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68

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NEW TERRITORIES  
**新界奧爾良**  
NEW ORLEANS



**B** 怒海柔情——劍旗魚英雄 琳達葛林洛船長  
SWORDFISH HEROIN: CAPTAIN LINDA GREENLAW

**C** 跨越濕地  
OVER WETLANDS

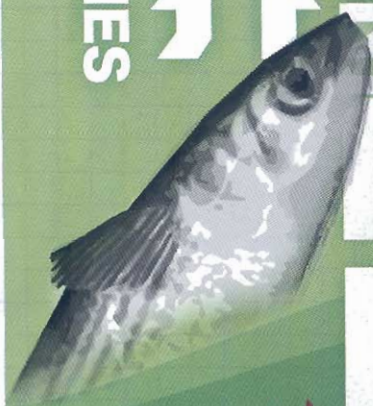
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NEW TERRITORIES

# 新奧爾良

NEW ORLEANS



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資料整理及編輯 | 野外動向  
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讀者先別誤會，這個封面故事，不是介紹在新界吃到新奧爾良的「窮人三文治」，也不是要介紹香港的爵士樂夜總會。故事標題其實來自雲溫達斯一九八四年的公路愛情片《德州巴黎》，而我也剛好踏上了一次新奧爾良和南路易斯安那州的文化發現之旅。

過去十年間，我一直研究香港鄉間（尤其是新界濕地）的糧食生產、農業發展、文化保育和環境政策，這些研究成果，就是我這次旅程的背景。我希望把我發現的香港濕地和密西西比河下游河盆相似之處跟讀者分享。

我以前從不會特別將新界和新奧爾良扯上關係；反而是當我親身在新奧爾良進行研究時，出奇地發現兩地歷史文化演變、地理環境和濕地運用極其相似，而這些歷史、文化、環境和本土經濟活動之間的微妙關係亦建構了兩地獨特的社會文化。更進一步，我想表達的，就是要告訴亞洲（特別是香港）讀者：要了解外面的世界，可以先從了解自己的文化入手。

This article is neither about any Po-boys restaurant in the New Territories, nor any existing jazz club in Hong Kong. As reflected in the title - inspired by the romance road movie "Paris, Texas" directed by Wim Wenders (1984) - this article is about my exploration of New Orleans and southern Louisianan culture.

It is based on knowledge acquired from previous research on food production as well as agricultural development, heritage preservation and environmental politics in rural Hong Kong, and particularly in the wetland area of the New Territories, over the last decade. I aim at sharing here a kind of discovery of parallels that I discern, between the wetland area in Hong Kong and the lower Mississippi River basin.

It did not occur to me at all that Hong Kong and New Orleans have any correlations. The similarities of these two municipalities became apparent to me, however, only while I was conducting research in New Orleans. It was an interesting discovery of the semblances of the historical changes, landscape and use of wetland between these two places, and these elements were significant in shaping the cultural and social identity of the people in these two places. My larger aim, then, is to draw the attention of Asian readers, and especially of Hong Kong readers, to the way in which we can partly equip ourselves for understanding the outside world by studying our own culture first.





# écrevisse

二零一一年夏天，我來到位於美國南方的路易斯安那州南部進行田野調查。整個研究是要比較美國、日本和中國大陸養殖路易斯安那州本土淡水甲殼動物的各種模式，今次調查是其中一部份。這種甲殼動物便是小龍蝦，英文叫 crawfish 或 crayfish，是從古法語的 écrevisse 一字而來。這次參觀新奧爾良，就是要大致認識一下小龍蝦養殖的概況。在路易斯安那州，小龍蝦養殖的由來最久。除了地道的卡珍料理，其他路易斯安那小龍蝦菜式向來也大受當地人歡迎。我想，假如要比較日本和中國的水產養殖法，也許路易斯安那州的小龍蝦養殖情況可以作為模範。

During the summer of 2011, I conducted field research in southern Louisiana, a state in the southern part of the United States. It was part of a comparative study of different modes of cultivation of native Louisiana freshwater crustaceans, commonly called crawfish or crayfish in English (words derived from the old French word écrevisse), in the United States, Japan and mainland China. I viewed the visit to New Orleans as basic to my understanding of crawfish farming in general. In Louisiana, crawfish farming has the lengthiest history. Both Cajun cuisine and other Louisianan crawfish dishes have long been celebrated there. I thought that crawfish cultivation in Louisiana might serve as the prototype for studying comparable fish farming practices in both Japan and mainland China.

先說說事前準備。第一次到美國進行研究，碰壁之處也不少！最麻煩是我沒開車，出發前跟當地人的聯絡工夫也做得不夠。儘管如此，當我身處當地的田野間，我便發覺以前做過的新界濕地保育研究，原來對我這次密西西比河下游河盆的研究十分有用。因此，當你到外地考察，紮實的研究功夫和平日的觀察的確很重要。

First, a bit about preparation for the field study. This was my first research trip in the United States, and I encountered many problems. I did not drive, which was a major handicap; and I had not made enough contacts in advance. Nonetheless, while in the field there I realized that what I had learned from my previous research on wetland conservation in Hong Kong's New Territories would figure importantly in my study of the lower Mississippi River basin. Solid research and keen observation are keys to discoveries in an overseas field trip.



# 飲食文化

## Foodway



另外，我也想以「飲食文化」(foodway)這一概念，展示與濕地有關的社會文化是如何的重要。

在我們的社會，「飲食文化」是表示我們文化身分的重要指標，也讓我們更了解各種社會關係、家庭氏族、階級與消費、性別意涵、文化象徵意義等等。

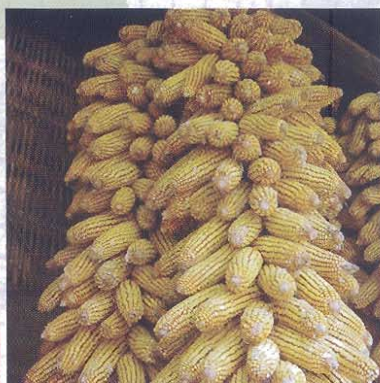
如今，飲食文化是社會文化人類學中一個很熱門的次研究領域，許多學者會研究它是怎樣由社會和文化構成。當中，人類學的學者和研究員，尤其熱衷於研究在現代化與全球化的時代，傳統飲食文化的產生如何反映它作為人類文化一部份的意義。因此，假如我們想知道在傳統文化背景下，食物的生產模式和飲食文化如何轉變，我們就不應忽視一些主要農業和農產品的革新，從而全面的認識當中的啟示。

In this article, I would like to use foodways as a major show case to understanding relevant issues regarding the significance of wetland culture.

Foodways is considered an important cultural marker of identity in societies, and it has provided a medium for the understanding of social relations, family and kinship, class and consumption, gender ideology, cultural symbolism, etc.

Nowadays, the studies of foodways has become a very popular sub-field in Social and Cultural Anthropology, and much scholarly attention has been paid on its social and cultural construction, in particularly, there is a growing interest in how the production of traditional foodways reflects the significance of being part of human heritage in the era of modernization and globalization. Therefore, if we are interested in understanding the traditional side together with the changes in the mode of production of food and foodways, a holistic understanding of the agricultural innovation taken place in some important farming grounds of human societies should not be overlooked.





## 三角洲沼澤 的糧食生產模式

### Mode of Food Production in the Delta Marsh

自發現新世界後，糧食生產的模式出現了戲劇性的變化。我們也許可以對比一下現今的糧食生產跟資本主義下的糧食生產，反思由馬克思提出並引起眾多學者討論的「亞細亞生產模式」的意義。

許多我們日常用到的食材都是外地入口而非本地自產的。換言之，只要看看它們的原產地和傳播路線，我們就很容易看到不同的食物如何透過帝國主義、殖民政策、跨國網絡和全球貿易傳播，而這些當然牽扯到國際政治、權力關係、文化交流、國內及跨國貿易網的形成、經濟發展等等。

The mode of food production has changed dramatically after the discovery of the New World. It might be useful for us to compare the present food production with the capitalist mode of production and rethink the meaning of "Asiatic mode of production" coined by Karl Marx and furthermore discussed by various scholars.

Many of the daily ingredients we use are in fact global rather local products. In other words, regarding their origins and circulations, we can easily show how various kinds of food have spread through imperialism, colonialism, cross-border networks and global trading; of course, these all involves world politics, power relations, cultural exchange, national and transnational trade network formation, economic development etc.



比如說，我們平常吃的番茄和薯仔等蔬果，其實原產自安第斯山脈。馬鈴薯已在當地種植了超過二千年，至十六世紀西班牙於美洲殖民，才由西班牙人帶入歐洲。很多類似的蔬菜也經由類似方式傳遍世界，並成為我們的主要食糧，例如在印度已種植了三千年的青瓜、源自南印度西岸馬拉巴爾的黑胡椒，和摩爾人在超過一千三百年前從印度帶到西班牙的茄子。甜粟米早在史前時期已在墨西哥種植，至今依然能在美國西南部、中美洲和南美洲找到許多不同顏色和味道的粟米品種。以上例子都生動地說明了食物是如何飄洋過洲，傳到世界各地。

除了食物和材料的流動，最重要的還是看看不同群體的人們對食物概念、飲食和煮食方式的改變。當我們研究「濕地文化」，就能看到這種特殊地理環境下的專屬生產模式。隨著時代變遷，濕地上的農業和水產養殖業亦引入了新的技術，它們如何在珠江三角洲和密西西比三角洲下游，改變烏頭魚與小龍蝦兩種水產的生產模式，值得我們探究。透過這些「飲食文化」的研究，我們還可追溯過去半世紀社會和文化口味的變遷。

The vegetables we consume in our daily meals, for example, the tomato and potato, are native to the Andes. The latter has been cultivated for over 2,000 years and was introduced to Europe by the Spanish in the sixteenth century after the Spanish colonial expansion in the Americas. Many such vegetables have also spread across the world and became major ingredients of local food and cuisine. Examples are the cucumber, originated in India where it has been cultivated for 3,000 years; black pepper is native to Malabar, a region in the Western Coast of South India; eggplants were brought to Spain from India over 1,300 years ago by the Moors. Sweet corn was grown in Mexico in prehistoric times, and today many colourful and flavourful varieties are still grown in south-western United States, and Central and South America. These are vivid examples of the global movement of ingredients which travel from continent to continent and across oceans.

Most importantly, they not only remind us of how objects and materials move, but also of the changing concepts of food, and eating and cooking styles among human groups. By focusing on the "wetland culture" as well as the mode of production associated with the specific landscape in which new technologies of agriculture and aquaculture can be seen, we can see how grey mullet and crawfish were adopted into the new food production of the lower basin area of Pearl and Mississippi deltas. Furthermore, these studies of foodways enable us to investigate the changing social taste and cultural values during the last half century.

## 亞細亞生產模式 Asiatic mode of production

「亞細亞生產模式」由馬克思在十九世紀五十年代初提出，簡單來說是東方國家或地區歷史中，由專制統治者支配和管理社會資源，土地屬公有的特殊生產方式。

"Asiatic mode of production" was contrived by Karl Marx in early 1850 to define mode of production in various Asian countries and regions in history, where social resources were held in thrall by despotic regime, and where land was largely communal.

# 濕地面貌

## Wetlandscape

「濕地」可定義為有兩套生態環境特性同時出現並互相影響的過渡區域，例子有沼澤、泥沼、泥塘等。

在香港，我們看濕地，除了欣賞它的生態價值，亦可細想濕地如何孕育和影響當地的生活文化，例如：移民湧入和聚居、在沼澤地建立的漁村、南中國的宗族群居村落、漁民社區的生活和變遷等等，以及這些轉變與香港和周邊地區的海岸資源運用的關係。

后海內灣的傳統宗族聚落已有約八百年歷史，因此他們在這裡務農（種植稻米）亦應有數百年。除了這些內陸農地外，在上世紀初，大片天水圍的沿岸濕地也被轉化為農地。這些土地經歷了多個階段的變化，包括泥灘、水稻田、蘆葦床、蝦塘、魚塘；到最後，部份剩下的濕地被劃為保護區（米埔沼澤自然護理區）及公眾公園（香港濕地公園），其餘則是現代化的住宅區（如天水圍的公共屋邨及私人屋苑）及一些碩果僅存、由平均六十歲以上的老漁民維持的魚塘。無疑地，自從米埔濕地於一九七六年被列為保護區，成為候鳥每年從北方西伯利亞飛往南方澳洲度冬的中途棲息站，該處的生態價值便開始受注目。儘管如此，緩衝區內的淡水魚養殖戶依然備受冷落，原因不外乎他們的移民背景，以及初級產業在當代的香港社會已式微。

Wetland is a transition area in which two sets of ecological or environmental characters coexist and interact with each other, such as a marsh, swamp, bog, etc.

Besides its ecological characteristics, the wetland is also a rich landscape for understanding changing lifeways (in terms of influx of migrants, formation of fishery villages on the marsh, relation with traditional South Chinese lineage settlements, communal livelihoods of former fishermen) in relation to coastal resource management from the local perspectives.

In the Inner Deep Bay, the traditional lineage settlements can be traced back around eight hundred years, their relevant agricultural (rice cultivation) practices are supposed to have lasted for several hundred years. Besides those inland agricultural areas, in the beginning of the last century, a major conversion of coastal wetland into agricultural land took place in Tin Shui Wai, which went through different stages including mudflat, rice paddy, reeds field, shrimp pond and fishpond; and finally some part of the wetland area has been kept for reserve (Mai Po Marshes Nature Reserve) and public park (Hong Kong Wetland Park) while the rest are modern public and private residential areas (Tin Shui Wai, etc.) and fishpond areas which are maintained as farming ground by senior fishers with an average age over sixty. There is no doubt that ecological characteristic of Mai Po wetlands have received special attention since 1976, when they were designated as a reserved site as well as a resting place for migratory birds traveling between Siberia in the North and Australia in the South. However, the fish farming communities lying along the buffer zone areas have been neglected because of their migration backgrounds and the shrinking primary industry in contemporary Hong Kong society.





在眾多社會及政治因素影響下，本地人在濕地上開墾了農地，因此我們所研究的海岸「濕地面貌」，已經不是完全天然的景觀。以後海內灣為例，海岸地區便因應香港社會的需要而改變了用途。要是進一步去思考，濕地的社會文化面貌不容輕視，當中的農業發展亦帶出千絲萬縷的政治關係。

Therefore, the "wetlandscape" along coastal areas that we investigate is not that of an entirely natural landscape, since the wetland has been cultivated by local people and turned into agricultural land for various social and political reasons. In the case of Inner Deep Bay, the coastal areas was changed according to the needs of the Hong Kong society; therefore, we should see the socio-cultural aspects of the wetland should not be neglected and that the politics involved in the development from agricultural usage to other types of usage from the view of the fast-changing society are dynamic.





## 珠江三角洲 Pearl River Delta



在香港，新界的濕地隸屬珠江三角洲系統的一部分，包括約一萬平方公里的低地平原與濕地。它和長江三角洲、華北平原、四川盆地和西北綠洲區構成全國最重要的糧食生產基地。

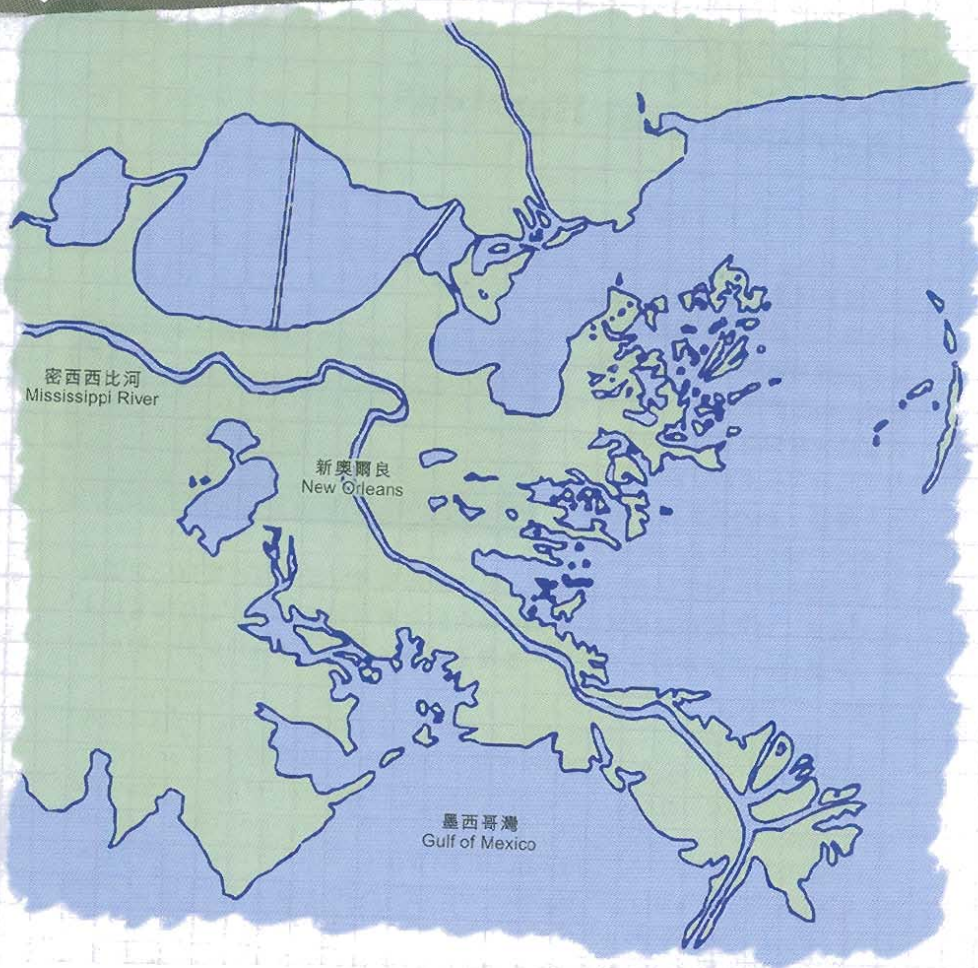
The wetlands of New Territories in Hong Kong are part of the Pearl River Delta system. It has an area of around 10,000 km<sup>2</sup> of low-lying plains and wetlands. Together with Yangtze River Delta, North China Plains, Sichuan Basin and the Oasis of Northwestern China, they are the major food baskets of the country.

古時的珠江三角洲以農村為主，直至一九八零年代初期，國內經歷了一系列經濟改革，該區大量土地也轉型為生產服裝、玩具、電子產品、塑膠製品的製造業中心，成品出口至世界各地，三角洲地區上的十多個城市也發展成人口共約八千萬的超級都會區。

Historically Pearl River Delta was dominated by farming villages. Since economic reform in early 1980s a substantial part of the region was transformed into a major manufacturing hub for garment, toys, electronic products, plastic goods that are exported to different parts of the world. A dozen of cities in the delta area have formed a mega-metropolitan area with a population of around 80,000,000.



## 密西西比河三角洲 Mississippi River Delta



在路易斯安那州，新奧爾良的濕地位於密西西比河三角洲之上，是一片巨大的沖積平原，與墨西哥灣匯合。它的範圍包括約一萬二千平方公里的沿海濕地和鹽沼。

The wetlands of New Orleans in Louisiana belong to Mississippi River Delta, a vast alluvium plain that merges into the Gulf of Mexico. It comprises around 12,000 km<sup>2</sup> of coastal wetlands and salt marshes.

這裡是美國一個頗為重要的傳統商業捕魚區域，漁產量佔全國百分之十五。它也出產大量石油與天然氣，供應全國接近百分之二十的石油。這些經濟活動與連帶的運輸行業，就是新奧爾良的經濟命脈。新奧爾良所在的大新奧爾良市區約有一百三十萬人口。

It is traditionally a significant commercial fishing area that harvests 15% of fisheries in US. Extensive oil and gas extraction supports nearly 20% of the oil supply in US. These economic activities, and the traffic of products hence derived, are the pillars of the economy of New Orleans. The Greater New Orleans metropolitan area has a population of around 1,300,000.



# 農業文化

## Agricultural Heritage

農業明顯已經不是現今香港社會的主要行業。雖然它現在已不會為我們帶來巨額經濟收益，但我們還有其他許多原因去研究和保育農業。漁業的歷史反映了香港的社會發展和文化變遷，我們便更要全盤理解這個行業古往今來的發展。

香港的養魚戶已減至三百戶以下，主要位於米埔濕地緩衝區的養魚戶正面臨重大威脅，特別是這些魚塘不只是社區內的緩衝區和傳統本地出產糧食的來源，更是候鳥最主要的覓食地點，整體更提升了米埔沼澤地和后海內灣的保育價值。

Agriculture is definitely not the major industry in contemporary Hong Kong society; however, it does not mean that we do not have to pay attention to understand nor maintain it for other purposes than its economic contributions. As the history of fishery reflects the social development and cultural change in Hong Kong, it is important to strive for a holistic understanding of the industry in the past and the present. With less than three hundred fishing households, the fishing communities which are mostly located at the buffer areas of the wetland in Mai Po are actually facing tremendous changes, in particular as these fishponds serve not only as a mitigation zone and source of a traditional local food but also as a major food supplier for migratory birds, raising the conservation value of the Mai Po marshes and Inner Deep Bay in Hong Kong at large.





讓我們看看聯合國糧食及農業組織（FAO）如何定義農業文化遺產的意義和重要性：  
Let's take a look at the quotation from Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) regarding the meanings and significances of agricultural heritage:

為了保護這些農業文化遺產（GIAHS），聯合國糧農組織於二零零二年啟動了全球重要農業文化遺產保護和適應性管理項目。旨在為這些全球重要農業文化遺產及其農業生物多樣性、知識體系、食物和生計安全以及文化的國際認同、動態保護和適應性管理提供基礎。

截至目前，已經在秘魯、智利、中國、菲律賓、突尼斯、阿爾及利亞、肯尼亞和坦桑尼亞確定了農業文化遺產保護試點。通過這些試點，將開發並實施動態保護管理途徑，以幫助國家和地方的利益相關者們保護、管理這些農業系統及其組成要素。

In order to safeguard and support world's agri-cultural heritage systems in 2002 FAO started an initiative for the conservation and adaptive management of Globally Important Agricultural Heritage systems (GIAHS). The initiative aims to establish the basis for international recognition, dynamic conservation and adaptive management of GIAHS and their agricultural biodiversity, knowledge systems, food and livelihood security and cultures throughout the world.

The GIAHS initiative has identified pilot sites in Peru, Chile, China, Philippines, Tunisia, Algeria, Kenya and Tanzania. In these pilot systems dynamic conservation management approaches will be developed and implemented, to assist national and local stakeholders in the conservation and adaptive management of the systems and their components.

資料來源 Source: [www.fao.org/nr/giahs/giahs-home/home-more/en/](http://www.fao.org/nr/giahs/giahs-home/home-more/en/)

全球農業文化遺產保護試點

List of GIAHS Pilot Sites

地區 / 國家 Region / Country	農業系統 Agriculture system
秘魯 Peru	高原農業系統 Andean Agriculture
智利 Chile	島嶼農業系統 Chiloé Agriculture
菲律賓 Philippines	稻作梯田系統 Ifugao Rice Terraces
阿爾及利亞和突尼斯 Algeria & Tunisia	綠洲農業系統 Oases of the Maghreb
中國 China	哈尼族梯田系統 Hani Rice Terraces System
中國 China	稻魚共生系統 Rice-Fish Agriculture
中國 China	萬年傳統稻作文化系統 Wannian Traditional Rice Culture System
肯尼亞和坦桑尼亞 Kenya & Tanzania	草原游牧系統 Pastoral and Upland Agroecosystem



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根據聯合國糧農組織網頁，中國佔全球八個農業文化遺產保護試點項目的其中三項，表現中國傳統，與現代化社會如何運用農業智慧，保持生態環

境、經濟效益和社會利益各方面的平衡。儘管香港的濕地主要被劃作保育用途，其實我們的濕地蘊藏著無窮農業故事和本土智慧。

According to the FAO website, China has three out of eight GIAHS pilot systems, which demonstrate thoughtful and outstanding examples of keeping the balance among ecological, economic and social benefits in traditional Chinese society as well as in our modern societies. Even though the landscape of Hong Kong's wetland is mostly recognized for its conservation purposes, the agricultural backgrounds in relation to the local knowledge should not be overlooked.

這些農業系統對我們今日的社會還重要嗎？事實是，這些特殊的農業系統是由農民、牧民、森林住民和漁民所創造的，他們在特定的地點、氣候和可利用的天然資源下以務農為業，世代代實踐至今。農業系統之所以有今時今日的面貌，就是靠他們以多年來累積的智慧和技術來保存和維繫，而這些又來自他們與大自然互動、管理資源和發展科技的經驗。

Why are these agricultural systems important to our societies today? As a matter of fact, these specific agricultural systems are created, adapted and kept at specific places under specific climatic and natural resources available by farmers, herders, forest-dwellers and fishermen through the centuries and generations. The wisdom and technique they have gained through the ages in tending the agricultural systems are based on accumulative experiences in their interaction with nature, resource management and technological development.



這些農業系統是一道橋樑，將人們與大自然共存的古代智慧一代一代傳承下去。它維持地球上大部分人口的溫飽和生計，尤其深受氣候變化帶來的不尋常自然災害影響的人民。它也向世人示範了如何在頻繁的人類活動下，依然能夠維持豐富的生物多樣性。

These agricultural systems are the bridges of passing ancient wisdom on nature to our next generation, food and livelihood security for large population (especially under the threat of unusual natural disasters brought by climate change), and exemplars of maintaining a high degree of biodiversity where human activity is vigorous.



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# 香港的水產養殖業

## Aquaculture in Hong Kong

現時，香港新界的濕地，除了特別劃定的自然保護區外，大部分都是淡水魚塘。香港超過九成的淡水魚場都混養了多種魚類，如烏頭、大頭魚、銀鯉、鯉魚、鯪魚等，或非洲鯽混合蛇頭魚。

傳統的魚塘中，鯪魚和烏頭會在較近水面處生活，因為這是牠們慣常覓食的地方；大頭魚、銀鯉和非洲鯽喜歡在中層浮游；而在水底，則多見較兇惡的鯉魚和斑點蛇頭魚。其中斑點蛇頭魚會吃其他魚類，本地漁民會利用牠們控制魚塘內非洲鯽的數量，因非洲鯽現今的經濟價值較低。

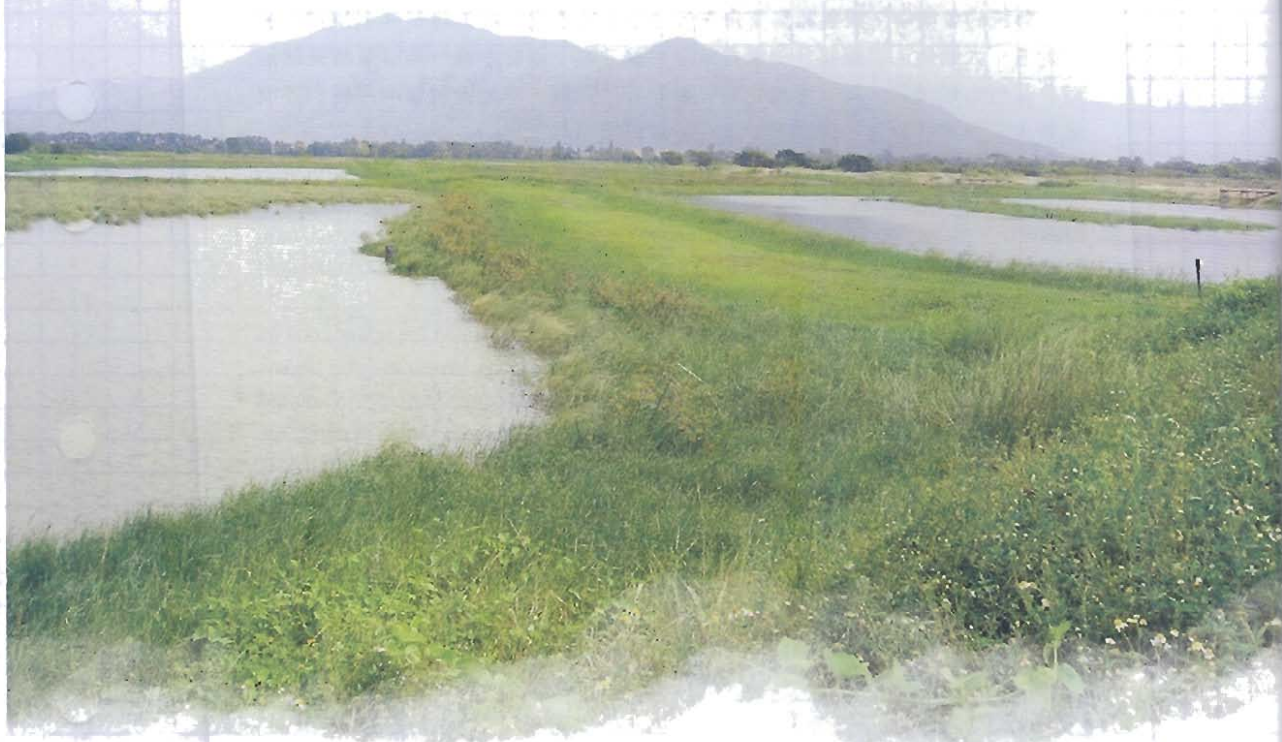
Nowadays a substantial part of the wetlands in New Territories of Hong Kong have been converted into fishponds for freshwater fishes (except those areas designated for natural reserves). In Hong Kong, over 90% of the freshwater fish farms are engaged in polyculture, such as grey mullet, bighead carp, silver carp, common carp, grass carp in combination with tilapia or snake head.

In a traditional fishpond, grass carp and grey mullet usually live in the upper zone as they like to forage and stay near the water surface; bighead carp, silver carp and tilapias like to float in the middle zone; while at the bottom, we will find common carp and spotted snakeheads which are comparatively less affable to the mid-upper fish zone. In particular, spotted snakeheads are carnivorous and local fishermen use them to control the number of tilapias reproduced in the fishpond since they have less economic values nowadays.





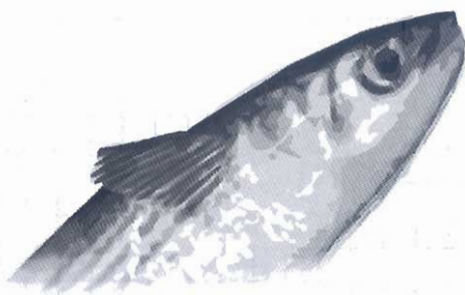
在我看來，香港的漁農自然護理署似乎較傾向引入未必能適應傳統養殖方法的外地品種，而非幫助本地農民進行傳統混養。過去十年，漁護處不斷引入各種非本地魚種，例如丁桂、長吻鮠、寶石魚等，希望增加養魚業的收入。但由於丁桂魚多骨、長吻鮠外貌不佳，影響本地顧客的購買意慾，這個策略不甚成功。漁護署一直嘗試自行孵化澳洲寶石魚，希望減低進口魚苗的成本。終於，在二零零七年，漁護署成功孵化澳洲寶石魚魚苗，令本地養魚戶有穩定的魚苗供應之餘，也可節省成本。不過，由於澳洲寶石魚有獵食其他魚類的習性，牠們只能夠獨立養殖，但多數的本地養魚戶卻是從事混養。



Instead of helping local farmers in the traditional polyculture, it seems to me that Hong Kong Agricultural, Fisheries and Conservation Department (AFCD) is more interested in bringing in exotic species which might not fit well with the traditional system. During the last decade, AFCD have been introducing various kinds of non-local species such as tench (or tinca tinca), Chinese long snout catfish and jade perch hoping to increase the returns of the industry. However, they were not very successful because tench is too bony while long snout catfish's unpleasant outlook discouraged local customers from buying. As for Australian jade perch, AFCD kept trying on hatching of eggs with a view to reduce the cost of imported fish fry; finally, in 2007, AFCD has successfully produced Australian Jade Perch fry, which help local fish farmers secure a stable supply of fish fry at lower costs. However, Australian Jade Perch can only be engaged in monoculture because of its aggressive eating habits while most local farmers practice polyculture in freshwater fish farming.

# 烏頭魚

## Grey Mullet



大家熟悉的烏頭屬於鰻科，牠們本生於大海，卻比同科的其他魚類更能適應淡水魚塘的生境。在香港，牠們在冬季頗能賣得好價錢，又能跟鯪魚、大頭魚、土鯪魚、非洲鯽等和平共處，多年來也深得採傳統混養模式的本地養魚戶歡迎。以前仍未有人工魚苗出售時，漁民需要自行到岸邊採集烏頭魚苗。到沿海淺灘捕捉魚苗，再放到元朗的淡水或鹹淡水魚塘飼養，是本地淡水養魚業的一大特色，也傳承了華南地區的一部份文化。

Grey mullets (*Mugil cephalus*) of the Mugilidae family, was born in the sea but can adapt better to freshwater ponds than others in the same family. They can be sold at a good price in Hong Kong during the winter, and are welcomed by local freshwater fishermen for the practice of traditional polyculture over the years. They get along very well with Grass Carp, Big Head, Mud carp, Tilapia, etc. In the old days, when there was no artificial breeding of fish fry for sale, fish farmers had to catch the mullet fry on the coast on their own. The method of catching wild small grey mullets from shallow coastal areas and rearing them in freshwater or brackish water fish ponds in Yuen Long is a characteristic of the local freshwater fish industry. It can be seen as part of the cultural heritage of the South China region.





**My New Territories Research**

Hong Kong, part of what had been San On County in Guangdong Province, China, was taken by the United Kingdom in the middle of the nineteenth century. Hong Kong Island with all its surrounding islands, was ceded to Britain by the Treaty of Nanking in 1842; in 1860, it was extended to the Kowloon peninsula. The further expansion of the colonization was made after the Second Convention of Peking, and a large part of the peninsula called the New Territories, which starts from Boundary Street of Kowloon peninsula and reaches the border between Shenzhen, Guangdong, and Hong Kong in the north, was leased to the British Government in 1898 for ninety-nine years. Though Hong Kong as a whole is relatively small in terms of its geographical area, the cultural differences between the city, on the one hand, and the New Territories on the other, are substantial. This is particularly true for someone like myself, a child of migrants from mainland China and a member of the first generation born in the city of Hong Kong. It was not easy for me to understand the rural lifestyles typical of the New Territories. Yet those New Territories cultural features are considered typical of South China, where my parents grew up before coming to Hong Kong. Viewed from this perspective, a study of life in the New Territories could be rather like a search for my own roots.



有趣的是，新奧爾良就好比美國的新界，是很多人視為「文化根源」的地方。一方面，新奧爾良是爵士樂的發源地，是早期新移民踏入美國的大門，是南方田園風光的代表，亦是奴隸制及美國內戰結束後產生新世代價值觀的地方，許多美國人因此把新奧爾良當成「鄉下」。另一邊廂，大部份美國人其實並不熟悉路易斯安那州的歷史文化。舉例說，當我問住在東岸的美國人有沒有嚐過小龍蝦菜式，他們大都向我投以奇異目光，說對那些「泥蟲子」（非路易斯安那州人對小龍蝦的稱呼，在美國北部尤甚）毫無興趣。

Interestingly, New Orleans also plays a similar role of being the cultural roots in the United States. On one hand, many Americans consider New Orleans as the common "hometown" of the United States given the origination of jazz music there, its early role as the gateway of immigrants, its rural scenery, and the emergence of new values since the end of the institution of slavery as well as the end of the American Civil War; on the other hand, most Americans are indeed not familiar with the history and culture of Louisiana. For example, when I talked to Americans living on the East coast, many of them would give me a strange look when I asked them if they had ever tried any crawfish dishes, and they would tell me that they are not interested in those "mudbugs", as they were usually called outside Louisiana, especially in the northern part of the United States.



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回到我們的新界，除了以宗族為本的單姓村落，一些傳統的聚落和居所會根據民系而分布於不同地區，有些地方是本地、客家和蜑家（水上人）一同聚居。當我們以這段始於宋朝的南中國海岸移民史為藍本，也許就會較容易明白路易斯安那州的複雜文化，及在當地聚居的歐洲移民、阿卡迪亞人和他們的後裔卡珍人、非洲後裔、越南難民及移民等的文化差異。新奧爾良在歷史上還有一個很重要的轉捩點，就是美國在一八零三年向法國購得路易斯安那。自此，法國後裔們的生活模式也起了變化。比如我遇到一位六十出頭的男士，他說他的家族七代居住在路易斯安那都是說法語的，而他是改說英語的第一代人。我對此不感驚訝。一些新界原居民的祖先也可追溯至宋代或明代，但自從新界也繼香港島和九龍南部後落入英國人手中，他們的農村生活便起了翻天覆地的變化。

Back to the New Territories, apart from single surname as well as lineage-based village settlements, some of the traditional settlements and dwellings are regionally grouped into several lineages together. Some of them combine Punti (meaning "local"), Hakka (meaning "guest people") and Tanka (meaning "people living on the boat") together as well. This immigration history of the coast of South China beginning from the Song Dynasty might inspire us to understand the cultural complexity as well as relevant differences among the European migrants, Acadian as well as Cajun, African descendants, Vietnamese refugees/migrants, etc., in Louisiana State. On top of this, we should remember the historical development of New Orleans since the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, since the changing lifestyles of the French descendants should not be overlooked. For example, I met one man in his early 60s who told me that his family had been living in Louisiana for seven generations; however, he is the first generation to speak English instead of French. This does not surprise me as some New Territories indigenous inhabitants have ancestors who could be traced back to the Song and Ming Dynasties, and their village life changed tremendously since the New Territories was leased to the British after Hong Kong Island and southern part of Kowloon were ceded.





# 新奧爾良主要族群

## Major Population Groups of New Orleans



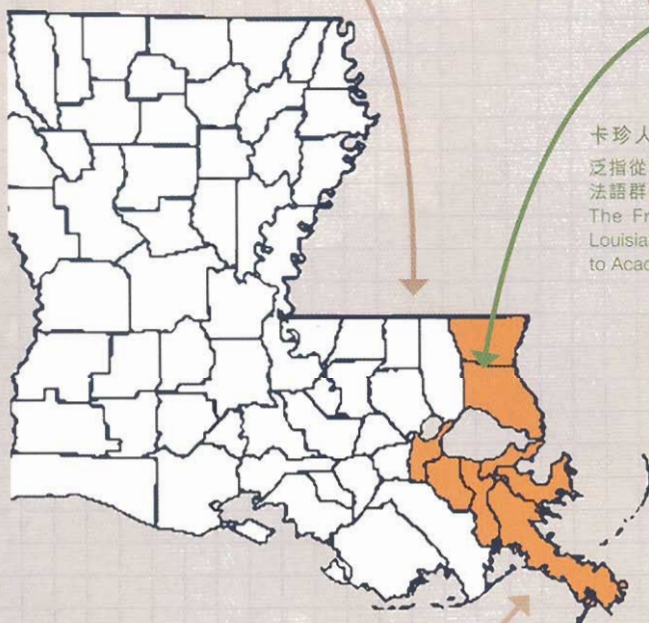
歐洲移民  
Immigrants from Europe



### 阿卡迪亞 Acadia:

十八世紀前法國在北美洲的殖民地，即現今加拿大的新斯科沙省、新伯倫瑞克省、愛德華王子省和部分魁北克省

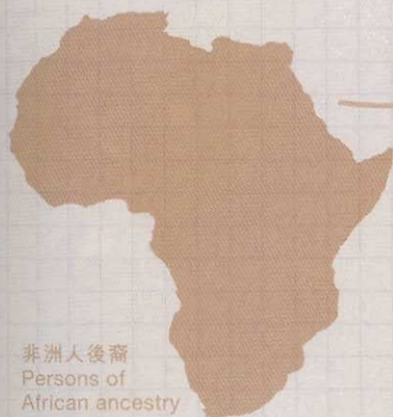
Former French colony that comprises Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Island & part of Quebec



### 卡珍人 Cajuns:

泛指從阿卡迪亞遷徙到路易斯安那州的法語群體之後裔

The French-speaking community in Louisiana, whose ancestry traces back to Acadia



非洲人後裔  
Persons of African ancestry



越南難民及移民  
Vietnamese refugees / migrants



新界主要原居民的民系和家族分佈  
Distribution of indigenous  
inhabitants in New Territories







新界五大氏族  
5 Major Clans

- 鄧氏 Tang
- 廖氏 Liu
- 侯氏 Hau
- 文氏 Man
- 彭氏 Pang

- 客家人 Hakka
- 蜆家人 Tanka



# 新界五大氏族

## Five Major Clans of the New Territories

### 背景

我們稱之為「本地人」的民系，指明代前移居香港的族群。他們到新界後先是聚族而居，繼而因人口增長而分遷至其他村落，構成新界許許多多的單姓村。這些氏族以鄧、廖、侯、文、彭五族最為著名，除了因為他們人口多、佔地廣，當年五姓人更曾聯合抵抗英軍入侵新界，「新界五大族」之名也是來自英人。

There is a long-established clan system in the New Territories as a result of very early migration and settlement. Descendants of the same surname are used to live and thrive in the same village, but the collective of these villages should belong to one clan. Among all surnames, the Tang, Liu, Hau, Man and Pang clans are the most powerful and illustrious, not only because they have big family trees and occupy the biggest shares of land, but had also joined hands to resist British invasion of the New Territories in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, earning the name of "The Five Great Clans" from the early British troops. Generally, these people who had moved to Hong Kong before Ming Dynasty are regarded as the "Punti" people.

### 鄧氏 Tang

原籍江西、福建等地，先祖鄧符協約在十一世紀初移至岑田（今錦田）定居。相傳宋朝有位公主曾逃難到來，被錦田的鄧氏族人所救，更嫁給了他，後來朝廷為表謝意，賜予鄧氏良田千畝，令鄧族更顯繁盛。

Usually regarded as the most prosperous clan in the New Territories, the ancestor Tang Fu-hip first moved the family from Jiangxi and Fujian to the Kam Tin area since the early 11<sup>th</sup> century. It was said that a princess of Song Dynasty was saved by a Tang family member during her evacuation and married him. Subsequently, the court rewarded the Tangs with a bountiful expanse of land in gratitude.

聚居地：元朗錦田、屏山、廈村、粉嶺龍躍頭、大埔大埔頭

Location: Kam Tin, Ping Shan, Ha Tsuen (Yuen Long), Lung Yeuk Tau (Fanling), Tai Po Tau (Tai Po)

### 廖氏 Liu

開村祖先為廖仲傑，在元末（公元一三五零年）從福建來到上水定居。他們以重視教育聞名，族中教育系統完善，人才輩出，現時仍有在上水大規模辦學。Liu Chung-kit, founder of their new residence in Sheung Shui, entered New Territories close to the end of Yuan Dynasty (AD 1350) from Fujian. They are famous for their well-established education system within the clan, with emergence of outstanding descendants and still running a number of schools nowadays in Sheung Shui.

聚居地：上水上水鄉一帶

Location: Sheung Shui Heung (Sheung Shui)

### 侯氏 Hau

源自河北，現居於上水的侯氏乃家族在廣東番禺的分支，自宋末起遷入。

With origin in the Hebei province, the Hau clan residing in Sheung Shui was a family branch lived in Panyu, Guangdong. They came to Hong Kong since the late Song Dynasty.

聚居地：上水河上鄉一帶、粉嶺大隴、西貢榕樹澳

Location: Ho Sheung Heung (Sheung Shui), Tai Lung (Fanling), Yung Shue O (Sai Kung)



## 文氏 Man

原籍四川，首先入粵的文天瑞是南宋名將文天祥的堂弟，天瑞後人文世歌於明永樂年間（約公元十五世紀初）移居新田立村，是五族中最遲在新界定居的一族。Originally from Sichuan, the Man's family was the latecomer in the New Territories (at early 15<sup>th</sup> century during the reign of Emperor Yongle in Ming Dynasty), when Man Sai-ko, clansman of famous general Man Tin-cheung, established the village in San Tin.

聚居地：元朗新田、大埔泰亨、洋涌

Location: San Tin (Yuen Long), Tai Hang, Pan Chung (Tai Po)

## 彭氏 Pang

祖籍甘肅的彭氏，在南宋時期初抵新界，明朝萬曆時徙居粉嶺，興建粉嶺圍，並在此開枝散葉。

Homing in Gansu, the Pangs first reached the New Territories during Southern Song Dynasty (late 12<sup>th</sup> century), then moved to Fanling and built the Fanling Wai, a walled village, in Ming Dynasty.

聚居地：粉嶺圍

Location: Fanling Wai (Fanling)

## 客家人 Hakka

客家人本是唐宋末初由中原南遷至廣州一帶的漢人，在十七世紀末才在清政府的壓力下大量遷入香港地區墾荒。當時新界最肥沃的土地已被本地人所佔，因此客家人大都居住在港島、九龍、新界各處的山谷地，也有不少在海邊建村。他們以獨特的客家話為語言，但這種語言已經在廣府話為主的現代社會逐漸被遺忘。荃灣三棟屋就是一座有名的客家圍村。

The Hakkas were originally people from the central China who moved to the southern coast after a series of mass migration. They mainly entered Hong Kong in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century under Qing government's reclamation policy, when most fertile soils were already owned by the Punti people. They thus settled all over the valley lands in Hong Kong Island, Kowloon and the New Territories, or nearby the sea. They speak a unique Hakka dialect, but this dialect is fast dwindling in the Cantonese society nowadays. The Sam Tung Uk in Tsuen Wan is a famous walled village built by Hakka dwellers.

聚居地：荃灣、元朗、西貢、南丫島、大澳、柴灣等

Location: Tsuen Wan, Yuen Long, Sai Kung, Lamma Island, Tai O, Chai Wan, etc.

## 蜑家人 Tanka

蜑家人亦即水上人，以船為家，以漁或採珠為業。他們的祖先已不可考，但有可能是自新石器時代已在港生活的最早期香港居民。他們有獨特的生活文化，也有自己的蜑家語言。隨著社會發展，只有極少數人還會長時間住在水上，其他多已上岸，或居住在政府為安置他們而興建的漁民新村。

Tanka people are the boat dwellers who lived their entire live in the sea, making livings by fishing or pearl-fishing. Their antecedents can hardly be traced, but they could be the earliest inhabitants of Hong Kong since the Neolithic period. The Tankas have their unique style of living and a peculiar Tanka dialect. With ongoing social progression, only few Tanka people nowadays live entirely on sea, while most other have homes onshore, or rehoused in the "fishermen new villages" by the government.

聚居地：南區（如香港仔深灣、石排灣）、大埔海、西貢、大澳及香港各離島等  
Location: Southern District (e.g. Sham Wan and Shek Pai Wan in Aberdeen), Tolo Harbour, Sai Kung, Tai O and various outlying islands, etc.

我所有高等教育都在日本完成，我的博士論文也是研究北海道原住民的圖像表達。因此，當我開始了相關的資料搜集，便發覺新界本土文化對我來說是一個全新的範疇。初次接觸新界社會文化的課題，乃在我剛從日本返港、在香港中文大學人類學系開始教學事業之時。後來我和中大建築系的一位同事開展了我第一份關於新界的共同研究，探討「屏山文物徑」作為香港第一條文物徑，對原居民的本土社會政治身分建構成什麼衝擊。

As I received all my higher education in Japan and my Ph.D. dissertation research was about the visual images of indigenous people in Hokkaido, the study of indigenous culture in the New Territories was a totally new area for me when I began the relevant research. My work on socio-cultural issues in the New Territories began after I moved back to Hong Kong from Japan and began my career as a teacher in the Department of Anthropology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. My first joint research project in the New Territories was with a colleague in the Architecture Department in The Chinese University of Hong Kong, about the heritage trail established in Ping Shan. The project was about the construction of the local socio-political identity of indigenous inhabitants that became contested with the establishment of the first heritage trail in Hong Kong.

要從「宗族為本聚落」的角度了解屏山在新界的地位，便不得不提一九六八年傑克波特的《資本主義與中國農民》一書，這本書是我研究新界的學術基礎。從他的書中，我認識到新界經濟作物的轉變（尤其二十世紀六十年代白米的沒落和青菜的崛起），以及農民家庭成員的職業愈趨多元化，均導致了一系列的社會變遷。

另外，達斯華於一九七七年提交給夏威夷大學的博士論文：《香港海岸濕地的本土管理——新界天水圍農業地段的濕地變遷個案研究》，令我得知上世紀初一段土地用途和海岸規劃的歷史。他很細心地觀察這些變遷，包括海岸資源的管理，以及本地稻米農民在鹹淡水區種植紅米的經濟收益低，因而要以養殖水產為出路。這些學者的高識遠見，說明了當時的本地農民開始轉變生產方式，也改變了對濕地的使用方式。這啟發了我從社會文化的角度完成最近一篇關於「濕地面貌政治」的文章，探討本地農民如何運用那一片內地和香港西北海岸之間的土地及其附帶資源。

To understand Ping Shan as a lineage-oriented settlement in the New Territories, I have to credit Jack Potter's *Capitalism and the Chinese Peasant* (1968), which served as the foundation of my study there. What I learned from his book was the social change driven by the transitions of cash crops, in particular from white rice to green vegetables in the 1960s, together with the diversified labour force of family members among farming households in the New Territories. Then Armando M. Da Silva's Ph.D. dissertation: *Native management of coastal wetlands in Hong Kong: a case study of wetland change at Tin Shui Wai agricultural lot, New Territories* (submitted to the University of Hawaii, 1977) brought to my attention the history of land use and coastal planning in the beginning of the last century through a careful observation of changes including how the coastal resources were managed and how local rice farmers adapted aquaculture, as they sought to overcome the low economic return from red rice cultivated in the brackish area. With their pioneer studies, I was able to learn that local farmers began to change their job nature and use the wetlands in different ways, which inspired me to finish my latest article on the "politics of wetlandscape" using a socio-cultural perspective; in this article, I wrote about how the use of resources, generated from the interface of the inland and the coast in the northwestern part of Hong Kong, has been handled by local farmers.



# 我的新奧爾良初體驗

## My encounter to New Orleans

眾多城市中，我為什麼會選擇新奧爾良？因為這裡是路易斯安那州最四通八達的交通樞紐。即使要到附近其他地方，也總得先來這裡走一趟。可是，來到新奧爾良後，每次跟當地人說起此行目的是研究小龍蝦養殖，多數人的反應也一樣：你不止來錯地方，還來錯了時候！大部份米農還在忙於收割稻米，你不會看到有人養殖小龍蝦。換句話說，小龍蝦的養殖季節還未開始。

還有，這時剛好是野生海產的終漁期，漁民都趕緊往大海捉蝦、螺和海魚。我只能在朋友的幫助下，於當地一個海產市場看到一袋袋大麻布袋裝著的小龍蝦，還有一包包經過處理、於當地出產和由中國進口的急凍小龍蝦尾。雖然小龍蝦是我的終極目標，但除了參觀二零零五年卡特里娜風災後成立的公眾海產市場（風災後，為了省卻和批發商交涉的步驟，當地漁民便聚集在一起，直接將漁獲售予民眾），我也不忘到訪就在法國區外的法國市場。上世紀六十年代起，當地民眾開始改為光顧超級市場，這個傳統的濕街市便轉型為旅遊點。通過這些見聞，我開始明白新奧爾良海鮮貿易網的歷史變遷。

I decided to go to New Orleans for the reason that it is the most connected transportation hub in the state of Louisiana, and I should at least go there before visiting any other relevant areas. However, in New Orleans, when I told people that I was there for the study of crawfish farming, most people gave me the same response, i.e. that I not only came to the wrong place but also came at the wrong time. It is mainly because most of the rice farmers were busy with the rice harvesting and no crawfish cultivation could be seen. In other words, the cultivation period had not started yet.

Also, it was the end of the season for wild catching and fishers shifted to catching shrimp, oysters, and fish in the wild. With a friend's help, I was only able to see some sacks of crawfish in a local seafood market, together with some local and Chinese processed and packed frozen crawfish tail. Apart from my concern specifically with crawfish, I not only visited the public seafood market which was formed after the attack of Hurricane Katrina in 2005 (as local fishermen got together in order to retail the seafood they caught directly to customers, after troubles with wholesalers) but also the French Market right outside the French Quarter, which was changed into a touristic shopping spot in the 1960s as local people started purchasing goods from supermarket and stopped visiting local wet markets. All these were inspiring for my understanding of the changes in the seafood trade network in New Orleans over history.





# 龍蝦小字典

## Glossary on "Crayfish"



「龍蝦」或「小龍蝦」這些名詞，既是佳餚亦容易令人混淆，情況就如你在不同國家不同地區跟人家說起「足球」，大家聯想到東西可能大相逕庭。下列是一些我們經常會見到的有關詞彙：

Crawfish, crayfish and lobsters can often mean confusion - just as you mention "football" with people from different countries or regions. Here are some of the terms that we usually see that mean crawfish, crayfish, lobster or something else:

### Crawfish / Crayfish

中文常用名稱 Usual name in Chinese: 小龍蝦 / 淡水小龍蝦 / 螯蝦  
泛指型態迷你龍蝦的淡水甲殼動物  
Generally freshwater crustaceans that resemble small lobsters

### Yabby

中文常用名稱 Usual name in Chinese: 澳洲小龍蝦  
源自澳洲的淡水小龍蝦 ("Yabby"來自澳洲土著語言)  
Crawfish in Australia (from Aboriginal language)

### Murray crayfish

中文常用名稱 Usual name in Chinese: 梅利小龍蝦  
源自澳洲梅利河的淡水小龍蝦  
Crawfish in Murray River of Australia

### Marron

中文常用名稱 Usual name in Chinese: 淡水龍蝦  
體型最大的淡水小龍蝦，源自澳洲西澳省  
The largest freshwater crawfish from Western Australia

### American / Clawed Lobster

中文常用名稱 Usual name in Chinese: 美洲螯龍蝦 / 波士頓龍蝦  
體型最大的海洋龍蝦，大致在北美洲大西洋海岸生長；巨大的螯鉗是一大特徵  
Largely found along Atlantic coast of North America; characterized by a pair of large claws

### Japanese Lobster

中文常用名稱 Usual name in Chinese: 日本龍蝦 / 伊勢海老  
體型較小，大致在日本、韓國和中國東部沿海生長  
Usually found in the seas of Japan, Korea and eastern China

### Rock / Spiny Lobster

中文常用名稱 Usual name in Chinese: 澳洲龍蝦  
體型中等，在澳洲、紐西蘭和南非海岸都可捕捉到  
Usually found in warm seas around Australia, New Zealand and South Africa

世界各地的人都有吃「小龍蝦」的習慣，近十年香港小部分的超級市場和餐廳亦開始有「小龍蝦」出售。然而不同地方的人吃小龍蝦的方法和文化卻不盡相同：

Crawfish dishes are found in different parts of the world. In the last decade crawfish has become available in some supermarkets and restaurants in Hong Kong. Yet culinary style and culture of crawfish in different places differ:

### 中國 China

近十年才開始在上海和南京一帶流行；淡水小龍蝦卻有著酷似海龍蝦的外形，因此被冠以「小龍蝦」之名推出市場，當成高級菜式。

Crawfish has only become popular around Shanghai and Nanjing in the last decade. Crawfish resemble the appearance of marine lobsters and have been marketed as "little lobsters" particularly in mainland China because of the upscale image of lobsters there.

### 美國 USA

美國南部路易斯安那州的卡珍小龍蝦料理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。

The spicy Cajun crawfish cuisine, which originated in Louisiana, is widely considered a working class food in southern US. Many Americans in elsewhere of the country, however, consider crawfish too "dirty and muddy" for eating.



## 澳洲 Australia

多種淡水小龍蝦是入饈食材，西澳省出產的大型淡水龍蝦更是高級餐廳的昂貴食材。

Yabby and marron are commonly eaten in Australia. The marron, for that matter, is considered an expensive ingredient for upscale restaurants.

## 瑞典 Sweden

瑞典人會在夏季結束前舉行淡水小龍蝦派對

Swedish people hold crawfish parties at the end of summer

不過小龍蝦的研究項目還是要做。有人建議我轉往離新奧爾良三、四小時車程的拉法葉。拉法葉以包含稻米、大豆、甘蔗和小龍蝦的混合農作聞名，我打算找幾位農民談談，問問他們的個人經歷，例如他們為甚麼要輪作，以及怎樣輪作幾種不同的農作物。經當地一所有關新奧爾良南方飲食的博物館館長介紹，我有幸接觸到一些見識廣博，來自伊拉斯鎮的人。於是，我輾轉到了伊拉斯鎮，見過幾位稻米農民，希望從當地人的角度理解小龍蝦對他們有多重要。

回程途中，我順道遊覽拉法葉的「米飯之都」克羅利。那兒正舉行所謂「小龍蝦節」，我有幸大飽口福，嚐到了幾道不同的小龍蝦菜，計有小龍蝦濃湯、秋葵濃湯、炸小龍蝦等等。雖然我嘴裡享受，不過這頓菜真是又貴又飽滯。這趟行程雖短，收穫卻很豐富，能夠和一位農民傾談，也請教過一些對稻米及水產輪作十分熟悉的人。和克羅利的兩位稻米農民談過後，我開始明白他們為甚麼要選擇養殖小龍蝦，而不輪作其他稻米作物。箇中原因有三：天氣、勞工成本和牽涉的稅款。由於米價低企、碾米成本高昂，第二作物的產量又較原作物低，農民收割第一造稻米後，便將農地淹滿水，一方面養殖小龍蝦，另一方面又可阻止田裡滋生雜草。對他們來說，稻米是穩定、有計劃的經濟作物，小龍蝦帶來的則是「真正」（而不用交稅）的額外經濟收入，因此要種些什麼，就靠農民的自身經驗來判斷了。

For my crawfish research project again, I was told that I should instead go to Lafayette which is 3-4 hours driving from New Orleans. Lafayette is famous for agriculture including rice, soy, sugar cane and crawfish, so I expected to meet some farmers and to collect some personal histories regarding why and how they got involved in the rotation systems among different crops. With the introduction of the curator of a local museum on southern food and beverage in New Orleans, I was put in touch with very knowledgeable people in Erath. I then made a trip to the township of Erath and met some rice farmers there, in order to understand the importance of crawfish from a local perspective.

On the way back, I stopped by Crowley, which is known as the rice capital in Lafayette. There, I had a chance to try different crawfish dishes at the so-called Crawfish Festival, including a crawfish bisque, gumbo, deep fried crawfish, etc. It was a rich and "heavy" whole meal for me even though I enjoyed it very much. The trip was short but fruitful, and I was able to meet and talk with one farmer and some people who know the rotation between rice and crawfish farming very well. After I met two rice farmers in Crowley in Lafayette, I began to realize how and why farmers would choose to farm crawfish instead of working on the second rice crop; it was all because of the weather, labour cost and taxation involved. When the price of rice is low and the milling cost is high, and the second crop has low yield compared to the first crop, farmers re-flood their fields to encourage the growth of crawfish, and also prevent overgrowth of grass in the field. Compared to rice which is more like a structured cash income crop, crawfish is like a bonus "real" (untaxed) cash income, so it is the decision of the farmer based on his/her experience.



為了解新奧爾良的龍蝦文化，除了訪問當地人和參觀市場外，我還在互聯網上搜集了一些小龍蝦養殖的基本知識，原來大規模的小龍蝦養殖在一九六零年代後期才開始，之前所有小龍蝦都是野生的，可在河口或下水道捕捉。我以為這是和六十年代務農人口大降有關，但當地人卻不以為然，甚至不認為這是原因之一。之後，我又留意到一九六零年代的一些旅遊業發展、一九六四年《原野法》通過，以及一九七零年代米價下跌等數起事件。我向當地民眾詢問小龍蝦菜的起源，還有為什麼它在路易斯安那如此受歡迎、有多流行，他們總會答「吃小龍蝦的歷史悠久」、「我們常吃是因為小龍蝦真的很好吃」之類。我當然明白當地人對小龍蝦的獨特情感，畢竟小龍蝦是他們身分認同和歸屬感的來源。不過，身為人類學家的我，更重要的是了解個人喜好的轉變如何跟社會和政治環境扯上關係。眼下，我還在探索小龍蝦的普及跟對上數十年社會生態轉變的絲絲關連。

Besides conducting interviews with people and visiting markets for the understanding of crawfish culture in New Orleans, I also went through some basic information about crawfish farming over the internet, and realized that the massive cultivation of crawfish only began in late 1960s, and that before, all crawfish was wild, caught from bayou and drainage. Then, I felt that might be related to the decline of the farming population in the 1960s, but nobody thought it was even one of the factors. Then, I paid attention to some tourism development in the 1960s, the enactment of the Wilderness Act since 1964, the decline of the price of rice in the 1970s, etc. When I asked local people about the origin of crawfish dishes and how and why it became popular and boomed in Louisiana, I often got the answer that crawfish eating has a long history and it had become a common dish because crawfish is essentially delicious. Of course, I could understand the emotional attachment of local people to crawfish, which symbolizes an identity as well as a sense of belonging, but more importantly, as an anthropologist I aim to learn how the changing individual taste is related to the social and political environment. Thus, I am still trying to seek the connections between the popularization of crawfish and socio-ecological changes taken place during the last several decades.





# 從香港烏頭到路易斯安那小龍蝦

## From Hong Kong grey mullet to Louisiana crawfish

從香港淡水魚養殖業漁民口中，我了解到「基圍」的經營方式和烏頭魚的養殖情況。綜合他們所述，我會說基圍（在鹹淡水中以基堤和水閘圍起，用來捕捉魚蝦的池塘）是兩種生境——下游河盆和沿海海洋在鹹淡水域的交會處；烏頭養殖則展示了濕地環境中各種生態和社會文化影響的互動。

Based on what I learned from Hong Kong freshwater fish farmers about the operation of gei wai and grey mullet cultivation, I would claim that gei wai, or gated ponds in the brackish water, are a showcase of the interface of two habitats (lower river basin and coastal marine habitats) in the brackish area, while grey mullet cultivation demonstrates the interaction between ecological and socio-cultural influences that have taken place in the wetland environment.



「基圍」是建造來引入自上游流下的河水，也能為紅米田引入海水。由於養蝦人無須餵飼蝦苗，因此營運成本很低。一些農民說，他們要做的事情不多，最多只是透過開關水閘來控制基圍內的水質。這是一種天然的養殖方式，因此基圍的面積大，內裡的蝦苗密度卻很低。基圍的經營是否成功，主要取決於岸邊蝦苗數量的多少。潮漲時，蝦苗隨水流入水位低的基圍，在基圍內飼養約九個月；當蝦苗長大至一定體積，便可收蝦。入夜後，蝦群會游上水面，這時是收蝦的好時機。潮退（或基圍內的水位較外面高）時，基圍內的水會流走，蝦群便會被水閘上設的網撈獲。

Gei wai were built to capture river water coming down from the upper level while it could introduce sea water for the red rice paddies. As shrimp farmers did not feed the shrimp, the operation cost was very low. Some farmers told me that they did not need to do much work but merely had to control the water quality through the operation of the water gateway. With this natural way of cultivation, the size of the gei wai becomes large and the density of the shrimp kept inside is low. The operation is basically dependent on the availability of shrimp fry on the coast, which are taken into the gei wai during the high tide (with a low water level inside the gei wai), where the shrimp fry would be kept and fed for about nine months until they are big enough to be harvested. Farmers harvest the shrimp in the evening when they come up from the bottom, and water in the gei wai gets drained during the low tide (or when the inside water level is higher than outside); thus shrimp will be caught in the net set at the gateway.



此外，在傳統的淡水混養模式下，捕捉沿岸的烏頭種（烏頭魚苗）是養殖烏頭的重要一環。烏頭種通常在鹹淡水交界的河口出沒。那裡的水營養較豐富，更有從住宅區和村落排出的「有機」水。過去數年，我有機會在新界一些小溪、曾是河道的水溝和淺灘中觀察本地養魚人捕捉烏頭種。在淺灘捕獲的烏頭種體積較大，相反水溝末端捉到的則一般較小。捉烏頭種也有技巧，首先要留心水流和冬、春之間的季節與天氣變化。僅看水流十分重要，因為在潮漲時，小魚會在近岸或到下游近海一帶覓食，為漁民製造最好的捕捉機會。而在每年農曆年的臘月起，成熟的烏頭會在近岸水中產卵兩至四個月，養魚人就知道該在甚麼時候捉魚苗，以在接下來的十至十二個月繁殖了。

Furthermore, the significant part of grey mullet cultivation in the freshwater polyculture tradition is about the wild catching of grey mullet fry on the coast. Grey mullet fry are usually found in the entries of rivers with fertile water where the sea water meets river water, carrying "organic" drainage water accumulated from human settlements as well as local villages. During the last few years, I got a chance to observe how local fishers caught grey mullet fry in small streams, gullies (former rivers turned into drainage) and shallow coasts in the New Territories. Those found at the end of a gully are generally small while those on the coast are bigger. In order to catch enough wild grey mullet fry for cultivation, one needs to pay close attention to the water flow and seasonal/weather change between the winter and spring seasons. The water flow matters, as small fish forage for food in close shores or downstream near the sea at high tide, which is the best time to catch them. Starting from the last month of the lunar calendar, mature grey mullets lay eggs in water near the shore for two to four months, when the local fishers look for fish fry to cultivate them in the following 10-12 months.

將類似邏輯套用到我在路易斯安那州的觀察，我得出了以下結論：原來要研究小龍蝦養殖，我們不僅可從社會文化的觀點出發，還有生態因素和那年復一年的季節性變化。人為養殖的小龍蝦可能較受人為因素影響，但密西西比河的野生小龍蝦則較依賴自然循環。

Applying similar logic to my observations in Louisiana, I was driven to see the cultivation of crawfish not merely from a socio-cultural perspective but also the ecological, as well as in light of the seasonal changes in a yearly cycle. To understand the cultivated crawfish might depend more on human factors, while the wild caught crawfish depends on the natural cycle of the Mississippi River.





小龍蝦已經從一種自養自食的作物變成了經濟作物。首先，我們要知道小龍蝦的自然繁殖週期。在夏季，雌性小龍蝦會挖一個狀似煙囪的洞穴，並匿藏在約三米深的潮濕地底。雌性小龍蝦會在這洞穴裡產卵五百至八百顆，待環境變得濕涼，幼蝦便會被帶出洞穴，開始

在稻田裡成長。幼蝦會在稻米的葉子及莖部覓食。要明白小龍蝦在自然環境下的繁殖循環，我們可以看看密西西比河下游河盆的特性。上游河盆的融冰為河流帶來高流量，水量充足的下游河盆在春季便成了小龍蝦的培育場。夏季水位下降，是野生小龍蝦的最佳收成期。野生小龍蝦的捕捉週期，正好填補了養在稻田的人工養殖小龍蝦的收成空檔。來自河口和河流的野生小龍蝦佔路易斯安那州小龍蝦的一半產量，其重要性不言而喻。捕捉野生小龍蝦和人工養殖小龍蝦所用的人手也不同。負責捕捉野生小龍蝦的是季節性人手，當稻田沒有養蝦，他們才會來幫忙，與捕蝦船一同出動。也許我該花點時間替他們打打兼職，了解和體驗真實的小龍蝦作業。

Crawfish changed from a subsistence crop to a cash crop. First of all, we need to know the natural cycle of crawfish reproduction. In the summer, female crawfish create burrows which look like chimneys, and hide themselves about 3 meters below the ground level where it is wet and humid. Inside the burrow, the female crawfish lay around 500 to 800 eggs and wait for the cooler and wet environment so that the baby crawfish will be brought out from the burrow to grow in the rice field. The small crawfish forage on foliage and the stems of the rice plants. In order to understand the cycle of crawfish reproduction in the wild, we should pay attention to the characters of lower basin of the Mississippi river. With the formation of high water flow from the melting ice of the upper basin, the depth of water in the lower basin becomes a nurturing ground for crawfish during the spring season. The summer, when the water level goes down, becomes the best harvest time for the wild crawfish, and this river cycle of the wild caught fills the gap of rice field harvest of the farmed crawfish. Being the other half of the crawfish supply in Louisiana, we can see the significance of wild caught crawfish from bayou and river. In terms of labour force, wild caught is different from the farmed crawfish, it depends on seasonal workers with shrimp boat working in the summer time when there is no cultivated crawfish from the rice field. Regarding this operation, I should probably spend some time with the men in order to have a better understanding of the practices.





# 理解大世界的踏腳石

## Remarks: a stepping stone for the understanding of outside world

要為這個故事作一總結：這是我到新奧爾良實地考察後的個人反思。在新奧爾良及路易斯安那州南部，我開啟了全新的研究領域，並把自己在香港的研究所得，和我此行的研究目的和遇到的挑戰聯繫起來。

詳細點說，我會說自己更著重於研究沿海地區環境與社會文化變遷之間的互動，特別是在三角洲和河盆區域。三角洲地區和河盆大致上都可以稱為濕地。它們都有共通點，就是集合了兩組生態及環境特徵，而且互相影響；由於資源豐富，這些地區的社會文化變遷一般都很頻繁。

另外，在濕地地區，我們看到許多生活方式的轉變，例如新移民大量湧入、漁村在沼澤地形成、漁民棄漁後的生活等等，都和當地人的海岸資源管理有關。這些轉變並不限於較大的三角洲地區，在新界的后海內灣等小環境中也可輕易找到。

To summarize, this article serves as a kind of personal reflection after my fieldtrip to New Orleans, relating work that I did in Hong Kong to the initiatives and challenges I faced in my new arena of research which is New Orleans as well as southern Louisiana.

If I go one step further to explain the development of my research interest, I would say my focus is more on the interactions between environmental and socio-cultural changes in the coastal area, in particular the delta and river basin. Generally speaking, the delta area and river basin can both be defined as wetland, which a transition zone in which two sets of ecological or environmental characters coexist and interact with each other, and socio-cultural changes can be commonly identified because of the rich resources found in those areas.

Again, wetland can also be considered a rich landscape for understanding changing lifeways (in terms of influx of migrants, formation of fishery villages on the marsh, communal livelihoods of former fishermen, etc.) in relation to coastal resource management from the local perspective, and all these social changes are not limited to large scale deltas but are easily found to be true also in micro-environments such as the Inner Deep Bay in the New Territories. Thus, having already learned from the culture of the wetland area in Yuen Long, I could much more easily understand the land use and coastal resource management in southern Louisiana, even though they are totally different in terms of historical development.





因此，儘管新界和新奧爾良天各一方，歷史發展也完全不同，但當你了解過元朗濕地區的文化，再去了解南路易斯安那州的土地利用和海岸資源管理便容易得多。我寫這篇文章，是希望大家更關注自己周圍的地貌，這會讓我們更明白不同地貌跟其外在社會環境的關係。除了小龍蝦，我們也可從社會文化的視角研究非洲鯽、塘虱、短吻鱷等的養殖，以及野生蝦、螺、魚等的捕撈情況，從而了解海岸資源管理這一課題。✧



Finally, the purpose of this article was to raise awareness of our own surrounding landscape, as it helps us to better understand different landscapes in relation to their external social environment; besides crawfish farming and catching, the cultivation of tilapia, catfish, alligator, etc., and the wild catching of shrimp, oyster, fish, etc. should also be studied for the understanding of coastal resource management from the socio-cultural perspective. ✧

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