

我們這個欄目的主題——「公路上的人類學家」，頗能形容我正在山東省青島市進行、為期一年的博士論文田野調查。我那論文的重點部份，都在這個海邊城市的老城中心區大街小巷裡上演。姑且先稱我為「街道上的人類學家」吧。我在青島的一天約從早上六時半開始，街邊小販架起檔攤時發出的喧聲與鬧聲，總是那麼準時地把我吵醒。本來空無一車的街道，開始有小巴在風

Echoing the theme of this series - Anthropologists on the Road - a significant part of my now one-year-long Ph.D fieldwork quite literally takes place on the streets (roads) right in the heart of the old town of the coastal city of Qingdao, Shandong Province. My typical day "on the street" starts at around 6.30 in the morning when the clamour and noise of street vendors setting up their market stalls serves as an effective alarm clock. Minivans drive up the normally car-free street, door and window shutters are opened with great vigour; there is the noise of chickens and pigeons as



## 一個正在消失的 青島社區風景

### AND A DIMINISHING NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE CHINESE COASTAL METROPOLIS OF QINGDAO

文 德明禮，香港中文大學人類學系博士候選人

Text Philipp Demgenski, Ph.D Candidate,  
Department of Anthropology,  
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

圖 Prof. Joseph Bosco、金山、郭曉萱、袁賓久、德明禮

Photography Prof. Joseph Bosco, Jin Shan, Guo Xiaoxuan,  
Yuan Binjiu, Philipp Demgenski

馳，車門和百葉窗呼呼嘖嘖地打開；有人從暗房裡提出一籠籠的雞鴿，惹來不斷的雞啼和鴿叫；小販清洗和放置好桌子和魚缸，準備放上所有要擺賣的東西。街市的氣味從窗子透入我的小房間，這種獨有的氣味和磚塊與灰泥一樣，是這條街道與生俱來的。我迫自己離開被窩，提著水桶走下天井，到和其他六十戶人家共用的公家水龍頭取水。住在城市這一角的這些街中，我差點忘了自己正身處一個擁有七百萬人口、正急速發展的大都市。

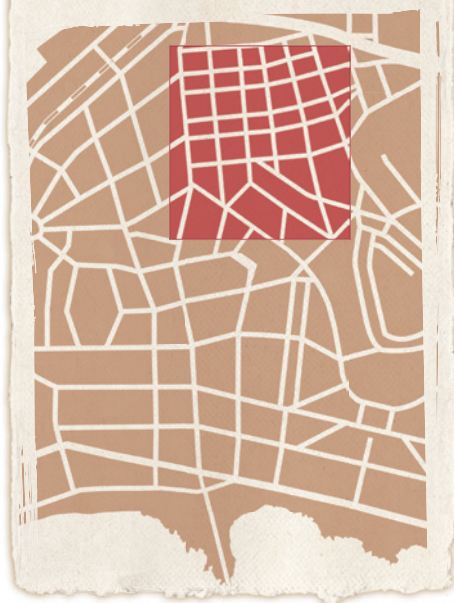
they are taken out of dark storage rooms; tables and fish tanks are cleaned and placed in their right spots to be filled with a vast variety of goods waiting to be sold. Through the window, the penetrating odour of the wet market that is as inherent to this street as its bricks and mortar enters my small room. I force myself out of bed, grab a bucket and leave to go downstairs into the courtyard to fetch water from the communal tap that I share with around 60 other families. Life in the streets of this part of town often makes me forget that I am living in a sprawling metropolis of over seven million people.

其中一間現存最大的里院建築（圖片由郭曉萱提供）  
One of the largest still remaining Liyuan houses (courtesy of Guo Xiaoxuan)



青島以啤酒、海灘、美景、浪漫的歐洲式建築聞名，當地開發商打出了「容得下世界，放不下青島」這樣的廣告標語。可是，青島還有這些景象全然不同的另外一面，卻少有人知道，也少有宣傳品提及，說的是我正在居住的這種房子，名叫里院。每次跟其他人提起我住在這一區，得到的回應大多如此：「噢，不是吧，你怎能住在那種地方？那兒又髒又亂呢！」或者「那是最低層的人住的地方，你要小心，可能有危險。」對市政府和市區開發商而言，里院是他們的一顆眼中釘，是城市風景裡的一點瑕疵；普羅大眾在言談之間，又認為里院居民的生活方式「已經和現代化的城市生活格格不入」。可是近年來，里院似乎又重新在社會上得到了一些關注。「北京有胡同，上海有里弄，青島有里院。」一位青島的歷史學家語帶自豪地對我說。里院被認為是青島獨有的風景，許多「老城保育者」把它視為青島真正的遺產。在同一個城市裡，不同的人對「里院」的標籤竟如此相異，看著他們怎樣為里院賦予不同的意義，讓我覺得有趣極了。這場討論的中心，其實隱藏著一個很基本的問題：怎樣才算是好的城市發展，而得益的又應該是誰？

大鮑島區的位置（深紅色）和它的網格狀街道  
Dabaodao area (in deep red) and its gridding streets



Qingdao is famous for its beer, its beaches, its beautiful scenery, its romantic European architecture: “Dwell in Qingdao, experience the world” reads the slogan of a local urban developer. Quite contrary to this picturesque image and rarely mentioned in promotional material about Qingdao is the type of housing that I live in, the so-called Liyuan. Whenever I tell someone that I live in this part of the city, I am confronted with comments such as “oh no, how can you live there? It is so dirty and messy there!” Or “that is where the lowest people live, you have to be careful, it might be dangerous”. For city government and urban developers, Liyuan represent a thorn in the flesh of the cityscape; in public discourse the lifestyle in Liyuan houses is commonly labelled as “incompatible with today’s modern city life”. At the same time, however, Liyuan have in recent years gained quite some public attention, “Beijing has its Hutong, Shanghai its Lilong and Qingdao has its Liyuan”, a local historian once told me with visible pride. Liyuan are considered unique to Qingdao and are celebrated by many “old town protectors” as truly local heritage. I have found it extremely fascinating to observe how different groups within the same city have tried to label and give meaning to Liyuan in very different ways. At the heart of this debate lies a very fundamental question: what is good urban development and who should benefit from it?

甚麼是里院  
WHAT ARE LIYUAN HOUSES ?

這幀二零零三年拍攝的青島老城區鳥瞰圖，看起來像一幅抽象的藝術畫，當中有許多不同形狀的「空心」（中空位置為天井）房屋群，屋頂由紅磚砌成。這些房屋群就是里院。不少里院呈完美的矩形，有些則像中文字的「凹」或「凸」形狀，有些是三角形甚至五角形。從高空看，里院排列得整齊齊；實際走進去的話，卻是由許多窄小通道和後巷構成的巨大迷宮。籠統地說，里院有點像傳統中國北方的四合院建築：房子同樣與外界相對隔絕，院內同樣有巨大的公共空間。人們通過細小的門口進入里院，門後有一堵「影壁」遮擋。但和只有一層的四合院不同，里院的房子都是兩至三層樓高，院子裡樓梯縱橫交錯，接駁著上層房間外的舊式露天木走廊。里院外牆向著大街的一面多開設了各種商店，而面向內院的地下那層，通常設有公家水龍頭和（半公用的）廁所。

二零零三年的青島鳥瞰圖（圖片由金山提供）  
"Bird's eye view" of Qingdao in 2003 (courtesy of Jin Shan)



Looking at a "bird's eye view" of the old city from 2003, an array of differently shaped courtyards whose contours are marked through red-tiled roofs lies before us looking like an abstract piece of art. Many Liyuan assume perfect rectangles, some appear in the shapes of the Chinese characters 凹 or 凸, and others take on triangular or even pentagonal shapes. What looks like a neat and tidy grid of courtyards from above, actually turns into a maze of narrow pathways and back alleys on the ground. Liyuan generally resemble the traditional northern Chinese Siheyuan in that they are relatively secluded from the outside but offer a large communal space within. One enters a Liyuan through a small opening that is often sheltered by means of a "screen wall". Unlike Siheyuan, Liyuan are two to three storeys high. Flights of stairs inside the courtyard give access to an open, traditionally wooden corridor that connects the rooms on the upper floors. The outside façades facing the street are often equipped with shop fronts. On the ground floor inside the courtyard we normally find a communal tap as well as a (semi-public) toilet.

里院院子裡的樓梯  
Staircase inside Liyuan courtyard



里院居民在院子內的公家水龍頭取水  
Residents use the communal tap in the courtyard of a Liyuan house



# 里院，從何而來？

## HOW DID LIYUAN HOUSES COME ABOUT?

多年以來，里院一直在刻劃著青島的城市形態，也代表著里院居民的一種生活方式。一八九七年，早已意欲趁中國內亂之際分一杯羹的德意志帝國政府，強迫積弱的清廷割讓現時青島所在的範圍予德國。中德簽訂了為期九十九年的租約，德國得到青島後，開始將這個中國東北城市打造成「德國的香港」和一個「模範殖民地」。德國人很快便將青島原來的漁村夷為平地，按照早已劃好的藍圖，把城市極速建設起來。城市空間由複雜的土地法規分配，清清楚楚地分隔開德國人區和中國人區。德國人住在南區海濱沿岸的豪華別墅，中國人（替德國人打工的僕人除外）是不允許在「德人區」購買土地或居住，他們落戶在青島的西區與北區。和殖民地中心只相隔一條「分隔帶」的華入市集區大鮑島區，名稱來自本來位於該處的一條村落。那時的青島經濟活動蓬勃，展現了前所未見的繁榮景象，因而吸引了來自全中國各地的移民湧入；位處城市中心的大鮑島，自然成為最適宜居住與工作之處，大鮑島很快便擠滿了人。大鮑島的街道本身規劃成網格狀，構成一塊塊差不多形狀的矩形土地，這些土地由來自中國各地以至德國的獨立商人、建築師或市區開發商收購。及後在這些土地上開展的建設，令里院建築慢慢開始形成。不過，里院並不是經過精心策劃和設計的建築成果，它們的出現純屬歷史的偶然。當時人們對商住空間有巨大需求，加上德國殖民地總督府設下嚴格

大鮑島街道上的集市  
Market street in Dabaodao



Liyuan have for many years defined the morphology of Qingdao and with it also the life of its residents. In 1897, the German Imperial Government, long trying to participate in the scramble for China, forced the weakened Qing government to cede the area where today's Qingdao is located to the Germans. A 99-year lease was signed, enabling Germany to realise its plan of establishing a "German Hong Kong" and a "model colony" in north-eastern China. Within very little time, the previously existing fishing villages were razed and replaced by a city that had been meticulously planned on the drawing board. A sophisticated urban land law determined the spatial separation between the German and the Chinese areas within the city. While the colonisers dwelled in luxuriant villas along the south coast, the



規劃法，還有來自全國各地背景相異的移民匯聚於此，更重要的還有當時的建築師和設計師都很願意嘗試不同的建築風格和物料，這些因素加起來，造就了里院的誕生。因此，里院的建築風格很難界定，既有中國北方與南方的建築特色，又融合了歐洲式建築的風味。在二十世紀，青島先後被德國和日本佔領，亦曾為北洋政府接管，最後為國民黨及現時的共產黨統治。在這期間，青島各區的里院經歷了拆卸、重建、轉型、擴建、複製等等過程；一九三零年代更是里院建築的高峰期，許多新的里院在青島拔地而起。

現今的青島鳥瞰圖（圖片由金山提供）  
"Bird's eye view" of Qingdao today (courtesy of Jin Shan)



Chinese (except for servants to the Germans) were not allowed to purchase land or live in the "German town" and instead settled in the western and northern areas of the city. Just north of the colonial centre and only separated by a "hygienic belt", emerged the Chinese trading district Dabaodao, named after a village located there before. The vibrant and never-seen-before economic activity in the city attracted large numbers of migrants from all across China and so Dabaodao, being right in the heart of the city, became the most popular spot for living and working, soon bursting at the seams. The area had originally been designed as a grid of streets that formed more or less rectangular patches of land, which were purchased by individual businessmen, architects or urban developers from different regions in China and even some from Germany. It was the subsequent building activity here that brought about Liyuan houses. Their emergence, however, was more a historical accident than a result of conscious architectural planning and design. The enormous demand for dwellings that could offer commercial and residential space, the strict planning regulations imposed by the German colonial government, the blend of Chinese migrants coming from very different areas of the country and last but not least the architects' and designers' eagerness to experiment with different styles and materials created Liyuan houses. Their architectural styles are hence also very difficult to pinpoint, showing features of northern and southern Chinese but also of European construction types. Over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Qingdao was occupied by the Germans and the Japanese; it was also governed by the Beiyang Government, the KMT, and finally the CCP. During these times, Liyuan houses were demolished and rebuilt, transformed, extended and replicated in many areas of Qingdao. Especially the 1930s witnessed an incredible building boom and many new Liyuan houses emerged.

里院的今天  
LIYUAN HOUSES TODAY

再看看近期拍攝的青島老城鳥瞰圖，你馬上就會發覺，許多本來的里院院子已經消失得無影無蹤。中國在上世紀九十年代推行了一次徹底的城市土地改革，從此允許商人購買土地投機，不少里院就被拆卸改建為一幢幢的高樓。現時剩下的里院主要集中在大鮑島，也就是里院最初出現的地方。里院裡的生活空間非常狹小，三人或以上的家庭擠在小於十平方米的單位是很常見的。很多現代化的生活設備，像中央暖氣、空調、私家自來水、私家浴室和私家廚房，基本上不會在里院裡找到。里院的業權關係也異常複雜。里院本身是私人物業，裡面的單位卻往往短租或長租予青島的移民，他們有時又會再把它轉租給第三方。許多住在同一個院子超過半世紀的老人家，數目正逐步減少；仍然健在的亦不願意遷出，一方面在經濟上無法負擔，另一方面也難捨在里院生活的回憶，寧可繼續抱擁這種已被現今城市人認為是不合時宜的生活模式。

Looking at a “bird’s eye view” of Qingdao’s old town from today, one immediately recognises that the number of courtyards has been reduced significantly. As a result of the radical urban land reform in China in the late 1990s that allowed for land speculation, large patches of Liyuan have had to give way to high-rise housing blocks. The largest congregation of remaining Liyuan today can be found in Dabaodao, which happens to be the area where they first emerged. Living space inside Liyuan is extremely limited; it is common for families of three or more people to share a room of less than 10 sqm. Modern conveniences such as central heating, air-condition, in-house tap water, private bathroom or kitchen facilities hardly exist. Resident and ownership structures are complex. Rooms inside one Liyuan are predominantly privately owned, but often rented out to short- or long-term migrants who then sometimes sublet them to a third party. The number of elderly people who have been living in the same courtyard for more than half a century is steadily decreasing. Those who remain can either not afford to move out or are unwilling to do so, as they are trying to cling on to personal memories and a lifestyle that has been deemed unsuited to today’s urban modernity.

里院內的一個房間  
A room inside a Liyuan



從高處窺看里院內部 (圖片由 Prof. Joseph Bosco 提供)  
Liyuan from above (courtesy of Prof. Joseph Bosco)



現存最古老的里院之一  
One of the oldest still remaining Liyuan

里院慢慢從城市湮滅是不爭的事實，當地的歷史學家和「老城保育者」們則在和時間洪流競賽，他們出版書籍、在報章撰文、舉辦論壇和相片展，只是為了教育青島的廣大民眾，告訴他們里院在青島的歷史和文化價值。他們要求保育里院，對里院開展認真和謹慎的研究，保證能夠保存它們的真實面貌。市政府的想法卻截然不同，他們認為這種樓宇和青島現代化的「海濱都市」形象毫不匹配，因此計劃把里院所在的區域發展成較高檔的「文化休閒區」，將來讓博物館、精品小商店、咖啡館和酒吧進駐。然而，由於這個項目不能保證在短期內獲得回報，加上里院業權複雜、住戶不願遷出，令開發商缺乏投資興趣，迫使項目暫時停頓。現在，居民依然住在里院，繼續著他們慣常的生活步伐，不清楚將來是否需要，或者何年何月需要離開自己的家園。

As Liyuan are gradually disappearing from the city, local historians and “old town protectors” have been trying to educate the general public about the historical and cultural value of these houses to the city of Qingdao by publishing books, writing articles in newspapers or by organising forums and photo exhibitions. They call for the preservation of Liyuan, requesting careful and meticulous research to guarantee and maintain their authenticity. For the city government, on the other hand, these kinds of houses do not fit into the modern image that a coastal city like Qingdao is supposed to convey. So plans have been drawn up that envisage the neighbourhood to become a gentrified “cultural recreational area” with museums, small boutiques, cafés and bars lining the streets. But urban developers’ reluctance to invest in a project that does not guarantee any immediate monetary return as well as complex ownership structures and residents’ unwillingness to move has led to the stagnation of such projects. In the meantime, residents continue their lives in the Liyuan houses, uncertain as to whether and when they may have to move out.

今時今日，不斷受著城市化衝擊的里院  
Liyuan in the changing cityscape



里院外部  
Liyuan façade



從高處看里院  
Liyuan block from above



在里院住了一整年的我，聽過居民親口述說的故事，也親身體驗過他們的生活。我無意美化住在里院的生活，那裡的生活條件惡劣是不爭的事實。但我可以肯定地說，里院和它所在的社區大鮑島，依然維持著它非常基礎和原始（而真實）的社會功能，就是為遷來這城市的人提供方便廉宜的居住和工作空間，讓他們可賺錢謀生，並從事各種小型的商業活動。可惜的是，雖然現時專家層面（包括歷史學家和市區開發商）正進行各種討論，但他們各自心目中未來重新發展後的大鮑島面貌，都大大忽視了居民的這些需要。正當大家為尋求最堂皇或最可行的發展方案而爭論不休的時候，卻沒有人想到要為居民補上廁所缺了的一扇門，或是修理好那壞掉了的水龍頭呢！✧

Having lived in a Liyuan for one year, having listened to residents' stories, having shared their experiences, I am by no means trying to romanticise poor living conditions, but I am able to say that Liyuan houses and the neighbourhood, Dabaodao, are still maintaining a very fundamental and perhaps their original (authentic) function by providing convenient and inexpensive living and working space for people moving into the city to earn their livelihood and engage in a variety of small business activities. These needs are, unfortunately, largely neglected in the negotiations among experts (historians and urban planners alike) over what an entirely redeveloped Dabaodao could possibly look like. In searching for the grandest and most visible redevelopment solution, the little things such as putting in a missing toilet door or fixing a broken tap are being ignored. ✧

相中可見當年華人區與歐洲人區的分界線，上半部份為大鮑島區，下半部份是歐洲人區（圖片由袁賓久提供）  
The former dividing line between the Chinese and the European town. Upper part of photo: Dabaodao; Lower part: European town. (courtesy of Yuan Binjiu)

