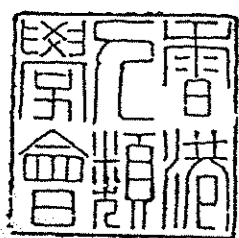


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## *An Eighteenth Century Ethnographic Account of Guang-dong*

*Translated & Introduced by Geoff Wade*

The recording and description of other societies has long been, and remains today, one of the diverse ways in which peoples define their own culture. From Herodotus' description of the Persian Empire and the peoples of North Africa in his *Histories*, through Tacitus' ethnographic account of Britain in *Agricola*, the classical scholars of the West stressed the position of their own cultures through comparison with peoples outside those cultures. In more recent centuries, the zenith of European colonialism also brought with it a vast literature detailing the peoples of Africa, Asia and the Americas and, in part, such accounts served as validation of the actions of the recording cultures.

The same phenomenon can also be widely observed throughout the history of Chinese literature. The *Shan-hai Jing*, one of the most famous of the classical Chinese geographies, detailed the peoples, real and imagined, who populated the areas beyond Chinese culture, areas which were observed with a mixture of contempt, fear and wonder. More importantly, the description of such areas and their peoples provided examples against which to compare and contrast Chinese culture. Over the last 2,000 years the Chinese dynastic histories have also invariably devoted space to those who resided beyond China's cultural or political borders, and the motivation of such accounts was, in part, cultural comparison. However, it was not only official accounts which provided details of non-Chinese peoples. Many of the private compilations by scholars outside the administration also touched upon (or in some cases were devoted to) peoples who differed in various ways from those norms which were considered "Chinese". It is one such work, the *Yue-zhong Jian-wen* 粵中見聞, which forms the focus of the present study. It is here intended to briefly introduce this work and then to offer in translation that section of the text devoted to the non-Chinese persons of Guang-dong, so as to provide readers with some idea of the type of ethnographic accounts which mid-Qing scholars compiled.

### 1. The Work

The *Yue-zhong Jian-wen* or "Things Seen and Heard in Yue (Guang-dong / Guang-xi)" is a work which falls within a discrete and long-standing Chinese literary tradition of geographical texts which provide detailed accounts of particular regions. The more formal of such compilations comprise the provincial, prefectural or county gazetteers which detail regional topography as well as providing much local information on various other aspects including administrative history, schools, temples, taxation and biographies of prominent persons who hailed from or served in those areas. *Yue-zhong Jian-wen* falls into a category of less formal regional accounts, often written by retired scholars, and usually more concerned with the natural conditions and peculiarities of a region than its administrative history. The work concerns itself with the area of Yue 粵, a term used over the last two millennia and still in use today for the area roughly corresponding to Guang-dong and Guang-xi, but more often referring only to Guang-dong.

The text is divided into four main sections:

1. **Heaven:** detailing celestial and climatic condition as they relate to Yue.
2. **Earth:** containing sections relating to places, temples, mountains, caves, rivers and lakes.
3. **Man:** looking at the prominent officials, loyal and filial persons, Daoist and Buddhist practitioners, poets and women famous for chastity, ability or special feats.
4. **Things:** including accounts of the minerals, aromatics, textiles, technology, fruits, flowers, vegetables, animals, fish and insects of the region.

That part of the work which is presented below in translation constitutes the last entry of the "Man" section. It details the "unusual" peoples of Guang-dong -- both those who were not seen as Chinese and others who, by certain attributes, were

seen as constituting groups distinct from the general population.

#### The Author:

The author of this work, Fan Duan-ang 范端昂, is a rather enigmatic figure, with only few details of his life being available to us today. It is known that he was born in San-jiang Village in San-shui County, Guang-dong into a family which had, within the previous several generations, moved into the area from Shao-xing in Zhe-jiang. His father was a minor civil official, who served frequently with military expeditions, but Fan Duan-ang appears not to have been particularly successful in pursuing an official career. Whether this was by choice or otherwise is not clear. He seems to have spent most of his life engaged in teaching, study and writing and is probably best known for four collections of women's poetry which he compiled:

1. *Xiang-lian Shi-le* 香奩詩勑
2. *Lian-zhi Xu-le* 奩制續勑
3. *Lian Shi-le* 奩詩勑
4. *Lian Le Xu Bu* 奩勑續補

Such interest in women's poetry was certainly unusual for a scholar in the Qing dynasty and a contemporary referred to Fan Duan-ang's interest in such literature as "an addiction".

Fan is known to have lived through the reigns of four Qing Dynasty emperors, from the last half of the 17th Century to the first 30 years of the 18th century, but his dates of birth and death are not known. There are references to him taking on teaching posts in 1716 and 1726, while the preface to the earliest edition of *Yue-zhong Jian-wen*, dated 1730, notes that Fan Duan-ang was a "very old man" when he compiled the work. Thus it can be suggested that he flourished in the first 30 years of the 1700s and that the material for *Yue-zhong Jian-wen* was also collected during that period.

#### The Text:

The sources of the information contained in *Yue-zhong Jian-wen* were obviously diverse. Much of the section translated below was copied directly from the *Guang-dong Xin-yu* 廣東新語, or "New Account of Guang-dong" by Qu Da-jun 屈大均, first published in 1700. However, it is also clear that Fan drew widely on other sources. The reference to Li people from Hai-nan offering tribute in 1730, for example, is unlikely to have been taken

from other works as the event occurred in the same year as the preface to the first edition of *Yue-zhong Jian-wen* was written, and was probably an event Fan had personal knowledge of. The work is very likely, as the title suggests, a compilation of things read and events heard of or personally observed by Fan Duan-ang.

The accounts of the various non-Chinese people included in the work are a melange of folklore, historical events and ethnological description. If we take the account of the Ma people as an example, the expedition by Ma Yuan against the area which is now North Vietnam, mentioned at the beginning of the text, is well-attested historically. However, the subsequent details connecting descendants of those engaged in the expedition with the bronze drums of the region and with the persons ruling areas on the Chinese-Vietnamese border during the Qing dynasty seem to be later constructions. The same can be noted of the claim that the Dan people were descendants of refugees who fled the mainland during the Qin dynasty. References to the Lu-ting people being able to remain in the water for three to four months and to the Yao people having small tails are even more obviously products of local folkloric traditions.

A full study of the sources and veracity of the claims included in these accounts would require a review of Chinese historical and geographical literature over the last two millennia. However, the account is probably most valuable, not in the details provided of the various non-Chinese peoples, but as an example of elite Chinese perceptions of non-Chinese during the middle Qing. An important and persistent element of the elite Chinese world view has been self-definition through reference to the non-civilized nature of others and this element is obvious in Fan Duan-ang's work. The degree to which people were "ripe/cooked" (熟), was an indicator of how closely those people approached the Chinese norms of cultured behaviour, and there are constant references to this in the sections translated below. At the lower end of the scale were those like the Lu-ting, who were "more like fish", the Yao who were "like monkeys" and the black people, who came in both "ewe and buck" varieties. At the other extreme, we read of Yao officials who are approvingly noted as being, in their clothing and ways, just like Chinese officials. The adoption of Chinese language and ways was the avenue by which people made the transition from being "raw" to being "cooked". The

non-civilized nature of non-Chinese people has also often in the past provided the pretext, or at least the validation, of Chinese expansion into non-Chinese area. This attitude is succinctly manifested in the statement by Hai Zhong-jie (more widely known as the Ming scholar Hai Rui) that the power of the Qi people in Hai-nan should be crushed and that Chinese administration should be instituted in their areas.

The inclusion of the references to "Feng people" in this section is also instructive. Ma-feng 麻風 is the common Chinese term for leprosy and it is obvious that the account does in part refer to this disease. However, it is likewise clear that the Feng disease here also refers to a "serious skin disease" which is sexually transmitted. That a section otherwise devoted to non-Chinese persons should include details of persons who contracted or passed on such diseases is suggestive as to the important moral component in the self-definition of the Qing Chinese elite.

\* \* \*

The translation below is based upon the text published in the *Ling-nan Cong-shu* 嶺南叢書 series, in an edition annotated by Yang Zhi-yue 湯志岳 and published by the Guang-dong Tertiary Education Press in 1988. The following terms have been left untranslated in the text:

<i>Chi</i>	(尺) - Chinese unit of length. Approx. 14 inches.
<i>Cun</i>	(寸) - Chinese unit of length. One tenth of a chi.
<i>Dong</i>	(峒) - An administrative unit usually instituted in indirectly governed non-Chinese areas, and thus often, by extension, a reference to an uncivilized area.
<i>Duo</i>	(蓐) - A type of fish-trap.
<i>Fen</i>	(分) - Chinese unit of weight. One tenth of a qian.
<i>Jin</i>	(斤) - Chinese unit of weight. Approx. 1 1/3 pounds.
<i>Li</i>	(里) - Chinese unit of distance. Approx. 1/3 mile.
<i>Li</i>	(厘) - Chinese unit of weight. One tenth of a fen.
<i>Man</i>	(蠻) - A generic term used to refer to non-Chinese peoples, usually in the South of China. Often translated as "barbarian".
<i>Qian</i>	(錢) - Chinese unit of weight. One tenth of a Chinese ounce.
<i>Qing</i>	(頃) - Chinese unit of area. Approx. 15.13 acres.

## THINGS SEEN AND HEARD IN YUE (GUANG-DONG/GUANG-XI)

by Fan Duan-ang

### CHAP X -- (PEOPLE - PART 8)

#### 1. The Dan People 蛋人

During the Qin dynasty (21-206 B.C.), Tu Sui, leading the five armies, came to Yue and engaged in great destruction and violence. The Yue people would not submit and many of them fled to the wilds, where they lived together with the fish and the turtles. The Dan are the descendants of those people who fled to the wilds. They have for generations lived on boats and they have no fixed domicile. They do not engage in farming or weaving and only fish or transport goods for a living. People call them the *Dan-jia* (Tanka) 蛋家.

The Dan people are all skilled in diving. In ancient times, they tattooed their faces and bodies to give the appearance of scaly dragons. Those persons who can go 30 to 40 *li* in the water and not meet any harm, are called "dragons" 龍戶. They often take a knife and a lance and plunge into the water to do battle with hugh fish. All of their women are able to swim. The elder women are called elder "fish" sister 魚姊, while younger women are called younger "clam" sister 蜆妹. Fish are large and clams are small and that is why elder women are referred to as fish and the younger women are referred to as clams.

If a young woman is not yet betrothed, her family places a basin of flowers at the stern of their boat, while if a young man is not yet betrothed, his family places a basin of grass at the stern of the boat. In this way, matches can be arranged. When they are to marry, they greet each other with *Man* songs. The male is victorious in the singing and he then carries off the woman to his boat and the marriage is completed.

Now, under the Guang-zhou Fishing Tax

Office, the classified register of the Dan households has 19 designations including those who use: large shore-based nets 大罾, small shore-based nets 小罾, and hand-held shore nets 手罾, who constitute the shore-based net families, and those who use bamboo fish-traps 竹箔, wicker fish-traps 篾箔, stake fish-traps 灘箔, large fish-traps 大箔, small fish-traps 小箔, large river fish-traps 大河箔, small river fish-traps 小河箔, sheltered area fish-traps 背風箔, square nets 方網, radiating nets 輻網, spiral nets 旋網, bamboo *duo* fish-traps 竹笊, cloth *duo* fish-traps 布笊, fish baskets 魚籃, crab baskets 蟹籃, large snare nets 大罟 and bamboo rakes? 竹箕. Each year, the office tallies up the households, examines the boats and assesses the fishing tax they should pay. There are also cases where the fishing tax is included in the taxes levied by the counties. The various Dan have gradually come to know how to read and some now live on land and have formed villages. Zhou-dun 周墩 and Lin-dun 林墩 to the West of Guang-zhou are examples of such villages. However, honourable families will not marry with them. Because they are violent and skilled in piracy, they often bring harm to coastal villages. Yue thus has many pirates, and those who gather in the ocean to engage in plunder are often Dan-jia. They take their boats out to sea in an irregular way, sometimes singly and sometimes in groups. At times it is a force 宗 of over 10 boats, and at other times, it is a group 朋 of two or three boats. Each group has several village boats 鄉船 which follow it, and their function is to salt the fish which are caught. When the situation allows, they suddenly engage in plunder and they are a menace to merchants. In the Autumn, they will sometimes plunder fields and when the farmers of the sand-flats have rice ready for harvest, they will give the Dan people money or rice to avoid their crop suffering harm. During the early years of the Hong-wu reign (1368-98), the system of employing

Dan people as naval forces was instituted. One or two knowledgeable and brave Dan persons were selected and appointed as officials, so that they could govern their clans with military law. They acted as flank forces to the naval guard ships. Thus, in times of peace, they would not dare to engage in piracy, while when there were alarms the navy was capable of dealing with them.

One hundred *li* to the South-east of Guang-zhou City live the Lu-ting 盧亭, who are also known as the Lu-yu 盧余. It is said that when the troops of the Jin (265-419 A.D.) bandit Lu Xun 盧循 entered Guang-dong, people fled in boats and resided on islands in the ocean. They long had nothing to wear or eat and their children and grandchildren all went naked. They are called Lu-ting. The men and women all wear their hair in a top-knot and women only begin to wear breast-bands after they marry. They often go to the sea to catch fish for food and can live in the water for three to four months without dying. They are different from the Dan and are more like fish. During the Zheng-de reign (1506-21 A.D.), people of Xiang-shan 香山 were fishing with a large net when they caught a naked person. They seized him and sent him to the officials. Someone was able to recognize such people and said: "It is a Lu-ting". It seems that when he had first entered the water a typhoon had occurred and he had been unable to surface. He thus swam underwater for several months. On reaching Xiang-shan he had accidentally swam into the net and been caught. Initially, he was unable to communicate in language but in the course of time he was able to understand a little Chinese. So it is said.

#### The Feng People 瘋人

The land of Guang-dong / Guang-xi is low-lying and damp and many people are affected by the rising poison and catch the Feng disease 瘋疾. Others catch it by being infected. In the cities and the villages men and women who have the Feng disease go around begging, and thereby their foulness is spread. The urine they leave on the side of the road is particularly infectious. In Gao-zhou 高州 and Lei-zhou 雷州, at the height of the Summer, there is a great rush of poison and the miasmatic vapours rise. Then many catch the Feng disease. Some people even consider it hereditary boils and think nothing of it.

All of the tavern girls wear embroidered bags in which they keep much fruit. They tug riders from their horses and give the fruit to them. Regardless of whether people are young or old, they treat them all the same and laugh and joke with them. In the song "Wu-lan Hao-zi Ge" 五籃號子歌, there are the lines: "From her waist swings an embroidered bag, with fruits and flowers so sweet. With a single smile she has the travellers dismounting from their horses and enjoying an abundance of purple crabs and nectar." This is a reference to these women. Thereby, five or six out of every ten persons catch the Feng disease.

When the Feng disease first erupts it does not show on the face, but if one uses a candle to illumine the skin, a reddish-brown colour will be observed within it. Or, if the face is illumined by the flame used to smelt silver, and it becomes red and lumpy, that person has the Feng disease. Male Feng sufferers cannot pass the disease on to females, but females can pass it on to men. When a woman passes on the disease, the cause (lit. worms/insects) of the Feng disease leaves her and she is no longer ill. The Feng disease is a very serious skin disease 大癩. In the 600 to 700 *li* from Yang-chun 陽春 to Hai-kang 海康, in the huts at every bridge, one can be intimate with such women for a few coins. It is all very dreadful. Colloquially, this is called "passing the skin disease" 過癩.

#### The Ma People 馬人

In the eighteenth year of the Jian-wu reign (42/43 A.D.), during the Han dynasty, the Wave-pacifying General Ma Yuan 馬援 pacified Jiao-zhi. He erected two bronze pillars on Fen-mao Range 分茅嶺 and five bronze pillars at Lin-yi 林邑. In the 20th year of the Jian-wu reign (44/45 A.D.), Ma the Wave-Pacifier returned North, leaving 10-plus military households on the Southern bank at Shou-leng 壽冷, guarding the bronze pillars. The families left there were all surnamed Ma 馬. By the Sui dynasty (581-618 A.D.) there were over 300 households there. However, as they were sojourners from outside, the local people called them the "wandering Ma" 馬流人. Their language and clothing remained like those of the Chinese.

In the area, they dug up bronze drums, shaped like an earth stool, but hollow inside. Two people carried such drums. They had a sound like an



ancient war-drum. The "wandering Ma" frequently beat the drums in obeisance to their ancestor, who is Wave-Pacifying Ma. The mountains and rivers have changed and the bronze pillars have now sunk into the ocean. However, the "wandering Ma" still know their location. "The Account of Lin-yi" notes: "The bronze pillars stand on a mountain 10 li in circumference, which has the shape of a chair cover 椅蓋. There are two stands of cliffs and precipices and then to the East lies the great ocean."

The Ma people are now scattered. The ancestors of the leaders of the *dong* in Qin Subprefecture, surnamed Huang 黃 and Xuan 暄 were persons who realized achievements in Wave-Pacifying Ma's expedition against Jiao-zhi and remained to guard the border. The ancestor of the Huangs was named Huang Wan-ding 黃萬定 and was from Qing-zhou 青州. His male descendants controlled seven *dong* and by the Song dynasty (960-1279 A.D.), all of the *dong* had been raised to Chief's Offices. In the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368 A.D.), as Huang Shi-hua, the head of Tie-lang *dong* 貼浪峒 realized achievements in punishing bandits, a gold warrant and seal were conferred upon him. In the early years of the Hong-wu reign (1368-98 A.D.), these were recovered, but he remained head of the *dong*. The ancestor of the rulers of Shi-xiu *dong* 時休峒 was named Xuan Chun-wang 暄純旺. In the early period of the Yong-le reign (1402-24 A.D.), the head of Shi-luo *dong* 時羅峒 was removed for an offence, and Gui-cheng 貴成, a descendant of Chun-wang, was transferred to govern the area. The heads of the five *dong* of Ru-xi 如昔, Bo-shi 博是, Si-lin 澌凜, Jian-shan 鑿山 and Gu-sen 古森, who are surnamed Huang, are all descendants of Huang Wan-ding.

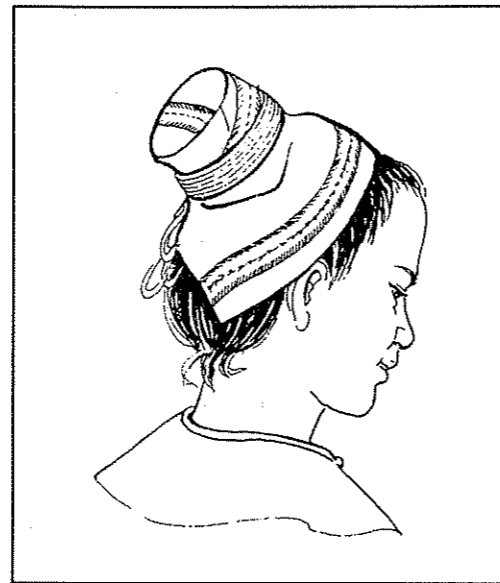
#### The Lang People 狼人

There are Lang (lit. "wolf" or "violent") people in Luo-ding 羅定, Dong-an 東安 and Xi-ning 西寧 in Guang-dong, but originally they came from Guang-xi. They are the descendants of the Lang troops who were deployed against the Luo-pang Yao 羅旁瑤 bandits during the Wan-li reign (1573-1619 A.D.). Their tribe numbers several tens of thousands and each person annually provides three *qian* in money tax to the governing subprefecture or county. They guard the walls and the moats for the officials, clean the government offices and provide firewood. They are quite tame by nature and they fear the law. In Xi-ning county, there are two Lang leaders -- the inner stockades

Lang leader who controls 124 males, divided into nine *dong*, and the outer stockades Lang leader who controls 219 Lang males, divided into 19 *dong*.

#### The Yao People 瑤人

In Yue, the two tribes constituted by the Yao and the Li 黎 are the most dangerous. In the early years of the Wan-li reign (1573-1619 A.D.), the Luo-pang Yao were exceedingly violent and they plundered Guang-dong and Guang-xi destroying and killing everywhere. The commissioner-in-chief Chen Lin 陳璘 did not at the time have sufficient horses readied or troops trained and thus the supreme commander Ling Yun-yi 凌雲翼 mobilized 200,000 troops and organized them into ten routes. Within two-plus months, the Yao were pacified, with over



80 of their lairs being destroyed and tens of thousands of heads and prisoners being taken. Today, in the east and west ranges, there remain the Yun-lan 雲攬 and Yun-yang 雲洋 tribes. The people are short but bear themselves proudly and they can leap and jump like monkeys. They carry three short knives and a cross-bow made of *tie-li* wood 鐵力木. The cross-bows are two *chi* long and have the force of one hundred *jin*. The head has a double groove and is fixed with "burnt" copper and fine iron. The poison arrows are only a little over one *chi* in length. When there is no disturbance, they use these to hunt for a livelihood. When there is a disturbance, they strike small gongs and, on gathering their forces together, engage in killing people for pleasure.

The various Yao all have the surname Pan 盤 and they are divided into three groups: the Gao-shan 高山, the Hua-du 花肚 and the Ping-di 平地. The Ping-di people are good people. On the 14th day of the seventh month, they celebrate their new year. They consider Pan-gu 盤古 as their founding ancestor 始祖 and Pan-hu 盤瓠 as their primal ancestor 大宗. Those who are not surnamed Pan were originally Han people who fled to hide in order to avoid bandits or corvée demands, and gradually became true Yao. All of the Yao women wear black skirts and the bottom of the skirts are decorated with designs of flowers and waves, made with ceruse. When a man wants to take a wife, he goes into the mountains and when he sees a woman gathering firewood, he will wrest her robe sash and return home. He will then compare its length with his own robe sash. If they match, he will go and seek the woman. Afterwards, the mother and father of the woman will go to the family of the man and the marriage will thus be confirmed. Otherwise, the woman will remain a virgin and the man will not dare violate her. The Yao who obey the restraints imposed are the civilized (lit: cooked/ripe) Yao and they are no different from ordinary people. Yao officials have been appointed to govern them. Among the Yao of Qu-jiang 曲江 which is under Shao-guan 韶關, it is only those with the surname Pan who are the true Yao. The males pierce their ears and wear silver rings in them, and their clothing is colourfully embroidered and has floral borders. Around the head they wrap a floral cloth and at the waist they carry their knives and hang their crossbow. They go barefooted. The women do not wear breeches, but wear multiple skirts, all embroidered and with floral borders. The true Yao women wear a small board on their head and use wax to fix their hair to the board. They fix it once a month and at night use something to support their head while they sleep. They also go barefoot. They are called the "board Yao" 板瑤. Those who do not use the boards are called the "civil Yao" 民瑤, and are governed by a Yao commander 瑤總. Those in Ying-de 英德 and Ru-yuan 乳源 are "civil Yao". They are also referred to as civilized Yao. Although, those who govern them are Yao officials, their clothes, headwear and ways are just like those of other (Chinese) officials.

In De-qing Subprefecture, there is a Mount Xian Yao 替瑤山 and a Mount Xian Weng 替翁山 and civilized Yao live in both these places. The head of the Xian Yao is called Xian Weng. There is also a place called Mount Xian Ma 替馬山 and this is

where the Yao horses are bred. The Yao often call themselves Ma (馬=horse) as they say that horses are powerful and excellent runners. In the subprefectures and countries under Gao-zhou Prefecture, there are the Ting-zhao Yao 聽招瑤, the Bei-zhao Yao 背招瑤 and the Xian-e Yao 險惡瑤. The Ting-zhao Yao are the civilized Yao and they are governed by Yao officials. The Bai-zhao Yao are also thus governed. In Lian Subprefecture 連州, there are no civilized Yao and the Yao there are generally termed the Ba-pai Yao 八排瑤. They are the most fierce and barbarous. They have a small tail extending from their buttocks and the skin on their feet is over one *cun* thick. They can skim through forests and over cliffs. They call themselves Gentlemen Yao 瑤公 and refer to the people of Lian Subprefecture as the ordinary people. They refer to the Yao population as the "800 grains" 八百粟, which refers to their great number. There are eight Yao chieftains who govern and control them.

On the sixteenth day of the second month of winter, all of the Yao gather at the temple, wear silks and gold and show off to each other. When a Yao chieftain sees men and women who are suitable for marriage, they are sent into the temple. The men and the women sit separately on the ground and



sing songs until dawn. If a woman is interested in a man, she will go and sit with him, at which time a match-maker will measure the length of robe sashes of the man and woman. If they are matched, the man takes the woman home. After three days, the woman's parents will send a sacrificial animal

and wine, and thereby the couple are considered married. Every woman who is married must wear a board, which is one *chi*-plus in length and is shaped like a fan. The hair is wrapped around the board and is covered obliquely by a floral scarf. The hair is fixed with wax and adorned with beads. These are called "board" Yao 板瑶. Before women marry, they wear their hair around an arrow shaft. The hair is divided into two braids and both the left and the right braid are wound around the arrow shaft and covered with an embroidered scarf. Such persons are called "arrow" Yao 箭瑶. The collars and sleeves of their clothing are all embroidered with variegated thread. It is said that in the past, Pan Hu had variegated body hair and thus today the Yao women greatly esteem variegated patterns. The Yao are fond of banditry and are excellent at ambushes in the forests and undergrowth. They darken their faces and dress up like mountain spirits. When they see merchants passing, they dishevel their own hair and jump out at them. When the merchants see them, they drop their goods and run, calling out: "Jing-fu, pardon us!". The Jing-fu 精夫 is a senior leader of the Yao. Now, all of Ba-pai is controlled by the state. How far the civilizing influences extend!

#### The She People 俚人

The She are of two tribes, called the Ping-zong 平樂 and the Qi-zong 崎樂. They are three surnames among them: Pan 盤, Lan 藍 and Lei 雷. They live against the hills and hunt with arrows to obtain their food. They wear neither headwear nor footwear. The people of the three surname groups marry among their own group. When someone dies of illness, the dwelling huts are burnt and the people move to reside elsewhere. In their agriculture, they have no ploughs or hoes. Rather, they just use knives to work the earth and then sow the five grains. This is called "knife cultivation". They burn the forests and work the ash into the soil. This they refer to as "fire hoeing". They are registered by occupation, governed through counties and annually provide tribute of animal skins. The Ming (1368-1644) established She officials to rule them.

In Cheng-hai 澄海, there are She households who clear hills and undergrowth in order to plant crops. In the Hai-feng 海豐 area, there are the Luo She 羅肇, the Hu-lu She 葫蘆肇 and the Da-xi She 大溪肇. In Xing-ning 興寧, there reside the Da-xin She 大信肇, while at Gui-shan 歸善, there are the

Yao She 瑶. The character "She" 俚 stands for the character "She" 畚. Within the San-zao 三灶山 mountains of Hai-nan, there is an area of 300 *qing* of rich field which the She barbarians occupy. They summon pirates and bring great harm to the people. The Mo Yao 莫瑶 are called Bai-yi Shan-zi (白衣山子 = white-clothed mountain people) and they till the hills for a living. Formerly, they never paid taxes, but now some pay taxes to Lian and Qin Subprefectures.

#### The Li People 黎人

There are two groups of Li. Those who live in front of the Wu-zhi Mountains are the civilized (lit: ripe/cooked) Li, while those who live behind the mountains are the uncivilized (lit: unripe/raw) Li. The civilized Li can be further divided into two groups: Those more similar to the uncivilized Li are the San-cha Li 三差黎, while those who are more similar to civilians are the Si-cha Li 四差黎. The latter pay slightly more in taxes. These people all wear their hair dressed and in their dressed hair they place gold and silver combs or hair-pins of buffalo bone. Those who place their hair ornaments vertically are the uncivilized Li, while those who place them horizontally are the civilized Li. This is a distinguishing aspect. The males are never without bows in their hands and the bows are made of rattan. The rattan grows in the shape of a bow and at the two ends are curves on which the bow-string is secured. The string is also made of rattan. The arrows are of bamboo, but are without feathers. The tip of the arrow has three barbs, which form a "caltrop" reverse barb. Thus, when an arrow enters, it cannot be pulled out. The uncivilized Li are frequently inveigled by the civilized Li to engage in banditry and plunder. Entire households, men and women, participate in these activities. They move like they are flying and the government troops have great difficulty apprehending them. It is only the women, whose Li skirts 黎裙 are too long, and who thus run a little slower, who are often apprehended.

The Li skirts 黎裙 which the women wear are made from four rounds of cloth sewn together, and embroidered with variegated threads. The skirts 裙襖 have hundreds of small pleats. These skirts are long and this makes walking difficult and thus the women tuck up one half of their skirts to their waist. With it bundled up, it looks as if they are carrying a heavy load. They dress their hair in the shape of a pestle, fixing it with a large hair-pin and then place a brass ring on top of the hair-pin. Their

ear-lobes drop to their shoulders and their faces are tattooed with flowers, plants, insects or moths. These women are called "embroidered-face women" 繡面女. When Li women are to marry, they can choose their own mates. It is the husband who tattoos the woman's face. The designs are all provided by the husband's family, as their marking, so that the woman cannot marry another. This is what was anciently called "diao-ti" 雕題. "Ti" is the forehead, while "diao" means to embellish. They use a needle-stylus and pigments of green and red to make the tattoos. The Li women all have lacquered carrying-poles, on which are written several lines of Li songs. The script looks like worms and the writing cannot be understood. If a Li man dies without children, the people of the whole area 合峒 will care for his wife. If the woman wants to re-marry, she makes a request to the Li leader, packs up her clothing and belongings and offers herself to someone she selects as being a suitable partner. She brings with her a sacrificial animal and carries out rites for her deceased husband.

Many of the Li bear either of the two surnames Fu 符 or Wang 王. If someone of neither of these surnames becomes a leader, the Li will not serve him. If someone wants to be accepted as leader, he must tie up a buffalo and fire an arrow at it. If the arrow passes through the belly of the animal and protrudes out the other side, he can assume the position of leader. They do not have a script for recording agreements, and instead they use knots on a cord as contracts. Even over several generations these are retained and used as evidence.

It is their custom to stress the avenging of grievances and they call this "avenging head debts", but the revenge is not considered achieved through surprise attacks. They are also good at cursing spirits. When they have a dispute with a merchant, they will abruptly place a curse on his deceased parents. After some time, the merchant will experience a fever and feel pain through his head and belly. He will urgently seek wine and food and will beg forgiveness from the Li. When he does this, he is immediately and completely cured. If the merchants want to buy garu-wood, they have to get the civilized Li to guide them into the uncivilized Li areas, and there they distribute gifts of yarn, thread, needles and cloth. The uncivilized Li then provide wine and food to the merchants and each is served with one bowl of pepper wine. The merchants must drink this one by one. If they do

not drink it all, they will be ambushed on a narrow path and killed. When the government officials come to the Li villages to levy land taxes, they also all have to taste the wine and food. Only then do the Li say that the government is fair and swiftly pay their taxes. When the Li meet government officials, they go naked, with a cock's tail-feathers stuck vertically and a bone hair-pin inserted horizontally in their dressed hair. This is their crown. The uncivilized Li never go to the towns, but the civilized Li can speak Chinese and frequently enter the subprefectural and county towns to engage in trade. In the evening, they blow a horn, assemble their group and return home. In the first month of the eighth year of the Yong-zheng reign (Feb/Mar 1730), 1,373 uncivilized Li from Ya-zhou 崖州, 67 uncivilized Li from Ding-an County 定安, 286 uncivilized Li from Ling-shui County 陵水 and 220 uncivilized Li from Qiong-shan County 瓊山 went to the offices of both the Governor-General and the Governor, praying that they be allowed to annually pay a poll tax of 2 *fen* 2 *li* of silver each and also pay field taxes. Thus, a joint memorial of advice was submitted to the Court. It is so said.

#### The Qi People 岐人

In the Wu-zhi Mountains, there is also a tribe of Qi people who are extremely fierce and barbarous. The Qi are the people who were called *yi* 夷 during the Sui dynasty (581-618 A.D.), while the Li are the people who were called Li 俚 during the Han period (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.). The civilized (lit. ripe/cooked) Qi are quite tame and good. Those who live in tree-houses and engage in slash-and-burn agriculture are called the Gan-jiao Qi 乾腳岐. Their customs are similar to those of the civilized Yao. It is calculated that the Yao and the Qi occupy an area extending for over 1,200 *li*. However, if the elongations are subtracted to make up the indentations, their territory would only extend for 400-plus *li*. The mountains are interlocked and form a spiral. The Li live outside, while the Qi live within. After entering for 20 to 30 *li*, one suddenly comes upon a *dong*, and within the *dong* are 10-plus villages. There the land is fertile and the population dense. The people there live no differently from those outside. It is just that they are cut off by repeated mountain peaks and dense forests and outsiders rarely enter. It is thus that the Li and the Qi rely on their isolated positions to cause trouble. Hai Zhong-jie 海忠介 once noted: "If we placed 30,000 to 50,000 troops against them, it

would be as easy as crushing eggs. We could hack through the mountains, open up roads, establish subprefectures and counties to rule them and they would then become a registered populace."

#### The Black People 黑人

When the Ming (1368-1644 A.D.) was prospering, many of the major families in Guang-zhou purchased black people to guard their gates. They were called "black slaves". These people are extremely strong and can shoulder several hundred *jin*. Their language and tastes are strange, but they have an honest nature and will not flee. They are as black as ink, with red lips and white teeth and hair which is brown and curly. There are both females and males (Lit. ewes and bucks) and they are born in various islands overseas, where they eat things raw. After they are captured, they are fed with cooked food, and for several months they suffer from diarrhoea. This is called "changing the bowels". Some fall sick and die. If they do not die, they can be kept for a long time. They can understand people's language, but cannot speak it themselves. There is one sort which can remain underwater for one or two days. These are called "Kun-lun slaves" 崑崙奴. During the Tang dynasty (618-907 A.D.), many of the wealthy and powerful families kept them.

# #

## 粵中见闻卷二十

### 人 部 八

#### 蛋 人

秦时屠睢将五军临粤，肆行残暴。粤人不服，多逃入丛土<sup>[1]</sup>，与鱼鳖同处。蛋，即丛薄中之逸民也。世世以舟为居，无薄著<sup>[2]</sup>，不事耕织，惟捕鱼及装载为业。齐民目为蛋家。

蛋人俱善没水，旧时绣面文身<sup>[3]</sup>，以像蛟龙。行水中三四十里，不遭物害，称为龙户。常持刀槊入水与巨鱼斗。其妇女皆能泗汙<sup>[4]</sup>。女大者曰鱼姊，女小者曰蚬妹。鱼大而蚬小，故姊曰鱼而妹曰蚬也。

有女未聘，则置盆花于梢，有男未聘，则置盆草于梢，以致媒灼。娶时以蛮歌相迎，男歌胜即夺女过舟成亲焉。

今广州河泊所，额设<sup>[5]</sup>蛋户有：大罾<sup>[6]</sup>、小罾、手罾、罾门、竹箔、篓箔、摊箔、大箔、小箔、大河箔、小河箔、背风箔、方网、梭网、旋网、竹箩<sup>[7]</sup>、布箩、鱼篮、蟹篮、大罾、竹筐等户一十九名色<sup>[8]</sup>。每岁计户稽船，稽其鱼课<sup>[10]</sup>。亦有鱼课编入各县征输者。诸蛋渐有知书，且有居陆成村。如广城西周墩、林墩是也。然良家不与通姻，以其性凶善盗，多为水乡祸。粤故多盗，而海洋聚劫，常起蛋家。其船杂出海上，多寡无定。或十余艇为一宗<sup>[11]</sup>，或二三罾为一朋<sup>[12]</sup>，每朋则有数乡舫<sup>[13]</sup>随之醜鱼。势便，辄行攻劫，为商旅害。秋成时或劫割田禾，沙田人农有获稻者，各以钱米与之，乃免祸患。洪武初年，以蛋人为水军之制，择其一二智勇者，授以一官，俾得以军律治。其族与哨船为羽翼，无事不敢为盗，有警则水师自足也。

广州城东南百里，有卢亭，亦曰卢余。相传晋贼卢循<sup>[14]</sup>兵败入广，泛舟以逃居海岛上，久之无所得衣食，生子孙皆赤身，谓之卢亭。男、妇皆椎髻于顶，女及嫁始结胸带。常下海捕鱼充食，能于水中伏三四月不死，盖异于蛋而类于鱼者也。正德年间，香山人举大罾，获一裸体人，执送官。或识之曰：卢亭也。彼入水时，值飓风，不能起，潜游数月至香山，偶入罾内为人所获。初言语不通，久之亦略晓汉语云。

#### 疯 人

粤地卑湿，多有蒸毒中人，成疯疾<sup>[15]</sup>，亦有传染者。城市乡落，生疯男女行乞，秽气所触，或小遗<sup>[16]</sup>于路旁最能染人。高、雷地方，盛夏风涛蒸毒，瘴气乘之，尤多生疯，至以为祖疮，弗之怪。

当垆妇女，皆带一花绣囊，多贮果物，牵人下马献之。无论老少估人，俱称为同年，相与谐笑。有为《五篮号子歌》云：“垂垂腰下绣囊长，中有槟门花最香。一笑行人齐下骑，殷勤紫蟹与琼浆。”谓此也。因是，中痲疾者十而五六。

其痲初发，未出颜面，以烛照之，皮内赭红；或倾银炉火，照其面红成团，是则生痲者矣。凡男痲不能卖于女，女痲则可卖于男。一卖而痲虫即去，女竟无疾。痲为大痲，自阳春至海康六七百里，板桥茅店之间，数钱妖冶<sup>[17]</sup>，皆可怖畏。其俗所谓过痲者也。

### 马人

汉建武十八年，伏波将军马援平定交趾。既植二铜柱于分茅岭，又植五铜柱于林邑<sup>[18]</sup>。建武二十年，马伏波北还，留兵十余家居寿冷<sup>[19]</sup>岸南而对铜柱，遗兵悉姓马。至隋时有三百余户，土人以其流寓，谓之马流人。言语衣服尚与华同。

其地掘得铜鼓，形如坐墩而空其下。两人舁之，有声如鞞鼓<sup>[20]</sup>。马流常击之以享其祖。祖即马伏波也。山川移易，铜柱今陷海中，马流人犹识其处。《林邑志》云：“铜柱山周十里，形如椅盖，两跨重岩，东临大海。”

马人今已零落，钦州峒长黄、禰二姓，其祖俱系随马伏波征交趾有功留守边境。黄姓祖曰万定，青州人。子孙分守七峒，至宋皆为长官。元时，以贴浪峒长黄世华有讨贼功，赐金牌印信。洪武初年收之仍为峒长。其在时休峒者，祖曰禰纯旺。永乐初，时罗峒长以事被革，移纯旺之孙贵成守之。其如昔、博是、渐濂、鉴山、古森五峒黄姓峒长，皆黄万定后裔也。

### 狼人

粤东惟罗定、东安、西宁有狼人，盖从粤西来。万历年间，调至征戍罗旁瑶贼之狼兵后裔也。族凡数万，每人岁纳刀税三钱于所管州县，为官司守城池，洒扫官衙，供给薪炭，性颇驯，畏法。西宁县有狼长二名。内寨狼长，管狼丁一百二十四名，计居九峒。外寨狼长，管狼丁二百一十九名，计居十九峒。

### 瑶人

粤中瑶、黎两种最为民害。万历初年，罗旁瑶最猖獗，劫掠东、西两粤，到处残害。都督陈璘<sup>[21]</sup>尝以马不能鞍，人不能甲为虑。总督凌公云翼调兵二十万，部分十道，两逾月乃荡平，复其巢穴八十处，斩获数千万。今东西山尚有云榄、云洋诸种。其人短小矫捷，跳跃如猿猴<sup>[22]</sup>，带三短刀，持铁力木弩。弩长二尺，力百斤，头作双槽，钉以樵铜错铁。药箭仅长尺许，无事射

猎为生，有事则鸣小钲，举众蜂起以杀人为戏乐。

诸瑶率盘姓。分为三：曰高山、曰花肚、曰平地。平地者。岁七月十四拜年，以盘古<sup>[23]</sup>为始祖，盘瓠<sup>[24]</sup>为大宗。其非盘性<sup>[25]</sup>者，初本汉人，以避贼役潜窜，日久遂为正瑶。瑶妇皆着黑裙，裙脚以白粉绘画花卉、水波纹。凡欲娶妇，入山见樵女，即夺其衫带以归，度己之衫带长短相等，乃往寻其女。负之，女父母才往婿家，使成亲。否则，女仍处子，不敢犯也。听约束者为熟瑶，与齐民无异，设有瑶官统之。韶属曲江瑶，亦惟盘姓者为正瑶。男丁穿耳饰银环，衣服彩绣花边，头裹花帕，腰<sup>[26]</sup>刀挂弩，下跣足。女人无裤，系重裙，皆绣花边。正瑶妇女，头戴小板，以蜡胶发裹于板上。月整一次，夜以高物度<sup>[27]</sup>首而卧。下亦跣足，名为板瑶。其无板者曰民瑶，有瑶总约束之。英德、乳源俱系民瑶，亦称熟瑶。虽有瑶官统率，然衣冠文物竟与土庶同矣。

德庆州有替<sup>[28]</sup>瑶山、替翁山，皆熟瑶所居。替瑶之长曰替翁。又有替马山，乃瑶马所产。瑶多自称为马，谓马多力善走也。高州所属州县，有听招瑶，有背招瑶，有险恶瑶。听招者，即熟瑶也，有瑶官领之。背招者，亦兼领之。连州无熟瑶，总名八排。性最犷悍。其臂微有肉尾，脚皮厚寸许，飞行林壁，自号瑶公，而呼连人为百姓。自称瑶丁曰八百粟，言其多也。有瑶目八人，司约束。

岁仲冬十六日，诸瑶至庙为会，悬金帛衣饰相夸耀。瑶目视其男女可婚娶者，悉遣入庙。男女分曹地坐，唱歌达旦。女当意就男同坐，媒人乃将男女衫带度之长短相合，则使挟女回家。迟三日，女之父母送牲酒，使成亲。凡女已嫁，须一方板，长尺余，其状如扇，以发平缠其上，斜覆花帕，胶以蜡，缀以珠，是曰板瑶。未嫁，则戴一箭竿，发分双络，左右盘结，箭上亦覆绣帕，是曰箭瑶。其衫领袖皆刺五色花绒，当日，髻瓠毛五彩，故今瑶缺<sup>[29]</sup>雅尚斑斓。瑶喜为盗，善伏林莽中，涂黑其面作山鬼状，伺商旅过，披发突出，见者弃货物走。呼曰：“精夫，救我！”乃已。精夫者，瑶之渠帅<sup>[30]</sup>也。今八排俱就疆索<sup>[31]</sup>，盖王化之远被欤！

### 峯人<sup>[32]</sup>

峯有二种：曰平髻，曰崎髻。其姓有三：曰盘，曰蓝，曰雷。依山而居，射猎而食，不冠不履。三姓自为婚。有病歿，则并焚其室庐而徙<sup>[33]</sup>居焉。耕无犁、锄，率以刀治土。种五谷，曰刀耕。焚林木，使灰入土，曰火耨。籍肆县治<sup>[34]</sup>，岁纳皮张。明设峯官统之。

澄海有峯户，伐山而营<sup>[35]</sup>，莪<sup>[36]</sup>草而种。海丰地方，有曰罗峯，曰葫芦峯，曰大溪峯。兴宁有大信峯。归善有窑峯。



“峯”当作“畚”，海南三灶山内有腴田三百余顷，畚蛮据之，号招海寇，大为民害。莫瑶称白衣山子，斫山为业，素不供赋，今亦有输税廉、钦州矣。

## 黎人

黎有二种：五指山前居者为熟黎，山后为生黎。熟黎又分二种：与生黎近者为三差黎。与民近者四差黎，征赋稍稍加焉。其人皆当额作髻。髻有金银耙或牛骨簪纵插者，生黎也，横插者熟黎，以此为别。男子弓不离手，以藤为之。藤生成如弓，两头有笋<sup>[37]</sup>可挂弦。弦亦以藤。箭以竹，无羽，其末三丫，为菱角倒钩，射入必不能出。生黎以熟黎勾引，尝<sup>[38]</sup>出盗劫。男、妇入室以行，矫捷如飞，官军难追，惟妇女以黎褙<sup>[39]</sup>太长，行稍缓，往往被擒。

其妇女所着黎褙，以布四围合缝，刺五色花绒。褙袂作数百细折。长不能行，则结其半于腰间，累累如带重物。椎髻大钗，钗上加铜环。耳坠垂肩，面涅<sup>[40]</sup>花、卉、虫、蛾之属，号“绣面女”。黎女将欲嫁人，各自择配。男始为女纹面，其纹样皆男家所与，以为记号，使不得再嫁。古所谓“雕题”者，此也。盖题，额也；雕，绣也。以针笔青丹涅之。黎妇女俱执漆扁担，上写黎歌数行，字如虫，书不可识。黎死无子，则合峒共养。其妇欲再适，则其妇请于黎长，囊其衣帛，择可配者投之，携牲礼往婚焉。

黎多符、王二姓，非此二姓为长，黎则不服。欲立长，必系一牛射之，箭贯牛腹而出，即得立。无文字要约，以绳作结为券<sup>[41]</sup>，虽隔代犹可执为凭。

俗重报仇，名“算头债”，但不为掩袭计。又善咒鬼。与客商抵牾，辄咒其已亡父母。逾时，客商身热，头腹交痛。急觅酒肴，请为谢过，立即全愈。客商欲买沉香，必使熟黎引入生黎峒，分送绒、线、针、布等物，生黎置酒饷客，各奉椒酒一碗，客须一一尝之。若不尝匀，则必隘路截杀其客。官府到黎村征粮，亦要遍尝其酒饷，乃谓官公平，急输钱粮。凡见官府，袒裸，额髻竖一雄鸡尾，横插骨簪，便是冠冕。生黎素不到城，熟黎能汉语，常入州县城市贸易，暮则鸣角结队而归。雍正八年正月，崖州生黎一千三百七十三人，定安县生黎六十七人，陵水县生黎二百八十六人，琼山县生黎二百二十人，俱赴督抚两院衙门，吁请每年输纳丁银二分二厘，田亦纳粮，会疏题奏云。

## 岐人

五指山中又有一种岐人，尤犷悍。岐，隋时所谓氍<sup>[42]</sup>也。黎，汉时所谓俚也。熟岐稍驯，其巢居、火种，名为干脚岐，与熟黎同俗。计黎、岐蟠踞地方约一千二百余里。绝<sup>[43]</sup>长补短，

仅四百余里。山势盘旋如羸<sup>[44]</sup>，黎居其外，岐居其中。二三十里，辄有一峒。峒有十数村，土沃烟稠，与在外民居无异。惟叠献深林，山岚水毒，外人不能常入，故黎、岐倚以负固为患。海忠介尝言：“若以兵三五万临之，势如压卵，伐山开道，立州县以治之，即成编民矣。”

## 黑人

明盛时，广州巨室多买黑人以守门，名为“鬼奴”。绝有力，可负数百斤。言语、嗜欲不通，性淳，不逃。徒其色黑如墨，唇红齿白，发卷而黄，有牝牡<sup>[45]</sup>，生海外诸山中，食生物。捕得时，与火食饲之，累月洞泄，谓之“换肠”，或即病死。若不死，可以久畜。能晓人言，而自不能言。有一种，入海能伏一二日者，谓之“昆仑奴”，唐时贵家大族多畜之。

## 【卷二十校注】

- [1] 丛薄：草木丛杂的地方。  
 [2] 土著：世代居住本地的人。  
 [3] 绣面文身：在脸上或身上刺出各种花纹或图形。  
 [4] 泗仔(qiú求)：在水上浮游。仔，浮。  
 [5] 额设：按名额或种类登记。  
 [6] 髻：读zēng增。  
 [7] 爹(duó多)：捕鱼者的一种渔艇。  
 [8] 箕(gēng庚)：一种捕鱼的竹筏。箕，广东土语。  
 [9] 名色：名目。本为佛家语，有以名而知之的意思。  
 [10] 课：租税。  
 [11] 宗：派系。这里作队的意思。  
 [12] 朋：群。  
 [13] 乡舡(liǎo辽)：拉网捕鱼的小船。  
 [14] 卢循：东晋末年继孙恩后领导农民起义的领袖，卢属世族出身，但打击的对象是封建贵族王朝。  
 [15] 痲疾：麻风病。  
 [16] 小遗：小便。  
 [17] 数钱妖冶：几文小钱便可与冶艳女子狎玩。  
 [18] 林邑：郡名。隋置。在今越南北部。  
 [19] 寿冷：县名。晋置。在今越南境内。  
 [20] 鞞(pí皮)鼓：古代军队中使用的一种鼓乐。  
 [21] 陈璘：即陈朝玉。参看卷十四《陈朝玉》。  
 [22] 獠獾(náojué挠决)：指獠猴。獠，猿的一种。獾，母猴。  
 [23] 盘古：传说中天地万物之祖。  
 [24] 盘瓠(hū虎)：亦作槃瓠。传说为上古时代高辛氏的一条狗，毛五彩。因杀敌有功，高辛氏以女嫁给它，并繁衍了后代，就是所谓夷。这是对少数民族的一种诬蔑的说法。  
 [25] 性：当作“姓”。

- [26] 腰：挂在腰间，作动词。  
 [27] 度(zhī支)：本为藏的意思，这里作“垫”解。  
 [28] 苗：读xián显。  
 [29] 瑶映(yāng央)：瑶族妇女。映，女子自称。  
 [30] 渠帅：大帅。渠，大。  
 [31] 疆索：指国家的约束。  
 [32] 峯(shē奢)人：瑶族的一种。  
 [33] 徒：当作“徙”。  
 [34] 籍肄县治：按户籍试行设县管辖。  
 [35] 崑(kūn坤)：垦田。  
 [36] 截(yī艺)：斩割。通“刈”。  
 [37] 弮(sāo搔)：弓末端弯凹部分。  
 [38] 尝：当作“常”。  
 [39] 黎褊(tōng同)：黎族妇女穿的圆筒裙。  
 [40] 涅：染成黑色。  
 [41] 券：凭证。  
 [42] 苞：读yī以。  
 [43] 绝：截。  
 [44] 羸：当作“羸”。  
 [45] 牝牡(pīnmǔ聘母)：禽兽类的雌雄。这里是对黑人贱视的说法。

## OBITUARY

## HUGH GIBB

Hugh Gibb died in London in August 1990. He was 75 years old.

He was the son of a Lloyd's insurance broker and after education at Rugby and Oriel College, Oxford he went into the family firm until the outbreak of the Second World War rescued him from work for which he had no great inclination. He was commissioned in the royal Artillery, seeing action in North Africa, and later transferred to Intelligence and was parachuted into Yugoslavia to work as a liaison officer with Tito's partisan forces. When the war was over he returned only briefly to Lloyd's before going to the Far East as a journalist with the *Sunday Times*. It was the beginning of a lifelong association with the areas, and for most of the time he kept Hong Kong as his base.

Very quickly he switched from journalism into photography and movie-film, and in 1954 he arranged to shoot his first venture in the Niah Caves in Borneo, documenting the hair-raising process of harvesting the swallows' nest for the Chinese gourmet markets of Hong Kong and elsewhere. Learning as he went along he was his own director, cameraman, producer, angel, editor, scriptwriter and narrator, and the film, *Birds' Nest Soup*, won a Grand Prix award at the Cannes Film Festival in 1957. He went on to make a series of seven films on Borneo, then eight on Japan, and, under the title *Images of the East*, seven on mainland Southeast Asia. These last included considerable footage on Angkor Wat, film which he was very proud of and which he was convinced would become classic stock. His interest in Cambodia remained strong, and he interviewed Prince Sihanouk on film on several occasions. He wanted his work to reach the widest audiences, and targeted television as his medium from the

start. The BBC ran many of his films.

Hugh could not live in Hong Kong and ignore the Chinese and Chinese history and culture had to be filmed, but both presented difficulties. He could speak no Chinese, and he was conscious enough of his limitations to feel the need for help. He turned to the anthropologists, first to Marjorie Topley for *Ways of the Middle Kingdom*, then to Barbara Ward for a film on the boat people of Sai Kung in eastern Hong Kong, *Dragons of the Sea*, and finally to myself for *Da Jiu*, a record of the 1975 ceremony at Ha Tsuen in the west of the New Territories. He fell out with all three. It was not just that having hired dogs he wanted to do his own barking: he was infuriatingly deaf to the advice he was offered, and, although without deliberate rudeness, he tended to ride roughshod over the Chinese people whose life he was recording and on whose continued goodwill we his assistants depended. Partly, I suspect, it was his own frustration at not being able to handle everything himself in the way he had previously done that led him to be so difficult. We all agreed that he was impossible to work with, though all three of us finished

our films with him before saying "I can no more", and all three were happy to remain friends.

On the China front he was able to make use of an old friendship with Felix Green, and by association came to acquire the vague but not meaningless label 'a friend of China'. In the last few years this opened the door for him to make films, and he embarked on an ambitious series which was to document China's waterways, foreign trade, and relations with the West. Times had changed, however. He was not poor, but he could no longer hope to finance film-making out of his own pocket; and, while he still had energy and enthusiasm, he had not the decisiveness of earlier years. Many of us rallied round to help, but the series was not completed.



Hugh saw himself as the anthropologists' film-maker and was very disappointed that the Royal Anthropological Institute did not want to acquire the set of his films. (He wanted recognition for them, not money.) He shot a lot of very good material, and happily it seems likely that the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient in Paris will house the collection.

He did not want for friends in Hong Kong, in London (where he stayed and entertained always at the Travellers' Club in Pall Mall), in France, in the United States, in the Philippines, and wherever he had been, and he never failed to be in touch with them. He was a generous man, and quietly looked after more than one needy youngster, sometimes training them in film work. He also gave generously of his time to the Hong Kong Museum of Art (in which he was the longest serving adviser), and he had a wide circle of acquaintances in the Hong Kong Branch of the royal Asiatic Society, the Oriental Ceramics Society, the University of Hong Kong, Government, and elsewhere.

Hugh Gibb was a cultured man, a loquacious conversationalist, a man of no small achievement who lived life to the full. He will be fondly remembered by all who had the privilege of knowing him.

Hugh Baker

## TEMPLE STREET TOURISM

By Yang Yeung, Diana

Still thirty minutes to go and it will be midnight. Noises of metal planks clinging against each other gradually superseded those of the crowds. One or two industrious "entrepreneurs" put their last remaining effort into inviting passers-by to literally "have a seat" in their open stack food-stall. They have been doing this for at least five hours each day, seven days per week.

How possibly one can picture a dynamic night market famous for its diversity in terms of human activities, human background, commodities on sale and much more, from empty streets, lone bulbs hanging onto one or two remaining metal poles, garbage with unidentifiable origins, and, above all, the cold? For this is what the Temple Street "stage theatre", in the Tourist Association's words, turns into late at night, only to gather momentum again when the sun sets the next day.

Temple Street, or in a broader sense, the Yau Ma Tei area, as one of the official tourist attractions in Hong Kong, is a glamorous night Market where episodes of authentic Chinese culture are reenacted and bargains so unreservedly sold. The main "touristic" elements seem to be there. Yet how do they integrate into the local side, or even concealed identity of the area? In what sense is Temple Street, inheriting years of postwar legends, a "tourist" area? What role do the "tourists" play in this apparent dynamism? These are questions I attempted to answer.

### Geographical orientation

Perhaps going North gives me a better sense of direction. So, each time I started at the southern Jordan Road end, going through at least two crossings before reaching the "Palm Tree Square" in front of the Tin Hau Temples. From there, Temple Street appeared cut off by the Public Square Street where night traffic roars past mercilessly. But a closer look reveals a vague and peculiar link through a Nepalese seller of handicrafts who abruptly marks the beginning of the other end of Temple Street. From his "occupied territory" another chain of stalls come into sight.

Temple Street extends to the Northern end of Yau Ma Tei

and breaks off at Man Ming Lane. Not a small area to cover, for sure.

In fact, the Urban Services Department which oversees the hawkers in the area conveniently divides it into "Temple North" and "Temple South", with the Tin Hau Temple at Public Square Street as the watershed. Why they have done so and the implications behind their decision I will leave for the moment.

### History and Legend

"Once upon a time, there was a Chinese girl who lived on a boat. But not for long. On her 16th birthday, her parents decided to sell her to a Temple Street brothel on shore. From then on, she was taken care of by a woman, typically nicknamed as 'Big Sister' in the area. She lost her family. She lost her chastity and she lost her dignity. Even worse, she lost her money and she lost any courage to go on in this strange world. She lost her mind and jumped down from the rooftop. She lost her life and left behind the legend of the 'Queen of Temple Street'. She hadn't changed. She just lost."

Dramatic as this "once-upon-a-time" story may sound, it is by no means entirely fictional. Nor does "once-upon-a-time" suggest anything historical, something in the past and now completely gone. Instead, it suggests the recurring myth behind the glamour of Temple Street. Like all myth no one knows when it will end. Neither does anyone know how it began.

Thanks to a Hong Kong produced movie entitled "Queen of Temple Street" light was shed on the life of these "royalties" or in Cantonese slang, "chickens" whom the myth feeds on. No estimation has yet been made of the number of brothels and prostitutes in the area, probably because the wide triad linkages are too complex to penetrate. Nor have I been able to establish the scope of tourist activities in the sex industry. Perhaps the more prominent Wan Chai on the Hong Kong side now dominates the limelight. But prostitution is still goes on.

According to a resident who has been living in the Street



*Fortune Teller in Temple Street*

Photo: G. EVANS

since the liberation of Hong Kong from the Japanese in the 1940's, pawn shops were the next most prominent trade back in the 1950's and 1960's. Their subsidiaries shared much of the gains in the area too -- selling off the unclaimed items, and during that time, mainly clothing. Nowadays it is quite hard to imagine that clothes would be pawned for money.

The name Temple Street evidently suggests the historically significant role temples played in the area. Indeed the gods who inhabit the temples in Public Square Street are among the most important Chinese gods -- Goddess Tin Hau, Goddess Kwun Yin and Land God Shing Wong. Goddess Tin Hau, a Sea god, has been equally affected by Hong Kong's rapid development as the other aspects of Temple Street and had to be led inland. Whether to her liking or not, I genuinely doubt.

#### A Tourist Attraction

All-embracing Temple Street apparently possesses the very essentials of a tourist area. That is why it was picked as a point of interest to be included in official tourist guides by the Tourist Association. According to the official tourist body, Temple Street, a landmark in the Yau Ma Tei Region, satisfied "feasibility studies" and represents Hong Kong well enough.

She possesses a unique cultural character -- a mixture of East and West -- through the display of Chinese opera and fortune tellers on the one hand and the selling of manufactured products at "very cheap" prices on the other. Her hygiene is acceptable. She is conveniently accessible via the MTR. She is regionally attractive. Perhaps she lacks the "vanguard architecture" tour developers in the Association look for. But one cannot find everything in the place. Having an "animated atmosphere", being a "lively hub of bartering and selling" and resembling a "street theatre" illuminated by kerosene lamps, Temple Street, according to the Tourist Association, is the right place to recommend to foreigners.

But does Temple Street satisfy the legal "inspection" of the Association? Certainly, it is the legal night market image that the Association thinks is attractive to tourists. But something like prostitution, so important to the Temple Street myth socially and historically is, as advised by Mr Shek, a tour executive officer in the Tour Development Department in the Association, is "not an open issue to be talked about" and definitely not to be "cautioned against", and hence, "not a face of Temple Street to be recommended to tourists".

What do the tourists think? They more or less conform to the official view (perhaps they know each other quite well?). A German who has been traveling around the world quite a lot, was attracted by the bargains -- leather fakes, as instructed by his mother an earlier visitor. A British

teenager was more concerned with the food and Temple Street's "Hong-Kongness". In his words, to be "Hong-Kong" is to have cheap goods, lots of people -- but people who are difficult to talk to.

Sitting there at one of the shirt stalls and observing the behaviour of both locals and tourists shed much light on how they see Temple Street. Stall-keeper Lau appreciated the tourists' easy buying behaviour, but he was even more fascinated by the local youngsters' energy and briskness in the same respect. Indeed, in between 8:00 pm and 8:45 pm on one night I was there, at least 8 tourists and 5 locals looked and bought one or more shirts, and 4 tourists merely looked. "See, five-six hundred dollars are back to your pocket already!" Lau happily declared. But of course life is not always as rosy as this 45 minutes. Lau was quite used to not having one single customer for a whole hour. But that does not damage the picture of the glamorous night market the Tourist Association has drawn.

Typical of the scene is the special communication style between hosts and guests who do not share a common language: use of gestures. Two of Lau's customers were French ladies who mimed size "Extra Large" by acting out having a bulging tummy. No wonder Temple Street is dubbed "street theatre" by the Tourist Association.

Yet, full of touristic limelight as Temple Street is, it may have the most intriguing backstage among the many tourist attractions in Hong Kong. At the front of the house, as hoteliers say, it may simply be what a Canadian having lived in Hong Kong for more than ten years, though not continuously, described as "not having changed a bit after all those years". At the back of the house, though, is a world of difference -- for some, gloom, for others, fear and escape; and still others, action and excitement.

But Temple Street is still a tourist attraction inside-out, isn't it?

#### Temple Street Redefined

Recall a time when you went away from home on vacation. Why did you go there, people always asked on your return? Want to get away; Want to know other people's culture (without having understood one's own), you normally say. It was indeed an early interpretation to see touristic experience as "re-creation", something that must take place away from home" in the words of anthropologist, Graburn (1977).

Anthropologists, however, are increasingly aware of the wide range of "touristic" activities present in various societies and under various circumstances. Indeed, as in Graburn's (1977) analogy, the touristic experience is a Sacred Journey, marking "ritualized breaks in routine that define and relieve the ordinary". Its "magic comes from the movement and the non-ordinary setting. What is



'non-ordinary' depends very much on what is 'ordinary'. Varying from society to society, culture to culture and individual to individual."

To understand the peculiar world that Temple Street constitutes behind its touristic limelight is to understand something like the "untouchable" experience. The area seems to be a bubble, comparable to the tourist bubble anthropologists identify to describe the strange dilemma of being in another culture, yet too cautious to leave one's own.

#### Law and Order

In a weary and monotonous tone, a discontented stall-keeper in his 50's grumbled, "All these people in the government, from the Police, to the Lands Department, the Urban Council, the Urban Services Department and the Transport Department were just playing 'Tai Chi'!" This hawkers' use of the phrase "play Tai Chi" to describe the government officials' apathetic behaviour towards the management of the Temple Street, alludes to its original meaning. Tai Chi is the yin-yang sign depicting a never ending interaction between the two forces ideally bringing harmony. Tai Chi is also a kind of martial arts, dubbed shadow boxing by the Western people because of its slow tempo.

If the way the police "benevolently" treat the triad societies in the area and the virtually helpless attitude of hawkers there is accurate, then the 50-year old Man had indeed coined an apt analogy in Tai Chi. Most apt is its meaning of "slowness", for authorities present there, the Urban Services Department (USD), have been slow to act.

Temple Street, is officially divided into two sections -- Temple North and Temple South -- according to Inspector Choy of the Hawker Section, Urban Services Department and order in them is kept by different authorities.

Temple South runs from Jordan Road to the Temples and Temple North runs from the Temples to Man Ming Lane, leading into the Yau Ma Tei section of Nathan Road. Inspector Choy identifies the South as the USD's responsibility while the North is that of the Police. Before querying why there exists such a division of work, one may curiously realize either by experience or by looking at the map, that there is an area inbetween consisting of the Yau Ma Tei carpark and Market Street where no government department seems to have been assigned. This mysterious zone is in fact the working area of approximately ten regular fortune tellers and four Chinese opera performing groups, all unlicensed.

Asked why there is this curious division, Inspector Choy virtually assumed an air of those old village story-tellers, despite his relative young appearance, and talked about how triad societies were just trying to make a living and how the Police spared them room for their activities.

In fact, it was Inspector Choy's conception that when the hawkers in the Temple Street area were first licensed in 1981 into "fixed-pitch hawkers", the Police were already aware of the widespread triad activities there. Wiping them out from the area meant wiping out a major source of their income, and hence a potential and highly likely threat of Police law-enforcement being obstructed by discontented triad members. As both parties only aim at making money in the area, government from licensing fees and the triad societies from protection money, the former has decided to leave in Temple North "room" for the latter.

No doubt dealings under the table, unknown to the public, are needed in order for the two opposing parties to come to such compromise. As the triad societies agreed not to squeeze the profits of pitch hawkers in the South, there is assumingly less trouble and hence the area is manageable by "intellectuals" in the USD, a description coined by Inspector Choy.

The "intellectuals" do regularly check out the validity of the fixed-pitch hawkers' licenses and whether they stick to the three-times four-foot area -- entrusted to them for three months. In fact, visits to the area reveal how some hawkers "combine" two, or even four units, while some others "construct" their own. The 50 year-old mentioned above is one. The yellow numbered grids on the ground are simply ignored and stepped across.

Health inspectors are less confident in the North, requiring the help of the Police. But according to Inspector Choy, direct confrontation is avoided at all costs.

Also evident is the sale of pornographic magazines, presumably all Hong Kong printed (I could look only from a distance), and what the seller termed "Category IV" videos right under Police patrol inspection. I was quite surprised at the ease the policeman, together with his English superintendent showed when they passed through magazine hawkers selling not only intriguing revelations of the inner lives of leaders in Communist China, the most eye-catching one being "Deng Xiao-peng's Tragedy of Love", but unsealed pornographic magazines in literally heaps and piles on trolleys just beside other watch and shirt hawkers. Inspector Choy, though, when I asked him for the function of the Police there, simply smiled off my surprise and innocent question. That was in Temple North...

One could generally say, therefore, that in Temple North, the authority, namely the Police, would appear to be in mysterious collaboration with whatever active triad societies there are to make the normal laws applicable outside the Temple Street bubble meaningless within. At the other end, Temple South, the authority, namely the Urban Services Department, maintains loose control over merely the licensing of the hawkers and not their disciplinary behaviour. The Police are too busy in the North to intervene unless "big trouble" erupts.

The opaque bubble where people come and go becomes "sacred", not because of its cleanliness, but because of its uniqueness and the caution people either consciously take or need to take if they are to come into close contact with it because of the "breakdown" in a sense of the normal authority responsible for protecting its people.

A dilemma emerges, summarized in one of the statements made by the 50-year-old: "It's no good not to control; neither is it good to control. Just don't do it the proper way."

#### Economic Structure

Although I cannot boast about having taken note in detail of the patterns of economic interaction in Temple Street, interesting aspects are still evident.

As my previous informant Lau revealed, one example of "abnormality" versus our everyday fixed price consumption behaviour is the tendency for tourists to give more than the marked price. Although it was only a difference between \$49 and \$50, as Lau claimed, it was more common for tourists than for locals.

More revealing is the floating nature of prices in the area. The most prominent one is the Chinese opera performing sessions where no fixed price is charged on each performance. How much the audience pays depends very much on their appreciation of each unique performance. Prices at fortune telling stalls and herbal food stalls are more evidently unmarked, possibly allowing the sellers to adjust prices according to demands any time.

"Rare goods" are also in supply, such as dangerous drugs, of which type I could not confirm. It was a mere coincidence when an addict approached my informant Lau for drug money when I was sitting at his stall observing tourist behaviour. As Lau, who has been operating in this area for over ten years, confirmed, many addicts are around this area asking for "pocket-money" casually from the hawkers.

#### Social Interaction

If I stick to the relationship between hosts and guests in the area, namely the local stall-keepers and the foreign tourists, I might well be seeing in fact into a seller-buyer economic relationship. The nature and focus of their interaction is economic in essence.

During two times of spending around an hour observing tourists at two different stalls, one selling shirts and the other, electronic products, and also other times observing briefly at food stalls and those selling oriental products by apparently Nepalese men, all the conversation and interest I overheard and spotted between the two parties were their immediate concern - selling or buying the products. Not even once did either side strike up a conversation

concerning what most tourists would identify as their purpose of touring -- understanding another people's culture. Either this purpose does not need to be answered by a direct question, which is probably true, or this confirms the view of an eighteen-year-old British tourist who asked me half-curiously and half-helplessly why Chinese people tend to be so difficult to talk to.

Looking at the "Mr Cosmos" sign written in pure English at one of the fortune-telling stalls

at Market Street and listening to the very bold attempts by the fortune tellers to guide the "fortune" of their foreign clients in a second language, one cannot help wondering at the patience of human beings as long as their future is concerned. What is apparently an effective communication was, however, overshadowed by a comment by two Spanish businessmen, one of whom had brought his wife to a fortune-teller. When his wife was listening with interest and talking to her friend in Spanish, her husband whispered to me in English with a wry smile and brightly-lit eyes that he personally did not believe in Mr Cosmos as against his own country's Gypsies. So, talking does not mean communication and having an intention to communicate does not mean effectiveness -- human beings are "wonderful" creatures!



Photo: G. EVANS

Apparently Nepalese sellers gather normally in threes and fours around the Market Street Public Lavatory pavement, where Arabians, whom I identify by their looks, gather around one stall to blur the identity of the hosts and guests. One exception, though, is the apathy of my 50-year-old informant who, seeing the on-looker at his watches was a male Mainland Chinese, told me he was not going to entertain his interests. Perhaps Chinese are less cohesive?!

#### General Atmosphere and Interpretation

Perhaps the Tourist Association's visualization of Temple Street night market as street theatre, assembled by putting bits and pieces of the area together, is most apt.



MR. COSMOS

Photo: G. EVANS

Temple Street is a "staged" tourist attraction.

The "real" characters include the various socially-disapproved elements, while the "staged" character is the image promoted by the Tourist Association, namely, the "legal" side. The authorities draft the script and the locals and tourists, knowingly and unknowingly, enact it.

But most enriching are the performances within performance. For example, the selling Chinese herbal medicine as tigers' penis requires demonstration through burning the dried medicine. Of the roughly fifteen people who came and went, gathering around the oil lamp and the female-seller, only one bought the preserved wine. Same with the "birdie fortune teller". To provide proof for his honesty and his bird's too, he asked the bird to pick out the same fortune card that he had previously interpreted for his client but now shuffled into a large pile. Although I would be more interested to know what he would do or say if the bird could not do as he wished, I genuinely feel puzzled at the logic, if there is any.

Same and more obviously with the Chinese Opera performers who sing continuously side by side. The audience can simply "test, choose and buy". The genuineness of the product rather than the implications or symbolic meanings in consuming it as in modern advertisements is emphasized foremost.

What is to become of this performance, though? What sustains its cycle? The actors and actresses vary. New generations take over to sustain the character of Temple Street. Director Lau Kwok Cheong aptly brought up this theme in his *Queen of Temple Street* by illustrating the relationship of a prostitute mother with her prostitute daughter.

#### Ethnography

It was only after I had gathered the above information on Temple Street and started writing this that I realized that my hypothesis of the relationship between the tourist bubble there and the outside world is perhaps more self-fulfilling than refutable. It is like putting what I have found into a purely personal interpretative framework. It is more a description of the situation in my terms than an

analysis of it in the Temple Street occupants' terms.

If I were to sustain my self-created myth concerning the different worlds of Temple Street then I would definitely need much more information to prove it.

I would have to establish a more substantial picture of the attitudes of tourists who visit the area. This has to be compared to that of the locals, including both Chinese and Westerners who might have lived here longer than myself, as well as the stall-keepers.

More work also needs to be done in order to shed light on triad activities in the area. The history of Temple Street, what it had been famous for, and what it is now must also be examined in more detail. A possible source might be the film I mentioned above which might be based more or less on the legend of Temple Street. It is a pity I was not able to locate the producer and talk with him about the film. A longer time must definitely be spent in participant observation, preferably through operating a hawker stall, so that closer social relations and observations of tourist and local activities could be made.

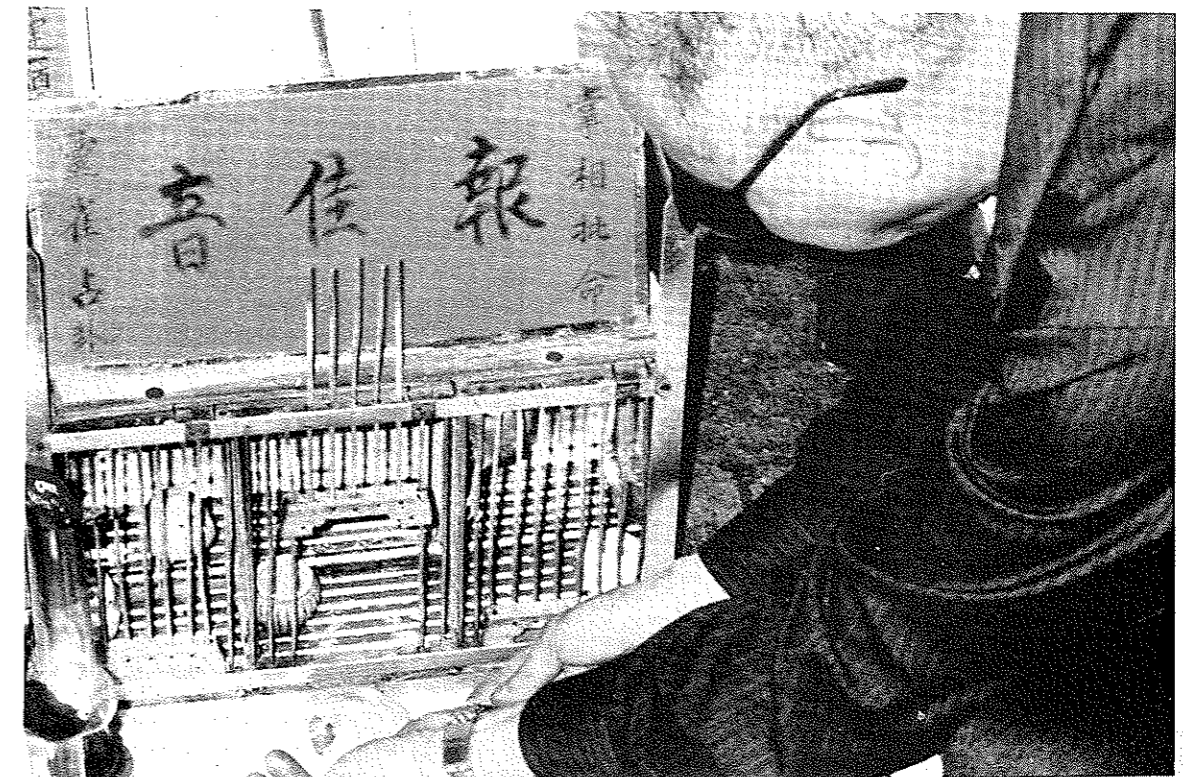
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Cantonese Opera Musicians

Photo: G. EVANS



Fortune teller and 'assistant'.

Photo: G. EVANS



## BLESSINGS ARE NOT FOR ALL

By Leung Chor-on

Even though the admission of outsiders into a long-established village in the New Territories of Hong Kong was restricted in the past, entry was not impossible. For instance, outsiders might acquire settlement rights by means of marriage, employment, litigation, or by holding a ceremony called *ru-ji* (acquiring [villager] status) which consisted of a feast for the entire village hosted by the newcomer (for examples, see Faure 1986:30-36). However, do rights of settlement imply that the non-indigenous villager can attain full villager status just like the indigenous villagers? In this article, I attempt to reveal how the indigenous villager/non-indigenous villager contrast is highlighted and how access to the blessings conferred by deities is restricted in a village festival in the New Territories.

Kam Tsin is a farming village founded by the Hous in the Qian-long reign (1736-1795) of the Qing Dynasty. In the past few decades, the Hous have gradually given up farming as a means of livelihood and many of them have moved out of the village in pursuit of urban jobs or have emigrated to England, Germany, and Holland. At present, almost half of the village houses are rented out to outsiders.

On the northern edge of the village, an unroofed shrine dedicated to Da-wang (Great King) stands under a shady banyan tree. At the back of the settlement, there is a village temple presided over by Fu-de (the God of Blessing and Virtue). Both Da-wang and Fu-de are earth tutelaries in a broad sense and their birthday is celebrated annually by the community in the first lunar month in Kam Tsin. Cantonese operas are staged in a temporary matshed theatre to entertain both the deities and the people. A *Hong-chao* (Great Homage) is also held to thank the deities for their blessings, to pray for their continuing favour, and to exorcise evil spirits.

The rituals that constitute the *Hong-chao* are spread over two days, beginning on the evening of the eighteenth day of the first lunar month and drawing to a close on the afternoon of the next day. A sacred Taoist altar, decorated with religious paraphernalia, is set up in the main hall of the village temple. The Taoists who perform the rituals are more commonly called by the colloquial

term "*nan-mo-lao*" ("chanting fellows").

Amongst the participants in the rituals we are here most concerned with twelve *chao-shou* (homage heads), whose main duty is to participate in the *Hong-chao* on behalf of the whole community. The *chao-shou* are assigned their role by means of a ten-year rota system and the persons who take turns are the *men-tou* (door heads) or households set up by the Hous. *Men-tou* is an emic term which denotes the patrifocal domestic group formed by a married man, his wife, and his unmarried children. A man will *kai-men-tou* (open a *men-tou*) or set up his own *men-tou* upon marriage. If the head of a *men-tou* dies, his wife takes his place. But on such occasions, the wife can only have her surname cited after the term "*Hou-men*" ("Hou's door") whenever the *men-tou* is mentioned. In assigning the *chao-shou*, those who have moved out of the village, including the emigrants, still retain rights to take a turn in the system.

Dressed in traditional Chinese long gowns which denote great solemnity and respect, the *chao-shou* are themselves a symbol of the piousness of the villagers. In the major rituals, the head of the *chao-shou* always gives pride of place to a manuscript called *Yi-zhe-jing* (Scripture of Pious Followers). On the manuscript is written a list giving the full names of the *chao-shou* and the heads of the *men-tou*, followed by a Taoist memorial. The main theme of the memorial is to plead for blessings from the heavenly deities.

The same name list and a similar memorial are also found on a long piece of red paper placard called *Ren-yuan-bang* (Placard of Predestined Human Relationship), which will be pasted later on the front wall of the temple. A couplet written at the beginning and the end of the placard states that "All the names that follow will reach heaven" and "Wealth and honour are bestowed on those named in the placard".

Accordingly, heavenly deities will confer wealth and honour on the *chao-shou* and the *men-tou* named in the list in return for their piousness and their commitment to carry on the *Hon-chao* tradition. Being the honorary representatives of the ritual community, the *chao-shou*,

and especially the head, will be most favoured by the heavenly deities. However, it is noteworthy that only the *men-tou* set up by the Hous are cited in the name list. Furthermore, only the Hous enjoy the privilege of competing for the honourable posts of *chao-shou*. All the non-Hou villagers, no matter how long they have been resident in the village, are totally excluded.

On the first night, a pig is slaughtered and offered, uncooked, on the main altar table inside the temple. Late at night, the sacrificial pig is butchered and the meat and edible internal organs of the pig are cut into slabs. At midnight, the slabs of uncooked pork or *chao-rou* (homage meat) are divided into one hundred-odd roughly equal portions, which are later distributed to all the *men-tou* of the Hous. The head and the tail of the pig, together with a few slabs of pork, are cooked and then offered on the main altar table. In Cantonese, the words for "head" and "tail" also mean "beginning" and "ending" respectively. According to vernacular interpretation, the head together with the tail symbolize a good beginning and a good ending (*hao-tou hao-wei*), and thus the offering expresses the villagers' wish that the *Hong-chao* will be a great success.

At the same time, some local assistants are prepare a big pot of congee with pieces of the meat and internal organs of the pig added to it. The congee is called *chao-zhou* (homage congee). When it is ready, a few bowls of the congee are offered on the main altar table and the rest is shared by the *nan-mo-lao*, the attendants of the *Hong-chao*, and those who come subsequently to the temple to collect their shares of *chao-rou*. It is remarkable that the *chao-rou* and the *chao-zhou* are ritually shared and consumed by the deities concerned and the Hous. This annual communion symbolizes and reaffirms the ongoing intimate relationship between the two parties.

Ritual sharing of pork is also observed during grave visits. According to the interpretation given by Rubie Watson (1988:222), the pig by being brought into contact with the grave is imbued with cosmic forces that flow through the grave. That is to say, when the descendants of the dead receive their shares of the pork, each of them will absorb a portion of the *gi* (cosmic breaths) captured by the grave because of its *feng-shui* (Chinese geomancy). Another example of ritual sharing of pork is found in an age-old communal celebration called *Zuo-she*, which is held annually at the open-air shrine of Da-wang (for examples, see Faure 1982:176-178; 1986:73-74, 96-97). As we still have little information on whether these shrines of Da-wang are built according to *feng-shui* principles or not, we cannot check the general applicability of Watson's interpretation of ritual sharing of pork. However, we have some other evidence at hand. Cooked pork is ritually shared between ancestors and their living family members in domestic worship of ancestors during festivities. However, it should be noted that the domestic shrine is, on almost every occasion,

placed directly facing the main entrance of the house. In this light, Watson's employment of the concept of *qi* in the interpretation of ritual sharing of pork is applicable to this case only if all houses (or at least most of them) are *feng-shui* oriented. But this is certainly not true.

I would rather suggest that ritual sharing of pork has different implications on two symbolic planes. On the first symbolic plane, the sharing of pork between the ancestors/deities and the descendants/believers renews the symbolic union of the two parties which belong to two different worlds. The contract that binds the two parties together is that the descendants/believers bear the responsibility to carry on the worship of the ancestors/deities in order that they can receive the continual blessings bestowed by the latter. On the second symbolic plane, the sharing of pork between the descendants/believers themselves at home is a ritual expression which renews or redefines the restricted membership of the social group concerned and simultaneously reinforces group identification and solidarity. In our case, pork is only shared between the Hous and the heavenly deities as well as amongst the Hous themselves. It implies that whereas the Hous could have access to the blessings conferred by the heavenly deities, the non-Hou villagers are totally excluded.

On the morning of the second day, each of the *men-tou* of the Hous receives a set of five different types of talisman given by the *nan-mo-lao* and distributed by local assistants. The talismans, which are pasted at specific places of the house, are believed to serve the purpose of warding off evil spirits, eliminating influences which may cause disease, and invite blessings. At noon, a *nan-mo-lao*, the head of the *chao-shou*, and several local assistants go through the lanes of the village in a drum and gong procession. They visit all the *men-tou* of the Hous and perform a purificatory ritual called *Pa-chuan* (Rowing the Boat) for them. The *nan-mo-lao* sprays a mouthful of lustral water upon each of the domestic altars to cleanse them. A member of the *men-tou* throws beans, feathers, charcoal, incense, candles, and ritual papers into a red papier-mache boat carried by the head of the *chao-shou*. When the ritual cleansing is done for all the *men-tou* of the Hous, the papier-mache boat is carried to the border of the village and burnt to ashes together with its contents. It is said that when the articles collected from each *men-tou* are burnt on the outskirts of the village, diseases, evil spirits and other bad influences will be sent away from all the *men-tou* of the Hous. Again, the ritual service is performed to benefit the Hous only.

In the aftermath of the *Pa-chuan* ritual, the placard is peeled off carefully from the wall and then burnt together with the manuscript so that the name lists reach the heavenly deities. It is noteworthy that each of the *men-tou* of the Hous has to contribute at least one hundred dollars to finance the celebration. All other subscribers,

including the non-Hou villagers, have their names and subscriptions written on another piece of red paper which is pasted on a side wall of the temple. Significantly, this subscription list will not be burnt at the end of the *Hong-chao*, which implies that the list is addressed to the people themselves rather than the heavenly deities. In other words, those with their names on the subscription list can receive only the acknowledgements from the Hous, the host of the festivity, but not the blessings conferred by the heavenly deities.

The Hous attach great significance to the name lists on the manuscript and the placard. When the manuscript is first presented to the heavenly deities on the first night, one of the *nan-mo-lao* kneels before the main altar table and reads out the name list and the memorial on the manuscript with great caution. Some of the Hous will attend the presentation and listen carefully to ensure that their own names, or even the names of their relatives and friends, are not missed out or misspelled. They also check the placard to make certain that their names are not missed out or wrongly written. If any name is missed, it is like laying a curse upon the person concerned because, metonymically speaking, it implies that the victim is regarded as a dead person. In such an event, a special remedial ritual has to be performed to offer an apology and to correct the "lethal" mistake.

The foregoing analysis makes it clear that access to the blessings prayed for in the *Hong-chao* is restricted, indicating that blessings are more or less conceived of a kind of 'limited goods'. In terms of settlement rights, even though the admission of outsiders into a village was usually restricted in the past, it was not at all unacceptable. However, as our case indicates, outsiders who have been admitted into a village may still be denied full ritual status in village festivals, no matter how long they have been there. The same phenomenon can be observed in the *Tai-ping Qing-jiao* (Purificatory Rite of Peace) in Fanling, Lung Yeuk Tau, Kam Tin and Tai Po Tau, for example, where the communities are dominated by single surname groups. However, my research also indicates that these restrictions tend to be less prominent in villages dominated by several surname groups. To get a glimpse of this let us take a snapshot of another case of village festival.

Lam Tsuen is a village alliance of twenty-three villages and is inhabited by a number of different surname groups. The *Tai-ping Qing-jiao* held in Lam Tsuen in 1981 (Leung 1984) also featured a manuscript and a placard similar to those observed in Kam Tsuen. In this local tradition, two categories of villager could enjoy the privilege of having their names listed in the manuscript and on the placard. The first category included those households headed by *yuan-ju-kmin* (indigenous inhabitants whose patrilineal forbears were already residing in the New Territories before it was leased to the British government in 1898) native to Lam Tsuen. Each

household had to contribute thirty dollars per capita in addition to fifty dollars contributed on behalf of the household as a whole. All members of the households in this category would be listed. The second category included those households headed by non-indigenous villagers of Lam Tsuen but who had been in the community for more than ten years. Each household in this category had to subscribe at least three hundred dollars in order to be put on the list. Even so, only the names of the household heads are listed in an order determined by the amount subscribed. All people who fell beyond these two categories could not have their names written on the manuscript and the placard no matter how much they subscribed. If they subscribed, they would be acknowledged on another subscription list which was not intended to be addressed to the heavenly deities, just as in the case of Kam Tsuen.

In Lam Tsuen, access to blessings is less restricted than in Kam Tsuen. However, for those households headed by non-indigenous villagers who had been residing in the community for more than ten years, only the household heads could have their names put on the list while other members of the household were excluded.

In conclusion, the right of full ritual status remains the last uncaptured fortress by which indigenous villagers in the New Territories distinguish themselves from newcomers, even though the latter can now acquire settlement rights with relative ease as a result of the drastic changes in rural economic structure in recent decades.

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## CELEBRATIONS OF THE SEA PEOPLE OF SOUTHERN THAILAND

By Pamela Rogers

The Chaw Lay, or Sea People, are an indigenous population of the west coast of Thailand. Traditionally, they live a nomadic existence travelling by boat over an area extending from Burma to Singapore. They have a mobile and flexible lifestyle well adapted to their maritime environment of beach, island and mangrove swamp. They live part of the time in temporary beach encampments, and at other times in more fixed strand or mudflat settlements<sup>1</sup>. In times of stress or when in transit the Chaw Lay dwell on their boats, although this option is taken less often today due to governmental pressures to conform to a more conventional land-based existence.

There were approximately 4500 Chaw Lay living along the coast of Phangnga and Phuket Provinces in 1981, in more than 40 groups and settlements ranging in size from 2 to more than 800 people<sup>2</sup>. Of these about 1600 lived on Phuket Island itself and the nearby islands; mostly in the 5 main settlements of Rawaii, Sapam, Tukay, and Laem La on Phuket and Laem Tong, on Ko Phi Phi Island (fig. ).

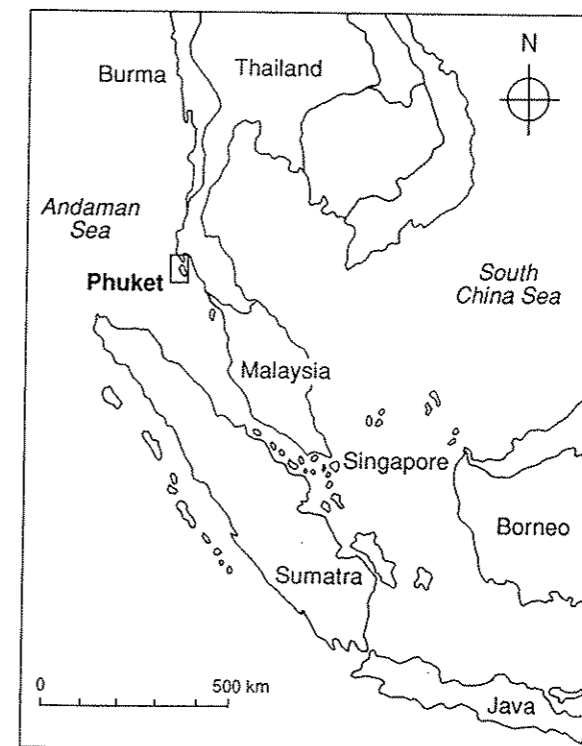
The Chaw Lay are of Proto-Malay racial stock and speak Malayo-Polynesian dialects related to Malay. Their language has three subgroups, reflecting regional variation: Moken, spoken from southern Burma to Phuket; Moklen, spoken from Phangnga south to Phuket; and Urok Lawoi', spoken from Phuket, south along the coast of Malaysia, to the Riaow Lingga Islands south of Singapore. Phuket, at the meeting point of all these dialects, has speakers of all three, with Urok Lawoi' predominating<sup>3</sup>.

The subsistence economy of the Chaw Lay is based entirely on the sea. They are fish-hunters, using hook and line, spear and traps; and

strandlopers, who collect shellfish from the rocks and mudflats. They collect vegetables, coconuts and stones from the shore and nearby hill slopes, and scavenge for re-usable flotsam from the inter-tidal. The Chaw Lay employ a minimalist toolkit, notable for its multi-purpose nature and its suitability for boat based life.

This minimalism is reflected in the Chaw Lay religious attitudes. Early observers commented on their apparent lack of any deeprooted religious concepts or rites<sup>4</sup>. They are basically animists who believe in nature spirits, or *katoi*, both good and bad, who require occasional acknowledgement and a dwelling place near each encampment or settlement. For this purpose the Chaw Lay erect spirit houses, *papadu*, and spirit posts, *lobong*, in a communal area adjacent to a settlement. Communication between the *katoi* and the community is the function of a shaman. Each group of any size has one man or woman to fulfil this role; it is not a hereditary position, but rather is chosen by someone who has an acknowledged interest and talent for such matters. An individual Chaw Lay has no preoccupation with daily ritual, and has little concept of god or the individual soul. What is important, however, is the Chaw Lay's concept of group continuity and each individual's connection through time to his ancestors and through space to other Chaw Lay divided by expanses of sea. This group bond is reflected in the main religious events of the Chaw Lay year.

Twice a year the Chaw Lay gather from far and wide: at the beginning of the monsoons in early May, to mark the end of the fishing season and the return to base camp for a period of reunion and recuperation; and again in late October, at the beginning of the next fishing season, a time of dispersal as families and groups go out to sea or scatter to other

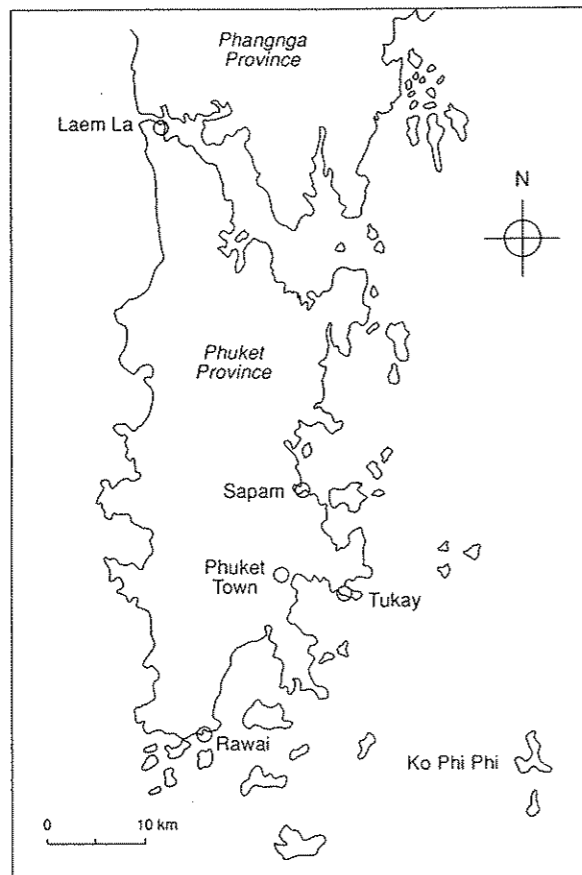




beaches and islands. On both of these occasions the Chaw Lay indulge in three days of ritual to invoke the spirits of their communal ancestors to share a feast with the living community and to symbolically rid the village of any ill-will or bad *katoi* who might follow its members out to sea. All the communities on Phuket celebrate to some degree, but Tukay and Rawai, the two largest settlements on the island, hold major festivities that draw participants from even far-off islands.

The first day of the celebrations is called *Hari Belajak*, or the Day of Abundance. Festivities begin in the late afternoon with a noisy parading of ceremonial boat-building materials along the beach and back through the village to stop in a central area where the building of the boat begins. This model of a traditional broad-bottomed Chaw Lay boat measures about 8 ft. in length and is built of wood, reeds and bamboo, all held together with bamboo pegs<sup>5</sup>.

At about 5 o'clock in the afternoon boatwork ceases temporarily as everyone gathers to attend the ritual feast shared with the ancestors, the *bi ka pa lai*. Families walk to a clearing some distance from the village, where a tiered platform has been built of bamboo and leaves. Up each side of the square platform run small ladders. Each family group carries to the clearing fish-shaped biscuits, yellow rice, a candle and a small cake. The shaman also comes to the clearing with numerous white flags, cakes and candles, liquor, cooked chickens, flowers and fruit. All the food is placed on the platform or altar and on the ground around it. The family groups seat themselves around the altar taking care to leave the space in front of the ladders clear for the ancestral spirits to enter. The shaman and the heads of all the households divide the chicken on to plates and fill shells with liquor. These are placed with the rice, cakes and fruit all over the altar and the ground nearby; food for the ancestors on the top tier, for the households on the lower tier and for the people on the ground. The candles from each family are lit and placed along the railing of the altar. The shaman lights the incense and chants while waving the white flags. He enters a trance to call the spirits of all the communal ancestors to enter the clearing, mount the



platform and eat and drink their fill. (See photo) The people sit motionless and silent until the shaman gives the word that the ancestors are done and then the heads of the households toss handfuls of puffed rice, bow to the altar and then eat their portions of the feast. The food is then handed out to all present; adults urge the children to eat first to bind the very youngest to all those of their kind who have gone before. Solemnities over, the group relaxes and enjoys the feast with much laughter and confusion. The children steal a few cakes and claim a white flag as a token or souvenir.

With darkness all the Chaw Lay leave the clearing and hurry back to the village where the building of the ceremonial boat resumes amidst much dancing, drumming and singing all through the night.

Dawn brings the beginning of the second day of the festival, *Hari Pahadak*, or the Day of Protection. Before the sun rises the community gathers around the now completed ceremonial boat. Small carved bamboo figures are placed in the boat, one for each member of the community. A single candle is lit and placed in the boat for each family, also shells and bottles full of liquor, and flowers. Many women rub their bodies with handfuls of puffed rice, to rub away illness and misfortune, and then toss the rice into the boat. Just before sunrise the shaman waves a cloth to the east and chants; all those gathered give three loud cries and the boat is quickly hoisted on to the shoulders of six or eight men and rushed amidst cheers and excitement down to the beach and onto a waiting boat. The ceremonial

boat is taken some distance out to sea and launched as the sun rises. If all is well it will float towards the horizon, away from the village, carrying with it all the bad luck and ill fortune that the Chaw Lay have put in it<sup>6</sup>.

In the afternoon of *Hari Pahadak*, some of the men and children go off into the hillside to cut wood to build crosses, or prophylactic wands. These wands are constructed at the far end of the village, near the beach front. In some cases the wands are simple crosses with leaf tassels decorating the arms; but in other cases they can be much more intricate with carved fish or sea-birds, flags and

multiple arms. When the seven wands are finished they are paraded to the edge of the raised beach where they are raised in a row, about one meter apart. The wands are left standing after the festival is over, and allowed to remain until they finally collapse and lose their power to protect the community.



*Spirit Poles*

The rest of the evening is spent in eating, drinking and dancing until almost midnight. Just before the day ends, every family in the village brings a large water jar into the central area for the blessing of the jars. Here the shaman waits with an array of plates spread on the sand in front of him, each holding fruit, aromatic leaves, flowers and a coin. The musicians who have been playing throughout the festivities consecrate their drums over the smoke of the shamans incense and begin to drum in earnest, calling the ancestral spirits to join the crowd. The shaman places the contents of a plate into each water jar, stirring with a large bundle of leaves. He chants over each jar, waves the incense smoke over the top and then covers each jar in turn.

At dawn the next morning, on the last day of the celebrations, the Chaw Lay rise and bathe in the water blessed the night before. Children in particular are thoroughly dowsed to ensure their good health for the coming season. All the blessed water is used up and the

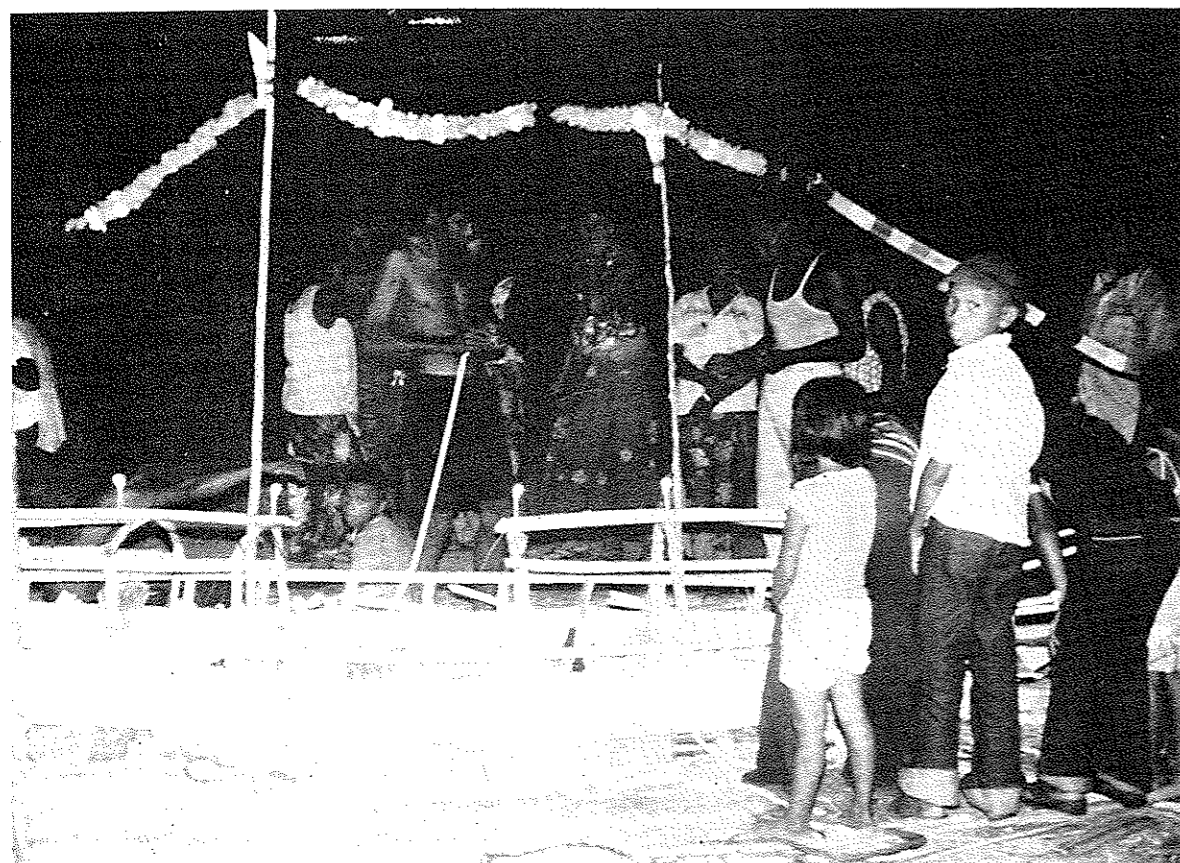
water jars overturned. The heads of the families collect the coins from each jar and return them to the shaman. He places them on a tray with his ritual headcloth and other ritual tools, passes them over the incense smoke and puts them safely away until the next occasion. This marks the end of the festivities and the beginning of a new season for the Chaw Lay.

These twice yearly festivals serve several purposes for the Chaw Lay. On a ritual level they purify the community and individuals while honouring the ancestors; on a social level they reinforce community identity and educate younger members in Chaw Lay ways and traditions. These celebrations also serve to assert Chaw Lay group identity in the face of modern pressures and encroachment. The communal nature of all the rites, to the extent of including Chaw Lay of the past, is an expression of what makes the individual and the group Chaw Lay. On a more practical level these gatherings allow young people from widespread areas to meet and seek out potential life partners. Sellers of charms and love potions do an excellent business, and the period after the festival is characterized by a rash of weddings in all the villages.

What seems, then like merely a fun-filled ceremony can be seen to play an important role in maintaining the sense and the reality of continued community for people whose mobile lifestyle might otherwise seem at risk of disintegration. In fact, the Chaw Lay way of life has continued virtually unchanged for millennia, and has only recently come under threat from political restrictions on their freedom and degree of movement, and from the degradation of their environment by the fishing and tourism industries. Throughout the past the Chaw Lay have excelled in coping with change and unrest by simply retreating to their boats and the open sea. We can only hope that our modern world allows the Chaw Lay to continue their ways and preserves the glorious environment to which they are so well adapted.

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*Loy Rua: Preparing a Spirit Boat*

FOOTNOTES:

1. The Chaw Lay were the subject of three years of study by the Phuket Project, from 1978-1981. The aim of this project was a study of maritime adaptation in Southeast Asia. Further in depth publication of the archaeological and ethnoarchaeological work carried out by the project is forthcoming.
2. These figures were acquired between 1979-1981 by the Phuket Project in the course of ethnoarchaeological work carried out among the Chaw Lay. Numbers given for groups on Phuket itself are counts; for the wider area including Phangnga and the islands they are estimates only.
3. See Hogan (1972) for further linguistic discussion of Chaw Lay dialects.
4. For the comments of 19th and early 20th century observers of the Chaw Lay, see Sopher (1977) 277-287.
5. For a discussion of the traditional forms of Chaw Lay boats, and for further references see Sopher (1977). These boats have all but been replaced by more modern styles, however traditional boats have been reported south of Phuket in the 1970's and according to the Chaw Lay themselves are in use still in southern Burma.
6. These wands perform an additional function for the Chaw Lay as markers of traditional habitation or camp sites throughout the region. Many apparently unpopulated islands have these wands standing along the beach front identifying them to all Chaw Lay as Chaw Lay sites.

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