



上環老現學

Sheung Wan
Kogengaku
(Modernology)

張展鴻，香港中文大學人類學系教授
Sidney C. H. Cheung, Professor, Department of Anthropology,
The Chinese University of Hong Kong



在西方學術界中，考現學 (Modernology) 可算是冷門，對於其在日本上世紀的出現背景及發展過程也談不上有太多詳細的記錄。筆者對考現學雖然沒有深入的探討，但總歸因師承日本民族學和文化人類學而對其有一點了解，在此希望能借這門源於上世紀二十年代日本的人文學科，為讀者提供一個新角度來窺探香港本土文化的歷史發展。

簡而言之，考現學，是通過空間、時間的組織性調查和分析，對現代社會不同的風俗習慣加以理解。考現學與歐美的社會學或現象學看似雷同，實則有所差異。前者側重對於現實環境的精密觀察及資料整理，後者則較注重對高層次理論的追求和分析。正是由於考現學秉承了日本學術界在人文學科以理論為次、資料精細化至上的研究精神，它在日本的都市現代化歷程中，為日本讀者提供了重新關注周遭社區變遷及自我反省的機會。

談到這門學科的開山祖師，不可不提的是今和次郎 (Konwa Jiro)。今和次郎師從日本民俗學之父柳田國男 (Yanagita Kunio)，在民俗學研究中以鄉村民家住屋方面的探究見長。但在一九二七年後，他因提倡考現學研究的緣故，和柳田分裂。隨後，其研究重點亦因而從鄉村轉移至都市。自一九二七年後，今和開始著重關注東京下町的生

活環境是如何因一九二三年東京大地震而產生變化的，這成為日後考現學的基礎。考現學，顧名思義和考古學有著類而不同的複雜關係。類似的是，兩者都善於由零散不全的遺證加以觀察、推論、假設，以至重構過去的生活形式，如後期發展整建的路上觀察學，就引來很多建築史專家們的關注。而兩者的不同則體現在時間性上。不同於考古學，考現學側重關注日本現代化後的都市發展，包括日本一般國民的生活變遷和現代風俗的流轉興滅。

過去一年間的「走進上環系列」，我們也是抱著資料收集為主、理論分析為次的心態，希望為大家介紹南北行一帶於過去一百多年的乾貨海味、參茸藥材和鹹魚雜貨等的貿易發展關係，藉此提倡把社區知識轉移成旅遊資源，為旅遊活動加添學習和探索的契機。而筆者深信考現學的路上觀察求知心態，恰是社區和旅遊業發展雙方互動的基礎。





Modernology (*Kogengaku*) is somewhat an alien discipline to the Western academia. There is little record on its emergence and development in Japan in the last century. Although not an expert, my acquaintance with modernology came from my years of studying ethnology and cultural anthropology in Japan. This humanities discipline originated in Japan in 1920s may open a window for our readers to explore the historical development of Hong Kong's local culture.

Put it simply, modernology studies modern society, further interpreting practices of certain customs from different perspectives through collecting and analyzing detailed data. Space and time are the indicators for data collection. Sounding similar to sociology or phenomenology of the West, modernology differentiates itself by pinpointing accurate observations in real settings as well as data organization, instead of pursuing and analyzing high-level theories. It follows the Japanese practice on humanities researches, which values meticulous collection of data rather than digging into theories. As a result, in the setting of urban modernization, modernology is a way out for the academia as well as the public in Japan to understand and reflect on changes of their neighbourhoods.

Konwa Jiro was one important founder of modernology and a student of Yanagita Kunio, the “father of Japanese Folklore”. Konwa specialized in the study of village homes. However, the two's relationship broke up in 1927 as Konwa advocated modernology, and his research had thus shifted significantly from villages to the city. From 1927, Konwa was interested in investigating how

the 1923 Tokyo earthquake changed the living environment in the shitamachi (downtown) of Tokyo. His studies became the groundwork of modernology. There are intricate relationships between “modernology” and “archaeology”, but the subtle differences are understandable in their names. They are alike in terms that both of them observe, deduce, hypothesize or even reconstruct a past living style from scattered and incomplete old evidences. For instance, the study of “street observation” derived later had attracted many architectural historians. They are different because “archaeology” is the study of the past; whereas “modernology” focuses on modernized urban development in Japan, including the changing lives of ordinary citizens and the rise and fall of modern customs.

In the past year, we have brought about the “Walking through Sheung Wan Series” project which prioritized data collection to theoretical analyses. By taking our readers into Nam Pak Hong, we flashed back the trade-development relationships of dried seafood, traditional Chinese medicines and groceries like salted fish over the past century. By doing so, we hope to transform the knowledge gained from our community into tourism resources, hence an opportunity for local people and overseas visitors to learn and explore. I believe the curiosity required in street observation in modernology can be a cornerstone that fosters a mutual interaction between community and tourism.



封塵的大魚翅、掛在高牆上的雌雄大魚肚、可媲美盆栽的沉香山、像現代裝置藝術作品的高山肉桂皮等等，這些超越我們日常知識和想像力的乾貨藥材，都可以成為上環南北行一帶的考現學課題。因篇幅有限，在此只用上環眾多百年老店中的一間中藥鋪為例，給大家來一次圖文的導賞。

但凡到過文咸西街的朋友，都會記得有一座三層高的建築物，因為它在大門上方簪花的店名和門口左右相對的牌匾別有特色，令人過目不忘。對了，這正是文咸西街十二號的百昌堂。而門外那兩塊看似對聯的牌匾，分別寫著「百昌堂珍珠冰片」（左）和「百昌堂參茸玉桂」（右）。它們記錄了百昌堂主要售賣的中藥材，根據老闆曾先生憶述，這些大型的木製牌匾都是原裝從廣州運過來的。百昌堂在一九二零年開業至今地址不變，而且售賣的藥材仍然保留當年特色，可說是南北行中藥貿易的歷史見證。走進百昌堂的那一刻，每個人的嗅覺都會作出第一時間的反應，那種似曾相識但又無法即時配上名稱的躊躇也曾經是筆者的感受。當



靜下來再仔細在腦海中找尋為其配對的文字後，很多人會不期然的說：「是樟腦的氣味」。正如店外牌匾所示，冰片（又稱梅片）是百昌堂的主打中藥材之一。冰片亦稱龍腦，它是樟樹因受外傷而分泌出的透明乳狀白色小片，由於其含有濃烈的氣味，現代人主要用它來防蟲。據《本草綱目》和《唐本草》記載，冰片自古已被廣泛用做藥材，主治中風口噤等癥狀。冰片原產自東南亞，自十七、十八世紀開始便是歐洲人遠道而來尋找的香料。

Shark fins, fish maws, natural agarwood, cinnamon sticks and other dried goods may live beyond our common senses and imaginations. Each commodity in the Nam Pak Hong area of Sheung Wan can be an interesting topic in modernology. Here I only pick one Chinese drugstore among many century-old shops in Sheung Wan to take our readers on a journey.

On Bonham Strand West you find this impressive three-storey building with a gracefully embellished shop sign and huge wooden couplets on both sides of the front door - Pak Cheong Tong. The couplets mean “Pak Cheong Tong Pearl Powder & Camphor” and “Pak Cheong Tong Ginseng, Deer Antler & Cinnamon” respectively, which indicate the main products sold by the shop. The couplets were from Guangzhou and relocated to Hong Kong, said shop-owner Mr. Tsang. The shop has been on the same address since 1920, and it still sells a similar range of medicinal products of that time. It is certainly a living witness of Chinese medicine trade in Nam Pak Hong. Anyone stepping into the shop would immediately be intrigued by a strong aroma yet fumbles hard of its name. Camphor, also called “plum flakes” or “dragon’s brain”, is one featured medicinal product of Pak Cheong Tong. Camphor is a colourless solidified gum secreted from wounds on camphor trees. It is often used as insect repellents. From the Chinese medical classics of *Compendium of Materia Medica* and *Revised Materia Medica of Tang Dynasty*, camphor has been long and widely used to ease strokes and locked jaws. Camphor trees originate in Southeast Asia, and camphor was much sought after by Europeans since the 17th and 18th centuries.



Chinese medicines in Pak Cheong Tong are mostly wholesaled or dispensed except the camphor, says Mr. Tsang. Imported raw materials are sorted and processed in the shop before selling to pharmaceutical manufacturers. Only a small amount of medicines are retailed. Among wholesalers, Pak Cheong Tong seems to have the most outstanding selection of medicines: resuscitative drugs of ambergris, amber, musk and camphor helps directing curative effects to the unwell parts of the body; while pearl, “horse’s gem” and macaque stone could relieve nervousness. The names of some priceless medicines of the old times are hand-written clearly on four antique delivery orders hanging high on the wall. There are of course medicines from all over the world: Tibetan saffron, Yunnan amber and Tianzhou notoginseng; deer-products such as pilose antler from eastern Japan, “three-family” elk’s horn and deer’s tail from northern China; as well as the six kinds of ginseng including wood-grown ginseng, North Korean ginseng, Jilin sand ginseng, Shizhu ginseng, Siberian ginseng and American ginseng. In Sheung Wan, traditional Chinese medicine stores other than Pak Cheong Tong are worth a good look into - any such store here is a living classroom for Chinese culture and liberal studies.





除了冰片之外，據曾先生所述，百昌堂的中藥多以批發配藥為主。他們會把入口的原材料分類、加工，再出售給製藥商戶，當然也有零售，但數量不多。而且，百昌堂所售藥材的種類在同行中可謂獨樹一幟。其中，龍涎、琥珀、麝香和冰片等都屬通關藥材，助藥性引至所需部位，發揮治療功效。除此之外，百昌堂還有珍珠、馬寶石、猴子棗等安神鎮驚的藥材；其它早年的名貴藥材，更可在牆上高掛的四張古董貨物單張中，一目了然。來自四方八面的例如西藏紅花、雲南琥珀、田州三七等當然不在話下；又如鹿產品：關東鹿茸、三姓麋茸和北鹿尾把，和人參的六種分類如土木人參、北高麗參、吉林沙參、石柱溝參、寧古臺參和花旗洋參，頓然使我們自愧才疏學淺，孤陋寡聞。當然，這不限於百昌堂，環顧上環一帶的中藥材店鋪，只要我們細心留意，用心學習，包羅萬有的商品都是中華文化通識教育的絕好教材。

值得我們注意的還有店內的文章色彩。在放滿各色各樣名貴藥材的櫃檯對面，牆上高掛著一副對聯，寫著「秘囊方授蒼虬客」、「上藥珍貽白鹿仙」。這幅對聯是壬申八月由吳道鎔提字贈與百昌堂的。吳道鎔固然名氣不小，對聯用

字意喻之意境，正正道出百昌堂在同業中的超然地位。對聯中間的字畫和下面擺放的酸枝傢具所構成的佈局，更不是筆墨盡能形容。

考現學雖然未有全面地把百昌堂的歷史反映和分析，但是片段的資料和零散的發展經驗已經為大家帶來無限的驚喜。百年老鋪百昌堂在滄桑的二十年代反映了港省澳的地緣關係，而那些年頭的贈醫施藥正道出了商業活動肩負的社會責任。時移世易，早年的珍貴藥材有些成了絕版的歷史見證，就如龍涎除了是藥材更是香水的重要成份，但因產量稀少，化學龍涎又逐漸代替了天然龍涎，使其在市場上已成難得一見的商品。最後，更要感謝老闆曾先生的傾囊相授，給年輕一代的「蒼虬客」上了珍貴的一課。

Last but not least is the belletristic flair of the store. Opposite to the glass counter with all kinds of precious medicines there is another couplet on the wall, of which means “nostrum for guests as noble as azure dragons” and “fine medicine for immortals as elegant as white deer”. It was written by Wu Daorong in August 1932 exclusively for Pak Cheong Tong. Wu was a renowned scholar in late 19th century. Having his compliments implies that Pak Cheong Tong is superior among its counterparts. In between the couplet is a Chinese calligraphic painting. The rosewood furniture below makes the décor of the store even more artistic.

After all, modernology does not provide comprehensive reflection and analysis of the history, but a glimpse of the fragmented information and stories of Pak Cheong Tong here and there gives us hints to a fuller picture of the years that it has been through. Another episode in 1920s: Pak Cheong Tong used to hand out medicine for the poor. This practice is an alpha version of today’s corporate social responsibility and a historical testimony of the geopolitical relationship between Hong Kong, Guangdong and Macau. The disappearance of some precious medicinal materials in drug production also has a story to tell. Ambergris, for instance, is a medicine as well as an essential ingredient in perfumery. As natural ambergris is difficult to acquire and synthetic fixative becomes more common, ambergris is now a rarity in traditional drug stores. I must thank Mr. Tsang for telling us so many insightful stories.





珠珀猴棗散

百昌堂已有逾百年歷史，據曾先生回溯，百昌堂最初在廣州起家，上世紀二十年遷移至香港，在上環營運已近百年。踏進百昌堂，在其眾多名貴的藥材中，擺在最前頭的是一盒盒小瓶罐裝、價格相對低廉的猴棗散。早在遷移來香港之前，曾先生的祖父輩們已在廣州製作珠珀猴棗散，最初只在家族內部使用，為小孩子定驚所用。由於成效顯著，聲譽傳頌開來，於是附近街坊紛紛前來問取。起初百昌堂是免費派發，後來前來領取的人越來越多，才把它放上貨架出售。

吳道鎔（1852-1936）

吳道鎔，原名國鎮，字玉臣，號用晦，祖籍浙江會稽。長期居住於廣東番禺。吳於光緒六年（1880年）中進士，在翰林院做研究生。光緒十二年（1886年）師從李文田。其後回廣州以教書為業，曾在水師江學院、惠州豐湖書院、潮州金山書院、韓山書院、廣州應元書院等書院做講師。光緒二十年（1894年）起任廣東高等學府校長。

資料來源：維基百科



Macaque Calculus Powder

Pak Cheong Tong is more than a century old. Recalled by Mr. Tsang, the shop started in Guangzhou and moved to Hong Kong in 1920s. It has taken root in Sheung Wan for nearly 100 years. Entering the shop you would first see small boxes of bottled and reasonably priced macaque calculus powder in front of all pricey medicines. Before coming to Hong Kong, Mr. Tsang's grandparents been making macaque calculus powder in Guangzhou. At first it was used only among the household to soothe children from nightmares. Later people in the neighbourhood often asked them for the powder. The powder was hence bottled and sold at a reasonable price instead of given out for free.



Wu Daorong (1852-1936)

Wu Daorong's ancestral home was in Kuaiji of Zhejiang Province, yet he lived most of his life in Panyu of Guangdong Province. He was ranked in the second class in the palace examination in 1880, and continued his academic pursuit in the Imperial Academy. Later he returned to Guangzhou to lecture in more than 5 local institutions. He was named the principal of Guangdong Higher Academy in 1894.

Source: Wikipedia