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藝術 Art

從本地到全球——
香港作為吳冠中藝術通向國際讚譽的要道

From Local to Global: Hong Kong as the Gateway to
International Acclaim for the Art of Wu Guanzhong

陳美樺 CHAN Mei-wah, Mira

一級助理館長 (中國書畫) | 香港藝術館

Assistant Curator I (Chinese Painting and Calligraphy) | Hong Kong Museum of Art

p.4

電影 Film

從類型電影看香港1980年代電影的多元特色

Exploring Diversity in Hong Kong Cinema
through 1980s Genre Films

吳穎嫻 NG Wing-han, Wing

一級助理館長 (研究及編輯) | 香港電影資料館

Assistant Curator I (Research and Editorial) | Hong Kong Film Archive

p.70

歷史 History

p.34

重探誠濟堂——香港歷史博物館
中藥材店場景 背後的「香港故事」

Revisiting Shing Chai Tong:
Hong Kong Story behind the Traditional Chinese Medicine Shop
Setting at the Hong Kong Museum of History

梁煒傑 LEUNG Wai Kit, Alan

一級助理館長 | 弘揚中華文化辦公室

Assistant Curator I | Chinese Culture Promotion Office

歷史 History

永恒的刹那：香港歷史博物館夢周藏品所見歷史流動

Eternal Moments: Historical Transitions Reflected in the
Moonchu Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of History

賴彥融 LAI Yin Yung, YY

一級助理館長 (民俗) | 香港歷史博物館

Assistant Curator I (Ethnography) | Hong Kong Museum of History

p.84



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香港作為吳冠中藝術通向國際讚譽的要道

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吳冠中《鄉情與鄉愁》（局部）
Wu Guanzhong *Memories of Home* (detail)

引言

20 世紀是中國藝術史發展上一個有趣的時期，不只藝術家及藝術形式有重大演變，其在國際上的地位和研究在近 100 年間有着爆炸性的推進。1904 年，當大英博物館策展人勞倫斯·賓揚（1869 - 1943）於《伯靈頓雜誌》發表文章《公元四世紀的中國繪畫》介紹大英博物館最新購藏顧愷之（345 - 406）《女史箴圖》的摹本時，他讚揚中國古代書畫值得被重視，但過去 400 年的中國藝術對他來說毫無意義。¹ 1959 年，英國著名藝術史學者蘇立文（1916 - 2013）出版《20 世紀的中國藝術》，是西方學術界第一本專注探討 20 世紀中國藝術的著作。

Introduction

The 20th century was a fascinating period in the development of Chinese art history. Not only did artists and art forms undergo significant changes, but the status and study of Chinese art on the international stage also advanced drastically over the past 100 years. In 1904, Laurence Binyon (1869-1943), a curator at the British Museum, published an article in *The Burlington Magazine* entitled “A Chinese Painting of the Fourth Century”, introducing the *Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies* scroll attributed to Gu Kaizhi (345-406) which was recently acquired by the museum. He stated that only ancient Chinese painting and calligraphy should be held in high regard, but those of the last 400 years were quite without interest for him.¹ In 1959, Michael Sullivan (1916-2013), a renowned British art historian, published

然而他也言道當時西方同行們批評 20 世紀中國藝術要麼千篇一律的傳統，要麼蒼白無力地模倣西方，認為研究這個課題浪費時間，不值得嚴肅對待。² 當時多數的西方學者甚至中國學者都認為中國藝術由 18 世紀開始呈現衰落趨向，其創造力已被耗盡，不值得深入研究。³

及至 1992 年，大英博物館破天荒舉辦了「吳冠中——一個二十世紀的中國畫家」

Chinese Art in the Twentieth Century, the first publication focusing on 20th-century Chinese art in the Western academic circle. However, he noted that his peers criticised 20th-century Chinese art as either monotonously traditional or weak imitations of the West, considering it an unworthy subject for serious study.² At that time, most Western and even Chinese scholars believed that Chinese art had been in decline since the 18th century, its creativity exhausted and was not worth in-depth research.³

¹ 有關賓揚發表文章的詳情，請參閱柯格律著，梁霄譯：〈傳統的本土觀點〉，載於《回音室——1897—1935 年跨國的中國畫》（上海：上海人民出版社，2024），頁 46-48。
For details on Binyon's article, see Craig Clunas, “The Traditional Native View,” in *The Echo Chamber: Transnational Chinese Painting, 1897-1935* (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2024), 339-340.

² 邁克爾·蘇立文著，陳衛和、錢崗南譯：〈中文版序言〉，載於《20 世紀中國藝術與藝術家（上）》（上海：上海人民出版社，2013），頁 11。
Michael Sullivan, “*Zhongwen ban xuyan* (Preface to the Chinese Edition),” in *Art and Artists of Twentieth-Century China (Volume 1)*, trans. Weihe Chen and Gangnan Qian (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2013), 11.

³ 萬青力舉出很多學者普遍認為中國藝術於 18 世紀後步向低潮的論述並加以反駁，詳情見萬青力：〈緒論〉，載於《並非衰落的百年——十九世紀中國繪畫史》（台北：雄獅圖書股份有限公司，2005），頁 10-16。
Qingli Wan pointed out and refuted the common argument among many scholars that Chinese art declined after the 18th century. For details, see Qingli Wan, “Introduction,” in *The Century was not Declining in Art: A History of Nineteenth Century of Chinese Painting* (Taipei: Hsiung Shih Art Books Co., Ltd., 2005), 10-16.

展覽，是該館首個為在世中國藝術家舉辦的個展。時任亞洲部負責人龍安妮稱，當時大英博物館採取了新政策，舉辦 20 世紀藝術展覽，並開始收藏優秀的亞洲當代藝術品，為未來館藏作好準備。⁴ 在芸芸中國當代藝術家中，大英博物館選擇了吳冠中（1919 - 2010）成就這項創舉，而其實當時吳氏在國際間已經甚具名聲，曾於香港、日本、新加坡以至美國等地均舉行過個展。在上世紀互聯網尚未普及應用時，資訊不像現在便利流通，但他的畫作卻能廣泛流傳並同時引起中外藝術圈關注，可謂殊不簡單。

1970 年代至 1980 年代期間，頻繁的藝術交流使吳冠中的藝術在香港嶄露頭角，逐漸受到國際藝術界的重視。此後數十年，香港在推廣吳冠中的藝術均擔當着重要的角色。因緣際會下，香港藝術館 30 多年來更有幸與藝術家及其家人建立了珍貴的情誼，得到其慷慨捐贈超過 450 多項作品，並獲得他們大力支持推動藝術研究及教育工作，這除了是藝術館的榮幸，更是市民大眾莫大的福氣。捐贈作品的數量及種類豐富多樣，既完善了我們對吳冠中藝術的研究，當中也有很多精彩和美妙的故事值得細味。本文將整理由香港及海外搜集得來的資料，配以館藏豐富的吳冠中作品，以探討吳氏的藝術如何一步一步取得國際成就，並細數這位藝術大師多年來與香港及香港藝術館的珍貴共同回憶。

從多樣化的館藏作品中看吳冠中的藝術里程

1919 年，吳冠中生於宜興農村之家，並不是從小就想從事藝術，在他的自傳中寫道，他小時候喜歡魯迅（1881 - 1936），曾幻想成為作家。成績優異的他本來在浙江大學工業學校修讀電機科，希望畢業後有光明前途，能以工業救國。可是吳在暑假軍訓期間認識了國立杭州藝術專科學校學生朱德群（1920 - 2014），並跟隨他到杭州藝專參觀，吳冠中完完全全被那裡的藝術氣氛吸引住，1936 年不理家人反對，毅然決定要到杭州藝專轉讀藝術，自嘲是「誤入歧途」。⁵

By 1992, the British Museum broke new ground by organising “Wu Guanzhong: A Twentieth-century Chinese Painter” exhibition, its first solo exhibition for a living Chinese artist. The then-curator of the Department of Asia, Anne Farrer, said the museum had adopted a new policy of mounting 20th-century art exhibitions with an aim to collect the best Asian contemporary objects as a foundation for future collections.⁴ Among many contemporary Chinese artists, the British Museum chose Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) for this pioneering exhibition. By then, Wu was already well-known internationally, having held solo exhibitions in Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore, and the United States. In an era when information was not as easily accessible through the internet as it is today, the fact that his artworks still managed to circulate widely and attract attention from both Chinese and foreign art circles was quite a remarkable feat.

From the late 1970s to 1980s, frequent artistic exchanges in Hong Kong brought Wu Guanzhong’s art to prominence, gradually enabling it to gain international recognition. Over the following decades, Hong Kong played a crucial role in promoting Wu’s art. Under these favourable conditions, the Hong Kong Museum of Art (HKMoA) was lucky to have established a precious friendship with the artist and his family for more than three decades, receiving generous donations of over 450 sets of works and strong support for art research and education. This was not only an honour for the museum but also a great blessing for the public. The variety and richness of the donated works have enhanced our research on the art of Wu Guanzhong, and also offered many fascinating stories that are worth savouring. Based on the information collected from Hong Kong and overseas, supplemented by the museum’s rich collection of Wu’s works, this article examines how Wu’s art achieved international success gradually and recounts the precious memories shared among the art master, Hong Kong, and the HKMoA.

Wu Guanzhong’s Artistic Journey through the Diverse Museum Collection

Wu Guanzhong was born to a rural family in Yixing in 1919. He did not aspire to be an artist from a young age; instead in his autobiography, he wrote that he admired Lu Xun (1881–1936) and once dreamed of becoming a writer. He was an outstanding

當年的杭州藝專校長林風眠（1900 - 1991）和導師吳大羽（1903 - 1988）等都是留法歸來的藝術家，課程跟隨法國學院的學制，着重素描和油畫，對西方藝術採取開放態度。林風眠辦校的主張是「介紹西洋藝術、整理中國藝術、調和中西藝術、創造時代藝術。一言蔽之，就是現代中國繪畫與現代世界藝術的合流。」⁶ 據吳冠中憶述，學校的圖書館也放滿了在法國闖出名堂的畫家如塞尚（1839 - 1906）、梵高（1853 - 1890）等圖冊，自然也燃起了他的法國留學夢。⁷ 終於，他在 1947 年以全國第一名的成績考上了獎學金到法國留學。香港藝術館藏中最早一份有關吳冠中的文獻，是教育部批准他到法國留學的證書^①。從館藏中他留學法國時的多張學生證中，反映了他那三年充實無比的學藝生涯：他既在巴黎索邦大學修讀課程，亦在國立巴黎高等美術學校不同教授的工作室內學畫畫，也爭取時間參觀各大美術館。⁸ 除了正規學院訓練之外，他還會到羅浮宮美

student and originally studied electrical engineering at the vocational school administered by the Zhejiang University, hoping to have a bright future and contribute to the nation through industry. However, during a summer military training camp, he met Chu Teh-chun (1920–2014), a student at the National Hangzhou Academy of Art, and visited the academy with him. Wu was completely captivated by the artistic atmosphere there and, in 1936, despite his family’s opposition, decided to transfer to the art academy, self-deprecatingly describing it a “going down the wrong path.”⁵

Staffed by returnee artists from France, including the headmaster Lin Fengmian (1900–1991) and instructor Wu Dayu (1903–1988), the academy followed the French academic system, emphasising sketching and oil painting and adopting an open attitude toward Western art. Under Lin Fengmian, the academy aimed to “introduce Western art, reform Chinese art, synthesise Chinese and Western art, and create art that was current for its times. In a nutshell, the goal was to merge modern Chinese painting with world art.”⁶ According to Wu Guanzhong, the school library was filled with catalogues of artists who were famous in France like Paul Cézanne (1839–1906) and Vincent van Gogh (1853–1890), which naturally fueled his dream of studying in France.⁷ Eventually, in 1947, he won a scholarship by ranking the first nationwide and was able to study in France. The earliest document in the HKMoA’s collection related to Wu Guanzhong is the certificate from the Ministry of Education approving his study in France^①. His student cards and other documents from his time in France reflected his fulfilling three years there: he studied at the Sorbonne University, pursued painting in various studios at l’École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-arts de Paris, and visited major art museums whenever possible.⁸ In addition to



① 吳冠中教育部證書 | 1947 | 紙本 | 26 x 24 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong’s Certificate from the Education Department | 1947 | Paper | 26 x 24 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2020.0002

⁴ Margaret Melville：〈A Brush with the British〉，《Artention International》(25, 1992)，頁 17。
Margaret Melville, “A Brush with the British,” *Artention International* no. 25 (June 1992): 17.

⁵ 吳冠中：〈歧途〉，載於《吳冠中自傳——我負丹青》（香港：三聯書店（香港）有限公司，2005），頁 132。
Guanzhong Wu, “*Qitu*,” in *Wu Guanzhong Zizhuan: Wo Fu Danqing* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (Hong Kong) Co., Ltd., 2005), 132.

⁶ 全朝暉：〈吳冠中藝術的學緣結構〉，載於《吳冠中藝術的中國情境》（長沙：湖南美術出版社，2020），頁 74。
Zhaohui Tong, “Wu Guanzhong Yishu de Xueyuan Jiegou,” in *Wu Guanzhong Yishu de Zhongguo Qingjing* (Changsha: Hunan Fine Arts Publishing House, 2020), 74.

⁷ 有關杭州藝專當年的情況，請參閱吳冠中：〈走出象牙塔〉，載於同註 5，頁 133-139。
For details of the Hangzhou National Academy of Art back then, see Guanzhong Wu, “*Zouchu Xiangyata*,” in Note 5, 133–139.

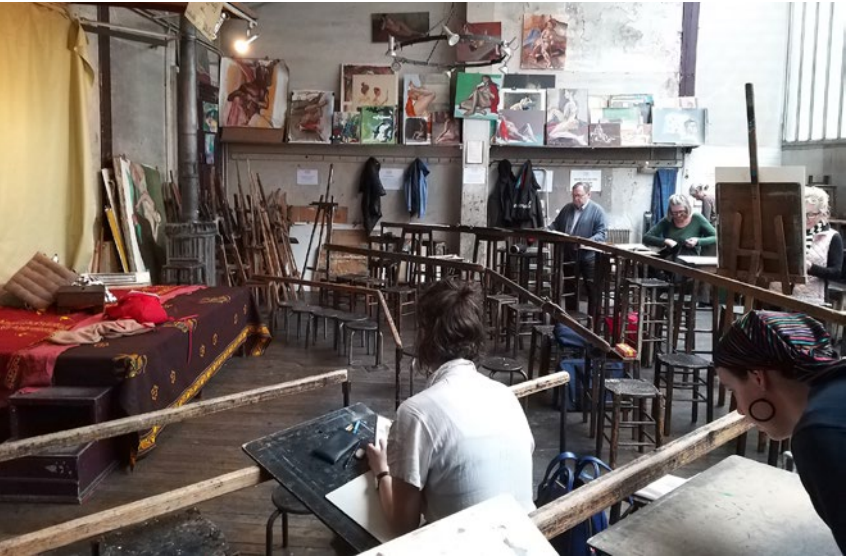
⁸ 有關吳冠中留學法國的詳情，可參閱同註 5 及同註 6。
For Wu Guanzhong’s French years, see Note 5 and Note 6.

術史學校旁聽^②，亦會到大茅屋畫室^③練習人體速寫。這所位於蒙帕納斯的業餘畫室收費較其他工作室便宜，多年來是中國留法藝術家經常流連、練習裸體素描的地方。首批留法的藝術家如潘玉良（1895 - 1977）及常玉（1901 - 1966）等也曾在那裡與剛抵埗的年青學生碰面。^⑨在館藏中一批 1950 年代的油畫和寫生稿中，如《玉米》^④和《北京西郊大樹》^⑤等，均可見吳冠中從杭州藝專至法國留學多年來扎實的素描和油畫訓練，風格也偏向寫實。

the courses and training, he also audited classes at l'École du Louvre^② and practised nude figure drawing at l'Académie de la Grande Chaumière^③, a popular and affordable place for Chinese artists in France to practise nude drawing. The first-generation Chinese artists in Paris, such as Pan Yuliang (1895–1977) and Sanyu (1901–1966), would also meet the recently arrived young students there.^⑨ Oil paintings and sketches of Wu Guanzhong from the 1950s in the museum's collection, such as *Maize Cobs*^④ and *Big Trees in the Western Suburb of Beijing*^⑤, show his solid training and foundation in sketching and oil painting from Hangzhou to France, both of which are relatively realistic in style.



② 吳冠中留學巴黎證件 | 1947 - 1950 | 紙本一組 11 件
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong's Documents and Certificates of Study in Paris | 1947–1950 | Paper, a set of 11 items
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0370



③ 位於巴黎蒙帕納斯的大茅屋畫室，裝潢跟 20 世紀初歷代中國留法藝術家使用時沒兩樣。筆者攝於 2020 年。（註：此畫室已於 2025 年 7 月遷址。）
L'Académie de la Grande Chaumière in Montparnasse, Paris. The setting has remained unchanged since the early 20th century when Chinese artists in France frequented the place. Taken by the author in 2020. (Note: The studio was relocated in July 2025.)



④ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 玉米 | 1953 | 油彩紙板 | 31.7 x 40.2 厘米
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | *Maize Cobs* | 1953 | Oil on pasteboard | 31.7 x 40.2cm
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0001



⑥ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 西藏民兵 | 1961 | 油彩紙板 | 35.8 x 27.9 厘米
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | *A Tibetan Militiaman* | 1961 | Oil on pasteboard | 35.8 x 27.9 cm
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0008



⑤ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 北京西郊大樹 | 1953 | 鉛筆紙本 | 37.3 x 28.9 厘米
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | *Big Trees in the Western Suburb of Beijing* | 1953 | Pencil on paper | 37.3 x 28.9 cm
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0152

1940 年代末，吳冠中雖然身在法國，卻還是十分關心祖國政局日益動盪的消息。在巴黎似乎順遂的藝術發展道路和回國後可能面對各種不確定因素之間反覆思量後，他終於決定回國，渴望把在法國所學的傾囊相授以回報國家。1950 年，吳冠中由法國乘搭郵輪「馬賽曲」號來到香港，再到九龍尖沙咀九廣鐵路總站（即現今香港藝術館旁香港文化中心位置）登上火車到北京，並開始從事藝術教育工作。可是當時國內的藝術風向已被蘇聯的寫實主義所主導，更不容許畫裸體

In the late 1940s, although Wu Guanzhong was in France, he was deeply concerned about the increasingly turbulent situation in China. After much deliberation between a seemingly smooth artistic path in Paris and the uncertainties he might face upon returning home, he finally decided to return to China, eager to share what he had learned in France with his country. In 1950, Wu embarked on the liner *La Marseillaise* and travelled from France to Hong Kong, then took a train from the Kowloon-Canton Railway Station (now the site of the Hong Kong Cultural Centre, adjacent to the HKMoA) to Beijing, where he began his art education career. However, at

^⑨ 易凱：〈步向現代藝術：巴黎的中國藝術家〉，載於香港藝術館編：《「巴黎·丹青——二十世紀中國畫家展」展覽圖錄》（香港：康樂及文化事務署，2014），頁 21。
Eric Lefebvre, “Ways to Modernity: Chinese Artists in Paris,” in *Paris • Chinese Painting: Legacy of the 20th Century Chinese Masters*, ed. Hong Kong Museum of Art (Hong Kong: Leisure and Cultural Services Department, 2014), 35.

畫，這與法國自由奔放的印象主義大相逕庭。他因為不想美化工農兵而受到譴責，所以他乾脆放棄人體畫而轉畫風景畫，館藏中也有幾幅僅存的民兵肖像⁶。¹⁰ 由1960年代開始，吳冠中幾乎只畫風景畫，直到1990年代改革開放後才再度畫人物畫，而風景畫亦成為吳冠中藝術發展的一個重要里程碑。長時間對人體結構的練習幫助他捕捉風景的美，自然界的弧線讓他想起人體曲線的起伏，例如他覺得落葉的樹好像人裸體的筋骨，¹¹ 這也特別吸引他畫樹，館藏中多幅老樹的寫生稿如《戒台寺臥龍松（一）》⁷ 的樹幹姿態與《人體（五）》⁸ 的肢體伸展和構圖甚為相似。當他向學生介紹如何畫太湖石時亦以人裸體的構成形式對照作為啟

that time, the trend of art had already veered towards Soviet Socialist Realism in which nude painting was not tolerated, a stark contrast to the free-spirited French Impressionism. Wu was criticised for refusing to beautify workers, peasants, and soldiers, so he gave up figure painting and turned to landscapes. Portraits from this period can also be seen in our museum’s collection ⁶.¹⁰ From the 1960s onward, Wu painted almost exclusively landscapes, only returning to figure painting after the reforms of the 1990s. Landscape painting thus became a major milestone in his artistic development. Years of practising figure drawing helped him capture the beauty of landscapes; the curves of nature reminded him of the human form. For example, he felt that the bare branches of trees resembled the frame of a nude body,¹¹ which particularly attracted him to draw trees. Sketches of old trees from the museum collection, such as *Lying Dragon Pine Tree of the Jietai Temple (I)* ⁷, have their trunks similar in shape and composition to the stretching limbs in *Figure (V)* ⁸. When teaching students how to paint Taihu rocks, he also used the



⁷ 吳冠中（1919－2010） | 戒台寺臥龍松（一） | 1993 | 箱頭筆紙本 | 30.2 x 42.2 厘米
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | Lying Dragon Pine Tree of the Jietai Temple (I) | 1993 | Marker on paper | 30.2 x 42.2 cm
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0316



⁸ 吳冠中（1919－2010） | 人體（五） | 1990 | 鋼筆、墨水及塑膠彩紙本 | 30 x 45.8 厘米
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | Figure (V) | 1990 | Pen, ink and acrylic on paper | 30 x 45.8 cm
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0307



⁹ 吳冠中（1919－2010） | 田 | 1994 | 油彩布本 | 60.5 x 81 厘米
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | Fields | 1994 | Oil on canvas | 60.5 x 81 cm
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0050



¹⁰ 吳冠中（1919－2010） | 女裸 | 1994 | 油彩板本 | 50.2 x 60.1 厘米
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | 1994 | Oil on board | 50.2 x 60.1 cm
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0049

示。¹² 《田》⁹ 和《女裸》¹⁰ 兩幅油畫同時於1994年完成，畫中乾草堆的動感線條與裸女的肢體匍匐對照起來就更容易看出他所說的風景與人體之間的共通美學。

水陸兼程、與香港結緣

很多曾留法的20世紀中國藝術家如林風眠、龐薰琹（1906－1985）等都是一邊練習油畫、一邊創作水墨畫。兩個媒介的特性和技巧迥然不同，畫家們都希望運用所學作不同試驗，為中國藝術現代化開闢一條新路。1975年左右，一直主要畫油畫的吳冠中開始用水墨顏料繪畫。其實他在杭州藝專時期也曾跟隨潘天壽（1897－1971）學習中國傳統書畫，臨摹大量歷代名家之作，但當時的他更被色彩繽紛的油畫所吸引。由於他的居室小，畫油畫需要很大空間，而國畫宣紙能卷起來存放，所以轉用水墨也有現實的考

structure of the nude body as inspiration.¹² The aesthetics that he found to be shared by landscapes and nudes can be easily understood from the oil paintings *Fields* ⁹ and *Nudes* ¹⁰, both completed in 1994, in which the haystacks sway as the women do.

Pressing ahead on a Dual Track, Bonding with Hong Kong

Like Lin Fengmian and Pang Hiunkin (1906–1985), many 20th-century Chinese artists who had studied in France practised both oil and ink painting. The characteristics and techniques of the two media are very different, and artists hoped to use what they had learned to experiment and carve out a new path for the modernisation of Chinese art. Around the year 1975, Wu Guanzhong began painting in ink although he was basically an oil painter all along. Far from being uninitiated, he had studied traditional Chinese painting and calligraphy under Pan Tianshou (1897–1971) at the Hangzhou National Academy of Art, where he copied works of many previous Chinese masters, but was more attracted to the colourful palette of oil painting at the time. There might also be a more practical reason for the switch. Unlike Chinese paintings made on Xuan paper that can be rolled up and put away, oil paintings take

¹⁰ 邁克爾·蘇立文著，陳衛和、錢崗南譯：〈為社會的藝術〉，載於同註2，頁238。
Michael Sullivan, “Art for Society,” in *Art and Artists of Twentieth-century China* (California: University of California Press, 1996), 139.

¹¹ 吳冠中：〈夕照看裸體〉，載於《吳冠中文集3·生平自述》（上海：文滙出版社，1998），頁463。
Guanzhong Wu, “Xizhao Kan Luoti,” in *Wu Guanzhong Wenji 3: Shengping Zishu* (Shanghai: Wenhui Publishing House, 1998), 463.

¹² 吳冠中：〈人之裸〉，載於《吳冠中文集1·藝術散論》（上海：文匯出版社，1998），頁46。
Guanzhong Wu, “Ren zhi Luo,” in *Wu Guanzhong Wenji 1: Yishu Sanlun* (Shanghai: Wenhui Publishing House, 1998), 46.



11 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 牡丹 | 1975 | 水墨設色紙本 | 34.9 x 35.4 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | Peonies | 1975 | Ink and colour on paper | 34.9 x 35.4 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family

FA2018.0075

慮。¹³ 館藏中《牡丹》¹¹、《魚海》¹² 等都是他早期試驗性的水墨作品，而且篇幅都比較小。吳冠中曾比喻水墨為河流，油彩為陸路，多年來水陸兩路交替前進，¹⁴ 這一時期創作的還有素描寫生稿《嶗山海岸》¹³、《嶗山龍潭瀑》¹⁴ 及油畫《嶗山海角》¹⁵，是為吳冠中以寫生為基礎，在水墨和油彩上不斷探索的例證。有關嶗山寫生之行，吳冠中憶述給予他最強烈印象的，是那裡巨石遍野，或圓或方、或矗立、或斜倚，驚歎石群的抽象造型美，更想像如果畢加索（1881 - 1973）到那裡，也會嘆為觀止，可見吳冠中雖然畫的對象是家國風光，創作時仍然傾向西方藝術的觀點，算是以西方藝術形式手法探討創作中國繪畫的可能性，雖具新意，然而並未充分展現兩者的長處特色。¹⁵



12 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 魚海 | 1976 | 水墨設色紙本 | 46 x 49 厘米

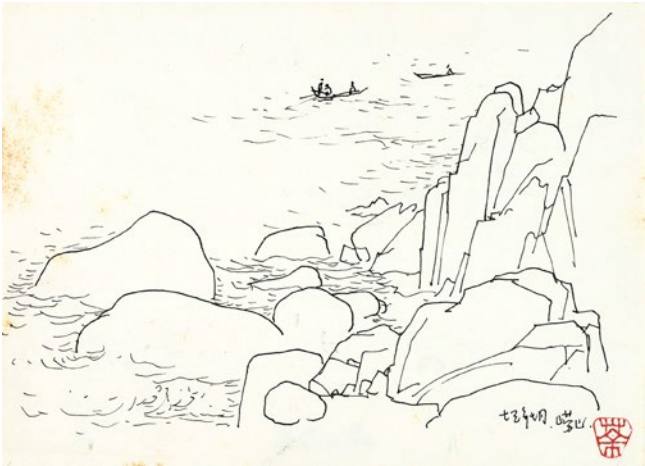
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | A Sea of Fishes | 1976 | Ink and colour on paper | 46 x 49 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family

FA2018.0078

up much more room and Wu's place at that time was too small for them.¹³ Experimental ink works of Wu from this early phase in the museum's collection are relatively small in size, such as *Peonies* ¹¹ and *A Sea of Fishes* ¹². Wu once compared ink to a river and oil to a land route, saying that he was pressing ahead by water and by land parallelly for years.¹⁴ During this period, he also created sketches such as *The Seashore of Mount Lao* ¹³, drawing in ink and colour *The Longtan Waterfall of Mount Lao* ¹⁴ and the oil painting *A Cape at Mount Lao* ¹⁵, exemplifying his continuous exploration of both media based on sketching in nature. Wu recalled that the most striking impression from his sketching trip to Mount Lao was the abundance of huge rocks, both round and square, standing or leaning, whose abstract forms amazed him. He imagined that even Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) would be astonished if he visited there. At that time, although Wu Guanzhong was painting landscapes of his homeland, his creative approach still leaned toward the perspective of Western art. His exploration on the possibilities of creating Chinese painting



13 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 嶗山海岸 | 1975 | 鋼筆及墨水紙本 | 18.9 x 26.1 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | The Seashore of Mount Lao | 1975 | Pen and ink on paper | 18.9 x 26.1 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family

FA2018.0162



在吳冠中不斷探索藝術新路向的同時，他的藝術也開始在香港受到關注。1977 年，香港畫家莫一點（1947 - ）在明報月刊撰文分享他到深圳水庫旁的展覽館參觀「榮寶齋木版水印、書畫展覽」，第一次向香港讀者簡介吳冠中的生平及他的水墨作品《山城》。他寫道當時雖然對吳的名字感到陌生，但「他的作品運用了油畫的技巧，來揉合傳統中國畫法，這種創新意圖，卻令我有深刻印



14 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 嶗山龍潭瀑 | 1975 | 水墨設色紙本 | 42 x 36 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | The Longtan Waterfall of Mount Lao | 1975 | Ink and colour on paper | 42 x 36 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family

FA2018.0077

15 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 嶗山海角 | 1976 | 油彩紙本 | 37.7 x 53.4 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | A Cape at Mount Lao | 1976 | Oil on paper | 37.7 x 53.4 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family

FA2018.0024

using Western artistic forms and techniques was innovative and refreshing, yet it did not fully bring out the strengths and distinctive characteristics of both traditions.¹⁵

As Wu Guanzhong continued to explore new artistic directions, his art began to attract attention in Hong Kong. In 1977, Hong Kong artist Mok E-den (1947–) wrote in *Ming Pao Monthly* about visiting an exhibition of Rong Bao Zhai's Woodblock Prints, Calligraphy, and Paintings in the Shenzhen Exhibition Centre at the Shenzhen Reservoir, introducing Wu's life and his ink painting *Mountain City* to Hong Kong readers for the first

¹³ 邁克爾·蘇立文著，陳衛和、錢崗南譯：〈國畫的再生〉，載於《20 世紀中國藝術與藝術家（下）》（上海：上海人民出版社，2013），頁 390。
Michael Sullivan, “Guohua Reborn Again,” see Note 10, 244.

¹⁴ 吳冠中：〈水陸兼程〉，載於何燕屏、黑馬選編：《吳冠中畫韻美文》，（廣州：廣東人民出版社，2000），頁 13-14。
Guanzhong Wu, “*Shui Lu Jiancheng*,” in *Wu Guanzhong Huayun Meiwen*, ed. Yanping He and Ma Hei (Guangzhou: Guandong People's Publishing House, 2000), 13–14.

¹⁵ 關於吳冠中於嶗山寫生的經歷和感想，請參閱吳冠中：〈嶗山松石（二）〉，《吳冠中文叢 2·文心畫眼》（北京：團結出版社，2008），頁 82。
For details of Wu Guanzhong's experiences and thoughts about sketching in Mount Lao, see Guanzhong Wu, “*Laoshan Songshi (2)*,” in *Wu Guanzhong Wencong 2: Wenxin Huayan* (Beijing: Unity Press, 2008), 82.

象。」¹⁶ 1978 年，莫一點再次到深圳參觀「人民美術出版社書畫原作展覽」，讚嘆這個聯展為「中國畫壇的新氣象」。他提及吳冠中的水墨作品如《魚與海》及《鼓浪嶼》（此作曾於 2019 年於香港藝術館舉辦的「從糞筐到餐車——吳冠中誕辰一百周年展」中展出）等，形容他致力用中西融和的方法畫中國畫，其作品的「構思、線條、設色都有濃郁的西洋畫風味」。¹⁷ 1979 年，蘇立文教授訪問中國，回程時路經香港，在東方陶瓷學會舉行講座，介紹 1949 年以來中國藝術的發展，亦是西方學者首次在香港介紹吳冠中的藝術。這些曝光機會使吳冠中的作品慢慢被香港藝文圈認識。1980 年，吳冠中首次為明報月刊撰文介紹恩師潘天壽的藝術，此後不定期為明報月刊供稿，直至 2010 年他逝世前的幾個月。香港的讀者以至普羅大眾除了透過畫作認識吳冠中的藝術，更有幸透過藝術家親身的文字理解他的美學理念和想法。

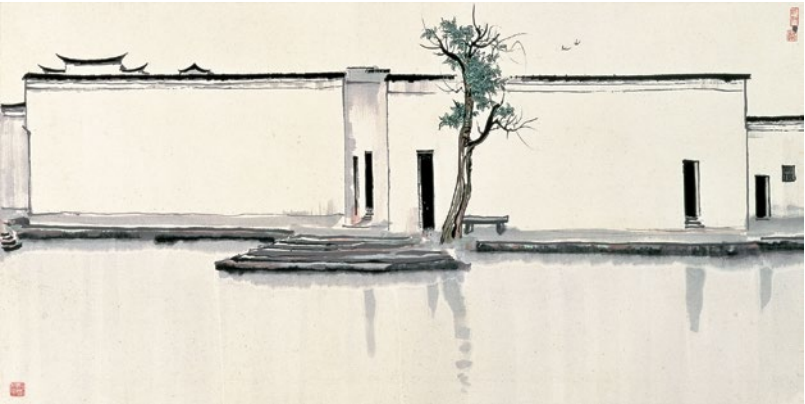
1980 年代：創意爆發的年代、交流頻繁的年代

在經過反覆不斷的創作試驗後，吳冠中終於在 1980 年代初將他「水陸兼程」的中西藝術融和概念推向極致，成功創作風格獨特的水墨作品，以西方幾何形式構圖混搭東方抽象寫意等概念，孕育出他稱為「混血兒」的現代國畫，如為人熟悉的《雙燕》¹⁶、《憶江南》¹⁷ 等經典名作。橫幅構圖和抽象元素像極西方繪畫，畫的卻是不折不扣的江南水鄉，大量的留白和巧妙的水墨渲染，蘊含着含蓄而寧靜的東方美學。這種新穎的繪畫風格，正如藝術史學家高美慶教授點出：「畫中所表現的抽象美，其啓示固然可說是備受西方現代藝術的洗禮，可是更應體會的是其中來自作家秉賦的中國味道」¹⁸，是吳冠中的個人身份和自身經歷，在充分領略及消化東西方美學後，反芻出的獨特成品。

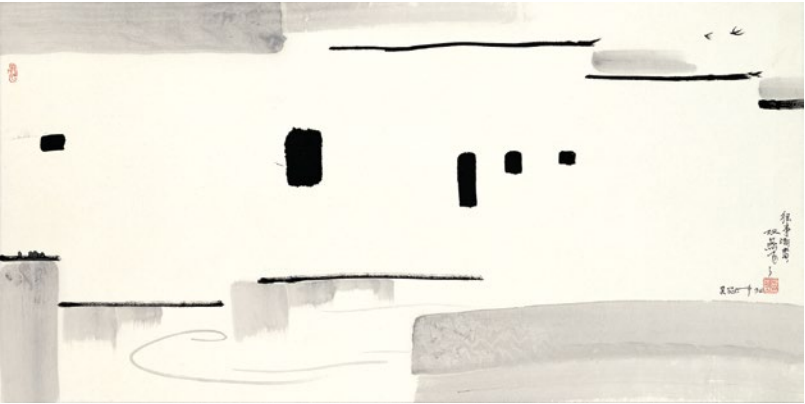
time. Mok wrote that although Wu’s name was unfamiliar to him at that time, he was deeply impressed by his innovative intent of blending oil painting techniques with traditional Chinese methods.¹⁶ In 1978, Mok visited another exhibition in Shenzhen and praised it as “a new atmosphere in Chinese painting.” He mentioned Wu Guanzhong’s ink paintings such as *Fish and Sea* and *Gulang Islet* (this painting was featured in the “From Dung Basket to Dining Cart: 100th Anniversary of the Birth of Wu Guanzhong” exhibition organised by the HKMoA in 2019) in the article, describing Wu’s efforts to paint Chinese paintings with a fusion of Chinese and Western methods and aesthetics, with “composition, lines, and colours all having a strong Western flavour.”¹⁷ In 1979, Professor Michael Sullivan visited China and gave a lecture at the Oriental Ceramic Society in Hong Kong. He introduced the development of Chinese art since 1949, marking the first time a Western scholar presented Wu’s art in Hong Kong. These occasions gradually brought Wu’s works to the attention of Hong Kong’s art and cultural circles. In 1980, Wu Guanzhong wrote his first article for *Ming Pao Monthly* introducing the art of his mentor Pan Tianshou. From then on, he contributed articles to *Ming Pao Monthly* from time to time until a few months before his death in 2010. Hong Kong readers and the general public not only learned about Wu’s art through his paintings but also had the privilege of understanding his aesthetic ideas through his own writings.

The 1980s: Flourishing Creativity and Frequent Exchanges

In the early 1980s, after repeated creative experiments of “advancing by both land and water”, Wu Guanzhong finally succeeded in creating a unique style of ink painting fusing Chinese and Western aesthetics. Using Western geometric composition mixed with Eastern abstract expression, he created what he called “hybrid” modern Chinese paintings, such as the well-known *Two Swallows* ¹⁶ and *Reminiscences of Jiangnan* ¹⁷. The horizontal composition and abstract elements are reminiscent of Western painting, but the subjects are unmistakably Jiangnan water towns, with large areas of blank space and ink washes embodying the subtle and tranquil characteristics of oriental aesthetics. The art historian Professor Mayching Kao pointed out that the abstract beauty expressed in the paintings was certainly inspired by Western



¹⁶ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 雙燕 | 1981 | 水墨設色紙本 | 69 x 138 厘米
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | Two Swallows | 1981 | Ink and colour on paper | 69 x 138 cm
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2002.0006



¹⁷ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 憶江南 | 1996 | 水墨紙本 | 69.5 x 138.5 厘米
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | Reminiscences of Jiangnan | 1996 | Ink on paper | 69.5 x 138.5 cm
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2002.0018

隨着吳冠中的藝術風格漸趨成熟，他也有更多的機會到香港交流。1985 年，吳冠中相隔了 30 多年後，終於再次來到香港，應香港藝術節之邀請參加香港藝術中心舉辦「認識現代國畫」項目中的「方召麐、宋文治、王季遷及吳冠中畫作聯展」展覽，這亦是吳冠中在香港的首次公開活動。1986 年，香港中文大學在香港大會堂舉行「當代中國繪畫」展覽，展出朱屺瞻（1892 - 1996）、黃君璧（1898 - 1991）、李可染（1907 - 1989）等超過 50 位畫家的作品，吳冠中也應邀參展，展出《大江東去》、《山高水長》等相對大幅的水墨作品，也在港出席研討會及與其他參展藝術家交流。在翻查美國國家亞洲藝術博物館文獻庫時，筆者發現了一幀吳冠中與同為參展藝術家謝稚柳（1910 - 1997）在查濟民（1914 - 2007）家中拍攝的合照¹⁸，估計當時吳冠中來港除了與藝術家交流外，亦結識了不少本地學者及書畫同好。香港作家查良鏞（又名金庸，1924 - 2018）與查濟民是叔姪關係，更為此展覽圖錄撰寫序言《向中國畫的大師們致敬》。籌備此大型

modern art, but more importantly, it was also derived from his own Chinese temperament.¹⁸ Wu’s unique works and artistic style stem directly from his personal identity and experiences, through fully absorbing and understanding both Chinese and Western aesthetics.



¹⁸ （左起）吳冠中、謝稚柳、查劉璧如及陳佩秋 1986 年於香港合照。
(From left) Wu Guanzhong, Xie Zhiliu, Cha Liu Bie-ju, and Chen Peiqiu in Hong Kong in 1986.
Xie Zhiliu / National Museum of Asian Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Xie Zhiliu Papers, FSA-2026-005674

¹⁶ 莫一點：〈深圳讀畫記〉，《明報月刊》，1977 年十月號，頁 38。
E-den Mok, “Shenzhen Duhuaiji,” *Ming Pao Monthly* (October 1977): 38.

¹⁷ 莫一點：〈中國畫壇的新氣象——深圳書畫展覽讀後記〉，《明報月刊》，1978 年六月號，頁 74。
E-den Mok, “Zhongguo huatan de xin qixiang-shenzhen shuhua zhanlan duhouji,” *Ming Pao Monthly* (June 1978): 74.

¹⁸ 高美慶：〈東尋西找，允執厥中——讀吳冠中畫〉，載於萬玉堂編：《吳冠中——萬紫千紅》（香港：萬玉堂，1989），頁 9。
Mayching Kao, “Searching East and West, Holding the Middle Way: On Paintings by Wu Guanzhong,” in *Wu Guanzhong: Kaleidoscope*, ed. Plum Blossoms (International) (Hong Kong: Plum Blossoms [International] Ltd., 1989), 7.

展覽的其中一位委員是當時兼任香港中文大學藝術系教職及文物館館長的高美慶教授。高氏 1972 年於美國史丹福大學取得亞洲藝術史哲學博士學位，其博士論文探討 1898 年至 1937 年間中國藝術家對西方藝術的回應，是西方學術界第一篇關於此時期藝術的博士論文。當時她的指導教授正是其中一位最早研究 20 世紀中國藝術的蘇立文教授，而高居翰教授則是監督委員會成員之一。他們兩位把吳冠中的藝術帶到國際舞台，本文稍後會加以詳述。1987 年，吳冠中再次來港參加香港藝術中心舉辦的「吳冠中回顧展」開幕禮，那是他在香港的第一個個人回顧展，展示他由 1950 年到 1987 年共 100 幅油畫、水墨畫和速寫稿，規模之大前所未見，也鞏固其在當代中國藝術界的地位。

蜚聲國際的 1990 年代

吳冠中劃時代的藝術風格在香港登場後，很快便吸引國際藝壇的青睞。舊金山中華文化中心主任兼策展人林露斯（約 1940 - 2007）曾於 1983 年在美國三藩市策劃「現代中國畫展」，向西方介紹包括吳冠中等 36 位中國當代藝術家和其作品。其後她於 1989 年至 1990 年間在美國加州、亞拉巴馬、堪薩斯、紐約及密歇根五個州舉辦為期一年半的「吳冠中——一個當代中國藝術家」巡展，是吳在亞洲以外的第一次個展，展品包括現已成為藝術館館藏的早期油畫《農民丹增》¹⁹ 等 63 件畫作。策展人林露斯當時邀請了幾位研究中國藝術的權威學者蘇立文、班宗華（1934 - 2024）、高居翰及李鑄晉（1920 - 2024）為展覽圖錄撰寫文章。美國國家亞洲藝術博物館文獻庫藏有高居翰捐贈的文獻，當中有林露斯與幾位學者的通信，提及到籌辦這個大型巡展的細節，而香港更是經常被提及的。1988 年 10 月，李鑄晉去信告知林露斯他最近去了南京，並把其為展覽圖錄所撰寫的文章交給吳冠中過目，故有些地方需要修改。他更提到香港藝術館的朱錦鸞博士在香港為徐悲鴻（1895 - 1953）舉辦了「徐悲鴻的藝術」展覽及出版了精美圖錄。¹⁹ 朱錦鸞 1977 年於美國堪薩斯大學

As Wu Guanzhong’s artistic style became increasingly mature, he also had more opportunities to travel to Hong Kong for cultural exchanges and interactions. In 1985, after more than 30 years since his first brief stop in Hong Kong, he came to the Hong Kong Arts Centre to participate in “The Works of Fang Zhaoling, Song Wenzhi, C. C. Wang and Wu Guanzhong” exhibition as part of the “Understanding Modern Chinese Painting” visual arts programme organised by the Hong Kong Arts Festival, marking his first public event in Hong Kong. In 1986, The Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) organised the “Contemporary Chinese Painting” exhibition at the Hong Kong City Hall, featuring works by more than 50 artists including Zhu Qizhan (1892–1996), Huang Junbi (1898–1991), and Li Keran (1907–1989). Wu Guanzhong was also invited to participate, exhibiting relatively large ink paintings such as *Eastward Flows the Yanzi* and *High Mountain and Long River*. Wu also attended the seminars and engaged in exchanges with other participating artists. A photo of Wu with fellow artist Xie Zhiliu (1910–1997) at the home of Cha Chi-ming (1914–2007) was found at the National Museum of Asian Art Archives in the United States ¹⁸, suggesting that Wu not only exchanged with artists but also met many local scholars and art enthusiasts during his visit. Hong Kong writer Louis Cha (Jin Yong, 1924–2018), a relative of Cha Chi-ming, wrote the preface “A Tribute to the Chinese Painting Masters” for the CUHK exhibition catalogue. It was also noticed that Mayching Kao, a teaching staff at the Department of Fine Arts and Curator at the Art Museum of the CUHK, was one of the organsing committee members of this major exhibition. Kao earned her PhD in Asian Art History from the Stanford University in 1972, with a dissertation on Chinese artists’ responses to the West in art from 1898 to 1937 — the first doctoral thesis in Western academia concerning the art of this period. Her principal advisor of the dissertation was Michael Sullivan, one of the earliest Western scholars studying 20th-century Chinese art, with James Cahill (1926–2014) as one of the members of the supervisory committee. These two scholars were instrumental in bringing Wu Guanzhong’s art to the international stage, which will be elaborated on later in this article. In 1987, Wu Guanzhong came to Hong Kong again for the opening of “Wu Guanzhong: A Retrospective” exhibition at the Hong Kong Arts Centre. Featuring 100 works of Wu spanning from 1950 to 1987, including oil paintings, ink paintings, and sketches, this major exhibition was his first solo retrospective show in Hong Kong which was unprecedented in scale, and it effectively solidified



¹⁹ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 農民丹增（老人像） | 1961 | 油彩紙板 | 36.3 x 27.8 厘米
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | Farmer Tenzin (the portrait of an old man) | 1961 | Oil on pasteboard | 36.3 x 27.8 cm
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0014

取得博士學位，期間跟隨李鑄晉教授研習，1978 年加入香港藝術館工作，2000 年成為藝術館的總館長，²⁰ 在任期間舉辦過很多經典的吳冠中大型回顧展覽，對日後在香港推廣吳冠中的藝術亦有重大影響。在另一封信中，林露斯與蘇立文教授交待展覽圖錄進度，其中提到圖錄印刷成本及擬定售價，更提到香港的圖錄售價為 65 美元。²¹ 雖然不能確定林所指的香港圖錄是哪一本，但可以肯定的是香港當時已被海外學者及業界視為中國藝術發展和研究的參考指標。1990 年，吳冠中去信中國藝術學者及《中國美術報》主任編輯陶詠白（1937 - ），提及高居翰為他在美國巡展圖錄所寫的文章正在香港被

his position as a leading figure in the contemporary Chinese art world.

Gaining International Fame in the 1990s

Following the emergence of Wu Guanzhong’s unique artistic style in Hong Kong, it quickly attracted attention from the international art scene. Back in 1983, Lucy Lim (c. 1940–2007), Executive Director and Curator of the Chinese Culture Center of San Francisco, organised the “Contemporary Chinese Painting: An Exhibition from the People’s Republic of China”, introducing the works of 36 contemporary Chinese artists, including Wu’s, to the American audience. Subsequently, between 1989 and 1990, Lim organised a touring exhibition titled “Wu Guanzhong: A Contemporary Chinese Artist” across five states in California, Alabama, Kansas, New York, and Michigan which lasted for 1.5 years in total. This marked Wu’s first solo exhibition outside of Asia, featuring 63 works, including his early oil painting *Farmer Tenzin (the portrait of an old man)* ¹⁹, which is now part of the HKMoA’s collection. Lim invited leading scholars such as Michael Sullivan, Richard Barnhart (1934–2024), James Cahill, and Chu Tsing Li (1920–2024) to contribute essays for the touring exhibition catalogue. The National Museum of Asian Art Archives in the U.S. houses James Cahill Papers, which consist of correspondence among Lim and these scholars, and interestingly Hong Kong was mentioned in some of the letters. In October 1988, Chu Tsing Li wrote to Lucy Lim to inform her that he had recently visited Nanjing and brought his essay written for the exhibition catalogue to Wu Guanzhong for review, and consequently some revisions were made. He also mentioned that Dr Christina Chu, Curator at the HKMoA, had organised “The Art of Xu Beihong” exhibition in Hong Kong and published a “beautiful catalogue”.¹⁹ In 1977, Christina Chu earned her PhD at the University of Kansas, where she studied under Professor Chu Tsing Li. She joined the HKMoA in 1978 and later became its Chief Curator in 2000.²⁰ During her time at the museum, she organised many major exhibitions of Wu Guanzhong, playing a pivotal role in the subsequent promotion of his art in Hong Kong. In another letter, Lucy Lim updated Michael Sullivan on the progress of the exhibition catalogue production, mentioning the printing cost and the proposed retail price. She added that a catalogue was selling in Hong Kong at USD65.²¹ While it remains uncertain which

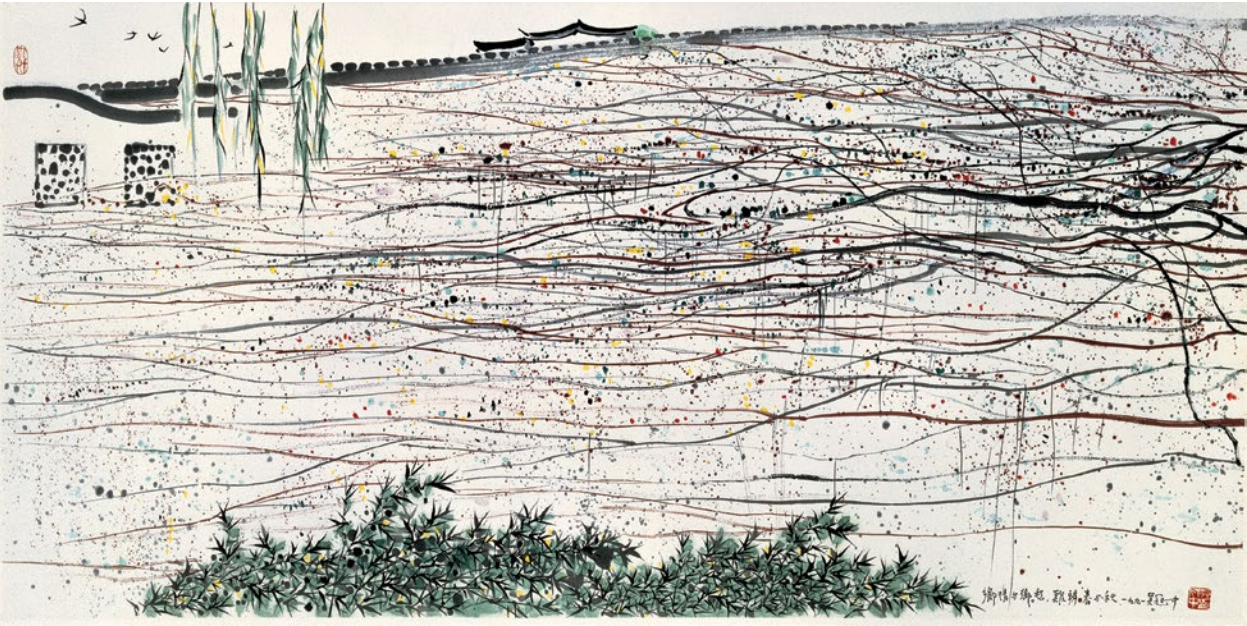
¹⁹ 1988 年 10 月 31 日李鑄晉致林露斯的英文信札，美國國家亞洲藝術博物館文獻庫藏高居翰檔案。James Cahill Papers, 1945-1996. FSA.A2001.11. National Museum of Asian Art Archives. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Gift of James Cahill, 12 December 2001.
Letter in English from Chu Tsing Li to Lucy Lim dated 31 October 1988, in James Cahill Papers, 1945-1996. FSA.A2001.11. National Museum of Asian Art Archives. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Gift of James Cahill, 12 December 2001.

²⁰ 鄧海超：〈香港藝術館：何策何從〉，載於香港藝術館編：《「香港藝術：開放・對話」展覽系列 2008—09 特刊》（香港：康樂及文化事務署，2008），頁 86。
Hoi Chiu Tang, “Hong Kong Museum of Art: On the Corssroads of Curatorship,” in “*Hong Kong Art: Open Dialogue*” *Exhibition Series 2008–09, A Launching Publication*, ed. Hong Kong Museum of Art (Hong Kong: Leisure and Cultural Services Department, 2008), 94.

翻譯成中文，就是後來由方毓仁翻譯的《吳冠中繪畫風格與技法》。而蘇立文寫的文章則會在香港藝術期刊《收藏天地》刊登。²² 以上這些微妙的互動與跨地域的師友關係無獨有偶地都以香港為中心，令香港與國際藝術界頻繁交流，使吳冠中的藝術得以更廣泛地傳揚。

承着 1989 年美國巡展的大成功，吳冠中再下一城，1992 年大英博物館首次為在世華人藝術家舉辦「吳冠中——一個二十世紀的中國畫家」個展，風頭一時無兩。展覽圖錄收錄了蘇立文教授和高美慶教授的兩篇分別介紹 20 世紀中國藝術及吳冠中藝術的文章，當中展出及刊登在展覽圖錄的作品如《雙燕》、《鄉情與鄉愁》²⁰ 及《春曲》²¹ 等，這些作品如今都成為香港藝術館的珍貴藏品。然而，他最希望的還是在

Hong Kong catalogue Lim was referring to, it is evident that Hong Kong was already regarded by overseas scholars and museum professionals as a reference for the development and study of Chinese art at that time. In 1990, Wu Guanzhong wrote to Tao Yongbai (1937–), a Chinese art scholar and editor of *Zhongguo Meishu Bao*, mentioning that the article James Cahill had written for his U.S. touring exhibition catalogue titled “Styles and Methods in the Painting of Wu Guanzhong” was being translated into Chinese in Hong Kong. This article later became known through the translation of Fong Yuk Yan, a Hong Kong gallerist. Wu further mentioned to Tao that the article written by Michael Sullivan would be featured in the Hong Kong art journal *The World of Collectors*.²² These subtle yet significant cross-regional interactions and relationships all centered around Hong Kong, facilitating frequent exchanges between the city and the international art world, and consequently allowing Wu Guanzhong’s art to be promoted even more widely across the globe.



²⁰ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 鄉情與鄉愁 | 1991 | 水墨設色紙本 | 83.5 x 164.5 厘米
香港藝術館藏品
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | Memories of Home | 1991 | Ink and colour on paper | 83.5 x 164.5 cm
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
FA1992.0023

²¹ 1988 年 11 月 2 日林露斯致蘇立文的英文信札，美國國家亞洲藝術博物館文獻庫藏高居翰檔案。James Cahill Papers, 1945-1996. FSA.A2001.11. National Museum of Asian Art Archives. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Gift of James Cahill, 12 December 2001.
Letter in English from Lucy Lim to Michael Sullivan dated 2 November 1988, in James Cahill Papers, 1945-1996. FSA.A2001.11. National Museum of Asian Art Archives. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Gift of James Cahill, 12 December 2001.

²² 1990 年 4 月 14 日吳冠中致陶詠白的中文信札，亞洲藝術文獻庫藏陶詠白檔案，<https://aaa.org.hk/tc/collections/search/archive/tao-yongbai-archive--correspondences-26945/object/letter-from-wu-guanzhong-to-tao-yongbai-14-april-1990-199014>。
Letter in Chinese from Wu Guanzhong to Tao Yongbai dated 14 April 1990, in Tao Yongbai Archive, Asia Art Archive, <https://aaa.org.hk/tc/collections/search/archive/tao-yongbai-archive--correspondences-26945/object/letter-from-wu-guanzhong-to-tao-yongbai-14-april-1990-199014>.

他的「第二個學藝故鄉」法國巴黎舉行展覽。1993 年，吳冠中終於凱旋回歸，於賽努奇亞洲藝術博物館舉辦「當代中國畫家——吳冠中水墨新作、油畫及素描」展覽，同時接受巴黎市政府授予的榮譽勳章。館藏中的速寫稿亦見證着這些在他藝術生涯中及國際藝壇上取得成功的重要時刻，例如在美國巡展期間畫的《美國舊金山海岸》²²、《英國鄉村民居（二）》²³，以及《在巴黎畫人體（四）》²⁴ 等。



²¹ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 春曲 | 1986 | 水墨設色紙本 | 67 x 68.2 厘米
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | The Music Note of Spring | 1986 | Ink and colour on paper | 67 x 68.2 cm
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0082

Building on the success of the 1989 U.S. touring exhibition, Wu achieved another milestone in 1992 when the British Museum held its first solo exhibition for a living Chinese artist, “Wu Guanzhong: A Twentieth-Century Chinese Painter,” which is unmatched for a time. The exhibition catalogue featured two essays by Michael Sullivan and Mayching Kao, providing insights to the 20th-century Chinese art in large and the art of Wu Guanzhong respectively. Wu Guanzhong’s works exhibited and published in the catalogue, such as *Two Swallows*, *Memories of Home* ²⁰ and *The Music Note of Spring* ²¹, have now become the treasured collection of the HKMoA. However, Wu’s greatest wish was to hold an exhibition in his “second art hometown,” Paris. In 1993, he finally returned triumphantly with a solo exhibition held at the Cernuschi Museum and for receiving a medal of honour from the Paris municipal government. These important moments and events in the artist’s career were marked by sketches that he made during the respective sojourns, including *The Coast of San Francisco in America* ²², *A Country Homestead in England (II)* ²³, and *Figure Painting in Paris (IV)* ²⁴.

²² 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 美國舊金山海岸 | 1989 | 鋼筆及墨水紙本 | 28.3 x 73.2 厘米
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | The Coast of San Francisco in America | 1989 | Pen and ink on paper | 28.3 x 73.2 cm
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0292





²³ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 英國鄉村民居（二） | 1992 | 鋼筆、墨水、箱頭筆及水彩紙本 | 30.3 x 42.2 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | A Country Homestead in England (II) | 1992 | Pen, ink, marker and watercolour on paper | 30.3 x 42.2 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0313



²⁴ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 在巴黎畫人體（四） | 1993 | 鋼筆、墨水、箱頭筆及水彩紙本 | 32 x 23.9 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | Figure Painting in Paris (IV) | 1993 | Pen, ink, marker and watercolour on paper | 32 x 23.9 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0323



²⁵ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 邂逅 | 1999 | 油彩布本 | 73.5 x 92 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | An Encounter | 1999 | Oil on canvas | 73.5 x 92 cm

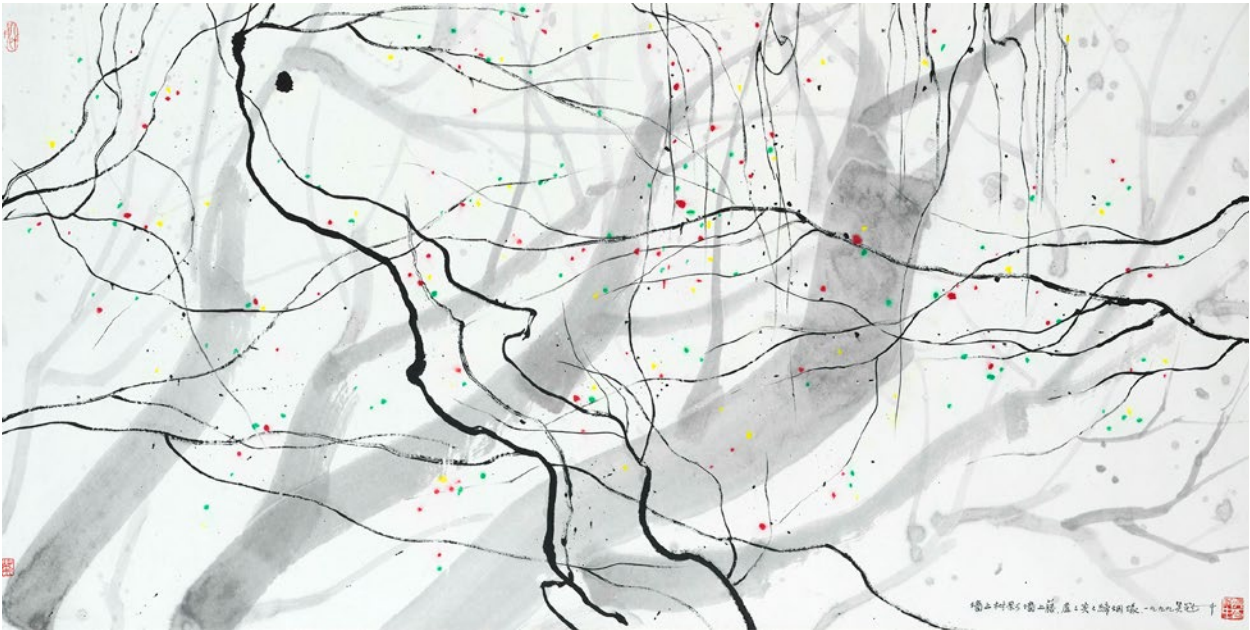
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2014.0014

From the 1980s onward, Wu continued to work in both oil and ink painting most of the time and to achieve further breakthroughs with the two media. Regarding his oil painting techniques, James Cahill picked up traces typical of traditional Chinese ink painting in the setting of sharply linear elements against broad “washed” grounds and in the emphasis of nuances of tone.²³ The HKMoA’s extensive collection shows his concurrent exploration of both media. The oil painting *An Encounter* ²⁵ and the ink painting *Matchmaking on a Wall* ²⁶ were created from the same year, both focusing on the dynamic and rhythmic beauty of lines. Painting fine continuous lines on canvas is not easy; Wu achieved the desired effect through repeated experimentation. To do that, he believed one should avail oneself of all ways and means, or rather, choose from all

由 1980 年代起，吳冠中大部分時間都是繼續同時創作油畫與水墨畫，在技巧上亦有所突破。高居翰教授認為在吳氏的油畫中「找到了與中國畫用筆相仿的技法，在大片『潑彩』上作幼細的線條勾勒，講究氣韻等，這些都是典型的中國水墨傳統。」²³ 從館藏大量的作品中，可見他同時期在油彩和墨水上不斷探索。油畫《邂逅》²⁵ 和同年創作的水墨畫《牆上姻緣》²⁶ 均着力表現悠揚線條的動感和韻律美。在油畫布上繪畫幼細連綿的線條並非易事，吳冠中都是經過反覆試驗才達到理想的效果。為求達到效果，他認為須要「不擇手段，其實是擇一切手段，不同的美感須用不同的手段表達出來。」²⁴ 由於他抱有這種開放的態度，他能大膽及靈活地運用不同媒介和工具去創作，也令蘇立文認同吳冠中「比其他現代中國畫家更輕鬆地在中西兩種繪畫方式之間穿越。」²⁵ 由此也可說明為何吳冠中的藝術較容易被東西兩方學者所接受、市民大眾所欣賞及愛戴。

ways and means, since a specific effect calls for a specific way or means.²⁴ With this open attitude, he boldly and flexibly used various media and tools, as observed by Michael Sullivan that Wu successfully “moved more easily between the two media than any other modern Chinese artists.”²⁵ This might explain why the art of Wu Guanzhong was more readily accepted by both Eastern and Western scholars and appreciated by the public.

In 1995, the HKMoA finally had the opportunity to collaborate with Wu Guanzhong in organising an ink art exhibition, “Vision and Revision: Wu Guanzhong,” as part of the “Xubaizhai International Symposium and Exhibitions on Twentieth Century Chinese Painting” programme. This was the first time that the HKMoA held a thematic exhibition on Wu Guanzhong and a catalogue was published for the exhibition. During the preparation for the exhibition, Wu Guanzhong and the museum corresponded regularly in finalising the exhibit list. He was further invited to speak at the symposium, where he spoke about how artists should maintain an open attitude to



²⁶ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 牆上姻緣 | 1999 | 水墨設色紙本 | 68.1 x 137.6 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | Matchmaking on a Wall | 1999 | Ink and colour on paper | 68.1 x 137.6 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0115

²³ 高居翰、曹星源著，方毓仁譯：〈吳冠中繪畫風格與技法〉，載於許禮平編：《名家翰墨總號第 6 號》（香港：翰墨軒出版有限公司，1990），頁 94。

James Cahill and Hsing Yuan Tsao, “Styles and Methods in the Painting of Wu Guanzhong,” in *Wu Guanzhong: A Contemporary Chinese Artist*, ed. Lucy Lim (San Francisco: Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco, 1989), 19.

²⁴ 吳冠中：〈油畫之美〉，載於《吳冠中文叢 5：背影風格》（北京：團結出版社，2008），頁 7。

Guanzhong Wu, “Youhua zhi Mei,” in *Wu Guanzhong Wencong 5: Beiyiing Fengge* (Beijing: Unity Press, 2008), 7.

²⁵ 邁克爾·蘇立文著，陳衛和、錢崗南譯：〈國畫的再生〉，載於同註 13，頁 390。

Michael Sullivan, “Guohua Reborn Again,” see Note 10, 244.



²⁷ 1995 年，吳冠中在「叛逆的師承——吳冠中」展覽中介紹他的作品《瀑布》。

Wu Guanzhong explaining his work *Cascade* at the “Vision and Revision: Wu Guanzhong” exhibition in 1995.



²⁸ 吳冠中（1919–2010） | 瀑布 | 約 1986 | 水墨設色紙本 | 144.9 x 287 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | *Cascade* | ca. 1986 | Ink and colour on paper | 144.9 x 287 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA1995.0022

1995 年，香港藝術館終於有機會與吳冠中合作，在舉辦「虛白齋國際研討會及二十世紀中國繪畫展覽」之同時，也辦專題展「叛逆的師承——吳冠中」，展出吳冠中的水墨作品。這是香港藝術館首次舉辦吳冠中的專題展覽，並出版同名展覽圖錄。籌備展覽期間吳冠中和我們以書信緊密聯繫，共同擬定展品名單。我們更邀請了吳冠中來港在研討會中分享，他談到藝術家應以開放的態度吸收新事物以保持和發展傳統，其講章已收錄在 2022 年出版的《吳冠中·香港·藝術館》內。²⁶ 伴隨我們多年的觀眾可能對當年吳冠中來港參加開幕禮，並親自在其水墨作品《瀑布》前講解的一幕²⁷ 有所印象。從吳後來的文章看出，他非常滿意這次展覽，特別是展覽標題，呼應了他藝術中的創新精神：「我很樂意加於我的這頂『叛逆的師承』帽子，倒認為是桂冠，因我確乎一向重視師

absorb new things in order to preserve and develop tradition. His speech has been included in the 2022 publication *Wu Guanzhong • Hong Kong • Museum of Art*.²⁶ Followers of the HKMoA from years back may recall how the artist guided visitors through his ink painting *Cascade* ²⁷ in the exhibition. From his subsequent writings, it is clear that he was very satisfied with this exhibition, especially the Chinese exhibition title, which echoed the innovative spirit in his art. He considered it to be a laurel rather than a label since he has always emphasised defiance in inheritance for teachers and students alike.²⁷ After the exhibition, Wu Guanzhong decided to donate the painting *Cascade* ²⁸ to the HKMoA, marking his first donation to the museum. This painting depicts the Nuorilang Waterfall in Jiuzhaigou. While most people admire the grandeur of a waterfall, Wu Guanzhong saw something different and felt it was “wide and white, plunging straight down without thundering. They should be admired silently and look even more peaceful when viewed from a distance. So, I

²⁶ 吳冠中：〈藝術家所起的教化作用——研討會演講稿〉，載於香港藝術館編：《吳冠中·香港·藝術館》（香港：康樂及文化事務署，2022），頁 212-214。

Guanzhong Wu, “The Artist as an Educator: Speech at the Symposium,” in *Wu Guanzhong • Hong Kong • Museum of Art*, ed. Hong Kong Museum of Art (Hong Kong: Leisure and Cultural Services Department, 2022), 358-361.

承中的叛逆，對老師、對學生都一樣。」²⁷ 展覽過後，吳冠中便決定捐贈《瀑布》²⁸ 予藝術館，也是吳冠中對藝術館的首次捐贈。這幅畫作所繪畫的是九寨溝諾日朗瀑布，一般人看瀑布總是愛其氣勢磅礴，吳冠中卻感到「寬闊而潔白，垂直下跌，並不咆哮，宜於靜觀，遠看更顯得安詳。我排除了常用的黑白對照手法，全幅被瀑布佔滿，只保留幾株乾瘦的樹，細線而已，不傷淡墨的乾濕與溫良。」²⁸ 構圖與《雙燕》盡量放大白牆有異曲同工之妙，大量的留白及溫柔的淡墨表現出靜謐之美。無獨有偶，吳冠中畫的油畫《黃河》²⁹ 也是特意刪去波濤洶湧的水紋，仿佛抽走了瀑布的咆哮聲音，着眼表現河水濃重的土黃色。畫面與《瀑布》同樣是特寫鏡頭，並以更抽象的手法表達，白色筆觸勾畫無盡的浪花，下方兩角則以深色色塊表現岩石。《中國繪畫三千年》這本經典中國藝術著作曾介紹過此幅大膽的作品，²⁹ 如今亦已成為藝術館的珍藏之一。

did away with the usual contrast between black and white and let the waterfalls fill the entire surface except for the few thin bare trees. The lines are so fine that they do not compromise the softness of the ink tones.”²⁸ The composition brings to mind his another painting *Two Swallows*, with the dominating and extensive blank space and gentle ink washes expressing a tranquil beauty. Coincidentally, Wu Guanzhong’s oil painting, *The Yellow River*,²⁹ also deliberately omits the turbulent water patterns, as if removing the thunderous roar of the waterfall, focusing instead on the heavy ochre colour of the river. Similar to *Cascade*, *The Yellow River* is also a close-up of the landmark, expressed in a more abstract manner, with white brushstrokes depicting endless waves and dark colour blocks in the lower corners representing rocks. This bold masterpiece was discussed in the magnum opus *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting*,²⁹ and is now one of the HKMoA’s treasured collections.



²⁹ 吳冠中（1919–2010） | 黃河 | 1993 | 油彩布本 | 61 x 80.5 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | *The Yellow River* | 1993 | Oil on canvas | 61 x 80.5 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2014.0004

²⁷ 吳冠中：〈《生命的風景》自序〉，載於《吳冠中文叢 6·短笛》（北京：團結出版社，2008），頁 252。

Guanzhong Wu, “*Shengming de Fengjing Zixu*,” in *Wu Guanzhong Wencong 6: Duandi* (Beijing: Unity Press, 2008), 252.

²⁸ 吳冠中：〈九寨溝瀑布〉，載於同註 15，頁 9。

Guanzhong Wu, “*Jiuzhaigou Pubu*,” in Note 15, 9.

²⁹ 郎紹君：〈近代與現代（約二十世紀）〉，載於《中國繪畫三千年》（台北：聯經出版事業公司，1999），頁 354。

Shaojun Lang, “Traditional Chinese Painting in the Twentieth Century,” in *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting* (New Haven and Beijing: Yale University Press and Foreign Language Press, 1997), 353.

踏入 2000 年，吳冠中的畫作變得更為抽象，他也開始轉向探索精神性的題材，其時吳冠中已超過 80 歲，但在畫中仍能看出他對藝術的執着與激情，甚至比他年輕時更為激烈。《馳騁》³⁰ 超過三米闊，牆上的藤蔓轉化為縱橫交錯的水墨線條，在一片墨色的渲染裡潑上醒目繽紛的彩點，線與點如畫題一樣自由奔放地馳騁於天地之中，可以想像吳冠中作畫時的超然和豁達境界。由藤蔓啟發而成的線條更發展至其他抽象作品如《畫裡陰晴》及《魂兮歸來》等。《補網》³¹ 是他曾經在 1980 年代畫過的水墨畫，2009 年以油彩重畫，畫面白色的部分像國畫留白一樣未有上色，顯露畫布原有的顏色，再以闊掃有力地用厚實黑色油彩勾畫了漁網，橫跨幾乎整個畫面，感覺像濃墨但整體感覺比水

Entering the 2000s, Wu Guanzhong's paintings became even more abstract, as he began to explore more conceptual and spiritual themes. By this time, Wu was over 80 years old, but his passion and dedication to art were still evident in his works, perhaps even more intense than in his youth. The over three-metre-wide painting *Galloping* ³⁰ transforms vines on a wall into interlacing ink lines with vibrant dots of colours splashed across a field of ink. The lines and dots are running freely across the canvas, reflecting Wu's unbridled heart and mind while painting. The lines inspired by vines are further developed into other abstract works such as *Rain or Shine* and *Bringing back the Souls. Mending Nets* ³¹ is a work he originally painted in ink in the 1980s and repainted in oil in 2009. Like those in Chinese painting, the whites are left unpainted to expose the original colour of the canvas. The thick black oil paint powerfully outlines the fishing net,



³⁰ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 馳騁 | 1999 年初稿，2000 年完成 | 水墨設色紙本 | 152.5 x 368.5 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919-2010) | *Galloping* | Drafted in 1999, completed in 2000 | Ink and colour on paper | 152.5 x 368.5 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2014.0028



³¹ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 補網 | 2009 | 油彩布本 | 80 x 100 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919-2010) | *Mending Nets* | 2009 | Oil on canvas | 80 x 100 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2009.0083

墨原作更強烈、黑白對比更鮮明。除了強調線條的作品，也有着重塊面的作品。《四合院》³² 四邊塗了黑色，突顯中間淺色的空間，以俯視的角度表達舊宅建築，構圖破格又新穎。《百衲衣》³³ 和《碧玉不雕》³⁴ 等都像特寫鏡頭般用大小不一的色彩斑斕的色塊表達繪畫主體。此時期的畫作都是寫實題材與抽象表現的巧妙結合，將中國畫現代化的同時亦不失東方神韻，而且作品保留與觀眾的情感連繫，使普羅大眾和專家都能欣賞，展現吳冠中獨有的「風箏不斷線」理

spanning almost the entire canvas. The visual impact is even more intense and the contrast between black and white is more striking than the original ink version.

Besides works emphasising lines, there are also those focusing on blocks of colour. *A Quadrangular Yard* ³² is painted with black in oil on all four sides, highlighting the light space in the center and depicting the old house from a bird's eye view—a bold and innovative composition. *Patchwork* ³³ and *Jade Not to be Carved* ³⁴ consist of zoomed-in planes that are diverse in both size and colour. These works from this period are ingenious syntheses between realist subjects and abstract



³² 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 四合院 | 2003 | 油彩布本 | 65.5 x 91.5 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919-2010) | *A Quadrangular Yard* | 2003 | Oil on canvas | 65.5 x 91.5 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2014.0019



³³ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 百衲衣 | 2009 | 油彩布本 | 80 x 80 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919-2010) | *Patchwork* | 2009 | Oil on canvas | 80 x 80 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2009.0088



³⁴ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 碧玉不雕 | 2002 | 油彩板本 | 40.3 x 40.1 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919-2010) | *Jade Not to be Carved* | 2002 | Oil on board | 40.3 x 40.1 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0071

念。³⁰ 吳冠中一直秉承這個理念，常懷觀眾在心中，成功創造出有別於以往的中國現代藝術，正如香港藝術家莫一點在 1990 年代初說吳冠中的畫「在中國藝苑中，是一朵極具特色的花，也是罕有的奇花。作品即使不簽名，人們一看便看出是吳冠中的畫。」³¹ 經過年月的洗禮，吳冠中的藝術即使現在看來也誠然是別樹一格，奇花繼續盛放，甚至吸引其他人去學習甚至複製，其形可能易抄襲，但他內在的情操和氣魄是難以模倣的。

2002 年，香港藝術館為吳冠中舉辦大型回顧展「無涯惟智——吳冠中藝術里程」，展出他各個時期的水墨及油畫作品超過 100 幅。原來一年前吳冠中去信藝術館，早在 1998 年時他已希望他的下一個畫展可以在香港舉辦。信中提到他認為「香港是處於東西方文化匯合點的國際化大都市，而香港藝術館則是展現與交流東西方文化藝術的最好窗口。」他希望藉着藝術館這個窗口向香港及世界的人民展出他最新的創作成果。而且，他在信中明確表達他的願望是希望在他有生之年將自己的代表性作品陸續捐贈給國內外重要的博物館，以讓各地人民得以欣賞，香港藝術館亦有幸地成為其中一員。展覽不同以往回顧展以時序排列展出，而是以題材及構圖形式分類，這是《雙燕》、《秋瑾故居》³⁵ 和《憶江南》首次被放在一起並列展示，新穎的策展手法成就了經典的「雙燕三部曲」³⁶。展覽取得空前成功，不只獲得觀眾的喜愛，藝術家自己亦深受感動。他看到三幅江南作品被展示在一起，展現由具像逐漸邁向抽象的進程，一個連他自己都沒有想過的脈絡，他形容像被人發現了連自己都意識不到的私隱般感到赤裸和吃驚。這個展覽對於他來說，「像站在一面大鏡子前照見了自己的真容，起先感到驚喜和害怕，接着是恐懼，原來自己的五臟六腑也被透視出來了，我已被俘。」³² 可見此時藝術館已被吳冠中認可為最能詮釋他作品的東西交匯點，是他真正的知音，甚至能透徹剖析他的

expression, achieving in modernising Chinese painting without compromising its oriental nuances. The works also maintain an emotional connection with the audience, allowing both the general public and experts to appreciate them, embodying Wu Guanzhong’s unique “kite with an unbroken string” philosophy.³⁰ Wu always kept this philosophy in mind by considering the audience, and successfully blazed a trail in modernising Chinese art. As Hong Kong artist Mok E-den wrote in the early 1990s that Wu’s paintings are “rare blossoms in Chinese art” that was so unique and was immediately recognisable even in the absence of any signature.³¹ Years have elapsed but Wu’s art remains distinctive as ever, and his unique style continues to flourish like a rare blossom and inspire others to learn and even imitate. While the form may be copied, his temperament and courage are difficult to replicate.

In 2002, the HKMoA presented a large-scale exhibition “Wu Guanzhong: A Retrospective”, featuring over 100 ink and oil paintings from the artist’s various periods. A year before that, Wu had written to the HKMoA, expressing as early as 1998 that his hope for holding his next exhibition was to be in Hong Kong. In his letter, he stated that “Hong Kong is an international metropolis at the crossroads of Eastern and Western cultures, and the HKMoA is the best window for showcasing and exchanging Eastern and Western art and culture.” He hoped to present his latest creations to the people of Hong Kong and worldwide through this best window. In addition, he also clearly expressed his wish to donate his representative works to major museums at home and abroad during his lifetime, so that people around the world could appreciate them, and HKMoA was fortunate to be one of the recipients of his generous vision. Unlike previous retrospectives, this exhibition at the HKMoA was organised by theme and composition rather than simply in chronological order. It was the first time that the three ink paintings of different years, *Two Swallows*, *Former Residence of Qiu Jin* ³⁵, and *Reminiscences of Jiangnan* were displayed together, creating the classic “Trilogy of the Two Swallows” ³⁶. The innovative curatorial approach led to a phenomenal success of this exhibition, meeting with a warm reception from the public and touching the artist himself most deeply. The juxtaposition of the three Jiangnan paintings revealed a transition from the



³⁵ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 秋瑾故居 | 1988 | 水墨設色紙本 | 68 x 137.4 厘米
香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | Former Residence of Qiu Jin | 1988 | Ink and colour on paper | 68 x 137.4 cm
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2002.0017



³⁶ 2002 年，香港藝術館在「無涯惟智——吳冠中藝術里程」展覽中以新穎的策展手法展示「雙燕三部曲」。
“Trilogy of the Two Swallows” on display in an innovative curatorial approach at the “Wu Guanzhong: A Retrospective” exhibition in 2002.

內在情感，因此吳冠中決定把他鍾愛的「雙燕三部曲」連同其他代表性作品捐贈給藝術館。

吳冠中除了捐贈重要作品予藝術館，更在那年破例答應示範即場寫生，完全是出於對藝術館的信任，亦是對藝術教育的義無反顧。除了教學，吳冠中一般不願意在公眾面前示範寫生，藝術館希望吳冠中可以鼓勵年輕人多觀察和多創作而作出大膽請求，吳冠中亦欣然答應，分享及示範自己奉行多年的「搬家寫生」方法——非純粹對景臨摹，而是在寫生中組合景物³⁷。活動當日藝術館大堂擠滿了觀眾，吳冠中在濃霧和雨中專注地完成了《維港寫生》³⁸，而這幅為藝術館及為觀眾而畫的寫生稿亦成為藝術館獨特的收藏。還有一個別具意義的年份，就是 2010 年我

figurative to the abstract, a process that had never crossed the artist’s mind. With secrets of which he himself was unaware thus exposed, he felt stripped naked, scared, and horrified. To quote his words, “Standing in front of my retrospective exhibition at the Museum is like seeing my true self in the reflection of an enormous mirror: I was surprised and scared at first and then in great fear, for all of my internal organs have been shown to the world. I am captivated.”³² It is evident that by this time, Wu Guanzhong had recognised the HKMoA as the ideal convergence point between Eastern and Western cultures and the best place to showcase and interpret his artworks. He saw the Museum as a true soulmate and kindred spirit that could profoundly analyse his innermost emotions. Consequently, he decided to donate his beloved “Trilogy of the Two Swallows” along with other representative masterpieces to the HKMoA.

That year, apart from donating important works to the HKMoA, Wu Guanzhong also made an exception by obliging us with a live sketching demonstration, out of his trust in the Museum and his unreserved support for art education, even though he rarely sketched live in front of an audience except when teaching. Hoping that young people could be encouraged to learn by observing and practising, the HKMoA made a bold

³⁰ 有關「風箏不斷線」的詳情，請參閱吳冠中：〈風箏不斷線〉，載於同註 5，頁 260 — 263。

For details of “a kite with an unbroken string”, see Guanzhong Wu, “*Fengzheng Bu Duanxian*” in Note 5, 260–263.

³¹ 莫一點：〈吳冠中的畫〉，載於莫一點編：《吳冠中眼中的香港》（香港：土地發展公司，1991），頁 6。

E-den Mok, “The Paintings of Wu Guanzhong,” in *Hong Kong through the Eyes of Wu Guanzhong*, ed. E-den Mok (Hong Kong: Land Development Corporation, 1991), 7.

³² 吳冠中：〈被俘〉，載於同註 26，頁 215。

Guanzhong Wu, “Captivated,” in Note 26, 363.

館舉辦「獨立風骨——吳冠中捐贈展」，雖然那次展覽吳冠中身體抱恙未能親自來港主持，但他還是記掛着香港的觀眾，在展覽期間也託付兒子捐贈人生最後完成的四幅水墨畫作《休閒》等³⁹予藝術館，待捐贈儀式順利完成後便與世長辭，走到生命最後一刻依然堅守推廣藝術教育這個偉大使命⁴⁰。這個展覽成為吳冠中在世時的最後一個個展，總共超過 16 萬觀眾參觀及一同悼念這位現代藝術大師，藝術館對此恩情感銘至深。

request, to which the artist acceded with pleasure. During the live sketching session, he demonstrated the “move-the-site sketching” method, a practice that he had been using for years which involved regrouping and combining motifs while sketching instead of simply depicting a scene as it was.³⁷ On the day of the event, the Museum’s lobby was packed to capacity, while Wu Guanzhong preoccupied himself in the mist and drizzle and completed the sketch *Victoria Harbour*³⁸, a unique work specially created for the Museum and its audience which has since become our precious museum collection.

Another year of great significance was 2010 when the “Lofty Integrity: Donation of Works by Wu Guanzhong” exhibition was held at the HKMoA. Although Wu Guanzhong was unwell and unable to visit the exhibition in person, he still kept the Hong Kong audience close to his heart and entrusted his son to donate the four very last ink paintings, including *At Rest*³⁹, to the Museum to coincide with the exhibition. He passed away after the donation ceremony had been successfully held,



³⁷ 2002 年，吳冠中在香港藝術館平台進行「速寫香港」活動。

Wu Guanzhong sketching the Victoria Harbour on the podium of the Hong Kong Museum of Art in 2002.



³⁸ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 維港寫生 | 2002 | 箱頭筆及水彩紙本 | 36 x 57 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈
Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | Victoria Harbour | 2002 | Marker and watercolour on paper | 36 x 57 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2002.0019



³⁹ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 休閒 | 2010 | 水墨紙本 | 66.2 x 96 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
吳冠中先生及其家人捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | At Rest | 2010 | Ink on paper | 66.2 x 96 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2010.0002

成就獨一無二的藝術館館藏

香港藝術館歷年來獲得吳冠中及其家人捐贈不斷，至今累積超過 450 多組，當中除了有不同時期和媒介的畫作、速寫，還有畫具及個人文獻等，其無私捐贈及高尚情操，成為眾人的模範，也感動了其他藏家作出捐贈。曾經於大英博物館展出的私人收藏《雀仔街》⁴¹，如今化私為公捐贈予藝術館，並於 2019 年「從糞筐到餐車——吳冠中誕辰一百周年展」中展出供公眾欣賞。而藝術館



remaining true to such a noble mission until the final days of his life⁴⁰. This final solo exhibition of the artist held during his lifetime received more than 160,000 visitors in remembrance of the icon of modern art, to whom the HKMoA was, is and will be immensely grateful.

The Unique Museum Collection

Thanks to the continual donations by Wu Guanzhong and his family, the HKMoA now holds a collection of more than 450 sets of items including paintings of different genres and periods, sketches, painting tools, and personal documents. Wu’s selfless generosity and noble character have also set an example for all, and have inspired other collectors to follow his footsteps. One such donation is *Bird Street*⁴¹, once a private collection and exhibited at the British Museum exhibition, was donated to the HKMoA and displayed in the 2019 exhibition “From Dung Basket to Dining Cart: 100th Anniversary of the Birth of Wu Guanzhong”.

⁴¹ 吳冠中（1919 - 2010） | 雀仔街 | 1990 | 鋼筆、墨水及箱頭筆紙本 | 53.5 x 47.2 厘米

香港藝術館藏品
梅潔樓文化創意基金有限公司捐贈

Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) | Bird Street | 1990 | Pen, ink and marker on paper | 53.5 x 47.2 cm

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Wu Guanzhong and his family
FA2018.0379



42 2022 年，「吳冠中——速寫生命」展覽以三米多長的《漢柏寫生原稿》為重點展品展示。
The 3-metre-long *A Sketch of Chinese Cypresses, the Original Draft* on display as a centrepiece in the “Wu Guanzhong: Sketching Vitality” exhibition in 2022.



43 2025 年，香港藝術館於首爾藝術殿堂舉辦「吳冠中藝術贊助境外展覽系列：吳冠中——黑·白·灰」。
“Wu Guanzhong Art Sponsorship Overseas Exhibition Series: Wu Guanzhong: Between Black and White” exhibition was held at Seoul Arts Center in 2025.

在獲得這批珍貴的捐贈後，亦盡全力擔起承傳和推廣藝術教育的重任，例如 2019 年與香港電台合作，到吳冠中的故鄉江南拍攝藝術教育紀錄片《走進吳冠中的江南》；2020 年及 2022 年分別舉辦以館藏寫生稿為主題的專題展覽「吳冠中——速寫生活」與「吳冠中——速寫生命」⁴²；2021 年與英國牛津大學合辦「吳冠中」展覽於阿什莫林博物館展出，因應疫情而舉行線上研討會；2025 年到首爾藝術殿堂舉辦「吳冠中藝術贊助境外展覽系列：吳冠中——黑·白·灰」⁴³，首次進軍南韓向當地觀眾介紹香港藝術館及吳冠中的藝術，大獲好評；還有正在籌備的一系列專題展覽、教育活動及跨界聯乘等，務求以創意學術兼備又緊貼時代的方式將吳冠中的藝術推廣得更遠更廣。

Upon receiving these precious donations from Wu Guanzhong and others, the HKMoA has been endeavouring to preserve his legacy and promote art education. To name but a few, in 2019, the Museum collaborated with Radio Television Hong Kong to film the art education documentary, “A Journey into Wu Guanzhong’s Jiangnan,” in Wu’s hometown; in 2020 and 2022, special thematic exhibitions on sketching, “Wu Guanzhong: Sketching from Nature” and “Wu Guanzhong: Sketching Vitality”⁴², were held respectively; in 2021, the HKMoA co-organised the “Wu Guanzhong” exhibition with the Ashmolean Museum at the University of Oxford in the United Kingdom, showcasing Wu’s works at the Ashmolean and holding an online symposium due to the pandemic; and in 2025, the “Wu Guanzhong Art Sponsorship Overseas Exhibition Series: Wu Guanzhong: Between Black and White” was held at the Seoul Arts Center⁴³. This marked the Museum’s first introduction of Wu’s art to the Korean audience and received great acclaim. Together with a series of thematic exhibitions, educational programmes, and cross-disciplinary collaborations currently

吳冠中於 1995 年曾在香港分享自己的藝術人生：「今天回顧已逝去的 75 年，倒感到我逢上了極大的幸運，這是特定歷史的賜予，別人不易碰到這樣的機緣和遭遇。」³³如今聽起來感受更深。他明明可以為藝術而藝術地走向純抽象，卻甘願為他所愛的祖國民眾創作「風箏不斷線」的作品，亦身體力行地把自己的優秀作品捐贈予世界各地的博物館，只求為實踐美感教育傾盡全力。香港藝術館有幸遇到這位德藝雙馨的藝術家、教育家和慈善家，亦有幸參與和見證他從本土到享譽國際的多個重要時刻，並共同締造曠古無二的經典展覽及活動為藝壇增輝，誠然是特定歷史的賜予，成就了吳冠中與香港無可取代的深厚情緣。他在晚年時說過希望「自己的作品到不同地域、不同文化背景的人群中展示，聆聽意想不到的意見，當是莫大的歡樂！」³⁴雖然吳冠中先生已離我們而去，然而人生短，藝術長，像他恩師吳大羽勉勵他一樣，「懷有共同心願的人無別離，」³⁵他的理想和志向其實長存在我們和喜愛他藝術的觀眾心中。香港藝術館得到這位藝術家故友的信任和肯定，定當繼續發揚推廣藝術，努力保存和展示他的作品，讓藝術家追求與全球觀眾交流的喜悅得以承傳和延續下去。

* 特別鳴謝由郭寶賜基金及香港藝術館之友贊助之「策展人發展計劃」，支持筆者到美國國家亞洲藝術博物館文獻庫進行考察及學術研究。

in preparation, the HKMoA aims to promote the art of Wu Guanzhong to a wider audience, blending creative flair with academic rigour in an innovative way that resonates with today’s public.

This is what the art master shared with us in Hong Kong in 1995: “Looking back on the past 75 years, I feel that I have all been very lucky. In favour with history, so to speak. Few other people have been quite so blessed and fortunate with these opportunities or experiences.”³³ Today, these words ring even more resoundingly. Although Wu could have pursued pure abstraction for art’s sake, he willingly created works likened to “kites with unbroken strings” for his beloved countrymen, and devoted himself to donating his outstanding works to museums worldwide, contributing as much as he could to educate the public in aesthetics. The HKMoA was fortunate to have met this virtuous artist, educator, and philanthropist, and was privileged to have participated in and witnessed his artistic journey from gaining local recognition to international renown, as well as jointly organising unprecedented exhibitions and programmes that have profoundly enriched the art world—a true gift of ours in favour with history, forging a strong and exceptional bond between the artist and Hong Kong.

In his later years, Wu Guanzhong said that he would be enormously pleased if his works could be shown in different places of different cultures for comments that would surprise him.³⁴ Even though the master has passed, life is short and art long. As his mentor Wu Dayu encouraged him, “People who share the same wish are never apart.”³⁵ Wu Guanzhong’s ideals and ambitions will live on in us and in all who cherish his art. The HKMoA, having earned the trust and recognition of this late artist friend, will continue to promote art, preserve and display his works, and to spread the pleasure to be gained through artistic exchange with audiences worldwide.

*Special thanks to the “Curatorial Development Programme”, sponsored by the Helen Kwok Foundation and the Friends of Hong Kong Museum of Art, for supporting the author’s research trip to the National Museum of Asian Art Archives in the United States.

³³ 吳冠中：〈藝術家所起的教化作用——研討會演講稿〉，載於同註 26，頁 212-213。
For the original in Chinese, see Guanzhong Wu, “Yishujia suoqide Jiaohua Zuoyong: Yantaohui Yanjianggao,” in Note 26, 212-213.

³⁴ 吳冠中：〈水墨無涯〉，同註 27，頁 265。
Guanzhong Wu, “Shuimo Wuya,” in Note 27, 265.

³⁵ 吳冠中：〈別離〉，同註 27，頁 173。
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重探誠濟堂—— 香港歷史博物館中藥材店 場景背後的「香港故事」

Revisiting Shing Chai Tong: Hong Kong Story behind the Traditional Chinese Herbal Medicine Shop Setting at the Hong Kong Museum of History

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前言

香港歷史博物館「香港故事」常設展覽於2026年4月重新開放，利用豐富的展品和多元的策展手法，讓公眾深入體驗香港的歷史和發展。一直備受注目的百年中藥材店「誠濟堂」場景在新展覽中再次展現於觀眾眼前。老店原貌重現於歷史大街場景之內，博物館亦加入新穎的演繹元素，使觀眾可從多方面感受昔日中藥材店的運作和特色，加強與老店跨時空的連結。藉誠濟堂展覽場景重新開放的契機，本文利用文獻和誠濟堂藏品，勾尋它早期鮮為人知的歷史和發展事跡，闡述店鋪裝潢蘊藏的傳統中華文化元素，以及分享「香港故事」常設展覽拆卸和重新裝設過程中所遇到的挑戰和故事。期望觀眾在這難得的歷史場景中產生共鳴，體驗中華文化在香港中西交匯的時代背景下的獨特魅力。

Introduction

The permanent exhibition “Hong Kong Story” reopened at the Hong Kong Museum of History (HKMH) in April 2026. With its rich exhibits and diverse curatorial methods, the exhibition invites the public to experience Hong Kong’s history and development. Among its highlights, the century-old Chinese herbal medicine shop Shing Chai Tong once again appears before visitors. The store is reproduced within the historical street scene, complemented by innovative interpretive elements. Visitors could appreciate the operations and distinctive features of a traditional herbal medicine shop from multiple perspectives, strengthening a cross-temporal connection with the old shop. Taking the reopening of the Shing Chai Tong exhibition scene as an opportunity, this article draws on literature and the shop’s collection to trace its little-known early history and development, and to elaborate on the traditional Chinese cultural elements embodied in its decoration. It also shares the challenges and stories encountered during the dismantling and reinstallation of “Hong Kong Story” exhibition. We hope visitors will resonate with

誠濟堂始創情形

關於誠濟堂的起源，香港歷史博物館曾說明誠濟堂原舖地址位於中環皇后大道中180號，由唐石崑先生在1885年創立。坊間多數著作均採納此說。¹但除了以上資訊之外，大眾對誠濟堂初建時的史事所知甚少，甚至存在誤差。有說法指出誠濟堂創辦人是唐天如，²亦有說法認為誠濟堂於日軍侵佔廣州後始移往香港。³關於誠濟堂

this rare historical scene and experience the unique charm of Chinese culture within the East-meets-West context of Hong Kong.

The Founding of Shing Chai Tong

Concerning the origin of Shing Chai Tong, HKMH once noted that the original shop was located at 180 Queen’s Road Central and was founded by Mr Tong Shek Kwan in 1885. Most publications have adopted this account.¹ Beyond this

¹ 謝永光：《香港中醫藥史話》（香港：三聯書店，1998），頁65；《醫道鏡詮》編委會：《醫道鏡詮：香港中藥文化史略》（香港：中華書局，2022），頁216；黃傑，彭志標，李灼珊：《香港中醫藥發展史（上冊）》（香港：商務印書館，2024），頁51。

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² 同註1，《香港中醫藥史話》，頁305。
See Note 1, *Xianggang zhongyiyao shihua* (A History of Chinese Medicine in Hong Kong), 305.

³ 志賀市子著，宋軍譯：《香港道教與扶乩信仰：歷史與認同》（香港：香港中文大學出版社，2013），頁172。
Shiga Ichiko, *Xianggang daojiao yu fuji xinyang: lishi yu rentong* (Hong Kong Daoism and the Cult of Spirit-writing), translated by Song Jun (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2013), 172.



香港歷史博物館藏
Hong Kong Museum of History collection

的創辦資訊，以下三則資料最為準確。一是1930年《香港政府憲報》刊登誠濟堂註冊商標事宜，明確描述香港誠濟堂始創於1885年；⁴二是香港歷史博物館藏品有唐石崑先生於寶光影樓內拍攝的半身肖像一幅^①，右方直書「唐孝廉石崑公 誠濟堂創辦人紀念」；三是香港博物館於1980年代為當時誠濟堂東主唐啟銘先生所作的口述記錄中，闡明藥店為其祖父唐石崑於1885年所創立。唐天如為創辦人的誤說應是因二人同姓、祖籍廣東、均為清末孝廉、同精中醫醫術以致混淆。唐氏生於1877年，卒於1961年，享壽84歲，⁵並無與創於1885年的誠濟堂有關的證據。

誠濟堂在香港立足的正式時間實際比1885年更早。《土地登記冊》顯示中環皇后大道中180號的首名登記業權者為「TONG SING KU（唐星衢）」，早於1883年4月11日以承按人的身分向銀行辦理按揭從而獲得售賣權力，以港幣13,100元的代價、加上

① 唐石崑先生半身肖像

Mr Tong Shek Kwan's portrait

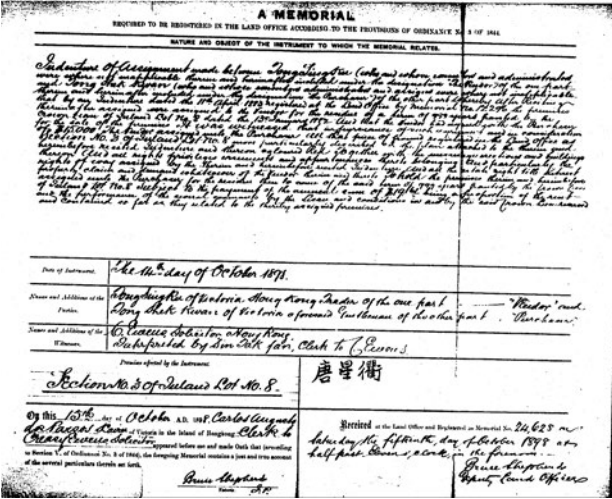
information, however, the public knows little about or even errs in the early history of Shing Chai Tong. One claim suggests that the founder was Mr Tong Tin Yu;² another asserts that the shop only moved to Hong Kong after the Japanese army invaded Guangzhou.³ The following three sources provide the most reliable evidence. First, the 1930 *Hong Kong Government Gazette* published the registration of Shing Chai Tong's trademark, explicitly stating that the shop in Hong Kong was founded in 1885.⁴ Second, HKMH holds a portrait of Mr Tong Shek Kwan taken at the Po Kwong Studio ^①, with the inscription on the right reading vertically: “In memory of Mr Tong Shek Kwan, *Xiaolian* (a common name of *Juren*, meaning “successful candidate in the imperial provincial examination”) of the late Qing, Founder of Shing Chai Tong.” Third, in oral history records compiled by HKMH in the 1980s, Mr Tong Kai Ming, then owner of Shing Chai Tong, affirmed that the herbal medicine shop was established by his grandfather, Mr Tong Shek Kwan, in 1885. The mistaken attribution of the founding to Mr Tong Tin Yu likely arose because they shared the same surname, ancestral roots in Guangdong, the honourific title of *Xiaolian*, and expertise in traditional Chinese herbal medicine. Mr Tong Tin Yu was born in 1877 and died in 1961 at the age of 84.⁵ No evidence links him to the founding of Shing Chai Tong in 1885.

The establishment of Shing Chai Tong in Hong Kong in fact predates 1885. According to the *Land Register*, the first recorded owner of the property at 180 Queen's Road Central was “TONG SING KU,” who, in the capacity of a mortgagor, arranged a mortgage with the bank and thereby obtained the right of sale. On 11 April 1883, he acquired the property rights at a price of HK\$13,100, at an annual rent of HK\$20 ^{②③}. It was not until 14 Oct 1898 that Tong Shek Kwan succeeded to the property rights at a price of HK\$15,000.⁶ These records indicate that the Tong family had already established roots in Hong Kong by the early 1880s, at a time when Chinese merchants were flourishing along Bonham Strand West, Bonham Strand, Des Voeux Road Central, Queen's Road Central, and Wing Lok

業主姓名 NAME OF OWNER	身分 (如非唯一擁有人) CAPACITY (IF NOT SOLE OWNER)	註冊摘要編號 MEMORIAL NO.	文書日期 DATE OF INSTRUMENT	註冊日期 DATE OF REGISTRATION	代價 CONSIDERATION
TONG SING KU		UB12296	11/04/1883	21/04/1883	\$13,100.00
備註 REMARKS: ASSIGNMENT (EXERCISE OF POWER OF SALE IN MORTGAGE MEM. NO. 11256)					
TONG SHEK KWAN		UB24628	14/10/1898	15/10/1898	\$15,000.00
備註 REMARKS: ASSIGNMENT					

② 《土地登記冊》顯示唐星衢與唐石崑為中環皇后大道中180號首兩名業主

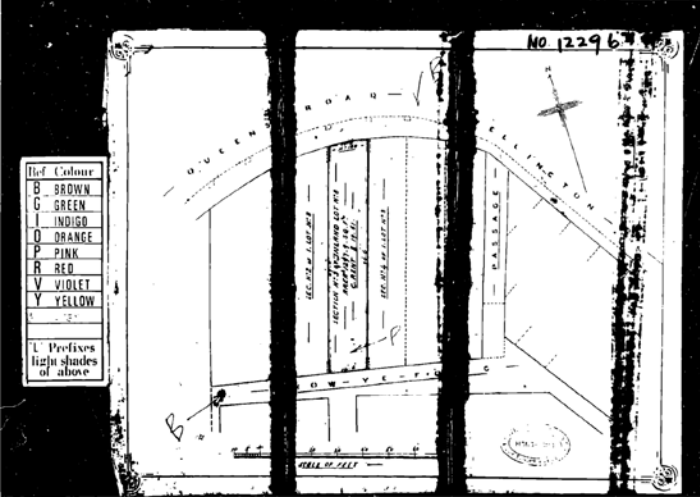
The *Land Register* shows that Mr Tong Sing Ku and Mr Tong Shek Kwan were the first two registered owners of 180 Queen's Road Central.



③ 1898年中環皇后大道中180號轉讓契，由唐星衢轉讓業權予唐石崑。

The 1898 deed of transfer for 180 Queen's Road Central, in which Mr Tong Sing Ku conveyed the property rights to Mr Tong Shek Kwan.

承擔年租港幣20元，購得有關業權^{②③}。唐石崑則遲於1898年10月14日才以港幣15,000元代價承繼業權。⁶記錄反映唐氏家族最遲於1880年代初期便植根香港，正值華商從文咸西街、文咸東街、德輔道中、皇后大道中到永樂街營商的興盛時期。⁷店址立足於華商聚集的中央，承處於皇后大道中、文咸東街及威靈頓街交界之便，創始規模可觀^{④⑤⑥}。



④ 位處皇后大道中及威靈頓街交界、背對九如坊的誠濟堂地段（即標示「P」的部分）。

The Shing Chai Tong site at the junction of Queen's Road Central and Wellington Street, backing onto Kau U Fong (the portion marked “P”).

Street.⁷ The shop was situated at the heart of this commercial district, benefiting from its location at the junction of Queen's Road Central, Bonham Strand, and Wellington Street, and its initial scale was considerable ^{④⑤⑥}.

Whether in the first-generation “Hong Kong Story” exhibition at Kowloon Park during the Hong Kong Museum period, or in the second-generation exhibition at the present site of HKMH ^⑦, the Shing Chai Tong setting consisted only of a single ground-floor storey. In the new “Hong Kong Story”, the Shing Chai Tong scene is placed on the ground floor of

⁴ 《香港政府憲報》（香港：Noronha & Co.，Government Printers，1930），頁825。
Hong Kong Government Gazette (Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., Government Printers, 1930), 825.

⁵ 〈新會名儒唐天如明日家奠〉，《華僑日報》（1961.2.22），第3張，頁2。
“Family funeral ceremony for the late Tang Tin Yu, renowned scholar of Xinhui,” *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, 22 February 1961, sheet 3, 2.

⁶ 《土地登記冊》，地段第8號第3部分（物業參考編號：C4295176）。
Land Register, Section 3 of Inland Lot no.8 (PRN: C4295176).

⁷ 馮邦彥：《香港華資財團（1841–2020）》（香港：三聯書店（香港）有限公司，2020），頁26。
Bangyan Feng, *Xianggang huazi caituan (1841–2020)* (Hong Kong Chinese Financial Groups (1841–2020)) (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (Hong Kong) Company Limited, 2020), 26.



香港歷史博物館藏
Hong Kong Museum of History collection

⑤ 1860 年代中環皇后大道中 180 號
（誠濟堂位於圖左雲來茶樓旁）

180 Queen's Road Central in the 1860s (Shing Chai Tong was situated to the left of the Wan Loy Teahouse).



⑥ 1885 年誠濟堂遷入前，皇后大道中 180 號為廣英隆（圖中）所佔用。

Prior to Shing Chai Tong's relocation to 180 Queen's Road Central in 1885, the site was occupied by Kwong Ying Lung (centre).



⑦ 第二代「香港故事」中的誠濟堂

Shing Chai Tong in the second generation "Hong Kong Story" exhibition



⑧ 誠濟堂（圖左），1902 年。

Shing Chai Tong (left), 1902.

無論是香港博物館時期位於九龍公園的第一代「香港故事」展覽，還是遷移到香港歷史博物館現址的第二代「香港故事」^⑦，誠濟堂場景均只有地下一層。新常設展覽將誠濟堂場景置於樓高兩層的唐樓地下，更貼近藥店實況。從舊相片可見其所在的中環皇后大道中 180 號原初便有三層^⑧，三層的業權一直掌握在唐氏家族手上。其間經歷家族間分權共有的安排，直至 1934 年起才由另一公司 SHIM TET THONG COMPANY LIMITED 以港幣 86,000 元購入全部業權。^⑧ 推測後期

a two-storey *tong lau* (tenement building), more closely reflecting the actual conditions of the traditional herbal medicine shop. Historical photographs show that the original premises at 180 Queen's Road Central comprised three storeys^⑧, with ownership of all three levels remaining in the hands of the Tong family. During this period, family members were tenants-in-common until 1934 when another company, SHIM TET THONG COMPANY LIMITED, purchased the entire property for HK\$86,000.^⑧ It is inferred that in its later years Shing Chai Tong shifted from ownership to tenancy, continuing in this form until the *tong lau* was demolished in the 1980s.

誠濟堂轉買為租，一直到唐樓於 1980 年代清拆為止。

運作模式

地下店舖是誠濟堂的經營重心，以售賣上等傳統中醫熟藥為主要業務。誠濟堂專責藥品銷售的情況可見於誠濟堂採用過的多個不同名稱，中文名稱包括早期「誠濟堂老藥行」^⑨、踏入 1930 年代交替使用的「誠濟堂國藥行」^⑩、「誠濟堂藥行」或「誠濟堂中藥行」等。當中以「誠濟堂藥行」一名於官方文件出現最多^⑪，「誠濟堂國藥行」則多見於店內物品如店面玻璃櫥窗及藥盒；英文名稱則常見「Shing Chai Tong Drug Store」及「Shing Chai Tong Herb Co.」。香港歷史博物館藏 19 世紀末誠濟堂「萬應婦科」蠟丸包裝上亦記：「誠濟堂揀選正地道上品參茸熟藥，監製各項蠟丸」。除了傳統中醫藥材，誠濟堂亦按照市場需要推陳出新。1931 年 7 月 28 日《香港工商日報》見誠濟堂廣告一則：「近聞自甑之琵琶露，潤肺止渴解

Mode of Operation

The ground-floor shop was the core of Shing Chai Tong's operations, with its principal business being the sale of premium traditional Chinese processed medicines. The shop's focus on pharmaceutical retailing is evident from the various names it adopted over time. Early on it was known as Shing Chai Tong *Lo Yeuk Hong* (Shing Chai Tong Old Drug Store)^⑨; in the 1930s, Shing Chai Tong *Kwok Yeuk Hong* (Shing Chai Tong National Drug Store) was used alternately with *Lo Yeuk Hong*^⑩, Shing Chai Tong *Joek Hong* (Shing Chai Tong Drug Store) and Shing Chai Tong *Chung Yeuk Hong* (Shing Chai Tong Chinese Medicine Store). Among these, Shing Chai Tong *Yeuk Hong* appears most frequently in official documents^⑪, while Shing Chai Tong *Kwok Yeuk Hong* was commonly seen on physical items such as shopfront glass windows and medicine boxes. In English, the shop was often styled as "Shing Chai Tong Drug Store" or "Shing Chai Tong Herb Co." A late-19th-century wrapper for Shing Chai Tong's "All-Purpose Gynecological Wax Pills," preserved in HKMH, bears the inscription: "Shing Chai Tong selects genuine, top-quality ginseng, deer antler, and processed medicines, and supervises



香港歷史博物館藏
Hong Kong Museum of History collection

⑨ 「十五製半夏」宣傳單張，可見「誠濟堂老藥行」名稱。

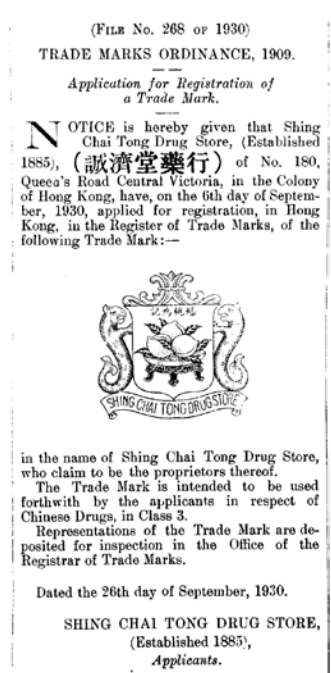
Promotional leaflet for processed medicine "Banxia processed fifteen times," showing the name Shing Chai Tong *Lo Yeuk Hong* (Shing Chai Tong Old Drug Store)



香港歷史博物館藏
Hong Kong Museum of History collection

⑩ 「武溪大補茶」包裝，可見「誠濟堂國藥行」名稱，上有 1930 年開始註冊的商標。

Packaging of "Wuxi Great Tonic Tea," showing the name "Shing Chai Tong *Kwok Yeuk Hong* (Shing Chai Tong National Drug Store)," with a trademark first registered in 1930.



⑪ 1930 年《香港政府憲報》文件上見「誠濟堂藥行（Shing Chai Tong Drug Store）」名稱

The name "Shing Chai Tong Drug Store" appeared in the 1930 *Hong Kong Government Gazette*

^⑧ 同註 6。

See Note 6.

煩燥，為消暑妙飲，且多服能生津益肺，故日來銷售益增」，更為大酒家如杏花春、大中國等大量購入。⁹ 凡此均反映其中醫藥品零售的市場定位。

除提供最優質的中醫藥品以外，誠濟堂同時依靠不同的配套服務和付款安排，吸引更多客源。誠濟堂最遲在 1930 年代便提供代客煎藥和送藥的售後服務。香港歷史博物館藏〈代客煎藥送藥啟事〉載「茲為利便公務員及旅客起見，特設代客煎藥部，依方配煎，不論路途遠近，不論時候早晚，按址送到不誤，不另取費」，可見最遲在 1930 年代便設「代客煎藥部」，便利民眾。香港歷史博物館藏一木印章，上刻「非常時期，銀期一月，惠顧諸君，尚希鑒原」¹²，說明誠濟堂一直容許客人在無需支付利息的條件下賒欠款項，僅在經濟狀況轉差的情況下需縮短賒賬時限。



香港歷史博物館藏
Hong Kong Museum of History collection

¹² 誠濟堂「非常時期，銀期一月，惠顧諸君，尚希鑒原」木印章。

Wooden stamp of Shing Chai Tong inscribed "During this extraordinary period, credit terms are one month. We appreciate your patronage and hope for your continued support."

the production of various wax pills.” Beyond traditional Chinese herbs, Shing Chai Tong also introduced new products to meet market demand. An advertisement in the *Hong Kong Kung Sheung Daily News* on 28 July 1931 promoted its freshly *pi pa lou* (brewed loquat syrup): “Soothes the lungs, quenches thirst, relieves vexation and dryness—an excellent summer drink. Taken regularly, it restores fluids and benefits the lungs, hence sales have been rising daily.” The syrup was purchased in large quantities by major Chinese restaurants such as *Heng Fa Chun* and *Dai Chung Kwok*.⁹ All of this reflects Shing Chai Tong’s positioning as a retailer of Chinese medicinal products.

Apart from providing premium quality Chinese medicines, Shing Chai Tong also attracted customers through complementary services and flexible payment arrangements. By the 1930s at the latest, the shop was already offering after-sales services such as decocting prescriptions on behalf of customers and delivering the prepared medicine. According to HKMH’s collection of the *Notice on Decoction and Delivery Service for Customers*, it states: “For the convenience of civil servants and travellers, we have specially set up a department to decoct herbal medicine on behalf of customers. Prescriptions will be prepared and decocted as prescribed, regardless of distance or time, and delivered to the designated address without delay with no extra charge.” This shows that by the 1930s Shing Chai Tong had established a “Decoction Department” to serve the public. Another museum’s collection is a wooden stamp inscribed, “During this extraordinary period, credit terms are one month. We appreciate your patronage and hope for your continued support”¹². This indicates that Shing Chai Tong had long allowed customers to purchase on credit without interest, shortening the credit period only when economic conditions worsened.

According to Mr Tong Kai Ming, traditional herbal medicine shops in the past generally fell into two categories. One type employed Chinese medicine practitioners to provide consultations, thereby attracting customers to purchase medicines, while larger establishments did not employ resident practitioners but instead drew customers by selling high-quality medicinal ingredients.¹⁰ Shing Chai Tong clearly belonged to the latter category. Inside Shing Chai Tong, no special space was set aside for practitioners. The “front section” of the shop was open to customers and included a counter where prescriptions were dispensed and herbs



¹³ 1980 年代誠濟堂「櫃面」（圖右百子櫃前）
The counter of Shing Chai Tong in the 1980s (located in front of the “hundred-drawer cabinet” on the right side)

據唐啟銘先生分享，昔日中藥店大致分為兩種，其中一種是有中醫師主診，以吸引顧客購買藥材（執藥），而規模較大的「大字號」則沒有醫師主診，靠售賣優質藥材以招徠顧客。¹⁰ 誠濟堂自當為後者。誠濟堂內亦無特別劃分空間予中醫師駐診，位於舖面的「前座」除了開放給客人，亦設有「櫃面」用作接待客人配藥及購買藥材，即博物館誠濟堂場景內右方（面向店內）百子櫃前至木製長地櫃的位置^{13 14}。而「櫃面」對面是「膏丹丸散」部，負責售賣藥行自製的膏丹丸散，現時誠濟堂場景內左方的「L」型地櫃內位置，上方木櫃仍然放置昔日眾多種類的蠟丸或藥散。再往內進已是賬房先生辦公地（今「誠濟堂」牌匾後的空間），以及沒有重現出來的處理藥材、製藥、曬藥等的工場部分。



¹⁴ 1980 年代誠濟堂店員攀爬至百子櫃高處，拉開抽屜取藥。
In the 1980s, a staff member at Shing Chai Tong climbed to the upper drawers of the “hundred-drawer cabinet” to retrieve the herbs.

sold. In the museum’s reconstruction of Shing Chai Tong, this corresponds to the right hand side of the scene, from the large medicine cabinet, known as the “hundred-drawer cabinet”, to the long wooden counter ^{13 14}. Opposite the counter was the section for “Ointments, Pills, Pellets, and Powders”, responsible for selling house-made processed medicines. In the present museum display, these products are represented in the upper wooden cabinet above the L-shaped counter on the left side of the scene, where a variety of wax pills and powders once stood. Further inside was the accountant’s office (the area behind the Shing Chai Tong plaque in the exhibition), and workshop spaces used for processing herbs, manufacturing remedies, and sun-drying herbs, an area which was not reconstructed in the exhibition.

Although Shing Chai Tong did not designate a permanent area for resident Chinese medicine practitioners to provide consultations, this does not mean the shop never offered such services. Rather, there was considerable flexibility in the choice of practitioners, the dates of consultation, and the location. For example, a notice published in *Wah Kiu Yat Po* on 31 March 1950 announced that veteran Guangzhou physician Liu Fuqian had come to Hong Kong and would begin

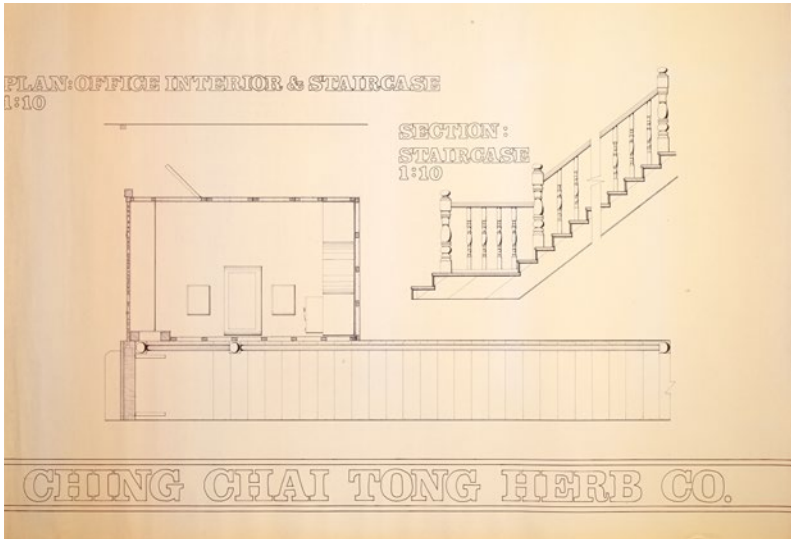
⁹ 〈誠濟堂賣藥〉，載於《香港工商日報》（1931.7.28），第 3 張，頁 2。
“Shing Chai Tong selling medicines,” *Hong Kong Kung Sheung Daily News*, 28 July 1931, sheet 3, 2.

¹⁰ 香港博物館：《市影匠心——香港傳統行業及工藝》（香港：市政局，1996），頁 230。
Hong Kong Museum of History, *Shiying Jiangxin: Xianggang chuantong hangye ji gongyi* (Of Hearts and Hands: Hong Kong’s Traditional Trades and Crafts) (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1996), 230.

然而，店面雖不設恆常中醫師駐店施診的位置，並不代表誠濟堂從來沒有提供中醫診症服務，只是施診的醫師人選、診症的日子和位置等存在很大彈性。例如 1950 年 3 月 31 日《華僑日報》見誠濟堂宣傳廣州老中醫劉福謙從廣州到港，定在該年農曆二月十六日起於誠濟堂應診。¹¹ 誠濟堂以來自國內老中醫為噱頭增加藥行的認受性，有利招徠生意和打造口碑。那麼，短期的駐店中醫師在何處駐診便值得留意。前文所述誠濟堂業權擁有者同時擁有皇后大道中 180 號的二樓，便是醫師們的短期工作間。1971 年 3 月 17 日《華僑日報》便宣傳百齡人瑞盧湘父先生哲嗣、中醫盧國洪於誠濟堂二樓應診，更設別於誠濟堂的診室專線電話供客人查詢。¹² 通往二樓的樓梯位於誠濟堂後座之內，一般被認為是放置貨物和文件的倉庫，¹³ 其用途實應更加多元，惟均屬臨時性質。在唐啟銘先生的父親唐兆麟先生主事年間，每年必於農曆新年前後舉辦古代名人畫展數天，吸引眾多華洋觀眾參觀，舉辦地點當以空間較大的二樓為主。¹⁴ 至樂樓主人何耀光亦與誠濟堂甚有淵源，其於 1959 年為其在藍塘道的私人住宅中的「晚翠亭」徵求對聯，求得當時名儒盧湘父任評審，並有勞好友勞天庇在誠濟堂二樓開設的醫務所中設頒獎處。¹⁵ 1975 年拍攝的法國情色電影《Emmanuelle 2》其中一幕為誠濟堂員工帶領女主角經後座旁的樓梯（平面圖見圖 15）登上二樓接受中醫針灸治療，某程度上還原了中藥材店與中醫診治之間的關係。

consultations at Shing Chai Tong on the 16th day of the second lunar month that year.¹¹ By inviting renowned practitioners from the Mainland, Shing Chai Tong enhanced its credibility, business, and reputation. Where these short-term practitioners practised is also noteworthy. As previously mentioned, the proprietor of Shing Chai Tong owned the second floor of 180 Queen's Road Central, which served as the temporary consulting rooms. On 17 March 1971, *Wah Kiu Yat Po* reported that Lu Guohong, son of the centenarian scholar-physician Lu Xiangfu, was consulting there, with a dedicated clinic hotline provided for enquiries.¹² The staircase to the second floor was located at the rear of the shop. While generally regarded as a warehouse for goods and documents,¹³ the space was in fact multi-functional, though temporary in nature. During the tenure of Mr Tong Siu Lun, father of Mr Tong Kai Ming, Shing Chai Tong hosted annual exhibitions of paintings by ancient masters around the Chinese New Year, drawing large crowds of both Chinese and foreign visitors. The spacious second floor was the principal venue.¹⁴ Shing Chai Tong also had close ties with Ho Lu Kwong, the Master of Chih Lo Lou. In 1959, Ho sought submissions for couplets at the *Wan Cui Ting* (Pavilion of Twilight Verdure) in his private residence on Blue Pool Road, with Lu Xiangfu serving as judge. His friend Lou Tin Bai arranged for prize redemption at the clinic on Shing Chai Tong's second floor.¹⁵ In 1975, the French film *Emmanuelle 2* included a scene shot in Shing Chai Tong, in which a staff member led the female protagonist upstairs via the rear staircase (see floor plan, 15) to the second floor for acupuncture treatment. To some extent, this recreated the historical connection between the herbal medicine shop and Chinese medical practice therein.

Although Shing Chai Tong was founded by the Tong family, it remained a shareholding enterprise at least until the 1940s, with different investors joining over time. The practice of forming business alliances or even guilds among multiple herbal medicine merchants was very common in early 20th-



15 1980 年代繪製誠濟堂平面圖中顯示後座樓梯

Floor plan of Shing Chai Tong drawn in the 1980s, showing the staircase at the rear of the shop.

誠濟堂雖為唐氏家族創立，但至少到 1940 年代依然為股份制經營，曾經歷不同的投資者加入。以多個藥材商組成商業同盟、甚或公會的制度，在 20 世紀初的香港非常常見，保護行業利益及推動行業發展。¹⁶ 1940 年《香港政府憲報》便刊載由「達觀堂」和「餘蔭堂」所擬的〈退股告白〉一則，兩商號「名下所佔香港大道中誠濟堂藥店股份已於一千九百四十年八月廿一日頂與仁愛堂及仁義堂承受，此後該誠濟堂生意盈虧概與余等無涉」。¹⁷ 這些「堂」便是不同藥材批發商的經營實體，供應誠濟堂藥材之餘亦從中分成。香港歷史博物館藏一枚「永肇堂」印章，應是用作辨認提供所售藥材的商號，在發給顧客的單號上蓋印辨認 16，或作內部文件紀錄方便日後分成。



香港歷史博物館藏
Hong Kong Museum of History collection

16 誠濟堂「永肇堂」木印章

Wooden stamp from Shing Chai Tong's *Wing Shiu Tong*

century Hong Kong, serving to protect industry interests and promote its development.¹⁶ In 1940, the *Hong Kong Government Gazette* published a “Declaration of Withdrawal from Shares” drafted by *Da Guan Tong* and *Yu Yin Tong*. It stated, “The shares in the Shing Chai Tong pharmacy on Des Voeux Road Central, held under the names of the two firms, were on 21 August 1940 transferred to *Yan Oi Tong* and *Yan Yi Tong*. From that date onward, the profits and losses of Shing Chai Tong's business have no connection with us.”¹⁷ These “tongs” were operating entities of different herbal wholesalers, who not only supplied Shing Chai Tong with herbs but also shared in its profits. In the HKMH collection, there is a seal of *Wing Shiu Tong*, likely used to mark invoices issued to customers in order to identify the supplier of the medicinal ingredients 16, or for internal documentation to facilitate later profit sharing.

Such early business practices among Chinese merchants were indeed necessary — not only to respond to the growing popularity of Western medicines, but also to distinguish themselves amid industry competition. Since the late 19th

¹¹ 〈廣州老中醫劉福謙現由廣州到港〉，載於《華僑日報》（1950.3.31），第 2 張，頁 3。
“Guangzhou old Chinese Medicine Practitioner Liu Fuqian has now arrived in Hong Kong,” *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, 31 March 1950, sheet 2, 3.

¹² 〈百齡人瑞盧湘父先生哲嗣、中醫盧國洪〉，載於《華僑日報》（1971.3.17），第 8 張，頁 3。
“Son of the centenarian Mr Lu Xiangfu, Chinese medicine practitioner Lu Guohong,” *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, 17 March 1971, sheet 8, 3.

¹³ 同註 1，《香港中醫藥史話》，頁 65。
See Noted 1, *Xianggang zhongyiyao shihua* (A History of Chinese Medicine in Hong Kong), 65.

¹⁴ 〈誠濟堂畫展〉，載於《華僑日報》（1953.2.13），第 4 張，頁 3。
“Painting exhibition at Shing Chai Tong,” *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, 13 February 1953, sheet 4, 3.

¹⁵ 〈至樂樓晚翠亭徵聯 湘父老師閱卷錄取一零四名〉，載於《華僑日報》（1959.11.15），第 3 張，頁 4。
“Chih Lo Lou *Wan Cui Ting* calls for submission of couplets, reviewed by Mr Lu Xiangfu with 104 entries admitted.” *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, 15 November 1959, sheet 3, 4.

¹⁶ 李培德：〈二次大戰結束前香港的華人商會〉，載於李培德編：《中國商業史研究叢書：商會與近代中國政治變遷》（香港：香港大學出版社，2009 年），頁 99–102。

Pui Tak Lee, “*Erci dazhan jieshu qian xianggang de huaren shanghui* (Chinese Trade Federation in Hong Kong before the Ending of World War II),” in *Zhongguo shangyeshi yanjiu congshu: shanghui yu jindai zhongguo zhengzhi bianqian* (Research Series on the History of Chinese Commerce: Chamber of Commerce and Political Changes in Modern China), ed. Pui Tak Lee (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), 99–102.

¹⁷ 《香港政府憲報》（香港：Noronha & Co., Government Printers, 1940），頁 890。
Hong Kong Government Gazette (Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., Government Printers, 1940), 890.

這類早期華人商業運作模式實有其必要，除應對日漸流行的西醫藥品之餘，更需要在眾多同業競爭中脫穎而出。19 世紀末以來，香港中醫一直面對西醫藥的衝擊。1896 年立法局文件中有一份由時任立法局議員 T. H. Whitehead 對東華醫院所作的報告，其態度雖然偏向容許中醫作為大眾接受的醫療方式繼續予以保留，但同一時間提倡在對東華醫院的撥款條件中加入逐漸以西醫取代中醫的必要條款。¹⁸ 港英政府對中醫藥採取的消極態度和壓制政策至 1930 年代依然存在，繼續透過不同手段打壓中醫藥發展，如在 1930 年代欲於資助東華醫院的撥款上增設條款，規定東華醫院、廣華醫院及東華東院三院「用中藥醫治留醫之病人應以逐漸廢除為宗旨」，主要規範中藥設備不能用於東華及廣華醫院以外的地方，同時只可為主動求用中藥醫治之留醫病人以中藥醫治；¹⁹ 同一時期的國民政府同樣不支持中醫藥的發展，如 1920 年代末便有廣州城西方便醫院向香港東華醫院請求聲援反對國民政府中央衛生委員會有關廢止中醫的計劃，²⁰ 香港中藥聯商會等有關界別亦有抗議行動。²¹

商標註冊

在這大環境下，中藥材業之間競爭更是有增無減，最具新聞話題的當屬潘高壽藥廠高調指責誠濟堂抄襲其聲稱為原創的藥品。潘高壽與誠濟堂同於 19 世紀末創建，惟前者主要立足廣州，在辛亥革命後因西醫西藥漸為時人接受，因而吸取西藥製劑方法，將具有潤肺鎮咳作用的川貝母和具祛痰作用的桔梗與枇杷葉熬練為「川貝枇杷露」，行銷省港澳及台灣地區等地。1930 年代，潘高壽見誠濟堂在香港報章上刊登枇杷露廣告，以

century, Chinese medicine in Hong Kong had faced the challenge posed by Western medicine. In 1896, Legislative Councillor T. H. Whitehead submitted a report on Tung Wah Hospital. Although he tended to permit Chinese medicine to remain as a healthcare practice accepted by the public, he simultaneously advocated inserting clauses into Tung Wah Hospital’s funding conditions that required its gradual replacement by Western medicine.¹⁸ The British Hong Kong government’s passive stance and restrictive policies toward Chinese medicine persisted into the 1930s, continuing to suppress its development through various measures. For example, in the 1930s it sought to add clauses to the subsidies for Tung Wah Hospital stipulating that Tung Wah Hospital, Kwong Wah Hospital, and Tung Wah Eastern Hospital should “regard the gradual abolition of treating inpatients with Chinese medicine as their guiding principle.” These clauses restricted Chinese medicine facilities from being used outside Tung Wah and Kwong Wah Hospitals, and limited the use of Chinese medicine only to inpatients who actively requested such treatment.¹⁹ At the same time, the Nationalist Government likewise withheld support for the development of Chinese medicine. In the late 1920s, Fangbian Hospital to the west of Guangzhou petitioned Hong Kong’s Tung Wah Hospital for support in opposing the Central Health Committee’s plan to abolish Chinese medicine,²⁰ and related sectors such as the Hong Kong Chinese Medicine Merchants’ Association also staged protests.²¹

Trademark Registration

Under the circumstances, competitions within the Chinese herbal medicine trade grew fiercer. The most newsworthy case was the high profile allegation by Poon Goor Soe Medicine Manufactory that Shing Chai Tong had plagiarised its supposedly original product. Both companies were founded in the late 19th century, though Poon Goor Soe was primarily

「一二三四五六七，忠孝仁愛禮義廉」為題，於報章上撰文暗諷誠濟堂「忘（王）八」和「無恥」。²² 從兩者競爭可見面對市場日漸萎縮，傳統中藥材店需以新穎和具宣傳效果的方式增大其份額。除了研發新產品和市場宣傳外，更講求符合法規的現代化經營理念。據記載，誠濟堂於法院控告潘高壽東主勝訴，原因是誠濟堂在港英政府中已經註冊川貝枇杷露。²³

在眾多西醫藥廠為西藥及相關化學物註冊商標的年代，誠濟堂於 1930 年亦適應時代步伐，根據《1909 年商標條例》為「誠濟堂藥行」店名進行商標註冊申請，商標為「蟠桃為記」¹⁷，屬商標類別第三類「中藥」，並按條例規定在獲登記處接納其商標註冊申請後於《香港政府憲報》上刊登廣告落實。²⁴



¹⁷ 誠濟堂「蟠桃為記」商標——蟠桃寓意長壽，是誠濟堂內常見的吉祥符號。Shing Chai Tong’s “Flat Peach” trademark — The flat peach symbolises longevity and is a common auspicious symbol of Shing Chai Tong.

based in Guangzhou. After the 1911 Revolution, as Western medicine gained wider acceptance, Poon Goor Soe adopted Western pharmaceutical techniques and created “*Chuanbei* Loquat Syrup” by decocting fritillaria bulbs (to moisten the lungs and relieve coughs), platycodon root and loquat leaves (to expel phlegm). The syrup was marketed across Guangdong, Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan. In the 1930s, Poon Goor Soe published a news article with a satirical slogan, “One to seven: Loyalty, Filial Piety, Benevolence, Love, Propriety, Righteousness, Integrity,” insinuating Shing Chai Tong’s lack of one of the eight Chinese traditional virtues “sense of shame,” in response to Shing Chai Tong’s advertisement of the loquat syrup in Hong Kong newspapers.²² This rivalry shows how, in the face of a shrinking market, traditional Chinese medicine shops had to adopt innovative and publicity-driven strategies to expand their share. Beyond developing new products and marketing campaigns, they also embraced modern business practices that complied with regulatory standards. According to records, Shing Chai Tong ultimately won its lawsuit against Poon Goor Soe’s proprietor, as it had already registered “*Chuanbei* Loquat Syrup” with the British Hong Kong government.²³

At a time when many Western pharmaceutical companies were registering trademarks for medicines and related chemicals, Shing Chai Tong likewise kept pace with the times. In 1930, it applied to register the shop name “Shing Chai Tong Drug Store” under the *Trade Marks Ordinance of 1909*. The trademark, featuring the flat peach emblem ¹⁷, was classified under Class III (Chinese medicine). In accordance with the Ordinance, once the Registrar accepted the application, an advertisement was published in the *Hong Kong Government Gazette* to confirm the registration.²⁴

Before registering its trademark, Shing Chai Tong simply used its shop name as an identifier. A wrapper in the HKMH collection for *Ruyi Herbal Pain-Relief Balm* carried only the words: “Originally established by Shing Chai Tong, carefully selecting top grade ingredients and conscientiously prepared” ¹⁸.

¹⁸ 《Papers Laid before the Legislative Council of Hongkong, 1896》（香港：Noronha & Co.，Government Printers，1897），頁 679。
Papers Laid before the Legislative Council of Hongkong, 1896 (Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., Government Printers, 1897), 679.

¹⁹ 何佩然：《施與受 —— 從濟急到定期服務》（東華三院檔案資料彙編系列之二）（香港：三聯書店（香港）有限公司，2009），頁 205。

Pui Yin Ho, *Shi yu show: Cong jiji dao dingqi fuwu* (Giving and Receiving: From Emergency Help to Regular Services) (A Compilation of the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals Archives, volume 2) (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (Hong Kong) Company Limited, 2009), 205.

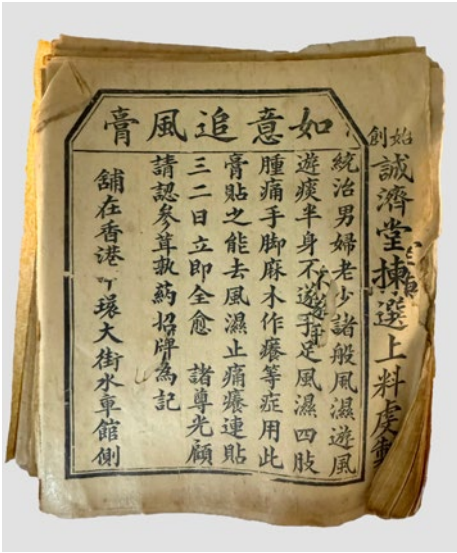
²⁰ 同上註，頁 202–203。
Ibid., 202–203.

²¹ 鄭洪：《粵港澳大灣區中醫藥史》（廣州：廣東科技出版社，2022），頁 199。
Hong Zheng, *Yuegangao dawanqu zhongyiyao shi* (History of Chinese Medicine in the Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area) (Guangzhou: Guangdong Technology Publishing House, 2022), 199.

²² 馮沛祖：《廣州滄桑錄（1911–1949）》（廣州：花城出版社，2020），頁 208。
Peizu Feng, *Guangzhou cangsang lu (1911–1949)* (Guangzhou Vicissitudes Record (1911–1949)) (Guangzhou: Huacheng Publishing House, 2020), 208.

²³ 同上註。
Ibid.

²⁴ 同註 4，頁 825。
See Note 4, 825.



香港歷史博物館藏
Hong Kong Museum of History collection

18 誠濟堂〈如意追風膏〉招紙

Shing Chai Tong's *Ruyi Herbal Pain-Relief Balm* wrapper

在註冊商標之前，誠濟堂簡單以店鋪名稱作標識，如香港歷史博物館藏〈如意追風膏〉招紙便僅以文字「始創誠濟堂揀選上料虔製」為題¹⁸；〈神效癬藥〉招紙則輔以店內其中一塊歷史最悠久、題於光緒二十七年（1901年）的「誠心濟世」牌匾縮圖作宣傳招紙上的標識¹⁹，以本身名氣及店鋪歷史作招徠。

直至商標註冊成功，宣傳招紙便紛紛轉為「蟠桃為記」標識，當中香港歷史博物館藏〈神效午時茶〉招紙表明「諸尊光顧，請認七十餘年蟠桃老牌，登錄為記，庶不致悞（誤）」²⁰，可見其對保護商標權利的意識。事實上，「蟠桃為記」標識下配藥店英文名稱「Shing Chai Tong Drug Store」，反映誠濟堂註冊商標最主要目的是在香港建立為本地及海外華人所認可的品牌，以便外銷。在本地市場對中藥的需求受壓的時代，海外華人便是香港中醫藥商着眼的新市場。以出口至南洋地區為例，1925至1931年間由出口總值約港幣1,000,000元升至約港幣2,300,000元；英國更由約港幣5,500元大幅



香港歷史博物館藏
Hong Kong Museum of History collection

19 誠濟堂〈神效癬藥〉招紙

Shing Chai Tong's *Miraculous Ringworm Medicine* wrapper

Another wrapper, for *Miraculous Ringworm Medicine*, featured a miniature image of one of the shop's oldest plaques, inscribed “Dedicated to Serving the World” in 1901, which served as its emblem¹⁹. These designs drew on the shop's reputation and history to attract customers until the trademark was successfully registered. After registration, wrappers began to display the “Flat Peach” emblem. For example, the HKMH collection of a wrapper for *Miraculous Midday Herbal Tea* declared: “Esteemed patrons, please recognise the venerable “Flat Peach” brand cherished for over 70 years. Registered as its emblem, it stands as the true mark of authenticity, so you will not be mistaken²⁰”, demonstrating the shop's awareness of protecting its trademark. The emblem was often paired with the English name “Shing Chai Tong Drug Store,” reflecting the company's main objective to establish a brand recognised both locally and among overseas Chinese communities, particularly for export. At a time when local demand for traditional Chinese medicine was under pressure, overseas Chinese markets became the focus. Between 1925 and 1931, exports to Southeast Asia rose from about HK\$1,000,000 to HK\$2,300,000, while exports to Britain increased from about HK\$5,500 to HK\$18,000 — more than tripling in just two years.²⁵ Another wrapper in the Museum's collection, for *Olive and Scallion Tea*, illustrates this export strategy: the front, in Chinese, describes its effectiveness against ailments



香港歷史博物館藏
Hong Kong Museum of History collection

20 誠濟堂〈神效午時茶〉招紙

Shing Chai Tong's *Miraculous Midday Herbal Tea* wrapper



香港歷史博物館藏
Hong Kong Museum of History collection

21 誠濟堂〈欖蔥茶〉背面

Back of Shing Chai Tong's *Olive and Scallion Tea* wrapper

增長至約港幣18,000元，兩年間出口升幅達3倍以上。²⁵香港歷史博物館藏〈誠濟堂欖蔥茶〉包裝正面以中文書寫其專治外感、風寒、暑濕等症狀的效用，背面則上印有誠濟堂蟠桃商標，並以英文書寫該藥包於馳名於遠東，具明顯的外銷宣傳意義²¹。

牌匾中的「香港故事」

在中西交匯、西藥東漸的年代，凡此現代化的商業經營均是誠濟堂賴以生存的操作手段。然而，在先進的管理理念背後，依靠的是穩健的中醫藥和中華文化傳統，以及其衍生的華人社交網絡。從誠濟堂店內的致賀牌匾可以得知其於華人社會的地位及中華文化元素。誠濟堂共見八塊牌匾，從最近店鋪門面開始，由店左、店右至店面上方排列，抄錄匾文如下：

（左一）

[許順村先生雅鑒]

玉液神奇

刑部左侍郎戴鴻慈題

（左二）

誠濟堂主人雅鑒

丹成壽古（世）

頭品頂戴尚書銜福建水師提督古（世）襲雲騎尉裴凌阿巴圖魯楊岐珍題

such as external pathogenic invasion, wind cold and summer dampness, while the back bears the Flat Peach trademark and English text proclaiming the product's fame throughout the Far East²¹.

Hong Kong Stories on the Plaques

During the era of East-West exchange and the growing influence of Western medicine, modernised business practices became the means by which Shing Chai Tong sustained itself. Yet behind these advanced management methods, its foundation remained the traditions of Chinese medicine and Chinese culture, together with the social networks they fostered among the Chinese community. The congratulatory plaques displayed inside the shop attest to its standing within that community and embody elements of Chinese cultural heritage. Inside the shop, a total of eight plaques are on view, beginning with those nearest the shop entrance from left to right (facing the entrance), and then to the top of the shop entrance. Their inscriptions are transcribed as follows:

（1st left）

[To Mr Hui Shun Tsuen]

Miraculous Elixir

Inscribed by Dai Hongci, Left Deputy Minister of Board of Punishments

（2nd left）

To the Master of Shing Chai Tong

Elixir Perfected for Longevity

Inscribed by Yang Qizhen, Bearer of the First-Rank Hat Plume with the title of Minister, Commander-in-Chief of the Fujian Navy, hereditary Cloud Cavalry Captain, and *Peilinga baturu* (valiant warrior).

（3rd left）

To the Master of Shing Chai Tong

Distinguished Medical Reputation

Presented by Yan Nian, Bearer of Hat Plume with title of Provincial Administration Commissioner, and Intendant of the Fujian Hing-Tsuen-Wing Military Circuit.

（1st right）

[To Mr Hui Shun Tsuen,] Chief Director of Shing Chai Tong

Dedicated to Serving the World

Inscribed by Li Ronghan, Bearer of Hat Plume with Fourth-Rank title, Compiler of the Hanlin Academy, former Commissioner of Education for Shaanxi, on an auspicious day in mid-spring of the 27th year of Guangxu (1901).

²⁵ 《Hong Kong Bluebook for the Year 1925》（香港：Noronha & Co.，Government Printers，1926），頁363；《Hong Kong Bluebook for the Year 1931》（香港：Noronha & Co.，Government Printers，1932），頁431及436。
《Hong Kong Bluebook for the Year 1925》（Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., Government Printers, 1926），363；《Hong Kong Bluebook for the Year 1931》（Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., Government Printers, 1932），431及436。

(左三)

誠濟堂主人雅鑒

橋井流芳

賞戴花翎布政使銜福建興泉永兵備道
延年書贈

(右一)

誠濟堂寶號大董理

[許順村先生雅鑒]

誠心濟世

光緒二十七年仲春吉旦

賞戴花翎四品銜翰林院編修

前陝西學政黎榮翰題

(右二)

誠濟大寶堂

[許順村先生] 雅鑒

以德行仁

東華醫院 董事等仝拜
保良公局

(右三)

誠濟大寶堂

[許順村先生] 雅鑒

春滿瀛寰

署理福建水師海壇協鎮特授水師提督中軍
參府東莞蘇桂森拜題

(右四)

誠濟堂藥行主人鑒

壽古（世）長春

民國二十年仲冬吉旦

華商總會主席黃廣田敬題

(店面上方)

誠濟大寶堂

[許順村先生] 雅鑒

為善最樂

鳳鳴號 仝拜
廣和號

除了創辦人和店鋪本身的名氣之外，其合作夥伴的人際關係網亦是不可或缺。牌匾上款出現較多的名字是「許順村先生」，是各官員或機構敬贈匾額的主要對象。上文提及誠

(2nd right)

[Mr Hui Shun Tsuen,]

To Shing Chai Tong

Uphold Virtue, Embrace Benevolence

Tung Wah Hospital Jointly dedicated by

Po Leung Kung Kuk the Board of Directors

(3rd right)

[Mr Hui Shun Tsuen,]

To Shing Chai Tong

Spring’s Abundance Graces All Under Heaven

Respectfully inscribed by Su Guisen of Dongguan, Acting
Commander of the Fujian Navy at Haitan, specially appointed
Commander of the Navy.

(4th right)

To the Master of Shing Chai Tong

Bestowing Longevity and Eternal Spring

Respectfully inscribed by Huang Guangtian, Chairman of the
Chinese Chamber of Commerce, on an auspicious day in mid-
winter of the 20th Year of the Republic of China (1931).

(Top of the shop entrance)

[Mr Hui Shun Tsuen,]

To Shing Chai Tong

Doing Good Deeds Brings the Greatest Joy

Fung Ming Ho bow in respect
Kwong Wo Ho

Beyond the reputation of its founder and the shop itself, Shing Chai Tong also relied on the indispensable social networks of its partners. The name “Mr Hui Shun Tsuen” appears most frequently on the plaques, indicating that he was the principal recipient of plaques presented by officials or organisations. As noted earlier, Shing Chai Tong operated in its early years as a partnership, with partners likely drawn from suppliers of medicinal raw materials or other businesses connected to Chinese medicine. Hui Shun Tsuen was evidently one of the early investors and managers. The first plaque on the right side of the shop, inscribed *Dedicated to Serving the World*, shows that Hui held the title of *Dai Tung Lei* of Shing Chai Tong in the 27th year of Guangxu (1901). The designation *Dai Tung Lei* referred to the principal person in charge, comparable to a company’s chief director today. The term *Tung Lei* was often used as a verb, meaning “to carry out duties” or “to manage affairs.” For instance, a stele inscription named *Dingjian Zhehui Ergongci Peixiangbei* (Stele recording the enshrinement at the ancestral shrine of the two honoured ancestors Zhi and

濟堂早期便以合伙經營形式運作，合作伙伴很可能都是藥材原材料供應商或其他中醫藥相關的商號。許順村應是早年誠濟堂投資者和管理者之一，店內右一「誠心濟世」牌匾顯示許順村在光緒二十七年（1901年）正在擔任誠濟堂的「大董理」。「大董理」該指誠濟堂的主要負責人，類似現今公司的首席董事。「董理」多用作動詞，有執事或管理之義，元朗廈村友恭堂《鼎建贄惠二公祠配享碑》載「蓋必配享之裔，始得董理配享之田，以與春秋輪祀」；²⁶ 亦可延伸作名詞之用，保良局《倡建保良公局碑記》載「茲將各同人善士樂捐經費由二拾伍員或已上者，芳名開列於左，以便每年公舉董理勳辦局務」²⁷、笕箕灣天后古廟亦見「董理值事」一職。²⁸

值得一提的是，這些牌匾上的「許順村先生」五字多被刻意抹去，甚至有嘗試將名字從牌匾上切割開去的痕跡，應是其與誠濟堂脫離合作關係後的舉動。除了中藥材買賣以外，許順村牽涉的範圍相當廣泛。作為早期華人精英，許順村涉足公廁地產、船務（長發船務公司），甚至辦學（育材書社）。²⁹ 他於光緒三十年（1904年）為保良局董事之一，亦曾任職東華三院總理，與其作為公廁地產商、與眾多華商及公益群體創辦者建立的商業關係息息相關。許順村的人際網絡實際上華洋兼備。據港英政府在1899年關於許順村歸化英籍的公布，其又名許祖、許炳芳、許乃貴，早於1860年代開始便居於香港及營商，除於上環文咸西街經營廣蕙鴉片公司，更是西營盤國家醫院的買辦。³⁰

Hui) at Yau Kung Tong in Ha Tsuen, Yuen Long records, “Only those descendants who share in the sacrificial honours may manage (*Tung Lei*) the lands designated for such offerings, thereby joining in the rotational rites of spring and autumn.”²⁶ The term could also be extended as a noun. The stele commemorating the proposal to establish Po Leung Kuk states, “Here, the names of all benevolent donators who have willingly contributed funds of 25 dollars or more are listed to the left, so that each year they may elect directors (Tung Lei) to oversee and assist in the administration of the Kuk’s affairs.”²⁷ Likewise, at the Tin Hau Temple in Shau Kei Wan, there was also an office titled “Director (*Tung Lei*) in Charge of Affairs.”²⁸

It is noteworthy that the characters “Mr Hui Shun Tsuen” on these plaques were in most cases deliberately erased, with some even showing traces of attempts to cut away his name — actions likely taken after his partnership with Shing Chai Tong ended. In addition to the Chinese herbal medicine-related business, Hui Shun Tsuen’s activities were remarkably wide-ranging. As an early Chinese elite, he was involved in public lavatory real estate, shipping (Cheung Fat Shipping Company), and even education (Yuk Choi Study Society).²⁹ In the 30th year of Guangxu (1904), he served as Director of Po Leung Kuk and also as Director of Tung Wah Hospital, roles closely tied to his commercial connections as a public lavatory property owner and as a co-founder with numerous Chinese merchants and philanthropic groups. Hui’s social networks in fact spanned both Chinese and Western circles. According to a proclamation by the British Hong Kong government in 1899 regarding his naturalisation as a British subject, he was also known as Hui Cho, Hui Bingfang, and Hui Naikui, and had already been residing and conducting business in Hong Kong since the 1860s. In addition to operating the Kwong Wei Opium

²⁶ 科大衛、陸鴻基、吳倫霓霞合編：《香港碑銘彙編（第一冊）》（香港：香港市政局，1986），頁34。
David Faure, Bernard Hung Kay Luk, and Alice Ngai Ha Ng Lun, *Xianggang beiming huibian (diyice)* (Historical Inscriptions of Hong Kong (Volume 1)) (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1986), 34.

²⁷ 同註26，頁305。
See Note 26, 305.

²⁸ 同註26，頁152。
See Note 26, 152.

²⁹ 鄭宏泰、周文港：《荷李活道：尋覓往日風華》（香港：中華書局（香港）有限公司，2018年），頁193；莊玉惜：《有廁出租：官商共謀的殖民城市管治（1860–1920）》（香港：商務印書館，2018），頁154；劉中國：《劉鑄伯傳》（廣州：花城出版社，2017），頁121。
Wan Tai Zheng and Man Kong Chow, *Helihuodao: xunmi wangri fenghua* (Hollywood Road: In Search of Things Past) (Hong Kong: Chung Hwa Book Co., (HK) Ltd., 2018), 193; Yuk Sik Chong, *You ce chuzu: guanshang gongmou de zhimin chengshi guanzhi (1860–1920)* (Public Toilets for Rent: Colonial Urban Governance through Political and Business Collusion (1860–1920)) (Hong Kong: The Commercial Press (Hong Kong) Limited, 2018), 154; Zhonggou Liu, *Liu Zubo chuan* (Biography of Liu Zubo) (Guangzhou: Huacheng Publishing House, 2017), 121.

³⁰ 《香港政府憲報》（香港：Noronha & Co., Government Printers，1899），頁1555。
Hong Kong Government Gazette (Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., Government Printers, 1899), 1555.

從牌匾的送贈者身份可以得知誠濟堂早期在國內的名聲發展，以及誠濟堂植根香港華商及華人精英圈子的狀況。誠濟堂牌匾實有先後次序之分，大致按店內空間為中心朝向門外的左方為尊。店內左方近門面的第一塊牌匾「玉液神奇」由刑部左侍郎戴鴻慈所贈。按《清史稿》所記清代職官配置，刑部尚書下設左、右侍郎，滿、漢一人各佔一職，主職協助刑部尚書「掌折獄審刑，簡覈法律，各省讞疑，處當具報，以肅邦紀」，³¹ 為清廷要職，品秩於雍正八年（1730年）起定為正二品。³² 戴鴻慈贈誠濟堂「玉液神奇」牌匾當在光緒二十六至二十八年（1900至1902年），即其任職刑部左侍郎期間²²²³。³³

誠濟堂早期似在福建有較大發展，除店內左方近門第二及第三塊牌匾「丹成壽世」、「橘井流芒」由福建官員所贈，戴鴻慈亦於光緒二十三至二十五年（1897至1899年）任職福建學政，³⁴ 很可能便是此時認識許順村和誠濟堂。左二牌匾由福建水師提督楊岐珍所贈。提督本名「提督軍務總兵官」，是漢人綠營軍之最高長官，官至從一品。³⁵ 福建水師提督師職「駐筭同安縣廈門，管領標下中前後五營，統轄臺灣、澎湖、閩安水師各協」等。³⁶ 除福建水師提督本職以外，楊岐珍還獲得其他御賜的等第，包括允許「頭品頂戴尚書銜」，即可穿戴圓球形冠頂、上飾寶石、

Company on Bonham Strand West in Sheung Wan, he also served as comprador of the Government Civil Hospital in Sai Ying Pun.³⁰

From the identities of the plaque donors, one can trace the early development of Shing Chai Tong's reputation in the Mainland, as well as its rootedness within the circles of Hong Kong's Chinese merchants and elites. The plaques were arranged in a deliberate sequence, with those at the left (facing towards the entrance) of the shop accorded precedence. The first plaque on the left near the entrance, inscribed *Miraculous Elixir*, was presented by Dai Hongci, Left Deputy Minister of Board of Punishments. According to the *Qing shi gao* (The Draft History of Qing), the Board of Punishments was headed by a Minister, assisted by two Deputy Ministers (Left and Right), one Manchu and one Han. Their duties included “handling appeals and reviewing sentences, examining laws, adjudicating doubtful provincial cases, and submitting reports so as to maintain national discipline.”³¹ As a key post in the Qing administration, its official rank set at *zheng erpin* (Second-Rank) beginning in the eighth year of the Yongzheng reign (1730).³² This plaque presented by Dai Hongci to Shing Chai Tong likely dates to the 26th–28th years of Guangxu (1900–1902), during his tenure as Left Deputy Minister of Board of Punishments²²²³.³³

In its early years, Shing Chai Tong seems to have developed most significantly in Fujian. In addition to the second and third plaques near the shop entrance on the left side — *Elixir Perfected for Longevity* and *Distinguished Medical Reputation*, both donated by Fujian officials — Dai Hongci served as Commissioner of Education of Fujian from 23rd–25th years of Guangxu (1897–1899),³⁴ when he likely came to know Hui Shun Tsuen and Shing Chai Tong. The second plaque on the left was presented by Yang Qizhen, Commander-in-Chief of



香港歷史博物館藏
Hong Kong Museum of History collection

²² 誠濟堂「玉液神奇」牌匾，1899至1901年。

Shing Chai Tong *Miraculous Elixir* plaque, 1899–1901.

下可插翎枝的頂冠，³⁸「尚書銜」意味其真實階位達尚書級別，即從一品。³⁹ 雖與地方官品別無二致，唯其御賜中央官銜自當更為高等。清廷對楊岐珍的重視亦反映於楊氏因立戰功獲封世襲雲騎尉爵位（當時俗稱「半個前程」）及意為「勇敢」、「勇士」的「巴圖魯」賜號。「裴凌阿」為巴圖魯勇號之上所冠以的美名，一般為滿蒙官員所襲，漢族武官多冠以漢字勇號如「奮勇」、「剛勇」、「誠勇」。⁴⁰ 清廷賜予楊氏滿蒙美名，可知其地位特殊。與戴鴻慈相似，楊岐珍亦是在主政福建期間，即光緒十八至二十九年（即1892至1903年）與誠濟堂主人結識和送贈牌匾。相比店左近門的兩塊牌匾，左三牌匾明顯由品秩較低的官員所贈。送贈牌匾的官員延年同樣於福建任職，其本職為「福建興泉永兵備道」首長。「兵備道」全名「整飭



²³ 戴鴻慈像，1900年代。³⁷

Portrait of Dai Hongci, 1900s.³⁷

the Fujian Navy. The title Commander-in-Chief denoted the highest post held by a Han officer in the Green Standard Army, ranked at Sub First-Rank.³⁵ The Commander-in-Chief of the Fujian Navy was stationed at Xiamen in Tong'an County, overseeing the five battalions under his banner and exercising overall command of the naval divisions of Taiwan, Penghu, and Min'an.³⁶ On top of his substantive post, Yang Qizhen was also granted other imperial honours, including Bearer of the First-Rank Hat Plume with the title of Minister, which allowed him to don a spherical crown adorned with precious stones above and fitted with feather plumes below.³⁸ The title of *Shangshu* (Minister) indicates that his actual rank reached the ministerial level, which was at the Sub First-Rank.³⁹ Although his rank was no different from that of local officials, the imperial bestowal of a central government title naturally placed him at a higher status. The Qing court's esteem for Yang was further reflected in him being granted the hereditary title of Cloud Cavalry Captain, colloquially called “half a future,” as well as the honorific title *baturu* (brave warrior) for military distinction. The honorific name *Peilinga* was conferred above the *baturu* title, a distinction usually reserved for Manchu and Mongol officials; Han officers were more commonly given valor titles in Chinese characters such as *Fenyong* (Resolute and Brave), *Gangyong* (Firm and Brave),

³¹ 趙爾巽：《清史稿》（北京：中華書局，1976），卷114，〈志八十九·職官一〉，頁3287–3288。
Erxun Zhao, *Qing shi gao* (The Draft History of Qing). Volume 114, “Treatises no.19, Government service no.1” (Beijing: Chung Hwa Book Company, 1976), 3287–3288.

³² 張政娘、呂宗力：《中國歷代官制大辭典》（北京：北京出版社，1994），頁333。
Zhenglang Zhang and Zongli Lu, *Zhongguo lidai guan zhi dacidian* (Dictionary of Administrative Systems in Chinese History) (Beijing: Beijing Publishing House, 1994), 333.

³³ 錢實甫：《清代職官年表（第一冊）》（北京：中華書局，2019），頁722–724。
Shifu Qian, *Qingdai zhiguan nianbiao (diyice)* (Chronological Tables of Qing Dynasty Officials (Volume 1)) (Beijing: Chung Hwa Book Company, 2019), 722–724.

³⁴ 《國立故宮博物院圖書文獻處清國史館傳包》，702002463–2號。
Qing National Historiography Institute biographical information in National Palace Museum Library, 702002463–2.

³⁵ 同註32，頁779。
See Note 32, 779.

³⁶ 〈福建水師提督張天駿坐名敕書〉，載於《中央研究院歷史語言研究所內閣大庫檔案》，105017–001號。
“Command paper to Zhang Tianjun, Commander-in-Chief of Fujian Navy,” in *The Archives of the Grand Secretariat, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, 105017–001.

³⁷ 戴鴻慈：《出使九國日記》（北京：第一書局，1906）。
Hongci Dai, *Chushi jiuguo riji* (Diary of an Embassy to Nine Countries) (Beijing: *Di yi shuju*, 1906).

³⁸ 同註32，頁476。
See Note 32, 476.

³⁹ 同註32，頁481、748。
See Note 32, 481 & 748.

⁴⁰ 同註32，頁191。
See Note 32, 191.

兵備道」，職務顧名思義主治兵備事宜，本來是由一省之長官布政使之副官，如參政、參議及副使、僉事等充任，於乾隆十八年（1753 年）方轉為實官，品秩定為正四品，是地方重要的道員之一。⁴¹ 延年更獲加賜賞戴花翎、領布政使銜，品秩在從二品。⁴² 誠濟堂接觸的官員多與福建武官有關，推測與其於福建為官兵行醫施藥大有關係。

店右亦存四塊牌匾，由品秩較低的清代官員、香港華人團體及精英所贈。右一「誠心濟世」由黎榮翰於光緒二十七年（1901 年）送贈，其曾為陝西學政。「學政」實職本身並無品秩，由官員兼任，「有教道士子之責」，是中央推動地方教育發展的重要官員。⁴³ 例如黎榮翰本職便是正七品的「翰林院編修」，協助修史撰文，職務相對閑散但升遷甚速，一般可外放為正四品的道府官。⁴⁴ 黎榮翰便是獲賞戴花翎四品。《清代職官年表》只載黎榮翰於光緒二年（1876 年）開始便任翰林院編修，⁴⁵ 惟不知任職的年數，這塊牌匾證明黎榮翰至少擔任該職 25 年。其與誠濟堂的關係已不可考，或與其籍

or *Chengyong* (Sincere and Brave).⁴⁰ The Qing court’s bestowal of a Manchu-Mongol honorific name upon Yang underscores his special status. Like Dai Hongci, Yang Qizhen became acquainted with Shing Chai Tong’s proprietor during his tenure in Fujian from 18th–29th years of Guangxu (1892–1903) and presented a plaque to the shop at that time. In comparison with the two plaques by the left side of the entrance, the third plaque on the left was clearly donated by an official of lower rank. The donor, Yan Nian, also served in Fujian as Intendant of the Fujian Hing-Tsuen-Wing Military Circuit responsible for military affairs. Originally, the post was filled by deputies of the Provincial Administration Commissioner, such as associate administrators, consultants, deputy commissioners, or other assistant officials. It was only in the 18th year of Qianlong (1753) that the position was formalised as an substantive post, with its rank set at Fourth-Rank, making it one of the important officials in the military circuit.⁴¹ Yan Nian was further honoured with the privilege of wearing the hat plume with the title of Provincial Administration Commissioner, elevating his rank to Sub Second-Rank.⁴² The fact that most officials connected with Shing Chai Tong were linked to Fujian’s military establishment implies its role in providing medical treatment and medicines to soldiers in Fujian.

On the right side of the shop there were four plaques, donated by lower ranking Qing officials, Hong Kong Chinese associations, and local elites. The first plaque on the right, inscribed *Dedicated to Serving the World*, was presented in 1901 (the 27th year of the Guangxu reign) by Li Ronghan, who had once served as Commissioner of Education for Shaanxi. Commissioner of Education carried no fixed rank, being concurrently held by other officials, and bore the responsibility of instructing and guiding students. It was an important office through which the central government promoted local education.⁴³ Li Ronghan’s substantive post was Compiler in the Hanlin Academy (Seventh-Rank), assisting in the compilation of histories and drafting of texts. Though relatively light in duties, the position offered rapid promotion, and holders were often dispatched to serve as circuit officials at Fourth-Rank.⁴⁴

貫為廣東廣州順德人、⁴⁶ 與許順村有私交等因素有關；右三「春滿瀛寰」由籍貫同樣為廣東的蘇桂森所贈，其仕途亦與福建有關，官至「署理福建水師海壇協鎮」，「協鎮」即綠營軍官副將的別稱，屬從二品，可充福建海壇協的領兵官，統理一協軍務。⁴⁷ 其獲特授作為綠營軍最高長官、掌管福建全省軍政的水師提督（從一品）旗下的中軍參將，官至正三品。⁴⁸ 惜於光緒三十三年（1907 年）因「居心貪鄙」以被朝廷革職，⁴⁹ 因此牌匾年代不會晚於 1907 年。

在與內地、尤其是軍政官僚階層中建立廣泛人脈的基礎上，誠濟堂得以順利植根香港。店右第二塊牌匾由東華醫院及保良公局董事所贈予許順村，自是與許氏作為東華醫院總理及保良局董事有關。除許順村以外，誠濟堂創辦者唐石崑兒子唐兆麟亦與東華醫院有密切關係，並在香港華人社會中漸露光芒。辛酉年（1921 年）東華醫院總理合照中可見唐兆麟身影²⁴，據載是由同業選任，任內「勸建醫藥室及各項興革，至具熱心」。⁵⁰ 店右第四塊牌匾由華商代表人物、華商總會主席黃廣田於 1931 年所贈，黃氏正是於 1921 年擔任東華醫院首席總理，唐氏華商脈絡從此發展甚速。唐氏未曾接受過中醫藥訓練，從廣州嶺南大學畢業後前往「美國省

Li Ronghan himself was awarded the privilege of wearing the hat plume (*hua ling*) with a Fourth-Rank honour. According to the *Chronological Tables of Qing Dynasty Offices*, Li Ronghan is recorded only as having begun his service as a Hanlin Academy Compiler in 1876 (the second year of the Guangxu reign),⁴⁵ with the length of his tenure uncertain. This plaque, however, demonstrates that he held the post for at least 25 years. His connection with Shing Chai Tong is no longer traceable, though it may have been related to his native place of Shunde, Guangzhou,⁴⁶ and his personal ties with Hui Shun Tsuen. The third plaque on the right, inscribed *Spring’s Abundance Graces All Under Heaven*, was donated by Su Guisen, likewise a native of Guangdong. His official career was also linked to Fujian. He attained the position of Acting Commander of the Fujian Navy at Haitan, a vice general post in the Green Standard Army at Sub Second-Rank, responsible for leading the Haitan division and managing its military affairs.⁴⁷ He was specially appointed as Central Army Vice General at Third-Rank under the Commander-in-Chief of Fujian (Sub First-Rank), the highest Green Standard Army officer overseeing military and administrative affairs across the province.⁴⁸ Regrettably, in the 33rd year of Guangxu (1907), he was dismissed by the court on the charge of “harbouring greedy and base intentions.”⁴⁹ Accordingly, this plaque cannot date later than 1907.

Building upon its extensive networks in the Mainland, particularly among the military and administrative bureaucracy, Shing Chai Tong was able to establish firm roots in Hong Kong. The second plaque on the right side of the shop was presented to Hui Shun Tsuen by the Directors of Tung Wah Hospital and Po Leung Kuk, reflecting his roles as Director of both organisations. Beyond Hui, Tong Shiu Lun — the son of Tong Shek Kwan, founder of Shing Chai Tong

⁴¹ 〈志九十一·職官三〉，載於同註 31，卷 116，頁 3353–3355。
“Treatises no.91, Government service no.3,” see Note 31, Volume 116, 3353–3355.

⁴² 同上註，頁 3346。
Ibid., 3346.

⁴³ 《清實錄雍正朝實錄》（華文書局，1964 年），頁 761。
Qing shilu yongzheng zhao shilu (Veritable Records of the Qing Dynasty in the Yongzheng Period) (*Hua wen shu ju*, 1964), 761.

⁴⁴ 同註 32，頁 856。
See Note 32, 856.

⁴⁵ 錢實甫：《清代職官年表（第四冊）》（北京：中華書局，2019），頁 2750。

Shifu Qian, *Qingdai zhiguan nianbiao (disice)* (Chronological Tables of Qing Dynasty Officials (Volume 4)) (Beijing: Chung Hwa Book Company, 2019), 2750.

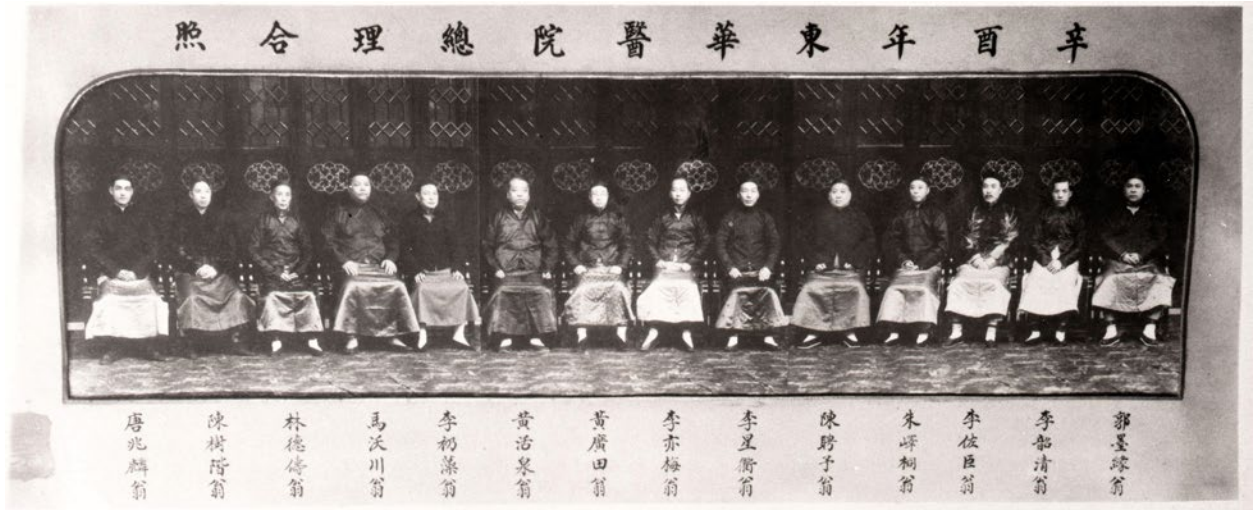
⁴⁶ 中央研究院歷史語言研究所：《人名權威人物傳記資料庫》，網址：https://newarchive.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/sncaccgi/sncacFtp?ACTION=TQ,sncacFtpqf,SN=003746,2nd,search_simple（最後瀏覽日期：2025 年 10 月 25 日）。
Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica. *Name Authority Biographical Database*, https://newarchive.ihp.sinica.edu.tw/sncaccgi/sncacFtp?ACTION=TQ,sncacFtpqf,SN=003746,2nd,search_simple, accessed 25 October 2025.

⁴⁷ 同註 32，頁 728。
See Note 32, 728.

⁴⁸ 同註 32，頁 141，569 及 779。
See Note 32, 141, 569, and 779.

⁴⁹ 《清實錄光緒朝實錄》（華文書局，1964 年），頁 5222。
Qing shilu guangxu zhao shilu (Veritable Records of the Qing Dynasty in the Guangxu Period) (*Hua wen shu ju*, 1964), 5222.

⁵⁰ 東華三院百年史略編纂委員會：《東華三院百年史略（下冊）》（香港：香港東華三院庚戌年董事局，1970 年），頁 25。
Editorial Board of *Donghuasanyuan bainain shilue*. *Donghuasanyuan bainain shilue (xiace)* (One Hundred Years of the Tung Wah Group of Hospitals (Volume 2)). Hong Kong: Board of Directors of Tung Wah Group of Hospitals, 1970, 25.



東華三院文物館藏
Collection of Tung Wah Museum

²⁴ 辛酉年東華醫院總理合照，左一為唐兆麟。

Group photo of the Directors of Tung Wah Hospital in 1921. Tong Shiu Lun is first from the left.

立韋士打大學」攻讀法律法學士學位，並曾擔任高等法院特別陪審員和租務法庭委員。⁵¹ 據記載，其先輩勸誡「訟則凶終」，認為法律訴訟終會帶來凶險，因而叮囑唐兆麟放棄以法律為本業，而是投身商業，從事洋務買辦業務。⁵² 上文所述誠濟堂於 1930 年代的種種革新和現代化經營，自是唐兆麟辦理洋務、請教同儕所移植。

店面背面正中「為善最樂」牌匾則由「鳳鳴號」和「廣和號」所贈。後者是位於灣仔的雜貨店，原址在現時「藍屋」地下 72A 號，於 1980 年代結業。⁵³ 前者則為著名製作門聯和牌匾的木店，足迹遍佈香港，保良局與東華三院亦是常客之一。例如 1897 年保良局收支賬目「支鳳鳴號做門聯一對及上各扁對，工料銀四十圓零四毫八仙八文」，對比同年支付子女工一年共銀三十六圓，價值著實不菲。⁵⁴ 1911 年旺角三間染布店贈予廣華醫院「胞與為懷」的牌匾，同樣由鳳鳴號

— also maintained close ties with Tung Wah Hospital and gradually rose to prominence within Hong Kong’s Chinese community. The group photograph of Tung Wah Hospital Directors in 1921 includes Tong Shiu Lun ²⁴. According to records, his appointment resulted from election by members of the same profession. Records note that during his tenure he “assisted in establishing the medical dispensary and in various reforms, demonstrating great enthusiasm.”⁵⁰ The fourth plaque on the right was donated in 1931 by Wong Kwong Tin, a leading figure among Chinese merchants and Chairman of the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce. Wong had earlier served as Chief Director of Tung Wah Hospital in 1921, from which point Tong’s connections within the Chinese merchant community expanded rapidly. Tong himself had never received training in Chinese medicine. After graduating from Lingnan University in Guangzhou, he pursued a Bachelor of Laws degree at a university in the United States, and later served as a Special Juror of the High Court and as a member of the Tenancy Tribunal.⁵¹ According to records, Elders of the Tong family cautioned Tong Shek Kwun that “litigation ends in misfortune,” believing that lawsuits ultimately brought



東華三院文物館藏
Collection of Tung Wah Museum

²⁵ 旺角三間染布店贈予廣華醫院「胞與為懷」牌匾，1911 年。

Plaque inscribed *Bao Yu Wei Huai* (Cherishing All in the Community), presented to Kwong Wah Hospital by three dye shops in Mong Kok, 1911.

所造 ²⁵。《香港碑銘彙編》亦記西貢濠涌車公古廟有於光緒三十四年（1908 年）由鳳鳴號所造的對聯。⁵⁵

誠濟堂中的吉祥文化符號

從誠濟堂店內佈局和裝飾可見新式經營背後中華文化底蘊，是其在中西文化交融的香港中得以立足的重要原因。店面上方由鳳鳴號所造的「誠濟堂上品熟藥」木匾上的背景所用題材便涵蓋了多項吉祥文化符號，其木橫擔上飾有「同治通寶」串錢裝飾，可證牌匾當於清同治年間（1862 至 1874 年）製成 ²⁶。全匾以祥雲為底紋，並以各種器物裝飾。其中包括「暗八仙」紋樣（八仙所持的法器），一般有趨吉避凶、祝頌長壽的吉祥寓意，作為傳統紋飾廣泛應用於中國社會。由牌匾左起分別為鐵拐李所持的葫蘆、漢鍾離所持的扇、張果老所持的魚鼓、何仙姑所

peril. Tong was urged to abandon law as a profession and instead enter commerce, engaging in comprador activities in foreign trade.⁵² The various innovations and modern business practices adopted in Shing Chai Tong in the 1930s were directly linked to Tong Shiu Lun’s involvement in foreign trade and his exchanges with peers.

The plaque at the center of the shopfront, inscribed *Doing Good Deeds Brings the Greatest Joy*, was donated by Fung Ming Ho and Kwong Wo Ho. The latter was a grocery shop in Wan Chai, originally located on the ground floor of today’s Blue House at No. 72A, which closed in the 1980s.⁵³ The former was a renowned woodworking shop specialising in the production of door couplets and plaques, with its work found throughout Hong Kong; Po Leung Kuk and Tung Wah Group of Hospitals were among its regular patrons. For example, according to the 1897 Po Leung Kuk income and expenditure accounts, payment to Fung Ming Ho for a pair of door couplets and various plaque couplets amounted to more than 40 dollars. By comparison, the annual wage of a female worker that same year was 36 dollars, underscoring the considerable value of the commission.⁵⁴ A plaque inscribed *Bao Yu Wei Huai* (Cherishing All in the Community), presented in 1911 by three dye shops in Mong Kok to Kwong Wah Hospital, was likewise produced by Fung Ming Ho ²⁵. The *Historical Inscriptions of Hong Kong* also records that the Che Kung Temple in Ho Chung, Sai Kung, bears couplets made by Fung Ming Ho in the 34th year of Guangxu (1908).⁵⁵

⁵¹ 《香港年鑑（第二十回）》（香港：華僑日報有限公司，1967 年），頁 548。

Hong Kong Year Book (Vol.20) (Hong Kong: Overseas Chinese Daily News (*Wah Kiu Yat Po*) Limited, 1967), 548.

⁵² 同註 50。

See Note 50.

⁵³ 黃棟才：《香港戰前華人屋宇與民生》（香港：中華書局，2025），頁 273。

Dicai Huang. *Xianggang zhanqian huaren wuyu yu minsheng* (Chinese Tenements and Livelihoods in Pre-war Hong Kong) (Hong Kong: Chung Hwa Book Co., (HK) Ltd., 2025), 273.

⁵⁴ 《香港政府憲報》（香港：Noronha & Co., Government Printers，1897），頁 411–412。

Hong Kong Government Gazette (Hong Kong: Noronha & Co., Government Printers, 1897), 411–412.

⁵⁵ 科大衛、陸鴻基、吳倫霓霞合編：《香港碑銘彙編（第三冊）》（香港：香港市政局，1986），頁 826。

David Faure, Bernard Hung-kay Luk, and Alice Ngai-ha Ng Lun, *Xianggang beiming huibian (disance)* (Historical Inscriptions of Hong Kong (Volume 3)) (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1986), 826.



香港歷史博物館藏
Hong Kong Museum of History collection

26 「誠濟堂上品熟藥」牌匾，1860 至 1870 年代。

Plaque inscribed with *Shing Chai Tong Premium Processed Herbal Remedies*, 1860s–1870s.

持的荷花、藍采和所持的花籃、曹國舅所持的陰陽板、呂洞賓所持的寶劍，以及韓湘子所持的笛。除「暗八仙」以外，鳳鳴號木工還利用牌匾上的剩餘空間加入其他圖案，包括「佛八寶」或「八吉祥」中的寶傘、法輪和盤長。這種道、佛寶物配合使用的例子，在香港並不罕見，例如九龍城侯王古廟廟前香亭便放有暗八仙和八吉祥的儀仗²⁷。

誠濟堂作為中藥材店，以醫治疾病為主業，因此全店均可見圍繞健康、長壽、平安等吉祥喻意的文化符號。「誠濟堂上品熟藥」牌匾以竹和竹葉包圍，採「竹報平安」的寓意。除以上所說的中華文化傳統吉祥圖案外，還包括「雜八寶」文房四寶中的毛筆、銅錢等。其中銅錢與牌匾上的蝙蝠、官綬帶及團壽圖案配合，取各自的寓意「全」（「錢」的諧音）、「福」（「蝠」的同義）、「祿」（官綬暗示功名祿位）和「壽」合為「福祿壽全」之義。另外亦散見兩處萬字紋，其形為佛教吉祥符號「卍」模樣，代表平安。牌匾下木橫擔更有蝠鼠吊金錢雕飾，有「福到眼前」的意義；亦有在梅花枝頭上一雙喜鵲爭春、配以同治通寶串錢，有「喜上眉梢」、

The Auspicious Cultural Symbols of Shing Chai Tong

The interior layout and decoration of Shing Chai Tong reveal the deep Chinese cultural foundations underlying its modern business style, a key factor in its establishment within Hong Kong's environment of East-West cultural exchange. Above the shopfront hung a wooden plaque inscribed *Shing Chai Tong Premium Processed Herbal Remedies*, crafted by Fung Ming Ho. Its horizontal beam was adorned with strings of *Tongzhi Tongbao* coins, indicating that the plaque was produced during the Tongzhi reign of the Qing dynasty (1862–1874)²⁶. The entire plaque is set against a ground of auspicious clouds and adorned with various rituals and symbolic objects. Among those depicted is the Covert Eight Immortals (*an baxian*) — vessels held by the Eight Immortals — which are traditionally believed to ward off evil, attract good fortune, and convey wishes for longevity. As traditional decorative patterns, they have been widely employed in Chinese society. From the left, the sequence is: the gourd of Tieguai Li, the fan of Han Zhongli, the fish drum of Zhang Guolao, the lotus of He Xiang, the flower basket of Lan Caihe, the yin-yang tablet of Cao Guojiu, the sword of Lü Dongbin, and the flute of Han Xiangzi. In addition to the Covert Eight Immortals, Fung Ming Ho's craftsmen filled the remaining spaces with motifs drawn from the Buddhist Eight Treasures and Eight Auspicious Symbols, including the jeweled parasol, the Dharma wheel, and the endless knot. The combined use of Daoist and Buddhist emblems is not uncommon in Hong Kong. For example, the incense pavilion before Hau Wong Temple in Kowloon City displays processional sets featuring both the Covert Eight Immortals and the Eight Auspicious Symbols.²⁷



27 九龍城侯王古廟廟前香亭

The incense pavilion in front of Hau Wong Temple, Kowloon City.



「喜在眼前」的意頭。木橫擔中間則雕有鹿和鶴，前者是代表長壽的道家仙騎，後者同樣代表高貴長壽。兩者與貫穿全幅木擔的花卉樹木結合則是代表「六（鹿）合（鶴）同春」的吉祥圖案，有萬物欣欣向榮之意。

店面的西式玻璃櫥窗和石基座同樣可見吉祥文化元素。玻璃櫥窗上見有以兩個菱形相搭的「方勝」紋，意義與佛教盤長相似，因其圖案沒有始末、無限運轉，有流轉不斷、生生不息的寓意²⁸。作為店面根基的石座上與牌匾同樣以竹和竹葉為元素，作為石座邊角與石面的裝飾²⁹。石座所飾的花卉當為茶樹花，線索在於其畫有梅花及「梅占百花魁」詩句，茶樹花因其形似梅花，便按詩句被冠名為「梅占」。店內木製座地長檯木雕題為「漢月壺」，全幅共有六項構圖，左右各三構圖內容重覆惟左右顛倒，有鏡像反射對稱之感。全圖結合壺、瓶及其他古器物與祥獸為主題。例如第一幅構圖的博古架上便可見酒爵和尊，取其加官晉爵、尊榮華貴之意。

As a traditional Chinese medicine shop, Shing Chai Tong specialised in treating illness, and its interior was richly adorned with auspicious cultural symbols evoking health, longevity, and peace. The plaque *Shing Chai Tong Premium Processed Herbal Remedies* was framed with bamboo and bamboo leaves, signifying the Chinese blessing of “bamboo heralding peace.” Alongside traditional motifs, the design incorporated a variety of auspicious treasures, including the scholar's brush and coins. The coins, paired with bats, official ribbons, and circular longevity emblems, conveyed layered meanings: *quan* (completeness, punning on *quán*, coins), *fu* (blessings, homophonous with *fu*, bats), *lu* (emolument, implied by the official ribbon), and *shou* (longevity). Together they expressed the wish for *fu lu shou quan* — the fullness of blessings, emolument, and longevity. Scattered across the design were two swastika motifs in the form of the Buddhist auspicious symbol 卍, representing peace. Beneath the plaque's horizontal beam were carvings of bats suspending coins, symbolising “fortune arriving before one's eyes.” Also depicted were a pair of magpies vying for spring atop plum blossoms, accompanied by strings of *Tongzhi Tongbao* coins, conveying “joy upon the brows” and “joy before one's eyes.” At the center of the beam appeared a deer and a crane — the deer (*lu*, punning *liu*, six), celestial mount of a Daoist immortal, representing longevity, and the crane (*he*), likewise signifying noble longevity. Combined with the floral and arboreal motifs running across the beam, they formed the auspicious four-character slogan *liu he tong chun* (The Six Directions Share the Same Spring), signifying the flourishing vitality.



28 玻璃櫥窗上方刻有方勝紋

Above the glass display window, there is a pattern of two overlapping diamonds forming a *fangsheng* motif.



29 石基座

Stone Base



30 木製長檯

Wooden long bench

Auspicious cultural elements were also integrated into the western style glass display window and stone base at the shopfront. On the glass window appeared the *fangsheng* motif, formed by two overlapping diamonds. Its meaning parallels the Buddhist endless knot, with its continuous, unbroken design symbolising infinite circulation, ceaseless renewal, and the cycle of life ²⁸. The stone base, serving as the foundation of the façade, echoed the plaque’s motifs with bamboo and bamboo leaves embellishing its corners and surfaces ²⁹. The floral decoration was most likely camellia blossoms, suggested by the depiction of plum blossoms and the inscription “Plum reigns supreme among all flowers (*mei zhan baihua kui*).”

Because camellias resemble plum blossoms, they were given the name *Meizhan* in accordance with the verse. Inside the shop stood a wooden floor-standing long bench with carvings titled *Han Yue Hu* (Han Moon Pot). The composition comprised six panels, three on each side, mirrored left to right to create a sense of symmetry. The entire composition combines jars, vases, and other ancient artifacts with auspicious beasts as its central theme. In the first panel, a *bogu* shelf displayed a wine goblet (*jue*) and ritual vessel (*zun*), symbolising promotion in rank and honour. Within the *zun* were placed folk objects such as a *ruyi* scepter, while butterflies fluttered above, reinforcing the traditional auspicious wish for longevity. One of Shing Chai Tong’s key symbols was the vase, representing peace. This motif appeared both on the stone base and in the second panel of the long bench, where the vase was paired with bamboo and floral designs. The latter was carved with the Eight Trigrams, intended to ward off evil and invite blessings for peace and smooth fortune ³⁰. It was further complemented by a vessel whose name is a homophone for *fu* (fortune). In the third panel, beside the vessel appeared an auspicious creature with twin tails extending across its body, likely the auspicious creature known as *xiong* (bear). Positioned next to the sharp beaked *ying* (eagle), the pairing may convey the phrase *yingxiong hui* (gathering of heroes).

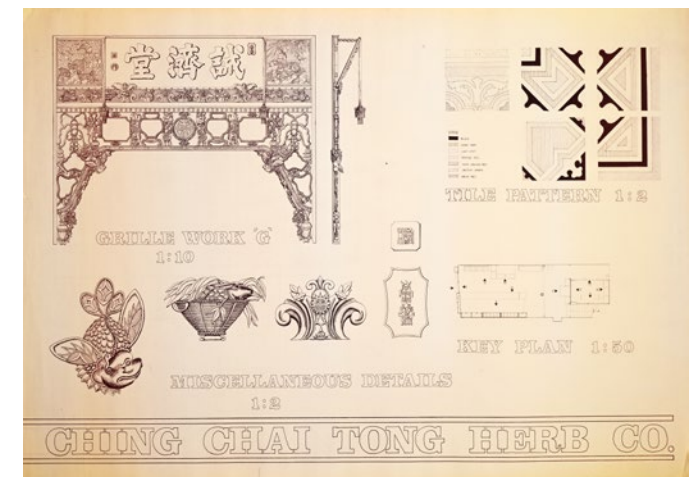
An elegant traditional ornamental canopy divided the front and rear sections of Shing Chai Tong. Above it were lattice windows with swastika-pattern motifs and carved wooden transverse beams, with its center hanging the plaque inscribed *Shing Chai Tong*, serving as the shop’s focal point and bearing rich cultural symbolism ³¹³². The upper edge of the beam was carved with persimmon calyxes, whose name is the homophone for *shi* (matters), expressing the wish that “all matters proceed smoothly.” Alongside familiar scroll motifs,

尊內加放有如意等民間器物，其上有蝴蝶穿梭以飛，喻意「耄耋」之「耄」，加強其長壽吉祥意義。誠濟堂內其中一個重要符號是花瓶，取其「平安」之意，如店面石座及長檯第二幅構圖均可見配以竹木花卉的花瓶，後者上刻八卦圖樣，有驅邪納福、冀求平安順遂的目 ³⁰。再配以諧音為「福」的壺器。第三幅構圖則可見壺器之旁出現瑞獸，雙尾延伸至壺的另一端，很可能是稱為「熊」的瑞獸，或許與其旁構圖上具尖喙的「鷹」互相呼應為「英雄會」的含意。

誠濟堂前座和後座的間隔是一幅裝飾華美的中式傳統花罩，其上置萬字紋漏窗及雕花木橫擔，「誠濟堂」牌匾置於其中，作為全店的重心承載豐富的文化符號和訊息 ³¹³²。木橫擔上沿雕有柿蒂紋，「柿」與「事」發音近似，取其「事事如意」之義。除誠濟堂內常見的卷草紋、花鳥和團壽主題外，橫擔左方可見成群的果實，是神話中王母娘娘宴請眾仙、代表長壽的仙桃；亦可見花籃上有魚的形象，代表「有餘」；橫擔右方則可見兩隻蟹於花籃上爬行，花籃上亦有蘆葦作飾。蟹特點在於其背有甲殼象徵，二蟹代表「二甲」，與蘆葦草合為「二甲傳臚」，本意當祝福子孫高中科舉、金榜題名，配合其他圖案添加吉祥興味，亦是當時誠濟堂主人作為清孝廉對子孫未來仕途的寄望。

木橫擔下的花罩上沿和兩側以連續的「福壽」二字篆書為元素，下沿則為柿蒂紋及桃花木枝與喜鵲作「喜上眉梢」主題裝飾。花罩以團壽紋為中心，其圓四方以卷紋為飾，呈現旭日東升、陽光四射的氣息，象徵生命力；其左右均有彩畫一幅，上均繪作為長青之木的松柏及於其下安座的老者，寓意為壽。老者所處似在高山，可能亦有「壽比南山」的喻意。兩側別出心裁地結合蝴蝶和蝠鼠吊金錢的圖像，以蝴蝶觸鬚作蝠鼠雙翼。蝙蝠、鳥、麒麟等瑞獸貫穿整幅花罩，傳統琴、棋、書、畫「四藝」等「八寶」圖案加插其中，意涵豐富。中段的鰲魚雕刻呼應木橫擔二甲傳臚的訊息，是誠濟堂主人對子孫「獨佔鰲頭」的祝福。

birds and flowers, and longevity emblems, the left side of the beam displays clusters of peaches of immortality — fruits from the Queen Mother of the West’s mythical banquet, emblematic of long life. Fish (*yu*) motifs on the flower baskets signify surplus (*yu*). On the right side, two crabs climb upon flower baskets adorned with reed grass (*lu*). The crab, with its shell (*jia*), symbolises first-rank (*jia*); in pairs they bear the tradition blessing *er jia chuan lu* (passing the palace examination) for descendants to excel in the civil service and attain honours. Together with other auspicious motifs, the design enriches the decorative scheme and reflects how the then master of Shing Chai Tong, as a Qing dynasty *Xiaolian* (a successful candidate in the imperial provincial examination), expressed his aspirations for his descendants’ future official careers.



31 1980 年代繪製誠濟堂平面圖中的花罩

The ornamental canopy of Shing Chai Tong as depicted in the floor plan drawn in the 1980s



32 誠濟堂店內花罩

Ornamental canopy inside Shing Chai Tong

花罩左下端及右下端均以花瓶作飾，瓶內插上如意、花翎等器物，象徵「平安如意」、官運亨通等意。兩隻花瓶旁均有屬於「八音」之一的磬，惟磬在這裡的意義在缺乏其他樂器的情況應非指傳統「八音和鳴」的意義，而是作為佛家禮佛之用。《祇園圖經》載「佛衣服院，阿難所止，常護佛衣。有一銅磬，可受五升。磬子四邊悉黃金，縷作過去佛弟子……執玉槌，用擊磬，聲聞三千世界……磬是梵王造之。及佛滅度娑竭羅龍王收入海宮。」⁵⁶ 磬下見有佛家盤長裝飾，可證其為佛家符號。佛家「八吉祥」之一的「法輪」亦散見於花罩之中。

花罩後的空間本來為會計結賬及會客的地方，其背亦有居室隔斷結構，說明後方還有另一空間，即誠濟堂辦公室之地³³。誠濟堂還原場景中為一幅落地罩³⁴。落地罩上有結合各式紋樣的漏窗，包括幾何紋、柿蒂紋等，配以萬字紋和金錢圖樣。下方木橫擔則見柿和如意（「事事如意」）、文房四寶等符號，與前方花罩主題類近。落地罩中部飾以金錢、萬字紋、柿蒂紋、方勝等圖案作隔，整體設計較前幅飛罩簡單，以模仿自然的冰裂紋作飾。下沿則以如意紋、花枝和鳥獸為主，左、右下端同以鯨魚雕刻作結。兩旁隔扇上部鏤空為萬字幾何紋、四角飾以如意圖案，下方的迷你花罩則以桃果實、梅花和鳥類等與長壽、喜樂有關的圖案裝飾。

重現誠濟堂

誠濟堂的故事得以延續，實有賴多年以來博物館同儕的悉心保存和策劃，讓誠濟堂得以在展覽中以原貌展出，觀眾可置身其中感受百年老店的魅力。1980 年代，配合皇后大道中 180 號唐樓清拆，誠濟堂隨即宣告結業。有見及此，當時香港博物館（香港歷史博物館前身）收藏誠濟堂陳設、牌匾、傢俱、藥盒、製藥工具等多項文物，並於 1991 年在尖沙咀九龍公園第一代「香港故事」展覽中的歷史街道裝置起來。直至 2000 年，第二代「香港故事」展覽在香港歷史博物館於尖沙咀漆咸道南的現址中舉行，誠濟堂再次

On the ornamental canopy beneath the wooden crossbeam, the upper edge and sides are adorned with continuous seal-script characters for *fu* (blessing) and *shou* (longevity). The lower edge features persimmon calyx motifs, peach blossoms, wooden branches, and magpies, forming the auspicious theme “Happiness Reaches the Eyebrows.” At its center, the canopy displays a circular longevity emblem, framed by scrolling patterns on all four sides. The design evokes the rising sun and radiating light, symbolising vitality. On both the left and right panels are colourful paintings of evergreen pines and cypresses, beneath which sits an elderly figure, signifying longevity. His placement on a high mountain further suggests the wish “Longevity as great as the Southern Mountain.” The sides also ingeniously combine butterflies with bats suspending coins, with their antennae transformed into bat wings. Across the canopy, auspicious creatures — bats, birds, and qilin — are interwoven with motifs of “Eight Treasures”, including the Chinese “Four Arts” (music, chess, calligraphy, and painting). At the center, a carving of the *ao* fish — a dragon-headed, fish-bodied mythical beast — echoes the crossbeam’s blessing for examination success that the owner’s descendants would *seize the ao’s head* (achieve first place in the imperial examinations).

At the lower left and right ends of the ornamental canopy stood vases, each filled with auspicious objects such as the *ruyi* scepter and peacock feathers, symbolising “peace and good fortune” and smooth advancement in official careers. Beside each vase was a *pan* (chime), one of the “Eight Sounds.” In this context, however, given the absence of other instruments, the *pan* does not signify the traditional harmony of the Eight Sounds, but rather its role in Buddhist ritual practice. *Jiyuan Tujing* (Illustrated Record of Jetavana) recounts: “In the Buddha’s robe chamber, where Ānanda resided and guarded the Buddha’s robes, there was a bronze chime capable of holding five *sheng*. Its four sides were adorned with gold threads depicting past disciples of the Buddha... Holding a jade mallet, one would strike the chime, and its sound could be heard across three thousand worlds... The chime was created by Brahmā. After the Buddha’s passing, the Nāga King Sāgara took it into his palace beneath the sea.”⁵⁶ Beneath the chime appear Buddhist endless knot motifs, confirming its symbolic association with Buddhism. The Dharma Wheel, one of the Eight Auspicious Symbols, is also scattered throughout the canopy’s decoration.



33 1980 年代誠濟堂後座辦公室
Rear office of Shing Chai Tong in the 1980s

在二樓的歷史大街中與觀眾相會。2020 年，配合香港歷史博物館常設展覽更新工程，第二代「香港故事」展覽關閉並開始進行展品拆卸工作。

由於誠濟堂一向深受觀眾喜愛，更新工程早已計劃重建誠濟堂。筆者有幸參與第二代「香港故事」的拆卸工程，其中一項重要任務便是協助安全卸下誠濟堂內的結構建築，並協助對各項文物重新進行登記記錄。工程由博物館委聘具古建築修復經驗的承建商，在博物館專業人員，包括博物館展覽及文物修復團隊的監督下籌備和進行。當時其中一個重大挑戰是如何在保護文物的同時安全卸下文物，特別是懸掛的木製品、大型玻璃櫥窗、長型及具高負重的木製長櫃等，以備在第三代「香港故事」中重新裝設。團隊首先製作誠濟堂工程結構圖則，仔細辨認每一陳設的構件和裝嵌方式，評估各種移動方式對文物的可能影響，從而製訂合適的拆卸方案。拆卸順序採取先下後上、由外到內的方案，確保每件文物在拆卸時能騰出足夠的活動空間，即場進行適切的修復工作，或放入預先製作好的木箱中，安全移離展廳到預先安排的倉庫空間之中。



34 誠濟堂後座落地罩
Floor-to-ceiling canopy at the rear section of Shing Chai Tong

The space behind the ornamental canopy was originally used for bookkeeping and receiving guests. Its rear partition structure indicates the presence of another functional area, serving as Shing Chai Tong’s office³³. In the reconstructed scene, this area is marked by a floor-to-ceiling canopy³⁴. The canopy’s lattice windows combine geometric motifs and persimmon calyx designs, complemented by swastika and coin patterns. Beneath them, the wooden beam is carved with persimmons and *ruyi* (expressing “everything goes as wished”), together with the Four Treasures of the Study, echoing the themes of the front canopy. The central section is decorated with motifs of coins, swastikas, persimmon calyxes, and *fangsheng* (double-crossed diamond-shape motif), arranged as dividers. Its overall design is simpler than that of the ornamental canopy, embellished with patterns imitating natural ice cracks. The lower edge features *ruyi* motifs, floral branches, and birds, with *ao* fish carvings anchoring both ends. The upper panels of the side partitions are pierced with openwork geometric swastika designs, their corners adorned with *ruyi* motifs. Beneath, miniature canopies are decorated with peach fruits, plum blossoms, and birds — symbols of longevity and joy.

Restoration of Shing Chai Tong

The story of Shing Chai Tong has been able to continue thanks to the careful preservation and curatorial planning of museum colleagues over many years. Their efforts allowed Shing Chai Tong to be displayed in exhibitions in its original appearance, enabling visitors to immerse themselves in the charm of this century-old shop. In the 1980s, following the

⁵⁶ 《大正新脩大藏經》（財團法人佛教電子佛典基金會電子佛典資料庫，2025 年），第四十五冊，〈中天竺舍衛國祇洹寺圖經〉，下卷，頁 893。
Dazheng xinxiu da zang jing (Comprehensive Buddhist Electronic Text Archive Foundation Database, 2025), no.45, volume 2, 893.



35 博物館團隊移動誠濟堂大型牌匾前作勘察，2020 年。
The museum team conducted an inspection prior to relocating the large plaque of Shing Chai Tong in 2020



36 博物館團隊小心移動誠濟堂玻璃櫥窗，2020 年。
The museum team carefully moved the glass showcase of Shing Chai Tong in 2020

當中難度最大的當屬「誠濟堂精製上藥」大型牌匾、店內長木檯及店面玻璃櫥窗。主要挑戰在於其重量、高度，以及容易碎裂的特質。牌匾由於體積較大，加上置於高空，團隊需要評估將其降下可對文物造成的損壞風險³⁵。為使施力點平均，團隊安排曲臂式高空作業平台，以及在誠濟堂建築高處尋找適當的受力點，確保牌匾由始至終平衡、慢速下降，減低因木材曲折而造成對文物損傷的機會；同樣的考慮亦適用於店內長木檯，整個木檯需要平衡升高以作運輸，但由於重量太大，中間部分容易下墜及斷裂。團隊因而專門為木檯度身訂造一款方便日後移動的鐵架，方便運輸；玻璃櫥窗的難度則在於需要避免木櫃平移、下降的過程中的震動造成對玻璃的影響³⁶，木櫃高度亦在過程中致使文物左右搖擺，因此整個拆卸過程都以慢速、確保支撐點充足的大前提下進行。在緊張的氣氛中木櫃最終成功落地，猶記得在場團隊即時大鬆一口氣，當時感到一股強烈的成就感，體驗深刻。在過程亦有更多有趣的歷史發現，例如在拆卸百子櫃的過程中，發現其實際上為四組木櫃堆疊而成；並偶然看見櫃中有毛筆書寫的數字和藥材名稱，相信是為方便學徒辨認而設。

demolition of the *tong lau* at 180 Queen's Road Central, Shing Chai Tong immediately announced its closure. In response, the then Hong Kong Museum (predecessor of HKMH) collected the cultural relics, including furnishings, plaques, furniture, medicine boxes, and pharmaceutical tools, which were installed in the historical street of the first-generation “Hong Kong Story” exhibition at Kowloon Park, Tsim Sha Tsui in 1991. In 2000, the second-generation “Hong Kong Story” exhibition was staged at HKMH's present site on Chatham Road South, where Shing Chai Tong once again greeted visitors on the second-floor historical street. In 2020, in conjunction with the renovation project of the Museum's permanent exhibition, the second-generation “Hong Kong Story” exhibition closed and dismantling of the exhibits commenced.

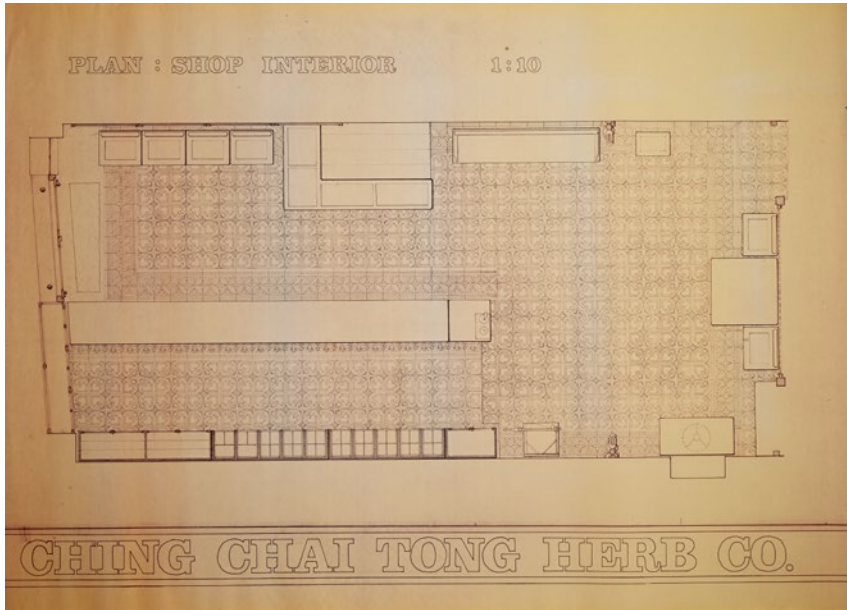
As Shing Chai Tong has always been deeply loved by visitors, its reconstruction had long been planned as part of the revamping project. The author was fortunate to participate in the dismantling of the second-generation “Hong Kong Story” exhibition, where one of the key tasks was to assist in safely removing the structural installations of Shing Chai Tong and re-registering and documenting its artifacts. The museum engaged a contractor with experience in historic building restoration to prepare and carry out the work under the supervision of museum professionals, including the exhibition and conservation teams. A major challenge at the time was

第二代「香港故事」的誠濟堂便是在團隊細心計算、發揮專業態度和合作精神下成功拆卸，同時對文物作出合適的修復和保護措施，以準備日後於第三代「香港故事」的重新裝設。筆者於 2025 年繼續獲得寶貴機會，參與新「香港故事」的裝設計劃，其中一個重要任務便是重現誠濟堂。是次誠濟堂的展覽空間與往時不同，其置於兩層唐樓的地下樓層，更能反映誠濟堂的歷史位置。團隊早期便掌握早前拆卸誠濟堂所獲得的數據和空間佔用的情況，於唐樓建築預留空間供文物重新置放。其中一些細節亦值得觀眾留意，例如誠濟堂店面與歷史大街並非平衡以對，從店內觀察，門面連同上方「誠濟堂精製上藥」牌匾實際上向左傾側。這並非工程誤算，三代「香港故事」均保留這特色的操作背後有其歷史原因。誠濟堂在中環皇后大道中的原址位處與威靈頓街交接，街道呈向上彎曲的弧形，而誠濟堂位置正正在此弧形的頂端，店面直接面對時稱「大馬路」的交通匯聚處。推測店面向左方傾斜的原因應是唐樓本身座向朝西北，同時順沿皇后大道中東行路徑方便顧客留意店面³⁷。另外亦可能存在風水考慮，包括避免店面正對馬路及在其右側的「水車館」等原因³⁸⁻³⁹。

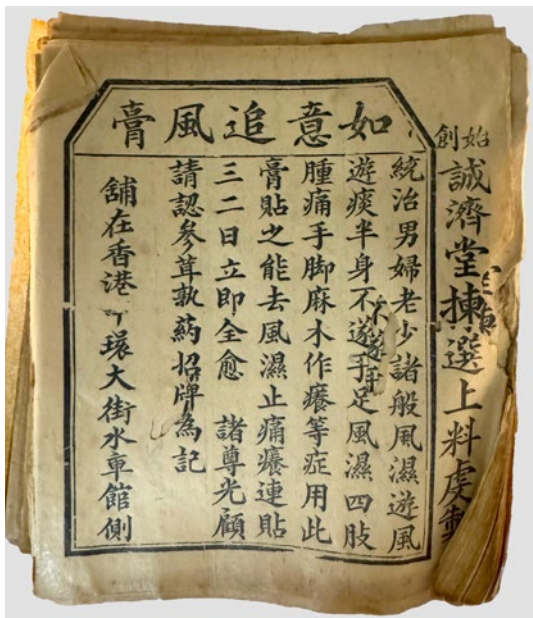
雖然這次已是誠濟堂第三次裝設，團隊在堅守保護文物的概念和原則下，依然遇上不少挑戰。與拆卸時相反，團隊採取先內後外、先上後下的策略，在文物不斷填充空間的情況下避免餘下工程對已存的文物造成傷害。團隊必須在不對文物進行損壞的前提下裝設文物，特別是店右懸在半空的玻璃櫥窗和店內前座與後座之間的木雕刻花罩間隔。團隊決定在建築牆身上加添穩固裝設，務求避

how to protect the artifacts while dismantling them safely, especially hanging wooden fittings, large glass showcases, and long, heavy load-bearing wooden cabinets, all of which were intended for reinstallation in the third-generation “Hong Kong Story”. The team first produced a structural drawing of the dismantling project, carefully identifying each component and its assembly method, and assessing how different moving techniques might affect the artifacts, in order to devise an appropriate dismantling plan. The dismantling sequence followed a plan of proceeding from bottom to top and from outside to inside, ensuring that each artifact had sufficient space for movement during removal. Appropriate conservation work was carried out on site, or the items were placed into pre-fabricated wooden crates and safely transferred from the exhibition hall to designated storage areas.

Among the most difficult tasks was handling the large plaque inscribed *Shing Chai Tong Premium Processed Herbal Remedies*, the wooden long bench inside the shop, and the glass showcase at the shopfront. The main challenges lay in their weight, height, and fragile nature. Because the plaque was both large and mounted high above, the team had to assess the risks of potential damage during its lowering³⁵. To distribute the force evenly, the team employed an articulated boom lift and identified suitable load-bearing points at the upper sections of the building, ensuring the plaque remained balanced and descended slowly, thereby reducing the chance of damage from wood bending. Similar considerations applied to the wooden long bench, which needed to be lifted evenly for transport. Its great weight made the middle section prone to sagging and breaking, so the team custom-built a moveable metal cage to support the bench for future movement. The glass showcase posed another challenge: vibrations during horizontal or vertical movement of the wooden cabinet could damage the glass³⁶. Its height also caused the structure to sway, so the dismantling was carried out slowly, with ample support points to stabilise it. In the tense atmosphere, the cabinet was finally lowered safely to the ground, and the team was greatly relieved with a strong sense of accomplishment. The process also yielded unexpected historical discoveries. For example, dismantling the hundred drawer cabinet revealed that it was actually composed of four stacked units. Inside, the team found brush-written numbers and names of medicinal ingredients, likely intended to help apprentices identify them more easily.



37 1980 年代繪製的誠濟堂平面圖——左邊部分可見店面向左方傾側。
Floor plan of Shing Chai Tong drawn in the 1980s — showing the shopfront tilting to the left in the left section



香港歷史博物館藏
Hong Kong Museum of History collection

38 誠濟堂「如意追風膏」招紙上記「舖在香港中環大街水車館側」
Wrapper of Shing Chai Tong's *Ruyi Herbal Pain-Relief Balm* inscribed "Shop beside Waterwheel Hall on Central Main Street, Hong Kong."

The dismantling of Shing Chai Tong in the second-generation “Hong Kong Story” was successfully completed through the team’s careful planning, professionalism, and collaborative spirit. At the same time, appropriate conservation and protective measures were applied to the artifacts in preparation for their future reinstallation in the third-generation exhibition. In 2025, the author was once again fortunate to participate in the installation of the new “Hong Kong Story”, with one of the key tasks being the reconstruction of Shing Chai Tong. This time, the exhibition space differs from earlier versions: Shing Chai Tong is situated on the ground floor of a two-storey *tong lau*, more accurately reflecting its historical location. Drawing on data collected during the earlier dismantling and information about the original spatial layout, the team reserved space within the *tong lau* structure for reinstalling the artifacts. Certain details are especially noteworthy. The shopfront of Shing Chai Tong and the historical street are not perfectly aligned. From inside the shop, the façade and the plaque above it, inscribed *Shing Chai Tong Premium Processed Herbal Remedies*, tilt slightly to the left. This was not a construction error; all three generations of “Hong Kong Story” have preserved this distinctive feature for historical reasons. The original site of Shing Chai Tong was at the junction of Queen’s Road Central and Wellington Street, where the street curved upward in an arc. The shop stood at the crest of this arc, facing what was then known as the “Main Road,” a busy traffic convergence. The leftward tilt of the shopfront is thought to have resulted from the *tong lau*’s northwest orientation, while also aligning with the eastbound path of Queen’s Road Central to catch the attention of passers-by 37. Feng shui considerations may also have played a role, such as avoiding a direct alignment with the road and



香港歷史博物館藏
Hong Kong Museum of History collection

39 1860 至 1870 年代皇后大道中與威靈頓交界、俗稱「水車館」的消防局。其右側為皇后大道中 180 號所處之唐樓。
The fire station commonly known as “Waterwheel Hall” at the intersection of Queen’s Road Central and Wellington Street in the 1860s–1870s. To its right stood the *tong lau* at 180 Queen’s Road Central.

免在文物上作鑽孔或直接施加其他額外固定物品，例如釘及螺絲，而是完全依靠牆身及其延伸作唯一的受力和改動範圍，讓文物可以「安座」在這些設施之上，再為設施加上相近的木色修飾，在文物展覽和保護之間取得平衡。最大難度在於懸吊店中央的花罩，因其結構厚度較薄但寬度較長、體積重，上方亦承載玻璃構件，但與牆身的接觸範圍只有左右柱身兩處。團隊設法在所有與牆身的接觸點添加穩固裝置，同時在花罩之上、木雕漏窗之下加上木橫欄結構作為新增的文物接觸範圍，方便加設防止花罩前後搖擺的裝置。

團隊亦顧及新時代展覽的需求，在誠濟堂原有的元素上作適當微調和添加。例如首兩次「香港故事」中的誠濟堂門前均有一層梯級，還原其在中環舊址的模樣。惟團隊考慮

accounting for the presence of the “Waterwheel Hall” (fire station) on its right side 38 39.

Although this was already the third installation of Shing Chai Tong, the museum team, while upholding the principles of artifact preservation, still faced many challenges. Unlike in the dismantling process, the team adopted a strategy of working from inside to outside and from top to bottom, ensuring that as the space was progressively filled with artifacts, the remaining work would not damage those already in place. The team had to install the artifacts without any destructive actions, particularly the glass showcase suspended on the right side of the shop and the carved wooden canopy partition between the front and rear sections. To avoid drilling holes or attaching nails and screws directly to the artifacts, the team reinforced the building walls, relying solely on the wall and its extensions as the load-bearing and modification points. This allowed the artifacts to rest securely on these supports. The reinforcements were finished with a matching wood tone, striking a balance between exhibition presentation and artifact preservation. The greatest difficulty laid in suspending the central canopy. Its structure was thin but wide, heavy in volume, and incorporated glass elements above, while its contact points with the wall were limited to the two side columns. The team strengthened all contact points with the wall and added wooden crossbars above the canopy and beneath the carved lattice windows to create new support areas. These reinforcements made it possible to install stabilising devices that prevented the canopy from swaying back and forth.

The museum team also considered the needs of contemporary exhibitions by making appropriate adjustments and additions to the original features of Shing Chai Tong. For example, in the first two generations of “Hong Kong Story”, a single step was placed at the entrance to replicate the shop’s appearance at its original site in Central. However, the team recognised that the step would create an obstacle for wheelchair users and others requiring accessible facilities, and therefore removed it early in the planning stage. Although this decision introduced design and installation challenges — such as lowering the overall height of the shopfront compared with previous versions — it nevertheless preserves the exterior appearance of Shing Chai Tong while accommodates the requirements for barrier-free accessibility. In addition, two floor-standing screens were installed inside the shop. On the left, a scene is recreated in front of the hundred-drawer herbal cabinet, simulating the process of dispensing medicine, accompanied by multimedia presentations introducing the basic principles of Chinese medicine, its pathology, and the properties of medicinal substances. On the right, a consultation with a traditional

到梯級將為輪椅人士及其他有需要人士造成障礙，因此在編制圖則早期便取消梯級。這決定雖然產生其他裝設和設計上的難度，包括整組誠濟堂店面高度與往時存在偏差而向下調整等，但卻在不影響誠濟堂外觀的同時顧及無障礙空間的需求；另外，店內亦加添兩座座地式螢幕，店左模擬在百子櫃前「執藥」的場景，配合前方以多媒體形式介紹中醫藥的基礎原則、病理及藥性；店右則模擬中醫師診症，目的均為增加與觀眾的互動元素，為誠濟堂注入新的生命力。

總結

誠濟堂的故事折射了香港在中西文化交匯的獨特背景下的歷史發展。它除了保留和傳承中華文化傳統內涵，亦為適應社會發展作出調整。同樣，「香港故事」展覽讓觀眾可再睹誠濟堂風采的同時，透過新時代的策展方法增強觀眾的投入感，亦鼓勵大眾留意身邊的文化遺產和中華文化的足跡。

Chinese physician is reenacted. Both installations were designed to enhance visitor interaction and inject new vitality into Shing Chai Tong.

Conclusion

The story of Shing Chai Tong reflects Hong Kong’s historical development within the unique context of East-West cultural exchange. While preserving and carrying forward the traditional values of Chinese culture, it also adapted to social development. Likewise, “Hong Kong Story” exhibition allows visitors to once again appreciate the splendour of Shing Chai Tong, while employing contemporary curatorial approaches to enhance visitor engagement. It also encourages the public to pay attention to the cultural heritage and the traces of Chinese culture around them.

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從類型電影看香港 1980 年代電影的多元特色

Exploring Diversity in Hong Kong Cinema through 1980s Genre Films

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引言

1980年代可說是香港電影發展的黃金時期。在那網絡尚未普及的年代，觀眾親自前往戲院售票處排隊購票的畫面，不只是單純的觀影過程，更是一場承載文化象徵意涵的社會儀式，展現了觀眾對電影的熱情與共同期待。那個時期的電影不僅提供娛樂，也在市場上屢創佳績，並在社會、經濟與文化層面，映照出香港的城市精神與時代特質。1970年代末至1980年代初席卷香港的「電影新浪潮」，帶來了全新的創作衝擊與思潮更新。新一代電影人以創新題材和新敘事方式挑戰傳統，為港產片注入新生命，也吸引了負笈海外的電影人的目光。這場新浪潮不僅拓寬了香港電影的藝術邊界，更讓其在中西文化交錯的環境中展現多元與創新的面貌，反映出香港電影文化在全球化進程中的獨特位置。

基於此，本文將以「從類型電影看香港1980年代電影的多元特色」為研究主題，探討1980年代初不同類型之間的跨界互動，

Introduction

The 1980s can be regarded as the golden era of Hong Kong cinema. In those days, the internet became commonplace, moviegoers would queue up at box offices to buy tickets—a social ritual steeped in cultural symbolism that demonstrated audiences’ passion and anticipation for movies. At the time, Hong Kong films were not only entertaining but also commercially successful. They reflected the city’s spirit and qualities on social, economic, and cultural fronts of the era. The Hong Kong New Wave cinematic movement thrived from the late 1970s to early 1980s, sparking creative impact and ideological renewal. A new generation of filmmakers challenged traditions with innovative themes and narrative methods, rejuvenating Hong Kong films and drawing attention from filmmakers worldwide. The movement expanded the artistic boundaries of Hong Kong cinema, allowing local films to display diversity and innovation at the junction of Chinese and Western cultures. This reflected the unique position of Hong Kong’s cinematic culture in globalisation.

This article explores how different film genres blended and interacted among one another in the early 1980s, gradually

如何逐漸構築出港產片獨特且具全球辨識度的影像品牌。

喜劇與其他類型的融合

香港電影史上，喜劇向來是最具代表性和普及性的類型之一。1980至1982年間的年度票房冠軍，分別為《師弟出馬》（1980）、《摩登保鏢》（1981）及《最佳拍檔》（1982），三者皆呈現出強烈的喜劇色彩與本土風格。

《師弟出馬》作為嘉禾電影（香港）有限公司成立十周年的紀念作品，在敘事上結合了「功夫」與「喜劇」兩大元素。成龍於片中展現出一種被稱為「諧趣功夫」的表演風格，藉由跌跌撞撞、連番受挫卻不言放棄的動作節奏，展現了由平凡人角度出發的不撓

shaping Hong Kong’s distinctive and vibrant cinematic identity that became recognisable across Asia and the world.

Fusing Comedy with Other Genres

Comedy is one of the most representative and common genres in Hong Kong cinema. The annual box office champions of the early 1980s—*The Young Master* (1980), *Security Unlimited* (1981), and *Aces Go Places* (1982)—all carry strong comedic flair and local style.

The Young Master, produced by Golden Harvest Films (HK) Limited to commemorate its 10th anniversary, combines comedy with kung fu. Jackie Chan showcases a “kung fu comedy” performance style that utilises a stumbling rhythm of repeated setbacks and perseverance to exemplify an ordinary person’s grit over a hero’s grandeur. Jackie Chan, Sammo Hung, and Yuen Biao epitomise tenacity through their

精神，而非傳統英雄的威武形象。成龍、洪金寶、元彪等人的表演，皆凝聚了這份不屈不撓的意志與毅力。演員洪金寶在口述歷史訪談中提及，他拍攝時常以「拍完再拍」的嚴謹態度工作，曾為一個鏡頭重拍120次。¹ 這種近乎苛刻的專業精神，已超越戲內角色的層面，逐漸內化為香港社會精神的象徵。

1981年的《摩登保鏢》則以「時裝喜劇」的形式切入現代都市題材。許冠文在片中飾演的角色性格尖酸、恃勢凌人，卻又深藏焦慮與不安，映照出今日所謂的「職場焦慮」心理。影片以緊湊的對白與都會諷刺，建構出既批判又逗趣的都市幽默語境，形成一種獨特的「港式嬉笑哲學」。

至1982年，新藝城影業公司出品的《最佳拍檔》更進一步融合了「時裝喜劇」與「動作片」的特質。其精心設計的飛車與特技場面，使其成為香港首部票房突破2,000萬港元的電影。新藝城前身——奮鬥影業公司早在《瘋狂大老千》（1980）與《滑稽時代》（1980）中，延續了「諧趣功夫」的節奏，惟將重心由個人武打動作轉化為麥嘉與石天所擅長的雙人互動，以鬧劇、誤會及角色錯位等手法製造笑料，建立本地化的滑稽傳統。及後，新藝城的《鬼馬智多星》（1981）嘗試以1930及1940年代荷里活偵探與警匪片的形式，營造懷舊氛圍與西化影像風格；《追女仔》（1981）則將喜劇場景搬至現代都市，融入飛車、特技等視覺刺激元素。《最佳拍檔》於以上基礎上完成整合，成功塑造出以娛樂為主軸的動作喜劇樣式，契合1980年代經濟起飛背景下觀眾對刺激、幽默與現代感的渴求。其後數部續集——《最佳拍檔大顯神通》（1983）、《最佳拍檔女皇密令》（1984）、《最佳拍檔千里救差婆》（1986）及《新最佳拍檔》（1989）——更鞏固了此類型在香港影壇的核心地位。

當「喜劇」、「動作」與「靈幻」類型進一步交織滲透時，香港電影又開創出另一種混合形態的喜劇風貌。洪金寶的《鬼打鬼》（1980）及《人嚇人》（1982），將殭屍、茅山道術等傳統靈異意象融入動作設計，藉

performances. Sammo Hung recalled that he would often retake shots “again and again—up to 120 takes for a single shot.”¹ This demanding professionalism has transcended on-screen characters to become a symbolic reflection of the Hong Kong spirit itself.

1981’s *Security Unlimited* is a modern comedy that dealt with contemporary urban issues. Michael Hui’s domineering, acrimonious, yet worry-concealing character personifies what we now call the “workplace anxiety”. Characterised by its urban satire and rapid-fire dialogue, the film is a critical yet amusing city comedy that establishes a unique “Hong Kong Comedy Philosophy”.

Then came 1982’s *Aces Go Places*, produced by Cinema City Company Limited, which further blends elements of “modern comedy” and “action films”. Its carefully crafted car-chase sequences made it the first Hong Kong film to surpass HK\$20 million at the box office. Warriors Film Co., Cinema City’s predecessor, upheld the rhythm of Jackie Chan’s kung fu comedy style in its films such as *Crazy Crooks* (1980) and *Laughing Times* (1980), but shifted the focus from individual action performances to the duo interactions between Karl Maka and Dean Shek—relying on slapstick misunderstandings to create humour and thereby forming a kind of distinct Hong Kong farce. In *All the Wrong Clues (For the Right Solution)* (1981), Cinema City drew inspirations from Hollywood detective and crime comedies of the 1930s and 1940s, crafting an atmosphere that was nostalgic yet westernised. *Chasing Girls* (1981) sets its stage in metropolitan Hong Kong, adding cars and stunts to the mix. *Aces Go Places* is built on these foundations, consolidating the above elements to create a thoroughly entertaining action-comedy that meets audiences’ demand for thrills, humour, and modernism under Hong Kong’s thriving economy in the 1980s. The film’s sequels, *Aces Go Places II* (1983), *Aces Go Places III: Our Man from Bond Street* (1984), *Aces Go Places IV* (1986), and *Aces Go Places V* (1989), further solidified the genre’s core position in Hong Kong’s film industry.

During this period, the crossover among comedy, action, and supernatural genres led to new hybrid forms. Sammo Hung’s *Encounter of the Spooky Kind* (1980) and *The Dead and the Deadly* (1982) combine zombie folklore, Taoist exorcism, and kung fu with fast-paced, ever-changing plots to create the highly entertaining “supernatural comedy” genre. These films

節奏緊湊、不斷轉折的劇情，塑造出極具娛樂張力的「靈幻喜劇」。此一類型不僅拓展了傳統喜劇的邊界，亦顯示出港產片在恐懼、宗教信仰與笑聲間的重新詮釋與本土再造，成為1980年代香港電影產業中舉足輕重的代表性片種。

綜觀上述作品，隨著故事背景由民初轉向現代城市，這些影片以輕鬆、諧趣的語言回應社會急遽轉變所帶來的焦慮與壓力，觀眾透過笑聲重新獲得面對現實的力量，可見香港喜劇電影的發展歷程，既是都市情緒的集體映照，也是一種文化生產的實踐過程。

俠義重構

與喜劇並列為1980年代香港電影重要類型的，乃處於重構時期的「武俠電影」。此一階段的武俠影像，在承接1970年代以寫實功夫與古典俠義為核心的傳統之餘，亦滲透文學氣息與詩意美學，形成1980年代常見的「文藝化」武俠想像。這種影像風格標誌著武俠敘事由以武制敵的義俠框架，漸次轉向由人性、省思與感性構築的文化層次。

自1970年代中期起，楚原即積極推動古龍小說的影像化工程。至1980年代初，他仍持續推出《英雄無淚》（1980）、《魔劍俠情》（1981）、《陸小鳳之決戰前後》（1981）、《楚留香之幽靈山莊》（1982）及《浣花洗劍》（1982）等作品，透過片廠空間的造景、鏡頭調度與美學，形塑出對人性複雜與命運無常的哲思。楚原曾言：「古龍的成功不在於武打，而在於人性。」² 此一見解重新確立了文學性與武俠精神的關係，使改編作品跨越傳統俠義敘事，轉化為具文藝格調的人性戲劇——主角雖仍為俠者，卻以心性與道義之鍛煉取代刀劍爭勝。

譚家明執導的《名劍》（1980）則以黃鷹同名小說為本，於視覺語言上展現濃厚的象徵主義風格。紅牆與藍白服飾的冷暖對比，以及光影流動的構圖，共同營造出高度戲劇化的美學象徵。劇終，鄭少秋飾演的李驀然頓悟名利虛幻，將「寒星劍」與「齊物劍」棄

expanded the boundaries of comedy while reimagining local beliefs, fear, and laughter, giving rise to one of the most iconic genres of 1980s Hong Kong cinema.

As story settings shifted to modern urban Hong Kong, these comedies used humour to help audiences cope with the pressures of rapid social changes and reclaim positivity through laughter. The evolution of Hong Kong comedy reflects societal sentiment and is a practical application of cultural development.

The Reconstruction of Chivalry

Alongside comedy, another major genre in 1980s Hong Kong cinema was the *wuxia* (martial arts) film, which was in the midst of reformation. *Wuxia* films of this era inherit the 1970s tradition that emphasise realistic martial arts and classical ideals of chivalry, while infusing literary sensibilities and poetic aesthetics to present a new, more artistic vision of the genre. As a result, *wuxia* gradually shifted from its combat-focused chivalric framework to a unique cultural milieu featuring a more humanistic, introspective, and emotional approach.

Beginning in the mid-1970s, director Chor Yuen devoted himself to cinematic adaptations of Gu Long’s novels, continuing into the early 1980s with films such as *Heroes Shed No Tears* (1980), *Return of the Sentimental Swordsman* (1981), *The Duel of the Century* (1981), *Perils of the Sentimental Swordsman* (1982), and *The Spirit of the Sword* (1982). Through the use of studio design, camerawork, and aesthetics, Chor sculpted works that explored the complexities of human nature and transience of life. As Chor once remarked, “Gu Long’s success lies not in his depiction of the fighting scenes but that of human nature.”² This perspective intertwined literary expression with the spirit of chivalry, allowing the adaptations to venture beyond simple tales of heroism into the realm of art films, where the protagonists remain warriors, yet humanity itself proves sharper than the sword.

Directed by Patrick Tam and adapted from Wong Ying’s novel of the same title, *The Sword* (1980) employs stark visual contrasts—the red of courtyard walls against the blue-and-white garments—together with fluid lighting compositions, to construct a highly theatrical aesthetic. In the film’s conclusion, the protagonist, portrayed by Adam Cheng, realises the emptiness of fame and fortune, casting away the two blades

¹ 洪金寶訪談，香港電影資料館影人口述歷史訪問，2024年3月25日。
Sammo Hung’s Oral History Interview with the Hong Kong Film Archive, 25 March 2024.

² 楚原訪談，香港電影資料館影人口述歷史訪問，1994年10月17日。
Chor Yuen’s Oral History Interview with the Hong Kong Film Archive, 17 October 1994.

於塵埃——象徵武俠片脫離仇恨與復仇的單線敘事模式，開啟了對個人道德與生命哲理的探求。

金庸小說改編熱潮在 1980 年代初仍方興未艾。擁有主要拍攝版權的邵氏兄弟（香港）有限公司相繼推出《飛狐外傳》（1980）、《射鵰英雄傳第三集》（1981）、《神雕俠侶》（1982）與《俠客行》（1982）等影片，多由張徹執導。值得注意的是，《神雕俠侶》於美國洛杉磯放映時與《射鵰英雄傳第三集》同場放映，形成一場「金庸武俠電影馬拉松」，不僅向海外觀眾展示金庸電影的敘事魅力，也凸顯香港武俠題材跨文化的獨特魅力。

與注重外在俠義的武俠類型相對，劉家良導演的作品則呈現出「功夫即修為」的內在精神維度。其對國術懷抱深厚理解與尊重，並將個人風格融入功夫片的敘事，強調技術精準與倫理實踐的統一。《少林搭棚大師》（1980）、《武館》（1981）與《十八般武藝》（1982）皆試圖透過動作設計重塑傳統武術精神。《十八般武藝》運用刀、槍、劍、戟、棍、匕首、三節鞭、護手鉤、大關刀、月牙鏢、丈八矛、大鈚、飛砣、斧、盾牌、鎚、雙拐及白打等 18 種兵器，展示每一種器械的運用皆嚴謹講究、合乎法度，不僅重現了傳統國術的形，更展現其內在精神。

電影研究者何思穎以佛洛伊德心理學分析《武館》，指出其倫理意涵的深層轉化：年輕的黃飛鴻與好友王隱林皆少不更事、好勇嗜強，前者終能自覺克制，後者卻沉溺於玩樂。當王以「本我」的慾望驅動行動之時，黃選擇邁向「自我」的理性階段。³ 劉家良藉此將「功夫」轉化為人格修養與自我道德實踐的象徵，使功夫片超越勝負與對抗的層面，朝向「修身悟道」的精神高地。

延續此種「以身修道」的創作理念，《少林寺》（1982）成為功夫電影延展地域與文化的重要契機。李連杰以全國武術冠軍之身初登銀幕，象徵港產片與華北武術的結合，使功夫片呈現跨地域的文化整合效應。副導演施揚平曾言，片中多位演員皆為專業武術運

he obsessed over. The *wuxia* genre thereby transcends the singular motif of vengeance, embarking on the pursuit of moral introspection and philosophy of life.

Adaptations of Jin Yong’s novels continued to flourish in the early 1980s. Holding the primary copyrights, Shaw Brothers (Hong Kong) Ltd successively produced adaptations such as *Legend of the Fox* (1980), *The Brave Archer 3* (1981), *Brave Archer and His Mate* (1982), and *Ode to Gallantry* (1982), mostly directed by Chang Cheh. Notably, *Brave Archer and His Mate* was screened alongside *The Brave Archer 3* in Los Angeles, forming a mini “Jin Yong’s *wuxia* film marathon” that captivates international audiences, showcasing not only the unique cross-cultural appeal of Hong Kong’s *wuxia* films but also the charisma of his fascinating works.

In contrast to the overt chivalric ideals emphasised in traditional *wuxia*, Lau Kar-leung’s films advocate a more internalised and spiritual philosophy of “martial arts as self-cultivation.” Deeply knowledgeable about Chinese martial arts, Lau integrates his personal style into the martial arts genre, focusing on authenticity in both technique and spirit. His works, including *Return to the 36th Chamber* (1980), *Martial Club* (1981), and *Legendary Weapons of China* (1982), transform technical display into ethical expression. *Legendary Weapons of China* alone features 18 kinds of weaponry, each uses with a precise discipline, reflecting not only the external form but also the inner spirit of martial arts practice.

Film scholar Sam Ho has interpreted *Martial Club* through Freudian psychology, revealing a subtle process of ethical transformation: the young protagonist Wong Fei-hung and his friend Wong Yin-lam begin as impulsive, reckless youths—Wong Fei-hung eventually matures into moral self-awareness, while his companion remains indulgent in pleasure. Wong Yin-lam acts upon his “id” (instinct-driven desire), flaunting his martial prowess; whereas Wong Fei-hung firmly withdraws, implying his progression toward the rational stage of the “ego.”³ Through this lens, Lau Kar-leung’s films employ martial arts as a metaphor for moral cultivation—elevating the genre beyond combat and victory, and toward a spiritual dimension of self-discipline and enlightenment.

Extending this notion of moral cultivation, *The Shaolin Temple* (1982) became the catalyst for the geographical and cultural expansion of martial arts cinema. Starring Jet Li, a *wushu*

動員，劇組特意依其長技設計動作，⁴ 進一步鞏固影片的真實感與專業度。

此外，1980 年代武俠與功夫片在視覺語言上亦展開新的審美實驗——赴內地實景拍攝以拓展鏡頭深度與敘事空間，《白髮魔女傳》（1980）於安徽黃山取景、《碧水寒山奪命金》（1980）於粵北山區拍攝、《少林寺》更於嵩山少林寺實地取景。真實山川的融入不僅增厚了影像層次，也為電影注入地理上的文化意涵。

1980 年代的香港武俠與功夫電影在繼承傳統類型框架之餘，亦實現了從武至文的敘事轉向。它們不僅承載中華武學與義理精神，亦融會詩意意象與哲理思辨，成為香港電影類型發展中兼具文化重量與藝術格調的獨特風景。

都市光影暗處的文化想像

若說武俠與功夫片以「行俠」之義尋索秩序、喜劇以笑聲化解現實的荒誕與焦慮，那麼恐怖與靈異電影可謂以相反的路徑介入社會想像——透過放大恐懼與陰影，映照民間傳說與城市急速變遷中所蘊藏的躁動與不安。這股潛藏於光影之下的黑色暗流，使 1980 年代香港電影的類型面貌愈趨多元、立體與複雜。當城市的霓虹與燈火愈加璀璨，人心深處的陰影與焦慮亦隨之加深。

徐克執導的《地獄無門》（1980）以清末社會為背景，講述探員誤入食人村的故事，將血腥暴力與黑色幽默交織成一則關於人性崩壞的寓言。影片以瘋狂、荒誕與悲觀的筆觸揭示社會底層的潰敗與道德失序，在當時的港產片光譜中屬於異數。與之對照，許鞍華執導的《撞到正》（1980）則以傳統戲班傳說為題，將「鬼魅」引入日常生活情境，片中人鬼共處的情節以生活化幽默瓦解恐懼，開展具有「靈異喜劇」風格的片種實驗。

翁維銓的《再生人》（1981）則以輪迴與科技為命題，透過電影媒介思考宿命、記憶與自我之間的存在關係，呈現出兼具形而上思辨與現代藝術感的影像語彙。余允抗的《山

champion, the film signals a collaboration between Hong Kong filmmaking and northern (or “northern-style”) martial arts traditions, driving cultural integration across regions exemplified by kung fu movies. Assistant director Sze Yeung-ping recalled that most performers were trained martial artists, and the production solidified its authenticity and professionalism by allowing each actor to choreograph fight sequences according to their own strengths.⁴

At the same time, 1980s *wuxia* and martial arts films developed a new visual aesthetic—utilising on-location shooting in the Chinese Mainland to expand narrative space and scenic depth. *White Haired Devil Lady* (1980) and *The Enigmatic Case* (1980) were filmed at Mount Huangshan in Anhui and in Northern Guangdong respectively, while *The Shaolin Temple* was shot at Mount Song. The inclusion of real landscapes and natural topography enriches the films’ visual texture and infuses them with distinct cultural resonance.

In this period, amid the interplay of fists and blades, *wuxia* and martial arts cinema continued to operate within established genre frameworks while shifting its narrative focus from physical to ideological conflicts. The inheritance of the spirit of Chinese martial arts and chivalry, while embracing a more philosophical and poetic aesthetic, has formed a distinctive cultural landscape rich in artistic flavours in the development of the genre cinema in Hong Kong.

Cultural Imagination in the Shadows of the City

If *wuxia* and kung fu films seek order through acts of chivalry, and comedies dissolve the absurdities of reality through laughter, then horror and supernatural films take the opposite path—magnifying fear and darkness to respond to the restlessness and unease emerging from folk legends and the city’s rapid transformation. This dark undercurrent diversified Hong Kong cinema in the 1980s, making it more layered and complex. As the city’s lights grow ever brighter, so deepen the shadows they cast.

Tsui Hark’s *We’re Going to Eat You* (1980), set in late Qing society, tells the story of a secret agent who stumbles into a village of cannibals. Blending blood-soaked violence with black humour, the film is a grotesque allegory of human moral collapse. With its frenzied and pessimistic tone exposing the twisted absurdities in hidden corners of society,

³ 何思穎：〈當佛洛伊德遇上黃飛鴻〉，《香港電影資料館通訊》（60，2012），頁 5。

Sam Ho, “When Freud Meets Wong Fei-hung,” *Hong Kong Film Archive Newsletter*, Issue 60, 2012, 5.

⁴ 《少林寺》（4K 數碼修復版）映後談，「武影江湖——香港電影武林盛會」，香港電影資料館，2024 年 4 月 28 日。

‘Post-screening Talk of *The Shaolin Temple* (4K Digitally Restored Version),’ “Of Fists and Swords—Kaleidoscope of Hong Kong Martial Arts Films,” Hong Kong Film Archive, 28 April 2024.

狗》（1980）與《凶榜》（1981），分別將原始獸性與都市焦慮併置於極端場域中：前者以荒野為舞台釋放野性；後者則在封閉的高樓與電梯空間裡放大現代都市的精神壓力與恐懼。《凶榜》的敘事雖吸納了荷里活恐怖片如《魔鬼怪嬰》（1968）與《凶兆》（1976）的母題，但其符咒、道士及孕婦禁忌（例如孕期不可敲敲打打等）卻深植於中國民間信仰與靈異習俗之中，展現出西方靈異原型與本土宗教意象的跨文化融合。

在類型延展上，《邪》（1980）、《蠱》（1981）、《人皮燈籠》（1982）與《蜈蚣咒》（1982）等作品延續了港產奇情與靈異片的傳統，將情色、禁忌與恐懼糾纏於一體。譚家明的《愛殺》（1981）則取材自美國真實命案，以紅、白、藍三色貫穿全片，構成既物質又心理的符號結構。片中男性角色在愛情執念中的失控，使愛意轉化為毀滅力量，揭示出現代人於情感與理性邊界的斷裂。

1980年代的香港恐怖與靈異電影，以恐懼為鏡、以人性為底，不僅拓展了類型的邊界，也揭露了現代都市光彩背後的焦慮與陰影。這些作品讓被壓抑的恐懼與黑暗再度浮現於影像之中，使恐怖類型成為理解香港現代社會焦慮結構的重要文本。

未竟的青春

1980年代初期的香港電影中，青春題材逐漸成為重要的類型之一，構成港產片情感表達最為細膩的領域。此類作品延續了1970年代校園片的純真氣質，卻在敘事與影像風格上更趨複雜，以真實與象徵並行的手法描繪都市化進程中年輕世代的孤獨、慾望與理想幻滅。青春電影於此不再僅是對成長的浪漫化書寫，而是折射出社會結構與時代情緒的文化座標。

蔡繼光執導的《喝采》（1980）並非傳統的勵志歌唱片，而是一場關於成長、夢想與失落的感情演習。影片以陳百強的歌曲為主線，將其抒情與憂鬱氣質轉化為象徵青春的音樂意象。翁靜晶所飾演的角色因個人困境而逃避愛情，使影片籠罩一層命運的不確定性，令「青春」從校園言情中解放出來，轉向對人性與際遇的更深層探問。

the film stood out as an anomaly in Hong Kong cinema at the time. In contrast, Ann Hui's *The Spooky Bunch* (1980) pioneers “supernatural comedy”, drawing on the traditional superstitions of Cantonese opera. The film transforms fear into laughter, using everyday humour to diffuse the menace of ghosts and initiate the “supernatural comedy” genre.

Peter Yung's *Life After Life* (1981) combines the elements of reincarnation and technology, reflecting on fate, memory, and the self through metaphysical and modern artistic sensibilities. Dennis Yu's *The Beast* (1980) and *The Imp* (1981) each dissects primal human impulses: the former unleashes raw animal desire in the wilderness, while the latter amplifies urban anxiety within the claustrophobic confines of a commercial building, creating an uneasy confrontation between civilisation and savagery. Although *The Imp* bears traces of Hollywood horror such as *Rosemary's Baby* (1968) and *The Omen* (1976), its imagery of talismans, Taoist priests, and pregnancy taboos (like the belief that expectant mothers should avoid hammering or knocking) is deeply rooted in Chinese folk religion and ghostlore—blending Western motifs of the supernatural with local cultural imagination.

Films such as *Hex* (1980), *Bewitched* (1981), *Human Lanterns* (1982), and *Centipede Horror* (1982) continue the tradition of eroticism mingled with the supernatural, where desire entwines with dread to construct an unsettling and dark sensuality. Patrick Tam's *Love Massacre* (1981), inspired by a real murder case in the United States, uses red, white, and blue as recurring visual motifs throughout the film, serving as a symbolic structure embracing both physical and psychological metaphors. Under the male protagonist's emotional obsession and breakdown, affection turns into violence, signifying the breakdown of the boundary between emotion and logic in modern society.

In sum, Hong Kong horror and supernatural cinema in the 1980s employed fear as a mirror and humanity as its foundation, which not only stretched the contours of this genre but also revealed the anxiety and darkness that lurk behind the dazzling lights of the modern city. These films bring deeply repressed fears and darkness to the surface, making the horror genre a key window into the social anxieties of contemporary Hong Kong.

Unending Youth

In early 1980s Hong Kong cinema, youth-themed films gradually emerged as a significant genre, constituting the most emotionally nuanced realm of Hong Kong filmmaking. These works carry forward the innocence of 1970s teen drama films

霍耀良的《失業生》（1981）以雙線敘事結構對照兩名青年畢業後命運的懸殊落差。陳百強飾演的富家子象徵理想與自我實現的延續，而張國榮飾演的貧苦青年則在自尊與現實之間掙扎。從清潔工到酒店門童的身分轉移，揭示了都市階層流動的侷限。影片以細微的現實觀察取代戲劇誇飾，使《失業生》成為最能體現都市視角的青春作品之一。

若《喝采》與《失業生》仍保留校園青春片的餘韻，黎大煒的《靚妹仔》（1982）則標誌著青春電影的寫實轉向。影片以紀實風格攝影及非職業演員的自然表演，呈現出強烈的臨場感。林碧琪飾演的邊緣少女不再是理想化的青春象徵，而成為都市底層生存現實的具體化身。黎大煒以冷峻距離的鏡頭語言，重構他所理解的1980年代青春圖像——一種失落而真實的存在。

吳小雲執導的《彩雲曲》（1982）則以女性視角切入青春主題，透過藝人訓練班的群體場景，描繪兩位女性好友在夢想與現實間的落差。莊靜而所飾角色兼具新潮、義氣與脆弱，在自我意識與宿命感之間不斷擺盪。影片的悲劇性結尾與《靚妹仔》互為呼應，共同構築出1980年代初香港電影中女性青春的哀歌。

「香港新浪潮」代表作之一《烈火青春》（1982）由譚家明執導，以前衛影像語言探索青年一代表層下的情感疏離與存在虛無。張國榮所飾角色被困於暴力、性愛與荒誕生活的迴圈之中，其血色結局宛如一次青春的葬禮，象徵理想烏托邦的徹底崩解。

蔡繼光再度回歸校園題材的《檸檬可樂》（1982）則以細膩的心理描寫揭示青春成長的矛盾。張國榮飾演的男主角以專注學業為名拒絕愛情，然而其背後潛藏的卻是階級焦慮與自我價值的不確定。影片結尾於舞台表演的虛實錯置間，青春的甜美與現實的苦澀並置，如片名「檸檬可樂」般酸甜共融。

1980年代初的青春與愛情電影不再停留在浪漫化的理想成長框架，而是以現實主義與心理化敘事揭示都市青年在快速現代化過程中的迷惘與掙扎。這些作品通過音樂、影像與日常細節建構出一代人的感情語法，使「青春」不僅成為生命階段的象徵，更是那個年代的情感映照。

while adopting more complex narratives and visual styles. Employing both realistic and symbolic techniques, they depict the loneliness, desires, and shattered ideals of the younger generation amid urbanisation. Youth cinema thus transcends mere romanticised portrayals of coming-of-age, instead serving as cultural markers reflecting societal structures and the spirit of the times.

Directed by Clifford Choi Kai-kwong, *Encore* (1980) transcends conventional inspirational musical films, instead serving as an emotional exercise exploring growth, dreams, and loss. Centred around the songs of singer-actor Danny Chan, the film transforms his lyrical and melancholic essence into a musical symbol of youth. Mary Jean Reimer's character, driven by personal struggles, rejects romance and casts an aura of existential uncertainty over the film. This liberates “youth” from conventional campus romance tropes, steering the genre toward deeper inquiries into human nature and fate.

Clarence Fok's *Job Hunter* (1981) employs a dual narrative structure to contrast the starkly divergent post-graduation destinies of two youths. The wealthy son portrayed by Danny Chan symbolises the continuation of ideals and self-realisation, while the impoverished youth played by Leslie Cheung wrestles between self-respect and harsh reality. His transition from a janitor to a hotel doorman reveals the limitations of social mobility in the city. Replacing dramatic exaggeration with subtle realism, *Job Hunter* is one of the youth films that best portrayed the urban perspective.

While *Encore* and *Job Hunter* retains echoes of campus youth films, David Lai's *Lonely Fifteen* (1982) marks a shift toward realism in youth cinema. Employing documentary-style cinematography and natural performances by non-professional actors, the film has achieved a powerful sense of immediacy. Becky Lam's portrayal of a marginalised young woman transcends idealised youth symbolism, becoming a concrete embodiment of urban survival at the margins. With a detached, clinical visual language, David Lai reconstructs his vision of 1980s youth—a lost yet authentic existence.

Directed by Ng Siu-wan, *Once Upon a Rainbow* (1982) approaches youth through a female perspective. Set within an artist training class, it depicts the gap between dreams and reality experienced by two female friends. The character played by Patricia Chong embodies both modernity and loyalty, yet remains vulnerable, oscillating between self-awareness and a sense of fatalism. The film's tragic ending echoes that of *Lonely Fifteen*, jointly composing an elegy for female youth in early 1980s Hong Kong cinema.

文藝電影的溫度

1980 年代初期的香港電影類型發展中，出現了一股兼具寫實精神與人文關懷的新浪潮，成為港產片從商業娛樂邏輯轉向社會現實反思的重要轉折。此一潮流標誌著電影創作主體從單純的類型，逐步邁向對身分、情感與社會結構的自我觀照。

方育平的《父子情》（1981）作為其首部劇情長片，不僅榮獲第一屆香港電影金像獎最佳電影及最佳導演，亦被視為香港新浪潮的代表作之一。影片以極度平實而細膩的鏡頭語言描繪基層家庭中父子關係的情感張力。故事以傳統「望子成龍」命題為基調，卻選擇由兒子的視角展開，將父權期待轉化為成長經驗的內在掙扎。真實外景與生活化場面的運用，使作品不僅重現普羅階層的日常，亦折射出 1960 至 1980 年代初，香港社會向現代都市轉型的歷史風貌。方育平以平實鏡頭取代戲劇誇飾，深入探討兩代關係中既愛且恨、自由與束縛的結構性矛盾。

許鞍華的創作則將鏡頭指向歷史與現實的交界。她執導的《胡越的故事》（1981）聚焦一名南越逃兵的流亡旅程，周潤發飾演的胡越自越南輾轉逃抵香港，最後漂泊至菲律賓。由張堅庭編劇、邱剛健潤飾的劇本，獲得首屆金像獎最佳編劇。以書信式旁白為敘事骨幹，構築出一個關於戰爭記憶與身分追尋的寓言。翌年，許鞍華再以《投奔怒海》（1982）延續對文藝與現實主題的探問，電影透過細緻的美術風格與沉著的敘事節奏，凝視自由、人性與尊嚴的價值。這片在票房與口碑上皆獲成功，更勇闖康城影展，象徵香港文藝電影在商業與藝術、本土與國際間達成突破性平衡。

單慧珠執導的《忌廉溝鮮奶》（1981）則以敏銳視角切入社會底層，透過破碎家庭的敘事描繪離異家庭、問題少年、出逃者與弱勢群體的隱秘日常。她的創作在同情與寫實之間取得微妙平衡，與新浪潮導演對家庭與社會結構變遷的關懷一脈相承，呈現出港產文藝片的溫度與真誠。

One of the defining works of the Hong Kong New Wave, *Nomad* (1982), directed by Patrick Tam, employs avant-garde visuals to explore the emotional alienation and existential nihilism underlying a generation of youth. Leslie Cheung's character is trapped in a cycle of violence, sexuality, and absurdity, culminating in a blood-soaked conclusion that resembles a funeral for youth and symbolises the complete collapse of utopian ideals.

Clifford Choi Kai-kwong's *Teenage Dreamers* (1982), a return to campus themes, employs a nuanced psychological portrayal to reveal the contradictions adolescents encountered while growing up. Played by Leslie Cheung, the protagonist rejects romance in the name of academic dedication, yet beneath lies class anxiety and uncertainty about self-worth. Amid the interplay of reality and illusion in stage performance, the film's conclusion juxtaposes the sweetness of youth with the bitterness of reality, much like sweet-and-sour “Lemon Cola”, the film's Chinese title.

By the early 1980s, youth and romance films had moved beyond a romanticised ideal framework for growth. Instead, they employed realism and psychological narratives to reveal the confusion and struggles of urban youth navigating rapid modernisation. Through music, imagery, and everyday details, these works constructed an emotional grammar for an entire generation. “Youth” thus became not merely a symbol of life stages, but an emotional mirror reflecting the spirit of that era.

The Warmth of Art Films

In the early 1980s, Hong Kong cinema experienced a New Wave movement that combined realism with humanistic concern, marking a pivotal shift in Hong Kong cinema from focusing on commercial entertainment to social realism and reflection. This trend signalled a gradual evolution in filmmaking from pure genre conventions toward self-reflection on identity, emotions, and social structures.

Father and Son (1981), director Allen Fong's debut feature film, won both “Best Film” and “Best Director” at the 1st Hong Kong Film Awards and is now considered a seminal work of the Hong Kong New Wave. With an understated and delicate approach, the film portrays the complex emotions of a working-class father who pins all his hopes on his son. While the story revolves around the traditional ideal of “parents having high hopes for their children's success,” it focuses on a coming-of-age journey from a son's perspective, portraying the transition from paternal expectations to the inner struggles of growth. The use of real locations and lifelike settings not only recreates

綜觀《父子情》的草根親情、《胡越的故事》的流亡寓言、《投奔怒海》的人文省思與《忌廉溝鮮奶》的社會關懷，這一系列作品共同勾勒出 1980 年代初港產文藝電影的人文軸線。此一時期的文藝電影不僅反映社會變遷的現實層面，更以個體情感和倫理困境為切入點，建構出一種屬於香港的「現實主義詩學」，在現實與理想之間展開富有張力的對話。

鏡頭裡的江湖

1980 年代初，香港警匪與黑幫類型電影進入新變局，呈現出社會寫實與人格倫理交錯的複雜樣態。此一時期的創作不僅重新界定了「江湖」的意象與邊界，也藉犯罪敘事折射城市現代化進程中的秩序崩解與道德困境。

章國明執導的《邊緣人》（1981）堪為此時期的代表作。影片鏡頭深入九龍城寨、油麻地果欄與公共屋邨等真實地點，這些場景不僅作為敘事背景，更強化底層人物夾縫求生的無力感。影片震撼的結局則迫使觀眾反思「正義」與「背叛」的模糊界線。

唐基明的《殺出西營盤》（1982）則以殺手為中心人物，探索「有所不為」的職業信念與宿命悲劇。影片借西營盤的地景構築出帶有象徵意味的「邊界空間」，藉此展演暴力與人情並存的矛盾結構。故事中復仇與愛情兩條敘事線交織，形成剛烈而浪漫的黑色美學。兩位女性角色為成全男主角而犧牲，映照出命運的冷酷與都市孤絕的宿命感。

同一時期，蕭榮與鄧光榮的系列江湖電影亦構成港產黑幫類型的重要系譜。蕭榮在《隻手遮天》（1980）中，描繪鄧光榮所飾角色從社團骨幹崛起為龍頭，再轉型為「社會賢達」的過程，揭示權力運作與社會階級的流動邏輯。其後，《知法犯法》（1981）中鄧光榮在電影的前段為警探，展現他在警匪類型片中的另一面向；而《無毒不丈夫》（1981）則以家破人亡的悲劇譜出復仇與救贖的道德寓言，結尾以陌生兄弟之間真情的相互拯救，為暴力敘事注入人性溫度。至《血洗唐人街》（1982），蕭榮與鄧光榮將故事舞台擴展至紐約唐人街，演繹一場關於權力爭奪與文化認同的鬥爭，體現香港黑幫電影由本地江湖走向跨地域敘事的嘗試。

the everyday life of the common people but also reflects Hong Kong's social transformations from the 1960s to the early 1980s. Eschewing theatrics, Fong explores the contradictions of parent-child relationships—bound by both love and resentment, freedom and constraint.

Meanwhile, Ann Hui's lens turned toward the intersection of history and reality. In one of her films, *The Story of Woo Viet* (1981), Chow Yun-fat was cast as a South Vietnamese deserter who escapes to Hong Kong and eventually drifts to the Philippines. Written by Alfred Cheung and polished by Chiu Kang-chien, the screenplay won “Best Screenplay” at the 1st Hong Kong Film Awards. Using voice-over narration to read the letters, Hui constructed a parable of wartime memories and self-discovery. The following year, she continued her exploration of realism and arthouse sensibility in *Boat People* (1982). Through refined art direction and steady narrative pacing, the film focuses on the themes of freedom, humanity, and dignity. *Boat People* achieved both critical acclaim and commercial success, making its mark at the Cannes Film Festival, signifying a breakthrough in Hong Kong art cinema in balancing commerce with artistry, the local with the global.

Rachel Zen's *Cream Soda & Milk* (1981) adopts a keen social perspective on the grassroots class. Centred on a fractured family, the film touches on issues such as divorce, troubled youths, runaways, and marginalised communities. Zen's work strikes a subtle balance between empathy and realism, sharing many New Wave directors' concerns over changing family and social structures, exhibiting the warmth and sincerity of Hong Kong art cinema.

From the grassroots familial bonds of *Father and Son*, the wartime displacement of *The Story of Woo Viet*, the humanistic reflection of *Boat People*, to the social empathy of *Cream Soda & Milk*, these films together map the spiritual axis of Hong Kong's early 1980s art cinema. Art films in this era examine the changing social landscape from an individual and ethical standpoint, forming a kind of modern-realist poetry unique to Hong Kong while bridging reality and ideals.

The Underworld through the Lens

In the early 1980s, Hong Kong's police and gangster films entered a new phase of transformation, bringing to screens the complexities of social realism and ethical dilemmas. These films redefined the imageries and boundaries of “the underworld”, depicting the collapse of order and moral quandaries in a modernising city.

1980 年代初的警匪與黑幫電影，以鮮明的影像語言和人物塑造，交織出多層次的江湖氣韻。導演們以凝練的影像風格與複層敘事，描繪城市中人性的掙扎與邊界的曖昧，構築出一種介於現實與虛構之間的江湖想像。

從荷里活到動畫疆界

另一方面，1980 年代初的香港電影在類型發展與產業格局上亦展現出強烈的國際化意識，積極拓展本地電影的邊界與視野。嘉禾公司與成龍於 1980 年合作的《殺手壕》可視為港產片試圖進軍國際市場的試金石。雖然該片未能在美國取得預期的票房成功，但已為往後港產片的海外發行奠定重要基礎，也預示香港電影在全球市場的潛在競爭力。翌年，《炮彈飛車》（1981）以嘉禾參與投資及成龍出演為契機，成功締造 7,218 萬美元的票房佳績，名列當年美國年度賣座電影第六名，開始標誌港產片正式邁向荷里活產業體系，開啟其國際化發展的新篇章。

與此同時，香港電影界也在影像媒介層面開展多元探索，嘗試突破真人電影的形式邊界。1981 年出品的《七彩卡通老夫子》為香港首部動畫長片，翌年續作《七彩卡通老夫子：水虎傳》（1982）更進一步以經典漫畫角色為母題，結合傳統幽默與視覺創新，開拓出屬於本土的動畫語言。這兩部作品不僅喚起觀眾對「老夫子」漫畫的集體文化記憶，也象徵香港電影類型由動作、喜劇等傳統範疇延伸至新媒體創作的多元化進程。

結語

縱觀 1980 年代初的香港電影發展，表面上看似多元分流的各類型作品——從武俠與功夫到動作喜劇，從青春到愛情，從文藝片到警匪敘事，乃至跨向國際市場的工業化製作——實則共同構築了一幅多層次、開放而富張力的香港電影文化圖景。這一時期香港電影的差異，並非僅在題材的變化或市場的區隔，而在於創作者如何藉由不同視角、影像語言與敘事策略詮釋香港這座城市的文化精神與時代變遷。

Director Alex Cheung Kwok-ming’s *Man on the Brink* (1981) is a standout from the era, bringing the camera deep into Kowloon Walled City, Yau Ma Tei Fruit Market, and public housing estates, and providing the story with a sense of authenticity while intensifying the helpless struggle of those living at the margins. The film’s shocking ending prompts audiences to re-examine the blurred boundaries between “justice” and “betrayal”.

Terry Tong’s *Coolie Killer* (1982) centres on a hitman, portraying his adherence to professional ethics and his tragic fate. The film frames Sai Ying Pun as a polarised community, exemplified by the clash between violence and humanity. By interweaving revenge and romance, it creates a hard-edged yet romantic noir aesthetic. The two female characters who sacrifice themselves for the protagonist further highlight the cruelty of fate and the indifference of the big city.

During this period, Siu Wing and Alan Tang together developed a distinct personal style in gangster films. In *Absolute Monarch* (1980), Siu illustrates power dynamics and social mobility by the rise of Tang’s character through triad ranks and eventual status as a “respectable” member of society. In *The Legal Illegal* (1981), Tang took on the role of a detective, demonstrating another dimension of his screen persona in the genre. In *Don’t Kill Me, Brother* (1981), Tang’s character loses his family, weaving a cautionary tale of revenge and redemption that ends with his salvation through the compassion of a pair of strangers, bringing a human warmth to narratives of violence. In *New York China Town* (1982), set against the backdrop of New York’s Chinatown, Siu and Tang explore power struggles and cultural identity, steering the genre toward a more cross-regional story-driven direction.

The crime and gangster films of early 1980s Hong Kong, through distinctive visual styles and nuanced character portrayals, weave a complex and layered cinematic underworld. Their refined visual style and layered narratives depict human struggles and the ambiguity of boundaries within the city, constructing a world of imagination that exists somewhere between reality and fiction.

New Frontiers for Hong Kong Films: From Hollywood to Animation

In the early 1980s, Hong Kong cinema began actively expanding the boundaries of film genres and broadening its international vision. *Battle Creek Brawl* (1980) marked Jackie Chan’s early attempt to break into the American market. Although only moderately successful, it paved the way for

類型片於此不再只是工業製作的產物或票房指標，而成為一種凝聚社會經驗與文化想像的語言系統。它將工業效率與創意美學相結合，在娛樂與批判之間尋求平衡；同時透過動作的節奏、幽默的語感、驚懼的象徵與情感的抒發，展現出香港社會的複雜心理結構與集體記憶。這些作品使香港不僅立足於華語電影的生產重鎮，更成為全球觀眾理解香港文化的視窗。

當片尾字幕緩緩升起，觀眾走出電影院，街頭霓虹燈再次亮起，人潮喧囂聲浪交織不息——那裡既是現實的延續，也是下一場戲的開始。

Hong Kong films to reach overseas audiences. The following year, *The Cannonball Run* (1981) went on to earn US\$72.18 million, becoming the sixth highest-grossing film in the United States that year—demonstrating Hong Kong cinema’s notable presence in Hollywood and opening a new chapter in its globalisation.

Meanwhile, local filmmakers also began exploring new forms of visual media, attempting to break through the formal boundaries of live-action cinema. *Older Master Cute* (1981) is Hong Kong’s first feature-length animated film, followed by *Older Master Cute, Part 2* (1982), which draws upon classic comic characters while combining traditional humour and innovative visuals to create a distinctly local animation language. The two films evoke collective memories of the beloved local comic character Old Master Q, indicating Hong Kong cinema’s evolution from conventional genres such as action and comedy toward broader media and creative frontiers.

Conclusion

Looking at Hong Kong’s cinematic development in the early 1980s, the manifold genres form a multi-layered, open, and robust cultural panorama. From martial arts to action, from comedy to horror, from youth stories to romance, from art films to crime thrillers, and even venturing toward international markets—what distinguishes the era’s cinema is not merely its subject matter or market boundaries, but how filmmakers harness different perspectives, cinematic languages, and modes of expression to convey Hong Kong’s cultural spirit and changes over time.

Genre films from this period are not just creations born of industrial production and box-office success — they form a language that consolidates society’s experiences and cultural imagination. They fuse industrial efficiency with visual creativity to balance entertainment with critical engagement; meanwhile, they employ actions, humour, fear, and emotional expression to show the city’s complex psychology and collective memories. These films became the stalwart of Chinese cinema, and a window through which the world could understand Hong Kong culture.

As the end credits roll and moviegoers step out of the theatre, the neon lights illuminate the streets buzzing with life—and that moment marks not only the return to reality, but the beginning of the next scene.

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永恆的剎那：香港歷史博物館 夢周藏品所見歷史流動

Eternal Moments: Historical Transitions Reflected in the Moonchu Collection of the Hong Kong Museum of History

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前言

香港歷史博物館於 2024 年 10 月蒙夢周文教基金會慷慨捐贈逾 24,000 件彌足珍貴的中國影像藏品（以下簡稱「夢周藏品」）。該批藏品由基金會耗時近 20 年陸續購藏，¹ 影像時代上起 1844 年，下迄 1979 年，乃清末至新中國改革開放 135 年間的影像紀錄。影像內容涵蓋山川風貌、城市景觀、歷史建築、社會民生、軍旅戰事、百姓生活等。藏品當中包括觀片器八臺 **❶❷**，² 影像種類包括銀版、立體照片、玻璃濕版、蛋白相紙、玻璃幻燈片及印像紙等，³ 在在足以詮

Introduction

In October 2024, thanks to the generous donation of the Moonchu Foundation, the Hong Kong Museum of History (HKMH) received over 24,000 invaluable Chinese images (hereafter the “Moonchu Collection”). Acquired gradually by the Foundation over nearly two decades,¹ the collection spans from 1844 to 1979, encompassing 135 years of image records from the late Qing through the period of Reform and Opening of the People’s Republic of China. The subjects range from natural landscapes, urban vistas, and historic architecture to social life, military campaigns, and everyday living. Among the Collection are eight stereoscopic viewers **❶❷**,² and photographic formats include daguerreotypes, stereographs, wet-plate collodion photographs, albumen prints, glass

¹ 張頌仁先生，M.H.：「回望 — 夢周文教基金會早期中國影像藏品展」開幕禮致辭（香港歷史博物館，2024 年 10 月 22 日）。Johnson Chang, M.H., “In Retrospect: The Early Chinese Photography Collection of Moonchu Foundation,” speech delivered at the opening ceremony (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of History, 22 October 2024).

² 八臺觀片器當中，包括三臺折疊式立體照片觀片器、一臺反射式立體照片台式觀片器、一臺透視式玻璃幻燈片台式觀片器、一臺 20 世紀初期鍍銀立體照片觀片器及一臺立體觀片器等。
The eight photo viewers include three folding stereoscopic photo viewers, one reflected-light desktop stereoscopic photo viewer, one pedestal stereoscopic glass-slides viewer, one early-20th-century silver-plated stereoscopic viewer, and one stereoscopic viewer, etc.



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

- ❶** 折疊式立體照片觀片器，約 1910 年代
約長 40、闊 25.5、高 11.5（釐米）（折疊尺寸）
Folding stereographic viewer
Dimensions: approximately 40 cm (L), 25.5 cm (W), 11.5 cm (H) (folded size), circa 1910s.



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

- ❷** 透視式玻璃幻燈片台式觀片器，約 1910 年代。
約長 26、闊 22.5、高 44（釐米）（收合尺寸）
Pedestal stereoscopic glass-slides viewer
Dimensions: approximately 26.5 cm (L), 20 cm (W), 44 cm (H) (storage dimensions), circa 1910s.

敘早期攝影史，為華南地區殊為罕見的有關中國影像的全面收藏，恰可與我館已登錄逾35,000件的影像藏品相互對照、比類研究。為感銘是次捐贈，我館特意將一樓專題展覽廳命名為「夢周歷史影像暨文化館」以誌此美事。

夢周藏品時代跨度之遠，地域之廣，足以編織出一章又一章的時代日誌。拙文謹略道攝影發展史之若干要義，以顯夢周藏品之可貴。冀拋磚引玉，引各方學者共赴探研。

「寫真」詞源考

在攝影術發明之先，人們如欲作畫像記錄，僅能以繪畫作錄。今東洋所用「寫真」一詞，意指「照片」。然「寫真」實源出古漢語，乃「繪畫圖像」之意。考北齊《顏氏家訓·雜藝》：「畫繪之工，亦為妙矣；自古名士，多或能之。[……]武烈太子偏能寫真，坐上賓客，隨宜點染，即成數人，以問童孺，皆知姓名矣。」⁴其中已見以「寫真」指稱「描繪人像畫」；唐白居易〈題舊寫真圖〉：「我昔三十六，寫貌在丹青。我今四十六，衰頹臥江城。豈比十年老，曾與眾苦并。一照舊圖畫，無復昔儀形。形影默相顧，如弟對老兄。」⁵又有杜甫〈丹青引贈曹將軍霸〉：「將軍畫善蓋有神，必逢佳士亦寫真。」⁶均以「寫真」言指人像畫；北宋王安石〈明妃曲〉：「死生難有卻回身，不忍回看舊寫真，玉顏不是黃金少，愛把丹青錯畫人。」⁷至明湯顯祖著《牡丹亭》有〈寫真〉一折，述杜麗娘為尋夢中情人，繪自畫像以留存至美容貌。

lantern slides, and printing-out paper.³ Together, these materials vividly narrate the history of early photography and constitute an exceptionally rare and comprehensive collection of Chinese images in South China. The Moonchu Collection can be cross-referenced and comparatively studied alongside the over 35,000 photographic items already accessioned in our museum. In recognition of this generous donation, the Museum has named its first-floor Special Exhibition Gallery the “Moonchu Historical Images and Culture Gallery” to mark this auspicious occasion.

The temporal span and geographical breadth of the Moonchu Collection are vast, enough to weave together chapter after chapter of historical chronicles. In this brief essay, the author outlines several essential points in the history of photography to highlight the invaluable nature of the Moonchu Collection. It is my hope that this brief contribution may spark further inquiry and inspire scholars from all fields to join in deeper exploration.

Tracing the Origins of “Xiezhen”

Before the invention of photography, if people wished to make a pictorial record, they could only do so through painting. In the East, the term *xiezhen* is used to mean “photograph.” Yet *xiezhen* actually originates in Classical Chinese, where it signified “painted image.” Consider *Zayi* (Miscellaneous Arts) chapter of the Northern Qi text *Yanshi jiaxun* (the Family Instructions for the Yan Clan), “*The art of painting is, for its part, marvellous. Many famous gentlemen since ancient times were good at it. (...) The Crown Prince Wulie was particularly dexterous at portraiture. He would casually render several figures in his residence with a few dots and strokes, but if shown to a child, the child would still be able to name the people in the drawing.*”⁴ Here we already see “*xiezhen*” used to denote “depicting portraits.” In the Tang dynasty, Bai Juyi’s *Ti jiu xiezhen tu* (Inscription on an Old Xiezhen Painting) reads, “When I was 36, my likeness was captured in pigments. Now I am 46, worn and frail in Jiangcheng. How can ten years of

查日人文獻，18世紀畫家圓山應舉（1733-1795）、伊藤若沖（1716-1800）等，以「真寫」形容山水畫與花鳥圖等寫實畫作，或為漢語「寫真」之顛倒。1811年，司馬江漢（1747-1818）於所著《西洋畫談》和《春波樓筆記》中，便提及：「西洋各國的畫法，寫真之法不同」⁸、「畫若不真寫其物，則畫之奇利無處可用」、「即其物以真實寫之，如同踏足山水其地，運用稱為寫真鏡。而所有萬物皆可寫之」。⁹荷學家大槻玄澤（1757-1827）於1788年著有《蘭說弁惑》，直接以「寫真鏡」指「暗箱」，並附插圖闡述箇中運作原理。¹⁰杉田玄白（1733-1817）亦於1815年所著《蘭學事始》中，稱「暗箱」為「寫真鏡」。然而，當時的「暗箱」乃自15世紀開始被廣泛利用作室內繪畫的輔助風景投影工具。

aging, shared with all suffering, be compared? One glance at the old painting, and my former visage is gone. My image and shadow silently regard each other, as a younger brother facing his elder.”⁵ Du Fu, in *Danqing yin zeng Cao jiangjun Ba* (Song of a Painting, Presented to General Cao Ba), wrote, “*My general, in your mastery of painting some divinity lies; whenever you met some fine scholar, you would paint his portrait true (xiezhen).*”⁶ Both examples use *xiezhen* to mean portraiture. In the Northern Song, Wang Anshi’s *Mingfei qu* (Song of Mingfei) says, “Life and death cannot bring back the body; I cannot bear to look again at the old *xiezhen*. The jade-like face is not diminished by gold, yet alas the pigments have wrongly painted the person.”⁷ By the Ming dynasty, Tang Xianzu’s *The Peony Pavilion* included a scene titled *Xiezhen*, in which Du Liniang, seeking the lover from her dream, painted her own portrait to preserve her beauty.

Consulting Japanese sources, it can be observed that in the 18th century painters such as Maruyama Ōkyo (1733-1795) and Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800) used the term *shinsha* (true depiction) to describe realistic works such as landscapes and bird-and-flower paintings—perhaps a reversal of the Chinese term *xiezhen*. In 1811, Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818), in his works *Seiyōu Gadan* (Discussion on Western Painting) and *Shunparou hikki* (Notes of Shunparou), remarked, “The painting methods of Western countries differ in their approach to *shashin* (cognate with the Chinese word *xiezhen*)”;⁸ “If a painting does not truly depict its subject, then its artistic merit has no place”; and

⁶ [唐]杜甫撰，[清]仇兆鰲注：《杜詩詳注（四）》卷十三〈丹青引贈曹將軍霸〉（北京：中華書局，2015），頁1392。Ding Xiang Warner and Paul W. Kroll, eds., *The Poetry of Du Fu* (Volume 1), trans. Stephen Owen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 396-397. Also in Fu Du, “*Danqing yin zeng Cao jiangjun Ba* (Song of a Painting: Presented to General Cao Ba),” in *Du shi xiangzhu si* (Detailed Annotations to Du Fu’s Poetry, Vol. 4), *juan shisan* (Scroll Thirteen), ed. Zhaoao Qiu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2015), 1392.

⁷ [宋]王安石撰，王水照主編：《王安石全集（第五冊）》《臨川先生文集（一）》第卷三十六〈集句〉（上海：復旦大學出版社，2017年），頁707-708。Anshi Wang, “*Mingfei qu*,” in *Wang Anshi quanji di wu ce, Linchuan xiansheng wenji yi* (Anthology of Master Linchuan (Vol. 1) in Complete Works of Wang Anshi (Vol. 5), *juan sanshiliu Jiju* (Scroll Thirty-Six: Collected Verses), ed. Shuizhao Wang (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2017), 707-708.

⁸ 「西洋諸國の画法は、写真にして其法を異にす（中譯：西洋諸國之畫法，與攝影相比，其法殊異。）」，司馬江漢：《西洋画談》，寬政十一年（1799）本，載於中井宗太郎著：《司馬江漢》（東京：アトリエ社，1942），頁59，日本國立國會圖書館藏。“The painting methods of Western countries differ in that they are photographic,” — in Kōkan Shiba, *Seiyou gadan* (Discussion on Western Painting), in *Shiba Kōkan*, ed. Sotaro Nakai (Tokyo: Atelier-sha, 1942), 59. Collection of National Diet Library.

⁹ 「画は其の物を真に写さざれば、画の妙用とする処なし。[……]之を写真するの法は、蘭画なり」[只其物を真に写し、山水は其地を踏むが如くする法にして、写真鏡という器あり。これをもって万物を写す。]（中譯：「畫若不能真實摹寫其物，則無以顯其妙用。[……]以攝影之法者，乃蘭畫也。」）「唯能真實摹寫其物，使山水如親臨其境之法，並有名為『寫真鏡』之器，以之摹寫萬物。」司馬江漢：《春波樓筆記》，頁31，九州大學中央圖書館藏，收錄於国書データベース（中譯：國書資料庫）。DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20730/100365776>。又見朝倉治彦等編：《司馬江漢全集（第二卷）》（東京：八坂書房，1994）。

“If a painting does not truly depict the object, it cannot fulfill the wondrous function of painting. [...] The method of photographing is that of Dutch painting.” “It simply reproduces the object faithfully, so that landscapes appear as if one had trodden upon the actual site. There is an instrument called the photographic mirror, by which all things may be copied” in Kōkan Shiba, *Shunparou hikki* (Notes of Shunparou), Union Catalogue Database of Japanese Texts, 31. Collection of Central Library of Kyushu University, <https://doi.org/10.20730/100365776>. Also in Haruhiko Asakura et al., eds., *Shiba Kōkan zenshū* (Complete Works of Shiba Kōkan), *dai ni kan* (vol. 2). Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1994.

³ 即曬相紙，此紙曬像時即能現出影像，相對顯影紙而言，於顯影後方見形，更為方便。見沈夏雲譯，杜就田校：《柯達克攝影術》（上海：商務印書館，1923），頁154。

That is, Printing-Out Paper (POP), a type of paper on which the image appears directly during exposure. Compared with Developing-Out Paper (DOP), which reveals the image only after chemical development, POP is more convenient. See Tsiu Tien Tu, ed., *Kedake sheyingshu* (How to Use the Kodak), trans. Hsia Yun Shen (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1923), 154.

⁴ 莊輝明，章義和：《顏氏家訓譯注》〈雜藝第十九〉（上海：上海古籍出版社，2012），頁248。Paul W. Kroll, ed., *Family Instructions for the Yan Clan and Other Works by Yan Zhitui (531-590s)*, trans. Xiaofei Tian (Boston/Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2021), 423.

⁵ 謝思煒：《白居易詩集校注（二）》卷七〈閑適三〉（北京：中華書局，2006），頁642。Juyi Bai, “*Ti jiu xiezhen tu*,” in *Xianshi san* (Leisure and Ease, no. 3), in *Bai Juyi shiji jiaozhu er* (Annotated and Collated Works of Bai Juyi’s Poetry, vol. 2), *juan qi* (Scroll Seven), ed. Siwei Xie (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 642.

1843 年，荷人將攝影設備傳入日本並作首次影像紀錄，1854 年，川本幸民（1810-1871）《遠西奇器述》以「直寫映鏡」命名銀版攝影術。同期亦有「印象鏡」、「直寫影鏡」等不同譯語。1860 年，中嶋治平將介紹濕版攝影術之荷蘭書籍翻譯出版，題《攝影之說—寫真術》。¹¹ 柳川春三（1832-1870）在 1867 年出版的《寫真鏡圖說》，將「寫真」與「照片」劃上等號。¹² 自是，以「寫真」一詞指涉「照片」漸次於東洋普及。¹³ 本前所考，「寫真」一詞源自古漢語可自明。今國人鮮以「寫真」作「照像」解，而日人泛用。究其詞源，實萌於中國爾後東傳矣。

“To depict an object with true realism, as though one were stepping into the landscape itself, is called the *shashin* mirror (*shashin-kyō*). All things may be depicted in this way.”⁹ The Dutch-learning scholar Ōtsuki Gentaku (1757-1827), in his 1788 work *Ransetsu Benwaku* (On Dutch Photography: Dispelled Misconceptions), directly referred to the “*shashin* mirror” as the “camera obscura,” even including illustrations to explain its mechanism.¹⁰ Likewise, Sugita Genpaku (1733-1817), in his 1815 *Rangaku Kotohajime* (The Beginnings of Dutch Learning), also called the “camera obscura” a “*shashin* mirror”. At that time, however, the “camera obscura” had been widely used since the 15th century as a device for projecting scenery indoors to assist painters.

In 1843, the Dutch introduced photographic equipment into Japan and made the first image records there. In 1854, Kawamoto Kōmin (1810-1871), in his *Ensei Kikijutsu* (On the Marvelous Instruments of the Far West), named the daguerreotype “direct-depiction reflecting mirror”. Around the same time, other translations appeared, such as “impression mirror” and “direct-depiction shadow mirror.” In 1860, Nakashima Jihei (1823-1866) translated and published a Dutch book introducing the collodion process under the title *Hotogarahi no setsu shashinjutsu* (On Photography: The *Shashin* Technique).¹¹ Yanagawa Shunsan’s (1832-1870), in his 1867 work *Shashinkyō Zusetsu* (Explanation of the Photographic Mirror), explicitly equated “shashin” with “photograph.”¹² From then on, the term *shashin* (Japanese) or *xiezhen* (Chinese) gradually came to be widely used in East Asia to refer to “photographs.” As shown in the foregoing discussion, the word *xiezhen* clearly originates in classical Chinese. Today, Chinese speakers rarely use *xiezhen* to mean “taking photographs,” whereas in Japanese, the word *shashin* remains in common usage. Tracing its etymology, the term first arose in China and was later transmitted eastward to Japan.¹³

中國攝影先驅

以繪畫「寫真」，難免失真，未能滿足需要。無論中外，均極為嚮往一種可實時實地記錄影像的方法橫空出世。考我國現代攝影術之發明，多推清末科學家、廣東南海鄒伯奇（1819-1869）為宗。其人一生雖未曾踏出嶺南，惟博聞強記，廣納西學。又受北宋沈括（1032-1096）《夢溪筆談》影響，研究光學原理，於 1844 年便著有專論攝影技術及理論的篇章，遂被視作中國攝影先驅。《南海縣志》便譽其「[……] 製器精巧，與西人所稱重學、光學、化學相連，伯奇獨深明其理。」¹⁴

其所著〈格術補〉有言：「密室小孔漏光，必成倒影。雲鳥東飛，其影西逝，日圓影圓，月缺影缺。影距孔近則小，影距孔遠則大。常若視徑之比，孔束愈小，則影界愈清。」¹⁵ 所謂「格術」者，即闡述平面鏡、透鏡等光學構件的成像原理，解構望遠鏡、顯微鏡等儀器的結構，實為攝影基礎光學原理的探討。

又有〈攝影之器記〉，云：「有一密室，惟前壁開小孔透光，則室外諸物盡倒影於後壁，居東者見於西，在下者射於上，以似平非平之中高鏡安其孔，接淨白紙，則形形色色畢肖焉。紙距鏡，視鏡高為遠近。如以鏡照，曰遠一尺，得火，則紙距鏡不過一尺，為最明，稍遠則漸暗也。若描寫為畫，與當面景色無少異，變而更之，以木為箱，中張白紙或白色玻璃，前面開孔安筒，筒口安鏡而進退之，後面開窺孔，隨意轉移而觀之，名曰『攝影之器』。此畫譜之最生活者也。[……] 先是，歲在乙未（按：即 1835 年），客有以塔倒影獻疑者，取《夢溪筆談》讀而極思之，驗之室中之雲影，飛鳥之往來，因

Pioneers of Photography in China

Relying on painted *xiezhen* (likenesses) inevitably led to distortions and could not fully meet the need for accurate records. Both in China and abroad, people longed for a method that could capture images directly, in real time and on site. In tracing the origins of modern photography in China, many credit the late-Qing scientist Zou Boqi (1819-1869) of Nanhai, Guangdong, as a central figure. Though he never left the Lingnan region, he was widely read, possessed a prodigious memory, and eagerly absorbed Western knowledge. Influenced by Shen Kuo’s (1032-1096) *Dream Pool Essays* from the Northern Song, he studied optical principles and, as early as 1844, wrote chapters devoted specifically to photographic techniques and theory. For this reason, he is regarded as a pioneer of Chinese photography. *Nanhai Xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Nanhai County) praised him: “(…) His craftsmanship in making instruments was exquisite, connected with what Westerners call mechanics, optics, and chemistry, and Boqi alone understood their principles deeply.”¹⁴

In Boqi’s work *Ge Shu bu* (Supplement to the Study of Optical Principles), he wrote, “When light leaks through a small aperture into a dark chamber, an inverted image will inevitably form. If clouds or birds fly eastward, their shadows move westward; when the sun is round, its image is round; when the moon wanes, its image wanes. If the image is close to the aperture, it appears small, if farther away it appears large. This is always proportional to the viewing distance. The smaller the aperture, the sharper the image boundary.”¹⁵ The term *Ge Shu* refers to the study of optical principles involving plane mirrors, lenses, and other components of image formation. It also analyses the structures of instruments such as telescopes and microscopes, and in essence represents an early exploration of the fundamental optical principles underlying photography.

There is also his essay *Sheying zhi qi ji* (Record of the Instrument of Photography), which states, “In a dark chamber,

¹⁰ 大槻玄澤口授，有馬元冕筆錄：《蘭說弁惑》卷之下（伊勢：山形屋東助，1799），頁 11，早稻田大學圖書館藏。Ōtsuki Gentaku, *Ransetsu benwaku* (On Dutch Photography: Dispelled Misconceptions), vol. 2, recorded by Arima Genchō (Ise: Yamagataya Tōsuke, 1799), 11. Collection of Waseda University Library.

¹¹ 書題原作：〈ホトガラヒーの説 写真術〉，萩博物館藏，收錄於文化遺產オンライン（Cultural Heritage Online）<https://online.bunka.go.jp/heritages/detail/179415>（最後瀏覽日期：2026 年 5 月 7 日）。Jihei Nagashima, *Hotogarahi no setsu shashinjutsu* (On Photography: The Shashin Technique). (n.p., 1860), in the collection of the Hagi Museum, Cultural Heritage online, (last accessed 7 May 2026), <https://online.bunka.go.jp/heritages/detail/179415>.

¹² 柳川春三：《写真鏡図説》（中譯：寫真鏡圖解），慶應三年（1867）出版，國文學研究資料館藏。DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20730/200018380>。Shunsan Yanagawa, *Shashinkyō zusetsu* (Explanation of the Photographic Mirror) (Edo, 1867), in the collection of the National Institute of Japanese Literature, <https://doi.org/10.20730/200018380>.

¹³ 神林優：〈写真という名について ― 発明前夜から日本伝来まで（中譯：關於「寫真」這個名稱——從發明前夜到傳入日本）〉，載於《表現学》2017 年第 3 号，頁 19。Yu Kanbayashi, “Shashin toiu na nitsuite: hatsumeï zenya kara Nippon denrai made (On the Name of Photography: From the Invention’s Eve to Its Transmission to Japan),” *Hyogengaku* 3 (2017): 19.

¹⁴ 鄭夢玉等主修，梁紹獻等續修，李徵霽分纂：《南海縣志》卷十八〈列傳文學〉，清同治十一年（1872）續修，（羊城富文齋刻本），頁 12。Mengyu Zheng et al., eds., “*Liezhuan: wenxue*” (Biographies: Literature), in *Nanhai xian zhi* (Gazetteer of Nanhai County), *juan shiba* (vol. 18), revised by Shaoxian Liang et al., comp. Zhengwei Li (Yangcheng: Fuwenzhai keben (Fuwenzhai block-printed ed.), Qing Tongzhi 11 (1872)), 12.

¹⁵ [清] 鄒伯奇：〈格術補〉，載氏著：《鄒徵君遺書》，收入 [清] 求敏齋主人輯：《中西算學叢書初編》，第二十四冊，光緒二十二年（1896）四明求敏齋校本，上海鴻寶齋石印。又見 [清] 鄒伯奇：〈格術補〉，載氏著：《鄒徵君遺書》，同治十一年（1873）刻本，天一閣博物院藏。見於天一閣博物院古籍數字化服務平台：<https://gj.tianyige.com.cn/#/SearchPage/dfe27b3a61eac8653aa10022f9a52821>，（最後瀏覽日期：2026 年 5 月 8 日）。Boqi Zou, “*Ge shu bu* (Supplement to the Study of Optical Principles),” in *Zou Zhengjun yishu* (Literary Remains of Zou Zhengjun), in *Zhongxi suanxue congshu chubian* (First Series of the Collected Works on Chinese and Western Mathematics), *di ershisi ce* (vol. 24), ed. Qiuminzhai zhuren (Shanghai: Shanghai Hongbaozhai, 1896). Also published in Boqi Zou, “*Ge shu bu* (Supplement to the Study of Optical Principles),” in *Zou Zhengjun yishu* (Literary Remains of Zou Zhengjun) (1873). Collection of Tianyige Museum, (last accessed 15 May 2026), from <https://gj.tianyige.com.cn/#/SearchPage/dfe27b3a61eac8653aa10022f9a52821>.

通其故，與陽燧倒影，實爲一理。甲辰歲（按：即 1844 年），因用鏡取火，忽悟其能攝諸形色也，急閉窗穴板驗之，引申觸類，而作此器。」¹⁶ 鄒氏雖自題此文為〈攝影之器記〉，然自其文中所言「此畫譜之最生活者也」。察之，其所發明僅乃一可按倒影在紙張或玻璃上作臨摹風景的暗箱而已，而非感光存影實錄風景的現代攝影技術。由是，則攝影術之發明，尤須自西方之發見而談起。

if a small aperture is opened in the front wall to admit light, then all external objects will be projected as inverted images upon the rear wall. Those situated to the east appear in the west; those below are cast above. If a medium-high convex lens, seemingly flat but not, is placed at the aperture, and a sheet of clean white paper is set to receive the image, then all forms and colours are faithfully reproduced. The distance between the paper and the lens determines the focus, with the height of the lens setting the near or far point. For example, if the lens is used to concentrate light and it is said that fire is obtained (a traditional way of describing the focal point where light converges to ignite paper) at one *chi* (approx. one foot), then the paper must be placed no more than one *chi* from the lens for the brightest effect; if placed farther away, the image gradually darkens. If you trace the projected image onto paper, the drawing will look exactly like the real scene in front of you. To modify this, one constructs a box of wood, stretching white paper or white glass inside. An opening is made in the front to fix a tube, and at the mouth of the tube a lens is set, which can be moved forward or backward. At the back, a peephole is opened, through which one may observe at will by shifting the device. This instrument is called the ‘apparatus for capturing images.’ It is the most lifelike of painting manuals. (...) Earlier, in the year *Yiwei* (1835), a guest raised doubts about the inverted image of a pagoda. Consulting Shen Kuo’s *Dream Pool Essays*, he reflected deeply, tested the shadows of clouds and the flight of birds within a chamber, and realised the principle was the same as the inverted image produced by a burning mirror. In the year *Jiachen* (1844), while using a lens to focus sunlight, he suddenly grasped that it could capture all forms and colours. He quickly closed the window, tested it with a board pierced by a hole, extended the principle to other cases, and thus devised this instrument.”¹⁶ Although Zou himself titled this text “Record of the Instrument of Photography,” within it he states: “This is the most lifelike of painting manuals.” On examination, what he invented was merely a dark box for tracing reflected images onto paper or glass as landscape sketches, and not the modern photographic technology of recording actual scenes through lightsensitive materials. Thus, the true invention of photography must be traced to discoveries originating in the West.

攝影術之發明

若論攝影術之誕生，多以法國科學院常任秘書長、天文學家及物理學家法蘭索瓦·阿拉戈（Dominique François Jean Arago，1786-1853）於 1839 年正式宣告「銀版攝影術」的發明為肇始。¹⁷ 然早於此，攝影術實已具雛形。

法國發明家約瑟夫·尼塞佛爾·尼埃普斯（Joseph Nicéphore Niépce，1765-1833）致力研發技術，務永存影像。1816 年，其以銀鹽紙置於暗箱後部，曝光部分變黑。1816 年 5 月，他拍下世界上第一張具現代攝影意義的照片，乃某處窗外景緻。未幾，該負片（按：即明暗與攝影體相反，明處顯暗，暗處顯明）因長時間暴露在強光下而全然變黑，影像遽然無蹤。¹⁸ 試驗雖敗，惟奠下日後成功基礎。

終在 1824 年，約瑟夫實驗成功，他終能滿意地向遠居英倫的弟弟致函宣告成功：「我欣然向你宣佈：因工藝持續精進，終能償長久所望錄得景象。昔日實未敢奢望成功，蓋自今成果猶未善。該景自汝室面萊格拉而

The Invention of Photography

When discussing the birth of photography, many trace its origin to the year 1839, when Dominique François Jean Arago (1786-1853) —Permanent Secretary of the French Academy of Sciences, as well as an astronomer and physicist—formally announced the invention of the daguerreotype.¹⁷ Yet long before this declaration, the foundations of photographic techniques had already begun to take shape.

French inventor Joseph Nicéphore Niépce (1765-1833) devoted himself to developing techniques that could preserve images permanently. In 1816, he placed paper coated with silver salts at the back of a camera obscura, and the exposed areas darkened. In May of that year, he captured what is considered the world’s first photograph with modern significance—an image of a view outside a window. Shortly afterward, however, the negative (in which light and dark were reversed—the bright areas appearing dark and the dark areas appearing bright) was completely blackened after prolonged exposure to strong light, and the image vanished.¹⁸ Though the experiment failed, it laid the groundwork for later success.

At last, in 1824, Joseph’s experiment succeeded, and he was finally able to write with satisfaction to his brother far away in Britain to announce the success:

“I am pleased to finally be able to announce to you that, thanks to the refinement of my processes, I have succeeded in obtaining a view as I had wished for, though I scarcely dared to hope for it, as until now, my results had been very incomplete. This view was taken from your room facing Le Gras; and for this purpose, I used my largest camera obscura and my largest plate. The image of the objects is rendered with astonishing clarity and fidelity, down to the finest details and their most delicate shades. Since this counter-proof is almost uncoloured, one can best appreciate its effect by looking at the plate obliquely: it is then that it becomes perceptible to the eye, through the shadows and light reflections; and this effect, I must say, my dear friend, truly has something magical about it (...) In the meantime, you can, as of today, consider the

¹⁶ [清] 鄒伯奇：〈攝影之器記〉，載氏著《鄒徵君存稿》，收入[清] 求敏齋主人輯：《中西算學叢書初編》，第二十四冊，光緒二十二年（1896）四明求敏齋校本，上海鴻寶齋石印。又見[清] 鄒伯奇：〈攝影之器記〉，載氏著：《鄒徵君遺書》，同治十一年（1873）刻本，天一閣博物院藏。見於天一閣博物院古籍數字化服務平台：<https://gj.tianyige.com.cn/#/SearchPage/dfe27b3a61eac8653aa10022f9a52821>。（最後瀏覽日期：2026 年 5 月 8 日）。

Boqi Zou, “*Sheying zhi qi ji* (Record of Photographic Instruments),” in *Zou Zhengjun cungao* (The Unpublished Writings of Zou Zhengjun), in *Zhongxi suanxue congshu chubian* (First Series of the Collected Works on Chinese and Western Mathematics), *di ershisi ce* (vol. 24), ed. Qiuminzhai zhuren (Shanghai: Shanghai Hongbaozhai, 1896). Also published in Boqi Zou, “*Sheying zhi qi ji* (Record of Photographic Instruments),” in *Zou Zhengjun yishu* (Literary Remains of Zou Zhengjun) (1873). Collection of Tianyige Museum, (last accessed 15 May 2026), <https://gj.tianyige.com.cn/#/SearchPage/dfe27b3a61eac8653aa10022f9a52821>.

¹⁷ R. Derek Wood：〈The Daguerreotype Patent, The British Government, and The Royal Society〉，《History of Photography》（4（1），1980），頁 53–59。

R. Derek Wood, “The Daguerreotype Patent, the British Government, and the Royal Society,” *History of Photography* 4, no.1 (January 1980): 53–59.

¹⁸ Nicéphore Niépce’s House Museum：〈Niépce and the Invention of Photography — Niépce’s first Experiments〉，<https://bicentennial-of-photography.org/niepce-and-the-invention-of-photography-niepce-s-first-experiments/>（最後瀏覽日期：2026 年 1 月 6 日）。

“Niépce and the Invention of Photography—Niépce’s first Experiments,” Nicéphore Niépce’s House Museum, (last accessed 6 January 2026), <https://bicentennial-of-photography.org/niepce-and-the-invention-of-photography-niepce-s-first-experiments/>.

攝，使吾暗箱與感光板之至大者。物象之影，清晰逼真，細節與陰影，悉皆畢現。此逆試版幾無色彩，宜斜視其板，則陰影與光影交映，始為目所可視；觀其物，必得說，吾友，確為之奇……自今日始，汝可視吾所研究影像工藝，莫論施於石版抑玻璃，為一已經驗證而無可爭辯之成功。」¹⁹

本此，1824 年實為文獻紀錄中世界首張影像誕生的關鍵年份，較「銀版攝影術」誕生的 1839 年還要早 15 年。及後，約瑟夫成功以「日光蝕刻法」（Heliography）成功長久留存影像，然約瑟夫並未對外公佈成果。²⁰他一直在 1833 年離世前，還在不懈地改進攝影術，尤重於縮短曝光時間及影像清晰度。然而，其攝影術之創發，於其生前未蒙認許。今存世界第一張永久存留的影像—現藏美國德州大學奧斯汀分校哈里・蘭索姆中心（Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin）的「萊斯格拉窗外的景色」（法文：Point de vue du Gras），²¹即為約瑟夫攝於約 1826 年的作品，為其創始攝影術留下實證。

約瑟夫曾於 1827 至 1828 年間赴英，將他以「日光蝕刻法」所拍下的不少照片展示並留給英國皇家學會院士及植物學家弗朗茲・鮑爾（Francis Bauer，1758-1840），原意為取得英國皇家學會就其發明的財政支持，未果。期間，他認識了法國劇場畫家達蓋爾（Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre，1787-1851）。1829 年，二人簽署合同，達蓋爾同意為約瑟夫提供更好的暗箱裝置以利攝取更清晰的影像，約瑟夫則同意將自身研發的攝影術與達蓋爾分享。1833 年，約瑟夫離世，達蓋爾上承其攝影發明而繼續發展，並於 1837 年製作出僅需約 30 分鐘曝光時間

success of applying my processes to views, whether on stone or on glass, as a demonstrated and indisputable fact.”¹⁹

On this basis, 1824 was a pivotal year in the documentary record, marking the birth of the world’s first image—15 years before the invention of the daguerreotype in 1839. Subsequently, Joseph succeeded in permanently preserving images through heliography, yet he never made his achievement public.²⁰ Until his death in 1833, he continued tirelessly refining his photographic technique, focusing especially on reducing exposure times and improving image clarity. Nevertheless, his pioneering work in photography was not acknowledged during his lifetime. The world’s first permanently preserved image—*Point de vue du Gras* (in French)—²¹ taken by Joseph around 1826, is now housed at the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, and stands as tangible proof of his foundational photographic innovation.

Joseph once travelled to Britain between 1827 and 1828 to show a myriad of his photographic works produced by heliography to Francis Bauer (1758-1840), Fellow of the Royal Society (UK) and botanist, aiming to seek financial support to his innovative initiative from the Royal Society but to no avail. During this period, he met French theatre scenery painter Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre (1787-1851). In 1829, Daguerre entered into an agreement with Joseph to supply a better camera obscura device that produced clearer images. In return, Joseph agreed to share his self-invented photographic process he had developed with Daguerre. After Joseph’s death in 1833, Daguerre inherited and continued to develop Joseph’s photographic invention, and in 1837 produced early daguerreotype photographs (silver-based process) which required only about a 30-minute exposure.²² Through several negotiations with Joseph’s son, Daguerre decided to make a joint announcement of this invention to seek support from the French government. On 19 August 1839, Dominique François Jean Arago, Permanent Secretary of the French Academy



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

③ 執扇女性坐像，達蓋爾銀版照片，1850 年代。
Portrait of a seated woman holding a fan, daguerreotype, 1850s.



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

④ 女性半身像，達蓋爾銀版照片，1850 年代。
Half-length portrait of a woman, daguerreotype, 1850s.

的早期銀版照片。²² 在幾歷與約瑟夫之子的周旋後，決定將此發明聯名公佈並尋求法國政府贊助。1839 年 8 月 19 日，法國科學院（Académie des sciences）常任秘書長阿拉戈正式向外公佈達蓋爾銀版攝影術的發明和細節。^{23 24} 達蓋爾銀版照片於鍍銀層上直接感光成像，其成像與實景左右顛倒，影像清晰，層次分明。其所須曝光時間長，每回拍攝獨立成像，未可複製，尤見其獨一無二之可貴 ③ ④。²⁵

攝影術正式誕生，其有文獻可考見 1824 年；世界首幀永存影像出於 1826 年；至 1839 年，斯術始由法國公諸於世。

of Sciences, made a public announcement concerning the invention and details of daguerreotype photographic skills.^{23 24} The daguerreotype produces a direct image on a silver-coated copper plate, with the resulting image appearing laterally reversed compared to the real scene. The photograph is exceptionally clear and richly detailed. However, the process requires a long exposure time, and each image is created individually and cannot be reproduced, which makes every daguerreotype uniquely precious ③ ④.²⁵

Photography formally came into being, with documentary evidence tracing back to 1824. The world’s first permanently preserved photograph was produced in 1826. It was not until 1839 that this technique was publicly announced in France.

¹⁹ 信件原文為法文，載於《Dokumenty po istorii izobreteniâ fotografii: perepiska Ž. N. Niepsa, Ž. M. Dagera i drugih lic》（中譯：攝影發明史的文獻：尼埃普斯、達蓋爾及其他人士的通信），由 Akademiâ Nauk SSSR 於 1949 年出版。見 Nicéphore Niépce's House Museum：〈1824-1829 — Invention of Photography〉，<https://bicentennial-of-photography.org/niepce-invention-photography>（最後瀏覽日期：2026 年 1 月 6 日）。

The original text of the letter is in French and was published in *Dokumenty po istorii izobreteniâ fotografii: perepiska Ž. N. Niepsa, Ž. M. Dagera i drugih lic* (Documents on the History of the Invention of Photography: Correspondence of J.N. Niépce, J.M. Daguerre, and Others) by Akademiâ Nauk SSSR in 1949. See “Niépce and the Invention of Photography,” Nicéphore Niépce’s House Museum, (last accessed 6 January 2026), <https://bicentennial-of-photography.org/niepce-invention-photography>.

²⁰ 「日光蝕刻法」，即在白蠟版上塗上猶太瀝青，形成感光層，反復曝光，受光少的瀝青溶於薰衣草油，與受光多的部分呈現黑白對比從而刻下影像輪廓。

The heliography involves coating a pewter plate with bitumen of Judea to create a sensitised layer. Through repeated exposure to light, the bitumen that receives fewer light dissolves in lavender oil, while the portions exposed to more light remain. This produces a black-and-white contrast, thereby engraving the outline of the image.

²¹ 中譯：格拉斯窗景。

English translation: *View from the Window at Le Gras*

²² Helmut Gernsheim：《The Origins of Photography》（紐約：New York Thames and Hudson，1982），頁 12-16；Gilbert Gimón：〈Jules Itier, Daguerreotypist〉，《History of Photography》（5(3)），1981）。

Helmut Gernsheim, *The Origins of Photography* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1982), 12-16; Gilbert Gimón, “Jules Itier, Daguerreotypist,” *History of Photography* 5, no. 3 (July 1981), 225-244.

²³ R. Derek Wood：〈The Daguerreotype Patent, The British Government, and The Royal Society〉，頁 53-59。

R. Derek Wood, “The Daguerreotype Patent, the British Government, and the Royal Society,” 53-59.

²⁴ 蔣齊生：〈現代攝影術的始祖—達蓋爾攝影術誕生前後〉，《中國記者》（3，1989），頁 36。

Qisheng Jiang, “*Xiandai sheying shu de shizu: Dagaier sheying shu dansheng qianhou* (The Founder of Modern Photography: Before and After the Birth of Daguerre’s Photography),” *Zhongguo jizhe* no. 3 (1989): 36.

²⁵ 吳鋼：〈攝影發展之路—前塵影事部分器材和展品介紹〉，載於中國文學藝術基金會、巴黎中國文化中心主編：《前塵影事—于勒・埃迪爾（1802-1877）最早的中國影像》（北京：中國建築工業出版社，2012），頁 64。

Gang Wu, “*Sheying fazhan zhilu: qianchen yingshi bufen qicai he zhanpin jieshao* (The Road of Photographic Development: Introduction to Selected Equipment and Exhibits from ‘Jules Itier, premières photographies de la Chine, 1844’),” in *Qianchen yingshi: Yule Aidier (1802-1877) zuizao de zhongguo yingxiang* (Jules Itier, premières photographies de la Chine, 1844), ed. China Literature and Art Foundation and Centre culturel de Chine à Paris (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2012), 64.

中國最早的影像紀錄

在攝影術發明後的四年，法國業餘銀版攝影師于勒・埃迪爾（Jules Alphonse Eugène Itier，1802 - 1877），他以海關總檢察官的身份，在 1844 年 8 月 15 日隨法國使節團首次踏足中國，於閒暇時以達蓋爾銀版攝影術拍攝澳門，在廣州期間又為兩廣總督耆英（1787-1858）、洋行買辦潘仕成（1804-1873）及其家人，以及廣州街頭、外國商館等攝影。²⁶ 澳門南灣為他在中國的首個訪地，他耗時兩日，於南灣、媽閣廟、內港和氹仔在達蓋爾銀版上留下最早的中國影像紀錄。

于勒・埃迪爾在旅途間所拍下的影像、日記及一千攝影歷史檔案等由其後人繼承，其後人於 1971 年以 1,500 法郎將之售予法國攝影博物館（Maison Européenne de la Photographie），²⁷ 而其中便包括 37 幀于勒在中國拍攝的達蓋爾銀版照片。

香港歷史博物館夢周藏品中，便存留一張于勒 1844 年在澳門南灣拍攝的達蓋爾銀版照片⁵，為今所存寥寥無幾的的最早中國影像紀錄之一，彌足珍貴。照片遠眺澳門南灣，左右倒置。南灣為澳門半島的海灣，昔日為商船停泊處。當中可見岸邊聖老楞佐教堂（Igreja de São Lourenço），²⁸ 教堂於照片拍攝後歷時兩年改建竣工。夢周藏品中另有兩幀 1870 年代由約翰・湯姆遜（John Thomson，1837-1921）及威廉・弗洛伊德（William Pryor Floyd，1834- 約 1900）所拍攝的南灣風景⁶⁷，除可與于勒所攝早期南灣作時代映照外，亦可清楚看見改建後的聖老楞佐教堂。

The Earliest Photographic Record in China

Four years after the invention of photography, French amateur daguerreotypist Jules Alphonse Eugène Itier (1802–1877), serving as Inspector General of Customs, accompanied the French diplomatic mission on its first visit to China on 15 August 1844. In his leisure time, he employed daguerreotype photography to capture views of Macao. During his stay in Guangzhou, he photographed Qiying (1787-1858), Viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi; Pan Shicheng (1804-1873), a comprador for a foreign trading firm, and his family; as well as street scenes and foreign trading houses.²⁶ Nam Van in Macao was his first stop in China. Over two days, he produced daguerreotypes of Nam Van, A-Ma (Barra) Temple, the Inner Harbour, and Taipa Island, leaving behind the earliest photographic record of China.

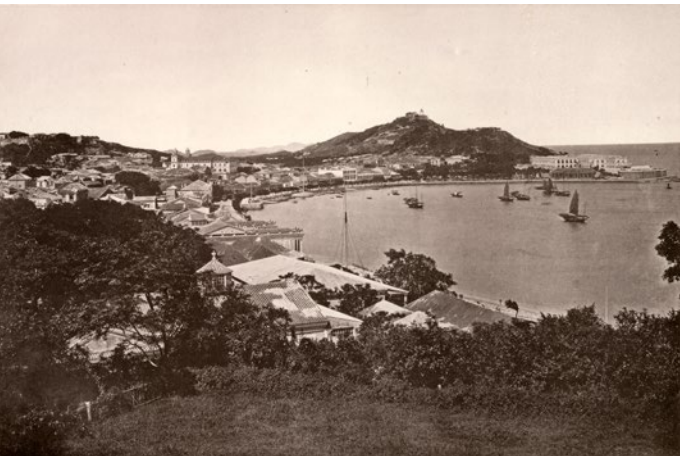
Itier’s photographs, from his travels, together with his diaries, and other historical records photography, were inherited by his descendants. In 1971, they sold the collection to the Maison Européenne de la Photographie in France for 1,500 francs.²⁷ The materials include 37 daguerreotypes taken by Itier in China.

In the Moonchu Collection of the HKMH, there is a daguerreotype taken by Itier at Nam Van, Macao in 1844⁵. It is one of the very few surviving earliest photographic records of China, and is therefore extremely precious. The photograph presents a panoramic view of Nam Van, laterally inverted. Nam Van is a bay on the Macao Peninsula, formerly used as a mooring site for merchant ships. St. Lawrence’s Church (Portuguese: Igreja de São Lourenço) can be seen on the shore;²⁸ the church was reconstructed and completed two years after the photograph was taken. The Moonchu Collection also contains two views of Nam Van taken in the 1870s by John Thomson (1837–1921) and William Pryor Floyd (1834–c.1900)⁶⁷. These later photographs not only provide a temporal comparison with Itier’s early image of Nam Van, but also clearly show the rebuilt St. Lawrence’s Church.



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

⁵ 澳門南灣，于勒・埃迪爾攝，達蓋爾銀版，1844 年。
Nam Van, Macao, photographed by Jules Alphonse Eugène Itier, daguerreotype, 1844.



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

⁶ 澳門南灣，約翰・湯姆遜（John Thomson）攝，1870 年。
Nam Van, Macao, photographed by John Thomson, 1870.



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

⁷ 澳門南灣，威廉・弗洛伊德（William Pryor Floyd）攝，1873 年。
Nam Van, Macao, photographed by William Pryor Floyd, 1873.

²⁶ 李麗嬌：〈尋找中國—從夢幻到真實〉，載於澳門博物館編：《神州遊蹤：約翰・湯姆遜眼中的晚清帝國》（澳門：澳門特別行政區政府文化局，2014），頁 15-16。

Grace Lei, “In Search of China: From the Fantasy to the Reality,” in *Journal of China: Illustrations of Late Qing Dynasty under John Thomson’s Eyes*, ed. Macao Museum (Macao: Cultural Affairs Bureau of the Macao Special Administrative Region Government, 2014), 15-16.

²⁷ 朱莉・高爾德韋勒（Julie Corteville）：〈法國攝影博物館收藏的于勒・埃迪爾作品〉載於中國文學藝術基金會 巴黎中國文化中心主編：《前塵影事—于勒・埃迪爾（1802-1877）最早的中國影像》（北京：中國建築工業出版社，2012），頁 18-19。

Julie Corteville, “*Faguo sheying bowuguan shoucang de Yule Aidier zuopin* (Works by Jules Itier in the Collection of the French Museum of Photography),” in *Qianchen yingshi: Yule Aidier (1802-1877) zuizao de zhongguo yingxiang (Jules Itier, premières photographies de la Chine, 1844)*, ed. China Literature and Art Foundation and Paris Chinese Cultural Center (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 2012), 18-19.

²⁸ 中譯：聖老楞佐堂。教堂創建於 16 世紀中葉，是澳門三大古教堂之一，幾經重建，1846 年形成的建築規模延續至今（澳門世界遺產：《聖老楞佐堂及前地（風順堂）》，<https://www.wh.mo/cn/site/detail/5>，（最後瀏覽日期：2026 年 5 月 8 日）。

English translation: St. Lawrence’s Church. The church was founded in the mid-16th century and is one of the three oldest churches in Macao. It underwent several reconstructions, with its present scale taking shape in 1846. (Macau World Heritage, “St. Lawrence’s Church and Forecourt,” (last accessed 15 May 2026), from <https://www.wh.mo/en/site/detail/5>.

于勒是目前已知的首位拍攝中國影像的攝影師。達蓋爾銀版法還未在中國廣泛傳播，新的攝影技術便取而代之，因此現存能看到與中國有關的達蓋爾銀版照片大都攝於 1850 年代初的粵港澳地區。于勒為其中國之旅留下日記，字裡行間可窺見國人初見攝影術的態度：

「今天，中國的人們非常客氣地站成固定的隊伍，只想見識一下攝像機。他們非常驚訝，兒童們看到這種新事物時感到非常好奇；學者和智者們對攝像機產生了興趣，該系列中包含了達蓋爾照片。」²⁹

「我這兩日專心以銀版照相機拍攝澳門最奇特之景。行人皆欣然配合我繁複的要求，許多中國人亦同意入鏡；但我須向他們展示暗箱之內，即影像映於拋光玻璃之時—於是驚嘆之聲四起，笑聲不絕。」³⁰

論者或謂早於 1842 年，便有英人在揚子江拍攝銀版照片。然除有寥寥的日記文字外，並未留存照片及其他記錄。³¹ 因此，仍未能動搖于勒作為首位拍攝中國影像的攝影師的地位。

Itier is recognised as the earliest known photographer to have captured images of China. At the time, the daguerreotype process had not yet spread widely within China and was soon supplanted by newer photographic techniques. As a result, most of the surviving daguerreotypes related to China were taken in the Guangdong–Hong Kong–Macao region in the early 1850s. Itier also kept diaries of his journey in China, in which one can discern the attitudes of local people when they first encountered photography.

“Today, the people of China politely stood in orderly lines, wanting only to have a look at the camera. They were deeply astonished. Children were very curious when encountering this new invention; scholars and learned men also took an interest in the camera. The series even included daguerreotypes.”²⁹

“Over the past two days I have devoted myself to photographing the most remarkable scenes of Macao with a daguerreotype camera. Passers-by gladly complied with my elaborate requirements, and many Chinese residents were also willing to appear in the images. Yet I had to show them the inside of the camera obscura—at the moment when the image appeared upon the polished glass—whereupon exclamations of wonder arose on all sides, and laughter continued unceasingly.”³⁰

Some researchers suggest that as early as 1842, Englishmen were already taking daguerreotype photographs along the Yangtze River. Yet apart from a few scattered diary entries, no photographs or other records have survived.³¹ Consequently, this has not altered the recognition of Jules Itier as the first photographer to capture images of China.

攝影術傳入中國

在于勒以達蓋爾銀版攝影法將攝影術傳入中國並留下影像後不久，湖南進士周壽昌（1814-1884）遊廣東，便記錄了他曾目睹的攝影術：「道光丙午（1846），薄遊廣東[……] 奇器多而最奇者有二，一為『畫小照法』：坐人平臺上，面東，置一鏡。術人從日光中取影，和藥少許，塗四圍，用鏡嵌之，不令洩氣。有頃，鬚眉衣服畢見，神情酷肖，善畫者不如。鏡不破，影可長留也。取景必辰巳時，必天晴有日。」³²

福建人林鍼（1824 - ？）在美習得攝影術，³³ 回國後撰有《西海紀遊草》，其〈自序〉有言：「山川人物，鏡中指日留形（有神鏡，煉藥能借日光以照花鳥人物，頃刻留模，余詳其法）」，³⁴ 於〈救回被誘潮人記〉一章便言：「迨丁未六月（1847）[……] 初學神鏡法」。³⁵ 林鍼於 1849 年帶著其所見所聞回國，當中便包括攝影術，可謂是國中習得攝影術的第一人。嗣後，攝影相關的記載流傳於各種筆記與詩抄，均能瞥見攝影術在中國初見之紀錄，如許善長（1823-1891）《談塵》卷四云：「照相之法，來自西洋[……]，始僅行於粵東。今華人亦習此技。按書刊於光緒戊寅（1878），各省皆有矣」；³⁶ 吳仰賢（1821-1887）〈洋涇竹枝詞

The Introduction of Photography into China

Shortly after Jules Itier introduced photography into China through the daguerreotype process and left behind some images, Zhou Shouchang (1814–1884), a *jìnshì* degree holder from Hunan, travelled to Guangdong and recorded the photographic technique he had witnessed, “In the *Bingwu* year of Daoguang reign (1846), during a brief journey to Guangdong (...) there were many wondrous devices, but two were the most remarkable. One was the ‘method for making small likenesses’: the sitter sits upon a platform facing east, with a mirror placed before him. The practitioner captures the image from sunlight, mixes it with a small amount of chemicals, applies it around the edges, and fits it into the mirror so that no air escapes. After a short while, the beard, brows, and clothing all appear, and the likeness is strikingly lifelike—better than what a skilled painter could produce. As long as the mirror is not broken, the image may be preserved for a long time. The scene must be taken between the hours of *chen* and *si* (approximately 7 a.m. to 11 a.m.), and only on clear, sunny days.”³²

Lin Zhen (b. 1824),³³ a native of Fujian, learned photography in the United States. After returning to China, he wrote *Xihai Jiyou Cao* (A Sketch of My Travels in the Western Oceans). In its Preface, he stated, “Mountains, rivers, and human figures—within the mirror one can capture their likeness by means of sunlight. (There is a wondrous mirror: by preparing certain chemicals, one can borrow the sun’s rays to illuminate flowers, birds, and people, and in an instant a model of them is preserved. I have examined its method in detail.)”³⁴ In the chapter *Jiuhui beiyou chao ren ji* (A Record of Rescuing the Chaozhou Man Who Had Been Abducted), he further wrote, “By the sixth month of the *Dingwei* year (1847) (...) I first began studying the method of the wondrous mirror.”³⁵ Lin Zhen returned to China in 1849, bringing back with him the knowledge and experiences he had acquired abroad—

²⁹ 于勒·埃及爾：《中國旅行日記》（1844 年 11 月）。于勒·埃及爾為關稅事務專家，曾參與法國與中國簽訂條約的籌備工作，但他所有的空閒時間都投入在銀版攝影上：「我這兩天專心用銀版照相機拍攝澳門最引人注目的景致；行人們非常樂意配合我各種苛刻的要求，許多中國人也同意入鏡；但我必須向他們展示照相機的內部，就在影像映照在拋光玻璃上的那一刻—隨即響起驚訝的呼聲與不絕的笑聲。」摘錄自 Gimon, G.：〈Jules Itier, Daguerreotypist〉，《History of Photography》（5(3)，1981），頁 225—244。Jules Itier, *Journal d’un voyage en Chine* (Journal of a Voyage to China), November 1844. Jules Itier, expert in customs matters, took part in the preparations for the signing of the treaty between France and China, but all his spare time was given to daguerreotypy, “Over the past two days I have devoted myself to photographing the most remarkable scenes of Macao with a daguerreotype camera. Passers-by gladly complied with my elaborate requirements, and many Chinese residents were also willing to pose. Yet I had to show them the inside of the camera obscura—at the moment when the image appeared upon the polished glass—whereupon exclamations of wonder arose on all sides, and laughter continued unceasingly,” see Gilbert Gimon, “Jules Itier, Daguerreotypist,” *History of Photography* 5, no. 3 (1981): 225-244.

³⁰ 同上註。
Ibid.

³¹ 泰瑞·貝內特，徐婷婷譯：《中國攝影史—西方攝影師 1842-1860》（北京：中國攝影出版社，2011），頁 1。Terry Bennett, *Zhongguo sheying shi: Xifang sheying shi, 1861-1879* (History of Photography in China: Western Photographers, 1861–1879), trans. Tingting Xu (Beijing: China Photographic Publishing House, 2013), 1

³² [清]周壽昌撰、許逸民點校：《思益堂日札》卷九〈廣東雜述〉（北京：中華書局，1987），頁 202 及 205。Shouchang Zhou, “*Guangdong zashu* (Miscellaneous Notes on Guangdong),” in *Siyitang rizha* (Daily Notes from Siyi Hall), *juan jiu* (Scroll Nine), ed. Yimin Xu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 202, 205.

³³ 有關林鍼的生年，參鍾叔河主編：《走向世界叢書·修訂本（一）》（長沙：岳麓書社，2008），頁 12。惟其卒年未詳。Regarding Lin Zhen’s year of birth, see *Zouxiang shijie congshu, xiuding ben yi* (From East to West: Chinese Travellers Before 1911, revised Edition, vol. 1), ed. Shuhe Zhong (Changsha: Yuelu Shushe, 2008), 12. His year of death, however, remains unknown.

³⁴ 林鍼：《西海紀遊艸》，載於鍾叔河主編：《走向世界叢書·修訂本（一）》（長沙：岳麓書社，2008），頁 38。Zhen Lin, “*Xihai jiyou cao* (A Sketch of My Travel in the Western Oceans),” see Note 33, 38

³⁵ 林鍼：《西海紀遊艸》，載於鍾叔河主編：《走向世界叢書·修訂本（一）》，頁 45-46。Zhen Lin, “*Xihai Jiyou Cao*,” see Note 33, 45-46.

³⁶ 許善長：《談塵》卷四〈照相〉，光緒四年（1878）碧聲吟館刻本，頁 70-71。Shanchang Xu, “*Zhaoxiang* (Photographing),” in *Tanchen*, vol. 4. (Bishengyinguan keben (Bishengyinguan edition), 1878), 70-71.

二十首・其十〉：「頰上添毫勝筆鉤，出奇最是寫真優。冰奩一攝全神在，愁煞人間顧虎頭。」³⁷ 鄭獻甫（1801-1872）於〈辛酉六月二十六日於花舫觀番人以鏡取影歌〉中更詳細記錄了外國人替人拍照的經過。³⁸

福格（1815 - ？）在其筆記《聽雨叢談》卷八〈寫真〉中，留下了一則攝影術的文字紀錄：「近日海國又有用鏡照影，塗以藥水，鋪紙揭印，毛髮必真，宛然奇人。其法甚秘，其製甚奇」，時維 1856 年。³⁹ 清人倪鴻（1829 - 1892）在其 1861 年所書的《退遂齋詩鈔》卷二〈照相篇〉又如此寫道：「[……]竿頭日影卓午初，一片先用玻璃鋪，徐（按：當作「涂」）以藥水鏡面敷。納之木匣藏機樞，更覆七尺巾幕疎。一孔盃大頻覘覷，時辰表轉剛須臾。須臾幻出人全軀，神傳阿堵知非虛。陰陽黑白分明俱，此中有人真可呼。畫師乍見增長吁，直奪造化無權輿。百年之內難模糊，在鏡中央豈可污。」詩中所言：「先用玻璃鋪，涂以藥水鏡面敷」，所指即「濕版攝影法」。⁴⁰

including photography—making him arguably the first person in China to have formally learned photographic techniques overseas. In later years, scattered references in various notebooks and poetry collections likewise reveal glimpses of the earliest records of photography’s appearance in China.

Xu Shanchang (1823-1991), in his writings *Tanchen* vol. 4, writes, “The art of taking likenesses by means of a camera came from the Western seas (...). At first it was practised only in eastern Guangdong. By the *wuyin* year of the Guangxu reign (1878), books already recorded that Chinese had mastered the craft and that it had spread throughout the provinces.”³⁶ Wu Yangxian (1821-1887), in his poem, *Yangjing zhuzhi ci ershishou* (Yangjing Bamboo Branch Verses), No. 10 reads, “A few strokes added to the cheek cannot compare with this; most uncanny of all is the art of capturing the true face. In a single flash within the ‘ice chest,’ spirit and form are seized — enough to make poor Gu Hutou of old weep in despair.”³⁷ Zheng Xianfu (1801-1872) has a piece entitled *Xinyou liuyue ershiliuri yu huafang guan fanren yi jing quying ge* (Song Written on the Flower Barge After Watching Foreigners Capture Images with a Mirror (dated the twentysixth day of the sixth month of the Xinyou year (1851)), which records his observation of foreigners taking photographs for others.³⁸

In his notebook *Tingyu Congtan* (Miscellaneous Talks of Listening to the Rain), Scroll Eight, *Xiezhen* (Photography), Fuge (b. 1815) left behind a written record of photographic technique, “Recently, in the maritime nations, there has appeared a method of capturing images with a mirror. One applies a chemical solution, lays the paper down, and lifts it to make a print; every strand of hair appears true to life, and the likeness is astonishing. The method is highly secret, and

1866 年，大清海關總稅務司、英人赫德（Sir Robert Hart，1835-1911）擬返國成婚，乃向恭親王奕訢（1833-1898）提議派遣一清廷代表隨行西遊，以資記錄所聞。總理衙門允其所請，命赫德之中文秘書斌椿（1804-1871）^⑧ 率隊，三名同文館學生隨行。此行於三月啟程，至八月返抵京師，所歷歐洲十餘國，期間曾於巴黎合影留念^⑨。是次奉敕命實為清廷首度遣使團出洋考察，誠中國外交之新章。⁴¹ 斌椿返國後將其西行日誌集結為《乘槎筆記》，中有〈西洋照像法〉：「攝人影入鏡中，以藥汁印出紙上，千百本無不畢肖。余來巴黎（法國都）、倫敦（英國都），畫師多乞往照。人皆先睹為快，聞有以重價赴肆購買，亦佳話也。」又賦詩言：「意匠經營為寫真，鏡中印出宰官身。書生何幸遭逢好，竟作東來第一人」。⁴²

its manufacture exceedingly marvelous.” The year was 1856.³⁹ The Qing scholar Ni Hong (1829-1892), in his 1861 poem *Zhaoxiang pian* (Chapter of Photographing) further described it as follows, “...Slowly, the sun’s rays rise at the tip of a pole; at the beginning of noon, the first image appears. First one lays down a sheet of glass, then applies the chemical solution to its surface. It is placed within a wooden box that conceals the mechanism, and covered with a gauze cloth seven feet long. Through a bowl-sized aperture one repeatedly observes; when the indicator turns to the right moment, only a brief instant is required. In that instant, the complete figure of a person appears as if by magic, the spirit transmitted in such a way that one knows it is no illusion. Light and dark, black and white, all emerge distinctly; one could call out to the person within. Painters, seeing this for the first time, can only sigh, for it truly wrests the prerogative of creation itself. Within a hundred years it will be impossible to obscure; how could the image at the center of the mirror ever be defiled?” The lines

³⁹ 有關福格的生卒年，參姚繼榮：《清代歷史筆記論叢》（北京：民族出版社，2014 年），頁 391。福格約活躍於咸豐五年（1855），於同治六年（1867）以前尚健在。見〈前言〉，載於〔清〕福格著、汪北平點校：《聽雨叢談》（北京：中華書局，1959），頁 150。又沈雲龍主編：《近代中國史料叢刊》第六十九輯（中國台灣：文海出版社有限公司，1971），頁 150。該書約於 1856 年編著，中華書局 1959 年版〈前言〉：「書面題『介景堂集』，下有『丙辰春三月中浣』字樣。『介景堂集』應該是作者的詩文著作全集，不知內容共有幾種，是否還在。從作者時代到今天，只經過兩個丙辰年，一個是咸豐六年（一八五六年），一個是民國五年（一九一六年）。如果這幾個字是一九一六年後人補題的，應該題『聽雨叢談』，不應該題『介景堂集』，所以這裡所謂丙辰很可能是咸豐六年（一八五六年），也就是作者編寫本書的年代。」（頁 1-2）。

The death year of Fuge is unknown. It is only known that he was active around the fifth year of the Xianfeng reign (1855), and that he was still alive before the sixth year of the Tongzhi reign (1867). See “Qianyan (Preface),” in *Tingyu congtan* (Miscellaneous Talks of Listening to the Rain), by Fuge, ed. Beiping Wang (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 150; also in *Jindai zhongguo shiliao congkan* (Series of Historical Materials on Modern China), vol. 69, ed. Yunlong Shen (Taiwan: Wenhai chubanshe, 1971), 150.

The book was compiled around 1856, as seen in its preface, “The cover bears the title *Jiejingtang ji* (Collection of the Jiejing Hall), with the words ‘In the middle ten days of the third month of the spring of the *bingchen* year’ written below. *Jiejingtang ji* should be the author’s complete collection of poetry and prose, but it is unknown how many works it originally contained, or whether it still survives today. From the author’s time until now, there have only been two returns of *bingchen* years: one in the sixth year of the Xianfeng reign (1856), and one in the fifth year of the Republic (1916). If these characters were added by someone later, in 1916, the title should have been *Tingyu congtan* rather than *Jiejingtangji*. Therefore, the *bingchen* year mentioned here is very likely the sixth year of the Xianfeng reign (1856), which would be the year in which the author compiled this book.”

⁴⁰ 倪鴻《退遂齋詩鈔》卷二〈照相篇〉對此有詳細記載：「西洋國中番賈胡 鬍髻黃髮雙碧瞳。短衣赤帽皮鞋烏 侏離言語堪胡盧。[……] 艱難至此胡為乎？云有絕技人難如，不同女媧搏泥塗，不同金鑄范大夫，不同絲繡平原圖。丹青粉黛俱不須，頃刻貌出人人殊。師傳是否為耶穌，五羊城裏賃屋居 [……]。吾聞其事疑虛誣，先覩為快登其廬。[……] 陸離光怪一室儲，七日禮拜方南模。[……] 刀叉為進花燒豬 廬卑美酒浮玉壺。鴉片燒出香如酥 客來相勸何動劬。欲試其法云徐徐 竿頭日影卓午初。一片先用玻璃鋪 徐（按：塗）以藥水鏡面敷。納之木匣藏機樞，更覆七尺巾幕疎。一孔盃大頻覘覷，時辰表轉剛須臾。須臾幻出人全軀，神傳阿堵知非虛。陰陽黑白分明俱 此中有人真可呼。畫師乍見增長吁 直奪造化無權輿 [……]。我思推究無其書 博物當待張華徒。」（光緒二十九年（1881）泉州刻本，頁 22-23）

Ni Hong’s poem *Zhaoxiang pian* record the details, “Foreign merchants from the Western kingdoms—Wild yellow hair, twin eyes of blue...Short coats, round caps, black leather shoes, their strange tongue muttering sounds like barbarian chants. Through hardship they have come—yet for what purpose? For they possess a marvel beyond mortal skill: Not like Nüwa kneading clay to shape men, nor like bronze founders casting noble lords, nor like embroiderers sewing the plains into silk. No cinnabar, no ink, no powder is required—yet in an instant a man’s face stands forth, true and complete. Whether their master was a Jesuit, none can say; In Five Rams City he rented a humble dwelling [...] I had heard the tale and doubted its truth, till at last I climbed his stair and saw it with my own eyes... strange and dazzling lights filled the chamber; the seven-day rites were briefly recorded in the southern shrine. Knives and forks for meals, flowerroasted pork, and foreign wines shimmering jadebright. Opium burned fragrant as clarified butter; Guests advise against weary toil, urging: ‘Try the method gently, take it slow.’ The sun stood vertical at noon’s high point. A pane of glass was spread, washed with chemicals till it shone like a polished mirror. Into a wooden box it went, the mechanism hidden.Over it was draped a cloth seven feet long. Through a bowlsized opening he watched intently. The timing dial turned—only a breath had passed. And behold—my entire figure sprang into being, a miracle proving truth beyond dispute. Light and shadow, dark and bright, all laid bare—Truly, one could call to the man within the glass. Painters, on first sight, groaned aloud, for here creation’s very handiwork was stolen away...I sought books to explain the craft but found none. These wonders must await a future Zhang Hua to record them.” (see Hong Ni, “*Zhaoxiang pian* (Article of Photographing),” in *Tuisui zhai shichao* (Poetry Anthology of Tuisuizhai), *juan er* (Vol. 2), ed. Wenhan Song (Quanzhou: Quanzhou block-printed edition, 1881), 22-23.

³⁷ 吳仰賢《小匏菴詩存》卷六〈洋涇竹枝詞二十首・其十〉自注云：「夷人寫真用玻璃一片，大小如衣鏡式，令其人對照片時。背傳以藥，影即涅入不去。」（清光緒四年（1878）嘉興吳氏刻本，北京大學圖書館藏）

His footnote of this poem stated, “Foreign portraits use a sheet of glass, shaped like a dressing mirror. When one faces it, chemicals are applied behind, and the image sinks in, never to be erased,” in Yangxian Wu, “*Yangjing zhuzhi ci ershishou qishi* (Yangjing Bamboo Branch Verses, no. 10),” in *Xiaopaoan shicun* (Poems from Xiaopaoan), *juan liu* (vol. 6) (Jiaxing: Wu shi keben (Wu Family Block-printed Edition), 1878), collection of Peking University Library.

³⁸ 〈辛酉六月二十六日於花舫觀番人以鏡取影歌〉：「梩楠為匣幕四傍，玻璃為鏡嵌中央。匣函鏡面鏡函影，粉本別作裁雲肪。鏡前對面美人坐，匣後蒙首番奴藏。橫支一几代架閣，離立十步安中箱。描形難得捉影易，一一攝入寒冰光。須臾擎出四座笑，隱約具得諸人粧。塗之以藥沐以水，粉白轉眼成丹黃。環肥燕瘦有本相，曹衣吳帶徒虛張。塑工驚嘆畫手泣，從此逃入無何鄉 [……]」（鄭獻甫《補學軒詩・鷄尾集》卷一，清光緒五年（1879）黔南節署刊本，收入沈雲龍主編：《近代中國史料叢刊續編》第二十二輯（中國台灣：文海出版社，1975），頁 2327-2328）

It reads, “A box of fragrant nanmu frames the four sides and a sheet of glass is set like a mirror in the heart of it. The box reflects in the glass and the glass returns the image to the box—From these twin shadows the painter’s draft takes shape, and light as drifting cloud. A beauty sits before the mirror’s surface. Behind the case crouches a foreign servant, and his head concealed. A low table props the contrivance up and ten paces off the central chest is placed. Hard is the task to seize form, and easy the task to catch shadow; One by one they fall into the cold, crystal light. Moments later the plates are drawn forth to the laughter of onlookers—Dim yet distinct, each person’s likeness appears. Bathed in chemicals, washed with water, in an instant white turn cinnabaryellow. Plump or slender, each keeps the shape Heaven gave; The famed drapery styles of Cao and Wu are empty tricks beside it. Sculptors stare in awe, and painters weep—For from this day forth they retreat into the land of fading things.” In Xianfu Zheng, “*Buxuexuan shi, Jiwei ji*, (Poems from the Studio of Supplementary Learning, Jiwei Collection),” *juan yi* (vol. 1) (*Qiannan jieshu kanben* (Qiannan jieshu edition), 1879, in *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan xubian* (Series of Historical Materials on Modern China, Supplementary Series), *diershier ji* (vol. 22), ed. Yunlong Shen (Taiwan: Wenhai chubanshe, 1975), 2327-2328.



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

8 斌椿肖像，1866 年，倫敦麥克里恩照相館攝。

Portrait of Binchun, 1866, photographed at McLean & Co., London.



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

9 斌椿考察團主要成員合影，⁴³ 1866 年，巴黎巴雅德和博濤照相館攝。

Group portrait of the principal members of Binchun's inspection mission,⁴³ 1866, photographed at the Bayard & Bertall Studio, Paris.

攝影術及後傳入清宮內，卻被視為奇技淫巧、異端邪術，用鏡箱對著皇帝攝影更是冒犯龍顏。因此，禁宮內嚴禁照像，攝影器材和攝影師亦難以入宮。道光（1821-1850）、咸豐（1851-1861）同治帝（1862-1874）未見其留影。⁴⁴ 然而，慈禧太后（1835-1908）卻破此大不諱，對攝影深感興趣，《宮中檔簿·聖容帳》便記錄慈禧當時的留影約 30 種，曬製最多的一種約百餘幅，全攝於其 70 大壽以前，以於壽誕前懸於宮中各處或賞賜他人。⁴⁵ 慈禧至今仍是照片存世數量最豐的清宮人物，⁴⁶ 夢周藏品中便有不少慈禧影像 10 11 12 13。

“First one lays down a sheet of glass; then coats it with a chemical solution on its surface” refer specifically to the wet-plate collodion process.⁴⁰

In 1866, Sir Robert Hart (1835-1911), the Inspector-General of the Qing Imperial Maritime Customs Service, planned to return to Britain to marry. He therefore suggested to Prince Gong Yixin (1833-1898) that the Qing court send a representative to accompany him on his journey to the West, so that the envoy might record what he saw and heard abroad. The Zongli Yamen approved this proposal and ordered Hart's Chinese secretary, Binchun (1804-1871) 8, to lead the mission, accompanied by three students from the Tongwen Guan. The party departed in March and returned to Beijing in August, having travelled through more than ten European countries. During their time in Paris, they even had a group portrait taken as a memento 9.

⁴¹ 李宜樺：〈中土西來第一人：斌椿的泰西經驗考察〉，《史穗》（4，2011），頁 2-37。DOI: <https://doi.org/10.6405/HA.201106.0002>
Yihua Li, “Zhongtu xilai diyi ren: Binchun de taixi jingyan kaocha (The First Man from China to the West: Investigation of Binchun's Western Experiences),” *Shisui* no.4 (June 2011): 2-37, <https://doi.org/10.6405/HA.201106.0002>.

⁴² [清]斌椿：《乘槎筆記》，載於鐘叔河主編：《走向世界叢書·修訂版（一）》，頁 166。〈西洋照像〉詩下半亦介紹了攝影在西方的風靡程度：「團扇當年畫放翁，家家爭欲覩儀容。近來海國傳佳話，不惜金錢繪友松。」（頁 166）；同治五年四月初十日（1866 年 4 月 10 日）條云：「日前在巴黎照像後，市儉留底本出售，人爭購之，聞一像值銀錢十五枚。」（頁 113）
Binchun, “Chengcha Biji (Jottings from a Raft),” see Note 33, 166. (Original work published 1868). Another part of Binchun's *Xiyang Zhaoxiang* (Western Photograhing) poem introduces the popularity of photography in the West, “In former days, fans bore painted portraits of Master Fangweng, and every household longed to behold his visage. Lately, in foreign lands, a new marvel has spread: people spare no expense to have portraits made of their friends.” (Binchun, 166). Binchun's dairy entry written on 10 April 1866 also says, “It is said that in Paris, having one's photograph taken costs fifteen silver coins” (Binchun, 113).



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

10 慈禧皇太后在萬壽山賞雪，著色照片，1903 年。⁴⁷

Empress Dowager Cixi enjoying the snow at Wanshou Shan (Longevity Hill), hand coloured photograph, 1903. ⁴⁷



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

11 慈禧皇太后在壽樂堂前，1903 年，勛齡、馨齡攝。⁴⁸

Empress Dowager Cixi in front of Shoule Hall, 1903, photographed by Xunling and Xinling. ⁴⁸



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

12 慈禧皇太后在中海泛舟，1903 年。⁴⁹

Empress Dowager Cixi boating on Zhonghai, 1903. ⁴⁹

⁴³ 前排左起同文館英文館學生鳳儀、斌椿之子廣英、斌椿、同文館英文館學生張德彝、同文館法文館學生彥慧，後排左起包臘、德善和美理登。

Front row, from left to right: Tongwen Guan English College student Feng Yi; Guangying, son of Binchun; Binchun himself; Tongwen Guan English College student Zhang Deyi; Tongwen Guan French College student Yanhui. Back row, from left to right: Bao La, Deshan, and Meilideng.

⁴⁴ 吳群：〈清宮攝影見聞錄〉及〈清末的宮廷攝影師裕勛齡〉，載於吳群：《中國攝影發展歷程》（北京：新華出版社，1986），頁 106 及 118。

Qun Wu, “*Qinggong sheying jianwen lu* (Records of Photography in the Qing Palace),” and “*Qingmo de gongting sheyingshi Yu Xunling* (Xunling Yu, Court Photographer in the Late Qing),” in *Zhongguo sheying fazhan licheng* (The Course of Development of Chinese Photography) (Beijing: Xinhua Publishing House, 1986), 106, 118.

⁴⁵ 林京：〈慈禧攝影史話〉，《故宮博物院院刊》（3，1988），頁 82-88 及頁 100。
Jing Lin, “Cixi sheying shihua (Historical Accounts of Cixi's Photography),” *Palace Museum Journal* no. 3 (1988): 82-88, 100.

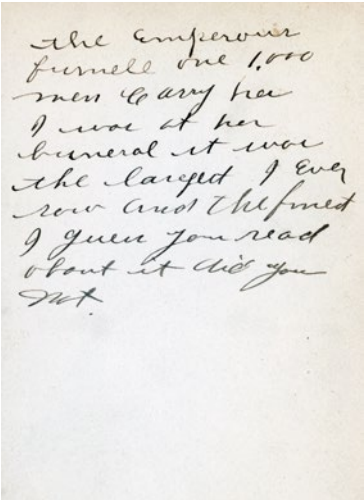
⁴⁶ 王志偉：〈群像浮光，皇室倩影—故宮博物館藏宮廷人物照片〉，載於單霽翔編：《故宮藏影：西洋鏡裡的宮廷人物》（北京：故宮出版社，2018），頁 16-17。

Zhiwei Wang, “*Qunxiang fuguang, huangshi qianying: gugong bowuguan cang gongting renwu zhaopian* (Group Portraits and Royal Images: Court Photographs in the Collection of the Palace Museum),” in *Gugong cang ying: xiyangjing li de gongting renwu* (Images in the Palace Museum: Court Figures in the Western Mirror), ed. Jixiang Shan (Beijing: Palace Museum Press, 2018), 16-17.



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

13 慈禧皇太后梓宮奉移（照片正反面），1908 年。⁵⁰
Transfer of Empress Dowager Cixi's coffin (recto and verso of photograph), 1908. ⁵⁰



國人於攝影術初傳入時普遍對這種新發明感好奇且贊詠，嗣後更得尊位如慈禧太后之青睞。而宥於攝人如攝魂、生人不留像之類的民間舊俗、黑白照片的不祥、人像在早期照像機中倒豎的忌諱、騙子與早期照像館利用技術狡詐謀騙等，致使「上雖有好者，下亦未有甚焉者矣」，照像術久久未能於中國廣泛普及。⁵¹ 乃遭外侮，中外齟齬，更使照像術為國人所猜忌，思疑其為奪人心魄的西來手段。魯迅於 1925 年發表的〈論照相之類〉，猶可見其一二：

This imperial commission was, in fact, the first time the Qing court formally dispatched a mission overseas for investigative study, marking a new chapter in China's diplomacy.⁴¹ After returning to China, Binchun compiled his travel diary into *Chengcha Biji* (Notes from a Voyage Aboard a Raft). In it, the section *Xiyang zhaoxiang fa* (Western Photography Techniques) records, “To capture a person's image within the mirror and print it onto paper with chemical solutions—of a hundred or a thousand copies, none fail to be true to life. When I arrived in Paris (capital of France) and London (capital of Britain), many painters eagerly sought to be photographed. Everyone delights in being the first to see the result, and it is said that some were even bought in shops for high prices—truly a fine story.” He also composed a poem stating, “With ingenious craft they labour to make a likeness; from the mirror emerges the printed form of an official. How fortunate for a humble scholar to encounter such marvels—to become the very first man from the East to experience them.”⁴²

Photography later made its way into the Qing imperial palace, but it was regarded as a frivolous, and heterodox craft and even a form of deviant sorcery. Pointing a camera box at the

「S 城人卻似乎不甚愛照相，因為精神要被照去的，所以運氣正好的時候，尤不宜照[……] 雖然不多，那時卻又確有光顧照相的人們，我也不明白是什麼人物，或者運氣不好之徒，或者是新黨罷。只是半身像是大抵避忌的，因為像腰斬。[……] 所以他們所照的多是全身，旁邊一張大茶几，上有帽架，茶碗，水煙袋，花盆，几下一個痰盂，以表明這人的氣管枝中有許多痰，總須陸續吐出。人呢，或立或坐，或者手執書卷，或者大襟上掛一個很大的時錶，我們倘用放大鏡一照，至今還可以知道他當時拍照的時辰，而且那時還不會用鎂光，所以不必疑心是夜裏。」⁵²

emperor was considered an offense against the imperial countenance. As a result, photography was strictly forbidden in the Forbidden City and both photographic equipment and photographers found it difficult to gain entry. No surviving photographic portraits exist of the reigns of Emperor Daoguang (1821-1850), Xianfeng (1851-1861), or Tongzhi (1862-1874).⁴⁴ However, Empress Dowager Cixi (1835-1908) boldly broke this powerful taboo and developed a strong interest in photography. The *Gongzhong dangbu* (Palace Archives), specifically the *Shengrong Zhang* (Registry of Imperial Images), records roughly 30 types of portraits of Cixi from that time. The most frequently printed type survives in more than one hundred copies; all were taken before her 70th birthday so they could be hung throughout the palace or bestowed upon others as birthday gifts.⁴⁵ To this day, Cixi remains the Qing court figure with the largest number of surviving photographs.⁴⁶ The Moonchu Collection also contains many images of Cixi ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³.

When photography was first introduced to China, people generally greeted this new invention with curiosity and praise. In time, it even won the favour of figures of high rank, such as Empress Dowager Cixi. Yet certain unfavourable factors hindered its wider acceptance: folk beliefs that taking a photograph was akin to seizing the soul, or that the living should not leave behind images; the ominous associations of black-and-white photographs; taboos surrounding the inverted human likeness produced by early cameras; and the crafty frauds perpetrated by swindlers exploiting photographic techniques in early studios. Thus, although “the upper classes showed interest, this did not mean the lower classes embraced it”, and photography long struggled to gain broad popularity in China.⁵¹ Later, with the country suffering foreign aggression and discord between China and abroad, photography came to be further distrusted, suspected by many as a Western device for stealing the human spirit. In Lu Xun's 1925 essay *Lun zhaoxiang zhilei* (On Photography and the Like), traces of this anxiety can still be discerned.

“The people of S City did not seem particularly fond of having their photographs taken, believing that their spirit would be captured. Thus, when one's fortune was at its height, it was considered especially inauspicious to be photographed (...)

⁴⁷ 同上註，頁 72。
Ibid., 72.

⁴⁸ 同註 46，頁 62-63。
See Note 46, 62-63.

⁴⁹ 同註 46，頁 51。
See Note 46, 51.

⁵⁰ 同註 46，頁 76。
See Note 46, 76.

⁵¹ 全冰雪：《中國照相館史 (1859-1956)》（北京：中國攝影出版社，2016），頁 31-37。
Bingxue Tong, *Zhongguo zhaoxiangguan shi* (1859-1956) (A History of Chinese Photographic Studios, 1859–1956) (Beijing: China Photographic Publishing House, 2016), 31–37.

⁵² 魯迅：〈論照相之類〉，《語絲》（9，1925），第 1-3 版。
Xun Lu, “*Lun zhaoxiang zhi lei* (On Photography and the Like),” *Yusi* no. 9 (1925): 1-3.

綜上，攝影術在中國的傳播並不如西方般迅速且廣。隨著清廷推行洋務運動、實業救國，以及系列照相專著如《脫影奇觀》、《色相留真》和《實用影相學》等的普及，國人漸擺脫攝影等同攝離魂魄的陰影，照相術在中國才得以發展。

夢周影像藏品所見歷史流動

攝影術將歷史定格於一瞬間，以永恆地存留。夢周藏品，主要攝於中國，時代上起1844年，下迄1979年，仿如以逾20,000組影像構築起135年間的歷史，在文獻以外提供直觀的視覺紀錄。歷史人物、社會風貌躍然文字之上。其所囊括者，有攝影之演進、貴族活動、士庶生活、刑罰施行、中外關係、田野風光等，在在構成一部中國近現代史^{14 15 16 17 18}，其拍攝地廣佈於中國國境之東西南北。據初步統計，夢周藏品在中國境內（依今天的中國行政區域劃分）的拍攝地點分佈如下：

Even so, there were indeed some who visited photo studios, though I could not tell what sort of people they were—perhaps those down on their luck, or perhaps members of the new party. Half-length portraits were generally avoided, as they resembled being cut in two at the waist (...) For this reason, most preferred full-length portraits. Beside the sitter stood a large tea table, upon which were placed a hat rack, tea bowls, a water pipe, and a flowerpot; beneath the table sat a spittoon, signifying that the sitter’s bronchial tubes produced much phlegm which had to be spat out continually. The person might be standing or seated, perhaps holding a book, or wearing a large pocket watch hanging from the front of his robe. If we examine the photograph with a magnifying glass, we can still discern the exact time it was taken. And since magnesium flash was not yet in use, there is no need to suspect that it was taken at night.”⁵²

In sum, the spread of photography in China was neither as rapid nor as widespread as it was in the West. With the Qing court’s promotion of the Self-Strengthening Movement and the idea of “saving the nation through industry,” together with the circulation of specialised treatises such as *Marvels of Photography*, *True Colours Preserved*, and *Practical Photographic Science*, Chinese society gradually shed the shadow of associating photography with the loss of the soul. Only then did the art of photography begin to develop in China.

Historical Transitions Reflected in the Moonchu Collection

Photography fixes fleeting moments of history, preserving them for eternity. The Moonchu Collection, taken primarily in China between 1844 and 1979, comprises more than 20,000 images that together span 135 years. Beyond textual sources, it offers a vivid visual record in which historical figures and social scenes leap from the page. Its contents encompass the evolution of photography, aristocratic pursuits, the lives of both elites and commoners, the enactment of punishments, Sino-foreign relations, landscapes, and more—collectively forming a modern history of China^{14 15 16 17 18}. The photographs were taken across the length and breadth of the country. Preliminary statistics show the distribution of sites within China (according to today’s administrative divisions) as follows:



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

¹⁴ 廣州街頭等待僱傭的苦力，立體照片，1858年。
Coolies waiting for hire on a street in Guangzhou, stereoscopic photograph, 1858.



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

¹⁵ 香港東華醫院大廳，其中「萬物咸利」牌匾由清光緒帝御賜，以表揚東華在1885年賑濟兩廣水災災民的貢獻。⁵³
Main hall of the Tung Wah Hospital, Hong Kong. The plaque inscribed “Universal Benefit” was bestowed by the Guangxu Emperor of the Qing dynasty, in recognition of the hospital’s relief efforts for flood victims in Guangdong and Guangxi in 1885.⁵³



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

¹⁶ 照像館中的中國戲劇演員（擺拍），人手上色銀鹽照片，約1910年代，和昌攝。
Chinese opera actors posed in a photography studio, hand coloured gelatin silver print, circa 1910s, photographed by Wo Cheung.

⁵³ 香港歷史博物館編：《影藏歲月—香港舊照片》（香港：香港歷史博物館，2013），頁275。
Hong Kong Museum of History, *Images Through Time: Photos of Old Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of History, 2013), 275.

中國行政區	數目
天津	5906
北京	3362
香港	1941
上海	1456
廣東	925
山東	787
河北	538
福建	499
雲南	484
山西	422
江蘇	373
湖北	362
遼寧	346
台灣	329
浙江	299
河南	235
四川	227
江西	160
澳門	134
重慶	105
廣西	74
湖南	65
西藏	61
安徽	59
陝西	54
貴州	46
吉林	31
黑龍江	21
內蒙古	17
新疆	11
甘肅	8
海南	7
青海	5
寧夏	5
總計 Total	19354

以影像所留存的歷史證據，更為血肉而真實。雖說偽作、篡改照片，早在攝影術發明不久便已出現：

Administrative Regions in China	Number
Tianjin	5906
Beijing	3362
Hong Kong	1941
Shanghai	1456
Guangdong	925
Shandong	787
Hebei	538
Fujian	499
Yunnan	484
Shanxi	422
Jiangsu	373
Hubei	362
Liaoning	346
Taiwan	329
Zhejiang	299
Henan	235
Sichuan	227
Jiangxi	160
Macao	134
Chongqing	105
Guangxi	74
Hunan	65
Xizang	61
Anhui	59
Shaanxi	54
Guizhou	46
Jilin	31
Heilongjiang	21
Inner Mongolia	17
Xinjiang	11
Gansu	8
Hainan	7
Qinghai	5
Ningxia	5
Total	19354

The historical evidence preserved in images renders the past more vivid and tangible. Yet falsification and alteration of photographs had already emerged not long after the invention of photography.



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

17 李鴻章擔任兩廣總督時的肖像，1900 年，攝於廣州。

Portrait of Li Hongzhang during his tenure as Viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi, 1900, photographed in Guangzhou.

「在電腦和數字攝影尚未問世之前，紀實照片和文獻照片之改動主要是通過暗房技術實現的。這種技術並不複雜：傳統攝影中種種改變原始影像的方法，包括剪輯拼貼、後期修片、特殊印象工藝、繪製照片和重拍等，都不需要複雜的工具或技術。僅僅在底片上塗上幾筆或把兩個底片嫁接，暗房師就能夠點石成金，推出搶手的新聞圖片甚至炮製出虛幻的現實。由於其技術簡便，照片修訂的實踐在攝影術發明不久的 19 世紀中葉就已臻成熟。」⁵⁴

然而，照像被人普遍目為真實，「在寫實功能上超越了以往所有再現現實的美術手段，具有比文字敘述甚至比現實本身更大的權威性」。⁵⁵



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

18 第一批留美幼童合影，1872 年，攝於上海輪船招商總局門前。

Group photo of the first cohort of Chinese students sent to study in the United States, 1872, taken in front of the headquarters of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company in Shanghai.

“Before the advent of computers and digital photography, alterations to documentary and archival photographs were carried out mainly through darkroom techniques. These methods were not particularly complex: the various ways of modifying an original image in traditional photography—such as cutting and pasting, retouching, special printing processes, painting directly on photographs, or re-photographing—required neither sophisticated tools nor advanced skills. With just a few strokes on a negative or the splicing of two negatives, a darkroom technician could work virtual magic, producing soughtafter news images or even fabricating an illusory reality. Because of this technical ease, the practise of revising photographs had already reached maturity by the mid-19th century, only a short time after the invention of photography itself.”⁵⁴

Although photographs are widely regarded as truthful—having “surpassed all previous artistic means of representing reality in their mimetic capacity, and possessing an authority greater than written accounts and even reality itself.”⁵⁵

⁵⁴ 巫鴻：〈「第二歷史」：改造歷史的歷史〉，《美術館》（1，2010），頁 101。

Hung Wu, “‘Dier lishi’: gaizao lishi de lishi (The ‘Second History’: The History of Rewriting History),” *Meishuguan* no. 1 (2010): 101.

⁵⁵ 同上註，頁 99-100。
Ibid., 99-100.

照像之於保存歷史，既能映照昔人生活軌跡，亦為已然消逝之城郭風貌提供堅實佐證。夢周所藏，尤以諸多獨一無二之私人照相冊，宛如時光凝結之卷帙，生動記錄了主人旅途與日常之點滴，當中包括：曾於 1870 年代供職於大青海關之洋員在漢口所留影集 ¹⁹；又有香港皇仁書院前校長丹拿（Bertram Tanner，1918 - 1925 間出任皇仁書院校長）於 1900 至 1925 年間在皇仁書院任職的工作與生活相簿；更有法國外交官方蘇雅（Auguste François，1857 - 1935）在華履職時，於廣西、昆明及蒙自所攝之旅遊相冊。此等影卷，皆為時人不可替代之生活見證，映照時代風貌之流轉。

夢周藏品中，亦常見歷史建築之早期風貌，或已湮沒於時光的古蹟遺影，如北京天壇祈年殿，於光緒十五年（1889）遭雷擊而焚，殿宇全毀。而攝於咸豐十年（1860）的祈年殿影像，則為迄今所知最早之存照 ²⁰；再如廣州小蓬仙館，原構件已歷拆卸遷移，今僅殘存局部，然藏品中尚存一冊攝於 19 世紀 70 年代之影像，記錄其尚在原址時之全貌，得以保存其完整的歷史風姿 ²¹。香港歷史建築之遺影亦見存於夢周藏品中：中環美利兵房於 1982 年拆卸，至 1998 年方遷移亦柱重置。藏品中一幀 1890 年代所攝之照片 ²²，清晰展現遷移前之真容，使後人得以窺見昔日建築之全。又如落成於 1915 年的香港法定古蹟—尖沙咀鐘樓，原為已拆卸的尖沙咀火車總站的一隅，藏品中所存一幀 1920 年代火車總站照片 ²³，後人得以追溯鐘樓與其所依附之建築群的歷史原貌，將已逝之景物重現眼前。

攝影術自 19 世紀中葉傳入中國，自此後所捕捉的剎那光影，凝結為最真切的歷史見證。這些影像保存了遽然消逝的場景與人物，使後人得以窺見前人的足跡，使歷史綿延於光影。

Photography, in preserving history, not only reflects the traces of past lives but also provides solid evidence of cityscapes that have already vanished. Among the Moonchu Collection, the many unique private photo albums stand out, resembling volumes in which time itself has been frozen. They vividly record the journeys and daily moments of their owners. These include: an album left by a foreign employee of the Imperial Maritime Customs in Hankou during the 1870s ¹⁹; a work-and-life album of Bertram Tanner (headmaster of Queen’s College, Hong Kong, between 1918 and 1925), documenting his service at the school from 1900 to 1925; and a travel album compiled by French diplomat Auguste François (1857–1935) during his service in China, featuring photographs taken in Guangxi, Kunming, and Mengzi. Such albums are irreplaceable testimonies of the lives of their creators, reflecting the transformations of their times.

Early views of historic architecture—many now lost to time—are also frequently found among the Moonchu holdings. The Hall of Prayer for Good Harvests in Beijing’s Temple of Heaven, for instance, was struck by lightning and burned down in the fifteenth year of the Guangxu reign (1889). A photograph taken in the tenth year of the Xianfeng reign (1860) is the earliest known surviving image of the hall ²⁰. Likewise, Guangzhou Xiaopeng Immortal Hall has undergone dismantling and relocation, leaving only partial remnants today. An album in the collection, however, preserves a series of photographs from the 1870s showing the structure in its original location, allowing its complete historical appearance to endure ²¹. Traces of Hong Kong’s architectural heritage are also represented in the Moonchu Collection. Murray Barracks in Central was demolished in 1982 and not relocated to Stanley until 1998. A photograph from the 1890s ²² clearly shows its original form prior to removal, enabling present-day viewers to glimpse the building as it once stood. Similarly, the Tsim Sha Tsui Clock Tower—completed in 1915 and now a declared monument—was once part of the now-demolished Kowloon–Canton Railway Terminus. A photograph from the 1920s preserved in the collection ²³ captures the original station, allowing later generations to retrace the historical setting in which the clock tower once stood and to visualise the lost architectural ensemble.

Since its introduction to China in the mid-19th century, photography has captured fleeting moments of light and shadow that have become some of the most authentic witnesses to history. These images preserve scenes and individuals that vanished abruptly, enabling later viewers to follow the traces of those who came before and allowing history to endure through the medium of light.



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

¹⁹ 外國人在漢口拍攝的相冊，約攝於 1870 年代。

An album photographed by a foreign employee in Hankou, circa.1870s.



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

²⁰ 北京天壇祈年殿，1860 年，比托（Felice Beato，1832-

1909）攝。

Hall of Prayer for Good Harvests at the Temple of Heaven, Beijing, 1860, photographed by Felice Beato (1832–1909).



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

²¹ 廣州小蓬仙館，在清末改作八公祠，1870 年代。

Guangzhou Xiaopeng Immortal Hall, converted into the Temple of the Eight Lords in the late Qing period, 1870s.





香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

❷ 位於香港皇后大道東旁美利兵房的已婚軍官宿舍（今美利樓），約 1890 年代。

Married Officers' Quarters beside Murray Barracks on Queen's Road East, Hong Kong (today Murray House), c. 1890s.



香港歷史博物館夢周藏品
Moonchu Collection, Hong Kong Museum of History

❸ 香港尖沙咀火車總站，1920 年代初期。

Tsim Sha Tsui Railway Terminus, Hong Kong, early 1920s.

結語

攝影術於 1839 年源起於法國，迅速廣傳於歐洲，遠航中國。然受中國傳統所囿而普遍不為國人所納，初期未能於國人間廣泛流佈，為國人所利用。及後，西方攝影師以澳門和香港為走進中國的踏腳石，以鏡頭紀錄吉光片羽。今天，這批早期中國影像匯聚香港歷史博物館，除為我館忝益一批重要皮藏可與舊藏輔補詮釋外，更於晚清至近代中國史的影像存檔、歷史研究、檔案紀錄、影像史詮述、中外關係等帶來極大裨益。期望有志者，善用這批館藏，以深入探討攝影術在中國的起源與流播，藉以重構近現代中國的社會風貌與文化脈絡等等。在此謹不嫌絮絮，再次向捐贈者——夢周文教基金會申以誠摯謝忱。

Conclusion

Photography originated in France in 1839 and quickly spread across Europe before reaching China by sea. Yet, constrained by traditional Chinese cultural frameworks, it was not widely embraced at first and failed to gain broad circulation or practical use among the local population. Later, Western photographers used Macao and Hong Kong as stepping stones into China, recording fleeting glimpses through their lenses. Today, this collection of early images of China has been brought together at the Hong Kong Museum of History. Beyond enriching our holdings and complementing our existing collections, it provides invaluable resources for the visual archive of the late-Qing and modern Chinese history, contributing significantly to historical research, archival documentation, the interpretation of photographic history, and the study of Sino-foreign relations. We hope that dedicated scholars will make good use of this collection to explore the origins and dissemination of photography in China, thereby reconstructing the social landscape and cultural context of modern Chinese history. Here, without hesitation, we once again extend our sincere gratitude to the donor—the Moonchu Foundation.

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