similar to the bricks of Tat Tak Communal Hall in size and quality.

We also collected the celestial pearl which was a ceramic ornament on the rear roof main ridge. The pearl's base had been broken and dropped on the roof surface, having been unseen for years **16**. Every piece of shreds was collected and carefully transported for conservation treatment.

### Restoration of Building Fabric (2013-2018)

After the successful completion of drainage improvement works in early 2013, water inside the building was permanently drained and the problem of perennial flooding had been solved. Restoration of the entrance hall began in mid-2013.

Following the established conservation guidelines, we aimed at preserving the original materials and techniques. Material testing was done on mortar, brick, concrete, timber, paint and anything necessary to identify the nature and components of the materials and their conditions. Despite the fact that the building had been altered in the past, there was a lack of evidence about its original design, any attempt to restore it to its original design would be conjectural. Therefore, while various building components could be restored according to available records and with traditional techniques, the existing layout of the building was largely retained. The major conservation works were presented below with representative examples.



**16** 達德公所後進屋頂上的琉璃寶珠，攝於 2012 年。  
The ceramic celestial pearl found on the roof of the rear hall, in 2012.

<sup>17</sup> 青磚樣本的抗碎強度每平方毫米超過 10 牛頓，即代表青磚的品質良好。  
The crushing strength of grey bricks samples were well over 10 N/mm<sup>2</sup>, which meant they were in good condition.



17 英勇祠其中一幅坍塌了的牆壁，顯示雙隅牆結構，攝於 2010 年。  
A collapsed wall at Ying Yung Tsz revealing the structure of the cavity wall, in 2010.



18 工程人員重砌英勇祠坍塌了的雙隅牆，攝於 2017 年。  
The reconstruction of a collapsed cavity wall at Ying Yung Tsz, in 2017.

## 佈局

古蹟辦保留達德公所的現存佈局，包括建築物之間的通道，慰寂祠及英勇祠等附加建築物的側牆及後牆窗戶，以及屋頂的明瓦。我們一方面保留原有的佈局，另一方面記錄了當時情況，拆除危害健康及具潛在風險的構件。其中慰寂祠及英勇祠內的石棉屋頂及其支撐，包括檁條、山牆及其他相關的建築部分，皆經由註冊石棉顧問審慎包裝及拆除。

## 牆壁

達德公所的所有原有牆壁皆為雙隅牆，能有效擋雨、隔熱及隔聲<sup>17</sup>。這些牆壁由兩層牆磚組成，以丁磚連結，其間留有空隙。公所室內某些牆壁的丁磚並不外露。經過詳細調查原有的建築方法後，我們發現牆內丁磚的末端隱蔽地嵌入經修薄的順磚。這個建造方法不但能擴闊牆壁空隙，並可在室內展現更工整一致的磚線圖案。

英勇祠的整幅後牆及半幅側牆已經坍塌，雖然其他牆壁呈現裂紋，但基本上仍然完整。我們採用像補牙般的方法將牆壁逐部分修補，將表面破損的磚塊翻轉，損毀嚴重的用先前收集的磚塊取代。至於坍塌的牆壁，則依據現場所見的原有方法嚴謹地重造<sup>18</sup>。

## Layout

We strived to preserve the existing layout including openings between buildings, windows on side walls and rear walls of the subsidiary buildings, i.e. Wai Zik Tsz and Ying Yung Tsz, and also light wells on roofs. While we aimed at preserving the existing layout, some later additions which posed health and safety hazards were removed after documentation. Asbestos roofs were found at Wai Zik Tsz and Ying Yung Tsz. These asbestos roofs and the associated supporting purlins, gable walls and other components were carefully packed and removed by registered asbestos consultants.

## Walls

All the original walls of the building were cavity walls which were effective in resisting rain and heat, as well as sound insulation<sup>17</sup>. These walls were composed of two single brick walls with a void between. The single brick walls were tied by header bricks. In some parts of the building, however, the header bricks were not visible from the interior. After a detailed survey on the original construction method, it was found that the ends of the header bricks were delicately hidden by trimmed stretcher bricks. This construction method not only increased the void size of the wall but also created a uniform brick pattern for the interior.

The whole rear wall and about half of the side wall at Ying Yung Tsz collapsed but other walls were basically intact, though with cracks. Cracked bricks were repaired by the dentist repair method, i.e. reversing the original bricks or

我們為避免建築物因地基脆弱而再次坍塌，在某些位置增加了新的鋼筋混凝土基座，這是《1964 年威尼斯憲章》所允許的：

「當傳統技術證實有不足之處，可利用任何經科學數據和經驗證明有效的保育及建造新技術將古蹟加固。」<sup>18</sup>

建築物的內外牆壁表面早期已刷上灰泥批盪，從部分批盪剝落的牆壁可觀察到，磚塊的接縫精細，而當表面的灰泥清除後，可看到牆頭的飾帶，由此可證明這些牆壁表面的灰泥是後期添加的。在修復過程中，工程人員清除了前進牆壁後期刷上的灰泥，重現其原身飾面，展示了原有的磚塊和砂漿接縫。當磚塊回復素面，狀態更為健康。<sup>19</sup>雖然如此，但有部分刷上灰泥的牆壁仍然保存，以展示歷年曾經添加灰泥的層次，作為解說文物歷史背景之用<sup>19</sup>。現時後進大部分的批盪所覆蓋的磚牆原身表面並不平整，因此只作修補而不會完全清除灰泥。

substituting the damaged ones with salvaged bricks. The collapsed walls were reconstructed strictly in accordance with the original method as observed<sup>18</sup>.

To prevent Tat Tak Communal Hall from collapsing again at the weakened foundation, new reinforcement concrete footings were added. This was permitted by The Venice Charter 1964 which stated:

“Where traditional techniques prove inadequate, the consolidation of a monument can be achieved by the use of any modern technique for conservation and construction, the efficacy of which has been shown by scientific data and proved by experience.”<sup>18</sup>

All interior and exterior wall surfaces had been plastered previously. It was however observed from the peeled plaster of some walls that the brick substrates were laid with fine joints, and friezes were discovered after removal of the surface plaster. This was the evidence showing that the surface plaster of these walls was added at a later stage. The later-added plaster on internal and external walls of the entrance halls were therefore removed to restore their fair-faced finishing to expose the original bricks and the mortar joints. Being fair-faced was also good for the health of the bricks.<sup>19</sup> A segment of a plastered wall was however retained to display the layers of plastering once existed, as an interpretation facility<sup>19</sup>. The existing plaster finishing of the rear halls was repaired but not removed, since the brick substrates underneath would not qualify a fair-face finishing.



19 部分牆壁批盪予以保留，作為解說之用。攝於 2015 年。  
A segment of a plastered wall retained for interpretation, in 2015.

<sup>18</sup> 同註 12，第 10 條。  
See Note 12, Article 10.

<sup>19</sup> 伍志和，劉永聰：〈保育香港具歷史價值的紅磚外牆〉，《香港博物館期刊》（1，2017），頁 52-65。  
Ng Chi-wo and Lau Wing-chung, “Conservation of Historic Red Brick Facades in Hong Kong,” *Hong Kong Museum Journal* 1 (2017): 52-65.



20 修復飾帶的工序：

- (一) 摹印飾帶圖案 (左上)
- (二) 將摹印的圖案繪在紙上 (右上)
- (三) 將圖案複製到另一邊的飾帶上 (左下)
- (四) 重新為飾帶上色 (右下)

The steps of reconstructing the damaged friezes:

- (i) Tracing the frieze patterns (top left)
- (ii) Transferring the patterns onto paper (top right)
- (iii) Transferring the patterns onto the wall (bottom left)
- (iv) Repainting the frieze (bottom right)

我們清除牆壁表面的灰泥前，首先為建築物內外的牆頭壁畫及搏風帶灰塑覆蓋一層泡沫板及薄木板，然後將牆飾下方 300 毫米以下的後期添加的灰泥小心移除。其後，資深工匠為受保護的牆頭灰飾及壁畫進行修復，但因部分牆飾的損毀狀況嚴重，有些圖案已無法清晰呈現。有見及此，工程人員利用狀況良好的裝飾，摹印其原有圖案，並將所得結果繪在紙上，運用正面和反面圖像重現受損牆飾的圖案，從而進行修復<sup>20</sup>。

Before the removal of the surface plaster, the murals and plaster moulding in the friezes were first covered by foam and thin boards. The later-added wall plaster and render 300mm below the artworks were carefully removed. The protected frieze decorations and murals on the walls were later restored by experienced artisans. However, the condition of some friezes was so poor that the patterns could hardly be recognised. The patterns of the intact friezes were traced and transferred to paper by hand. The tracing could serve as a reference to reconstruct other damaged friezes, which were identical or mirroring the good ones<sup>20</sup>.

屋頂

公所屋頂的整體狀況非常惡劣，大部分已經坍塌，木結構大多已經腐爛或被蛀蝕，修復工程的主要工序是利用傳統方法重建屋頂<sup>21</sup>。現存狀況良好的屋瓦及木料則予以保護，以供修復工程盡量使用。

整個屋頂按照調查所得的原有設計進行重建。調查結果顯示，達德公所的中心部分為三間結構，配備了一個 51 行瓦坑的屋頂，而慰寂祠及英勇祠則是附設在公所中心部分兩旁的單間結構，以 16 行瓦坑的屋頂覆蓋。據傳統的中國建築觀念，奇數寓意吉祥，因此公所中心部分的屋頂瓦坑為奇數。相反，慰寂祠及英勇祠屋頂的瓦坑為偶數，或是紀念亡者之故。由於每項建築細節各有不同象徵意義及歷史背景，在進行修復工程時，必須對這些細節加以謹慎研究和尊重。

基本上，達德公所屋頂的板瓦乃根據傳統的疊七留三方式砌成，而筒瓦則以灰泥混和烏煙覆蓋<sup>22</sup>，原有的瓦片會被徹底清潔及盡量再用。新瓦片蓋上標示了年份的印章，以資日後修復工程識別新舊建材。為改善傳統瓦片鋪砌法的防水和防風功能，正脊及垂脊和瓦片的接駁處墊了鉛片。此外，在屋瓦亦裝置了瓦鉞和銅線以作鞏固。以上這兩項措施都能加強防止屋頂因滲水而腐蝕下面的磚木結構。

Roofs

The overall condition of the roofs was extremely poor. A large portion of the roofs collapsed and nearly all structural timber members were rotten or infested. Reconstruction of the roofs with the tradition method formed the major part of restoration<sup>21</sup>. Existing tiles and timber members were salvaged for re-use as much as possible.

The whole roofs were reconstructed in accordance with the original design recorded by a survey. According to the survey, the central portion is a three-bay structure with its roof constructed with 51 rows of pan tiles, while the Wai Zik Tsz and Ying Yung Tsz were both one-bay structures flanking the central portion with 16 rows of pan tiles. In traditional Chinese buildings, odd numbers were considered auspicious and therefore the rows of roof tiles were usually in odd numbers. Contrary to this practice, the roof tiles in Wai Zik Tsz and Ying Yung Tsz were laid in even rows, which is a symbol often associated with the deceased. Since construction details usually carried symbolic meanings and historical information, they must be carefully studied and respected in the restoration process.

The pantiles of the building were basically laid according to the traditional stacking ratio 7:3, with the roll tiles covered with plaster and *wuyin*<sup>22</sup>. The salvaged tiles were properly washed and re-used as much as possible. New tiles were differentiated from the salvaged tiles with a year stamp, so that new and old materials could be distinguished in later restorations. To further enhance the water and wind resistance of the traditional tile laying method, lead flashings were installed on the main ridges and gable ridges. T-shape copper nails and copper wires were installed to improve the stability of the roof tiles. These installations could better prevent timber and brick deterioration caused by water seepage.



21 更換已腐爛的檁條，攝於 2013 年。

The replacement of the deteriorated purlins of the front hall, in 2013.



22 屋頂結構模型，攝於 2017 年。

The mock-up of roof construction, in 2017.

康樂及文化事務署的文物修復辦事處（文物修復辦事處）為確保新木料能完全切合原有的種類，分析了現存的木構件。所有檁條、桷板及劍桷的木材被鑑定為柏科杉木，統稱為中國杉。為了提升屋頂的整體強度，主要的檁條被更優質、直徑較大的木料取代，而嵌於山牆的檁條末端則塗上瀝青防潮。

至於裝飾元素方面，屋脊的灰塑及琉璃寶珠亦進行了修復，後者交由文物修復辦事處負責<sup>23</sup>。由於屋脊上仍殘留承托寶珠底座的碎片，寶珠的正確位置得以確定。為免這件珍貴文物再度下墜，寶珠內原有的生鏽鐵枝以鍍鋅鋼枝取代，此舉能將寶珠穩妥固定在屋脊上。2017年末，琉璃寶珠的修復終於完成，重置於公所的屋脊上<sup>24</sup>。

### 天井

慰寂祠及英勇祠天井原本的地面曾經升高，原有的室內排水系統已經封閉。在修復過程中，工程人員回復原來的地面高度及排水系統<sup>25</sup>。在公所建築物的外圍，增設了新的地面U型渠道、地下排水管、增設的集水坑及裝置於沙井的新公共排水管，以便收集及疏導室內積水。

### 可移動文物

早前被運走的文物，完成修復後重置於公所。位置確定者都歸原位，例如簷板、大門門板、紀念碑、神主牌等。雖然有些文物並不是建築結構的一部分，但它們對於達德公所來說意義深長，正如《巴拉憲章》內說明：

「若然一個地方的建築細節、固定裝置及物品具有文化意義，便應予以保留，絕不能移動它們，除了以下情況：移動文物是確保其安全及進行保育的唯一途徑；暫時移送文物到別處以進行修復或展覽用途；或基於文化因素、健康及安全理由、或保護文物所在地而進行移動。在情況許可及迎合文化需要的情況下，這些建築細節、固定裝置及物品必須回歸原來位置。」<sup>20</sup>

In order to ascertain the new timber members match the original species, an analysis of the existing timber members was carried out by the Conservation Office of the Leisure and Cultural Services Department (Conservation Office). All purlins, battens and flying rafters were identified to be *Cunninghamia lanceolata* under Family Cupressaceae, commonly known as China Fir. To enhance the overall strength of the roofs, the main purlins were replaced with new ones with higher quality wood and larger diameter. Both ends of the purlins, which were to be embedded into the walls, were painted with bitumen to resist moisture.

Decorative elements such as the ridge plaster mouldings and the ceramic celestial pearl were restored. The pearl was restored by the Conservation Office<sup>23</sup>. Since there were still some fragments of the pearl's supporting base left on the ridge, the exact position of the pearl was certain. To avoid this precious piece of artefact from falling again, a new galvanised steel skeleton was inserted to replace the original rustic iron pole inside the pearl, so that it could be securely fixed onto the ridge. It was finally reinstated in late 2017<sup>24</sup>.

### Courtyards

The courtyards of Wai Zik Tsz and Ying Yung Tsz had been raised and the original internal drainage system concealed. Both the original floor level and the drainage system of the building were restored<sup>25</sup>. New surface u-channels, sub-soil drain pipes, additional catch pits and new drain pipes to the public manhole were built outside the building to collect and divert the water from inside.

### Movable Artefacts

The artefacts previously removed for conservation treatment were reinstated in the communal hall. Most of the artefacts were reinstated at the original locations if they were known, such as the fascia boards, entrance door leaves, memorial steles and deity tablets. Although some of these artefacts were not part of the building fabric, they were of no less importance to Tat Tak Communal Hall, as The Burra Charter stated:

*“Contents, fixtures and objects which contribute to the cultural significance of a place should be retained at that place. Their removal is unacceptable unless it is: the sole means of ensuring their security and preservation; on a temporary basis for treatment or exhibition; for cultural reasons; for health and safety; or to protect the place. Such contents, fixtures and objects should be returned where circumstances permit and it is culturally appropriate.”*<sup>20</sup>



<sup>23</sup> 文物修復辦事處人員正在修復琉璃寶珠，攝於2017年。

The restoration of the ceramic celestial pearl in the Conservation Office, in 2017.



<sup>24</sup> 經修復後的琉璃寶珠重置在公所的屋脊上，攝於2017年。

The reinstatement of the restored ceramic celestial pearl on the rear roof main ridge, in 2017.



<sup>25</sup> 英勇祠修復後，回復原來地面高度的天井，攝於2018年。

The restored original floor level of the open courtyard of Ying Yung Tsz, in 2018.

<sup>20</sup> 同註5，第10條。

See Note 5, Article 10.



26 英勇祠前進的閣樓，攝於 1997 年。  
The front hall of Ying Yung Tsz with a cockloft, in 1997.



27 英勇祠的閣樓地板由木對聯鋪砌，攝於 2013 年。  
The cockloft of Ying Yung Tsz floored with wooden couplets, in 2013.



28 經修復後掛在英勇祠前進的對聯，攝於 2018 年。  
The front hall of Ying Yung Tsz with the restored couplets, in 2018.

有一些隱藏於公所的文物直到修復期間才被發現，例如慰寂祠及英勇祠前進閣樓的地板竟然是木對聯<sup>26</sup>，誠然是修復過程中的一項重要發現<sup>27</sup>。工程人員共發現 11 副對聯和一块牌匾，經修復後在公所內展示。最古舊的對聯乃屏山鄉於咸豐丁巳年（1857 年）送贈，以祝賀公所落成。其餘的對聯和牌匾則是與達德約相關的鄉民和組織送贈。這些文物是達德公所的歷史證明，值得悉心保育<sup>28</sup>。

另一件古蹟辦悉心保護的文物是公所正門的門板，上有淺雕上彩門神。這對門板淹沒於積水中達數十年，因此下半部已經腐敗，猶幸上半部仍然保持完好，只有一些油漆剝落。文物修復辦事處為這對門板進行了三維立體掃描，以確認上面的門神雕刻，及後依據現存顏色重新上彩。門板的下半部則用同類的木料以精細的木工技術更換，將大門修復成可以使用的文物<sup>29</sup>。

Some of the artefacts were only made known to us during the restoration process. Both the front halls of Wai Zik Tsz and Ying Yung Tsz once had cocklofts<sup>26</sup>. We found that the cocklofts were floored with wooden couplets, which was a significant discovery made during the restoration project<sup>27</sup>. A series of eleven couplets and a plaque were restored and displayed in the building. The oldest couplet was offered by the Ping Shan Heung in the *Dingsi* year of the *Xianfeng* reign (1857), when the communal hall was built. The remaining couplets and plaque were offered to commemorate the renovation of the communal hall by villages and organisations related to the Tat Tak Alliance. These objects deserved proper conservation as they were the material evidence of the history of Tat Tak Communal Hall<sup>28</sup>.

Another important object we saved was the pair of entrance door leaves with door gods carved in low relief and painted in polychrome colours. The door leaves had been submerged in water for decades so the bottom parts were rotten. Fortunately, the upper halves were almost intact, just with some loss of paint. The Conservation Office conducted 3D scanning for the doors to ascertain the relief pattern and re-painted the door gods following the existing colour scheme as far as identifiable. The lower halves of the doors were replaced by wood of the same species with fine joinery, so that the doors could be re-instated as a functional piece<sup>29</sup>.



29 修復前（左）及修復後（右）的正門門板  
The entrance door leaves before (left) and after (right) restoration



30 位於後進中央祭壇的大理石碑及對聯，攝於 2018 年。  
The marble plaque and couplets on the central altar of the rear hall, in 2018.

設於公所後進中央的祭台，現時鑲嵌了看似狀況良好的大理石碑及對聯<sup>30</sup>。該塊刻有烈士名字的大理石碑早期曾被螺絲釘固定在後進的牆壁上，整塊石碑已變得脆弱，部分甚至破爛了。我們製作了一塊不銹鋼背板將開裂了的石碑固定，然後將碎毀的兩角用近似的大理石修補。至於原本緊貼在兩側的對聯亦有裂紋，甚至有部分因後坡的山泥傾瀉導致後牆變形而開裂和碎毀。文物修復辦事處人員收集了對聯碎片並進行修復，以碳纖維底板承托灰塑對聯的背面，經加固後放回原位<sup>31</sup>。

## 結論

2018 年，達德公所的修復工程已經大致完成，同年 7 月 2 日，屏山鄧族舉行了開光典禮。慶典其間，文昌帝君及關帝聖君的神主被放回公所的祭台上祀奉。至於大理石碑上的烈士名稱則被抄寫在個別的紙紮祭品上，確保祭品焚化後能送達各忠義烈士。

回顧過去，我們慶幸沒有「高效地」修復達德公所。在 2000 年代初期，危險的後坡及低窪地勢令建築物一直耗損，公所亦瀕臨倒塌邊緣。為保育公所而做的調查也傾向拆卸、搬遷及重建方案，我們也因此而著手計劃執行。另一方面，原址保留達德公所的方



31 修復前（左）及修復後（右）的灰塑對聯  
The plaster couplets before (left) and after (right) restoration

The marble plaque and couplets on the central altar of the rear hall seemed to be well preserved<sup>30</sup>. The marble plaque with martyrs' names, which was previously screwed onto the wall of the rear hall, was broken and fragile. We made a stainless steel backing plate to hold the cracked plaque in place and repaired the two broken corners with matching marble. The pair of couplets on the sides was originally plastered onto the wall surface. They cracked and fell apart because of the deformation of the rear wall caused by landslides. The shattered pieces of plaster were collected and conserved by the Conservation Office. Carbon-fibre backing was added to consolidate the plastered couplets, so that they were strong enough to be hung on the wall after restoration<sup>31</sup>.

## Conclusion

The restoration of Tat Tak Communal Hall was substantially completed in 2018. The Tang clan of Ping Shan hosted a rehabilitation ceremony on 2 July 2018, during which the deity plaques of the gods Man Cheong and Kwan Tai were again enshrined and worshipped. The martyrs' names on the marble plaque were copied onto individual papier-mache offerings before they were burnt, to ensure correct delivery to the recipients.

On reflection, we were fortunate enough for not having proceeded to restore the building "efficiently". In the early 2000s, the dangerous rear slope and low topographical setting were constantly encroaching the building structure, which had already been at the brink of collapse. The evidence collected then favoured the dismantling, relocation

案從未被徹底否決，事實上鑑於調查期間每每發現新的證據支持原址保留，我們亦不時檢討這方面的可行性，最終有賴周邊環境改善而令原址保留得以成功。

達德公所修復工程反映出保育項目必須審慎部署，才能獲得理想成效。在最短時間內利用最少資源處理並不一定是上策，有時甚至會適得其反。事實上，是次修復工程，或大部分其他修復工程所面對的各項挑戰，都是因自覺而引起的。我們總是盡可能地根據保育原則判斷，避免作出草率決定。

本文完成時，達德公所的修復工程仍未完結，例如公所的廚房尚有雜草叢生；堆積在建築物後方的土壤亦需清除，以便再修正地下水水位，防止積水損壞後進地面。此後我們仍會以謹慎的保育策略來克服種種挑戰。

and reconstruction strategy, for which we took steps to formulate the plan for implementation. However, the in-situ preservation approach was never dropped and was reviewed from time to time as new evidence might prevail. Eventually the building could be saved in-situ, thanks to the modifications of the external setting.

The restoration of Tat Tak Communal Hall demonstrated a cautious approach to conservation with good results. It was obviously not a strategy which utilised the least time and resource, but perhaps the opposite. It was true that some challenges in this project, or in most of our restoration projects, were triggered by ourselves. We deliberately subsumed ourselves under the auspice of conservation principles, in the hope that we were less prone to making wrong decisions in haste.

The restoration of Tat Tak Communal Hall had not yet been completed at the time of writing; for example, the kitchen was still overgrown with vegetation, and the accumulated soil at the rear of the building, which had deteriorated the flooring of the rear hall, would need to be removed for further rectification of the groundwater level. We shall keep tackling the challenges with a cautious approach.

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## 十二花神杯及其文化背景

### Appreciating the Month Cups in Their Cultural Contexts

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① 五彩十二花神杯一套 | 清康熙時期 (1662-1722) | 「大清康熙年製」款 | 各高 5 厘米；徑 6.5 厘米 | 徐氏藝術基金藏品  
Set of 12 porcelain month cups painted with flowers and poems in *wucai* enamels |  
Height: 5 cm Width: 6.5 cm each | Mark and period of Kangxi (1662-1722), Qing dynasty | Collection of the Tsui Art Foundation

#### 前言

到訪香港文化博物館的參觀人士，都可在徐展堂中國藝術館一睹由徐氏藝術基金<sup>1</sup>慷慨借出的中國陶瓷瑰寶——全套五彩花神杯<sup>①</sup><sup>2</sup>及青花花神杯。花神杯獲譽為清代最上乘的御窯瓷器之一，其細緻的工藝讓參觀人士為之讚歎，收藏家也無一不覬覦全套花神杯。為了讓讀者對這些彌足珍貴的文物了解更多，本文將介紹花神杯問世時期的生活方式、背景及文化意義，並會淺析製造五彩瓷器的技法，探討瓷杯設計與清代宮廷花卉畫的關係。除了辨認杯上的花卉品種和查考詩句來源外，本文亦會以香港文化博物館展出的十二花神杯，探討花神杯上 12 種花卉在中國文化中的象徵意義，包括在吉祥紋樣上之運用。文章的後半部分會從民間信仰的角度出發，闡述花卉的重要性，每種花卉都賦予一個歷史人物或神話角色以作為「花神」。早於唐朝，中國民間已把農曆二月十二日或十五日定為「花朝」，應節活動包括踏青、出遊、飲宴、賦詩等，以賀百花生日。

#### 御窯精品

一套花神杯共有 12 隻瓷杯，杯外壁均繪有所屬月份的花卉或植物，另一面以楷書賦上五言或七言詩句，並附以篆印。花神杯於江西省景德鎮的御窯內製成。御窯專門為宮廷製造各式瓷器。自明代起景德鎮已是御窯重鎮，但由於明末時期政局動蕩，製瓷業一度停擺，直至康熙在位早年才恢復過來。

以 12 隻為一套的花神瓷杯是清朝康熙御窯的新產品，由宮廷委託訂製，有別於日常的飲用器皿。從技術角度而言，花神杯的杯身胎薄玲瓏、瑩潤透光，故有「蛋壳瓷」之稱。製作花神杯涉及以下工序：首先將高嶺土及長石混合而成的陶土拉坯，徒手塑成一個杯形的素胎。然後在素胎適當位置繪以鈷藍料，再施以一層透明釉，並以攝氏 1,200 度高溫窯燒，形成釉下青花圖案和詩文。五彩花神杯則涉及更多工序：杯面詩畫的藍色部分繪上鈷藍和施釉後，首先高溫窯燒一次；

#### Introduction

Visitors to the Hong Kong Heritage Museum will find this gem of Chinese porcelain displayed in the T. T. Tsui Gallery of Chinese Art: two sets of month cups, generously on loan from the Tsui Art Foundation.<sup>1</sup> One set is decorated in *wucai* enamels<sup>①</sup><sup>2</sup> and the other in underglaze blue. The month cups as a complete set has been hailed as one of the finest creations of the imperial kiln made for the emperors of the Qing dynasty. The sets of cups have touched visitors with their delicate beauty. It is also a prized desire of collectors to assemble a complete set. In order that readers can understand the lifestyle, context and culture behind the objects, this article will touch on the technical aspect of *wucai* porcelain wares and the design of the month cup paintings in relation to the flower paintings at the Qing court; and identify the flowers and poems on the cups. Using the set of cups with *wucai* enamels as example, the article will see how these flowers are viewed in Chinese culture and used as symbols for auspicious motifs and rebuses. The latter section of this article will view the importance of flowers in people's belief: each flower is assigned a deity, whether it was a historical or legendary figure. The Birthday of All Flowers, namely, *hua chao*, is on the twelfth or fifteenth day of the second lunar month, and this day has been celebrated with outings, feasts and poetry since the Tang dynasty.

#### Outstanding Products of the Imperial Kiln

The month cups is a set of 12 porcelain cups, the exterior of each cup was painted with the flower or plant of the month. On the reverse side, a matching couplet was calligraphed and marked with a seal. They were made in the imperial kiln at Jingdezhen, Jiangxi Province, where ceramic wares were produced exclusively for the Qing court. Jingdezhen had been the hub of the imperial kiln since the Ming dynasty, but production was disrupted with political disturbances at the end of the regime, and only resumed in the early Kangxi period.

As a complete set of 12 pieces, the month cups were first produced in the Kangxi period of the Qing dynasty. This special commission was quite apart from usual utensils. From the technical point of view, the cups were potted so thinly that light could partially pass through the porcelain wall, giving it a description of "eggshell porcelain". The production of the month cups involved a series of stages, which started by preparing a biscuit with two main components, kaolinic clay and feldspar, and it was thrown

<sup>1</sup> 徐氏藝術基金會由已故徐展堂博士 (1941-2010) 成立，旨在推廣中國傳統藝術文化，並於 1997 年至 1999 年期間將 700 多件珍貴藏品捐贈予香港文化博物館，「徐展堂中國藝術館」遂於 2000 年啟用，以展示所屬珍品。

The late Dr Tsui Tsin-tong (1941-2010) established the Tsui Art Foundation to render support and assistance in the promotion of Chinese art and culture. From 1997 to 1999, he donated a collection of antiques comprising more than 700 pieces to the Hong Kong Heritage Museum. The T.T. Tsui Gallery of Chinese Art was opened to the public in 2000 to display the exquisite pieces.

<sup>2</sup> 另一套五彩花神杯由已故羅桂祥博士 (1910-1995) 捐贈予香港政府，現時於香港公園內的茶具文物館展出。

Another complete set of month cups decorated with *wucai* enamels was donated by the late Dr Lo Kwee-seong (1910-1995) to the Hong Kong government. The set is displayed in the Flagstaff House Museum of Tea Ware located in the Hong Kong Park.

工匠再按設計圖樣繪上黑、紅、黃及綠色彩料，最後以攝氏 800 度烘燒第二次，使釉上彩料和透明釉融合。

### 花神杯與宮廷畫的關係

據清朝雍正（1723-1735）及乾隆時期（1736-1795）的御窯生產制度，宮廷畫師負責繪製瓷器上的圖樣，皇帝御准後，才可運送到景德鎮，把圖樣畫到瓷器上。<sup>3</sup> 康熙時期是重建御窯的初期，當時文獻記載不多。第一位在康熙時期獲正式委任的督陶官，名叫臧應選，他是當時三名督陶官之首。憑藉他引入精湛技術，拓展了更多新制式、新釉料及新裝飾，將御窯瓷器的手工藝推至新高。臧氏於康熙十九至二十七年（1680-1688）擔任督陶官，在他任內有位出色的畫師劉源（約 1641-1691），他設計了多種制式的工藝品，特別擅長設計墨條。<sup>4</sup> 劉氏也設計陶瓷器具，相信當時一些繪有龍和水波紋的瓷器也是出自他的手筆。<sup>5</sup>

as a cup by hand. The biscuit was painted with cobalt blue pigments for the areas in blue, then covered with a “transparent glaze”, and fired at a temperature of 1,200°C to produce a piece of porcelain in underglaze blue. For the set of cups in underglaze blue, all flower paintings and calligraphy text were executed using cobalt pigments. After firing, the design features appeared in blue. For the set made in *wucui* enamels, more steps were involved. Cobalt blue pigments were used on the calligraphy text and the painting areas in blue. The entire biscuit was covered with a transparent glaze and fired. Next, black, red, yellow and green pigments were applied to the surface of the glaze according to the design. Then the cup was fired for a second time at around a temperature of 800°C to fuse the pigments to the glaze.

### The Relation between the Cups and Court Paintings

According to the system of the imperial kiln of Yongzheng (1723-1735) and Qianlong (1736-1795) periods, the paintings on the porcelain wares would have been provided by a court painter, and would have to obtain approval from the



2 蔣廷錫《畫群芳擷秀》冊 | 清 | 十二張 紙本水墨設色 | 台北國立故宮博物院藏

*Album of Picked Beauties of Beautiful Flowers* By Jiang Tingxi | Qing dynasty | Set of 12 album leaves | Ink and Colour on paper | Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei

<sup>3</sup> 朱家潛選編：《養心殿造辦處史料輯覽（第一輯·雍正朝）》（北京：紫禁城出版社，2003）  
Zhu Jiajin, ed., *Yang xin dian zao ban chu shi liao ji lan di yi ji Yongzheng chao* (Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 2003)

<sup>4</sup> 宋伯胤：〈從劉源到唐英——清代康、雍、乾官窯瓷器綜述〉，載於宋伯胤、程曉中和林業強：《清瓷萃珍——清代康雍乾官窯瓷器》（南京及香港：南京博物院與香港中文大學文物館，1995）。

Song Boyin, “Cong Liu Yuan dao Tang Ying: Qingdai Kang, Yong, Qian guanyao ciqu zongshu” in Song Boyin, Cheng Xiaozhong, and Peter Lam, *Qingci cuizhen: Qing Imperial Porcelain of the Kangxi, Yongzheng and Qianlong Reigns* (Nanjing and Hong Kong: Nanjing Museum and the Art Gallery, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1995)

<sup>5</sup> 林業強：〈參古運新——劉源設計瓷樣考〉，載於故宮博物院古陶瓷研究中心編：《故宮博物院八十華誕·古陶瓷國際學術研討會論文集》（北京：紫禁城出版社，2007）頁 11-24。

Peter Y. K. Lam, “Cangu yunxin: Liu Yuan sheji ciyang kao” in *Gugong Bowuyuan bashi huadan gutaoci guoji xueshu yanjiuhui lunwenji*, ed. Palace Museum Ancient Ceramics Research Center (Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 2007), 11-24.

雖然後人無法追溯花神杯上圖樣的來源，但觀其風格優雅的花卉圖案及大量留白的構圖，可推斷這些作品風格與當時宮廷畫師的作品很相似。清代宮廷畫師分為兩類，第一類是由朝廷招攬的專業畫師，另一類則是通過科舉考試的士大夫。在康熙時期，第二類畫師人數較眾，稱為詞臣畫家，他們在宮內履行官職，同時為宮廷繪畫及創作文學。<sup>6</sup> 當中以蔣廷錫（1669-1732）和鄒一桂（1686-1772）繪畫花卉的技藝最為高超，前者於康熙四十二年（1703）的科舉考試中考獲進士名銜，在皇帝御旨下創作了不少作品。他繪畫花卉的畫風參考了清代初期著名畫家惲壽平（1633-1690）的風格。惲氏作品以「沒骨法」見稱，特色在於畫家直接以水墨及設色繪畫圖像，而不勾畫出對象的輪廓。蔣廷錫除了繪畫以花卉為主題的作品外，亦製作不少畫冊及組畫，其中《畫群芳擷秀》冊是一套 12 開的書畫冊，現時為國立故宮博物院的藏品。<sup>7</sup> 每開書畫的左方為一幅以花卉為主題的圖畫，而右方則為一首展現不同書法風格的詩文<sup>2 3 4</sup>。



3 蔣廷錫《畫群芳擷秀》冊 第五開

The fifth leaf of the *Album of Picked Beauties of Beautiful Flowers*



4 蔣廷錫《畫群芳擷秀》冊 第十開

The tenth leaf of the *Album of Picked Beauties of Beautiful Flowers*

emperor before they were dispatched to Jingdezhen for copying onto the cups.<sup>3</sup> During the Kangxi period, when the re-establishment of the imperial kiln just commenced, there was not so much detailed documentation. The first official appointed to supervise the imperial kiln in the Kangxi reign was Zang Yingxuan. He was the first in a series of three superintendents who brought the imperial kiln to new heights in terms of technical virtuosity and expanded the range of new forms, new glazes and new decorations. Zang held his post from the nineteenth to twenty-seventh year of the Kangxi reign, i.e. 1680 to 1688. Under the supervision of Zang, Liu Yuan (circa 1641-1691) was the person who actually produced many designs for various decorative arts, particularly ink sticks.<sup>4</sup> It is believed that Liu might have also provided drawings for ceramic items, amid them were dragon and wave motifs in porcelain wares.<sup>5</sup>

Despite a lack of direct evidence for sourcing the painters of the cups, the elegant rendering style of the plants and the compositions with considerable white areas stylistically linked the design to the artistic works produced by court painters around this period. There were two types of painters serving the court at that time, the professional painters who were the skilled draughtsmen recruited by the court, and scholar-officials who passed the imperial examinations. The latter held official positions and at the same time made paintings and literary works. There were a considerable number of scholar-official painters working for the court during the Kangxi period.<sup>6</sup> In particular, Jiang Tingxi (1669-1732) and Zou Yigui (1686-1772) excelled in painting floral subjects. Jiang Tingxi passed the imperial examination and attained the status of *jingshi* in the forty-second year of the Kangxi period (1703), and produced many works by order of the emperor. His style of flower painting took reference from Yun Shouping (1633-1690), who was a leading flower painter in the early Qing dynasty. Yun was known for executing his paintings in the “boneless style”, a technique using ink, colour and wash to depict the subject without delineating it in outlines. Apart from many paintings with floral subjects, Jiang made many albums or sets of paintings. One of his works was a set of album with 12 leaves, entitled *Album of Picked Beauties of Beautiful Flowers*, which is a collection of the National Palace Museum in Taipei.<sup>7</sup> Each leaf consists of a painting of a type of flower on the left, and a poem calligraphed in various styles on the right<sup>2 3 4</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> 聶崇正：〈清代前期的詞臣畫〉，載於《宮廷藝術的光輝——清代宮廷繪畫論叢》（台北：東大圖書公司，1996）。

Nie Chongzheng, “Scholar-official paintings of the early Qing dynasty” in *Gong ting yi shu de guang hui: Qing dai gong ting hui hua lun cong* (Taipei: Dongwu University Press, 1996).

<sup>7</sup> 譚怡令、劉芳如、林莉娜和吳誦芬：《滿庭芳：歷代花卉名品特展》（台北：國立故宮博物院，2014），頁 208-209。

Tan Yiling, Liu Fangru, Lina Lin, and Wu Songfen *Fragrance Fills the Courtyard: Chinese Flower Paintings through the Ages* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2014), 208-209.



5 鄒一桂《花卉圖》冊（弘曆題詩）| 清 | 十二張絹本設色 | 各高 27 厘米；闊 31.5 厘米 | 故宮博物院藏品  
 故宮博物院提供 余寧川攝影  
 Album of Flowers | Paintings by Zou Yigui, calligraphy by Prince Hongli | Qing dynasty | Set of 12 leaves | Colour on silk |  
 Height: 27 cm Width: 31.5 cm each | Collection of the Palace Museum  
 Image © The Palace Museum Photo credit: Yu Ningchuan

《畫群芳擷秀》冊內的詩文由康熙皇帝親自揮毫，以金漆或墨寫成不同風格的書法作品。至於第四、第七及第十開的詩文則由康熙皇帝親自創作，充分彰顯其書法及詩詞文學造詣。這書畫冊另一獨特之處，在於不同花卉均以不同顏色的加工紙托地，部分紙箋會綴以金色斑點。這類加工色紙在清宮書畫目錄《石渠寶笈》內，被形容為「五色箋本」。這種背景顏色經過謹慎挑選的花卉畫冊異常獨特罕有。據說康熙皇帝喜愛當時新興的琺瑯彩瓷，此類的瓷器同樣以底色襯托彩繪。無論這是否屬實，也反映出當時宮廷正流行這種詩畫相映的藝術作品，以及書畫與瓷器風格的相互影響。<sup>8</sup> 鑑於康熙皇帝喜愛藝術，當時各類瓷器以至花神杯的設計，也自然套用了這種藝術形式。

儘管 12 開的《花卉圖》冊並沒有依循 12 個月的月曆排列，圖冊在清代仍然相當盛行。另一位畫功同樣超著的詞臣畫家鄒一桂，於雍正五年（1727）考獲進士，在雍正和乾隆年間活躍於宮廷事務，其畫風也承襲惲壽平的風格。他的其中一部作品《花卉圖》

The poems were handwritten by Emperor Kangxi in various styles of calligraphy and executed in either gold or ink. The poems for the fourth, seventh and tenth leaves were composed by the emperor himself. Through these creations the emperor displayed his literary skills of calligraphy and poetry. This album is also unique in the sense that different types of flowers were drawn on coloured paper, and some pieces of paper were bespeckled with gold. Such kind of paper was described as “paper of assorted colours” in the description of the inventory *Shiqu Baoji* (“Catalogues of the Qing Imperial Collection of Painting and Calligraphy”). This careful choice of background colour was very rare and unusual in flower albums. It was said to echo with the emperor’s interest in the coloured backgrounds of enameled porcelain wares—the artistic innovation during his reign.<sup>8</sup> Whether it was true or not, it showed that pairing up of a painting and a poem which complement each other was popular in the court. It also showed that there were stylistic influences between painting and porcelain. Given Emperor Kangxi’s interests in art, it would be natural to try applying this type of artistic form into the making of porcelain wares, such as the month cups.

It seems that the album of 12 paintings was a popular format, even if the content did not really follow the order of the months as presented in a calendar. Another scholar-official painter adept at flower paintings was Zou Yigui.

冊，每開書畫的右方展示一幅花卉畫，左方以一首詩襯托<sup>5</sup>，<sup>9</sup> 詩文由當時為寶親王（1733-1735 在位）的弘曆揮毫，即其後繼位的乾隆皇帝。

《花卉圖》冊的 12 種花卉包括：第一開，桃花；第二開，杏花；第三開，罌粟；第四開，紫藤；第五開，月季；第六開，剪春羅；第七開，梨花；第八開，蜀葵；第九開，芍藥；第十開，百合；第十一開，牽牛花；以及第十二開，菊花。12 首詩文與 12 種花卉互相呼應，透露了花卉所盛放的季節，卻沒有明示其所屬月份。這套書畫冊與上文提及的蔣廷錫《畫群芳擷秀》冊都是清宮流行的書畫制式——以一系列互相呼應的詩文與畫作展現各類花卉，編製成冊。由於皇帝對不同的藝術媒介都有喜好，詩畫結合的花卉題材作品自然也在其他藝術媒介中出現。事實上，康熙皇帝在位時，已製成最早期的琺瑯彩瓷器；到了雍正時期，琺瑯彩瓷結合了詩、書、畫及篆印。圖<sup>6</sup>展示了一個繪以牡丹圖像、詩文並附以篆印的精緻瓷碗，這類瓷器分兩個階段生產——首先於景德鎮製作純白瓷碗，然後運送到北京宮廷內的造辦處施以釉上彩，再以低溫把瓷碗烘燒而成。由瓷器工藝發展來看，花神杯的製作，可以視作陶工把詩、書、畫、印融入瓷器紋樣中的一次早期嘗試。

He attained the status of *jingshi* in the fifth year of the Yongzheng reign (1727), and was active in the court during the Yongzheng and Qianlong eras. His style of painting also took after Yun Shouping. He painted an album of flowers with each leaf consisting of a flower painting on the right side and a poetic inscription on the left<sup>5,9</sup>. The poem was calligraphed by Hongli, who had used the title of Prince Bao (reign 1733-1735) before he ascended the throne to become Emperor Qianlong.

The 12 kinds of flowers painted in this album included: first leaf, peach blossom; second leaf, apricot blossom; third leaf, poppy; fourth leaf, wisteria; fifth leaf, Chinese rose; sixth leaf, dianthus; seventh leaf, pear blossom; eighth leaf, hollyhock; ninth leaf, herbaceous peony *shaoyao*; tenth leaf, lily; eleventh leaf, morning glory and twelfth leaf, chrysanthemum. Matching the flower in the painting, the poetic inscriptions give some indications of the blooming season, but there were no signs indicating the twelve months. This set of album and the previous one by Jiang Tingxi show that the album set composed of leaves depicting various kinds of flowers with matching poems was a popular format in the Qing court. Given the interest of emperors in many forms of art, it would be quite natural to try applying the floral paintings and poems on other mediums. In fact, it was during the reign of Emperor Kangxi that the earliest *falangcai* enameled porcelain wares were developed. In the Yongzheng reign, the *falangcai* wares have compositions of paintings with poetic inscriptions and painted seal marks. Figure<sup>6</sup> shows an exquisite bowl decorated with peonies with matching poem and seals. These wares were produced in two stages: first, the white porcelain body was made in Jingdezhen and transported to Beijing for overglaze painting. Then it was fired for a second time at a low temperature in the Imperial Palace Workshop *zaobanchu*. In this sense, the month cups enabled an early trial of producing a porcelain ware by integrating the techniques of poetry, calligraphy, painting and seal-marking.



6 琺瑯彩瓷五色牡丹碗 | 清雍正時期（1723-1735）| 台北國立故宮博物院藏品  
 Bowl decorated with peonies in *falangcai* enamels | Yongzheng period (1723-1735), Qing dynasty |  
 Collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei

<sup>8</sup> 蘇雅芬：《〈畫群芳擷秀冊〉研究——康熙皇帝的書法風格及政治意圖》，《國立台灣師範大學藝術史研究所碩士論文》（2017），[http://arts.ntnu.edu.tw/uploadfiles/singup/1/s2\\_3\\_201804091409\\_16638739.pdf](http://arts.ntnu.edu.tw/uploadfiles/singup/1/s2_3_201804091409_16638739.pdf)。

Su Ya Fen, “《畫群芳擷秀冊》研究——康熙皇帝的書法風格及政治意圖,” *Taiwan: Graduate Institute of Art History, National Taiwan Normal University*, 2017, [http://arts.ntnu.edu.tw/uploadfiles/singup/1/s2\\_3\\_201804091409\\_16638739.pdf](http://arts.ntnu.edu.tw/uploadfiles/singup/1/s2_3_201804091409_16638739.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> 故宮博物院編，《清代花鳥畫珍賞》（北京：故宮出版社，2013），第 68 開，頁 174-179。

The Palace Museum ed., *Flower-And-Bird Paintings of the Qing Dynasty* (Beijing: Palace Museum Publishing Co., 2013), leave no. 68, 174-179.

## 花神杯的詩畫

以下篇幅主要以五彩十二花神杯研究花神杯的圖像與詩詞。每隻花神杯的其中一面均繪有一棵花樹或一株植物，另一面則書以相對應的詩文對聯。圖像以五彩工藝繪成，在主要部分施以紅、黃、綠及黑色釉上彩，而藍色部分和詩文則施以青花釉下彩。每隻花神杯杯底均有年款，兩行垂直排列的六字「大清康熙年製」亦以青花寫在雙圈內<sup>7</sup>。

識別花卉方面，一般會用以下幾種方法。第一，將杯面的花卉圖案與真實的天然花卉比對，結果顯示圖案與真實花卉的外觀相近。

第二，詳細分析杯身另一面的詩文內容。杯上的對聯摘自唐詩，學者從《全唐詩》中，找到花神杯 12 對對聯當中的其中十對。康熙皇帝下詔聖旨編纂《全唐詩》，最終製成一本包含了 2,000 多位唐代詩人創作的 48,000 餘首詩的鉅世詩集，由此可證明花神杯與當時的文學作品有密切關係。

第三，把花神杯詩畫與花曆、月令的文字內容比對，便會發現後者的文字記錄中記載了大自然的規律和人民相應的勞動，如東漢時期崔寔（約 103-170）編寫的《四民月令》。這些文字記錄皆為務農社會的重要指引。及後，文人亦效法專研大自然的作家，客觀記錄各類植物的特性，並探討以花卉為主題的文學作品，明代程羽文編寫的《百花曆》及屠本峻編寫的《瓶史月表》皆為相關例子。

第四，探索花卉的常用隱喻，尤其是在詩書畫及吉祥紋飾上的應用。花卉或植物的普遍用途，可反映出其文化涵意及價值，以及人們如何運用各式花卉表達對幸福生活的祈盼。



7 第一隻杯的杯底年款

The reign mark on the base of the first cup

## The Flowers and the Poems on the Cups

Below is a detailed study of the motifs and poems on the cups, and it will focus on the set of cups decorated with *wucaï* enamels. Each cup bears a painting of a flowering tree or plant on one side, and a poetic couplet on the reverse side. The painting was produced by applying the *wucaï* technique, the main part was executed in overglaze red, yellow, green and black enamels while the pictorial areas in blue were done in underglaze blue. The poetic inscription on the reverse side was all calligraphed in underglaze blue. There is a reign mark on the base of each cup—six Chinese characters lining vertically in two columns, which read *Daqing kangxi nian ji* enclosed in a double lined circle, all executed in underglaze blue<sup>7</sup>.

Identification of the flowers depicted on the month cups was done by a number of methods. Firstly, the paintings on the cups were compared to the physical appearance of the plants in the natural world. It was found that the paintings are fairly accurate.

Secondly, the poetic inscriptions on the reverse side were identified. These couplets were selected from Tang poems. Scholars have traced ten out of the 12 couplets to poems collected in *Quan Tang shi* (“The Complete Tang Poems”). Emperor Kangxi ordered the compilation of “The Complete Tang Poems” and the resulting monumental volume consists of over 48,000 poems composed by more than 2,000 Tang poets. This attested to the close relationship between the month cups and the literary tradition in that period.

Thirdly, the literary works with the theme of flowers were compared to writings on agriculture organised in calendars. The latter were the early texts which recorded nature’s cyclical patterns and the corresponding human activities. One of the examples is *Simin yueling* (“The Monthly Ordinances to the Four [Groups of] People”) written by Cui Shi (circa 103–170) of the Eastern Han dynasty. These were important guides for agricultural-based society. In the later periods, literary men joined the authors specialised in writing about nature to record the features of plants objectively. Poetry and literary works about flowers were also examined. In the Ming dynasty, the related literary works include *The Hundred Flower Calendar* written by Cheng Yuwen and *Calendar of the Vase* written by Tu Benjun.

Fourthly, the popular usage of different flowers was traced, particularly the meaning of flowers in rebuses and auspicious motifs. This reflects the cultural meaning and value of different types of flowers or plants, and shows how people wished for good life.



8 (正面) 梅花 (背面) 題字

(Front) Prunus (Back) Inscription

題字內容：「素豔雪凝樹，清香風滿枝。」<sup>10</sup>（摘自許渾作品：《聞薛先輩陪大夫看早梅因寄》）<sup>11</sup>

The inscription reads: Its white beauty is held by the snow on the tree, its fragrance wafts through the branches.<sup>10</sup> It was extracted from the poem by Xu Hun.<sup>11</sup>

## 正月：梅花

梅花（學名：Prunus mume）原產於中國，其樹木及花朵分別統稱為「梅」及「梅花」<sup>8</sup>。梅乃嚴寒春季最先開花的植物，花朵散發芳香。梅結出的果實可製成果汁或調味料，在古時已作釀酒之用。最重要的是，梅花代表春季，也象徵勇氣和誠信，詩句「萬花敢向雪中出，一樹獨開天下春」反映出這些特質。<sup>12</sup> 中國歷史上，梅花妍姿秀麗的美態一直備受不同朝代的詩人、畫家及音樂家歌頌讚美。

裝飾紋樣上通常以五塊圓形花瓣表現梅花。由於梅花是誠信的象徵，常與松樹及竹合併成一組圖案，稱為「歲寒三友」，源於松樹和竹皆為常綠植物，在嚴寒冬季也不曾落葉，跟梅花一樣能在冬季茁壯成長。另一個組合是梅花、蘭花、菊花和竹，稱為「四君子」，這四種植物各具君子獨有的美德。在詩書畫中，喜鵲圖像寓意吉祥，如在梅花樹的枝幹上畫上喜鵲，當中喜鵲的「喜」，與形容高興的「喜」字同音；而梅花的「梅」則與「眉」字諧音；兩者合一寓意「喜上眉（梅）梢」。

## First Month: Prunus

The prunus (*Prunus mume*) is native to China. As a tree it is commonly called Chinese plum, and its flowers are called plum blossoms, which have a unique fragrance<sup>8</sup>. It is the first plant to blossom in spring when the weather is still cold and severe. The fruit was used for making juice, condiment and wine much earlier in history. Most importantly, the flower is considered a symbol of spring. It is also a symbol of courage and integrity since “it dares to blossom in the snowy weather, and act as a messenger of spring.”<sup>12</sup> People’s appreciation for the beauty of plum blossoms lasted throughout history, drawing attention from poets, painters and musicians of different dynasties.

When used as a decorative motif, the prunus is depicted as five round petals. As a symbol of integrity, prunuses are often combined with pines and bamboos to form the motif “Three Friends of Winter”, since both pines and bamboos remain green in the cold weather and do not shed their leaves. In another combination, prunuses are depicted together with orchids, chrysanthemums and bamboos to form “The Four Gentlemen”, each of the four kinds of plants carries some virtuous features comparable to the characters of gentlemen. As an auspicious rebus, a magpie is depicted on a prunus branch, which means “happiness up to the eyebrow”. This rebus employs homophony as the sound of the first word of magpies (*xi que*) is the same as that of the Chinese word, *xi*, which means happiness, while prunus (*mei*) sounds similar to eyebrows (*mei*).

<sup>10</sup> 題字內容的英文版本摘自 Google Art and Culture 網頁刊登的文章《五彩十二花神杯》（中譯），<https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/twelve-cups-in-famille-verte-style-representing-the-flowers-of-the-months/vwERYXWYalKew>（檢索日期：2019-01-30）。

The English translation of the inscription was extracted from the online article, “Twelve cups in Famille-verte style representing the flowers of the months” published by the Google Art and Culture website, <https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/twelve-cups-in-famille-verte-style-representing-the-flowers-of-the-months/vwERYXWYalKew> (retrieved on 30 January 2019).

<sup>11</sup> 題字內容摘自唐代詩人許渾的作品《聞薛先輩陪大夫看早梅因寄》：  
「潤梅寒正發，莫信笛中吹。素豔雪凝樹，清香風滿枝。  
折驚山鳥散，攏任野蜂隨。今日從公醉，何人倒接離。」

The inscription was extracted from the poem, *聞薛先輩陪大夫看早梅因寄*, by Xu Hun, a poet of the Tang dynasty.

<sup>12</sup> 詩句「萬花敢向雪中出，一樹獨開天下春」乃摘自元代詩人楊維禎的《道梅之氣節》。

The verse, “It dares to blossom in the snowy weather, and act as a messenger of spring,” was extracted from *Ode to the Plum Blossom* by Yang Weizhen of the Yuan dynasty.



9 (正面) 杏花 (背面) 題字

(Front) Apricot blossom (Back) Inscription

題字內容：「清香和宿雨，佳色出晴煙。」<sup>13</sup>

The inscription reads: Its fragrance blends with the scent of nocturnal rain, the beautiful colour stands out in sunshine or in mist.<sup>13</sup>

## 二月：杏花

杏樹（學名：Prunus armeniaca）與梅花同屬一科<sup>9</sup>，梅花盛放後，杏樹繼而在農曆二月綻放花朵。這個月又稱為「杏月」，由於雨水充沛，農民必須在此時開始耕作，就如古人曾以「望杏敦耕，瞻蒲勸穡」來形容按時令耕作，因此杏花也象徵開始耕作的季節。<sup>14</sup> 另一方面，杏花盛放亦與醫學有關，傳說三國時代的吳國（222-280）有一醫師名叫董奉，他贈醫施藥，卻從不收取分文，他只叫看診的病人在他住宅附近種植杏樹，從此「杏林」便成為醫學界的代名詞。另一個傳說是據《莊子·漁父》記載，孔子經常在杏壇教學，杏壇因而代表老師傳授知識的地方。

古時，考生完成最後一輪科舉考試，即謂「殿試」後，皇帝會於宮苑設宴款待成功考取功名的學生。這個宮苑在唐代稱為「杏園」，畫家取「宴」之同音異義字「燕」，將燕子繪畫於杏花上，稱為「杏花春宴（燕）」，寓意祝福考生順利通過最後一輪科舉考試，獲得金榜題名。<sup>15</sup>

## Second Month: Apricot Blossom

The apricot tree (*Prunus armeniaca*) is related to the prunus<sup>9</sup>. It blossoms after the prunus in the second lunar month. This month is popularly known as *xing yue* (apricot month). The weather is rainy and farmers have to start their toil in this month, hence apricot flowers symbolise the beginning of the farming season, as reflected from the phrase, "Start farming when you see apricot trees blossoming and calamus growing."<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, the apricot blossom is associated with medicine. According to legend, a healer Dong Feng of the Wu State (222-280) during the Three Kingdom Period asked his patients to plant apricot trees around his home in lieu of medical fees. The term "apricot grove" became equivalent to a place where medicine is practised. According to the legend from *Zhuangzi yufu*, Confucius taught his students at an apricot pavilion (*xingtian*), since then "apricot pavilion" signifies a place where teachers gave their lessons.

Upon completion of the final imperial examinations, emperors would hold a banquet for successful candidates. In the Tang dynasty, the banquet was held in an imperial garden named Apricot Grove. This is the background for the rebus depicting a picture of apricot blossoms with swallows. It is a rebus delivering a wish for scholars to pass the final examinations with best results.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> 題字內容摘自唐代詩人錢起的作品《酬長孫繹藍溪寄杏》：  
「愛君藍水上，種杏近成田。拂徑清陰合，臨流彩實懸。  
清香和宿雨，佳色出晴煙。懿此傾筐贈，想知懷橘年。  
芳馨來滿袖，瓊玖願酬篇。把玩情何極，雲林若眼前。」

The inscription was extracted from the poem, 酬長孫繹藍溪寄杏, by Qian Qi, a poet of the Tang dynasty.

<sup>14</sup> 摘自南朝陳徐陵的徐州刺史侯安都德政碑。

The phrase was extracted from the Provincial Governor Hou Andou's Virtuous Governance Monument of Chen Xuling of the Southern Dynasties.

<sup>15</sup> T.T. Bartholomew, *Hidden Meanings in Chinese Art* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum — Chong-Moon Lee Center for Asian Art and Culture, 2006), 85.

## 三月：桃花

從植物學角度而言，桃樹（學名：Prunus persica）與梅和杏屬於同科植物<sup>10</sup>。桃樹在農曆三月開花，因此這個月又稱為「桃月」。桃花的顏色由純白到深紅，如以圖畫或裝飾圖案表達，桃花有五塊末端偏尖的花瓣，枝上伴以綠色尖形葉子，與梅花最大的分別是，梅花花瓣呈圓形，並且不以葉子襯托。桃花亦常用於園藝景觀設計，杭州西湖沿岸可見桃樹和垂柳交替排列，展現出暮春最常見的桃紅柳綠景緻。

早於《詩經》記載，桃花是春季的象徵；在《詩經·周南》內，年輕女士的美態媲美桃花嬌艷，因此桃花也象徵浪漫和戀愛。<sup>16</sup> 此外，在東晉時期，陶淵明（約365-427）的詩作《桃花源記》內所描述的桃花，亦令人聯想到世外桃源。這首詩形容一名漁夫穿越一個桃花林，走進了遠離戰火的隱世桃源，他與那兒的居民閒談並逗留了一周，重返外面的世界時，發現已度過了漫長歲月，他亦無法再找到那個桃林。因此，「世外桃源」被喻為超脫凡塵，卻已遺失在世的理想烏托邦。

## Third Month: Peach Blossom

Botanically speaking, the peach tree (*Prunus persica*) belongs to the same family of the prunus and apricot<sup>10</sup>. The peach blossoms in the third month of the lunar calendar, which was known as *tao yue*, the peach month. The colour of the flowers ranges from white to red. Depicted in paintings and as a decorative motif, the peach blossom has five petals with pointed tips. It is often accompanied by a sprig of lance-shaped leaves, differentiating itself from the prunus, which is depicted with five round petals without leaves. Peach trees are commonly used for gardening and landscaping. For example, on the banks of the West Lake in Hangzhou the peach trees are often alternated with willow trees, together they outline the lake with peach blossoms and green willows, delineating a typical scene of late spring.

The peach blossom is a symbol of spring, which was mentioned as early as in the *Shijing* ("The Book of Odes"). According to *The Odes of Zhou and the South*, the flower is often compared to a young lady by virtue of the beauty, hence it is also a symbol of love and romance.<sup>16</sup> Later, the peach blossom became associated with the utopian world as described in the work *Tao hua yuan ji* ("The Peach Blossom Spring") written by Tao Yuanming (circa 365-427) of the Eastern Jin dynasty. This work described a fisherman entering a grove of blossoming peach trees and finally reaching a secluded world away from warfare. After staying there for a week conversing with the habitants, he returned to the outside world and recognised much time had passed, and could not find the way to the grove again. This peach blossom grove was said to be an ideal and a lost utopia beyond the real world.



10 (正面) 桃花 (背面) 題字

(Front) Peach blossom (Back) Inscription

題字內容：「風光新社燕（鶯），時節舊春農。」<sup>17</sup>

The inscription reads: The blossom sways in the wind when the swallow returns from the south, it is the season in late spring when farmers return to their fields.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> 《詩經·周南》內文：「桃之夭夭，灼灼其華。之子于歸，宜其室家。」

*Shijing-Zhounan* ("The Book of Odes - The Odes of Zhou and the South").

<sup>17</sup> 題字內容摘自唐代詩人薛能的作品《桃花》：

「香色自天種，千年豈易逢。開齊全未落，繁極欲相重。  
冷濕朝如淡，晴幹午更濃。風光新社燕（鶯），時節舊春農。  
籬落敬臨竹，亭台盛問松。亂緣堪羨蟻，深入不如蜂。  
有影宜喧煦，無言自冶容。洞連非俗世，溪靜接仙蹤。  
子熟河應變，根盤土已封。西王潛愛惜，東朔盜過從。  
醉席眠英好，題詩戀景慵。芳菲聊一望，何必在臨邛。」

The inscription was extracted from the poem, 桃花, by Xue Neng, a poet of the Tang dynasty.

桃子是桃樹的果實，當桃子成熟時，味道清甜。桃子亦令人聯想到長生不老，傳說西王母的瑤池種植了一棵桃樹，歷時 3,000 年才會開花結果。西王母在天庭設宴時，向眾仙來賓贈予蟠桃，因此桃子寓意長壽，後人將用具或衣服綴以桃子圖案，也有人把桃子、石榴和佛手圖像結集成一幅名為「三多」圖，石榴象徵「多子」，佛手象徵「多福」，而桃子則象徵「多壽」，三者組合寓意「多子、多福、多壽」。

此外，坊間亦流傳桃木能驅邪，每當農曆新年，人們便會在家門上貼上一對書以兩名護法天神名字的桃符，祈求能驅邪並招來好運。宋代王安石（1021-1086）詩《元日》有記載這個傳統。<sup>18</sup>

#### 四月：牡丹

牡丹（學名：*Paeonia suffruticosa*）源生於中國<sup>11</sup>，於農曆三月的暮春時分開花，也正值穀雨節氣來臨的季節。牡丹體積較大，有多層花瓣，色彩鮮艷，茂盛豐盈。因為其美態懾人、氣質高貴，與草本花卉芍藥同屬，共享「花中之王」的美譽。自唐代起，人們認為牡丹美態萬千，到了開花季節，還特意到當時的首都長安，一睹開遍各花園的艷麗牡丹。到宋朝有不少文人佳作以牡丹為題材，他們在牡丹盛放的時分，會品嚐時令美酒佳餚，而士大夫和詩人亦以詩詞頌讚牡丹艷壓群芳。

The peach fruit, a delicious item when harvested, is associated with immortality. According to legend, the peach tree was grown in the garden of the Queen Mother of the West, taking 3,000 years to blossom. At the heavenly banquets, the Queen Mother of the West would give peaches to the attending immortal guests. Hence the peach is a symbol of longevity and was used to decorate utensils and textiles. For the peach stands for “long life”, its combination with the pomegranate implies “many sons”; and the Buddha’s finger citron implies “many fortunes”, together they form an auspicious wish of “The Three Plenties”.

There is also a popular belief that the wood of the peach tree can drive away evils. Therefore people are used to putting up a pair of peach wood plaques inscribed with the names of two heavenly guardians on their doors in the Lunar New Year, so that they can dispel evils and bring good luck.<sup>18</sup> The poem “New Year” by Wang Anshi (1021-1086) of the Song dynasty recounted the tradition.

#### Fourth Month: Peony

The peony (*Paeonia suffruticosa*) is native to China<sup>11</sup>. The blooming season is late spring, the third month on the lunar calendar, which coincided with a solar term known as “Grain Rain”. The flowers are large and the petals are in multiple layers, appearing in many different colours and giving a luxuriant look. It is called the “King of Flowers” because of its unique beauty and noble character. Such title and description are shared with *shaoyao* – the herbaceous peony. In fact, *mudan* is a kind of tree peony and botanically related to *shaoyao*. They belong to the same genus *Paeonia*. The ancients considered the peony possesses great beauty. In the Tang dynasty, people would travel to the gardens at the capital, Chang’an, to view



<sup>11</sup> (正面) 牡丹 (背面) 題字  
(Front) Peony (Back) Inscription  
題字內容：「曉豔遠分金掌露，暮香深惹玉堂風。」<sup>19</sup>  
The inscription reads: At dawn its ravishing beauty claims the jin zhang’s share of the dew; at dusk, its fragrance entices the wind to blow through the Jade Hall.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> 宋代王安石《元日》：「爆竹一聲除舊歲，春風送暖入屠蘇。千門萬戶曠曠日，總把新桃換舊符。」  
*Yuan ri* by Wang Anshi of the Song dynasty.

<sup>19</sup> 題字內容摘自唐代詩人韓琮的作品《牡丹》：  
「桃時杏日不爭濃，葉帳陰成始放紅。曉豔遠分金掌露，暮香深惹玉堂風。  
名移蘭杜千年後，貴擅笙歌百醉中。如夢如仙忽零落，暮霞何處綠屏空。」  
The inscription was extracted from the poem, *牡丹*, by Han Cong, a poet of the Tang dynasty.

文化意義上，牡丹亦是財富和優越地位的象徵，坊間有不少寓意吉祥的祝福常以牡丹為題材。插在花瓶的牡丹象徵「平安富貴」；與長春花組合則寓意「長春富貴」；與萬年青組合寓意「萬年富貴」。此外，「公雞鳴」的其中二字與「功名」同音，因此牡丹與公雞組成「功名富貴」的祝福語。而牡丹與玉蘭、海棠則組成「玉堂富貴」的吉祥語。在香港文化博物館的「展堂一鱗」展覽內，其中一件展品為緞絲牡丹掛幅，展示了牡丹長於岩石上，而玉蘭和海棠則見於掛幅的右上方；左方則是一對雀鳥，鳥冠透出白斑，稱為白頭翁。整幅圖畫象徵一對老伴相依到白頭，因此，這幅畫寓意「富貴白頭」，祝福一對伴侶可長相廝守，富貴與共。圖畫的左方還可看見象徵長壽的岩石與靈芝<sup>12</sup>。

peonies in the blooming season. In the Song dynasty there were many written works about the peony. People would enjoy the flowers with seasonal food and wine. Scholars and poets also praised their beauty in their compositions.

The peony is a symbol of wealth and distinction, and is very popular in auspicious wishes. Peonies in a vase stands for “peace and wealth”. The combination of the peony and Chinese rose stands for “wealth, honor and long life”. The peony with *wannianqing* (*Rohdea japonica*) stands for “wealth for ten thousand years”. When a peony combines with a rooster, they constitute a wish for “conferment of official rank, wealth and honor” because a crowing rooster is a pun for “official rank”. When peonies are depicted with magnolias and crab apples, they form the rebus, “may your noble house be blessed with wealth and honor”. In the exhibition, “A Glimpse of Tsui’s Collection”, there was a *kesi* textile panel with peonies spreading on a rock landscape. Magnolias and crab apples are depicted in the upper right area, and on the left there are a pair of birds with white spots on their heads. They symbolise an old couple who stay together until their hair turns white. The rebus means “a wish for a couple to stay long-life and wealthy together.” Other symbols of longevity include the rocks and *lingzhi* fungus on the left<sup>12</sup>.



<sup>12</sup> 緞絲牡丹掛幅 | 清 | 高 80.7 厘米；闊 129.5 厘米 | 徐氏藝術基金藏品  
*Kesi* panel with peonies | Qing dynasty | Height: 80.7 cm Width: 129.5 cm | Collection of the Tsui Art Foundation



13 (正面) 石榴花 (背面) 題字

(Front) Pomegranate (Back) Inscription

題字內容：「露色珠簾映，香風粉壁遮。」<sup>20</sup>

The inscription reads: Its colour dampened with dew is reflected on the beaded curtain, the breeze scented with its fragrance is shielded by the powdered wall.<sup>20</sup>

## 五月：石榴花

由於石榴花（學名：*Punica granatum*）是火紅色<sup>13</sup>，並且在夏季綻放，用石榴花開來比喻炎炎夏日最切合不過，石榴於五月開花，該月因而稱為「榴月」。石榴樹源生於現在的伊朗和印度北部，相傳中國漢代（公元前206 - 公元後220）張騫開拓絲綢之路時已引入石榴花，不少詩人被石榴花的亮麗色彩深深吸引。此外，由於石榴果實含有大量種子，中國人普遍將石榴比喻為「多子」。描繪石榴熟成開裂、種子滿溢的「年畫」非常盛行，其中「榴開百子」圖，就描繪了一個胖白童子站著，手抱一個裂開的成熟石榴，寓意「多子」祝福。在「福壽三多」的圖畫中，石榴、桃子及佛手柑組成一幅圖畫，名為「福壽三多」，其中佛手柑寓意「多福」，桃子寓意「多壽」，而石榴則寓意「多子」。「冠帶流（榴）傳」的圖畫則描述幾名童子手拉盛載石榴、冠帽和玉帶的木船玩具，代表祝願父子皆能獲得官職。

## Fifth Month: Pomegranate Blossom

The flower of the pomegranate (*Punica granatum*) is fiery red, it is much suited to symbolise the hot weather of summer in which it blooms<sup>13</sup>. The fifth month was known as *liu yue*, the pomegranate month. The pomegranate tree was native to Modern day Iran and Northern India, and was said to be introduced to China in the Han Period (206BC-AD220) when Zhang Qian opened up the Silk Road. While poets were attracted by the bright colour of the flowers, the general populace in China are keen to note that the fruit holds plenty of seeds. Hence the fruit is a symbol of “many sons”. The image depicting a ripe and opened pomegranate with its seeds exposed is popular in New Year pictures (*nian hua*). They often depict a fat boy standing up and holding a ripe and opened pomegranate, signifying a wish for many sons. As the pomegranate stands for “many sons”, the Buddha’s hand citron *foshou* is homophonous with “many blessings”, and the peach stands for “longevity”; together they form the rebus, “The Three Plenties” or “The Three Abundances”. The pomegranate can also combine with a toy boat carrying an official’s hat towed along by boys to represent the rebus — a wish that both the father and sons hold official positions.

<sup>20</sup> 題字內容摘自唐代詩人孫逖的作品《同和詠樓前海石榴二首》：

「客自新亭郡，朝來數物華。傳君妓樓好，初落海榴花。  
露色珠簾映，香風粉壁遮。更宜林下雨，日晚逐行車。  
海上移珍木，樓前詠所思。遙聞下車日，正在落花時。  
舊綠香行蓋，新紅灑步綦。從來寒不易，終見久逾滋。」

The inscription was extracted from the poem, *同和詠樓前海石榴二首*, by Sun Ti, a poet of the Tang dynasty.

## 六月：蓮花

蓮花（學名：*Nelumbo nucifera*），又稱為「荷花」，源生於中國，在炎夏綻放。在池塘中成長的蓮花，根部長於泥土內，但荷葉及蓮花則伸出水面而不沾染泥土，因而象徵純潔和高貴<sup>14</sup>。歷年來，不少詩人及藝術家對蓮花的美態甚為讚歎。北宋詩人周敦頤（1017-1073）的作品《愛蓮說》，便以「出淤泥而不染」來描述蓮花的特性，更以「花之君子」來形容蓮花。<sup>21</sup>

蓮花有很多不同品種，並蒂蓮是其中一種，象徵夫妻恩愛甜蜜，有些圖畫將蓮花與鴛鴦組合成一幅構圖，寓意「鴛鴦並蒂」，而鴛鴦本身象徵伴侶對彼此忠誠，畢生相守於同一位伴侶，常用來比喻恩愛夫妻。

蓮花常見於詩書畫當中，透過配合其他物件的諧音，可以組合出不同含意的構圖——蓮花的「蓮」，跟「連」同音，有「連綿不斷」的意思；而蓮子以顆粒計算，「顆」與「科」諧音，令人聯想到科舉考試，因此，圖畫包含一隻鸞、一朵蓮花和一個蓮蓬於池塘中，構成「一路連科」圖，寓意科舉考試逢關過關。此外，蓮花的「蓮」也與「廉」的發音近似，因此「一品清廉」常用於勸喻或讚美官員保持誠實和清廉的美德。

## Sixth Month: Lotus

The lotus (*Nelumbo nucifera*) is named *he hua* or *lian hua* in Chinese. It is native to China and blooms in hot weather. The lotus is grown in ponds, its roots are embedded in mud, but its leaves and flowers rise above the pond and are untainted by mud. It is therefore considered a symbol of purity and nobleness<sup>14</sup>. Poets and artists have praised it for ages. Zhou Dunyi (1017-1073), a writer of the Northern Song dynasty, wrote a prose, “The Love for Lotus” (*Ai lian shou*), to highlight the unique feature of the lotus, “...uncorrupted by the mire it sprouts from...”, and coined the lotus “The Gentleman among Flowers”.<sup>21</sup>

The lotus has a variety of forms, one of them is double flowers, which is considered a symbol of conjugal happiness; in some cases they are depicted together with a pair of mandarin ducks, which symbolise faithfulness as they accompany with one partner throughout their lifetime.

The lotus image is found in many rebuses by virtue of its name. Its Chinese character, “*lian*”, is homophonous with another Chinese word “*lian*”, which means continuous. Its pod contains lotus seeds that are counted by pieces (“*ke*”), which is homophonous with another Chinese word “*ke*” implying “imperial examinations”. An image showing a pond with an egret, a lotus flower and a pod constitutes a wish for continued success in examinations. As “*lian*” (lotus) also sounds like another Chinese word “*lian*”, which means integrity, the image of a lotus flower or the plant itself is a symbol of integrity and being free from corruption. It is used to advise or praise the officials the importance of keeping their integrity.



14 (正面) 蓮花 (背面) 題字

(Front) Lotus (Back) Inscription

題字內容：「根是泥中玉，心承露下珠。」<sup>22</sup>

The inscription reads: Its roots are like jade, unsullied by mud, like pearls are the dewdrops caught on its heart-shaped leaves.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> 北宋時期周敦頤的作品《愛蓮說》：「予獨愛蓮之出淤泥而不染，濯清漣而不妖。中通外直，不蔓不枝。香遠益清，亭亭淨植，可遠觀而不可褻玩焉。」

*Ai lian shou* (“The Love for Lotus”) by Zhou Dunyi of the Northern Song dynasty.

<sup>22</sup> 題字內容摘自唐代詩人李群玉的作品《蓮葉》：

「根是泥中玉，心承露下珠。在君塘下種，埋沒任春浦。」

The inscription was extracted from the poem, *蓮葉*, by Li Qunyu, a poet of the Tang dynasty.

蓮花的蓮蓬包含很多蓮子，象徵肥沃或豐饒，畫家描繪蓮花綻放時，也同時描寫蓮蓬以喻多子。另一個形象是一個童子手持一朵蓮花或蓮蓬，也同樣寓意「連生貴子」。年畫中也盛行繪畫一個童子拿著一尾魚，旁邊有一朵蓮花，由於「魚」與「餘」屬同音異義字，兩者組合寓意「連年有餘」，比喻年復年獲享豐盛盈餘。

除此之外，由於蓮花本身象徵純潔，因此也與宗教連上關係。在一些與佛教相關的圖畫中，佛祖和觀世音等神明通常坐在蓮花座上。在描繪西方極樂世界的圖像中，往生者的靈魂復活後，化身為蓮花內的童子。相傳佛祖出生時留下的足印，隨即轉化成蓮花，稱為「步步生蓮」。

The seedpod contains many seeds and is considered a symbol of fertility. Since the seedpod is visible when the flower begins to bloom, the combination of a lotus and its seedpod symbolises fruitfulness and many offspring. Another version is a boy holding a lotus or a seedpod. Some New Year pictures depict a boy holding a fish with a lotus beside him—The fish (“*yu*”) is homophonous with the Chinese word “*yu*”, which means “surplus”, hence the rebus means “abundance year after year”.

The lotus is associated with religious faith because of its purity; for example, celestial beings such as Buddha or *Guanyin* are depicted sitting on lotus pedestals in Buddhist paintings. In some depictions of the Western Paradise, the souls of the deceased are reborn as young boys in lotus flowers. The Buddha himself was said to leave footprints which spring into lotus blossoms as soon as he was born.



15 (正面) 月季 (背面) 題字  
(Front) Chinese rose  
(Back) Inscription  
題字內容：「不隨千種盡，獨放一年紅。」<sup>23</sup>  
The inscription reads: Unlike a thousand other flowers that bloom and perish, it alone blazes red throughout the year.<sup>23</sup>

## 七月：月季

中國的玫瑰又稱為「月季」（學名：*Rosa chinensis* Jacq.），屬於薔薇屬，除了月季，這科植物也包含薔薇（學名：*Rosa multiflora*）和玫瑰（學名：*Rosa rugosa*）。然而，不論月季、薔薇或玫瑰，英文一律統稱為「rose」，外行人或會感到混淆<sup>15</sup>。薔薇屬科植物在西方國家非常盛行，雜交品種亦十分常見。月季源生於中國，長年開花，所以也稱為「長春花」或「月月紅」，這個顯著特徵早在古時已被發現。

## Seventh Month: Chinese Rose

The Chinese rose is named *yue ji*. Botanically speaking, *yue ji* (*Rosa chinensis* Jacq.) belongs to the big family of *Rosa*, which includes *qiang wei* (*Rosa multiflora*) and *mei gui* (*Rosa rugosa*). In English all three are known as “rose”, hence causing some confusion to laymen<sup>15</sup>. This family of flowers is extremely popular and has undergone a lot of cross breeding in the Western world. *Yue ji* is grown in China and blooms all the year round, hence it is also named *Changchunhua*, which literally means “flowers blossoming all year round”, and *yue yue hong* means “blooming every month”. This notable feature has been observed since early times.

<sup>23</sup> 題字內容出處未明。

The source of the inscription is unknown.



16 月季綬帶鳥紋百寶嵌木盒 | 清 |  
高 8.2 厘米；徑 14.9 厘米 | 徐氏藝術基金藏品  
Wooden box with inlaid decoration of a bird and roses |  
Qing dynasty | Height: 8.2 cm Width: 14.9 cm |  
Collection of the Tsui Art Foundation

著名詩人蘇東坡在他的作品中以「一年常佔四時春」來形容月季；<sup>24</sup> 在詩書畫或裝飾圖案中，月季圖畫象徵「四季」或「長春」；花瓶的「瓶」與平安的「平」乃同音異義字，如在花瓶上繪畫月季圖案，象徵「四季平安」。徐氏藝術基金收集了一個鑲嵌了半寶石的百寶嵌木盒，展現了月季和綬帶鳥圖案，這種鳥有一條絲帶般的長尾巴，象徵長壽，整幅構圖寓意「四季長壽」<sup>16</sup>。

Poet Su Dongpo wrote, “It blooms in all the four seasons.”<sup>24</sup> The Chinese rose is often used to symbolise “four seasons” or “all year round” in rebuses and decorative motifs. A scene of roses held in a vase denotes “may you have peace throughout the year” as the Chinese word for a vase, “*ping*”, is a homophone for the Chinese word for peace. The Tsui Art Foundation collects a wooden box inlaid with semi-precious stones with the motifs of Chinese roses and *shou dai niao*, a ribbon-tailed bird that symbolises long life because of its long tail. This rebus means “a wish for longevity throughout the seasons”<sup>16</sup>.

## 八月：桂花

桂花樹（學名：*Osmanthus fragrans*）源生於南中國，在秋季開花，枝葉長滿一簇簇小花朵<sup>17</sup>。由於桂花香氣襲人，古時的宮庭庭園和花園皆種滿桂花。桂花樹的花朵及其他部分常作釀酒、製造食品及製藥之用。後來桂花、神仙和長生不老的概念開始互有關

## Eighth Month: Osmanthus

The osmanthus tree (*Osmanthus fragrans*) grows in the southern regions of China. It blooms in autumn, bearing small fragrant flowers that grow in clusters<sup>17</sup>. Because of its attractive fragrance, it had been grown in palace grounds and gardens since early times. Its flowers and other parts of the plant were used for making wine, food and medicine. Later it became associated with fairies and immortality.



17 (正面) 桂花 (背面) 題字  
(Front) Osmanthus  
(Back) Inscription  
題字內容：「枝生無限月，花滿自然秋。」<sup>25</sup>  
The inscription reads: The branches of osmanthus are nurtured over endless months. When they are laden with flowers, surely it is autumn.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> 北宋詩人蘇東坡的作品《月季》：「花落花開無間斷，春來春去不相關；牡丹最貴惟春晚，芍藥雖繁只夏初，唯有此花開不厭，一年常佔四時春。」

The phrase was extracted from *Yue ji* (“Chinese Rose”) by Su Dongpo, a poet of the Northern Song dynasty.

<sup>25</sup> 題字內容摘自唐代詩人李嶠的作品《桂》：「未殖銀宮裡，寧移玉殿幽。枝生無限月，花滿自然秋。俠客條為馬，仙人葉作舟。願君期道術，攀折可淹留。」

The inscription was extracted from the poem, *桂*, by Li Qiao, a poet of the Tang dynasty.

聯：民間流傳月上有一株丹桂樹，當時吳剛因犯下大錯觸怒炎帝而被處罰，他被下令到月亮砍伐這株丹桂樹，可是這棵樹隨砍隨合，他被迫生生世世在月亮砍樹。另一個傳說故事的主角嫦娥，因服用了長生不老藥而飛奔到月亮，中秋節正是嫦娥奔月當日，即農曆八月十五日，後人每逢到了當日看到滿月，總會聯想到吳剛和嫦娥的故事，而八月也因此而稱為「桂月」。

在詩書畫當中，以桂花寓意吉祥的圖案相當盛行。桂花的「桂」與富貴的「貴」為同音異義字，所以桂花也象徵富貴；當桂花與芙蓉組合的構圖，寓意「夫榮妻貴」；而童子拿著桂樹樹枝，則寓意「生貴子」。桂樹也與科舉及第連上關係，晉代(265-420)有一名士大夫郗詵，當他回應武帝有關他作為朝廷大臣的貢獻時，他將自己比喻為「猶桂林之一枝」，<sup>26</sup> 乃因為科舉考試通常在農曆八月舉行，正值桂花最燦爛盛放的時期，凡考試合格的考生也被冠以「月中折桂」的稱號。而在漢代已有「月中蟾蜍」的傳說，所以也稱「蟾宮折桂」，同樣祝福考生高中狀元。

According to legend, there was an osmanthus tree growing in the moon. Wu Gang, a man who had done some misdeeds to anger the gods, was punished and doomed to cut this tree which could immediately heal and grow again. Another legend is about the story of Chang'e, a lady who swallowed the elixir of immortality and flew to the moon. At the Mid-Autumn Festival, which is on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, people are used to looking up at the full moon in the sky and associating it with the above two stories. The eighth month in the lunar calendar is known as *gui yue*, the osmanthus month.

The osmanthus is a popular motif in auspicious rebuses. The Chinese character, “*gui*”, is homophonous with the second word of a Chinese phrase “*fu gui*”, which means noble or wealthy. The combination of osmanthus and hibiscuses means “both husband and wife are prosperous”. A boy holding an osmanthus branch is a wish for giving birth to a son. The osmanthus is also associated with a scholar who passed the imperial examinations. In the Jin dynasty (265-420), a scholar official, Que Shen, replied to Emperor Wudi and compared himself to a branch on the osmanthus tree when mentioning his contribution to the court.<sup>26</sup> Since the examination was conducted in the eighth lunar month, when osmanthus flowers were in full bloom, the scholar who had passed the examinations was described as “plucking a branch of the osmanthus in the moon”. Derived from the association of the moon with a toad in a legend of the Han dynasty, an alternative phrase, “plucking a branch of the osmanthus in the Toad Palace (i.e. the moon)”, refers to the same wish for achieving “success in the imperial examination”.



18 (正面) 菊花 (背面) 題字

(Front) Chrysanthemum  
(Back) Inscription

題字內容：「千載白衣酒，  
一生青女霜（香）。」<sup>27</sup>

The inscription reads: A thousand years ago, a white-garbed attendant brought wine (to Tao Yuanming), throughout his life (he treasured) the fragrance of the chrysanthemum.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> 《晉書·郗詵傳》：「臣舉賢良對策，為天下第一，猶桂林之一枝，崑山之片玉。」摘自何小顏：《花的檔案》台北：台灣商務印書館，2001，頁191-192。

*Jin shu xi xian chuan* (“History of the Jin—The Biography of Xi Xian”) quoted from He Xiaoyan, *Hua de dang an* (“The Profiles of Flowers”) (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 2001), 191-192.

<sup>27</sup> 題字內容摘自唐代詩人羅隱的作品《菊》：

「籬落歲雲暮，數枝聊自芳。  
雪裁纖蕊密，金拆小苞香。  
千載白衣酒，一生青女霜（香）。  
春叢莫輕薄，彼此有行藏。」

The inscription was extracted from the poem, 菊, by Luo Yin, a poet of the Tang dynasty.

## 九月：菊花

菊花（學名：Chrysanthemum）在亞洲及北歐生長<sup>18</sup>，早已在《禮記》的月令一節有所記載——「季秋之月，鞠有黃華。」<sup>28</sup> 因此農曆九月稱為「菊月」。菊花的枝幹強韌，葉子茂盛，即使凋謝了，花朵和葉子都不會掉落，人們因此視菊花為長壽、貞潔和不屈不撓的象徵。在戰國時代，詩人屈原（約公元前340-278）的作品《離騷》，就提到他喜愛的「春蘭兮秋菊」。<sup>29</sup> 依據詩的內容，可了解到菊花與秋季有特別關聯。早期菊花用於烹調和製作食物，也應用於中藥配方，菊花有「舒肝、驅風和清熱」作用，其中白菊花更可明目。<sup>30</sup> 在漢代，菊花被摘取作釀酒之用，因為人們相信長時間飲用菊花釀造的酒，可以延年益壽，<sup>31</sup> 古時人們特別在農曆九月九日重陽節飲用菊花酒，當日百姓還會登高，並在屋內放置或在身上佩帶茱萸葉，期望能達到驅邪作用。<sup>32</sup>

此外，菊花代表簡約隱逸的生活，與紛擾繁雜的官場仕途形成強烈對比，晉代詩人陶淵明正正是一個例子，他自從隱退官場後，在小屋內用心培植菊花，<sup>33</sup> 菊花因此有「花之隱士」之稱。菊花圖像也可作為吉祥祝福，菊花與壽石的組合寓意「福壽綿綿」或「萬壽無疆」。此外，菊花與鶴鵲和落葉組合時，由於「鶴」與「安」、「落葉」與「樂業」為諧音字或詞語，三者合併的構圖寓意「安居樂業」。

## Ninth Month: Chrysanthemum

The chrysanthemum (*Chrysanthemum*) is native to Asia and northern Europe<sup>18</sup>. It was described textually as early as in the *Yue ling* chapter of *Liji* (“Book of Rites”), “It blooms in deep autumn with yellow flowers” in the ninth month.<sup>28</sup> The ninth lunar month was also known as *ju yue*, the chrysanthemum month. The chrysanthemum has strong stalks, dense foliage, and the flowers and leaves do not fall off even after they have withered. People consider such features symbolic qualities of longevity, chastity and unyielding strength. In the Warring States period, poet Qu Yuan (circa 340-278BC) mentioned in his work *Li Sao* (“Songs of Parting”) that “spring cymbidium/orchid and autumn chrysanthemum” are the flowers he loved.<sup>29</sup> Henceforth this flower was specifically linked to autumn. Initially the chrysanthemum was used in food and cuisines. It is also used in Chinese medicine, the flower is able to “relieve the liver, dispel wind and clear heat”, while white chrysanthemums are considered good for eyes.<sup>30</sup> In the Han dynasty, chrysanthemums were picked and made into wine, and it was believed that drinking it over a long period of time will enhance longevity.<sup>31</sup> In particular, the wine was drunk at the *Chongyang* festival or Double Nine Festival in the ninth lunar month. On this day people climb hills to avoid evils, put *zhu yu* (dogwood leaves) in their house or wear them on their clothes.<sup>32</sup>

The chrysanthemum is also associated with a simple and secluded way of life, as opposed to the busy and colourful life of an official. This was expounded by the Jin dynasty poet Tao Yuanming, who retired from his official position to stay in his cottage and tended his garden of chrysanthemums.<sup>33</sup> Therefore this flower is known as “The Hermit of Flowers”. In some images of auspicious wishes, the chrysanthemum is depicted with a *Taihu* rock, which means “double longevity” or “everlasting life”. The flower can also be depicted with the quail (“*an*”), which is homophonous with the Chinese word “ease” (“*an*”); and “maple leaves”, which sounds like “pleasant engagement” (“*le ye*”), forming the wish, “to live and work in peace”.

<sup>28</sup> 《禮記·月令》：「季秋之月，鞠有黃華。」

The phrase was extracted from *Liji yueling* (“Book of Rites—Monthly Ordinances”).

<sup>29</sup> 楚國詩人屈原作品《離騷》：「春蘭兮秋菊，長無絕兮終古。」

*Li Sao* was written by Qu Yuan, a poet in the Warring States period.

<sup>30</sup> 資料來源：<https://www.acupuncturetoday.com/herbcentral/chrysanthemum.php>。

Source: <https://www.acupuncturetoday.com/herbcentral/chrysanthemum.php>.

<sup>31</sup> 《神農本草經》：「菊花久服利血氣、輕身及耐老延年。」摘自註23，頁194。

*Shen nong ben cao jing* (“Divine Farmer’s Classic of Materia Medica”) quoted from Note 22, 194.

<sup>32</sup> 《西京雜記》卷三：「九月九日，佩茱萸，食蓬餌，飲菊華酒，令人長壽。」摘自註23。

*Xi jing za ji juan san* (“Miscellaneous Records of the Western Capital, Chapter 3”) quoted from Note 23.

<sup>33</sup> 陶淵明《飲酒詩》第五：「結廬在人境，而無車馬喧。問君何能爾？心遠地自偏。採菊東籬下，悠然見南山。山氣日夕佳，飛鳥相與還。此中有真意，欲辯已忘言。」

*Yin jiu si di wu* (“The Drinking Wine Poem, Part 5”) by Tao Yuanming, a poet of the Eastern Jin dynasty.



19 (正面) 蘭花 (背面) 題字  
(Front) Cymbidium (Back) Inscription  
題字內容：「廣殿輕香發，高臺遠吹吟。」<sup>34</sup>

The inscription reads: The delicate fragrance of cymbidium pervades the spacious palace, stirring thoughts of the far capital.<sup>34</sup>

## 十月：蘭花

在農曆十月，大部分的花草已經凋謝，而蘭花（學名：Cymbidium）則會在不同季節開花。

蘭花在草叢及潮濕陰暗的地方生長，花朵的顏色並不亮麗，因此，如蘭花沒有花香，便很難引起人們注意。蘭花的花香清淡而持久，即使無人觀賞，在草叢中生長的蘭花仍會散發芳香<sup>19</sup>，古人視這種特質為一種美德；《孔子家語》曾提及古人將君子媲美蘭花——真正的君子並不會因孤獨或窮困而變節，<sup>35</sup>他建議人應該只限與品德高尚的人為伍，蘭花也因此被譽為「花之君子」。古時文人將蘭花放在他們的書齋，作裝飾或繪畫之用，或藉由蘭花烘托他們的高尚情操。

蘭花的葉子像竹葉般在冬天保持常綠，而蘭花、梅花、菊花和竹更被合稱為四君子，後人常稱之為「梅蘭菊竹」。

## Tenth Month: Cymbidium

In the tenth month of the lunar calendar, most of the flowers and grass have wilted, but cymbidiums (*Cymbidium*) can bloom in different seasons.

The cymbidium is known to grow among grass and in shady humid places, and the flowers are not bright in colour. The fragrance is subtle and long-lasting. It exudes a stable and long-lasting fragrance despite having no admirer<sup>19</sup>, and this becomes a virtue in the eyes of the ancients. Confucius compared gentlemen to the flower, saying that true gentlemen continue to behave virtuously even they are in solitude or in poverty.<sup>35</sup> He also advised that one should only befriend virtuous people. In the light of his sayings, the cymbidium is called “The Gentleman among Flowers”. Scholars loved to have it in their studios for decoration and painting, as well as underlining their noble character.

The leaves of cymbidiums stay green in winter, just like bamboo leaves. It is named one of “The Four Gentlemen”; the other three are the prunus, chrysanthemum and bamboo.

<sup>34</sup> 題字內容摘自唐代詩人李嶠的作品《蘭》：  
「虛室重招尋，忘言契斷金。  
英浮漢家酒，雪儷楚王琴。  
廣殿輕香發，高臺遠吹吟。  
河汾應擢秀，誰肯訪山陰。」

The inscription was extracted from the poem, 蘭, by Li Qiao, a poet of the Tang dynasty.

<sup>35</sup> 《孔子家語》：「芝蘭生於深谷，不以無人而不芳。君子修道之德，不為困窮而改節。」摘自何小顏：《花的檔案》（台北：台灣商務印書館，2001），頁93。

*Kongzi jiaoyu* (“School Sayings of Confucius”) quoted from He Xiao Yan, *Hua de dang an* (“The Profiles of Flowers”) (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 2001), 93.



20 (正面) 水仙 (背面) 題字  
(Front) Narcissus  
(Back) Inscription  
題字內容：「春風弄玉來清晝，  
夜月凌波上大堤。」<sup>36</sup>  
The inscription reads: The  
spring breeze blows playfully  
over the rose, heralding a clear  
day, under the moonlight the  
narcissi are massed on Dati.<sup>36</sup>

## 十一月：水仙

水仙屬於石蒜科植物，屬於較龐大的植物科，其中包括黃水仙，是一種生長於地中海和西非的黃色花朵<sup>20</sup>。水仙從球莖繁殖，於水中生長，外層六片白色花瓣承托著內層的黃色杯形花瓣。水仙一般會於農曆十一月到翌年一月開花，非常適合於農曆新年在室內擺設。

在唐代，水仙在中國庭院仍然罕見；直到宋代，無數詩人以水仙作為作品主題，大部分的詩詞也將水仙比喻為「凌波仙子」。

水仙在字面上解為「水中仙子」，仙子通常令人聯想到神仙或長生不老，因此水仙也經常與其他圖案組合成一些寓意長壽的詩畫，例如仙子與靈芝、竹及壽石的組合，代表「靈仙祝壽」或「芝仙祝壽」，有時竹會被一種名為天竺子的紅莓果取代。由於水仙於農曆新年期間開花，一些賀年畫如「歲朝清供」，也常見水仙圖像。

花曆第十二個月的花為水仙和蠟梅，但花神杯中兼有水仙杯和蠟梅杯，本文得把其中一杯定為十一月杯，另一杯則定為十二月杯。據梁元帝(508-554)《纂要》概略，每個月有兩次「花信風」，即應花期而來的風，而十一月第二次花信風正是應水仙花而來的。<sup>37</sup>

## Eleventh Month: Narcissus

The narcissus belongs to the *Amaryllidaceae* family, the larger family that includes the daffodil. The large yellow narcissus flowers originated in the Mediterranean and West Asia<sup>20</sup>. The narcissus is bred from bulbs. The flower is composed of six white petals surrounding a yellow cup-shaped centre. It grows in water and blooms from the eleventh month to the next first month of the lunar calendar, making it very suitable for indoor decoration at the Chinese New Year.

In the Tang dynasty, the narcissus was still rare to the Chinese court. By the Song dynasty numerous poets wrote about this flower. The majority of poems likened the flower to Lady Ling Bo.

The narcissus is interpreted as the “water fairy” in Chinese. The word “fairy” implies immortality. It often combines with other motifs to form rebuses for longevity. A picture depicting *lingzhi* fungi, narcissus flowers and bamboos next to a *Taihu* rock means “may the immortals give you longevity”. Sometimes a bamboo is replaced with a red berry called nandina. As the narcissus blooms at the Chinese New Year, it is commonly depicted in the paintings for the celebration of the New Year festival.

The flower calendars have both the narcissus and wintersweet as flowers of the twelfth month. Since there are a narcissus cup and a wintersweet cup in this set, they should be assigned to two different months, i.e. the eleventh month and the twelfth month. According to the *Zuanyao* compendium of Emperor Yuandi of Liang (508 – 554), there were two “Flower Breezes blowing in each month”, which implies two seasonal flowers. As the narcissus comes on the Second Breeze of the eleventh month<sup>37</sup>, it stands for the eleventh month and the wintersweet for the twelfth month.

<sup>36</sup> 題字內容出處未明。

The source of the inscription is unknown.

<sup>37</sup> 南朝梁元帝《纂要》：「一月兩番花信，陰陽寒暖，各隨其時，但先期一日，有風雨微寒者即是。其花則鵝兒、木蘭、李花、楊花、橙花、桐花、金櫻、黃芳、棟花、荷花、檳榔、蔓羅、菱花、木槿、桂花、蘆花、蘭花、蓼花、桃花、枇杷、梅花、水仙、山茶、瑞香，其名具存。」

The *Zuanyao* compendium of Emperor Yuandi of Liang lists the 24 kinds of flowers that bloom with the “Flower Breezes” in a year.



21 (正面) 蠟梅 (背面) 題字

(Front) Wintersweet (Back) Inscription

題字內容：「金英翠萼帶春寒，黃色花中有幾般。」<sup>38</sup>

The inscription reads: The golden blossom and green calyx cling to the chill of spring, rare among the flowers is its yellow colour.<sup>38</sup>

## 十二月：蠟梅

一月至十一月花神杯的詩文皆與所屬花卉圖案對應；然而，筆者對十二月杯上的圖文組合卻有所保留。十二月花神杯的詩文題為《迎春花》，筆者基於描繪枝幹的形態認為杯上所描繪的是蠟梅。迎春花（學名：*Jasminum nudiflorum*）枝幹細長，黃色花朵沿枝幹盛開，呈拱形自然下垂。相對花神杯上描繪的花卉，黃色花朵生長在樹幹上，枝幹挺拔向陽，與迎春花的形態不符<sup>21</sup>；此外，亦有其他證據證明蠟梅是農曆十二月的代表花卉之一。

蠟梅（學名：*Chimonanthus praecox*）生長於中國，花朵呈黃色，花瓣末端偏尖，形狀跟梅花相似，因此又稱黃梅。蠟梅於十二月開花，該月因而被稱為「臘月」，這種花會散發芳香。一般的「歲寒三友」圖由松、竹和梅花組成，但也常見天竺子、羅漢松及蠟梅的組合。由蠟梅取代梅花的「歲寒三友」圖，在清朝宮廷畫師及文人畫家的作品中都能見到。根據沈振麟的《十二月花神》畫冊（國立故宮博物院藏品），十二月圖畫以天竺子和蠟梅為主題<sup>22</sup>。清代早期花卉畫家惲壽平（1633-1690）筆下的歲暮景緻，也同樣出現了蠟梅和天竺子<sup>23</sup>。

## Twelfth Month: Wintersweet (*La mei*)

The first eleven poems match the flowers depicted on the respective cups. The twelfth one, however, presents a problem. The couplet is derived from a poem entitled *ying chun hua* (Winter Jasmine). With reference to the depiction of the tree trunk, however, the writer believes that the image depicts wintersweet (*la mei*). The winter jasmine (*Jasminum nudiflorum*) consists of long slender branches that arch and drop, and yellow flowers line the branches. On this cup the plant is depicted with an erect trunk, upward-pointing branches, and yellow flowers that are located near the tip of branches<sup>21</sup>. There is also other evidence that the wintersweet is used as one of the symbols of the twelfth month.

The wintersweet (*Chimonanthus praecox*) is native to China. It blooms with yellow flowers with pointed petals, which resembles the prunus, hence it is named *huang mei* (yellow prunus). The blooming season is in the twelfth month, which is often known as *la yue*. It produces a fragrance. The wintersweet is often a substitute for the prunus (*mei hua*) in "The Three Friends of Winter", combining with nandina berries and the Lohan pine. This combination of "The Three Friends of Winter" was found in the works done by both court painters and scholar painters of the Qing dynasty. The album of the *Flowers of the Twelve Months* by Shen Zhenlin (Collection of The National Palace Museum in Taipei) shows the nandina and wintersweet in the twelfth month<sup>22</sup>. The early Qing Master Yun Shouping (1633-1690) had a work showing the wintersweet and nandina for the celebration of the Chinese New Year<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> 題字內容摘自唐代詩人白居易《玩迎春花贈楊郎中》：  
「金英翠萼帶春寒，黃色花中有幾般。 恁君與向遊人道，莫作蔓菁花眼看。」

The inscription was extracted from the poem, *玩迎春花贈楊郎中*, by Bai Juyi, a poet of the Tang dynasty.

花神杯的排列順序有不同說法，在其他公眾及私人藏品展中曾出現不同版本及不同的排列次序。歷史文獻上，我們發現中國不同地區會因應不同的地理位置而有不同的花卉排列，學者及專家基於他們對花卉的研究，亦各有不同見解。1995年，本文介紹的兩套花神杯曾在香港中文大學文物館舉行的「清瓷萃珍」展覽展出，當時的排序根據陶瓷專家及《明清瓷器鑑定》作者耿寶昌先生的研究如下：一月水仙、二月玉蘭、三月桃花、四月牡丹、五月石榴、六月蓮花、七月蘭花、八月桂花、九月菊花、十月芙蓉、十一月月季及十二月梅花。

There are different versions of flowers and orders in other public and private collections. Historically, the types of flowers and their orders varied according to the geographic location of different regions in China, so scholars and experts have different opinions according to their research. The same two sets of month cups were displayed in the exhibition "Qing Imperial Porcelain" held in the Art Museum of The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) in 1995. The order of these month cups followed the research findings of Geng Baochang, the ceramic specialist and writer of *Connoisseurship of Ming and Qing Porcelains*. The order of the cups was: first month, narcissus; second month, magnolia; third month, peach blossom; fourth month, peony; fifth month, pomegranate; sixth month, lotus; seventh month, cymbidium; eighth month, osmanthus; ninth month, chrysanthemum; tenth month, hibiscus; eleventh month, Chinese rose and twelfth month, prunus.



22 沈振麟《十二月花神》冊 | 臘梅南天竺 | 清 | 台北國立故宮博物院藏品

Leaf for the twelfth month |

*Flowers of the Twelve Months* | Shen Zhenlin | Qing dynasty  
Collection of The National Palace Museum, Taipei

23 惲壽平畫冊之其一開 | 王翬及惲壽平八開畫冊 | 約 1680 年代 | 水墨設色紙本 | 高 21.8 厘米；闊 29.8 厘米

香港藝術館虛白齋書畫藏品

Album leaf by Yun Shouping |

Ink and colour on paper | From a set of eight

album leaves by Wang Hui and Yun Shouping |

Height: 21.8 cm Width: 29.8 cm each | circa 1680s

Collection of Xubaizhai,

The Hong Kong Museum of Art





24 大英博物館大維德基金會展館展出五彩十二花神杯  
李穎莊（本文作者）於 2010 年 2 月 16 日攝

Set of 12 month cups in *wucai* enamels in the Percival David Foundation Gallery, the British Museum  
Photographer: Lee Wing-chong, Rose (The writer of this article) (taken on 16 February 2010)

在倫敦，大維德中國藝術基金會珍藏了一套完整的花神杯，目前於大英博物館長期借展<sup>24</sup>。<sup>39</sup> 據展品描述，這套花神杯的花卉圖由北京學者楊伯達先生排序——一月蠟梅、二月杏花、三月海棠或桃花、四月牡丹、五月石榴、六月蓮花、七月蘭花、八月桂花、九月菊花、十月玫瑰、十一月白梅及十二月水仙。

### 花神由來

每隻花神杯都是以杯上的花卉和詩文來命名。據耿寶昌著的《明清瓷器鑒定·清代部分》，整套花神杯名為「十二月令五彩花卉圖詩杯」。<sup>40</sup> 故宮博物院研究員呂成龍也以類同的字眼為花神杯命名，但沒有提及花神名稱。<sup>41</sup> 然而，香港的花神杯藏品則被命名為「五彩十二花神杯」，這個名字分別出現於香港茶具文物館和香港徐氏藝術館出版的

In London, the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art holds a complete set of month cups, which is currently on a long-term loan and displayed in the British Museum<sup>24, 39</sup>. According to its collection notes, the order was prescribed by the Beijing scholar Yang Boda as follows: first month, wintersweet; second month, apricot blossom; third month, crab-apple or peach blossom; fourth month, peony; fifth month, pomegranate; sixth month, lotus; seventh month, cymbidium; eighth month, osmanthus; ninth month, chrysanthemum; tenth month, rose; eleventh month, white-flowering prunus and twelfth month, narcissus.

### The Origins of Flower Deities

The month cups have been described and named after the flowers and the poems. According to a publication authored by Geng Baochang, the whole set is named “Twelve-Month Floral Cups with Poems in *Wucai* Enamels”.<sup>40</sup> Likewise, Lu Chenglong, a scholar in the Palace Museum, employed a similar title without mentioning the flower deities.<sup>41</sup> However, such set of cup collection in Hong Kong is named “Set of Twelve Floral Deity Cups in *Wucai* Enamels”, this

<sup>39</sup> 花神杯的博物館編號為 PDF.815。資料來源：[https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3180727&partId=1&searchText=month+cups&page=1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3180727&partId=1&searchText=month+cups&page=1)

The museum number of the month cups is PDF.815. Source: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3180727&partId=1&searchText=month+cups&page=1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3180727&partId=1&searchText=month+cups&page=1)

<sup>40</sup> 耿寶昌：《明清瓷器鑒定·清代部分》（台北：學苑文化事業出版社，1989），頁 41。

Geng Baochang, *Ming Qing ci qi jian ding. Qing dai bu fen* (Beijing: Xue yuan wen hua shi ye chu ban she, 1989), 41.

<sup>41</sup> 呂成龍：〈雍正御窯瓷器概述〉，載於故宮博物院古陶瓷研究中心編《故宮博物院八十華誕古陶瓷國際學術研討會論文集》（北京：紫禁城出版社，2007），頁 193-213。

Lu Chenglong, “Yongzheng yuyao ciqi gaishu,” (“A Brief Account of Yongzheng Period Imperial Porcelain”) in *Gugong bowuyuan bashi huadan gu taoci guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwen ji* (Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 2007), 193-213.

圖錄。<sup>42 43</sup> 民間流傳的花卉及其所屬的花神故事，或早已深深烙印在藝術家和作家的記憶內，在晚清時期已出現不少與花神相關的作品，包括俞曲園的文學作品《十二月花神議》及畫家吳友如的畫作，這些藝術家提出了不同版本的花神名稱。中國歷代皇帝及宮廷每年舉辦的各項儀式，也融入了敬奉花神的傳統習俗。

民間流傳天庭多年來有一位女神仙，掌管了大自然動植物的命脈。據《淮南子·天文訓》所記載，這位女神仙被命名為「女夷」。<sup>44</sup> 相傳多年前有一位女花神，農民和園丁紛紛祈求花神庇佑農作物完好無缺，花兒能璀璨盛放。花神信仰繼而發展成每種花都賦予一個花神稱號。這些稱號源自坊間流傳的民間故事人物，作者將這些人物與特定花卉畫上關聯，例如某種花卉曾被人以詩詞或撰文頌揚，或某花卉曾於人物的故事出現。花神沒有指定性別，可以是歷史人物或傳說中的人物。有些花卉被賦予多於一個花神，這基於不同時空、事件或傳說而定。以下是本文所描述的這套花神杯相對應的十二花神概述。

### 梅花花神

文人及學者多認為北宋詩人林逋（967-1028）（後人稱為「和靖先生」）為「梅花花神」，原因在於他拒絕官職，隱居於西湖北面一個名為「孤山」的小島上。林逋生平喜植梅養鶴，後人以「梅妻鶴子」來形容他的日常生活。他創作了不少以梅花為主題的詩，其中最廣為引用的詩句是「疏影橫斜水清淺，暗香浮動月黃昏」，描述了梅花在晚間盛放的美態和獨特氛圍。<sup>45</sup>

name is also shown in the catalogue of the Flagstaff House Museum of Tea Ware (1984),<sup>42</sup> and also the catalogue of the Tsui Museum of Art (1992).<sup>43</sup> It is probably that the stories of the flowers and their deities, which have risen from popular beliefs, are deeply rooted in the minds of artists and writers. There were some artistic works on the subject of flower deities in the late Qing dynasty, including a literary work by Yu Qu Yuan and a set of paintings by Wu Youru, they proposed different versions regarding the names of flower deities. It is also known that the tradition of venerating flower deities was integrated into the annual rituals of emperors and their courts.

There is a popular belief that a goddess was in charge of life in nature, including plants and living creatures. According to *Teachings on Astronomy in Huainanzi*, the goddess was named Nu Yi.<sup>44</sup> Gradually over the years, there had been a flower goddess (in general), to whom farmers and gardeners looked up for protection of agriculture and a good harvest of flowers. Such tradition led to the naming of deities for individual flowers, stemming from popular stories which associated a person with a certain type of flower, whether by his poems and writings in praise of the flower or by his actions and life stories involved with the actual plant or flower. Flower deities might be males or females, the persons associated might be historical figures or figures from particular legends. Some flowers have more than one person being named as the deity since they were derived from different regions, in different periods of time, and with reference to different episodes or legends. Below is a selected list of the flower deities who match this set of month cups.

### Deity of Prunus

Some literary men and scholars considered the Northern Song poet Lin Bu (967-1028) the floral deity of prunus because he refused numerous offers of official positions, and retreated to live as a recluse on the island of Gushan on the northern side of the West Lake. People described his quiet life there as “the prunus as his wife and the crane as his son”. He wrote many poems about the prunus, the most famous quote was the one which describes the beauty and atmosphere of the blooming prunus throughout the night.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> 《茶具文物館羅桂祥藏品》上冊（香港：香港市政局，1984），頁 85。

*K. S. Lo Collection in the Flagstaff House Museum of Tea Ware, Part 1* (Hong Kong: The Urban Council, 1984), 85.

<sup>43</sup> 《徐氏藝術館》（香港：徐氏藝術館，1992），圖版 103。

*The Tsui Museum of Art* (Hong Kong: The Tsui Museum of Art, 1992), colour plate 103.

<sup>44</sup> 西漢淮南王劉安及門客李尚、蘇飛、伍被等共同編著的《淮南子·天文訓》：「女夷鼓歌，以司天和，以長百穀、禽鳥、草木。」*Teachings on Astronomy in Huainanzi* is a collective work written by Prince Huainan, Liu An and a group of his retainers of the Western Han dynasty.

<sup>45</sup> 北宋詩人林逋作品《山園小梅》：「眾芳搖落獨暄妍，佔盡風情向小園。疏影橫斜水清淺，暗香浮動月黃昏。禽欲下先偷眼，粉蝶如知合斷魂。幸有微吟可相狎，不須檀板共金樽。」

The quote refers to the poem, *Shan Yuan Xiao Mei* (“The Little Plum Tree in My Mountain Garden”) by Lin Bu, a poet of the Northern Song dynasty.

另一方面，也有人推舉明代戲劇作家湯顯祖（1550-1616）的作品《牡丹亭》內其中一角「柳夢梅」為「梅花花神」。《牡丹亭》故事講述柳氏前往參與科舉考試途中，在一間寺廟留宿，當晚他在夢中邂逅因飽受單思之苦含鬱而終的杜麗娘，她的屍首埋葬於鄰近該寺廟的梅樹下。二人一見鍾情，卻歷盡無數考驗才得以讓杜麗娘重返人間，與柳氏結為夫妻。

### 杏花花神

唐代皇帝唐玄宗（712-756 在位）因寵幸妃子楊玉環（楊貴妃），終日沉迷美色而不務正事，安祿山將軍發動叛變欲推翻唐玄宗，迫使唐玄宗南移至蜀中。當禁軍到達馬嵬驛時，安氏將軍迫使唐玄宗賜死楊貴妃。當叛亂被鎮壓後，唐玄宗再回到馬嵬驛，本欲尋回並安葬楊貴妃的屍首，可是他只能在楊貴妃被處死之地發現一片杏樹林。從此楊玉環獲封為「杏花花神」。

### 桃花花神

唐代詩人崔護（772-846）透過其作品描述一名漂亮少女，美貌猶如綻放的桃花，因此有人公認崔氏為「桃花花神」。在暮春的清明時節，崔氏出遊時路經一間農舍，他停下腳步並敲門為求討點水喝，當時一名少女開門並給他喝水，更邀請他到一棵桃樹下休息，他對此留下了深刻印象。當他翌年重遊舊地時，那女孩已不見蹤影。其後他撰寫了一首詩《題都城南莊》以表達他對少女思慕之情——「去年今日此門中，人面桃花相映紅；人面不知何處去，桃花依舊笑春風。」<sup>46</sup> 這詩句廣為頌傳，故此有人推舉崔護為「桃花花神」。

Some others championed Liu Mengmei as the deity of prunus. Liu is a character in *Peony Pavilion*, a Ming dynasty play composed by playwright Tang Xianzu (1550-1616). The story talks about Liu, a scholar who was on his way to attend the imperial examinations. One night, he took shelter in a temple and dreamt of meeting a maiden called Du Liniang, who already died of love-sickness and was buried under the prunus tree near the temple. Liu and Du fell in love and went through some ordeals before Du was finally granted to return to life and unite with Liu.

### Deity of Apricot Blossom

Emperor Xuanzong (reign 712-756) of the Tang dynasty had a favourite concubine (*gui fei*) named Yang Yuhuan, and he was said to spend too much time on pleasure rather than on administration. The General An Lushan led a rebellion against the emperor, forcing the court to flee to the south. When the troops reached Ma Weibo, they demanded that Yang must be executed before they moved on. After the suppression of the riot, Emperor Xuanzong returned to Ma Weibo in the hope of finding the body of Yang for a decent burial, but he could only find a grove of apricot trees in the spot where she died. Therefore, lady Yang Yuhuan was named the deity of apricot blossom.

### Deity of Peach Blossom

Some hailed the Tang dynasty poet Cui Hu (772-846) as the deity of peach blossom because of his poem retelling his encounter with a beautiful young girl and comparing her to peach blossoms. Once in late spring, he went out on the day of the Qingming Festival and knocked on a farm door to ask for some water. A young lady answered the door and gave him some; she also invited him to rest under a blooming peach tree. He was much impressed by this incident. When he returned to the same spot the next year, the girl was nowhere to be found. Thereafter he wrote the poem: “On the same day last year, both the face of the girl and the peach blossoms glowed red in the garden. But today, the girl has disappeared and only the peach blossoms are here laughing in the breeze.”<sup>46</sup> This poem was disseminated extensively, therefore Cui Hu was entitled the deity of peach blossom.

The artist Wu Youru in the late Qing dynasty entitled Yang Yanzhao (958-1014), who was a Song dynasty military general, the deity of peach blossom. He was a member of the Yang family of the Northern Song dynasty and fought

晚清畫家吳友如則把宋代將領楊延昭（958-1014）命名為「桃花花神」。楊氏成長於北宋，他勇敢抵禦契丹入侵，其英勇的偉績獲後人與用作驅邪的桃木相提並論，因此而獲得「桃花花神」的美名。<sup>47</sup>

### 牡丹花神

由於唐代詩人李白（701-762）有不少作品以牡丹為題材，而牡丹也是當時受大眾歡迎的花卉，因此有人將李白譽為「牡丹花神」。其中李氏的作品《清平調》包含了三首詩，描述唐玄宗與愛妃楊玉環在御花園沉醉於賞花的美妙時刻。李白藉著詩詞讚美風姿綽約的牡丹，同時將楊玉環國色天香的嬌媚神韻媲美牡丹的艷麗多姿，反映牡丹擁有雍容華貴的皇族氣質，流露了奢華貴雅之美態。<sup>48</sup>

### 石榴花神

漢代張騫開闢了絲綢之路，讓中亞與西方各國得以貿易往來，他將石榴種子從西域引進中國，因此後人將他冠以「石榴花神」之美名。

晚清畫家吳友如則認為鍾馗應獲冠以「石榴花神」之美譽。相傳農曆五月初五端午節為邪魔妖氣集結的最高峰時期，在清代有不少人佩戴鍾馗圖像以辟妖驅邪。而農曆五月亦是石榴花開的季節，人們會將亮麗艷紅的石榴花視為驅邪法寶。

### 蓮花花神

春秋戰國時期，天生麗質的江南女子西施以身許國，越王勾踐為謀復國將西施獻給吳王作妃子。傳說她曾在家鄉蘇州的錦帆涇採摘蓮花，因而被後人稱她為「蓮花花神」。

另有些人將詩人周敦頤（1017-1073）稱為「蓮花花神」，主要基於他曾於其作品《愛蓮說》歌頌蓮花之美。

courageously against the invading Qidans. The fact that Yang fought off the invaders courageously and successfully was compared to peach wood which wards off evil spirits effectively.<sup>47</sup>

### Deity of Peony

Some people said that Li Bai (701-762), the Tang dynasty poet, should be the deity of peony since he composed many poems about this flower. In the Tang dynasty, the love for peonies was prevalent in society. In particular, he wrote a set of three poems, *The Tune of Qingping*, on the occasion of a royal flower banquet in the presence of Emperor Xuanzong and his beloved concubine Yang Yuhuan. His poems praised the beauty of peonies and complimented Yang Yuhuan at the same time.<sup>48</sup> They reflected that peonies enjoyed their royal favour and revealed their luxurious beauty.

### Deity of Pomegranate Blossom

Some said that Zhang Qian, the person who “opened up” the Silk Road in the Han dynasty for trading with Central Asia and the West, should be the deity of pomegranate blossom. It was said that Zhang introduced pomegranate seeds into China from the Western regions.

The late Qing artist Wu Youru considered Zhong Kui the deity of pomegranate blossom. The *Duan wu* festival (now known as the Dragon Boat Festival) on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month was considered the height of evil spirits. In the Qing dynasty, it was popular for people to put up the pictures of Zhong Kui as talismans to guard against evil spirits. As the pomegranate also blooms in the fifth month, people would also use these bright red colour flowers to get rid of evil spirits.

### Deity of Lotus

The goddess of lotus is said to be Xishi, who was renowned for her stunning beauty in ancient China. During the Spring and Autumn period, she sacrificed herself for the recovery of her homeland, the Kingdom of Yue. She was sent to the King of Wu as a present and secretly worked for his downfall. It was said that she once gathered lotus at Jinfanjing in Suzhou, her native home.

Some attributed poet Zhou Dunyi (1017-1073), who praised the lotus in his prose, *Ai lian shuo* (“The Love for Lotus”), as the deity of lotus.

<sup>46</sup> 摘自唐代詩人崔護的作品《題都城南莊》：  
「去年今日此門中，人面桃花相映紅。人面只今何處去，桃花依舊笑春風。」

The verse was extracted from *Ti du cheng nan zhuang* (“At a Homestead South of the Capital City”) by Cui Hu, a poet of the Tang dynasty.

<sup>47</sup> 殷登國：《中國的花神與節氣》（天津：百花文藝出版社，2008），頁24。

Yin Dengguo, *Zhongguo de hua shen yu jie qi* (Tianjing: Bai hua wen yi chu ban she, 2008), 24.

<sup>48</sup> 唐代詩人李白作品《清平調》  
(其一)：「雲想衣裳花想容，春風拂檻露華濃。」  
(其三)：「名花傾國兩相歡，長得君王帶笑看。」

*The Tune of Qingping* (Part 1 & Part 3) by Li Bai, a poet of the Tang dynasty.

## 月季花神

月季與薔薇屬於同科植物，中國歷代皆曾培植這兩種花卉，但只有「薔薇花神」，卻沒有「月季花神」。以建康（即現時南京）為首都的陳朝（557-589）末代皇帝陳叔寶 / 陳後主的愛妃張麗華獲封為「薔薇花神」。<sup>49</sup> 陳叔寶於 582 年繼承皇位時，封張麗華為貴妃。他為妃子建設瑰麗豪華的皇宮，相比皇后沈婺華，他更恩寵貴妃。相傳陳後主曾帶她引見各朝廷大臣，讓她當眾朗讀呈文並給予建議。直到 589 年，陳朝首都被攻陷，陳後主被隋文帝圍攻，後來被發現與兩位愛妃匿藏於一個水井內。當時張麗華被指是導致陳朝滅亡的罪魁禍首，因而被斬首處死。

## 桂花花神

有後人把生於五代十國的竇禹鈞譽為「桂花花神」。他膝下五兒皆高中狀元，並在朝廷擔任位高权重的大官。唐代詩人馮道便透過其作品，以桂花隱喻竇禹鈞五兒的成就——「靈椿一株老，丹桂五枝芳。」<sup>50</sup>

另外，有人認為東晉時期荊州富裕刺史石崇（249-300）的妾侍綠珠是「桂花花神」。司馬倫欲將綠珠據為己有，在一場政治陰謀當中，司馬倫派人捉拿並處死石崇。當綠珠知道石崇因為她的緣故而被殺，感到萬分沮喪，從高樓一躍而下自盡，後人以凋零墜落的桂花來悼念綠珠的悲慘下場。

## 菊花花神

東晉詩人陶淵明（約 365-427）被公認為「菊花花神」。他曾經在彭澤縣當官，但最終因不欲為五斗米折腰而辭退官職，隱居田園。他在花園種植菊花及創作了不少詩詞作品，後人冠以陶氏「田園詩人」之美譽。其中最廣為人知的名句乃來自其《飲酒詩》之第五部——「採菊東籬下，悠然見南山。」<sup>51</sup> 從他的詩作可見不少以菊花為主題的美句，後人也因此稱菊花為「花中隱士」。

## Deity of Chinese Rose

The Chinese rose *yue ji* belongs to the same family as *qiang wei*. Both types of flowers had been cultivated in China for dynasties. There was a flower deity assigned to *qiang wei* instead of *yue ji*. The deity of *qiang wei* is Zhang Lihua, the favourite concubine of Chen Shubao. Chen was the last emperor of the Chen dynasty (557-589) centred at Jiankang (now known as Nanjing).<sup>49</sup> When Prince Chen Shubao ascended the throne in 582, he gave Zhang Lihua the title of imperial consort. He built magnificent palaces for himself, as well as for his empress and consort Zhang. Chen was known to have given his favour much more to Zhang than to his wife Empress Shen Wuhua. It was said that Emperor Chen brought her to the officials' audience, then let her read petitions and gave her suggestions. In 589, Chen was besieged by his enemy, the Sui dynasty. When the capital was captured, the emperor was found hiding with two of his favourite consorts in a well. Consort Zhang Lihua was executed for the reason that she was the culprit responsible for the downfall of the Chen dynasty.

## Deity of Osmanthus

Some attributed the deity of osmanthus to Dou Yujun of the Five Dynasties. Dou had five sons who all passed the examinations and held high official titles in the government. The metaphor, “a sacred trunk and five flowering osmanthus branches”, was used to praise him for his astounding achievement.<sup>50</sup>

Other people thought that Lady Lu Zhu should be the goddess of osmanthus. Lu Zhu was a concubine of Shicong (249-300), a rich official in Jingzhou during the Eastern Jin period. Sima Lun wanted to claim Lu Zhu for himself. In a political plot, Sima Lun ordered the capture and execution of Shicong. Having heard that she was the cause of this disaster, the desperate Lu Zhu killed herself by jumping off the high mansion. People used the falling of osmanthus blossoms to mourn the sad ending of Lu Zhu.

## Deity of Chrysanthemum

Tao Yuanming (circa 365-427), the Eastern Jin poet, was named the deity of chrysanthemum. He was once an official at Pengze but resigned from the position because he refused to “bow to money”. He retreated to live close to nature, tended chrysanthemums in his garden and wrote many poems about them. Thus he earned the title “The

## 蘭花花神

著名戰國時代詩人屈原（約公元前 340- 前 278）獲封為「蘭花花神」，他擁有熾烈的愛國情懷，對於故國滅亡感到極度悲憤，亦有感自己懷抱復國的宏願不可能實現，遂決意投河殉國。他在其詩作《離騷》內，將自己比喻為花之君子——蘭花。

## 水仙花神

有指「水仙花神」是娥皇和女英，傳說她們姊妹倆都是中國上古時期君主舜的妻子。據說姊妹和睦，不分彼此，是舜的得力助手。後來，舜在南巡途中身亡，遺體就地下葬。娥皇和女英決定上路尋夫，到達湘河時聽到丈夫的死訊，淚流不已，染竹成斑，最後投河自盡，化成河邊的水仙。

有人則認為洛神才是「水仙花神」，皆因洛神和水仙都與水有關，兩者同樣展現清純簡約的美態。三國時期魏王曹操的三兒子詩人曹植（192-232）曾寫下《洛神賦》，描述自己與洛神的一段情。他筆下的洛神擁有絕世美貌，但必須返回仙界，詩人的不捨之情油然而生。民間多認為曹植以長兄曹丕的妻子甄夫人的形象描寫洛神。甄夫人姿貌絕倫，靈巧體貼，但後來因失寵而被處死。

## 蠟梅花神

宋代詩人蘇東坡（1037-1101）及黃庭堅（1045-1105）支持將「黃梅」易名為「蠟（農曆十二月或臘月）梅」，以標明這種花在農曆十二月開花，所以他倆皆有「蠟梅花神」之譽。

Pastoral Poet”. His most famous line is, “While picking chrysanthemums by the eastern fence, I gaze leisurely at the southern mountains.”<sup>51</sup> Hence, the flower he associated with is called “The Flower of Recluse”.

## Deity of Cymbidium

The great poet Qu Yuan (circa 340-278BC) of the Warring States period was hailed as the deity of cymbidium. He loved his home state deeply and was greatly disheartened by the corrupt ruling house. Realising that his political ideals could not be achieved, he threw himself into the Miluo River. In his writing *Li Sao* (“Songs of Parting”), he compared himself to the cymbidium, “The Gentleman of Flowers”.

## Deity of Narcissus

Some hailed the two legendary figures, Ehuang and Nuying, as the deities of narcissus. They are a pair of sisters married to Emperor Shun in ancient China. It was said that they treated each other equally and became capable assistants to the emperor. When Shun went on a southern tour, he died on the way and was buried locally. The two sisters decided to seek out Shun. Arriving at the River Xiang, they heard the news of his death. They grieved and cried so much that their tears stained the bamboo trees. Finally they threw themselves into the river. It was said that the narcissus flowers that grew on the river banks were the embodiment of their souls.

Some others opined that the Goddess of the River Luo should be hailed as the deity of narcissus, as both are associated with water and both display the simple beauty which is unadulterated. Poet Cao Zhi (192-232), the third son of Cao Cao, who ruled the Kingdom of Wei during the Period of the Three Kingdoms, wrote a prose-poem *Ode to the Luo River Goddess*. It depicts a romance between the writer and the goddess. He described a goddess with great beauty, but sadly the goddess must return to the celestial realm. It was commonly believed that Cao Zhi was also deeply impressed with his sister-in-law Lady Zhen, wife of Cao Pi. This lady was beautiful, skillful and caring, but she fell out of favour with her husband and was executed at last.

## Deity of Wintersweet

Some said that the two Song dynasty poets Su Dongbo (1037-1101) and Wang Tingjian (1045-1105) should be the deities of wintersweet because they championed the name of the flower to be changed from “yellow prunus” to *la mei* (the twelfth or wax month), indicating its blooming period is in the twelfth month.

<sup>49</sup> 殷偉，程建強《圖說十二月花神》（北京：清華大學出版社，2014）。

Yin Wei, Cheng Jianqiang, *圖說十二月花神* (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2014).

<sup>50</sup> 唐代詩人馮道作品《贈竇十郎》：「燕山竇十郎，教子有義方。靈椿一株老，丹桂五枝芳。」（摘自宋文瑩：《玉壺清話》卷二）。

The phrase was extracted from the poem, *Zeng dou shi*, by Feng Dao, a poet of the Tang dynasty. Source: *Yu hu qing hua juan er* (“Pure Talk in a Jade Pot”) by Song Wenying.

<sup>51</sup> 同註 30。

See Note 30.

晚清畫家吳友如將北宋時期的楊家將弟子楊業（923-986）妻子老令婆（又稱佘賽花或佘太君）封為「蠟梅花神」。楊業為英勇將軍，成功驅逐北方的遼國及西夏入侵；而其妻老令婆則擁有高超的軍事技能，即使在老年時期仍擔任軍中指揮。不少坊間盛行的小說及戲曲都以他們的故事為題材，例如《穆桂英掛帥》及《十二寡婦西征》。<sup>52</sup>

### 由百花生日到花朝節

古代流傳每種生物都有出生日期，而百花生日（又稱為「花朝」）則定於農曆二月十二日或十五日，因應個別地區而定，與氣候周期相關。實際上，花朝處於兩個節氣「驚蟄」和「春分」之間，即西曆三月六日和三月二十一日之間。

百花生日早於春秋戰國時期《陶朱公書》內有所記載，描述「二月十二為百花生日，無雨，百花熟。」<sup>53</sup>到了晉朝，花朝節開始成為一個習俗，但僅限於貴族在宮廷內賞花及吟詩，作為慶祝活動。

到了唐代，百花生日已成為官方節日，亦只有貴族和官員慶祝節日，活動包括品嚐滲有花香的花米糕及美酒佳餚，並在戶外賞花及吟詩。相傳在武則天（690-705 在位）時期開始製作花米糕。

在宋代，普羅市民也慶祝花朝節，除了唐代流傳的節慶活動外，還加入其他活動，例如撲蝶、逛市集、採摘鮮花祭祖、燒香敬奉祖先及祈福，以及在廟宇點燈籠等。南宋文學家吳自牧在他的作品《夢梁錄》當中，提及在臨安舉行的節慶活動。他描述人民到訪著名園林及在廟宇祭祖。<sup>54</sup>此外，官員亦會到鄉鎮勸農。

The late Qing artist Wu Youru named Lao Lingpo as the deity of wintersweet. Lao Lingpo was also known as She Saihua and She Taijun. She was the wife of General Yang Ye (923-986), a member of the Generals of the Yang of the Northern Song dynasty who fought bravely in the military and warded off the northern invaders from the Liao and Xixia kingdoms. Lao Lingpo, was well trained in the military skills, and was said to have commanded military campaigns even in her old age. These stories were described in popular novels and operas, such as *Mu Guiying Takes Command* and *The Twelve Widows Pacify the West*.<sup>52</sup>

### From the Birthday to the Festival of Flowers

There was an ancient belief that each living creature would have their birthdays, and all flowers have their birthday on the twelfth day or fifteenth day of the second month of the lunar calendar, depending on individual regions. In essence it is related to the climatic cycle. The Birthday of Flowers, *hua chao*, actually falls between the two solar terms, *jieqi*, *Jingzhe* (“Awakening of Insects”), which is usually on the sixth of March and *chunfen* (“Vernal Equinox”), which is usually on the twenty-first of March of the solar calendar.

The Birthday of Flowers was mentioned as early as the Spring and Autumn Periods in *Tao Zhu Gong Shu*, which stated that “the Birthday of Flowers is on the twelfth day of the second month of the lunar calendar. There is no rain. Many flowers bloom exuberantly.”<sup>53</sup> By the Jin dynasty, the Birthday of Flowers turned to be a festival. Activities were restricted to the court where nobility gathered to enjoy the flowers and make poetry.

In the Tang dynasty, the Birthday of Flowers was declared an official festival. It was mainly celebrated among the upper class and officials. Activities included tasting a flower rice cake mixed with fragrant flower petals, drinking and banqueting, outings to view flowers, and poetry making. The making of flower cakes was said to have begun since the reign of Empress Wu Zetian (reign 690-705).

In the Song dynasty, the celebration of the festival spread to the general populace. In addition to those activities initiated in the Tang dynasty, many more were included, such as butterfly catching, market fairs, picking flowers for offerings, incense offerings and prayers, and lighting of lanterns in temples. Southern Song dynasty writer Wu Zimu described the activities in the capital Lin’an (now known as

在明清時期，過節的習俗大概跟隨唐宋時期的做法，明朝宣德皇帝更為花朝節寫作題詩，可見他高度重視此節日。<sup>55</sup>

### 花神廟發展歷程

設廟宇供奉 12 位花神的習俗可最早追溯至明代。到了清代，該等廟宇繼續設在江南一帶，包括蘇州和杭州等地讓人參拜；由於南京和北京當地有不少園藝及花農，他們需要為皇宮及皇室園林提供花卉以作裝飾及節慶之用，當地亦設有花神廟供農民祈求花神保佑農業豐收。

明朝第一個首都設於南京，皇帝下令在皇宮附近種植花卉，以確保有足夠的鮮花裝飾宮廷各處。在清代，有一所大型廟宇建於南京，現已拆卸。相傳廟宇內設有多具花神像，包括被譽為花中之王的牡丹花神及其他 100 具所屬花卉種類的花神像。<sup>56</sup>時至今天，與花神有關的地標包括位於雨花台以南的花神路、花神湖及花神橋，皆因以上歷史因素而命名。

在蘇州，虎丘是花卉培植的核心地區，亦有部分人從事茶葉貿易。首座花神廟建於明代洪武時期，花朝當天會舉辦大型廟會，入廟參拜的善信會帶來祭品敬奉花神，祈求風調雨順。第二座花神廟建於清朝乾隆四十九年，<sup>57</sup> 其後陸續有更多花神廟落成。

Hangzhou) in his work *Mengliang lu* (“Record of Dreams”), including how people visited some famous gardens and made offerings in temples.<sup>54</sup> In addition, officials also went to rural areas and reminded farmers to engage in agriculture.

During the Ming and Qing dynasties, the customs roughly followed those of the Tang and Song dynasties. The poem made by Emperor Xuande of the Ming dynasty showed that the festival was celebrated nationwide and taken very seriously.<sup>55</sup>

### Flower Deity Temples

Apparently, the establishment of temples with the twelve flower deities for worship first appeared in the Ming dynasty. In the Qing dynasty, such temples continued to be erected and revered in the Jiangnan region including Suzhou and Hangzhou. They were erected in Nanjing and Beijing as there were many horticulture farmers and garden workers who supplied the imperial palaces and royal gardens with flowers for decoration and for festive purposes.

In the Ming dynasty, the first capital was established in Nanjing, and emperors ordered flowers to be grown in the vicinity so that they could ensure ample supply for decorating their palaces. There was once a temple of considerable scale erected in Nanjing in the Qing dynasty but already demolished. It was said to have held many figures of flower deities: the principal King of Flowers who is the deity of peony, and a hundred other deities for different kinds of flowers.<sup>56</sup> Today, there are some manmade landmarks related to flower deities, including *Huashen Lu* (“The Road of Flower Deities”), *Huashen Hu* (“The Lake of Flower Deities”) and *Huashen Qiao* (“The Bridge of Flower Deities”); all three are located in the southern part of *Yuhuatai* (“The Rain Flower Terrace”), which was named after the above historical association.

In Suzhou, the centre of flower cultivation was at Huqiu. There was also a population involved in the tea trade. The first flower deity temple appeared in the Hongwu period of the early Ming dynasty. On the Birthday of Flowers, large fairs were organised, and people visited the temples to give offerings and seek blessings for the next crop. The second temple was founded in the forty-ninth year of the Qianlong reign.<sup>57</sup> Subsequently, more temples were established.

<sup>52</sup> 同註 44，頁 92。

See Note 44, 92.

<sup>53</sup> 春秋時代越國大夫范蠡的作品《陶朱公書》：「二月十二為百花生日，無雨，百花熟。」

The phrase was extracted from *Tao Zhu Gong Shu* by Fan Li, an advisor in the state of Yue in the Spring and Autumn Period.

<sup>54</sup> 南宋吳自牧《夢梁錄》卷一：「仲春十五日為花朝節，浙間風俗，以為春序正中，百花爭放之時，最堪遊賞……玩賞奇花異木……此日帥守，縣宰率僚佐出郊，召父老賜酒食，勸以農桑，告諭勤劬，奉行虔恪。天慶觀遞年設老君誕會，燃萬盞華燈，供聖修齋，為民祈福。土庶拈香瞻仰，往來無數。崇新門外長明寺及諸教院僧尼，建佛涅槃會，羅列幡幢，種種香花果供養，掛名賢書畫，設珍異玩具，莊嚴道場，觀者紛集，竟日不絕。」

*Mengliang lu* (“Record of Dreams”) by Wu Zimu, a writer of the Southern Song dynasty.

<sup>55</sup> 明宣宗在宣德二年（1427 年）曾御製花朝長詩一首，頒賜裨兵部：「五雲晴護蓬萊島，七彩繽紛動瑤草，憑高一覽六合間，萬象呈明春意好……陽春德澤生光輝延佇嘉謀輔仁政。」

Ming Xuanzong wrote an imperial poem about The Birthday of Flowers (*hua chao*) in the second year of Xuande (1427) and conferred it to the Ministry of War.

<sup>56</sup> 李喬：《中國行業神：下卷》（台北：雲龍出版社，1996），頁 77-80。

Li Qiao, *Zhongguo Hangye Shen xia juan* (“The Mercantile Patron Gods in China”) (Taipei: Yun long chu ban she, 1996), 77-80.

<sup>57</sup> 同上註。

Ibid.

在杭州，花神廟曾一度座落於西湖北岸的園林，名為湖山春社。內裡設有涼亭、小橋、石舫和穿插於花木之間的小徑。園林曾被列入清代時期西湖 18 景之一。湖山春社由浙江總督李衛（1687-1738）於雍正九年（1731）興建。<sup>58</sup> 李總督在其任內貢獻良多，他監督清除淤泥的工程、建造堤壩以防止海寧岸邊因漲潮而被洪水淹浸，以及管理徵收鹽稅的政策。花神廟由朝廷撥款興建，乾隆皇帝在南下出巡時曾到訪廟宇，其後花神廟被拆卸。廟宇的所在地應該鄰近今日的竹素園，可說是湖山春社的園林遺跡。

在北京，最大的花卉種植場位於近郊的豐台，以群花遍地見稱，其中包括芍藥。當地有不少人從事與種植花卉相關的工作，由農夫、園丁、花卉供應商到貿易商不等。他們組織了花行會館，為花神提供祭品，讓善信參拜祈求花神賜福。豐台共有兩座花神廟，其中一座名為「西花神廟」或「花王廟」，廟內設有 13 座花神像，包括閏月花神。這座花神廟也是花行會館成員的會面場地。另一座廟名為「東花神廟」，廟內設有一座女花神像。<sup>59</sup>

北京的御花園總管也向花神祈求庇佑。據歷史記載，圓明園內設有一座於乾隆三十四年（1769）落成的花神廟，名為「匯萬總春之廟」。<sup>60</sup> 據其他資料顯示，乾隆皇帝會於百花生日（農曆二月十五日）當天到花神廟上香參拜。<sup>61</sup> 該廟設有兩尊分別屬於乾隆十年（1745）及十二年（1747）的石碑，印證了圓明園總管的事蹟。這兩尊石碑皆刻有文字，記錄了當時建造了大型花床及種植了各種花卉的盛況，以供皇帝及其賓客觀賞。另一方面，人民也藉著石碑，表達對花神保佑花木茂盛的敬意。由於石碑題字的日期相比廟宇的落成日期較早，由此可推斷，石碑或曾一度設於鄰近花神廟的花床位置，隨著

In Hangzhou, the flower deity temple was once located in the lakeside garden *Hushan Chunshe* on the north bank of the West Lake. *Hushan Chunshe* is a garden complex consisting of pavilions, bridges, a stone boat by the lakeside linked by paths, and a scenic spot that was listed in the Eighteen Sights of the West Lake in the Qing dynasty. It was built in the ninth year of Yongzheng (1731) by Li Wei (1687-1738), the Governor of Zhejiang Province.<sup>58</sup> Li made some significant contributions during the course of his official career: he supervised the draining of coastal deposits and building of dams to prevent tidal flooding on the coast at Haining, and managed the tax system for salt. This flower deity temple was built by official funding, and Emperor Qianlong visited it on his Southern tours. The temple was demolished shortly afterwards. Its site should be close to *Zhusu Yuan* ("Bamboo Garden") today, it is the remains of the *Hushan Chunshe* garden complex.

In Beijing, the largest centre of flower cultivation used to be Fengtai in the suburbs. The centre was well known for an abundant supply of fresh flowers, particularly *shaoyao* ("herbaceous peony"). Many people worked in the floral field, from farmers, gardeners, suppliers to traders. They formed trade societies and made offerings to flower deities, so that they would give them blessings for good harvests. There were two temples, the larger one was named West Flower deity temple or King of Flowers temple. There were 13 images of flower deities, including one for the Leap Month. The temple was also the meeting place of trade societies. Another one was known as East Flower deity temple and the deity was a female one.<sup>59</sup>

The superintendents of the royal gardens in Beijing also sought the protection and blessings of flower deities. It was recorded that there was a temple for flower deities named Temple of Million Spring in the Yuanmingyuan. It was built in the thirty-fourth year of the Qianlong reign (1769)<sup>60</sup>. Other sources stated that the emperor would visit the flower deity temple on the Birthday of Flowers (the fifteenth day of the second month) to offer incense.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, two pieces of evidence related to the Garden Superintendents of the Yuanmingyuan existed in the form of two stone stelae. These two stone stelae, which dated from the tenth year (1745) and the twelfth year (1747) of Qianlong respectively, were inscribed with the textual records that large areas of flower beds were created and planted with flowers of

歷史的發展，這兩尊石碑已被遷移到北京大學的燕南園內。<sup>62</sup>

在承德的避暑山莊內，也建有一座花神廟，同樣名為「匯萬總春之廟」。在廟宇的主殿內設有 12 尊花神像，各花神像代表一個月份。頤和園的總管和園丁會定期來到這座花神廟向各花神上香。<sup>63</sup> 這座廟宇連接一個小型庭院，內裡設有一個名為「華敷塢」的書房及兩層高的峻秀樓，以便皇帝來訪時作休憩之用。上述的歷史記載，反映出供奉花神已成為清代滿族皇帝的習俗。

另有一項有趣發現，位於北京十剝海的恭王府內也設有一座花神廟，據記載，這座小型廟宇位於大型庭園的西北角落，當時皇府會依據習俗進行參拜。可惜，這座廟宇已於 1930 年代拆卸，那時連同鄰近的「花卉培植溫室」也一併拆掉，以便興建大學校園。<sup>64</sup> 鑑於當時恭王及居住在這園林府第的其他皇族地位非凡，與皇帝亦十分親近，於是在王府花園建設花神廟，正反映了當時盛行參拜花神的傳統習俗已融入各皇室家族。

## 結論

花神杯研究涉獵多個不同範疇，本文研究的這套花神杯為景德鎮出產的優質陶瓷，或出自文人兼朝廷官員的設計。集結詩、書、畫的瓷器，反映當時皇帝對文學創作深感興趣，為清朝康熙末期及雍正時期出產的琺瑯彩瓷開創先河。各種花卉與花神用於工藝品上，令皇帝賞心悅目，也揭示古人喜愛花卉、敬仰花神的傳統源遠流長。花卉與季節性周期有著密切關係，亦構成農曆的部分元素。人們賞花以觀其美態，而花卉的特性亦用來比喻人的美德，或作為寓意吉祥的祝

every kind, for the enjoyment of the emperor and his guests. They also referred to the veneration of flower deities, who protected and blessed the flowers in that compound. Since the dates of these inscriptions were earlier than the appearance of the temple, the stelae might have stood next to the flower beds in the complex. Through the tides of history, these two stelae have been relocated to *Yan Nan Yuan* in the Peking University.<sup>62</sup>

In the Summer Palace at Chengde, there was also a temple for flower deities, which was again named Temple of Million Spring. Twelve flower deities were enshrined in the main hall, one deity for each month. The Keeper of the Summer Palace and the Gardener came here to give offerings to the flower deities regularly.<sup>63</sup> The temple was connected to a small courtyard with a study and a two-storey building, it was intended as a resting place for the emperor on his visits. These reflected that the veneration of flower deities had been absorbed into the rituals of the Manchu emperors.

Interestingly, a flower deity temple was found in the residence of Prince Gong which was located in the *Shichahai* area of Beijing. It was recorded that the small temple stood in the northwest corner of the large garden complex. The royal family carried out worship according to the custom. However, it was demolished in the 1930s when the "flower cultivation chambers" nearby were also cleared for the construction of a university campus building.<sup>64</sup> Given that Prince Gong and other owners of this residence were of very high rank and close to the emperor, the erection of the flower deity temple could be seen as the assimilation of the popular tradition and practice into the royal households.

## Conclusion

A study of the month cups touched upon various subjects. The set of cups was an example of the fine porcelain produced at Jingdezhen, and was probably designed by artists working in the court who were both literary men and officials. The integration of painting, poetry and calligraphy in a piece of porcelain reflected the emperors' interest in a variety of literary skills, and paved the way towards

<sup>58</sup> 《清史稿》卷 291，列傳七十八。

*Qing shi gao* ("A Draft of the History of Qing") Vol. 291, Biography no. 78.

<sup>59</sup> 同註 54。

See Note 54.

<sup>60</sup> 劉陽：《五朝皇帝與圓明園》（香港：香港中和出版有限公司，2014），頁 51。

Liu Yang, *Wu chao huang di yu Yuanming Yuan* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Open Page Publishing Company Limited, 2014), 51.

<sup>61</sup> 同上註，頁 217。

Ibid., 217.

<sup>62</sup> 陸波：「無數學子朝拜的北大花神廟，和一位公主的哀愁。」資料來源：<http://dajia.qq.com/original/beijing/lb161105.html>

Lu Bo wrote, "*The Flower Deity Temple in Peking University which attracts numerous students, and the sorrow of a princess.*" Source: <http://dajia.qq.com/original/beijing/lb161105.html>

<sup>63</sup> 杜江：《清帝承德離宮》（北京：紫禁城出版社，1998），頁 37-38。

Du Jiang, *清帝承德離宮* (Beijing: Forbidden City Press, 1998), 37-38.

<sup>64</sup> 京梅：《如夢如煙恭王府》（北京：人民文學出版社，2002）初版，頁 34-35。

Jing Mei, *如夢如煙恭王府* (Beijing: People's Literature Publishing House, 2002), First Edition, 34-35.

福。民間普遍將歷史人物或傳奇人物封為花神，以參拜供奉祈求收成良好。不少文學作品、各種畫作、瓷器都以花卉為題材，在培養和豐富人民文化生活方面扮演了一個重要角色。

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the production of more such wares executed in *falangcai* enamels in the later Kangxi period and in the Yongzheng era. While appealing to the taste of emperors, the subject of flowers and their deities have indeed established a long-standing tradition that is popular all the time. Flowers are linked to the seasonal cycle and are part of the agrarian calendar. They are appreciated for their physical beauty, their characteristics are compared to the qualities of human beings and also used as auspicious symbols to express wishes. In some popular beliefs, historical persons and legendary figures have been identified as flower deities and worshipped for giving protection to crops and produce. Flowers play an important role in enriching people's cultural lives through literary and artistic creations, as a subject in poetry, painting and porcelain.

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