

about the supposed misappropriation of his crown land. Tsang simply painted his statement in hundreds of different places. It is arguable whether he had any aesthetic interest related to his graffiti, which do not seem to portray a sense of imagination and planning. Virtually no new and creative elements are shown in his street writings which are scattered in various places.

It seems that Tsang's street writings were merely a means to publicize his convictions. While it is the speed of a person's movement, the turns, the strokes and the stroke order that give spirit or style to one's hand writing, it is hard to conclude that Tsang's street writings stand out because they are particularly stylish or unique.

### Cultural value

If Tsang's graffiti is to be identified as cultural property in accordance with the definition of cultural property in Article 1 of the UNESCO *Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property* (UNESCO, 1970) it could be examined and assessed under category (b) as a property relating to history or social history.

As Appelbaum stated (2007, pp. 95-96), "Historical value recognizes objects as bearers of information about history"; and "because of the shared public nature of history, historical value is a cultural value". Tsang's street writing is not associated with a specific historical event or period; however, the issue of whether or not it is significant to a broad segment of the population in the course of time, generally described as 'collective memory', will be the subject of further deliberation.

### Sharing decisions

Tsang has left his writing at approximately 80 locations around Hong Kong over the course of 51 years. Though some people would see it as graffiti and others as trash, it is undeniable that many people of Hong Kong are familiar with his strange acts and his writings. The death of Tsang in July 2007 was widely covered by the media. Some people, including some local artists, individuals in the cultural sector, commentators, Tsang's admirers and stakeholders missed this peculiar character and thus advocated keeping Tsang's street writing. They attached a monetary value to Tsang's street writing in the tertiary art market. In 2004, the auction price of one piece of Tsang's writing was HKD 50 000 (about USD 6 400), while in April 2009, writing produced by Tsang dating from 2004, together with a photograph capturing the moment in which he was writing it, in 1997 under the Lion Rock, sold for HKD 212 500 (about USD 27 200) in an auction. The significance of Tsang's work was readily played up by the media whenever the auction price of his 'invited'