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HONG KONG BEFORE THE CHINESE THE FRAME, THE PUZZLE AND THE MISSING PIECES

A lecture delivered on 18th November 1963

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Introduction — Hong Kong and the Chinese. The speakers who address this society usually do so to communicate a small part of what they know. My purpose is the reverse of this: to deal with many aspects of a subject about which much should be, and little is, known. Certain evidence which I have gathered in the course of the past few years, at first quite accidentally, clearly presents a picture and poses a problem. This problem can perhaps be solved and the picture completed if all the sources of knowledge to which the learned members of this learned society have access can be brought together.

There is also a personal consideration. Over the past eighteen years, I have collected a mountain of what I am tempted to call "field notes", all in an untidy mess and accessible largely by the use of memory. But my opportunities for gathering information are getting less, and the time is approaching when I shall have to arrange the notes, edit them, and write up what is worth writing up: all of which means that I shall have to stop collecting fresh data. This then is my reason for doing what goes against all my instincts, and exposing to the critical gaze of an audience what are but half-digested or undigested facts, half-proven or unproven hypotheses, and one or two conjectures. I hope to suggest to you that the solution of the problem "Who was here before the Chinese arrived?" is one that demands team work, that demands the collaboration of different disciplines and the exchange of specialised knowledge. Unfortunately this is a field in which the amateur, being free from preconceived ideas, may be more successful than the professional in gathering raw data: if he perseveres, which as an amateur he is unlikely to do. Yet for the interpretation of the data he requires the assistance of the professional's accumulated knowledge and skill, which the professional will be reluctant to place at the disposal of the amateur. Today

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as a humble amateur I appeal humbly to the professionals for assistance; and, much less humbly, to other amateurs to take over the gathering of data on *Hong Kong before the Chinese.**

By *Hong Kong*, I mean that southern part of the district now known as *Po On*,[3] previously known as *San On*,[122] and still earlier included within *Tung Kwun*,[31] or partly within *Tung Kwun* and partly within *Kwai Shin*,[60] which today comprises the Colony and leased territory of Hong Kong. By *Chinese*, I mean such of the inhabitants (and ancestors of the inhabitants) of that territory as would *not* have been described in a contemporary official document by one of the terms used for non-Chinese, i.e. *I Ti Jung Man*.[67] If this definition appears negative it cannot be helped, since Chinese literature itself does not, until modern times, contain any word which corresponds to our word "Chinese", but has always had several terms for what might be called "Non-Chinese". Although one Chinese-type grave, said to date from the *Han*[151] Dynasty, has been found in New Kowloon, and although one small Buddhist temple has behind it the foundation of a previous structure said to date from the *Tsin*[158] Dynasty, there is no evidence of Chinese settlement before the end of the *Tang*.[139] Up to and including the *Tang* Dynasty all the inhabitants, and up to the *Yuan*[70] Dynasty most of the inhabitants of what is now the Colony and leased territory of Hong Kong are described, if described at all, as *Man*.[88] The two Chinese clans with the longest records of continuous local residence (the *Tang*[44] of *Kam Tin*,[56] *Lung Yeuk Tau*[87] and *Ping Shan*;[111] and the *Man*[94] of *San Tin*[125] and *Cha Hang*[11] go back indisputably to early *Sung*;[132] and their traditions — to which I shall be referring again — speak of two other clans (*Mo*[95] and *Chan*[17]) having been before them. The oldest building, except the temple previously mentioned, of which there is evidence, is the fort of *Tuen Mun*[141] built in the *Nan Han*[99] (Canton) Dynasty in A.D. 958. Another document refer to the appointment of a military commander of *Tuen Mun* in A.D. 954. I cannot be assailed if I say "Anything before A.D. 900 is, for this territory, before the Chinese."

The Frame. The natural question to be asked is "Before the Chinese, who?" Before I attempt to answer this question, there

* *All local place names are given in the Cantonese pronunciation. Notes giving Chinese characters and romanization in the Barnett-Chao system are given at the end of the article.—Ed.*

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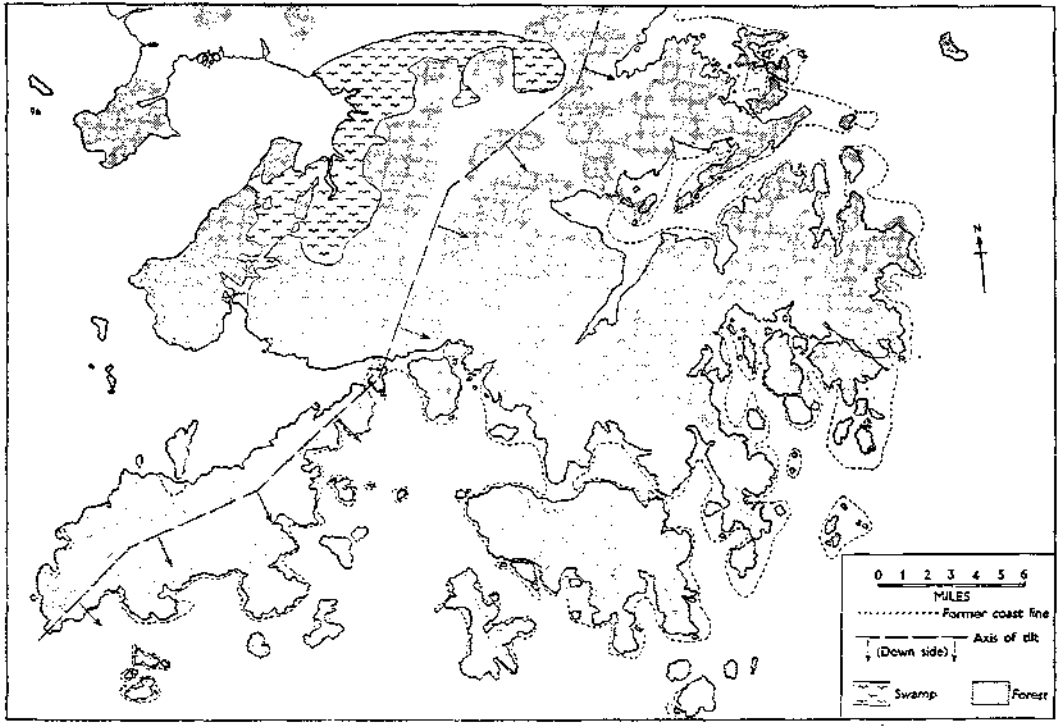

Hong Kong in Early Historic Times

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is one important point to be cleared up. The Chinese are highly skilled farmers. Their techniques of land-winning and of irrigation change lanscapes. So, alas, does their age-long war against trees. But since A.D. 900 the topography of this territory has been changed not only by human technique. There has also been a gradual, small, but identifiable and, I believe, measurable tilt of the surface of the earth along the axis of the four high peaks (the two on Lantao,[37] *Tai Mo Shan* and *Ng Tung Shan*[104]) which has altered and is still altering the coast line. I leave it to geologists to say whether this is a necessary effect of what happens when the subsidence of a long straight shore meets a range of hills parallel to the shore (in which case it will be reproduced at many points of the Chinese coast), or whether it is a local peculiarity. It would also be interesting to fill in some of the chronological gaps and find out whether the two clear cases of recent river capture[113] took place before or after the Chinese settlement. Until these gaps are filled up, I do not claim that the details of the shore line indicated on the map are authoritative, but they are not far wrong for the northwestern part of the territory, which was the part first settled by the ancestors of the *Man*[94] and *Tang*.[44]

You will observe that the present Castle Peak and the mountain attached to it on the north[42] were at that time an island, separated from the mainland of the New Territories by a sea channel which in A.D. 900 was probably very shallow but navigable. The traditions of the oldest villages leave no room for doubt that there has been a general uplift in excess of 5 metres in this area. The red line approximately follows the present 5 metres contour. The ground on both sides of the navigable channel was swamp, probably mangrove swamp, dotted about with small islands and intersected by creeks and streams. The first fort of which there is written record was known as *Tuen Mun Chan*[141] and was almost certainly located at a point I have marked on the map,[138] about three miles north of the present location called *Tuen Mun*.[141] It would be an advantage if all doubts could be settled by excavation on the site, which can be seen even from the ground (and more clearly still from the air) to have contained old earth-works and possibly buildings.

It will be noticed that the present *Sham Chun*[120] River had a much shorter course at that date, and the northern half of what

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our map describes as Laffan's Plain[27] was then a swamp, probably with one or two navigable channels; which explains why there is in that region a *Tin Hau*[135] temple, which is now miles from the highest point which even sampans can reach.

Although the first fortification was dated A.D. 958, the name, if it means what it says, indicates that this channel or *mun*[96] must have had a fortification on it before. Among all the channels which are called by this name *mun* — all the important channels are so called — no one is going to single out one to be described as "the fort (or garrison) channel" unless it previously had a fort or garrison. However, evidence is still lacking of the nature of this previous fortification. Here a word of conjecture may be permitted. The *San On Yuen Chi*[123] mentions that in the year 咸和 6 (A.D. 331) of the *Tsin*[158] Dynasty the *hsien* of *Po On*[3] was first set up, to be abolished under the *Sui*[22] Dynasty. Since it was in the *Tsin*[158] Dynasty that the first Buddhist temple was said to have been built, the establishment and abolition of the *hsien* may indicate an unsuccessful attempt at settlement during this period, say from A.D. 330 to 590.

From the *Nan Han*[99] Dynasty onwards, it was settled government policy in these parts to encourage soldiers of each garrison to take up grants of land and to settle there after completion of their military service. The land they occupied was known as *tuen-tin*[142] and was charged land tax at a lower rate than normal. Taxation at this favourable rate continued up to the last edition of the *San On Yuen Chi*.[123] The favourable rate was the same as the special rate for monasteries.

It is pretty clear from local tradition and from the location of the pieces of land which paid tax at the preferential rate that the reclamation of mangrove swamp in and around the present *Yuen Long*[71] was done by these soldiers and their early descendants. The *Man*[94] clan now settled at *San Tin*[125] have been winning land in this fashion for 500 years on their present location, to which they moved from their first settlement at *Lo Fu Hang*[85] about half way down what was then a creek. The latter lies between the original *Tuen Mun*[141] fort and the present shore of Castle Peak Bay.[15] Just north of that location, at the foot of the small group of hills on one of which stands the present *Ping Shan*[111] Police Station, there was a village called *Nga Tsin Tsuen*[103] settled

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by a very powerful clan surnamed *Mo*.[95] This clan fell foul of authority early in the *Sung*[132] Dynasty and several slightly different accounts of their misdeeds and eventual extermination are preserved in three different clans, one of which claims descent from the sole posthumous survivor of the massacre. The latest edition of the *San On Yuen Chi*[123] has only a brief mention, but earlier editions may have dealt with the subject more fully. The next clan to settle on the swamp land in these parts was surnamed *Chan*[17] and I have not been able to find any of their descendants. In the wake of the *Mo*[95] catastrophe came the very successful clan of *Tang*[44] whose branches by the end of the *Sung* Dynasty[132] appear to have held most of the best land in several parts of the territory, including some near *Tsuen Wan*[26] from which they have since vanished. When I mentioned that the *Chan*[17] clan had disappeared I do not wish to indicate that there is no evidence to support the tradition that a group with this surname were among the early Chinese settlers. There are several small families found here and there, often in close association with the Tang;[44] but none of them has preserved a tradition connecting itself with these early settlements.

The Puzzle. I must here leave the subject of the earliest Chinese settlers, since my main theme is what they found when they first arrived. I have mentioned these details generally to indicate the strength of the tradition which indicates that the present Deep Bay[152] extended over the *Yuen Long*[71] Valley, up to *Sheung Shui*[130] and over Laffan's Plain.[27] On the other side of the territory the sea has been gaining; therefore it is much more difficult to be sure of the original coastline, since when the sea gains, sections of submerged land are often churned away to some depth by wave action, whereas when the sea recedes the contours do not otherwise change. However, we do have the evidence of the cadastral survey completed in the New Territories shortly after the British occupation — I believe it began in 1902. Comparing this survey with what is now to be seen sixty years later testifies to three instances (one on Discovery Bay,[32] Lantao; one on Tolo Harbour;[36] and one on Plover Cove[131]) where the sea has not merely encroached but churned away substantial pieces of arable land leaving in their place fairly deep water. They also testify to the obliteration of three villages[106] and thus afford

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strong corroboration of traditions, which might otherwise be thought apocryphal, of the disappearance of other villages, including the large village of *Lik Yuen*,[84] half way down what is now Tide Cove.[116] For all that, one cannot be absolutely sure. An old *Hoklo*[155] boatman at *Tai Po*,[33] who fortunately spoke reasonable Cantonese (for I cannot manage the *Hoklo* language) told me that "fifty years" before he was born, Hong Kong Island was joined to the mainland. It obviously was not. But remembering what has been observed by other field workers, that "fifty years" is commonly used to mean any time too long to be remembered, what the old man was passing on was clearly a tradition among the *Hoklo* that *Tuk Ngo Kong*[45] — a name for Victoria Harbour which apparently only the *Hoklo* language now preserves — was long ago interrupted by a strip of land. It may well have been so, and I have provisionally marked it so. For if it were, it would tend to explain the curious demarcation of responsibility between the military commanders of *Nam Tau*[98] and *Tai Pang*[40] and the apparent fact that ships went through *Sheung Sz Mun*[127] rather than through the present Hong Kong Harbour. It might also explain why *Kwun Fu Cheung*[61] was more important for the collection of salt than for defence.

There is also some slight reason to believe that *Ma Wan*[93] and *Tsing Yi*,[13] which are now islands, were 1,000 years ago connected to the mainland and to one another, and that the channel between *Chep Lap Kok*[10] and *Tung Chung*[30] was considerably deeper than it now is.

But I must emphasize that the picture on the south and east side is still sketchy. It would greatly facilitate the work of the historian if his geological colleagues could be persuaded to take their eyes off remote aeons and fix them on to this comparatively recent period so as to obtain some degree of certainty regarding the position of the shore-line at the time of the first Chinese settlement.

The Missing Pieces. To move away from the shore up to the hills, the first thing that would strike the eye of any us, if he could be transported by time machine into the tenth century, would be the profusion of trees. A former Director of Agriculture told me that the remains of huge trees had been discovered some distance below ground during preparatory work for one of the

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experimental stations. And there is literary evidence for stating that all the hills between here and Canton were densely forested, as hills of similar geological structure still are in countries such as Japan, where the population does not destroy every tree before it is ten years old as they have been doing in South China for several centuries. Exactly *what* trees grew in these forests I cannot say: here is another missing piece in the puzzle which can probably be filled, as I shall soon suggest. The forests are supposed to have had two different kinds of human inhabitants, or at this time perhaps more than two, (a document of the early *Yuan*[70] Dynasty mentions two types of hill-dwellers by name) but until further evidence comes to light, I suggest that in view of the small size of this territory, there is little reason to pre-suppose the existence of a third, and as I shall indicate later, my own preference is for a view that only one people lived here.

Of the two non-Chinese peoples mentioned, one, the *Yao*[68] are well-known and documented from South and Southwest China, Vietnam and Laos. Their languages has been studied, not an easy matter since their society comprises many small units, each possessing its own dialect and none having any form of writing; and work has been done on their customs and religion. There is an exhibit in the National Ethnological Museum at Leiden in Holland which shows the principal elements of their cultural and social life, including the type of house and the traditional patterns which they weave into their cloth, which in South China is made of wool. The exhibit at Leiden is particularly interesting because the adjoining showcase contains, or did contain when I visited that museum, an exhibit of a people from the island of Celebes who, although physically dissimilar in appearance, built somewhat similar houses and used almost identical patterns in their cloth, which however is bark-cloth. I asked the Assistant Curator whether the juxtaposition of the two exhibits was accidental or whether they had evidence of some connection between the *Yao* and the people of Celebes; he said that it was not fortuitous, because the resemblances were considerable, but there was no actual evidence of any connection and, as far as he knew, the peoples were of different racial types and spoke unrelated languages. Here is another gap to be closed.

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The *Yao* are reported to practise a type of agriculture based on cutting a clearing in the forest, burning the trees, hoeing in the ash and planting a crop of hill paddy, sweet potatoes or peanuts, none of which require irrigation. At the time we speak of, it is questionable whether they were yet cultivating peanuts, which had been introduced into Southeastern China by the Arabs not long before. Chinese books of reference speak of Foochow[50] as the place of introduction of the peanut, but in view of the importance of this bean in the ecology of South China, it would be an advantage if Chinese botanists could collaborate with historians to fix the date and point of introduction and to trace the spread of its cultivation over the rest of South China, where it is now the principal oil plant. The sweet potato, also nowadays a vital crop in South China, is likewise an importation, but it comes from the other direction, i.e. from Central America across the Pacific.

It is quite certain that the *Yao* were one of the two pre-Chinese people living on the hills of this territory: and it is almost a certainty that many of our present inhabitants are their descendants. In previous studies I have already listed non-Chinese words preserved in local place names. I attempted a number of such identifications in my introduction to T. R. Tregear's *Gazetteer of Hong Kong Place Names.* Some of my conjectures have been since confirmed and I think many of them were sound; but there is a remarkable reluctance on the part of local Chinese scholars to admit that many of the people now living here can be of indigenous origin, or that their languages and place names can retain words from pre-Chinese languages.[110] This attitude of mind is the reason why we are now missing so many of the pieces in our puzzle; Chinese scholars have shown remarkably little interest in the identification of the various non-Han peoples of China and their languages, betraying a tendency to group them in large heterogeneous assemblages, and to treat their languages merely as a collection of words, with no attempt to study the way those words were arranged and the way in which the languages expressed ideas which are not found in Chinese thought. This last, however, is a very common fault in the study of languages, and appears to have communicated itself even to those who have been busy inventing electrical translation machines.

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I will here jump ahead and say that one study which is *urgently* needed to restore one of the missing pieces in our puzzle before it melts away, is the collection preferably on tape recordings, of local stories, legends and above all, songs and rhymes. These were formerly widely heard, especially among the *Tanka*[43] and *Hoklo*[155] boat people and among the *Hakka*[149] villagers of the high plateaux where they are called *shan-ko*.[117] When I was District Commissioner, New Territories, I attempted to arrange a performance of some of these *shan-ko* for the then Governor, Sir Alexander Grantham, but the star performer, who was a very old man, was afflicted by stage-fright and would not sing a note until after the Governor had left; nor would he allow the songs which he afterwards rendered to be recorded. However, I am sure this kind of reluctance could be overcome, perhaps by a little alcoholic inducement, but the point I really wish to emphasize is that now everybody has a transistor radio, no one wants to listen to the old songs and they are remembered only by the ancient. The evidence which they enshrine of the origin of our local people may be of high importance, quite aside from the artistic and musical merits of the songs and stories, and I think a determined effort should be made to ensure that this evidence, which we have so outrageously neglected while it was plentiful, should be put on record before it is too late.

Two non-Chinese words are the word *yong*[66] for a village and the word *kan*[53] for a water channel; if only more studies of the Yao languages were available, the list could be much longer. The late S. L. Wong of Hong Kong University, previously of Lingnam University, who had done original research among the *Yao* of two districts of *Kwangtung* Province, including his own native district of *Tsang Shing*,[159] told me many years ago that one thing to look for when testing whether a "Chinese" village was of *Yao* origin was to keep a watchful eye and ear for traces of the cult of *Pan-ku*.[112] At the same time he warned me that where the memory of tribal origin still lived among village traditions they were careful to conceal the fact from strangers, so that any direct question would almost certainly meet flat denial. This, I need hardly say, is characteristic of rural communities the world over and I have encountered similar difficulties even in recording the local names of mountains and streams, including one instance

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(which would be amusing if it did not add so much to the difficulty of gathering information) where a district representative at a public function used in his speech a name for a certain mountain and ten minutes later, in conversation, denied ever having heard the name. For many years, while I was still adding to my field notes on the subject, I refrained from naming in any published material the villages where I found positive evidence of the fomer cult of Pan-ku. But now that I have applied the test to every village I do not think that future workers will be seriously hampered if I now disclose the result. The test is positive, on this score, for only three out of nearly a thousand villages. They are the sub-village of *Tsau Uk*[160] on *Ping Chau* Island[109] in Mirs Bay,[41] where the stone associated with *Pan-ku* is in a small grove of trees immediately east of the village; the village of *Pak Mong*[6] on the north shore of Lantao Island, where it is behind the village on the southwest side, but I could not get my informer to take me to the actual place; and in the village of *Nam Shan Tung*[97] on the north side of the *Saikung*[126] peninsula, where the grove is said to have been behind the present village of *Pak Sha O*,[7] half a mile down the hill to the northeast. If to these three villages we add the villages still identified by the name of *yong*[66] we have positive identification for a little over 1%. Identification by the word *kan*[53] is inconclusive, as the word has been borrowed into both the local Cantonese and the local *Hakka* dialects, but the abandoned village of *Shek Shui Kan*[129] in the *Sha Tau Kok*[114] peninsula, from what I might call its "anti-*fung-shui*" location seems unlikely to have been a Chinese site.

Another word which is definitely identified by Chinese books of reference as having connexion with the *Yao* is *che*.[19] Though a recent change in Cantonese pronunciation has now obscured the fact, this word was unique in both local dialects[20] and therefore was evidently taken into Cantonese and *Hakka* without substantial alteration, and was also given a character of its own, which is not to be found in the *Kanghsi* Dictionary[150] but is to be found in the *Tzu Yuan*[24] and *Tzu Hai*,[25] where the meaning assigned is hill-land cultivated in the manner I have described. Hill paddy is also known to Chinese agriculturalists by the name of *che to*.[21] Locally however the word *che* has been given a new meaning, being used by all our farmers to mean that type of terraced land

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where the terraces are constructed running down a spur from the top, whereas *tin*[136] denotes valley land which is terraced from a water-course upwards and stops at the toe of the hill around which flows the highest of the irrigation channels. A study can be made in the *Lam Tsuen* valley[74] and in *Pat Heung*[2] of the two systems of terrace[134] and one is often corrected by the locals if describing *che* as *tin*, or *tin* as *che*, though both are terraced and irrigated land. Whether this truly represents a new meaning given to an old word, or whether the Chinese reference books are wrong in describing *che* as dry cultivation, is another of the gaps in my puzzle which I hope can be authoritatively filled. Other indicator words which appear to be non-Chinese, though I cannot identify them as *Yao*, are quoted in my introduction to Mr. Tregear's Gazetteer, already quoted. The commonest among them are *chun*,[157] *kau*,[54] *lek*,[73] *pok*,[9] *ting*,[28] *to*,[140] *tun*,[29] *tung*,[46] *wat*[143] and *yuen*.[69] In a paper presented at the Jubilee Congress of Hong Kong University I suggested that *wongchuk*[148] and *wongma*[147] in local place names stood for left and right respectively. Another interesting specimen is the raised valley *Wat Lo Fu*[144] northeast of Silvermine Bay, which preserves the original order (attribute after noun) of words in most of the non-Han languages of south-western China.

Regarding the other tribe which is described as inhabiting our hills, the *Shan Lao*,[118] I have not been able to obtain any distinctive marks of identification. However one easily observed feature of our hills, about which most of the present villagers disclaim all knowledge, is the system of low walls made of graded uncut stones enclosing rectangular areas of hillside which are either not terraced or only roughly terraced, with terraces at an angle: and since those of my acquaintance who have worked and lived among the *Yao* people say they have seen nothing of the kind in the *Yao* system of cultivation, it may well be that these old stone walls are a "trade mark" of the *Shan Lao* people. If so, then the same people must also be responsible for a number of irrigation works, of which the two most conspicuous are the one that begins near *Hau Tong*[153] and flows about half a mile, partly underground, to one of these walled enclosures about the village of *Ko Tong*[59] on the west of Long Harbour; and another on the northwest coast of Lantao, part of which, owing to the tilt

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previously described, no longer carries water, and part of which is still used to supply irrigation water to a village. The ancient grave at *Lo-A-Tsai*[86] on Lamma Island is made of similar stones; and I am inclined to associate also with these people a number of high standing stones, some of which are still cult objects, of which one stands above Bowen Road, another overlooking *Sha Tin*[115] is known to Europeans by the unnecessarily sneering name of the "Amah Rock".[1] A stone of this type, standing above a rock pool which looks as though it had been artificially enlarged and made circular, stands between the deserted village of *Pak Kok*[5] at the south-western tip of *Shek Pik* Bay[128] and the new village to which the ancient *Fung*[52] clan of *Fan Pui*[51] were moved to make room for the *Shek Pik* Reservoir. Another overlooks Long Harbour, and about this one there is some mystery, since every year at approximately the date of the Mid-Autumn Festival a considerable number of women can be seen flocking up the hill to this stone, but all villages within walking distance flatly deny knowledge of any such celebration. This is at best negative evidence, and may not indicate the persistence of a pre-Chinese tradition; for a similar reticence regarding religious celebrations by women is observed at the great *Nu-kwa*[102] temple on *Honam* Island[154] opposite Canton, which men are seldom allowed to visit. I am trying to plot the positions of all these stone works and believe that when the list is finished, it will arrange itself into three circuits on Lantao Island, one on Lamma Island, two on Hong Kong Island, two on the *Saikung*[126] Peninsula and three or four in the rest of the New Territories. This work might well be taken in hand by someone younger, but it must be someone who is fond of walking; and walkers have a peculiar blind spot when it comes to the collection of this kind of evidence, for I have often had to draw the attention of my walking companions even to the most obvious systems of stone walls which they have been walking right past, or even over, without noticing. The *Lo-A-Tsai*[86] grave is situated close by a path and the first time I passed it, in the company of five villagers, I asked them what it was: though most of them used that path nearly every day, none had ever before noticed the grave!

A piece which is of vital importance and may indeed be what holds the rest of our jigsaw puzzle together is the correct identification of occupied sites on the seashore. There are many

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of these sites in this territory and three have been expertly excavated with results which are well known to many of my hearers this evening. There can be no doubt that the people who left those deposits were a fishing community and the direct ancestors of our present boat population, either the *Tanka*[43] or the *Hoklo*[155] or, as I believe more likely, of both. At the same time, the patterns on the pottery excavated from these sites clearly connect the culture both with other sites excavated elsewhere on the coast of China and those excavated further south, much further south; and the shape of the stone adzes connects them, I am told, with other boat-making cultures in the Pacific. These sites therefore are an important link between a people who are now culturally and sentimentally Chinese but were not so as recently as 200 years ago; and who earlier still formed part of a wide-flung and comparatively advanced culture. Boat people by various names, but answering the same description, are mentioned frequently in the literature of the *Tang*,[139] *Wu-tai*[105] and early *Sung*[132] periods. They are described as numerous, which they still are, bellicose, which they certainly are not, and dangerously hostile to the Chinese settlers, which brings to my mind the couplet: *Cet animal est très méchant; quand on l'attaque, il se défend*. Later on, in the *Tsing*[12] Dynasty, we find a change of tone; and official documents both from the local officials to Peking, and from the Manchu Emperor himself to the inhabitants of *Kwangtung*[63] and *Fukien*,[49] speak of the boat people as a hard-pressed community to whom their landward neighbours are called upon to stop being beastly. I think the latter assessment might be somewhat nearer to the truth if it could be applied not only to the *Tsing* period but to the whole of the last 1,000 years, and not only to the boat people but to the tribes of the hills.

A practical suggestion which I should like to make regarding the excavations of the former coastal sites, having regard to their number and to the meagreness of the resources, both pecuniary and human, available for this work, is that some archaeologists who are familiar with this type of site should conduct a search *north* of the axis of tilt of the New Territories. All the sites so far excavated have been on the side which is going down, that of *Hung Shing Ye*[156] having first come to light as a result of the sea cutting into a sandbank. But on the other side of the territory,

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where the sea has been receding, it should be possible to find sites for excavation which are further away from the sea than they were when occupied. If one such can be found, it might be possible to uncover the whole settlement (whereas hitherto we have had to be content with the inland fringe of it) and thus to learn more of how these people lived before their way of life was disturbed. The area between the present Castle Peak Bay and *Lau Fau Shan*,[79] particularly the re-entrants (which 1,000 years ago were bays) on the eastern side of Castle Peak and *Tai Tau Shan*,[42] seems to afford the greatest promise.

Associated with the seashore sites, but also to be found on all the hills, are curious inverted conical pits variously described as kilns and vats. Their use has never been satisfactory explained. These also should be plotted. I would be surprised if the plotting of all these objects: pits, stone walls, graves, standing stones, shore-side occupied sites and pre-Chinese irrigation channels, did not indicate that the inhabitants whom I have described throughout, in deference to tradition and to Chinese records, as of four kinds did not prove to have been after all one people. The fact that a people who grew cereals and roots on the hills and hunted wild game in the forests did not possess a technique for draining and cultivating mangrove swamps is no proof that they did not know how to catch fish; and the fact that our present boat people grow no crops and have for some centuries specialised in fishing and manufacturing salt does not mean that their earlier ancestors could not have hunted on the hills as well as in the sea, and there grown the cereals they needed to supplement a fish diet, and the roots from which they produced the preservative dye which they still use for their nets and sails. They must have had access to the forest to obtain the wood from which they built their boats, the skins from which they made their sails, and the gut from which, I suppose, they made their bowstrings and other fastenings. They may have done all this by friendly barter (I have suggested elsewhere that a group of place names including *Yau Ma Tei*,[65] *Ma Yau Tong*[90] and *Ma Liu Shui*[91] could have been places where by convention the people of the shore and the people of the hills met to exchange their necessities), but the possibility that they were all one people

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should not, in the course of scientific investigation, be omitted as a possibility; even though subsequent events thrust them apart, by interposing a new and more vigorous culture, based on intensive agriculture and possessing sufficient military power and social drive to impose on the less numerous people of the waters and of the forests a language, a dress and a society different from that which they originally had.

I will here ask you to turn your eyes for a moment to Canton, which is less than 100 miles from here and which when the first Chinese settled in this territory was, and had been for many centuries, the metropolis (and probably the only city of any size known to the inhabitants) of this region. Canton was founded originally as a Chinese trading settlement or colony, in the middle of non-Chinese territory with ethnologically non-Chinese inhabitants. It became first the capital of a peripheral kingdom, which from time to time acknowledged and was acknowledged by the Son of Heaven: then the capital of a province which from time to time, when the central government was weak, tended, and has continued to tend even into modern times, to re-assert its independence. Then in the *Sui*[22] Dynasty it became the first port in which foreigners were officially permitted to settle and trade — I mean of course the Arabs, whose completely assimilated descendants are still to be found in Canton and Hong Kong; and finally, following the same well tried pattern (since Chinese administrators, like all others, adopted new ideas with grave reluctance and preferred to follow the old ruts) the first port to which the ebullient Europeans, following in the track of the Arabs, also came to purchase goods the Chinese did not particularly want to sell and to offer in exchange commodities they did not want to buy.

The frame of our picture, or of our jigsaw puzzle, would not be complete without a reference to Canton. Bricks bearing the imprint of, and presumably made in, *Pun-yue*[107] — that is to say Canton — can be seen today in the roofs and walls of the ancient tomb, if it be a tomb, at *Li Cheng Uk*.[83] Throughout the *Tang*[139] Dynasty the inhabitants of Canton must still have been mainly non-Chinese, since the author of the *Hsin Wu Tai Shih*[121] is at some pains to explain why it was that so many Chinese came and settled in this region during the disorders which brought down that dynasty. From the point of view of Canton, and therefore

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from the point of view of my present subject, the event which ushered in the new age is the capture of Canton in +878 by the Huang Chao[146] rebels. Between this event and the re-incorporation of Canton's territory into China in +971, by which time the earliest Chinese had already a firm grip on what is now Hong Kong, the Liu[76] family gave five emperors to the *Nan Han*[99] Dynasty at Canton. This family was allied by marriage with the *Cheng*[163] and *Tuen*[47] families which successively at this period ruled the powerful kingdom of *Nan Chao;*[100] with the *Ma*[89] family which ruled the kingdom of *Tsu*[16] and no doubt, if the evidence could be pieced together, with many other peoples. For we are told that the emperor *Liu Chang*[78] had a Persian princess in his harem, and among the many Arab travellers who visited Canton there must be some who left a description of these flamboyant half-Chinese rulers, with their eighty or more palaces, the walls of which were encrusted with pearls, their bloodthirsty exuberance and, what shines even through the disapproving accounts of the Chinese historians, their courage and administrative skill. The name *Po On*[3] revived by the Republic of China as the name for the district of which geographically, Hong Kong is a part, was adopted by the Canton rulers in obvious reference to the pearls for which this district was at that period famous. The statement in the *San On Yuen Chi*[123] that the name comes from the hill called *Po Shan*[4] north of *Nam Tau*[98] city is the "cart before the horse". The pearls were fished in great numbers somewhere near Tolo Channel, probably in Double Haven where the name *Chue Tong Wat*[162] survives as a bay on *Kat O* Island.[57] They were then transported overland along the route marked by a chain of forts over the pass northeast of *Tai Po Tau*[34] village, through *Kau Lung Hang,*[55] over the present golf course and skirting the *Pat Heung*[2] marshes to the present *Ping Shan,*[111] and across the creek to the fort of *Tuen Mun*[141] which I mentioned earlier in this paper. The route, I would have you observe, almost at every point passes one of the chief settlements of the *Tang*[44] clan who are, I believe, together with all the old Cantonese-speaking clans of this territory, the descendants of the soldiers stationed here in the *Nan Han*[99] Dynasty and its successors for the express purpose of guarding these precious pearls. They were as I have said encouraged, when too old to serve with their arms, to settle down

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on the land with indigenous wives, probably seized from the boat people; a process of assimilation which was repeated all over South China and accelerated by the disorder of the times which prevented their embarking on the precarious journey to their ancestral homes, which their own tradition places in the province *Kiangsi*.[58]

This then is the picture, or the jigsaw puzzle. Subsequent work by those more qualified than I may show that I have put some of the pieces in the wrong place; may show indeed that some of the pieces are in the wrong puzzle, since I have indicated that there is yet no certainty whether we have one jigsaw puzzle or four. There are many Chinese sources into which I have dipped but which I have not thoroughly sifted. There are other Chinese sources to which I have not been able to obtain access: most important of these are the earlier editions of the *San On Yuen Chi*,[123] to which the 1819 edition makes several tantalizing references, but reproduces only their prefaces. I have suggested how the geologists can contribute to this study. The botanists and agronomists should be able to reconstruct a general picture of the local flora a thousand years ago before removal of the forest cover started the rapid erosion which has defaced these hills. The archaeologists should do some really intensive work between Castle Peak and *Mong Tseng*. The Arabists and Indologists should contribute accounts of the voyages made by traders during the *Tang*[139] and *Sung*[132] dynasties. And the book collectors should hunt for the previous editions of the *San On*[122] and *Tung Kwun*[31] gazetteers.[124] The first edition of the *San On Yuen Chi*[123] was that of *Chan Kwo*[18] of which the preface was written by *Yau Tai-kin*[64] the sixth holder of the office of *chi yuen*.[161] He wrote it in 1587 at which time there must have been several villages which preserved their former language, dress and customs which could not have failed to be noted. Even the list of *Hakka*[149] and Cantonese villages in this and the intervening editions would teach us something about the subsequent pattern of occupation and agriculture and thereby give us some clues to other problems, such as the origin of the *Hakka*, which may have a bearing on the subject with which I have dealt today.

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NOTES

A

1 "Amah Rock" — A more decent title would be the Mother and Child Rock. The Chinese name for this and many similar rocks is *mrong fhuuh sreak*, 望夫石.

B

2 *Baat Xheonq*, 八鄉.

3 *Boo-qhonn*, 寶安.

4 *Boo-shaann*, 寶山.

5 *Braak-gok*, 白角.

6 *Braak-mronq*, 白芒.

7 *Braakshaah-qou*, 白沙澳.

8 *Braakxrok-dheonn*, 白鶴墩.

9 *brok*, 墟.

C

10 *Ceaklraap-gok*, 赤鱲角.

11 *Chaah-xhanq*, 叉坑, also *Taai-xhaanq*, 太坑.

12 *Chenqcriw*, 清朝 (+1644—+1911).

13 *Chenq-jhih*, 青衣, name of a local fish.

14 *Chenq-shaann*, 青山.

15 Now called *Chenqshaann-whaann*, 青山灣 which formerly applied to a smaller bay at the foot of Castle Peak itself.
Cirn-whaann, 淺灣 *see* 26.

16 *Corgwok*, 楚國 approximately +927—+951, but it is doubtful whether a *nienhao* was adopted.

17 *Crann*, 隙.

18 *Crann Gwor*, 隙果.

19 *creah*, 蠶, *Hakka cria*.

20 All the other words now pronounced *creah* having formerly had initial *ts*, not *ch*.

21 *creahdrou*, 蠶稻, which however in this territory is always called *xrornwroh*, 旱禾.

22 *Creoycriw*, 隋朝 +581 (locally from +589) to +618.

23 *Creoy Crunq-sreak*, 徐松石.

24 *Crihjrynn*, 辭源.

25 *Crihxoe*, 辭海.

Crinn-whaann, 前灣 *see* 26.

26 *Crynn-whaann*, 荃灣 also written 荃灣, 蓴灣 (*Zin-whaann*), 前灣 (*Crinn-whaann*) and 淺灣 (*Cirn-whaann*).

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D

27 Now known as *Daar-gwuur-lrerng*, 打鼓嶺, an odd name for a valley.

28 *dhenq*, 汀.

29 *dheonn*, 墩.

30 *Dhunq-chunq*, 東涌.

31 *Dhunq-gwuurn*, 東莞, previously *Dhunq-gwhuunn*, 東官.

32 Discovery Bay is the bay NW of *Peng Chau*[109] on which stand the villages of *Tai Pak*, *Yi Pak*, *Sam Pak* and *Sz Pak*.[35]

33 *Draai-bou* or *Draai-brou*, 大埔 — that the latter pronunciation is the original is shown by the *Hakka Thay-puuh*, not *-bhuuh*.

34 *Draaibou-traw*, 大埔頭.

35 *Draai-braak*, 大白, *Jri-braak*, 二白, *Shaamm-braak*, 三白 and *Sei-braak*, 四白.

36 *Draai-brou-xoe*, 大埔海.
Draai-durng-shaann, 大凸山 or *Draai-dungv-shaann*, 大棟山 see 37.

37 *Draai-jryr-shaann*, 大嶼山, formerly *Draai-xray-shaann*, 大奚山; the name Lantao appears to be of Portuguese rather than Chinese origin, like Lamma, Lema etc. The two peaks are *Frungwrong-shaann*, 鳳凰山 and *Draai-durng-shaann*, 大凸山 or *Draai-dungv-shaann*, 大棟山.

38 *Draai-laarm*, 大欖.

39 *Draai-mrou-shaann*, 大帽山 or 大篷山.

40 *Draai-pranq*, 大鵬: see the section on sea defence in the *San On Yuen Chi*.[123] The fort so named was originally on the *Saikung*[126] Peninsula, then shifted to its present location N.E. of Mirs Bay.

41 *Draaipranq-whaann*, 大鵬灣. The English name is a corruption of *Ma Shi Wan*.[92]

42 *Draaitraw-shaann*, 大頭山, formerly *Sreoi-jran* 瑞興. *Draai-xray-shaann*, 大奚山 *see* 37.

43 *Draan-ghaah*, 蜑家. There have been many attempts to prove that these people are anything but what they clearly are — the original inhabitants of the South China coast.

44 *Drang*, 鄧.

45 *Druk-ngrow-gorng*, 獨鼈港.

46 *drungv*, 洞, a word repeatedly used in the Histories to denote different *Man*[88] tribes.

47 *Dryn* 段.

F

48 *Farn-lrearng*, 粉嶺 (formerly *Fhann-lrearng*, 分嶺).

Fhann-lrearng, 分嶺 *see* 48.

49 *Fhukgin-saarng*, 福建省.

50 *Fhukzhaw*, 福州.

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51 *Frann-buui,* 墳背 also *Wranq-buui,* 宏貝 near where the *Sung* emperor *Ti-cheng* or *Ti-shih* (宋帝昰) may have been buried. I am keeping out of the controversy on how his title should be pronounced.

Frungwronq-shaann, 風凰山 see [37].

52 *Frunq,* 鴻.

G

53 Locally written 簡 : *Hakka gaann,* Cantonese *gaarn.*

54 *gao,* 九. There are so many examples of this word in the place of this and other districts of South China, obviously meaning "behind" or "lesser", that it is surprising that anyone should still translate Kowloon as "Nine Dragons".

55 *Gaolrunq-xhaanq,* 九龍坑.

56 *Garm-trinn,* 錦田.

57 *Ghatqou-zhaw,* 吉澳洲.

58 *Ghonqshay-saarng,* 江西省.

59 *Ghowtronq,* 高塘.

Gw

60 *Gwhaysrin,* 歸善 today *Hutyang.*[145]

61 *Gwhuunn-fun-creonq,* 官富場 later called Kowloon. The name probably derives from *fu* or *wu,* the local word for salt, and *gwhuunn* standing, as so often in local place names, for 乾, dry.

62 *Gwhuunn-jhamm-xroh,* 觀音河.

63 *Gworngdhunq-saarng,* 廣東省.

J

64 *Jhaw Tae-krinn,* 邱體乾, himself a *Hakka*[149] of *Linchuan*[75] in *Kiangsi*[58].

65 Irawmraah-dreiv, 油麻地.

66 *jreonq* in Cantonese, *jrong* in *Hakka,*[149] usually appearing as 滇 but occasionally as 陽.
Jri-braak, 二白 see [35].

67 *Jrih Drek Jrunq Mraann,* 夷狄成蠻.

68 *Jriw-jrann,* 猺人.

69 *jrynn,* 元.

70 *Jrynncriw,* 元朝 1280—1367.

71 *Jrynn-lrorng,* 六朗, pronounced *jryng-lreorng.*

72 *Jrytghonq lrawwrek jrannmrannsir,* 粵江流域人民史.

L

73 *leak,* 瀝.

74 *Lramm-chynn,* 林村.

75 *Lramm-chynn,* 臨川.

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[76] *Lraw*, 劉. The emperors were *Liu Yin*,[80] *Liu Yen*,[81] *Liu Pen*,[77] *Liu Sheng*[82] and *Liu Ch'ang*.[78]

[77] *Lraw Bhann*, 劉旻, son of *Liu Yen*, ruled only a few months +942—+943, *nienhao* 光天.

[78] *Lraw Ceorng*, 劉鋹, the last of the *Nan Han* emperors, +958—+971, *nienhao* 大寶, son of *Liu Sheng*.

[79] *Lraw-fraw-shaann*, 流浮山.

[80] *Lraw Jarn*, 劉隱, virtual ruler 905—911, no *nienhao*.

[81] *Lraw Jirm*, 劉龑, brother of *Liu Yin*, whom he succeeded as virtual ruler in +911, emperor +917—+942. Several *nienhao* — 乾亨 +917—+925, 白龍 +925—+928, 大有 +928—+942. His mother was a Nanchao woman.

[82] *Lraw Srenq*, 劉晟, brother of *Liu Pen*, whom he murdered and then reigned from +943—+958, *nienhao* 應乾 (part of +943 only), 乾和 +943—+958.

[83] *Lree Zreang Qhuk*, 李鄭屋.

[84] *Lrek Jrynn*, 瀝源.

[85] *Lroofuur-xhaanq*, 老虎坑.

[86] *Lrooqhaah-zae*, 老鴉仔.

[87] *Lrunq-jeok-traw*, 龍躍頭.

M

[88] *Mraann*, 蠻.

[89] *Mraar*, 馬.

[90] *Mraarjrawtronq*, 馬游塘.

[91] *Mraarlriu-seoe*, 馬料水.

[92] *Mraarsir-whaann*, 馬屎灣.

[93] *Mraarwhaann*, 馬灣, perhaps for 馬戶灣 "boat-people's anchorage".

[94] *Mrann*, 文 (they pronounce it mranq).

mronq-fhuuh-sreak, 望夫石, see [1].

[95] Mrow, 毛.

[96] *mruunn*, 門.

N

[97] *Nraammshaann-drungv*, 南山洞.

[98] *Nraammtraw*, 南頭.

[99] *Nraammxon-criw*, 南漢朝, *nienhao* from +917 to +971, but effective control perhaps from +905. See notes [76] *et seq.*

[100] *Nraammzio-gwok*, 南越國. There is a tendency to ignore or belittle the importance of this state in the history of South China.

[101] *Nraytronq-gok*, 泥塘角.

[102] *Nreoewhohsri*, 女媧氏.

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Ng

103 *Ngraahcrinn-chynn*, 衙前村.

104 *Ngrhtrunq-shaann*, 梧桐山.

105 *Ngrr-droi*, 五代 (+908—+959, with local variations).

O

106 Obliterated villages: — *Nai Tong Kok*,[101] *Pak Hok Tun*[8] and the original *Tai Pak*,[35] some way from the present site.

P

107 *Phuunnjryh*, 番禺.

108 *Preanqzhaw*, 坪洲, an island five miles west of the western tip of Hong Kong Island.

109 *Preanqzhaw*, 平洲, an island in the north-eastern part of Mirs Bay.[41]

110 Pre-Chinese languages: I should exempt from this stricture Professor Princeton S. Hsü,[23] whose books, "History of the People of South China"[72] and "A Study of the Thais, Chuangs and the Cantonese People"[133] are of great interest and should be read by anyone anxious to learn more in this field. But I think he goes too far in suggesting a Malay origin for the *Tanka*[43]— or is it a *Tanka* origin for the Malays?

111 *Prenqshaann*, 昇山.

112 *Pruunn-gwuur*, 盤古.

R

113 River Capture. The break-through of the *Kwun Yam Ho*[62] from the *Lam Tsuen*[74] valley to *Taipo*[33] formerly it flowed through *Fanling*[48] and *Sheung Shui*[130] into Deep Bay;[152] and that of the two streams which now flow into the sea at *Sham Tseng*,[119] the headwaters of which used to flow through *Tin Fu Tsai*[137] into *Tai Lam*.[38]

S

Sei-braak, 四白 *see* [35].

114 *Shaahtraw-gok*, 沙頭角.

115 *Shaahtrinn*, 沙田.

116 *Shaahtrinn-xoe*, 沙田海, still better known to the local people as *Lik Yuen Hoi*.

Shaamm-braak, 三白 *see* [35].

117 *shaann-ghoh*, *Hakka saan-go*, 山歌.

118 *Shaannloo*, 山寮.

119 *Shamm-zearng*, 深井.

120 *Shamm-zeon*, 深圳. The second word means an artificial channel with earth banks and suggests that the present river was cut to drain the swamps to the east and south-east of the present town.

121 *Shann Ngrrdroi-sir*, 新五代史.

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122 Shann-qhonn, 新安.

123 *Shann-qhonn Jrynvzi*, 新安縣志.

124 *Shann-qhonn Jrynvzi*, 新安縣志, previous editions, see separate table.

125 *Shanntrinn*, 新田 (there pronounced *shanqtrin*).

126 *Shaygung*, 西貢.

127 *Sheonq-shih-mruunn*, 雙鯉門, the passage south of Cape D'Aguilar.

128 *Sreakbhek-whaann*, 石壁灣.

129 *Sreak-seoe-gaarn*, 石水簡.

Sreoi-jran, 鵝岩, *see* 42.

130 *Sreong-seoe*, 上水.

131 *Srynnwhaann-xoe*, 船灣海.

132 *Sungcriw*, 宋朝 +960—+1279, but in Kwangtung only from +971.

T

Taai-xhaanq, 大坑 *see* 11.

133 *Taaizruk Zrongzruk Jrytzruk xaao*, 泰祿僮祿粵祿考.

134 Terraces. See also an excellent photograph in the latest report by the Director of Agriculture and Forestry.

135 *Thinnxrau-ghunq*, 天后宮, or *Thinnxrau-mriuv*, 天后廟. *Tin Hau* is the patroness of the *Tanka*[43] boat people.

136 *trinn*, 田.

137 *Trinnfhuuh-zae*, 田夫仔 or *Trinnfuur-zae*, 田甫仔.

138 known locally as *Tronq-brok*, 塘壘, pronounced *treonq-breok* which I believe is a corruption of *trynq-brok* 屯壘 the meaning of which had been forgotten.

139 *Tronqcriw*, 唐朝 +618—+907.

140 *troo*, 肚.

141 *Trynn-mruunn*, 屯門, local pronunciation *trynq-mruunq*, see 138.

Trynnmruunn-zan, 屯門鎮.

142 *trynntrinn*, 屯田.

W

143 *what*, 芴 or 乙. The 蔚 of 梅蔚, as 梅窩 is written in the *San On Yuen Chi*[123] should be read thus.

144 *What-troofuur*, 乙老虎.

145 *Wraijreonq*, 惠陽.

Wranq-buui, 宏貝, *see* 51.

146 *Wronq Craaw*, 黃巢. The rebellion began in +877. Canton fell in +878 and *Ch'ang An* (the capital) in +880. The capital was retaken by loyal forces in +883 and the rebellion spluttered on for some years after the death of *Huang Ch'ao* in +884. Although defeated, the rebellion brought down the dynasty.

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147 *wronqmraah*, 黃麻 right?

148 *wronqzhuk*, 黃竹 left?

X

149 *Xaakghaah*, 客家.

150 *Xhonqxhey Zridirn*, 康熙字典.

151 *Xoncriw*, 漢朝, +206—+220.

152 *Xrauxoe-whaann*, 後海灣 or 后海灣.

153 *Xrawtronq*, 猴塘.

154 *Xrohnraamm*, (廣州市) 河南.

155 *Xrokloo*, 學佬 or 福佬 from the fact that in their dialect the word 福 sounds to a Cantonese like 學.

xrornwroh, 旱禾, *see* 21.

156 *Xrunqsengjreah*, 洪聖爺.

Z

157 *zeon*, 墳 see also 120.

158 *Zeoncriw*, 晉朝, +265—+419.

159 *Zhanqsrenq*, 增城.

160 *Zhaw-qhuk*, 鄒屋.

161 *zhihjrynv*, 知縣.

162 *Zhyhtrong-what*, 珠塘笏.

Zin-whaann, 舌灣 *see* 26.

163 *Zreang*, 鄭.

EDITIONS OF THE SAN ON YUEN CHI

First Edition 1587 **Ch'an Kwo**; Preface by **Yau T'ai-k'in.**

Ch'an Kwo 陳果, of *Nam Shan Heung* 南山鄉, *chü-jen* 1576, *chin-shih* 1586. A Deputy Secretary in the Board of War.

Yau T'ai-k'in 邱體乾, of *Lin-ch'uan* 臨川 in *Kiangsi*. Magistrate of *San On* 1586-1592.

Second Edition 1636 by **Ts'oi Tai-lun, Lei** and **Leung Tung-ming; Preface by Lei Yuen.**

Ts'oi Tai-lun 蔡大綸 of *Lungch'i* 龍溪 in *Fukien*. Director of Studies in *San On*, 1628—(?).

Lei — Perhaps a mistake for *Ch'euk Yau-tuen* 卓有端, a *Hakka* from *Cheung Lok*, who preceded *Ts'oi Tai-lun* as Director of Studies.

Leung Tung-ming, see below.

Lei Yuen 李鎧 of *Changp'ing* 漳平 in *Fukien*. Magistrate of *San On*, 1635—1636, afterwards magistrate of *Hoi Fung* 海豐.

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Third Edition 1643 by **Man Sz-k'ei, Leung Tung-min, Tang Leung-yuk** and others; Preface by **Ch'an Hei-yiu.**

Man Sz-kei (*Tai-wu*) 萬士奇 (大弧) of *Suichau* 隨州, Sub-director of Studies in *San On*, 1640—?1645.

Leung Tung-ming 梁棟明 of *Tun T'au* 墩頭, prefectural graduate in 1641.

Tang Leung-yuk 鄧良玉 Perhaps a mistake for *Tang Leung-sz* 鄧良仕 of *Kam Tin*,* prefectural graduate in 1610.

Ch'an Hei-yiu 陳希曜 of *Chingteh* 旌德, *Kiangnan*, Magistrate of *San On*, 1640—?1645.

Fourth Edition 1672 by (?); Preface by **Lei Ho-shing.**

Lei Ho-shing 李可成 of *T'iehling* 鐵嶺 in *Liaotung*. Magistrate of *San On*, 1670-1677.

Fifth Edition 1688 by (?); Preface by **Kan Man-mo.**

Kan Man-mo 簡文謨 of *K'aichou* 開州 in *Chihli*. Magistrate of *San On*, 1687—(?).

Sixth Edition 1819 by **Wong Shung-hei;** Prefaces by **Yuen Yuen, Lo Yuen-wai, Shue Mau-kwun** and the author.

Wong Shung-hei 王崇熙 of *Nanch'eng* 南城 in *Kiangsi*, a prefectural sub-graduate of *Chihli*.

Yuen Yuen 阮元, an Imperial Censor, Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief of *Kwangsi*, *Kwangtung*, *Hunan*, *Kueichou* and *Yunnan*; of *I-wei* 儀徵 in *Kiangsu*; born about 1760.

Lo Yuen-wai 盧元偉, a *chin-shih*, Intendant of Grain for *Kwangtung*, of *Nam Ye* 南埜.

Shue Mau-kwun (Yue-fong) 舒懋官 (芙房), a *chin-shih*, Magistrate of *San On*, 1816—(?).

Sixth Edition was reprinted without its maps in the 1930s.

* *In which case a copy of this edition might be preserved among the clan archives.*