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主編 勞格文

# 陽山、連山、連南的傳統社會與民俗(上)

譚偉倫 曾漢祥 主編



國際客家學會  
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# INTRODUCTION

Tam Wai Lun & Zeng Han Xiang

## Libu and Zhaigang in Western Yangshan

Ninety percent of the land in Yangshan is mountains, and over one hundred peaks are higher than a thousand meters. Yangshan is, then, a typical mountain region in northern Guangdong. The first appearance of the name Yangshan can be traced back to the end of the Qin period when the first emperor of China decided to set up a mountain pass called Yangshan<sup>①</sup>. In 803 A. D., Hanyu (768 – 824) was demoted as the county magistrate of Yangshan. This is a frequently told story among the people of Yangshan. Another often – mentioned story is that Yangshan was previously a land of the Yao tribe. It was in the Ming dynasty that a major demographic change occurred in Yangshan. In 1374, Yangshan became one of the thirteen main iron industry centers in China.<sup>②</sup> According to the field studies by Huang Yuanqi and Feng Jiaying, when villagers recently dug fish ponds in Sanhe village of Taiping town, they discovered traces of mine minerals. Huang and Feng believe that Sanhe village was formerly an iron mine field. A blacksmith is still found in the village today. The iron mine industry apparently attracted some immigrants to settle in Yangshan during the Ming (1368 – 1644). A complete version of the

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① Shiji, fascicle 113.

② Yangshan xianji (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), p. 12.

gazetteers of Yangshan was written only in 1593. The city wall of Yangshan was built as late as 1463. These facts indicate that the Ming dynasty is a watershed in the development of Yangshan.

Another often – heard local story is that the people of Yangshan are the descendants of soldiers. We learn from the gazetteers that in the early Ming, Chen Yangman and 386 families from Shanghang in Fujian were hired as soldiers to suppress the uprising of the Yao leaders Pang Yige and Zhou Yige<sup>①</sup>. Tangjian from Sihui, Guangdong, and Ye Yuanqing from Shanghang also led troops to suppress the Yao uprising in Yangshan. In 1382, the so – called Five – flag Army founded by six different families (Tang, Mo, Liang, Pan, Zhang, Wu) from the Pearl River delta area were also sent to Yangshan<sup>②</sup>. These troops, who spoke Cantonese, later settled down in Yangshan and became the local people of Yangshan. They were found mainly in three places, now known as the Three Stations (Sansuo). The First Station is in Libu, the Second Station in Jundong, now known as Ma' on Shan in Zhaigang, and the Third Station is in Qigong. According to the studies by Su Gui, residents in Qigong are descendants of the above – mentioned generals Chen Yangman and Ye Yuanqing. After the war with the Yao, Chen was appointed Military Governor (Duye). Chen Yangman together with his father Chen Longyan migrated to Dongjiang, Dubu, in Yangshan. His uncle went to Caobu in Qigong. The ten families led by Ye Yuanqing migrated to the Third Station in Qigong. The lineage hall of the Ye family remains the biggest lineage hall in the area. The eldest son Chaojin and second son Chaobao of

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① Yangshan xianji, fascicle 15 (Minguo version), cf. Yangshan xianji (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), p. 12.

② The 'flag' may refer to a military system of the Ming dynasty. Cf. Mingshi, introduction to the treatise on soldiers (Bingji), which tells us that a small flag troop consisted of ten soldiers and a large one of fifty.

Tangjian from Sihui migrated to Xinxu. His third son Chaobin migrated to Dubu and the fourth son Chaoguang and fifth son Chaoju migrated to Libu. According to fieldwork by Su Gui, the term 'flag' is related not to the army system but to settlement rights. It is said that the families led by Ye could occupy whatever land they wanted by simply putting up a flag there. The period from 1702 to 1832 was a second milestone for the changing of the demographic structure of Yangshan. Many Hakkas migrated to Yangshan because of the feud between the Hakka and local people in western Guangdong at that time. The Hakkas came to Yangshan to trade. There were, for instance, thirty sugar factories in Yangshan, many of which were run by the Hakkas. Some Hakkas operated forestry businesses and sold rustic articles of wood and bamboo. The Yangs who came during the reign of Qianlong (1736 – 1795) were known to have occupied half of the Libu market street. They also built the largest Hakka fortress house in the area. The Chens, who came from Meixian during the early years of Xianfeng (1851 – 1861), became rich through oil – pressing, sugar – making and the mining industry. They also built a large fortress house with nine courts and eighteen wells. In the later years of the Qing dynasty, Hakka became one of the main dialectics used in daily social intercourse in Libu. The Hakkas thus reversed their identity of 'guests' and became local 'masters'. Nevertheless, the majority of merchants in Libu remained Cantonese. They controlled import and export trade, bringing salt from Guangzhou in exchange for food to Qingyuan and Guangzhou.

The two main temples in Libu were both related to military defense. One is called the Temple of the Military Governors, worshipping governor Feng, Yang, Ao and Xia. The Yangshan gazetteer quoted a 1520 inscription which states that "in 1457 – 1464, Yangshan was invaded by rob-

bers. Yang, Ao and Xia were appointed to lead soldiers to Qigong and the robbers were suppressed... They were then worshipped as gods.<sup>①</sup> As for Feng, the Yangshan gazetteer says that "he was also from Yangshan and deserving of recognition for services rendered."<sup>②</sup> Huang Yuanqi quotes a Hunan gazetteer to show that Governor Feng was Feng Guobao from Taiping township, Sanpudong village. In 1571, Feng was a local military official in Jianghua county when he was killed in a war to fight robbers. He was later invested with the rank of Military Governor. Before 1949, there was a four-day Jiao ritual for the Military Governor Temple. Musicians from Guangzhou would be invited as well as the Guanyin in Tongguan who guarded the water exit of the area. Jiao would also be performed during a drought. The Temple of the Great Saint located on the main road of Libu is to commemorate the monkey god who helped defeat the robbers from Qingyuan. Both the temples of the Great Saint and of the Military Governors were recently rebuilt. According to the study by Huang Yuanqi and Su Gui, Hakkas living along the river of Tongguan would hire Taoists to perform rituals. Based on their description of the Taoists' rituals, their hairdressing and how they make up as women, we may conclude that the Taoists of the Hakkas belong to the school of Lǐshān. In their ritual to deliver the wandering ghosts, however, the Taoists invited ? ākaymuni and Guanyin. This indicates they also used Buddhist ritual traditions.

Villagers living in Tongguan of Libu came mostly from Weizhou between the periods of Qianlong (1736 – 1795) and Daoguang (1821 – 1850). Half of the villagers belong to the Chen lineage. The other big families are the Li, Wen, Zhang, Lin and Ao. When the Tongguan river reaches the village of Tongguan, the current becomes slow – moving.

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① Yangshan xianji (Qianlong version), fascicle 18, on Temples, p. 249

② Yangshan xianji (Qianlong version), fascicle 18, on Temples, p. 247

Ships, therefore, tended to stop in the village, turning it into a virtual small town with a dozen shops. This is uncommon for a village. Nonetheless, people from Tongguan still went to Libu market for shopping. The day before market dates, there would be three to four boats running to and from Libu and Tongguan. Ships coming from Lianzhou would go to Tongguan before reaching Libu. From Tongguan to Libu is against the current. Passengers would, therefore, mostly leave their goods with the ship and preferred walking to Libu. There were two stone – paved roads leading from Tongguan to Libu and one to Lianzhou as well. Because of the convenience in transportation, from the Kangxi (1662 – 1722) to the Qianlong (1736 – 1795) period, salt for consumption by villagers living along the Tongguan river, including Zhaiguang, were distributed from Tongguan. The amount was over 1, 200 bags. The shores of the Tongguan river was very fertile for the growing of sugar cane. Due to the development of the technology of sugar – pressing by using water power in the Republican period (1912 – 1949), the volume of production was doubled. Three sugar factories together annually produced 200, 000 to 270, 000 catties of cane sugar. One picul (100 catties) of sugar could be exchanged for seven to three piculs of grain. Before beginning production, a hut for sugar – pressing had to be built and three kinds of livestock sacrificed to the god Chegong (literally the god of the wheel). The same process was required after the sugar – pressing was done and the hut had to be demolished. On the 1st and 15th days of each month, one catty of pork had to be given to each worker. The most important temple in Tongguan is the Guanyin temple built by the Cantonese living there. It was also subsidized by the Cantonese merchants from Nanhai and Xinhui in the Pearl River delta area, who frequently traveled along the River Lian for trading. There would be a temple festival on the 19th of the second month

each year when the famous Cantonese activity of ‘grabbing the Flower Canon’ was organized. Every three years, there would be a Jiao ritual that lasted three days and four nights. It was remembered that a Jiao ritual that lasted for a week was organized in the 1930s. The Jiao ritual was performed on the river shore facing the temple. A floating bridge had to be built across the river, and an architect from Nanhai and Qingyuan would be hired. A Theatre troupe would be invited from Guangzhou and Foshan. In July of 2002, we visited the Guanyin Temple in Tongguang. The 60 – year old temple attendant told us that there was a five – day Jiao ritual for each of the three days for Guanyin (commemorating her birthday, her leaving the household and her death). It was the remembrance of Guanyin’ s leaving the household that took a week. Now it has been changed to a three – day event. We were also told that the Guanyin temple would be jammed with people during the Chinese New Year from the 1st to the 20th. Besides Guanyin, we also found the image of son – granting ladies, the 18 Lohans, Beidi, the Eight Immortals, the Heavenly King who held a pagoda in his open hand, the god of Wealth, Happiness, Honor and Longevity in the temple. The White Goose temple was the biggest temple in Tongguan. It was remembered that inside the temple, the Lady Caozhu from Yingde was worshipped in the middle, the Kang Ning sisters to pray for rain on the left and King Panggu on the right. Lai Gong riding on a dog and an unknown deity riding on a horse were also worshipped on the two sides. The White Goose temple was destroyed during the Great Leap Forward period (1958 – 1960).

Zhaigang was governed by Liannan county only after 1953. Residents were mostly members of the former ‘Five – fnag and Six families’ Armies from Nanhai and Shunde. We visited one of the siy families, the Zeng lineage, in August of 2005. According to 79 – year old Zeng Shao-

fang, 75 – year old Zeng Xianqing and 80 – year old Luo Yufang, the six families who came to Yangshan as soldiers were Liang, Pan, Zhang, Mo, Tang and Yan, a different version from what we learnt earlier (the Yan replaces the Wu). One of the authors of our book, Luo Kunlei has a third version of the six families: Pan, Liang, Zhang, Yan, Xu and Huang. Apparently, there were different versions of the so – called Five Flags and Six Families Armies. Hakkas came to Zhaigang in the Qing dynasty. Among them, the Zeng, Luo, Li and Pan became a local majority composing more than 80% of the local population. There was a popular saying which states that the Zeng, Luo and Li are bullies. Zeng Yufang explained that when the Taiping army of Hong Xiuquan (1814 – 1864) came to Libu, local leaders Zeng Qinxiang, Luo Chuanxin and Li Zhongyin helped organize villagers to fight the rebel forces and drive them off from Yangshan. They were later granted ranks of the fifth grade. The Zengs came from Heyuan in eastern Guangdong in 1783 and consist of two different branches. They now number 8, 000. The Lis came from Meixian. One branch came in the Jiaqing period (1796 – 1829) and migrated to the Jinguang village of Zhaigang. They now number 5, 000. The Luos migrated to Zhaigang in 1777 and consist of three branches. They now number 7, 000, out of which 500 have become Yaos! The Pans, divided into three branches, migrated to southern Zhaigang between 1745 and 1794. They now number 5, 000. Luo Kunlei said the village head of Zhaigang rotated between the Zeng, Luo and Li from the Xianfeng (1851 – 1861) till the Republican period.

In Zhaigang, apart from the Temple for the Military Governors, the most grand – looking temple was that for Lady Caozhu. According to Luo Kulei, there were more than twenty Namo ritual specialists in Zhaigang. Lüshan rituals were also used in the Jiao including ‘pacifying the dragon’

and 'hiding the flower' rituals. In August of 2005, we interviewed Zhu Jingxin, a 68 – year old Namo. Zhu said Zhaigang is the place of origin for Namo (we took it to mean only that there were so many Namos in Zhaigang that they become dominant in the area). The Namo ritual consists of civil and military altars. The former is Buddhist and the latter Taoist ( 'Maoshan' ). Zhu also said that only the local people – the Cantonese – could be fully ordained as Namo; others would be short – lived. Although Zhu admitted that the Namo ritual was performed in the Hakka dialect, the fact Hakka could apparently not be fully ordained as Namo, suggests that the Namo ritual is basically a local, that is, Cantonese tradition while the Lüshan ritual is a Hakka tradition.

Rishui village in Xiajiang township is located on the border line between the Hakka and local areas of Yangshan. The name of the village came from the hot springs found in the villages. It was also called the Wenquan xun. The term 'xun' is a military term in the Qing system. It refers to a garrison area in a remote county or township with a small number of soldiers. According to a Qianlong version of the Yangshan gazetteers, there were eight solders standing guard over the Wenquan. This was because robbers laid await in the river gorges running through Wenquan in order to highjack the goods transported by water. Watch towers and gates were also found in the village to help defense. Solders put a charge on all the goods passing through Wenquan to pay for their living. The three biggest families in the villages were all descendants of the solders sent from Lianzhou to Wenquan. It is reported that their Hakka dialect is different from that in Yangshan but similar to those in Lianzhou and Liannan.



### **Qinglian in Eastern Yangshan**

The centre of gravity for the traditional economy of Yangshan was not found in the county seat but rather in Qinglian. Qinglian was the main exchange centre for goods in Yangshan because of its convenience for transport. By the River Lian, one could go against the current to the county seat from Qinglian and to Lianzhou. Following the current, one could go down to Qingyuan and to Guangzhou. Via the River Lingbei, one could go against the current to Lingbei and Chengjia in northern Yangshan. From Qigong, one could also go to Qinglian by the River Qigong that joins with the River Lian. According to a map drawn in the Republican period, there were eight piers in Qinglian and more than 150 ships stopped there daily. When Guangzhou was subjugated by the Japanese and the railways were destroyed, many people fled to Qinglian. At that time, villages along the River Lian and in Hunan relied on Qinglian to supply them with daily necessities. Their agricultural products were also exported through Qinglian. Porters traveled from Qinglian to Jiangying in Yangshan and to Qingxin in Qingyuan. Many traders migrated from Nanhai, Panyu and Shunde in the Pearl River Delta area to Qinglian. Qinglian was, therefore, known as a small 'Foshan' town. Among the major items traded in Qinglian were grains, oil, sugar, bamboo and wood. The land along the Qinglian River were fertile for the planting of sugar cane, and many sugar factories were found in Qinglian. Soybeans and sauce produced in Qinglian were also famous. Judging from the names of the old streets such as Incense - Producing Street, Blacksmith Street, Chicken - Selling Street and Piglet - Selling Street, there was town planning and a division of labor in the town of Qinglian. The stone lintel for the Cantonese guild-hall dated 1822 can still be seen today. Based on this material evidence,