

大鵬所城

一個深受城市化
衝擊的軍事古城

DAPENG FORTRESS

THE RURAL REMINISCENCE
UNDER URBANIZATION

睡 木板床、在城樓上玩砂砲、用柴火煮大鑊菜、把剩飯和剩菜放在木架上……我對這座「堡壘」的印象，就包含著這些模糊的童年回憶。自我出生以來，家裡人每年都會到「堡壘」住上幾天，爸媽稱之為「返鄉下」，但對我來說，那幾天寄居在親戚家的日子，彷彿就是要我這個香港人適應農村生活：不太好用的沖水馬桶、用勺子洗澡、睡覺沒有冷氣……這些經歷，讓我對這個如今的「深圳八景」之一有了一些先入為主的印象。成年之後，我有好幾年沒有回到這個地方了。當我在二零一二年重返「堡壘」，才赫然發現她已經歷了巨大的變化。帶著好奇心與滿腦的疑問，去年我以人類學系學生的身份重遊古城，並以此作為我畢業論文的研究課題。

"Sleeping on a hard wooden bed, playing 'Pop Pop' on the fortress gate, cooking in a big wok over a firewood stove, keeping left-over food on a wooden shelf..." These are fading childhood memories associated with the fortress. Ever since I was an infant, my family would return here for a few nights every year. I always fretted over the rural conditions during the stay in my relative's house: having inefficient flush toilet, taking bath with ladle, sleeping without air-conditioning and so on. These experiences disapproved the now renowned tourism destination, one of the "Eight Scenes of Shenzhen". I had not visited the fortress after adolescence, hence I was surprised to see tremendous changes when I re-visited the place in 2012. A year after, as a final-year Anthropology student, I translated sheer curiosity on the changes in the fortress into research questions of my thesis.

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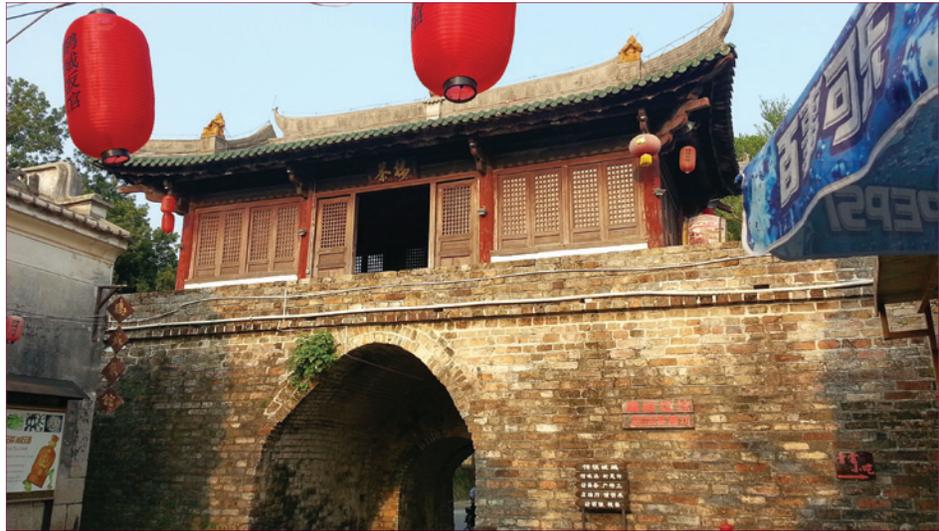


用柴火、大鐵鑊煮素菜
Cooking vegetarian meal in a big
wok over a firewood stove



大鵬所城，當地村民叫它「大鵬城」，是深圳經濟特區東部的一個寧靜古城。在交通發達的今天，從香港出發，約兩小時便可到達大鵬城。它位於大鵬半島之上，面向大亞灣，城的東邊不到四公里便是大亞灣核電廠。大鵬城是建於明代洪武年間（一三九四年）的軍事要塞，以防範沿海海盜及倭寇入侵而聞名，在十九世紀中期的九龍海戰中更英勇抗擊英軍。第二次鴉片戰爭後，隨著清政府喪失了香港領土，大鵬城也失去了它的軍事作用。自此，曾經輝煌的堡壘回歸淒然與平靜，成為普通的農村居民聚落，住著當年守衛海岸的軍官與士兵的後代。

Dapeng Fortress is a quaint town in the eastern part of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone. With improved transport infrastructure nowadays, it takes around 2 hours from Hong Kong to the fortress town on the Dapeng Peninsula. It faces Daya Bay, and is just 4km west to Daya Bay Nuclear Power Plant. It was established during the reign of Emperor Hongwu (1394) in the Ming dynasty and became famous as a coastal garrison against Japanese pirates. More than a century and a half ago it was a strategic post in fighting the British army in the Kowloon Battle. Following the Second Opium War (1856-1860), the ceding of Kowloon Peninsula from Qing China deposed Dapeng Fortress as a stronghold in the region. The glory of the fortress faded, and it gradually became a common rural settlement for remaining descendants of the officials and soldiers.



大鵬所城的東門，現在
成為了一家茶館。
East gate of the fortress,
now a tea house.

雖然小時候偶爾定期「返鄉下」，令我對大鵬城算是有基本的認識，也讓我對這次在大鵬城進行的田野調查有了一定的想像。但是，正因為我腦中那些既淺薄、又只屬於自己的童年經歷與記憶，當真實的景象出現在我眼前，帶給我的是一浪接一浪的文化震盪。我驚訝於這個我曾經熟悉的地方，現在竟變得如此陌生，讓我的心頭有如打翻了五味架般。這大概不僅僅是因為我已幾年沒有回來，還因為我目睹了當地政府和居民對這條古村的改造。

Though the regular infrequent visits during my childhood built up certain anticipations towards my stay for the field study, as I should have in a certain extent some basic knowledge about this legendary citadel, in reality my shallow and private childhood experiences and memories stirred up waves of cultural shock. I was astonished to see how an acquainted place has become so alien. This alienation was coupled by rapid rural transformations carried out by the local government and the local people during my absence.

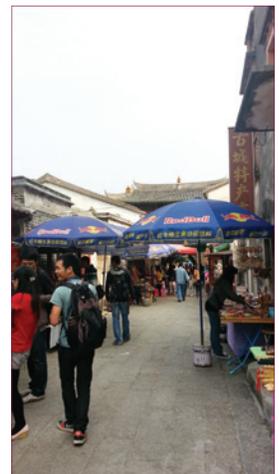


大鵬所城外的街景。道路兩旁的房子本來是民居，現在差不多都變成了商店。

Street scene outside the fortress. Houses on both sides of the road were originally residential, and now they become shops.



二零零七年的南門街
Street scene of Nanmen (south gate) Street in 2007



二零一三年的南門街
Street scene of Nanmen Street in 2013

這次田野調查，從其中一位受訪者的家開始。他家是一座四層高的房子，家具都是新設的；房子的外觀跟整個屋苑的其他六十多座無異。屋苑離歷史悠久的大鵬所城約一公里，屋苑的周圍有兩條更古老的村子、一片片荒地和農田，還有由大鵬鎮、大鵬所城一直伸延至核電廠的鵬飛路。整齊的排列、西式的外觀，讓我頭一眼見到這個屋苑時，還以為是私人發展商或投資者旗下的地產項目。後來受訪者才告訴我，這片地和所有房子是代表大鵬所城的原居民買下，整個屋苑則是由當地政府策劃和組織興建。每間屋內的設備一應俱全，一個現代城市人的家應有的也盡有：煤氣煮食爐、雪櫃、熱水爐和花灑、電視機、電腦、互聯網連接等等。住在裡面的我，完全感覺不到一點不便，也不覺得和在香港生活有甚麼分別，房子比香港的還要大得多呢。這個新穎的屋苑就建在大馬路旁邊，掩蓋了後方老村的老房屋。在新舊交融、過去與現在交替的場景下，屋苑的出現彷彿是要成為一個示例，為鄰近地區和到訪的客人展示現代化和城市化帶來的好處和繁榮。



屋苑內看似一式一樣的房子
Homogeneous "modern" houses in the estate



屋苑內的日常景象
Common daily scene inside the estate

The field study began at one of my interviewee's home - a newly furnished four-storey house inside an estate with sixty-some replicas. The estate was about 1km away from the historic fortress and is surrounded by two older villages, vacant land and farms, and *Pengfei Road* that links the township of Dapeng, the fortress and all the way to the nuclear power plant. At first I thought this estate was a property project of private developers and investors for the organized and westernized outlook of the estate. My interviewee later told me that the land and houses were all purchased on behalf of the villagers of Dapeng Fortress while the whole estate was planned and organized by the local government. The houses were all equipped with modern facilities of any comfortable city home: gas stove, refrigerator, heater and shower, television, computer, internet connection and so on. During my stay I hardly experienced any inconvenience due to the deprivation of comfort I usually had in Hong Kong. What's more - there was more room to enjoy. This modern estate blocked away the old local houses from the main road. The contrast of old and new, past and present was exemplified by the convenience and prosperity brought by urbanization to its neighbour as well as incoming visitors.

其實除了屋苑外，鵬飛路兩旁也可見工業化和城市化的跡象。那些在八九十年代興建的工廠和濾水廠，都是隨當年深圳經濟特區成立而發展起來的。這裡的農田曾經讓各個軍人家庭得以自給自足，後來在毛澤東年代的集體主義下，成為農作物集中出產的來源。一九八零年，深圳經濟特區成立，為這地區帶來大量機遇，建立起小規模的製造業工廠。當地政府和國家提供基金改善這兒的基建和設施，吸引外國和香港投資者進入市場，同時又向當地民眾貸款，以供個人投資之用。一九九四年大亞灣核電廠的落成，正好促進了鵬城地區製造業的急速發展。農業雖然不再支撐著本土經濟，由稻米、水果、蔬菜到禽畜等多種多樣的作物，產量卻大幅上升。工業化的進程刺激了人口增長與蔓延，大鵬城的原居民為了更好的生活環境，陸陸續續搬出城外，在城的周邊居住下來；他們城內的老家則因為租金便宜，紛紛被外來民工租住下來。這個轉變對大鵬城的文化與社會面貌，尤其是對依然住在城內的老人家影響極大。幾位只會說大鵬話（這裡的客家方言）的老婆婆，表示沒法與操普通話的民工溝通。除此以外，由於當地的學校也取錄民工子弟，因此也傾向使用普通話教學。普通話的使用越來越頻繁，使普通話慢慢取代了土話，成為當地的主流語言，說土話的反而成了「異類」。

There were other signs of industrialization and urbanization along *Pengfei Road*. Those factories and water plant built in the 1980s and 1990s witnessed the establishment and sprawling of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone. Centuries ago farmlands here were entitled to garrison families for self-subsistence. In the Mao era the villages underwent collectivism for centralized crops production. The establishment of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone in 1980 introduced opportunities to develop small-scale manufacturing industry. The local and state government offered funds to improve infrastructures and facilities to attract foreign and Hong Kong investors, while grants and loans were issued to local community for individual investments. The construction of the Daya Bay Nuclear Power Plant in 1994 facilitated the development of manufacturing industry to bloom in this region. Agriculture no longer dominated the local economy, but there had been drastic increase in production of a wide range of produces ranging from rice, fruits, vegetables to livestock and poultry. Industrialization stimulated population growth and sprawl. Indigenous villagers relocated in the immediate surroundings of the fortress for better living conditions, while influx of migrant workers occupied the ancestral homes of the villagers at a low rent. Such transformation has caused great impacts to the local cultural and social scene, especially for the elder generation who are still residing inside the fortress. Several old ladies who could only speak the local Dapeng Hakka dialect reflected difficulties in communicating with the migrant workers who could only speak Putonghua. Local schools that admitted children of migrant workers tend to use Putonghua also. The prevailing use of Putonghua is alienating speakers of the local dialect.



過去三十年來的城市化過程，令老鄉村的生活模式逐漸被城市生活所取替。最近，不少人在這兒開展了一個又一個計劃，重構這兒的文化，成功勾起了原居民的老記憶和對這個地方的認同。這些以保育角度開展的計劃以發展文化與環保旅遊為目標，不受城市規劃和核電廠的限制。除了大鵬古城博物館擔起保育和維護古城的角色，當地人也因應個別興趣，運用他們的文化資產，成為當地文化與外界的溝通橋樑。

Urban lifestyle took over rural traditions during three decades of urbanization. The recent heritage renovation programme recalls memories and identity of the indigenous villagers. Primarily for conservation, the programme also underpins cultural and eco-tourism benefits over constraints of town planning and nuclear power plant operation. While Dapeng Fortress Museum conducts conservation and preservation of the fortress, local people also pour in their passion, interest and cultural resources.

演唱大鵬山歌。留意後方老婦人手持的藍色涼帽，是大鵬文化的一種獨特標記，是其他客家文化裡面所沒有的。
Dapeng Hill Song performance. The blue *Liangmaos* held by the old ladies are unique of Dapeng. They are not seen in common Hakka culture.

盧先生是官方認可的大鵬山歌第四代傳人，他在當地組織了一個大鵬山歌合唱團，讓大鵬人自由參加。他說參加合唱團的老人家不但把它視為宣揚大鵬文化的方式，還能夠從中找到志趣相投的人。他們的積極參與得到了外界的認同，盧先生還間中收到演出邀約，讓合唱團有機會在舞台上獻唱。有些人則把文化資產轉化為真正的財產。在古城裡經營餐廳的歐先生，說村民絕對不願意把利益拱手讓給大財團。在和當局及當地政府交涉後，原居民現在能夠利用他們的文化資產做些小生意，同時為當地畢業生提供就業機會。他還補充說，村民本來對於做這種生意毫無概念，因此所有相關的概念都是向外界借鏡。由陳先生設立的「生活文化館」就是一例。他和他的搭檔參考了香港的一個文化古蹟和它的資訊館，



把那一套引入到大鵬城。現在學生來到文化館，可以一嘗做米餅的滋味；年輕一代也可在文化館中認識那消失中的農村社會文化。此外，文化館還肩負起傳承一個家庭傳統價值的使命。我到訪文化館的那天，沒有看見一群群到來參觀的幼稚園生，卻碰到三位三四十歲左右的當地女性，租下了文化館的一個地方，和她們的孩子一同製作烤米餅。途中幾位媽媽不但和我分享育兒經，還有這種客家小食背後的文化意義。看來，文化館滿足了現今大鵬城人的需要，讓他們由此回憶起自己的文化身份。



友發廠是一家港資製造廠，位於大鵬所城之西南，自一九八零年代起運作，現時租出作住宅。
Youfa Factory, a Hong Kong invested factory in the south west of the fortress operating since 1980s, is now rented out for residential use.

Mr. Lu, an officially recognized fourth generation inheritor of Dapeng Hill Song, runs a local choir of these folksongs. The elderly who join the choir want to promote Dapeng culture and share this hobby with each other. Their dedication is much proclaimed and they receive invitations to perform on stage. Others utilise their heritage property for business. Mr. Ou is the owner of a restaurant inside the fortress, like many other villagers he is not willing to lose their fruits to big corporations. After negotiating with the authorities and the local government, the indigenous residents of the fortress can now capitalize on their properties and resources to run small businesses that may even provide job opportunities for local graduates. For better overall management the villagers are learning from experiences elsewhere. Mr. Chen's Livelihood and Cultural Centre takes reference of the information centre of a cultural heritage in Hong Kong. Together with his partner they implement their observations into the local setting to make it a place for students to learn rice crackers making. The centre also educates youngsters on vanishing culture of the rural society and promotes traditional family values. It was proved on the day I visited the centre - instead of seeing a group of kindergarteners in my expectation, I met 3 local women in their forties, who brought their own children here to make rice crackers. The mothers also exchanged stories of child rearing and shared the cultural meanings of the snack with me. The centre is a perfect setting

for Dapeng people to reminisce their own cultural identity.



媽媽們帶著孩子，在生活文化館裡體驗做米餅。

Mothers preparing dough for kids to make rice cracker in the Livelihood and Cultural Centre.



城內的老婦在天后廟中準備給善信的禮品
Old ladies gathered at Tianhou Temple to prepare gifts for worshippers



還有大鵬人的天后宮太平清醮，也讓大鵬人的原居民身份得以定期體現，讓他們記得自己是原居民的一份子。一位村民告訴我，打醮儀式本為五年一次，歷史悠久，在毛澤東掌政期間曾遭禁止，在近年才重新舉行，二零一四年的那屆是現代有紀錄以來的第三屆。我參與了整個太平清醮儀式，從觀察中，我發現整個大鵬社區由七十多個姓氏和氏族組成，每位原居民和另一位之間都有某種複雜的親戚關係，即使是從香港或海外回流的也不例外。農村社會的價值雖然總是被遺忘，卻總又不斷被提起。這次，我雖然用了一個新的角度去探訪和認識這個地方，但相比我初次重踏舊地的一刻，我那些「文化震盪」似乎已經稍有舒緩，因為我知道不管鵬城面對怎麼樣的轉變，鵬城人對保存自己的文化一直不假手於人，並且珍而重之。✧



打醮巡遊
Taiping Qingjiao parade

舞麒麟
Qilin dance



夜間參拜
Worshipping at night



城內的日落
Sunset inside the fortress



Tianhou Taiping Qingjiao is another great event to recollect cultural identity of Dapeng people. For centuries this ritual was held once every five years but was suspended during the Mao era. It was resumed later and the 2014 ceremony was the third happening after the resumption. There was much to be observed throughout the ceremony. I found that the community was composed of more than seventy surnames and clans, yet each individual could relate each other in complicated kinship relations including returnees from Hong Kong and overseas. Values of the rural society wax and wane in various times of the year or in various settings. A new perspective of the place I have always known alleviated a little bit of my cultural shock. I know that the Dapeng Fortress community has always had a way to keep and interpret their own culture in all circumstances. ✨



打醮完成後的宴會
Finale banquet of *Taiping Qingjiao*