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# 韶州府的宗教、社會與經濟(上)

曾漢祥 譚偉倫 編



國際客家學會  
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本書為廣東省高教廳資助的課題《韶關地區客家民俗的調查與研究》及香港特別行政區研究資助局之角逐研究用途補助金支持計劃《粵北的宗教節慶》(計劃編號：CUHK4457/99H) 的部分成果。本書出版費用由角逐研究用途補助金及崇正總會補助，謹此致謝。

## INTRODUCTION

A quick glance at a map of the Yuebei region will make clear immediately the basic structure of the present volume: two major river systems converge on Shaoguan to form the Beijiang, or North River, which carries traffic from the north to Canton and beyond. Nanxiong and Shixing counties are located on northeastern tributaries of the Zhenjiang or East River; Renhua lies due north, on the Jinjiang, which enters the East River about 20 kilometers above Shaoguan; Flatrock lies at the point of convergence of several Hunan tributaries of the Wujiang, which flows from the northwest through the Lechang county seat to join the East River just below Shaoguan. Goods and people from Jiangxi, Hunan, and Yuebei itself followed these two basic routes on their way to and from Canton. By comparison, the other counties – Ruyuan, Wengyuan, Xinfeng – are all peripheral: Ruyuan is an extremely mountainous county still partially populated by the Yao; the rivers of Wengyuan flow into the North River at Yingde, far south of Shaoguan; and Xinfeng contains the headwaters of three river systems, one of which links it to Wengyuan, while the other two tie it to prefectures to the south and northeast. As for present-day Qujiang, it is a recent creation; Shaoguan was the traditional Qujiang.

### Part I . Religion and the Economy

Nanxiong was the “throat between north and south,” especially

after Zhang Jiuling (673 – 740) opened up the Meiling Pass in 716. Porters carried merchandise some 60 kilometers from Nanxiong into the Gan River system via Meiling. Enroute they passed through Zhujixiang, considered by most Cantonese lineages to be the village where their ancestors first entered Lingnan from the north.<sup>①</sup> Toward the northeast, 500 boats and 100 oxcarts carried goods as far as Wujing. The most important product heading north was salt, even before its commerce was legalized in 1080. To these were added iron, pewter, sugar, reed products, and incense in the Ming, while rice, herbal medicines, silk, tea, and cotton were shipped south. Among local products, already in the Southern Song Nanxiong paper was highly regarded, and from the mid-Qing on, tobacco became a primary export. In 1930, there were 1285 paper production sites in the county.

Guangzhou traders controlled the paper business as well as the seafood and specialty products. Their guild hall is said to have been first built in the Jiajing era (1522 – 1566). The inscription for its rebuilding, dated 1756, refers to the worship of Tianhou. The biggest annual festival in Nanxiong, including seven days of Cantonese opera, was put on for Tianhou's birthday and was paid for by taxes levied on every shipment of paper and assorted articles. One of its highlights was the contest to "grab the decorated fireworks," a custom once current in Hong Kong's New Territories as well. The

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① Although Hakka like that of Meixian is now spoken in Zhujixiang, the primary dialect spoken in the Nanxiong county seat is not Hakka but a form of Gan, much closer, apparently, to the language spoken by the boat people of the region. I owe this information to Lin Lifang, professor of linguistics at Shaoguan University.

Jiangxi guild included sellers of cloth from Taihe and of herbal medicines from Zhangshu, as well as carpenters and lacquerers from Fengcheng and masons from Nankang. Jiangxi merchants worshiped Xu Zhenjun, together with Zhao Gongming as god of wealth. According to a local version of Xu's tale, he chased the evil dragon all the way to Dayu after having learned magic on Maoshan. The dragon's mother became a beggar and wandered on to Nanxiong, where she died and was buried on a mountain top. Every year around Qingming, the dragon's one surviving son sets off a violent storm when he comes to sweep his mother's grave.

River transport was in the hands of boat people from Shixing who spoke their own language and, already in 1174, had an association named after their gods, the Stone-top Grandpas (the full story of these three immortals is told in Zhong Hanshao's essay). By early Ming, the association was called the Mo River Guild, and it had branches in Nanxiong, Renhua, Lechang, Shaoguan, Qingyuan, and Nanhai, with Shaoguan's being central. All worshiped the Grandpas, whose festival, on the first six days of the sixth month, culminated in a grand procession on 6/6. These gods had a number of temples in Nanxiong, one of which was called the Temple for Controlling the River: "The idea was that the Stone-top Grandpas could suppress water demons," explain the authors. The 500 boats of Nanxiong were controlled by the boat people's Xiongjing (Nanxiong to Wujing) Hall. Before a new boat was launched, its Prow Pusa was wrapped in red cloth and cock's blood sprinkled on the cloth. On the last day of the year he would be wrapped up again and a cock, slain so as not to squawk, sacrificed; another cock was of-



ferred him on the second day of the new year. The Prow Pusa was worshiped regularly before setting out on a voyage, as well as on the first and 15th of every month. If anything untoward happened en-route, a cock would be sacrificed to him immediately. Other guild or corporation related festivals took place on 2/2, when porters, stevedores, tobacco rollers and other workers put on opera and a Daoist Jiao in honor of the earth god, and on 2/15, when butchers and Jiangxi merchants together put on plays for Zhao Gongming.

Zhuang Liwei and Zheng Jianzhen's second article, just as dense as the first, also reveals close links with Jiangxi and the north; there were seven Kangwang temples in the county, three of which had festivals<sup>①</sup>; in the City God temple, Ji Xin and Ding Gu – the first a general of Han Gaozu's slain by Xiang Yu, the second a general of Xiang Yu's slain by Gaozu – were worshiped<sup>②</sup>; as in parts of eastern Gannan, preparations for the Duanwu festival began on 4/8, and the festival involved the same house to house collection of "filth" and epidemic boat-dispatch<sup>③</sup>; Seventh Lady (Qiguniang) temples were omnipresent<sup>④</sup>; the Dipper Goddess Doumu was worshiped with

① Kangwang is identified locally as Song Gaozong, and the authors suggest the god's importance in Nanxiong reflects the numbers of people who migrated south at that time. Kangwang's worship is also widespread in Gannan, but he is identified, in Shangyou County, with a Song loyalist killed by the Yuan and, in the Ganzhou area, with three brothers known only to legend; see my introduction to volume 7 in the present series, "Temple Festivals and Customs in Gannan" (Hong Kong, 1998), pp. 8 and 20.

② On the role of Han Gaozu and Xiang Yu in Gannan, see the introduction cited in the previous note, pp. 15–16.

③ See my introduction to volume 3 of the present series, "Temple Festivals and Lineages in Gannan" (Hong Kong, 1997), p. 5.

④ "On every street," write Zhuang and Zheng, who say she became Nanxiong's patron saint after saving the entire town from slaughter in the Five Dynasties; her name is said to refer to the fact she was a seventh daughter. I suspect, however, she is the Qigu or Qixian (Seven Immortals) associated with epidemics in Gannan; see my introduction to volume 7, pp. 10 and 17.

nine days of opera and Taoist Thunder Altar ritual in the ninth month<sup>①</sup>; opera, as in Gannan, was of the Hunan variety (Qiju). Even the five Pangu temples, at the same time they suggest links with once indigenous Yao<sup>②</sup>, are also found just across the Jiangxi border in Longnan.<sup>③</sup>

The Duanwu festival must have been Nanxiong's most spectacular, culminating in a giant procession on 5/5. Already on the third day of the month, the Prince (Taizi) gods—said to be Liang Wudi's son Xiao Tong who, having saved many by chasing the epidemic gods out of town, himself fell ill and died on 5/5—were invited down from their thrones in the temples found "on every street." As in Zhujixiang, they accompanied the reed boats used to collect filth during the procession. They were joined by four young lads dressed in red pants and yellow shirts, in imitation of the imperial army. Other youths, dressed as demons, entered people's houses to exorcise them. Dressed in military robes, Kangwang chased a god from the Buddhist Hongshan si as though he were chasing a plague god. The following day he was dressed in civil robes for a second procession. Ji Xin, whose clothes had already been changed on the first of the month and who had been carried out of the Chenghuang temple to watch opera, was carried on the morning of 5/5 to Southgate, while Dinggong was carried to the yamen; at noon, they exchanged places. In the afternoon, the people all went to Southgate to send

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① This is done in the Guandi Hall of a Buddhist temple in Zhujixiang. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 16 and 22.

② See the article by Zeng Xiangwei et al in volume 1 of this series "Temple Festivals and Lineages in Meizhou" (Hong Kong, 1996), p. 185.

③ See my introduction to volume 7, p. 37.

off the reed boats by burning: first Ji Xin was carried through the “Yang flames” many times and then, having been carried through Southgate to a small gate nearby, was set down inside the closed gate while the boats and other items were being burned (this was called “running through the Yin flames”). After supper, there was a nighttime procession of lantern dragons and torches that continued till dawn.

There were three schools of Taoism in Nanxiong: those of the Patriarch Lü Dongbin, of the Heavenly Master, and of Maoshan. Lüzu Taoists lived in monasteries. Tales involving Lü Dongbin are told locally to explain the origin of the head scarf and apron worn by local women. Heavenly Master Taoists had “thunder altars” at home and well-defined “parishes” where they worked; their Lingbao dafa seal was said to protect from thunder. They did annual winter Jiao organized by street – each street had its own “god of good fortune” – as well as an 8/15 “seal opening” Jiao at the City God temple. If there had been many untoward deaths in the preceding year, Buddhists also participated, and “civil and military altars” were set up. Maoshan Taoists were called “demon-jumping masters.” A whole series of local marriage customs are said to derive from the magic fights between the Duke of Zhou and the Peach Flower Maiden which these masters enacted ritually. Zhougong wore a red turban and the Maiden clothing “like that of the minorities.” For sickly youths, they also performed “flower-warming” rituals in people’s homes on the first seven days of the ninth month and on 9/8 – 9 on their own “thunder altars.”

The two essays by Shen Yang and Luo Qishen take us to the opposite end of the Yuebei region, to Old Flatrock. as central to trade with Hunan as Nanxiong was to trade with Jiangxi. In its heyday, prior to the construction of a railroad in 1935, Flatrock boasted a  $2\frac{1}{2}$  kilometer-long main street with some 800 two-or three-story shops (mostly owned by three local lineages), three guilds, 48 boat factories (run by the same lineages plus a fourth), 20 docks, and four separate markets (each next to a temple). The Hunanese came to Flatrock to sell mountain products, rice, oil, pigs, water buffalo, fowl, and eggs; they carried back salt, meat, cloth, petrol, and foreign products. Jiangxi people traded mainly in herbal drugs, silk, cloth, and food salt. The Cantonese were mostly involved in the food business. The Hunan guild probably dates to the early Qing; the Guangfu guild was built in 1847. Merchandise was carried by small *erbo* boats upstream to Hunan; *long* boats with flat bottoms and a pointed prow to break the waves were used along the narrow, rapid river from Flatrock to Lechang and flat-prowed *ting* boats on the wide, placid river from there to Shaoguan and on to Canton and Foshan. There were some 5 – 600 *erbo* boats, about the same number of two even smaller types of boat, and some 800 *long* boats (the latter could carry 40 pigs, the *ting* boats 80). By recounting the life of Zhou Tingji, accountant for a pig merchant who switched to the transport business after the construction of the railroad, Shen Yang gives a good idea of how business was done in Old Flatrock. Particularly interesting is the role played by Hong Kong and Cantonese capital.

According to Luo Qisen, on 5/5 local boat people poured wine

on the head and tail of their boats, then cooked and ate together on their own dragon boat "in order to obtain the dragon's aid." Among the many trade gods mentioned by Luo, smithies worshiped Laojun, fishermen Tianhou, beggars Wu Zixu, and salt salesmen Ge Hong. As in Ganzhou, women mediums were called Majiao, "horse legs"; Taoists were called Shiyelao or Shigong, and they performed the same Big Flag ritual as in western Gannan (see the article by Luo Qidong in volume 7). The Han general Ma Yuan, said to have camped on the General's Hill behind Flatrock when he came south in the year 26 to suppress a tribal rebellion, was worshiped in the General's Temple, site of spring and autumn festivals. Prostitutes, when they worshiped in the Tanguan Temple at New Year's, stole paper ingots and brought them home to hide in their trunks so as to ensure good fortune in the coming year. The Sanjie Temple, with Guangong flanked by civil and military wealth gods - Bi Gan and Zhao Gongming - had major festivals for each of the three gods. The Jiangxi, Cantonese, and Hunan guilds all had their own gods and festivals.

Luo enumerates six kinds of decorated lantern dance; for the New Year, for weddings or the birthday of an elder person, to fill a vow, for a funeral, or in time of epidemic or other disaster. Many of these required a black-robed Taoist, who lit candles at the four corners of the house, set offerings on an altar, and invited the gods before the dancing began. Shigong also led "grass or incense dragons" through villages where troubles had occurred; when the procession reached the village exit, the dragon was burned, and all present left the scene without looking back, "lest the epidemic demons attach

themselves to them." Taoists also performed exorcisms for individuals – this included a ritual to "punish the evil dragon" – masked Nuo theater during major festivals, complex vow-repaying sequences of many kinds, and Shigong theater. This last was done by Shigong and Decorated Drum troupes working together according to the principle, "Rituals on the inner altar, theater on the outer stage." Among the plays were Ascending Maoshan and the Great Pan Cave. In the latter, after the Sanxiao Ladies send down epidemics, Laojun sends an emissary to the Sixth Cave of the Peach Spring to invite the Sixth Lady; they conquer the demons, give the Sanxiao thrones, and thus convert them into helpful gods.<sup>①</sup>

Liu Senhua provides street by street, shop by shop detail regarding commerce in his home town of Long River, near the Jiangxi border. Far smaller than Old Flatrock, it had 300 shops, 120 boats, one boat-making factory, 20 Liu lineage halls, 11 temples, and four guilds. The Liu lineage, now in its 28th generation – its founder came from Jiangxi in the early Ming – represents nearly 30% of the population and so dominates local life that even the local Lord of Wealth temple is viewed as a lineage temple. Paper was the main local product: still in 1956, there were 503 paper producers with 1761 pits for the maceration of the bamboo, and 958 workers. When the Cantonese, who dominated the paper market, built a new guild hall in the year 1885, the inscription said they had already been trading in Long River for over a century. Merchants from Jiangxi specialized in cloth, from Hunan in meat and inns, from Jiaying in foreign

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① Much of this is reminiscent of Shigong theater in China's southwest, especially among minority groups.

products, and from Renhua in rice, food, and variety shops. Each guild had its own manner of participating in annual processions for the Lantern Festival or in honor of the Lord of Wealth of the High Ridge on 6/6, whether lion dance troupes (Cantonese and Jiaying merchants), a carp lantern troupe (Jiangxi), a "fire" (incense) lion and dragon (Hunan), or "story scenes" (boat people). A Liu of the eldest of the four lineage segments had the privilege of changing the god's robe and shoes before the 6/6 procession began. The massive Liu delegation, all dressed in white, then led the presentation of meat offerings before the god was taken from his throne and put in his palanquin. He was carried thus, along a route set by the Lius, to their central ancestor hall, where Nammolao Taoists of the Prior Heaven school performed a ritual. After spending the night in the hall, a much smaller procession enabled the Lord of Wealth to inspect the rice paddies. At one point, he was set down in front of what was said to be the oldest local earth god and then, after having been welcomed back by representatives of the Liu lineage at his last stop, the god was reinstalled in his temple on the High Ridge in time for participants to end their vegetarian diet with a noon meal of meat. The gods were burned in 1951, the temple destroyed in 1964.

Recently discovered cliff paintings along the Jinjiang River just south of the Renhua count seat display Song-era personages and large wooden boats: clearly, writes Shen Yong, river transport was already important in Renhua. The county seat was a point for transshipment to larger boats of the merchandise from Long River in the northeast and Chengkou in the northwest. The height of the trans-

port season coincided with the paper-making season, in the eighth month. In 1949, 1700 people were involved in water transport. They spoke their own language, and when they came on land, they had to go barefoot, in short pants and shirts. They nonetheless participated fully in the annual 6/6 festivals in Long River, Chengkou, Fuqi (also upstream, a Temple of Our Lady), and at a temple downstream on the banks of the Zhenjiang where women often left the boat to repay a vow or "pay the river tax" to the god. Like the peasants in those places, they began fasting on 6/1 and participated in the processions on 6/6; they also paid for the opera on 6/6 in Long River and Chengkou. That was also a day for choosing a new guild head and for hanging out clothes and bedding to dry: the sun on 6/6 was thought to be good for driving out disease. On their boats, men lived at the "head" and women at the "tail." Grooms poled over to fetch their brides in the dead of night so as to avoid encountering pregnant women, dead boars or dead dogs.

Hou Chongyan notes that the river from Renhua was called the Widow's River because so many men died young on it. Hence, as the small houseboats used for Renhua approached dangerous parts of the river, the women would go to the prow, burn incense, and then replace their men at the rudder. Lumber rafts manned by "river guests" were the most important form of traffic on the river to Shixing. The river to Flatrock was far and away the busier of the two rivers that flowed together at the southern tip of Shaozhou (Shaoguan). Exports of silk, tea, and porcelain, shipped abroad from Canton, passed through Shaozhou; sea salt and foreign incense and crafts were shipped north. In the Song, Shaozhou became a ma-



jor center for metal products, embroidery, and textiles; in the Ming, tribute from abroad continued to go north via Nanxiong. Hou quotes an 1877 monograph to the effect that Shaoguan people were not interested in commerce but lived off the land. As a result, even local services – barbers, restaurateurs, porters, craftsmen, street stands – were run by outsiders (Hou cites one major exception, a local who had won the confidence of the Yao of Ruyuan: they would not sell their lumber to anyone else until he had bought what he wanted). Big business of all kinds was dominated by the Cantonese, who in the Guangxu era built a 3000 square meter guild hall where 3 – 400 people could banquet. Among the guild's services was a morgue and free shipment home of coffins. On 2/2, to worship the Earth God, the Cantonese invited a Nammolao and put on opera. Several of the largest wholesalers had affiliates in Canton, Nanxiong, and Long River. The Hunanese were the next most important business community, with a monopoly of porters and construction work. They built a hall of the same dimensions as that of the Cantonese one year later. Merchants from Fujian controlled hardware and tobacco, from Zhejiang silk and clothing, from Jiangxi rice and pimentoed duck, from Chaoshan seafood, from Shixing lumber and paper, from Xingning and Meixian cloth and knitted goods. All these groups built their own guild halls in the Guangxu era. The Mojiang guild of the boat people had separate sections for those involved in boat transport and lumber, and it organized transport and tax collection for the counties of Renhua, Shixing, and Nanxiong.

“For burials they drown in Buddhism; when ill, they rely on shamans,” states the 1877 monograph; “men worship Guandi,