



淡水小龍蝦 在中國的祕密生活

Mysterious Life of American Crayfish in Mainland China

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近年來，人類學在食物的流通與流行的研究，均突顯了地道食物全球化和外國食物本土化的有趣現象。這些現象顯示出各樣食物的生產、製造和市場營銷，既是本地也是全球性的。大家熟識的「淡水小龍蝦」就是一個絕佳的個案。早於一九二零年代，淡水小龍蝦從美國被引進到日本而後來傳到中國大陸。重要的問題是兩地的民眾對這舶來貨有什麼反應？他們如何售賣、烹調和養殖這外來食物？在世界各地，我們經常找到外來物種破壞本土生態環境的例子，如澳洲和坦桑尼亞的尼羅河鱸、日本的黑鱸、菲律賓的清道夫魚、南韓的牛蛙、北美的鯉魚和生魚等。不過，當中亦有成功的移民，例如在亞洲多國落地生根的非洲鱸，和落籍中國的克氏原螯蝦，就是在這裡談論到的淡水小龍蝦。

Recent anthropological studies on foodways have highlighted the globalization of local foodways as well as the localization of foreign foodways in various countries, reminding us that foodways are simultaneously local and global in terms of production, manufacturing, and marketing. I wish to examine the influences brought by the move of crayfish (freshwater crustacean resembling lobster) from the United States to Asia, especially to Japan and later to mainland China, and investigate individual and community responses toward adaptation, consumption and conservation since the coming of crayfish to Asia since the 1920s. We have seen many adventive species bring negative impacts to their new environments. A few examples are Nile perch in Australia and Tanzania, black bass in Japan, janitor fish in the Philippines, bullfrog in South Korea, and grass carp and snakehead in North America, while there are also species bringing new foodways to their new place, such as the popular tilapia in Asia and the red swamp crayfish (*Procambarus clarkia*) in China.



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顧名思義，淡水小龍蝦於淡水生境生活，龍蝦則在海中生活。不過，由於淡水小龍蝦外型酷似龍蝦，在中國大部分市場和食肆都無意將淡水小龍蝦包裝成「小龍蝦」，讓大眾聯想起龍蝦這高級食材。事實上，全世界約有五百多個淡水小龍蝦品種，在一些國家牠們可是十分受歡迎的食物，如美國南部路易斯安那州的卡珍小龍蝦料理便是勞工階層喜愛的美食。然而一般美國人都覺得淡水小龍蝦髒兮兮，帶有泥味，不合食用。在地球另一端的瑞典和澳洲，以淡水小龍蝦入饌十分普遍。瑞典人會在夏季結束前舉行淡水小龍蝦派對；在澳洲，淡水小龍蝦是高級餐廳的昂貴食材。我也曾在香港的高檔超級市場找到鮮活的淡水小龍蝦。

Crayfish live in freshwater while lobsters live in the sea. However, crayfish resemble the appearance of marine lobsters and have been marketed as “little lobsters” particularly in mainland China because of the upscale image of lobster there. In fact, there are more than 500 varieties of crayfish in the world and in some countries they are a popular food item. The most well known culinary style would be the spicy Cajun cuisine, which originated in Louisiana and is widely considered a working class food in the southern part of the United States. Apart from the Cajun cuisine, many Americans still consider crayfish too “dirty and muddy” for eating. However, crayfish is a popular ingredient in both Sweden and Australia. For example, I was told that Swedish people hold crayfish parties at the end of summer, while yabby and marron are commonly eaten in Australia. The marron, for that matter, is considered an expensive ingredient for upscale restaurants. In my own experience, I found some Australian yabby and marron kept alive and sold in a Hong Kong upscale supermarket.



二十世紀初在日本的淡水小龍蝦 Crayfish in early 20th century Japan

通常發展中國家會引入各種農產品作為提升國民營養攝取量的方法，上世紀初的日本亦不例外，然而這些增加糧食計劃帶來的生態環境改變不容忽視。彩虹鱒魚、牛蛙、內田淡水小龍蝦和克氏原螯蝦是其中幾種第二次世界大戰前由北美洲引進日本的外來水生生物種。克氏原螯蝦原本是用來餵飼牛蛙。

日本有原生的淡水小龍蝦品種——日本黑螯蝦，牠的體型比北美洲的品種細小。不過，最近二十年，除了某些北海道地區的人們會吃淡水小龍蝦，一般的日本人並不吃淡水小龍蝦，因為日本民眾普遍認為淡水小龍蝦有吸蟲和其他寄生蟲，對健康有害。外來品種克氏原螯蝦（一九三零年代被引入日本作為美國牛蛙的食糧）和內田淡水小龍蝦（一九二六年被引入北海道作為日本民眾食糧和餵飼彩虹鱒魚）便是日本黑螯蝦的競爭者。直至最近，資料顯示由於阿寒湖的內田淡水小龍蝦過量繁殖，令湖區的彩虹鱒魚數量大減。更嚴重的是，淡水小龍蝦大舉破壞了阿寒湖底的毯藻——一種被日本政府列作自然遺產的球形藻類。

The introduction of food in the form of agricultural product to certain developing countries was mostly for nutritional reasons, and Japan was not exceptional in the early twentieth century. Yet, the ecological changes brought through the Food Increase Project should not be overlooked; rainbow trout, bullfrogs and the Uchida crayfish (*Pacifastacus leniusculus*) were just a few foreign water species that were introduced to Japan from the North America in the pre-war period, together with the red swamp crayfish to feed the bullfrogs.

Japan has its own native crayfish (*Cambaroides japonicus*), which is relatively small compared to those from North America. However, Japanese did not eat crayfish except in some parts of Hokkaido until two decades ago, and this is probably related to the fact that crayfish was known for carrying fluke as well as parasitic worm which is harmful to human beings. The imported species - red swamp crayfish (*P. clarkia*, which was introduced to Japan in 1930 as feed for the American bullfrog) and Uchida crayfish (*Pacifastacus leniusculus*, which was introduced to Hokkaido in 1926 as food for human consumption and also as feed for rainbow trout) competed with the Japanese native crayfish (*C. japonicus*). Yet, recent data shows that the overgrowth of the exotic Uchida crayfish in the Lake Akan was related to a serious decrease in the amount of rainbow trout in the area. More importantly, marimo (a kind of spherical algae found at the bottom of Lake Akan and a government-recognized natural heritage in Japan) was also damaged by crayfish.





小龍蝦在中國大變身

Making crayfish into lobster in mainland China

克氏原螯蝦於一九三零年代由日本引入中國江蘇一帶，原因眾說紛紜。江蘇民眾傾向認為這是當年日本侵華，藉小龍蝦破壞稻米生產，因為小龍蝦會吃掉農作物根部，還會在稻田裡鑽洞排走田裡的水。因此當地的人不喜歡小龍蝦，加上小龍蝦可以在污水生存，人們普遍覺得小龍蝦並不適合食用。現在，大部分江蘇一帶的人仍十分驚訝，為何小龍蝦會在內地成為老饕菜餚。喜歡吃小龍蝦的江蘇人則說，他們只會在市場買鮮活的綠殼小龍蝦回家煮食，而不上餐廳吃小龍蝦，因為小龍蝦煮熟變紅後很難分辨是否骯髒。

不過，江蘇盱眙的村民告訴我，從前他們在閒暇會捉小龍蝦，捉到便燒開水煮熟來吃，當時的淡水小龍蝦沒有什麼商業價值。直至一九九零年代初，一味「南京小龍蝦」出現並風行南京至上海、武漢、北京等大城市。

P. clarkii was brought to Jiangsu by the Japanese in 1930, although the reason is still unclear. According to my informants, local Jiangsu people tended to believe that there was a Japanese conspiracy to use the crayfish to destroy their rice paddies, since crayfish like to eat the roots of crops, and more importantly, they dig holes which drain water away from the rice paddies. Therefore, the local people did not welcome the crayfish at all. Given that crayfish brought no benefits to the people, and that they could still survive in dirty water, it was not considered edible by most people. Even now, it is not difficult to hear that even Chinese people in Jiangsu are surprised to know that crayfish has become a popular dish in the mainland. Again, for some who enjoy eating crayfish in Jiangsu, they told me that they only consider buying the live green shell ones at the market for home cooking instead of eating them in restaurants, because once cooked it is difficult to single out the "dirty" ones after they turn into red.

Yet, local villagers in Xuyi told me that in the past they caught crayfish in the river as a kind of leisure-time activity and ate them in a simple cooking style - mainly boiling. As a commercial item, for a long time no one paid any attention to it them. Then came the emergence of a dish called "Nanjing little lobster (longxia)," which appeared in the early 1990s, and its rapid growth in popularity was not limited to Nanjing but extended to large cities such as Shanghai, Wuhan, Beijing, and so on during the last decade.





我第一次在內地邂逅淡水小龍蝦，是在二零零六年於南京一所餐廳，一盤熱騰騰的川式小龍蝦給端上來。這味小龍蝦價錢很相宜，每隻大概只賣一元人民幣。但我在二零零八年再訪南京，招待的人帶我上館子，也上了一盤香辣小龍蝦，一盤二三十隻小龍蝦卻賣一百二十八元人民幣。很多在盱眙的人都說，上餐廳吃小龍蝦已變得奢侈，並不是一般人可以負擔。吊詭的是，我留意到一間南京餐廳的宣傳單張寫著：「今天我是小龍蝦，有一天我會長成澳洲大龍蝦。」單張內容明顯誤導消費者，因為淡水小龍蝦跟海裡的大龍蝦是兩回事。隨著小龍蝦身價越顯矜貴，香辣小龍蝦現已成為南京人招待客人和外賓的美饌。

My first encounter (in 2006) with red swamp crayfish in China was at a local restaurant in Nanjing, where the “little lobster” was cooked in Sichuan style - hot and spicy. It was sold at a relatively low price at about one RMB each at that time. When I visited Nanjing again in 2008, however, I was brought to an upscale restaurant for this dish and was surprised to find that the price was RMB 128 for a dish in which there were about 20-30 cooked crayfish prepared in a hot, spicy style. Many people in Xuyi told me that eating crayfish in restaurants was becoming too luxurious and they could no longer afford it. Interestingly, I noticed at the above Nanjing restaurant a small leaflet on our table mentioning that “Today I am a little lobster, but one day I will be an Australian lobster.” Obviously, we know this slogan is wrong because freshwater crayfish will not grow into a marine lobster. With its rising prices in the last decade, however, spicy crayfish has become a welcome dish offered by the local hosts for their guests visiting Nanjing.

在南京的現象，不單反映了克氏原螯蝦搖身一變「小龍蝦」後身價倍升，也意味著牠由來歷不明的農民食物變成代表新南京的闊氣美食。單在江蘇一帶，「小龍蝦」的產量由一九九五年的三百萬噸，增加至一九九年的六百萬噸。為了解農民對養殖和捕獵淡水小龍蝦的看法，我去了盱眙兩趟，訪問了幾位養殖淡水小龍蝦的農民，也讓他們說說對養殖淡水小龍蝦這門生計的前景。

What had happened in Nanjing demonstrates not only the rising price of crayfish marketed as "little lobster," but also the upscale move of crayfish from a peasant's food of unknown origin to a luxurious gourmet food that represents new Nanjing foodways. If we only consider the production in the Jiangsu area, the amount of "little lobster" harvested in 1995 was 3 million tons, while it increased to 6 million tons in 1999. In order to understand the local production of crayfish from the farmers' perspectives, I made two visits to Xuyi and interviewed several farmers regarding their experiences in crayfish farming and relevant ideas about the future of their business.



江蘇盱眙 Jiangsu Xuyi

我在盱眙訪問的第一位農民，從前是養蟹的，並透露原來蟹很容易染病，而且蟹的飼料比淡水小龍蝦的飼料貴得來。我訪問的第二位農民，從前是種蓮藕的。除了粟粉，他也會在菜市場買屠宰雞鴨剩下的碎肉碎骨來餵飼淡水小龍蝦。他就是在種蓮藕時，經常發現有淡水小龍蝦躲在蓮葉底下避太陽，於是便轉營飼養淡水小龍蝦。

The first farmer I met in Xuyi used to be a crab farmer who explained that "Crab easily gets diseased and the feed for crab is much more expensive compared to the feed for crayfish." I realized how cheap the feed for crayfish could be upon visiting the

second farmer who used to be a lotus root farmer. He said that, apart from corn powder, he also purchased leftover parts from butchering chicken and duck was to feed the crayfish. The reason for him to start cultivating crayfish was his discovery of the crayfish's habits of hiding beneath the lotus leaves in order to seek shelter from the heat.



我也遇到了一位淡水小龍蝦養戶，他以前在浙江賣領巾，覺得飼養淡水小龍蝦有利可圖，便到盱眙投資小龍蝦養殖場。不過他卻說，養殖淡水小龍蝦並不是一般農民所想像般容易，也不是隨處可以養殖。另一位從鄰縣過來的淡水小龍蝦養戶亦同意，養殖規模要夠大才可養出足夠數量的優質淡水小龍蝦，而可長成賣到市場的淡水小龍蝦比率亦比一般當地農民所以為的少得多。因此，他們於二零零七年在盱眙合共投資了五千萬人民幣買了二千畝（約一百三十五萬平方米）地來養殖淡水小龍蝦，並將養殖場打造成生態休閒活動旅遊點。

另一個我到訪過的淡水小龍蝦養殖場，亦有相似的發展概念，由當地一間公司和一所澳洲公司合資經營，面積更大更具規模。這是我在盱眙所見最大的漁塘，面積達五萬畝（約三千三百八十萬平方米），其中一萬畝直接由該合資公司營運，餘下的四萬畝由其他農民養殖該公司品牌的淡水小龍蝦。我在狐疑，到底那裡有多少稻田被開發成漁塘來養殖淡水小龍蝦，長遠來說會影響多少稻米或主要食糧的生產。此時此刻我還沒有答案，但我頗肯定情況發展下去，很可能影響江蘇省未來數十年的糧食生產。

However, when I interviewed another crayfish farmer (a former necktie trader from Zhejiang who moved to Xuyi to invest in crayfish cultivation), I was told that crayfish farming was not such an easy job as most local farmer thought, which was essentially that that crayfish can grow anywhere. In fact, the Zhejiang trader was not the only one to say so. Another investor from a nearby county said that the reason they needed to have a large-scale operation for good

quality crayfish was that the harvest rate they could expect was far less than the estimation of many local farmers. Therefore, they made a total investment of RMB 50 million for the 2,000 mows (around 1.35 million square metres) farming area in Xuyi in 2007, and planned to develop tourism together with food production as a kind of ecological-friendly resort project.

Another crayfish farm I visited having a similar idea in development was a joint venture between a local company and an Australian company that occupied far more space. Their business was obviously much larger than any fishpond I had ever seen in Xuyi. The total farming capacity is estimated to be 50,000 mows, 10,000 mows run by the company and 40,000 mows designated as supporting areas cultivated by other farmers for the same brand. My question here is how much of the rice paddy was turned into a crayfish pond, and how will the production of a stable food be affected in the long run. I do not have the answer at this time but am sure this is going to be an important issue for the Jiangsu area in the coming decade.



二零零一年起，盱眙每年都舉辦龍蝦節，開始時只有本地人參加，後來為使龍蝦節變得國際化，便邀請外國的代表團參與其中。為配合此盛事，盱眙龍蝦博物館於二零零五年落成，還興建了一座可容納五萬人的戶外場館，由此可見當地政府大力支持打造盱眙成為「龍蝦之城」。不過，我聽到不少當地民眾說，盱眙生產的淡水小龍蝦根本不夠供應，在龍蝦節期間要靠外地入口。若盱眙要成為淡水小龍蝦貿易中心，應該要確保穩定供應、公平價格和食品安全。據當地農民所說，現時盱眙並沒有管制運入當地的淡水小龍蝦，儘管這些外地小龍蝦經常被標籤作「盱眙龍蝦」。有一位農民對我說，關於淡水小龍蝦衛生的負面消息的確會為淡水小龍蝦的銷量帶來負面影響。



Together with the establishment of the Xuyi Lobster Museum in 2005 and the outdoor stadium with an audience capacity of 50,000, which is only used for the International Lobster Festival (It started in 2001 as a local festival and was developed into an international one by inviting delegation from other countries to participate.), we can realize the positive support from the government in building up Xuyi as the City of Lobster. On the other hand, I was told by some local people that there was a serious shortage of crayfish in terms of supply, and many of the crayfish consumed during the festival were actually transported from other areas. Therefore, if Xuyi is going to be developed as the trade center for crayfish, it should consider maintaining stability of supply, fair pricing and food safety issues of the business. As far as I have heard from different farmers in Xuyi, there is no standardization of feed, or official technical support, or quality control in crayfish cultivation. Of course, there is not even a control on crayfish that comes from outside of Xuyi, even though

these imports are branded as "Xuyi Longxia." Another farmer I interviewed in Xuyi acknowledged that negative news about the cleanliness of the crayfish could negatively affect their business.





淡水小龍蝦前景如何？ Any future for crayfish industry?

事實上，我所顧慮的事情的確發生了。二零一零年底，南京多間醫院接收了二十多名因食用淡水小龍蝦感到不適的病人，並診斷為橫紋肌溶解症，徵狀包括骨骼肌肉腫脹、溶解，甚至急性腎衰竭，患者一般會在進食了帶哈夫疾病的海產後二十四小時內病發。接著的半年內，很多專門烹調淡水小龍蝦的食肆生意慘淡甚至關門大吉，因為民眾認為「進食淡水小龍蝦會感染哈夫疾病」。為了吸引人們吃淡水小龍蝦，盱眙縣政府出絕招，聲稱若有任何人在指定餐廳內吃了盱眙出產的淡水小龍蝦而染上哈夫疾病，政府會給予五十萬至一百萬元人民幣的賠償。儘管如此，我猜想既然人們篤定認為淡水小龍蝦和哈夫疾病有關，肯以身試「蝦」的勇士大概沒有幾位了。✧

In fact, this prediction came true in the late 2010 when 23 persons got sick after eating crayfish in restaurants located in Nanking, there were different opinions about the reasons but was finally confirmed that it was because of the Haff disease which is the development of rhabdomyolysis (swelling and breakdown of skeletal muscle, with a risk of acute kidney failure) within 24 hours of ingesting seafood. During the last half year, it is not difficult to find a lot of crayfish eateries were either closed down or did extremely bad in business, and the major reason is "eating little lobster might cause Haff disease." In order to attract customers, Xuyi prefectural government claimed that if there was anyone got sick after eating Xuyi longxia in the registered eateries, a compensation of RMB 500,000-1,000,000 will be provided. However, I wonder how many people will take the risk if they do think crayfish is closely related to Haff disease. ✧



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