

客家委員會獎助客家學術計畫

〈客家漢人民族誌略〉譯註與研究

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論文精要與研究成果報告

日耳曼地區符騰堡王國（Königreich Württemberg），長期在客家地區傳教的新教傳教士歐德理（Ernst J. Eitel, 1838-1908）是客家研究史中相當重要的角色。他於 1867 至 1869 年間發表於《中日釋疑》（*Notes and Queries on China and Japan*）期刊中的〈客家漢人民族誌略〉（*Ethnographical Sketches of the Hakka Chinese*），以及 1873 年發表於《中國評論》（*The China Review*）的〈客家歷史大綱〉（*An Outline History of the Hakkas*）。這兩篇論文可說是奠定後世客家研究方法與客家人認同基調的重要著作，在研究方法以及對客家源流的主張上享有開創者的角色，並深刻影響 1933 年羅香林發表的《客家研究導論》。本研究從歐德理使用的「ethnographic sketches」這條線索開始追蹤，先釐清十九世紀中葉在歐洲傳播的「ethnography」之性質，並發現當時的「ethnography」和今天人類學研究方法之一的民族誌（ethnography），在性質、主題、方法上皆有相當大的差別。本研究發現，歐德理所進行的「ethnography」研究，應當理解成現代的民族學（ethnology）研究。但是在翻譯上，我們必須維持漢語「民族誌」與英語「ethnography」的對譯關係，以尊重十九世紀時的用語。用現在的民族誌來理解歐德理發表於 1867 至 1869 年間〈客家漢人民族誌略〉，必定會有相當大的誤差。不過出身符騰堡王國的歐德理，雖然學術背景的養成都在日耳曼地區完成，在撰寫〈客家漢人民族誌略〉之前的事業生涯又跨越德語系的巴色差會和英語系的倫敦傳道會。因為歐德理同時具有英語和德語學術傳統的背景，所以本研究進一步把歐德理在〈客家漢人民族誌略〉涉及的主題和日耳曼學者 Ehrmann〈普遍與專門民族學大綱〉，以及英國科學促進協會和倫敦民族學會（The Ethnological Society of London）合作編寫的標準化問卷 *A Manual of Ethnological Inquiry*。結果發現歐德理雖

然身處說英語的倫敦傳道會，也用英語發表論文，但是接受的學術傳統和發表的〈客家漢人民族誌略〉，主要還是受到德語學術傳統的影響。

釐清歐德理學術背景後，本研究進一步對歐德理的〈客家漢人民族誌略〉和〈客家歷史大綱〉兩篇文章進行題解。〈客家漢人民族誌略〉是在《中日釋疑》上連載的文章，但歐德理似乎沒有完整的寫作計畫，而《中日釋疑》上刊登的文章也具有筆記或問答性質，因此我們不能把〈客家漢人民族誌略〉視為一個完整嚴謹的學術著作。而去期待〈客家漢人民族誌略〉必須反映十九世紀中葉客家人的完整圖像。合理的閱讀方法是將〈客家漢人民族誌略〉視為客家論述在十九世紀的各種早期作品之一。這些早期作品可能出自客家人、非客家的漢人，或是外國人，可能對客家人持正面、敵視，或是先入為主的觀念。經過數十年的相互激盪和對話後，在 1930 年代才有以羅香林《客家研究導論》為代表的統整性的客家論述。

Article I. 住在廣東省各民族

歐德理用歷史上薩克遜人、丹麥人、諾曼人在不同時期移入英格蘭來類比本地人、客家人、福老人進入廣東省的過程，不過他在決定各族群進入廣東的時間順序的時候，採用的並非文獻紀錄的證據，而是運用各族群名稱和分佈地區來推測。用這個方法，他從「客家」這個名字推測客家人是較晚到達的族群。他也知道這樣的論述不夠完備，所以另外撰寫〈客家歷史大綱〉說明客家人移入廣東省的歷史。

Article II. 比較客家方言與廣東省其他居民的方言

在這一節歐德理認為粵語、客語、官話三者都是從中國的共通方言分支

出來的語言，保留最多古代共通語特色的是粵語，其次是客語，官話則丟失很多古代共通語的特色。這個觀點和後來語言學家建立的漢語方言間的親緣關係一樣。歐德理從少數資料，非系統性的比較就能得出類似的結論，其洞見不可不謂先進。此外歐德理也懷疑潮州話的一些特色來自比粵語更古老的方言，與現代語言學者對閩語系起源的看法相同。不過歐德理推測客語從古代共通語分支出來的時間點為公元一世紀，時間點過早，但瑕不掩瑜，歐德理在此的洞見仍然是傑出的推論。

Article III-IV. 客家人的特質、風俗、習慣，並與住在廣東省的其他種族比較

關於客家人特質、風俗和習慣，歐德理用了兩號的篇幅來描寫。這是十九世紀民族學家最感興趣的部分，也是〈客家漢人民族誌略〉中相當精彩的部分。這裡記錄了許多十九世紀客家人的物質生活片段。如果搭配照片，就可以重建這段在現代化過程中來不及保存的客家形象。在學術傳承的呈現上，在這兩節中歐德理的描述和用語也充分看出他與德語民族學之間的連結。但我們必須注意到歐德理的田野範圍僅限於他傳教的地區。但客家人的大本營嘉應州，以及潮州府、惠州府的客家地區是屬於巴色差會的傳教範圍，已經轉籍倫敦傳道會的歐德理不會去那裡傳教，目前也沒有紀錄顯示他在1868年以前曾經去嘉應州或閩西的客家地區常駐。因此歐德理所描述的客家人，應該是他在博羅和早期在李朗（新安縣，今深圳市的一部份）所觀察到的客家人。

Article V. 客家民歌

歐德理對客家民歌的描寫可以對應到 Ehrmann 提出的十二項主題之一，「禮俗與民俗藝術（Besondere Sitten & Gebraeuche）」。歐德理開宗明義就強

調民歌反應民族特質，是民族最真誠的聲音。顯然歐德理深受德語學術傳統的影響，並且想運用他通曉客家語言的優勢，透過介紹民歌來描寫客家人的心理狀態。但是歐德理在此不錄原文，而採用英語翻譯，使這幾篇文章對保存客家口語文獻來說價值甚微。

在本研究的譯文編中，歐德理收錄的客家民歌皆無法找到原文，故以寧缺勿濫為原則，在譯文中略過不譯。

Article VI. 客家人的宗教

〈客家漢人民族誌略〉最後一節的主題是客家人的宗教，這是當時歐洲民族研究都在意的議題，也是歐德理作為傳教士和學者的專業領域。但我們也必須了解，歐德理研究客家文化的最終目的仍然在於傳教。在客家宗教的論文中，他雖然沒有明白表達研究客家宗教對於傳播基督教的用處，但在文中卻處處暗示「客家人可能比較容易接受基督信仰」。因此，我們對歐德理客家宗教研究的解讀，並不需要放在他對客家宗教的敘述是否準確，而是應該放在歐德理如何帶著基督教的眼鏡描述客家宗教，以及他如何詮釋客家人的宗教實踐。歐德理認為客家宗教有三個特點，使他們的宗教體系更為接近基督教。首先是祭祖時由家長主持，不讓神職人員介入家族中最重要宗教活動，讓新教傳教士歐德理認為客家人的宗教實踐和基督新教有某些相似的地方。其次歐德理用「一神教的觀念（monotheistic notions）」來指稱客家人對玉皇上帝的敬畏。由此可以看出歐德理將玉皇上帝兩天界眾神的關係想像成天主教主保聖人（patron saints）為祈禱者對 God 代禱（intercession）的關係。這可能影響到歐德理主張使用「上帝」來翻譯 God 一詞。另外歐德理似乎有將客家人的土地神理解成古羅馬宗教中的鄉土守護神（lares rustici）。從基督教史來看，民眾對各種 lares 的信仰被轉化為透過主保聖人的代禱。這似乎透露

出歐德理有用基督教的發展軌跡來定位客家宗教，並隱含他將客家人轉化成基督徒的最終目的。

客家歷史大綱

1873 年發表於《中國評論》的〈客家歷史大綱〉是補充〈客家漢人民族誌略・Article I. 住在廣東省的各民族〉的文章。在此歐德理為了補足之前沒有清楚交代客家人如何移入廣東的過程，所以參考客家族譜和口述傳說，建立了客家人從秦朝以來不停的遷徙，直到最後於廣東省落腳的歷史。這樣的研究法和觀點，六十年後被羅香林承襲、深化，而形成影響深遠的《客家研究導論》。釐清此系譜，我們可說歐德理的〈客家歷史大綱〉，是後來形成客家人集體記憶的重要基礎架構。但是歐德理的方法論和運用的史料被另一位在客家地區傳教的巴色差會傳教士 Charles Piton 批評。Piton 在〈論客家人的起源和歷史〉(On the origin and history of Hakkas) 指出歐德理所講的客家歷史，其實只是中國民族遷移的通說而已。因為只要比較本地人的族譜，就會發現兩個族群的族譜都有類似的內容，客家人的族譜並不是特例。族譜的內容，也只有唐宋以降的紀錄比較可信。半世紀後的羅香林雖然都讀過歐德理和 Piton 的論文，但他選擇了較能整合客家認同的歐德理〈客家歷史大綱〉作為重建客家源流的架構，而排除批判性較高的〈論客家人的起源和歷史〉。不過 Piton 在〈論客家人的起源和歷史〉運用的方法和論點，近年來在華南研究的學術脈絡中，已有多位學者發揮，並修正許多羅香林在《客家研究導論》中的論點。

但筆者認為，我們在評價和反思羅香林曾經提出的論點時，也必須進一步回顧羅香林在 1920 年代所承接的學術脈絡。因此歐德理的〈客家歷史大綱〉雖然不能給我們更多關於客家的歷史知識，但對於分析客家認同的建構，歐

德理的論文仍然是必須批判性地分析的里程碑。而和歐德理同時代的 Piton 〈論客家人的起源和歷史〉，則提供我們一面方法論上的鏡子，用來對照歐德理和羅香林的研究。我們可說，歐德理〈客家歷史大綱〉和 Piton〈論客家人的起源和歷史〉是兩篇不可分開的論文，同為客家研究的先驅。

本研究亦包含〈客家漢人民族誌略〉和〈客家歷史大綱〉之漢譯文和原文擅打。以下將依譯文、原文、導讀、參考書目之順序排列。

Ehrmann	Eitel	MEI
1. 語言	Article 2 語言	2. 語言
		3. 語法
	Article 2 最後一段	9. 地理與統計
3. 道德心理特質	Article 3 & 4 客家人的特質、風俗、 習慣	4. 個人與家庭生活
4. 生活方式		
5. 飲食		
6. 服裝		
8. 人倫與道德觀		
7. 居住		5. 建築與遺跡
9. 禮俗與民俗藝術	Article 5 客家民歌	
11. 信仰、偏見、迷信與 宗教觀念	Article 6 客家宗教	11. 宗教、迷信等等
	Article 1 廣東省各民族	10. 外交與歷史關係
10. 文明程度		8. 政府與法律
12. 文化現況		
2. 體型		1. 生理特質
		6. 民藝品
		7. 家禽家畜

附圖一、比較歐德理〈客家漢人民族誌略〉的主題選擇與 Ehrmann 代表的德語民族學傳統和倫敦民族學會代表的英語民族學傳統的傳承關係。

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客家漢人民族誌略

歐德理

一、住在廣東省各民族

現在廣東省的居民就像諾曼人征服前的英格蘭一樣混雜。我們先不算那些比較不重要的民族，現在廣東省就像當時的英格蘭，有不列顛人、薩克遜人、丹麥人，以及諾曼人。不列顛人被趕進最偏遠鄉下的深山裡。成功抵禦丹麥人和諾曼人入侵的薩克遜人，則還和這兩個入侵民族一起掌握平地。但數個世紀以來，有些地方全郡或全縣還保有與那兩個入侵者相當不同種類的語言和習慣。

廣東省的現況與此相當類似。原住民（苗子）不是被趕到廣東省西北角的深山縣份和海南島，就是變成珠江的船戶。廣東最早的入侵者，不知道是什麼時候來的，現在自稱「本地（原住民的意思）」，¹並自認是這個省的主人。整體來說，他們成功地抵抗其他兩個民族的入侵。這兩個民族大約在五、六個世紀以前跨過省界進入廣東，現在分別稱為「客家（外來者）」和「福老（潮州人，Ch'aou-chow-men）」。²這三個民族就像英格蘭的薩克遜人、丹麥人、諾曼人，彼此在語言，以及特質和習慣上都有不同。福老人（或稱「潮州人」

¹ Puntis。Punti 即「本地」的音譯，所指為說粵語和此用這個語言的粵人，有時也稱「廣府人」。本文的「本地人」都指此族群，所以在譯文中保留原始稱呼；本地人的語言則譯為「粵語」。另外為避免混淆，稱呼「居住於當地的人」時用「在地人」。

² 在 1893 年《中國評論》第 20 卷第 4 號的重刊版中，此處把「潮州人」改為「福建人」。

(Ch'aou-chow-men)，意思是來自廣東東北部潮州地區的人)就像丹麥人，保有這個省的海岸和主要大河的流域，但勢力沒有延伸進內陸。客家人則像諾曼人，散布在鄉下各處。³

雖然整體來說本地人保有對平地的控制，但現在廣東省內也有在語言和習慣上各自保有本地、客家、福佬特色的府、縣。在其他的地方，本地人則或多或少接受另外兩個入侵者的語言含習慣。

在廣東省東南部的縣份，福佬人佔優勢，在東北部佔優勢的則是客家人；不過在全省各縣幾乎都有客家人的蹤跡，他們住在散落於山間的小村子，向本地人納地租，或是聚集成大村子，然後為奪取本地人手上的山場和田園不停地本地人對抗。

如果我們打開廣東省的地圖，我們可以看到東端的潮州府(Ch'aou-chow department)，轄九縣。其中大埔縣(Ta-pu)全部都住客家人，其他縣份住的則是福佬人。現在再看另一個州府，嘉應州(Kia-ying)，轄五縣；這裡住的全都是客家人，沒有福老人和本地人的份。在這裡聽不到其他方言，只有客家話；除了那些曾到遠地旅行過的人，在這裡也沒人懂其他方言。我們再看西邊的惠州府(Hwei-chow)，轄十縣，其中在東江南岸的三縣：陸豐

(Luh-fung)、海豐(Hai-fung)、歸善(Kwei-shan)，大部分的人口是福老人，⁴但在其它七個縣的優勢人口則是客家人，客家話也享有最高的地位，但其它

³ Eitel 在此的見解簡單易懂，也被很多西方訪客引用。例如 1890 年 11 月造訪潮州的美國浸信會差會聯盟本部秘書(Home Secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Union)的 Henry Clay Mabie，在他巡視亞洲傳教現場的紀錄 *In Brightest Asia* 中曾經引用歐德理用英格蘭的民族狀況來比喻廣東省民族狀況的說法。Henry Clay Mabie, 1891, *In brightest Asia* (Boston: W. G. Corthell, 1891), 84.

⁴ 1988 年陸豐縣說使用海陸客語的地區已經劃歸新成立的陸河縣，但在歐德理的地理觀中，海豐、陸豐是閩語區。

方言也在某些地方使用。以上三個州府構成廣東省的東部，在人口和面積都占全省的三分之一。在這個地區的二十四縣中，靠西部的十三個縣是屬於客家人的，另外十一個縣則是福老人的。但我們越往西走，客家人和福老人越來越少。在轄十四縣的廣州府（Kwang-chow department），只有花縣（Hwa）和從化縣（Tsung-hwa）的居民全屬客家人。還有六個縣由客家人、福老人、本地人混居，但客家人占相當可觀的人口。這六個縣分別是龍門（Loung-men）、增城（Tsang-ching）、番禺（Pwan-yu）、新安（Sin-ngan）、香山（Hiang-shan）、新寧（Sin-ning）。但在廣州府剩下的六個縣內，除了東莞縣（Tungkwan）是福老人佔優勢，其他幾縣都是本地人佔優勢，並擁有土地。廣東省還有其它十個州府（departments），構成該省的北部和西南部。在北部州府，有少數客家人散佈在山裡，只有在南雄府客家人在人口上比本地人多。在西南部的州府，客家人無立錐之地，但有福老人散佈在沿海。

有了眼前這些地理事實，我們可以推測客家和福老人移入廣東省的時間和方向。這兩個民族都來自東北方。客家人可能來自江西。福老人，正如他們的名字所表示的，來自福建省。福老人明顯地沿著海岸和東江的河岸遷移，客家人則從山地的開口進入，並散佈在廣東省東北部和北部的山區縣份。

上述的說法並不只是假說而已。在討論客家人的歷史後，我們就會知道這是有足夠證據支持的論點。

二、比較客家方言與廣東省其他居民的方言

「客家」這個詞的意思是「陌生人（stranger）」或「外地人（aliens）」。

這個詞怎麼看都是與他們敵對的本地人在客家人最初進入廣東省時給的，而且一定帶有委婉的羞辱意味，但客家人卻自己接受了這個名字，即便是在他們自認的原鄉嘉應州也如此。或許有人以為客家人是某些侵略中國的外族的後代，而且做點膚淺的研究還會知道這個假說有點道理，我們絕不應如此推論。傳統的說法是，客家人最早在元代進入廣東省，這正是韃靼人（**Tartars**）橫掃全中國的時候。但我們只要作點表面的研究就可以把上述假設丟到地上。那些在中國被同化的韃靼餘種，和客家人沒有一點相似之處。後者在面貌、語言、習慣上，都毫無疑問是純種的漢人（**thorough-bred Chinese**）。事實上，如果不是方言不同，根本很難分辨客家人、本地人和福老人，但卻可以在任何情況下輕易地分辨誰是韃靼人的後代。再者，雖然有足夠證據說明客家人不是外族，而是真正的中國人，而且他們與本地人和福老人同出一源（**from the same family-stock**）。但另一方面，客家人在特質和習慣的差異也足以證明他們是不同於與本地人和福老人的一支種族。

客家方言並不是在地發展的語言，也不是其它方言的某種土話（**patois**），而是漢語的獨立分支。我們還可說是漢語從最古老，最接近漢語原本模樣的粵語（**Punti**）發展至官話的過程中，客家方言是其中的一個階段。不過這個說法需要一點解釋。在基督紀元剛開始時，漢語還是未分化的狀態，沒有任何中國文獻可以反對這個說法。當時已經有些地方性的差異，甚至是地方性的方言在各處發展，可是這些地方方言尚未從流行於全中國的共通方言（**the common dialect**）分支出來。在基督紀元開始後不久有一些皇帝欽定的字典，規定了每一個漢字發音和聲調，並由華北人士出版供全中國使用。如果我們將這些韻書字典的發音和聲調與粵語和官話做比較，一下就會發現廣東省的本地方言相對來說是古代共通方言中最純淨，最不混雜的遺留。這些古老的字典給每個漢字的聲調幾乎就是現在粵語的聲調，而和官話的聲調有所不同。**m, p, t** 這三個已經被後者所拋棄的尾音仍然保留在粵語中，而且經過與

古代字典的檢證，可知他們是共通漢語方言最古老的形式。⁵研究最古老的日語轉寫也可以得到同樣的結論，而這些轉寫最早的可追溯至西元 387 年。⁶這樣看來，漢語發展的各階段中，粵語是第一階段最好的樣本，官話則是最後一個階段，那麼客家方言應該放在哪一個階段呢？

如果我們比較粵語、官話、客家三種方言的音節表 (syllabaries)，一眼就可以看出客家方言比較接近官話，反而不像粵語；而且和粵語的差別是顯而易見的。我們算出不少於 185 個客家方言使用的聲音 (sound,)⁷從不在粵語中出現，而且粵語的字彙 (vocabulary) 中，有 175 個聲音不見於客家方言。兩個方言在聲調系統上的差別也同樣顯著。比較兩個方言得聲調系統可推出一個恆常的規則，凡是在粵語中讀陰入聲 (upper juh-sheng) 的漢字，在客語中讀陽入聲 (lower juh-sheng)，反之亦然。同樣的現象也出現在上平聲 (shang-p'ing) 和去聲 (kü-shêng)，兩方言間有數不盡的聲調互換實例。不過最大的差別還是兩方言的白話句法。有數不清的用語在其中一個方言相當常用，但在另一個方言卻完全無法理解；兩方言使用量詞 (numeral particles) 的方法也有相當差異；感嘆詞的差異，還有很多。兩者差異如此之大，所以客家人有句話說，本地人可能花很多年學客語，但還是沒辦法說得正確。

客家方言和官話間存在的相似性則像它與粵語間的差異一樣明顯。如果我們比較客語和官話的字彙 (vocabularies)，⁸會驚訝地發現許多客語和粵語相異的發音，與官話卻是級為類似，甚至完全一致。客家人通常不覺得學官話有多難，這可能就是客家籍的胥吏充斥粵省許多衙門的原因。這兩個方言

⁵ 從時間推測，Eitel 指的可能是揚雄的《方言》和許慎的《說文解字》。但是這些字典並不符合 Eitel 的描述。

⁶ 東晉孝武帝太元 12 年，日本仁德天皇 75 年。不知所指為何。

⁷ 在此當指音節 (syllable)。Eitel 使用的不是標準的語言學術語，必須從上下文推測其所指。

⁸ 在此當指詞素 (morpheme)。

的白話句法差異不大：每一本用白話官話寫成的書，客家人都能輕鬆地讀懂。因此，客語似乎可以被視為在地方產生變異的一種官話方言，亦即南方官話（Southern Mandaria）。⁹但即使客家方言在一些方面相當接近官話，兩者之間的差異仍足以為客家話(the Hakka tongue)冠上獨立方言的地位。客語中完全沒有輔音 r 和聲母 (initial) lw；官話的 54 個韻母中至少有 22 個不出現在客語。我們想這應該足夠證明客語不是任何一種官話方言的土語 (patois)，而有它獨自的位置。

但我們還需要說明客家方言在漢語發展史上的確切位置。我們已經說明客語的位置在粵語和官話之間，還可以再進一步比較這些方言的音節數和聲調數來闡明。粵語有 707 個音節，客語 619 個，官話 532 個。粵語有八個聲調，客語六個，官話五個。所以我們又再次看到，客語還是介於粵語和官話之間。我們還可以更精確地定位客家方言的位置。大家都知道粵語和官話兩方言的差距相當大，我們再考慮到粵語代表漢語最原初的形式，而官話是最近的發展，那這兩個方言間的差異幾乎無法解釋。現在比較這三個方言，粵語和官話在發音上的差異非常明顯，和客語的發音則有規律對應，我們發現客語中十個音節有七個明顯是粵語到官話的過渡階段。例如「澳」這個漢字，粵語讀作 o，官話讀作 ngao。現在，試問 o 這個音要怎麼變成 ngao？這兩個音之間有什麼連結？看起來完全沒有。但客語有連結兩者的環節，因為這個字在客語讀作 au。透過自然的發音，不是很容易把 o 變成 au，au 再變成 ngau？我們再多拿幾個例子。「開」這個字粵語讀作 hoi，客語讀作 k'oi，官話讀作 k'ai。如果篇幅允許，我還可以舉出上百個這類例子來證明，客家方言是漢語從粵語過渡到官話的過程中，其中一個階段的遺跡，由此可知客語是連結

⁹ 1866 年 7 月從香港來訪的岳士列 (Miss Oxlad) 為我們留下歐德理的一份側寫中，一位水果店主對歐德理說「你的官話說得很好」，但很快地他發現歐德理說的其實是客家語，店主就改用客家語聊天。Miss Oxlad, "Visit to Canton," *The female missionary intelligencer* 10 (New Series):11 (1867): 185.

這兩個方言的環節。

至於客家方言和福老方言的關係，兩者的差異非常大，毫無疑問沒有支持兩者有關的證據。本地人和客家人之間互相理解的難度遠低於這兩族人和福老人間互相理解的難度，而福老人則總是這兩族人最愛嘲弄的對象。這個方言是福建省方言的一支，通稱潮州（Tie-chiu, 或 Ch'iu-chow）方言，因為它主要使用於廣東省最東隅的潮州府。它和客語唯一相同的地方是缺少元音 u。但其它福老方言的特點，像是使用軟輔音（soft consonant）b，聲母沒有 sh 和 f，還有最特別的是許多音節收尾時的鼻音（nasal twang），¹⁰將它與粵語明確區分出來。福老方言有些有趣的地方，因為它有許多元素似乎是比粵語更古老的方言留下的痕跡。

作為結語，我想根據客家人和福老人的地理分布，可推測這兩個種族佔廣東省三分之一強的人口。所以我個人認為，在廣東省境內說福老方言的有三百萬人，說客語的有四百萬人，說粵語則大約有一千兩百萬人。

三、客家人的特質、風俗、習慣，並與住在廣東省的其他種族比較（一）

前面兩篇文章已經談到客家人這個種族，與本地人、福老人在語言、特質、習慣、風俗上有相當程度的差異。在前一篇文章，我已經就語言差異提出一些說明，現在我將繼續就這三個種族的特質、習慣、風俗做一個比較性的概述。

¹⁰ 歐德理所指的是閩語中的鼻化元音（nasalized vowels）。

如果你問一個純種的本地人什麼是客家人的特質，他一定會用屈尊地說他聽過這些人，趾高氣昂地告訴你客家人根本不值得你留意，他們是半蠻夷（semi-barbarian）的一種，過著窮困骯髒的生活。如果你窮追不捨地問他，或許他還會誠實地提到客家人是勤勞的一群人，但他一定不忘加上一句，客家人天性傾向居無定所，尤其好與本地人產生小衝突，或為了搶劫的巨利而勾結造反。以上對客家人特質的說法，或其他接近的說法，是與客家人有過接觸的本地人的一般看法。我們不得不承認這種說法有相當程度為真，但我們也確信該說法並未反映全部的事實。

客家人大部分務農，也的確是窮苦人。現在大家都知道貧窮和骯髒經常結合在一起，這在農業階級中尤然。所以就客家人來說，他們的房屋、祖先廳堂、少數的幾間寺廟，在清潔上毫無疑問比本地人的還糟糕，而後者也已經夠糟糕了。但如果我們留意客家人和本地人的穿著，兩者的差異則相當明顯。如果窮本地人賺了一些錢，他首先一定會去當舖贖回典當的衣服，但客家人在同樣的情況下則會選擇去一趟飯館。本地人婦女在頭髮上總有一兩朵花，而且一定找好看的別上，但客家婦女會以倫理的理由，義憤地告訴你本地人婦女應該為自己打扮得像賣花女一樣感到羞恥。至於客家人是半蠻夷這件事，至少可以說是非常概括的判斷。在客家人剛進入的縣份，他們人數不多，住在山丘間的小村子裡，當然沒有幾間學堂。但在有很多客家人居住的縣份，有比較大的村莊，客家人有縣試的學額（the right of competing at the district-examination），你很難發現哪個村莊沒有一兩間教育子弟的學堂。在三年一度的廣州省城鄉試榜單上，可以注意到總是有相當數量的文舉人和武舉人來自嘉應州。女童的學堂即使在純粹為客家人居住的縣份也很少見，但幾乎每個本地人大村莊都可以自豪擁有一間女學堂。但學堂裡的女童除了背誦出嫁時從娘家到夫家途中的虛偽憐憫，基本上沒什麼要學的。本地人承認客家人是勤勞的一群人，是唯一一算公正的評斷。大部分客家人以種植稻米為

生，而大家都知道一年二至三穫的稻作文化甚少給人沉溺於懶散的誘惑。至於本地人認為客家人有傾向居無定所的惡名，我們認為這只是另一種說明客家人的移民仍在進行中的說法。所謂客家人的原鄉，嘉應州已經有太多人口，所以很自然地有很多人不斷地移出該地，往本地人的縣份尋找任何空地，同時當僱工、石匠、鐵匠、剃頭師，服務本地人好掙口飯吃。如果客家人偶爾表現出反叛的情緒，官府可能是比客家人自己還更應該責難的。關於客家人喜歡對本地人挑起小衝突，這在客家人嘗試住進本地人為主的縣份的確是事實，但這種現象部分是因為客家人為了討生活，部分是因為本地人用專橫偏狹的行為對待這些窮苦移民，還有部分是官府運用客家或本地武力鎮壓另一方的叛亂所導致。在廣東省西南部縣份所陷入的事態就是這樣。客家人自上世紀中葉起以緩慢、穩定的速率遷入這一帶，但後來那裡的本地人宣稱與客家人不共戴天。在兩個種族關係沒有這麼糟糕的地方，或許可以聽到本地人承認客家人基本上是誠實、心胸寬大的一群人。這是筆者與客家人一同生活所得到的印象。他們沒有本地人那樣聰明，但對外人也有較低的敵意。像本地人那樣在一連串慘烈教訓後仍自認在道德、知識、實力上遠遠凌駕他們討厭的洋鬼子，這種可笑的驕傲感在客家人中更是少見。

我們已經嘗試請讀者參照本地人對客家人的一般看法來描繪客家人的特質。如果我們用同樣的方法讓客家人說說本地人的特質來表達自己的意見，這樣才公平。在此我們不是指那些土客關係相當惡劣的縣份，因為他們一定會全力抹黑本地人。¹¹但奇怪的是，即使在客家人已經定居數世紀，土客之間好幾個世代都沒有不和的縣份，本地人一般會被描述成聰明，但是鬼鬼祟祟，不懷好意的一群人。客家人提到本地人時的常用語是「那些蛇（those snakes）」。我們也常常注意到客家兒童一般來說不認識「本地話（Punti）」這

¹¹ 大多數位於珠江口西岸。1854-1867 年間的土客械鬥造成客家人大量撤出珠江口西岸縣份，許多人轉往東南亞或美洲居住。

個詞，但同義詞「蛇話 (snake-dialect)」對他們來說就是相當熟悉的說法。關於本地人比客家人有智慧、聰明這點則是事實，但肆無忌憚地運用這種優勢欺凌可信、誠實的客家人，因此為自己帶來狡猾、無信的形象，在我們看來也是自然的結果。同樣地，知道自己比較聰明，又自認廣東在地的本地人因此鄙視客家人，總是用傲慢的態度待之。本地人的這種特質也反映在對待洋人的態度上，雖然他們現在必須知道，比起貧窮的客家人，歐美等西方民族才是更恐怖的敵人。但即使已經飽嚙羞辱，他們既沒學到教訓，也沒忘記傲氣，他們還是高傲地藐視我們洋人，就像他們藐視客家人一樣。他們對待洋人時的高傲、敵意、放肆，都會露骨地拿來對待貧窮的客家人。而後者對此已經抱怨連連。

至於福老人的特質，我們一樣替讀者引用其對手種族的證言。本地人和客家人對福老人只有一種看法，那就是：他們是大膽、粗野、殘忍的人。客家人討厭本地人，但是懼怕福老人。本地人看不起客家人，但認為福老人是更危險的一群人，與其交際時都謹慎小心。在華南，沒有任何盜賊比福老搶匪和海盜更令人畏懼，這就可說明福老人的粗野與殘忍了。尤其是福老海盜，他們的大膽和殘酷都遠勝於其對手。就算是客家兵也能詳述福老兵的膽識和勇氣，這更變成一句客家俗語：「福老不怕死 (Hoklos are not afraid of death.)」。

四、客家人的特質、風俗、習慣，並與住在廣東省的其他種族比較（二）

客家人、本地人、福老人在社會生活的各面向上，最明顯的差異就是婦女在這三個社會中的相對地位。

從表面上來看，客家婦女的地位比福老婦女還差。一位客家女性，假設

夠強壯的話，必須像男性一樣負擔大部分的戶外工作。把重貨帶去市場，把乾草帶去爐灶、整地、挑水等工作幾乎是客家婦女每天的工作；就像男人一樣。其結果就是勞動階級的客家女性幾乎不知道什麼是「女主內」，但相較之下女性不出家門在本地人和福老人家則是比較普遍的。客家婦女兩三人一組到遠處割草也沒有男人陪伴。你也可能常常看到客家婦女自己一個人帶著農產品上市集。洋人進客家村，他會發現圍繞著他的女人比男人多，但在本地人或福老人的村裡，女性只會躲在門後。

本地人和福老人婦女的地位則有些不同。本地人婦女的待遇基本上比客家婦女好。客家人主要務農，本地人社群則包含各行各業。客家人主要種稻米，本地人除了種稻米，也種茶和生產絲製品；後兩者做起來沒有種植稻米的一半麻煩，但客家人卻絕少從事。結果就是，即使是農業階級的本地人婦女，工作環境都沒有客家婦女那麼糟糕。女性纏足在每個小康本地人家庭幾乎是定律，但客家人即使有錢也很少纏足。比較起來，本地人婦女比客家婦女更常在室內生活，他們不做那麼粗重的工作。除了針線活，他們主要的工作就是操持家務。他們在所有習慣都比客家婦女乾淨。他們較高的教育程度，因為比較大的村子就有女學堂。

至於福老人，他們大部分是蔗農、漁夫、水手和商人，所以福老婦女地位在跟本地人類比會比和客家人類比相近。福老婦女的纏足可能沒有本地人婦女那麼普遍，除此之外福老人的婦女地位和本地人的狀況大致類似。一夫多妻的現象在福老人間也沒有本地人間那麼常見，但有一項幾乎和一夫多妻一樣糟糕的風俗抵消了福老婦女地位的一點優勢，這個風俗在福老的富裕階級中相當常見。在此我們說的是販賣女孩或成年女性，換句話說就是僱用女奴。

比較這三個種族中婦女的地位，客家人是最值得讚賞的，因為客家婦女較少受到像一夫多妻和女奴這些的恐怖惡習的牽絆，過得比較自然、健康，更能實現幸福的家庭生活。這些惡習從愛苗滋長時就扼殺夫妻之間的感情，讓他們難以實現愉悅、幸福的家庭生活。但這樣的描述不夠全面，如果我們檢視另一個與婦女地位有關的面相，會發現該風俗敗壞客家人社會生活，甚至作實本地人罵客家人半蠻夷的污名。這恐怖的風俗就是殺女嬰。這最早在福建省發現，在從福建搬到廣東的福老人中也一樣盛行。客家人在這點比福老人遠過之而無不及。本地人則很少犯此罪行。殺女嬰在農業階級中是個普遍的風俗。受過教育的人，就算是客家人，也很少對端正這種傷害族群基礎、使社會同悲的風俗有任何值得一提的作為。在出生後馬上被殺死的女嬰比例，基本上估計為所有女嬰的二分之三。本文作者住過好幾年的一個小村子裡，在透過一些基督徒婦女秘密的協助下，嚴謹的調查結果顯示曾經生產超過兩個女嬰的婦女都曾至少殺掉一個女嬰，毫無例外。結果是窮男人很難討到老婆（如果不是不可能），除非他住在土客混居的縣分，而且當地有土客通婚的習慣。不過，討不到老婆還算容易想像和說明的，更具災難性的後果只能意會難以言傳。¹²

以上概要記述了廣東三大種族的特質、婦女地位，以及殺嬰習俗的盛行，總合起來成為本地人、客家人、福老人間最大的差異。除此之外還有其他較小的差異值得一提。客家人大多數住在山區或丘陵縣分，但就算在其它縣份他們的聚落也毫無意外地在山坡上（the brow of a hill），或至少背靠小樹叢而建。福老人住在濱海縣份或沿大河而居，本地人則住在平原上，並在各處都佔有最好的土地。在建造村莊，甚至是建造房屋方面，本地人和客家人間也有一些明顯的差別，明顯到任何人都能從遠處馬上看出該村莊是本地人還是

¹² 可能是指雞姦（sodomy）。

客家人建的。其中一項差異是本地人的村落通常有幾排房子，村廟通常建在村落邊緣。客家人的房子則通常建成一長排（in one outstretched line），村裡也蓋一些廟，而且一定蓋在在村落的中央。

房子屋頂的蓋法是另一個可觀察到的差異。本地人房屋的屋檐很短，所以屋頂只突出牆壁幾吋而已。客家人的屋檐很長，所以房屋前後的屋檐給牆基更多的保護，讓它不被雨淋溼。福老人的村落和房屋有時蓋的和客家人一樣，有時和本地人一樣。但現在我們再看住在房子裡的人，會發現各族的穿著也和他們的建築風格一樣有明顯的差異。男性的穿著只有一點點不同。福老人的外套比本地人和客家人的長，而客家人的又比其他兩族更長。這當然是很細微的差異；這只出現在勞動階級，還需要有一雙熟練的眼睛才看得出來。但比較美好的那個性別（the fairer sex）的服裝，其差異就相當明顯。福老人和本地人婦女的品味完全相同，客家婦女幾乎在各種服裝上都展現他們的原創性。客家婦女用一銀環把頭髮束緊在頭的正上方，夏天時則帶上一頂平帽，中間有讓髮髻穿過的圓洞，這還可以把帽子牢牢固定住。到了冬天，客家婦女把一塊藍布披在頭上，然後用棉條固定住。這兩樣都是客家婦女特有的服飾。但本地人和福老人婦女絕對不會忌妒客家婦女這項特色，事實上他們討厭這種服飾，覺得這像茶壺或獸角。本地人和福老人婦女則會把頭髮編起來。客家女性外衣的袖子也比本地人和福老人婦女的窄。客家婦女的肩上會垂下一片方形、扁平的小銀飾。客家婦女也有繫上腰帶的習慣。這兩樣都是客家婦女特有的配件。甚至客家婦女的鞋子也有特別的形狀，他們的鞋子圓頭，而且向上彎曲，福老人和本地人的女鞋則是尖頭的。

在關注三個種族在村莊和房屋的建築、人民穿著的特色之後，現在讓我們走進這些房子看看他們吃飯的樣子。我們應該可以期待看見各個種族各有特色的美食。客家人特別喜歡米飯，可以狼吞虎嚥地吃下一堆飯，飯量冠於

廣東三種族。但客家人不喜歡粥。事實上在客語中，「吃粥」和吃乞丐的食物是同義詞。本地人和福老人對粥的態度大異於客家人，他們把粥當做病人的食物，有高度評價。客家人把米放進鍋裡煮的時候總會加進一些當季的蔬菜、馬鈴薯、番薯或甜瓜（melon）一起煮。這種風俗在本地人和福老人間從未發現。客家人也特別喜歡黃酒，每家每戶都會準備自用的份。本地人和福老人則喝店裡賣的白酒。只有客家人在飲食上展現如此與眾不同的特色。大部分的福老人從事蔗糖生產，故以糖釀燒酒（sugar-brandy）著名，他們自己也相當喜歡這種酒。他們也對醃漬蔬菜和醃漬魚有相當明顯的偏好。不過本地人和客家人通常會吃鹹魚，青菜方面則把新鮮或乾燥的蔬菜用油炒過。本地人也像其他兩族一樣有自己的特色。通常會注意到的是他們對一種奇怪飲料的嗜好，這種飲料客家人和福老人都相當討厭。這種飲料稱作米醋

（rice-vinger），做法是把鍋巴放進熱水中溶化，再把這種混合物牢牢蓋上，放兩三個月就可以用了。本地人另一項著名的料理是一種中空球狀的湯糰或餃子，用米粉（rice flour）、糖、油作成，所以叫做油餃（oil-dumpling）。這其實是本地人的代表性糕點，在客家人中相對應的食物叫甜糕（sweet-cake），但客家人不放油。我們經常問一位客家人，什麼是本地人和客家人間最不一樣的地方，他很認真地回答「本地人吃油餃，客家人吃甜糕」。

五(1)、客家民歌

民歌（popular songs or ballads）是人群或民族表達自己的感情、苦難、愉悅、英雄傳說的媒介。民歌是一群人的共有寶藏、民族氣質最可信的指標，

同時也是每一個人的思想、感覺、愉悅、傷心、個人記憶的認同對象。

不同民族的民歌之間都有一些共有的特色。民歌不去述及個別偶然的經驗，也不表達一時流行或想像的情感。民歌敘述的是每個人在一定情況下都有的感覺，用史詩般的方法描述，不在意各種想法間的邏輯關係，不協調地帶出人們愛情、悲苦、厭惡的感覺，像人在興奮和激情時思想斷開的樣子，也就是所謂的「遠古詩歌的殘片（dissecta membra poetae）」。¹³民歌中沒有虛情假意、道德教訓，或是宗教性的無聊低吟，它用天然的單純、不加粉飾的真誠表現，但也因此有最強烈的感動和能量。民歌所充滿對自然的描繪和其語言中樸實無華的力量，值得公正評論家的欽佩。

在本論中，我把中國的民間詩文（Chinese popular poetry）視為了解一般人民行為思想的重要資訊來源。在我們都知道中國歷史學家什麼不缺，就缺真實之後更是。可惜根據自然律，腐化會隨著社會的進展侵蝕民歌，而這在中國已經開始了。古代的抒情詩（lays）變得微不足道，被人遺忘，偏頗的學者紳士們厭惡他們，覺得其粗魯又不協律。其實許多古代抒情詩和民歌（ancient lays and ballads）的片段還保留在庶民的記憶中，很多有趣的遺文還可採集，但筆者並不知道有任何中國學者正在做這種努力。John Bowring 爵士收集出版的採茶歌（tea-songs）讀起來還是太有書卷味（smell so strongly of the study-lamp），很難說是民歌。

把我們的焦點縮小到廣東省的居民之中，特別是客家人。民歌對客家人來說還是活生生的文化，它還活在客家一般人的記憶裡，不靠書本一代代地傳承下去。客家人整體來說，和日耳曼人一樣是一群愛唱歌的人。本地人和

¹³ 古羅馬詩人 Horace 語，亦作 disjecti membra poetae，直譯為「詩人的殘肢」。

福老人有他們自己的歌謠 (sing-songs)、說書人、吟遊詩人 (wandering musicians)、歌本和民謠 (ballad)，他們會聽、會讀這些民間抒情詩 (popular lays)，但不像客家人一樣唱它。你不會看見哪個十四歲以上的客家男孩或女孩沒有在心中記下驚人數量的民歌。從來沒學過怎麼讀書的人、所有的農業階級在每個場合都會用上這些民歌。他們一邊工作一邊哼着歌，在休息的時候唱歌，用歌來互相戲謔，用歌互相嘲笑奚落、他們甚至會從民歌中唱出合適的段落 (strophes) 來吵架。生活中的各種關係、情境，都有適合用來表現感情的押韻詩 (rhymes)、段落 (strophes)、對句 (antistrophes)。現在流行在客家人中的民歌可以分成六個不同的種類。第一種是所謂的山歌 (mountain songs)，存在於農人的口中，幾乎每一首都帶有情色意味，許多還會讓人想起奧維德 (Ovid)¹⁴ 的《愛的藝術》(Ars Amatoria)。第二種是所謂的和歌 (responsoriums)，男女各唱一段應答對方，是讓男女間互相戲謔的民歌。以下用一首民歌來說明這類民歌。例如有位小伙子站在門邊，看到一位女孩走向他的房子，他會馬上唱道：

A black silken fringe she wound doubly round
At her heels there dangles her tail,
A sprightly young girl comes passing my door
One glance and her heart does her fail.

然後女孩會用同樣的曲調回：

A bran-new oiled sun-hat he wears,
To his heels his tail's hanging down,

¹⁴ 古羅馬詩人，43 B. C. - A. D. 17 或 18。

From afar I thought him a bean
Coming nearer I see him a Clown.

第三類是所謂的採茶歌（tea-pluckers' songs），是採山茶（mountain-tea）時特別會唱的歌，而山茶是客家人唯一種的一種茶。另外一種是所謂的鹹水歌（salt-water songs），是水手、船民（boat people）和漁人唱的歌。但因為少有客家人靠海為生，所以這種歌很少。最後是小兒歌（songs for children），又稱為哺乳歌（nursury songs），還有乞食人歌（songs for beggars）。乞食人歌通常是很長的民謠或諷諧的故事。

以上提及的每一種客家民歌，我都打算提供幾個樣本，但容我保留至次號刊出。

五(2)、客家民歌（續前文）

在介紹幾個民間詩文讀者之前，我想這個主題值得我再多談幾點。我怕一些本刊的讀者會驚訝地認為筆者竟揮霍珍貴的版面來刊登這些爛歌（或許他們會這樣稱呼）的譯稿，或是感到奇怪，為什麼地球上有人願意把他的閒暇時間花在收集這些粗魯的情詩。所以我有必要更完整地說明這些研究的珍貴價值。

首先，這些民歌的漢字文本對我來說是我們評斷方言文本（colloquial）¹⁵

¹⁵ 十九世紀的傳教士對應該用什麼詞來對譯漢語所稱的「方言」傷透腦筋。當時 dialect、colloquial，或是 vernacular 都有人使用。此處從上下文來看，將 colloquial 譯為「方言」較佳。對於翻譯漢語所稱「方言」的英語詞，1890 年傳教士汲約翰（John C. Gibson）對聖經的各種方言譯本所作的評論中，對這個問題有所辯證。他認為用 dialect 不佳，因為英語所說的 dialect 是可以互相理解的語種，但漢語方言不是。他也不贊成 colloquial，因為這個詞

好壞的唯一標準。大家都知道從教書先生那裡聽到的方言和從苦力們互相聊天時的有點不一樣。就書面語而言，我們有各種經典作為評斷文章詩詞各方面寫得好不好的依據，但對口語方言（spoken colloquial）而言，除了每人、每天、不論有無學識都高唱聆聽的民歌以外，我們別無依據。

另一個理由是研究這些民間詩文，我們或許可以從此中發現把基督教聖歌移植進中國的方法。目前已經完成的聖經詩篇翻譯是用文言的風格（the style of the classics），這種文體無法讓它被大眾接受，因為大眾無法理解用文言文寫的詩篇。如果我們要求本土的改宗者停止唱他們自己那些滿是不宜內容的民歌，我們首先要試著提供他們一些比較好的替代品，而且要用在地的樣子包裝起來。關於這些非常流行的民歌之中的道德成分，甚至是不道德成分，我只有一句話想說。任何在客家縣旅行過的洋人都會為男女在公共場合舉止合宜感到驚訝，我甚至覺得在中國任何地方都是如此。雖然你在那裡會看到男人和女人一起把貨物扛去市場、走在一起、在茶館一起休息、一起搭船渡河，但你絕不會看到任何不禮貌的行為。如果你還記得在歐洲各國的公園、車站、公共馬車上，男女之間的野蠻行為，你一定會對客家人的有禮更為驚訝。你可能已經走遍全中國，但你一定沒看過客家人的有禮。所以，看起來較低階級的漢人，比歐洲社會中相應的階級，在行為舉止的合宜程度上更為優越。這種想法，從很久以前筆者與最貧窮的客家人有密切的往來以後就已經產生。但當筆者懂得他們的方言（colloquial），¹⁶懂得他們互相戲弄、咒罵、詛咒的用語，能夠聽懂每個十歲以上的男孩、女孩、男人、女人每天在休憩和工作時吟唱的短歌，抓到它們的意義，筆者眼前簡直打開一個深不

帶有社會階級上的意義，colloquial 所指的是地位較低的人所使用的語種，但是漢語方言的使用並不分階級。汲約翰認為 vernacular 是最好的術語。John C. Gibson, "Review of Various Colloquial Versions and the Comparative Advantages of Roman Letters and Chinese Characters", *Records of the general conference of the Protestant missionaries of China: held at Shanghai, May 7-20* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1890), 62-89.

¹⁶ 見前註。

可測的道德深淵。對筆者來說，這些觀察說明漢人是最完美的偽善者。你在公開場合上看不到任何不合宜的舉止，但在私底下的言語、在俗語黑話裡，他們是我所知道最不道德的民族。拿歐洲那些只能在大港口聽到的猥褻歌曲來說，唱這些歌的人會覺得羞愧，不敢大聲高唱。以這些歌為例，讀者心中大概對這些歌的道德成分有個衡準，但每個客家人，不論男女老幼，竟然每天都高聲吟唱這種歌！

以上說明是為了消除讀者以為客家民歌本身都是完美無害的錯誤推論。請容我再多言一句，以下僅是從數百首民歌中選出來可供翻譯十二首。我特別堅持照字面意義翻譯，寧可跳過某些歌也不願讓任何細微的調整破壞譯文的可信度。以下首先列出十二首山歌：

1-12（無法重建原文，略）

五(3)、客家民歌（完）

前號已對採茶歌、和歌、小兒歌、乞食人歌等四類的性質特色做過深入的說明，以下僅介紹一些屬於這四類的民歌，不會做更多的說明。僅提醒讀者，第一到第十二首是採茶歌。第十三首到第十八首是和歌。第十九首是小兒歌，第二十首是乞食人歌。我把鹹水歌略過不介紹，因為深入研究後發現它們都是本地人民歌的仿作或襲用而已。

1-20（無法重建原文，略）

六(1)、客家人的宗教

對透過閱讀儒、釋、道三教文獻的迷宮來研究漢人神學的學者來說，為中國的各種宗教系統劃出明確的界限似乎是絕望的工作。因為東方宗教在接觸不同的教義時，基本上會採取順應、包容，不拘泥於內容和形式的

(latitudinarian) 作風，所以道教、佛教，以及一部份的儒教都互相接納了一些對方的神祇。對上述宗教行為的觀察，似乎可以確認中國神學為一錯綜複雜迷宮(perplexing labyrinth)的印象。你可能會看到最嚴謹的儒教信徒不只祭拜被認為主宰各種文章事務的星宿(也就是「文昌星」或「魁星」)，其實他也會去參與依照嚴格道教或佛教儀式進行的婚禮或喪禮，也可能依照道教正統作家核可的原則為房屋和墳墓選址。至於道教本身，他們從佛教借來整套的儀式和神職位階系統，崇拜的三聖和佛教只有名字上的差別，分別是觀音(Kwan-yin)、準提(Chun-t'i)、龍樹(Lung-shu)；他們還崇拜其他神祇，虔誠得和佛教徒自己一樣。後者也把道教的司命灶君、五方五土神、龍王、其他各種無疑起源於道教，而且很多人崇拜的道教神祇，通通納入佛教的萬神殿以作為對道教的回饋。這樣的混合所造成的混亂，使確定一個在於佛教和道教都存在的神祇到底來自哪一邊，可說越來越困難。這樣的困難，事實上，道教和佛教兩者都吸取了儒釋道三教尚未興起時就存在於中國人民之中的宗教觀念和風俗(佛教據信吸收得比較少)，這讓分辨道教和佛教神祇的起源更加困難。但很遺憾，除了漢文經典和苗子(Miau-tse)的宗教裡殘存的一點遺跡以外，我們對這些中國最早的宗教崇拜所知甚少。

理解客家宗教其實不需要去參照本土宗教文獻裡所具體記載，中國各種宗教的興起與發展，這讓人感到輕鬆一點。現在我們要處理的不是讀書人的

宗教，不是有典籍的宗教，而是廣大民眾的宗教生活，民間信仰（popular religion），尤其是客家人的民間信仰，以及它與廣東省內其他種族在宗教生活上的差異。當我們從佛教和道教經典的角度來比較這兩個宗教時，我們會感到相當迷惑，但如果把典籍放在一邊，只用比較不同種族實踐各種宗教系統的角度觀察普通人呈現的宗教生活，就會發現這些感到混亂的現象會自我整合成某種秩序。所以我們把現在探討的範圍縮小，把讀書人的宗教寬容主義造成的浮誇和漩渦拋到腦後，走進人們實際的生活，我們將會發現一切豁然開朗，宗教思想和生活的差異將清楚展現。

如果我在前面幾號發表的論述還算成功，我想我已經對本刊的讀者說明客家人在語言、習慣、風俗上是和本地人、福老人不一樣的獨特種族。現在，同樣的獨特性也展現在他們的宗教生活和思維，這讓他們有別於他們的鄰居。客家宗教的特殊處，第一名可說是他們不重視歷代加封各種華麗尊號，名列官方祀典的神祇。因此，例如本地人和福老人都認為位列眾神之上的玄天上帝，或稱「北帝」，在純粹的客家縣幾乎沒人知道，或只有很少數人祭祀。本地人和福老人從明代將玄天上帝列入祀典後就最重視祂，但是客家人仍然虔誠地祭拜他們祖先所認為的朱比特（Jupiter），¹⁷也就是玉皇上帝（the great jade-stone-emperor）。¹⁸在關帝身上也有同樣的現象。依照聖旨，¹⁹祂的地位已經被提升到與至聖先師同階，但祂在客家人之中流行的程度完全比不上祂在本地人和福老人之間熱烈。另一個更被客家人冷落的神祇是城皇，²⁰祂在廣東全省都非常受歡迎，唯獨在客家縣份不是。列入祀典的神祇中，只有天后在客家人間還算流行。

¹⁷ 羅馬神話的朱比特（Jupiter）就是希臘神話中的宙斯，是眾神的統治者。

¹⁸ 現在雖然亦稱「玉皇大帝」，但「玉皇上帝」之名對於歐德理主張用「上帝」翻譯 God 應有相當的影響。參考導讀〈漢學家歐德理與他的客家研究〉中的討論。

¹⁹ 可能指關帝被列入祀典的地位。

²⁰ 此為原文所附漢字。

除了不重視祀典神祇，客家宗教不崇拜佛菩薩也是一個特點。除了藥商禮拜藥王（梵語：Bhaishadja-garadja）、每年中元節（the festival of the hungry spirits）祭拜地藏王以外，客家人不拜其他的佛或菩薩。即使是千眼觀四方，慈悲願力靈感本地人和福老人各階層，不論男女都熱切崇拜的觀音菩薩（梵語：Analogeteshwara），在客家人中也很難說相當流行。只有婦女會對這位女神投以關注，每年兩次去觀音廟享用以觀音之名奉獻的施食（public dinner），而且只有婦女才可以進入。很少人知道佛陀的尊號，不過阿彌陀佛，偉大的西天之主，祂的名號對客家人來說是個熟悉的笑料，有時會用在逗人發笑的民歌中，一提到就會激起無法控制的大笑。

另一個客家宗教的特點是完全沒有佛教教義的影響。例如深入、普遍滲透進本地人思考的輪迴（metempsychosis）教義，就連最底層的本地人（Puntis）都可以說上幾句。像是把鄰居的災禍歸因為前世罪行，或是在為接受恩惠表達感謝時承諾來生為施主作狗作馬。客家人不流行這種想法，連受過教育的階層也不知道什麼是輪迴。所以像是佛教地獄觀，其對地獄中虐待、償罪的教誨對本地人相當熟悉，表現在所謂的陰曹地府（temple of horrors）以及各種廣泛流傳的佛教印刷品中。但這對客家人來說卻是相當陌生。客家人接受道教的觀點，認為好人死後會變成天上的星辰，壞人則隨著身體一起消滅。本地人中流行的西方淨土傳說，客家人也知道，不過是道教的版本。他們認為崑崙山（Kwan lung mountains）是仙人（genius）的居所，西王公和祂的妻子西王母在此分別統治不死神仙的男眾和女眾。

客家人宗教和本地人宗教之間的鴻溝其實更深。前文也提到本地人是受佛教影響比道教更多的種族，我們也可以為那些無疑源自道教的神祇，受到本地人祭拜，但佛教僧侶堅決反對的神祇列出一長串的清單；不過這清單上的神祇卻是客家人不認識的。以下是這些異常的例子：龍母、東華帝君、上

元、中元、下元、兩師神、掌管房屋建築和修繕的張王爺、三茅真君（源自漢代有名的三兄弟）。還有一些較低等的神祇：那吒太子、康元帥、方元帥、高元帥、馬元帥，等等。這顯示客家人在崇拜偶像教的程度上比對偶像神祇癡迷的本地人少得多。我還可以列出一長串廣東省內其他兩個種族共有的神祇，有相當多是佛教的和道教的，但他們不是只被客家人敬拜，就是只有福老人敬拜。我只想舉幾個地方性的神祇為這個壯觀的神明陣做個小結，他們是金花（連同十八奶娘）、南海神、三大中、禾婆、蠶女。客家人從來都沒有吸收過這些地方性神祇。

客家宗教和福老宗教的差異比較不明顯，因為他們和客家人一樣對疏遠佛教，親近道教。主要的差異在於一部份福老人特別尊崇的神祇（例如安濟王、速報爺、雙忠爺，以及三山國王），客家人連聽都沒有聽過。²¹而在客家人中最流行的社公、社母崇拜，在福老人中則完全找不到；反之，福老人拜的是稷神。²²

到此我已經把客家宗教的特點中比較負面的部分呈現給各位讀者。在本刊未來幾號中，我將把寫真的角度轉過來，多看正面的部分。

六(2)、客家人的宗教（續）

在客家縣份旅行的人，連膚淺的觀察者都不得不注意到的特色，第一個

²¹ 過去三山國王在台灣被視為客家人的信仰，但邱彥貴的論文已經證明，三山國王其實是潮州地區的信仰，並不特別區分族群。歐德理觀察的區域都在惠州府，因此沒有接觸到潮州的三山國王信仰，以致以為沒有客家人祭祀三山國王。邱彥貴，〈台灣客屬三山國王信仰淵源新論〉，收錄於張珣、江燦騰編《臺灣本土宗教研究的新視野和新思維》（臺北市：南天，2003），頁 175-225。

²² 即五穀王（五谷王）。

就是那裡的廟很少。客家人當然有為他們的偶像建立的廟宇，但調查之後會發現，大部分的廟宇都是原來住在那裡的人早就蓋好的，客家人進駐後將廟宇據為己有，再把自己的偶像放進去。但是客家人絕少花心思去維護和修復這些廟宇，結果就是這些廟宇都處於被荒廢的狀態。你可能在客家縣中旅行了一里又一里卻見不到一座廟宇，因為人們比較偏好宗祠（ancestral halls），在那裡面通常除了祖先牌位以外，還會一起祭拜他們最愛的偶像。

這樣的情況從祖先和偶像神祇的相對位置就可以一覽無遺。前者是主要而且不可缺的祭祀，後者的重要性居次，甚至可以完全省略。其實客家人絕非像本地人一樣崇拜偶像、愚魯、受道士擺佈，而是在某些程度上跟福老人類似。客家人最重要宗教儀式是在家裡或宗祠舉行，通常沒有道士介入，而是由每戶家長主祭。客家人也比任何其他種族更常進行家中的祭祀、曠野中的祭祀，以及在山頂上的祭祀。

或許有人會說本地人和福老人也把祭拜祖先視為最重要的事，我也完全承認這種說法的真實性。但是在這兩個種族中，披上佛教或道教外衣的偶像教，其地位只在祭拜祖先之下，甚至與祭拜祖先混在一起，而且在本地人和福老人中，道士佔據了相應於客家人的族長於祭祀祖先時所扮演的角色。對客家人來說，第一重要的是祭祀祖先，在這個場合道士完全排除在外。不過第二重要的不是偶像神祇，而是廣泛的宗教迷信。這些迷信既不源於佛教，也非源於道教。他們稍微有點道教色彩，但也不需要僱用道士。這是一種由客家人對惡靈和魔鬼的持續性恐懼所支持和培養的仙姑、魔法和巫術系統（system of somnambulism, witchcraft, and sorcery）。²³客家人把每個惡行、災

²³ 客家人經常操作的法術，可以參考高賢治編，《客家舊禮俗》（臺北市：眾文圖書，1986），頁193-271。但因為歐德理的觀察帶有傳教士常有的意識型態，所以將歐德理的描述和客家人自己描述的舊禮俗對照並沒有太大的意義。

禍、疾病都歸因於惡靈和魔鬼，所以仙姑、巫師、會驅邪的法師就很搶手了。值得注意的是，在本地人和福老人中，這樣的工作大部分是由道士來進行，但在客家人中則是由私人進行。客家人有很多仙婆或仙姑（*somnambules*），魔法和巫術等服務也像鞋匠和裁縫在其他地方的一樣是踏實的生意。打個大村子裡幾乎都有覡工（*sorcerer or exorcist*）和穿著女裝幫他解說的覡婆（*amanuensis*），而且生意比最高明的醫生還好。

我可以再拿另一個客家特有的特徵來補充上述的迷信。他們深信可以帶回逝去的靈魂，也有對垂死和已死的親人招魂的習俗。靈魂不滅是中國各種族都有的觀念，但招魂是客家人獨有的特點，也讓他們不同於本地人和福老人。同時這也顯示客家人一定是從北方來的移民，因為招魂在華北也相當普遍。本地人在人垂死時會請和尚或道士來做法會，他們認為道士的祈禱可以治病，為死者誦經對身處地域的靈魂有益。但是客家人會在人垂死之際或剛過世時雇用覡工（他們通常不是任何教派的神職），並相信在覡工指示東西南北四方後，靈魂可以被帶回來，重新進入垂死或剛死之人的身體，然後復活。這樣的儀式的描述，請容我保留到以後的號次再刊。²⁴

我認為客家人心中根深蒂固的迷信，以及使死者復活的強烈信念，使客家人堅定傾向道教，其在俗民形式中偏好占星術、巫術、魔法，虔誠的道教徒也因他們尋找長生不老藥或使人死而復生的事蹟而聞名。這些客家覡工可能從未立下宗教性的誓詞，但還是被人用區別道士和和尚的稱號「南無」來稱呼。整體來說，道教對客家宗教的影響比佛教大得多，但後者也不是完全被客家人排除。和尚偶爾也會被請來作法，但道士還是比較熱門，而且一般人總是常常嘲弄和尚，而非敬畏之。每當和尚走過客家村莊時，骯髒褻褻

²⁴ 最後歐德理並沒有對此作出說明，但是他在後文提及冥婚、領魂等習俗。

的兒童會全跑出來跟在他後面，一面叫囂，一面唱著嘲笑和尚的歌。但是道士進到村子時就完全不同了。所有的頑童都會盡可能躲地好好的，即使是婦女也會因害怕這些巫師的法力而讓到旁邊去。在以華南佛教和道教發源地的羅浮山上，佛教精舍裡少有客家人，但散在羅浮山中的道觀裡，幾乎所有修道者都是客家人。客家人普遍認為道觀就像壽險公司或某種養濟院。規矩是申請人進道觀要付一筆錢，依照每個道觀的財務狀況，從\$15 到\$30 不等，然後他就有終身在該道觀居住和伙食的權利，過世後也會有得體的葬禮，而他的義務僅是參加每月初一十五祭典和聖人誕辰的儀式。道士不需要立下終身獨身的誓言；他們可以在道觀之外維持自己的家庭，並在每餐之間待在家裡。當然這些道士不會自稱自己特地為他們的神祇獻身；他們通常對道教的教義一無所知，就跟他們那些不會講話的偶像一樣。它們大多不識字，閒暇時就雕刻老樹的根，採集草藥拿來賣，或是充當覓工。

六(3)、客家人的宗教（續）

繼續深入客家宗教錯綜複雜的網絡，我們要小心大部分西方學者易犯的錯誤。不要試圖系統化客家宗教。系統性宗教和哲學的理論手冊中當然有非常嚴謹的邏輯，但是實際的生活並不在乎邏輯的一致性。有人認為每種宗教，不論有神論、無神論、一神論、多神論、泛靈論，都有一個統攝性的思想，只要掌握住這個思想就可以闡明該宗教的奧義。這實在是愚蠢的想法，而且在實際生活中也找不到例證，尤其是在亞洲的宗教生活中。中國宗教就像中國的政治一樣，所有系統化的邏輯都只是謊言。他們的原則就是沒有原則。所以客家人的宗教呈現在實際的觀察者面前的，是質樸但醒目，充滿不協調，沒有統合規劃的樣子。

我在前面提過（見第一卷，頁 162）客家人對名列官方祀典，有最顯赫

的封號和光環的神祇毫無興趣。這樣不遵行官方祀典，加上對佛教的厭惡，還有我在前一號提過，因為某些祭儀而對道教的偏愛，無疑強化了客家宗教中的一神論元素。²⁵虔誠的客家信徒相當堅信有一位應該用最崇高的禮儀祭拜的神祇，掌管整個宇宙的環境和運行，是所有靈魂和人類的最高統治者。其他在祭拜時祈求的神靈只是從屬於祂的代理人，分別掌管他們分配到的領域，支配天界、天空、地上、地獄等地方。這位最高的神祇不斷監控屬下神靈的行為，並可以隨時干涉。每年十二月二十四日，這些神靈都要到祂在天上的寶座前拜謁，呈交報告，接受指示。最崇高，高於其他一切神靈的就是這位神，但客家人其實不祭拜祂，因為他們自認為不配出現在祂令人敬畏的權威之前。沒有任何供品配得上這位崇高的神。所以當客家人說「我們鄉下鄙人不敢自己祈求最高的神」，我們應該理解成這是沿襲既有的規矩，就像只有最高等級的官員才准許陛見一樣。依此看來，那個爭論許久的問題「中國的神（God）是誰？」，²⁶對客家人來說是簡單又直白的問題。他們只認識一個最高的上帝（one supreme God），祂被稱為「玉皇上帝」。這位大神從唐代就被認為是神上之神。當明朝把北帝，或稱玄天上帝，提升到同樣的等級，而幾乎所有中國的種族都接受後者是最高等級的神祇，或將兩者並列最高等級，客家人還是繼續擁戴他們祖先的最高神（Jupiter），不願讓他們的一神觀念受朝廷祀典的影響。其他在本地人和福老人間阻礙一神教傳播的觀念，例如佛教的三寶和道教的三清，都不受客家人歡迎，或是取代玉皇上帝尊貴崇高的地位。另外值得注意的是，客家人幾乎都會給他們祭拜的下級神靈一個女性伴侶，但他們卻絕口不提這位最高神祇的婚姻關係，認為這實在不適合

²⁵ 我們必須注意，這樣的詮釋是傳教士把自己的觀察到的現象套上自己的期望和想像後的結果。其實很難稱為客家宗教的實態。參考導讀〈漢學家歐德理與他的客家研究〉中的討論。

²⁶ 歐德理後來介入「God」的翻譯問題，他主張用「上帝」來翻譯。其主張被收錄於 John Shaw Burdon ed., *The Chinese term for God: statement and reply* (Hong Kong: the "Daily Press" Office, 1876). 十九世紀新教傳教士對此議題的討論，可參考 Douglas G. Spelman, "Christianity in Chinese: the protestant term question," *Papers on China* 22A (1969): 25-52.

祂令人敬畏的崇高地位。對他們來說祂就像經典中提到的最高君主一樣。

不過，雖然客家人有這些一神教的觀念，他們每天的宗教生活卻是多神信仰。他們把下級神明冠上神聖的尊號。但我們不要忘記，依照他們的思考方式，祭拜各種神祇的行為並不抵觸他們對至高無上的唯一神的信仰。就像對官員行禮並不表示對皇帝個人的敵意。我不想列出所有客家人祭拜的下級神明來累垮我的讀者，但可以說客家人和廣東省其他兩個種族共有的神祇，有二十五個來自道教，只有三個來自佛教曆法。剩下的是官方祀典神祇，但祂們在客家人中聲望不高。

雖然我略過這些神祇名單，但大部份的神祇在艾約瑟（Joseph Edkins）描述中國宗教觀念的書中有生動地描述。²⁷可是我要就書中列出的神祇，提醒讀者有些神祇在中國其他地方都沒有人祭拜，是專屬於客家人的神。這些神，第一位是天亞公。本地人在某些場合祭拜天，尤其是在旱季時求雨，或是在長時間的降雨時祈求放晴，但本地人用「天」來稱呼這位神祇，讓人完全不能分辨祂是指整個宇宙，自然界的精神力量，還是指特別擬人化的神祇（a personal Being）。在同樣的狀況下，客家人在曠野中祭拜他們稱為「天亞公」的神。客家人也會用同義詞「天公」。這個名字就表示客家人必敗的是一位神祇，客家人稱祂的配偶為「天亞婆」，讓我們更加確定。要知道這位天亞公和前面提到玉皇上帝是完全不一樣的人物。所有客家人都同意這點。但目前在一些客家縣有人認為天亞公和全中國都祭拜的雷公是同一人物，有些讀過書的道士也向我確認這點。不過在其他客家縣，我聽到另一種讓我覺得比較可信的說法。許多客家人宣稱天亞公就是他們用「天神」這個名義祭拜的神。這正如同我在前面所提過的，東方宗教內部不一致的特色。同一群認為

²⁷ Joseph Edkins, *The religious condition of the Chinese: with observations on the prospects of christian conversion amongst that people* (London: Routledge, Warnes and Routledge, 1859).

玉皇上帝為至高無上的神，有時也會把天神放在這位大神之上，或至少用玉皇上帝御用的稱號來稱呼天神。理論上後者（玉皇上帝）才是至高無上的神，但實踐上他們卻反過來。現在，客家人每月初一十五在構成宗祠核心的前埕（the open court-yard）祭拜天神，在這樣的場合中以乳香和茶作貢品。在大年初一、婚禮和喪禮中也有同樣的儀式。在最後這個儀式中，客家人在前埕的四個角落都放上貢品，依照順序：一朝東，二朝南，三朝西，四朝北。本地人和福老人在進行同樣的儀式時只對「天」敬拜，似乎是因為他們已經失去像客家人一樣發達的一神論意識。（待續）

廣州，1868 年 11 月

六(4)、客家人的宗教（完）

另一個客家特有的神祇是田頭伯公，他們的鄉土守護神（lares rustici）²⁸ 之一。每年第一次收穫帶回家之後的幾天，通常是農曆四月左右，每家會在住宅內準備一場祭典。他們會煮一大堆的豬肉、魚肉、雞鴨鵝等等，並準備一種禾串粿。然後這些供品被放進用紅色緞帶（ribbands）精心裝飾的籃子，然後帶到這個家族擁有的田地。到達後，這些供品會放在分隔田地的田埂上，然後從田埂上挖起兩三塊泥土堆起來。這一小堆土就代表接下來要供奉的神靈。有時候他們會把這堆土捏成人形，但不管怎麼樣他們都稱它為「田頭伯公」。所有的供品都擺好以後便點起蠟燭和線香，放鞭炮，然後拜伏多次，即興念出對上次豐收的感謝，以及祈求下一次的祝福。接著他們燃放更多的鞭炮，然後靜靜地把供品放回籃子帶回家吃。第二次收穫時，同樣的儀式還會再進行一次，時間通常在農曆八月初二。

在此我或許可以再談客家人祭拜伯公伯婆和社公社母的方法，因為廣東

²⁸ 拉丁文，直譯為「鄉土守護神」。

其他民族也拜他們，但是客家人的祭儀有點特殊。例如本地人在祖堂祭拜伯公，沒有固定的時間。客家則有點不同。他們一律在房子或村落後面種幾棵樹，然後在其中一兩棵的下面樹立一塊石頭，他們相信這就是被稱為伯公的神靈，以及他的配偶伯婆居住的地方。每當有村民買了一頭豬，他就會到這個地方獻上祭品。當把豬牽去市場賣的時候也會做一次同樣的祭拜。每年二月初三²⁹所有村民不管有沒有養豬，都會在這塊石頭前集合，在樹下一起享用一餐。不過有的時候他們不在這裡吃飯，而是把豬肉帶來此處分享，再各自帶回家吃。

另一個鄉土神，社公社母的祭儀和上述的類似。每兩年，逢仲春和中秋的祭典時，每個村莊的頭人（elders）會派一位信使去按戶收題緣金。收集到的錢會用來買相當數量的豬肉，然後在社公壇（the alter of Sha-kung）旁邊煮。社公壇都位於村落旁，是露天的。如果題緣金是自願捐獻的，則還會一些酒。所有事都準備好後會敲鑼打鼓作為信號，所有個村民，男女老少就會從村裡趕來社公壇。他們帶著自己的碗筷，圍坐在社公壇周邊草地。如果草地潮溼，他們還會帶蓆子給小孩坐。在這裡他們在一位拿著題緣金名單的頭人指揮下分發豬肉、稀飯和酒。不管每個家庭捐獻的金額，他們都可以依照丁數，甚至口數分配到食物。然後這群人平靜地分散到草地或圍繞社公壇的樹下想用他們簡單的食物。從還在吸奶的稚子到銀髮的老人是最令人欣喜的景象（picturesque）。這樣的會飲通常在傍晚舉行，當西斜的夕陽投下他最後一道光芒時，景象更是美妙。³⁰

²⁹ 這一天稱為「社日」，但時間不很固定，見汪毅夫的討論。汪毅夫，《客家民間信仰》（臺北市：水牛，2006），頁 48-49。

³⁰ 這個活動稱為「打平伙」，汪毅夫描述了在閩西打平伙的過程。肉平均分配，在席上部分長幼尊卑，眾人同時舉箸舉杯，還會另外代一個小碗，將肉食帶回給妻兒分享（這顯示有些村民並不會出席打平伙）。打平伙的剩餘資金仍要平均分配，汪毅夫參加的那場，最後餘款

客家人在婚禮和喪禮的時候遵行的宗教儀式和廣東其它民族流行的幾乎一樣，不過在筆者所見之中，在一些客家縣裡有項特別的儀式值得一提。在喪禮那天的傍晚，族（family）中與死者最親近的親戚會集合在一起，在籃子裡放幾塊禾串粿（dumplings），用爐床的火點燃一大捆稻草紮成的火把。然後所有人以莊嚴的行列，在持火者的帶領下走出房子。持火者之後是一個提著裝有禾串粿籃子的男人，其他的來送葬的人跟在他後面。到達墓地後，禾串粿被放在地上，送葬的人的人則用綿長的慟哭和多次的伏拜來禮拜死者的靈魂。最後在墓地挖好一個深坑，將火把投入後馬上用土蓋起來。然後所有人回家，但也不忘帶走自己那份禾串粿回家吃。他們相信這個儀式對死者的靈魂有極大的好處，讓死者在火把的帶領下走過地獄黑暗的入口。

在此還可以連結到一個客家人和本地人都有的奇怪風俗，該風俗顯示他們深深相信靈魂不滅和另一個世界的存在。如果小男孩在父母為他找到妻子之前就過世（提早訂婚是他們的規矩），父母會向鄰居和朋友詢問他們家裡有沒有在同樣年紀夭折的女孩。如果找到適合的對象，兩位夭折小孩的父母會為孩子進行莊嚴的訂婚儀式，所有細節都仿照一般的風俗習慣進行，就像新郎和新娘都還活著一樣。他們相信這樣可以結合兩個孩子的靈魂，讓他們不管在哪裡都像有真正的婚姻生活一樣。

除了以上論及的幾位客家人特有的神祇外，客家人還有另一個相當特殊的宗教元素，就是他們總是懼怕惡魔的影響（demoniac influences）。這種恐懼如影隨形，並讓他們把各種災禍都直接歸因於惡靈的作用，尤其是疾病。每年正月初三，客家人打掃他們的房子，把垃圾和三炷香及紙錢一起丟出門外，並且唸著：「窮鬼出去！窮鬼出去！」（poverty devil be gone）他們希望

拿來買火柴，然後平均分配給參加者。此一分發火柴的動作，象徵性地完成打平伙平均分配財物的要求。汪毅夫，《客家民間信仰》，頁 42-43。

透過這個儀式把貧窮擋在家門外。如果有個客家人很膽小，卻必須在深夜出門，他會在紙條上寫一個代表死去惡魔的字「𩺰」，丟在地上用腳踩它，這樣就沒有鬼怪敢跟在他後面（dodge his steps）或在暗處危害他。如果有人覺得眼睛很酸，他會拿一張黃紙，用白筆沾紅褐色（ochre）寫下「紅眼鬼！紅眼鬼！我之汝何處來，汝來自青洲洛陽縣（the Loh-yang district in Tsing-chau），掃秦家院。灰塵入我眼，變為紅眼鬼。今淺白喻汝無害於我十萬年！」³¹把這張紙浮貼在門上，然後他們相信這個人的眼疾將會漸漸好轉。有時會在紙條上寫比較短的版本。「青洲人來討錢買木瓜，急急如律令！急急如律令！」³²把紙一樣浮貼在門上，效果相同。

客家人的宗教和其他漢人民族一樣充滿拜星教徒（Sabaeistic）的觀念，³³展現在對太陽、月亮、某些星星或星宿的崇拜之中。因此，例如大家都知道在日蝕或月蝕的時候敲鑼打鼓的騷擾，客家人和其他地方一樣。他們也像其他漢人一樣崇拜北帝、南北斗星、文昌與魁星，以及財帛星君，這些神祇都有各自代表的星辰。同樣地，他們也為病人，尤其是生病的小孩向金星、木星、水星、火星或土星祈禱，祈禱對象從一顆星到多顆星都有。³⁴不過我相信有些對太陽和月亮的祈禱，至少在儀式上是客家人特有的。當客家人生病時，她會準備一份有香、燭、酒、水果的祭品，然後在野外獻上祭品；少數的例子會在祖祠的前埕進行。在此最關鍵的是必須朝東方伏拜。身體虛弱的小孩特別會進行這樣的儀式，並希望太陽能補小孩的健康。在中秋節（八月十五）的傍晚，一種月亮型的糕餅會和水果一起獻給月亮，然後像對太陽一樣進行相同的儀式，並期待有同樣的效果。這通常會讓生病的小孩來作，

³¹ 依照文義以文言文形式重寫，非客語原文。

³² 「急急如律令」的原文為 Most urgent! Most urgent!

³³ 聖經中提過的一種異教徒。

³⁴ 作者原註：老人拜老人星（Canopus）以求延年益壽。

或是為生病的小孩而作。此處有一個與中秋之後的月亮有關的迷信。客家人說如果雲在午夜前遮蓋月亮，那就是鹽和油漲價的前兆；如果在午夜之後才蓋住月亮，那當年的米價就會特別貴。

接下來我再描述一種在客家人中很普遍的儀式作為結語。如果有小孩沒有什麼明顯的原因就突然生病，通常客家人會認為小孩受驚了。但要如何才能找到禍根？小孩的母親或祖母會拿一顆蛋，一碗飯，還有拿一件這位小孩的外衣，仔細地捲起來。接著把這些東西擺在灶前屬於司命灶君的神聖空間。然後她在灶前點燃乳香，念著「什麼嚇著我孩子，求灶君指點保佑！」重複數次之後，她大喊三次小孩的名字，每次都在名字後面加上「快回臥房與汝父母睡」。在重複唸著這些話的同時，她把那顆蛋、那碗飯，以及小孩的外衣拿到臥室，然後放在靠近枕頭的床架上，那裡是牀頭亞公和牀頭亞婆的神聖空間，並她再次點燃乳香。第二天和第三天都重複上述儀式。在第三天的儀式最後在牀頭亞公和牀頭亞婆前點燃乳香的時候，她把飯碗和蛋壓碎。碗的碎片和蛋白蛋黃會被仔細地檢查，然後在這位老婦人的眼中顯示出嚇到小孩的狗、馬、水牛等動物的形象（要延伸一點想像力）。依照每個案例的結果，這位母親會去拿狗、馬、水牛，或其他動物的毛，然後綁在小孩的身體上。他們相信這樣就會馬上讓小孩康復。³⁵

廣州，1869 年 1 月

歐德理

³⁵ 汪毅夫描述了類似的習俗「喊魂怕魂」。汪毅夫，《客家民間信仰》，頁 76。

客家歷史大綱

*原註：本文數年前就已經寫成，是刊載於《中日釋疑》各號上的系列論文〈客家漢民族誌略〉的補充。

直到相當晚近，客家人因為知名的太平天國叛亂，才在中國的史籍中取得一席之地。據我所知，在那之前沒有史家提過他們。甚至在客家人的通俗文學中，也沒有任何關於這個民族先前歷史的紀錄。不過，除了代代相傳的口傳知識以外，還有一種非常少見的資料，我想利用它們為這個特別的民族的早期歷史建立一個簡短的綱要。

每個客家宗族都有自己的族譜（*genealogical records*）或家譜（*family registers*），許多家譜會有這個宗族在那個皇帝的統治期間從一地遷徙到另一地的紀錄。對許多家譜做仔細的調查和比較性的研究之後，我就可以追溯這群現在稱為「客家」的人們從主前三世紀到現在的歷史。

口述傳說和這些族譜都同意華北是客家人的原鄉，他們在周朝末年（*Chow dynasty, B. C. 255*）在那裡居住。大多我所檢視的家族編年史（*family chronicles*）都提及山東省是他們的祖先最初居住的地方。有少部分說是山西省的邊界，說是安徽邊境的非常少。這些紀錄都顯示客家人的祖先一定在主前三世紀初左右住在山東省的南側和西南側邊境。這點可以藉由以下事實確認，許多在客家人中普遍傳唱，並成為客家特色的民歌（*popular ballads*）之中都間接提到此區域的幾個地方。

再者，口述傳說以及大多數的家譜提到在秦朝（Ts'in dynasty, B. C. 249-209）的時候，各個客家家族都遭到普遍性的血腥迫害，這似乎是把客家人的祖先從華北的原鄉趕出，開始長達千年，經過漂泊不定的路程，最後遷移到帝國的極南之地，並且灌輸給他們的子孫無止息的漂泊流浪精神。究竟是什麼使秦始皇把憤怒和報復加諸於客家人，已經不得而知。不過秦始皇的手段相當殘酷，據說有些客家宗族因此而幾乎滅亡，所以大部分倖存的宗族，除了極少數例外，都逃向南方，躲在河南、安徽、江西的山中。這樣的恐懼表現在一些宗族為了怕被認出，所以改名換姓的事實上。隨著秦朝滅亡，他們的命運有所好轉，在之後的幾個朝代中，他們不只享有平靜，還有帝國的保護。這群人之中還有人被升任高官，在兩漢（the Han dynasties, B. C. 202-A. D. 223）和晉朝（Ts'in dynasty, A. D. 265-419）的時候尤多。

但是這樣的殊榮可能在隨之繼起的朝代中又給客家人帶來災禍。大部分的家譜提及在晉朝覆亡時（A. D. 419）他們離開原居地，開始新一波的遷徙。即使是之前不畏迫害，堅定地留在山東山區의客家人，現在也逃到河南南部。此時似乎在不同的客家宗族中都有一波普遍的大逃散，並把一些人帶到江西東南部和福建邊境的山區。

唐朝的興起又再度迫使客家人收拾家當。我們看到這次的遷移有所分歧。多數的宗族在福建山區避難，少部分則徘徊在分開江西和廣東兩省的高山中。在兩宋時，有報告指出大量的客家人以義民身分加入官軍之中。現在，由於客家人過去的歷史和天生的勇氣，使他們格外適合這個角色，成為中國的「萬用傭兵」（landsquenets）。³⁶傳說有數千人在崖山（澳門西方）與南宋

³⁶ Landsquenets 源自德語 Landsknecht，是歐洲文藝復興時期出身日耳曼地區的僱傭兵，和著名的瑞士傭兵有傳承關係。

的最後一位皇子（prince）Tien-tsung³⁷一起英勇赴死（A. D. 1279）。

自從蒙古朝（the Mongol dynasty，A. D. 1280-1333）興起以後，客家人似乎第一次出現在廣東省的邊界。不過一直要到明朝開始（Ming dynasty, A. D. 1368），福建的動亂迫使這些自祖先以來已在此居住數世紀的客家人前往廣東避難，此時才顯得客家人在此有較多人口或是定居的現象。大批這樣的客家人從福建前往嘉應州（Kia-ying-chow prefecture），在此他們驅逐一切在他們面前的東西，並把整個嘉應州據為己有，現在此處已經變成客家人的大本營。就在客家人從福建進入廣東的這個時期，在嘉應州西北方的縣份則有一股來自江西的客家人遷入。

客家人在廣東省找到幸福的家園。但是客家人的祖先漂泊不定的靈魂不會讓他們停下來。除此之外，客家人也是勤勞和極端多產的民族，所以在嘉應州和隔壁惠州府和潮州府的縣份內建立自己的家園很快就顯得太狹小了。它們之中有一群人便近一步往廣東省的核心移動。有些人到處流浪當打石匠、剃頭師或鐵匠，或是到處找地方住。他們先在沒人耕種的田住下來，開墾田地，然後從嘉應州招來新血入侵本地人的田地。隨著客家人逐漸取得土地，他們與本地人的世仇也持續發展。十七世紀初爆發的政治動亂給這樣的運動新的動能，大約到主後 1730 年，一群群客家人甚至進入廣東省西部和西南部的縣份定居，此現象以 Fa-yuen³⁸縣、鶴山縣（Hoh-shan）、新寧縣（Sin-ning）尤為明顯。康熙朝（the reign of the emperor K'ang-hi, A. D. 1662-1723）以來廣東省當局（the native authorities in the Canton province）開始在不能信任本地人或福老人的地方聘雇客家人，所以客家人也開始在軍隊

³⁷ 南宋最後一位皇子應指南宋少帝趙昺，但「Tien-tsung」一詞又疑似「端宗」（趙昺長兄趙昀）的譯音。

³⁸ 不明，Fa-yuen 音近粵語「花園」，疑為花縣。

的田地耕種。乾隆朝（the time of Kien-lung, A. D. 1736-1796）時，大量的客家人被徵招進最受信賴的八旗軍（一種韃靼師團），並自始維持相當的數量。在這之中客家人受令差遣，還被誤以為是真正的韃靼人。這些為政府效勞的結果，使客家人能夠成為基層胥吏，甚至獲准參與文武舉考試。此後就有客家人被任命為知縣或知府。但是本地人激烈地抗拒客家人的入侵，以致客家人必須派使者去北京，在陛下提出他們的不滿，才得以保有上述的特權。

但是客家歷史上最重要的時期卻是由太平天國的叛亂打開。我不打算在此向各位討論這些叛逆份子的起落，他們的功業已經成為歷史了。在此我只需說，整個太平天國從廣西起事到南京陷落，自始至終都是由來自廣東的客家人開始、經營、掌控。雖然有成千上萬非客家出身的漢人加入，壯大了太平天國的聲勢，但天王自己，以及他手下的王、各部主事、將軍、執事，全都是客家人。由一小股客家人籌劃如此強烈的叛亂的事實，要不是因為策略不佳和忘恩負義的外國列強介入，他們很有可能會造成滿州帝國的覆滅。另一個同樣令人訝異的事實是，從廣西進軍到南京的路途中，他們成功在來自十八省的雜牌軍中保持最高的地位。我想說，這些事實說明這些來自土地的赤子（rough sons）所擁有的實力。眾所週知，當上一次對中國的戰爭中，英法兩國的司令官從客家人組成的「竹炮旅（Bamboo Rifle Corps）」³⁹得到一個結論：客家人單純、結實的客家人，比中國其他種族更具有當軍人的素質。

客家人近代史中悲情的一章，是發生在廣東省西南部的本地人和客家人互相殘殺的戰爭。以下是 W. F. Mayers 先生交給我處理的紀錄。透過在領事館服務，以及與地方當局高層熟識的機會，讓他收集到值得信任的情報，對了解客家人的歷史相當有價值。最後我用這些寫在 1868 年 11 月的紀錄增補

³⁹ 此處並非指使用竹炮的軍隊，而是用竹子所代表的東方意象來命名客家人組成的洋槍隊。

在此。40

「據說最早一群進入珠江西岸和西江南岸的客家移民是在雍正年間 (the reign of the emperor Yung-chêng) 來的。從那時起，因為客家人的勤勞和節儉，他們逐漸掌握了原先屬於本地人宗族的土地，而最早的客家移民本來是他們請來的工人。客家人和本地人間的宗族械鬥已經持續很多年，是很平常的事，但雙方對彼此的厭惡在 1854 年後達到高潮。在那一年的叛亂中，大部分的客家人保持對政府的效忠，但是本地人卻大量加入叛軍，直到被葉總督⁴¹鎮壓為止。這時候本地人和客家人雜居於廣東省西南部的各縣中，尤其是新興 (Sun-hing)、新會 (Sun-wui)、恩平 (Yan-p'ing)、開平 (Hoi-p'ing)、高明 (Hoi-ming)⁴²、鶴山 (Hok-shan) 這幾個縣。⁴³在紅頭叛亂 (Hung-t'ow rebellion)⁴⁴之後，這兩個族群間的不爽 (ill-feeling) 化成互相殘殺的戰爭。到 1860 年以前歐洲人還很少聽說這場奇怪的鬥爭，不過他們有時會從查獲武器運輸，以及從香港開出支援交戰雙方的武裝汽船注意到這場戰爭的存在。客家人和他們的敵人相比，人數處於絕對劣勢，漸漸被逐出他們的家園和村落，變成一批批的流民，每股人數從幾百人 to 數千人不等。1862 年間，西部縣份的戰爭達到高潮，在好幾個縣份官府的功能完全停擺。到了這年快結束時，大量的客家人被趕到海邊，撲向澳門西邊已經設防的廣海鎮 (the fortified town of Kwang-hai)。他們猛攻並佔領這裡一段時間，直到被與本地人宗族合作的官兵逐出為止。這是官方第一次公開介入這場械鬥。

⁴⁰ 十九世紀中葉廣東土客械鬥的研究，可見劉平，《被遺忘的戰爭：咸豐同治年間廣東土客大械鬥研究 1854-1867》（北京：商務印書館，2003）。

⁴¹ 葉總督即兩廣總督葉名琛（1852-1858 在任）。

⁴² 拼音疑有誤。

⁴³ 以上地名多為粵語譯音。

⁴⁴ 又稱「紅巾叛亂」。參考魏斐德 (Frederic Wakeman) 著、王小荷譯，《大門口的陌生人：1839-1861 年間華南的社會動亂》（北京：中國社會科學出版社，1988），頁 161-173。

「估計流離失所的客家人人數達到滿滿二十萬人，但是饑荒和傳染病很快就降低了他們的人數，還有好幾千人被本地人侵略者帶去給掎客（crimps）「出口」。到了 1864 年，流離失所的客家人已經變得一半像強盜，一半像難民。他們被收集（collected）到西部山區的幾個地方，像是 No Fu, Kum Kai, Ng Hang, Chek Shui 等地。在這個群山包圍保護之處，他們建立了一個小共和國。在此他們耕種田地，建造住所，並盡可能防禦圍攻每個山口的本地人以抵抗侵略。無數的官員，不論官位高低，都被派去尋找調和敵對雙方的方法。相較於只要求讓他們自由、平靜生活的客家人，本地人卻堅持與客家人「不共戴天」（refused to 'be shaltered by the same heaven with them'），所以沒有達成任何結果。一直道 1866 年情勢還是沒有改變，主要的聚集點是新興縣（Sun Hing）的 Ng Hang，恩平縣（Yan P'ing）的 No Ki。還有在廣海之外海岸的 Tsao Chung，在那裡還有更無法無天的一幫人與近海的海盜互通聲氣。

「在新任廣東巡撫到任時，他們在用鎮壓或招撫之間權衡解決這個難題的方法，然後在 1866 年 9 月，八千人的部隊在糧道（the Grain intendant of Canton）的指揮下被派遣至西部縣份，目的是強迫客家人繳械並解散。為了達到以上目的，官府發給成人每人八兩，小孩和少年每人四兩，總共撥用了二十萬兩的經費，加上通行證和保護，讓他們能抵達廣西、海南，或在這個地區其它有荒地，可以安置這些人的地方。」

「十月，No Ki 的客家人，大約有七千人，接受官府的條件並解散。接下來將輪到在 Ts'ao Chung 的那群，以及人數比他們多很多，住在 Ng Hung 的那群。如果中國官方的計劃落實，本地人宗族就會完全控制這個地區，客家人則被擠道偏僻的縣份。估計至少有十五萬人在過去的四五年間死亡。大量的客家人無疑還會留在西部的縣份，但不管在哪裡，只要客家宗族住進本地人之中，他們就會被擊潰、驅逐。」

歐德理

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Ethnographical Sketches of The Hakka Chinese

I. The Different Races inhabiting the Canton Province.

The population of the Canton Province is at the present time as mixed as the population of England was some time after the Norman conquest, Not reckoning the less important races, there were at that time in England, Briton, Saxons, Danes and Normans. The Britons were driven back into the mountains in the remotest corners of the country. The Saxons, having successfully struggled with the other invaders, the Danes and the Normans remained at last masters of the ground, but for many centuries there were whole districts or counties retaining in language and manners the precise type of either of the invaders.

Similar is at present the state of things in the Canton Province. The aborigines (Miautze) have either been driven into the mountainous districts in the north-western corners of the province and in Hainan, or survive in the boat population of the Canton River. The first invaders, who now-a-days style themselves Punti (Aboriginals), and who came nobody knows when, have assumed the ownership of the Province, and, on the whole, successfully struggled with the other invaders, two different races, who about five or six centuries ago crossed the frontiers of the Canton Province, and who are now distinguished by the names Hakka 客家 (Aliens) and Hoklo 福老 (Ch'aou-chow-men). These two races are in fact as essentially different from each other and from the Puntis, as Saxons, Danes and Normans were, in language as well as in character and manners. The Hoklos (or Ch'aou-chow-men, *i.e.* men of Ch'aou-chow, in the N.E. region of Kwang-tung) like the Danes, kept for the most part near the seacoast and the basins of the larger rivers, and did not spread far over the interior of the

Province; whilst the Hakkas, like the Normans, spread all over the country.

Though the Punti have on the whole retained the ownership of the ground, there are at present in the Canton Province whole districts, even whole prefectures, bearing in language and manners the precise type of either Puntis or Hakkas or Hoklos, whilst there are others where the Puntis have adopted more or less of the language and manners of the other invaders.

In the south-eastern districts of the Canton Province the Hoklo element prevails, in the north-eastern districts the Hakka element; but in all the other districts of the Province the Hakkas are nearly everywhere to be found, either dispersed in small villages between the hills and paying ground-rent to the Puntis, or congregated in larger villages, and then continually fighting with the Puntis for the ownership of the hills and fields occupied by them.

If we look at the map of the Canton Province, we observe in the eastern corner the Ch'aou-chow prefecture, with its nine districts. One of them, the Ta-pu district, is throughout inhabited by Hakkas, the rest by Hoklos. Now look at the next prefecture, named Kia-ying, with five districts; all these are inhabited by Hakkas, to the total exclusion of either Hoklos or Puntis. Here no dialect is heard but the Hakka dialect; here no other dialect is even understood, except by those who have travelled far. Let us move farther to the West; there is the Hwei-echow prefecture with ten districts; in three of them, the Luh-fung, Hai-fung and Kwei-shben and Kwei-shen districts, situated south of the East river, the population consists chiefly of Hoklos; but in the other seven districts the Hakkas are the prevailing portion of the population, and the Hakka dialect reigns supremely, though indeed the other dialects are spoken in certain places. The above mentioned three prefectures form the eastern part of the Canton Province, amounting, as regards area and population, to nearly one-third of the whole

Province; and in this easterly portion, consisting of twenty-four districts, the Hakkas have taken possession, as we have shown, of thirteen districts, the Hoklos of eleven districts. But the further we move to the West, the less numerous are both Hakkas and Hoklos. In the Kwang-chow prefecture, consisting of fourteen districts, there are only two, pre-eminently mountainous districts, which are completely in the possession of the Hakkas,-the Hwa and Tsung-hwa districts; there are six other districts with a mixed population of Hakkas, Hoklos and Puntis, the Hakkas being represented there in very considerable numbers. The names of these six districts are Lung-mun, Tsang-ching, Pwan-yu, Sin-ngan, Hiang-shan and Sin-nigng. But in the other six districts of the Kwang-chow prefecture the Puntis have retained ascendancy and the possession of the soil with the exception of only one district, the Tungkwan district, where the Hoklo element prevails. There are ten other departments in the Canton Province, forming its northern and south- western extremities. In the northern departments, the Hakkas are found scattered in small numbers all over the hills and mountains, but there is only one department, Nan-hiung, where the Hakkas are numerically superior to the Puntis. In the south-western departments of the Canton Province, the Hakkas have not got any footing, whilst Hoklos are to be found scattered here and there along the coast.

With these geographical facts before us, we can already surmise from whence and in what direction the influx of Hakkas and Hoklos into the Canton Province originally took place. Both of these races came from the North-East, the Hakkas probably from Kiang-si, the Hoklos, as their name already indicates, from the Foh-kien Province. The Hoklos apparently migrated along the coast and along the banks of the East river, whilst the Hakkas followed the tracts of mountains and hills, spreading over all the mountainous and hilly districts in the northeastern and northern part of the Canton province.

That this is not only an hypothesis, but based on good ground, will be seen, when we have to treat the history of the Hakka race.

II. The Hakka Dialect compared with the dialects of the other races inhabiting the Canton Province.

The word Hakka, 客家, means ‘strangers’ or ‘aliens.’ Though this term was to all appearance given to this people by their enemies, the Puntis, at the time when the Hakkas first entered the Canton Province, and was certainly meant to be a politely humiliating term, the Hakkas themselves have adopted this name, even in prefecture of Kiaying- chow, which the Hakkas generally consider to be their mother-country. It must not be supposed, however, that the Hakkas might possibly be the descendants of some one of the foreign races that invaded China; though on a merely superficial enquiry there might appear to be some reasons for such a hypothesis. It might be said indeed, that according to the general tradition the Hakkas entered the Canton Province for the first time during the Yuen dynasty, that is to say, at the time when the Tartars overran the whole of China, not excepting Canton and the Province of Kwang-tung. But on a more than superficial enquiry, this hypothesis falls immediately to the ground. There is not the least similarity between the remnants of the Tartars who have become absorbed in China and the Hakkas. The latter people are in physiognomy, in language, and in manners unmistakably thorough-bred Chinese. In fact, if there were not the difference of dialect, one could not easily distinguish Hakkas, Puntis and Hoklos, but it would under any circumstances be an easy task to distinguish any specimen of those three races from a true descendant of the Tartars. And yet, though is evidence enough to prove that the Hakkas are not foreigners but true Chinese, and that they have sprung in common with Puntis, and Hoklos from the

same family-stock, there are, on the other hand, difference enough to prove that the Hakkas are now altogether a separate branch, differing in character and manners from the other two races the Puntis and Hoklos.

The Hakka Dialect is not of mere local growth, nor a patois of some one of the other dialects, but an independent branch of the common Chinese language, and so to speak the crystallized relic of one of the different phases through which the language passed in developing from Punti, which is the oldest relic of the original form of the Chinese language, to Mandarin, which represents the latest phase in the process of development through which the Chinese language has passed. But this assertion wants perhaps some explanation. There is nothing in Chinese literature to contradict the supposition that at the beginning of the Christian era the Chinese language was still undivided, and though there must have been already local variations, or even local dialects, budding forth as it were here and there, these local dialects had not yet branched off from the common dialect, which was in vogue everywhere throughout China. Now there are some Dictionaries, published shortly after the Christian era, for the use of the whole of China, and published with imperial authority and by men of the North, which give the pronunciation and the tone for every written character. If we compare the sounds and tones which these rhyming Dictionaries assign to every character, with the sounds and tones assigned to them by the Punti Dialect and the Mandarin Dialect, it is clear at once that the Punti Dialect of the Canton Province is relatively the purest and least adulterated remnant of the of the oldest form of the common Chinese languages. The tones which these old Dictionaries assign to each character are generally the very tones which are now used in the Punti Dialect, whilst they differ from the corresponding tones in the Mandarin Dialect. The finals m, p, t, k, which the latter dialect has thrown off, are still retained in the Punti Dialect, and are accredited by the old Dictionaries as belonging to the oldest form of the common Chinese language. To the same results has led an

investigation into the oldest Japanese transcription, some of which are as old as A.D. 387. If then, as appears to be the case, the Punti Dialect is the best specimen of the first, the Mandarin Dialect of the latest phase in the process of development through which the Chinese language has passed, what place did the Hakka Dialect occupy in the same process?

If we compare the syllabaries of the Punti, Mandarin and Hakka dialects, it appears on the first glance that the Hakka dialect approaches much nearer to the Mandarin dialect than to Punti. The difference from Punti is quite striking. We reckon not less than 185 sounds which are in use in the Hakka dialect and never occur in Punti, and again we reckon 175 sounds, in the vocabulary of the Punti dialect, which are never used in Hakka. The same striking difference pervades the tone system of both dialects. It is an invariable rule deduced from a comparison of the tone system of both dialects, that every word which is in Punti pronounced in the upper *juh-shêng*, has the lower *juh-shêng* in Hakka, and *vice versâ*. In the same manner the *shang-p'ing* and *k'ü-shêng* tones are in innumerable cases exchanged for each other in these two dialects. But the greatest difference is exhibited in the syntax of the Colloquial of both dialects. There are innumerable phrases which, though quite common in one dialect, would be quite unintelligible in the other; the application of the numeral particles also differs considerably; the interjections used in each dialect are different, and so forth. The difference is so great that it is a common saying among the Hakkas, that a Punti may study Hakka for many years, and yet not be able to speak it correctly.

The similarities existing between Hakka and Mandarin are nearly as striking as the differences which separate the former from the Punti dialect. If we compare the vocabularies of the Hakka and Mandarin dialects, it is astonishing to see in how many cases the pronunciation in Hakka, whilst differing from Punti, is exactly the same or very similar to the pronunciation in Mandarin. Hakkas

generally find not much difficulty in learning Mandarin, and this perhaps is the reason why the menial offices in many Ya-mêns in the Canton Province are filled by Hakkas. The syntax of the Colloquial of both dialects is not very different: every book written in Mandarin Colloquial is easily understood by Hakkas. It might seem therefore, that Hakka is simply one of the local varieties of one of the Mandarin dialects, say the Southern Mandarin. But though the Hakka dialect approaches indeed some what nearly to the Mandarin, its differences from it are still important enough to entitle the Hakka tongue to the position of an independent dialect. The consonant *r* and the initial *lw* are totally wanting in Hakka; of the 54 finals used in Mandarin not less than 22 are wanting in Hakka. This we should think is proof enough that the Hakka dialect cannot be a patois of any one of the Mandarin dialects, but occupies a separate position.

But it still remains to show the exact place which the Hakka dialect occupies in the history of the development of the Chinese language. We have already seen that the Hakka dialect occupies a position between Punti and Mandarin. This might be further illustrated by comparing the number of sounds and tones in all those dialects. The number of sounds used in Punti is 707, in Hakka 619, in Mandarin 532. The number of tones used in Punti is 8, in Hakka 6, in Mandarin 5. Thus we see again, that Hakka occupies a middle position between Punti and Mandarin. We can however still more precisely define its position. The difference between the sounds of the Punti and Mandarin dialects is, as everybody knows, very great, and taking into consideration, that Punti represents the original form of the Chinese language, and Mandarin its latest development, it seems often quite impossible to account for those differences. Now, when comparing all those cases, in which the difference of pronunciation between Punti and Mandarin is very striking, with the corresponding pronunciation in Hakka, we find that in seven out of ten cases the Hakka dialect uses a sound which is apparently a transition from Punti to Mandarin. Take for instance the character 澳, the pronunciation of which

is *o* in Punti, and *ngao* in Mandarin. Now, let me ask, how could the sound *o* be changed into *ngao*? What connection is there between these two sounds? None, it would seem. But the Hakka dialect supplies the connecting link, for the Hakka pronunciation of the same character is *au*. Is it not clear at once, how easily the sound *o* could change by dint of indistinct pronunciation into *au*, and *au* then into *ngau*? We will take one or two examples more. The pronunciation of the character 初 is *ch'o* in Punti, *ts'o* in Hakka, and *ts'u* in Mandarin. The character 開 is pronounced *hoi* in Punti, *k'oi* in Hakka and *k'ai* in Mandarin. If space would permit, I could give more than a hundred examples of the same kind, all of which go to prove that the Hakka dialect is the remnant of a phase of transition, through which the common Chinese language passed in developing from Punti into Mandarin, and the Hakka dialect is therefore the connecting link between those two dialects.

As regards the relation existing between the Hakka and Hoklo dialects I can be short, because the Hoklo is so very different, that without doubt no positive relationship exists between the two dialects. Puntis and Hakkas have much less difficulty in understanding each other, than either of these two races has in understanding the dialect of the Hoklos, which is in fact a favourite object of ridicule to both them. This dialect, commonly called Tiechiu (or Ch'iu-chow) dialect, because it is principally spoken in Ch'ao-chow-fu, a Prefecture in the eastern corner of the Canton Province, is a branch of the dialect of the Foh-kien Province. The only thing it has in common with Hakka is the want of the vowel *u*. But all the other peculiarities of the Hoklo dialect, the use of the soft consonant *b*, the absence of the initials *sh* and *f*, and most of all that peculiar nasal twang with which so many words terminate, distinguish the Hoklo dialect as pointedly from Punti. There is however something curious in the Hoklo dialect, for there are many elements in it which seem to be remnants of a dialect of greater antiquity than even the Punti dialect can boast of.

In conclusion I would remark, that according to the geographical distribution of Hakkas and Hoklos we may estimate these two races to form a little more than one third of the whole population of the Canton Province. It is therefore my opinion that within the limits of the Canton Province the Hoklo dialect is spoken by about three millions, the Hakka dialect by about four millions, and the Punti dialect by about twelve millions of people.

III. Character, Customs, and Manners of the Hakkas, compared with those of the other races inhabiting the Canton Province.

In the preceding articles it has been remarked that the Hakkas differ as a race considerably from Puntis and Hoklos as regards language, character and manners. Having given in the last article a few sketches of the linguistic differences, I now proceed to draw a comparative outline of the character, manners and customs of each of these three races.

If you were to ask a thorough-bred Punti about the character of the Hakkas, he would certainly, in the case of his condescending to acknowledge that he ever heard of such people, turn up his nose and tell you that the Hakkas are quite beneath your notice, that they are a kind of semi-barbarians, living in poverty and filth. Perhaps he would be honest enough to acknowledge that if pressed by urgent want they are a hard-working set of people, but he would not fail to add that otherwise they are gifted with a great propensity for loafing and roving, and especially for petty warfare with Puntis and for any rebellious enterprise that might promise rich opportunity for plunder. Such or nearly such is the general opinion which Puntis who have any intercourse with Hakkas form with regard to the character of their rivals, and we cannot but acknowledge that there is much

truth in such a statement, though it is our conviction that it does not give the whole truth.

The Hakkas are for the most part engaged in agriculture, and they are certainly a poor people. Now everybody knows that, especially among agricultural classes, poverty and filthiness only too frequently wed each other. So it is with the Hakkas. Their houses, their ancestral halls, the few temples they have, are undoubtedly in a still worse condition as regards cleanliness, than those of the Puntis, which are already bad enough. The difference is however most striking, if we look at the way in which Hakkas and Puntis dress. Hakkas are not at all dressy. If a poor Punti earns some money, he will first of all go and redeem his pawned clothes, whilst a Hakka in the same circumstances would first of all pay a visit to an eating-house. Punti women have always a flower or two in the hair, and certainly look only the better for it, but a Hakka woman would tell you, with a sort of virtuous indignation, that those Punti women ought to be ashamed of themselves for rigging themselves out like flower-girls. That the Hakkas are semi-barbarians is, to say the least, a very sweeping judgment. In districts where the Hakkas are new arrivals, small in number and living in little hamlets scattered between the hills and mountains, schools are of course a rare thing. But in districts where the Hakkas are living in large numbers, where there are larger villages, where they have enforced the right of competing at the district-examinations, you will find few villages without one or two boys'-schools. In the lists of successful competitors at the triennial provincial examinations at Canton there is always to be noticed a goodly number of literary as well as military graduates from Kia-ying-chow. Girls'-schools are however even in purely Hakka districts a very rare thing, whilst almost every large Punti village can boast of a girls'-school, the pupils of which however have generally no other object in view but that of learning by heart some specimens of those hypocritical lamentations in which every bride is obliged to indulge whilst being carried from her parental home to

the house of her future husband. It is only just if Puntis acknowledge the Hakkas to be generally a hard-working set of people. But that is a matter of course. The Hakkas are for the most part engaged in cultivating rice; and the culture of rice, with two or three crops a year, is well known to offer very little temptation to indulge in habits of idleness and effeminacy. As regards the imputation of a great propensity to idling and roving, which Puntis generally throw upon Hakkas, we take this simply as another form of expressing the fact of the Hakka immigration being still in progress. The Kia-ying-chow department, the so-called original home of the Hakkas, is greatly overpopulated, and it is therefore only the natural course of things that great numbers of people are continually emigrating from thence, looking out for an opening everywhere in Puntis districts, and earning in the meantime their bread among Puntis by serving them as hired labourers, as stone-cutters, blacksmiths, or barbers. If the Hakkas show sometimes a rebellious spirit, the Government is perhaps more to be blamed for it than the Hakkas themselves. That the Hakkas have an inclination to carry on petty warfare with the Puntis is indeed the fact in those districts in which the Hakkas have been just trying to settle amidst the Puntis; but this inclination is produced on the part of the Hakkas by the want of bread, on the part of the Puntis by their overbearing and intolerant conduct towards those poor immigrants, and on the part of the Government by the dangerous policy of engaging armies of Hakkas to put down rebellious movements among Puntis and *vice versa*. In the south western districts of the Canton Province, where the influx of Hakkas has been slowly and steadily going on since the middle of the last century, things have come to such a pass, that the Puntis there lately declared they would not be sheltered by the same heaven with the Hakkas. Where there is no such ill-feeling between the two races, Puntis may be often heard acknowledging, that Hakkas are as a general rule an honest and open-hearted set of people. And this is the impression which the writer of this got by many years' living among and with these Hakkas. There is less intelligence among them than there is among Puntis, but there is also less malice, and there is especially less of that ridiculous pride with which these Puntis look down upon

the hated foreign devils, considering themselves, in spite of all the severe lectures they have got, infinitely superior as regards morality, knowledge and power.

We have tried to sketch the character of the Hakkas by referring our readers to the opinion which Puntis generally form on the subject. It will therefore be only fair, if we proceed in the same way and let the Hakkas have their say also with reference to the character of the Puntis. We do not mean Hakkas living in districts where there is much animosity against Puntis, for they would paint the character of the Puntis very black indeed. But it is strange, even in those districts where the Hakkas are already settled for several centuries, where there have been for many generations no feuds between Hakkas and Puntis, even there Puntis are generally described as a clever but malicious and sneaking set of people. The usual phrase which Hakkas use when talking of Puntis is “those snakes.” We often noticed, that Hakka children generally do not even know the word “Punti,” whilst the phrase “snake-dialect” is to them quite a familiar expression for the same thing. That the Puntis as a race are more intelligent and clever than the Hakkas, is a matter of fact, and that an unscrupulous use of this superiority over a naturally confiding and honest people like the Hakkas produces with them the impression of perfidy and malice seems to us quite natural. As natural it seems to us, that the Puntis, knowing their intellectual superiority over the Hakkas, in addition to the fact of their being indigenous to the Canton Province, look down upon them, despise them and treat them with pride and insolence. This side of the character of the Puntis appears however in another light, if we look at their behavior towards foreigners. Though they ought to know by this time that the Western nations, Europeans and Americans, are more formidable enemies than those poor Hakkas, they have in reality in spite of all their humiliations learnt nothing and forgotten nothing ; they still look down with as much insolence and pride upon us foreigners, as they look down upon those Hakkas ; and in whatever capacity they have to do with foreigners, they signally display the same unscrupulous perfidy,

pride and malice, of which those poor Hakkas complain so much.

As regards the character of the Hoklos we again refer our readers to the testimony of the rival races. Both Puntis and Hakkas have only one opinion about the subject, and that is, that the Hoklos are a daring, wild and ferocious people. As the Hakkas hate the Puntis, so they fear the Hoklos. Whilst the Puntis despise the Hakkas, they consider the Hoklos as rather a dangerous set of people and are cautious in their intercourse with them. This wild and ferocious character of the Hoklos shows itself in the fact, that in the South of China no robbers, no pirates are dreaded so much as Hoklo robbers or Hoklo pirates. Especially as pirates the Hoklos excel their rival races in daring exploits as well as in cruelty. Even Hakka soldiers are frequently heard expatiating upon the courage and daring of Hoklo soldiers, and it has really become quite a proverb among Hakkas, that "Hoklos are not afraid of death."

IV. Character, customs, and Manners of the Hakkas, compared with those of the other races inhabiting the Canton Province.

One of the most prominent features that mark the different aspects of social life among Hakkas, Puntis and Hoklos is the relative position assigned to woman by each of these races.

To all outward appearance the position of woman seems to be worse among Hakkas than it is among Hoklos. A Hakka woman, if strong enough, has to take almost as much part in out-door work as any man. The carrying of heavy loads to the market, of grass to the brick-kilns, the tilling of the fields the carrying of water from the well, are as much the every-day duty of a Hakka woman as of a Hakka

man. The consequence of course is that the seclusion of woman, which is comparatively more common among Puntis and Hoklos, is almost an unknown thing among the labouring classes of the Hakkas. Women go in parties of two or three great distances on grass cutting expeditions unaccompanied by any man. One may often see a married woman carrying produce to the market quite alone. If any foreigner comes into a Hakka village he will find himself surrounded perhaps by more women than men, whilst Puntis or Hoklo women would scarcely peep out from behind their house doors.

The position of woman among Puntis and Hoklos is somewhat different. Puntis are generally better off than Hakkas. Whilst Hakkas are principally an agricultural people, Puntis society embraces every branch of industry besides. Whilst Hakkas are principally engaged in cultivating rice, Puntis cultivate rice, tea and silk; and be it understood the latter two branches, which are scarcely cultivated among Hakkas, entail not half as much trouble and dirty work as the cultivation of rice. The consequence is, that Puntis women even among the agricultural classes are not worked so badly as Hakka women. The custom of cramping the feet of females, which is even among the rich Hakkas scarcely ever observed, is almost a law in every well-to-do Puntis family, Puntis women live therefore, comparatively speaking, more in-doors than Hakka women; their work is not so rough, the management of the internal affairs of the household besides needle work being their principal occupation; their manners likewise are better, and they are cleaner and tidier in all their habits than Hakka women. They have moreover advantage of obtaining some little education; for a girls'-school is to be found in almost every larger village.

As regards the position of woman among the Hoklos, who are principally sugarplanters, fishermen, sailors and traders, it is more analogous to the state of things among Puntis than to that among Hakkas. Cramped feet are, perhaps, not

so frequently to be seen among Hoklos as among Puntis, but otherwise a Hoklo woman occupies much the same position as Punti woman. Polygamy again is not so frequent among Hoklos as among Puntis, but this slight advantage is more than nullified by a custom almost as bad as that of polygamy, which to a large extent pervades the richer classes of Hoklos. We mean the selling of girls and adult females, or in other words the employment of female slaves.

Comparing therefore the position of women among all three races the Hakkas would seem to deserve the palm in this respect, as the position of a Hakka woman is certainly more natural and healthy, and more facilities for the realization of a happy family life, because it is less hampered by such crying evils as polygamy and female slavery, which nip the growth of affection between man and wife almost in the bud and give little chance for the enjoyment of a quiet and happy home life. But it would be unjust if we were to overlook another point connected with the position of women, which taints the social life of the Hakkas and shows them in a light that might appear to justify the imputation of semi-barbarism, which Puntis are wont to throw upon them. The terrible custom of female infanticide, which has first been discovered to exist among the people living in the Fo-kien Province, prevails almost to the same extent among their descendants the Hoklos who live in the Canton province; but they are far outstripped in this particular by the Hakkas, whilst the Puntis are very little tainted with this vice. It is a fact, that among Hoklos and much more among Hakka, female infanticide is the general custom of the agricultural classes. Educated people of course even among the Hakkas are too scarce to exercise any influence worth speaking of toward the suppression of a custom which has struck its roots so deeply into every heart and throughout society. The proportion of females killed immediately after birth is generally estimated by Hakkas to be about two-thirds of the whole number of females born. In a small village in which the writer of this lived for several years, a careful and with the help of some Christian

women secretly instituted investigation led to the result, that without any exception every woman who had ever given birth to more than two girls, had at least killed one. It is consequently very difficult, if not in most cases impossible, for a poor man to obtain a wife, except in districts where Hakkas live interspersed with Puntis and where then the Hakkas are in the habit of marrying Punti women. The most disastrous consequences of female infanticide are those which next result from the paucity of women and the difficulty of obtaining wives, consequences which may be easier imagined than expressed in words.

What has been remarked above with reference to the character of each of the three races, the position of woman and the prevalence of infanticide, comprises the most important differences between Puntis, Hakkas and Hoklos. There are however a few minor differences to be pointed out. The settlements of the Hakkas are for the most part in mountainous or hilly districts, but even in other districts their villages are invariably built each on the brow of a hill or at any rate backed by a small grove of trees. The Hoklos have settled in the coast districts or on the bank of the larger rivers, whilst the Puntis live in the plain country occupying almost everywhere the best part of the soil. But there are some marked differences as regards the way in which the villages and even the houses of Puntis and Hakkas are built; so much so that anybody when seeing a village from a distance can immediately tell if it has been built by Puntis or by Hakkas. One of the differences lies in this that Punti villages usually consist of several rows of houses, one row behind the other, usually on the side of the village. Hakkas build but few temples, but there are always situated in the middle of villages, and the houses generally built in one outstretched line.

There is however another difference to be observed in the manner of constructing the roofs of the houses. On houses of Puntis the eaves of the roof are very short, the roof therefore projecting only a few inches over the walls in which

it rest. On Hakka houses the eaves are very long. In consequence of which the roof in the front and back affords ample shelter against the rain and serves especially to keep the foundations of the walls dry. The villages and houses of the Hoklos are sometimes built like those of the Hakkas, sometimes like those of the Puntis. But now let us have a look at the people that live in these houses, and we shall see almost as marked a difference in their personal appearance as in their architectural tastes. There is a slight difference as regards the dress of the men. The jackets of Hoklos are longer than those of either Puntis or Hakkas, whilst the latter have longer tails than either Puntis or Hoklos. Those differences are slight indeed; they appear only among the labouring classes and it wants an experienced eye to find them out. But the differences with regard to the dress of the fairer sex are most striking. Whilst Hoklo and Punti women perfectly agree in their tastes, the Hakka women display a great deal of originality in almost every article of their attire. A Hakka woman fastens her hair right on the top with the help of a silver ring, and wears in summer a large flat and fringed hat with a hole in the middle, through which the knot of hair is thrust to keep the hat steady. In winter she throws over her head a piece of blue cloth and fastens it with a cotton string. Both of these articles are peculiar to Hakka women, a peculiarity however of which Punti and Hoklo women are far from envious; in fact they abhor that horn-like or tea-pot shape, into which Punti and Hoklo women twist their hair. The sleeves of the tunic of Hakka women are narrower than those which we see on Punti or Hoklo women. Hakka women have moreover a small flat piece of silver of a square shape dangling down from their shoulders as an ornament, and are in the habit of wearing a girdle. Both of which articles their rival sisters never use. Even the shoes of a Hakka woman have a peculiar shape; whilst the shoes of Hoklo and Punti women have sharp points, the points of the shoes which Hakka women wear are round and curved upward.

Having noticed some differences in the architectural aspect of the villages

and houses of the three races, some peculiarities also in the way in which their inhabitants dress, let us now step inside these houses and have a look at the people whilst they are taking their meals. Perhaps we shall find that each race has a gastronomic partiality for one dish or another. The Hakkas are particularly fond of rice and able to devour that in greater quantities than the other two races. But they despise congee. In fact the phrase “to eat congee” is in Hakka synonymous with eating the bread of a beggar. Puntis and Hoklos are far from despising congee, they prize it highly as the proper food for sick people. The Hakkas when putting the rice for breakfast or dinner into the boiler add always [sic] some vegetables which are just in season, potatoes, yams or melons, and boil them along with the rice, a custom which is never to be seen among Puntis or Hoklos. The Hakkas are also particularly fond of yellow wine, which each household prepares for its own use, whilst Puntis and Hoklos usually drink white wine which is bought in shops. But it is only the Hakka race that displays such culinary peculiarities. The Hoklos being for the most part engaged in cultivating sugar, are famous for preparing a certain kind of sugar-brandy, of which they are very fond. They display also a marked predilection for pickled vegetables and pickled fish, whilst Puntis and Hakkas usually stick to salt-fish and fresh or dried vegetables fried in oil. The Puntis have their peculiarities as well as the other races. They are noted for their predilection for a strange kind of beverage which both Hakkas and Hoklos consider a most loathsome drink. This beverage is called rice-vinegar and prepared by dissolving in hot water the rice-crusts which attach themselves to the rice-boiler, and keeping this mixture well covered up for two or three months, whereupon it is ready for use. Puntis are also famous for preparing a kind of hollow globular cake or dumpling, made of riceflour, sugar, and oil, and therefore called oil-dumpling (*yau tui*). This is in fact, the national cake of the Puntis and corresponds as such to a similar cake of the Hakkas, called sweet-cake, in the preparation of which however no oil is used. A Hakka whom we once happened to ask what he considered to be the most striking difference between Puntis and Hakkas, replied in good earnest, “Puntis always eat oil-dumplings, whilst Hakkas

eat sweet-cakes.”

V(1). Popular Songs Of The Hakkas.

Popular songs or ballads are the medium by which each people or nation as such expresses its own feelings, sufferings, joys, or heroic deeds. They are the common property of the whole mass of a people, the surest index of the national character, while at the same time every individual recognizes in them his own private thoughts and feelings, his own joys or sorrows, and his own personal recollections.

There are some features which are common to the popular songs of every nation. They do not enter into anything like a circumstantial and connected description of the experiences of an individual, neither do they give any merely fancied or imaginary sentiment, but what every body in certain circumstance felt, and they sketch rhapsodically, not caring much for logical connection of ideas, but throwing forth their accents of love, woe, and hatred almost incoherently, as everybody's thoughts break forth in moments of excitement and passions, the “*disjecta membra poetae*.” There is no hypocrisy, no moral, no religious cant in popular songs. They express every thing with naïve simplicity and unblushing truthfulness, but for that very reason also with the greatest intensity and energy, abound and the artless strength of their language excite the admiration of just critics.

On this account, Chinese popular poetry is to be considered an important source of information as regards the manner and mode of thinking of the common people. The more so as we all know that Chinese historians lack nothing more than truthfulness. Unfortunately however that decay, which according to the laws

of nature must necessarily come over popular poetry at a certain stage in the progress of society, has already commenced in China. The ancient popular lays have long ago sunk into derision and oblivion, being unjustly despised by the learned and irregularities. No doubt many fragments of those ancient lays or ballads may be still lingering in the memory of the vulgar, and many interesting relics of them might perhaps still be gleaned, but the writer of this is not aware of any such attempt on the part of a Chinese scholar. Those tea-songs which have been collected and published by Sir John Bowring smell so strongly of the study-lamp, that they cannot possibly be called popular songs.

To confine ourselves however to the people living in the Canton Province, it is especially among the Hakkas where popular songs are still a living thing, living in the memory of the common people and being handed down from one generation to the other mostly without the aid of books. The Hakkas are, as a whole, a singing people like the Germans. Puntis and Hoklos have their sing-songs, their story-tellers, their wandering musicians, their books of songs and ballads; they listen to these popular lays, they read them, but they do not sing them as the Hakkas do. Among the latter you won't find a single boy or girl above fourteen years, that does not know by heart an incredible number of such songs. Those who have never learned to read, and the agricultural classes as a whole, use these popular songs on every occasion, they hum them whilst working, they banter each other, they mock and ridicule each other by singing appropriate strophes of popular songs. For any given relation of life, for any possible situation there are also rhymes, strophes, and antistrophes expressing adequately the feelings of the moment, The whole mass of popular songs current among the Hakkas divides itself into six distinct classes. There are first the so-called "mountain songs" (山歌), living especially in the mouth of the agricultural population, and bearing almost throughout an erotic character, many of them reminding one strongly of Ovid's "Ars Amatoria" There are secondly the

so-called responsoriums (和歌), songs for bantering between the two sexes, one strophe sung by a man and replied to by a woman. To illustrate the general character of this class of popular songs, we will just give one example. A lad may for instance be standing at his housedoor and see a girl coming on the road past his house; he immediately sings out:

A black silken fringe she wound doubly round
At her heels there dangles her tail,
A sprightly young girl comes passing my door
One glance and her heart does her fail.

Thereupon the girl taking up the same tune will reply:

A bran-new oiled sun-hat he wears,
To his heels his tail's hanging down,
From afar I thought him a bean
Coming nearer I see him a Clown.

A third-class of popular songs are the so-called tea pluckers's songs(採茶歌) which are especially sung at the time, when the mountain-tea (山茶) is gathered, which is the only kind of tea cultivated by Hakkas. Another class form the so-called "salt-water-songs["] (鹹水歌), for sailors boat people and fishermen, but as there are but few Hakkas living on the sea such songs are rather scarce. There are finally songs for beggars (乞食人歌) which are mostly long ballads or comical stories, and songs for children (小兒歌) or nursery songs. The greatest part of all these popular songs cannot be written out in Chinese characters, as they

are couched in the very lowest colloquial, abounding in sounds for which no corresponding character can be found in the written language. The writer of this collected several hundreds of them piece-meal during a five year's residence in the interior, jotting them down in Roman characters just as he happened to hear them sung by the people. But as yet he has not been so fortunate as to stumble upon any historical ballad of great antiquity.

I intend to give some specimens of each of the above mentioned classes of popular Hakka-songs, but reserve them for another number of this paper

V(2). Popular Songs of the Hakkas. (Continued.)

Before introducing to your readers some specimens of the popular poetry current among the Hakkas, I would offer a few further remarks, which the nature of the subject calls forth. I am afraid that some readers of the N. & Q.'s will be surprised to find so much space of a valuable paper taken up by raw translations of rubbishy popular songs, as they will perhaps be phased to call them, and others will even wonder how on earth a man could not find something better to fill up his leisure hours than the collection and study of vulgar lays. I am therefore in self-justification bound to explain more fully the value which I attach to similar studies.

In the first instance the Chinese text of these popular songs appears to me to afford the only standard by which we can determine what good colloquial is. Everybody knows that the colloquial which he hears from his teacher is something different from the colloquial which his coolies talk among themselves. Now as regards the written language we have in the classics a sure guide to direct our judgment in all matters of composition in prose or verse, but as regards the

spoken colloquial we at least know of no other standard than the one that is afforded by those popular songs which are daily in the mouth of everybody, intelligible alike to the learned and the unlearned.

Another instance of the use to which the study of popular poetry might be turned we find in this, that it shows us the possibility, the means, and the way for transplanting to China the finest flowers of western Christian poetry. Translations of Christian hymns done as we have them in the style of the classics will never become popular, because they are unintelligible to the mass of the people. If we require our native converts to refrain from singing their own popular songs because of the improprieties with which they abound, we should first of all try to substitute for them something better, clad in the same homely dress. One word about the moral or rather immoral character of these very popular songs. Any foreigner who travels through Hakka districts, or I may as well say through any district of China, will be struck with the apparent propriety observed in the public intercourse of both sexes. Though you may there daily see men and women carrying loads together to the market, walking in company, resting together at tea-houses, crossing rivers in ferry-boats, travelling on board of passage-boats, you will never see the least approach to indecent behavior. It will be the more striking to you, if you remember the scenes of brutality and bestiality which may be observed almost daily in the public gardens, at the railway stations, in the omnibuses of almost every country of Europe. You may travel through the whole of China, but you will never see anything like that. Thus it might seem that the lower classes of Chinese are superior to the corresponding classes of society in Europe as regards outward propriety of conduct, and the writer of this thought so for a long time, during which he lived in the closest intercourse with the poorest classes of Hakkas. But when he began to understand their colloquial, when he began to understand the expressions they use when bantering, scolding, or cursing each other, when he began to catch the meaning of those short songs which every

boy, every girl above ten years, every man and every woman sing daily in their leisure hours and over their work, a fathomless abyss of the uttermost moral depravity opened itself before him. These observations made it clear to him, that these Chinese are the most consummate hypocrites. You see no impropriety in their public conduct, but in privacy in their speech and slang phrases, they are the most immoral nation I know of. Take the very obscenest of European songs, songs which you can hear nowhere but in the very lowest of music-halls in large seaports, songs which the very man who sings them is ashamed of uttering aloud, take such songs I say and you have the average moral character of those, which every Hakka, man and woman, young and old, boy and girl, sing daily and aloud!

I have made these remarks in order to obviate the inference which might be drawn from the following translations, viz. that the popular songs of the Hakkas are of a perfectly harmless nature, and I beg to state, that the subjoined twelve songs were all that could be selected for translation out of several hundreds. I have made it a point to translate perfectly literally and to rather omit a song altogether than spoil its authenticity by the slightest alteration. I give first a dozen of mountain songs (山歌).

1.

Now the Sun has risen in the East.

As a mountain-tree fears twining croppers[?],

As a foreign vessel dreads the pirates,

So a young girl fears a handsome lover.

2.

Now the Sun has reached the zenith.

Days incessant I continued wooing,
By the Heavens we swore to love each other,
Should she false be, may the lightning strike her!

3.

Now the Sun shines forth with scorching heat.
At her gate a girl is planting onions,
Every day she sighs “there are no onions,”
Every night she sighs “I have no husband.”

4.

Blazing is the Sun, on hopes for clouds,
Parched are the fields, they hope for water,
Cloudless is the sky, on hopes for showers,
Single is that girl, she hopes for –whom?

5.

Bright the Sun may be and bad the weather,
Trees and flowers gay, the garden dreary,
Good the plant may be and bad the crop
Fine a girl may be and die a spinster.

6.

Don't blame Heaven for sending rain in torrents;
Mind that fearful drought some years ago,

When for rice were paid cents six and thirty,
And to death were starved the fairest maidens.

7.

Incense burned leaves embers in the censer,
Is the lampwick burned there are but ashes;
If you want to woo, then woo two sisters;
Is the one at work, you have the other.

8.

Once my girl and I walked up you hill,
When I hurt my foot the blood gushed out,
But she tore her dress to bind my wound,
Pain then racked my foot and racked her heart.

9.

If you sweetheart jilts you, never mind.
Every mountain sends some creeklet forth,
Every valley has some little water,
If you fail on one side; try the other.

10.

Ah! The world is worse than ever it was,
Finger-rings are worn as large as door-rings,
Once a lover wanted but one ring,

Now a lover wants a lot of dollars.

11.

Twice I met my sweetheart in the dusk,
And this night we met behind her house,
When somebody passed and looked askant,
But she seized a twig and called her pigs.

12.

Three times barked the watchdog at the gate;
Surely now my lover must be coming,
Hush my dog, and let me open the door,
With my hand behind I'll lead him in.

V(3). Popular Songs of the Hakkas. (Concluded.)

Having already, in one of the former numbers of this paper, enlarged on the nature and character of those classes of popular poetry, which differ from the more common type of mountain-songs, I subjoin the following specimens without any further remarks. I would merely add, that Nos. 1-12 belong to the class called tea-songs (採茶歌), whilst Nos. 13-18 are specimens of responsoriums (和歌). No. 19 then may represent the nursery-songs (小兒歌), and No. 20 the song of beggars (乞食人歌). I refrain from giving any specimens of salt-water songs, as a closer study of them has convinced me that they are all imitations or reproductions of Punti songs.

1.

In the first month, when the peach-tree blossoms,
When the old year's gone, the new year comes,
When cool breezes bleach the plumage of the goose,
Then behind their curtains women yearn for love.

2.

In the next month, when the willow blossoms,
Little buds shoot forth and leaflets spread,
When all buds and leaves are glittering with dew,
Then beneath the willows women yearn for love.

3.

In the third month, when the tea-trees blossom,
Every maid goes forth to view the gardens,
Every maid then loves to stroll about,
But whilst plucking tea they yearn for love.

4.

In the fourth month, when the beech-tree blossoms,
Standing splendid white with flowers all over,
When no one likes his meat or wine when cold,
In the backroom at their toilet women yearn for love.

5.

When then next month courtyard-flowers blossom,
When the swallows seek their wonted haunts,
When the swallows in the garden gambol,
Then whilst gathering flowers women yearn for love.

6.

In the sixth month when the rice-plant blossoms,
When each blade unfolds some tender ear,
And each ear seems pregnant with rich corn,
Stalking every nerve then women yearn for love.

7.

In the next month when the caltrops blossom,
Crowds of girls go forth to view the gardens,
Crowds of girls go strolling through the fields,
At their wash-tubs even women yearn for love.

8.

In the eighth month when the wild flowers blossom,
When the old year goes to meet the new year coming,
Then young men like butterflies go roving
Over land and seas -- they yearn for love.

9.

In the ninth month when the asters blossom,

And the people make fermented wine,
With cold tea or rice I still could manage,
But with bed and matting cold- I yearn for love.

10.

In the tenth month paper-trees do blossom,
And the people handle paper-scissors,
Cutting flowers from paper for the fair,
In the streets then selling them I yearn for love.

11.

In the next month when the snow-tree blossoms,
And the people handling brooms and besoms
Clear away the snow to open paths,
I too sweeping off the snow then yearn for love.

12.

In the twelfth month pillow-flowers blossom,
Then I put two pillows on my bed,
It's that famous pair "the loving wild-fowl,"
Resting on these pillows-then I yearn for love.

13.

The Maiden.

Here I've got one thousand cash and one.

Now, my friend, divide them for some persons,
Let not one have more than any other,
Let not one have less than any other,
Who divides these cash that none be left?
Him I'll marry without go-between!

14.

The Youth.

I will try and make out seven portions,
Each one hundred cash makes seven hundred,
Forty cash then, makes two hundred and eighty,
There to each now, that is twenty one,
And this altogether makes one thousand and one.
Look I have divided all your money.
Come now marry me without a go-between!

15.

The Youth.

Handsome is my sweet-heart grown,
Like the sky's five coloured clouds,
Of her beauty she gives me a part,
All my wordly goods I give to her.

16.

The Maiden.

If you love me, rig me smartly out,
I want Swatow-shoes with cloud-like born,
Want a Kwang-si straw hat quite a beauty,
And some money too for playing cards.

17.

The Youth.

Should I spend my money all for you?
Sell my best fields all to gain your love?
Sell my fields, incur my father's wrath?
Let my wife and children wail and groan?

18.

The Maiden.

Day and night burn incense, pray to Heaven,
To assist you, love, in making money.
That you might gain many thousand dollars
And redeem the fields you sell for me.

19.

Hush the baby, sleep! sleep!
Thy sister's gone a-gardening,
thy father rides a snow-white horse,
He rides up to grandmother's door,
Grandfather brings his old wine forth,

Grandmother kills -- a fowl.

20.

Most venerable Sir!

Most venerable Sir!

I know you gave me many a cash,

Now tell me when your birthday is.

Fool that I am, I've nothing to present:

I'll boil some water, boil some tea,

Fetch you a bench to sit,

But nothing father can I do

To show my gratitude.

VI(1). The Religion of the Hakkas.

To any scholar who studies Chinese theology and sets to work by reading through the intricate maze of Confucianist, Buddhist, and Taoist literature, it will seem to be an almost hopeless task to clearly define the different religious systems of China. For in conformity with the complimentary and latitudinarian policy generally followed by Eastern religions when coming in contact with opposing views, Taoism and Buddhism and to some extent even Confucianism, have mutually adopted their respective principal divinities. An observation of the practical working of the systems just mentioned would seem only to confirm the impression, that the practical theology of China is a perplexing labyrinth. For the strictest Confucianist may any day be seen not only worshipping those stars which are considered to have supervision of all affairs relating to literature, (viz: 文昌星

and 魁星) but actually going through wedding or funeral ceremonies in strict conformity to Tauist or Buddhist rituals, or, as the case may be, choosing a site for a dwelling house or tomb after the most approved principles of Tauist orthodox writers. As regards those Tauists themselves, they have borrowed the whole of their ritual and their system of ecclesiastical discipline from the Buddhists, they worship a triad which differs from the Buddhist trinity in nothing but the names, and they worship Kwan-yin(觀音) Chun-t'i(準提) Lung-shu(龍樹) and a few other deities almost as devoutly as the Buddhists themselves. And the latter sect politely return the compliment by admitting into their Pantheon the god of the hearth (司命灶君), the god of the five point of the compass (五方五土神), the Dragon-king (龍王), and other popular deities of undoubted Tauist origin. Bewildering as this confusion is it is increased by the difficulty of determining the origin of many deities and religious rites now common to both systems. This difficulty arises especially from the fact, that not the Tauist system only but the Buddhist likewise-though to a smaller extent-have drawn from one and the same source, viz. the religious notions and customs current among the peoples inhabiting China before either Confucianism or Tauism or Buddhism developed themselves. But as to the details of this earliest form of religious worship in China we know unfortunately very little besides the hints given by the Chinese Classics, and the relics preserved in the religion of the Miao-tse.

It is therefore with some feeling of relief that we remember it is not necessary for the sake of a right understanding of the Hakka religion to inquire into the rise and development of religions thought in China, the various phases of which process we still can see crystallized as it were in the native religious literature. What we have now to deal with is not the religion of the learned; not the religion of the books, but the religious life of the great mass of the people, the popular religion, and more especially the popular religion of the Hakkas in its difference from that of other rival races inhabiting the Canton Province. Great as

the confusion appears when we compare Buddhism and Tauism from the standing point of their classics and rituals, the confused mass arranges itself into something like order when we put aside the books and watch the symptoms of religious life among the common people with a view to measure the influence which the different religious systems respectively exercise upon the various races. Thus narrowing the limits of our present inquiry, leaving behind us the turgid waters and whirlpools of scholastic latitudinarianism and entering the arena of real concrete life, we behold at once all that was shadowy and confused before lit up, and the differences of religious thought and life standing forth in bold relief.

If I have not utterly failed in my argumentation throughout the preceding articles I think I have shown the readers of N. and Q. that the Hakkas are a distinct race differing from Puntis and Hoklos, not by their dialect only but likewise in their manners and customs. Now the same disparity appears to separate them in their religious life and thought from their neighbours. And first among the peculiarities of the Hakka religion ranks the neglect with which it treats the great deities patronized by the state, deities upon whom successive dynasties have conferred the most splendid titles, raising them thereby above the ordinary level. Thus for instance the god of the sombre heavens (玄天上帝 or 北帝) whom both Puntis and Hoklos consider to be the god above all gods, is little known in the pure Hakkas districts. Whilst Puntis and Hoklos have bestowed on him the greatest attention ever since the Ming dynasty began to patronize him, the Hakkas still cling faithfully to the Jupiter of their forefathers the great jade-stone-emperor (玉皇上帝) The same is the case with the god of war (關帝) who by imperial decree has been raised to the same rank with Confucius. He enjoys among the Hakkas very little of that popularity which both Puntis and Hoklos accord to him. Still worse fates the patron of cities (城皇) an exceedingly popular deity everywhere in the Canton Province except among the Hakkas. It is only the queen of heaven (天后) who alone of all the state gods enjoys something

like popularity among them.

Besides the neglect shown to the state gods the Hakka religion distinguishes itself by marked disrespect which it exhibits with regard to the great Buddhist divinities. Of all the great Buddhas and Bodhisattivas none is worshipped among the Hakkas except the medical king (藥王 in Sanscrit [sic] Bhaishadja-garádja) worshipped by vendors of medicines, and another Bodhisattwa (地藏王) worshipped once a year at the festival of the hungry spirits. Even the great Kwanyin (觀音 in Sanscrit [sic] Analoketeshwara) whose thousand eyes and merciful heart exercise a thrilling power over all classes of Puntis and Hoklos and who enjoys immense popularity among both sexes, can scarcely be said to be very popular among Hakkas. It is only the female portion of their community that bestows any attention on this goddess, resorting to her temples twice a year and indulging there in public dinner-parties given in her honour, to which however women only are admitted. The very name of Buddha is scarcely so much as known, whilst the name Amidha Buddha (阿彌陀佛), the great ruler of the western paradise, serves as a standing joke among them, figuring sometimes in comic songs, and provoking uncontrollable hilarity whenever mentioned.

Another characteristic of the Hakka religion is the total absence of the peculiar tenets of Buddhism. The doctrine of a metempsychosis for example has saturated the minds of Puntis so deeply and generally, that even people of the lowest classes are constantly making allusions to it, ascribing calamities that befall their neighbours to crimes committed in a former life, or expressing their gratitude for acts of great liberality by promising that they will immediately after death serve their benefactors as dogs or horses. No such ideas are current among the Hakkas, and even the educated classes know nothing of a metempsychosis. Thus also the Buddhist doctrine of an hell, with its tortures and purgatory, so familiar to Puntis by the representations in the so called temple of horrors and by

Buddhist prints circulating largely among them, is quite foreign to Hakkas, who have the Tauist idea that the righteous ascend after death to the stars whilst the wicked are destroyed at the same time with their bodies. The fable of the western paradise (靜土) the most popular romance among Puntis is known among Hakkas only in its Tauist dress, designating the Kwan lung mountains as the abode of genii where the western king (西王公) rules over the male, and his wife (西王母) over the female portion of the immortals.

The gulf that separates the religion of the Hakkas from that of the Puntis is wider still. The above remarks will have shown that the Puntis as a race are much more influenced by Buddhism than by Tauism, and yet we could give a long list of deities which are of undoubted Tauist origin and moreover invariably discountenanced by Buddhist priests, but worshipped by Puntis whilst perfectly ignored by the Hakkas. Examples of this anomaly are the following divinities: -the dragon-mother (龍母), the first of the Tauist patriarchs (東華帝君), the three rulers (上元 中元 下元), the spirit of rain(雨師神), a tutelary deity controlling house-building and house-repairs(張王爺), the famous three brothers of the Han dynasty (三茅真君) and an host of minor divinities as 那叱太子, 康元帥, 方元, 高元帥, 馬元帥 etc. etc. This shows how little there is comparatively in the Hakkas of that idolatrous infatuation which prompts the Puntis to worship, in addition to the long list of divinities which they have in common with the other races in the Canton Province, quite a number of Buddhist and Tanist deities not worshipped by either Hakkas or Hoklos, and to finish off this tremendous array by a long series of local deities of which I will only mention Kam-fa (金花 with 十八奶娘), Nam-hoi-shan (南海神), sam-tai-chung(三大中), a goddess of rice (禾婆) and a goddess of silk (蠶女). All these local deities have never been adopted by the Hakkas.

The differences between the Hakka religion and that of the Hoklos are less marked because the latter race is almost as averse to Buddhism and as attached to Tauism as the Hakkas. The chief difference consists in this, that there is a number of deities extensively worshipped by the Hoklos (as for instance 安濟王, 速報爺, 雙忠爺 and 三山國王), which are perfectly unknown to the Hakkas, and that the worship of the *lares rustici* (社公 社母) which is most popular among the Hakkas is not to be observed anywhere among the Hoklos, who worship in their stead the spirit of grain (稷神).

Thus far I have tried to give your readers some idea of the peculiarities of the Hakka religion, exhibiting before them the negative side of the picture. In a future number of this paper I will turn the photograph and look at its positive side.

VI(2). The Religion of the Hakkas. (Continued.)

The first characteristic that at once obtrudes itself to even a superficial observer on travelling through Hakka districts is the scarcity of temples. The Hakkas certainly have temples for their idols, but on enquiry one will find that most of them have been built by the original inhabitants of the country and before the advent of the Hakkas who took possession, placed their own idols in them, but seldom take the trouble of keeping the edifice in repairs. Consequently almost all their temples are in a dilapidated condition. In many Hakka districts one may travel for miles and miles without seeing a single temple, as the people generally give the preference to their ancestral halls, which usually contain some favorite idols in addition to the ancestral tablets.

This state of things shows at once the relative position of ancestral and

idolatrous worship. The former is the primary and essential form of worship, the latter is of secondary importance and may be dispensed with altogether. In fact the Hakkas are not half as idolatrous, bigoted, and priest-ridden as the Puntis, and to some extent even as the Hoklos are. Their most important religious ceremonies are gone through either in the family dwelling or in the ancestral hall, and are generally performed without the intervention of priests by the head of each family. Domestic worship and worship in the open fields, or on the top of mountains, is much more frequent among the Hakkas than among any other race.

It may be said that among Puntis and Hoklos ancestral worship takes likewise the first place, and I fully acknowledge the truth of that. But whilst among those races idolatry, either in Buddhist or Tauist dress, ranks next to and is often mixed up with ancestral worship, and among them the priests have usurped the place which in patriarchal times the head of each family had, you will find a different state of things among the Hakkas. There first in rank appears ancestral worship, from which priests are totally excluded. Next in importance however comes, not idolatry, but a certain extensive system of religious superstition, which is neither of Buddhist nor of Tauist origin, though it is in some degree tinged by the latter religion, and which does not require the employment of priests. This is the system of somnambulism, witchcraft, and sorcery upheld and fostered by the general dread which Hakkas constantly have against secret mysterious influences of wicked spirits of demons. To them every evil, every calamity, every disease, is ascribed, and consequently somnambules, sorcerers, and exorcists are in great request. Remarkable, however, it is that whilst among Puntis and Hoklos most of these offices are performed by priests, they are in the hands of private persons among the Hakkas. Somnambules (仙婆 or 仙姑) abound among them (see *Notes and Queries* Vol. II, No.2, p19), and likewise sorcery and exorcism are as common and as honest trades among the Hakkas as shoemaking or tailoring elsewhere. There is a sorcerer or exorcist (覘工) with his amanuensis dressed in

female costume (覘婆) almost in every large village, and has everywhere a greater practice than the best physician can obtain.

In connection with these superstitions practices I may mention another trait peculiar to the Hakkas. This is the strong belief they display in the possibility of bringing departed spirits back, and the custom they have of trying to recall the spirits of their dying or deceased relatives. The idea of the soul's immortality is a common form of belief among all Chinese races, but this custom of recalling departed spirits is a peculiar characteristic of the Hakkas, and one that distinguishes them from Puntis and Hoklos, whilst at the same time it shows that the North of China where the same custom prevails. Puntis engage Buddhist or Tauist priests to perform mass whilst a person is dying, with the idea that the prayers of the priests might heal the sick, or to sing their litany for the dead to benefit the soul in Hades; but the Hakkas employ their sorcerers -- who usually are not ecclesiastics of any persuasion -- either when a person is supposed to be dying or immediately after death has taken place, with the distinct understanding that the soul should, by the incantations of the sorcerer addressed to the four points of the compass, be induced to come back, to re-enter the body of the dying or dead and revive it. To effect this a ceremonial is gone through, the description of which I reserve for another number of this paper.

I believe it is this strong hold which superstition has upon the minds of the Hakkas, and this strong belief of theirs in the possibility of a resurrection from the dead (see *Notes and Queries* Vol. I, No. 4, pp.37 to 40), which gave them such a decided leaning towards Tauism, a system which in its popular form always favoured astrology, sorcery, and exorcism, and whose votaries made themselves famous by their endeavours to find the plant of immortality or some means to recall the dead to life. Those Hakka sorcerers and exorcists who have perhaps never taken any religious vows are usually designated by the same name (南無)

which commonly distinguishes Tauist priests from their Buddhist colleagues (和尚). On the whole, Tauism has exercised much greater influence upon the religious mind of the Hakkas than Buddhism, though not to the total exclusion of the latter system. Buddhist priests are occasionally employed, but the favoured class are the Tauists, and rather the objects of fear with strong inclination to ridicule Buddhist priests. Whenever a Buddhist passes through a Hakkas village all the ragamuffins of the place turn out to follow him with shouts and songs of derision. Quite another thing it is when a Tauist priest enters a village. Then all the little urchins scamper off to hide themselves as best they can, and even the women turn aside for fear of the magic powers of these sorcerers. In the Buddhist monasteries on the Lo-fan-shun (羅浮山) that renowned cradle of Southern Buddhism and Tauism, there are few Hakkas to be found; whilst in the Tauist monasteries scattered over the same mountain nearly all the monks are of Hakka extraction. A Tauist monastery is generally considered among Hakkas in the light of a life-insurance company or as a sort of poor-house. The rule is that every applicant is admitted who pays down a certain sum of money varying according to the monetary circumstances of each monastery from \$15 to \$30, whereupon he is entitled to receive board and lodging in the cloister for the length of his life and a decent burial after death, whilst his duties are simply to take part in the ceremonies of worship every 1st and 15th day of each month and on the saint's day. Tauist monks do not take the vow of celibacy; they may keep their families outside the cloister walls and spend the whole time between each meal at home. Of course these priests do not make any pretence of particular devotion or enthusiasm for their gods; they are commonly as innocent of any knowledge of the doctrines of Tauism as their dumb idols themselves. Most of them cannot even read, and spend leisure hours in carving roots of old trees, in gathering medicinal herbs for sale, or act as sorcerers and exorcists.

VI(3). The Religion of the Hakkas. (Continued.)

On diving father into the tangled web of the Hakka religion we should be careful to guard ourselves against an error into which western scholars are most apt to fall. We should not attempt to systematize. Strict logic is all very well in theoretical handbooks of systematic theology or philosophy, but practical life defies logical consistency. The silly notion that every religion has one ruling idea either theistic or atheistic, either monotheistic or polytheistic or pantheistic, and that this clue once known unravels all the mysteries of it, finds no countenance in practical life, and especially not in the religious life of Asiatics. Chinese religions like Chinese politics give the lie to all attempts of logical systematizing. Their principle is to have no principle. Thus the religion of the Hakkas appears to every practical observer as a rude but striking piece, a piece abounding in incongruities, a piece without unity of plan.

I remarked above (see vol. 1, p.162.) that the religious mind of the Hakkas shows a decided apathy to the state gods, though imperial mandates surrounded them with an halo of the most magnificent titles. This disloyalty combined with the aversion for Buddhism and the marked predilection for the system of Tauism which I had occasion to point out in the preceding number of this paper, strengthened no doubt the monotheistic element in the Hakka religion. The Hakka devotee is quite firm on this point that there is one God to whom the very highest degree of worship is due, one God who controls the whole universe physical and intellectual, who is the supreme ruler of all spirits and all man. All the other spirits to whom divine worship is addressed are only subordinate agencies, exercising indeed sovereign sway within their respective domains allotted to them in heaven, in the air, on earth or in hell, but He watches their conduct continually. He may interfere with their doings at any moment, and once every year-on the 24th day of

the 12th month-they have all to appear before his throne in heaven to do obeisance to Him, to present their reports, to receive their instructions. So exalted, so high, above all the other spirits is this one God, that the Hakkas do not actually worship Him, considering them-selves unworthy to appear before His august majesty. No offerings of theirs could be acceptable to such an exalted Being. When the Hakkas therefore say “we boors and peasants dare not personally address the highest God,” we should understand that this is quite in accordance with the established practice that only mandarins of high rank may wait upon the emperor in person. The vexed question “who is God in China,” is accordingly plain and easy as regards the Hakka community. They know but one supreme God (上帝) and He is the God whom they style “the pearly Emperor and Supreme Ruler” (玉皇上帝). This personage was ever since the Tung dynasty looked up to as the God above all gods. When the Ming dynasty raised the God of the North Pole (北帝 or 玄天上帝) to the same rank, and nearly all the races of China adopted the latter as the highest God or ranked both alike, the Hakkas firmly retained their allegiance to the Jupiter of their forefathers and would not be disturbed in their monotheistic views by any imperial mandate. Other ideas also which among Puntis and Hoklos hindered the spread of Monotheism, as for instance the Buddhist doctrine of a trinity (三寶) and its Tauist counterfeit (三清) have never been able to attain to popularity among the Hakkas or to dislodge “the Pearly Emperor and Supreme Ruler” from his exalted eminence. Remarkable also is it that whilst the Hakkas have given to almost every inferior deity they worship a female consort, they never speak of their highest God as having committed matrimony, considering such a thing quite beneath His awful dignity. He is to them identical with the supreme ruler which the classics mention.

With all these monotheistic notions however the Hakkas daily engage in practices which are decidedly polytheistic. They daily bestow divine honours upon an host of inferior deities. But we should not forget that according to their

way of thinking divine worship accorded to many gods is not contradictory to the belief in One Supreme Being, just as the obeisance made to a mandarin is not in antagonism to the allegiance due to the person of the emperor. I will not tire the reader with a list of all the minor deities worshipped by the Hakkas. Suffice it to say that a complete list of those gods which the Hakkas have in common with the other races of the Canton Province would comprise about 25 deities belonging to the Tauist portion whilst there are only 3 personages divine from the Buddhist calendar. The rest are the state gods enjoying, however, but small reputation among the Hakkas.

Whilst omitting to mention these gods, nearly all of whom have been most graphically described in Edkins' book on the religious notions of the Chinese I would be speak the reader's attention for a few words on those deities which are not, like the rest, worshipped almost everywhere in China but seem to be peculiar to the Hakkas. The first among these is the so-called "heavenly grand-father (天亞公). The Puntis worship heaven (天) on certain occasions especially imploring it for rain during a season of drought or for cessation of long continued rainy weather, but the divinity they invoke is termed heaven (天) leaving it perfectly unsettled if it is the universe they address or the spiritual power in nature or a personal Being. Now on exactly the same occasions the Hakkas worship in the open fields a Being they call the heavenly grand-father(天亞公). The Hakkas use for the same the term Heavenly Lord (天公). The name the Hakkas use indicates already that they address this worship to a personal Being and we are still more confirmed in this view by the fact that they speak of a consort of this divine personage calling her the heavenly grand-mother (天亞婆). Be it understood that this heavenly grandfather is the above mentioned pearly Emperor and Supreme Ruler. All Hakkas are agreed upon this. But there is in some Hakka districts the opinion current that this heavenly grandfather is identical with the god of thunder

(雷公) worshipped all over China, and I have heard some learned Tauist priests confirm this view. In other Hakka districts however I have met with a different explanation which seems to me more plausible. Many Hakkas declare the heavenly grand-father to be identical with the deity they all worship under the name the heavenly spirit (天神). Agreeably to the inconsistency I above mentioned as a characteristic of Eastern religion the same people who consider the pearly Emperor to be the absolutely highest God place this heavenly Spirit sometimes above that grand personage, or use at least in addressing the heavenly Spirit attributes and epithets which properly speaking belong to the pearly Emperor alone. Theoretically they allow that the latter is the highest God but practically they to the contrary. Now this heavenly Spirit is worshipped by the Hakkas in the open court-yard -- which forms the centre of the ancestral hall -- on the first and fifteenth day of every month, on which occasions frankincense and tea are offered to him. The same ceremony is performed on new year's day, also at weddings and funerals. On the latter occasion offerings are made in each corner of that open court yard, one towards the East, a second towards the South, a third to towards the West, and a fourth towards the North. It is remarkable certainly that Puntis and Hoklos, who have the same ceremonial, address this worship simply to heaven (天) having apparently lost hold of the theistic notions pervading the ritual of the Hakkas.

(To be continued).

Canton, Nov. 1868 E. J. EITEL.

VI(4). The Religion of the Hakkas. (Concluded.)

Another god peculiar to the Hakkas is one of their *lares rustici* called the

Lord over the ridge of the rice-field (田頭伯公) A few days after the first harvest has been brought home, generally about the fourth month, a feast is prepared in each family dwelling. Plenty of pork, fish and fowl is cooked and a kind of rice dumplings (禾串粿) prepared. These provisions are then put into baskets gaily decorated with red ribbands and carried to some one of the fields belonging to the family. On arrival there the offerings are put on the ridge separating two fields, and then two or three clods of earth are dug out of the ridge and piled up one on the top of the other. The little heap thus formed is looked upon as the representative of the deity to which the offerings are made. Sometimes they mould it into the shape of the human body, but in any case they address this heap of earth as the lord over the ridge of the ricefield(田頭伯公.) When all the offerings are properly arranged candles and incense are lighted and a salute of crackers fired, after which an extempore prayer of thanksgiving for the last harvest and invocation of blessing for the next is under many prostrations addressed to this deity. Some more crackers are then fired, the offerings quietly replaced in the baskets and carried home to be eaten there. The same ceremony is performed after the second harvest, usually on the second day of the eighth month.

I may as well mention here the way in which the other *lares rustici*, Pak-kung(伯公伯婆) and Sha-kung (社公社母), are worshipped by the Hakkas. For though the other races of the Canton Province worship them too, there are some slight differences in the ceremonial which are peculiar to the Hakkas.

The Puntis for instance worship Pak-kung mostly in the ancestral hall and have no fixed time for it. Different it is with the Hakkas. They in variably plant at the back of their houses or villages some trees, at the foot of one or two of which they erect a stone believing that to be the residence of a spirit called Pak-kung (伯

公) with his consort Pak-p'o (伯婆.) Whenever any of the villagers buys a pig he comes to this place and offers a sacrifice. The same ill done before going to the market in order to sell a pig. On the third day of the second month all the villagers, whether breeding swine or not, assemble before that stone to celebrate the birth day of Pak-kung by eating in common a meal under the trees. Sometimes however instead of having a meal there they divide some pork on the spot and each takes his portion home to eat it in private.

Similar is the worship of the other member of the *lares rustici*, the Sha-kung (社公) and his wife (社母.) Twice a year, on the occasion of the mid-autumn and midspring festivals, a messenger is sent round by the elders of each village to collect contributions of money from each family. The whole of the money thus collected is then used for the purchase of a quantity of fresh pork to be boiled near the altar of Sha-kung, which is always in the open air close to the village. If the subscriptions have been liberal some wine also is purchased. When all is ready, a signal is given by the beating of a gong or a drum, and immediately all the villagers, men women and children, hasten from their houses to the altar. They bring their own bowls and chop-sticks, some mate also for the children when the grass is damp, for all squat down on the lawn round the altar of Sha-kung, whereupon the distribution of pork, congee and wine begins under the direction of one of the elders, who with the subscription list in his hand controls the work of distribution. No matter how large or how small the sum contributed may have been each family receives as many portions as it reckons heads or rather mouths. The groups thus scattered over the lawn and under the trees surrounding the altar peacefully partaking of their simple food, and consisting of people of almost every age from the sucking babe to the old man with silvery locks are most picturesque.

The more so as these meals are usually held at sunset when the last rays of

the setting sun throw their fantastic light over the landscape.

The religious ceremonies which the Hakkas observe at weddings and funerals are pretty nearly the same as those which are in vogue among the other races. One peculiar ceremony however which I have met with in some Hakka districts deserves notice. The evening after a funeral has taken place in a family the nearest relatives of the deceased assemble, put a number of dumplings into a basket, and make a large torch of straw which is lighted by the fire on the hearth. All walk then in solemn procession out of the house, the torchbearer taking the lead. Behind him walks a man carrying the basket with dumplings and he is followed by the rest of the mourners. On arrival at the grave the dumplings are put on the ground whilst each of the mourners worships the spirit of the deceased by many prostrations and long continued wailings. A deep hole is finally dug in the grave, into which the burning torch is thrust and immediately covered up with earth, whereupon the whole party return home, not failing to take the dumplings with them to eat them there. This ceremony is considered to be of great advantage to the spirit of the deceased, enabling him to find his way with the help of the torch through the dark entrance-gate of Hades.

In this connection another strange custom may find a place here, though it is practiced among Puntis as well as among Hakkas. It will show the strong belief these people have in the immortality of the soul and the reality of the other world. If a little boy dies before his parents have succeeded in finding a wife for him-early engagements are the rule-they enquire among their neighbours and friends if any of them have lost a girl of the same age. If a corresponding case is found the parents of the two dead children enter into a solemn marriage-engagement on behalf of their offspring, minutely observing all the ceremonies customary on such occasions, as if bride and bridegroom were alive, and believing thereby to unite the spirits of the two children in actual wedlock

wherever they may be.

Beside the few gods mentioned above as peculiar to the Hakkas there is another element in their religion not the less characteristic. This is the constant dread they have of demoniac influences, a dread that follows them on every step and induces them to ascribe all sorts of calamities, especially illness, to the direct agency of evil spirits. I will give a few examples. Every year on the third day of the first month the Hakkas sweep their houses, throw the refuse out of the door together with three sticks of incense and some fictitious paper money and recite whilst doing so these words: "poverty devil be gone ! poverty devil be gone!" By this ceremony they hope to keep poverty out of their houses. If a Hakka has to go out late at night and is at all of a timid temperament he writes a certain character designating a dead demon (鬼) on a slip of paper, throws it on the ground, and stamps on it with his feet. No demon will then dare to dodge his steps or to do him harm in the darkness. If a man has sore eyes he takes a piece of paper of a yellowish colour and writes on it with a white pencil dipped in ochre the following words. "Red-eyed demon! red-eyed devil! I can tell you where you are from, you are from the Loh-yang district in Tsing-chau, where you used to sweep the Boor in the family Ch'in. Some dust has got into my eyes and transformed itself into a red-eyed devil Now I tell you plainly you shall not hurt me again for a hundred thousand years. " The paper with this inscription on it is then suspended over the house door, and the sick man's eyes-it is believed-will forthwith get well. A shorter form is to write on a slip of paper the following words. "A man from Tsing chau has come to get money for buying papaya. Most urgent I most urgent I" The paper is likewise suspended over the door and has the same effect.

The religion of the Hakkas is, like that of all Chinese races, strongly saturated with Sabaeistic ideas, as the occasional worship of sun, moon, and many

stars or constellations of stars shows. Thus for instance the notorious gong and drum beating nuisance generally taking place on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun or moon is as common among the Hakkas as elsewhere. They also worship like the rest of the Chinese the god of the north-pole 北帝, the gods of the southern and northern measure(南北斗星), the two gods of literature(文昌 and 魁星) and a god of wishes(財帛星君), all of which are representatives of certain stars. Likewise they worship in cases of illness and especially in the case of a child falling ill one or more of the following five planets Venus (金星) Jupiter (木星) Mercury (水星) Mars(火星) and Saturn (土星)¹¹* There are however some instances of worship addressed to the sun and moon which I believe to be peculiar to the Hakkas, at least as regards the ceremonial adopted in these cases, I will give two examples.. When a Hakka is ill he prepares a sacrifice consisting of incense, candles, fruit, and wine and offers it to the sun either in the open air or-but seldom-in the open courtyard of the ancestral hall. It is essential in this case to make the necessary prostrations towards the East. This ceremony is especially performed by children who are sick or of delicate health, and it is sun will then strengthen the child. On the evening of the mid-autumn festival (the fifteenth day of the eighth month) a sort of dumplings, to which the shape of the moon is given, to which the shape of the moon is given, are offered to the moon together with some fruit, and same ceremonies are observed and the same results expected as on the occasion of a sacrifice to the sun. It is especially done by or on behalf of children who are ill. There is a superstitions belief connected with the appearance of the moon in the night after the mid-autumn festival. It is said among the Hakkas that if clouds cover the moon before midnight it is a sign that the price of salt and oil will rise; if there are clouds covering the moon sometime after midnight, then the price of rice will be excessively high that year.

¹¹ Old people worship Canopus (老人星) to prolong their lives.

In conclusion I give I give a description of a curious ceremony very common among. Hakkas. If a child suddenly falls ill without any apparent cause it is generally considered that the child suddenly falls ill without any apparent cause it is generally considered that the child must have got frightened. But how is it to be found out what it was that did the mischief? The mother or grandmother of the child takes an egg, a bowl full of rice, and a jacket of the child's nicely rolled up, and spreads these articles before the niche which may be seen over every hearth and which is sacred to the god of the hearth(司命灶君) She burns some frankincense there, repeating for some time the following words "what was it that frightened my child? Help and protect it, god of the hearth!" Then she utters three times the name of the child adding each time the following words "come back to the bed-room, sleep with thy father and mother." Whilst repeating these words she carries the egg, the rice-bowl, and the jacket into the bed-room and deposits them on the bedstead near the pillows on the place which is sacred to the god and goddess of the bed, the so-called bed-grandfather and bedgrandmother (牀頭亞公, 牀頭亞婆.) She again burns some frankincense and on the second and third day she repeats the whole ceremony again in the way described above. On the third day after having lighted the frankincense before the god and goddess of the bedstead she smashes the rice bowl and the egg. The broken pieces of the bowl and the contents of the egg are then carefully examined and show-by some stretch of imagination-to the eye of the old woman some similarity in shape or figure either to the dog or the buffalo or the horse &c. that frightened the child. In accordance with the result in each case the mother then gets either a hair of that dog or that buffalo or that horse &c. and fastens it somewhere on the child's body, whereupon the child-it is believed-will immediately get well.

Canton Jan.1869. E. J. EITEL.

An outline history of the Hakkas²

It is but quite lately, through the famous Tai-ping rebellion, that the Hakkas have obtained a place in the annals of the Middle Kingdom. Before that time no historian ever mentioned them as far as I am aware. Neither is there among the popular literature of the Hakkas any record of the previous history of their race. There remains however, beside the few items which oral tradition handed down from generation to generation, a source of information, though a very scanty one, from which I propose to construct a short sketch of the early history of this remarkable race.

Every clan among the Hakkas has its genealogical records or family registers, and in many of these registers are found short notes giving the names of the respective emperors under whose reign the clan migrated from one place to another. A careful investigation and comparative study of a large number of such family registers enable me to trace the history of the people, now called Hakkas, from the third century before Christ to the present day.

Both oral tradition and these genealogical records agree in pointing to the North of China as the original home of the Hakkas, where, it is said, they were located at the close of the Chow dynasty (B.C. 255). Most family chronicles, which I examined, mention the province of Shantung as the original dwelling-place of their forefathers. A few refer to the borders of Shansi, a very few also to the frontier of Ngan-hwuy. All of which goes to show, that the ancestors of the Hakkas must have been living at the beginning of the third century before Christ in the border regions south and the south west of Shantung. This is

² This article was written some years ago to supplement a series of "Ethnographical Sketches of the Hakka Chinese" published in the different volumes of *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*. – [ED. CH. R.]

confirmed by the fact, that many popular ballads, which are current among the Hakkas and form their peculiar property, contain allusion to localities situated in those same regions.

Again, tradition as well as most of those family records mention the period during which the Ts'in dynasty (B. C. 249-209) reigned as a time when all the different clans of Hakkas were subjected to a general bloody persecution. This seems to have been the first cause that the ancestors of the Hakkas adrift for their ancient quarters in the North of China, and started them on that long continued course of erratic wanderings which carried them, after the lapse of a thousand years, to the extreme South and imbued their descendants of the present day with the restless spirit of vagabonds and rovers. It is not known what brought upon the Hakkas the wrath and vengeance of the first emperor of the Ts'in dynasty. But so merciless was the blow that fell upon them that is said some of their clans became quite extinct, and with a few exceptions all the remaining clans fled southward, taking refuge in the mountains of Honan, Ngnan hwuy and Kinagsi. The dread under which they must have been shows itself in the fact that some of their clans, in order to avoid recognitions, altered their names. With the fall of the Ts'in dynasty, however, their fortunes mended and in the course of the succeeding dynasties they enjoyed not only peace but imperial protection, individuals of their number being even raised to high official appointments, especially under the Han dynasties (B. C. 202-A. D. 223) and during the reign of the Ts'in dynasty (A. D. 265-419).

But this very thing probably brought on the Hakkas the wrath of the dynasty immediately succeeding. For most of their family records mention further shifting of quarters and renewed migration at the time of the down-fall of the Ts'in dynasty (A. D. 419). Even the few tribes of Hakkas that had, in spite of persecution, faithfully clung to their native mountains in Shantung had to flee

now to the South of Honan. There seems to have been about this time a general stampede among the different Hakka clans which carried some of them even into the mountainous regions in the south-east of Kiangsi and to the very borders of the Fokien province.

The rise of the T'ang dynasty (A. D. 618) compelled the Hakkas again to strike their tents. This time, it would seem, a separation took place; the majority of their clans taking refuge in the mountains of Fokien, whilst a few hovered on the high mountain chains which separate the Kiangsi and Kwangtung (Canton) provinces. Under the two Sung dynasties (A. D. 960-1278) the Hakkas are reported to have enlisted in very large number as volunteers in the imperial armies. They became now, what their previous history and their inborn bravery eminently fitted them for, the lansquenets of China, and tradition records the heroic death which thousands of them suffered at Yai-shan (West of Macao) together with Tien-tsung the last prince of the Southern Sung dynasty (A D. 1279).

Since the rise of the Mongol dynasty (A. D. 1280-1333) the Hakkas seem to have made their first appearance within the borders of the Canton province. But they do not appear to have settled down there permanently or in large numbers till the beginning of the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368) when disturbances in the Fokien province compelled those Hakkas, whose ancestors had peaceably been settled there for centuries, to take refuge in the Canton province. So overwhelming were the numbers of

Hakkas issuing from Fokien into the Kiaying-chow prefecture, that they drove everything before them and took exclusive possession of the whole of Kia-ying-chow, which to the present day forms the headquarters of the Hakka people. About the same time when the Hakkas entered the Canton province from Fokien, an influx of Hakka clans from Kiangsi took place into the districts

northwest of Kia-ying-chow.

The Hakkas found pleasant quarters in the Canton province. But the roving spirit that possessed their ancestors would not let them rest. Besides, the Hakkas, being not only an industrious but also an exceedingly prolific race, soon found their quarters in Kia-ying-chow and in the neighbouring districts of the Hwuy-chow and Chau-chow prefectures too narrow. Numbers of them pushed farther into the heart of the Canton province, either wandering about on the tramp as stone-cutters, barbers or blacksmiths, or settling down here and there, first on uncultivated land and tilling that, then recruited by fresh contingents from Kia-ying-chow encroaching upon the fields of the Puntis, and gradually gaining ground by continual feuds with them. The outbreak of political disturbances at the beginning of the seventeenth century gave a new impetus to this movement, and about the year 1730 A. D. hordes of Hakkas poured into districts oven to the west and south-west of Canton, settling down especially in the Fa-yuen, Hoh-shan and Sin-ning districts. Since the reign of the emperor K'ang hi (A. D. 1662-1723) the native authorities in the Canton province began to employ Hakkas wherever they could not trust Puntis or Hoklos, and Hakkas were now largely engaged to cultivate the fields belonging to the military establishments. In the time of Kien-lung (A. D. 1736-1796) large numbers of Hakkas were enlisted even under the favourite "eight banners," a Tatar division, in which the Hakkas have ever since been retained in considerable force, being passed off and by many mistaken for veritable Tatars. In consequence of such services rendered to the government, the Hakkas obtained admission to the lower ranks of the government service and even to the competitive examinations for literary and military degrees. Individual Hakkas were thenceforth occasionally entrusted with official posts as district magistrates or prefects. The Puntis however resisted this intrusion so vehemently that the Hakkas only succeeded in retaining this privilege by sending a deputation to Peking and laying their grievances at the foot of the throne.

But the most important epoch in the history of the Hakkas opened with the rise of the Taiping rebellion. I do not propose here to follow the fortunes and misfortunes of these rebels, whose exploits have become a matter of history. Suffice it here to state that the whole Taiping rebellion, from its first faint beginning in Kwangsi to its suppression through the fall of Nanking, was started, sustained and controlled to the end, by Hakkas from the Canton province. The rebel Emperor, his ministers or kings as they were styled, his generals and administrators, were all Hakkas, though thousands of Chinese of other than Hakka extraction swelled the ranks of the Taiping rebels. The fact that a handful of Hakkas contrived to raise such a powerful rebellion which but for the ill-advised and thankless interference of the foreign powers would most certainly have resulted in the downfall of the Manchu dynasty, and the equally astonishing fact that, through all the vicissitudes of their march from Kwangsi to Nanking, they succeeded in retaining the supremacy among the ill-assorted cohorts of rebels from all the eighteen provinces, -- these facts, I say, speak volumes for the power there is in these rough sons of the soil. It is well-known that both the English and French commanders came, during the last war with China, to the conclusion that there is better material for good soldiers in these simple-minded, but stalwart, Hakkas than in any other tribe of Chinese who contributed contingents to the so-called "Bamboo Rifle Corps."

A sad episode in the latest history of the Hakka race is the internecine war carried on more recently in the southwestern districts of the Canton province between Puntis and Hakkas. The following notes placed at my disposal by a gentleman (Mr. W. F. Mayers,) who through his position in the Consular service and his intimate acquaintance with some of the highest native officials was enabled to collect trustworthy information, are a valuable contribution to the history of the Hakkas. I subjoin these notes literally as they were written down in November, 1868.

“The original influx of Hakka immigrants into the Districts West of the Canton River and South of the West River is said to have taken place during the reign of the Emperor Yung-cheng (A. D. 1723-1735), since which period, by their industry and thrift, they have become possessed of much of the land formerly owned by the Punti clans, to whom the original immigrants became hired labourers. For very many years clan fights have been common between the two races, but the mutual antipathy grew to a climax after 1854, in which year the Hakka clans located there remained for the most part faithful to the Government, during the rebellion which was largely joined by the Puntis until suppressed by the Viceroy Yeh. At this time, Hakka and Punti clans dwelt interspersed over all the S. W. districts, notably Sun-hing, Sun-wui, Yan-p'ing, Hoi-p'ing, Hoi-ming and Hok-shan, after the suppression of the Hung-t'ow rebellion, the ill-feeling between the two races took the shape of an internecine warfare, in which the authorities were powerless to interfere. Up to the year 1860 little was heard by Europeans of this obscure contest, although attention was drawn from time to time to its existence through the discovery of shipments of arms and even the despatch of armed steamers from Hongkong to assist one or other of the belligerent parties. The Hakkas, greatly outnumbered by their foes, were gradually driven from their homes and villages, and formed wandering bands of from a few hundred to many thousands in number. During 1862 the contest in the Western districts was at its height, and Imperial authority was entirely suspended in several districts. Toward the end of that year large bodies of the Hakkas were driven toward the coast, and fell upon the fortified town of Kwang-hai, westward from Macao, which they stormed and occupied for a considerable length of time, until driven out by an Imperial force cooperating with the Punti clans. This was the first overt act of official interference in the contest.

“The number of wandering Hakkas was at this time estimated at full 200,000, but famine and pestilence rapidly thinned their numbers, whilst thousands wore

carried off by Punti incursions and sold to the crimps for “exportation.” During 1864 the remnants of these wandering outcasts, who had become half-banditti, half-refugees, were collected at various points in the mountains of the Western Districts, such as No Fu, Kum Kai, Ng Hang, and Chek Shui. Here, amid the security of mountain fastnesses, they established little Republics, in which they tilled the ground, built habitations, and defended themselves as best they could against the incursions of their Punti enemies, who beleaguered every pass. Numberless officials, of high and low degree, were sent to seek a means for reconciling the conflicting parties; but, whereas the Hakkas demanded only liberty to live, whilst the Puntis steadfastly refused to 'be sheltered by the same heaven with them,' no result could be achieved. Up to the summer of 1866 matters stood in this posture, the principal points of assembly being Ng Hang, in the Sun Hing district, No Ki, in the Yan P'ing district, and Tsao Chung on the sea coast beyond Kwanghai, where the more lawless bands had established themselves and maintained relations with the coast pirates.

“On the arrival of the new Governor of Kwangtung, measures were resolved upon for bringing this difficult question to a settlement either by force or by persuasion, and in September 1866 a body of 8,000 troops was despatched to the Western Districts under the superintendence of the Grain Intendant of Canton, for the purpose of compelling the Hakkas to give up their arms and to disperse, with which end in view a sum of 200,000 Taels. was set aside to be distributed in the proportion of Taels 8 to each adult and Taels 4 to children and youths, with passes and protection to enable them to reach Kwang-si, Hainan and other parts of the country where waste lands exist on which it is hoped that they will settle.”

“In October, the Hakkas at No Ki, to the number of some 7,000, accepted these conditions, and dispersed. The band at Ng Hung, which is very much more numerous, than that at Ts'ao Chung will be taken in turn. The Punti clans will then

remain in complete possession of the Country; whilst, if the intentions of the Chinese authorities are carried out, Hakka colonies will be formed in remote districts. It is estimated that at least 150,000 have perished within the last four or five years. A very large number of Hakkas will undoubtedly still remain throughout the western districts, but wherever their clans have been intermingled with a Punti population they have been ousted and overwhelmed.”

E. J. Eitel.