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 余州建聞, 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 peoples 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 岭南, a term used over the last two millennia and still in use today for the area roughly corresponding to Guangdong and Guangxi, but more often referring only to Guangdong.

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 charity, 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
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 Qiang people in Hai-nan should be crushed and that Chinese administration should be instituted in their areas.

The inclusion of the references to "Qiong 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.

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The translation below is based upon the text published in the Ling-nan Cong-cha 柳南叢志 series, in an edition annotated by Yang Zhi-yue 楊志岳 and published by the Guangdong Tertiary Education Press in 1988. The following terms have been left untranslated in the text:

Chi (尺) - Chinese unit of length. Approx. 14 inches.
Cun (寸) - Chinese unit of length. One tenth of a chi.
Dong (頃) - An administrative unit usually instituted in indirectly governed non-Chinese areas, and thus often, by extension, a reference to an uncivilized area.
Duo (多) - A type of fish-trap.
Fen (分) - Chinese unit of weight. One tenth of a jin.
Jin (斤) - Chinese unit of weight. Approx. 1/5 pounds.
Li (里) - Chinese unit of distance. Approx. 1/3 mile.
Li (里) - Chinese unit of weight. One tenth of a fan.
Man (丈) - A generic term used to refer to non-Chinese peoples, usually in the South of China. Often translated as "barbarian".
Qiong (邛) - Chinese unit of weight. One tenth of a Chinese ounce.
Qing (畝) - Chinese unit of area. Approx. 15.13 acres.

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-sheng 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-sheng Jian-wen was also collected during that period.

The Text:

The sources of the information contained in Yue-sheng Jian-wen were obviously diverse. Much of the section translated below was copied directly from the Guangdong Xiong-yu 廣東新語, or "New Account of Guangdong" by Qu Da-jun 魯大均, 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-sheng 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 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 folktale 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 "ripened 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 "two 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".

seen as constituting groups distinct from the general population.

The author:

The author of this work, Fan Duan-ang 范端 Angry 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-lien Shi-le 香裏詩録
2. Lien-chi Xu-le 建谿詩錄
3. Lien Shi-le 萌詩録
4. Lien Le Xiu 萌詩録

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

by Fan Duan-ang

CHAPTER 1 -- (PEOPLE - PART 8)

1. The Dan People 丹人

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 sea 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) people.

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" in Tanka. They often take a knife and a lance and plunge into the water to fish. All of their women are able to swim. The elderly women are called "fish" sister 魚姐, while younger women are called younger "clam" sister 蛤姐. Fish are large and clams are small and that is why elderly 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 Guangzhou 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, which constitute the shore-based net families, and those who use bamboo fish-traps 竹籠, wicker fish-traps 竹篩, stake fish-traps 豁樁, large fish-traps 大罶, small fish-traps 豬茅, large river fish-traps 大河茅, small river fish-traps 小河茅, sheltered area fish-traps 貨篩茅, square nets 方篩, radiating nets 射篩, spiral nets 螺篩, bamboo drums fish-traps 竹篹, cloth dra fish-traps 竹篹, fish baskets 魚籠, crab baskets 蟹籠, large snare nets 大罟 and bamboo rafts 竹筏. 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 祖墩 and Lin-dun 林墩 to the West of Guangzhou are examples of such villages. However, honourable families will not marry with them. Because they are violent and skilled in pirating, they often bring harm to coastal villages. Yue has thus 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 of over 10 boats, and at other times, it is a group of two or three boats. Each group has several village boats 船隻 which follow it, and their function is to sati the fish which are caught. When the situation allows, they suddenly engage in plunder and they are a menace to merchants. In the Autumns, 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 know how to sail 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 十 is the South-east of Guangzhou City live the Lu-ting 魚亭, who are also known as the Lu-yu 魚余. It is said that when the troops of the Jin (265-419 A.D.) bandit La Xun 盧 vere entered Guangdong, 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-tung. 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 詳山 were fishers 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 males 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.

Of all 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 "We-lan Hao-xi Go" 五顏笑西歌, 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 illuminate the skin, a reddish-brown colour will be observed within it. Or, if the face is illuminated by the flame used to smelt silver, and it becomes red and lumpy, that person has the Feng disease. Male Feng suffers 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 大癬. In the 600 to 700 li from Yang-chun 阳春 to Hail-kang  hài-kang, 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" 進皮.
 ancient war-drum. The “wandering Ma” frequently brought the drums to their ancestor, who was a Wave-Pacific 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 筆蓋. 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 Qia Subprefecture, surnamed Huang 黃 and Xuan 覃 were persons who realized achievements in Wave-Pacific Ma’s expedition against Jiao-zhi and remained to guard the border. The ancestors of the Huangs was named Huang Wang-ting 黃王定 and was from Qiong-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 聚龍峒 realized achievements in punishing bandits, a gold warrant and seal were conferred upon him. In the early years of the Hong-shen reign (1368-98 A.D.), those were recovered, but he remained head of the dong. The ancestors of the rulers of Shi-xiu dong 師秀峒 was named Xuan Chun-wang 順春旺 In the early period of the Yong-le reign (1402-24 A.D.), the head of Shi-huo dong 師 حو 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 Bu-xi 布西 were 博西, 博西, 博西, 博西, and Gu-sen 古森, who are surnamed Huang, are all descendants of Huang Wang-ting.

The Lang People 朗人

There are Lang (lit. “wolf” or “violent”) people in Luo-ding 呂達, Dong-an 東安 and Xi-xing 西興 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 禯邦 in Guang-dong (1373-1619 A.D.). Their tribe numbers several tens of thousands and each person annually provides three pintens in money tax to the governing subprefecture or county. They guard the walls and the moats for the officials, the government offices and provide firewood. They are quite tame by nature and they fear the law. In Xi-xing 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 19 Lang males, divided into 19 dong.

The Yao People 廖人

In Yue, the two tribes constituting the Yao and the Li 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 陳林 did not at the time have sufficient horses reared or troops trained and thus the supreme commander Ling Yu-niota 游資發 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-lin 廬欽 and Yun-yang 澹坪 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 ile-ili wood 畢刀木. The cross-bows are two chi long and have the force of one hundred jin. The head has a double groove and is fitted 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 潘 and they are divided into three groups: the Gao-shan 高山, the Hua-du 華都, 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 老祖 and Pan-hu 盤虎 as their primal ancestor 大祖, those who are not surnamed Pan were originally Han people who fled to hide in order to avoid banditry or heavy 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 cursive. When a man wants to take a wife, he goes into the mountains and when he sees a woman gathering firewood, he will wrestle 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-jian 曲江 which is under Shao-guan 賽鵝, it is only those with the surname Pan who are 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 barefooted. They are called the “board Yao” 板 Yao. Those who do not use the boards are called the “civil Yao” 民 Yao, and are governed by a Yao commander 管理. 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 詐縣 and a Mount Xian Weng 詐縣 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 詐馬 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 Guo-zhou Prefecture, there are the Ting-zhao Yao 銳昭 Yao, the Bai-zhao Yao 白昭 Yao and the Xian-zhu Yao 詐豬 Yao. 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 聯川, there are no civilized Yao and the Yao there are generally termed the Ba-pai Yao 八排 Yao. 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 inch thick. They can skit through forests and over cliffs. They call themselves Gentlemen Yao 瑟公 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 marries a woman who are not eligible 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 rode cushions 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 headboard, which is one chi-ji length 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 縷. Women in love marry, women marry, their hair is dressed around an arrow shaft. The hair is divided into two braids and both the left and the right female are wound around the arrow shaft and covered with an embroidered scarf. Such persons are called "arrow" Yao 箭. The saddle and sleeves of their clothing are all embroidered with variegated threads. 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 bandy and are excellent at ambushing 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 civilization influences extend?

The She People 嫩人

The She are of two tribes, called the Ping-zong 彩 耘 and the Qi-zong 旗 耘. They are three surnames among them: Pan 班, Lan 蘭 and Lei 雷. They live in the mountains, dwell in huts with arrows to obtain their food. They wear neither headwear nor footwear. The people of the three surnames marry among their own group. When someone dies, the dwelling huts are burnt and the people move to reside elsewhere. In their agriculture, they have no plough or hoe. Rather, they just use knives to work the earth and their short five grain. This is called "knife cultivation". They burn the forests and work the earth 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) establishedShe officials to rule them.

In Cheng-hai 程海, there are She households who clear hills and undergrowth in order to plant crops. In the Hai-feng 沙豔 area, there are the Luo She 羅嫩, the Fu-fu She 傅夫嫩 and the Da-si She 大寺嫩. In Xing-niao 飛鳥, there are the Da-si She 大寺嫩, while at Gui-shan 貴山, there are the Yoa She 亞那. The character "She" 嫩 stands for the character "She" 嫩. Within the San-zao 三尺 mountains of Hainan, 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 黑 Yao are called H’ai-yi 黑衣, the Shao-ai 斗衣 and the white-clothed mountain people and they till the hills for a living. Formerly, they never paid taxes, but now pay taxes to Lian and Qian Subprefectures.

The Li People 嚐人

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 三岔嫩, while those who are more similar to civilized are the Si-chi Li 四知嫩. 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 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 their hands and the bows made of rattan. The rattan grows in the shape of a bow and at the two ends are cut on which the bow-string is secured. The string is also made of rattan. The arrows are of bamboo, but without feathers. The tip of the arrow has three bars, which form a "callout" reverse barb. Thus, when an arrow enters, it cannot be pulled out. The uncivilized Li are frequently invaded by the civilized Li to engage in bandy 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 後 are too long, and who thus run a little slower, who are often apprehended.

The Li skirts 後, which the women wear are made from four rounds of cloth sewn together and embroidered with variegated threads. The skirts 袴 have hundreds of small pleats. These skirts are long and this makes walking difficult and thus the women tug 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 peacock, fixing it with a hairpin and then place a brass ring on top of the hairpin. 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" 標面 嫩. 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 uncivilly called "diao-lie 旗", "ti 綢" is the forehead, while "diao 綢" means to emboss. They use a needle-stylus and pigments of green and red to make the tattoos. Li women all have lacquered carrying-poles, on which are written several lines of Li songs. The script looks like worma and the writing cannot be understood. If a Li man dies without children, the people of the whole area and all 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 方 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 outside the other end, he can assume the position of Li 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 averting of grievances and they call this "avenging head debts", but the revenge is not considered achieved through surprise attacks. They are also good at charming 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 merchant wants to buy gan-wood, they have to get the civilized Li to guide them into the uncivilized Li areas, and then they distribute gifts of yarn, thread, needles and cloth. The uncivilized Li then bring the wine and food and the merchants 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 taxes, they also all have to taste the wine and food. Only then do the Li say that the government officials are fair and willingly pay their taxes. When the Li meet government officials, they go naked, with a cock's tail feathers stuck vertically and a bone hairpin 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 subprefecture and nearby 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-cheng reign (Dec/Jan 1730), 1,735 uncivilized Li from Ya-shou 島 川, 67 uncivilized Li from Ling-an 岭安 County 安定, 286 uncivilized Li from Ling-shui 岭水 County 和水 220 uncivilized Li from Qiong-dun County 隆山 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 jin 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 唐人

In the Wa-zhi Mountains, there is also a tribe of Qi people who are extremely fierce and barbarous. The Qi are the people who were called 貞 during the Sung dynasty and extend for about 1,200 li. The inhabitants of the Qi mountains are the people who were called Li 嫩 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 the mountains and engage in slash-and-burn agriculture are called the Gan-jiao 甘蕉 people. Their customs are similar to those of the civilized Yao. It is calculated that the Yao and the Qi occupy the area extending for about 1,200 li. However, if the amalgamations are subtracted to make up the indemnities, their territory would only extend for 400-li plus. 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. Therefore the mountains and the population are very 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 isolated positions to cause trouble. Hai Zhao-jing 蒋照京 once noted: "If we placed 30,000 to 50,000 troops against them, it
The Black People

When the Ming (1368-1644 A.D.) was prospering, many of the major families in Guangzhou 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 customs 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 (Lui, ewas and backs) 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 "chancing 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 under water for one or two days. These are called "Kun-lun slaves." During the Tang dynasty (618-907 A.D.), many of the wealthy and powerful families kept them.

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THE HONG KONG ANTHROPOLOGIST

THE HONG KONG ANTHROPOLOGIST

粤中见闻卷二

人部

菠菜

菠菜属广泛分布于亚洲，喜光性较大。菠菜不耐寒，多生于丘陵地区。菠菜的根系发达，茎叶生长迅速，其风味鲜美。

菠菜的栽培历史悠久，其种植方法繁多。菠菜的种植可采用直播或育苗移栽，一般选择在春季或秋季进行。

菠菜的营养价值丰富，富含维生素C、胡萝卜素、叶酸等营养素。菠菜的药用价值也较高，具有清热解毒、凉血止血等功效。

菠菜的食用方法多样，可炒、煮、凉拌等，是餐桌上的常见菜肴。菠菜还具有一定的保健作用，常食菠菜有助于健康。

菠菜作为一种常见的蔬菜，其种植、加工、食用等方面具有丰富的文化内涵。菠菜的种植、食用等习俗在不同地区有所不同，体现了地方文化的多样性。
当护妇女，皆带一花香囊，多放香料，奉行者佩之，无论老少皆人，俱为同里，相与嬉笑，有者为《五婴》之子，天云云：“命具下垣长，中有横刃花香。一笑得人齐下弦，取放香囊而歌。”观此，则是，是，中多疾者而十之五六。

其风初开，未出庭里，即以白之，以红紫，或以深红。照其面上成团，是则生非者矣。凡男女不带香囊，女则素而可带于男，一色而左，即风之，女无见，左为风，则宜常，宜常春意盖六百里，板桥平野，皆放香囊，其俗所谓过

马人

马人

马人

马人

马人

马人

马人

马人
黎人


其妇女彦茗茶，有四五合钱，或五色花布，婚约作数百
折，不能行者，皆其十之于聘，累累如繁练物。惟黎大同，欲之如环环，取诸 élevé[4]花，赤，柱，拖之号，为‘绣面而女’，黎女将嫁嫁，各异自别，男为女卖布，其간科皆男
娶妇，以为记号，使不得再嫁。古有谓‘卖妻’者，此也，盖
在。黎也，嫁，妇，以村男尽之。黎妇女俱执镜梳头，上
写字歌行，字如虫，书不可辨。黎死无子，于合族共葬，其妇
欲再嫁，则其内者请于黎长，其衣衣者，持内配者授之，携礼礼在
刷次。

黎多背，王二姓，非此二姓为长，黎明不服。欲立长，必系
一生年，箭射牛腹而不，即得立，无文字要约，以作 组 留
为难[1]，虽隔代皆可为长。

唐虽玩，名‘争头健’，不为戴头环，又是长人。与客
相交，必究其已亡父母。如是，客来而笑，头目之，忽见酒
客，皆为酒而，立即全意。客欲买酒，必使熟黎 引入 生黎
村，分送，极，极，布等物，生黎设酒客，各饮酒歌一酒，
各旅一客，若不饮者，必命阖屋其客，官府到黎村征粮。

亦要尝其酒味，乃谓官公平，急促接案，凡见官府，作诗，现
留住一席后，便居冠。生黎不知其事，熟黎照例
行，欲入城贸易，即绕角椎秤而行。据正八月正，履
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，俱凭土司门面而行，呼呼
每年纳丁赋二分二属，田赋粮，会续添奉。黎人

武人

五指山中又有土群，人犷犷犷，亦非字也。以黎
为官，曰“黎”，其鬻菜，火种，名曰“干田坡”，与
黎难解，计黎，味蕾如苦力的一千二百余里，池[5]长补短。
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 region, 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 swallow’s nest for the Chinese gourmet markets of Hong Kong and elsewhere. Learning as he went along was his own director, cameraman, producer, editor, 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, films 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 Fo, a record of the 1975 ceremony at Ho Tsen 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 backing; he was infuriatingly deaf to the advice he was offered, and, although without deliberate rudenesses, he tended to ride roughshod over the Chinese people whose life he was recording and on whose continued goodwill we his assistants depended. Partially, 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 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 films-making out of his own pocket; and, while he still had energy and enthusiasm, he had lost 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 École Française d’Extrême-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 advisor), 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 bohemian 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 plates clanging against each other gradually superseded those of the crowds. One or two indistinguishable “entrepreneurs” put their last remaining effort into inviting passers-by to literally “have a rest” in their open stack food-stalls. 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 shoes. 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 didn’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 even 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 most prominent Wan Chai on the Hong Kong side now dominates the lifeline. But prostitution is still going on…

According to a resident who has been living in the Street
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 gain in the area too — selling off the unsalable 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 are among the most important Chinese gods — Goddess Tin Hau, Goddess Kwan Yin and Lord 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 rebuilt. Whether to her liking or not, I genuinely doubt.

A Tourist Attraction

All-embracing Temple Street apparently possesses the very essentials of a tourist arm. 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 brochure, 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. Stuek, a tourism officer in the Town Development Department in the Association, is "an open issue to be talked about" and definitely not to be "censored against", and hence, "not a face of Temple Street to be recommended to tourists".

What do the tourists think? They occur 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 shoes, 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 the "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 behavior of both locals and tourists shed much light on how they see Temple Street. Stallkeeper Lau appreciated the tourists' easy buying behaviour, but he was even more fascinated by the local youngsters' energy and brashness in the same respect. Indeed, in between 6:00 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-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 tourist time-table as Temple Street is, it may have the most intriguing back-stage 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 tourism experience as "re-creation", something that must take place away from home" in the words of anthropologist, Graham (1977).

Anthropologists, however, are increasingly aware of the wide range of "touristic" activities present in various societies and under various circumstances. Indeed, as in Graham's (1977) analogy, the touristic experience is a "Sacred Journey", marking "ritualized breaks in routine that define and redirect the ordinary", its "magic comes from the movement and the non-ordinary setting. What is
To understand the peculiar world that Temple Street constitutes behind its touristic limelight is to understand something like the "unthinkable" experience. The area seems to be a puzzle, comparable to the tourist bubble anthropologists identify to describe the strange dilemmas 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 30'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 hawker's use of the phrase "play Tai Chi" to describe the government officials' apathetic behavior 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, double 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 "slowdown", 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 Mong Ling 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 questioning 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 intertwining between the Yau Ma Tei and Temple Street where no government department seems to have been assigned. This mysterious zone is in fact the working area of approximately ten regular flower sellers 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 incomes, 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 seemingly 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 feet 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 this policeman, together with his English superintendents showed when they passed through magazine hawkers selling not only titillating revelations of the inner lives of leaders in Communist China, the most eye-catching one being "Deng, Xiaoping's Tragedy of Love", but unrepeatable 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 prying 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 whoever 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 opague bubble where people come and go becomes "sealed", 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 "breakdowns" 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 at 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 quests 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 these selling oriental products by apparently Nipponese 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 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 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 very smile and brightly-lit eyes that he personally did not believe in Mr Cosmos but had come along with his own country's Gypsys. So, talking does not mean communication and having an intention to communicate does not mean effectiveness - human beings are "wonderful" creatures!
Apparantly Nepalese sellers gather normally in threes and fours around the Market Street Public Lavatory pavement, New Arbat, where I identity by their look, gather around one stall to buy the identity of the hosts and guests. One exception, though, is the apathy of my 30-year-old informant who, seeing the on-looker at his watch was a male Mainland Chinese, told me he was not going to entertain his interest. 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.

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 "hedge furnace teller". To provide proof for his honesty and his bird's too, he asked the bird to pick out the same furnace 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 "rest, 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 very. New generations take over to sustain the character of Temple Street. Director Law 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 reliable. 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-holders. More work also needs to be done in order to shed light on local 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 on 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 hawkers stall, so that closer social relations and observations of tourist and local activities could be made.

References:

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 ra-ji (acquiring [villager] status) which consisted of a feast for the entire village hosted by the newcomer (for example, see Feuer 1986:30-36). However, do rights of settlement imply that the non-indigenous villagers can attain full village status just like the indigenous villagers? In this article, I attempt to reveal how the indigenous village/non-indigenous village contrast is highlighted and how access to the blessings conferred by deities is restricted in a village festival in the New Territories.

Kam Tin is a farming village founded by the Hous in the Qin-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 unfenced shrine dedicated to Da-wang (Great King) stands under a shady bamboo 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 on 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 "non-mou-laat" (chanting followers).

Amongst the participants in the rituals we are here most concerned with twelve choan-shau (homage heads), whose main duty is to participate in the Hong-chau on behalf of the whole community. The choan-shau are assigned their role by means of a ten-year reka system and the persons who turn out are the men-tou (door heads) or households set up by the Hous. Men-tou is an emic term which denotes the principal domestic group formed by a married man, his wife, and their unmarried children. A man will take 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 changed after the term "Hou-men" ("Hou's door") whereas the men-tou is mentioned. In assigning the choan-shau, 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 choan-shau are themselves a symbol of the piousness of the villagers. In the major rituals, the head of the choan-shau always gives pride of place to a manuscript called Yi-ta-ting (Scriptures of Vows Followers). On the manuscript is written a list giving the full names of the choan-shau 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 placed called Ren-yuen-hong (Placard of Preceded Human Relationship), which will be placed later on the front wall of the temple. A copywriter 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 choan-shau and the men-tou named in the list in return for their piety and their commitment to carry on the Hon-chau tradition. Being the honorary representatives of the ritual community, the choan-shau, 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-shau. 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 choa-nou (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 (kow-tou hao-wu), and thus the offering expresses the villagers' wish that the Hong-chau will be a great success.

At the sametime, some local assistants are prepare a big pot of congee with pieces of meat and the internal organs of the pig added to it. The congee is called choan-shau (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 non-mou-laan, the attendants of the Hong-chau, and those who come subsequently to the temple to collect their shares of choa-nou. It is remarkable that the choa-nou and the choan-shau are ritually shared and consumed by the deities concerned and the Hous. This annual communal symbolizes and reenforces the ongoing intimate relationship between the two parties.

Ritual sharing of pork is also observed during grave visits. According to the interpretation given by Elsie Watson (1986:222), the pig by being brought into contact with the grave is imbued with cosmic forces that flow through the pig's body. That is to say, when the descendant of the dead receive their share of the pork, each of them will absorb a portion of the qi (cosmic breaths) captured by the grave in the course of its, fong-shau (Chinese geometry). Another example of ritual sharing of pork is found in an age-old communal celebration called Zao-shue, 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 rituals of Da-wang are built according to fong-shau 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. Cooch Carson and other colleagues of the heavenly deities believe that the heavenly deities will be sent away from all the men-tou of the Hou's. Again, the ritual service is performed to benefit the Hou's only.

In the aftermath of the Pu-chau ritual, the placard is posted carefully from the wall and then burnt together with the manuscripts. In the case of the heavenly deities, it is noteworthy that each of the men-tou of the Hou's has to contribute at least one hundred dollars to finance the celebration. All other subscribers,
CELBRATIONS 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. 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. Of these about 1600 lived on Phuket Island itself and the nearby islands; mostly in the 5 main settlements of Rawai, Sapan, Tukay, and Laem La on Phuket and Laem Tong, on Koh 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 variations. Most, speakers from southern Burma to Phuket; Moken, speakers from Phangnga south to Phuket; and Urok Lawoi, speakers from Phuket, south along the coast of Malaysia, to the New London Islands south of Singapore. Phuket, at the meeting point of all these dialects, has speakers of all three, with Urok Lawoi predominating.

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

including the non-Hon 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-choa, 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 acknowledgment from the Hon, the host of the festivity, but not the blessings conferred by the heavenly deities.

The Hon attaches 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 nam-mu-loo kneels before the main altar table and reads out the name list and the memorial on the manuscript with great caution. Some of the Hon will attend the presentation and listen carefully to ensure that their own names, 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 do not have or wrongly written. If any name is missed, it is like burying a curse upon the person concerned because, metaphorically speaking, it implies that the victim is regarded as a dead person. In such an event, a special royal ritual has to be performed to offer an apology and to correct the "false" mistake.

The foregoing analysis makes it clear that access to the blessings prayed for in the Hong-choa 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 Qiao-jiao (Punitive Rite of Peace) in Paliang, Long Yek Tau, Kam Tin and Tao 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.

Laem Tsuen is a village alliance of twenty-three villages and is inhabited by a number of different surname groups. The Tai-ping Qiao-jiao held in Laem Tsuen in 1981 (Laung 1984) also featured a manuscript and a placard similar to those observed in Kam Tin. In this local tradition, two categories of villagers could enjoy the privilege of having their names listed in the manuscript and on the placard. The first category included those households headed by yuen-ju-binis (indigenous inhabitants whose patrilineal forbears were already residing in the New Territories before it was leased to the British government in 1989) native to Laem 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 Tin.

In Lam Tsuen, access to blessings is less restricted than in Kam Tin. 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 unoccupied frontier 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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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 luck who might follow its members out to sea. All the communities on Phuket celebrate to some degree, but Talay 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 Absence. Festivities begin in the late afternoon with a noisy parade 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.

At about 5 o'clock in the afternoon boatwork ceases temporarily as everyone gathers at the altar to share the first feast shared with the ancestors, the khai 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 platters 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 chickens 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 throw handfuls of puifed 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. Solomaries over, the group relaxes and enjoys the feast with much laughter and confabulation. The children steal a few cakes and clean a white flag as a token or souvenir.

With darkness all the Chaw Lay leave the clearing and head 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 Pahadok, or the Day of Protection. Before the sun rises the community gathers around the new 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 puifed 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 north; all those gathered give three loud cries and the boat is quickly hoisted up to the shoulders of six or eight men and rushed earlier than 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. In the afternoon of Hari Pahadok, some of the men and children go off into the hills to cut wood to build cressets, 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 leafy branches decorating the area; but in other cases they can be much more intricate with carved fish or sea-birds, flags and multiple areas. 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.

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 congregate their drums over the sound 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 plait 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 doused 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 head-dress and other ritual tools, paves 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 honoring 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. Solaces 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.

REFERENCES:
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 1978-1981 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.


5. For a discussion of the traditional forms of Chaw Lay boat, 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 beachfront identifying them to all Chaw Lay as Chaw Lay sites.