

我們在慶祝甚麼？

香港的多元文化節慶

**What are We Celebrating?
Multicultural Festivals in
Hong Kong**

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序

譚少薇、鄧偉文

香港是個多元文化社會，不同族群均保存着各自的傳統、信仰和習俗。各種民族節慶，最能夠展現出香港社會的文化多元性，也是香港的跨文化歷史和傳承的重要組成部分。

本書以香港的民族節慶為切入點，一幅幅生動的畫面，引領讀者認識各族群和他們為這個城市增添的多元文化色彩；讓我們通過飲食、宗教、性別等生活面向，瞭解族群在日常生活中如何保存本族文化價值與身份認同。文章深入淺出，帶領我們一起思考社會文化的底蘊。書中各個節慶以季節排列，無季節限制的節慶則排在後面，讀者可按圖索驥，親自到場參與感受。

1982年，第一代研究香港文化的人類學者華德英教授出版《香港的中國節慶》，描述西化的香港怎樣保留着傳統中國節日。35年後，本書以跨文化的視角，與經典隔代對話，展示香港文化不止中西合璧、而是多元共生的面貌。

我們十分幸運能生活在香港這個文化多元的空間，可以自由地遊走在不同族群的文化之間，互相欣賞、認識與交流。這是一個國際大都會所必須具備的元素。

固然本書收錄的只是香港多元文化節慶的一小部分。我們期望能激起讀者對文化持續的好奇心，繼續發掘、認識身邊不同族群的豐富多采的節慶，一起建構我們的多元社會。

Preface

Siumi Maria Tam and Wai-man Tang

Hong Kong is a multicultural society. Each of the various ethnic groups has its own traditions, beliefs, and customs. Ethnic festivals are truly a showcase of this diversity, and have very much been part of Hong Kong's intercultural history and heritage.

Readers of this book are led through different ethnic festivals in Hong Kong, seeing vivid pictures of lively celebrations, and finding out about ethnic communities and how they have contributed to the city's colorful multicultural context. Through different aspects of life such as food, religion, and gender, we learn how ethnic groups maintain their cultural values and social identity in daily life. Essays in this collection, readable and thought-provoking at the same time, take us to a deeper level of social cultural understanding. The festivals are ordered according to the season they appear in, with those that are not limited to a particular season at the back. This allows readers to seek out and take part in the festivals accordingly.

In 1982, Professor Barbara Ward, one of the first anthropologists studying Hong Kong culture, published *Chinese Festivals in Hong Kong*, describing how traditional Chinese festivals were preserved in highly westernized Hong Kong society. Thirty-five years later, this book engages her classic work in a dialogue on how Hong Kong is really beyond "East meets West", but rather is a place where there is a symbiotic existence of multi-cultures.

In Hong Kong, we are indeed fortunate to be able to take part in a multicultural space freely, where we learn about and appreciate one another's culture. This is exactly the essence of a global, metropolitan society.

This collection represents only a small portion of Hong Kong's multicultural festivals. It is our hope that readers will develop a sustained curiosity about culture, and will continue to explore and learn about the many ethnic groups and their colorful festivals around us.

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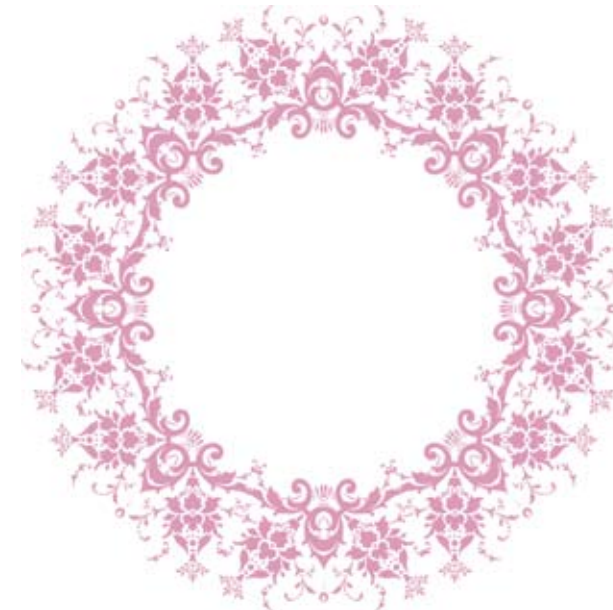
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春

Spring



尼泊爾古龍新年：塔姆勒賀察爾

鄧偉文

尼泊爾是一個多民族的國家，而不同族群也有各自的曆法系統，所以一年至少有九個慶祝新年的日子，其中七個是公眾假期。古龍（Gurung）是尼泊爾二百多個族群中的其中一個，在古龍語中他們自稱為塔姆（Tamu）。在古龍曆法中，新年為普殊（Poush）月的第15日，稱為勒賀察爾（Lhochhar），勒賀指年，而察爾意為改變。古龍曆與中國的紀年相似，也是以十二年為一個循環，每一年有其生肖，但當中的部分生肖略有不同。例如，2017年鳥年（Chyah Lho），而在中國則是雞年。很多古龍人都源自尼泊爾東面和西面的山區，與其他同在這兩個地區的族群，如拉伊（Rai）、林布（Limbu）和馬嘉（Magar）都被視為戰鬥民族。由19世紀開始，他們同為英國或印度的軍隊僱用。退休後他們居住在海外，並逐漸建立起尼泊爾社區。因此，一些節日如勒賀察爾在海外很多地方都有慶祝，當中包括香港。

現今大約有二萬五千名尼泊爾人居住在香港，雖然官方資料沒有以族群來顯示尼泊爾各族的人口分佈，但據估計，古龍應是最大的族群，佔在港尼泊爾人口一半以上。在英治時期，尼泊爾人多住在軍營，九七回歸以後，留港的尼泊爾人散居不同地區，而古龍族人口亦不斷上升。現今居港的古龍族是一個多元的族群，成員來自不同故鄉、有不同的宗教和語言。為滿足不同群體的需要，族群組織紛紛成立。香港古龍協會（Tamu Toh Hyula Hong Kong）

Bikram Sambat 是尼泊爾的官方曆法，比公曆早56.7年。另外一個曆法是Nepal Sambat，始於西元879年，並於2008年正式成為官方曆法。在尼泊爾的報章上，日期通常是這樣寫的：「2017年6月26日，Ashadh 12, 2074, Nepal Sambat 1137」（Ashadh是Bikram Sambat的第三個月）。

居港的古龍族是一個多元的族群，成員來自不同故鄉、有不同的宗教和語言。為滿足不同群體的需要，族群組織紛紛成立。香港古龍協會（Tamu Toh Hyula Hong Kong）

古龍生肖 Gurung Zodiac	中國生肖 Chinese Zodiac
鼠 Mouse	鼠 Rat
牛 Cow	牛 Ox
虎 Tiger	虎 Tiger
貓 Cat	兔 Rabbit
鷹 Eagle	龍 Dragon
蛇 Serpent	蛇 Snake
馬 Horse	馬 Horse
羊 Sheep	羊 Goat
猴 Monkey	猴 Monkey
鳥 Bird	雞 Rooster
狗 Dog	狗 Dog
鹿 Deer	豬 Pig

古龍族與中國生肖比較
Gurung and Chinese zodiacs compared



慶祝鹿年（2007）及鼠年（2008）的橫幅
Banner for Year of Deer (2007) and Year of Mouse (2008)

在1998年成立，是最早在香港成立的古龍組織，而香港古龍薩滿教協會（Tamu Pye Lhu Sangh Hong Kong）和香港古龍社（Tamu Samaj Hong Kong）亦分別在2003年和2015年成立。這些組織有不同的目標和功能，如香港古龍協會着重社交活動，香港古龍薩滿教協會着重文化遺產承傳，而香港古龍社則是兩者的結合。這些差異也體現在他們各自舉辦的勒賀察爾活動。

香港古龍協會的勒賀察爾慶祝

香港古龍協會一般在1月1日於馬騮山（金山郊野公園）慶祝勒賀察爾，其中包含很多不同的遊戲和比賽。推石（Chelo hanne）是一種男子的遊戲，參加者輪流在一條賽道上奔跑，然後擲出一塊足球般大的石頭，擲得最遠便成為優勝者。女士則參與音樂椅和民族舞蹈，以及全日最矚目的活動古龍服飾比賽（Gurung bhes bhusa）。參賽者穿着傳統古龍服飾，用古龍語自我介紹和回答主持人的提問，優勝者可以得到古龍小姐（Miss Gurung）的稱號。

另外一個受歡迎的活動是多賀里（dohori），由兩位男女歌手進行競唱，樂隊用傳統樂器，如鼓（madal）、弦樂器（sarangi）和長笛（murali）伴奏。歌唱內容是先由男歌手向女歌手示愛，而女歌手就考驗他的愛。在對唱時，這對「情侶」會即興創作歌詞，令整個活動更為刺激。下面是2012年的對唱內容：

男：今晚天氣很冷，哪裡才可以找到一間屋，而裡面有人在溫習（暗指女士）？

女：你與我眼神雙接，但為甚麼你不能叫我作你的表妹（暗示對方為結婚對象）？

男：來到香港後，我感到不快樂。如果能與你在一起，我再不需要任何人。（不過男歌手隨即用旁白向觀眾解釋，他在香港其實生活很愉

快。）

女：我們愈來愈親密，但你來自斯安吉亞（Syangja），我怕你會違背諾言。（族群間對斯安吉亞人的模式化觀念。）

最後，當女歌手得知男歌手已結婚，便拒絕了他。在唱歌進行時，群眾都圍在他們身旁跳舞。有趣的是，當男歌手示愛時，每個人都會跳舞；然後，所有人都停下來，等候女歌手的回應，女歌手會在歌詞上挑戰男歌手和作弄他。懸疑過後，觀眾哄堂大笑，然後再次起舞。這種歡樂的氣氛每年都維持一整個晚上。

香港古龍薩滿教協會的新年活動

過去兩年，協會都在1月1日於屯門小欖燒烤場慶祝勒賀察爾。這個組織着重保存傳統宗教柏丹路丹（Pyetañ Lhutañ，或稱波印Bon），是一種薩滿信仰。古龍薩滿教協會強調，在佛教傳入之前已存在的波印信仰才是古龍的文化遺產，並且認為復興這個宗教是非常重要的。於新年慶祝活動上，他們在台上搭建一個祭壇，由祭師以小米（kodo）麩粉造成人物或動物模型進行祭祀。

當會眾抵達會場時，先進行一個象徵更新的儀式。他們需要脫去鞋子，將一隻腳放在盛着各種豆和葉的竹墊上，然後祭司用一株葉子從銅



祭司將保佑繩繫在參加者的頸上
The priest tying the rupa on the neck of a participant

壺內沾一些水，灑在信眾的手掌上。信眾飲用部分手上的水後，將剩下的水由前額塗抹至後腦。接着，祭師將一條黃色的保佑繩（rupa）繫在信眾的頸項上，這個儀式稱為召喚真氣（satho boluni），可以幫助信眾恢復健康，並提防壞影響。

除了宗教儀式外，大會也提供很多食物和音樂表演。這些表演都很互動，例如在表演途中，觀眾可以走到台上獎勵表演者。他們會沿着鈔票的長度對摺鈔票，然後放進表演者的頭飾，或送表演者一頂帽（topi），再將鈔票放進頭髮與帽子之間。這是一個祝福的儀式，尤其是由長輩給年輕一代的祝福。

香港古龍社的勒賀察爾

古龍社是一個新成立的組織，在馬騮山舉辦過兩次勒賀察爾慶祝活動。與別的尼泊爾組織不同，他們的慶祝是在聖誕假期舉行的，既有文娛活動，例如推石、民族舞蹈和歌唱比賽，同時也有宗教活動，如波印和藏傳佛教的儀式。他們在會場入口安排兩個攤位，分別給波印祭司和藏傳佛教僧人。按着各自的信仰，會眾在其中一個攤位或是兩個攤位進行宗教儀式（puja）。這個安排尊重了與會者不同的信仰。

全球古龍族

在香港，各古龍組織在慶祝新年時各有不同的特色，但同時也有很多相似的地方。例如，所有的慶祝活動上都有一個印着十二生肖的大型橫幅放置在場地入口。另外，差不多一半的參加者穿着古龍傳統服飾——男士戴上一件斜跨胸前的白色布巾（bhangra）；女士則披上繡花紅色絲絨披肩（ghalek），並戴上色彩繽紛的珠寶，例如綠珠（pote）和半寶石（muga）項鍊。此外，他們會聘請一隊攝製隊錄影整個節目和製作DVD。從前大家都購買DVD分贈給海外的親友，現今社交媒體流行，他

們會將影片上載到Facebook或YouTube。這些影片有廣大的觀眾群，像古龍薩滿教協會在2014年上載的勒賀察爾視頻，就累積超過二十萬的觀看人次。透過這些映像紀錄，觀賞者能夠見到海外的親友，促成了一個全球性的古龍社區的建立。

香港尼泊爾人不應被視為單一的族群，因為它裡面其實包含了很多族群和次社群。以古龍族為例，勒賀察爾的慶祝活動正體現不同次社群的分類。香港特區政府的康樂及文化事務署近年將少數族裔文化列入香港非物質文化遺產清單，但這個清單傾向以國家來涵蓋少數族裔，沒有留意族裔之間、以及其內部的差異。事實上，民族文化和次社群文化對香港來說是很有價值的文化遺產，需要主流社會認識和認同，並通過文化遺產政策加以保育。



舞台上的祭壇
An altar set up on the stage



在大帽山郊野公園過年
Lhochhar at Tai Mo Shan
Country Park



Tamu Lhochhar: Nepali Gurung New Year

Wai-man Tang



Nepal is a multi-ethnic society, and the different ethnic groups use different systems to structure time. There are at least 9 different new year's days in Nepal. Seven of them are listed as a public holiday. The Gurungs are one of the 200+ ethnic groups in Nepal. They are known as Tamu in their own language. According to the Gurung calendar, New Year Day falls on the 15th day of the month of Poush, and is known as Lhochhar. Lho means year and chhar means change. Like the Chinese calendar, the Gurung calendar uses a 12-year cycle in which each year is represented by an animal. But the animals differ slightly. For instance, the year 2017 is Chyah Lho, which means Year of the Bird, while the Chinese Han zodiac is the Rooster. Most Gurungs originate from the eastern and western hill regions of Nepal. Along with other ethnic groups in these two regions, such as the Rais, Limbus, and Magars, they are often considered to be a martial race. Since the 19th century, they have been recruited to serve in the Gurkha regiments of the British or Indian armies. Many retired soldiers stay overseas, thus there are numerous Nepali communities established outside of Nepal and festivals such as Lhochhar are celebrated not only

Bikram Sambat is the official Hindu calendar used in Nepal, which is 56.7 years ahead of the Gregorian calendar. Another calendar is Nepal Sambat which started from 879 AD. In 2008 it was recognized as the national calendar. In Nepalese newspapers, the date is usually written like this: "June 26, 2017 Ashadh 12, 2074, Nepal Sambat 1137" (Ashadh is the third month in Bikram Sambat).

in Nepal, but also in many other places around the world, including Hong Kong.

There are approximately 25,000 Nepalis currently living in Hong Kong. Official data does not show the Nepali's internal distribution by ethnicity, but it is estimated

that the Gurungs are the largest ethnic group, comprising more than half of the local Nepali population. In the British colonial period, the Nepalis lived in the barracks. After the Handover in 1997, those who chose to stay in Hong Kong have scattered in different districts. The population of Gurungs has been growing since then, and they are now a diverse community in terms of religion, language, and regional origin. To cater to the needs of different groups, ethnic organizations were established. The Tamu Toh Hyula Hong Kong (Tamu Association Hong Kong) established in 1998 was the earliest founded Gurung organization. In 2003 and 2015 the Tamu Pye Lhu Sangh Hong Kong (Gurung Bon Religion Association Hong Kong) and Tamu Samaj Hong Kong (Gurung Society Hong Kong) were created. These organizations have different aims and serve different functions. The Tamu Toh Hyula focuses on social activities, while the Tamu Pye Lhu Sangh on preserving Gurung heritage, and the Tamu Samaj works on both. These differences are reflected in their Lhochhar celebrations, which are held on different dates at different locations.

Lhochhar Tamu Toh Hyula

The Tamu Toh Hyula's Lhochhar celebration is held on 1 January at "Monkey Hill" (Kam Shan Country Park). Characteristically it involves different games and competitions. Chelo hanne (shot put) is played by men, in which contestants take turns to run down a track and throw a football-size piece of rock. The contestant with the longest put wins the game. Meanwhile, women participate in musical chair and folk dance. One of the highlights of the day-long celebration is bhes bhusa (Gurung dress contest) in which women contestants appear on stage in their Gurung costume, introduce themselves, and answer questions put forth by the host, in Gurung language. The winner will gain the title of Miss Gurung.

Another popular activity is the dohori song fest which is a contest of skills between a female and a male singer, accompanied by a live band of traditional instruments such as madal (drum), sarangi (string instrument), and murali (flute). The singing consists a pattern in which the male singer starts with expressing his



Chelo hanne (shot put)
推石遊戲

love towards the female singer, and she will test his love. The couple makes up the lyrics spontaneously in the process, which creates much excitement among the audience. Here is an example of a duet in 2012:

Male: Tonight the weather is cold. Where can I find a house in which someone is studying (implying a woman)?

Female: You make eye contact with me. But how come you cannot call me your cousin (implying a potential marriage partner)?

Male: After coming to Hong Kong, I feel unhappy. If I am with you, I do not need anyone else. (The male singer quickly acted as a narrator and explained that he actually felt happy living in Hong Kong.)

Female: We are getting closer. But you are from Syangja. I am afraid that you will not keep your promise (a stereotype about people from Syangja).

In the end, the female singer rejected his love as she found that he was married. While the male and female singers were singing, the crowd danced around them. Interestingly, in between the singing, they would pause. For instance, when

the man expressed his love, everybody was dancing. Then everyone stopped in anticipation of the woman's response which usually involved challenging and making fun of him. Then, everybody would burst out laughing and start to dance again. Every year the merriment goes on until late in the evening.

Lhochhar Tamu Pye Lhu Sangh

For the last two years, Tamu Pye Lhu Sangh held Lhochhar celebrations on 1 January at a barbecue site in Siu Lam, Tuen Mun. This organization emphasizes the conservation of the traditional Gurung religion, Pyetañ Lhutañ, which is also called Bon, a shamanistic religion. Tame Pye Lhu Sangh emphasizes that Pyetañ Lhutañ is the real Gurung cultural heritage and it is important for them to revive this religion. At the Lhochhar venue, an altar would be constructed on stage. The priests use kodo (millet) flour to make small figurines in their ceremonies.

A ceremony symbolizing renewal is held when participants arrive at the venue. They take off their shoes, and place one foot above a bamboo mat that holds a variety of beans and leaves. The priest then sprinkles water from a bronze jug using a leaf onto their palms. The participants will consume some of the water and then put the rest on their head, from the forehead to the back of the head. Furthermore, the priest puts a yellow rupa (protective thread) around the neck



Bamboo mat with a variety of beans and leaves
竹墊、豆和葉祭品



Offering of fruits
用作祭品的水果

of the participant. This ritual is called satho boluni, which means “calling the breath”. It is believed that this will help restore participants’ health and protect them from bad influences.

In addition to religious rituals, the organizers also prepare much food and music performances. Performances are interactive. For example, during performances the audience may go on stage and reward the performer with cash. They would fold banknotes along the length and insert them into the head accessories of the performers, or give the performers a topi (hat) and then insert banknotes between the hair and the topi. This practice is a form of blessing, particularly from the senior to the younger generation.

Lhochhar Tamu Samaj

The Tamu Samaj is a newly established organization, and has organized Lhochhar celebrations twice, both at Monkey Hill. Unlike other Gurung associations, they hold their Lhochhar during Christmas holidays. Their Lhochhar celebrations include social activities, such as chelo hanne and Gurung dance



A makeshift Tibetan
Buddhist counter
臨時的藏傳佛教攤位

and a singing competition, as well as religious practices such as Bon and Tibetan Buddhist rituals. They would set up two reception counters at the entrance of the event: One is for Bon priests and the other for Tibetan Buddhist monks. Participants of the event could choose to carry out puja (religious ceremony) at either one of the counters or both of them. This arrangement allows the needs and choices of followers of different religions to be respected.

Global Gurungs

While Lhochhar celebrations organized by the Gurung associations in Hong Kong show dissimilarities, they also share many commonalities. For instance, in all of the celebrations, a big banner showing the 12-year cycle and the corresponding animals is placed at the entrance of the venue. At all the events, nearly half of the participants are wearing their Gurung costumes – men wear a bhangra, a white cloth tied across the chest, while women wear a ghalek, an embroidered red velvet cape and ornaments such as pote (green beads) and muga (semi-precious stones) necklaces. Furthermore, a film crew is hired to videotape the entire program and produce a DVD on the event. In the past, the participants would purchase the DVDs and share them with their friends and relatives overseas. Nowadays, with the prevalence of social media, the videos are uploaded onto Facebook or

YouTube, and cover a worldwide audience. For instance, the Lhochhar Tamu Pye Lhu Sangh video of 2014 had over 200,000 views. By sharing the video recordings, Gurungs around the world are able to see their friends and relatives overseas, and contribute to the development of a global community of Gurungs.

The Nepalis in Hong Kong should not be understood as having one single identity. There are multiple ethnic groups and sub-communities within each ethnic group. In the Gurung case, the sub-division of the community is best

reflected in their Lhochhar celebration. The HKSAR Leisure and Cultural Services Department list of intangible cultural heritage currently includes the cultures of ethnic minority groups. However, the list tends to categorize the ethnic minorities by their national cultures, without underlining the nuanced differences within the ethnic groups. It is important to note that ethnic and sub-ethnic cultures are valuable cultural heritages in Hong Kong, which should be recognized officially and understood by mainstream society. There should also be discussion of a policy on how to carry out their conservation.



Children in Gurung costume performing a folk dance
穿上古龍族服飾的孩子表演民族舞



Two kinds of traditional costumes:
Left: Sari and Kantha necklace (gold rings with red felt pads);
Right: Gurung dress, with pote and muga necklace

兩種傳統服飾：左方女士穿着紗麗，配以墜達項鍊（金環配紅絨墊）；右方女士穿古龍服，配以綠珠和半寶石項鍊



Girl wearing chandrama (moon) shaped gold hair-pin: revival of traditional ornaments contributes to cultural identity of the Gurung diaspora
女孩戴上月亮形的金髮夾：傳統裝飾的復興幫助建立海外僑民身份認同

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