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# 粵東三州的地方社會之 宗族、民間信仰與民俗(上)

譚偉倫 主編



國際客家學會  
海外華人資料研究中心  
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**LINEAGE, POPULAR RELIGION  
AND TRADITIONS IN THREE  
PREFECTURES IN EASTERN  
GUANGDONG**

VOLUME ONE

Edited by Tam Wai Lun



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總論篇

**Synoptic Discussion**

## **Lineage, Popular Religion and Traditions in Three Sub-Prefectures in Eastern Guangdong, A Synoptic Discussion**

TAM Wai Lun

### **Introduction**

The present anthology is based on essays presented at a Hakka studies conference held at Jiaying University in Meixian from October 7 to October 10, 1999. The conference was organized by the Institute of Hakka Research of Jiaying University, with the participation of the école franc, aise d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) and the Earmarked Grant Research Project on the Religious Festivals of Northern Guangdong of the Department of Religion, Chinese University of Hong Kong. Of the sixty-two papers presented at this conference, the Vice-Director of the Institute of Hakka Research, Fang Xuejia, selected fourteen and provided their authors with numerous suggestions for improvement. These essays together with five recent fieldwork reports produced by the researchers of the Institute became the first draft of the present anthology. After a critical reading by Yang Yanjie and John Lagerwey, these essays were revised once again before being forwarded to me. The present introduction is based on my final selection of seventeen essays.

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## **The Two Trade Routes Formed by the Han-Mei and Eastern Rivers**

The interdiction on marine transport started in the early Ming dynasty and was reinstated in 1656. It was finally cancelled by the Qing government in 1684. Thereafter, coastal cities in South China developed as a result of being able to be involved in overseas trade. The restriction of Western trade to four ports in 1684 was reduced to one port in 1757, with the only port left open being Guangzhou. This further stimulated the development of cities in the Guangdong area. Chaozhou Prefecture, situated in the lower reaches of the Han River, developed as a center of trade and shipping during the Kangxi period (1662 – 1722). Merchants from nearby counties and from Fujian and Jiangxi came there to do businesses, and many local specialties were sold there, making it the most important commercial city in eastern Guangdong and the second largest city in Guangdong. Through river transport and porterage along the ancient paths, Chaozhou and its adjacent areas, including Meixian, Wuhua, Xingning and Fengshun counties, formed a trading network. In his "The Traditional Market Economy and Local Society in Shekeng, Meixian," Xiao Wenping introduces us to this trading network of eastern Guangdong. Going from Shantou to Jieyang through the Chaozhou River, it took one day by boat. From Jieyang to Fengshun it also took one day by boat or on foot. Porters reached Fengliang from Fengshun within a day and getting to Jingyi took another half a day. From Jingyi to Shekeng, known as Shejiang today, it also took half a day. Shekeng was an important trans-shipment center. From Shekeng, goods were shipped to Meixian



along the Mei River in one day and reached Songkou through Bingcun, also in one day. From Shekeng, one could also reach Xingning in half a day by traveling southwest along the Ning River. Going south along the Mei River, it took two days to reach Shuizhai in Wuhua and three days by way of the Qin River to Anliu. From Shuizhai heading west, one could reach Huacheng and Qiling. A summary of the trade routes is as follows: Shantou → Jieyang → Fengshun → Fengliang → Jingyi → Shekeng → Meixian → Songkou

...Shekeng → Shuikou → Wuhua Shuizhai → Anliu

...Shekeng → Shuikou → Wuhua Shuizhai → Huacheng → Qiling

An alternative trade route that did not use porters was to go by boat against the current. From Shantou it took three months to go along the Han and Mei River through Meixian, Shekeng to the Shuikou of Xingling or the Shuizhai and Anliu of Wuhua. A summary of this route is as follows: Shantou → Chaozhou → Lihuang → Kaobei → Sanhe → Songkou → Bingcun → Meixian → Shekeng → Shuikou/ Shuizhai/ Anliu.

Obviously, this route could be used only for non-perishable goods such as salt. According to Xiao Wenping, everyday there were hundreds of ships passing through Shekeng. It was the trading center of specialties, overseas products and salt in eastern Guangdong, Chaozhou, and Shantou.

The above-mentioned combined trade route of river transport and portage probably started when the city of Shantou was first formed, that is 1861. In 1931, a highway linking Meixian and Shekeng was built. In 1933, another highway that connected Xiabao of Xingning and Chaozhou was built. These highways replaced the role of Shekeng as a transshipment center. In

1939 the Japanese occupied Chaozhou and Shantou. In order to slow down the advance of the Japanese army, highways were destroyed. The role of Shekeng as a transshipment center was, therefore, revived until 1945 when the Japanese surrendered. According to Xiao, in 1950, the number of shops in Shekeng dropped from 400 to 300 and by 1955 only 50 remained.

Through Shekeng, eastern Guangdong was connected to Chaozhou and thereby to overseas. The *Gazetteer of Customs in Guangdong* states that "in the east there is Chaozhou, in the west, Liannan, and in the south, Qiongya. From these three routes, there are families who do overseas trade." Chaozhou was the eastern harbour in Guangdong. Besides the trading of goods, there was also an export of human resources, and eastern Guangdong came to be known as the home of Overseas Chinese. In his "Overseas Chinese, Water Guests, Overseas Remittances, and the Transformation of Hakka Society," Zhou Jianxin introduces us to the 'water guests' of eastern Guangdong. Using the township of Nankou in Meixian as an example, Zhou describes how the 'water guests' played the role of delivering remittances from overseas. The population of Overseas Chinese in Nankou was 1.5 times that of the population living in the township, and 81% of the population lived on the overseas remittances. The term 'water guests' refers to those who traveled from Meixian through Shantou and went overseas two or three times per year. They brought local specialties like chrysanthemum tea and herbs to Overseas Chinese. Each time they also accompanied 20 to 30 people, including those who wished to marry Overseas Chinese or to work abroad. In return, water guests received a processing fee. On their return trip, water guests brought remittances and

overseas goods like cloth, peppers and medicine. Thus water guests were the middlemen who delivered remittances.

According to the Yongle dadian, there were four routes from the four directions that led to Guangdong. "From Xunyang, one goes down to Longchuan. From Chaoyang, one goes to Haifeng. Both routes pass through Huizhou and are known as the eastern route (to Guangdong)." This eastern route was connected to Guangzhou by the Dong River. Gong Huosheng's "The Lineage and Customs in Jiuhe Township of Zijin" shows how the Xiang River, a branch of the Dong Jiang, links Jiuhe to Huizhou. According to Gong, the Hot Water Market in Jiuhe town was the exchange center for nearby markets and Haifeng, especially for salt, seafood, and mountain specialties before 1949. The present collection of essays unfortunately does not cover the trade route connecting Huizhou, Chaoyang and Haifeng mentioned in the Yongle dadian. In his "The Culture and the Origins of a Fortress House in Zhenlong, Huiyang," Wang Hongyu mentions that the Yip family who built the Chonglin fortress house became rich by carrying salt in addition to farming.

### **Lineage and Worship of the Gods Along the Trade Routes**

#### **Chaozhou**

In his "Traditional Lineage Society and the Worship of Gods in Yupi She, Raoping," Xiao Wenping tells us that there was a saying in eastern Guangdong to the effect that "in Chenghai there are no Hakka and in Dapu there are no Fu (Chaozhou) peo-

ple." According to this saying, the Hakka were in the northern part and the Chaozhou people in the south part of eastern Guangdong. In between, however, there is a mixture of Hakka and Chaozhou people. Chaozhou culture entered the Hakka area along the Han River. In his "Lineage Society and Popular Culture in Jiuhe, Liuhuang, Fengshun," Song Dejian points out that Liuhuang is located in the central stretch of the Han River. Starting from the mid-Qing, people from the lower stretch of the Han River began to migrate upriver to Liuhuang. Many old shops in Liuhuang were operated by people from Chaozhou and Shantou. When Chaozhou was occupied by the Japanese in 1939, more people from Chaozhou fled to Liuhuang. One of the four biggest families in Liuhuang Township, the Xus, was from Chaozhou. Their ancestors came to Liuhuang to row boats and grew rich in Qibei village. The Xus became the biggest landlords and constitute one-half of the population of the whole village. All Hakka lineages rented farming land from the Xus. The Xus also owned half of the shops in town. The other half were owned by the Chengs of Jiuhe.

Zhou Jianxin's "Village Culture and Lineage Structure of the Chaozhou and Hakka People in Qibei, Liuhuang, Fengshun," gives a vivid description of how conflicts in traditional lineage society were reflected in geomancy and the worship of the gods. According to Zhou, the Xus of Qibei had geomancy conflicts with the Luos, Cais, Lis, and Yangs. Because of their lineage strength, the Xus won these conflicts: they broke the Luos' stone buffalo, a symbol of their geomancy; they prohibited the Cais from hanging lanterns outside their lineage hall so as not to disturb Xu's geomancy; they also bribed the geomancy master of

the Yangs into deceiving the Yangs to sell a prize geomantic site. In short, the Xus, who already occupied the visible resource of the village — the land — wished also to occupy the invisible resource, the geomancy. Geomancy also provided the small lineages, who did not own the visible resource, with an excuse to challenge the dominion of the Xus from time to time. After all, a good geomantic site is, at the same time, a visible resource. Another example is Jiuhe village in Liuhuang township, where 99% of the villagers are Chengs. According to Song Dejian's article, the Chengs came from a Hakka village called Buxin in Fengliang. Chengs, however, adopted the Chaozhou dialect and lived like the Chaozhou people because of their involvement in trading in Chaozhou; Jiuhe is located in a mountain area where lumber and bamboo grow, and the Chengs became rich by controlling the trade in bamboo and lumber, which were floated down to Yiqi in Chaozhou along the rivers. Yiqi was the largest trading center for bamboo and lumber in the Chaozhou and Shantou areas, and it was run by the Chengs, who owned wholesale stores there. They also controlled the Jin River on which Jiuhe lay. All ships passing through had to pay the Chengs a mandatory pulling service fee. Although they owned 80% of the land in Jiuhe and half of the shops in town, the Chengs still fought in court for good geomancy with the Jiangs. Eventually the Chengs bribed the geomancy master of the Jiangs in order to win the case. They also intentionally destroyed the Zeng's geomantic site in the form of an otter, which was a potential danger for their own site in the form of a carp.

Lineage relationships can also be reflected in the worship of the gods. All lineages in Qibei village paraded their gods; the

Xus paraded the King of the Three Mountains, the Luos the Great Emperor of Mysterious Heaven, and the Yis, Dus, and Zhangs joined together to parade their Tudi (Fude Laoye) and Guandi, known locally as the Great Emperor of the Xie Heaven. Parading gods also meant parading their mediums. Sometimes when two parading teams met, the mediums would fight. It was finally decided that when the King of the Three Mountains met either the Emperor of Mysterious Heaven or Guandi, he should yield, as god with the title of emperor is higher than one with the title of king. This apparently lowered the status of the powerful Xus, but while all other lineages paraded only in their own areas, the Xus paraded through all the villages with their gods. When the Xus paraded to the areas of other lineages, the latter even had to give them money in red envelopes.

In his article on Yupi she, Xiao Wenping points out that in most provinces and cities of Chaozhou, there was a mixture of Chaozhou people and Hakkas. The Hakkas here were known as 'Mid-Mountain Hakkas.' The mixing was a result of commercial activities. Chaozhou's Raoping County was closely related to the Hakka Dabu County. Gaobei in Dabu, on the banks of the Han River, was the main trading center for pottery in the south. The Jiuhe village in Raoping was a pottery-making center since the Song. The pottery was mostly sold in Gaobei. Many potters plied the routes between the villages of Yupi she in Raoping. Those who went to Gaobei were called 'tiao (literally carrying) Gaobei.' On their way back, potters would carry lime from Shuangqi to sell in Raoping. They were then known as 'tiao qi-tuo.' The limestone and lumber used in the Chaozhou-Shantou area were mostly carried in from Yupi she in Raoping. The rice,

pork, salt, seafood consumed in Gaobei, Huliao, and Chayang (Dabu) were sold by people from Raoping. These intensive commercial exchanges between Chaozhou and Hakka areas explain the mixture of Hakkas and Chaozhou people in Raoping. According to Xiao Wenping, there were conflicts between the lineages in Raoping. The Zhangs and Xiaos of Yupi she engaged in armed fighting over lumber in the past. The Xus and the Zhangs fought in court over geomancy and, as a result, vowed never again to intermarry.

In the past, villages worshipping the same god were organized as one she. The Yupi she worshiped Guanyin, who was known locally as Fomu Niangniang, Guanyin Laoye, or Anniang. The Yupi she consisted of nine villages, fifty natural villages and thirteen lineages. They paraded Guanyin from 1/25 to 1/26. One representative from each of the nine villages formed the executive committee for the event. Each lineage of every village had to organize a show. The Lius usually did a horse dance, the Xiaos a crane dance, the Zhangs a dragon dance — the longest dragon was carried by thirty-six persons, and the Cais fired powder guns. Over a thousand people joined the parade. The youths of each lineage participated, with the order of the shows being decided by lot. The conflicts between lineages were thereby 'sublimated' into competition over their shows, which at the same time provided a chance for each lineage to demonstrate its power. Many of the participating lineages also worshiped a local god in addition to Guanyin. The Xiaos, for instance, worshipped Daxin Laoye and the Zhangs Guandi and Yuhuang. While Xiao Wenping is surely right in suggesting that the common worship of Guanyin contributed to the lessening of conflict,

it by no means stopped lineage feuding. In spite of the fact they shared the same ancestor, the Zhangs of Makeng and the Zhangs of Kengbian came to blows over mountain, land and water. As a result, the Zhangs of Kengbian refused to join the activities of Yupi she and chose instead to participate in those of Guayuan she. The Zhans of Changkeng and Zhangs of Kengqian both belonged to Guayuan she, but because of their conflicts the Zhangs did not participate in its religious activities. The Zhangs of Bashang in Yupi she, because of an armed feud, do not marry the Zhans of Lingjiao she.

Hepo town in Jiexi county, Chaozhou, belonged to the area of the 'mid-mountain Hakka.' According to the Qing government's administrative system, below the *bao* was the *jia* and below the *jia* the *yue* (literally covenant). Hepo consisted of six such *yue*: Xiangtou yue, Shitou yue, Longyun yue, Nanshan yue, Malu yue, and Yuanpu yue. The total population was about 310,000. The population of the Zhangs, Cais, Lius, Huangs, and Lis was all over ten thousand. All villages in the six *yue* had their own tutelary deities, and Tudi were worshiped at their village gates. On 1/15, according to Liu Tianyi's "A Brief Discussion of the King of the Three Mountains and Other Popular Gods in Hepo, Jiexi," all statues of the all the village gods that could be lifted up were paraded to the Lower Market of Hepo. The youths organized drum teams. The children took their lanterns and rolled themselves in the wheat fields so that they would never grow boils. Despite their crops might be damaged, the owners of wheat fields could not complain. When the parade teams passed by the vegetable fields, those who were holding flags would pick a few carrots with their pointed flag's



pole. Again the owner could not stop them.

There were over sixty images in the head temple of the King of Three Mountains. On 1/2, the King of Three Mountains would send his civil commander and military official to patrol the six *yue*. This was known as Welcoming the Princes (Wangye) from the great temple. The patrol route was determined by lot each year. Since there were over two hundred villages in the six *yue*, even a half-month patrol could not possibly cover all the villages. There were three possible ways of welcoming the Princes. The most prized way was to have them stay a night in the village. Next best was to invite them for lunch, and last was simply to stop them on their way for a short visit and a sacrifice. The proper way to receive the Princes was known as 'holding the Princes up'. It was said that Hepo had been a battlefield and there were many casualties. Welcoming the Princes had an exorcistic function. When the Princes arrived in a village, all householders would take turns worshiping them. The youths would then parade the gods through the village to an open area for a fire-cleansing—the rite of holding the princes up. Newly married bridegrooms had also to come out for a 'display'. A group of youths wearing shorts and underwear would wait for the arrival of gods. The youths carrying each god would tear off its beard and remove its hat and movable arms before plunging into the open field and running around a fire with it. The youths that were waiting joined in by racing after the gods to hang fire-crackers around their necks and then setting them off. Others pulled the gods from their sedan chairs and dragged them to the ground. Liu Tianyi describes the whole process as "primitive, rude, brave and splendid." All the youths had to kneel down be-