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Daji Panyu: Archaeological Discoveries in Hong Kong from the Qin and Han to the Tang Dynasties

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前言

先秦時代，包括香港在內的嶺南屬百越地區，越族先民斷髮文身、飯稻羹魚，陸事寡而水事眾，擁有獨特的文化和風俗，但越人並沒有創造文字，亦沒有為曾踏足的地方命名。1955年，於香港深水埗李鄭屋村發現的東漢磚室墓，墓磚有「大吉番禺」銘文，「番禺」乃目前香港地區已知而又最早的地名，而「番禺」之名，實與秦始皇有關。秦始皇派大軍征服嶺南之後，把嶺南地分為南海、桂林、象三郡，南海郡包括今天廣東省中部和東部，郡治在番禺，其範圍以今天廣州為中心，涵蓋整個珠江三角洲，李鄭屋漢墓「大吉番禺」磚銘顯示，直到東漢後期，位於珠江口東岸的香港地區仍屬番禺範圍。可見，秦始皇把嶺南收歸秦朝的版圖，實是香港歷史的分水嶺；從此，歷代王朝中央發出的政令，都會波及位處邊陲地區的香港。從漢、魏、六朝至隋唐 1,000 年間，由於北

Foreword

In the pre-Qin period, Lingnan, including Hong Kong, was part of the Baiyue region. The Yue people wore short hair and bore tattoos, ate rice and made soup with fish, and were more active at sea than on land. Despite their unique culture and customs, the Yue people did neither create words nor geographical names for the places they visited. In the Eastern Han brick tomb discovered in Lei Cheng Uk village, Sham Shui Po, the inscription, “*Daji Panyu* (Great fortune to Panyu county)”, was found on the bricks. Panyu is the earliest known name of Hong Kong today, whereas the name “Panyu” was in fact related to Qin Shi Huang (The first emperor of the Qin dynasty). After Qin Shi Huang had conquered Lingnan, the area was divided into three prefectures, namely Nanhai, Guilin and Xiang. Nanhai prefecture included the central and eastern parts of present-day Guangdong province, and the prefecture government was established in Panyu county, which centred on present-day Guangzhou and covered the entire Pearl River Delta. The brick inscription, “*Daji Panyu*”, in Lei Cheng Uk Han Tomb shows that

方戰亂頻仍，引致一波又一波的中土百姓大規模南移至嶺南這片靜土，促成嶺南的發展，以及漢越文化的融合。基於這歷史背景，來到香港地區活動的先民逐漸增加，香港歷史也緩慢地向前推進。至唐代，由於海上貿易興盛，本區的「屯門」地名正式載入史冊，說明香港歷史進入了新階段。本文從香港及鄰近地區的考古發現，勾勒香港從秦代到唐代 1,000 多年間的發展歷程。

Hong Kong, which is situated on the eastern bank of the Pearl River Estuary, remained in Panyu during the late Eastern Han dynasty. Thus, the annexation of Lingnan by Qin Shi Huang was a watershed moment in the history of Hong Kong: the decrees issued by the courts of successive dynasties all affected Hong Kong, which is located on the border of China. Throughout the millennium covering the Han, Wei, Six Dynasties, Sui and Tang periods, waves after waves of immigrants moved southwards from the war-stricken Central Plain to the haven called Lingnan. The population flow led to the progressive development of Lingnan and the integration of the Han and Yue cultures. Given this historical background, the early inhabitants of Hong Kong gradually increased in number and the history of Hong Kong slowly developed. In the Tang dynasty, as maritime trade flourished prosperously, the name, “Tunmun (present-day Tuen Mun)”, was officially included in historical records, marking the beginning of a new chapter in the history of Hong Kong. This article outlines the development of Hong Kong over 1,000 years from the Qin to Tang dynasties, based on archaeological discoveries in Hong Kong and its neighbouring regions.

秦代：兼併嶺南、集權中央

戰國末年，雄才偉略的秦王嬴政（公元前 259 年至前 210 年），逐步翦滅了韓、趙、魏、楚、燕、齊六國，於公元前 221 年建立一統天下的秦朝，並自封為始皇帝。當時，秦朝的統治範圍，主要是由黃河、長江兩條大河流域所構成的中原地區。由珠江水系灌溉的嶺南大地，包括位處珠江口的香港地區，仍然屬於百越人民聚居之地，不受秦朝統治。在秦人眼中，嶺南屬於化外之地，風俗習慣與中土迥異的越族人，屬於化外之民，他們無論在經濟、文化和社會各方面的發展，都遠遠落後於中原地區。相反地，嶺南的越族先民的社會組織簡單，過著靠山食山、靠海食海的淳樸生活，根本不知皇帝是何物，直至秦朝的大軍來攻打，才驚覺秦帝國的存在。

秦始皇派遣大軍南征百越，主要是拓展秦帝國的疆域，把物資富饒的嶺南收入帝國的版圖。《淮南子·人間訓》指出，秦「又利越之犀角、象齒、翡翠、珠璣」，這些來自南方的奇珍異寶，對秦始皇似是極大的誘惑。公元前 217 年，秦始皇命大將屠睢率 50 萬大軍，東西分五路越過五嶺，攻打嶺南。這場侵略嶺南的戰爭，引來越人的激烈反抗，越人善於在山野和河流間作戰，加上越地炎熱，又多瘴氣，秦軍因難以適應而戰鬥力大減。史載百越的其中一支西甌軍對秦軍發起反擊，秦軍大敗，統帥屠睢被殺。戰敗的秦軍退至五嶺北部屯戍，開始修路並在桂林以北開鑿靈渠，溝通長江及珠江水系，便利軍餉運輸。經過三年的準備，秦始皇命任囂為統帥、趙佗為副帥，再次攻打嶺南，並於公元前 214 年成功吞併嶺南，把嶺南地分為南海、桂林、象三郡，實行中央集權，由朝廷任命官員管治，把秦帝國的典章制度推向這片土地。¹

秦代嶺南三郡之中，南海郡包括珠江下游三角洲及粵東地區，桂林郡涵蓋粵西和廣西大部分，象郡則包括越南北部紅河三角洲地區；三郡之中以南海郡最重要，下轄番禺、四會、博羅、龍川四縣，郡治在番禺。秦始皇

Qin Dynasty: Annexation of Lingnan and Centralisation of Power

In the late Warring States Period, Ying Zheng (259-210 BC), the astute and ambitious King of Qin, gradually annihilated the six states, namely Han, Zhao, Wei, Chu, Yan, and Qi. Upon unifying China in 221 BC, he founded the Qin dynasty and proclaimed himself Shi Huangdi (The first emperor). At that time, the annexed territory of the Qin dynasty mainly included the Central Plain formed by the Yellow River and Yangtze River Basins. Irrigated by the Pearl River, Lingnan, which included Hong Kong at the Pearl River Estuary, was inhabited by the Yue people and not governed by the Qin dynasty. As far as the Qin people were concerned, Lingnan was an uncivilised land and the Yue people were barbarians with customs vastly different from those of the Central Plain. Their economic, cultural and social developments were also believed to fall far behind. Meanwhile, the Yue people in Lingnan lived in a simple society and led unsophisticated lives, sustaining themselves with food obtained from mountains or the sea. Unaware of what an emperor was, they only learned about the Qin empire when they were attacked by its army.

Qin Shi Huang sent his army to a southern expedition against Baiyue, mainly aiming to expand the territory of the Qin empire and annex Lingnan along with its abundant resources. According to *Huainanzi – Renjian Xun* (The Writings of the Huainan Masters - In the World of Man), Qin “set its eyes on the rhinoceros’ horns, ivory, jade, pearls and jewels of Yue.” These exotic treasures from the south seemed to be a great temptation for Qin Shi Huang. In 217 BC, Qin Shi Huang ordered his general Tu Sui to lead an expedition against Lingnan. Split in to five groups, the 500,000 troops crossed the Wuling mountains to attack Lingnan from different directions. The Yue people resisted the aggressors fiercely. They were adept at fighting among the mountains and rivers, whereas the ferocity of the Qin army was greatly reduced as the troops struggled to adapt to the hot weather and miasma of the south. The Xi’ou forces, one of the armies of Baiyue, launched a counter attack against the Qin army, defeating the aggressors and killing their marshal, Tu Sui. Following their defeat, the Qin troops retreated to the north of the Wuling mountains and stationed there. They started to build roads and a canal at the north of Guilin to connect the Yangtze and Pearl Rivers, which facilitated the transportation of military supplies. After three

皇帝統帥任囂為南海郡尉，坐鎮番禺，握控富饒的珠江三角洲；又命副帥趙佗為龍川令，據東江上游，掌控從江西入廣東的交通要道。位處珠江口東岸的香港地區，當時屬番禺轄地，表示居於香港的先民，也變成了秦始皇的子民。

南越國：國都番禺、漢越融合

在吞併嶺南之後四年（公元前 210 年），秦始皇駕崩，子胡亥（公元前 230 年至前 207 年）即位為二世皇帝。秦二世登位不久，國內一直積壓的民怨開始爆發，初有陳勝、吳廣揭竿起義，繼而有項羽、劉邦的楚漢之爭，帝國陷於一片混亂。秦二世二年（公元前 208 年），任囂病重，臨終前立趙佗（約公元前 240 年至前 137 年）為南海郡尉，並告誡他：「秦為無道，天下苦之……且番禺負山險，阻南海，東西數千里，頗有中國人相輔，此亦一州之主也，可以立國。」（《史記·南越列傳》卷 113）。趙佗於是興兵控制了桂林和象郡，又關閉與中原相通的關隘和驛道，於公元前 203 年在嶺南建立南越國，自稱南越武王，國都在番禺城。與此同時，漢王劉邦與西楚霸王項羽正在中原地區展開軍事鬥爭，歷時四載的楚漢之爭，最後以項羽的失敗而告終。公元前 202 年，劉邦建立漢朝，是為漢高祖，定都長安，中國復歸一統。趙佗順應大勢，於公元前 196 年向劉邦稱臣，受漢朝策封為南越王，南越國成為西漢的異姓諸侯國。南越國歷經五王，共 93 年，期間與漢朝的關係雖有反覆，但大部分時間都能維持和平友好的臣屬關係，因此，嶺南得享接近百年的安穩日子，無論在經濟、社會和文教各方面都有長足發展，奠定了嶺南日後發展的基礎。

南越王趙佗定都的番禺城，位於現今的廣州老城區。1995 年至 1997 年間，廣州文物考古研究所老城區中山四路 and 北京路交界處，首先發現了南越國皇宮的園林水景遺跡，出土了大型的石構水池和長 160 米的曲流石渠；在 2000 年發現南越國一號宮殿遺跡；之後，在 2002 年至 2009 年間，陸續發掘出南越國一號和二號宮殿、一號廊道、磚石走道、食水磚井、北宮牆、滲水井和南越木簡等重要文化遺存。² 南越國宮殿的形制

years of preparation, Qin Shi Huang appointed Ren Xiao as the marshal, and Zhao Tuo as his deputy, for the second expedition against Lingnan. In 214 BC, Lingnan was annexed and divided into the three prefectures of Nanhai, Guilin and Xiang. As the power was centralised, the prefectures were administered by court-appointed officials while the institution and system of the Qin empire were implemented in the area.¹

Among the three prefectures of Lingnan in the Qin dynasty, Nanhai covered the delta in the lower reaches of the Pearl River and the eastern part of Guangdong, and Guilin covered most of western Guangdong and most of Guangxi; whereas Xiang included the Red River Delta in northern Vietnam today. Nanhai, which included the four counties, namely Panyu, Sihui, Boluo, and Longchuan, was the most important among the three prefectures. The prefecture government of Nanhai was set up in Panyu. Qin Shi Huang appointed Ren Xiao as the military governor of Nanhai, who was based in Panyu and took charge of the rich Pearl River Delta; whereas Ren’s deputy, Zhao Tuo, was appointed the commander of Longchuan. Zhao oversaw the upper reaches of the Dongjiang river and controlled the key transportation route from Jiangxi to Guangdong. Hong Kong, which is located on the eastern bank of the Pearl River Estuary, was under the jurisdiction of Panyu, implying that the early inhabitants of Hong Kong became the subjects of Qin Shi Huang.

Kingdom of Nanyue: Panyu as Capital and Integration of Han and Yue

Four years after the annexation of Lingnan (210 BC), Qin Shi Huang passed away. His son Huhai (230-207 BC) succeeded to the throne as Qin Er Shi (The second emperor of Qin). Not long after Qin Er Shi’s ascension to the throne, pent-up frustration across the empire led to social unrest, beginning with the uprisings led by Chen Sheng and Wu Guang and followed by the Chu-Han Contention between Xiang Yu and Liu Bang. The Qin empire descended into chaos. In the second year of Qin Er Shi’s reign (208 BC), Ren Xiao, the military governor of Nanhai, was gravely ill. Before his death, he appointed Zhao Tuo (240-137 BC) as his successor and warned the latter, “Qin is doomed and the world is suffering... Panyu is protected by the mountains and stands at the gateway of the South China Sea. Covering thousands of miles to the east and west and with the support of Chinese people, the head of the prefecture can build a kingdom (*Records of the Grand Historian: Ranked*

¹ 麥英豪，黎金：〈考古發現與廣州古代史〉，載於廣州市文物考古研究所編《廣州考古五十年文選》（廣州：廣州出版社，2003），頁 3-34。

Yinghao Mai and Jin Li, “Kaogu Faxian Yu Guangzhou Gudaishi (Archaeological Discoveries and the Ancient History of Guangzhou),” in *Guangzhou Kaogu Wushinian Wenxuan* (Selected Essays on Archaeology in Guangzhou in 50 Years), ed. Guangzhou Municipal Institute of Cultural Heritage and Archaeology (Guangzhou: Guangzhou Chubanshe [Guangzhou Press], 2003), 3-34.

² 南越王宮博物館：《南越國宮署遺址——嶺南兩千年中心地》（廣州：廣東人民出版社，2010）。

Nanyue Kingdom Palace Museum, *Nanyue Guo Gongshu Yizhi – Lingnan Liangqiannian Zhongxindi* (Ruins of the Palace of Nanyue Kingdom – Centre of Lingnan for 2000 Years) (Guangzhou: Guangdong People’s Publishing House, 2010).

與佈局，主要是參照漢朝長安城宮殿而建，反映南越國把秦漢王朝的典章制度移入了嶺南地區。

趙佗共統治嶺南 81 年，他於漢武帝建元四年（公元前 137 年）去世，南越國王位由孫兒趙昧繼承，是為文帝。1983 年，南越文帝的陵墓在廣州象崗山上被偶然發現，廣州文物考古研究所隨即進行發掘，發現這座南越王墓保存完好，從未被盜掘，這在漢代眾多諸侯國王陵墓考古中實屬罕見。墓中出土的文帝行璽金印，說明墓主是南越國第二代君主趙昧（公元前 137 年至前 125 年在位）。³ 陵墓乃鑿山而建的石室墓，用紅砂岩砌築而成，坐北向南，按前朝後寢佈局，共分為七室。出土遺物豐富，合共超過 1,000 件，重要的遺物包括墓主身穿的絲縷玉衣、隨身的九枚印璽，其中包括「文帝行璽」龍鈕金印和「趙昧」玉印，確切證明了墓主的身分；此外，有兩套青銅編鐘、兩套石編磬、兩件漆木琴、36 件青銅鼎，其中九件漢式鼎刻有「番禺」銘文，另有 56 件玉璧、11 套玉珮等。南越王墓無論從佈局到隨葬器物，都反映了中原的禮樂文化和典章制度，可見經過南越國數十年的統治，中原王朝典章制度開始在嶺南落地生根了。

另一方面，南越王墓出土的遺物品類豐富，反映了南越國統治下的嶺南經濟有長足發展，尤其是各類手工業如青銅冶鑄、鐵器鍛鑄、繅絲紡織、製陶、磚瓦和製漆等。這些先進的工藝技術，都是由移居嶺南的中土人士帶來，其中最重要的是鐵製農具，說明北方先進的農耕技術已在嶺南普及應用，大幅提高了嶺南的生產力。此外，南越王墓出土大量已炭化的各類絲綢織物，顯示繅絲紡織在嶺南亦已相當普及，絲織物既是民生所需，也是大宗商品，而南越王墓出土了非洲象牙、波斯銀盒和南洋香料等舶來品，反映南越國時期的海上貿易已有一定規模，其中可能以絲綢織物為主要出口商品。⁴

Biographies of Nanyue, Chapter 113).” Thus, Zhao Tuo took military actions and controlled Guilin and Xiang, and closed the passes and roads linked to the Central Plain. He founded the kingdom of Nanyue in Lingnan in 203 BC, and proclaimed himself King Wu of Nanyue. The capital of the kingdom was established in Panyu. Meanwhile, Liu Bang, the King of Han, and Xiang Yu, the Hegemon-King of Western Chu, were at war in the Central Plain. The conflicts, which lasted four years, ended with Xiang Yu’s defeat. In 202 BC, Liu Bang founded the Han dynasty as Emperor Gaozu and established the capital in Chang’an. China was once again unified. As the war progressed, Zhao Tuo went with the tide and declared himself a vassal to Liu Bang in 196 BC. He was named the King of Nanyue, while the Kingdom of Nanyue became a vassal state with the ruler’s surname different from the emperor’s in Western Han. Nanyue had been ruled by five kings for 93 years. During this period, even though there were ups and downs, the liege-vassal relationship between the Han court and Nanyue was largely peaceful and amicable. Therefore, Lingnan had enjoyed stability for nearly a century, undergoing substantial economic, social, cultural and educational developments, which laid the foundation for the region’s future development.

Zhao Tuo established the capital of his kingdom in the city of Panyu, namely Guangzhou’s Old City district today. Between 1995 and 1997, the Guangzhou Municipal Institute of Cultural Heritage and Archaeology discovered the ruins of a garden of the Nanyue palace at the intersection of Zhongshan 4th Road and Beijing Road in the Old City district. A large stone pond and a meandering stone water channel with the length of 160 metres were unearthed. Subsequently in 2000, the remains of Hall No. 1 of the Nanyue palace were discovered. From 2002 to 2009, important cultural remains including Halls No. 1 and No. 2, Passage No. 1, stone passages, brick wells, the northern palace walls, soakaway pits and inscribed wooden slips were excavated successively.² The shape and layout of the Nanyue palace were largely based on the palace of the Han court in Chang’an, suggesting that Nanyue introduced the institution and system of the Han dynasty to Lingnan.

Zhao Tuo had ruled Lingnan for 81 years. Upon his death in the

南越國時期，位於珠江口的香港地區，應該屬都城番禺的管轄範圍。由秦人趙佗建立的南越國地方政權，雖然努力開發嶺南，但當時區內的人口仍然稀少，位於番禺邊陲的香港，自然發展有限。香港歷年的考古發掘，只曾在大嶼山的白芒和竹篙灣、沙頭角新村、西貢沙下等發現零星的南越國時期遺存，其中以 1992 年白芒遺址出土的最為典型，包括一件篋點紋三足陶盒、一件折肩陶盒、一件鐵錫，以及一件方格紋大陶甕，由肩部至底部共六行三角對尖菱格戳印紋¹；⁵ 2001 年在沙頭角新村，也發掘了一件三足帶蓋陶盒²、一件陶小盒及一件鐵斧；⁶ 同年，在西貢沙下又出土了一件折肩陶盒和一件方格紋紅陶釜，⁷ 與白芒的器物相似，同屬於南越國時期。這些僅有的考古發現反映了當時只有少數先民在香港地區活動。



¹ 三角對尖菱格戳印紋大陶甕，南越國時期，1992 年大嶼山白芒遺址出土。

A large pottery urn with the seal-stamp-over-net design of diamond patterns made up of triangles, Nanyue period, excavated at Pak Mong site on Lantau Island in 1992.

4th year of the Jianyuan era during Han Emperor Wu’s reign (137 BC), he was succeeded by his grandson Zhao Mo, King Wen of Nanyue. In 1983, the mausoleum of King Wen of Nanyue was discovered by accident on Xianggang hill, Guangzhou. The Guangzhou Municipal Institute of Cultural Heritage and Archaeology immediately carried out excavation work and discovered that the mausoleum was well preserved and had never been raided. This was indeed rare among archaeological discoveries of the tombs of Han dynasty vassals. The gold seal with the inscription, “*Wen Di Xingxi* (Seal of King Wen)”, excavated from the tomb indicates it belonged to Zhao Mo, the second ruler of Nanyue (in reign from 137-125 BC).³ Built into the hill, the south-facing mausoleum comprises seven red sandstone chambers; the offices are located in the front and the bed chambers in the rear. More than 1,000 relics were unearthed. Notably, there were the jade burial suit threaded with silk worn by the tomb owner, along with nine seals including the gold seal with a dragon-shaped handle and the inscription, “*Wen Di Xingxi*”, and the jade seal with the inscription, “*Zhao Mo*”, which confirmed the identity of the tomb owner. Besides, there were two sets of bronze *bianzhong* bells, two sets of stone *bianqing* chimes, two lacquered wooden *qin* zithers, 36 bronze *ding* tripods – among them nine Han-style *ding* tripods bear the inscription, “*Panyu*” – as well as 56 jade *bi* discs and 11 jade *pei* pendants. From the layout to burial objects, the mausoleum of the Nanyue king reflects the rites, music, culture, institution and system of the Central Plain. This shows that, following decades of governance by the Nanyue kingdom, the institution and system of the Central Plain dynasties took root in Lingnan.

Meanwhile, the rich variety of artefacts unearthed from the tomb of the Nanyue king bears testimony to the remarkable economic development in Lingnan under the rule of Nanyue. In particular, handicraft industries such as bronze and iron casting, silk reeling and weaving, as well as pottery, brick and lacquer production, developed prosperously. The advanced skills and technologies were introduced to Lingnan by migrants

³ 廣州市文物管理委員會，中國社會科學院考古研究所，廣東省博物館：《西漢南越王墓——上》（北京：文物出版社，1991），頁 199-202，204-207。

Guangzhou Municipal Cultural Heritage Administration, Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and Guangdong Museum, *Xi Han Nanyue Wang Mu – Shang* (Tomb of the Nanyue King of the Western Han Dynasty – Vol. 1) (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1991): 199-202, 204-207.

⁴ 麥英豪，黃森章，譚慶芝：《廣州南越王墓》（北京：三聯書店，2005）。

Yinghao Mai, Miaozhang Huang, and Qingzhi Tan, *Guangzhou Nanyue Wang Mu* (Tomb of the Nanyue King in Guangzhou) (Beijing: San lian shu dian, 2005).

⁵ 鄧聰，商志禪，黃韻璋：〈香港大嶼山白芒遺址發掘簡報〉，《考古》（6，1997），頁 54-64。

Chung Tang, Zhi-tan Shang, and Wan-cheung Wong, “Xianggang Dayushan Baimang Yizhi Fajue Jianbao (Brief Report on Excavations at the Pak Mong Site on Lantau Island),” *Kaogu* (Archaeology) 6 (1997): 54-64.

⁶ 莫稚：〈香港沙頭角新村遺址考古發掘報告〉，載於《南粵文物考古集》（北京：文物出版社，2003）。

Zhi Mo, “Xianggang Shatoujiao Xin Cun Yizhi Kaogu Fajue Baogao (Report on Archaeological Excavations in San Tsuen, Sha Tau Kok, Hong Kong),” in *Nanyue Wenwu Kaogu Ji* (Collection of Writings on the Relics and Archaeological Discoveries of Nanyue) (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2003).

⁷ 香港古物古蹟辦事處，廣州市文物考古研究所：〈香港西貢沙下遺址 DI 區發掘簡報〉，《華夏考古》（4，2007）。

Hong Kong Antiquities and Monuments Office, and Guangzhou Municipal Institute of Cultural Heritage and Archaeology, “Xianggang Xigong Shaxia Yizhi DI Qu Fajue Jianbao (Brief Report on Excavations at the DI Site in Sha Ha, Sai Kung, Hong Kong),” *Huaxia Kaogu* (Archaeology in China) 4 (2007).



2 三足帶蓋陶盒，南越國時期，2001年沙頭角新村遺址出土。

A three-footed pottery container with a lid, Nanyue period, unearthed at San Tsuen site in Sha Tau Kok in 2001.

漢代：大吉番禺、海外奇珍

漢武帝劉徹（公元前156年至前87年）元鼎五年（公元前112年），武帝任命路博德為伏波將軍，從桂陽、豫章、夜郎出兵攻打南越國；翌年，各路兵馬會師番禺，傳承五世的南越國覆亡，歷時共93年。平定南越國後，武帝把嶺南地設置了南海、蒼梧、鬱林、合浦、交趾、九真、日南、儋耳、珠崖九郡，同隸屬於交州刺史部。南海郡之下設番禺、中宿、博羅、龍川、四會、揭陽六縣，郡治在番禺；當時的香港地區，仍屬番禺管轄。《漢書·地理志》記載：「（番禺）處近海，多犀、象、玳瑁、珠璣、銀、銅、果、布之湊，中國往商賈者，多取富焉。番禺一都會也。」雖然武帝平定南越後，番禺由一國之都降為一郡之治所，但仍然是嶺南最大及最富庶的都會。

窮兵黷武的漢武帝，為加強國庫收入以支持對匈奴用兵，早已覬覦嶺南豐盈的物產，尤其濱海的魚鹽之利。在平定南越國之前的元狩三年（公元前120年），武帝已下令將鹽和鐵收歸國家專營，分設鹽官和鐵官進駐各主要鹽鐵產地，專責鹽鐵生產和買賣。滅南越國之後，武帝便在蒼梧郡的高要和南海郡的番禺設鹽官，管理鹽場，《漢書·地理志》：「南海郡……縣六。番禺，尉佗都，有鹽官。」可推測當時環珠江口一帶，或已設有多處官辦的鹽場，可惜至今仍未找到漢代嶺南煮海為鹽的考古證據。

from the Central Plain. Among them, the widespread use of iron agricultural tools illustrates that progressive agricultural technologies were applied in Lingnan, greatly enhancing productivity in the region. Besides, various types of carbonised silk fabrics in large quantities were discovered in the tomb of the Nanyue king, suggesting that silk reeling and weaving were popular in Lingnan. Silk fabrics were a necessity for the people and a major traded commodity. Meanwhile, imported objects such as African ivory, Persian silver box and spices from Nanyang (present-day Southeast Asia) show maritime trade was quite well developed during the Nanyue period, and silk fabrics were likely a main export commodity.⁴

During the Nanyue period, Hong Kong, which is located at the Pearl River Estuary, was presumably under the jurisdiction of Panyu. Despite efforts by the local Nanyue government founded by Zhao Tuo of Qin to develop Lingnan, Hong Kong's development was limited due to its remote location and the sparse population of Lingnan. Over the years, archaeological excavations in Hong Kong have only unearthed isolated relics of Nanyue in Pak Mong and Penny's Bay on Lantau Island, San Tsuen in Sha Tau Kok, and Sha Ha in Sai Kung. In 1992, relics signifying the Nanyue period were discovered in Pak Mong, including a large pottery urn with the seal-stamp-over-net design of six rows of diamond patterns made up of triangles and extending from the shoulders to the base¹, a three-footed pottery box featuring a dotted pattern etched with a comb, a pottery box with angular shoulder and an iron spade;⁵ in 2001, a three-footed pottery box with a lid², a small pottery box and an iron axe were unearthed in San Tsuen, Sha Tau Kok;⁶ in the same year, a pottery box with angular shoulder and a red pottery *fu* cauldron with square patterns, similar to the relics found in Pak Mong, were discovered in Sha Ha, Sai Kung.⁷ All relics were dated to the Nanyue period. These rare archaeological discoveries illustrate that only a small number of early inhabitants were active in Hong Kong at that time.

Han Dynasty: Daji Panyu and Rare Overseas Treasures

In the 5th year of the Yuanding era (112 BC), during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han, Liu Che (156-87 BC), Lu Bode was appointed General Fubo and tasked with leading an expedition against Nanyue from Guiyang, Yuzhang, and Yelang. In the following year, the troops joined forces in Panyu. The Nanyue kingdom, which saw five kings in 93 years, was annihilated. After conquering Nanyue, Emperor Wu established nine prefectures, including Nanhai, Cangwu, Yulin, Hepu, Jiaozhi, Jiuzhen, Rinan, Dan'er, and Zhuyai, under the jurisdiction of the inspector of Jiaozhou. Six counties were set up in Nanhai prefecture, namely Panyu, Zhongsu, Boluo, Longchuan, Sihui, and Jieyang. Hong Kong at that time was still under the

除魚鹽之利，漢武帝也喜愛嶺南輸入的海外珍奇，在平定嶺南之後，朝廷致力發展海外貿易。《漢書·地理志》記載了一條從南海到印度、長達幾千里的海路：「自日南障塞，徐聞、合浦，船行可五月有都元國，又船行可四月有邑盧沒國，又船行可二十餘日有諶離，步行可十餘日有夫甘都盧國，船行可二月有黃支國……有譯長，屬黃門，與應募者俱入海，市明珠、璧、琉璃、奇石異物，齎黃金雜繒而往……黃支之南，有己程不國，漢之譯使自此還矣。」這條公元前二至一世紀的海上絲綢之路，已被近年在嶺南、越南、泰國、印度東部沿海多處遺址的考古發現所證實。廣州學者最近從廣州地區過去60餘年考古發掘的1,500多座兩漢墓葬中，篩選出土珠飾的242座墓葬，對21,303顆珠飾進行了研究，更挑選400多顆珠飾進行光譜分析、顯微觀察等現代科技考古檢測，發現其中的鉀玻璃珠飾、瓜棱形的煤精珠、水晶、琥珀、紅玉髓、海藍寶、綠柱石、石榴石等天然材料珠飾都屬舶來品，產自南亞和東南亞地區，不同來源的珠飾薈萃廣州，說明番禺在漢代時期確實是嶺南最大的明珠、璧、琉璃及奇石異物的集散地。⁸廣西合浦屬武帝所設嶺南九郡之一，自上世紀五十年代以來，已發掘的漢墓超過1,200座，也出土了大量從海外輸入的珠飾，包括珍珠、玻璃、石榴子石、水晶、琥珀、綠柱石、瑪瑙、肉紅石髓、蝕刻石髓、綠松石和黃金珠飾，顯示合浦是漢代海上貿易網路的重要節點。⁹

jurisdiction of Panyu, where the prefecture government was located. According to *The Book of Han: Treatise on Geography*, "Located near the sea, [Panyu] had abundant rhinoceros, elephants, hawksbill turtles, pearls, silver, copper, fruit, and fabrics. Merchants trading with China acquired these products from Panyu, a metropolitan." Although Panyu was reduced from the capital of a kingdom to that of a prefecture, it remained the largest and most affluent metropolitan in Lingnan.

Emperor Wu, an ambitious militarist who wanted to increase revenues for the national treasury to support his expeditions against the Xiongnu, had long set eyes on the abundant resources of Lingnan, especially revenues from salt production in the coastal areas. In the 3rd year of the Yuanshou era (120 BC), before Nanyue was conquered, Emperor Wu ordered the nationalisation of the salt and iron industries. Salt and iron officers (*yanguan* and *tieguan*) were appointed to oversee the production and trading of salt and iron in the major salt and iron producing regions. After the destruction of Nanyue, Emperor Wu appointed salt officers to Gaoyao of Cangwu prefecture and Panyu of Nanhai prefecture to manage the saltworks. According to *The Book of Han: Treatise on Geography*, "Nanhai prefecture... with six counties. There were salt officers in Panyu, the capital of former Nanyue." Presumably, many state-run saltworks were set up near the Pearl River Estuary at the time, although the archaeological evidence of boiling seawater to obtain salt in Lingnan during the Han dynasty is yet to be found.

Besides reaping profits from salt, Emperor Wu also loved the foreign treasures imported from Lingnan. After annexing Lingnan, the Han court was committed to developing overseas trades. *The Book of Han: Treatise on Geography* documents a maritime route from Nanhai to India spanning thousands of miles, "From the fortifications in Rinan prefecture (Xiang prefecture in the Qin dynasty; present-day Vietnam) through Xuwen (present-day Guangdong) to Hepu (present-day Guangxi), the journey continued for five months by sea to the state of Duyuan (present-day Sumatra), or four months by sea to the state of Yilumo (present-day Thailand), some 20 days by sea to the state of Chenli (present-day Malay Peninsula), about 10 days on foot to the state of Fugandulu (also on present-day Malay Peninsula) and finally two months by sea to the state of Huangzhi (present-day India)... Interpreters from the imperial

⁸ 廣州市文物考古研究院：《廣州出土漢代珠飾研究》（北京：科學出版社，2020），頁1-4。
Guangzhou Municipal Institute of Cultural Heritage and Archaeology, *Guangzhou Chutu Handai Zhushi Yanjiu* (Study of the Beads and Pendants of the Han Dynasties Unearthed from Guangzhou) (Beijing: Chinese Science Publishing & Media, 2020): 1-4.

⁹ 熊昭明：〈漢代海上絲綢之路合浦港的考古發現〉，《民主與科學》（1，2018）。
Zhaoming Xiong, "Handai Haishang Sichouzhilu Hepugang De Kaogu Faxian (Archaeological Discoveries Related to the Port of Hepu on the Maritime Silk Road in the Han Dynasty)," *Minzhu Yu Kexue* (Democracy and Science) 1 (2018).

越南中南部沙瑩文化遺址中也有較多珠飾發現，有不同大小、形狀和材質，很多都與廣州和合浦漢墓出土的珠飾相似，甚至相同。¹⁰此外，位於泰國南部的克拉地峽，是馬來半島上最狹窄的地方，地峽東岸的考山考（Khao Sam Kaeo，又譯作「三喬山」）遺址，法國國家科學研究中心的貝納妮絲·蓓琳娜（Bérénice Bellina）與泰國藝術大學合作，近年曾在遺址進行了多次發掘，出土了大量與廣州和合浦漢墓相同的珠飾，以及漢代的戳印紋陶器和青銅鏡。蓓琳娜指出考山考是一處港口聚落，因而匯聚了來自南亞和南中國海東部等大範圍區域的舶來品；同時，當地也有興盛的作坊，生產各類珠飾。¹¹白雲翔等考察了考山考遺址和遺物，發現其中的漢代文物有兩件銅鏡，一件為星雲紋鏡；一套兩枚銅子母印章，母印龜鈕刻有陽文篆書「呂幼公印」；一件三棱錐形銅箭鏃及80多片漢式陶片，推測考山考所在的克拉地峽，可能與《漢書·地理志》記載的謾離國和夫甘都盧國有關。¹²上述考古發現，說明漢代時期中西海上貿易已頗為興盛，位處珠江三角洲的番禺，是嶺南最大的都會和港口。至於屬番禺管治的香港地區方面，考古人員於1994年在馬灣東灣仔遺址發掘當中，也出土了八顆琉璃珠，包括一顆綠色、兩顆藍色³及五顆黑色，¹³與印度阿里卡梅度出土的琉璃珠十分相似，可能是從印度直接輸入，或是東南亞地區的工匠學習了印度的工藝而製作，輾轉經海路輸入番禺，最後來到香港的馬灣。

court and volunteers took the voyage and bought pearls, jade *bi* discs, glass, rare gems and exotic objects, as well as gold and silk fabrics... To the south of Huangzhi was the state of Yichengbu (present-day Sri Lanka). From there, the Han interpreters returned to China.” From 2nd century BC to 1st century BC, this Maritime Silk Road had been verified by the archaeological discoveries at ancient sites in Lingnan, Vietnam, Thailand, and along the eastern coast of India. Recently, Guangzhou scholars identified, from more than 1,500 Western and Eastern Han tombs discovered in the city over the past six decades, 242 tombs that had yielded bead accessories. A total of 21,303 bead accessories were studied; among them, 400 beads were selected for modern scientific examinations, such as spectrum analyses and microscopic observations. It was found that potassium glass bead accessories, melon-shaped jet beads, crystals, amber, carnelian, aquamarine, and garnet, among other natural beads, were imported from South Asia or Southeast Asia. Beads originating from different places were found in Guangzhou, suggesting that Panyu in the Han dynasty was the largest distribution centre for pearls, jade *bi* discs, glass, rare gems, and exotic objects in Lingnan.⁸ Hepu in Guangxi was one of the nine prefectures established by Emperor Wu in Lingnan. Since the 1950s, more than 1,200 Han tombs have been discovered there, yielding vast quantities of imported bead accessories, including pearls, glass, garnet, crystals, amber, beryl, agate, carnelian, etched chalcedony, turquoise, and gold beads. These discoveries show Hepu was an important node in the maritime trading network of the Han dynasty.⁹

Substantial quantities of bead accessories in different shapes and sizes, and made of different materials, have also been unearthed in the sites of Sa Huynh Culture in central Vietnam. Many of the relics were similar or even identical to those excavated from the Han tombs in Guangzhou and Hepu.¹⁰ Meanwhile, the Kra Isthmus in southern Thailand is the narrowest part of the Malay Peninsula. At the Khao Sam Kaeo archaeological site on the eastern coast of the isthmus, Bérénice Bellina of the French National Centre for



3 藍色琉璃珠，東漢後期，1994年馬灣東灣仔遺址出土。
Blue glass beads, late Eastern Han period, unearthed at Tung Wan Tsai site in Ma Wan in 1994.

馬灣東灣仔是香港境內僅見的一處漢代生活遺址。1994年在東灣仔沙堤南部發掘了面積260多平方米的遺址，各探方都發現了東漢時期的文化遺存，其中約130平方米的範圍內有密集的貝殼堆積，厚約10厘米至50厘米，除各式腹足類和雙殼類的貝殼外，還夾雜大量魚骨、鳥類和小型哺乳類動物的遺骨、木炭和石塊，遺跡包括柱洞、火燒痕跡、路面及水溝；遺物種類豐富，包括不少戳印紋陶片和夾砂陶片，以及一件青銅鏃、三枚五銖錢、一枚大泉五十錢、八顆琉璃珠、50多件鐵工具和殘件，可辨認的鐵器有錘、斧、刀、鋸、鉤等，顯示東漢時期不斷有先民來到東灣仔活動，他們靠海為生，並沒有農耕的證據，顯然這不是一處長期定居的地點⁴。¹⁴

Scientific Research has worked with Silpakorn University on a number of excavations in recent years. Large quantities of bead accessories identical to those discovered in the tombs in Guangzhou and Hepu, as well as pottery with seal-stamp-over-net design and bronze mirrors from the Han dynasty, were unearthed. Bellina pointed out that, as Khao San Kao was a port settlement, large volumes of import from South Asia and the eastern part of the South China Sea were transported there. Local workshops which produced bead accessories of all sorts also thrived.¹¹ Bai Yunxiang and others studied the ancient site at Khao San Kao along with the artefacts yielded, and they found among the Han dynasty relics two bronze mirrors – one of which adorned with star and cloud patterns; a set of two bronze seals – the larger one with a turtle-shaped knob and bearing the inscription, “*Lu You Gong Yin* (Seal of Lu Gong Junior)”, a bronze triangular pyramid-shaped arrowhead, and more than 80 fragments of Han-style pottery. Considering the location of Khao San Kao in the Kra Isthmus, the site could possibly be related to the states of Chenli and Fugandulu documented in *The Book of Han: Treatise on Geography*.¹² The abovementioned archaeological discoveries suggest that maritime trade between the east and west flourished during the Han dynasty. Panyu, situated in the Pearl River Delta, was the largest metropolitan and port in Lingnan. In 1994, excavations carried out at the Tung Wan Tsai archaeological site in Ma Wan, Hong Kong, which was under the jurisdiction

¹⁰ Kim Dung Nguyen: 〈The Sa Huynh Culture in Ancient Regional Trade Networks: A Comparative Study of Ornaments〉，載於 Philip J. Piper, Hirofumi Matsumura, David Bulbeck 編《New Perspectives in Southeast Asian and Pacific Prehistory》（澳洲：ANU Press，2017），<https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1pwtd26.25>。

Kim Dung Nguyen, “The Sa Huynh Culture in Ancient Regional Trade Networks: A Comparative Study of Ornaments,” in *New Perspectives in Southeast Asian and Pacific Prehistory*, ed. Philip J. Piper, Hirofumi Matsumura, and David Bulbeck (Australia: ANU Press, 2017), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1pwtd26.25>.

¹¹ Bérénice Bellina, Aude Favereau, Laure Dussubieux: 〈Southeast Asian Early Maritime Silk Road Trading Polities’ Hinterland and the Sea-nomads of the Isthmus of Kra〉，《*Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*》（54，2019），頁102-120，<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0278416518301685>。

Bérénice Bellina, Aude Favereau and Laure Dussubieux, “Southeast Asian Early Maritime Silk Road Trading Polities’ Hinterland and the Sea-nomads of the Isthmus of Kra,” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 54 (June 2019): 102-120, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0278416518301685>.

¹² 白雲翔，楊勇：〈班諾窪與考山考——泰國兩處史前遺址的考察及相關問題討論〉，《中國國家博物館館刊》（4，2020），頁82-99。

Yunxiang Bai and Yong Yang, “Bannuowa Yu Kaoshankao – Taiguao Liangchun Shiqian Yizhi De Kaocha Ji Xiangguan Wenti Taolun (Ban Non Wat and Khao San Kao – Study of Two Prehistoric Sites in Thailand and Relevant Discussions),” *Journal of the National Museum of China* 4 (2020): 82-99.

¹³ P. R. Rogers, N. W. Leininger, S. Mirchandani, J. Van Den Bergh, E. A. Widdowson: 〈Tung Wan Tsai: A Bronze Age and Han Period Coastal Site〉，《*Occasional Paper 3*》（香港：古物古蹟辦事處，1995），頁146。

P. R. Rogers, N. W. Leininger, S. Mirchandani, J. Van Den Bergh, and E. A. Widdowson, “Tung Wan Tsai: A Bronze Age and Han Period Coastal Site,” *Occasional Paper 3* (Hong Kong: Antiquities and Monuments Office, 1995), 146.

¹⁴ 同註13。

See Note 13.

香港境內，除馬灣東灣仔外，還有另外 16 處地點曾發現兩漢時期的文化遺存。¹⁵ 西漢前期，即南越國時期共有五處，包括大嶼山的白芒和竹篙灣、沙頭角新村、西貢沙下、龍鼓上灘等，其中竹篙灣、沙頭角新村、沙下、龍鼓上灘更同時發現東漢後期的遺存；此外，在其餘 12 處地點發現的都屬於東漢後期，包括深水埗李鄭屋漢墓、南丫島的深灣和沙埔村、西貢的滘西洲和鹽田梓、大嶼山礮石灣、屯門掃管笏、九龍旺角等，這些地點之中，大部分的文化遺存都很薄弱，只有零星的出土戳印紋陶器和碎片，追溯不到相關活動的遺跡；當中以李鄭屋漢墓的發現最為重要，1955 年深水埗李鄭屋村發現的東漢磚室墓⁵，平面呈十字形，分前室、後室和左、右耳室，中為穹窿頂，各室則為券拱頂，部分墓磚有模印花紋和文字，文字內容包括「大吉番禺」⁶、「番禺大治曆」及「薛師」三種，說明香港地區及至東漢後期，仍然由南海郡番禺縣管治。¹⁶ 出土隨葬器物共 58 件，其中銅器有鏡、碗、洗、鈴等八件，其餘皆為陶器，包括青釉硬陶鼎、簋、壺、奩、豆、罐等日用器，以及陶屋、倉、灶、井等模型明器，皆屬於漢文化風格，說明東漢後期中原漢文化已深入嶺南大地。¹⁷ 至今，李鄭屋漢墓仍然是香港境內發現唯一

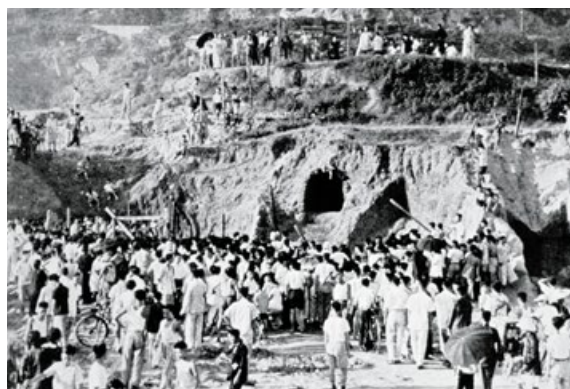
of Panyu in the Han dynasty, yielded eight glass beads – one green, two blue³ and five black.¹³ These were very similar to the glass beads discovered in Arikamedu, India, suggesting that they could be direct imports. Alternatively, they could be crafted by Southeast Asian artisans influenced by the Indian techniques and subsequently imported to Panyu by sea before finally reaching Ma Wan, Hong Kong.

Tung Wan Tsai on Ma Wan Island is the only midden site of the Han period found in Hong Kong. In 1994, a 260-square-metre site was excavated in the southern part of the beach in Tung Wan Tsai, where cultural remains of the Eastern Han period were found in all of the squares. In an area of about 130 square metres, a dense deposit of shells – 10 to 50 centimetres thick – were unearthed. Besides the shells of gastropods and bivalves, there were also large amounts of bones belonging to fish, birds, and small mammals, as well as charcoal and stones. The site also yielded post holes, traces of fire, roads, and trenches, together with a wide range of artefacts including hard pottery fragments with seal-stamp-over-net patterns and coarse pottery, a bronze arrowhead, three *wuzhu* coins, a *dachuan wushi* coin, eight glass beads, and some 50 iron tools and fragments. Among the iron artefacts identified are spades, axes, knives, saws, and hooks, suggesting early inhabitants were active in Tung Wan Tsai in the Eastern Han period. They relied on the sea for a living, and there was no evidence of farming, therefore Tung Wan Tsai was apparently not a permanent settlement⁴.¹⁴



4 1994 年馬灣東灣仔遺址，發掘漢代文化層。

Excavation of a cultural layer of the Han dynasty at Tung Wan Tsai site in Ma Wan in 1994.



5 1955 年 8 月，深水埗李鄭屋村發現的東漢磚室墓現場。

A brick tomb of Eastern Han period was discovered in Lei Cheng Uk village, Sham Shui Po, in August 1955.

¹⁵ 朱海仁：〈香港漢代考古發現與研究〉，載於中國社會科學院考古研究所，廣州市文物考古研究所編《西漢南越國考古與漢文化》（北京：科學出版社，2010），頁 42-62。

Hairen Zhu, "Xianggang Handai Kaogu Faxian Yu Yanjiu (Han Dynasty Archaeological Discoveries and Studies in Hong Kong)," in *Xihan Nanyueguo Kaogu Yu Han Wenhua* (Archaeological Work Relating to the Nanyue Kingdom in the Western Han Dynasty and Han Culture), ed. Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Guangzhou Municipal Institute of Cultural Heritage and Archaeology (Beijing: Chinese Science Publishing & Media, 2010): 42-62.

¹⁶ 白雲翔：〈香港李鄭屋漢墓的發現及其意義〉，《考古》（6，1997）。

Yunxiang Bai, "Xianggang Lizhengwu Hanwu De Faxian Ji Qi Yiyi (Discovery and Significance of Lei Cheng Uk Han Tomb in Hong Kong)," *Kaogu* (Archaeology) 6 (1997).



6 李鄭屋東漢磚室墓，墓磚上顯示「大吉番禺」的銘文。

Inscription of "Daji Panyu (Great fortune to Panyu county)" was stamped on a brick of the Lei Cheng Uk Han Tomb.

的一座磚室墓，已被列為法定古蹟，而磚銘「大吉番禺」顯示了香港地區最早的地名，乃極為重要的考古發現。

香港境內的第二座漢墓，直到 2008 年才在屯門的掃管笏遺址出土。古物古蹟辦事處與中國社會科學院考古研究所聯合組成的考古隊，在 2008 年及 2009 年期間對掃管笏遺址進行大規模的搶救發掘，發現新石器時代晚期、青銅器時期、漢代及明代的文化遺存。其中漢代遺存屬東漢後期，遺存量不算豐富，僅在個別探方中發現有面積細小的東漢文化堆積，當中卻發現了一座長方形的豎穴土坑墓，坑長 310 厘米、寬 130 厘米至 150 厘米，葬具和人骨無存，隨葬品有青銅盤、銅耳杯、鐵斧各一件及石玦耳飾一對，¹⁸ 其中的銅器和鐵器，屬於典型的漢文化器物⁷。除漢墓外，在 2000 年的另一次掃管笏遺址的搶救發掘之中，也出土了漢代銅錢窖藏。在一個編號 K1 的灰坑中，發現了大量銅錢，可辨別的有 97 枚，包括一枚半兩錢、一枚貨泉錢、61 枚完整的五銖錢，以及 34 枚剪輪五銖錢⁸。¹⁹ 掃管笏的銅錢窖藏及東灣仔出土的四枚漢代五銖銅錢，顯示漢代的貨幣經濟已涵蓋了香港地區，貨幣的流通，說明邊陲的嶺南已融入漢帝國的經濟體系之中。

Besides Tung Wan Tsai, Ma Wan, cultural remains of the Western and Eastern Han periods were discovered at 16 locations across Hong Kong.¹⁵ Five sites were dated to the early Western Han (Nanyue kingdom) period, including Pak Mong and Penny's Bay on Lantau Island, San Tsuen in Sha Tau Kok, Sha Ha in Sai Kung, and Lung Kwu Sheung Tan. Remains from the late Eastern Han dynasty were also found in Penny's Bay, San Tsuen in Sha Tau Kok, Sha Ha, and Lung Kwu Sheung Tan. Discoveries at the remaining 12 locations were all dated to the late Eastern Han dynasty, including Lei Cheng Uk Han Tomb in Sham Shui Po, Sham Wan and Sha Po Tsuen on Lamma Island, Kau Sai Chau and Yim Tin Tsz in Sai Kung, San Shek Wan on Lantau Island, So Kwun Wat in Tuen Mun, and Mong Kok in Kowloon. In most of the sites, the cultural remains were weak, only small quantities of pottery with seal-stamp-over-net patterns and fragments were unearthed, and there was no trace of human activities. Among them, the most important discovery was Lei Cheung Uk Han Tomb. Found in Lei Cheng Uk village, Sham Shui Po, in 1955⁵, the Eastern Han brick tomb was made up of front, rear, left and right chambers arranged in the shape of a cross. The centre of the tomb featured a domed roof, and the chambers had barrel vaults. Some of the bricks bore stamped patterns or inscriptions including "Daji Panyu (Great fortune to Panyu county)"⁶, "Panyu Dazhili (Peace to Panyu county)" and "Xue Shi", indicating that Hong Kong remained under the jurisdiction of Panyu county, Nanhai prefecture, in the late Eastern Han dynasty.¹⁶

¹⁷ 香港歷史博物館：《李鄭屋漢墓》（香港：香港歷史博物館，2005）。

Hong Kong Museum of History, *Lei Cheng Uk Han Tomb* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of History, 2005).

¹⁸ 香港古物古蹟辦事處，中國社會科學院考古研究所：〈香港屯門掃管笏遺址發掘簡報〉，《考古》（7，2010）。

Hong Kong Antiquities and Monuments Office, and Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, "Xianggang Tunmen Saoguanhu Yizhi Fajue Jianbao (Brief Report on Excavations at the Ancient Site in So Kwun Wat, Tuen Mun, Hong Kong)," *Kaogu* (Archaeology) 7 (2010).

¹⁹ 掃管笏聯合考古隊：《2000 年屯門掃管笏遺址考古搶救發掘工作報告》（香港：古物古蹟辦事處）（未刊稿）。

Joint Archaeological Team of So Kwun Wat, *2000 Nian Tunmen Saoguanhu Yizhi Kaogu Qianqiu Fajue Gongzuo Baogao* (Report on Archaeological Salvage Excavations at the Ancient Site in So Kwun Wat, Tuen Mun, in 2000) (Hong Kong: Antiquities and Monuments Office, unpublished).

綜觀香港出土的漢代遺存，地理位置都在海灣沙堤或其鄰近的緩坡發現，文化層既淺薄又只局部存在，反映當時在香港地區活動的先民不多，活動的時間也不長久。遺存的年代可分為兩段，即西漢前期和東漢後期，比較這兩個時期的遺址數量、遺物種類和數量，東漢比西漢時期有明顯增長；廣州文物考古研究所朱海仁指出，這種分佈情況與珠江三角洲地區的整體情況大致相同。²⁰ 專家推測自南越國被武帝滅亡之後，番禺由都城變為南海郡郡治，無論政治和經濟地位都下降了，因此，武帝於元封五年（公元前 106 年）在嶺南設立交州時，州治設於蒼梧郡廣信縣（今梧州），可見嶺南發展重心有西移之勢。隨著海上貿易的發展，較西面的邊鎮如徐聞、合浦、日南等即乘勢而起，因此《漢書·地理志》記載的海路，只提及日南、徐聞、合浦等邊鎮。朝廷更在徐聞設置「侯官」，專門負責海外來華使節、接待和稽查商人、管理外貿倉庫、為商人註冊、處理商品互市等工作。侯官的創置，成為我國最早的海外貿易管理官員。²¹

The tomb yielded 58 burial objects, of which eight pieces of bronze ware included a mirror, a bowl, a basin, and a bell; and ceramic wares include green glazed *ding* tripods, *gui* vessels, jars, *lian* containers, *dou* cups, and pots, as well as pottery models of houses, barns, stoves, and wells. Displaying elements of the Han culture, the archaeological discoveries show Lingnan was deeply influenced by the culture of the Central Plain in the late Eastern Han dynasty.¹⁷ Lei Cheng Uk Han Tomb, a declared monument, is the only brick tomb discovered in Hong Kong to date. Meanwhile, the brick inscription, “*Daji Panyu*”, shows the earliest geographical name of Hong Kong and is indeed a highly significant archaeological discovery.

The second Han tomb in Hong Kong was unearthed at the archaeological site in So Kwun Wat, Tuen Mun, in 2008. A team of archaeologists from the Antiquities and Monuments Office and the Institute of Archaeology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences carried out extensive salvage excavation work at the site in So Kwun Wat from 2008 to 2009. Cultural remains dated to the late Neolithic period, the Bronze Age as well as the Han and Ming dynasties were discovered. The artefacts from the Han dynasty were from the late Eastern Han dynasty. Only non-substantial cultural deposit from the period was unearthed in isolated squares, but the site yielded a rectangular burial pit of 310-centimetre long and 130 to 150-centimetre wide. There were neither burial vessels nor human bones, whereas burial objects including a bronze dish, a bronze eared cup, an iron axe, and a pair of stone slotted earrings were found ⁷.¹⁸ The bronze and iron objects are typical Han cultural artefacts. In addition to the Han tomb,



⁷ 銅盤、銅耳杯及一對石玦，2008 年屯門掃管笏遺址東漢墓出土。

A bronze dish, a bronze eared cup and a pair of stone slotted earrings were found in an Eastern Han burial at So Kwun Wat site in Tuen Mun in 2008.

²⁰ 同註 15。
See Note 15.

²¹ 王杰：〈中國最早的海外貿易管理官員創置於漢代〉，《海交史研究》（2，1993），頁 1-4。
Jie Wang, “Zhongguo Zuizao De Haiwai Maoyi Guanliyuan Chuangzhi Yu Handai (China’s Earliest Foreign Trade Management Officer Position Created in the Han Dynasty),” *Haijiaoshi Yanjiu* (Study of Maritime Exchange History) 2 (1993): 1-4.



⁸ 五銖錢，漢代，2000 年屯門掃管笏遺址出土。
Wuzhu copper coins, the Han dynasty, unearthed at So Kwun Wat site in Tuen Mun in 2000.

顯然地，西漢中後期嶺南的發展重心在北部灣一帶，徐聞、合浦等沿海邊鎮，透過「南流江—西江—漓江—靈渠—湘江」與長江水系連成一線，把海外珍奇迅速運送至京師長安。²² 及至西漢末年，由於中原地區的戰亂，王朝的政治影響力衰微，引致北方移民大規模遷入嶺南，據王子今統計，以西漢平帝元始二年（公元 2 年）和東漢順帝永和五年（公元 140 年）的戶口比較，嶺南七郡的戶口數目，增長率分別為 144.8%（戶）和 100.8%（口），²³ 大量南來的農民，把北方先進的鐵製農具和田作技術帶到嶺南，並選擇於最富庶的珠江三角洲定居，因而在東漢時期，番禺迎來一次重大的發展機遇。

Han dynasty copper coins were discovered during a salvage excavation carried out at the So Kwun Wat site in 2000. Large quantities of copper coins were found in the pit numbered K1. There were 97 identifiable coins, including a half *tael* coin, a *huoquan* coin, 61 whole *wuzhu* coins, and 34 *wuzhu* coins with trimmed rims ⁸.¹⁹ The copper coins found in So Kwun Wat, along with the four Han dynasty *wuzhu* coins unearthed in Tung Wan Tsai, show the monetary economy of the Han dynasty covered Hong Kong. Lingnan, a remote region, was integrated into the economy of the Han empire, as illustrated by the circulation of currency.

In Hong Kong, Han dynasty remains were all unearthed from sand bars in bays or gentle slopes nearby. The cultural layers were shallow and incomplete, suggesting there were not many early inhabitants in Hong Kong at that time and the activities did not last long. The time period of the remains can be divided into two stages – the early Western Han dynasty and the late Eastern Han dynasty. There are more historic sites from Eastern Han than Western Han, and relics from the former are more diverse and in larger quantities. The same distribution pattern, as pointed out by Zhu Hairen of the Guangzhou Municipal Institute of Cultural Heritage and Archaeology, has been observed in the rest of the Pearl River Delta region.²⁰ Following the destruction of Nanyue by Emperor Wu of Han, Panyu declined in terms of political and economic status,

²² 廖國一：〈漢代環北部灣貨幣流通圈與海上絲綢之路——以環北部灣地區中國與越南漢代墓葬出土錢幣為例〉，《廣西金融研究》（S1，2006），頁 40-46。

Guoyi Liao, “Handai Huan Beibuwan Huobi Liutongquan Yu Haishang Sichouzhilu – Yi Huan Beibuwan Diqu Zhongguo Yu Yuenan Handai Muzang Chutu Qianbi Weili (Currency Circulation Circle in the Beibu Bay Area and the Maritime Silk Road in the Han Dynasty – Insights from Han Dynasty Coins Excavated from Tombs in China and Vietnam within the Beibu Bay Area),” *Guangxi Jinrong Yanjiu* (Guangxi Financial Research) S1 (2006): 40-46.

²³ 王子今：〈嶺南移民與漢文化的擴張——考古資料與文獻資料的綜合考察〉，《中山大學學報（社會科學版）》（4，2010）。

Zhijin Wang, “Lingnan Yimin Yu Han Wenhua De Kuozhang – Kaogu Zhiliao Yu Wenxian Zhiliao De Zonghe Kaocha (Immigration and the Expansion of Han Culture in Lingnan – A Comprehensive Study of Archaeological Materials and Historical Records),” *Zhongshan Daxue Xuebao (Shehui Kexue Ban)* (Sun Yat-sen University Journal [Social Science Edition]) 4 (2010).

六朝：海貿勃興、佛教傳入

三國時期的東吳（222-280）、東晉（317-420）、南朝（420-589）的宋、齊、梁、陳共六個朝代，皆定都於今天的南京，史稱「六朝」。六朝是中國歷史上長期分裂及動蕩的時期，先有魏、蜀、吳三國數十年的爭霸，後有五胡亂華，形成 200 多年南北朝對峙的局面。中土人士為躲避戰亂，大規模南遷，因此六朝又是中國歷史上人口大遷移和民族大融合的時期。數以百萬計移居嶺南的漢人，帶來了中原文化、技術和風俗習慣，為嶺南的社會經濟發展注入了新動力。另一方面，由於各民族頻繁交流，社會呈現開放的風氣，民眾的思想活躍，儒、佛、道等宗教盛行，位處邊陲的香港地區也受到影響。

東漢末年，軍閥混戰，中原大亂，朝廷對嶺南的管治逐漸廢弛，地方豪強乘勢而起，出身蒼梧廣信官宦世家的士燮家族，很快便控制了嶺南，士燮更自署為交趾太守。東吳孫權（182-252）於獻帝建安十五年（210 年）派步騭領兵奪取交州，士燮兄弟歸附，嶺南盡歸東吳所有。孫權任命步騭為交州刺史，並擴建番禺城。公元 217 年，步騭把交州的州治，從廣信遷至番禺，可見三國初年，嶺南的發展重心又回到珠江三角洲地區。

東吳時期，由於嶺南相對安穩，因而迎來一次北方移民的高潮，漢末至三國百餘年間，遷入嶺南的移民約有 78 萬人，使嶺南的人口增加了六成。²⁴ 為增加地方行政效率，東吳大帝孫權於黃武五年（226 年）把交州分為交、廣二州，廣州下轄鬱林、蒼梧、南海、高涼四郡，州治在南海郡番禺，當時香港地區，仍屬番禺管轄。至東吳景帝永安七年（264 年），廣州轄下增加高興、寧浦、桂林三郡，形成「廣州七郡、交州八郡」的新格局。嶺南州、郡、縣的增置和調整，是要把從北方流入的人口重新編入戶籍，為國家納稅和服役，這正反映當時嶺南的經濟和社會正不斷向前發展。

as the former state capital became the capital of Nanhai prefecture. When Emperor Wu established Jiaozhou in Lingnan in the 5th year of the Yuanfeng era (106 BC), the provincial government was established in Guangxin county in Cangwu prefecture (present-day Wuzhou), which reflects that the focus of development in Lingnan had shifted to the west. As maritime trade developed, some border towns in the west, including Xuwen, Hepu, and Rinan, rose in prominence. This explains why the sea passage documented in *The Book of Han: Treatise on Geography* only mentions these border towns. Meanwhile, the imperial court established the post of *houguan* (waiting officer) in Xuwen. This post was responsible for receiving and checking foreign envoys and merchants coming to China, managing foreign trade warehouses, registering merchants, and trading goods. The establishment of *houguan* gave rise to the country's earliest foreign trade management officer.²¹

Certainly, the focus of development in Lingnan shifted to the Beibu Bay area in the mid and late Western Han dynasty. Through the “Nanlijiang river-Xijiang river-Lijiang river-Lingqu river-Xiangjiang river” route, coastal towns such as Xuwen and Hepu were linked to the Yangtze River system, enabling overseas treasures to be quickly transported to Chang’an, the empire's capital.²² In the late Western Han dynasty, armed conflicts broke out in the Central Plain as the political influence of the imperial court declined, and large numbers of immigrants moved to Lingnan from the north. According to statistics compiled by Wang Zhijin, from the 2nd year of the Yuanshi era in the reign of Western Han Emperor Ping (AD 2) to the 5th year of the Yonghe era during the reign of Eastern Han Emperor Shun (AD 140), the number of households in the seven prefectures of Lingnan increased by 144.8%, and the population rose by 100.8%.²³ A large number of farmers from the north brought advanced iron farming tools and agricultural skills to Lingnan and they chose to settle in the affluent Pearl River Delta. Therefore, during the Eastern Han dynasty, Panyu welcomed a golden development opportunity.

Six Dynasties: Flourishing Maritime Trade and Introduction of Buddhism

Eastern Wu (222-280) of the Three Kingdoms period, Eastern Jin (317-420) as well as Song, Qi, Liang, and Chen of the Southern dynasties (420-589) all established their capital in present-day Nanjing. Together they are known in history as the Six Dynasties. Throughout Chinese history, the Six Dynasties represented the longest period of division and turmoil. Decades of struggle among the three kingdoms of Wei, Shu, and Wu were followed by the Upheaval of the Five Barbarians

東吳時期，嶺南是國家的大後方，也是經濟命脈。孫權特別重視海上貿易，曾派遣中郎將康泰、宣化從事朱應出使大秦、天竺等國，招引南洋和西洋諸國商人來華通商。其時，位處今越南中南部的林邑國日漸強盛，經常侵擾九真、交趾二邊郡，南海諸國來華的商船，因而取道海南島東岸而抵達番禺通商，番禺成為最大的貿易港。之後，隨著廣州的興起，粵東海上貿易路線的開闢，舶來品更容易經海路送至東吳首都建業（今南京）。

東吳最終於 280 年為司馬氏建立的晉朝所滅，中國復歸統一。然而好景不常，從 291 年起，晉室發生長達 16 年的內鬥，史稱「八王之亂」，至懷帝永嘉五年（311 年）又發生「永嘉之亂」，北方的匈奴、鮮卑、羌、氐、羯五個胡族乘機入侵中原，建立割據政權，懷帝被俘，繼位的愍帝也於 316 年投降，西晉滅亡。晉室與豪門大族紛紛避走至江南，317 年司馬睿在江南稱帝，定都建康（今南京），史稱東晉（317-420）。在兩晉之交的紛亂世代，平穩的嶺南再次迎來大規模的移民潮，不少北方豪強世族和平民百姓落戶於珠江三角洲。

and a standoff between the Northern and Southern dynasties lasting more than 200 years. To escape the conflicts, many people moved southwards from the Central Plain, making the Six Dynasties a time of mass migration and ethnic integration in Chinese history. Millions of Han people relocated to Lingnan, bringing with them the culture, technology, and customs of the Central Plain, and injecting a new impetus to Lingnan's social and economic development. Meanwhile, society became more open as a result of frequent exchanges among ethnic groups. People were active thinkers as various philosophies such as Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism were popular. Hong Kong, along the border of China, was also influenced.

In the late Eastern Han dynasty, there were incessant fightings among the warlords. The Central Plain was in a state of chaos as the imperial court began to lose its reins over Lingnan. Local powers took advantage of the situation. Shi Xie, who came from a family of government officials in Guangxin, Cangwu, quickly took control of the region. Shi Xie proclaimed himself the administrator of Jiaozhi. In the 15th year of the Jian'an era in the reign of Emperor Xian (210), Sun Quan (182-252) of Eastern Wu launched an expedition against Jiaozhou. Shi Xie and his brothers surrendered. Lingnan was annexed by Eastern Wu. Sun Quan appointed Bu Zhi as the inspector of Jiaozhou and expanded the city of Panyu. In 217, Bu Zhi relocated the capital of Jiaozhou from Guangxin to Panyu, suggesting that the focus of development in Lingnan returned to the Pearl River Delta region in the early years of the Three Kingdoms period.

Since Lingnan was relatively stable during the Eastern Wu period, the region received a wave of immigrants from the north. In the 100 years from the late Han dynasty to the Three Kingdoms period, some 780,000 people migrated to Lingnan, driving the region's population up by 60%.²⁴ In order to increase the efficiency of local administration, Sun Quan, the king of Eastern Wu, divided the original Jiaozhou into Jiaozhou and Guangzhou in the 5th year of the Huangwu era (226). The four prefectures, Yulin, Cangwu, Nanhai, and Gaoliang, were under the jurisdiction of Guangzhou, while the provincial government was established in Panyu, Nanhai. At that time, Hong Kong was still a part of Panyu. By the 7th year of the Yong'an era during Eastern Wu King Jing's reign (264), the three prefectures, Gaoxing, Ningpu, and Guilin, were incorporated into Guangzhou. There were seven prefectures in Guangzhou and eight in Jiaozhou. The addition and reallocation of

²⁴ 段塔麗：〈試論三國時期東吳對嶺南的開發與治理〉，《南京大學學報（哲學·人文科學·社會科學版）》（1，1999）。Tali Duan, “Shilun Sanguo Shiqi Dongwu Dui Lingnan De Kaifa Yu Zhili (Discussion on the Development and Governance of Lingnan by Eastern Wu in the Three Kingdoms Period),” *Nanjing Daxue Bao (Zhhexue, Renwen Kexue, Shehui Kexue Ban)* (Nanjing University Journal [Philosophy, Humanities, Social Science Edition]) 1 (1999).

近年在廣州發現了不少晉代磚室墓，墓碑銘文有「永嘉世，天下荒，余廣州，平且康」、「永嘉中，天下災，但江南，皆康平」，以及「永嘉世，九州空，余吳土，盛且豐」等句，真實地反映了富饒的廣州，與災荒頻仍的中原地區成強烈對比。²⁵ 正因人口不斷增加，至咸和六年（331年），朝廷釋出南海郡的珠江口東岸地區作為東官郡，郡治在南頭，從此，香港地區改隸於東官郡。香港歷年的考古發掘當中，只有1991年於大嶼山的白芒遺址內發現了唯一的一座東晉土坑墓，隨葬品有八件陶器，兩件為四繫青瓷罐⁹，六件為青瓷碗，另有一件鐵剪、一枚五銖壓勝錢、一枚銀戒指。²⁶ 這座東晉墓顯示，北方移民大部分定居於珠江三角洲河網地區，以便開墾耕作，只有少數移民會來到偏遠的海岸區生活。墓內出土的五銖壓勝錢^{10a} ^{10b}，正面方孔的上方飾北斗星、下方飾一魚，背面方孔上飾一帶鉤，孔兩旁各一刀，孔下飾杵狀之物，都是一些吉祥的圖案，用以避邪祈吉。²⁷ 中國新石器時代晚期已有崇拜北斗星之俗，漢代墓葬也常見北斗圖象，及至東漢末年道教出現，道士認為北斗主宰人的生死，因此祭禱北斗逐漸流行。五銖壓勝錢北斗紋飾的出現，或暗示晉代道教已流播至南



⁹ 兩件四繫青瓷罐，1991年大嶼山白芒遺址東晉土坑墓出土。
Two four-eared celadon jars were found in an Eastern Jin pit tomb at Pak Mong site on Lantau Island in 1991.

prefectures and counties in Lingnan were intended to register the new immigrants from the north for tax collection and military conscription purposes. This bears testimony to Lingnan's continuous economic and social development.

During the Eastern Wu period, Lingnan was the home front of the state as well as the lifeline of the economy. Sun Quan attached high importance to maritime trade. He sent military commander Kang Tai and emissary Zhu Ying to Daqin (Roman Empire) and Tianzhu (India), among other countries, to invite merchants from Southeast Asia and the west to do business in China. At that time, the kingdom of Lâm Ấp (in central and southern Vietnam today) was gaining power and influence, and often attacking the border prefectures of Jiuzhen and Jiaozhi. Merchant vessels bound for China from countries in the South China Sea, therefore, sailed along the eastern coast of Hainan Island to Panyu, which became the largest trading port. Subsequently, with the rise of Guangzhou and the opening of maritime trade routes towards the East China Sea in eastern Guangdong, foreign goods could easily be transported to Jianye (present-day Nanjing), the capital of Eastern Wu, by sea.

In 280, the Jin dynasty founded by the Simas destroyed Eastern Wu, and China was once again unified. However, peace and stability did not last long. Since 291, the Jin imperial family had been enmeshed in internal conflicts that lasted 16 years, which refers to a period known in history as the War of the Eight Princes. In the 5th year of the Yongjia era during the reign of Emperor Huai (311), the Disaster of Jongjia ensued, and five non-Han tribes from the north, namely the Xiongnu, Xianbei, Qiang, Di, and Jie, invaded the Central Plain. Having established strongholds in the Central Plain, the aggressors captured Emperor Huai. When the emperor's successor Min surrendered in 316, the Western Jin dynasty fell. The Jin imperial family and prominent clans fled to Jiangnan (south of the Yangtze River). In 317, Sima Rui proclaimed himself emperor in Jiangnan. He founded the Eastern Jin dynasty (317-420) with Jiankang (present-day Nanjing) as the capital. During the turbulent times of the Western and Eastern Jin dynasties, the stable Lingnan region witnessed another wave of immigrants. Many prominent families and common people from the north settled in the Pearl River Delta. In recent

海之濱的香港地區，而這枚五銖壓勝錢是全國晉代墓葬考古中罕見的壓勝錢，屬於珍稀品種。

東晉北府軍將領劉裕，於420年篡奪晉室，建立宋朝，是為宋武帝，仍以建康為都，與北方由胡人建立的政權對峙，史稱南北朝時期。在約170年間，南朝先後經歷了宋（420-479）、齊（479-502）、梁（502-557）、陳（557-589）四朝，直至589年陳朝為北方的隋朝所滅，中國才復歸一統。南北朝時期，黃河和長江流域戰亂頻仍，有五嶺阻隔的嶺南是最安穩的地區，南朝政權為增強抗衡北朝的實力，特別重視嶺南的開發，隨著農業技術的進步，水稻和其他經濟作物廣泛



^{10a} 五銖壓勝錢（正面），1991年大嶼山白芒遺址東晉土坑墓出土。
Wuzhu talismanic coin (obverse) found in an Eastern Jin pit tomb at Pak Mong site on Lantau Island in 1991.



^{10b} 五銖壓勝錢（背面）
Wuzhu talismanic coin (reverse).

years, a number of Jin brick tombs have been discovered in Guangzhou. The brick inscriptions, “Yongjia shi, tianxia huang; yu Guangzhou, ping qie kang (The world is chaotic in the Yongjia era, but Guangzhou is peaceful and prosperous),” “Yongjia zhong, tianxia zai; dan Jiangnan, jie kangping (The world is disastrous in the Yongjia era, but it is prosperous and peaceful in Jiangnan)” and “Yongjia shi, jiuzhou kong; yu Wutu, sheng qie feng (The country has become barren in the Yongjia era, but our land remains prosperous and rich),” show Guangzhou, an affluent region, was in stark contrast to the disaster-stricken Central Plain.²⁵ As the population continued to grow, in the 6th year of the Xianhe era (331), the imperial court established Dongguan prefecture on the eastern bank of the Pearl River Estuary, which originally belonged to Nanhai prefecture. The prefecture government was in Nantou, and Hong Kong came under the jurisdiction of Dongguan prefecture. Throughout the years, only a Eastern Jin pit tomb was discovered in Hong Kong during the excavation at Pak Mong on Lantau Island in 1991. Burial objects yielded include eight pieces of pottery: two four-eared celadon jars⁹ and six celadon bowls, a pair of iron scissors, a wuzhu talismanic coin, and a silver ring.²⁶ The Eastern Jin tomb suggests that most immigrants from the north settled in the river network of the Pearl River Delta for easy cultivation, and very few of them would live in the remote coastal areas. The wuzhu talismanic coin^{10a} ^{10b} was found in the tomb features. On the obverse side, there is the Big Dipper (North Star), and a fish above and below the square hole respectively. On the reverse side, there is a hook above the square hole, a knife on either side of the hole, and a pestle-shaped object below. The decorations are all auspicious patterns believed to offer protection from evil.²⁷ In China, the Big Dipper had been worshipped as early as the late Neolithic period, while depictions of it are often observed in Han tombs. Following the emergence of Taoism in the late Eastern Han dynasty, the worship of the Big Dipper became more common as some Taoist priests believed the Big Dipper was the god of life and death. The discovery of the wuzhu talismanic coin probably suggests that the influence of Taoism had already extended to Hong Kong on the southern coast of China during the Jin dynasty. Meanwhile, this wuzhu talismanic coin is a rare specimen of its kind unearthed during excavation at Jin dynasty tombs across China.

²⁵ 陳鴻鈞：〈康寧廣州——廣州晉墓出土「永嘉」磚銘紀略〉，《廣州博物館》，2015-09-11，https://www.guangzhoumuseum.cn/website_cn/web/Resource/findingsDetail.aspx?id=79。
Hongjun Chen, “Kangning Guangzhou – Guangzhou Jin Mu Chutu ‘Yongjia’ Zhuanming Jilue (Prosperous and Peaceful Guangzhou – Brief Records of ‘Yongjia’ Brick Inscriptions in Jin Tombs Found in Guangzhou),” *Guangzhou Museum* (11 September 2015), https://www.guangzhoumuseum.cn/website_cn/web/Resource/findingsDetail.aspx?id=79.

²⁶ 同註5。
See Note 5.

²⁷ 吳榮曾：〈香港大嶼山白芒晉墓出土五銖壓勝錢考略〉，《中國歷史文物》（2，2005）。
Rongzeng Wu, “Xianggang Dayushan Baimang Jinmu Chutu Wuzhu Yashengqian Kaolue (Study of Wuzhu Ornamental Coin Unearthed from Jin Tomb in Pak Mong, Lantau Island, Hong Kong),” *Zhongguo Lishi Wenwu* (Historical Relics of China) 2 (2005).

種植，農耕區域不斷擴大；紡織、造船等手工業有長足發展；以廣州為中心的海外貿易更趨繁盛，梁武帝蕭衍（464-549）在位時，廣州海貿規模已相當龐大，貿易所得已成國家的重要收入來源，來自印度、粟特及東南亞地區的商人多為佛教徒，蕃商和傳教僧人在廣州城西的繡衣坊形成了第一個蕃客聚居地，名為「佛教徒蕃坊」。²⁸然而，在嶺南加速開發的過程中，南來的漢人與嶺南土著的俚、獠人衝突不斷，以至南梁朝廷派大軍討伐嶺南的土著民，在歷時多年的征戰之中，奠定了陳霸先的廣州軍事集團的基礎，最終以嶺南雄厚的經濟實力為後盾，陳霸先藉侯景叛亂而從廣州出兵北伐，取代蕭梁而創立陳朝。²⁹

六朝時期，嶺南地方管治力度不斷加強，州郡縣數目也不斷增加，正好反映當時嶺南快速開發的情況。據學者推算，六朝時期從中土南遷至嶺南的人口大約有 250 萬，³⁰ 他們一方面為開發嶺南帶來必要的技術和勞動力，另一方面又同時與嶺南土著民發生衝突和融合。為加強地方管治，東吳孫權首先把嶺南地方分為交州和廣州，下轄 17 郡；兩晉時期仍維持交、廣兩州，17 郡，下轄 121 縣；劉宋時期嶺南地方改分為交、廣、越三州，33 郡，200 餘縣；南齊時雖仍為交、廣、越三州，但增至 52 郡，295 縣；南梁時由三州大幅增至 22 州，是嶺南地方行政的一大改變，也是朝廷加強控制嶺南的標誌。³¹ 此時的香港地區由廣州管轄。

In 420, Liu Yu, the commander of the Beifu Army of the Eastern Jin dynasty, overthrew the Jin imperial court and founded the Song dynasty as Emperor Wu. The capital remained in Jiankang as the standoff with the regime established by the non-Han bribes in the north continued. This period is known as the Southern and Northern dynasties. For approximately 170 years, four dynasties, namely Song (420-479), Qi (479-502), Liang (502-557), and Chen (557-589), had been established in the south. China was reunified in 589 when the Chen dynasty was destroyed by the Sui dynasty from the north. During the Southern and Northern dynasties, the Yellow River and Yangtze River Basins remained enmeshed in war. Yet Lingnan, which was sheltered by the Wuling mountains, was the most stable region. The Southern states attached great importance to the development of Lingnan in order to enhance its ability to counter the Northern dynasties. Along with advancements in agricultural technology, rice and other cash crops were planted extensively as farming areas continuously expanded. At the same time, the textiles, shipbuilding, and other handicraft industries developed by leaps and bounds, whereas foreign trade with Guangzhou at the centre flourished exuberantly. During the reign of Liang Emperor Wu, Xiao Yan (464-549), maritime trade in Guangzhou was well established, and trade revenues became a major source of income for the state. The majority of merchants from India, Sogdia, and Southeast Asia were Buddhists. Foreign merchants and monk preachers established the first settlement, known as the Buddhist Settlement, in the western part of Guangzhou City.²⁸ However, as Lingnan developed at lightning speed, conflicts often broke out between the Han people from the north and the uncivilised, indigenous population, prompting the Liang court to launch expeditions against the native inhabitants of the south. Years of fighting allowed Chen Baxian to build a solid foundation for his army. During the Revolt of Hou Jing, Chen instigated an attack against the north from Guangdong, leveraging the economic strength of Lingnan. He overthrew the Liang dynasty and founded the Chen dynasty.²⁹

During the Six Dynasties period, local governance in Lingnan continuously strengthened, with new prefectures and counties added. This reflects the rapid development of Lingnan at the time. Some scholars have reckoned that some 2.5 million people migrated to Lingnan from the Central Plain during

然而，南朝時香港地區的發展仍然十分緩慢，地廣人稀，多年來的考古工作，只曾在幾處地點零星出土了一些南朝遺物，以青瓷器為主。二十世紀七十年代，南丫島深灣經發掘後，出土一對青瓷罐、一件五耳及一件六耳，各有一青瓷碗為蓋，罐上腹鼓、下腹內收，形狀顯得修長¹¹。³²

1960 年在赤鱸角虎地灣也曾發現一件造型相同的有耳青瓷罐；³³ 1983 年大嶼山的貝澳經考古發掘後，也出土了另一件幾乎相同的有耳青瓷罐¹²，還有三件青瓷碗，發掘者認為是墓葬；在此墓南面約三米處，發現另一處可能是墓葬，出土了四件青瓷器，有一件兩耳青瓷小罐，也是上腹鼓而下腹內收，以及三件青瓷碗；³⁴ 2002 年西貢的沙下遺址經發掘後，又出土了另一件四耳青瓷罐，器形與深灣出土的相若。在廣東地區，同類型的青瓷帶耳罐多在六朝墓葬中出土，但在香港的卻是零星出土，是否屬於墓葬隨葬品，抑或作其他用途，至今仍難以確定。據學者研究，廣東六朝墓出土的青瓷器，普遍使用瓷石為胎料，有矽高鋁低的特點，釉色

the Six Dynasties period.³⁰ They provided Lingnan with the technology and manpower necessary for development, clashing, and blending in with the indigenous people of Lingnan during the development process. In order to strengthen local governance, Sun Quan of Eastern Wu divided Lingnan into Jiaozhou and Guangzhou with 17 prefectures. During the Western and Eastern Jin dynasties, Jiaozhou and Guangzhou remained with 17 prefectures and 121 counties. During the Liu Song dynasty, there were three provinces, namely Jiaozhou, Guangzhou, and Yuezhou, 33 prefectures, and some 200 counties. During the Southern Qi dynasty, there were up to 52 prefectures under Jiaozhou, Guangzhou, and Yuezhou, as well as 295 counties. In the Southern Liang dynasty, the number of provinces increased from 3 to 22, which refers to a major change in Lingnan's local administration and a symbol of the imperial court's increased control over the region.³¹ During this time, Hong Kong was under the jurisdiction of Guangzhou.

Nevertheless, the development of Hong Kong remained slow during the Southern dynasties, whereas the area was still very sparsely populated. Over the years, archaeological work has only discovered small quantities of Southern dynasties relics, mostly celadon, in isolated locations. In the 1970s, a pair of celadon jars – one with five ears and the other six – were discovered in Sham Wan, Lamma Island. Each jar has a celadon bowl as the lid and features a long and thin body that is wider at the top¹¹.³²



鳴謝香港考古學會提供照片
Photo courtesy of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society

¹¹ 一對六朝青瓷耳罐，1970 年代南丫島深灣遺址出土。

A pair of celadon eared jars dated to the Six Dynasties unearthed at Sham Wan site on Lamma Island in the 1970s.

²⁸ 劉有廷：〈從南朝到唐宋的廣州蕃坊〉，《回族研究》（1，2017）。

Youyan Liu, "Cong Nanchao Dao Tang Song De Guangzhou Fanfang (Foreign Settlements in Guangzhou from the Southern to the Tang and Song Dynasties)," *Huizu Yanjiu* (Study of the Hui People) 1 (2017).

²⁹ 呂春盛：〈陳霸先廣州集團的興起及其性格〉，《臺大歷史學報》（21，1997）。

Chunsheng Lu, "Chen Baxian Guangzhou Jituan De Xingqi Ji Qi Xingge (The Rise of Chen Baxian's Organisation in Guangzhou and His Character)," *Historical Inquiry* 21 (December 1997).

³⁰ 劉希為，劉盤修：〈六朝時期嶺南地區的開發〉，《中國史研究》（1，1991）。

Xiwei Liu and Panxiu Liu, "Liuchao Shiqi Lingnan Diqu De Kaifa (Development of Lingnan during the Six Dynasties Period)," *Zhongguoshi Yanjiu* (Study of Chinese History) 1 (1991).

³¹ 同註 25。

See Note 25.

³² William Meacham：〈Sham Wan, Lamma Island; An Archaeological Site Study〉香港考古學會，《Journal Monograph III》（1994），頁 167。

William Meacham, "Sham Wan, Lamma Island; An Archaeological Site Study," Hong Kong Archaeological Society, *Journal Monograph III* (1994): 167.

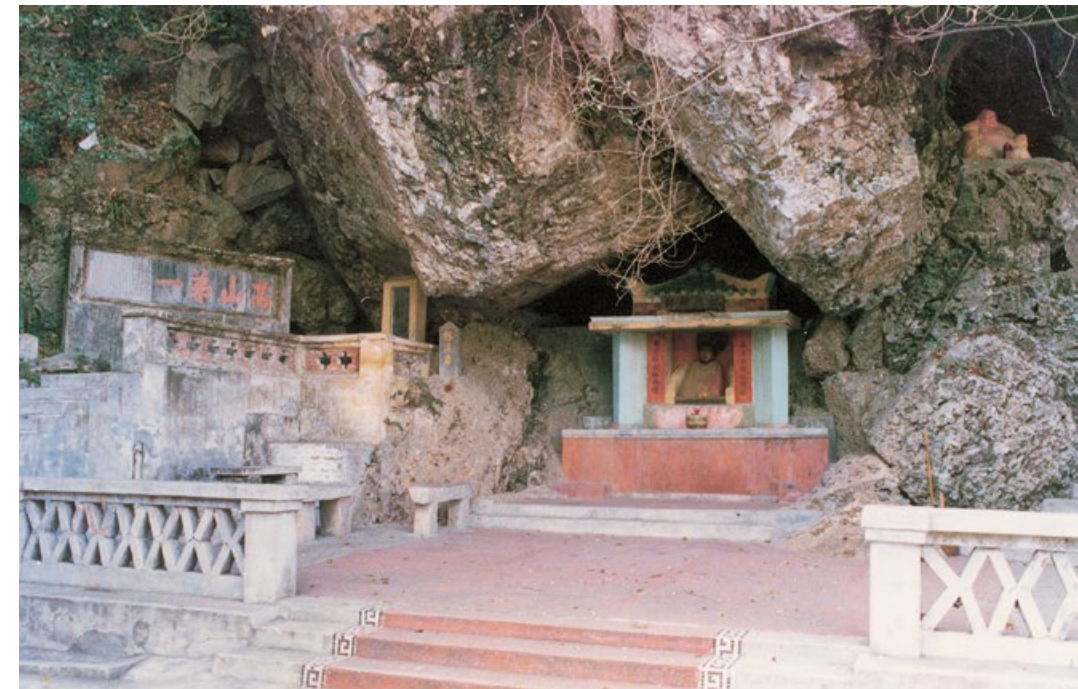
以青綠為主，屬於玻化良好的石灰釉，但釉多冰裂，剝落明顯，以溫度攝氏 1200 度至 1270 度之間燒成，顯然已屬於成熟青瓷的範疇。這成熟的青瓷燒製技術，很可能是由浙江、福建等地的窯工流民帶入廣東，然後在廣東本地燒製青瓷器；可是，至今仍未在廣東發現六朝時代的窯址，³⁵ 故無法深入研究當時陶瓷手工業的發展狀況。



¹² 有耳青瓷罐，六朝，1983 年大嶼山貝澳遺址出土。
A celadon eared jar, Six Dynasties, unearthed at Pui O site on Lantau Island in 1983.

A similar-shaped celadon jar with ears was also unearthed in Fu Tei Wan, Chek Lap Kok, in 1960.³³ In 1983, a celadon jar with ears which is almost identical to the earlier discoveries, was found during an archaeological excavation in Pui O, Lantau Island ¹². The same excavation yielded three celadon bowls, prompting the archaeologists to contend that the site was a tomb. About three metres to the south of the tomb, another feature also believed to be a tomb was found, yielding four pieces of celadon ware, including a small two-eared celadon jar also featuring a wider upper belly, and three celadon bowls.³⁴ In 2002, an excavation carried out at the site in Sha Ha, Sai Kung, yielded another four-eared celadon jar shaped similarly to the discovery in Sham Wan. In Guangdong, similar celadon jars with ears were mostly discovered in the tombs of Six Dynasties, whereas few were found at scattered locations in Hong Kong, which was difficult for archaeologists to determine if they were burial objects or used for other purposes. Academic studies reveal that *kaolin* clay, which is high in silicon and low in aluminium, was generally used to make the clay body of the celadon ware discovered in the tombs of Six Dynasties in Guangdong. The predominantly green lime glaze was well vitrified, although displaying cracks and clearly peeling off. The firing temperature was presumably between 1200°C and 1270°C, indicating that the burial objects are pieces of true celadon ware. The sophisticated firing technique was likely introduced to Guangdong by kiln workers from Zhejiang and Fujian, among other places, and then used to produce celadon ware locally. However, the remains of kilns in the Six Dynasties period are yet to be found in Guangdong,³⁵ rendering it impossible to conduct in-depth studies of the development of the ceramic industry at the time.

Buddhism, which originated in India, was also introduced to Hong Kong during the Southern dynasties. As maritime trade flourished during the Six Dynasties period, many overseas monks travelled on merchant vessels to China to preach Buddhism. During the Long'an era of the Eastern Jin dynasty (397-401), the eminent monk Dharma-yaśas built the shrine in Bright Filial Piety Temple in Guangzhou today. Bodhidharma, an early master of the Chan School of Buddhism, also came to China on a merchant vessel during the reign of Southern Liang



¹³ 屯門青山禪院的杯渡巖，設有杯渡禪師的石雕像。
A stone statue of monk Pui To is reverred in the Pui To Cave at Tsing Shan Monastery in Tuen Mun.

源自印度的佛教，也在南朝時傳入香港地區。隨著六朝時期海上貿易蓬勃發展，不少海外僧人乘商舶來華傳播佛教。東晉隆安年間（397-401），高僧曇摩耶舍曾在現時廣州的光孝寺創建佛殿；禪宗初祖菩提達摩，也於南朝梁武帝時乘海舶到廣州，在光孝寺弘法，將禪宗傳入中國。南朝君主多信奉佛教，梁武帝蕭衍更曾多次捨身出家。據梁朝釋慧皎所著的《高僧傳》記載，南朝宋文帝年間（424-453），僧人杯渡曾在長江流域弘揚佛法，後轉到嶺南弘法，並曾在香港屯門居停；南宋廣州知府蔣之奇（1031-1104）的著作《杯渡山紀略》內，記述了杯渡在屯門杯渡山弘法的事蹟。³⁶ 今天，位於屯門青山寺大雄寶殿後方的杯渡巖內，設有杯渡禪師的石雕像 ¹³，是杯渡在香港弘法的重要遺跡。

Emperor Wu. He preached in the Bright Filial Piety Temple and introduced the Chan School to China. Monarchs of the Southern dynasties were mostly Buddhists – Emperor Wu, Xiao Yan, of the Liang dynasty became a monk several times. According to Hui Jiao's *Gaoseng Zhuan* (Memoirs of Eminent Monks) of the Liang dynasty, the monk Pui To preached Buddhist teachings in the Yangtze River Basin during the reign of Song Emperor Wen in the Southern dynasties (424-453). He continued preaching in Lingnan and stayed in Tuen Mun, Hong Kong. *Beidu Shan Jilue* (Brief Record of Castle Peak) written by Jiang Zhiqi (1031-1104), the magistrate of Guangzhou in the Southern Song dynasty, documents the preaching work of Pui To in Castle Peak (also known as Pui To Shan) in Tuen Mun.³⁶ Today, a stone statue of monk Pui To is reverred in Pui To Cave, which is an important historic site related to Pui To's preaching work in Hong Kong, can be found behind the Main Hall of Tsing Shan Monastery in Tuen Mun ¹³.

³³ H. Cameron : 〈Foo Dei Wan〉, 《Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society X》(1982-1983, 1984) : 頁 55-57。
H. Cameron, "Foo Dei Wan," *Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society X* (1982-1983, 1984): 55-57.

³⁴ William Meacham : 〈Pui O〉, 《Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society X》(1982-1983, 1984) , 頁 60-69。
William Meacham, "Pui O," *Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society X* (1982-1983, 1984): 60-69.

³⁵ 鄧宏文：〈廣東六朝墓葬出土瓷器研究〉，《華夏考古》(3, 2000)。

Hongwen Deng, "Guangdong Liuchao Muzang Chutu Ciqi Yanjiu (Study of Pottery Unearthed from Six Dynasties Tombs in Guangdong)," *Huaxia Kaogu* (Archaeology in China) 3 (2000).

³⁶ 劉蜀永：〈杯渡禪師及其與香港的關係〉，《知史》，2021-04-08，<https://www.myhistory.com/c001/c0011/2021-04-08-03-07-59>。
Shuyong Liu, "Beidu Chanshi Ji Qi Yu Xianggang De Guanxi (Master Pui To and His Relationship with Hong Kong)," *Myhistory* (8 April 2021), <https://www.myhistory.com/c001/c0011/2021-04-08-03-07-59>.

南北朝對峙的局面，一直維持至六世紀末年才告終結。581年，楊堅篡奪北周帝位，建立隋朝，改元開皇，是為隋文帝，定都大興（今西安）。開皇九年（589年），隋朝大軍攻陷南陳都城建康，陳朝覆亡，中國復歸統一。開皇二十四年（604年），文帝駕崩，次子楊廣繼位，是為隋煬帝。煬帝好大喜功，國力耗費嚴重，民變四起，帝位卒於618年，被李淵篡奪。李淵（566-635）稱帝，建立唐朝，是為唐高祖。唐朝是中國歷史上的盛世，承繼高祖帝位的太宗李世民（598-649）年號貞觀，文治武功極盛，四海諸國皆入唐朝貢，尊太宗為天可汗，史稱貞觀之治。

大唐盛世時期，海上貿易邁向鼎盛，也加速嶺南的開發。上承六朝海上貿易興旺的發展勢頭，唐代的南海貿易更加旺盛，嶺南的廣州仍是全國最大的商港，珠江上蕃舶雲集。唐德宗貞元（785-805）年間，宰相賈耽撰《海內華夷圖》，其中「廣州通海夷道」詳細記載了當時世界最長的海上交通路線，從廣州出發，經屯門出南海，沿中南半島海岸延伸至馬六甲海峽，向東可到印尼爪哇，向西穿越海峽而至印度洋、波斯灣及非洲東岸，這條跨越萬里的遠洋航線，途經90多個國家，絡繹於途的海舶，把南洋和西洋諸國的寶貨、方物和奇珍異寶源源不斷地運到廣州互市。³⁷ 唐代初期，伊斯蘭教在中東勃興，當時控制印度洋和波斯灣海上路線的波斯和阿拉伯帝國紛紛改信伊斯蘭教，來廣州貿易的穆斯林商人，多聚居在現時懷聖寺附近，形成一個興盛了幾百年的廣州穆斯林蕃坊，與位於西面繡衣坊的佛教徒蕃坊並存，估計唐代僑居的穆斯林蕃客人口約2,000人左右，³⁸ 並由官府任命蕃長管理。據《舊唐書》記載，隨著海貿事務日益繁盛，朝廷於玄宗開元二年（714年）首次委派周慶立為市舶使到廣州負責管理海舶貿易，同時把海外珍奇送至京師長安。³⁹

The standoff between the Southern and Northern dynasties only ended in the late 6th century. In 581, Yang Jian overthrew the Northern Zhou dynasty and founded the Sui dynasty. With the reign title Kaihuang, Emperor Wen of Sui established the capital in Daxing (present-day Xi'an). In the 9th year of the Kaihuang era (589), the Sui army seized Jiankang, the capital of Southern Chen. The Southern Chen dynasty fell and China was once again unified. Emperor Wen passed away in the 24th year of the Kaihuang era (604), and he was succeeded by his second son Yang Guang, Emperor Yang of Sui. As Emperor Yang indulged his appetite for grandiose pomposity, national power was depleted and uprisings broke out across the empire. In 618, he was overthrown by Li Yuan (566-635), who claimed the throne and founded the Tang dynasty as Emperor Gaozu. The Tang dynasty was a glorious period in Chinese history. Emperor Taizong, Li Shimin (598-649), who succeeded his father Gaozu, was a great ruler – his era, known as the Reign of Zhenguan, was characterised by outstanding political and military achievements. Nearby states all paid tribute to the Tang empire and hailed Taizong as *Tengeri Qaghan* (Khan of Heaven).

During the golden age of the Tang dynasty, maritime trade thrived and the development of Lingnan accelerated. Riding the wave of prosperous maritime trade in the Six Dynasties, the trade in the South China Sea soared to new heights. Guangzhou in Lingnan remained the largest trading port in the empire, and foreign vessels packed the Pearl River. In the Zhenyuan era during the reign of Tang Emperor Dezong (785-805), prime minister Jia Dan produced *Hainei Huayi Tu* (Map of Chinese and Non-Chinese Territories in the World), in which "*Guangzhou Tong Haiyi Dao* (Maritime Passage to Non-Chinese Territories from Guangzhou)" records in great detail the longest maritime route at the time, starting from Guangzhou and onto the South China Sea via Tuen Mun, then to the Straits of Malacca along Indochina, before continuing eastwards to Java, Indonesia, or westwards through the straits to the Indian Ocean, Persian Gulf, and the east coast of Africa. Vessels sailing on this maritime route, which spanned thousands

往來廣州的海舶，皆取道珠江口東側的屯門水道，然後向西南經海南島東側而下南洋諸國，或向東穿越現時香港地區的屯門、汲水門、鯉魚門、佛堂門以至東南沿海各省，唐代文獻所述的屯門，是香港本區最早見諸史策的地名。《唐會要》卷七十三記載：「開元二十四年正月，廣州寶安縣新置屯門鎮，領兵二千人，以防海口。」，這個在736年建立的屯門軍鎮，據劉智鵬於〈屯門地名考〉的考證，應該就在今天香港的屯門。屯門的青山，古稱杯渡山、屯門山，是海路上重要的航標，而山下的屯門澳，是船舶避風的良港，適合兵船停駐。⁴⁰ 唐代詩人韓愈的《贈別元十八協律》內記載「屯門雖云高，亦映波濤沒。」，以及劉禹錫的《踏潮歌》內記載「屯門積日無回颿，滄波不歸成踏潮。」等詩句，說明屯門於唐代已頗為時人所熟識的地方。

of miles and passed through 90 countries, transported valuable goods, local products as well as exotic treasures from Southeast Asia and western countries to Guangzhou.³⁷ In the early Tang dynasty, Islam rose to prominence in the Middle East. The Persian and Arab empires which controlled the maritime routes in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf converted to Islam, and the Muslim merchants trading in Guangzhou mostly lived near Haisheng Mosque today. They formed a Muslim settlement in Guangzhou that has sprung up alongside the Buddhist Settlement in the west for centuries. It is estimated that approximately 2,000 Muslims sojourned in Guangzhou in the Tang dynasty.³⁸ They were managed by a government-appointed settlement chief. According to *Jiu Tang Shu* (Old Book of Tang), as maritime trade developed vibrantly, the Tang court appointed Zhou Qingli as the first foreign trade minister to oversee the maritime trade in Guangzhou in the second year of the Kaiyuan era of Xuanzong's reign (714). Zhou was also responsible for delivering overseas treasures to the capital, Chang'an.³⁹

The vessels coming to and from Guangzhou sailed through the Tuen Mun waterway on the eastern side of the Pearl River Estuary. From there, they continued towards the southwest, along the eastern coast of Hainan Island, to Southeast Asia; or eastwards to the southeastern coastal provinces through present-day Tuen Mun, Kap Shui Mun, Lei Yue Mun, and Fat Tong Mun in Hong Kong. According to some documents in the Tang dynasty, "Tunmen" refers to the place in Hong Kong which was given a geographical name for the first time and was documented in historical records. Volume 73 of *Tang Huiyao* (Institutional History of Tang) mentions that "in the first lunar month of the 24th year of the Kaiyuan era, Tunmen zhen (garrison post) was newly established in Bao'an county, Guangzhou to defend the port with 2,000 troops." The Tunmen garrison post established in 736, according to the research findings of Lau Chi-pang, was located in present-day Tuen Mun, Hong Kong. Castle Peak in Tuen Mun, formerly known as Pui To Shan or Tuen Mun Shan, was an important landmark for maritime travel, whereas Tunmen Inlet at the foot of the hill provided a good shelter for vessels and was suitable for warships to berth.⁴⁰ Tang poets Han Yu and Liu Yuxi both mentioned "Tunmen" in their works, suggesting that people of the Tang dynasty were quite familiar with Tuen Mun.

³⁷ 李慶新：〈從考古發現看秦漢六朝時期的嶺南與南海交通〉，《史學月刊》（10，2006）。

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³⁸ 同註 28。

See Note 28.

³⁹ 王川：〈論市舶太監在唐代嶺南之產生〉，《中山大學學報（社會科學版）》（2，2000）。

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⁴⁰ 劉智鵬：〈屯門地名考〉，《暨南學報（哲學社會科學版）》（4，2007）。

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香港考古學會於 2011 年至 2012 年間，在與屯門隔海相望的大嶼山的礮頭遺址進行考古發掘，共清理 10 座屬唐代中、晚期的土坑墓，是香港首次發現的一處唐代墓地¹⁴，可能與屯門軍鎮有所關連。10 座唐墓中，有六座（M5 至 M10）隨葬鐵兵器如大刀、大斧、短劍、小刀、錐形尖銳器等，其中 M5 和 M9 還隨葬銅帶扣；此外，M5、M6、M10 共出土六枚小銀塊，其中 M10 出土的一枚呈三角形，明顯是一件銀錠的切角，表面刻有楷書「萬歲……端州……」¹⁵，M10 更出土一枚琉璃指環。⁴¹ 自先秦以來，中國是以銅錢為主要貨幣，如秦代半兩錢、漢代五銖錢、唐代開元通寶錢等。在嶺南，由於海上貿易的興盛，金銀也成為流通貨幣，主要原因是西方諸國通用金幣和銀幣，銅錢不受蕃商歡迎，亦難以界定兌換比例，因此隨



鳴謝范旼濶、葉可詩提供照片
Photo courtesy of Mick Atha and Kennis Yip

¹⁴ 隨葬鐵兵器、銅錢、青釉陶器，2012 年大嶼山的礮頭遺址唐代墓葬 M4 出土。

Iron weapons, copper coins and green-glazed pottery wares were found inside the Tang dynasty tomb M4 at San Tau site on Lantau Island in 2012.

Between 2011 and 2012, the Hong Kong Archaeological Society carried out excavations at the site in San Tau, Lantau Island, which faced Tuen Mun across the sea. A total of 10 pit tombs dated to the mid or late Tang dynasty were cleared¹⁴. This Tang dynasty burial site, the first of its kind discovered in Hong Kong, was possibly related to the Tunmen garrison post. Among the ten tombs, six (M5 to M10) yielded iron weapons such as sabres, broad axes, short swords, small knives, and cone-shaped sharp objects; and bronze buckles were also discovered in M5 and M9. Meanwhile, six small silver pieces were unearthed from M5, M6, and M10. M10 yielded a triangular silver piece with the inscription, “Wanxui...Duanzhou... (Long live...Duanzhou...)”¹⁵, that was clearly part of a silver ingot. A glass ring was also found in M10.⁴¹ Since the pre-Qin period, copper coins had been China’s main currency, such as the half *tael* coin of the Qin dynasty, the *wuzhu* coin of the Han dynasty and the Kaiyuan *tongbao*



鳴謝范旼濶、葉可詩提供照片
Photo courtesy of Mick Atha and Kennis Yip

¹⁵ 「萬歲……端州……」刻文銀塊，2012 年礮頭遺址唐代墓葬 M10 出土。

A triangular silver piece with the inscription, “Wanxui...Duanzhou... (Long live...Duanzhou...)”, was found in Tang dynasty tomb M10 at San Tau site in 2012.

⁴¹ 范旼濶，葉可詩：〈香港大嶼山礮頭唐代墓葬 2011 至 2012 年度考古調查發掘簡報〉，《香港考古學會會刊》（17，2017），頁 47-64。Mick Atha and Kennis Yip, “Xianggang Dayushan Santou Tangdai Muzang 2011 Zhi 2012 Niandu Kaogu Diaocha Fajue Jianbao (Brief Report on Archaeological Surveys and Excavations Carried Out at the Tang Dynasty Burial Site in San Tau, Lantau, Hong Kong, between 2011 and 2012),” *Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society* 17 (2017): 47-64.

著貿易規模不斷擴大，銀幣逐漸成為默許的互市通貨。這種特殊現象，可追溯至東晉南朝，史載東晉太元三年（376 年），晉孝武帝因為「錢荒」而詔令禁止銅錢流入嶺南，南朝也基本沿用這政策，因而促進了嶺南地區金銀的開採活動，以及金銀貨幣的流通。⁴² 1984 年於廣東湛江遂溪縣的邊灣村，曾發現南朝時期的窖藏波斯薩珊朝金銀器，還有 20 枚薩珊朝的銀幣，鑄刻了阿拉美文，是海路來華的粟特商人使用銀幣進行貿易的實證。⁴³ 到了唐代，嶺南金、銀的產量躍居全國首位，出產金、銀之州縣，分別佔全國的 53% 和 69%，其中端州每年向朝廷常貢的白銀數額更是全國之冠。⁴⁴ 因此，白銀不單是廣州海上貿易的國際通貨，更廣泛應用於嶺南社會生活各個領域，包括租庸調的徵收，軍餉的發放，都是以白銀來計算。由此推測，礮頭遺址唐墓中發現鐵兵器的，都可能是屯門軍鎮府兵的墓葬，隨葬的小銀塊則是他們的軍餉，而 M10 出土刻有「萬歲……端州……」的銀塊，很可能是從一塊產於端州的常貢銀錠上切割下來的。如是，大嶼山的礮頭墓地是嶺南首次發現的唐代府兵墓地，對研究唐代的海防和海上絲路的發展十分重要。

of the Tang dynasty. Yet, in Lingnan, where maritime trade thrived, gold and silver currencies were also in circulation. Since gold and silver coins were used in western countries, foreign merchants did not like copper coins, and it was hard to set exchange rates. As trade continued to grow, silver coins were gradually accepted as a currency for trade transactions. This particular phenomenon can be traced to the Eastern Jin and Southern dynasties: according to historical records, in the third year of the Taiyuan era of the Eastern Jin dynasty (376), Emperor Xiaowu of Jin banned the flow of copper coins into Lingnan due to the shortage of coins, whereas the same policy was adopted in the Southern dynasties. This fuelled the development of gold and silver mining, and facilitated the circulation of gold and silver currencies in Lingnan.⁴² In 1984, gold and silver ware from the Persian Sasanian Empire dated to the Southern dynasties was unearthed in Binwan village in Suixi county, Zhanjiang, Guangdong. There were also 20 Sasanian silver coins with Aramaic inscriptions, proving that Sogdian merchants who had come to China by sea traded with silver coins.⁴³ In the Tang dynasty, Lingnan topped the empire in terms of gold and silver productions. Gold and silver producing counties accounted for 53% and 69% of the national total respectively. Every year, Duanzhou offered the largest tribute of silver to the imperial court.⁴⁴ Therefore, silver was not only an international currency for Guangzhou’s maritime trade, but also widely used in everyday life in Lingnan. For example, rent and soldiers’ provisions were paid in silver. In this light, the iron weapons discovered in the Tang tombs at the San Tau site were possibly burial objects for soldiers of the Tunmen garrison post, whereas the silver piece with the inscription, “Wansui...Duanzhou...”, unearthed from M10 was likely cut from a silver ingot produced in Duanzhou and offered to the imperial court as a tribute. If this was the case, the burial site for Tang dynasty soldiers in San Tau, Lantau Island, is the first of its kind discovered in Lingnan. It is immensely significant for research in coastal defence, and the development of the Maritime Silk Road in the Tang dynasty.

⁴² 王承文：〈論唐代嶺南地區的金銀生產及其影響〉，《中國史研究》（3，2008）。Chengwen Wang, “Lun Tangdai Lingnan Diqu De Jinyin Shengchan Ji Qi Yingxiang (Discussion of Gold and Silver Production in Lingnan during the Tang Dynasty and Its Influence),” *Zhongguoshì Yanjiu* (Study of Chinese History) 3 (2008).

⁴³ 遂溪縣博物館：〈廣東遂溪縣發現南朝窖藏金銀器〉，《考古》（3，1986）。Suixi County Museum, “Guangdong Suixi Xian Faxian Nanchao Jiaocang Jinyin Xi (Discovery of Gold and Silver Ware of the Southern Dynasties in Suixi County, Guangdong),” *Kaogu* (Archaeology) 3 (1986).

⁴⁴ 同註 42。
See Note 42.

除墩頭墓地之外，香港還在沿海 30 多處地點發現唐代煮鹽的文化遺存，說明唐代香港地區的人口有所增加，煮海為鹽是區內流行的手工業。大嶼山赤鱗角的深灣村遺址是規模最大的煮鹽遺址，香港考古學會於 1979 年至 1984 年及 1991 年對深灣村遺址進行全面發掘，揭示了一處唐代煮鹽工業遺址。⁴⁵ 在沙堤上共清理了 12 個窯爐遺跡，沿海岸分前後兩排，靠海的一排共七個，靠山的一排共五個，兩排相距約 15 米；窯爐的型制相同，底部鋪上石塊，周圍以泥磚砌築，呈圓形，直徑約兩米，門道在一則¹⁶，窯爐間距由三米至九米不等，只有 11 號和 12 號窯爐相連；在活動面上出土 30,000 多片唐代陶瓷片和約 400 枚唐代銅錢。關於這類窯爐遺存的性質和功能，學者持不同的意見，深灣村遺址的發掘者認為是灰窯，從海岸收集貝殼和珊瑚，然後入窯燒成石灰使用。⁴⁶ 在屯門小欖和大嶼山鹿頸村的遺址，⁴⁷ 發掘了同類型窯爐遺存的考古學者劉茂，則認為窯爐遺存是燒製陶瓷器的民窯，窯址內出土的泥支釘是疊燒瓷器的證據。⁴⁸ 據李浪林於〈香港南朝至唐代煮鹽遺存的研究〉的統計，香港海岸沙堤共發現了 59 處相同的唐代窯爐遺存，認為如此大規模的手工作坊在遠離人煙的海岸邊緣出現，不可能是燒製陶瓷器的窯址，只可能與煮海為鹽的爐竈有關，他發現香港出土的爐竈口徑尺寸，與《天工開物》描繪的煮鹽牢盆尺寸相吻合，因而斷定是煮鹽作坊的遺跡。⁴⁹ 據《新唐書》載，唐代嶺南道海鹽產地分佈於廣、潮、瓊、振、儋、恩、循七州，而廣州產鹽主要在東莞、新會二縣，香港地區屬東莞縣管轄。朝廷設鹽監管理食鹽專賣，一個鹽監轄若干鹽場，糴鹽官可從鹽場低價收購亭戶所

Besides the burial site in San Tau, cultural remains of salt production in the Tang dynasty were discovered in more than 30 coastal locations in Hong Kong. This shows the population of Hong Kong increased in the Tang dynasty, and boiling seawater to obtain salt was a popular handicraft industry in the region. The largest salt production site was discovered in Sham Wan Tsuen, Chek Lap Kok, Lantau Island. From 1979 to 1984 and subsequently in 1991, the Hong Kong Archaeological Society carried out comprehensive excavations at the site, which yielded the remains of a salt production facility in the Tang dynasty.⁴⁵ The remains of 12 stoves on the sand bar were cleared. These were arranged in two rows, 15 metres apart, along the coast. There were seven stoves on the row near the sea, and five on the row near the mountains. The round stoves take the same design, about two metres in diameter, with a stone base surrounded by mud bricks and an opening on one side¹⁶. They were three to nine metres apart, whereas No. 11 and 12 are the only interconnecting stoves. More than 30,000 pieces of Tang dynasty ceramic fragments and some 400 Tang dynasty coins were found on the activity floor. Scholars hold different views regarding the nature and function of this type of stove remains. The archaeologists who carried out excavations at the Sham Wan Tsuen site believe the burning features were associated with lime kilns, and the shells and corals collected along the coast were burned to produce lime.⁴⁶ On the other hand, archaeologist Liu Mao, who carried out excavations at similar kiln remains in Siu Lam, Tuen Mun, and Luk Keng Tsuen, Lantau Island,⁴⁷ contended that these were private kilns used to make ceramics, citing clay wadding unearthed as evidence of pottery stacked in the kiln for firing.⁴⁸ According to the statistics compiled by Li Long-lam, the remains of 59 Tang stoves of the same type have been found in sand bars along the coast of Hong Kong. He believed the large-scale workshops in remote coastal areas could not possibly be the sites of pottery kilns, and could only be linked to the sites of

產之鹽，然後將鹽高價賣給商人，從中牟取厚利。⁵⁰ 安史之亂後，食鹽零售價格暴漲，很可能因此吸引了不少百姓來到香港地區從事海鹽生產事業，導致唐代時期香港人口有較大幅度的增長。

stoves for boiling seawater to obtain salt. As the dimensions of the *laopen* boilers for salt production match the diameters of the stoves found in Hong Kong, Li maintained that the remains were those of salt production workshops.⁴⁹ According to *Xin Tang Shu* (New Book of Tang), the salt producing regions in the Tang dynasty included the seven provinces of Guangzhou, Chaozhou, Qiongzhou, Zhenzhou, Danzhou, Enzhou, and Xunzhou. In Guangzhou, salt was mainly produced in Dongguan and Xinhui. At that time, Hong Kong was under the jurisdiction of Dongguan County. The imperial court established the post of salt officer to oversee the trade of edible salt. One salt officer was responsible for several salt farms, whereas the salt purchasing officer could buy salt from the farms at low prices and sell them to merchants for high profits.⁵⁰ After the *An Lushan* Rebellion, the retail price of edible salt surged. This could have prompted people to move to Hong Kong to produce salt, leading to an upsurge of Hong Kong's population during the Tang dynasty.



¹⁶ 煮海為鹽的爐竈遺跡，唐代，1991 年赤鱗角深灣村遺址出土。

Remains of stoves of the Tang dynasty for boiling seawater to obtain salt were found at Sham Wan Tsuen site in Chek Lap Kok in 1991.

⁴⁵ H. Cameron, B. V. Williams: 〈Sham Wan Tsuen, Chek Lap Kok (A Tang Dynasty Industrial Site)〉, 《Journal of the Hong Kong Archaeological Society X》(1982-1983, 1984)。

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⁴⁷ 劉茂: 〈2010 年大嶼山鹿頸村唐代窯址區考古發掘報告〉, 《香港考古學會會刊》(17, 2017), 頁 85-96。

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⁴⁹ 李浪林: 〈香港南朝至唐代煮鹽遺存的研究〉, 《香港考古學會會刊》(16, 2011), 頁 94-103。

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⁵⁰ 吉成名: 〈唐代海鹽產地研究〉, 《鹽業史研究》(3, 2007)。

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結語

自秦代開始，香港以至嶺南的發展，一直與歷代王朝的治亂興衰息息相關。嶺南人愛說「山高皇帝遠」，表示邊陲的嶺南可以不受中央王朝的控制，但綜觀過去 2,000 年嶺南的發展歷程，可見嶺南其實一直活在王朝巨大的身影之下。每逢中原地區發生戰亂，如兩漢之交、漢末至三國、永嘉之亂、五胡亂華等，都會引致中原漢人大規模遷入嶺南，尤其漢魏六朝年間，約有 200 萬至 300 萬移民來到嶺南定居，給嶺南發展帶來了巨大的動力和新的機遇。六朝時期，朝廷尤其重視嶺南經濟的開發以及海外貿易的經營，以增加國庫收入來支持北方的用兵。

位於南海之濱、珠江口東岸的香港地區，雖有魚鹽之利，但在漢魏六朝時期，似未能吸引南來的漢人到本區活動，遺留下來的考古遺存量不多。然而，從秦始皇三十三年（公元前 214 年）南海郡番禺縣的創設，至東晉咸和六年（331 年）東官郡的成立，500 多年間，香港地區一直是番禺的屬地，深水埗李鄭屋東漢磚室的墓磚銘「大吉番禺」及「番禺大治曆」是確切的考古證據，也是香港可供考證的最早地名。及至唐代，香港的「屯門」地名更首次載於史策，唐代海上貿易繁榮，促使朝廷在屯門設立軍鎮，派府兵屯駐，以防海口，加上香港沿海發現約 60 處煮鹽作坊遺跡，顯示唐代時期香港地區的發展已相當蓬勃。

Conclusion

Since the Qin dynasty, the development of Hong Kong and Lingnan had been intricately related to the rise and fall of the dynasties. As the saying in Lingnan goes, “the mountains are high and the emperor is far away.” Lingnan, located along the border of China, could well be outside the control of the imperial court. Yet, the development of Lingnan in the past 2,000 years reflected the region was always under the influence of the dynasties. From the Qin dynasty onwards, immigrants from the Central Plain flocked to Lingnan whenever a war broke out, including the armed conflicts in the two Han dynasties and from the fall of the Han dynasty to the Three Kingdoms period, the Disaster of Jongjia, and the Upheaval of the Five Barbarians. In particular, during the Six Dynasties, two to three million immigrants settled in Lingnan, bringing a tremendous impetus and new opportunities to the region’s development. During the Han, Wei and Six dynasties period, the imperial courts attached great importance to economic development and maritime trade in Lingnan, aiming to increase national revenues to support military deployment in the north.

Located along the coast of the South China Sea and the eastern bank of the Pearl River Estuary, Hong Kong offered a favourable environment for salt mining. Nevertheless, during the Han, Wei and Six Dynasties period, not many Han people were drawn to the area apparently, and only few traces of their activities remained. However, in the 500 years from the founding of Panyu county in the 33rd year of Qin Shi Huang’s reign (214 BC) to the establishment of Dongguan prefecture in the 6th year of the Xianhe era of the Eastern Jin dynasty (331), Hong Kong was a part of Panyu. The brick inscriptions, “*Daji Panyu*” and “*Panyu Dazhili*”, in the Han brick tomb discovered in Lei Cheng Uk village, Sham Shui Po, are solid archaeological evidence showing the earliest verified geographical name related to Hong Kong. By the Tang dynasty, Tunmen (Tuen Mun), the name of a place in Hong Kong, appeared in historical records for the first time. The prosperity of maritime trade in the Tang dynasty prompted the imperial court to establish a garrison post in Tuen Mun to defend the port. Meanwhile, the discovery of some 60 ruins of salt production workshops along the coast of Hong Kong show the region was rather well developed in the Tang dynasty.

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#物色——香港藝術館館藏文物的色彩美學

#popcolours: The Aesthetics of Hues in Antiquities from the HKMoA Collection

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前言

如果宋徽宗能跨越時間，擁有他個人的IG帳號，他的照片牆上會否充滿天青色的各種器物？這個假設，帶出了「#物色」展覽的設計意念。這次中國文物的館藏展，以顏色作為切入點，不單陳列歷代器物多彩紛陳的色相，更挑選了館藏的當代藝術作品同列展出，配合社交平台的展場設計，讓色彩連繫古今¹。甫踏入展場，觀眾便會沉浸在巨型的投影中，看到不同主題顏色的IG照片牆——青、赤、黃、白、黑，彷彿在瀏覽乾隆或是宋徽宗的社交媒體帳號²。走入展廳，耳邊傳來音樂家萬幸特別為這次展覽創作的典雅又時尚的古箏音韻，更融入了維多利亞港的海浪聲。我們冀望能為觀眾帶來一個全新的角度，欣賞傳統文物藝術，創造與別不同的色彩體驗，讓藝術融入生活³。

Preface

If Emperor Huizong of Song were on social media and could travel back in time, would his Instagram feeds be filled with pictures of celadon wares? It was these musings that inspired the “#popcolours” exhibition, which is curated based on the theme of colours. Besides showcasing the diverse hues of Chinese artefacts in the museum’s vast collection, we have handpicked contemporary artworks to be displayed alongside the ancient pieces. With a gallery design inspired by social media, we connect colours of the past and present¹. Once the viewers step into the gallery, they will be instantly immersed in a giant projection featuring Instagram image walls of various colour themes—blue, red, yellow, white, and black—as though they are exploring the social media pages of Emperor Huizong or Qianlong². The elegant yet contemporary sounds of *guzheng* ring through the gallery, from the pieces composed by musician Wan Xing especially for the exhibition, accompanied by the lapping of sea waves from Victoria Harbour. By creating a unique colourful experience, we hope to introduce to

¹ 中國文物與當代藝術作品同列展出，讓色彩連繫古今。

Ancient Chinese artefacts juxtaposed with contemporary art pieces to connect colours of the past and present.



² 展覽設計以社交媒體帳號為藍本

The exhibition design is inspired by social media interfaces



3 「#物色」展廳入口
“#popcolours” gallery entrance

#物色

有研究認為人在觀察一件物件時，色彩較形狀更能抓住人的注意力。文物是古代人的生活用器，它們的顏色到底是反映個人品味、托物寄情、天命信仰、規矩禮制，還是潮流使然？先秦時期的《孫子兵法》有載：「色不過五，五色之變，不可勝觀也。」¹ 中國古代以五正色將顏色歸為五個大類：青、赤、黃、白、黑，這個展覽亦以這五個類別呈現各種色彩的器物。展品當中並包涵了若干五正色以外的顏色，把他們歸進這五個分類之中，讓色譜更齊全。而且每類顏色都會以一位代表人物（Influencer）作序，看看他們在歷史上如何影響當時器物的色彩，並與觀眾一同走進文物的五色世界。文章因篇幅所限，以下選取部分色彩，略談一二。

青

古代中國的青色是藍綠色系的統稱。許之衡《飲流齋說瓷》記：「古瓷尚青，凡綠也、藍也，皆以青括之。」² 現代仍然流行「青出於藍」一語，其「青」是指顏色，而其「藍」卻是指一種染色的植物——藍草。在甲骨文時期，「綠」字並未出現，它是由染黃色的植物菘草的「菘」，加上代表織物的「糸」為部首而來。「綠」要到金石文階段

viewers a brand-new perspective for appreciating artefacts and integrating art into their daily lives 3.

#popcolours

Studies suggest that when we observe an object, our attention is first drawn to its colour rather than its shape. Artefacts were once everyday objects in ancient times. Are their colours a reflection of personal tastes, sentiments, spiritual beliefs, ritual systems, or trends? According to *The Art of War*, “There are no more than five prime colours, yet in combination they produce more hues than can ever be seen.”¹ In ancient China, a scheme of the “five prime colours” was commonly adopted, consisting of blue, red, yellow, white, and black. The artefacts in the exhibition were curated and displayed in these five colour themes. Included among them were also items in colours other than the five primary shades, for a more complete coverage of the spectrum. Each colour would be prefaced by a special influencer. Join them on this colourful journey and learn how these figures influenced the use of colours on the wares of their times.

Blue

In ancient China, the character *qing* (which means “green” today) was used to refer to a spectrum of blue to green but it usually meant blue. In *Yinliuzhai shuoci* (Commentaries on Porcelains by Yinliu Studio), Xu Zhiheng wrote, “On ancient

才出現，所以「青」從古時起代表了由藍到綠一個很大的範疇，甚至黑色也屬青，例如常說的青絲，便指烏黑的頭髮。但在此展覽中黑色為另一重要分區，在此就不多贅。

在瓷器之中最為引人注目的青色當數汝窯青瓷，而它的推崇者就是北宋的藝術家皇帝——宋徽宗。汝窯瓷器的天青色，藍中帶綠，微閃著淡淡的粉紅光澤，溫潤典雅，高度體現了宋代細膩、純粹、高雅含蓄的品味，素有青瓷典範的美譽。供皇室使用的汝瓷燒製年代極短，學者認為大概由北宋哲宗元祐元年到徽宗崇寧五年之間（1086 - 1106），只有短短 20 年。³ 傳世的汝窯器物極為罕有，南宋時（約為 12 世紀末）已有「近猶難得」的感嘆。⁴ 目前，傳世的汝窯不過百件。香港藝術館館藏的汝窯筆洗曾是乾隆的收藏⁴。據藏家提供資料，底部原刻有一首乾隆御題詩：「趙宋青窯建汝州，傳聞瑤瑤末為油，而今景德無斯法，亦自出藍實色浮⁵。」1906 年，清人陳瑞安於北京琉璃廠獲得此筆洗，因怕藏有御瓷會被降罪而把底部御題詩磨掉。汝窯的恬淡天青色呈現出來的溫潤、清雅、靜謐，正合宋徽宗崇尚道教以「靜為依歸」、「恬淡為上」的審美情趣。而青色象徵著東方，又是草木初生



4 汝窯青釉筆洗 | 北宋晚期(12世紀初) | 陶瓷
羅桂祥藏品
香港藝術館
Brush washer, Ru ware | Late Northern Song dynasty (early 12th century) | Ceramics
The K.S. Lo Collection
Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1994.0064

porcelains *qing* was the prevalent colour, encompassing anything from green to blue.”² In the popular Chinese saying “*qing* comes from *lan* (literally blue)”, “*qing*” denotes the colour blue itself while “*lan*” refers to *lancao* (indigo herbs), the indigo plant that produces the dye. During the period of the Oracle bone script, the Chinese character *lü* (green) had not appeared yet. It was derived from a Chinese character indicating a plant used to create yellow dye, and did not emerge until the bronze script era. Hence, for a long period in history *qing* had been a term covering an array of shades from blue to green, and even black. For example, the phrase “*qingsi*” refers to jet-black hair. In this exhibition, “Black” is an independent zone by itself, and will not be elaborated here.

The most notable example of celadon porcelains is Ru ware, which was highly regarded by Emperor Huizong of Northern Song. The sky blue of Ru ware is a warm and classic hue that carries a tinge of green and a glimmer of pink. They epitomise the delicate taste of the people of the Song dynasty who favoured a pure, understated and elegant aesthetic. Ru ware has long been hailed as the finest example of celadon. The imperial Ru ware was produced within a relatively short period, which scholars believe to have lasted only 20 years from the first year of the reign of Emperors Zhezong to the fifth year of the reign of Emperor Huizong of Northern Song (1086-1106).³ Surviving Ru ware is extremely rare. Even in the Southern Song period (around the end of the 12th century), it had already been lamented as being “scarce”.⁴ No more than a hundred pieces of Ru ware remain to this day. The Ru washer in the museum’s collection was once the possession of the Qianlong Emperor⁴. According to the collector’s notes, the bottom of the washer was originally inscribed with a poem composed by the emperor



5 汝窯青釉筆洗附帖
Accompanying album leaf for the Ru washer

¹ [春秋] 孫武著（約公元前 544 - 前 470），孫曉玲譯註：《孫子兵法》（太原：山西古籍出版社，2000），頁 67。
Wu Sun (c.544-470BC) (Spring and Autumn Period), *The Art of War*, trans. Xiaoling Sun (Taiyuan: Shanxi Classics Publishing House, 2000), 67.

² 許之衡（1877-1935）：《飲流齋說瓷》（濟南：山東畫報出版社，2010），頁 13。
Zhiheng Xu (1877-1935), *Yinliuzhai shuoci* (Commentaries on Porcelains by Yinliu Studio) (Jinan: Shandong Pictorial Publishing House, 2010), 13.

³ 陳萬里（1892-1969）：《陳萬里陶瓷考古文集》（北京：紫禁城出版社，1997），頁 132-133。
Wanli Chen (1892-1969), *Collected Works on Archaeology and Ceramics by Chen Wanli* (Beijing: The Forbidden City Press, 1997), 132-133.

⁴ 周輝（1126-1198）：《清波雜誌》，卷五（上海：商務印書館，1939），頁 44。
Hui Zhou (1126-1198), *Qingbo zazhi*, Vol. 5 (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1939), 44.

的顏色，在內憂外患的北宋晚期，汝瓷之青也許寄托了宋徽宗的憧憬與盼望。

清代追慕宋瓷之色，景德鎮常按清廷發來之舊器，仿宋各名窯之色，但仿燒中又有創新。清代為仿燒天青色創燒出天藍釉，瑩潔靜謐的淺藍色以微量的鈷料作為呈色劑，發色勻淨穩定，如蔚藍晴空色彩⁶。顏色更淺的稱為月白，雖然名字好像一種白色，實際上是指一種淡藍色，其本名為月下白，意指月光映照出的淺淡藍色。清代在秋分時夕月壇使用祭器就是月白色的瓷器，⁵皇帝亦會穿月白色的朝袍作為祭月的禮服。⁶早期鈞窯獨特的藍調，據學者研究並非加入藍色的呈色劑，而是因鈞釉中高含量的二氧化矽及低氧化鋁，使釉料經高溫燒製後釋出大量懸浮的微細氣泡（約0.08微米），大小比藍光波長（約0.4-0.5微米）更小，於是把藍光散射出來，這種光學現象便令人看到鈞窯夢幻的藍色⁷。⁷



⁶ 天青釉貼蝠螭蝠球瓶 | 「大清雍正年製」款 | 清雍正 (1723-1735) | 陶瓷

香港藝術館藏品

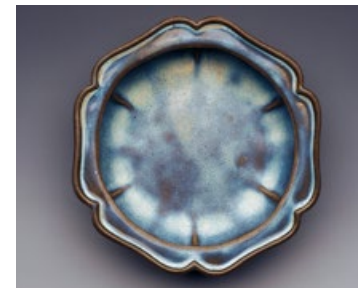
Globular vase with appliqué chasing a bat design in lavender glaze | Six-character mark of Yongzheng and of the period (1723-1735), Qing dynasty | Ceramics

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1966.0042

himself: “Zhao (the ruling house) Song’s *qing* ware kiln was built in Ruzhou, and agate was rumoured to be used in its glaze. Now such craft is lost to Jingdezhen, which yet produces a lesser blue that floats (in the glaze) ⁵.” With reference to the accompanying album leaf for the Ru washer provided by its previous owner, it stated that in 1906, Chen Rui’an acquired the washer in the antique market of *Liulichang* (glaze plant), Beijing. Fearing he could be punished for the unauthorised possession of an imperial ceramic, he erased the poem imprinted on the bottom surface of the washer. The warm, serene and elegant quality of Ru ware was a great embodiment of the emperor’s aesthetics founded on Taoist ideas of peace, calmness and simplicity. Celadon is a prominent symbol of Oriental culture and the colour of budding plants. In the late Northern Song dynasty, when the country was plagued by internal rife and foreign threats, Ru ware may have been Emperor Huizong’s medium for expressing his longing and hopes.

The shades of Song wares were much adored during the Qing dynasty. The craftsmen of the Jingdezhen kiln often recreated the hues of the famous Song kilns according to the old wares sent from the Qing imperial court, while introducing their own innovations in the process. The lavender blue glaze was created during the Qing dynasty to imitate the sky-blue shade. A trace amount of cobalt was used as the colourant which rendered the glaze a bright and pristine hue like that of a clear blue sky ⁶. Another lighter shade, moon-white, refers to a pale blue despite its name. Its original name was “white under the moon”, alluding to the light blue reflected by the moonlight. During the Qing dynasty, the porcelain wares used on the Moon Altar during autumn were all moon-white in colour,⁵ as was the robe worn by the emperor for the moon-worshipping rituals.⁶ For early *Jun* ware, researchers suggest that their blue shade was not the result of blue colourants but rather the high ratio of silica to alumina in the glaze. After high temperature firing, the glaze would release huge amounts of tiny bubbles (around 0.08 micron) suspended in the glaze that are smaller than the wavelength of blue light (around 0.4-0.5 micron). Therefore the bubbles would refract blue light and form the dreamy blue shade as seen on a piece of *Jun* ware ⁷.⁷

“Sacrificial blue” or *jiqing*, as recorded in the Qing archives, refers to a deep, azure blue. The moniker has been derived



⁷ 鈞窯紫藍釉葵花式盆托 | 「七」字款 | 15世紀早期 | 陶瓷

香港藝術館藏品

Mallow-shaped flowerpot saucer in purple blue glaze, *Jun* ware | Mark of character “seven” | Early 15th century | Ceramics

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1978.0060

「祭藍」或是清檔中所記的「霽青」，是指同一種湛藍深邃的藍色。明清以來由於用作祭祀，故稱祭藍，又有寶石藍的美譽。乾隆十二年，規定了每年訂燒的陳設賞賜用瓷款式，⁸除陳列於各宮殿，也用於賞賜下臣和宗室。⁹乾隆時期，琢器（非一次拉坯成形的器物）訂燒種類多達52種，展覽中的祭藍釉象耳琮式瓶就是其中之一，它們分別屬於五個不同朝代：乾隆、道光、咸豐、同治和光緒⁸。雖然形制幾乎一致，但顏色深淺各有不同，顏色最深的一件便是乾隆朝的佳作。藍色釉料是以鈷礦物發色，乾隆的祭藍釉配方比其他朝代用鈷最多，發色深沉純正。

from its common use on ritual wares since the Ming and Qing periods. It has also been fondly named “sapphire blue” for its attractive colour. In the 12th year of his reign, Qianlong Emperor dictated the kinds of porcelains to be produced each year for display in the various palaces and as imperial gifts to officials and members of the nobility.^{8,9} During the Qianlong period, as many as 52 types of irregular-shaped wares (those whose bisque could not be formed on a wheel) were being created. Among them are the *cong*-shaped vases with elephant-head handles in a sacrificial blue glaze shown in this exhibition, which originated from five different eras of the Qing dynasty: the Qianlong, Daoguang, Xianfeng, Tongzhi, and Guangxu reigns ⁸. Despite similar forms, these vases vary in their shades of blue, with the darkest one being a masterpiece from the Qianlong period. Compared to the other periods, the sacrificial blue pigment used in this era contained a higher concentration of cobalt which gave it a darker and purer hue.



⁸ 祭藍釉象耳琮式瓶 | 左起：同治、同治、乾隆、道光、咸豐、光緒 | 各帶六字大清年製款 | 陶瓷

香港藝術館藏品
鍾祺偉先生捐贈

Cong-shaped vase with elephant-head handles in sacrificial blue glaze | From left: Tongzhi, Tongzhi, Qianlong, Daoguang, Xianfeng, and Guangxu | Each with mark of the period, Qing dynasty | Ceramics

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Cheung Kee Wee
C2021.0094 - C2021.0098, C2021.0168

⁵ (清) 允祿 (1695-1767) 等纂，福隆安 (1746-1784) 等補纂：《皇朝禮器圖式》，卷一（揚州：廣陵書社，2004），頁28-32。
Lu Yun (1695-1767) and Long'an Fu (1746-1784) (Qing dynasty), et al., ed., *Illustrated Regulations for Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Qing Dynasty*, Vol. 1 (Yanzhou: Guangling Bookstore, 2004), 28-32.

⁶ 同上註，卷四，頁106。
Ibid., Vol. 4, 106.

⁷ Nigel Wood：《Chinese Glazes: Their Origins, Chemistry and Recreation》（費城：賓夕凡尼亞大學出版社，1999），頁118-125。
Nigel Wood, *Chinese Glazes: Their Origins, Chemistry and Recreation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 118-125.

⁸ 中國第一歷史檔案館，北京鐵源陶瓷研究院編：《清宮瓷器檔案全集》，卷三（北京：中國畫報出版社，2008），頁86。
First Historical Archives of China and Beijing Tiejuan Ceramic Research Institute, ed., *Qingong ciqi dang'an quanji* (Complete Porcelain Ware Archives of the Qing Court), Vol. 3 (Beijing: China Pictorial Publishing House, 2008), 86.

⁹ 例子如宣統七年七月初一日瓷器收賬記錄霽藍瓷雙象耳方瓶共240件，而備註宣統十四年七月初五日把此種方瓶兩件賞賜予伊克坦。伊克坦（1862-1922）是溥儀的滿文老師，官至正藍旗漢軍副都統。參見同上註，卷五十，頁241。

For example, an entry in the porcelain ware records dated the first day of the seventh month of the seventh year of the Xuantong reign notes 240 sacrificial blue square vases with dual elephant-head handles in the palace's inventory, while a remark dated the fifth day of the seventh month of the 14th year of the Xuantong reign states that two of these vases were gifted to Yi Ketan (1862-1922), who was Puyi's teacher in Manchu and held the official position of Deputy Lieutenant General of the Plain Blue Banner Garrison. See Ibid., Vol. 50, 241.

由越窯的千峰翠色到汝窯的天青，青釉以變化萬千的釉色一直雄據歷代顏色釉瓷的首位。青釉是以鐵為呈色劑並以高溫燒成，其中又以顏色深淺分為粉青⁹、冬青和豆青。而梅子青為龍泉窯於南宋至元代常見的品種，似青梅初熟的顏色，以厚潤的釉層堆成碧玉般蒼翠瑩潔的色調和質感。過去，曾有一個關於瓷器顏色千年未解的懸案，就是「秘色瓷」的秘密。晚唐詩人陸龜蒙的《秘色越器》寫道：「九秋風露越窯開，奪得千峰翠色來。」但到底秘色瓷是否越窯瓷器，一直找不到實物證據。直至20世紀八十年代在唐代皇家寺院法門寺地宮出土了石刻「衣物帳」碑，¹⁰當中記載唐代皇室供奉了十三件秘色瓷器，與同時出土的瓷器相合，¹¹才揭開了秘色瓷的神秘面紗。越窯以千峰翠色的釉色稱著，而當中質量最好的作為貢品呈獻皇宮，一般人難得一見，成為了秘色瓷的千載傳奇¹⁰。



⁹ 粉青釉葫蘆瓶 | 「大清嘉慶年製」款 | 清 嘉慶 (1796-1820) | 陶瓷
香港藝術館藏品
鍾棋偉先生捐贈
Double-gourd-shaped vase in celadon glaze | Six-character mark of Jiaqing and of the period (1796-1820), Qing dynasty | Ceramics
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Cheung Kee Wee
C2021.0060



From the lush green of Yue ware to the sky-blue of Ru ware, the celadon glaze with its versatile shades has for generations been the most beloved colour for porcelains⁹. The glaze was made using iron as the colourant and fired under high temperature. Based on its density, celadon glaze comes in a range of shades such as pale celadon, winter celadon, and pea celadon. Plum-green is frequently seen on *Longquan* ware during the Southern Song and Yuan dynasties, with a colour resembling that of a newly ripened plum. The glaze was applied in multiple dense layers to create a rich jade-like shade and texture. As for the colours of porcelains, there had been a thousand-year-old mystery surrounding the “secret-glazed porcelains”. In *Mise yueqi* (secret-glazed ware), late Tang-dynasty poet Lu Guimeng wrote, “As the Yue kiln is opened during the bleak autumn, [the secret-glazed ware shines with] the green of a thousand mountains.” For a long time, there had been no evidence confirming that the secret-glazed porcelains were the products of the Yue kiln. Not until the Articles Tablet was excavated from Famen Temple, the imperial temple of the Tang dynasty, in the 1980s was the mystery unveiled at last.¹⁰ The tablet states that the Tang imperial family kept 13 pieces of secret-glazed porcelain ware that matched the porcelains unearthed from the same era.¹¹ Yue ware was well-known for its luscious green. The pieces of the best quality were offered as tributes to the palace and therefore hardly seen by common folk, which explains the air of mystery surrounding the secret-glazed porcelain¹⁰.



¹⁰ 越窯青釉刻牡丹紋蓋盒 | 10世紀-11世紀 | 陶瓷
香港藝術館藏品
Covered box with carved peony design in celadon glaze, Yue ware | 10th century to 11th century | Ceramics
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1980.0031

¹⁰ 1987年4月法門寺地宮隧道通往前室之處，發掘出唐代咸通十五年（公元874）兩塊碑石，其一便為《應從重真寺隨身供養道具及恩賜金銀器物寶函等並新恩賜到金銀寶器衣物帳》，帳中有記：「……瓷秘色碗七口內二口銀棧，瓷秘色盤子、疊子共六枚……」。參見韓偉：〈法門寺地宮唐代隨身衣物帳考〉，《文物》（5，1991），頁27。

In April 1987, two stone tablets dating from the 15th year of the Xiantong reign during the Tang dynasty (AD 874) were unearthed in the underground palace tunnel at the Famen Temple leading to its ante-chamber, one of them being “*Yingcong Chongzhensi suizhenshengongyang daoju ji encijinyinqiwubao deng bing xinhencidao jinyinbaoqi yiwuzhang*,” which states that “... of the seven secret-glazed porcelain bowls, two are silver-edged, while there are a total of six secret-coloured plates and saucers ...” See Wei Han, “Famensi digong Tangdai ‘Suizhenshenyiwuzhang’ kao”, *Cultural Relics* 5 (May, 1991), 27.

清代宮廷服裝中最常見的顏色可算是青色。在乾隆訂定禮制規條的《皇朝禮器圖式》之中，「石青」一詞共出現136次之多。皇帝袞服、常服褂；皇太后、皇后朝褂、龍褂，皇太子龍褂皆「色用石青」；親王朝服¹¹、蟒袍，藍及石青諸色隨所用；郡王、貝子及官員補服皆用石青。而且無論袍身是甚麼顏色，一般來說都是領、袖皆石青。¹²根據《乾隆十九年銷算染作》檔案，石青是用植物染料靛青，加上橡碗子和五倍子套染。¹³檔案中亦有染紅青的記載，是在石青上加工，染成帶紅的石青色。雖然在《皇朝禮器圖式》

The most common hue found in Qing imperial garments is blue. In the *Illustrated Regulations for Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Qing dynasty*, in which the Qianlong Emperor dictated ritual rules, the term *shi qing* (azurite) appears as many as 136 times. The ceremonial and court jackets worn by the emperor, empress dowager, empress, and crown prince were all in azurite. Princes of the first rank were allowed to wear blue and azurite court robes¹¹, while the robes with official badges of princes of the second rank, *beizi*, and officials all bore the azurite shade. Regardless of the primary colour of the robe, its collars and sleeves would usually be in azurite.¹² According to the *Settlement Records for the Dye Workshop in the 19th Year of the Qianlong Reign*, azurite was dyed using plant-based indigo as well as acorns and *wubeizi* (Chinese Nutgall).¹³ The records also contain accounts of a red azurite being created by dyeing azurite in red. Despite the absence of any mention of red azurite



¹¹ 石青戳紗繡金龍朝服 | 清 嘉慶 (1796-1820) | 紡織品
香港藝術館藏品
鍾棋偉先生捐贈
Azurite gauze court robe embroidered with dragon design | Jiaqing period (1796-1820), Qing dynasty | Textile
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Cheung Kee Wee
C2021.0155

¹¹ 陶瓷器物出土共16件，兩件為白瓷，一件秘色八棱淨水瓶沒有記於「衣物帳」中。參見陝西省法門寺考古隊：〈扶風法門寺塔唐代地宮發掘簡報〉，《文物》（10，1988），頁23-24。

A total of 16 porcelain wares were unearthed, two of which were white porcelains, while one secret-glazed eight-lobed water purification bottle is not recorded in *yiwuzhang*. See The Archaeological Team for the Famen Temple in Shanxi Province, “Fufeng Famensita Tangdai digong fajue jianbao (Excavation Report for the Tang Dynasty Underground Palace at Famen Temple Pagoda in Fufeng),” *Cultural Relics* 10 (October 1988): 23-24.

¹² 同註5，散見於卷四至七，頁101-348。
See Note 5, Vol. 4-7, 101-348.

¹³ 王業宏、劉劍、童永紀：〈「清」出於藍——清代滿族服飾的藍色情結及染藍方法〉，《清史研究》（4，2011），頁110-114。
Yehong Wang, Jian Liu, and Yongfei Tong, “‘Qing’ Coming out of the Blue: The Blue Complex of the Qing Dynasty Manchu Costumes and the Blue Dyeing Method,” *The Qing History Journal* 4 (November, 2011), 110-114.



12 韓志勳 (1922-2019) | 《未央》 | 1974 |
168 x 168 厘米 | 塑膠彩布本
香港藝術館藏品
Hon Chi-fun (1922-2019) | *Up and Away* | 1974 |
168 x 168 cm | Acrylic on canvas
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
AC2005.0125

之中沒有紅青的記錄，但在乾隆二十一年的《穿戴檔》則有不少，例如當年七夕節，乾隆便穿黃刻（緞）絲金龍單袍，外穿紅青實地單紗繡二色金龍褂。¹⁴

展覽特別於每區挑選一件館藏當代藝術作品作為回應，青區以韓志勳的《未央》作結。《未央》是韓志勳創作高峰期的得意之作¹²。圓的系列是韓氏生命真諦的尋溯，是他最關切的課題。韓氏巧妙地運用噴筆，以不同調子的藍，在畫上呈現一個看似虛無但同時又極深邃的空間。畫面純粹的藍色讓人感到平靜安穩，然而又靜中帶動。韓氏曾自述一靜一動正如圓在方中，方在圓中。有時他心情激動時會把畫作畫得很靜，平靜時反而畫得很動，圓與方、靜與動之間，有著微妙的關係。這作品與在動盪的北宋晚期，宋徽宗追求恬靜純粹的汝窯天青釉色遙相呼應。

in *Illustrated Regulations*, they are plentiful in *Chuandaidang* (Record of Daily Clothing of the Emperor) in the 21st year of the Qianlong reign. For example, during the Qixi Festival of that year, the emperor is described as wearing a yellow *kesi* robe with a golden dragon, and a red azurite gauze jacket embroidered with dragons in dual-golden threads.¹⁴

Each section of the exhibition also features a contemporary artwork handpicked to echo the colour theme. For Blue, we opted for *Up and Away* by Hon Chi-fun. The painting is an iconic piece created during the peak of his creative career¹². The Circle series represents Hon's pursuit of the true meaning of life, a topic he was most engaged with. In this work, he created a void that is at once hollow and profoundly deep, painted in various shades of blue using an airbrush. The pure blue of the image has a calming and steadying effect, yet carries motions amid the stillness and silence. Hon described that the relationship between motions and stillness is akin to a round within a square, and vice versa. Sometimes when he got agitated, he would paint a calming image; and when feeling calm, he would paint something dynamic. Such was his perception of the relations between rounds and squares, and stillness and motions. This work is a fitting response to the sentiments of Emperor Huizong when he was yearning for idyllic peace in the turbulent late Northern Song dynasty, as evidenced by his love for the sky-blue glaze of Ru ware.

¹⁴ 《穿戴檔》是由太監記錄皇帝每天穿著服飾的資料檔案，書中的《穿戴檔》是乾隆二十一年在圓明園 168 天的穿戴記錄。參見中國第一歷史檔案館編：《圓明園》（上海：上海古籍出版社，1991），頁 827-911。

Chuandaidang were the records made by eunuchs on the garments worn daily by the emperor. The particular entry cited in this text refers to the attire records for the Qianlong Emperor's 168-day stay at the Yuanmingyuan Summer Palace. See First Historical Archives of China, ed., *Yuanmingyuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1991), 827-911.

赤

「赤」是火的顏色，甲骨文從「大」從「火」，由於大火色赤，故會意赤紅之色。清代有一種紅色，色澤赤紅豔麗，猶如牛血剛凝，稱作牛血紅，又作郎窯紅。郎窯的郎是指郎廷極（1663-1715），他在康熙四十四至五十一年（1705-1712）出任江西巡撫，兼任當時景德鎮御窯廠的督陶官，監督燒造瓷器呈進皇宮。¹⁵ 郎紅釉釉層玻璃感重，紅色色彩濃烈鮮豔，釉的流淌性大，常見脫口現象，口沿處因釉垂流而露出白邊，而近底處積釉令紅色愈深，匠人上釉後放在轉盤上削走足處多餘的釉，露出足胎，故有「脫口垂足郎不流」的說法。雖然近代學者對郎窯紅是否在郎廷極短短八年的任內燒成仍有爭論，但後世一直以他命命名這種獨特的高溫銅紅釉¹⁶。郎窯紅是一種以氧化銅作呈色劑的高溫釉料，燒成難度極高。明代宣德著名的祭紅釉（又名寶石紅釉）便是一種高



Red

The character 赤 (*chi*) denotes the colour of flames. It originated from oracle bone script and was derived from two other characters 大 (*da*, meaning “big”) and 火 (*huo*, meaning “fire”), hence its literal meaning of “fiery red”. During the Qing dynasty, there was a distinctive red hue that was popular due to its shiny, fiery red shade that resembled curdled ox blood. Therefore it was called “ox-blood red”, also known as “*Langyao* red”. The name *Langyao* (Lang kiln) was given in honour of Lang Tingji (1663-1715), who was a provincial governor of Jiangxi and superintendent of the imperial kiln from the 44th to 51st year of the Kangxi reign (1705-1712). He was responsible for supervising the production of ceramic wares for the imperial court.¹⁵ The *Langyao*-red glaze has an intense, bright hue with a glassy effect. Given its highly fluid nature, the glaze tends to run off from the rim of the ware leaving the white edge exposed; as the glaze accumulates towards the bottom, the base would take on a darker red hue. As such, the craftsman would skim off excess glaze at the base as the ware rotates on a wheel, thus exposing the bisque at the foot. Although scholars still hold different views on whether *Langyao* red was created during the eight years when Lang Tingji served as a ceramic official, later generations have continued to name the copper-red glaze after him¹⁶. Producing the ware requires great skill, which involves high temperature firing with copper oxide as the colourant. Sacrificial red, also known as ruby red, from the Xuande period of the Ming dynasty was also a copper-red glaze fired at high temperature. Unfortunately, its

15 郎紅釉觀音尊 | 清康熙 (1662-1722) | 陶瓷

香港藝術館藏品
鍾棋偉先生捐贈

Baluster vase in *Langyao* glaze |
Kangxi period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty | Ceramics

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Cheung Kee Wee

C2021.0061

¹⁵ 郎氏生平見於〔清〕李紱（1673-1750）撰寫〈郎氏墓誌銘〉。參見李桓：《國朝耆獻類徵初編》卷一五一·疆臣三。

For the biography of Lang, see Fu Li (1673-1750) (Qing dynasty), “Epitaph on Lang,” in Huan Li, *Guochao Qixian Leizheng Chubian* (Biographies of Venerable and Distinguished Personages under the Present Dynasty), Vol. 151, Chapter 3 for Officials.

溫銅紅釉，可惜它的獨特配方與技術，在嘉靖初年以後經已失傳¹⁴。¹⁶至清代康熙時，才創燒出與寶石紅釉相近的郎窯紅，在沒有舊配方依循下，郎窯紅可算是在傳統中創新的成功例子。

銅紅釉技術掌握之困難，從早期的釉裏紅亦可見一斑。明太祖朱元璋開國後，推崇火德，與火對應的正色是「赤」，因而大量生產宮廷紅釉瓷器，當中包括元代開始燒製的釉裏紅。釉裏紅是以銅紅料繪畫紋飾後，再施一層透明釉。入窯後以約攝氏 1,350 度高溫在還原氣氛中燒成。釉料成分、窯溫和氣氛控制要求嚴格，稍有偏差，紅色便會晦黯、變黑、燒飛，或產生綠苔點。因燒製困難，故成品率極低，明代初期的釉裏紅釉器十分珍罕，之後逐漸式微¹⁵。這項技術到清代康熙時期才重新發展，多能燒出鮮豔的紅色。



¹⁴ 祭紅釉盤 | 「大明宣德年製」款 | 明 宣德 (1426-1435) | 陶瓷
羅桂祥藏品
香港藝術館
Dish in sacrificial red glaze | Six-character mark of Xuande and of the period (1426-1435), Ming dynasty | Ceramics
The K.S. Lo Collection
Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1994.0077

formula and production methods have long been lost since the early period of the Jiajing reign¹⁴.¹⁶ It was not until the Kangxi period of the Qing dynasty that *Langyao* red emerged, as a colour akin to the ruby red glaze. Invented without guidance of the old formula, *Langyao* red ware is a successful example of innovating on tradition.

The technical difficulty of producing copper-red glazed wares is evident in the early red underglaze wares. After founding the Ming dynasty, the Hongwu Emperor was keen on promoting the “virtues of fire”, to which the corresponding primary colour was red. As a result, red-glazed wares were produced in a massive number for the imperial palace. These included the underglaze red wares created starting from the Yuan dynasty. Their production involves first painting the patterns in a copper-red pigment, followed by a coating of transparent glaze. They would then be fired in a kiln at a high temperature of 1,350°C in a reducing atmosphere. The glaze ingredients, kiln temperature and atmosphere must be controlled, and exacting standards must be followed as any slight deviations would result in a lacklustre or blackish red, causing decolouration of the ware or appearance of green spots due to overheating. Underglaze red ware was extremely rare in the early Ming dynasty owing to the difficulty and thus low success rate of their production¹⁵. Thereafter, the craft declined in popularity until it was revived during the Kangxi reign of the Qing dynasty, when the signature vivid red was successfully reproduced.



¹⁵ 釉裏紅纏枝花卉紋大碗 | 明 洪武 (1368-1398) | 陶瓷
香港藝術館藏品
Bowl with floral design in underglaze red | Hongwu period (1368-1398), Ming dynasty | Ceramics
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1964.0089

當時除了郎窯紅，另一種新的高溫銅紅釉就是豇豆紅。豇豆紅的施釉方法是吹釉法，陶匠以竹筒蓋上紗布，蘸上銅料，再吹在已上底釉的坯上，最後還要罩一層面釉。銅料在不同的氣氛下會燒出不同的顏色，簡單來說在高溫還原氣氛下會燒出紅色，在氧化氣氛下出現的卻是綠色，所以除了呈色劑外，決定顏色的最重要元素是燒窯的氣氛，窯中的氧含量是成敗的關鍵。通體一色，明快鮮豔的譽為「大紅袍」或「正紅」，是上乘的釉色；帶均勻暗紅斑點的稱為「豇豆紅」¹⁶；帶綠苔點的叫「美人醉」；淡色的叫「娃娃臉」或「桃花片」等。¹⁷

陶瓷中的胭脂紅釉，在紅釉系最突出之處，當數它採用名貴的黃金為呈色劑，在低溫（攝氏 600 至 900 度）環境下燒成如女子妝點腮紅般的嬌嫩顏色，因而得名¹⁷。《南窯筆記》載：「今之洋色，則有胭脂紅、薑水紅，皆用赤金與水晶料配成，價甚貴。」¹⁸



¹⁶ 豇豆紅釉太白尊 | 「大清康熙年製」款 | 清 康熙 (1662-1722) | 陶瓷
香港藝術館藏品
Beehive waterpot in peach-bloom glaze | Six-character mark of Kangxi and of the period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty | Ceramics
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1976.0046

Besides *Langyao* red, another novel form of copper-red glaze fired under high heat was the cowpea red or peach-bloom red. Peach-bloom red wares were created using the glaze-blowing technique, where the craftsman would dab one end of a bamboo tube covered with yarn in a copper pigment, then blow it on a clay body already coated with an underglaze. Thereafter, the piece would have to be applied with another overglaze. Copper materials produce different colours when fired in different atmospheres. Generally, red would result from a high-temperature reducing atmosphere while green from an oxidising atmosphere. Apart from the colourant, the atmosphere is the most important deciding factor for the resultant red hue, with the key being the concentration of oxygen in the kiln. A bright, consistent red is known as the “great red robe” or “classic red”, which is a superior shade; a dark red with spots is called “cowpea red”¹⁶; a red with moss-green dots is nicknamed “blushing beauty”; while lighter shades of red are called “baby cheeks” and “peach blossom red”.¹⁷

The most prominent feature of the rouge-red glaze is the gold it contained as its colourant. After being fired at a low temperature (600 to 900°C), the glaze produces a delicate red resembling that of a lady’s rouged cheeks¹⁷. It is stated in *Nanyao biji* (Notes on the Southern Kiln), “Today’s foreign pigments include rouge red and ‘ginger-water’ red, all of which are made with red gold and crystals, hence they are rather expensive.”¹⁸ These glazes are also referred to as “radiant western red” in the Qing imperial archives: “... the red is too



¹⁷ 胭脂紅釉碗 | 「大清宣統年製」款 | 清 宣統 (1909-1911) | 陶瓷
香港藝術館藏品
Bowl in rouge red glaze | Six-character mark of Xuantong and of the period (1909-1911), Qing dynasty | Ceramics
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1984.0037

¹⁶ 熊寥，熊微：《中國陶瓷古籍集成》（上海：上海文化出版社，2006），頁 73。
Liao Xiong and Wei Xiong, *Collection of Classics on Chinese Ceramics* (Shanghai: Shanghai Culture Publishing House, 2006), 73.

¹⁷ 耿寶昌（1922-）：《明清瓷器鑒定》（北京：紫禁城出版社；香港：兩木出版社，1993），頁 222。
Baochang Geng (1922-), *Ming Qing ciqi jian ding* (Evaluating Ming and Qing Porcelains) (Beijing: The Forbidden City Press; Hong Kong: Liang Mu Publishing House, 1993), 222.

¹⁸ [清] 佚名：〈南窯筆記〉，載於黃賓虹、鄧實編，《美術叢書》，第十六冊（板橋：藝文印書館，1975），頁 311-332。
Author unknown (Qing dynasty), “Nanyao biji (Notes on the Southern Kilns),” in *Meishu congshu* (Collection of Books on Fine Arts), Vol. 16, ed. Binhong Huang and Shi Deng (Banqiao: Yiwen Yinshuguan, 1975), 311-332.

清宮檔案中則稱之為「西洋大紅」：「……紅色太淺，再吹時用西洋大紅吹做。」¹⁹ 透露它的施釉方法也是吹釉法，這種新配方在康熙晚期由歐洲傳入，據色調深淺分類，較深的稱為「胭脂紅」，較淺則稱為「胭脂水」。館藏胭脂紅釉器經 X 射線熒光光譜分析亦發現黃金成分。這種彩料亦稱為「金紅」（red gold），因其以黃金作為呈色劑，琺瑯彩中的紅色系瓷器便常見使用這種由歐洲傳入的昂貴彩料。而最早使用黃金作為呈色劑的是金紅玻璃。金紅玻璃透明、清亮，尤如紅寶石的顏色，深受雍正皇帝喜愛¹⁸。在 17 世紀中期的歐洲著作中，已有記錄成功研製出膠體金技術，即以含金微粒的膠體溶液製作出金紅玻璃。²⁰

古代製作胭脂的其中一種材料就是朱砂，它的應用十分廣泛，由顏料、妝品以至漆器中的紅漆，也有使用朱砂。朱紅色的漆器是以朱砂磨成粉末加入生漆之中，或加入水銀煉成銀珠，調成顏色殷紅的色漆。朱紅色在早期漆藝作品中多用作彩繪紋飾，至宋代起出現剔紅雕漆技法：漆匠在器胎髹上數十甚至數百層紅漆，逐層陰乾，單是備漆已達數月，再由熟練的工匠雕刻出細緻的紋飾，始成剔紅，製作時間和工藝皆是一種奢華的

light, 'radiant western red' will be used in the next blow."¹⁹ This reveals that the glaze-blowing technique was used. The pigment was first imported from Europe in the late Kangxi period, with the darker variant "rouge red" and the lighter variant "rouge aqua". The fluorescence spectroscopic analysis of rouge red glaze wares in the museum's collection has also revealed contents of gold. This glaze is also known as "red gold" owing to the use of gold as its colourant. The expensive pigment from the West was also frequently used on red *falangcai* (enamel) porcelains. The earliest material known to contain gold as a colourant is the red-gold glass. It was a favourite of the Yongzheng Emperor for its bright, transparent property and ruby-like hues¹⁸. European literature from the mid-17th century also contains records of the successful development of the colloidal gold production method, by which a colloidal solution containing gold particles is used to produce red-gold glass.²⁰

In ancient times, one of the ingredients used for making rouge was cinnabar, which was widely used in various materials ranging from pigments and cosmetics, to red lacquer. The pigment for vermilion lacquerware was produced by mixing cinnabar powder with lacquer, or with mercury to form mercuric sulphide red, then adjusting the hue to vermilion. In the early days, the pigment was often used for decorating lacquerwares, which led to the emergence of the carved cinnabar lacquering



¹⁸ 紅料長頸梨形瓶 | 「雍正年製」款 | 清 雍正 (1723-1735) | 玻璃
香港藝術館藏品
Glass vase in transparent red | Four-character mark of Yongzheng and of the period (1723-1735), Qing dynasty | Glass
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1989.0003

¹⁹ 雍正十年八月八日〈琺瑯作〉，載於《清宮內務府造辦處檔案》（北京市：觀箴文獻中心，2019），頁 290。（最後檢索日期：2022-03-31）。https://archives.yunjianart.com/w/index?bookSeriesId=seri7ec7fb3c81ac_0。

“Enamel Workshop” dated the eighth day of the eighth month of the 10th year of the Yongzheng reign, in *Compiled Records of the Workshops under the Imperial Household Department of the Qing Dynasty* (Beijing: Chinese Works of Art Database, 2019), 290, (last accessed 31 March 2022), https://archives.yunjianart.com/w/index?bookSeriesId=seri7ec7fb3c81ac_0.

²⁰ Werner Loibl (1943-2014) : 〈Itineraries of Glass Innovation: Johann Rudolf Glauber and His Followers〉，載於《Glass of the Alchemists》（紐約：康寧玻璃博物館，2008），頁 64-73。

Werner Loibl (1943-2014), “Itineraries of Glass Innovation: Johann Rudolf Glauber and His Followers,” in *Glass of the Alchemists* (New York: The Corning Museum of Glass, 2008), 64-73.



¹⁹ 剔紅花卉紋漆碟 | 「大明永樂年製」款 | 明 永樂 (1403-1424) | 漆
香港藝術館藏品
Carved red lacquer dish with flower design | Six-character mark of Yongle and of the period (1403-1424), Ming dynasty | Lacquer
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C2000.0001

投入¹⁹。由於明代皇室姓朱，尚火德，屬赤色，朱紅尤其在明代亦曾經受嚴格限制。如《大明會典》記：「凡器皿，洪武二十六年（1393）定……六品至九品，酒注、酒盞具用銀，餘皆用磁、漆木器，並不許用硃紅、及抹金、描金、雕琢龍鳳文。……又令官員牀面、屏風、榻子，並用雜色漆飾，不許雕刻龍鳳文，並金飾硃漆。又令軍官軍士應用弓矢，止是黑漆，弓袋箭囊，並不許用硃漆、描金妝飾。」²¹

清代女刺繡家丁佩在其著作《繡譜》中道：「顏色中之極絢爛者，紅是也，極貴重者，亦惟紅。」²² 紅色系衣色在清代是深受官民喜愛的顏色。其中絳色在《說文解字》中謂：「絳，大赤也。」絳是比赤還要紅的深紅色。深絳色曾經在乾隆晚期流行，被視作福色：「燕居無著行衣者。自傅文忠公征金川歸，喜其便捷，名得勝褂，其後無論男女，燕服皆著之。色料初尚天藍，乾隆中，尚玫瑰紫，末年，福文襄王好著深絳色，人爭效之，謂之福色。」²⁰ ²³

technique during the Song dynasty. The craftsman would apply tens and even hundreds of layers of red lacquer on the bisque and let them dry one after another. The coating process itself would take months before the craftsman could carve intricate patterns on the ware. The extensive time invested, and exceptional skill required for the craft were nothing short of a luxury¹⁹. Since the imperial family name of the Ming dynasty was *zhu* (cinnabar) and the “virtues of fire” were greatly promoted at the time, the use of cinnabar red was subject to strict constraints. The *Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty* states, “For all wares, it was decreed in the 26th year of the Hongwu reign (1393) that... silver was to be used for the wine pots and cups of officials of the sixth to ninth rank, while the others should use porcelain or lacquered wooden wares. The use of cinnabar red, gold coating and painted pattern, and carving of dragon and phoenix motifs were prohibited. ... officials were only allowed to paint their beds, folding screens, and shelves in mixed palettes, and forbidden from engraving dragon and phoenix patterns or applying gold decorations or cinnabar lacquer. The arrows, bows, quivers, and bow cases of military officers and soldiers were allowed to be painted in black only, with cinnabar and painted gold decorations being prohibited.”²¹

Ding Pei, an embroiderer from the Qing dynasty, wrote in *Xiu Pu*, “The most brilliant of all colours is red; the same is true for the most precious.”²² Red garments were adored by everyone during the Qing dynasty. The *Shuowen jiezi* (Origin of Chinese Characters) states, “The colour *jiang* is an intense fiery red.” *Jiang* is darker than fiery red and was popular during the late Qianlong period, when it was regarded as a prosperous colour, “Travel garments are not worn in daily life. A garment was brought back by Fu Wenzhong from his military conquest in Jin Chuan. He named it the *desheng* (victory) jacket and loved how light and convenient it was. Since then, everyone had started wearing it as an everyday garment. Initially, the popular colour was sky blue, which changed to rose purple in the mid-Qianlong reign. By the end of the period, dark *jiang* (soy hue) was a favourite of Prince Fu Wenxiang, which led to its massive popularity and became known as a prosperous colour²⁰.”²³

²¹ [明] 李東陽 (1447-1516) 等編，申時行 (1535-1614) 等重修，萬曆《大明會典》，卷六十二（揚州：廣陵書社，2007），頁 1075。Dongyang Li (1447-1516) (Ming dynasty) et al. ed., Shixing Shen (1535-1614) et al. re-edit, *Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty* (Wanli period), Vol. 62 (Yangzhou: Guangling Bookstore, 2007), 1075.

²² [清] 丁佩：《繡譜》（北京：中華書局，2012），頁 112。Pei Ding (Qing dynasty), *Xiu Pu* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2012), 112.

²³ [清] 徐珂 (1868-1928) 編：《清稗類鈔》，稗九十一（上海：商務印書館，1917），頁 30。Ke Xu (1868-1928) (Qing dynasty), ed., *Qingbai leichao*, Category 91 (Categorised Anthology of Petty Matters from the Qing Period) (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1917), 30.



20 醬色絳絲出峰金龍冬袍 | 清嘉慶 (1796-1820) | 紡織品

香港藝術館藏品

Kesi red winter robe with gold dragons and fur lining | Jiaqing period (1796-1820), Qing dynasty | Textile

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art

C1980.0004

在當代藝術部分，赤區挑選了劉國松的《來去自如》作為回應作品。被譽為「現代水墨畫之父」，劉氏為創造出中國水墨畫獨特新路向和語言，致力研究中西美術史與藝術理論，並從中取長補短，他以獨創的一種粗筋棉紙——劉國松紙，配以他自創的漬墨法，賦予國畫傳統中的「筆墨」及皴法一種新的意義。傳統的皴法是加法，而他的皴法卻是減法。他在漬墨的地方，撕去棉紙上的粗筋，造成山脈的紋理，以嶄新的角度詮釋「筆墨」：筆就是點和線；墨就是色和面；皴就是肌理。²⁴《來去自如》是他最具代表性的「太空系列」作品之一，他參考當時的太空照片，以鮮紅色和簡單的圓形表現星體

For the Red section, we feature *Coming and Going* by Liu Guosong as the contemporary piece. Hailed as the “father of modern Chinese ink painting”, Liu is dedicated to the study of Chinese and western art history and theory, and combining the strengths of both styles of art to create a unique language and path forward for Chinese ink painting. He invented the coarse-fibre cotton paper—also known as Liu Guosong paper—and the ink-staining technique, which together brought a new meaning to “ink” and textured strokes in Chinese painting. Traditionally, textured strokes are achieved by means of addition; yet with Liu’s technique, such texture is the result of deduction. He would tear off the coarse fibres on the paper stained with ink to create the texture of mountains through a brand-new interpretation of “ink”. As Liu said, “the brush represents dots and lines; the ink, colours and planes; and the stokes, texture.”²⁴ *Coming and Going* is the most iconic piece from his “Space” series. Taking inspiration from space images at the time, he painted various changing phases of a celestial body as

²⁴ 劉國松 (1932-): 〈談水墨畫的創作與教學〉,《美育》(15, 1996) (最後檢索日期: 2022-03-31)。https://www.liukuosung.org/document-info1.php?lang=tw&Year=1990&p=2。

Guosong Liu (1932-), “On Creating and Teaching Ink Painting,” *Meiyu* 15 (September 1996), (last accessed 31 March 2022), https://www.liukuosung.org/document-info1.php?lang=tw&Year=1990&p=2. (Chinese only)



21 劉國松 (1932 生) | 《來去自如》 | 1998 | 水墨裱貼及塑膠彩紙本

香港藝術館藏品

Liu Guosong (1932-) | *Coming and going* | 1998 | Ink, acrylic and collage on paper

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art

AC2004.0248

日相的變化，揉合水墨設色、塑膠彩和裱貼的技法於一²¹。劉氏在傳統中創新，正好對照郎窯紅摹古而不泥古的精神。

黃

古時規矩和禮制不能踰越，而顏色亦是當中重要的一環。以衣服、日用器皿的顏色來限制並體現社會中各人的地位。早在明代，皇室已明令禁止士庶穿著黃色，此制一直沿用至清代。雍正時定禮服用石青、明黃、大紅、月白四色；²⁵到了乾隆時期，更進一步制訂《皇朝禮器圖式》，圖文並茂地劃出具體規範。乾隆進一步將黃色細分成不同等級，顯示不同皇室成員的身分地位，明度最高的明黃色作為皇帝、皇后及皇太后專用的服色；太子、皇太子妃龍袍為帶橙色的杏黃色；皇子、貴妃、妃等只可使用偏紅的金黃色，而再次一等的嬪則僅能使用偏綠的秋香色，²⁶臣屬及平民除非得到御賜恩典，否則亦不能穿著黃色衣物。與黃色袍服所搭配的紋飾亦有規範，乾隆時期，訂定袍服上的十二章紋為皇帝專用的紋飾，象徵天子之德，乾隆亦為其訂明樣式和位置，盡顯帝皇

a series of bright red spheres, while combining the techniques of ink colouring, acrylic painting, and collage into one²¹. The innovative spirit of Liu mirrors how *Langyao* red was similarly invented based on the essence of tradition.

Yellow

In ancient times, the observance of certain hierarchical rules and etiquette was regarded as crucial in society. The statuses of people were reflected and restricted by the colours of the clothes and wares worn and used. From as early as the Ming dynasty, commoners were prohibited from wearing yellow. During the Yongzheng reign of the Qing dynasty, ceremonial garments were required to be in azurite, bright yellow, radiant red, and moon white;²⁵ these were further expanded in the Qianlong era when the *Illustrated Regulations for Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Qing Dynasty* was enacted to dictate specific rules on court attire. The Qianlong Emperor classified yellow into various shades to reflect the ranks of nobility. Bright yellow was the exclusive colour for the emperor, empress dowager and empress; the crown prince and his consort would wear apricot yellow with orange; reddish golden yellow was reserved for princes, noble consorts, and consorts; while concubines of a further rank below would wear an autumnal

²⁵ 「雍正元年，定禮服用石青、明黃、大紅、月白四色緞。」參見〈禮部·儀制清吏司·冠服記〉，載於《欽定大清會典則例》，卷六十四。

“In the first year of the Yongzheng reign, it was decreed that ceremonial garments were to use fabric of four hues: azurite, bright yellow, radiant red, and moon white.” See “Records of Official Attire, Bureau of Ceremonies, Ministry of Rites,” in *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli* (Collected Statutes of the Great Qing Dynasty: Precedents and Regulations) of the Yongzheng period, Vol. 64.

²⁶ 同註 5，卷四至六，頁 200-344。

See Note 5, Vol. 4-6, 200-344.



22 明黃地刺繡十二章紋龍袍 | 清咸豐 (1851-1861) | 紡織品
香港藝術館藏品
Bright yellow dragon robe with the twelve imperial symbols | Xianfeng period (1851-1861), Qing dynasty | Textile
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art C1981.0013

至高無上的地位²²。可以說乾隆鞏固了黃色在清代的特殊地位。

黃釉瓷器在明、清時期為宮廷專用瓷器。據清代《欽定宮中現行則例》記載，在宮廷使用瓷器有嚴格規定，內外髹以黃釉的器皿被稱為「黃器」或「殿器」，只有皇帝、太后和皇后才能使用²³。白裏外黃的瓷器為皇貴妃所用，貴妃用黃地綠龍器²⁴，嬪妃則用藍地黃龍器等。²⁷景德鎮御窯廠製作宮廷訂燒瓷器，經檢選驗收，分成上、下等次，唐英在雍正六年（1728）當上協造官後，便將上、下等次的瓷器都送上京，以免「遺存在外，以蹈褻慢不敬之咎。」²⁸至乾隆七年（1742），皇帝下旨，往後次等貨色可不必長途跋涉押運上京，在當地變賣即可，當時已升任督陶官的唐英仍唯恐御瓷流入民間，特別是黃器及五爪龍器，向皇上提出異議。但乾隆回覆朱批：「黃器如所請行。五爪龍

yellow with a tinge of green.²⁶ Unless granted the imperial privilege, officials and commoners were forbidden from wearing yellow. There were also rules regulating the patterns on yellow court robes. In the Qianlong period, only emperors' robes could be adorned with the "Twelve Imperial Symbols" which signify the virtues of the emperor as the "Son of Heaven". The Qianlong Emperor also fixed the specific patterns and positions in which the emblem was to appear on the robes to symbolise the supremacy of the emperor²². The Qianlong Emperor can be said to have solidified the unique status of yellow in the Qing dynasty.

Yellow-glazed porcelains were used exclusively by the imperial court in the Ming and Qing dynasties. According to *Qinding gongzhong xianxing zeli* (Imperial Authorizations and Regulations of Conduct Within the Palace) of the Qing dynasty, the use of porcelains in the imperial court was subject to strict rules. Items coated in a yellow glaze on the inner and outer surfaces were called "yellow wares" or "palace wares" and could only be used by the emperor, empress dowager and

²⁷ 〈鋪宮〉，載於〔清〕《欽定宮中現行則例》，卷三，頁124-158。（最後檢索日期：2022-03-31）。<https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=1000281&page=1>。

"Fu gong," in *Qinding gongzhong xianxing zeli* (Regulations and Precedents of the Court) (Qing dynasty), Vol. 3, 124-158, (last accessed 31 March 2022), <https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=1000281&page=1>.

²⁸ 〈唐英奏請定次色變價之例以杜民謬濫折〉，載於中國第一歷史檔案館編《清代檔案史料叢編》，第12輯（北京：中華書局，1987），頁10。

"Tang Ying zouqingding cise bianjia zhili yi du minyao mao lanzhe," in *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian* (Compilation of Historical Materials from the Qing Archives), Vol. 12, ed. First Historical Archives of China (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1987), 10.



23 (右) 刻龍鳳紋黃釉對碟 | 「大清康熙年製」款 | 清康熙 (1662-1722) | 陶瓷
香港藝術館藏品
(right) Pair of yellow dishes incised with dragon and phoenix design | Six-character mark of Kangxi and of the period (1662-1722), Qing dynasty | Ceramics
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art C1979.0076



24 (右) 黃地綠彩雙龍戲珠紋碟一對 | 「大清光緒年製」款 | 清光緒 (1875-1908) | 陶瓷
香港藝術館藏品
關善明博士捐贈
(right) Pair of dishes with dragon and flaming pearl design in green enamel on yellow ground | Six-character mark of Guangxu and of the period (1875-1908), Qing dynasty | Ceramics
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art Donated by Dr Simon Kwan C1984.0022

者，外邊常有，仍照原議行。」²⁹可見黃器比五爪龍紋樣規範更嚴。

清代康熙中晚期，清宮造辦處以歐洲傳入的琺瑯彩料和工藝技法，研發出採用不同材質製成的琺瑯器，瓷胎、玻璃胎、銅胎的琺瑯器，豐富了器物的品類。琺瑯料是研磨得極細的玻璃粉、金屬氧化物及油性溶劑的混合物，用低溫加熱牢固貼附在器物表面。玻璃胎的琺瑯器製作難度特別高，因為玻璃的熔點（約攝氏800度）和琺瑯（約攝氏750度）相近，溫度太低，琺瑯的紋飾就不能熔貼在玻璃胎的表面；溫度過高，玻璃胎則會變形，顏色亦會燒焦。而且每種顏色的熔點都有些微分別，所以一個色彩繽紛的玻璃畫琺瑯器是要由高溫到低溫，分好幾次入窯燒製，稍有失誤便無法回復原來的狀態，燒成難度極高，所以一件完美的成品實在是非常難得。³⁰

empress²³. Wares that are white inside and yellow outside were used by the imperial noble consort, while yellow wares decorated with green dragons were for the noble consorts²⁴, and those in blue with yellow dragons for consorts and imperial concubines.²⁷ The Jingdezhen kilns were responsible for producing imperial ceramics, which would be inspected and classified into two classes by quality. After Tang Ying (1682-1756) became a deputy official of the kilns in the sixth year of the Yongzheng reign (1728), he decided to send porcelain wares of both classes to the capital to avoid "being guilty of disrespecting [the emperor] by keeping [the imperial wares] abroad."²⁸ In the seventh year of the Qianlong reign (1742), the emperor decreed that porcelains of the inferior class would no longer need to be delivered to Beijing and could be sold locally. Tang Ying, who had been promoted to the rank of superintendent of the imperial kilns, wrote to the emperor about his concern that the ordinary folk would then be able to own imperial porcelains, especially yellow-glazed wares and those with five-clawed dragon motifs. The emperor responded: "Do proceed as you have proposed for yellow-glazed wares. As for those with five-clawed dragons, please proceed as originally planned since they are commonly found everywhere."²⁹ This shows that yellow-glazed wares were regulated more strictly than those carrying five-clawed dragon motifs.

²⁹ 同上註，頁11。
Ibid., 11.

³⁰ 夏更起 (1933-)：〈玻璃胎畫琺瑯考析〉，《故宮博物院院刊》(3, 2003)，頁18。
Gengqi Xia (1933-), "Study and Analysis of Glass Wares in Painted Enamels," *Palace Museum Journal* 3 (2003): 18.



25 玻璃胎畫琺瑯龍纏枝花卉包袱瓶 | 「乾隆年製」款 | 清 乾隆 (1736-1795) | 玻璃

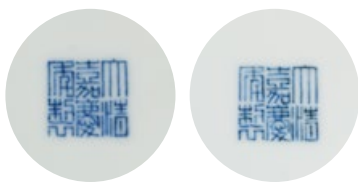
香港藝術館藏品

Pouch-shaped glass vase with *chi*-dragon and floral scroll design in painted enamels | Four-character mark of Qianlong and of the period (1736-1795), Qing dynasty | Glass

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1995.0002

「玻璃胎畫琺瑯龍纏枝花卉包袱瓶」便展現了這種非凡工藝，包袱瓶的黃色鮮明嬌艷，是皇權的象徵²⁵。

檸檬黃釉是一種黃中帶綠的黃色釉，是清代雍正時期創燒的新釉色²⁶。清宮在研發琺瑯釉器上色期間引進西洋彩料，有別於一直以來以氧化鐵作為低溫黃釉的呈色劑，改為採用進口的氧化錒，燒成黃中帶綠的檸檬黃釉，故又名「西洋黃」。³¹雍正六年，清宮嘗試開發新的琺瑯料顏色，雍正皇帝知道煉



26 檸檬黃釉碟一對 | 「大清嘉慶年製」款 | 清 嘉慶 (1796-1820) | 陶瓷

香港藝術館藏品

Pair of small dishes in lemon yellow glaze | Six-character mark of Jiaqing and of the period (1796-1820), Qing dynasty | Ceramics

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1981.0002

During the mid and late-Qing dynasty, the Imperial Workshops developed enamel wares out of various materials using the *falangcai* pigments and production technique brought in from Europe. The range of enamel wares expanded with those made of porcelain, glass and copper bodies. The enamel is a mixture of powdered glass, metal oxides and oil-dissolving solvents applied on the surface of wares and fired at a low temperature. Coating enamel on glass is particularly challenging. Given that the melting points of glass (around 800°C) and enamel (around 750°C) are close to one another, the enamel cannot fully melt into the glass surface if the temperature is too low; while overheating would also result in a deformed glass body and dark shade from burning. Since the melting point for each hue varies slightly from one another, a colourful enamelled glassware would have to be fired multiple times in the kiln from a high to low temperature. Any mistakes would be irreversible, posing a great challenge to the production of a perfect final product.³⁰ Such exceptional craftsmanship is on full display with this pouch-shaped glass vase with a *chi*-dragon and floral scroll design in painted enamels. Its bright and alluring yellow is a symbol of the ultimate authority of the emperor²⁵.

The lemon-yellow glaze carries a tinge of green and was a new ceramic shade created during the Yongzheng reign of the Qing dynasty²⁶. The imperial court brought in pigments from the West for the study and creation of enamel wares. In a departure from the conventional use of iron oxide as the colourant for yellow glaze fired at low temperatures, the imperial kiln adopted imported antimony oxide in the production of a lemon-yellow glaze with a tinge of green. For this reason, the glaze was also known as “western yellow”.³¹ In the sixth year of the Yongzheng reign, the Qing court started developing new *falangcai* enamels. After knowing some new colours had been created, the emperor enquired about the quantity

³¹ [清] 唐英 (1682-1756) : 〈陶成紀事碑記〉, 載於熊寥編《中國陶瓷古籍集成》(南昌: 江西科學技術出版社, 2000), 頁 132。Ying Tang (1682-1756) (Qing dynasty), “Taocheng jishibeiji (Commemorative Stele on Ceramic Production),” in *Zhongguo taoci guji jicheng* (Collection of Classics on Chinese Ceramics), ed. Liao Xiong (Nanchang: Jiangxi Science and Technology Publishing House, 2000), 132.

成琺瑯料色後，特別詢問「松花色」的數量，以用作燒造瓷器。³²松花色是甚麼顏色呢？唐代黃健的詩中云：「緣看松花色較黃。」³³據明朝李時珍 (1518-1593) 的《本草綱目》，「松」的條目下釋：「花蕊稱為松黃……松花，別名松黃。」³⁴清《紅樓夢》中亦有松花色的記載：「寶玉道：『松花色配什麼？』鶯兒道：『松花配桃紅。』」³⁵松花其實是指松樹的花，松花色就是松花般帶綠的黃色，應該與檸檬黃釉的色彩相近。

瓷器中的「醬釉」是一種近似芝麻醬的釉色，以氧化鐵為呈色劑，經高溫燒成，釉面勻淨明亮。醬色釉瓷創燒於宋代北方窯口，最著名的是定窯。明曹昭撰《格古要論》曰：「古定器土脈細，色白而滋潤者貴……有紫定色紫……其價高於白定。」³⁶醬釉器採用了含鐵量高的紫金土，因此又名紫金釉。景德鎮在宋元時期已開始燒製醬釉瓷，但是燒紫金釉瓷則始於明初，當時官民窯均有燒造²⁷。



27 紫金釉碟 | 「大明嘉靖年製」款 | 明 嘉靖 (1522-1566) | 陶瓷

香港藝術館藏品
鍾棋偉先生捐贈

Dish in purple-gold glaze | Six-character mark of Jiajing and of the period (1522-1566), Ming dynasty | Ceramics

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Cheung Kee Wee
C1989.0119

of the *songhua* (pine flower) pigment for the production of porcelains.³² What colour is *songhua*? Tang-dynasty poet Huang Jian wrote, “The *songhua* colour leans toward yellow”.³³ In the *Compendium of Materia Medica*, Li Shizhen explained in an entry under “Pines”: “The stamens are called *songhuang* [pine yellow], which is another name for *songhua*.”³⁴ Accounts of the colour can also be found in *Dream of the Red Chamber*: “Baoyu said, ‘What matches well with *songhua*?’ Ying’er replied, ‘*Songhua* goes well with peach red.”³⁵ *Songhua* refers to the flowers of pine trees, thus the colour is the slightly greenish yellow of the flower. It is similar to the shade of the lemon-yellow glaze.

The sauce glaze used on porcelains bears a shade resembling that of sesame sauce. With iron oxide as its colourant, the glaze after being fired produces a clean and lustrous finish. The production of brown-glazed porcelains began in the northern kilns of the Song dynasty, with the most famous being Ding wares. In *Essential Criteria of Antiquities*, Cao Zhao of the Ming dynasty wrote, “Ancient Ding wares have fine clay bodies. Those with a white, rich shade are expensive...there are also purple Ding wares which are more expensive than white Ding wares.”³⁶ It was also known as the “purple-gold glaze”, for its ingredient, purple-gold clay, contains a high concentration of iron. The production of brown glazed porcelains started in the Jingdezhen kilns during the Song and Yuan dynasties. However, the purple-gold glazed was not produced by both official and civilian kilns until the early Ming period²⁷.

³² 中國第一歷史檔案館，香港中文大學文物館編：《清宮內務府造辦處檔案總匯》(北京：人民出版社，2005)，頁 423。First Historical Archives of China and the Art Museum of The Chinese University of Hong Kong, ed., *Qinggong neiwuhu zaobanchu dang'an zonghui* (Compiled Records of the Workshops under the Imperial Household Department of the Qing Dynasty) (Beijing: People's Press, 2005), 423.

³³ [唐] 黃健《設酒寄獨孤少府》：「自看和釀一依方，緣看松花色較黃。不分君家新酒熟，好詩收得被回將。」Jian Huang (Tang dynasty), *Shejiu ji gudu shaofu* (Preparing Wine to be Sent to Dugu Shaofu): “I look to where the wine is, and see the yellow of pine flowers. The new wine from you matters not, as a good poem received will be answered.”

³⁴ 李時珍 (1518-1593)，趙機，其宗編選：《圖文本草綱目》(北京市：宗教文化出版社，2001)，頁 364-365。Shizhen Li (1518-1593), Ji Zhao, and Zong Qi, ed., *Compendium of Materia Medica* (Beijing: China Religious Culture Publisher, 2001), 364-365.

³⁵ [清] 曹雪芹 (約 1715-1763) : 《紅樓夢》(濟南：齊魯書社，2002)，頁 237。Xueqin Cao (c. 1715-1763) (Qing dynasty), *Dream of the Red Chamber* (Jinan: Qi Lu Press, 2002), 237.

³⁶ [明] 曹昭：〈古定器〉，載於《格古要論》(最後檢索日期：2022-03-31)。https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=83887&page=97。Zhao Cao (Ming dynasty), “Ancient Ding Wares,” in *Essential Criteria of Antiquities*, (last accessed 31 March 2022), https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=83887&page=97.

研究發現景德鎮明清時期的官窯紫金釉，尤其是明代官窯紫金釉具有「高鎂低鈣」的特徵，紫金釉所用釉灰應為當地所產鎂含量較高的赤褐色或褐色石灰石煉製，是景德鎮明代官窯紫金釉外觀呈色更為深沉古樸的主要原因。³⁷

另一種清代流行的茶葉末釉則屬高溫黃釉品種，是鐵、鎂結晶釉，經高溫燒成帶黃調的深綠色，原稱為廠官釉。廠官釉色調黃綠摻雜，有多種變化，唐英在《陶成紀事碑》中記有鱗魚黃、蛇皮綠、黃斑點三種，顧名思義，是形容其釉色偏黃或綠的不同呈色狀態。³⁸ 由於整體都是在墨綠的釉色中摻雜黃點，像茶葉研成細末之色，所以俗稱「茶葉末」釉。這種釉色古樸敦厚，多用作仿燒古銅器²⁸。

中國人常以金玉並稱。黃金不會氧化，不易與其他金屬產生化學反應，亦能抗酸性腐蝕，故以黃金象徵富貴、堅固和誠信。早在商代，先民以黃金製作成金片和飾物。到了唐代，除了飾物亦有鎏金的飲食器、日常用品等，風潮延至明清²⁹。除了金色，銅器本身的顏色也非常受文人追捧。宋人追求銅器帶臘茶色，歐陽修《歸田錄》載：「臘茶出於建劍。」³⁹ 臘茶是一種團茶，又叫臘面茶，臘茶色就是福建團茶的顏色，晚明人極力仿效。明朝《遵生八牋》記載了以褐色為上的說法，就是追慕古色。⁴⁰ 明末《帝京景物略》又以藏經紙色為上，以栗色、茄皮色、棠梨色及褐色排次，增加了較亮麗的色彩。⁴¹ 宣德爐不同的色澤乃工匠染色加工的結果，如臘茶色是用金絲礬或黃明礬、棗紅色用赤石脂、硃砂斑用硃砂，還有鎏金鏤銀等，這些色皮成為宣德爐的特色。⁴² 宣德款「灑金雙魚耳簋型香爐」的爐身上鏤金，呈現大小斑駁的金片，稱為雨雪點，符合晚明士人的品味³⁰。



²⁸ 茶葉末釉六連瓶 | 「大清乾隆年製」款 | 清乾隆 (1736-1795) | 陶瓷
香港藝術館藏品
鍾棋偉先生捐贈
Six-conjoined bottle in tea-dust glaze | Six-character mark of Qianlong and of the period (1736-1795), Qing dynasty | Ceramics
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Cheung Kee Wee
C2021.0119

Research shows the purple-gold glaze used by the official kilns of Jingdezhen in the Ming and Qing dynasties, particularly the former, contains “high magnesium and low calcium”. As such, the material added could have been the red-brown calcium carbonate sourced locally which contains high concentrations of magnesium. This is the main reason for the deeper and more sober colours of purple-gold glazed wares produced by the Jingdezhen kilns in the Ming dynasty.³⁷

The tea-dust glaze, another popular glaze colour in the Qing dynasty, is a yellow crystalline glaze containing iron and magnesium. Originally known as the “Changguan (factory official) glaze”, the pigment turns into a dark yellowish green after being fired at a high temperature. The glaze is a mixture of yellow and green with a wide variety. In *Taocheng jishi bei* (Commemorative Stele on Ceramic Production), Tang Ying noted three colours of the glaze: “eel-skin” yellow, “snake-skin” green, and yellow spots.³⁸ The glaze is also known as “tea-dust” due to its colour being dark green combined with yellow spots like tea leaves. The classic and elegant hue of the glaze also made it an ideal pigment for porcelain imitations of bronzeware²⁸.

²⁸.

³⁷ 吳軍明等：〈景德鎮官窯紫金釉組成及呈色特徵〉，《光譜學與光譜分析》(34(3)，2014)，頁 827-832。
Junming Wu et al., “The Composition and Colour Properties of the Purple-Gold Glaze on Jingdezhen Official Wares,” *Spectroscopy and Spectral Analysis* 3, Vol. 34 (March, 2014): 827-832.

³⁸ 同註 31，頁 131。
See Note 31, 131.

³⁹ 「臘茶出於建劍」，「建」是指福建建甌縣，「劍」則是福建南劍州。參見〔宋〕歐陽修：《歸田錄》（上海：商務印書館，1919），頁 6。
“Wax tea is produced in Jian and Jian”, the former Jian refers to Jian’ou County and the latter to Nanjian Prefecture, both in Fujian. See Xiu Ouyang (Song dynasty), *Guitian lu* (A Record of Returning to the Fields) (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1919), 6.



²⁹ 鎏金單把折肩銀杯 | 唐 (618-907) 至五代 (907-960) | 金屬 (銀)
香港藝術館藏品
Gold-gilt silver cup with loop handle | Tang (618-907) Five Dynasties (907-960) | Metal (silver)
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1995.0022



³⁰ 灑金雙魚耳簋型香爐 | 「大明宣德年製」款 | 明代晚期 | 金屬 (銅)
香港藝術館藏品
Splashed-gilt censer in *gui* shape with two fish handles | Six-character mark of Xuande, Ming dynasty | Late Ming period | Metal (brass)
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1979.0028

In Chinese culture, gold is often mentioned alongside jade. Gold cannot be oxidised, does not react with other metals easily, and is resistant to acid. As such, anything associated with gold symbolically has long been viewed as precious, solid and trustworthy. As early as the Shang dynasty, people already made sheets and jewellery out of gold. In the Tang dynasty, other objects plated with gold included tableware and daily utensils. The trend continued unabated through the Ming and Qing dynasties²⁹. Apart from gold, the colours of copperware were also much sought after by literati. The people of the Song dynasty favoured the wax-tea shade of copperware. Ouyang Xiu wrote in *Guitian lu* (A Record of Returning to the Fields), “Wax tea is produced in Jian and Jian”.³⁹ Wax tea refers to the cake tea of Fujian and its colour in copperware was widely admired during the late Ming period. In *Zunsheng bajian* (Eight Treatises on Following the Principles of Life) from the Ming dynasty, brown is described as a premium colour, which shows the general admiration people had for the colour.⁴⁰ The *Dijing Jingwu lue* (Summary of the Sights of the Imperial Capital) from the Ming dynasty contains accounts of brighter shades, with the hue of sutra paper being considered superior, followed by the colours of chestnut, eggplant skin, Birchleaf pear, and reddish brown.⁴¹ The different colours of Xuande censers were the result of dye-processing. For instance, alunite was used for wax tea, halloysitum rubra for date red, cinnabar for cinnabar spots, and some pieces of ware were also gilded or applied with silver. These surface hues became a defining characteristic of Xuande censers.⁴² The splashed-gilt censer in a *gui* (a round-mouthed food vessel with two or four loop handles) shape with two fish handles from the Xuande period is decorated with a mottle of rain or snow-like gold flakes on its surface, which catered to popular tastes during the late Ming period³⁰.

⁴⁰ 〔明〕高濂：《雅尚齋遵生八牋》（雅尚齋據萬曆十九年自刻本縮印），卷十四（北京：書目文獻出版社，1988），頁 24。
Lian Gao (Ming dynasty), *Yazhangzhai zunsheng bajian*, Vol. 14, printed copy by Yashang Studio based on the version from the 19th year of the Wanli reign (Beijing: Bibliography and Document Publishing House, 1988), 24.

⁴¹ 〔明〕劉侗（約 1593-1637）：《帝京景物略》，卷四（北京：北京古籍出版社，1980），頁 162。
Tong Liu (c. 1593-1637) (Ming dynasty), *Dijing jingwu lue*, Vol. 4 (Beijing: Beijing Classics Publishing House, 1980), 162.

⁴² 張光遠：〈大明宣德爐〉，《故宮文物月刊》(32，1985)，頁 4-16。
Guangyuan Zhang, “Xuande Censers from the Ming Dynasty,” *National Palace Museum Periodicals* 32 (November 1985): 4-16.



31 陳餘生 (1925-2020) | 一小片黃色 | 1984 | 塑膠彩布本

香港藝術館藏品

Gaylord Chan (1925-2020) | *A Small Patch of Yellow* | 1984 | Acrylic on canvas

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
AC1984.0050

An avid experimenter with acrylic paint, local artist Gaylord Chan was skilled at utilising the contrasts of colours and abstract, vivid shapes to conjure compelling visual effects in pursuit of a deeply individual style. In his work, *A Small Patch of Yellow*, the strip of light yellow in the upper half contrasts vividly with the sweeping background, like a moon rising behind the mountains. The abstract forms render the work alien and obscure, inviting viewers to guess what they are seeing by tapping into their power of imagination³¹. The work was selected for this section as a contrast to the significance of yellow as a symbol of authority in ancient China, where the use of the colour was highly restricted. In contemporary art, however, colours have gone far beyond the confines of concrete imagery, let alone the constraints of rituals and conventions.

White

The aesthetic tastes of emperors were always a dominant influence in the production of imperial works and wares. Their extraordinary tastes are amply reflected in the various artefacts that have survived across the dynasties. *Mingtaizong Shilu* (Veritable Records of the Emperor Taizong of the Ming Dynasty) provides an account of the Yongle Emperor declining a jade bowl gifted as tribute by the Huihui in the fourth year of his reign (1406). He remarked, “The ceramics used daily by me, the Emperor, have a crystal-clear quality that appeals to the heart. Therefore I have no need for this, which we already have in the imperial warehouse and which I do not use.”⁴³ This clearly shows the Yongle Emperor’s love for white porcelain. *Tianbai* (sweet white)-glazed ware was the main type of porcelain used in the court of the Yongle Emperor. According to the 1989 excavation report on the imperial kiln sites in Zhushan, Jingdezhen, *tianbai*-glazed ware constituted at least 98% of all the artefacts uncovered from the Yongle period.⁴⁴ Scientific tests revealed that the white-glazed porcelains from the Yongle era contain large amounts of solid particles and tiny air bubbles, which result in the scattering of light. Furthermore,

香港藝術家陳餘生積極探索塑膠彩繪畫，他擅於運用顏色的對比和抽象鮮明的平面造型，創作富有視覺效果和個人風格的畫作。作品《一小片黃色》的用色簡單，畫面上方的一小片淡黃色與大片背景色造成強烈對比，此黃色彷彿是山巒背後冉冉上升的月亮。畫作抽象的造形使作品異化，變得陌生難明，激發觀者運用想象力，猜想眼前所見究竟為何物³¹。黃色展區特別挑選這件作品，對比黃色在古代為權力的標誌，使用處處受限；而在當代藝術中，色彩則脫離了具象的框框，更遑論規矩禮制的藩籬。

白

帝王的品味，當然大大影響當朝的皇家出品，從文物之中便可見證歷代的超凡品味。《明實錄》曾記載永樂四年（1406），西域回回結牙思進貢玉碗一事，永樂皇帝當時回絕道：「朕朝夕所用中國瓷器，潔素瑩然，甚適於心，不必此也。況此物今府庫亦有之，但朕自不用。」⁴³ 永樂皇帝喜愛白瓷之熱情可見一斑。甜白釉瓷是永樂時期宮中主要用瓷，根據1989年景德鎮珠山明代御窯廠遺址的發掘報告，永樂前期地層中的甜白釉瓷器佔所有出土物的98%以上。⁴⁴ 科學測試顯示，永樂白瓷的釉料中含大量固體微粒和小氣泡，令光線產生強烈的散射效果。

⁴³ 《大明太宗文皇帝實錄》，卷六十。（最後檢索日期：2022-03-05）。<https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=872234#p33>。

Daming taizongwen huangdi shilu (Veritable Records of the Emperor Taizong of the Ming Dynasty), Vol. 60, (last accessed 5 March 2022), <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=872234#p33>.



32 甜白釉暗花龍紋高足碗 | 「永樂年製」款 | 明永樂 (1403-1424) | 陶瓷

香港藝術館藏品

Stem-bowl with *anhua* (shadow stitch) dragon design in *tianbai* (sweet white) glaze | Four-character mark of Yongle and of the period (1403-1424), Ming dynasty | Ceramics

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1990.0007

另一方面，永樂白釉的鉀鈉較高，而它比傳統白釉料的鈣鎂含量較低，如此獨特的秘方只見於永樂時期，⁴⁵ 造成無可比擬的細膩瑩潔，被譽為甜白瓷，以明代嘉靖時期發明的白如霜雪的白砂糖，來比喻永樂白瓷的潔白細緻³²。⁴⁶ 永樂白瓷不單釉色瑩潤，還有一種半脫胎器，在薄胎上錐拱花紋，昔日只有能把瓷器捧在手中的主人，才能體會這種甜白瓷神秘的魅力。潔素瑩然的白色瓷器，是明代永樂的代表色。

The Yongle white glaze contained more potassium and sodium and less calcium and magnesium than traditional white glazes. Such a special formula was unique to the Yongle period and gave the glaze a delicate, pristine quality that is unparalleled, thus earning it the nickname *tianbai* glaze.⁴⁵ It is a metaphor for the purity of the Yongle white porcelains based on the frosty white of sugar icing invented during the Jiajing reign³².⁴⁶ Besides its rich and lustrous shade, the *tianbai*-glazed porcelains of the Yongle era are also engraved with patterns on their translucent body which are only visible once the object is held in one’s hand, adding a mysterious allure to this unique genre of ware. These pristine, translucent white porcelains represent the iconic colour of the Yongle reign of the Ming dynasty.

⁴⁴ 劉新園 (1937-2013)：〈景德鎮明御廠故址出土永樂、宣德官窯瓷器之研究〉，載於香港藝術館編《景德鎮珠山出土永樂宣德官窯瓷器展覽》（香港：香港市政局，1989），頁19。

Xinyuan Liu (1937-2013), “Study of Official Porcelain Wares from the Yongle and Xuande Period Unearthed at the Former Imperial Kiln Sites of the Ming Dynasty in Jingdezhen,” in *Imperial Porcelain of the Yongle and Xuande Periods Excavated from the Site of the Ming Imperial Factory in Jingdezhen*, ed. Hong Kong Museum of Art (Hong Kong: The Urban Council, 1989), 19.

⁴⁵ 張福康：《中國古陶瓷的科學》（上海：上海人民美術出版社，2000），頁77-78。

Fukang Zhang, *The Science of Ancient Chinese Porcelains* (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 2000), 77-78.

⁴⁶ 劉氏認為「甜白」之稱應與嘉靖時期發明的「白糖」有關。「清·丁國鈞《荷香館瑣言》卷上錄〈廣陽雜記〉謂：『嘉靖以前，世無白糖，閩人所熬皆黑糖也。嘉靖中，一糖局偶值屋瓦墮泥於漏斗中，視之，糖之在上者，色白如霜雪，味甘美，異於平日，中則黃糖，下則黑糖也。異之，遂取壓糖上，百試不爽。白糖自此始見於世云。』」「甜白」之稱由萬曆時黃一正的《事物紺珠》始，謂：「永樂、宣德二窯內府燒造，以駭眼甜白為常。」時間上亦吻合白糖的發明與流行。同註44，頁35。

Liu believed that the term *tianbai* was related to the “white sugar” invented during the Jiajing period. In “Guangyang zaji (Miscellaneous Records of Guangyang),” in *Hexiangguan suoyan* Vol. 1 by Ding Guojun from the Qing dynasty, it is recorded that “before the Jiajing period, there was no white sugar, and the Min (Fujian) people would only make brown sugar. During the Jiajing period, one day, the sugar bureau had soil fallen into its funnel from the roof tiles. The people at the bureau looked at the fallen soil and discovered that the sugar on top was as white as frost and snow, with a pleasantly sweet taste, which differed from the usual; the yellow sugar was in the middle, and brown sugar at the bottom. As curious as they were, they took the soil and pressed it on the sugar, and they succeeded in making the sugar every single time. That was when white sugar was born into this world.” The term *tianbai* was coined in *Shiwu ganzhu* by Huang Yizheng during the Wanli period: “The ware produced by the kilns of the Imperial Household Department during the Yongle and Xuande eras were usually in *tianbai* with fine pores on the surface.” This matches the time when white sugar was invented and became widely used. See Note 44, 35.

白陶在新石器時代已經出現，中國古代一般使用含鐵的陶土，製成紅陶、灰陶或黑陶，其中龍山文化³³、羅家角文化、大溪文化等的先民以鎂質陶土、高鋁陶土、瓷石或高嶺土製作出粉白的白色陶器，⁴⁷高嶺土就是往後製瓷胎的主要原料。由先民的白陶到唐代名滿天下的邢窯，漫長的歲月見證工藝的不斷進步。邢窯陶工精心調整胎土和脫釉的成分，例如降低鐵和鈦的含量，使成品發色較少泛黃或泛灰。邢窯注重胎質和釉色，甚少花紋。時人對邢窯白瓷推崇備至³⁴，認為堪與同時代位處南方、盛產青瓷的越窯平分秋色，故有「南青北白」一說，形容當時兩大名窯鼎足而立。

定窯是宋代北方一帶最享負盛名的窯場，盛產一種白中帶牙黃的白瓷³⁵。其成品常用刻劃與印花手法裝飾，陶工採用含白雲石並較稀的釉料，以迅速澆釉的方法施釉，然後燒成釉層極薄，釉下紋飾清晰的成品。北宋時又出現了揉合青與白的全新釉色，這種介乎青與白之間的新釉色，以流動輕盈的姿態包覆器物，釉層薄處顯白，積釉處隱現淡青，相映成趣³⁶。《陶記》云：「埴埴之器潔白不疵，故饒於他所，皆有饒玉之稱。」⁴⁸饒是指當時屬饒州盛產青白瓷的景德鎮，饒玉是對青白瓷細膩輕盈、色澤如玉的讚譽。

White pottery appeared as early as in the Neolithic period. In ancient China, clay containing iron was generally used for the production of red, grey, or black pottery. The people of the Longshan³³, Luojia Jiao, and Daxi cultures made pastel white wares out of clay containing magnesium or a high concentration of aluminium, China stone, or *kaolin*, the latter of which became the chief material for future production of porcelain bisques.⁴⁷ From the white pottery of the ancient times to the famous *Xing* ware of the Tang dynasty, the craft of making white ceramics has evolved significantly throughout the ages. The craftsmen at the *Xing* kiln were meticulous in controlling the ingredients of the clay body and the amount of glazes, for instance, reducing iron and titanium to achieve a yellowing or greying effect. The production of *Xing* ware focused on their bisques and glaze hues and involved minimal patterns. *Xing* ware was highly regarded during its time and enjoyed an equal status with the celadon of the Yue kiln in the south³⁴. This led to the saying, “celadon in the south and white in the north”, which reflects the prominence of the two most famous kilns at the time.

The *Ding* kiln was one of the most famous kiln sites in the north during the Song dynasty, known for producing white porcelains with an ivory hue³⁵. *Ding* ware was typically decorated with engraved and moulded patterns. The craftsmen would pour a diluted glaze containing dolomite quickly on the body and fire it to form a thin layer with vivid underglaze patterns. During the



³³ 纏繩把陶鬶 | 新石器時代 龍山文化 (約公元前 2500-2000 年) | 陶瓷
香港藝術館藏品
張嘉琳伉儷捐贈
Pottery *gui* with a twisted handle | Longshan Culture (ca. 2500-2000 BCE), Neolithic period | Ceramics
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr and Mrs Cheung Kalam
C1994.0028



³⁴ 邢窯白釉瓣口鉢 | 五代 (907-960) | 陶瓷
香港藝術館藏品
Bowl with pie crust rim in white glaze, *Xing* ware | Five dynasties (907-960) | Ceramics
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1978.0249



³⁵ 定窯白釉印荷塘雙魚紋碟 | 宋代 (960-1279) | 陶瓷
香港藝術館藏品
White-glazed plate with moulded decoration of twin fishes in lotus pond, *Ding* ware | Song dynasty (960-1279) | Ceramics
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1977.0002

⁴⁷ 同註 45，頁 27。
See Note 45, 27.



³⁶ 青白釉印雙鳳紋碟 | 元代 (1271-1368) | 陶瓷
香港藝術館藏品
Plate with moulded double phoenix design in *qingbai* glaze | Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) | Ceramics
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1977.0314



³⁷ 德化窯白釉騎犼觀音像 | 許友義 (1877-1940) | 「許裕源製」款 | 20 世紀早期 | 陶瓷
香港藝術館藏品
Seated Guanyin in white glaze, *Dehua* ware | Xu Youyi (1877-1940) | Mark of Xu Yueyuan | Early 20th century | Ceramics
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1978.0236



福建德化窯的瓷土混合石英、高嶺土和絹雲母，燒成後胎質緻密，十分適合雕琢繁複的人物細節，線條圓潤流暢，多被選為製作宗教人物造像³⁷。而且透光度佳，胎色潔白，表面格外光澤，因而有著多種美譽：乳白溫潤的「象牙白」；釉厚瑩潤如豬油的「豬油白」；或帶青如葱根，即「葱根白」。

玉在傳統觀念中代表君子應有的五德，又被視為天地精華的載體。早期玉器多為禮器或貴族配飾，後來漸漸普及，出現精雕玉飾、生活器具等樣式，上至王公貴胄，下至民間百姓，均有尚玉之風。賞玉有「首德次符」的觀念，「德」就是玉質，「符」就是玉色。賞玉首重玉質之優劣，次重玉色之美醜。玉是天然礦物，顏色或白、或黃、或青，最為人追慕的當然非和田白玉莫屬。《天工開物》載：「凡玉……貴重用者盡出於闐」，⁴⁹「闐」即指新疆的和闐，又稱和田。和田玉，特別是正宗的白色子玉，滋潤如脂，所以有「羊脂白玉」的美譽。白玉料經能匠琢磨後，散發優美柔和的光澤，質感如凝脂般溫潤³⁸。

Northern Song dynasty, a new glaze that blended celadon and white in one new colour emerged, and enveloped the ware with its thin coating. It is white where the glaze is thin and displays a subtle greenish blue where it is thick, creating a series of interesting hues between celadon and white³⁶. *Taoji* states, “The porcelains are pristine white and immaculate, therefore, they are also sold elsewhere and are known as *Rao* jade”.⁴⁸ *Rao* refers to Jingdezhen, which was located in *Rao* Prefecture at the time and a major production site for *qingbai* (greenish white) porcelains. The name “*Rao* jade” is a compliment for the delicate texture and jade-like hues of the porcelains.

The clay used by the *Dehua* kiln of Fujian province was a mixture of quartz, *kaolin* and sericite. After the firing process, it becomes denser in texture and is ideal for engraving ornate figures, especially religious figurines for their fluid and flowing contours³⁷. With its highly translucent nature and lustrous, creamy white shade, the clay was known by various names: “ivory white” for its milky white hue, “lard white” for its dense and shiny quality, or “scallion-root white” for its greenish white colour.

⁴⁸ [元] 蔣祁：《陶記》（最後檢索日期：2022-03-13）。<https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=920527>。
Qi Jiang (Yuan dynasty), *Taoji*, (last accessed 13 March 2022), <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=920527>.

⁴⁹ [明] 宋應星 (1587-約 1666)：《天工開物》（上海：商務印書館，1954），頁 293。
Yingxing Song (1587-c.1666) (Ming dynasty), *Tiangong kaiwu* (The Exploitation of the Works of Nature) (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1954), 293.



38 透雕荔枝紋玉牌 | 宋代 (960-1279) | 玉
香港藝術館藏品
Jade plaque carved with lychee design in openwork |
Song dynasty (960-1279) | Jade
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1995.0029

除了陶瓷、玉器，還有不同的白色材質，如象牙、螺鈿、玻璃和絲綢等。用作牙雕的是象牙，非洲象牙本身是乳白色，因其中含有白明膠，如暴露在空氣中，很快變得乾燥和褪色，變成珍珠白色³⁹。⁵⁰螺鈿的「螺」是指所嵌之物，「鈿」是裝飾的意思。《集韻》云：「鈿，以寶飾物。」螺鈿的材料是貝殼，厚者可製成貝雕⁴⁰，或削成薄片作為螺鈿鑲嵌在漆器上，帶著幻彩的銀白珠光。而白料玻璃，《清檔》中稱為呆白玻璃，⁵¹以此對比透明的玻璃，其實呈色並不呆鈍，反而如玉溫潤。

Traditionally, jade represents the “five virtues” of a gentleman and is viewed as the embodiment of nature’s essence. In ancient times, jade was almost exclusively used for ceremonial wares or accessories of the nobility. As its popularity spread, the common folk began wearing or using jade in various forms such as carvings or everyday objects and utensils. In the conventional wisdom of jade appreciation, the top priority is the quality of the jade, and the second is its colour. Jade is a natural mineral that comes in a variety of hues such as white, yellow and green, with Hetian white jade being the most treasured. In *Tiangong kaiwu* (The Exploitation of the Works of Nature), it is stated that “all jades...that are precious come from Tian.”⁴⁹ “Tian” refers to Hetian in Xinjiang. Hetian jade, particularly the authentic white “seed jade”, is also known as “tallow jade” for its gentle glow and rich, creamy texture³⁸.

Besides porcelains and jade wares, various other white materials include ivory, raden, and silk. Ivory from Africa is originally creamy white in colour. However it dries and fades quickly after being exposed to the air due to its gelatine content, which results in a pearl-white shade³⁹.⁵⁰ Raden (*luo dian*) is a decorative (*dian*) technique by inlaying shells (*luo*) on wares. *Jiyun* (Collected Rimes) contains the description: “*Dian* involves decorating objects with treasures.” Raden materials are shells. The thick ones can be made into shell carvings⁴⁰ or cut into thin slices to be embedded in lacquerware, which gives it a mesmerising, silvery white sheen. White glass, also described as “dull” white glass in *Qingdang* to contrast it with transparent glass,⁵¹ is in fact not murky and lacklustre as the nickname suggests, but bears the warm, glowy quality of jade.

⁵⁰ 余敦平：〈象牙器物的部份科學性質初探〉，《故宮文物月刊》(113, 1992)，頁 110-117。
Dunping Yu, “Preliminary Exploration of the Partial Scientific Characteristics of Ivory Wares,” *National Palace Museum Periodicals* 113 (August 1992): 110-117.

⁵¹ 乾隆六年 (1741 年 2 月 29 日)「二十九日太監程福來說，太監高玉等交磁胎畫珐瑯人物雙人竹管瓶一對，畫珐瑯呆白玻璃膽瓶一件。傳旨著配匣入乾清宮欽此。(於本年三月初一日，副催總強錫將雙管瓶一對，白玻璃膽瓶一件，配得匣交太監王柄持去訖)」可見呆白玻璃與白玻璃是同物異稱。同註 8，卷二，頁 69。
Sixth year of the Qianlong reign (29 February 1741): “On the 29th day, eunuch Cheng Fu informed that eunuch Gao Yu and others had handed over a pair of enamelled porcelain vases with tubular handles and human figures, and an enamelled “dull” white glass vase. The emperor decreed for them to be placed in matching cases and sent to the Qianqing Palace (on the first day of the third month of this year, deputy crafts official Qiang Xi placed the pair of vases with tubular handles and the white-glass vase in matching cases and handed them to eunuch Wang Bing). This suggests that “dull” white glass and white glass were the same material. See Note 8, Vol. 2, 69.



39 牙雕樓閣人物圖摺扇 | 清代 (19 世紀初期) | 象牙
香港藝術館藏品
Ivory folding fan carved with figures in pavilion
design | Qing dynasty (early 19th century) | Ivory
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1980.0058

明代裙子顏色以素淡為主。「裳服，俗謂之裙。舊制：色亦不一，或用淺色，或用素白，或用刺繡，織以羊皮，金緝於下縫，總與衣衫相稱而止。崇禎初，專用素白，即繡亦只下邊一二寸，至於體惟六幅，其來已久。」⁵²可見至崇禎初年，仍多用素白。清代漢人女性服飾保持明代形制，隨著紡織業日益發達，清代裙子的形制和裝飾日漸精巧。很多時裙腰以白布製成，與其他部分的華麗裝飾用料似乎格格不入，事實上，其中寄託了「白頭偕老」的美好心願。⁵³

⁵² [清] 葉夢珠：〈閱世篇〉，載於《上海掌故叢書第一集》，卷八 (上海：上海通社，1936)，頁 9。
Mengzhu Ye (Qing dynasty), “Yueshi pian (Book of Worldly Affairs),” in *Anecdotes of Old Shanghai Volume I*, Ch. 8 (Shanghai: Shanghai Tong She, 1936), 9.

⁵³ 周丹，梁惠娥：〈近代馬面裙的形制及工藝探析〉，《服飾導刊》(3, 2021)，頁 56-60。
Dan Zhou and Hui’e Liang, “Exploration and Analysis of the Forms and Craft of Mamian Skirts,” *Fashion Guide* 3 (June 2021), 56-60.



40 線刻雅集圖螺鈿帽章扇 | 19 世紀初期 | 螺鈿
香港藝術館藏品
葉秀芳女士捐贈
Mother-of-pearl cockade fan incised with literati
gathering scene | Early 19th century |
Mother-of-pearl
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Ms Ip Sau Fong Nancy
C1999.0011

The skirts during the Ming dynasty were usually sober in colour. “The old fashion for skirts: Their colours vary from light shades to plain white, some are embroidered, and some sewn on with goat skin. The under-seams are closed using golden threads, with the skirts always matching the upper garment. Plain white was used exclusively in the early Chongzhen period, meaning the embroidery would reach at most one to two inches downward and *six fu* toward the torso. Such an arrangement has long been the usual practice.”⁵² Evidently, plain white was still the norm by the early years of the Chongzhen reign. In the Ming dynasty, women’s clothing retained the forms of Ming-dynasty fashion, and as the textile industry flourished, the forms and patterns of skirts became increasingly exquisite. The waists of skirts were often made of white fabric which is seemingly at odds with the ornate decorations and materials on their other parts. The intention behind the choice of material was however to allude to the saying *Baitou xielao*, a loving wish for a couple to grow old with white (grey) hair together.⁵³



41 夏碧泉 (1925-2009) | 名門淑女 | 2002 | 混合素材
香港藝術館藏品
Ha Bik-chuen (1925-2009) | *Lady from decent family* | 2002 | Mixed media
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
AC2005.0091

《名門淑女》出自夏碧泉的「靴·人物系列」，他巧妙地把兒子本來廢棄的舊皮靴和街上收集得來的木塊改造成雕塑⁴¹。此「淑女」的身軀材質以米白圓滑的木頭組成，優美的線條輪廓配以順暢紋理，既抽象又帶點曲線婀娜的女性體態，與底下的白皮靴完美地結合。此作品的淡白凸顯了這位名門淑女高貴優雅的感覺。偶拾藝術 (Found Art) 像是偶然的一種拼合，其實卻是表現藝術家品味的考驗，以人棄我取的精神，展現藝術家眼中偶拾物品的美，是一種表現藝術家視角的藝術形式。就如同永樂皇帝的超凡品味，即使有美玉在前，也不為所動，成就了永樂白瓷的非凡高度。

For *Lady from decent family* from his “Boots x Figures” series, sculptor Ha Bik-chuen reused his son’s abandoned leather boots and wood collected from the streets⁴¹. The body of *Lady from decent family* was made of sleek, faded white timber, with its graceful contours and smooth grain combining to create an abstract feminine form, all in smooth juxtaposition with the snowy white leather boots at the bottom. The pastel white further boosts the sense of grace and elegance of the lady. Appearing as a random collage, Found Art actually presents a true challenge to an artist, in terms of making the aesthetic decision of reusing discarded items in order to reveal the beauty within the “trash”. It is an art form that puts an artist’s way of seeing in full display. This echoes the extraordinary taste of the Yongle Emperor, who remained unimpressed by the beautiful jade before him and established the unparalleled status of the Yongle *tianbai* porcelain.

Black

In ancient times, a dynasty must be seen as cohering with the order of Heaven for it to assume legitimacy; and such order of Heaven was often interpreted as an omen. The doctrine of the “five elements”, including gold, wood, water, fire and earth, was dominant during the Spring and Autumn as well as the Warring States periods. The elements were seen as counteracting one another, and the change of regimes was believed to be part of this cycle which legitimises a new dynasty. Each of the five elements was represented by a colour, with gold, wood, water, fire and earth corresponding to white, blue, black, red and yellow respectively. This belief system influenced the colour preferences of emperors. For Qin Shi Huang, the emperor who unified China, it was particularly important to demonstrate the legitimacy of his rule by proving his kingdom’s coherence with the five elements. Legend has it that King Wen of Zhou once encountered a flock of red birds, thus the Zhou dynasty was associated with the element of fire. As for the Qin dynasty that toppled Zhou, it is said that a black dragon had been slain, which made water the foundational element of Qin. Since water negates fire, the rise of the Qin dynasty was interpreted as a sign of the will of Heaven. For this reason, all carriages, banners and clothing used in the Qin court had to be in black.⁵⁴ For the Qin dynasty, black was the colour of divine destiny.

⁵⁴《秦始本紀》載：「始皇推終始五德之傳，以為周得火德，秦代周德，從所不勝。方今水德之始，改年始，朝賀皆自十月朔。衣服旄旌節旗皆上黑。」參見〔漢〕司馬遷（約公元前145-前86）：《史記》（北京：中華書局，1959），頁237。

“A Biography of the First Emperor of Qin” states, “The first Qin emperor promoted the doctrine of the ‘Five Elements’, by which he believed the Qin dynasty should adopt an element that counteracts the fire of the Zhou dynasty. Thus with the water element, the start of the year was changed to the first day of the tenth month. And all clothes, ritual objects, and ceremonial flags were to be in black.” See Qian Sima (c. 145 - 86 BC) (Han dynasty), *Records of the Grand Historian* (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1959), 237.

黑

古代王朝更替，合乎天道才能名正言順，而天道往往被詮釋成一種徵兆。春秋戰國時期流行「五德終此」之說，即金、木、水、火、土，五行互相制衡，王朝更替就是五行相生相剋的循環，讓新王朝成立具有合法性。而五行又有相對應的顏色：金尚白、木尚青、水尚黑、火尚赤、土尚黃。這種思想影響了歷朝帝王對顏色的偏好。秦始皇統一天下，欲顯示其統治的合法性，合乎五德五色便異常重要。傳說周文王時有一群赤鳥出現，故周朝屬火，而推翻其之秦朝，先祖曾斬黑龍，則應屬水，以水克火，便是合乎天意徵兆的表徵。所以秦朝宮廷所用車輛、旗幟、服裝一律改用黑色。⁵⁴ 黑色可謂秦朝的天命之色。

「黑」在《說文解字》中被形容為：「火所熏之色也。」是煙熏火燎的顏色。新石器時期以封窰炭灰工藝燒成通體呈黑色的陶器：一種是煙燻法，燒成後使煙中的碳微粒滲入陶器的氣孔中，令其燻黑；另一種方法，是在陶器燒製的最後階段從窰頂加水，形成強還原氣氛，造成陶器黑色的表面。⁵⁵ 這種燒製工藝的進步令陶器更堅硬細密，經過打磨後色澤黑而發亮⁴²。

漆器是將漆樹的樹液反覆塗在木、竹等器物表面所製成。從漆樹上直接取下的生漆顏色原為半透明的乳白色，生漆在加熱攪拌過程中揮發水分，顏色逐漸轉為淡褐色、深褐色，久放氧化後再變成深沉的黑色，塗在器表上形成光潤的漆黑。漆使不同材質為胎的器物增加耐久、耐燃、耐水和耐酸的特性。在新石器時代已有塗漆的器皿，最早期的漆器都是黑漆的，後來才加入硃砂等礦物，調製出紅、黃、綠等色。剔漆、鑲嵌和描金等裝飾技法常見於漆器上，為素淨漆黑的器物倍添華麗⁴³。

Black is described in *Shuowen jiezi* (Origin of Chinese Characters) as “the colour of a thing smoked with fire.” Black has therefore been strongly associated with smoke and blaze. During the Neolithic period, black potteries were made through a carburising firing process in a sealed kiln. One of the methods was by allowing carbon particles in the smoke to seep through the pores on the ware to achieve a smoked effect. Another method was to pour water into the kiln from its top at the final stage of the firing process, so as to douse the charcoal and create thick plumes of smoke, and in turn a black surface on the ware. As the firing technique continued to be improved, the pottery produced became more dense and solid.⁵⁵ After polishing, the wares would have a black and shiny finish⁴².

Lacquerwares were made by applying the sap of the lacquer tree repeatedly on an object of wood, bamboo or other materials. Raw lacquer, when taken fresh from the tree, is creamy white in colour. It becomes light brown once hardened from being heated and stirred, and then black after it is oxidised from exposure to the air. When painted on wares, it gives their surface a pitch-black glossy finish. Lacquer renders wares of different materials higher durability, and greater resistance to heat, water and acid. Lacquerwares already existed in the Neolithic period. The earliest lacquerwares were all in black. They were later added with minerals such as cinnabar to produce an array of hues such as red, yellow, and green. Carved lacquer, inlays and gold patterning are some of the common techniques used for decorating lacquerwares, which add ornate designs to their plain black background⁴³.



42 黑陶杯 | 新石器時代 山東龍山文化 (約公元前2400-前2000年) | 陶器
香港藝術館藏品
徐展堂博士捐贈
Black pottery cup | Shandong Longshan Culture (ca. 2400-2000 BCE) | Neolithic period | Ceramics
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Dr Tsui Tsin-tong
C1991.0075



43 剔黑波浪雲龍紋漆盞托 | 宋代 (960-1279) | 漆
香港藝術館藏品
Carved black lacquer cupstand with dragons amidst the cloud and wave design | Song dynasty (960-1279) | Lacquer
Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
C1997.0008

⁵⁵ 同註45，頁28。
See Note 45, 28.

另一種在歷史中佔一重要席位的黑色，要數宋代的黑釉茶器。宋徽宗論茶盞之色，有云：「盞色貴青黑。」⁵⁶ 宋代煮茶有「煎茶」和「點茶」二法，優質茶葉會以點茶方法沖煮，⁵⁷ 亦流行以點茶法鬥茶。點茶法是將茶葉碾碎，置於茶盞中，再注入湯，並以茶筴打出泡沫，泡沫潔白、能完整覆蓋表面為優。所以，能襯托突顯茶沫之白的黑色茶器大行其道，亦發展出不同的裝飾技法。其中以江西的吉州窯和福建的建陽窯最為著名⁴⁴。建陽窯的工匠利用鐵釉的結晶原理，當高溫（攝氏 1250–1350 度）燒製時，鐵中的氧氣形成氣泡，並釋放出磁鐵礦，當氣泡隨著釉層流動，就會在凝厚的黑色釉層上造成如兔毛般的微晶條紋，稱為兔毫。⁵⁸ 其中帶有「供御」或「進」款字的，是呈貢作宮廷鬥茶用的茶器。不同的窯變效果還有油滴斑、鷓鴣斑等不同種類。



⁴⁴ 福建建陽窯黑釉兔毫紋茶碗 | 「供御」款 | 北宋 (960–1127) | 陶瓷

香港藝術館藏品
郭修圃伉儷捐贈

Tea bowl in hare's fur glaze, Jianyang ware, Fujian | Mark of "gong yu" | Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) | Ceramics

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr and Mrs Kwok Sau Po
C2001.0017



Another significant shade of black is that found on the black-glazed tea wares from the Song dynasty. On the colours of tea bowls, Emperor Huizong of Song once wrote, "Tea bowls in black are precious".⁵⁶ During the Song dynasty, tea was brewed using two methods: *jian cha* (infusion) and *dian cha* (whisking).⁵⁷ The latter was typically used for superior tea leaves and often in *doucha* (tea contests). With the whisking process, tea was prepared by grinding tea leaves, adding boiled water and then whipping the mixture with a tea whisk to produce froth, with white froth being the ideal result. As such, black tea wares were preferred because of their ability to accentuate the white tea foam. The popularity led to a wide range of decorating techniques for such wares. The most famous makers of black tea wares at the time were the Jizhou kiln in Jiangxi province and the Jianyang kiln in Fujian province. The craftsmen of the Jianyang kiln utilised the crystallising effects of iron glazes to create a hare's fur-like patterns on the thick glaze layer⁴⁴. Firing at a high temperature (1250–1350°C) would cause the oxygen in the iron to produce air bubbles and release magnetite. The movement of the bubbles in the thick layers of black glaze would leave delicate lines that resemble a hare's fur.⁵⁸ Those inscribed with the "gong yu" or "jin" mark are tea wares that were sent to the imperial palace for use in tea contests. Other kiln-firing effects include oil spots and partridge feather glaze.

⁵⁶ [宋] 趙佶 (1082–1135)：《大觀茶論》（《涵芬樓》本），《說郛》，卷五十二，頁 14。

Ji Zhao (1082–1135), *Daguan chalu* ("Hanfen lou" edition), in *Shuofu*, Vol. 52, 14.

⁵⁷ 《茶詩》曰：「茶之佳者，皆點啜之。其煎啜之者，皆常品也。」參見 [宋] 王觀國：《茶詩》，載於《學林》，卷八（北京：中華書局，1988），頁 275。

Chashi states, "Good tea is drunk after it is whisked. Those that are infused are all average tea varieties." See Guanguo Wang (Song dynasty), "Chashi (Tea Poetry)," in *Xuelin*, Vol. 8 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1988), 275.

⁵⁸ 同註 45，頁 88–89。

See Note 45, 88–89.

在黑釉上也可利用不同的裝飾技法增加黑釉的趣味，例如剪紙漏花、樹葉紋、描金、繪花刻花等。其中吉州窯的樹葉紋裝飾技法，把經過處理的葉脈浸上色調較淺的釉，然後貼在已施黑釉的釉面上，燒成花紋⁴⁵。而剪紙漏花的方法則剛好相反，把剪好的紋樣放在上好黑釉的茶碗上，在其上施黃白釉，再把剪紙拿掉，製成品的花紋便會露出底層的黑色。宋代的黑釉在口沿釉薄處呈現深褐色，因為宋代的黑釉其實是透過增加褐色釉層厚度而展現黑色，直至清代的烏金釉，改變了黑釉的成分，才出現了烏黑的釉色。

康熙時期發明的烏金釉料中，除了含一般黑釉的鐵、錳等元素以外，還加入了鈷，所以能燒出色黑如漆，純正亮澤的黑色⁴⁶。⁵⁹ 烏金釉在清代康熙、乾隆年間極為盛行，唐英就曾記錄試燒出仿烏金釉和新西洋烏金



⁴⁵ 江西吉州窯黑釉木葉紋茶碗 | 宋代 (960–1279) | 陶瓷

香港藝術館藏品
秦鴻教授捐贈

Tea bowl with leaf design in black glaze, Jizhou ware, Jiangxi | Song dynasty (960–1279) | Ceramics

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Professor Chun Hung
C1999.0009

⁵⁹ 同註 45，頁 85。

See Note 45, 85.

Black-glazed wares can be ornamented in various methods, such as paper cutting, foliage printing, gold painting, and flower carving. The foliage decorating technique by the Jizhou kiln involved dipping processed leaves in a lighter-shade glaze and then attaching them on the black-glazed surface of the ware to be fired for creating patterns⁴⁵. In contrast, paper cutting works in the reverse whereby the cut patterns are placed on a tea bowl already glazed in black, then applied with a layer of yellow-white glaze. The cut paper is then removed, revealing the black underglaze that forms the final pattern. The black-glazed wares from the Song dynasty may display an ochre shade on the thinly-glazed parts of their rims. This is because the black glaze during the Song dynasty was made by increasing the thickness of a brown glaze layer until it turned black. In the Qing dynasty, the black glaze was changed to mirror-black glaze, in which the ingredients had been altered to achieve its distinctive jet-black shade.

The mirror-black glaze contained manganese and cobalt, aside from the typical iron for black pigments, enabling it to produce a pristine, glossy pitch-black shade through the firing process⁴⁶.⁵⁹ The mirror-black glaze was popular in the Kangxi and Qianlong periods of the Qing dynasty. Tang Ying recorded successful attempts of producing an imitation of mirror-black



⁴⁶ 烏金釉描金開光山水人物圖油槌瓶 | 清康熙 (1662–1722) | 陶瓷

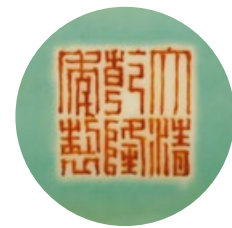
香港藝術館藏品
中國歷史博物館捐贈

Oil-mallet-shaped vase decorated with gilt painted landscape in reserved panels in mirror-black glaze | Kangxi period (1662–1722), Qing dynasty | Ceramics

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by the National Museum of Chinese History, Beijing
C1990.0059

釉。⁶⁰ 黑釉還會配上粉彩、瑱瑯彩、金彩等，製成種類豐富的黑釉作品。在乾隆時期，以黑釉配搭金彩，加上匠人嫺熟的錐拱技法，製作出仿黑鯊魚皮革質感的器物，令人嘆為觀止⁴⁷。明末清初時的釉上彩瓷器主要以黑彩勾勒線條，直至瑱瑯繪畫工藝發展成熟後，研發了全新的黑彩料，調配成帶淺絳色調的赭墨，具有多重的發色層次，配合水墨畫筆法，可呈現渲染效果，將紙上水墨移植到瓷器上。

「近朱者赤，近墨者黑」用來比喻人容易受環境影響，乃從布帛染色工藝而來，接觸到珠砂變成赤色，接觸到石墨便染成黑。染製黑色的材料除了石墨，還有烏賊的墨汁、蓼藍、菘藍等，蓼藍等染藍的植物染料，經過多次染色而成黑⁴⁸。《考工記》記載：「三入為纁，五入為緇，七入為緇。」⁶¹ 所指的是將紅色染料多次套染成純黑的緇，染三次是淺絳，染五次為青赤，染七次則成黑。



⁴⁷ 黑釉錐拱錦地金花火鏢盒 | 「大清乾隆年製」款 | 清 乾隆 (1736-1795) | 陶瓷

香港藝術館藏品
鍾棋偉先生捐贈

Flint case with gilt motifs on patterned ground in black glaze | Six-character mark of Qianlong and of the period (1736-1795), Qing dynasty | Ceramics

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art
Donated by Mr Cheung Kee Wee

C2021.0151

and new foreign mirror-black glazes.⁶⁰ Black glaze was also paired with *fencai*, *fangcai*, gold, or other pigments to create colourful, black-glazed wares. During the Qianlong period, craftsmen were even able to match black glaze with gold pigments while using their impressive chiselling technique to create wares that mimic the texture of black shark hide⁴⁷. During the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, patterns on overglaze porcelains were mainly outlined in black ink. When the craft of enamel painting reached new heights further down the line, new black pigments were invented. They could then be mixed with other colours to make ochre black, creating more shades that made it possible to mimic the effects of ink painting on porcelain wares.

The saying “what’s near vermilion turns red, and what’s near ink turns black” is a metaphor for people’s susceptibility to their environment. The analogy was borrowed from fabric dyeing. Apart from graphite, the materials used as black dye include squid ink, Chinese indigo, and woad. Applying plant-based blue dyes such as Chinese indigo multiple times will result in a black shade⁴⁸. Black can also be produced by red dyes, it is recorded in *Kaogong ji* (The Records of Examination of Craftsman) that “three rounds of dyeing produce crimson, five rounds reddish blue, and seven black.”⁶¹



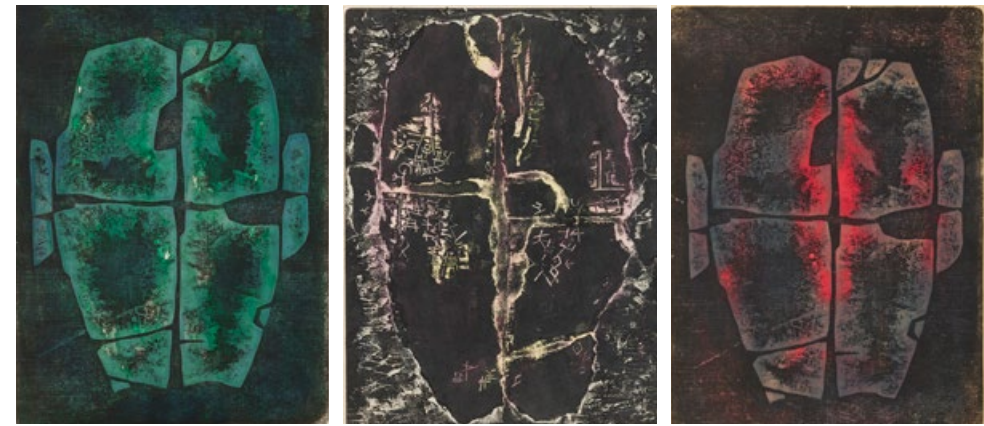
⁴⁸ 盤銀線繡蘭花圖黑緞子長襖 | 約 1900 年代 | 絲織品

香港藝術館藏品

Black satin jacket with embroidered silver orchid design | ca. 1900s | Textile

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art

C1977.0018



⁴⁹ 張義 (1936-2019) | 永生 | 1963 | 木刻版畫

香港藝術館藏品

Cheung Yee (1936-2019) | *Everlasting* | 1963 | Woodblock print

Collection of Hong Kong Museum of Art

AC1964.0070, AC1964.0071

「黑」色區以張義的《永生》作結。張氏表示，喜愛黑色皆因它是眾色之父，而他用的黑類墨，色澤沉實，為不同物質素材加強質感與量感。張義的用色除了顧及視覺效果外，更反映他積極研究古學，並多從中國文化尋找藝術靈感。他深明歷朝帝王對不同顏色的偏好源於五德終始的思想，黑色既是夏代的國色，亦是秦朝的代表色。黑色在《易經》中被認為是天的顏色，是一切顏色的止熄。⁶²《永生》以龜甲拓本為藍本，張義在木版上刻上甲骨文字紋樣，古文字抽象的線條與黑實平滑的木版表面形成強烈對比，為造型增添一份尚古的感覺⁴⁹。張義經常以龜甲為作品造型，龜甲令他聯想到中國神話傳說的靈龜，在他心目中富有一種變化不斷的感覺，其後他更從平面的龜甲拓本發展出他的卜龜浮雕。⁶³張氏的作品以代表秦代的黑色，探索深藏在中國歷史與哲學中的亙古永恆。

The Black section concluded with *Everlasting* by Cheung Yee. He said he loved black because it is the father of all colours. His use of dense monochrome ink enhanced the texture and weight of different materials in his works. Besides achieving his desired visual effects, Cheung’s choices of colour also reflected his enthusiasm for the study of classics and his search for artistic resources in Chinese culture. He understood the role of the five elements as a major influence in the colour preferences of emperors, with black being associated with the Xia and Qin dynasties. In *Yi Jing* (Book of Changes), black is viewed as the colour of Heaven, and where all hues start and end.⁶² Based on a tortoise-shell rubbing, *Everlasting* was created by engraving oracle stone script on a wooden slat. Cheung set the ancient characters with its abstract outlines against the smooth, solid black wooden surface, using the stark contrast to express a classical aesthetic⁴⁹. Cheung often used tortoise shells in his works, as the material reminded him of the spirit turtles in Chinese legends which he associated with constant changes. From two-dimensional rubbings, he would later develop his unique oracle tortoise-shell relief carvings.⁶³ With black that represents the Qin dynasty, this work by Cheung explored the notion of eternity that is deeply embedded in Chinese history and philosophy.

⁶⁰ 同註 31，頁 133。

See Note 31, 133.

⁶¹ [清] 戴震 (1724-1777)：《考工記圖》，卷上 (上海：商務印書館，1955)，頁 63。

Zhen Dai (1724-1777) (Qing dynasty), *Kaogong jitu*, Vol. 1 (Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1955), 63.

⁶² 朱琦：〈張義雕塑的「經」與「權」〉，載於《張義》(新加坡：iPRECIATION，2008)，頁 5。

Qi Zhu, “The ‘Rules’ and ‘Adaptation’ in Cheung Yee’s Sculptures,” in *Cheung Yee* (Singapore: iPRECIATION, 2008), 5.

⁶³ 朱琦：〈張義訪談錄〉，同上註，頁 10。

Qi Zhu, “An Interview with Cheung Yee”, *Ibid.*, 10.

尋找色彩的旅程—教育配套活動

「#物色」展覽的教育展區把文物中的呈色劑，例如陶瓷中發藍色的鈷礦石、按燒成氣氛不同可呈現紅色或青色的銅和赤鐵礦、燒成檸檬黃色的銻、染紅色織物的茜草、染明黃色的槐米（槐花花苞），以及生漆和製紅漆的硃砂等礦物和植物染料實物呈現觀眾眼前。另邀請了香港年輕藝術家 Messy Desk，為展覽創作一個老少咸宜的色彩區域，透過親子繪本《尋找色彩的旅程》，由淺入深地介紹不同文物的呈色物料，以及各種顏色在中國文物中的意義和製作方法。配合現場的擴增實境（Augmented Reality）遊戲，希望能為大人和小朋友帶來有趣的觀賞和學習體驗。

A Journey through Colour: An Educational Activity

In the education zone of the exhibition, viewers are able to experience the various mineral and plant-based colourants found in the artefacts, which include: the cobalt ore that gives porcelain its blue hue; copper and haematite that turn red or green depending on the atmosphere in which they are fired; antimony for its lemon yellow; common madder for dyeing fabric into red; Japanese pagoda tree buds that produce bright yellow; and raw lacquer as well as cinnabar used for making red lacquer. We have invited young local artist Messy Desk to create a unique space fit for viewers of all ages. The picture book, *A Journey through Colour*, takes parents and their children to a fascinating trip, and introduces to them the different kinds of pigments used in the exhibits, and the significance of and production methods for each colour in the world of Chinese artefacts. With our live AR games, we also hope adults and children alike are able to have a fun and engaging experience in the exhibition.

擁抱傳統，仍勇於創新

香港藝術館作為本地一家有 60 年歷史的公營博物館，既有傳統的中國藝術收藏，亦有豐富的香港及當代藝術藏品。在策展上，團隊總花盡心思，希望能把藝術，特別是古代藝術，與現代人的生活連繫，使觀賞者能產生共鳴。色彩是不同年齡及文化背景的人士都能輕易連結的課題，以顏色作為切入點，研究並展示中國文物，以當代藝術作品回應歷史及不同色彩的主題，造成視覺上的愉悅和新舊對比，吸引了觀眾的目光。細心欣賞展品之餘，配以展場內簡短的重點介紹，及兼顧年幼觀眾的互動設施和繪本，希望展覽能做到雅俗共賞，連繫古今。我們既擁抱傳統，仍勇於創新，以香港視點策劃展覽，期望與觀眾以新的角度欣賞傳統文化，讓藝術融入生活。

Embracing Tradition and Moving Forward with Innovation

As a public museum that has operated for 60 years, the Hong Kong Museum of Art houses extensive collections of both traditional Chinese and Hong Kong art as well as works from contemporary artists. For this exhibition, the curatorial team worked hard to connect art—especially classical art—with modern everyday life, so that viewers can resonate with the pieces and what they represent. Colour is easily relatable by people of all ages and backgrounds, therefore, we have decided to use it as an entry point to dive into each artefact while responding to their historical context and colour theme with contemporary works. These elements together create a pleasant contrast between the old and the new, and will captivate viewers. As you explore the exhibits, you will find brief descriptions of the sections and exhibits, as well as interactive features and picture books for young children. With these elements, we aim to engage with viewers at all levels while bridging the past and the present. Let's embrace tradition and innovation. By curating the exhibition from Hong Kong's point of view, we hope to share new perspectives for approaching traditions with viewers and enable them to bring art into everyday life.



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古蹟重生： 都爹利街石階及煤氣路燈修復工程

Heritage Reborn: Restoration of Duddell Street Steps and Gas Lamps

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概述

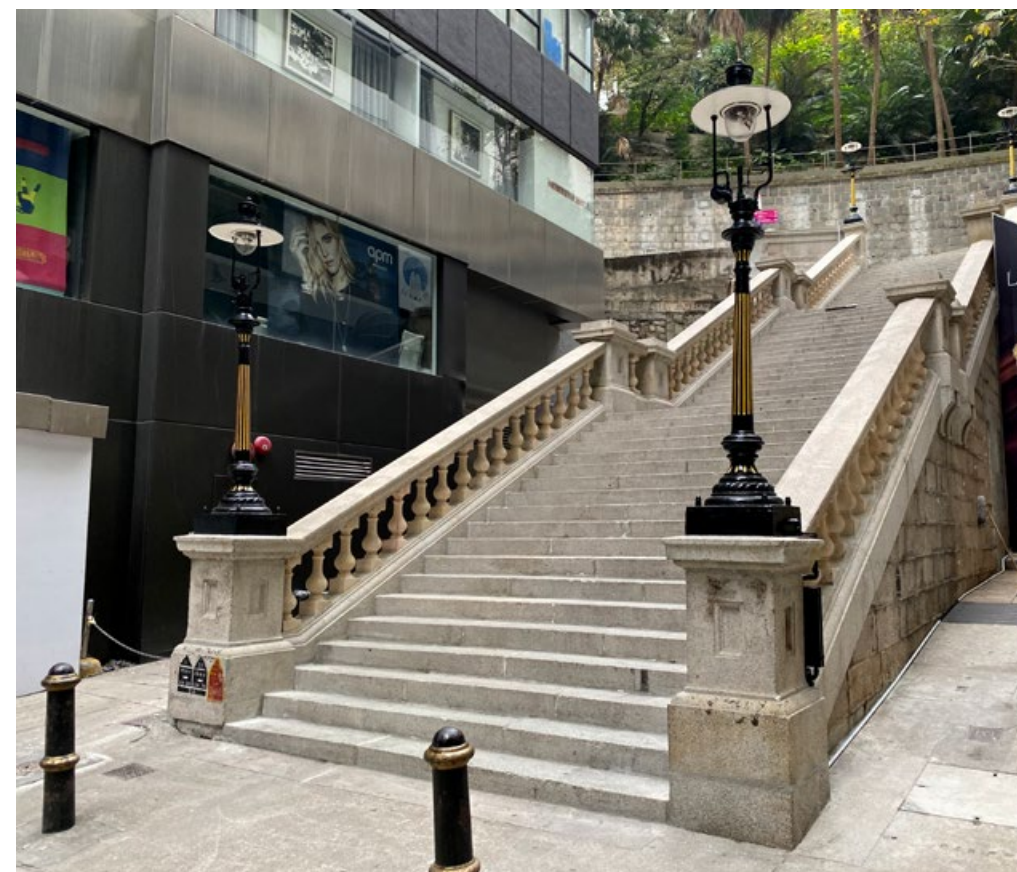
位於中環的都爹利街石階及煤氣路燈（下稱「古蹟」），佔地約八十平方米，面積雖小，但卻具極高文物價值，古物事務監督早於1979年根據《古物及古蹟條例》（香港法例第53章）將它列為法定古蹟。2018年9月，超強颱風山竹襲港，帶來了前所未有的破壞力，一棵生長在古蹟旁邊石牆的大樹被強風吹倒，塌樹嚴重壓毀古蹟。

古物古蹟辦事處（下稱「古蹟辦」）、路政署及香港中華煤氣有限公司（下稱「煤氣公司」）立即組成了項目團隊，為珍貴的古蹟進行修復工程①。參與修復工程的專業人士包括歷史學家、建築師、測量師、工程師、人類學家、文物保育工作者、工匠及攝影師等，憑藉他們不同的經驗、知識及專業，就古蹟保育提供專業意見，為修復工程帶來了莫大裨益。

Introduction

Situated in Central, the Duddell Street Steps and Gas Lamps (the “Monument”), only occupies a small area of about 80 square metres, but has outstanding heritage value. It was declared a monument under the Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance (Cap. 53) in 1979 by the Antiquities Authority. However, in September 2018, when Super Typhoon Mangkhut brought a record-breaking storm to Hong Kong, the Monument suffered severe damage by the collapsed large tree growing on an adjacent stone wall.

A project team composed mainly of members of the Antiquities and Monuments Office (“AMO”), the Highways Department (“HyD”) and the Hong Kong and China Gas Company Limited (“Towngas”) was put in place immediately to restore this cherished Hong Kong Monument ①. The complementary views about monument conservation brought to bear by the varied experience, knowledge and expertise of those involved, who included historians, architects, surveyors, engineers, anthropologists, conservationists, artisans and photographers, were of considerable benefits to the project.



① 修復後的都爹利街石階及煤氣路燈
The Duddell Street Steps and Gas Lamps after restoration

為了將古蹟如實修復至受損前的舊貌，項目團隊重用收集到的古蹟碎片，並採用傳統工藝，確保修復工程依從最高的國際保育原則及標準進行；修復另一特別之處是採用先進三維掃描技術，大大提升了古蹟修復工程的效率及準確度。這項修復工程是香港首次結合運用先進三維掃描技術及傳統工藝和物料，使受天災嚴重損毀的古蹟得以全面修復的成功例子。

項目團隊經過一年多的努力，古蹟的修復工程於2019年12月23日竣工，四盞歷史煤氣路燈重新燃點，再次照耀百年花崗石階。

本文旨在概述古蹟的歷史背景及文物價值、天災後的損毀情況、項目團隊面對哪些前所未有的挑戰、如何制定保育方案，以及如何解決修復工程所遇到的各項困難。文章也闡述項目團隊記錄修復過程的努力和與大眾及專業人士分享修復經驗的點滴，為日後的香港古蹟修復工程提供參考標準。

都爹利街石階及煤氣路燈：歷史背景

都爹利街由現時的皇后大道中延伸至雪廠街，以著名商人佐治·都爹利及法蘭·都爹利兄弟名字命名。都爹利街首見於1850年的測量平面圖，當時為一條窮巷（俗稱「堀頭路」）。都爹利街和雪廠里（即現今雪廠街）於1865年的地圖上首次以相連街道展示。1882年，工務局將石階及欄杆的建造工程外判給名為「Tsang King」的承建商，工程於1883年8月27日竣工，工程費用為港幣1,750元^{2a} ^{2b}。

古蹟的四盞煤氣路燈屬「雙燈泡羅車士打」型號，由英國威廉·塞有限公司（William Sugg and Co., Limited）（下稱「威廉·塞」）製造。煤氣路燈約於二十世紀初豎立在都爹利街，它們組成兩對，安裝在上下石階左右兩側的望柱上，煤氣路燈燈柱長度比一般煤氣路燈燈柱短，是特別為石階度身訂造的。

The project team was determined to restore the Monument faithfully by reusing the salvaged historic materials and employing traditional craftsmanship, while ensuring compliance with the highest international principles and standards of heritage conservation. An additional feature, namely advanced 3D scanning technology, was particularly used. It played a crucial role in restoring the Monument efficiently and accurately. This was the first time in Hong Kong that a heritage site which had been badly damaged by a natural disaster was successfully restored by using 3D scanning technology in parallel with traditional craftsmanship and materials.

After more than a year of painstaking efforts, the restoration works were completed on 23 December 2019, when the four historic gas lamps were relit to illuminate the century-old granite steps once more.

This paper aims to give an overview of the historical background of the Monument and its heritage significance, the damage the Monument experienced, and the unprecedented challenges encountered by the project team. It also outlines how the conservation approach was formulated and the challenges of the task resolved. It further describes the efforts made by the project team to document the experience they gained and to share this with the general public and professionals alike, so as to provide a benchmark for the future restoration of heritage sites in Hong Kong.

The Duddell Street Steps and Gas Lamps: Historical Background

Duddell Street, which today extends from Queen's Road Central to Ice House Street, was named after renowned merchant brothers George and Frederick Duddell. It first appeared on a survey plan dated 1850, where it is shown as a cul-de-sac. Duddell Street and Ice House Lane (i.e. the Ice House Street of today) were first portrayed as connected on a map dated 1865. In 1882, the construction of the stone steps and balustrades was commissioned by the then Public Works Department to a contractor named "Tsang King". The construction work was completed a year later, 27 August 1883, at a cost of HK\$1,750^{2a} ^{2b}.

The four gas lamps, known as two-light Rochester models, were manufactured by William Sugg and Co., Limited ("William Sugg") in the United Kingdom (UK). They are mounted in pairs, one at the top and one at the bottom of the stone steps, on the right and left-hand sides, and are believed to have been installed on-site during the early twentieth century. Custom-made for mounting on the newels on both sides at the bottom and top of the steps, the columns of the gas lamps are shorter than usual.

GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATION.—No. 424.

Tenders will be received at this Office until noon of Wednesday, the 8th November, 1882, for constructing Granite Steps and Balustrade Fence leading from Duddell Street to Ice House Lane.

For form of tender, specification, and further particulars apply at the Surveyor General's Office.

No tender will be received unless the person tendering produces a receipt to the effect that he has deposited in the Colonial Treasury the sum of \$100 as a pledge of the bona fides of his offer, which sum shall be forfeited to the Crown if such person refuses to carry out his tender, should the tender be accepted.

The Government does not bind itself to accept the lowest or any tender.

By Command,

FREDERICK STEWART,
Acting Colonial Secretary.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Hongkong, 26th October, 1882.

憲報第四百二十四號

一千八百八十二年

十月二十六日示

署輔政使司史
諭知招投承事照得現要招人投接建造花
崗石階及欄杆工程由都爹利街起至雪廠街止所有
票投均在本署收截限期收至十一月初八日
即禮拜三正午止如欲取投標格式觀看章程
及另欲詳知者赴工務司署請示可也凡投票
之人必要有貯庫作按銀一百圓之收單呈驗
方准落票倘該票經蒙批准其人不肯承造則
將其貯庫作按銀入官各票價列低昂任由
國家棄取或總棄而不取為此特示

^{2a} 1882年10月26日政府憲報第424號，招標項目為由都爹利街到雪廠街的花崗石階及欄杆建造工程（《香港政府憲報》）。
Government Notification (GN) No. 424, dated 26 October 1882, invited tenders for the construction of granite steps and balustrade fence leading from Duddell Street to Ice House Lane (*Hong Kong Government Gazette*).

TABULATED PARTICULARS OF PUBLIC WORKS CONTRACTS IN 1882.—Continued.

DATE OF CONTRACT.	DESCRIPTION OF WORKS.	NAMES OF THE TENDERERS FOR THE CONTRACT.	AMOUNT OF TENDER.	NAME OF THE CONTRACTOR SELECTED.	CONTRACT AMOUNT.	CONTRACT DATE OF COMPLETION.	REMARKS.
1st November, 1882.	Repairing 325 feet lineal of Queen's Road, between West Street and Hollywood Road.	Liu Yau, Ching Lai-ki, Tsang Pat,	\$ 240.00 195.00 190.00	Tsang Pat,	\$ 190.00	14th November, 1882.	
1st November,	Repairing the temporary Small Fox Hospital.	U Lun, Sun Shing, Yam Ping,	130.00 150.00 140.00	U Lun,	130.00	14th November, 1882.	
1st November,	Repairing, &c., the Government Civil Hospital.	U Lun, Sun Shing, Yam Ping,	360.00 325.00 381.00	Sun Shing,	325.00	11th December, 1882.	
1st November,	Repairing the Western end of First Street between Centre Street and Western Street.	No name, Hu Shui, Ching Lai-ki, Liu Yau,	1,050.00 1,180.00 914.00 985.00	Ching Lai-ki,	914.00	11th December, 1882.	
22nd November,	Constructing culvert, and reforming, &c., 130 feet lineal of Road at the North end of the village of Shan-ki Wan.	.....	.....	Liu Yau,	310.00	1st January, 1883.	C.S.O. containing the names of the tenderers mislaid in the Colonial Secretary's Office.
25th November,	Building retaining Walls, and reforming the lower end of the Road to the Civil and Lock Hospitals.	Hu Shui, Liu Yau, Ching Lai-ki, Tsang Pat,	2,300.00 2,220.00 2,360.00 1,779.00	Tsang Pat,	1,700.00	16th February, 1883.	
25th November,	Constructing stone steps, and balustrade fence, leading from Duddell Street to Ice House Lane.	.....	.....	Tsang King,	1,750.00	27th August, 1883.	Do.
28th November,	Constructing entrance Lodge to Civil & Lock Hospitals.	Sun Shing, U Lun, Tsang Pat, Tsang King, U Hing, Wong Tso-leung,	1,240.00 1,380.00 1,249.00 1,150.00 1,080.00 1,540.00	U Hing,	1,080.00	6th February, 1883.	
8th December,	For transport of Machinery to Wong-nai Chung and Tai-tam.	.....	.....	A-shang,	{ 450.00 675.00 }	19th December, 1882.	

^{2b} 「1882年公共工程合約列表詳情」記錄承建商的名稱，以及由都爹利街至雪廠里的石階及欄杆建造工程費用。
"Tabulated Particulars of Public Works Contracts in 1882" recorded the name of the contractor and the cost of construction of the stone steps and balustrade fence leading from Duddell Street to Ice House Lane.

石階

石階包括梯級三段和梯台兩段，樓梯闊三米，由都爹利街至雪廠街的總高度約八米³。

石階以造工精緻的望柱、扶手及古典托斯卡納式欄杆柱組成，具古典復興主義風格。除了欄杆柱由預製混凝土製成外，所有結構及裝飾物料均由花崗石製成。

組成石階結構核心的填料以花崗石板覆蓋，石階及欄杆建於兩道花崗石牆上。每級石階由兩塊或三塊切割花崗石板接縫組成。中間兩段梯台的地面亦由花崗石板以對角圖案鋪砌而成⁴。兩組欄杆共有 12 條具裝飾元素的望柱，接駁花崗石扶手，石階兩旁裝有 101 支水泥欄杆柱。位於梯台的八條望柱，由兩條凸出的雕琢花崗枕梁支撐。石階下方設有儲物房兩間，房間內的天花由桶形拱頂花崗拱門及橫樑支撐。

古蹟其中有趣的特色是，石階的闊度可供兩頂轎子同時通過，從不少舊照片可見轎子是昔日香港常見的交通工具。

從一張 1954 年的測量圖看到，部分古蹟的欄杆被移走，以建造通往鄰近的如雲酒店的通道，即現今接駁通往樂成行階級的通道。



³ 由都爹利街望向石階的面貌
The view of the staircase from the Duddell Street

The Steps

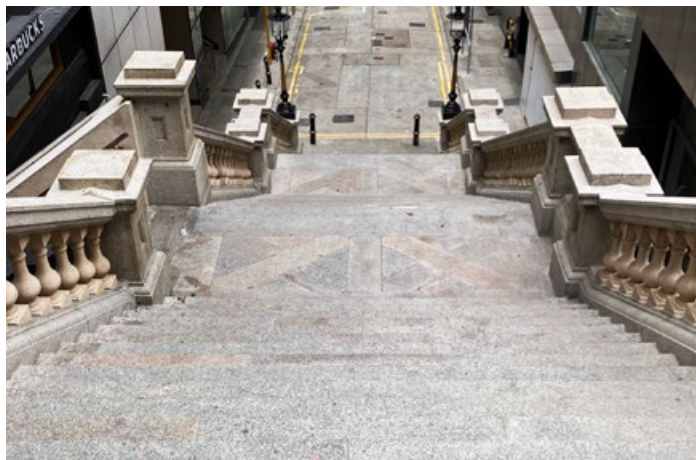
The staircase consists of three flights and two landings with three-metre-wide stairs, and the total height of the rise is approximately eight metres from Duddell Street to Ice House Street³.

The stone steps are characterised by the heavily moulded newels, handrails and balusters of the classical Tuscan order and can be regarded as Classical Revival style. Except for the balusters made of precast concrete, all structural and finishing materials were built from granite.

The filling materials that form the core of the structure are surmounted by granite slabs. The steps and their balustrades are built on two granite walls. Each step consists of two or three cut granite slabs, and the joints offset one to the other. The paving of the two intermediate landings also consists of granite slabs laid in a diagonal pattern⁴. The two balustrades consist of 12 newels in total carved with decorative moulding, and are fitted with granite rails. On both sides of the steps are 101 cement balusters. For the eight newels located at the landings, each is supported by two projecting carved granite corbels. Underneath the steps, there are two storerooms, and their ceilings are supported by barrel-vaulted granite arches and granite beams.

A particularly interesting feature of the Monument is that the width of the stair passage was calculated to allow two sedan chairs to pass through at the same time. As shown in many archival photographs, this mode of transport was common in Hong Kong in former times.

A survey plan dated 1954 shows that a section of the balustrade fence was removed to construct the access into the adjoining Union Hotel, i.e., the access now connecting the steps to Baskerville House.



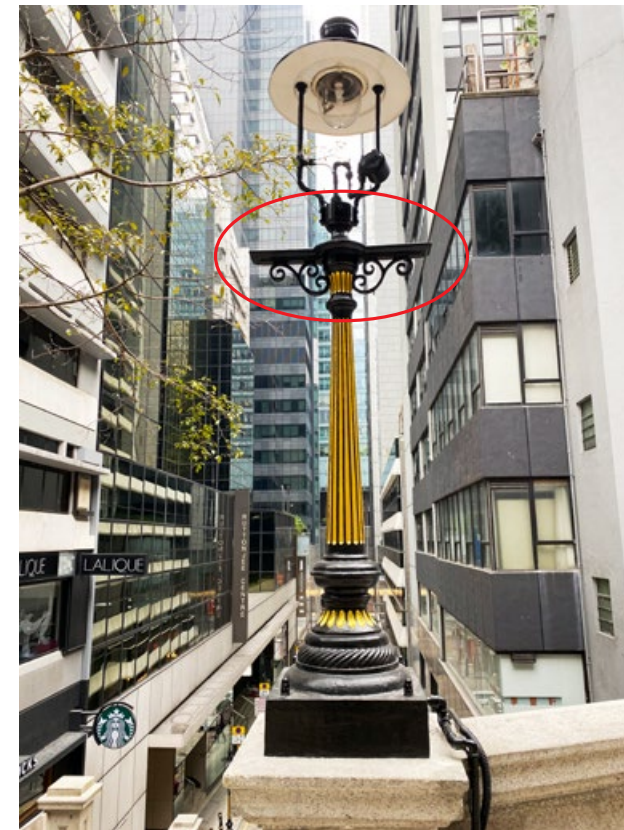
⁴ 兩段石階梯台的花崗石板以對角圖案鋪砌
Granite slabs are laid in a diagonal pattern at each of the two landings.

煤氣路燈

1864 年 12 月 3 日，香港開始設有導管輸送氣體燃料，裝置煤氣路燈能加強公共安全。相對先前照明效果較弱及較不穩定的油燈而言，煤氣路燈大大改善了道路的照明效果。自此以後，煤氣成為香港的主要能源，直至 30 多年後香港電燈有限公司成立，開始供應電力。隨著時間推移，電力逐漸取代煤氣，成為香港街道及家居照明的能源。

根據煤氣公司的記錄，都爹利街的四盞煤氣路燈在第二次世界大戰後仍保持完好，在 1948 年 2 月 29 日重新燃點起來。自 1967 年以來，都爹利街四盞煤氣路燈是香港僅存仍然用作街道照明服務的煤氣路燈。

早年，「點燈人」須在日落前為分佈於香港島的煤氣路燈進行點燈。點燈人會用一支長約八呎的兩節竹梯來爬高按下點燈按鈕⁵；日出時分則關燈。經過時日洗禮，煤氣路燈後來加設發條裝置的時間控制器，可自動亮燈及關燈。



⁵ 用以支撐點燈人以竹梯進行點燈及關燈的構件（紅圈）仍然保留

The ladder rests (red circle) for supporting the bamboo ladders are still preserved. The ladders were used by lamp-lighters to enable them to light and put out the lamps.

The Gas Lamps

The piped supply of gas in Hong Kong commenced on 3 December 1864. As for the installation of street gas lamps, this was regarded as a means to enhance public safety and represented a significant improvement in street lighting when compared with the relatively weak and unreliable oil lamps which preceded them. Gas became the city's primary power source for more than 30 years until the establishment of the Hong Kong Electric Company Limited and the introduction of electricity. Over time, electricity gradually supplanted gas as the pre-eminent power source for lighting, both on the streets and in households.

As for the four Duddell Street gas lamps, Towngas records show that they survived the Second World War and were relit on 29 February 1948. The four gas lamps at Duddell Street have been the only working gas lamps surviving in Hong Kong streets since 1967.

In the early years, the “lamp-lighters” would have had to set off before sunset to light the lamps which were scattered across Hong Kong Island. The lamp-lighters would use an eight-foot, two-section-long bamboo ladder to press a switch to light the gas lamps⁵. They were also responsible for switching off the lamps once dawn had broken. With the passage of time, the gas lamps were eventually fitted with clockwork time-controllers, which automatically switched the lamps on and off.

古蹟的文化價值

都爹利街石階及煤氣路燈的建造原意是提供有路燈照明的通道，後來卻慢慢演變為香港具有極高文物價值的古蹟。古蹟將本地石雕工藝與先進西方煤氣路燈技術完美地融合。

古蹟的花崗石階設計別樹一幟，是香港少數保存完好的歷史街道，而煤氣路燈則見證香港早期公共照明設施的發展。隨著電燈陸續取代煤氣路燈，都爹利街的四盞煤氣路燈自1967年以來是僅存仍然用作街道照明的煤氣路燈，照亮都爹利街逾一個世紀。

歷史價值

花崗石階和四盞仍然照亮街道的煤氣路燈，展示了早期公共照明設施。古蹟反映了煤氣曾經是香港的主要能源，後來逐漸被電力取代。煤氣路燈亦讓我們緬懷已消失的傳統職業——點燈人。在昔日香港，點燈人的職責是確保煤氣路燈能適時燃點，以照亮城市街道。

《古物及古蹟條例》（香港法例第53章）於1976年生效後，都爹利街石階及煤氣路燈於1979年被列為法定古蹟，是中環最早受法例保護的歷史構築物。在過去逾一個世紀以來，香港政府與煤氣公司協力為該四盞具歷史價值的煤氣路燈進行保養及保育工作。古蹟不止是照明設施及行人通道，也是見證香港逐步成長的地標。最近，古蹟得以重生，見證了特區政府及私營機構以摯誠和專業的態度，攜手為保育歷史文物付出的努力。

建築價值

都爹利街石階是早期少數全以花崗石建造的街道，同區亦有類似的街道，包括以石板鋪砌而聞名的砵甸乍街（建於1845年，屬一級歷史建築），以及通向炮台里的石階（尚待評級項目）。這些歷史街道當中，以都爹利街石階的建築結構最為完整，石階富有古典復興主義設計特色——欄杆由切割精細的花崗石塊建造的石牆支撐，而拱門則由楔形石塊砌成。古蹟誠然是香港打石技藝的超卓典範。

Cultural Significance of the Monument

The Duddell Street Steps and Gas Lamps, originally built as a passageway with street lighting, has gradually come to have outstanding heritage value in Hong Kong. The Monument embodies both a perfect blend of local craftsmanship in the form of granite stonemasonry, and advanced Western technology in the form of gas-fuelled street lighting.

The steps are one of the few intact examples in Hong Kong of historic street structures, which were constructed mainly of granite and built following an elaborate architectural design. As for the gas lamps, they witness the development of public lighting facilities in the early times. Following the gradual replacement of street gas lamps by electrified ones, the four Duddell Street gas lamps have been the only surviving working gas lamps in Hong Kong since 1967. They have been lighting the Duddell Street Steps for a century or more.

Historical Value

The granite steps, together with the historic last four working gas lamps in Hong Kong, is a showcase of public lighting facilities in the early period. The Monument helps illustrate the once prominent position of gas supply, which has been gradually replaced by electricity. The gas lamps also serve as a reminder of an occupation that has become obsolete in Hong Kong – that of the lamp-lighters whose job was to ensure that the gas lamps were lit on time to illuminate the streets in former days.

Following the Antiquities and Monuments Ordinance (Cap. 53) (the “A&M Ordinance”) enacted in 1976, the Duddell Street Steps and Gas Lamps was declared a monument in 1979. It is the earliest historic structure in Central to be protected under the law. For an even longer period of a century or so, the Government of Hong Kong and Towngas have collaborated in maintaining and preserving the four historic gas lamps. The Monument is more than a lighting facility and an access for public. It is an important landmark testifying how Hong Kong has developed. More recently, the rebirth of the Monument has been witnessed with the faithful and professional conservation efforts undertaken jointly by the Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and the private sector.

Architectural Value

The Duddell Street Steps is one of the few street structures of the early period built entirely of granite. There are some similar examples in the district, including Pottinger Street (built in 1845, a Grade 1 historic structure), which is well-known for its

都爹利街的煤氣路燈是香港碩果僅存的四盞燃亮了約百年的煤氣路燈，它靈活調整燈柱高度以安置於望柱上的鑄鐵燈柱設計，彰顯了路燈如何配合特別環境而建造。這與別不同的設計，豐富了古蹟的建築價值。

環境價值

自十九世紀以來，古蹟坐落於香港最早發展的地區之一，周邊的歷史建築群不乏佼佼者，具有重要組合價值；自1880年代起，見證了香港城市規劃及發展的歷程。

社會價值

都爹利街石階連接雪廠街，多年來為中環至半山區提供了便捷通道；而煤氣路燈亦於早期時代成為主要的公共照明設施，不僅提供街道照明，還能阻嚇盜賊入夜打劫或騷擾居民，在公共安全方面扮演了重要角色。

古蹟具獨特的社會價值，是香港人重要的集體回憶，它是熱門的拍攝場地，多部本地製作的電影及電視劇也曾於古蹟實地取景，包括1994年由張國榮主演的電影《金枝玉葉》、1996年由劉青雲及陳小春主演的電影《衝鋒隊：怒火街頭》、1999年由周星馳及張柏芝主演的《喜劇之王》，以及由梅艷芳主唱《夢伴》的音樂電視等。由於古蹟成為熱門拍攝場地，也逐漸成為受香港人愛戴的景點，以及聞名海外的旅遊勝地。鑑於古蹟的社會意義，後來被納入中西區文物徑。多年來，無論在本地或海外遊客心目中，古蹟已成為香港最具代表性的著名景點之一。

stone pavers, and the steps to Battery Path (for which grading assessment is pending). But the Duddell Street Steps were built with the most complete design structure, i.e. in typical Classical Revival style, with balustrades supported by walls constructed of finely-cut granite blocks and arch doorways formed by voussoirs. It is an exceptional exemplar of historic masonry street work in Hong Kong.

The gas lamps of Duddell Street are the only four gas street lamps in Hong Kong to have been lit by gas for about a century. The height of their cast-iron columns was flexibly adjusted so that they could sit on newels, demonstrating that street lamps can be specially designed to suit their unique physical setting. This unique design enhances the architectural significance of the Monument.

Contextual Value

Located since the 19th century in one of the earliest developed districts in Hong Kong, the Monument has always been an important member of the group of historic buildings in its vicinity. It possesses high group value and testifies to the urban planning and development of the city since the 1880s.

Social Value

The Duddell Street Steps connecting to Ice House Street have served for many years as a convenient means of access between Central and the Mid-levels. The gas lamps served as a major public lighting facility in the early period, not only lighting the way but protecting residents from robbery and molestation in the dark, playing a significant role in public security.

The Monument possesses unique social significance and is important for the collective memories of Hong Kong people. It has been a popular filming site. Several locally-produced movies and countless television programmes have been filmed at the Monument, including *He's a Woman, She's a Man* in 1994, starring Leslie Cheung; *Big Bullet* in 1996, starring Sean Lau and Jordan Chan; *King of Comedy* in 1999, starring Stephen Chow and Cecilia Cheung, as well as Music Television (MTV)'s *Dream Companion* sung by Anita Mui. The frequent filming of the site has given it an affectionate place in the hearts of local people, and it is well-recognised by overseas visitors. In view of its social significance, it has been included in the Central and Western Heritage Trail. Over time, the Monument has become one of the most representative Hong Kong landmarks in the eyes of both locals and visitors.

2018年古蹟嚴重損毀

2018年9月16日，超強颱風山竹襲港，帶來了前所未有的破壞，其中一棵依傍鄰近古蹟石牆生長的大樹被強風吹倒，令古蹟受到嚴重損毀⁶。颱風襲港翌日，縱然全港有數千棵大樹倒塌，導致交通極度混亂和擠塞，古蹟辦仍能在八號颱風訊號除下的兩小時內，即大約早上七時到達現場，為受損嚴重的古蹟進行初步檢查，當時的情況令人相當震驚。



⁶ 古蹟因大樹倒塌受到嚴重損毀
The Monument was seriously damaged by the collapse of a large tree.



從都爹利街往上看，左方的花崗石扶手幾乎完全塌下，水泥欄杆柱被嚴重壓碎或斷成多塊。四盞百年煤氣路燈，有三盞倒下，煤氣燈燈頭嚴重損毀變形⁷；更糟糕的是其中一盞路燈的鑄鐵燈柱斷成多段⁸。古蹟受損程度相當嚴重，似乎難以修復。

Looking up from Duddell Street, the granite handrail on the left had almost completely collapsed. The cement balusters were either badly crushed or broken into multiple fragments. Three out of the four century-old gas lamps had collapsed. Their lanterns were severely damaged and deformed⁷. Worse still, one of the cast-iron columns was broken into pieces⁸. The damage was so serious that the Monument seemed beyond repair.



⁷ 其中一盞嚴重變形的燈頭
One of the seriously deformed gas lanterns



⁸ 折斷的鑄鐵煤氣路燈燈柱
The broken cast-iron column of a gas lamp

The Damage of the Monument in 2018

On 16 September 2018, Super Typhoon Mangkhut brought damaging winds and record-breaking storm surges to Hong Kong. The typhoon blew down a large tree that had been growing on the stone wall adjacent to the Monument, causing significant damage to it⁶. On the following day, despite the extremely chaotic traffic situation and traffic jam caused by thousands of fallen trees, AMO arrived on-site at around 7 a.m., within two hours after typhoon signal No. 8 was lowered, to conduct a preliminary inspection of the damaged Monument. We were all shocked by what we saw.

意外發生後，古蹟辦、路政署及煤氣公司協力尋回收落現場的古蹟碎件⁹。不論體積大小，團隊也審慎記錄及保存每件碎件，用作日後修復之用。工程人員最終尋回、整理及登記合共 280 件碎件；這些碎件當中，204 件來自水泥欄杆柱、42 件來自花崗石扶手及望柱，其餘的 34 件來自煤氣路燈。所有收集的碎件，經包裝後被送到由路政署及煤氣公司提供的臨時倉庫，進行詳細檢查及保存，以作日後修復之用¹⁰。

為了盡量減少封路對行人造成的不便，路政署評估石階的結構完整性，在確定石階結構穩固後，即架設臨時防護圍欄，石階於 2018 年 10 月 23 日（即颱風襲港僅五周後）局部重開予公眾使用¹¹。

Immediately after the accident, AMO, HyD, and Towngas worked hand in hand, salvaging and documenting the broken pieces which were scattered across the site⁹. Regardless of size, every single fragment of the Monument was carefully collected and recorded for future restoration. In total, 280 damaged parts were salvaged, sorted and accessioned. Among these 280 broken pieces, 204 were from the cement balusters, 42 were from the granite handrails and newels, and the remaining 34 were from the gas lamps. The broken pieces were packed and relocated to temporary storage provided by HyD and Towngas for detailed inspection and safekeeping, pending restoration¹⁰.

To minimise the disturbance of road closure to users, HyD conducted an assessment of the structural integrity of the stairs. It was confirmed that the stairs were structurally sound. After erecting temporary protective fencing, the stairs were partially reopened on 23 October 2018, just over five weeks after the damage had occurred¹¹.



⁹ 古蹟辦、路政署及煤氣公司在意外發生後，立刻到現場收集及記錄古蹟碎件。
AMO, HyD and Towngas salvaged and documented the broken pieces on-site immediately after the accident.



¹⁰ 收集的碎件儲存於路政署及煤氣公司提供的臨時倉庫
The salvaged fragments were placed in temporary storage provided by HyD and Towngas.



¹¹ 石階完成結構安全評估及架設臨時防護圍欄後，局部重開。
The steps were partially reopened after their structural safety had been confirmed and temporary protective fencing had been erected.

古蹟的修復

古蹟遭超強颱風山竹嚴重損毀後，修復工程隨即於 2018 年 9 月 17 日開展，目標是盡可能將古蹟修復至颱風損毀前的狀態。意外發生後，項目團隊隨即制定下列修復工程的指導原則：

1. 確保古蹟如實修復，修復工程遵照最高的國際文物保育標準；
2. 運用傳統工藝及物料修復古蹟，如有需要，可應用先進科技，確保公眾安全是首要考慮因素；
3. 為古蹟及相關事項進行詳細研究，作為修復工程的依據；
4. 詳盡記錄整個修復工程的情況及進度；
5. 確保古蹟在修復完成後的結構安全；
6. 縮短現場施工時間，務求對古蹟使用者的干擾減到最少；及
7. 與公眾及各持份者分享修復經驗。

修復工程面對的挑戰

古蹟面積雖然不大，只有 80 平方米，項目團隊在進行修復工程時卻面對巨大挑戰：

首先，古蹟遭倒塌的石牆嚴重損毀，普遍認為難以完全修復。

第二，修復石階和煤氣路燈需要不同技術、技能、工藝及物料。而且由於歷史煤氣路燈由英國製造，項目團隊缺乏煤氣路燈的詳細資料，包括歷史背景及生產詳情，香港亦缺乏維修煤氣燈燈頭及鑄鐵燈柱的技術，項目團隊需要進行廣泛研究及準備工作。

第三，古蹟位於香港中環核心地帶，項目團隊在進行修復工程時面對多樣限制，嚴重影響修復進度。

最後，項目團隊經常被關注團體及政客批評修復進度緩慢，所承受的壓力難以形容。

縱然面對上述嚴峻的挑戰，項目團隊仍然堅守文物保育的最高專業水平，不會因為趕工而犧牲修復的質量。

Restoration of the Monument

The restoration project commenced on 17 September 2018, immediately after the Monument was damaged by Super Typhoon Mangkhut, with the aim of restoring the Monument as far as possible to its pre-typhoon state. Right after the incident, the project team formulated the following guiding principles for the restoration works:

1. to ensure a faithful restoration of the Monument in compliance with the highest international heritage conservation standards;
2. to use traditional craftsmanship and materials for the restoration works. Advanced technology could be applied if needed. The prime consideration was to ensure public safety;
3. to conduct detailed research on the Monument and other relevant matters as a basis for the restoration works;
4. to make a detailed record of the Monument and the progress of the restoration throughout the restoration works;
5. to ensure the structural safety of the Monument after the restoration works;
6. to shorten the duration of site work so as to minimise the disturbance caused to the users of the Monument; and
7. to share the restoration experience with the general public and stakeholders.

Challenges Encountered

Although the Monument occupies a modest area of only 80 square metres, the challenges experienced by the project team in carrying out the restoration works were enormous:

First, the Monument was seriously damaged by the collapse of the stone wall tree, and it was generally thought that the Monument was beyond repair.

Second, the restoration of steps and the restoration of gas lamps each require different techniques, owing to differences in terms of the techniques, skills, craftsmanship, and materials involved. In addition, the project team lacked comprehensive information as to the history and manufacture of the historic gas lamps which had been supplied from the UK. The skills required to repair the damaged gas lanterns and the cast iron column were unavailable in Hong Kong. Extensive research and preparatory works had to be conducted.

Third, the Monument is in Central, a prime location. The project team encountered various restrictions during the implementation of the restoration works, which brought a significant impact on progress.

Finally, the project team was frequently criticised by concern groups and politicians, who claimed that we were too slow in

保育原則的應用

在整個修復工程中，項目團隊嚴格遵從以下的國際文物保育憲章中的保育標準，包括《1964年保護和修復古蹟遺址的國際憲章》（以下簡稱「《威尼斯憲章》」）、《巴拉憲章》、《中國文物古蹟保護準則》（以下簡稱「《中國準則》」）及《詮釋與展示文化遺產憲章》（以下簡稱「《艾蘭姆憲章》」）等。上述憲章相關內容節錄如下：

1) 修復工程應採納多元意見

《巴拉憲章》第四條原則，提倡採納跨學科知識進行保育。¹ 項目團隊成員來自多個專業行業，包括建築師、測量師、工程師、歷史學家、人類學家、文物保育師、工匠及攝影師等，融會多元經驗、知識及專業技能，為修復工程作出互補和貢獻。

2) 研究每項修復工序的重要性

《中國準則》第五條原則，強調研究是各項保育工作的基礎，² 而《巴拉憲章》第十九條亦提及，在進行任何修復工程之前，必須充分掌握古蹟早期物料的狀況。³ 項目團隊遵照以上的指導原則，致力進行研究及準備工作，搜尋歷史及檔案記錄、舊照片、地圖及保養記錄；同時亦為古蹟進行各種物料的成分分析。

3) 採用傳統工藝及物料

《巴拉憲章》第四條及《中國準則》第十四條，提倡採用傳統工藝及物料為歷史古蹟保育；在某些情況下，或適合採用可為保育帶來莫大效益的現代技術及物料。^{4,5} 項目團隊致力遵照上述保育原則，採用原物料及傳統工藝，以確保古蹟能如實地修復，例如項目團隊成功收集所有花崗石扶手碎件作日後修復之用，並邀請煤氣路燈的英國原供應商，採用傳統技術及材料為路燈進行修復。

doing the restoration works. The pressure added to the project team is beyond expression.

Despite these challenges, the project team was determined to uphold the highest standards of professionalism in heritage conservation and never compromised on quality for the sake of speed.

Conservation Principles Applied

Throughout the restoration process, the project team diligently adhered to the conservation practices stipulated in the following documents: the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (“The Venice Charter” 1964), the Burra Charter, the Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China (“China Principles”) and the ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (“Ename Charter”). The relevant points set out in these documents are as follows:

1) Multi-disciplinary inputs in restoration works

Article 4 of the Burra Charter advocates the use of multi-disciplinary inputs to heritage conservation.¹ Consistent with this, the project team for the work on the Monument was composed of architects, surveyors, engineers, historians, anthropologists, conservationists, artisans and photographers, whose multi-disciplinary experience, knowledge, and expertise made complementary contributions to the restoration project.

2) Importance of research in every process of a restoration

Article 5 of the China Principles emphasises that research is fundamental to every aspect of conservation.² Article 19 of the Burra Charter also points out that sufficient evidence of an earlier state of the fabric should be available before carrying out any restoration works.³ Following this guiding principle, the project team paid particular attention to research and preparatory work, seeking out historical and archival records, old photos, maps, and maintenance records. In parallel, material compositional analysis of the Monument’s various components was also conducted.

¹ 《巴拉憲章》第 4 條：「保育應擅用多元知識、技能及學科內容，為古蹟進行研究及保育。」
Burra Charter, Article 4: “Conservation should make use of all the knowledge, skills and disciplines which can contribute to the study and care of the place.”

² 《中國準則》第 5 條：「研究應當貫穿在保護工作全過程，所有保護程序都要以研究的成果為依據。」
China Principles, Article 5: “Research is fundamental to every aspect of conservation. Each step in the conservation process should be based on results of research.”

³ 《巴拉憲章》第 19 條：「進行修復工程前，必須具備充分的古蹟早期建築結構狀況證據。」
Burra Charter, Article 19: “Restoration is appropriate only if there is sufficient evidence of an earlier state of the fabric.”

4) 新建部分可識別於舊有部分，但兩者卻能和諧融合

《威尼斯憲章》第九及第十二條強調，任何不可或缺的新建部分必須有別於舊有部分，但同時亦必須與整體古蹟和諧融合。⁶ 古蹟的石階及欄杆維修後的成果，證明了項目團隊遵照了上述原則進行修復，本文稍後部分會詳盡討論相關內容。

5) 記錄及詮釋的重要性

《巴拉憲章》第三十二條及《艾蘭姆憲章》第五條均強調記錄和詮釋的重要性。^{7,8} 項目團隊忠實地進行記錄和詮釋。為了確保修復工程的可持續性，項目團隊採用多種方法，包括三維掃描、文獻記錄、攝影及錄像，記錄整個修復過程，這些記錄現已納入古蹟辦的檔案庫，作永久保存。至於詮釋方面，項目團隊在古蹟現場及其他地方進行詮釋工作，除了與業界人士及大眾分享記錄的內容，還希望將這個饒富意義的修復工程當中所獲得的知識和經驗與大眾分享。

由於石階和欄杆與煤氣路燈的修復工程，分別涉及不同技術及專業知識，這兩組修復工作必須分開處理：

3) Employment of traditional craftsmanship and materials

Both Article 4 of the Burra Charter and Article 14 of the China Principles advocate the use of traditional craftsmanship and materials for the conservation of significant fabrics, while noting that in some circumstances, it may be appropriate to use modern techniques and materials which offer substantial conservation benefits.^{4,5} The project team adhered diligently to the principles of using original materials and traditional craftsmanship, thus guaranteeing a faithful restoration of the Monument. For example, all the broken pieces of the granite railings were successfully salvaged and used for restoration purposes, and the gas lamps were repaired by the original UK supplier using traditional technology and components.

4) Ensuring that new parts are distinguishable from the originals but blend harmoniously with the whole

Articles 9 and 12 of the Venice Charter emphasise that any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the original but at the same time must blend harmoniously with their surroundings.⁶ That the project team following this principle is evidenced in the repair works performed on the steps and balusters, which will be discussed in detail in the following section.

煤氣路燈的修復

在修復嚴重受損的煤氣路燈時，項目團隊即時意識到香港並沒有所需的技能、工藝及經驗。基於對維護保育原則的決心，我們最終成功透過電郵與煤氣路燈的英國原供應商（威廉·塞）聯繫。在告知煤氣路燈的情況後，原供應商給予正面回覆，並向我們提供有關煤氣路燈的背景資料，又答應派一名專家來港檢查三盞受損的煤氣路燈，以使用原工藝和物料的原則，與項目團隊討論煤氣路燈及鑄鐵燈柱碎件的修復建議內容。

威廉·塞特派來港的英國專家 Mark Jones 為煤氣路燈進行詳細檢查後，告訴我們好消息：三盞煤氣路燈及一支折斷的鑄鐵燈柱皆可修復¹²。與此同時，煤氣公司聘用了專門承辦商進行非破壞性測試，以確定兩支倒塌的鑄鐵燈柱是否損毀¹³，可幸的是，測試結果確定這兩支燈柱並沒有受損。2019年9月，煤氣路燈的受損部分及折斷的鑄鐵燈柱被送往英國原供應商的工場進行修復。

威廉·塞專家與項目團隊抱持相同理念：盡最大努力如實修復歷史煤氣路燈的原有部分。從威廉·塞的歷史檔案資料庫，找到與香港煤氣路燈同款的「羅車士打款式」煤氣路燈的製作平面圖，作為修復香港煤氣路燈的依據^{14a, 14b}。

5) The importance of documentation and interpretation

Article 32 of the Burra Charter and Principle 5 of the Ename Charter acknowledge the importance of record-taking and interpretation.^{7,8} The project team faithfully undertook both these procedures. In order to achieve the sustainability of the project, they recorded the whole restoration process by various means – 3D scanning, documentation, photography, and video – and these records are now included in the permanent archives of AMO. As for interpretation, various on-site and off-site means of interpretation were conducted with the aim of sharing not only the records with practitioners and the general public but also the knowledge and experience gained through the operation of this meaningful restoration project.

As the restoration of stone steps and balustrades on the one hand and the restoration of gas lamps on the other involve different techniques and expertise, they had to be handled separately:

Restoration of the Gas Lamps

The project team quickly realised that the skills, craftsmanship and experience needed to restore the badly damaged gas lamps did not exist in Hong Kong. Driven by our determination to uphold the principles of conservation, we were finally able to contact the original gas lamp supplier (William Sugg) in the

⁴ 《巴拉憲章》第4條：「採用傳統工藝及物料保育歷史古蹟為佳。在某些情況下，或適合採用能為保育帶來莫大效益的現代技術及物料。」

Burra Charter, Article 4: “Traditional techniques and materials are preferred for the conservation of significant fabric. In some circumstances modern techniques and materials which offer substantial conservation benefits may be appropriate.”

⁵ 《中國準則》第14條：「……獨特的傳統工藝技術必須保留。所有新材料和新工藝都必須經過前期試驗和研究，證明是最有效的，對文物古蹟是無害的，才可以使用。」

China Principles, Article 14: “... Traditional craftsmanship that contributes to the site's long-term preservation should be maintained. New materials and techniques may only be used after they have been tested and proven effective, and should not be detrimental or cause long-term damage.”

⁶ 《威尼斯憲章》第9條：「……任何不可或缺的新建部分必須有別於舊有的建築元素，並蓋上現代印章以茲識別。任何修復工程進行前後，必須就古蹟進行考古及歷史學研究。」第12條：「取代古蹟遺失部分的新建元素必須與古蹟整體和諧融合，同時亦要有別於舊有的建築元素，確保修復工程不涉偽造藝術或歷史證據。」

Venice Charter, Article 9: “... any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument.”; Article 12: “Replacements of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence.”

⁷ 《巴拉憲章》第32條：「古蹟保育的相關記錄檔案，應該要永久保存，並按照安全及私隱規定，將記錄檔案開放予公眾觀賞，以配合文化傳承所需。」

Burra Charter, Article 32: “The records associated with the conservation of a place should be placed in a permanent archive and made publicly available, subject to requirements of security and privacy, and where this is culturally appropriate.”

⁸ 《艾蘭姆憲章》第5條：「詮釋及展示乃保育過程的一部分，能促進公眾在實地了解古蹟的具體保育問題，以及保育人員為保護古蹟的物理完整性及真確性所付出的努力。」

Ename Charter, Principle 5: “Interpretation and presentation should be an integral part of the conservation process, enhancing the public's awareness of specific conservation problems encountered at the site and explaining the efforts being taken to protect the site's physical integrity and authenticity.”



¹² 煤氣路燈原供應商威廉·塞派專家 Mark Jones 來港，與古蹟辦、路政署及煤氣公司職員會面，為受損的煤氣路燈進行詳細檢查。

Mark Jones, an expert from the original gas lamp supplier William Sugg, came to Hong Kong to meet with AMO, HyD and Towngas and conducted a detailed inspection of the damaged gas lamps.



13 專門承辦商在煤氣公司的倉庫為兩支鑄鐵燈柱進行非破壞性測試
A specialist contractor conducted a non-destructive test on the two cast-iron columns at the Towngas store.



UK by email. Having been advised of the condition of the gas lamps, the original supplier wrote back with a positive reply and sent us some basic information about the gas lamps. The company also agreed to send over an expert to inspect the three damaged gas lamps and discuss a restoration proposal for them as well as for the shattered cast-iron column by adopting the principle of using original craftsmanship and materials.

After conducting a detailed inspection of the gas lamps in Hong Kong, the visiting British expert Mark Jones from William Sugg gave us the good news that the three gas lanterns and the one broken cast-iron column could be restored 12. At the same time, Towngas engaged a specialist contractor to conduct a non-destructive test to ascertain whether there was any damage to the two fallen cast-iron columns 13. Fortunately, the test result confirmed that no damage to these two columns had been found. In September 2019, the damaged parts of the gas lanterns and the broken cast-iron column were sent to the workshop of their original supplier in the UK for restoration.

The William Sugg experts shared the same mission with the project team: to achieve a faithful restoration of the historic gas lamps by repairing the original parts as far as possible. Plans of “Rochester” gas lanterns of the same type as the Hong Kong examples were retrieved from the company’s historical archive as the basis for repairing the Hong Kong gas lanterns 14a 14b.

During the restoration works, AMO went to the UK three times to inspect and record the progress of the repairs; gather historical information about the gas lamps; exchange views with experts and engineers; and learn about the skills and craftsmanship involved 15. We were fortunate enough to have a chance to meet with Christopher Sugg, the great-great-grandson of the company’s founder 16. He shared considerable information about the historic gas lamps in Duddell Street and other relevant models with AMO. The restoration process was recorded to enable the sustainable transfer of knowledge back to Hong Kong. The project team was able to derive an in-depth understanding of the craftsmanship used in the manufacture, repair and maintenance of historic gas lamps. Such enhanced understanding of the historical development and construction of gas lamps will be invaluable should future repairs and maintenance of the four unique examples in Hong Kong be necessary.

在進行修復工程期間，古蹟辦三次遠赴英國，觀察修復過程及進行記錄、收集有關煤氣路燈的歷史資料、與專家及工程師交換意見，以及學習相關技能及工藝 15。項目團隊更有幸與威廉·塞創辦人的玄孫 Christopher Sugg 會面 16，他與古蹟辦分享了許多有關都參利街歷史煤氣路燈及相關型號路燈的資料。我們記錄了修復過程，讓修復知識能繼續傳承給香港的文物保育工作者。項目團隊亦對於製作、維修及保養煤氣路燈所需的工藝有更深入的认识，汲取了不少煤氣路燈的發展歷程及製作方面的知識，有助日後維修及保養香港四盞煤氣路燈，誠然是相當寶貴的體驗。



14a 來自原供應商的檔案資料庫「羅車士打款式」煤氣路燈的製作平面圖及手繪圖
Plan and drawing of the “Rochester Lamp” from the archives of the original supplier



14b 原供應商的檔案資料庫中，與都參利街煤氣路燈相關的歷史文獻記錄。
Historical records relevant to the Duddell Street gas lamps from the archives of the original supplier



15 專家及工程師在英國工場為受損的煤氣路燈進行修復
The experts and engineers repaired the damaged gas lanterns in their UK workshop.





¹⁶ Christopher Sugg 與古蹟辦職員分享有關都爹利街煤氣路燈及其他相關型號煤氣路燈的資訊

Christopher Sugg shared the information about the historic gas lamps in Duddell Street and other relevant models with an AMO colleague.

鑄鐵燈柱的修復

一般情況下，要焊接折斷了的鑄鐵燈柱似乎是不可能的任務，雖然如此，項目團隊委托了英國一位擁有豐富修復歷史鑄鐵器具經驗的焊接專家，利用他的「秘密」熔焊技術，成功將燈柱接駁¹⁷。修復後的鑄鐵燈柱結構比原先的更為堅固，這項修復經驗開闊了項目團隊對修復歷史鑄鐵器具的視野，有利於香港日後同類的修復項目。

重新安裝煤氣燈頭及鑄鐵燈柱

完成修復的煤氣燈頭及鑄鐵燈柱於 2019 年 11 月運回香港進行實地安裝¹⁸。煤氣公司在安裝前進行檢查，包括氣體洩漏測試，對實地安裝修復後的煤氣路燈，貢獻良多。

石階及欄杆的修復

石階及欄杆的修復亦絕非簡單，目標是將古蹟盡量修復至颱風破壞前的狀態。為了達成這項目標，項目團隊收集原有碎件，並採用傳統工藝將石階如實地修復。值得一提的是，我們重用所有受損毀的花崗石碎件，將花崗石扶手修復至原來狀態。

古蹟辦與路政署緊密合作，對修復工程的策劃及程序提供專業意見、進行工程監督，以及記錄整個修復過程。為確保修復工程能採用最高質素的工藝及遵照最高的保育準則，路政署聘用資深的文物保育顧問及發展局「維修及修復有歷史性樓宇」類別「認可公共工程物料供應商及專門承造商名冊」內的專業承建商，為古蹟進行修復工程。

Restoration of the Cast Iron Column

Welding of broken cast-iron components is usually deemed impractical. Nevertheless, for this project, a welding specialist with experience in repairing historic cast-iron architectural features in the UK was commissioned to repair the broken cast-iron column using their “secret” fusion-welding procedure¹⁷. The repaired column is guaranteed to be structurally even stronger than the originals. This experience thus brought to our knowledge an alternative means of repairing cast-iron items in other conservation projects in Hong Kong.

Reinstallation of the Gas Lanterns and Cast-Iron Column

The restored gas lanterns and cast-iron column were delivered back to Hong Kong for on-site installation in November 2019¹⁸. Towngas contributed enormously to the pre-installation checking, including gas leakage tests, and to the on-site installation of the repaired gas lamps.

Restoration of Stone Steps and Balustrade

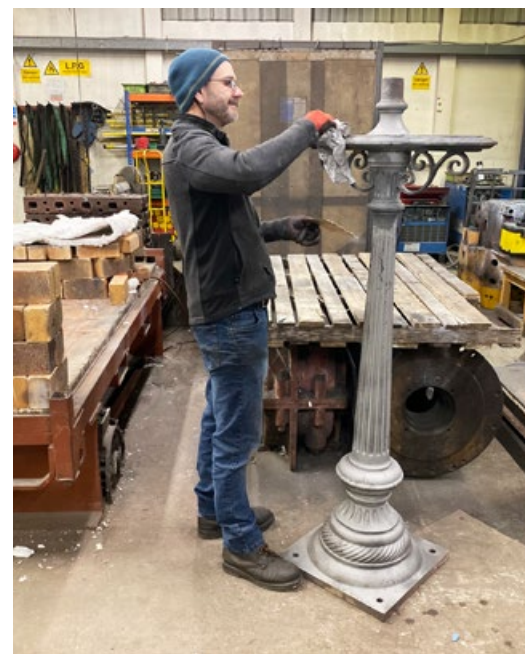
The restoration of the steps and balustrades was anything but straightforward. The project’s objective was to restore the Monument as far as possible to its condition before the damage caused by the typhoon. To accomplish this goal, the original materials were salvaged, and traditional craftsmanship was used to repair the steps as authentically as possible. It is worth noting that the granite handrails were restored to their original state by reusing all the damaged granite components.

AMO worked closely with HyD and provided professional advice on the planning and process of the restoration, offered work supervision and made a recording throughout the project.

採用三維掃描技術

古蹟辦在意外後共收集了 246 件石階及欄杆碎件，項目團隊考慮到需要處理大量碎件，決定採用三維掃描及打印技術協助修復工程。這是首次利用三維掃描及打印技術幫助修復因自然災害嚴重損毀的古蹟。

可幸在 2018 年年初，即古蹟受損前數個月，古蹟辦將古蹟納入為香港首批進行三維掃描的法定古蹟。當時古蹟辦三維掃描小組以座地式激光掃描儀及手提式三維激光掃描儀，為古蹟完整記錄了準確的測量資料，作為日後在監察、保養、修復及教育之用。項目團隊參照這些準確資料，了解石階受損前的狀態，這些資料可以說對順利完成修復古蹟貢獻良多。項目團隊最終能依照三維測量數據，如實地修復古蹟。



¹⁷ 英國焊接專家在當地工場修復斷裂了的鑄鐵燈柱
The shattered cast-iron column was repaired at the UK workshop of the welding specialist.

To ensure that the restoration was implemented with the highest quality of workmanship and in compliance with best conservation practice, HyD engaged an experienced heritage consultant and a specialist contractor, who are listed under the “Repair and Restoration of Historic Buildings” category of the “List of Approved Suppliers of Materials and Specialist Contractors for Public Works” issued by the Development Bureau, to carry out the restoration works.

Implementation of 3D Scanning Technology

A total of 246 fragments of the steps and balustrades were salvaged after the incident. Given the sheer number of broken pieces involved, the project team decided to deploy 3D scanning and printing technology in the restoration works. This was the first time in Hong Kong that such deployment was undertaken to help restore a heritage site badly damaged by a natural disaster.

It is fortunate that, in early 2018, just a few months before they were damaged, the steps and gas lamps had been selected as the first batch of declared monuments in Hong Kong to be laser-scanned. Through the scanning, the 3D Laser Scanning Survey Sub-unit (“3DSU”) of AMO captured a set of comprehensive as-built survey data of the Monument for future monitoring, maintenance, restoration and educational purposes by two types of 3D scanners – a Terrestrial Laser Scanner and a Portable 3D Scanner. The existence of these data contributed significantly to the success of the restoration project as the project team had an accurate dataset showing the state of the Steps before they were damaged. Consequently, the project team could refer to the 3D survey data to ensure the faithful restoration of the Monument.



¹⁸ 在當地工場，英國專家與完成修復的煤氣燈頭運返香港前合照。
Photo of the UK experts and the repaired gas lanterns at the workshop before delivering back to Hong Kong



19 古蹟損毀後，古蹟辦三維掃描小組到現場使用座地式激光掃描儀（左）及手提式三維激光掃描儀（右）進行三維掃描。
After the damage, 3DSU of AMO conducted 3D scanning on-site using both the terrestrial laser scanner (left) and the portable 3D scanner (right).



20 三維掃描小組以手提式三維激光掃描儀為花崗石碎片進行掃描，以便取得碎片形狀及尺寸的準確資料。
The broken granite fragments were scanned by 3DSU using the portable 3D scanner to acquire accurate data for their shapes and dimensions.

古蹟受損現場經過整理後，三維掃描小組在現場使用座地式激光掃描儀，為受損古蹟進行掃描，記錄古蹟受損後狀態；並使用手提式三維激光掃描儀，在現場進行三維掃描測量，以記錄石階兩旁的殘缺結構¹⁹。三維掃描小組亦拍攝現場狀況，以便有需要時將實景紋理應用於最後的網格模型。

三維掃描小組亦以手提式三維激光掃描儀，為暫存於路政署的花崗石碎片進行掃描，以獲取碎片形狀及尺寸的準確資料²⁰。與在古蹟現場將定位反射貼貼在花崗石碎片上的做法不同，工程人員將定位反射貼，貼在塑膠或金屬框架上，完成後便將貼上反射貼的框架，穩固地逐一放在花崗石碎片上進行掃描。這樣可以節省準備時間，加速掃描過

Following clearance of the site after the damage, the 3DSU scanned the damaged Monument on-site using the terrestrial laser scanner to capture the surviving condition of the Monument. Another on-site 3D scanning survey was conducted using the portable 3D scanner to record the surviving structures at the sides of the Steps¹⁹. Photographs were taken so that a photorealistic texture could, if necessary, be applied to the final mesh model.

All the major granite fragments which had been relocated to HyD's store for temporary storage were also scanned by using the portable 3D scanner, in order to acquire accurate data of their shapes and dimensions²⁰. Instead of attaching the necessary positioning reflective stickers onto the granite fragments as was done on-site, the stickers were stuck onto plastic or metal frames. Once prepared, these frames could be securely placed over each granite fragment, one by one, thereby reducing the set-up time and speeding up the scanning

程。工程人員同時為碎片拍照，作為掃描數據的補充資料。

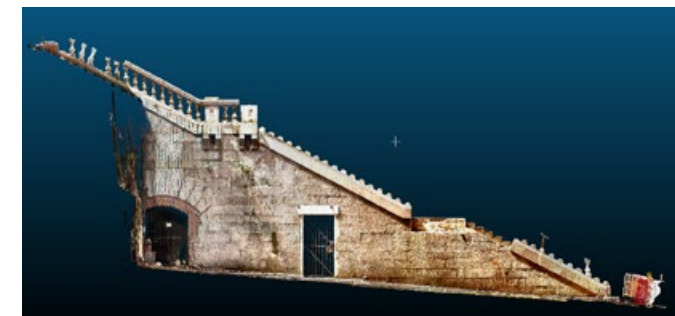
三維掃描小組利用數碼科技，取得古蹟現場及主要的花崗石碎片的雲點及三角網格數據，並採用例如 CloudCompare、Geomagic 及 3DReshaper 等模型軟件，進一步處理數據資料²¹。

工程人員以電腦製作的三維數碼模型為依據，利用三維打印技術，打印花崗石碎片的微縮模型，並在模型構件上標上跟原來花崗石實物碎片相同的編碼²²，這些微縮打印其後用作研究，以便制定最合適的修復方案。項目團隊其後在工作室將微縮模型組合成與古蹟實景相同的模型²³²⁴，以便利工程人員在古蹟現場，按照合成模型及重組程序將石階碎片重新組合，大大提升工程效率，亦大幅度節省施工時間和工程費用，讓修復工程能準確地和有效地完成。更重要的是能大大降低因封路而對行人造成的不便。

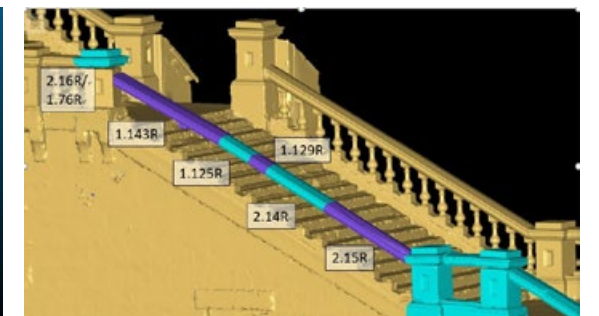
process. Similarly, photographs were taken to supplement the scanning data.

After both the incident scene and the major granite fragments had been digitally captured in the form of a registered point cloud and triangular meshes, various modelling software packages, such as CloudCompare, Geomagic and 3DReshaper, were used to process these data further²¹.

Based on the 3D digital model constructed on the computer, miniature replicas of the granite fragments were 3D-printed and given numbers identical to those assigned to their full-size granite originals²². These miniature replicas were then used for desktop investigation and as a means of devising an appropriate restoration approach. Next, they were reassembled in AMO office to reconstruct the on-site scene²³²⁴. This procedure greatly facilitated the future reassembly of the fragments on-site, because it meant that the on-site team could be guided by the model and reassembly procedure which had been prepared in their office by the project team. This enabled the restoration works to be done accurately and efficiently with a significant reduction in time and costs. More importantly, the level of inconvenience caused to the users of the Monument by its closure was greatly reduced.



21 石階受損後，製作成點雲數據。
A point cloud of the steps obtained after their damage



22 在電腦上製作的花崗石碎片合成圖像
The broken granite fragments were assembled on computer.



23 工程人員透過三維打印技術製成花崗石碎片微縮模型，並標示號碼，在工作室將破損古蹟組合。
Miniature replicas of the numbered granite fragments were 3D-printed and reassembled in AMO office.



24 利用三維打印技術製作標示了編碼的花崗石碎片的微縮打印，重組成完整的古蹟模型。
Model of the reassembled Monument using the 3D-printed miniature replicas of the numbered granite fragments

修復石階及欄杆

修復水泥欄杆柱是今次修復工程的另一重大挑戰，在 101 支水泥欄杆柱中，有 47 支嚴重受損。項目團隊投放了大量時間和努力，成功將 34 支受損欄杆柱併合修復，並重新裝回古蹟。可是，仍有 13 支欄杆柱由於損毀嚴重或併合後結構不穩而無法修復，因此要用新製造的欄杆柱。

項目團隊曾多次往專門承建商的工場，檢查及監督新水泥欄杆柱的製作，經過多番以模具塑造欄杆柱的嘗試後，承建商參考了研究結果及物料分析，最終成功製造出無論外型、物料、顏色、質感及工藝技術，都與原來的水泥欄杆柱相配的新水泥欄杆柱²⁵。

此外，為避免與古蹟原有的欄杆柱混淆，新造的水泥欄杆柱均會在暗處印上「2019」製作年份，以作識別²⁶。上述的設計除確保修復後的花崗石欄杆與整體古蹟和諧融合外，亦可區別新物料與原來物料，這是符合國際文物保育標準。

Restoration of the Steps and Balustrades

The restoration of the cement balusters presented another key challenge for this project. Out of the 101 cement balusters, 47 had been severely crushed. After investing a great deal of time and effort, the project team successfully reassembled 34 of the balusters and reinstalled them on-site. However, the remaining 13 were either beyond repair or found to be structurally unsound after the reassembling works. They needed to be replaced with new ones.

The project team paid several visits to the specialist contractor's workshop to inspect and supervise the fabrication of the newly-cast cement balusters. After various casting trials, the contractor finally succeeded in fabricating new cement balusters which matched the original ones in appearance, materials, colour, texture and craftsmanship, based on proven research and material analysis²⁵.

In addition, to distinguish the newly-cast cement balusters from their older counterparts, each was stamped (in an inconspicuous place) with the production year (2019) for ease of identification²⁶. The above design approach ensured that the restored granite balustrades blend harmoniously with the whole while still being distinguishable from the originals, thus complying with international conservation standards.



²⁵ 項目團隊檢查及監督新水泥欄杆柱的製作，確保新欄杆柱與原來欄杆柱的外型、物料、顏色、質感及工藝技術互相融合。

The project team inspected and supervised the fabrication of newly-cast cement balusters to ensure they matched the original ones in terms of appearance, materials, colour, texture and craftsmanship.

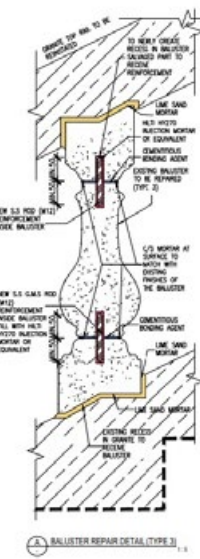
為了令欄杆柱的結構更為鞏固，欄杆柱加裝了不銹鋼棒，以便將欄杆柱固定於欄杆的底部，令結構更為堅固²⁷，並加入黏合劑以增強鞏固作用。

完成安裝欄杆柱後，工程人員按照項目團隊製作三維模型，利用鏈條起重器及手動工具，審慎地將大型的花崗石碎件組裝²⁸。



²⁶ 新造的水泥欄杆柱在暗處蓋上製作年份「2019」的印章

The production year, 2019, was stamped on the newly-cast cement balusters in an inconspicuous place.



²⁷ 欄杆柱加裝了不銹鋼棒，令欄杆柱的結構更為鞏固。

Stainless steel rods were inserted into the balusters for strengthening.



²⁸ 工匠利用鏈條起重器及手動工具進行構件重組工程
Artisans used chain hoists and hand tools during the reinstallation works.

為了符合現今的結構安全要求，工程人員沿用了古蹟原先採用的加固方法，並將 U 型不銹鋼構件，裝嵌於新造的水泥欄杆柱上，重新接駁及加固損毀的花崗石扶手²⁹。這些不銹鋼板隱藏在花崗石扶手下，沒有影響古蹟外觀。

工程人員將在古蹟現場收集的花崗碎石粒混入石灰砂漿，用作全新接縫的填縫物料，令石灰砂漿的顏色和質感與原有的古蹟物料更為協調³⁰，這可確保修復後的花崗石欄杆與古蹟整體上和諧融合，同時亦能與原來古蹟部分區分開來，符合國際保育標準。

當所有石階和欄杆完成併合組裝後，工程人員在煤氣公司的協助下，在古蹟現場重新安裝煤氣路燈。2019 年 12 月 23 日，四盞煤氣路燈重新燃點，繼續照亮百年花崗石階³¹。

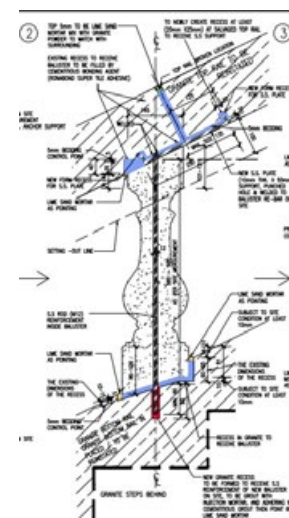
古蹟的修復工程吸引了傳媒廣泛報道，不少新聞報道提及古蹟修復工程竣工及重新開放的消息，修復方面的報道均非常正面。

To meet present-day requirements for structural safety, an old reinforcement method previously adopted on-site was used. U-shaped stainless-steel plates were embedded in the newly-cast cement balusters as a means of reconnecting and reinforcing the broken granite handrails²⁹. They were hidden from view to avoid an adverse visual impact on the Monument.

All new connection joints were pointed with lime sand mortar mixed with the original granite aggregate salvaged from the Monument, so as to impart a more compatible colour and texture to the pointing³⁰. This ensured that the restored granite balustrades blend harmoniously with the whole but were still distinguishable from the original, thus complying with international conservation standards.

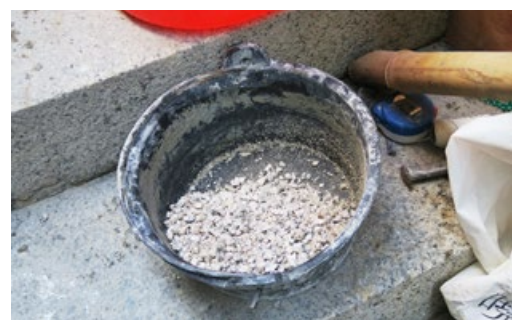
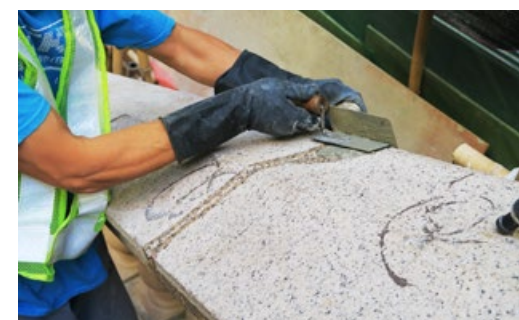
After all the steps and the balustrades had been reinstated, the gas lamps were reinstalled on-site with the help of Towngas. On 23 December 2019, the four gas lamps were relit to illuminate again the granite steps first built over a century earlier³¹.

The restoration project attracted much media attention. Several news reports noticing the completion and full re-opening of the Monument were published, and comments on the restoration works were positive.



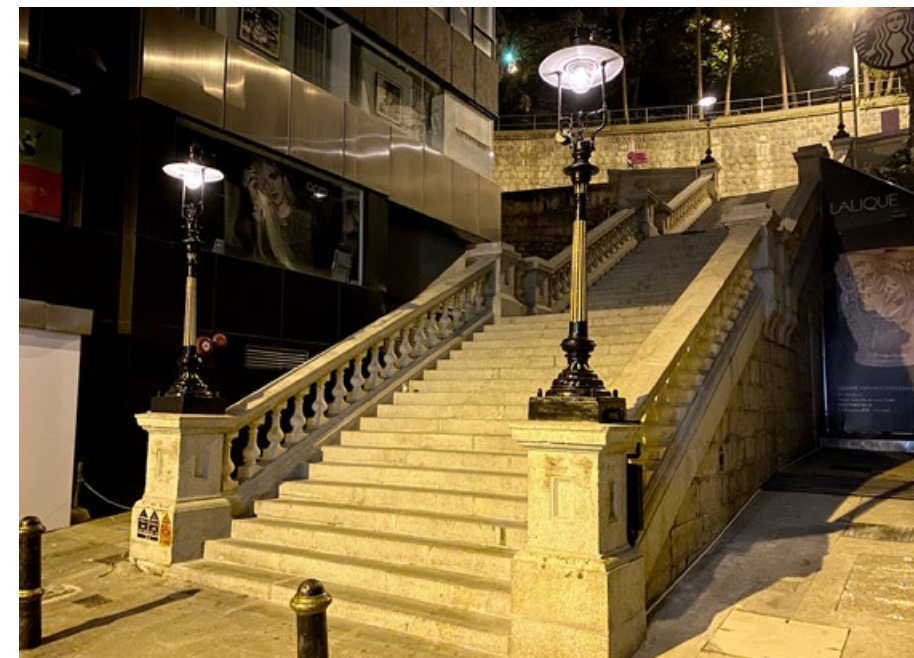
²⁹ 工程人員沿用了古蹟原先的加固方法，將 U 型不銹鋼構件，裝嵌於新造的水泥欄杆柱後，才重新接駁及加固損毀了的花崗石扶手。

With reference to the reinforcement method previously adopted on-site, U-shaped stainless-steel plates were embedded in the newly-cast cement balusters to reconnect and reinforce the broken granite handrails.



³⁰ 工程人員將花崗石粒加入石灰砂漿，用作全新接縫的填縫物料。

Mortar mixed with original granite aggregates was used to point all new connection joints.



³¹ 2019 年 12 月 23 日，都爹利街的石階全面重開，煤氣路燈重新燃亮。

The Steps were fully reopened and the gas lamps relit on 23 December 2019.

獎項及認可

古蹟修復工程獲多個專業團體高度讚揚，至今榮獲四個獎項，包括香港建築師學會 2019/20 年年獎之「文物建築」及「建築學研究」兩個「主題建築獎」、2020 年度香港建築文物保護師學會保育大獎修繕組別的特別表揚獎，以及香港測量師學會 2021 年建築測量師大獎「保養及復修工程」組別的優異獎³²。

Awards and Recognitions

The restoration project has been highly acclaimed by various professional bodies and has won four awards so far. Two “Special Architectural Awards” were made among the Hong Kong Institute of Architects (HKIA) Annual Awards 2019/20, namely “Heritage & Adaptive Re-use” and “Architectural Research”. The project also won a special mention in the “Restoration” category of the Hong Kong Institute of Architectural Conservationists (HKICON) Conservation Awards 2020 presented by HKICON, and a Merit in the “Maintenance and Rehabilitation” category of the Building Surveyor Awards 2021 presented by The Hong Kong Institute of Surveyors³².



³² 古蹟修復工程獲多個專業團體高度讚揚，至今榮獲四個獎項。

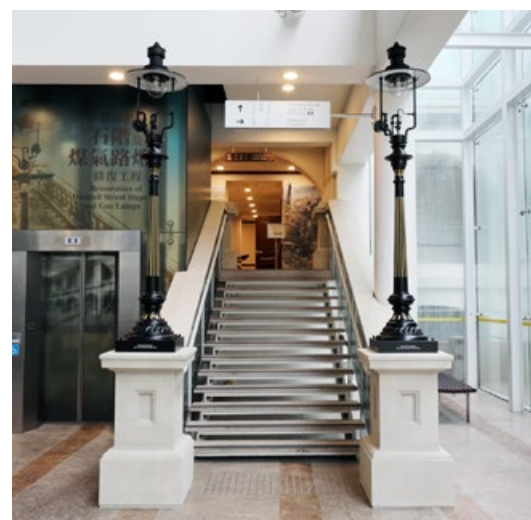
The restoration project has been highly acclaimed by various professional bodies and has won four awards so far.

記錄及傳承修復知識

項目團隊了解到記錄和傳承知識是文物保育相當重要的一環，因此團隊利用三維掃描、檔案記錄、攝影及錄像，將整個修復工程的研究工作和文檔記錄下來，期望將修復項目所獲得的文物保育知識和經驗，以及團隊合作精神，傳承給不同年齡層的普羅大眾及持份者，包括專業團體、文物保育工作者及團體。這些記錄文獻將有助於傳承文物保育知識，亦大大地豐富了古蹟相關的文獻記錄。另一目標是提高大眾對文物保育的意識，惠及香港其他保育項目。

團隊亦以古蹟的修復工程策劃了多元詮釋及展示項目，將保育知識及體驗與更多人分享。

2020年9月，香港文物探知館舉辦古蹟修復工程的展覽³³，利用圖片、影像、檔案文獻、煤氣路燈配件，以及三維打印模型，向公眾展示如何透過結合傳統工藝及先進技術實踐最佳的文物保育方案。展覽的另一重點是強調文物推廣及詮釋的重要性。



³³ 香港文物探知館於2020年舉辦都爹利街石階及煤氣路燈修復工程展覽

The “Restoration of Duddell Street Steps and Gas Lamps” exhibition was launched at the Hong Kong Heritage Discovery Centre in 2020.

Documentation and Sustainability of Knowledge

Acknowledging the importance of archiving and the transfer of knowledge in heritage conservation, the project team paid particular attention to the research and documentation of the entire restoration process, using the combined benefits of 3D scanning, documentation, photography, and video. The mission is passing on heritage conservation knowledge, the experience gained from this restoration project as well as the importance of collaboration to the general public and other stakeholders, including professional bodies, heritage conservation practitioners, and organisations which maintain Monuments, whatever their age might be. This documented information facilitates the transmission of knowledge about heritage conservation and also significantly enriches the archive relating to this precious piece of Hong Kong's built heritage. Another goal is to enhance public awareness of heritage conservation and to benefit other conservation projects in Hong Kong.

The project team also formulated various interpretation and presentation programmes for the restoration project to facilitate wider access to the knowledge and experience gained.

An exhibition focusing on this restoration project was launched at the Hong Kong Heritage Discovery Centre in September 2020³³. With the aid of photos, videos, archival documents, gas lamp components, and 3D printed models, the public were able to appreciate how heritage conservation best practices



³⁴ 香港建築師學會於南豐紗廠舉辦香港建築師學會2019/20年年獎得獎作品展覽，展出的得獎作品包括都爹利街石階及煤氣路燈修復工程。

The award-winning projects of the 2019/20 HKIA Annual Awards, including the restoration of Duddell Street Steps and Gas Lamps, were staged at The Mills.

2020年11月下旬，香港建築師學會於南豐紗廠舉辦香港建築師學會2019/20年年獎得獎作品展覽，團隊也提供得獎作品：都爹利街石階及煤氣路燈修復工程項目的展示內容³⁴，吸引大量市民參觀，從而拓闊社會對古蹟辦保育工作的認識。

古蹟辦將古蹟修復工程製作成三分鐘短片，上載到古蹟辦的官方網站；亦透過社交及網上媒體，例如電視及電台節目、YouTube及發展局局長隨筆專欄等與公眾分享修復工程體驗³⁵。

could be implemented through the integration of traditional craftsmanship and advanced technology. The importance of heritage promotion and interpretation was also emphasised through the exhibition.

Further to the invitation of HKIA, an exhibition of winning projects among the HKIA Annual Awards 2019/20, including the restoration project of Duddell Street Steps and Gas Lamps, was staged in late November 2020 at The Mills³⁴. It drew significant attention from the public, thus broadening community awareness of the conservation work done by AMO.

A three-minute video illustrating the restoration works was produced and uploaded to the AMO website. The restoration experience was also disseminated to the public through various social and online media, such as television and radio programmes, YouTube, and the Secretary for Development's blog³⁵.



³⁵ 發展局局長隨筆專欄刊登了古蹟修復工程

The restoration project was featured in the Secretary for Development's blog.

項目團隊成員樂意透過講座或研討會，分享修復工程的體驗，包括出席由大館舉辦的「大館對談」³⁶；煤氣公司舉辦的持續專業進修講座；康樂及文化事務署主辦的培訓講座³⁷；以及香港建築師學會策劃、古蹟辦及路政署主講的香港建築師學會 2019/20 年年獎第二節的「都爹利街石階及煤氣路燈修復工程」持續專業進修分享講座³⁸。此外，項目團隊於 2021 年的第 28 屆國際文化遺產記錄科學委員會全球雙年會 (CIPA2021) 上，以「應用三維掃描技術於受天災損毀的文物修復工程」為題作演講，參與者包括本地及海外保育專家及工作人員，以及博物館館長；演講論文已刊登於《The International Archives of the Photogrammetry, Remote Sensing and Spatial Information Sciences》，卷 XLVI-M-1-2021：第 28 屆國際文化遺產記錄科學委員會全球雙年會〈大學·數感〉，從而將古蹟的修復經驗與海內外人士分享。

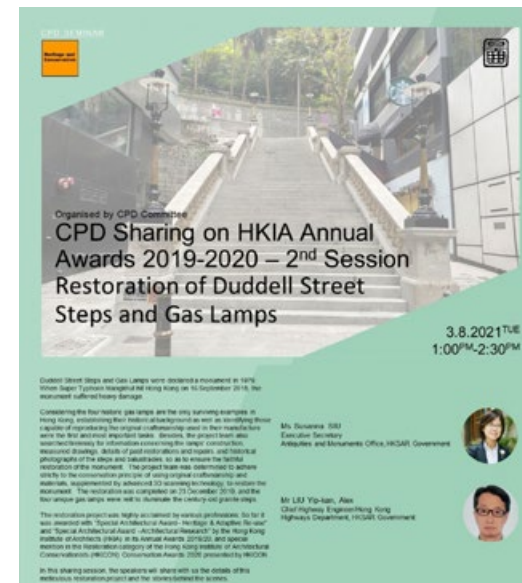
The project team members have also been keen to share their restoration experience through talks and seminars, including attending the “Tai Kwun Conversations” organised by Tai Kwun³⁶; the Continuing Professional Development seminar organised by Towngas; the training sessions organised by the Leisure and Cultural Services Department³⁷; and the Continuing Professional Development Sharing on HKIA Annual Awards 2019-2020 2nd Session, “Restoration of Duddell Street Steps and Gas Lamps”, organised by HKIA and delivered by AMO and HyD³⁸. A presentation on the “Application of 3D scanning technology in the restoration of a heritage site damaged by natural disaster” was given at the International Committee for Architectural Photogrammetry (“CIPA”) 2021 symposium, with a target audience included local and international conservation professionals and practitioners, as well as museum curators. The presentation paper was published in *The International Archives of the Photogrammetry, Remote Sensing and Spatial Information Sciences, Volume XLVI-M-1-2021: 28th CIPA Symposium “Great Learning & Digital Emotion”*, thus further sharing the experience gained with local and overseas counterparts.



³⁶ 古蹟辦出席「大館對談」公眾講座，與社會各界分享文物修復體驗。
AMO attended the public lecture “Tai Kwun Conversations” to share their restoration experience with the public.



³⁷ 古蹟辦分別為煤氣公司職員（上）及康樂及文化事務署館長職系職員（下）進行分享講座
Sharing sessions hosted by AMO representatives for Towngas staff (top) and curatorial grade colleagues of the Leisure and Cultural Services Department (bottom)



³⁸ 古蹟辦及路政署為香港建築師學會會員進行網上分享講座
AMO and HyD delivered an online sharing session to HKIA members.



³⁹ 古蹟的說明牌及多個地方展示了能連接短片的二維碼
QR codes were positioned on the Monument plaque and various other locations on the Monument.

古蹟說明牌及古蹟多處加了連接修復工程短片的二維碼，介紹古蹟的歷史、重要性及修復過程³⁹。

項目團隊核心成員亦為古物諮詢委員會（下稱「古諮會」）舉辦導賞團⁴⁰，向古諮會介紹修復過程，並藉此寶貴機會，與古諮會交流、分享修復經驗及與委員會攜手推動文物保育。

The monument plaque and different locations of the Monument were equipped with QR codes linking to the video of the restoration works, which introduces both the history and significance of this Monument and its restoration³⁹.

A guided tour conducted by core members of the project team was organised for members of the Antiquities Advisory Board (“AAB”)⁴⁰ to introduce the stories and information regarding the restoration. This offered them an invaluable opportunity for experience sharing and direct communication to reinforce the engagement of the board in heritage conservation.



⁴⁰ 項目團隊為古諮會委員舉辦導賞團
Guided tour for Antiquities Advisory Board members

結語

憑藉由私營機構、私人文物顧問及承辦商，以及政府有關部門及公營機構組成的項目團隊，在成員齊心協力及努力下，古蹟經歷15個月的艱巨修復工程後，於2019年12月23日成功「重生」，四盞煤氣路燈重新燃點，照亮了逾百年歷史的花崗石階。煤氣路燈和石階能回復到颱風襲港前的狀況，全憑以下三項重要元素：確保修復工程遵照最高國際保育原則、重用受損原物料，以及採用傳統工藝技術，讓古蹟的藝術價值及原真性得以保留。這項著名景點兼熱門影視拍攝場地完全修復後，亦重新為市民提供重要的行人通道。從嚴重損毀到成功修復，為古蹟的歷史譜寫了重要的篇章，為港人留下難忘的回憶。古蹟的文物及社會價值不但得以保存，而且還提升到更高層次。

此外，項目團隊孜孜不倦的研究工作、整個修復過程的記錄，以及各種詮釋方法的應用，豐富了古蹟的物質及非物質元素，使之能確切地世世代代傳承下去。

縱然在修復過程面對前所未有的困難，項目團隊秉承最高文物保育的專業精神，絕不會因趕工而犧牲修復的質量。儘管採用現代複製品能快捷地替代受損的煤氣路燈，但這卻與項目團隊的保育原則及如實修復古蹟的信念背道而馳，因此從來不會被考慮。

Conclusion

With the concerted efforts and hard work of the project team, whose members were made up from private companies, private heritage consultants and contractors, relevant government departments and offices, the Monument was effectively “reborn” on 23 December 2019 after 15-month of painstaking restoration works. The four unique gas lamps were relit to illuminate the granite steps of more than a century old. The return of the lamps and steps to a pre-typhoon state was achieved by three important means: ensuring compliance with the highest international principles of heritage conservation; reusing the damaged original materials; and employing traditional craftsmanship. The aesthetic value and authenticity of the Monument have been retained. The Monument’s function as an important pedestrian access, which is also a renowned scenic spot and filming location for movies and TV series, has been resumed. The severe damage caused by the super typhoon together with the subsequent restoration of the Monument has added an important chapter to the Monument’s history, creating an unforgettable memory for Hong Kong people. The heritage and social values of the place have not only been maintained but enhanced.

In addition, the tireless research, the documentation of the entire restoration process, and the interpretation subsequently provided by various means, all combine to allow enrichment of both the tangible and intangible elements of the Monument, enabling them to be passed on to the future generations in a truly sustainable manner.

Despite the unprecedented difficulties encountered in carrying out the restoration works, the project team was persistent in upholding the highest standards of professionalism in heritage conservation, and never compromise on quality for the sake of speed. Although a “quick fix” could have been achieved by replacing the damaged gas lanterns and cast-iron column with modern replicas, this would have completely compromised the team’s conservation principles and desire for authenticity, and was never considered at all.

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家在香港：本位視點 述說非華裔族群的香港故事

Hong Kong as Home: The Story of Non-ethnic Chinese Communities through Insider's Perspective

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前言

香港人口以華人為主，恆常佔總人口 90% 以上，大家或因此沒注意到香港是多元族裔的社會。其實不少非華裔人士早於開埠初期已經在香港擔任公職、經商、傳教或就業，部分更定居下來，繼續追尋各自的理想。香港社會受益於多個非華裔族群的專業所長、無私奉獻和海外聯繫，經濟得以蓬勃發展。為了展示香港社會的多元面相，香港歷史博物館（下稱「博物館」或「館方」）正籌劃以非華裔族群為主題的展覽系列，並以本地葡裔族群作首輪題材。

是次展覽，館方嘗試以族群本身的視點述說葡人故事，並透過公開徵集文物、歷史照片及口述歷史記錄，於展覽籌備階段，讓公眾參與的同時，亦希望內容可獲被敘述族群的認同和支持。

Foreword

As Chinese people consistently make up more than 90% of Hong Kong's population, many of us may not be aware that Hong Kong is a multi-ethnic society. In fact, many non-Chinese persons have held public office, run businesses, engaged in missionary work, and worked in Hong Kong since the city's early days as a free port. Some of them settled in Hong Kong to pursue their dreams. Benefiting from the professional expertise, selfless devotion and overseas connections of non-Chinese ethnic groups, Hong Kong has enjoyed fruitful social and economic development. To showcase the diversity of Hong Kong society, the Hong Kong Museum of History (the "Museum") has in the pipeline a series of exhibitions about the city's non-Chinese ethnic groups. The first exhibition will feature the local Portuguese community.

In this exhibition, the Museum tells the story of the Portuguese community from the community's perspective. Through an appeal for the collection of artefacts and historical photographs from the public, as well as an oral history project, the exhibition engaged members of the public in the preparation stage to ensure that the content would be endorsed and supported by the ethnic group being recounted.

本地葡裔族群簡介

本地葡裔族群不是直接由葡國本土移居過來的歐洲人，其祖輩可上溯至十六世紀初來到印度、馬六甲等葡屬居留地的軍人、海員和商人。他們每到一處地方便與當地婦女通婚，誕下後裔。這些混血後裔在東南亞各個葡屬居留地開枝散葉，形成被學者通稱為葡亞人 (Luso-Asians) 的族群，本地葡裔族群則是葡亞人的一個分支。¹ 葡亞人十分重視自身的葡萄牙文化傳統，但不少生活習俗都受到寓居地的物候條件影響，逐漸發展成一種有別於葡國本土、具混同特徵

Hong Kong's Portuguese Community in Brief

The local Portuguese population did not migrate to Hong Kong directly from Europe. They were the descendants of soldiers, seamen and merchants who moved to Portuguese settlements in India and Malacca during the early 16th century. In the settlements, they married indigenous women and had children, and the mixed-race offspring went on to have families in Portuguese settlements in Southeast Asia, forming communities described by scholars as Luso-Asians. Hong Kong's Portuguese community is a branch of Luso-Asians.¹ Although Luso-Asians highly valued Portuguese culture and traditions, many of their everyday customs were influenced by the phenological conditions of the settlements. Over time, they developed community cultures different from traditional

¹ 有關葡亞人在東南亞地區形成的概況，可參考 Laura Jarnagin 編：《Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511-2011》第 1 及第 2 冊（新加坡：Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011）；有關十六世紀葡屬亞洲居留地實施的跨種族通婚政策，可參考 Charles Ralph Boxer：《Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770》（牛津：牛津大學出版社，1968）及 Charles Ralph Boxer：《The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825》（倫敦：Hutchinson, 1969）。

For a brief account of the development of the Luso-Asians in Southeast Asia, see Laura Jarnagin, ed., *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511-2011*, Vols. 1 and 2 (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011). For interracial marriage policies in Portuguese settlements in Asia during the 16th century, see Charles Ralph Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), and Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (London: Hutchinson, 1969).

的族群文化。1557年，葡亞人到澳門定居後，繁衍出一支帶有華裔血統的土生葡人(Macanese)。經歷了幾代人在亞洲地區的遷徙流變，土生葡人擁有不同歐亞混血兒的面部特徵，有些外表跟印度人和歐洲人相像，有些則與華人無異，不過大都通曉粵語和熟悉華人禮儀風俗。²

1840年代初，葡人從澳門移居香港，是最早在此定居的非華裔族群之一。他們既保存本身的葡國文化傳統，也融入香港的社會文化之中，不少生活細節皆與一般本地華人無異。

根據二戰前的人口普查，先後有約60個非華裔族群寓居於香港，人數往往受時局影響而有所增減。一些族群來去匆匆，一些族群則繼續根植香港，本地葡人就是其中之一。葡人的數目一直高踞非華裔族群之首，直到二十世紀初才被英國人超越。³香港在上世紀五、六十年代發生的社會騷動，促使部分本地葡人在六、七十年代移居美國、加拿大、澳洲、葡萄牙及巴西等地。然而大部分葡人繼續以香港為家，跟我們一起經歷無數的高低跌宕。

以人為本的策展手法

根據外地博物館的策展經驗，原住民或少數族裔展覽籌辦過程容易受到挑戰，尤其當館方沒有讓被敘述的族群適當地參與策展過程，展覽的代表性和認受性便會遭到質疑。⁴故此香港歷史博物館方決定採取以人為本的策展方向，借助族群本身的力量去蒐集文物及研究資料，以籌辦一個能夠獲他們認同的展覽為目標。館方採取的策展步驟如下：

Portuguese culture with mixed characteristics. In 1557, Luso-Asians settled in Macau, had biracial children with Chinese people, and became known as Macanese. After several generations of migration to Asia, indigenous Macanese people had different Eurasian facial features; some resembled Indians and Europeans, while others looked no different from the average Chinese. Most of them were fluent in Cantonese and familiar with Chinese etiquette and customs.²

In the early 1840s, Portuguese people migrated from Macau to Hong Kong. They were among the first non-Chinese ethnic groups to settle in the city. While preserving Portuguese culture and traditions, they integrated into Hong Kong society and culture, and their everyday lives were in many ways similar to those of local Chinese people.

According to census figures before the Second World War, approximately 60 non-Chinese ethnic groups lived in Hong Kong. The size of the groups fluctuated, depending on the situation at the time. Some ethnic groups came and went quickly, while others took root in Hong Kong; the local Portuguese community was among the latter. For years, the Portuguese were the largest non-Chinese ethnic group in Hong Kong. Not until the early 20th century were they surpassed by the British.³ While the social unrest in Hong Kong during the 1950s and 1960s prompted some local Portuguese people to migrate to the United States, Canada, Australia, Portugal, Brazil, among others, in the 1960s and 1970s, most of them continued to reside in Hong Kong through thick and thin with the rest of the population.

² 有關葡人來華及早年在澳門的生活可參考 Anders Ljungstedt：《Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China》(波士頓：James Munroe & Co., 1836)；李長森：《明清時期澳門土生族群的形成發展與變遷》(北京：中華書局，2007)及湯開建：《天朝異化之角：16-19世紀西洋文明在澳門》上下卷(廣州：暨南大學出版社，2016)。

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³ 《Hong Kong By-Census Main Reports》(香港：政府統計處，1853-1855，1859-1867，1869，1871-1872，1876，1881，1891，1897，1901，1906，1911，1921，1931)(只提供英文版)。

Hong Kong By-Census Main Reports (Hong Kong: Census and Statistics Department, 1853-1855, 1859-1867, 1869, 1871-1872, 1876, 1881, 1891, 1897, 1901, 1906, 1911, 1921, 1931) (English version only).

(一) 接觸具族群代表性的組織

日常遇到陌生人登門造訪，仔細查問個人及家族歷史之餘，又要求查看家庭照和傳家之寶，對此大家都必然非常抗拒。故此博物館職員進行族群或宗族歷史研究時，通常都要借助一些中間人穿針引線，以協助溝通和安排訪問以收集資料。這次館方有幸取得西洋會所(Club Lusitano)一位前會長的幫助，以開展口述歷史研究和借用合適的展品，而該會長亦成為了展覽的策展顧問。

本地葡人有兩個歷史悠久的組織，分別是位於中環的西洋會所及京士柏的西洋波會(Club de Recreio)。西洋會所於1866年成立，是本港歷史最悠久的葡裔社交會所，至今仍然維持只限葡籍及葡裔人士才可入會。該會除提供消閒娛樂及餐飲設施，也經常舉辦慶祝活動、紀念儀式和官方招待會，對維繫族群發揮重要作用。現屆執行委員會成員包括歷史悠久的葡裔家族後人。而西洋波會則於1906年成立，原屬一個只限葡人參加的康樂會所，其後於1968年取消國籍及種族限制，歡迎任何人士入會。

2016年初，館方接觸西洋會所執行委員會，尋求合作機會。經磋商後，展覽計劃得到該會全力支持，而館方亦特別邀請了其執行委員會兩位代表聯同策展顧問參與籌展工作，三位葡人除了為館方穿針引線，成功聯絡不少海內外葡人及相關組織外，他們更以族群的本位視點，對展覽大綱、文物清單及展場設計給予寶貴意見。

People-oriented Curatorial Approach

With reference to the curating experience of museums abroad, the organisers of exhibitions about indigenous people and ethnic minority groups often face many challenges. In particular, if museums do not adequately engage with the ethnic group being recounted in the curatorial process, the validity and legitimacy of the exhibitions may be called into question.⁴ Therefore, the Hong Kong Museum of History adopted a people-oriented curatorial approach, leveraging the ethnic group's own resources to collect cultural relics and research materials to present an exhibition they would approve of. The following steps were taken in the curatorial process:

(1) Contacting Representative Organisations of the Ethnic Group

Most people do not welcome the idea of strangers visiting their home, asking about their personal and family history, and requesting to see their family photos and other personal treasures. Therefore, when conducting research on the history of ethnic groups or clans, the Museum staff usually rely on intermediaries to facilitate communication and schedule visits to gather information. For this project, the Museum was fortunate to have enlisted the help of a former president of Club Lusitano in conducting oral history research and arranging the loan of suitable exhibits. The former president also served as the curatorial advisor for the exhibition.

In Hong Kong's local Portuguese community, there are two longstanding organisations, Club Lusitano and Club de Recreio, in Central and King's Park respectively. Established in 1866, Club Lusitano is Hong Kong's oldest Portuguese social venue.

⁴ 其中一個經典例子：美國大都會藝術博物館為了拓展非裔美國人這個觀眾群，於1969年舉辦了「心中的哈林區：美國黑人的文化之都，1900-1968」展覽(Harlem on My Mind: The Cultural Capital of Black America, 1900-1968)。該館館長希望爭取哈林社區的認同，又想保持策展自主性，於是延攬了藝術史學者、圖書館館長及社區名流進入展覽研究委員會，卻沒有讓非裔藝術家參與策展過程。由於館方的策展意念不符美國非裔藝術家的期望，大批非裔藝術家最終在展覽開幕前夕到博物館門外示威，博物館總監需要為此公開道歉。詳情參見 Bridget R. Cooks：〈Black Artists and Activism: Harlem on My Mind (1969)〉，《美國研究》(48 (1)，2007)，頁5-39及 Susan E. Cahan：〈Mounting Frustration: The Art Museum in the Age of Black Power〉(杜倫：Duke University Press，2016)。

One classic example was the exhibition, *Harlem on My Mind: The Cultural Capital of Black America, 1900-1968*, organised by the American Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1969. In the hope of gaining the recognition of the Harlem community while maintaining curatorial autonomy, the curator invited art historians, librarians and community celebrities to join the exhibition research committee. However, African American artists were not involved. Since the museum's curatorial concepts did not meet the expectations of African American artists, they protested outside the museum on the eve of the exhibition opening. In the end, the museum director had to make a public apology. See Bridget R. Cooks, "Black Artists and Activism: Harlem on My Mind (1969)," *American Studies* 48, no. 1 (Spring 2007): 5-39, and Susan E. Cahan, *Mounting Frustration: The Art Museum in the Age of Black Power* (New Carolina: Duke University Press, 2016).

(二) 文物徵集行動

葡裔族群在香港扎根接近 180 年，但相關的歷史資料和文物保存工作仍有待作系統性的整理，幸好仍有少數葡人能完整地保存家族文物，例如 Ruy Barretto 的家族文物；或甚至慷慨地將家族文物捐贈給文博單位保存，例如澳洲國家圖書館的布力架藏品。然而，本地葡人家庭在上世紀六、七十年代陸續移居到美國、加拿大及澳洲等海外地區，家族圖片和文獻檔案分散收藏於世界各地更是常見。由於當年運輸成本高昂，不少葡人在移居時都未及把家族文物保留下來，文物失傳的情況亦見嚴峻。

為了進一步徵集本地葡人的文物，策展團隊遂於 2018 年發起「香港葡裔社群文物徵集行動」(Hong Kong Portuguese Community Artefact Collection Campaign)，向海內外葡人及組織廣發邀請。西洋會所代表除了運用本身人脈，引薦館員認識葡裔同胞及相關機構外，更在會所舉辦一場土生葡人下午茶(chá gordo)，讓策展團隊可以親身介紹文物徵集行動，呼籲葡人支持¹。另外，已移居海外的葡人也是徵集對象。

博物館館員為了進一步宣傳展覽和相關的文物徵集活動，積極參與葡人會所的聚會，例如每年 11 月在西洋波會舉行的和平紀念日悼念儀式²、每三年一次的澳門土生葡人社群聚會³，藉此拉近館方與葡人的關係，同時又為《香港歷史博物館通訊》撰寫專題文章，介紹徵集所得的文物和相片，讓他們了解館方的研究所得，確保葡裔族群的歷史有準確且適切的闡述。文物徵集行動於 2021 年 1 月結束，合共獲得約 40 名海內外人士及機構捐贈或借出文物及照片⁴。



¹ 於西洋會所舉行的文物徵集行動簡介會
Briefing on the artefact collection campaign held in Club Lusitano

Even today, membership is restricted to Portuguese nationals and ethnic Portuguese. Besides providing recreational and dining facilities, the club regularly organises celebrations, commemorative ceremonies and official receptions. These events play an important role in keeping the community together. Members of the current General Committee include the descendants of longstanding Portuguese families in Hong Kong. Club de Recreio was established in 1906 as a recreation centre for Portuguese people. In 1968, nationality and race restrictions were lifted. Since then, everyone has been welcome to join the club.

In early 2016, the Museum approached the General Committee of Club Lusitano to seek opportunities for cooperation. Following negotiations, the exhibition won the full support of the club, and the Museum engaged two representatives of its General Committee, together with the curatorial advisor, to participate in the curatorial process. Besides liaising with Portuguese individuals and organisations at home and abroad on behalf of the Museum, they offered invaluable opinions on the exhibition outline, the list of artefacts, and the gallery design from the perspective of the Portuguese community.

(2) Artefact Collection Campaign

The Portuguese community originally settled in Hong Kong almost 180 years ago, but the relevant historical information and artefacts have yet to be systematically preserved. Fortunately, a small number of Portuguese people have kept their family artefacts in good condition, such as artefacts from Ruy Barretto's family, and have been very generous in donating them to museums and cultural organisations, such as the Braga Collection of the National Library of Australia. However, as local Portuguese families moved overseas, mainly to the United States, Canada and Australia, in the 1960s and 1970s, family photographs and archives are often kept in different



² 2019 年 11 月，博物館館員參與在西洋波會舉行的和平紀念日悼念儀式。

The Museum staff took part in the Remembrance Day memorial service held in Club de Recreio in November 2019.



³ 2019 年 11 月，博物館館員到澳門參與澳門土生葡人社群聚會。

Museum staff attended the Reunion of the Macanese Communities in Macau in November 2019.



⁴ 部分捐贈及借出的歷史照片和文物

Some of the historical photographs and artefacts donated or loaned to the Museum

locations abroad. To make matters worse, many Portuguese people were unable to preserve their family artefacts when they left Hong Kong owing to high transportation costs.

To collect more artefacts of the local Portuguese community, the curatorial team launched the Hong Kong Portuguese Community Artefact Collection Campaign in 2018, and sent invitations to Portuguese individuals and organisations in Hong Kong and abroad. Besides introducing the Museum staff to Portuguese individuals and organisations through their interpersonal networks, the representatives of Club Lusitano hosted chá gordo, a Macanese family-style afternoon tea, for the members of the club, giving the Museum staff an opportunity to introduce the collection campaign and garner support from the Portuguese community in person¹. The Museum also appealed to Portuguese people who had emigrated overseas to lend artefacts to the collection.

To further promote the exhibition and artefact-collection campaign, the Museum staff actively participated in the gatherings of Portuguese clubs, such as the Remembrance Day memorial service held every November in Club de Recreio², and the Reunion of the Macanese Communities held once every three years³, bringing the Museum closer to the Portuguese people. At the same time, featured articles introducing the artefacts and photographs collected from the public were published in the *Hong Kong Museum of History Newsletter* to keep them informed of the Museum's research findings and ensure that the history of the Portuguese community was accurately and appropriately elaborated. At the end of the collection campaign in January 2021, approximately 40 individuals and organisations in Hong Kong and abroad donated or loaned artefacts and photographs to the Museum⁴.



(三) 搜集葡人本位視點資料

本地葡人歷史論述的整理和研究也是策展團隊的工作重點。由於策展團隊希望展覽採用以葡人為本位的視點，故此除了參考專業歷史學者的研究外，⁵也大量參考葡人回憶錄和葡裔學者關於港澳葡人歷史的著述，^{6,7}並向不同職業身份的葡人及相關人士搜集口述歷史資料，包括西洋會所管理層、前滙豐銀行葡裔僱員、土生葡菜廚師、賈梅士學校退休老師及舊生、唱片騎師、前樂隊成員、馬主、不同年紀的葡裔女性、年輕人等⁵。

根據博物館館員的觀察，普遍葡人對自己族群及家族的歷史、文化及對香港的貢獻都感到自豪，然而有時亦會出現記憶有誤的情況，當館員遇有疑問時，會翻查相關書籍和文獻作進一步核實，例如：館員曾到滙豐歷史檔案部查閱 1966 年至 1976 年的職員名單、首席會計員名單及簽名式樣等文件，以查核「葡裔職員獲晉升至首席會計員，跟英籍總經理於 1975 年共同簽署鈔票」此一說法。總括而言，館員會爭取機會訪問不同身份又具有一定代表性的葡人，並依照一般文獻研究及口述歷史訪問的做法：把他們耳聞目睹的經歷先記錄下來，有不清楚之處則再與其他文獻、公私藏檔案及舊報紙資料互相比較印證。

(3) Collecting Information from the Portuguese Perspective

The compilation and study of historical narratives about the local Portuguese community was another focus of the curatorial team. In the hope of curating the exhibition from the Portuguese's point of view, the curatorial team drew on the research of professional historians⁵ and referred extensively to the memoirs of Portuguese individuals, as well as Portuguese scholars' works on the history of Portuguese people in Hong Kong and Macau.^{6,7} In addition, oral history narratives were collected from Portuguese people in different professions and other relevant individuals, such as the management of Club Lusitano, former Portuguese employees of The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC), Macanese chefs, a retired teacher and former students of Escola Camões, a disc jockey, former band members, horse owners, Portuguese women of all ages, and young people⁵.

The Museum staff observed that Portuguese people are generally proud of their ethnic and family history and their contribution to Hong Kong. However, sometimes their memories might not be totally accurate. Therefore, when the Museum staff were in doubt, they verified the information with related books and historical records. For example, the Museum staff looked up the lists of employees and the Chief Accountant, as well as signature specimens from 1966 to 1976 in the HSBC Archives to check the statement that “a Portuguese employee was promoted to Chief Accountant and signed banknotes alongside the bank’s British General Manager in 1975.” The Museum staff sought opportunities to interview different Portuguese individuals representing specific areas or groups. In accordance with the usual practices in archive research and oral history interviews, the Museum staff first recorded what they heard and observed, and then verified the information with other historical records, public and private archives, and old newspaper clippings when they were in doubt.



⁵ 2019 年 11 月，賈梅士學校舊生在西洋會所接受口述歷史訪問。
Former students of Escola Camões gave an oral history interview in Club Lusitano in November 2019.

(四) 撰寫展覽大綱

澳門土生葡人在十九世紀中期往香港及上海兩地遷移及繁衍，形成三個互有聯繫又各自發展的葡亞族群。館員透過與不同葡人交流，觀察到本地葡人將澳門視為祖先的原居地，他們不少的傳統文化都是承襲澳門土生葡人，同時又融入香港的文化和生活，故同時強調自己是葡亞人後裔及地道香港人。因此，策展團隊希望展覽帶出以下訊息：雖然本地葡人的祖先源於歐洲，擁有歐亞混血兒的長相，承傳葡亞文化，但跟本地華人一樣都以港為家，對香港的政治、經濟、社會和體育發展有所貢獻，亦為本地文化增添色彩。

(4) Planning the Exhibition Outline

In the mid-19th century, Macanese people moved from Macau to Hong Kong and Shanghai. Over time, three closely connected yet distinct Luso-Asian communities were formed. Through interacting with various Portuguese people, Museum staff observed that the local Portuguese community regarded Macau as the place of origin of their ancestors. While they inherited the traditional culture of the Macanese, they integrated themselves into the culture and life of Hong Kong, identifying as Luso-Asian descendants and local Hong Kong people. Therefore, the exhibition is intended to bring out the following message: although the local Portuguese descended from Europeans look like Eurasians and have inherited the Luso-Asian culture, they consider Hong Kong their home just as local Chinese people do. They have contributed substantially to the city's political, economic, social and sports development, while adding colour to Hong Kong culture.

⁵ 根據李培德教授對十九世紀至 1998 年香港史著述的整理與統計，合共有 2,853 項，當中僅有九項與非華裔族群相關，涵蓋日本人、英國人、猶太人、德國人、印度人及歐亞混血兒。資料見李培德編：《香港史研究書目題解》（香港：三聯書店（香港）有限公司，2001），頁 5，93-96。另外，據黃文江教授整理的《香港歷史學術研究中英文論著書目錄（1997-2015）》，由專業歷史學者編寫的非華裔族群著作，以英國、美國、日本及印度人為主。資料見王庚武編：《香港史新編》下冊，（香港：三聯書店（香港）有限公司，2016），頁 975-1054。

According to a study of writings on the history of Hong Kong from the 19th century to 1998 by Professor Lee Pui-tak, there are 2,853 entries in total, only nine of which are related to non-Chinese ethnic groups, including Japanese, British, Jews, Germans, Indians, and Eurasians. See Pui-tak Lee, ed., *An Annotated Bibliography of Hong Kong History* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (Hong Kong) Company Limited, 2001), 5, 93-96. According to “A Bibliography of English and Chinese Academic Writings on the History of Hong Kong, 1997-2015,” academic writings on the history of non-Chinese ethnic groups by professional historians focused mostly on the British, Americans, the Japanese and Indians compiled by Professor Wong Man-kong. See Gungwu Wang, ed., *Hong Kong History: New Perspectives*, Vol. 2 (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing (Hong Kong) Company Limited, 2016), 975-1054.

⁶ 葡人回憶錄例如前市政局非官守議員告山奴醫生 (Dr. Eduardo Liberato “Eddie” Gosano) 的著作《Hong Kong Farewell》（香港：Greg England，1997）及人稱 Uncle Ray 的資深唱片騎師郭利民 (Ray Cordeiro) 的著作《樂壇教父 Uncle Ray》（香港：音樂無限有限公司，2021）。

Memories of Portuguese individuals, such as *Hong Kong Farewell* (Hong Kong: Greg England, 1997), by Dr. Eduardo Liberato “Eddie” Gosano, a former unofficial member of the Urban Council, and *All the Way with Ray: My Autobiography* (Hong Kong: Music Unlimited Co Ltd, 2021), by veteran disc jockey Ray Cordeiro, better known as Uncle Ray.

⁷ 例如身兼記者、商人及定例局議員的布力架 (José Pedro Braga) 於 1944 年撰寫的《The Portuguese in Hongkong and China》（澳門：Fundação Macau，1998），描述了土生葡人來港早期的就業與生活狀況；以及其後人 Stuart Braga 在 1998 年從中學教職退休後撰寫以其家族史為題的博士論文《Making Impressions: A Portuguese Family in Macau and Hong Kong, 1700-1945》（澳門：Instituto Internacional de Macau，2015）；以及建築師 António Manuel Jorge da Silva 及退休金融從業員 Frederico Alberto Silva 撰述的書籍，篇幅所限，在此不作贅列。

For example, *The Portuguese in Hong Kong and China* (Macau: Fundação Macau, 1998), written by journalist, merchant and Legislative Council member José Pedro Braga in 1944, describes the employment and everyday lives of early Macanese people in Hong Kong; in 1998, his descendant, Stuart Braga, wrote a doctoral thesis on the history of his family, titled *Making Impressions: A Portuguese Family in Macau and Hong Kong, 1700-1945* (Macau: Instituto Internacional de Macau, 2015), after his retirement from teaching at secondary school; other works include books written by architect António Manuel Jorge da Silva and retired financial practitioner Frederico Alberto Silva. Due to the limited space of this article, a full list of the works is not provided.



6 2021年4月，博物館館員向西洋會所執行委員會簡介策展進度及展覽大綱。

The Museum staff briefed General Committee members of Club Lusitano on the progress of curation and the exhibition outline in April 2021.

在研究及搜集文物的過程中，博物館館員發現葡人與香港開埠後的不同發展階段有密切關係，在不同領域擔當不同角色，故此展覽不適宜採用線性敘事框架，反而應透過串連各個獨立主題，把葡裔名人及群體不同面向的故事、族群的文化及歷史更立體地敘述出來。

另外，館方定期與葡人會面，交流意見，確保內容選材具有代表性。館員亦定期向西洋會所執行委員會簡介策展進度、展覽大綱及展示手法等，聽取他們的意見 6。

展廳規劃

展覽內容包括本地葡人的來歷、葡裔傳統文化、葡人的活躍行業、主要聚居地及消閒生活。歐洲葡人於十六世紀來到亞洲，其後定居澳門，繁衍土生葡人；或在香港開埠後移居過來，對香港的社會經濟發展貢獻良多。為了讓觀眾容易了解本地葡裔族群，展覽將重點介紹葡人的家庭觀念、傳統文化和宗教信仰，其中亦會觸及婦女生活、土生葡菜、土生葡語等課題。至於本地葡人的社會生活，則可透過他們的職業身份及貢獻作深入討論，例如公務員、銀行職員、律師、商人、志願紀律部隊、公共服務和社會領袖等。

During the course of researching and collecting artefacts, the Museum staff found that Hong Kong's Portuguese people were closely related to different stages of Hong Kong's development, playing different roles in various fields. Thus, it was inappropriate to adopt a linear narrative framework for the exhibition. The stories of prominent Portuguese people and groups, along with the culture and history of the Portuguese community, had to be told in a three-dimensional manner through linked topics.

The Museum staff held regular meetings with Portuguese residents of Hong Kong to facilitate the exchange of views and ensure the content of the exhibition would be representative. They also regularly briefed the General Committee of Club Lusitano on the progress of curation, the exhibition outline and methods of display, and sought their opinions 6.

Gallery Design

The exhibition covers the origin of the local Portuguese population, traditional Portuguese culture, popular professions among the Portuguese, and major residential areas and recreation for the Portuguese of Hong Kong. The Portuguese arrived in Asia from Europe in the 16th century, settling in Macau and propagating as Macanese. After the inception of Hong Kong as a port, they moved there and contributed immensely to the city's social and economic development. To facilitate the understanding of the local Portuguese community, the exhibition focuses on the family values, traditional culture and religion of Portuguese people. Topics such as women's life, Macanese cuisine and Macanese patuá are also covered. The social life of the local Portuguese people is discussed in depth through their professional contributions as civil servants, bank employees, lawyers, merchants, members of the voluntary disciplinary forces, civic and community leaders, and so forth.

Design Concept: Emphasis on Family Life and Fraternity among the Portuguese Community

While studying old photographs, the Museum staff discovered that Portuguese people attached great importance to unity in the community and were inclined to work with their compatriots in business and social contexts. Since they usually married other Portuguese people, many members of the community had blood ties or were otherwise related. As the Macanese patuá saying goes, *tudo sã primo-prima* – we are all cousins.⁸

Portuguese genealogist Jorge Forjaz went through the genealogies of 337 Portuguese family names and approximately 65,000 Portuguese individuals in Macau, Hong Kong and

設計意念：重視家庭生活和同胞聯誼

在研究舊照片的過程中，博物館館員發現葡人重視族群內部團結，傾向在公務或社交圈子跟「同聲同氣」的同胞合作，由於配偶通常同是葡人，族群成員之間或多或少都帶有血緣或親戚關係。正如澳門土生葡人的口頭禪：*tudo sã primo-prima*，即是大家都是表兄弟姊妹的意思。⁸

根據葡萄牙家譜學者 Jorge Forjaz 整理澳、港、滬三地共 337 個葡裔姓氏，約 65,000 位葡人的家譜，香港葡裔族群有以下特點：（一）約 60% 的澳門土生葡人家庭有成員移居香港；（二）香港葡裔族群內通婚隨處可見，不少家庭之間都有血緣或親戚關係，引證上述澳門土生葡人的口頭禪「大家都是表兄弟姊妹」也適用於香港。⁹礙於篇幅所限，現在只以創辦香港印字館的 Lisbello de Jesus Xavier 及其子、孫三代為例，簡介葡人家庭之間密切的血緣親戚關係。在 Xavier 家族第二、三代成員的照片中，經常出現 Gutierrez 及 Sales 兩個商人家族的成員，固然他們之間有親戚關係，Xavier 家族居港第三代及 Sales 家族居港後代都與 Gutierrez 居港後代結婚。通過查閱 Jorge Forjaz 整理的家譜，可以發現三個家族之間有更緊密的關係，Xavier 與 Gutierrez 家族有五個共同姻親家族，分別是 Silva、Luz、Remédios、Bernardo 及 Almeida；Xavier 與 Sales 家族則有四個共同姻親家族，分別是 Franco、Gutierrez、Rosário 和 Luz。

為了呈現葡人重視家庭生活和同胞聯誼，策展團隊考慮於展場採用大宅設計，中央是一個葡式客廳，利用多組人像投影節目，生動地介紹葡人的信仰、飲食和語言文化，以及葡裔婦女的角色，讓觀眾彷彿置身在一個葡人家庭的派對 7。

Shanghai, and noted the following characteristics of the Portuguese community in Hong Kong: (i) some 60% of Macanese families had members who had migrated to Hong Kong; and (ii) marriage between members of the Hong Kong Portuguese community was common, and so many families had blood ties or were otherwise related, showing that the aforementioned Macanese patuá saying also applied to Hong Kong.⁹ Owing to limited space, this article illustrates only the blood ties among Portuguese families, as in the case of Lisbello de Jesus Xavier, the founder of Hong Kong Printing Press, and his sons and grandchildren. Members of the merchant families Gutierrez and Sales often appear in the photos of the second and third generations of the Xavier family. Without doubt, the families are related. In Hong Kong, the third generation of the Xavier family and the Sales family were both connected to the Gutierrez family by marriage. Through examining the genealogies collated by Jorge Forjaz, closer links among the three families can be found. The Xavier and Gutierrez families have five common families-in-law (Silva, Luz, Remédios, Bernardo and Almeida); and the Xavier and Sales families have four common families-in-law (Franco, Gutierrez, Rosário and Luz).

To show the importance of family life and fraternity among the Portuguese community, consideration was given to adopting a mansion design for the exhibition gallery. The religious, food and language traditions of the Portuguese people, along with the roles of the Portuguese women, are introduced through the image projection of various figures, so that visitors will feel as if they were attending a party hosted by a Portuguese family 7.



照片由 Eduardo Maria Sarrazola Xavier Jr. 提供
Photo courtesy of Eduardo Maria Sarrazola Xavier Jr.

7 葡人舉行生日派對的照片
Photo of a Portuguese birthday party

⁸ 阿馬羅：《大地之子——澳門土生葡人研究》（澳門：澳門文化司署，1993），頁 31。
Ana Maria Amaro, *Sons and Daughters of The Soil – The First Decade of Luso Chinese Diplomacy* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1993), 31.
⁹ Jorge Forjaz：《Famílias Macaenses》第一至第六冊（澳門：Albergue SCM e Bambu — Sociedade e Artes Limitada，2017）。
Jorge Forjaz, *Famílias Macaenses*, Vols I-VI (Macau: Albergue SCM e Bambu – Sociedade e Artes Limitada, 2017).

環繞客廳的房間可用作展示不同主題，每個房間有不同的內容，但相互之間隱約顯示出一個時序，當中的重點人物、家庭、事件又互相關聯，反映葡裔族群人口雖少，內部卻有很強的凝聚力，既保持該族群的獨特性，同時又融入香港社會不同階層和族群，成為香港的一分子。

傳承與融合的葡裔文化

本地葡裔的生活與文化，正如他們的血統一樣，既傳承自葡國的傳統，也融入了亞洲元素，葡式客廳的佈置就是例子之一。首先，葡人虔信天主教，許多家庭都會在客廳設置祭壇，習慣每晚聚首於祭壇前唸玫瑰經及祈禱。家庭祭壇除了安放常見的禱文卡、聖水、耶穌及聖母聖像外，還會擺放與葡人有密切關連的聖安多尼和聖猶達像⁸。此外，一些家庭還會擺放耶穌苦像⁹，這源於澳門每年復活節前舉行「苦難善耶穌聖像出遊」。其次，香港葡人在家居除了設置葡式花紋瓷碟的掛牆裝飾外，其餘還是以中式家具為主，生活也非常本地化。

另外，葡裔的飲食文化也展現其混合的文化特點。土生葡菜以傳統葡菜為基礎，並結合中國、馬來、印度及周邊地區的食材、調味料和烹調方法而衍生的菜系。故此，策展團隊計劃在展覽中的葡式客廳中央設置一張長餐桌，以土生葡人的下午茶(chá gordo)作為藍本，利用投影節目介紹葡人的飲食文化。「Chá gordo」意譯為下午茶，是澳門及本地葡人獨有的午間盛宴，鹹甜食物包羅萬有，是節慶時日必不可缺的活動。餐桌佈置華麗，投影的動態食物和繡花桌布與盤碟道具結合，予人視覺上的享受。餐桌附近或考慮加入聲效，一邊講解土生葡菜的起源和發展，一邊邀請觀眾加入這場盛宴。

The rooms surrounding the living room are used to illustrate different themes and content. The rooms subtly display a time sequence and the key people. Families and incidents are interrelated. This shows that even though the Portuguese population in Hong Kong was small, it was strongly united. While maintaining the uniqueness of the ethnic group, Portuguese people integrated into different classes and communities in Hong Kong and became part of the city.

Portuguese Culture Characterised by Heritage and Integration

The life and culture of the local Portuguese community, like their bloodline, perpetuated Portuguese traditions while incorporating Asian elements. One example was the layout of the Portuguese-style living room. First of all, the Portuguese are devout Catholics. Many families had altars in the living room, and it was customary for them to gather in front of the family altar every night to pray the Rosary. Also revered at the family altar, along with the usual prayer cards, holy water, and statues of Jesus and the Virgin Mary, were statues of St. Anthony of Padua and St. Jude the Apostle, both closely linked to the Portuguese⁸. Some families displayed the Passion of Christ statue⁹, a practice originating from the Procession of the Passion of Our Lord, the God Jesus, held every year in Macau before Easter. Second, apart from decorating the walls with porcelain plates featuring Portuguese patterns, the home furniture of Portuguese families in Hong Kong was mostly Chinese-style. Their everyday lives were also pretty localised.

Portuguese food culture also features mixed cultural characteristics. Macanese cuisine combines traditional Portuguese dishes with the ingredients, seasoning and cooking methods originating from China, Malaysia, India and the surrounding regions. Therefore, a long dining table is placed in the Portuguese living room in the exhibition gallery. Based on chá gordo, the display makes use of image projection to introduce the food culture of the Portuguese people living in Hong Kong. “Chá gordo” means Macanese family-style afternoon tea, which is an afternoon feast unique to Portuguese people in Macau and Hong Kong. It is an essential festive activity, in which a wide variety of savoury and sweet food is served. On the elaborately decorated dining table, the animated food image projection fuses with the embroidered tablecloth and tableware to offer visual enjoyment to visitors. Consideration is also given to sound effects near the dining table, illustrating the origin and development of Macanese cuisine, while inviting visitors to join the feast.



由 Eduardo Cruz Jr. 提供
Courtesy of Eduardo Cruz Jr.

8 展品中的家庭祭壇
Family altar in the exhibition display



由 Eduardo Cruz Jr. 提供
Courtesy of Eduardo Cruz Jr.

9 展品中的耶穌苦像
The Passion of Christ statue in the exhibition display

葡裔族群的縮影：Barretto 家族藏品

葡裔族群曾培養精英無數，在數個職業群體中，例如公務員、銀行職員、香港義勇防衛軍及志願紀律部隊，更是人才輩出。另外，來自不同領域的葡人亦有叱咤一時的重要人物及家族，例如印刷業的 Xavier 家族、貿易界的 Barretto 家族、法律界的 D'Almada e Castro 家族、政商界要人布力架 (José Pedro Braga) 及羅保爵士 (Sir Rogério Hyndman Lobo)、「香港市長」兼體育巨人沙理士 (Arnaldo de Oliveira Sales) 等。他們在多個領域有一定貢獻，在展覽中的不同房間都可一睹他們的身影。下文以 Barretto 家族及其藏品為例，簡介葡裔族群在香港歷史發展的角色。

現時的家族藏品管理人 Ruy Barretto 的父系祖先可以追溯至十八世紀初在印度從事轉口貿易的商人家族。他們擁有兩艘貨船，經營中國至倫敦的進出口業務。十八世紀末，家族扎根澳門，經營貿易行，兼營保險及信貸生意。家族第三代 Bartolomeu Barretto 在商界甚具影響力，於 1825 年獲選為澳門市政廳商務監理。另外，Barretto 家族又在廣州開辦三利洋行 (Messrs. Barretto & Co.)，更在十三行商館區擁有自家商館，¹⁰ 在中外貿易佔有優勢。怡和洋行為了在廣州貿易體制中站穩陣腳，也不得不招攬 Barretto 家族

Microcosm of the Portuguese Community: The Barretto Family Collection

The Portuguese community has nurtured numerous elite individuals, who excelled particularly in a number of professions, such as the civil service, banking, the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Corps, and the voluntary disciplinary forces. There have been prominent Portuguese individuals and families in various fields over the years, including the Xavier family in the printing industry, the Barretto family in trading, the D'Almada e Castro family in the legal profession, and leading political and business figures, like José Pedro Braga and Sir Rogério Hyndman Lobo, and “Hong Kong's mayor” and sports giant, Arnaldo de Oliveira Sales. They contributed immensely to different areas, and can be found in various rooms in the exhibition gallery. Using the Barretto family and its collection as an example, the following paragraphs briefly introduce the role of the Portuguese community in Hong Kong's development over the years.

The paternal ancestors of Ruy Barretto, the current manager of the family collection, can be traced to a merchant family engaging in entrepôt trade in India during the early 18th century. They owned two cargo vessels and had trading operations between China and London. By the late 18th century, the family had settled in Macau, where it ran a trading company and an insurance and credit business. Bartolomeu Barretto, a third-generation member of the family, was influential in the business sector. In 1825, he was elected

¹⁰ 英國圖書館 (The British Library) 藏有一幅十九世紀初廣州十三行商館區的掃描畫，繪有 Barretto 商館，位於丹麥行及盧觀恆的廣利行 (Mowqua's Kwang-le-hang) 之間。另參見 Paul A. Van Dyke, Maria Kar-wing Mok:《Images of the Canton factories 1760-1822》(香港：香港大學出版社，2015)，頁 85-86。

The British Library has in its collection a sketch drawing of the Thirteen Factories in Guangzhou in the early 19th century. The Barretto trading company stands between the Danish Factory and Mowqua's Kwang-le-hang. See also Paul A. Van Dyke and Maria Kar-wing Mok, *Images of the Canton Factories 1760-1822* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015), 85-86.

第四代成員 João António Gonçalves Barretto 擔任中介。¹¹ João 隨怡和洋行來港後，投資獲利甚多，更是籌建西洋會所的主要贊助人之一，此乃葡裔族群在香港發展的里程碑。香港三利洋行傳到第六代時，業務涵蓋釀酒、代理船務、保險等，是當時具影響力的本地商行之一。

Ruy 的母系祖先 D'Almada e Castro 家族則呈現葡人由最初穩佔政府的中層文書職位，演變至在法律專業發展。當葡人在社會形成影響力，政府開始吸納葡人到議會及參與其他公職。

Ruy 的外高祖父是十八世紀駐守印度及澳門的葡裔軍官，外曾祖父 José Maria D'Almada e Castro 是英國駐華商務監督署文員，及後成為香港政府最早的公務員之一，位至輔政司署署任首席文員兼署任議政及定例兩局秘書，可謂葡裔公務員的佼佼者。即使部分葡裔公務員被委以重任，惟礙於國籍問題，終無緣晉升至部門首長。

José 兒孫滿堂，不少人通過進修及參加專業考試，成為律師，從事法律行業至今，例如三子 Francisco Xavier 成為首位葡裔律師；四子 Leonardo 也是律師；其長子廖·亞利孖打 (Leonardo Horácio D'Almada e Castro) 更傑出，他是首位葡裔御用大律師 (King's Counsel) 及多屆香港大律師公會主席，身兼多項公職，例如立法局及行政局議員、西洋會所及西洋波會前會長。廖·亞利孖打在二戰期間，成為香港計劃組成員，協助英國政府在日本投降後接管香港，以及恢復戰後的司法系統。

由於 D'Almada e Castro 家族祖先行伍出身，後人往往繼續投身志願紀律部隊，例如 Ruy 的外祖父 Leonardo 是特別後備警察隊葡裔連總督察、大舅父廖·亞利孖打是民眾安全隊副處長、二舅父 Christopher 是香港義勇防衛軍第五（葡裔）連指揮官。

as Commissioner of Commerce of the Municipal Council of Macau. At the same time, the family opened Messrs. Barretto & Co. in Guangzhou. With their own trading company in the Thirteen Factories,¹⁰ the family had a huge advantage in Sino-foreign trade. Jardine, Matheson & Co. had to hire João António Gonçalves Barretto, a fourth-generation member of the Barretto family, as an intermediary when it tried to establish a presence in Guangzhou's trade sector.¹¹ After coming to Hong Kong with Jardine, Matheson & Co, João reaped substantial investment returns. He was one of the major sponsors of the founding of Club Lusitano, a milestone in the development of Hong Kong's Portuguese community. By the time Messrs. Barretto & Co.'s Hong Kong operations were passed to the sixth generation, the company's business included a brewery, a shipping agency, insurance and more. It was one of the most influential local trading companies at the time.

Ruy Barretto's maternal ancestors, the D'Almada e Castro family, demonstrated how Portuguese people, who initially held mid-level clerical positions in the government, pursued professional careers in law. As Portuguese people's influence in society grew, the government began to appoint them to the legislature and other public office positions.

Ruy Barretto's maternal great-great-grandfather, who was a Portuguese military officer, stationed in India and Macau in the 18th century. His maternal great-grandfather, José Maria D'Almada e Castro, was a clerk in the Superintendency of the Trade of British Subjects in China and went on to become one of the first civil servants in the Hong Kong government and a prominent one, serving as the Chief Clerk in the Colonial Secretary's Office and the Clerk of the Councils. However, even though Portuguese civil servants were appointed to important positions, they could not be promoted to department heads given they were not the British.

José Maria D'Almada e Castro had a big family. By studying and taking professional examinations, many of his descendants became lawyers, and remain in the legal profession until today. For example, his third son, Francisco Xavier, was Hong Kong's first Portuguese solicitor; and his fourth son, Leonardo, was also a solicitor. Leonardo's eldest son, Leonardo Horácio D'Almada e Castro, was Hong Kong's first Portuguese Queen's Counsel and had served as Chairman of the Hong Kong Bar Association for several terms. He also held public office, serving as a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils;

以上可見，這兩個家族與香港歷史有密切聯繫。承傳兩家血統的 Ruy 收藏了不少過百年歷史的文物、照片及文獻，居所猶如小型博物館及檔案館。2019 年 9 月至 12 月期間，博物館館員多次到訪其家，檢視家族藏品^{10 11}，對構思展覽大綱甚有幫助。另外，上文提到葡裔族群常跟同胞通婚及保持社交聯繫，這兩個家族也不例外。從老照片中，可見他們與其他大家族成員及一些葡人賢達有多重公務往來及社交聯誼的證據，例如他們一起參與西洋會所活動，又替西洋波會參賽；在香港保衛戰中是義勇軍戰友，在立法及行政兩局又是前後輩關係。



¹⁰ Bartolomeu Barretto 從廣州訂造的其中一件家族餐具

Family tableware made in Guangzhou, commissioned by Bartolomeu Barretto.



¹¹ Ruy 珍藏的家族舊相簿

Old family album from Ruy Barretto's collection

and was the President of Club Lusitano and Club de Recreio. During the Second World War, Leonardo D'Almada e Castro joined the Hong Kong Planning Unit to assist the British government in resuming control over Hong Kong after Japan's surrender and re-establishing the judiciary system after the war.

Many members of the D'Almada e Castro family followed in the footsteps of their forefathers in the military and joined the voluntary disciplinary forces. For example, Leonardo, the maternal grandfather of Ruy Barretto, was the Chief Inspector of the Special Reserve Police Force's Portuguese company; Leonardo Horácio D'Almada e Castro, his eldest maternal uncle, was the Deputy Commissioner of the Civil Aid Service; and Christopher, his second maternal uncle, was the Commander of the No. 5 (Portuguese) Company of the Hong Kong Volunteer Defence Corps.

Thus, we see that the Barretto and D'Almada e Castro families were closely linked to the history of Hong Kong. Ruy Barretto, a descendant of both families, has a collection of artefacts, photographs and documents dating back over a century. His residence is like a small museum and archive. Between September and December 2019, the Museum staff visited Barretto's home several times to view the family collection^{10 11}, which was immensely helpful for planning the exhibition outline. As mentioned above, Portuguese people often married and socialised with their compatriots, and these two families were no exception. Old photographs show that they engaged in business and social interaction with the members of other large Portuguese families and prominent individuals. For example, they took part in the activities organised by Club Lusitano and competed for Club de Recreio. They were comrades in the Volunteers during the Battle of Hong Kong, and established predecessor and successor relationships in the Legislative and Executive Councils.

¹¹ Alain Le Pichon:《China Trade and Empire: Jardine, Matheson & Co. and the Origins of British Rule in Hong Kong, 1827-1843》(牛津：牛津大學出版社，2006)，頁 83-85。

Alain Le Pichon, *China Trade and Empire: Jardine, Matheson & Co. and the Origins of British Rule in Hong Kong, 1827-1843* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 83-85.

消閒生活的重心：西洋會所及西洋波會

香港居民以華人為主體，非華裔族群移居本地，大多傾向聚族而居，以便守望相助和維繫同胞情誼，因而成立各自的會所、宗教場所和學校。這些地方是每個族群落地生根的印記，承載著族群成員的共同經歷和記憶，故此在展示上將強調「置身其境」的參觀體驗。策展團隊為介紹西洋會所及西洋波會兩個主要的葡人社交活動中心，計劃於展場利用保存下來的舊照片及繪畫為參考資料，加入兩會在二十世紀初的一些建築特色，以提升展廳的氣氛及襯托展品。

西洋會所的第一代會址於 1866 年成立，位於中環些利街和伊利近街交界，地處葡人在半山名為 Mato Morro 聚居地的核心¹²。三層高的會所設有餐廳、圖書館、桌球室、棋牌室、大型宴會廳和劇院，其劇院更是第一代香港大會堂落成前的重要表演場地。雖然只限男性成為會員，但容許女士入內享用設施。族群的重要紀念活動、儀式和招待會均在會所舉行。由於族群日漸壯大，原有會址不敷應用，會所在 1922 年遷移到雪廠街。第二代會所的宴會廳依然保持華麗氣派¹³，此氛圍將由展廳裝設的牆身鑲板和天花水晶吊燈全面呈現。



照片由西洋會所提供
Photo courtesy of Club Lusitano

Recreation Centres: Club Lusitano and Club de Recreio

Chinese people account for the majority of the Hong Kong population, and non-Chinese immigrants tended to live close to their compatriots to look out for one another and maintain the bonds within their ethnic groups. They often established their own clubs, religious venues and schools. These places are the marks of each ethnic group establishing roots in Hong Kong, and they carry the members' collective experiences and memories. In this light, the exhibition emphasises an "immersive" experience for visitors. As for the introduction of the two main social centres for the Portuguese community, Club Lusitano and Club de Recreio, consideration was given to referencing old photographs and drawings, while incorporating the architectural features of the two clubs in the early 20th century, to enhance the atmosphere of the gallery and complement the exhibits.

Founded in 1866, the first-generation Club Lusitano was located at the intersection of Shelley Street and Elgin Street, Central, which constituted the core of Portuguese settlement in Mid-levels, known as Mato Morro¹². The three-storey club housed a restaurant, library, snooker room, chess room, large banquet hall and theatre, and its theatre had been an important performance venue in Hong Kong before the first-generation City Hall was completed. Membership was restricted to men, but women were also allowed to enjoy the facilities. Important commemorative events, ceremonies and receptions of the Portuguese community were held at the club. As the community outgrew the original premises, the club was relocated to Ice House Street in 1922. The banquet hall of the second-generation club remained magnificent¹³. The atmosphere will be recreated in the exhibition gallery and completed with wall panels and chandeliers.

¹² 中環些利街西洋會所第一代會址
First-generation Club Lusitano



照片由 Philippe 及 Laura Yvanovich 提供
Photo courtesy of Philippe and Laura Yvanovich

¹³ 西洋會所舞廳內景
Interior of the banquet hall in Club Lusitano

西洋波會是 1906 年創立的葡人康樂會所，起初選址九龍加連威老道，後來移至彌敦道和金巴利道交界¹⁴。隨著九龍葡裔人口日漸增長，需要更多康樂設施，西洋波會最終獲政府於京士柏撥地興建新會址。波會設有草地滾球場、網球場和室內球場，讓葡人在空餘時間運動，或組織球隊參加本地聯賽。波會主要為消遣性質，規格相對西洋會所寬鬆，會員性別不拘。波會內部裝潢平實，展廳將佈置三角桁架和球員團體照來塑造這個特色¹⁵。

Club de Recreio is a Portuguese recreation club founded in 1906. Initially located on Granville Road, Kowloon, it was subsequently moved to the intersection of Nathan Road and Kimberley Road¹⁴. As the Portuguese population in Kowloon grew, more recreational facilities were needed, and Club de Recreio eventually received a land grant from the government for new premises in King's Park. The club had bowling greens, tennis courts and indoor courts, allowing Portuguese people to work out in their spare time and organise teams to participate in local sports competitions. As a recreational establishment, Club de Recreio had more relaxed membership requirements than Club Lusitano – both men and women could become members. The club's down-to-earth interior decoration is recreated in the exhibition gallery using triangular trusses and group photos of athletes¹⁵.



照片由 Philippe 及 Laura Yvanovich 提供
Photo courtesy of Philippe and Laura Yvanovich

¹⁴ 1920 年西洋波會會址
Club de Recreio in 1920



照片由 Philippe 及 Laura Yvanovich 提供
Photo courtesy of Philippe and Laura Yvanovich

¹⁵ 西洋波會會所內景
Interior of Club de Recreio

在西洋會所代表的引薦下，館方成功借用波會的文物，同時亦結識曾效力波會的葡人，他們更提供額外展品和照片^{16 17}，有助博物館向觀眾介紹西洋波會的歷史、運動員成就，以及對本地體育發展的影響。

Thanks to the referral of Club Lusitano representatives, the Museum was able to borrow artefacts of Club de Recreio and became acquainted with Portuguese residents who had served the club and provided additional exhibits and photographs^{16 17}. This enables the Museum to introduce to visitors the history of Club de Recreio, the athletes' achievements, and the club's impact on the development of local sports.



照片由 Philippe 及 Laura Yvanovich 提供
Photo courtesy of Philippe and Laura Yvanovich

¹⁶ 約 1923 年，西洋波會草地網球團體賽冠軍隊伍。
Club de Recreio Tennis Team Champions, circa 1923



¹⁷ 男子曲棍球淘汰賽盾，西洋波會於 1955 至 1956 年度贏得該項賽事。
Men's Knock-out Hockey
Tournament Shield. Club de
Recreio won 1955-1956
tournament.

結語

經過約三年光景，館方與海內外葡裔族群成員有不同程度的接觸和合作，籌展進度大致理想。行文至此，筆者希望歸納出跟非華裔族群合作的一點經驗作結。

首先，館方應先物色及初步接觸非華裔族群的代表性組織或德高望重的人物，以便弄清楚族群內的人物關係及資源，再選擇合作單位。其次，館方可以邀請族群代表參與策展工作，此舉可以適時聽取他們的意見，確保展覽獲得族群的認可。

最後，館員可以考慮與不同族群成員進行交流，例如參與他們的聯誼活動，或分享手上有關其家族的歷史資料，或會收到意想不到的成效，例如有葡人認為館方對葡人歷史有一定的掌握，願意將不公開的家族史讓館員閱覽；又有葡人初時只肯借出家族文物，之後信賴館方能適當運用及照料其家族文物，願意把文物捐贈給館方。

總括而言，透過積極接觸非華裔族群的代表性組織，以及爭取與廣大成員交流的機會，有助加深非華裔族群對博物館工作的信任及支持，從而使社群參與的策展手法取得顯著成效。

Conclusion

Over a period of three years, the Museum has interacted and worked with members of Portuguese communities in Hong Kong and abroad. The progress of curation has been largely satisfactory. Here, we would like to wrap up this article by sharing some experience of working with non-Chinese ethnic groups.

First, museums should identify and make initial contact with representative organisations or highly respected individuals in the non-Chinese ethnic group to understand the interpersonal relationships and resources in the community before selecting organisations to partner with. Second, museums should engage representatives of the ethnic group for advice in curating the exhibition. This allows the curatorial team to get their opinions in a timely manner and ensure the exhibition is recognised by the community.

Finally, museum staff should consider interacting with different members of the community by participating in their social activities, sharing historical information about their families with them, and so forth. This might bring an unexpected outcome by doing so. The Portuguese people were willing to share private family history accounts with the Museum when they realised that the staff were familiar with their history. Some Portuguese people initially agreed only to loan their family artefacts to the Museum, but decided to donate the artefacts when they were convinced that the Museum would take good care and make good use of their treasures.

All in all, through actively liaising with representative organisations of the non-Chinese ethnic group and seeking opportunities to interact with members of the group, museums can win their trust and support, thus facilitating effective community engagement in the curatorial process.

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尋存與分享：香港電影資料館 二十周年誌慶節目回眸

Rediscovering and Sharing: A Look Back at the Programmes Celebrating the 20th Anniversary of the Hong Kong Film Archive

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前言

香港電影有逾百年歷史，但於默片時期，本地影業發展並不興盛。直至三十年代粵語聲片面世，在華南及南洋一帶廣受歡迎後，香港影業開始萌芽。及至三十年代中、後期，由於國內時局相對不及香港穩定，致令上海的影業資金和人才南來香港，令香港這個背靠大陸、面向南洋及其他海外市場的南方小島上的影業茁壯成長。

戰前香港是以出產粵語片為主，隨著戰後復員，直至四十年代末，大陸的龐大國語片市場，加上遍布海外不同地區的粵語片市場，滋養了香港的國、粵語片製作。四、五十年代多間大規模片廠的成立，引進大量幕後人員來港，帶來技術和創意，及至明星制度的確立，營銷網絡的鞏固，均有助進一步奠定香港電影業在東南亞的重要地位。戰後短短20年間，香港不同類型的電影發展日趨成熟，無論是都市愛情喜劇、古裝宮闈電影，又或是戰後香港獨樹一幟的粵語戲曲電影及武俠片，都穩佔東南亞電影的尖端，心靈手巧的編導與幕後人員，配合光芒四射的演員

Foreword

Despite over 100 years of Hong Kong cinematic history, the local film industry was far from prosperous during the silent film era. It was not until the 1930s, with the advent of Cantonese sound films which have gained their popularity in South China and Southeast Asia, that the Hong Kong film industry truly took flight. In the mid- to late 1930s, the volatility of the political situation in the Mainland contrasted strongly against the relative stability of Hong Kong, resulting in an influx of funding and industry talents from Shanghai to Hong Kong. This perfect storm of factors helped make this little island in the south, just off the tip of the Mainland with access to Southeast Asia and other overseas markets, one of the most significant film production centres.

Pre-war Hong Kong focused mostly on producing Cantonese films. Following the revival of the local film industry after the war up until the late 1940s, the vastness of the Mainland Mandarin film market and the demand for Cantonese pictures in various regions worldwide fostered the production of Cantonese and Mandarin films. Between the 1940s and 1950s, a number of sizeable film studios were founded, drawing many behind-the-scenes talents along with their

所編織的一幕幕光影夢，令人迷醉，亦間接帶動香港的其他流行文化產物在海內外不同地區大受歡迎。

及至六十年代末，面對粵語片海外市場的萎縮，以及電視面世後在娛樂產業市場構成的競爭力量，粵語片一度經歷前所未見的低潮。然而，粵語片其後迅速重拾生機，七、八十年代更迎來香港電影新浪潮，孕育於東、西方文化潮流的年輕影人，從當時新興的電視媒體跨進電影界，為銀幕上的光影世界注入嶄新活力。這時期東與西、傳統與創新的不同力量融合匯流，令香港電影在八十年代再創高峰，踏進另一個輝煌年代。近數十年，香港電影儘管歷經無數高低起伏，但不同世代的電影人仍不輟於不同領域進行探索，不論是內地與香港合作的合拍片，或是紮根本土的獨立製作，仍見香港電影努力求變的身影。

電影作為一門綜合性的藝術，不只是體現電影藝術和技術的媒介，更是紀錄了文學、美術、音樂、舞蹈、攝影等不同門類藝術的發

technological know-how and immense creativity to the city. Later, the establishment of the star system and consolidation of sales and distribution networks also further cemented the importance and status of the Hong Kong film industry in Southeast Asia. In the mere two decades after the war, Hong Kong film genres developed and matured quickly, from urban romantic comedies to period palace epics, as well as Cantonese opera films and *wuxia* films that were a league of their own. The sophistication of such films helped secure Hong Kong's position at the forefront of Southeast Asian cinemas. Combining the ingenuity of directors, screenwriters and other behind-the-scenes creators with the glamour and talent of some of the greatest stars in Hong Kong cinema, the films of this period were not only intoxicating and fascinating, but also led the charge in bringing Hong Kong pop culture to overseas markets, influencing and exciting countless audiences outside Hong Kong.

At the end of the 1960s, facing the waning overseas Cantonese film market, as well as the stiff competition posed by television, the emerging medium of entertainment, the local Cantonese film market suffered an unprecedented and severe blow. Yet Cantonese film rebounded quickly, and the 1970s and



展，並且反映了時代的變遷。具有逾百年歷史的香港電影也不例外，由默片到聲片、由故事片到紀錄片，盛載了不同時期的香港文化面向；而這裡所指的文化的涵意，可說是包羅萬象，既指導演調度下的電影藝術風格，也包括編劇筆下的劇本所呈現的敘事特色，以及片中不同角色的對白所反映的時代特質，也包括每一格菲林上所顯現的城市或電影空間面貌。因此，保育一部電影，所珍惜的，不只是一眾幕後台前的藝術成就，也包括影片所反映出的時代面貌和社會價值。

香港電影資料館的成立

早於七十年代中期，香港已響起在香港成立電影圖書館的呼聲。據已故的香港電影資料館前研究組節目策劃余慕雲的考證，1976年4月，香港電影製片人協會主席邵逸夫邀請了11個國家及地區的亞洲電影製片人協會會員國代表，在香港召開第二屆亞洲電影製片人協會研討會，其中一個研究主題便是在各地設立電影圖書館。¹同年，《大特寫》也刊載了獨立電影組織「衛影會」一位成員的文章，當中提出香港電影事業發達，應設立電影圖書館。²1978年，香港電影學者林年同亦曾於第二屆香港國際電影節回顧特刊發表的一篇文章中，呼籲香港應盡早設立電影資料館，以進行電影資料的蒐集、整理和分析的工作。³同年，余慕雲於《明報周刊》連續三期撰文，介紹多個國家在設立電影圖書館的經驗，並指出香港應籌建電影圖書館，館內應設有收藏香港各個時期電影的影片部（並附設大、小放映室各一）、可供人閱覽資料的圖書部，以及包含三個展覽室（分別用來展示香港電影史、製片過程及專題展）的展覽部。⁴到了八十年代初，多位曾赴意大利都靈參加「中國電影回顧五十年」的香港電影文化界人士回港後，均不約而同提到他們有意向政府呼籲成立電影圖書館。⁵

1987年，羅卡、劉成漢、楊裕平、議員文世昌等要求政府成立香港電影資料館。1989年，市政總署委託加拿大顧問研究設立電影資料館的可行性。1991年，市政總署計劃

1980s saw the rise of the Hong Kong New Wave. Nurtured by a melting pot of Eastern and Western cultural influences, a group of young filmmakers crossed over from the burgeoning small screen to the big, injecting a much-needed boost of energy to the film industry. The amalgamation of East and West, tradition and innovation, propelled the industry forward in the 1980s to one of the most glorious times in its history. In recent decades, although Hong Kong film has seen numerous ups and downs, we can still see industry professionals across generations persevering in their efforts to explore new avenues and drive changes and innovations, be it Mainland-Hong Kong collaborations or locally based independent productions.

Film is an integrated art form. Not only is it a medium of cinematic art and technology, but it also records developments in other areas of art, such as literature, art, music, dance, and photography, and is a mirror of the changing times. Hong Kong cinema is no exception. With a history of over a century evolving from silent to sound films and from feature films to documentaries, Hong Kong cinema is a cradle of the multifaceted Hong Kong culture through the ages; and by “culture”, I mean it in many different senses, from director-driven film aesthetics to screenwriter-penned narrative style, as well as the temper of the times as reflected in the lines of dialogue, and even images of the city or cinematic space printed on each frame of film. Hence, the conservation of a film is more than simply preserving the artistic achievements of its cast and crew, but also a snippet of the zeitgeist and social attitudes of the times captured on film.



¹ 1994年，開展「影人口述歷史計劃」，至今訪問逾500位影人。圖為當年走訪多位影人，並於1995至2001年間擔任研究組節目策劃的余慕雲。

In 1994, “Oral History Project” was launched. Over 500 film veterans have been interviewed so far. This photo features Yu Mo-wan, Research Coordinator from 1995 to 2001, who coordinated a number of interviews.

¹ 轉引自余慕雲：〈談談電影圖書館——從世界電影圖書館聯盟談到香港電影圖書館的籌建〉，《明報周刊》（505，1978）。

Quoted from Mo-wan Yu, “On Film Libraries: From the International Federation of Film Archives to the Planning of a Hong Kong Film Library,” *Ming Pao Weekly* 505 (16 July 1978) (in Chinese).

籌辦香港電影資料館；1993年，資料館籌劃辦事處正式成立。之後資料館籌劃辦事處在搜集、策展、研究及出版等各方面進行多項開拓性工作，例如於1994年開展「影人口述歷史計劃」¹；翌年首辦專題展覽「香港早期電影軌跡（1896-1950）」，同年更獲周潤發率先捐贈其所有獎座²。1996年，香港電影資料館成為國際電影資料館聯盟暫取會員。1997年10月，展開「徵集大行動」，首次公開呼籲各界捐贈影片及電影資料。之後更陸續舉行了多項展覽和放映活動，包括：「銀海艷影——紅線女從影五十年紀念展」、「香港電影資料館《珍藏展》」、「藝影聲韻——林家聲電影欣賞」、「影迷公主——陳寶珠電影欣賞」、「電影口述歷史展覽之《再現江湖》」、「唐滌生電影欣賞」等。⁶

經過近十年密鑼緊鼓的籌備，本館位於西灣河的館址終於在2001年落成啟用，為香港電影文化保育工作揭開新的一頁。館址的基本設施完備，除有影院和展覽廳之外，更設有資源中心，提供視聽資料、書刊、劇本、劇照、海報等資料，供公眾查閱，是研究香港電影的最重要寶庫。



² 1995年，周潤發率先悉數捐出所有獎座。

In 1995, Chow Yun-fat took the lead to donate all his award statuettes.

² 林樹：〈影展之後，有更多工作要做〉，《大特寫》（7，1976），頁14。

Shu Lin, “Much to Do After the Film Festival,” *Close Up* 7 (March 1976): 14 (in Chinese).

³ 林年同：〈五十年代粵語電影研究中的幾個問題〉，載於林年同、楊裕平編《五十年代粵語電影回顧展》（第二屆香港國際電影節特刊）（香港：市政局，1978），頁11-16。

Nien-tung Lin, “Some Problems in the Study of Cantonese Films of the 1950s,” in *Cantonese Cinema Retrospective (1950-1959)* (The 2nd Hong Kong International Film Festival), ed. Nien-tung Lin and Paul Yeung (Hong Kong: Urban Council, 1978), 28-33.

⁴ 同註1，（504，1978），頁11；（505，1978），頁19；（506，1978），頁12。

See Note 1, 504 (9 July 1978): 11; 505 (16 July 1978): 19; 506 (23 July 1978): 12 (in Chinese).

⁵ 〈劉成漢參加「中國電影回顧展」獲啟發 保留香港電影文化 港府應設電影圖書館 他準備聯合一些團體向港府呼籲〉《文匯報》（1982.3.16）；列孚：〈呼籲籌建香港電影資料館 意大利「中國電影回顧展」之九〉，《文匯報》（1982.4.1）。

“Lau Shing-hon Inspired by ‘Chinese Film Retrospective’ to Preserve Film Culture; Plans to Call for Film Library with Other Parties,” *Wen Wei Po* (16 March 1982); Fu Lie, “Calls to Build Hong Kong Film Archive: ‘Chinese Film Retrospective’ in Italy, Part 9,” *Wen Wei Po* (1 April 1982) (all in Chinese).

The Establishment of the Hong Kong Film Archive

As early as the mid-1970s, there had been calls to establish a film library in Hong Kong. According to the research by Yu Mo-wan, the late Co-ordinator of the Research Section at the Hong Kong Film Archive, Run Run Shaw, Chair of the Federation of Motion Picture Producers of Hong Kong, invited representatives of film producer associations from 11 Asian countries and regions to Hong Kong in April 1976 to convene the second seminar of the Federation of Motion Picture Producers in Asia, and one of the things they discussed was establishing a film library in their respective regions.¹ The same year, the publication *Close Up* featured an article by a member of the indie film group Film Guard Association, in which the writer proposed the establishment of Hong Kong’s very own film library, given the prosperity of its film industry.² In 1978, in an essay published in the retrospective publication for the second Hong Kong International Film Festival, film scholar Lin Nien-tung advocated the founding of a film library for the purpose of film research, organisations and analysis.³ That year, Yu Mo-wan wrote three consecutive weekly columns in *Ming Pao Weekly*, in which he introduced various countries’ experience of establishing film libraries, and urged Hong Kong to do the same. He noted that the city’s film library should feature a film section that collected works from different periods in its history (together with one large and one small projection room), a library for perusing reading materials, and three exhibition rooms for showcasing Hong Kong film history, the film production process, and other themed exhibitions.⁴ In the early 1980s, numerous members of Hong Kong’s film and cultural circles attended a film festival celebrating 50 years of Chinese film in Turin, Italy. Upon their return, they all urged the Hong Kong government to establish a film library.⁵

In 1987, Law Kar, Lau Shing-hon, Paul Yeung and Legislative Councillor Man Sai-cheong, among others, lobbied the government to establish a Hong Kong film archive. In 1989, the Urban Services Department entrusted a Canadian consultation company to study the feasibility of the matter. In 1991, the

由「尋存」到「分享」

自香港電影資料館正式成立之後，我們一直積極搜集和保存香港電影及與香港電影有關的資料，並且透過存檔、編目和整理，讓公眾和研究者可以查閱這些資料。我們亦定期舉辦香港電影專題放映、展覽、座談會、映後談等活動，並舉行各種推廣及教育活動，例如「舊電影香港情——老幼齊講戲」，以及與本港不同博物館和機構合作，透過不同類型的活動，提高公眾欣賞香港電影的興趣，並傳揚電影文化保育的重要性。與此同時，配合這些活動，我們出版多種電影研究專題書刊、「香港影片大全」及「影人口述歷史」叢書。此外，資料館同時亦積極培養館內的修復人員，與本地及海外的修復專業團隊合作，進行各項修復電影及電影相關文物的工作，並不時舉行各種活動，宣揚電影文化保育的意識。

轉瞬間，香港電影資料館便與廣大市民同行二十載歲月。為慶祝資料館成立二十周年，資料館特以「搜集與分享」為題，透過電影放映、展覽、開放日、網上節目、學術研討會及專書出版等一連串誌慶活動，與大眾分享多年來搜集得來的珍貴館藏，當中不乏經由資料館工作人員精心修復的成果。本文的目的，是回顧這一系列的資料館誌慶節目，闡述策劃各項活動背後的理念，並展望資料館未來的工作。

（一）從菲林到數碼：「聲影『留』傳」

對資料館而言，影片及文物的搜集可說是資料館所有工作的最重要基石。而循不同途徑搜羅得來的影片及電影相關文物，由於各種環境因素如炎熱潮濕的氣候或過度使用，往往有不同程度的損壞。對於損壞了的影片，我們會進行嚴謹的狀況檢查、清潔及修補，制定修復方案，並將它們儲存於符合環境控制標準的狀態下。

近十年影片數碼化浪潮席捲全球，各地戲院陸續改用數碼放映器材，菲林放映機經已停產，放映菲林電影的設備日漸被淘汰，因此香港電影資料館的影片數碼化工作亦刻不容緩。適值資料館於 2019 至 2020 年度財政預

department decided to press ahead with the planning for a film archive. The Planning Office of the Hong Kong Film Archive was thus officially formed in 1993, playing a pioneering role in many areas of work, including acquisition, programming, research, and publication. For example, it launched the “Oral History Project” in 1994 ¹, and held its first ever exhibition, “The Early Days of Hong Kong Cinema (1896–1950)”, in 1995. In the same year, Chow Yun-fat took the lead to donate all his award statuettes to the Hong Kong Film Archive ². In 1996, the Archive was accepted as a provisional member of the International Federation of Film Archives (FIAP). In October 1997, the Archive’s “Collection Campaign” was launched as it called on the public to donate film prints and film-related materials for its collection. Later on, the Archive’s Planning Office continued to hold a number of exhibitions and screening programmes, featuring the cinematic gems of Hong Kong cinema, which included “50 Years of Stardom: A Tribute to Hung Sin Nui”, “Hong Kong Film Archive Treasures: An Exhibition”, “Lam Kar-sing: Star of the Cantonese Opera and Silver Screen”, “The Princess of Movie Fans: Chan Po-chu Retrospective”, “The Making of Martial Arts Films: As Told by Filmmakers and Stars”, and “The Movie World of Tong Tik-sang”, among others.⁶

After almost a decade of diligent planning, the Archive’s Sai Wan Ho building was finally inaugurated in 2001, kicking off a new chapter in the history of Hong Kong’s film conservation work. A cinema and an exhibition hall well equipped with integrated facilities, as well as a resource centre which makes available to the general public a wide selection of audiovisual materials, publications, screenplays, stills, and posters, among others, play an invaluable role in Hong Kong cinema research.

From Acquisition and Conservation to Sharing

Ever since its establishment, the Hong Kong Film Archive has been actively collecting and preserving Hong Kong films and related materials, and we also dedicate ourselves to filing, indexing and organising such materials for public and researchers’ perusal. We also regularly hold themed screenings, exhibitions, seminars, and post-screening talks on Hong Kong cinema, and organise various promotional and educational activities, such as “Old Movies, Old Hong Kong – Care for Our Community”, as well as collaborate with other museums and organisations in an effort to raise public awareness and interest of local films whilst also highlighting

算案獲撥款 2,000 萬元，計劃於五年內數碼化 150 部館藏電影，是次數碼化計劃成就了資料館二十周年誌慶率先登場的節目「瑰寶情尋——聲影『留』傳 I」^{3 4}。這輯節目於 2020 年 7 月 5 日開始舉行，選映 16 部橫跨四十至六十年代的國、粵語片，共分為八個主題，分別是「李小龍」、「黃飛鴻」、「新馬師曾」、「坤生乾旦」、「楊工良」、「劉亮華」、「曹達華」及「珍姐邦」，呈現香港電影文化的不同面貌。⁷



³ 「瑰寶情尋——聲影『留』傳 I」以《父之過》（1953）和《雷雨》（1957）打響頭炮，並邀來電影研究者何思穎（左）與舒琪（右）於放映後對談，分析這兩部作品的藝術成就和時代意義。

“Archival Gems—Time After Time I” kicked off with the screenings of *Blame It on Father* (1953) and *Thunderstorm* (1957). During the post-screening talk, film critics Sam Ho (left) and Shu Kei (right) analysed the artistic achievements of the two works as well as their significance in the period.



⁴ 「坤生乾旦系列」的《危城鶻蝶》（1955）映後談：（左起）林瑋婷、阮兆輝教授、陳守仁教授。

Post-screening talk of *Love in a Dangerous City* (1955) in “Transgender Performance Series”: (from left) Lam Wai-ting, Prof Yuen Siu-fai and Prof Chan Sau-yan.

the importance of film preservation. At the same time, in line with such activities, we have published many thematic titles and monographs, as well as the *Hong Kong Filmography Series* and *Oral History Series*. On top of the above, the Archive also keenly trains staff in restoration techniques while working closely with professional local and overseas teams to carry out various film- and artefact-restoration projects. Events and activities are also hosted to promote the importance of preserving cinematic treasures.

Time flies. The Archive has accompanied Hong Kong people for over 20 years. Our 20th anniversary celebrations comprised a series of screenings, exhibitions, an open day, online programmes, symposiums, and publications with the theme “Acquisition and Sharing”. Apart from sharing our archival gems acquired over the years, we were also delighted to showcase the remarkable results of our film restoration projects. This essay seeks to give an outline of these celebratory programmes and elaborate on their underlying intentions, and look ahead and delineate some of the Archive’s future plans.

(I) From Film to Digital: Time After Time

The acquisition of films and artefacts is the cornerstone of our work at the Archive. Films and related artefacts collected through various sources often contain varying extents of damage due to hot and humid climate or excessive use. We have evaluated the conditions of these damaged artefacts before cleaning, repairing, and conducting treatment. They have finally been stored in properly controlled environments.

The trend of film digitisation has swept the world in the past decade. Cinemas everywhere have progressively switched to digital projection while film projectors have been discontinued. As film projection may be gradually obsolete, the Archive’s work in film digitisation has become a pressing need. With an allocation of HK\$20 million to the Archive for the financial year 2019–20, the Archive embarked on a five-year digitisation project to convert 150 invaluable films of its collection into digital format. The digitisation project brought about “Archival Gems—Time After Time I”, the pilot programme to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Archive ^{3 4}. The programme kicked off on 5 July 2020 with 16 Mandarin and Cantonese films from the 1940s to 1960s to be screened. They were categorised under eight series including “Bruce Lee”, “Wong Fei-hung”, “Sun Ma Si-tsang”, “Transgender Performance”, “Yeung Kung-leong”, “Lau Leung-wah”, “Tso Tat-wah”, and “Jane Bond” to showcase the diversified facets of Hong Kong film culture.⁷

⁶ 〈香港電影資料館年記〉，載於郭靜寧、蘇芷瑩編《香港電影資料館十周年紀念特刊》（香港：香港電影資料館，2011），頁 8-11，https://www.filmarchive.gov.hk/documents/18995340/19057015/hkfa_10th.pdf。

“The Hong Kong Film Archive Chronology,” in *Hong Kong Film Archive 10th Anniversary*, ed. Ching-ling Kwok and Karen So (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2011), 8-11, https://www.filmarchive.gov.hk/documents/18995340/19057015/hkfa_10th.pdf.

⁷ 潘潔汶：〈從菲林到數碼：「瑰寶情尋——聲影『留』傳」策展分享〉，香港電影資料館《通訊》，（93，2020），頁 9-12。

Kit-man Poon, “From Film to Digital: ‘Archival Gems—Time After Time’ to Celebrate Work of Preservation,” *Newsletter*, Hong Kong Film Archive, 93 (August 2020): 9-12.

而以上 16 部精選電影均為館藏孤本電影或資料館從未放映過的版本，當中包括過往因菲林收縮度過高而未能放映的李小龍童星作品——《父之過》（1953）、結合 35 毫米拷貝缺本與 16 毫米拷貝的補遺片段而合成的《黃飛鴻戲棚伏虎》（1959），以及陳寶珠主演的兩部「珍姐邦」電影——《玉女金剛》（1967）及《第一號女探員之死亡通行証》（1967）等，均是影迷一直引頸以待的電影。在是次系列放映中，修復組和節目組人員亦在放映前淺談影片來源、片質及特別之處。

整個電影數碼化計劃至今已完成 93 部電影，「聲影『留』傳 II」第一部分亦已於 2021 年 11 月至 2022 年 10 月舉行，而餘下的百多部經數碼化的電影，亦將會在接續幾年內陸續推出放映，以饗影迷。

（二）探尋瑰寶之旅：「尋·珍·記」

2021 年 4 月至 12 月，香港電影資料館推出了第二項的誌慶放映節目——「尋·珍·記」。有別於以往資料館著眼於以電影類型或幕後台前的參與為策展主題的影展，「尋·珍·記」，顧名思義，所選映的電影都是一些與資料館淵緣甚深，滿載搜集故事的館藏影片。這系列橫跨七個月的放映節目，包括在 20 天內舉行 36 部精選館藏電影的放映，當中不乏具里程碑意義的精選館藏電影，或多或少勾勒出香港電影資料館搜集歷程的脈絡，並見證了各界人士對資料館的鼎力支持，資料館亦特此透過這個專題放映向捐贈者致意。每場放映均由資料館同事分享影片的搜集故事，部分映後談更邀請捐贈者或業界友好分享所捐贈物件的「捐贈前傳」，讓觀眾更了解資料館藏品的保育歷程。⁸

2021 年 4 月 30 日，資料館假香港文化中心大劇院舉行二十周年誌慶典禮暨《忠烈圖》（1975）4K 數碼修復版世界首映，由此正式揭開「尋·珍·記」以至一系列誌慶節目的序幕⁵。同場並首映由新晉演員劉俊謙主演的二十周年誌慶短片《電影愛我我愛電影》（2021）。

The 16 screen gems above were either digitised from sole-print copies or versions of the films that had never been screened at the Archive. The selection included *Blame It on Father* (1953), which features Bruce Lee as a child actor and has never been screened before due to excessive film shrinkage, *How Wong Fei-hung Defeated the Tiger on the Opera Stage* (1959), copied from an incomplete 35mm print and complemented by the film's 16mm print, and two "Jane Bond" films starring Connie Chan Po-chu—*The Female Chivalry* (1967) and *A Death Pass* (1967). At the screenings of these highly anticipated films, staff from both Conservation and Programming Units delivered a brief pre-screening introduction on the origin, film print quality and special features of the film being shown.

Under the digitisation project, 93 films have since been digitised. The first part of "Archival Gems—Time After Time II" was held from November 2021 to October 2022. The remaining digitised films which totalled more than 100 will be screened in the coming few years for the enjoyment of film lovers.

(II) A Journey of Amazing Discovery: "Treasure-Hunt Stories"

From April to December 2021, the Archive launched its second programme in commemoration of its 20th anniversary: "Treasure-Hunt Stories". Unlike past retrospective programmes, which tended to focus on certain film genres, stars or filmmakers, "Treasure-Hunt Stories" as its name suggests, showcased films that held special significance for the Archive in terms of how they were acquired. The screenings for the programme spanned seven months, including a period of 20 days where 36 invaluable titles in the Archive's collection were screened. Many of them marked important milestones in our history, more or less underlining the journey that the Archive has been through, as well as the generous and unwavering support we have received from various parts of society. The Archive also took this opportunity to thank our donors for their selfless contributions. Before each screening, the Archive staff shared their stories about how that title was acquired. After some of the screenings, guests including the donor(s) of the film, or industry professionals were invited to share their stories of the film before it was donated to the Archive, so that the audience would have a better understanding of the conservation journey of the Archive's collection.⁸

Held at the Grand Theatre of the Hong Kong Cultural Centre



⁵（左起）馮秉仲、康文署署長劉明光及源碧福主持二十周年誌慶典禮亮燈儀式，正式揭開「尋·珍·記」以至一系列誌慶節目的序幕。

(From left) Gordon Fung; Vincent Liu, Director of LCSD, and Beryl Yuen hosted the lighting ceremony of the Archive's 20th anniversary celebration, kicking off "Treasure-Hunt Stories" and a series of other celebratory programmes.

「尋·珍·記」選映影片以搜集年份的先後次序排列如下，⁹當中亦不乏多部經由資料館修復的電影：The films chosen for "Treasure-Hunt Stories" screening programme are listed below, in chronological order from when they were acquired by the Archive,⁹ with some of them restored by the Conservation Team of the Archive:

* 海外搜集 Acquired overseas

搜集年份 Year of acquisition	選映電影 Films chosen for screening	搜集過程 Acquisition process
1992	《人海孤鴻》（1960）* <i>The Orphan</i> (1960)*	時任經理唐富雄到英國電影學院時，在蘭克沖印公司發現此片，並將此片安排運送回港，讓這部李小龍年輕時期的珍貴作品得以重歸故鄉。 Then-manager Dennis Tong was in the United Kingdom researching on setting up film archives when he discovered the film negatives for this film at Rank Film Laboratories. He arranged their delivery back to Hong Kong so that this valuable work from Bruce Lee's youth could return to his hometown.
1994	《長相思》（1947） <i>An All-Consuming Love</i> (1947)	製片家繆康義將此片連同一批四十至六十年代的電影捐贈予資料館。 Producer Miu Hong-nee donated this film to the Archive alongside a large number of Hong Kong titles made from the 1940s to 1960s.
	《夜光杯（上集）》（1961） <i>The Magic Cup, Part One</i> (1961)	李會桃為桃源電影企業公司創辦人，其妻子羅舜華將這間公司的影片移交給資料館作永久保存，此為其中之一。 Li Wui-tao founded the Tao Yuen Film Co., and his wife Law Shun-wa donated the company's films to the Archive for permanent safekeeping, among which was this picture.

⁸ 有關「尋·珍·記」節目策劃意念，請參看郭靜寧、張寶晶訪問，黃夏柏整理：〈情尋珍藏——訪「尋·珍·記」節目策劃陳彩玉〉，香港電影資料館《通訊》，（96，2021），頁 6-10。

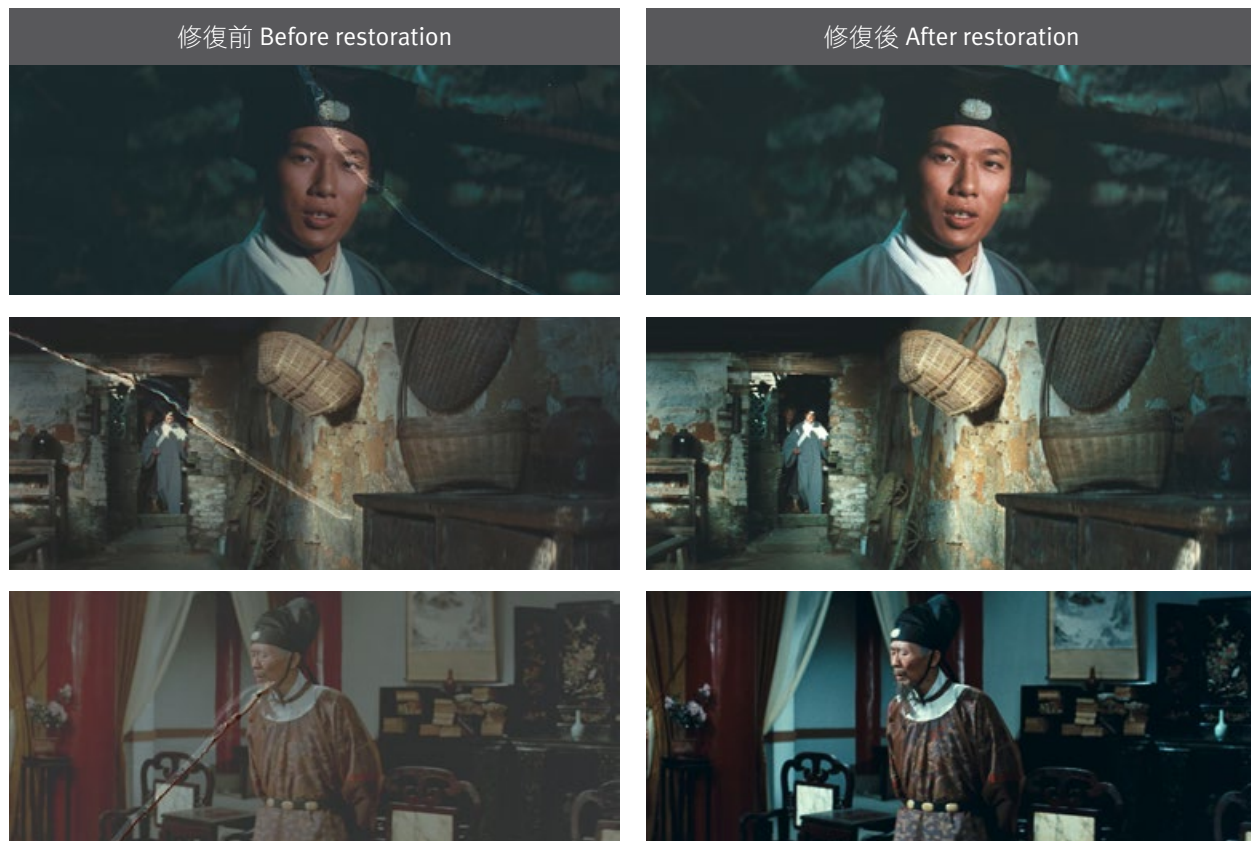
For details of the process of curating "Treasure-Hunt Stories," see Ching-ling Kwok and Po-ching Cheung (interviewers), Ha-pak Wong (collator), "Treasured Memories: Interview with 'Treasure-Hunt Stories' Curator Priscilla Chan," *Newsletter*, Hong Kong Film Archive, 96 (May 2021): 6-10.

⁹ 《二十周年號外》（香港：香港電影資料館，2021），頁 6-48。

Special Vicennial Edition (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2021), 6-48.



6-11 調色是這次修復工作的重點之一，修復團隊致力令影像重現當年的原貌。
Colour grading was one of the focal points of this restoration project. The restoration team worked hard to restore each image to its original look at the time of the film's initial release.



12-17 除了調色外，影像上的瑕疵，如刮痕、斑點等，亦在修復過程中逐一修補。
In addition to refining colour tones, each and every flaw of the images, including scratches and spots, was repaired.

1994	<p>《正德皇夜探龍鳳店》（1958） <i>Emperor Zhengde's Night Visit to the Dragon and Phoenix Inn</i> (1958)</p>	<p>李志卿創辦萬里影業公司，五、六十年代發行數百部電影，其家人將本片的彩色底片及黑白拷貝移送資料館。資料館修復人員於2017年開始籌備將此片進行初步修復及併合，這電影最終於2018年重現觀眾眼前。¹⁰</p> <p>Lee Gee-hing established Man Li Film Co. Ltd., which distributed hundreds of films in the 1950s and 1960s. Lee's family transferred the colour negatives and black-and-white prints of this film to the Archive. Our Conservation Unit began initial restoration and merging work in 2017, and the restored film was finally re-released in 2018.¹⁰</p>
1995	<p>《八百壯士》（1938）、紀錄片《香港風景》（1936）及《香港風貌》（1930-40）²⁷ <i>Eight Hundred Heroes</i> (1938); documentaries <i>Views of Hong Kong</i> (1936) and <i>Hong Kong Sceneries</i> (1930-40) ²⁷</p> <p>《彩色青春》（1966）²⁸ <i>Colourful Youth</i> (1966) ²⁸</p>	<p>戰前開設沖印公司的王文治戰時將多部上海及香港早期電影埋藏於地洞，令它們免於戰火摧殘，半世紀後其女兒王泉珠將這批珍貴電影捐贈資料館。</p> <p>Daniel Wang operated a film-printing lab before World War II. During the war, he buried many early Shanghai and Hong Kong films underground to save them from the fires of war. Half a century later, his daughter Dolores Wang donated this valuable trove of materials to the Archive.</p> <p>由志聯影業有限公司的創辦人關志剛將此片連同該公司的百多部出品捐贈予資料館。資料館於2011年完成本片的數碼修復，並於2016年推出數碼影碟。</p> <p>This film was donated to the Archive by Kwan Chee-kong, founder of Chi Leun Film Company Limited, alongside over 100 of his company's productions. The Archive completed digital restoration of this work in 2011, and the film was released in DVD format in 2016.</p>
	<p>《星座奇趣錄》（1976） <i>Star Wonderfun</i> (1976)</p>	<p>創辦雷鳴（國際）電影貿易公司的雷鳴將此片連同數百部電影捐贈予資料館。</p> <p>Lui Ming, who established Lui Ming (International) Film Enterprises, donated this film together with several hundred others of the company's titles to the Archive.</p>
1996	<p>開幕電影《忠烈圖》（1975）¹⁸⁻²⁶ <i>Opening film The Valiant Ones</i> (1975) ¹⁸⁻²⁶</p>	<p>片主胡金銓導演親自將本片交予資料館作永久保存。資料館於2021年完成本片的4K數碼修復，修復版本在資料館二十周年誌慶開幕禮中首映⁶⁻¹⁷。¹¹</p> <p>The film was owned by director King Hu, who personally donated it to the Archive for permanent safekeeping. The Archive completed the 4K digital restoration of this film in 2021, and this version was premiered at the opening ceremony of the Archive's 20th anniversary celebrations ⁶⁻¹⁷.¹¹</p>

¹⁰ 有關修復《正德皇夜探龍鳳店》修復過程，請參看許佩琳：〈《正德皇夜探龍鳳店》的數碼修復〉，香港電影資料館《通訊》（86，2018），頁3-6。

For details of the restoration of *Emperor Zhengde's Night Visit to the Dragon and Phoenix Inn*, see Pui-lam Hui, "The Digital Restoration of *Emperor Zhengde's Night Visit to the Dragon and Phoenix Inn*," *Newsletter*, Hong Kong Film Archive, 86 (November 2018): 3-6.

¹¹ 有關《忠烈圖》的修復過程，請參看蔡俊昇：〈《忠烈圖》的4K數碼修復〉，香港電影資料館《通訊》（95，2021），頁4-7；吳君玉、蔡俊昇：〈香港電影資料館二十周年誌慶〉，《Journal of Film Preservation》（106，2022），頁109-115。

For details of the restoration of *The Valiant Ones*, see Kevin Choi, "A Conservation Story: The 4K Digital Restoration of *The Valiant Ones*," *Newsletter*, Hong Kong Film Archive, 95 (February 2021): 4-7; May Ng and Kevin Choi, "The Hong Kong Film Archive's 20th Anniversary Celebrations," *Journal of Film Preservation* 106 (April 2022): 109-115.

以下照片攝於香港電影資料館二十周年誌慶典禮：
Photos taken at the Archive's 20th anniversary celebration ceremony:



18 《忠烈圖》(1975) 中的主要演員：(左起) 劉江、吳明台 (吳明才) 及白鷹。
The leading actors in *The Valiant Ones* (1975): (from left) Lau Kong, Ng Ming-toi (Ng Ming-choi), and Bai Ying.



19 (左起) 馮秉仲伉儷、源碧福、康文署署長劉明光、吳明台、時任康文署副署長(文化)楊芷蘭、時任康文署助理署長(文博)譚美兒及資料館前館長林覺聲
(From left) Gordon Fung and his wife; Beryl Yuen; Vincent Liu, Director of LCSD; Ng Ming-toi; Elaine Yeung, then Deputy Director (Culture) of LCSD; Eve Tam, then Assistant Director (Heritage and Museums) of LCSD; and Richie Lam, former Head of the Archive



20 (左起) 時任康文署總經理(電影及文化交流)區玉芳、時任康文署助理署長(文博)譚美兒、康文署署長劉明光與香港電影美術學會的劉天蘭、張西美、雷楚雄及張玳
(From left) Betty Au, then Chief Manager (Film and Cultural Exchange) of LCSD; Eve Tam, then Assistant Director (Heritage and Museums) of LCSD; Vincent Liu, Director of LCSD; and Tina Liu, Edith Cheung, Bill Lui, and Cheung Toi from the Hong Kong Film Arts Association



21 (左起) 資料館前館長唐詠詩、資料館創館館長廖昭薰、資料館前館長林覺聲、資料館館長曾煒樂、時任康文署總經理(電影及文化交流)區玉芳
(From left) Angela Tong, former Head of the Archive; Cynthia Liu, inaugural Head of the Archive; Richie Lam, former Head of the Archive; Rowena Tsang, Head of the Archive; and Betty Au, then Chief Manager (Film and Cultural Exchange) of LCSD

1996	《廣島廿八》(1974) * <i>Hiroshima 28</i> (1974)*	龍剛導演借此片拷貝給資料館翻印成底片作保存，並積極就沖印技術及影片色調問題提供寶貴意見。 Director Patrick Lung Kong lent his copy of this film to the Archive to strike a new print, and he enthusiastically participated in the process by offering valuable advice on the printing techniques and colouring process.
	《海棠紅》(1955) * <i>Blood Will Tell</i> (1955)*	時任資料館高級經理、後來成為創館館長的廖昭薰到日本交流時發現日本川喜多紀念映畫文化財團珍藏此片的日文字幕拷貝孤本，後獲該機構慷慨借予資料館翻印。 Cynthia Liu, then Senior Manager of the Archive and later its inaugural Head, was in Japan on an official visit when she discovered a Japanese-subtitled print of the film with the help of the Kawakita Memorial Film Institute. The Institute later generously granted the Archive permission to strike a copy of the film.

1997	《寒夜》(1955) * <i>It was a Cold Winter Night</i> (1955)*	三藩市的世界戲院結業，資料館搜集人員得悉後聯繫相關人士，最終搜羅超過 600 部電影，本片是其中之一。 When San Francisco's World Theatre announced its closure, the Archive promptly made arrangements to recover over 600 copies of films stored at the theatre, among which was <i>It was a Cold Winter Night</i> .
1998	《蝶影紅梨記》(1959) <i>Butterfly and Red Pear Blossom</i> (1959)	存有該片原底片及拷貝的沖印公司結業前聯絡片主李鐵導演，商量如何處置這批物料，李導演最後將物料移交資料館。其後資料館於 2019 年完成該片的數碼修復，修復版於同年首映。 ¹² The lab that processed this film, upon its imminent closure, contacted director Lee Tit, who eventually decided to graciously transfer the prints of the film to the Archive. A digital restoration of the film was completed in 2019 and premiered later in the same year. ¹²
1999	《女殺手》(1974) * <i>Lady Bond</i> (1974)*	關德興之子關漢泉慷慨捐出其父的電影遺物，並憑人脈在美國三藩市大明星戲院尋得一批六十年代的戲橋轉贈資料館，資料館人員按此線索，找到掌管大明星戲院的胡氏家族，最後尋獲一批五、六十年代經典港片，此為其中之一。 David Quan, son of the famed actor and martial artist Kwan Tak-hing, not only donated to the Archive materials left behind by his father but also a number of 1960s handbills he found at the Great Star Theater of San Francisco. Following this lead, the Archive contacted the Wu family who operated the theatre, managing to find a batch of 1950s and 1960s Hong Kong films, among them classics like <i>Lady Bond</i> .
	《豪門夜宴》(1959) ^{29 30} <i>Feast of a Rich Family</i> (1959) ^{29 30}	乘康文署的文化節目辦事處舉辦電影周以慶祝華南電影工作者聯合會(影聯會)成立五十周年之契機，亦基於先前的合作經驗，影聯會讓資料館永久保存此片。 At the 50th Anniversary of the South China Film Industry Workers Union (SCFIWU), the Cultural Presentations Office of LCSD held an event to celebrate the occasion. The SCFIWU transferred the film to the Archive for permanent safekeeping in commemoration of the event and out of respect for its collaborative relationship with the Archive.

¹² 有關《蝶影紅梨記》的修復過程，請參閱郭靜寧、張寶晶、蔡梓淇訪問及整理：《〈蝶影紅梨記〉修復全面睇》，香港電影資料館《通訊》，(89, 2019)，頁 8-10。

For details of the restoration of *Butterfly and Red Pear Blossom*, see Ching-ling Kwok, Po-ching Cheung, and Tsz-kei Choi (interviewers and collators), "Butterfly and Red Pear Blossom Digitally Restored—The Full Story," *Newsletter*, Hong Kong Film Archive, 89 (August 2019): 8-10.

以下照片攝於香港電影資料館二十周年誌慶典禮：
Photos taken at the Archive's 20th anniversary celebration ceremony:



22 (左起) 導演張同祖、馮秉仲伉儷
(From left) Director Cheung Tung-joe, Gordon Fung and his wife



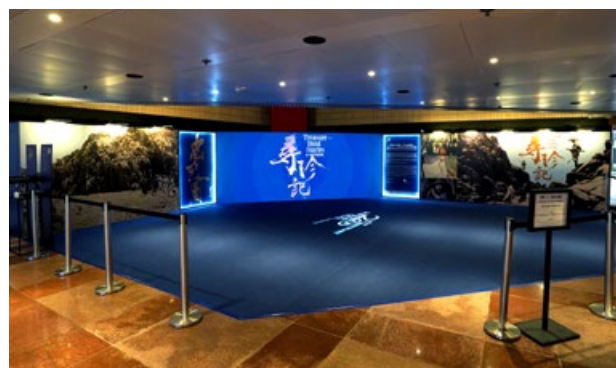
23 資料館一級助理館長(節目)陳彩玉(左一)與銀都機構發行部前經理謝柏強(中)及友人
Priscilla Chan, Assistant Curator I (Programming) of the Archive (1st left) with Tse Pak-keung, former Distribution Manager of Sil-Metropole Organisation Ltd. (middle), and his friends



24 資料館二十周年誌慶典禮司儀蔡瀚億
Baby John Choi Hon-yick, emcee of the Archive's 20th anniversary celebration ceremony



25 資料館團隊及友好
The Archive teams and friends



25 在香港文化中心舉行的「尋·珍·記」《忠烈圖》專題展覽
"Treasure-Hunt Stories"—*The Valiant Ones* Special Exhibition at the Hong Kong Cultural Centre

2000	《金粉霓裳》(1947)* <i>White Powder and Neon Lights</i> (1947)*	美籍華人王先生的家人昔日在美國三藩市經營戲院，王先生其後在倉庫找到一批大觀聲片有限公司(美國分廠)拍攝的影片，並主動聯絡資料館，最終移交這批菲林給資料館。 Chinese American Ben Wong came from a family that operated theatres in San Francisco. On his own initiative, he contacted the Archive and sent a number of films made by the Grandview Film Company Limited (U.S. Branch) that he found in the vault to the Archive.
2001	《工廠皇后》(1963) <i>Three Love Affairs</i> (1963)	製片家黃卓漢創辦自由影業公司、嶺光影業公司及第一機構有限公司，在其兒子黃海的安排下，這三間公司的出品皆捐贈予資料館。 Producer Wong Cheuk-hon was the founder of Liberty Film Co., Lan Kwong Film Company and First Organisation Limited. His son Wong Hoi arranged to donate the works of the three companies to the Archive.
	《孔夫子》(1940) 31 <i>Confucius</i> (1940) 31	佚名捐贈。其後資料館於2009年完成該片的首階段數碼修復，並於2012年推出數碼影碟。 ¹³ The film was obtained from an anonymous donor. The Archive later completed the first phase of digital restoration of the film in 2009, and it was released in DVD format in 2012. ¹³
2002	紀錄片《勳業千秋》(1941)及《淞滬抗戰紀實》(1937) Documentaries <i>A Page of History</i> (1941) and <i>The Battle of Shanghai</i> (1937)	香港電影先鋒人物之一黎民偉隨孫中山先生拍攝戰爭實況，黎先生的後人於2002年將這批珍貴紀錄片的菲林贈予資料館。 Lai Man-wai, considered one of the pioneers of Hong Kong cinema, documented real battle scenes by shadowing Dr Sun Yat-sen. His descendants donated this valuable batch of documentary film negatives to the Archive in 2002.
2004	《野玫瑰之戀》(1960)*及《南北和》(1961)* <i>The Wild, Wild Rose</i> (1960)* and <i>The Greatest Civil War on Earth</i> (1961)*	新加坡國泰機構將逾10,000件電影及相關藏品贈予資料館。 The Cathay Organisation in Singapore donated over 10,000 films and related items to the Archive.
	《鳳冠情事》(2003) <i>Breaking the Willow</i> (2003)	楊凡導演將其出品的電影底片及拷貝捐贈予本館，此片為其中之一。 Director Yonfan donated the negatives and copies of his films to the Archive, among which was <i>Breaking the Willow</i> .

¹³ 有關《孔夫子》的搜集及修復過程，請參閱黃愛玲編：《費穆電影 孔夫子》(香港：香港電影資料館，2010)。
For details of the acquisition and restoration of *Confucius*, see Ain-ling Wong, ed., *Fei Mu's Confucius* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Archive, 2010).



27 《八百壯士》(1938)、《香港風景》(1936)及《香港風貌》(1930-40)放映，邀請到恩尼·哥柏斯作現場音樂伴奏。

The screenings of *Eight Hundred Heroes* (1938), *Views of Hong Kong* (1936) and *Hong Kong Sceneries* (1930-40) were embellished with the live music accompaniment by Ernesto Maurice Corpus.



30 吳國坤博士(右二)與學生一同觀賞《豪門夜宴》
Dr Kenny Ng (2nd right) and students at the screening of *Feast of a Rich Family*



28 《彩色青春》(1966)(修復版)映後談：吳俊雄博士
Post-screening talk of *Colourful Youth* (1966) (Restored Version): Dr Ng Chun-hung



29 《豪門夜宴》(1959)免費放映
Free screening of *Feast of a Rich Family* (1959)



31 《孔夫子》(1940)(修復版)映後談：(左起)資料館前修復組主管謝建輝、資料館前搜集組經理何美寶、主持陳彩玉。

Post-screening talk of *Confucius* (1940) (Restored Version): (from left) Edward Tse, former Head of Conservation Unit of the Archive; Mable Ho, former Head of Acquisition Unit of the Archive; and host Priscilla Chan.

32 《阮玲玉》(1992)映後談：星空華文傳媒有限公司代表吳文亮(右)與主持陳彩玉(左)

Post-screening talk of *Center Stage* (1992): Alfred Ng, representative of Fortune Star Media Limited (right) and host Priscilla Chan (left).

2007	<p>閉幕電影《阿飛正傳》(1990)*³³及《喋血街頭》(1990)*</p> <p>Closing film <i>Days of Being Wild</i> (1990)*³³ and <i>Bullet in the Head</i> (1990)*</p>	<p>馮秉仲將其海外院線放映的逾千套珍藏影片及數萬件宣傳材料捐贈資料館作永久保存及使用，是資料館最重要的大型搜集項目之一。</p> <p>Gordon Fung donated over 1,000 precious copies of films and tens of thousands of promotional items from his overseas theatre chains to the Archive for permanent safekeeping and use. His donations form one of the largest-scale acquisitions the Archive has ever made.</p>
	《董夫人》(1970)* <i>The Arch</i> (1970)*	<p>導演唐書璇的家人將這套由投資者給予的拷貝轉贈資料館。</p> <p>The family members of director Tong Shu-shuen donated this copy of the film acquired from an investor to the Archive.</p>
2009	<p>《梁山伯與祝英台》(1963)及《十萬火急》(1997)</p> <p><i>The Love Eterne</i> (1963) and <i>Lifeline</i> (1997)</p>	<p>天映娛樂有限公司自2002年起將購入的邵氏片庫進行數碼修復，2009年將700多套電影菲林素材和數萬項資料轉交資料館保存。</p> <p>Celestial Pictures Limited had started to digitally restore the purchased titles of the Shaw Brothers Film Library since 2002. In 2009, Celestial transferred over 700 film prints and tens of thousands of artefacts and materials to the Archive for preservation.</p>
2011	<p>《黃飛鴻正傳上集之鞭風滅燭》(1949)及《黃飛鴻傳下集之火燒霸王莊》(1949)</p> <p><i>The Story of Wong Fei-hung, Part I: Wong Fei-hung's Whip that Smacks the Candle</i> (1949) and <i>The Story of Wong Fei-hung, Part II: Wong Fei-hung Burns the Tyrant's Lair</i> (1949)</p>	<p>電視廣播有限公司堪稱本港最重要的片庫之一，資料館自1992年開始游說無綫電視移交電影菲林，最終於2011年達成協議，讓資料館接收逾千部電影。</p> <p>Television Broadcasts Limited (TVB) is one of the most important archives of Hong Kong films in the city. Since 1992, the Archive had been discussing with TVB the matter of transferring their film collection to the Archive. An agreement was finally reached in 2011, whereupon the Archive received over 1,000 titles.</p>
	《阮玲玉》(1992) ³² <i>Center Stage</i> (1992) ³²	<p>存有大量七十年代至千禧年代香港電影的星空華文傳媒有限公司，將其拷貝移送資料館作永久保存。</p> <p>The film library of Fortune Star Media Limited holds a large collection of Hong Kong films made from the 1970s to 2000s, the copies of which were transferred to the Archive for permanent safekeeping.</p>
	《畸人艷婦》(1960) <i>The Deformed</i> (1960)	<p>這部岳楓導演的名作佚失多年，由佚名捐贈者將這部電影的中、英文字幕拷貝各一套捐贈資料館。</p> <p>This Griffin Yue Feng-directed work was deemed lost for many years, until two copies, one with Chinese subtitles and the other with English subtitles, were anonymously donated to the Archive.</p>

2012	《掙扎》(又名《九江血戰》, 1933)* 及《女性之光》(1937)* <i>Struggle</i> (1933)* and <i>The Light of Women</i> (1937)*	承電影院商及投資者馮秉仲親自牽線, 三藩市華宮戲院創辦人方創傑將一批珍稀的三、四十年代華語電影硝酸片贈予資料館。 ¹⁴ Cinema owner, businessman and investor Gordon Fung made personal introductions to connect the Archive with Jack Lee Fong, founder of San Francisco's Palace Theatre. Mr Fung donated a treasure trove of Chinese-language nitrate films from the 1930s and 1940s to the Archive. ¹⁴
	《蝶變》(1979) <i>The Butterfly Murders</i> (1979)	東方電影沖印(國際)有限公司於2012年整理片倉, 需要聯絡片主領回寄存的影片, 經該沖印公司的高級業務經理高天宙居中游說, 大部分片主同意捐贈影片予資料館, 而《蝶變》便是其中之一。 During a reorganisation of their storage facility in 2012, Mandarin Laboratory (International) Limited contacted various film owners to collect the film copies stored there. Ko Tin-chow, Senior Operations Manager, persuaded most of the owners to donate their films to the Archive, among which included <i>The Butterfly Murders</i> .

從以上精選影片的名單及搜集歷程, 可窺探香港電影資料館的搜集工作的網絡, 從個別影人或影人後代及熱心人士, 逐漸擴大至業界不同範疇, 包括電影出品公司、發行公司、沖印公司、電視台, 以至收購電影公司片庫的機構等。另一方面, 人脈網絡亦延伸至國際層面, 在引路人的引薦下, 一些遠在海外的沖印公司、戲院商、電影出品公司等, 給香港電影資料館打開了原先深鎖的香港電影寶藏之門, 讓這些遠銷外地的電影拷貝重見天日。特別是幾批原先在美國三藩市戲院商的拷貝, 由於當地氣候乾爽及不像香港般炎熱, 較利於影片的保存, 而這些狀態良好的電影亦成為了香港電影資料館館藏的重要來源。



The above list of specially selected films as well as the stories of how they were acquired give a glimpse of the Archive's expanse of network in its acquisition efforts. This network spans from individual filmmakers, their descendants and film enthusiasts to the wider circle of various film disciplines including film production companies, distribution companies, film processing laboratories, television stations, and companies that purchased other film companies' film libraries. Our network also extends to the global front as we were kindly introduced to film processing laboratories, theatre owners and film production companies abroad. It is with their contributions that the Archive is able to unearth a trove of long-lost Hong Kong cinematic gems that were internationally distributed and now come full circle for reappearance. In particular, several batches of film copies from theatre owners in San Francisco benefited from the dry local climate, which is more favourable for film preservation when compared to Hong Kong. These films, in good conditions, have become a major source of the Archive's collection.

33 「尋·珍·記」閉幕電影《阿飛正傳》(1990)在香港文化中心大劇院放映數碼版本

Days of Being Wild (1990) was selected as the closing film of the "Treasure-Hunt Stories" series. The digital version was screened at the Grand Theatre of the Hong Kong Cultural Centre.

¹⁴ 有關三藩市華宮戲院電影拷貝的搜集過程, 請參閱陳彩玉:〈方創傑先生與他的時間囊〉, 香港電影資料館《通訊》(66, 2013), 頁4-6。

For details of the acquisition of film copies from the Palace Theatre in San Francisco, see Priscilla Chan, "Mr Jack Lee Fong and His Time Capsule," *Newsletter*, Hong Kong Film Archive, 66 (November 2013): 4-6.

(三)「故紙堆中覓『太平』盛世」展覽

若說放映節目展示了香港電影不同時期的不同面貌, 於2021年5月28日至10月17日舉行的「故紙堆中覓『太平』盛世」展覽則揭示了戰前以至戰後的一段伶影交輝的歷程³⁴⁻³⁹。

於1904年開業的太平戲院位於西營盤, 是香港歷史最悠久的戲院之一。太平戲院第三代院主源碧福於2006年移交康樂及文化事務署的文物中, 我館獲贈3,600件, 數量龐大, 是戰前香港電影資料最大規模的捐贈。

這個展覽展示過百件太平戲院珍貴文物, 試圖從文獻中整合源氏三代經營的藍圖——拓荒者源杏翹於清代(1904年)開展粵劇和電影事業, 到三十年代由其子源詹勳把太平戲院改建成集歌劇院與戲院於一身的劃時代建築, 有聲電影的放映和太平劇團的進駐, 皆令業務迅速發展。當中的艱困, 一步一足印, 都由源碧福花盡心思竭力保存下來, 這份忠於傳承的信念, 讓市民得以窺見早期香港電影及粵劇的發展風貌, 意義非凡。展覽按年代羅列珍貴的書信和租片合同、1903年的建築草圖、日治時期的戲院營運規則等, 還有由源女士帶領大家舊地重遊的片段, 從她口中吐出昔日戲院的軼事和美事, 跨時空重現塘西旖旎奢逸的盛世風華。

(III) "Out of the Past—From the Tai Ping Treasure Trove" Exhibition

While screening programmes showcased the multifaceted Hong Kong cinema across the ages, the "Out of the Past—From the Tai Ping Treasure Trove" exhibition held from 28 May to 17 October 2021 allowed visitors to take a step back in time to the period spanning pre-war to post-war when the stage and silver screen intertwined in all their glory³⁴⁻³⁹.

Opened in 1904 in Sai Ying Pun, Tai Ping Theatre is one of the oldest theatres in Hong Kong. In 2006, the third-generation owner of Tai Ping Theatre, Beryl Yuen, generously donated the theatre's trove of artefacts to the Leisure and Cultural Services Department, among which an enormous amount of over 3,600 items were gifted to the Archive and included a lot of rare first-hand information on pre-war Hong Kong.

With more than a hundred precious artefacts of Tai Ping Theatre on display, the exhibition traced the footsteps of all three generations of the Yuen legacy. It all began in the Qing dynasty (1904) when industry pioneer Yuen Hang-kiu started the Cantonese Opera and film businesses. Tai Ping Theatre then relived the 1930s, when the building was reconstructed into a state-of-the-art combination of the opera house and moving picture theatre by Yuen's son, Yuen Jim-fan, before reaching a prosperous time with the rise of sound films and establishment of the Tai Ping Opera Troupe. The artefacts tell the story of Tai Ping Theatre moving forward one step



34 35 太平男女劇團演出戲橋 (1935年2月23日)

Handbill of Tai Ping Mixed-gender Opera Troupe (23 February 1935)



36 - 39 「故紙堆中覓『太平』盛世」展覽
“Out of the Past—From the Tai Ping Treasure Trove” exhibition

配合這個展覽，資料館亦舉辦了四個座談會，主題包括：「追憶『太平』年華」^{40 41}、「太平文字：從文物看書寫藝術」、「從建築看太平戲院」及「太平戲院與社群：公共事務與個人回憶」，邀請不同專家從不同的角度探討太平戲院在香港文化及歷史上的地位。

是次活動得到不少正面的迴響，例如展品中包括兩幅由著名的巴馬丹拿建築事務所於1903年繪製的施工圖則，展示了太平戲院的立面圖和各層的平面圖，香港文化博物館於2008年便是依據這些圖則製作戲院模型。由於戰前圖則保存至今實屬難得，這兩幅圖則引起了巴馬丹拿集團的興趣，特別派員前來資料館與捐贈太平戲院文物的源碧福及資料館代表會面，一起討論圖則的背景、保存與修復⁴²。

at a time and living through all the hardships—all these were so painstakingly preserved by Ms Yuen. It was exactly this perseverance with passing on the cultural heritage that allowed the public to take a glimpse of the development of early Hong Kong films and operas and gave meaning to the whole matter. The exhibition showcased some valuable letters of correspondence and film reel leases in chronological order, architectural plans in 1903, list of rules for running theatres during the Japanese occupation, as well as other precious artefacts. It also showed a video of Ms Yuen taking a tour through the former theatre site and sharing some interesting unknown facts and best moments of the theatre, which brought the audiences back to the magnificent old days of the Hong Kong West.

Four seminars were held in conjunction with the exhibition, namely “Throwback ‘Tai Ping’ Good Old Days”^{40 41}, “Tai Ping Words: The Art of Writing in Yuen Family Documents”, “Tai Ping



40 41 「追憶『太平』年華」座談會：源碧福（左）與主持周荔嬌（右）
“Throwback ‘Tai Ping’ Good Old Days” Seminar: Beryl Yuen (left) with host Janice Chow (right)

「與眾同歡」開放日

展現引人入勝、值得欣賞的電影和文物，固然是資料館的職責，除此之外，資料館致力讓參觀者在能與資料館專業人員的互動氛圍下，近距離接觸電影的文物，了解文物的歷史和發掘箇中的趣味。在此理念下，資料館於2021年5月29日舉行「與眾同歡」開放日，舉辦多項活動，打破參觀者只能被動地觀賞的常規，營造獨特的文化體驗。當天的活動包括「齊做放映師」菲林放映體驗活動、四場免費的神秘電影放映，以及別開生面的「文化活現之旅」，皆是經過精心策劃的節目。以下是每項活動的詳情，以及其中一些公眾人士參與後的感言摘錄。



42 源碧福（後排左一）、巴馬丹拿集團代表及資料館同事合照。
Beryl Yuen (back row, 1st left), the representatives from P&T Group, and the staff of the Archive

Theatre: An Architectural Perspective”, and “Tai Ping Theatre and Communities: Public Affairs and Personal Memories”. Guests who graced the events shared their different expert views on the cultural and historical values of Tai Ping Theatre in Hong Kong.

The event garnered a lot of positive feedback, with visitors commending the exquisite and rare exhibits, such as two construction drawings by famous architectural firm Palmer & Turner (P&T Group), dating from 1903. The two construction drawings show the elevation and floor plans of Tai Ping Theatre, and formed the basis on which the Hong Kong Heritage Museum constructed a model of the theatre in 2008. Since the preservation of pre-war construction drawings is rare, the two drawings in question raised the interest of P&T Group. Company representatives came to the Archive to meet with Beryl Yuen, donor of the collection of Tai Ping Theatre artefacts, and our team. Together they discussed the story behind the construction drawings, as well as their preservation and restoration⁴².

“Fun Day”

The Archive is always deeply committed to presenting captivating and noteworthy films and artefacts. In addition, we strive to provide opportunities for visitors to admire film artefacts up close, learn about the history of the pieces through interacting with our professional staff, and find joy in the process. Based on these objectives, the Archive held a “Fun Day” featuring an exciting array of activities on 29 May 2021. Unlike typical programmes in which visitors can only participate passively, these unique programmes were designed to offer unparalleled cultural experiences, such as “Let’s Project!” celluloid projection, free screenings of four mystery films, and a special “A Trip Through Time” coach tour. Here are the details on each of the activities and feedback from some of the participants.

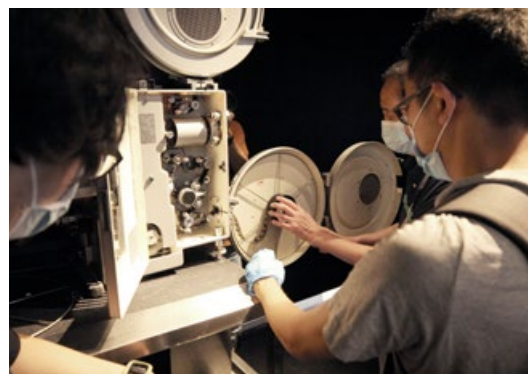
(i) 「齊做放映師」菲林放映體驗活動

踏入數碼年代，菲林放映的模式已逐漸走進歷史，今次開放日特別重構一個迷你菲林放映間，並由一級助理館長（修復）勞啟明帶領修復組同事，向參加者講解菲林放映機的運作原理。參加者在修復組同事的指導下，可嘗試將菲林放進放映機內，然後便可關上掩門，開啟摩打及光源，並親睹聲影顯現在銀幕的一刻 43-45。

這個環節，開放日當天吸引了不少公眾人士參與，他們對於有機會近距離接觸菲林放映機都感到趣味盎然。年約 30 歲、從事新聞工作的蘇小姐與朋友劉小姐結伴前來參加「齊做放映師」活動，她們對於能有機會接觸放映機感到很雀躍，蘇小姐表示：「這很可能是我人生第一次將（菲林）放進放映機內。以前我連放映機也沒有見過，當然在網上曾見過有人指導如何將菲林放進放映機的片段，但若論現實中自己親手將菲林放到放映機內，並按下按鈕，這種經歷是我人生中第一次……我覺得能夠接觸到的感覺是不一樣的，因為多了一份觸感，跟你只限於觀



43 勞啟明（右三）向參加者講解菲林放映的過程
Koven Lo (3rd right) explained the process of film projection to participants.



44 參加者在指導下將菲林放進放映機內
A participant put a filmstrip into the projector under guidance.

(i) "Let's Project!" Celluloid Projection Experience

Entering the digital age, celluloid projection is slowly fading into history. A mini 35mm film projection room was reconstructed for the special open day event. Koven Lo Kai-ming, Assistant Curator I (Conservation), led the Conservation Unit team members to demonstrate how to operate a 35mm film projector. With their guidance, visitors were able to load a film reel into the projector, then upon closing the compartment door and turning on the motor and lamp, light up the silver screen 43-45.

During the open day, the activity attracted a lot of active participations, with visitors finding the experience of getting up close to a 35mm film projector fascinating. Ms So, who is around 30 years old and works in the journalism industry, joined the "Let's Project!" activity with friend Ms Lau. They were thrilled to bits with the opportunity to operate a film projector during the "Let's Project" activity. Ms So said, "This may well be my first time threading (a filmstrip) into a projector. I have never even seen a film projector before. Of course I watched online video clips before threading a film projector. This is, however, the first time in my life that I threaded a filmstrip into the projector by myself and pressed the actual button... The tactile sensation is simply unique. The sense of touch provided something vastly different from my mental understanding by just watching a video. For example, it is easy to understand how to thread a filmstrip. However, when



45 關上掩門，開啟摩打及光源，聲影便放映出來。
After closing the machine and turning on the motor and the lamp, both images and sound appeared on the screen.

看，然後憑空想像自己已經明白了，兩者是不一樣的；例如菲林要怎樣擺放，你以為很容易明白，但到真的要按照那個方法擺放時，才發現並非想像中那樣的，有一些小地方，是要動手做過才能明白的，所以我覺得這次的經歷，會比單是理論性的演講更深入，而且印象更深刻。」

是次工作坊由於反應熱烈，於同年 6 月 12 日再度舉辦，讓更多參加者親身體驗菲林放映的過程。

(ii) 「神秘電影」放映

「神秘電影」放映則是選映四部謎面是圍繞四個問題的電影，分別是：「香港最多產的電影導演的一部電影」——珠璣導演的《辣手碎情花》（1949）、「資料館放映次數最多的電影」——《寒夜》（1955）、「資料館第一部從海外搜集回來的電影」——《人海孤鴻》（1960）、「資料館全人最想看的電影」——《甜蜜蜜》（1996）。這四場電影放映前，均設資料館助理館長講解的環節，逐步將謎底解開，並從側面介紹資料館的工作。這種事先不言明片名的做法，打破了一般觀影經驗的成規，讓觀眾從另一種期待驚喜的心情代入觀影體驗中，亦從另一種切入點，建立與資料館的聯繫，可說與一般電影節目大異其趣 46。

you apply what you have learned, it becomes another story. There are nuances that you can only discover through hands-on experience. So, I find the experience more in-depth and memorable when compared to theoretical instructions."

Due to popular demand, the workshop was held again on 12 June in the same year to allow more participants to have an opportunity to experience the process of film projection in person.

(ii) "Mystery Screening"

"Mystery Screening" featured four special films based on four intriguing questions, namely "The Hong Kong film director who has made the most films"—*To Kill the Love* (1949) by director Chu Kea, "The film with the most screenings in the Hong Kong Film Archive"—*It Was a Cold Winter Night* (1955), "The first film acquired overseas by the Hong Kong Film Archive"—*The Orphan* (1960), and "The most anticipated film of the Hong Kong Film Archive staff"—*Comrades: Almost a Love Story* (1996). Prior to the four film screenings, pre-screening talks were held by the Archive's assistant curators to gradually unveil the mystery films while introducing the works undertaken by the Archive. The approach of not announcing the film titles in advance, unconventional in general film-viewing experiences, allowed the audience to enjoy the sense of anticipation and surprise as they watched the films. The unique experience also established the audience's connection with the Archive in a different way 46.



46 「神秘放映」的四場放映節目在「與眾同歡」開放日舉行
The "Mystery Screening" programme featuring four screenings was held on the "Fun Day".

事實上，從其中一位觀看「神秘放映」、從事顧客服務的陳小姐的觀後感言看來，這項活動的確為觀者帶來一定的驚喜，她說：「我見到這個活動的時候就覺得挺有趣，加上是電影資料館二十周年，我就覺得選的戲應該都不會差，而時間又剛好，所以就選擇來看……感覺是挺驚奇的，因為我事先不知道是哪一套電影，我看的電影是《寒夜》，我開頭見到是黑白電影，就覺得糟糕了，會否不適合自己看呢？會否很快就覺得沉悶呢？但事實上感覺不錯，看完之後覺得挺有趣，因為劇情不是我想像中那般老套，那個故事即使套用於現在，其實也是可行的，小時候的認知是覺得這些黑白片是很老套，例如會有一些主角吐血的情節，雖然這電影也有吐血的情節，劇情卻不是只有慘情。」從上述的例子可得知，即使如《寒夜》這部由李晨風執導的名作，在一般事前公開片名的放映，未必能吸引本身對黑白片有成見的觀眾入場觀看，反而在「神秘放映」的包裝下，卻能招攬這一批觀眾，這就是這類神秘放映充滿驚喜之處！

(iii) 「文化活現之旅」

開放日另一活動——「文化活現之旅」是「故紙堆中覓『太平』盛世」展覽的延伸活動，讓參加者坐上旅遊巴士從資料館出發，前往中環及西環德輔道西太平戲院舊址等地點，沿途由專業導賞員，包括丁穎茵博士、葉泳詩及周荔嫻，就太平戲院的歷史和社區面貌的變遷，作深入淺出的介紹⁴⁷⁻⁴⁹，參加者可切身體會昔日足跡，對照展覽展出的歷史文獻和文物⁵⁰。



⁴⁷ 周荔嫻闡釋太平戲院一帶消費圈如何環環相扣

Janice Chow explained how a closely linked commercial zone is formed around Tai Ping Theatre.



⁴⁸ 丁穎茵博士從舊照片中的金陵酒家，說人文薈萃之地的軼事。

Dr Vivian Ting used an old photo to recount the history of Kam Ling Restaurant, amusing participants with anecdotes of how the restaurant was frequented by distinguished celebrity artists.



⁴⁹ 葉泳詩與大家實地考察，領略昔日香港風貌。

Audrey Yip led participants on a cultural field trip to take a glimpse of old Hong Kong.

According to a “Mystery Screening” audience member, Ms Chan, who works in customer service, the programme did present an element of pleasant surprise: “When I first heard of the activity, I found it rather interesting. As it was part of the celebratory activities for the Archive’s 20th anniversary, I thought the selected mystery film would probably be good. So I joined the programme as it fitted with my schedule ... It was indeed surprising as I walked into the theatre having no clue whatsoever. The film turned out to be *It Was a Cold Winter Night*. My heart initially sank upon realising it was a black-and-white film. I wondered if the film would be boring and not to my liking. My doubts were dispelled, however, as the film is pretty good and rather interesting because the storyline is far from being a cliché. The story is plausible even if set in modern days. As a child, I used to view black-and-white films having clichés with lead characters vomiting blood for instance. Although this indeed happens in the film, the story is far from being just a weepy melodrama.” Even with a masterpiece such as *It Was a Cold Winter Night* by director Lee Sun-fung, audiences may be hesitant because of preconceived notions about black-and-white films. “Mystery Screening”, incorporating the elements of surprise and anticipation, is nevertheless able to attract previously untapped audiences.

(iii) “A Trip Through Time”

“A Trip Through Time”, another “Fun Day” activity, was an extended activity of the “Out of the Past—From the Tai Ping Treasure Trove” exhibition. Participants of the tour group boarded a coach at the Archive, passing by Des Voeux Road West in Central and Western district, to revisit the former site of Tai Ping Theatre and other locations historically connected to the theater. Dr Vivian Ting, Audrey Yip and Janice Chow served as tour guides to give a basic introduction of Tai Ping



⁵⁰ 「文化活現之旅」：齊齊往塘西尋找「太平」昔日足跡。

“A Trip Through Time”: Let’s ride to Tong Sai and re-discover the past of Tai Ping Theatre.

是次展覽不獨讓大眾認識香港電影的不同面貌，更重要的是讓參與者從中重尋自己與社區之間的聯繫，尋覓過往自身以至城市成長的足印，不單是懷舊的憑據，也是藉以建立身分認同的文化素養。其中一位參加者為退休中學教師余先生，他表示：「剛才導賞員不是提到華明中心那邊的一條私家巷嗎？兒時我們最愛在那一帶玩捉迷藏，而前邊剛好就是太平戲院外面的士多，還有賣東西吃的攤販，非常熱鬧。那麼令我印象很深刻的是甚麼呢？以前我去到那條巷子，總會捉緊我姐姐或是我爸爸，因為那裡很黑，很可怕，但到後來我已不太肯定這巷子是否真的存在，還是只是我想像出來的。經過今天的巴士之旅，再加上剛才見到的錄像，便印證了我的記憶：原來真的有一條這樣的巷子，那是我們在太平戲院看戲，散場後，沿著那條路走下去，可以行到去德輔道西的電車路。看到了這些我很開心，因為證實我很多童年回憶中的景物都是存在的。」除了兒時經常去太平戲院看電影，余先生由小學到中學，每天都在由家往返學校的路途上，經過太平戲院這座地標式建築；而展覽中最令他感觸的，是錄像中將太平戲院舊貌重疊著現在的建築，重現他烙印於腦海中的兒時景致，目睹時移境遷，勾起他心中無限感慨，倍感文化保育及傳承的可貴。

余先生指，是次展覽亦拓寬了他對太平戲院的認識：「透過這個展覽中的模型，以及裡面所展示的圖則，我才知道我印象中的是七十年代的太平戲院，但原來已經是經過兩次重建的模樣，兩次重建後，其實戲院範圍附近位置已經縮小了，這些是我過往所不知道的。」

Theatre and changes in the community over the years⁴⁷⁻⁴⁹. Participants were able to trace the steps of the city in the olden days from where the historical artefacts on display originate⁵⁰.

Besides featuring various aspects of Hong Kong films, the exhibition allowed participants to rediscover their connections with the community. Tracing the footprints of themselves and the city is not only about experiencing nostalgia, but also about building one’s cultural identity. Participant Mr Yu, a retired secondary school teacher, shared his view, “Didn’t the tour guide just mention a private alley near Wah Ming Centre? We loved to play hide-and-seek in that area in our childhood. The front just happened to be the grocery store outside Tai Ping Theatre, and the area was bustling with many street vendors. What was my most memorable experience? When I walked in this alley as a child, I always held on tight to my elder sister or father’s hand because it was quite dark and scary. However, I was later unsure if this alley actually existed at all or if it was just a product of my imagination. The coach tour today and the video we just saw prove that my memory has not failed me: there really was such an alley. It was the path that we took after watching films at Tai Ping Theatre, which led to the tram route at Des Voeux Road West. I am overjoyed upon seeing all these because it has confirmed a lot of my childhood memories.” In addition to frequent visits to Tai Ping Theatre for films, Mr Yu’s childhood memories also include his daily commute from home to primary and secondary schools as he would invariably pass by the iconic Tai Ping Theatre. In the exhibition, he was most impressed by the video that shows an overlapping image of the former Tai Ping Theatre and the current building. Details of his childhood memories, etched in his brain, reappeared before his eyes. The nostalgic reminiscence of changes over time has also highlighted the importance of preserving our precious cultural heritage.

開放日除了吸引對資料館活動感興趣的公眾人士之外，亦引來一些年輕的電影工作者前來參加。參與過《江湖悲劇》（2016）編劇工作的張威達參與的兩項活動，均間接地與電影菲林有關，令他深受啟發：「今早看了一場『神秘電影』放映，看的是1949年白燕及張活游主演的《辣手碎情花》（按：放映制式為數字電影打包格式 [Digital Cinema Package, DCP]）。在觀看的過程中，我感受到當年的器材並不能跟現代的高科技相比，但在畫面上仍看到菲林的質感，反而更能彰顯到戲劇的張力。剛才我和太太看完電影後吃午飯時，都一直在討論，這些質感如何利用菲林做到。」到了「齊做放映師」環節，他更從菲林的觸感中感受前輩將心血化成電影作品的力量：「當我戴起膠手套去放映菲林的時候，又再一次感受到菲林的質感，亦再一次感受到，在菲林拍攝的年代，其實每一格菲林，每一分每一秒都很值得珍惜，每位電影人所付出的心血，就是觀眾看的每一格畫面影像。」他坦言，電影業界近幾年受疫情及其他社會因素影響，出現令人措手不及的變化，但他仍抱持樂觀態度，認為電影界目前只處於蓄勢待發的階段，很快便會重現活力。而資料館的開放日活動，無形中亦發揮橋樑作用，為前輩及新進電影人製造隔空對話的機會，亦讓前人的敬業精神及文化底蘊，一代接一代傳承下去 51-53。

Mr Yu also commented on how the exhibition has deepened his understanding of Tai Ping Theatre, “After looking at the model and architectural drawings at the exhibition, I finally realised that the Tai Ping Theatre I remembered from the 1970s had already been rebuilt twice by then. After the two reconstructions, the theatre has shrunk in size. These are things that I have never known before.”

During the “Fun Day”, the eclectic mix of activities organised by the Archive not only attracted attention and participation from the general public, but also young filmmakers. Victor Cheung, one of the screenwriters of *Fooling Around Jiang Hu* (2016), decided to take part in two “Fun Day” activities associated with film stock in various extent, both of which he found deeply inspiring, “I attended ‘Mystery Screening’ this morning, the ‘mystery’ film of which turned out to be *To Kill the Love* starring Pak Yin and Cheung Wood-yau in 1949 (Note: screening was delivered in DCP [Digital Cinema Package] format). During the screening, I recognised that the film equipment then could hardly be compared with the advanced film technology today. Nevertheless, the texture of film stock actually heightened the dramatic tension on screen. After the screening, my wife and I kept discussing over lunch on how this could be accomplished by using film stock.” Later at the “Let’s Project!” activity, Cheung was able to touch film prints and truly appreciated the strength of his predecessors who had made these films through toil and sweat, “When I put on plastic gloves to operate the film projector, I could feel the texture of the filmstrip again. It once again dawned on me that every minute, every second and every frame of pictures shot on film are worth cherishing. The hard work of the filmmakers come to life frame by frame in front of the audience.” He said candidly that the abrupt changes faced by the film industry in recent years were due to the pandemic and other factors in society. Cheung remains optimistic, however, as he believes the film sector is now ready to spring into action and will regain its vigour very soon. The Archive’s “Fun Day” also served as an invisible bridge to open up dialogues between filmmakers old and new, transcending time and space. Through these experiences, the spirit of dedication and perseverance from predecessors and the enduring cultural legacy in film can be passed on to future generations 51-53.



51 「齊做放映師」讓大家親身體驗菲林放映的過程
During the “Let’s Project!” activity, participants gained first-hand experience of film projection.



52 香港電影資料館二十周年誌慶
The 20th Anniversary of the Hong Kong Film Archive



53 團隊迎來資料館首個開放日
Ready for our first “Fun Day”

「從無聲到有聲——1930至1940年代香港電影」研討會

除了上述的放映、展覽及開放日活動之外，資料館亦於2021年1月9至10日一連兩日，舉辦「從無聲到有聲——1930至1940年代香港電影」研討會，匯聚中外學者，探索早期香港電影的發展歷程和面貌⁵⁴⁵⁵。過往資料館曾兩度舉行研討會，分別是2006年與香港大學亞洲研究中心合辦的「1950至1970年代香港電影的冷戰因素」學術研討會，以及2009年資料館主辦、香港大學協辦的「中國早期電影歷史再探」研討會。由於近十年來資料館從美國尋得一批三、四十年代香港影片及香港電影送檢檔案，是次研討會正好聚焦於之前未及進行研討的戰前及戰後香港電影，集結學者探索萌芽初期的香港電影，在體制、內容以至美學上的特色及發展脈絡，並進行研討，為這段影史的研究作補白。



⁵⁴ 攝於研討會首天：（左起）本館館長曾煒樂；兩位開幕致辭嘉賓：何思穎、羅卡；時任康文署總經理（電影及文化交流）區玉芳。

Taken on the first day of the symposium: (from left) Rowena Tsang, Head of the Archive; our two special guests, Sam Ho and Law Kar, who gave opening speeches; Betty Au, then Chief Manager (Film and Cultural Exchange) of LCSD.

“From Silent to Sound—Hong Kong Films of the 1930s and 1940s” Symposium

In addition to the screenings, exhibitions and “Fun Day” activities mentioned above, the Archive also held a two-day symposium “From Silent to Sound—Hong Kong Films of the 1930s and 1940s” from 9 to 10 January 2021. The event assembled both local and overseas scholars to explore the development and facets of early Hong Kong films⁵⁴⁵⁵. Before this event, two symposiums had been held by the Archive, with the first symposium “The Cold War Factor in Hong Kong Cinema, 1950s–1970s” jointly presented with the Centre of Asian Studies of The University of Hong Kong in 2006, and the “History of Early Chinese Cinema(s) Revisited” conference in association with The University of Hong Kong in 2009. As the Archive acquired from the United States a stash of Hong Kong film prints from the 1930s and 1940s along with archival documents of Hong Kong films over the past decade, the symposium focused on pre-war and post-war Hong Kong films that had been rarely studied previously. Scholars exchanged views on various aspects of Hong Kong films in its early stage ranging from the system, film content to aesthetics and context of development, filling the void of research on films in this period.

因疫情之故，研討會雖最終只可以視像形式進行，但30多位海內外專家交流及分享研究後所得的成果，已整理成兩冊論文集《探索1930至1940年代香港電影》，分別為上篇「時代與影史」及下篇「類型·地域·文化」，以電子書形式於資料館網頁上推出，讓公眾人士免費下載⁵⁶⁵⁷。

Because of the pandemic, the symposium was held online in the form of videoconference. Nevertheless, the fruits of the exchange and research sharing from more than 30 local and overseas experts have been collated in the two-volume essay collection *Exploring Hong Kong Films of the 1930s and 1940s*. The two parts are respectively titled *Part 1: Era and Film History* and *Part 2: Genres · Regions · Culture*, and are available in electronic format for free download at the Archive's website⁵⁶⁵⁷.



⁵⁵ 學者和研究者於2021年初「從無聲到有聲——1930至1940年代香港電影」研討會發表的論文，經編纂出版為《探索1930至1940年代香港電影》電子書。

The theses presented at the “From Silent to Sound—Hong Kong Films of the 1930s and 1940s” symposium in early 2021 have been collated and published in the e-book *Exploring Hong Kong Films of the 1930s and 1940s*.



⁵⁶ 《探索1930至1940年代香港電影——上篇：時代與影史》（中文版）
Exploring Hong Kong Films of the 1930s and 1940s — Part 1: Era and Film History [Chinese edition]



⁵⁷ 《探索1930至1940年代香港電影——下篇：類型·地域·文化》（中文版）
Exploring Hong Kong Films of the 1930s and 1940s — Part 2: Genres · Regions · Culture [Chinese edition]

展望將來

近年，菲林影片已被數碼化電影取代，最近多了電影公司樂意將菲林拷貝交予資料館保存，如何覓得資源、空間去拓展菲林的儲存空間，並培養專業的團隊去妥善管理片倉、妥善進行數碼化，將不同的影音檔案及時轉移到新的載體，建立完善的片庫和資料庫，有效地將各種電影資料與公眾分享，是我們所要面對的一個重要挑戰。

另一方面，大家欣賞電影、接觸電影文化的方式亦起了很大變化，未來的日子，我們除了透過傳統的途徑舉辦放映、展覽及各種電影文化活動之外，亦希望開發網上的不同渠道，分享資料館的豐富館藏，透過一些新穎的推廣方法拓展新的觀眾群，特別是吸引年輕一代對早期以至不同年代的香港電影產生興趣。

Future Outlook

As digital films have overtaken film reels in recent years, more film production companies have turned to the Archive for preserving film prints. One of the biggest tasks the Archive is facing is the expansion of film storage space through acquiring more resources and space. We need to build a professional team to conduct proper storage management and film digitisation, as well as transfer different audio-visual files to new media, in order to build a more comprehensive film archive and database. And finally, our trove of film data should be shared efficiently with the public.

On the other hand, great changes have taken place in the way people appreciate films and get exposed to cinematic culture. In the future, in addition to traditional screenings, exhibitions, film programmes and activities, we hope to share our rich collection via various new online channels. We also hope to expand new audienceship through innovative promotional tactics, especially to appeal to the younger generation so that they would become interested in Hong Kong films from the early days and from different eras.

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香港電影資料館——二十周年誌慶節目回顧
Highlights of the 20th Anniversary of the Hong Kong Film Archive

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