HONG KONG'S CHINESE ASSOCIATIONS:
THEIR CEREMONIAL OCCASIONS
AND THEIR HELPERS

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Introduction

The close involvement of the District Offices of the New Territories Administration in the pre-1997 Hong Kong Government in the celebration of festivals and major religious rituals by local communities throughout the lunar year was described in Chapter Seven of my *Friends and Teachers, Hong Kong and its People 1953-87*, published by Hong Kong University Press in 1996. This particular feature of the Administration's work had seemed worthy of special notice, since its personnel's interaction with their leaders, their many helpers, and less directly with the audiences and participants, had always helped to build up and sustain the "government and people" relationship.

Such occasions provided the connecting links of community life across the decades. Some were regular annual events, like the main festivals of the lunar calendar and the birthdays of the gods in the local temples, often with accompanying opera or puppet shows. Less frequent, but equally regular were the important, quasi-religious Ta Chiu or periodic protective rituals, still held nowadays by large villages or linked groups of villages in the longer settled districts of the New Territories, but held practically everywhere a century ago.

The officials' participation extended to many other community events, especially those held or organized by Hong Kong's Chinese associations in town and country, individually or jointly. They attended at ceremonies marking a special occasion, such as the completion of a new school building provided by a kaifong association or religious body, or the finalization of a local public works project by a village or rural committee. They might help to inaugurate or close the district summer youth programmes held from the late 1960s onward, or the local community's evening of entertainment for the elderly. Other major events attracting their presence might include associations' dinners connected with fund-raising drives for a special project or a charitable purpose, usually with a singing or even opera performance.
All associations were required to be registered under the Societies Ordinance of the Laws of Hong Kong or as limited companies under the Companies Ordinance. Partly because of this, another duty undertaken by officials was to attend or officiate at the inaugurations of new terms of office-bearers, including administration of an oath of office to the new incumbents. This was particularly the case with the rural committees and the kaifong welfare associations, which (as major channels of communication with the local public) had close links with, and came under the supervision of, the District Commissioner, New Territories, and the Secretary for Chinese Affairs and their senior staff in the districts.¹

During my fifteen years in the New Territories Administration (NTA), and five more in the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs (SCA, which later became the Home Affairs Department or HAD) both of them to be described as “political” departments whose staff had direct dealings with the public, we were also in contact with a miscellany of other community bodies, including the many clansmen’s (same name) and district (same place) associations, in both town and country. From the early 1970s, these were joined by the government-sponsored and assisted Mutual Aid Committees, of which large numbers were formed across the whole territory.

Those officials with district responsibilities (including police), were invited to all major local functions as a matter of course, and the officiating officers were either the District Officers, or their superiors in headquarters or in concerned departments. I attended a great many functions during my service in various departments, and thus became familiar with their way of conducting them. This hardly varied, the difference being mainly a matter of degree and extent, depending on the importance of the bodies concerned and the nature and significance of their events.

**The Nature of the proceedings**

A marked formality characterized all their occasions. The ceremonies followed set procedures, and each stage was introduced by a

¹For anyone wishing to learn more, the index to Friends and Teachers indicates where information concerning these and other Chinese associations, and their interaction with government departments during my service (1956-87) can be found.
master (more often than not a mistress) of ceremonies. There was, too, a high cultural content to their framework and its component parts, as will become evident in the course of this paper.

Hardly surprisingly, what may be styled this framework of formality with cultural overtones had to be underpinned by a support mechanism. The organizers needed to, and fortunately were able to, draw upon the calligraphic, literary, and other skills needed to supply the time-honoured invitation cards, scrolls, banners, and presentation items customarily in use on their ceremonial occasions. By listing the main features of this formality, its content, and back-up, this article aims to bring a rather neglected subject to wider notice, and to encourage more detailed study before it is too late.

My initial intention was also to examine in detail the literary content of the invitation cards and presentation items, and to include them in this paper. Phraseology and meaning, together with origins, must be traced back in guides to protocol and forms of address. These are intriguing topics, grounded in Chinese culture, and are well worth study for their own sake. However, this hope has not been realized. It is a considerable undertaking in itself, and will have to be the subject of a second paper, from my own or another's pen.

The need for experts

Associations which had frequent contact with government, like the rural committees and the kaifong welfare associations, all engaged paid secretaries. These were usually middle-aged or elderly men who had received an old-style Chinese education. Most of them were without an English language capability, for which reason they were precluded from entering government service, or from taking employment with the larger firms in Hong Kong's export-led commercial sector. However, such persons were very suitable for the secretaries' posts in the associations, where besides the skills needed for coping with ceremonial occasions, their knowledge of the correct epistolary forms of written Chinese enabled them to conduct their employers' correspondence with government offices and other agencies in a manner commensurate with the dignity of the association and its leaders - since, in this particular, the latter's prestige, too, was at stake.
In the essentially conservative society of the day, partial to the observance of etiquette and sensitive to social niceties, it was equally necessary for the government departments involved in district administration and community liaison to have the services of similar experts. The former Secretariat for Chinese Affairs, and the old-style District Administration New Territories/New Territories Administration, were the two departments in question. Even more than the associations, they had to do everything in the approved style, and with smooth efficiency.

In the SCA, there was a Chinese Literary Clerk to advise and assist the senior staff. There was also a Calligraphist, whose duties included writing the apothegms requested by associations to grace the pages of their bulletins and special publications (Plate 1). These posts are listed in the SCA’s printed annual departmental reports (e.g. 1966-67, Appendix 21). In the DANT, such assistance was provided by a specially selected senior member of the government’s General Clerical Service. A Calligraphist came later, together with an Interpreter/Translator in headquarters (see e.g. the District Commissioner’s printed annual departmental report for 1964-65, Table XI). Such help was needed if we and our Offices were to function properly within the old system: meaning, in conformity with the accepted norms of polite (ie educated) Chinese society.

Outside the headquarters, a notable contribution was made by the Liaison Officer grade in the two departments. Their senior officers’ detailed knowledge of the associations’ leaders and general expertise was vital in guiding the expatriate element among their superiors. And although, on one occasion, it was unkindly said of the liaison staff in the former Secretariat for Chinese Affairs, that ‘all they were good for was arranging chairs and seating, and ushering guests to their seats,’ such remarks overlook the great importance attached to protocol and etiquette in traditional Chinese society and the creation and maintenance of a sense of wellbeing between the guests and their hosts.

In truth, many persons took notice of performance. Government departments and community associations alike would be criticized for any mistakes or omissions, whilst any “gaffes” made during speeches - including the unwary or inadvertent choice of words to whose sounds other, disreputable, meanings could be construed - would be noted at once, and give rise to profane mirth or even ridicule. I can vouch for
the fact that this could, and certainly did, happen!

Invitation cards

Invitation cards were the very bedrock of formality. The event, place and time, would of course be stated, together with the names of the principal officiating guests (government officials, prominent persons and local dignitaries); and if an association was the host, the cards might list the names of members of the organizing or current committees.

Let me describe one of these productions, the invitation card received for the Ta Chiu held at Kam Tin in the Yuen Long District of the New Territories in 1975. Typical of the genre, the card consists of a double sheet of glossy red paper, printed in gold characters on all four sides, but with the recipient’s name and office on Sheet 1, the front face, brushed in black ink. Sheet 1 also provided the sender’s details, and the address of the invitee, since invitations were usually sent by post. Sheet 2 was the formal notification of the event, Sheet 3 contained the details of the opening ceremony, and Sheet 4, the back face, gave details of the organizing committee and elders. The wording followed the polite literary phraseology long in use for such occasions. The separate items of the opening ceremony, which would all be announced in sequence by a ‘master of ceremonies’ on the day, ran as follows:

1. Congregate [at the ceremonial site]
2. Invited guests to take their seats
3. Ribbon cutting by the presiding official guest
4. Chairman’s speech
5. Speech by presiding official
6. Presentation of commemorative banners etc
7. Speech of thanks [to individuals and organizations]
8. Photographs
9. Ceremony declared over
10. Lion and unicorn dances
11. Vegetarian repast [no meat was to be eaten over the ritual period]

Though not stated on this invitation card, it was usual in events of this sort, in which the deities were being asked to protect and bless the local community, for the managers and principal guests to pay their combined respects through placing incense sticks at one of the temporary
altars erected within the enclosure. On more social occasions, especially among the kaifong associations, it was also usual (and tedious for those present) to invite principal guests to speak: some orators did not need a second invitation!

Owing to its super-glossy surface, this particular card does not reproduce well, nor does its successor for the 1985 Ta Chiu. I have therefore used the invitation card for the similar event at Shatin, held also in 1985 to indicate type and content (Plates 2-5).^2

Although the majority of invitation cards were printed, some were still being hand-written in black Chinese ink using a brush (Plate 6), and even on the printed ones, the recipients' names and ranks were usually added by brush rather than by fountain pen or biro (Plate 2). Owing to their intrinsic interest, and the fact that most were destined for the wastepaper basket, I kept many of those I received, and sent specimens to library collections as ephemera, literary productions of a fleeting kind. The Hong Kong Collection at the University of Hong Kong has, or should have, them in its holdings today.

At the scene

Invariably, there would be some indication on site of the event being celebrated. Decorated archways and banners raised on bamboo scaffolding (pai lau), and/or floral tributes (fa pai), were the norm, and very colourful and ingenious they sometimes were, too. They were the work of skilled artisans, but their wording had to be supplied by the host body.

Here are a few examples. The elaborate archway erected at the entrance to the ground used for the Ta Chiu at Kam Tin in 1985 features in Plate 7. The floral banner erected to mark the District Commissioner, NT's ceremonial opening of a newly completed local public works concrete track on Cheung Chau Peak in 1960 is shown in Plate 8, whilst the subject of Plate 9 is one of the large floral tributes made to honour a new chairman and his two vice-chairmen of the Tsuen Wan Rural Committee, which, along with others, was set up outside the restaurant

^2 I must apologize for the high family content of the illustrations, the selection being made, of necessity, from our own photographs and memorabilia, from my wife's and my own service in the relevant departments.
in which the inauguration ceremony was being held. Plate 10 hints at the profusion of flags and banners in evidence on these occasions. Floral banners were also in use when farewelling one official and welcoming another in his place. The one shown in Plate 11 was erected at a street entrance on Cheung Chau in 1962, to mark my departure from office, and my successor's arrival to take up the District Officer's post.

Items in use at ceremonial occasions

By time-honoured practice, various items were in common use in the course of the proceedings:

**Individual rosettes**

Firstly, each of the principal guests was provided with an ornate rosette, on which his or her name and (if an official) his or her appointment was noted. This is often done with a Chinese writing brush, in black ink (see Plates 12, 13 and 14).

**Scissors for ribbon-cutting**

At all opening ceremonies, the officiating guest was invited to cut the ribbon stretched across the stage used (or especially erected) for the event, or across a doorway, as appropriate to the occasion. He or she was accompanied by other principal guests, who also participated in the ribbon-cutting. (Plate 14 shows the ribbon-cutting ceremony for the Kam Tin Ta Chiu in 1985). For this purpose, the host body had usually to prepare special scissors, in gold or silver plate, inscribed with the name and date of the event, and in the case of the principal guest, his or her name.

**Presentation items**

It was important at all ceremonies to make public acknowledgment of the persons and groups who had helped to finance or otherwise contributed to the particular event or project; not forgetting the boy scouts, girl guides, cubs and brownies or other organized youth groups who so often lined the official route to the site, or held the ground. Their assistance was duly recognized by the presentation of various kinds of commemorative items.
The coloured and inscribed cloth banners presented in recognition of services rendered were the least expensive of presentation items. They were needed in considerable quantities at some major events, and could be seen stacked in piles on the table at which the principal guests sat. This was just as well, since they had all to be presented by one or other of their number. They were made up by firms specializing in the production of flags and banners of all shapes and sizes. They usually bore four Chinese characters, aphorisms betokening diligent or whole-hearted service to the people, and the like, together with the name of the individual or body for whom it was intended. (Plate 15) As often as not the aphorisms came from the Chinese (Confucian) classics and have become proverbs in everyday usage.

Chrome or silver-plated items like dishes or figurines obtained from specialist firms were presented to deserving helpers or supporting organizations. Again, these were inscribed as appropriate to the occasion - especially the dishes, which often carried the four-character phrases - and named the event and date, together with the name of the individual or organization concerned (Plate 16).

More substantial items were prepared for the presiding officials, who might be presented with scrolls, couplets or paintings. As often as not, the scrolls and paintings would already have been framed. It mattered not that the official or guest whom the association wished to honour was Chinese or foreign. The same token of appreciation was applied to all, facilitated by the practice of equipping foreigners with Chinese names. In China up to 1949, missionary doctors and educators were frequent recipients of such tokens of gratitude for services rendered, and there must still be many examples of the kind to be found in their homes across the globe and on the antique market. So, too, it was in Hong Kong. Like many other officials, I was the recipient of such traditional literary tokens when serving in the district administration in town and country.

Sometimes a Committee would have invited an artist friend of their acquaintance to attend the occasion, and would prevail upon him to paint something for the principal guests. Our President, Dr. Patrick Hase, and I still have the pictures of tigers painted for us by Mr. Ng Shan at a gathering of the Ap Lei Chau Kaifong Association around 1974, when we were serving together in the Urban Services Department.
Now mounted as scrolls, they remain as prized mementos of a very friendly and happy occasion, and of our long friendship, reminding us also of the artist himself, a burly, genial and talented elderly man.

Attendance books

It was the time-honoured practice to ask all persons attending an inauguration ceremony to sign their names on the orange-red leaves of a specially prepared book. Besides containing the attendees' signatures, such books usually had a preamble listing the name and date of the occasion, with other information. Externally, their covers were often decorated with silk brocade, with stick-on labels brushed in black Chinese ink, bearing the name and rank of the recipient. The preambles of the better examples usually contained fine calligraphy. Towards the end of the ceremony, this book would be presented to the officiating guest (usually an official) by one of the host organization's principal office bearers.

However decorative, these books were very likely to be soon discarded by most recipients. However, I have managed to keep at least one, put away carefully because it had been written by a well-known and respected Hong Kong educator, who in his early years had obtained the first degree by examination bestowed under the (Chinese) Empire. The occasion was the inauguration of a new term of office-bearers of the Hang Hau Rural Committee in 1962.

The photograph taken at this gathering (Plate 17) hardly needs a caption. The photographer has captured the rapt attention and pride on the faces of the onlookers clustered round old Mr. Lo Sheung-fu 蘋源父 - the scholar mentioned above - as he was signing his name in the attendance book soon after arrival: in fact, the self-same one that he had prepared for the Committee, at its request.

Subscription books

Though not part of the proceedings at an event, another kind of book in use by the traditional associations and village heads also required assistance from an expert. In the days before the District Administration had a large public works vote, self-help had been needed to finance all kinds of local projects, and it had been customary (as well as necessary)
for their organizers to send round subscription books in order to raise the necessary funds. In country districts, the usual targets were native sons living and working in the urban areas of Hong Kong, or men sojourning in various places overseas.

The care taken with their preparation reflected the desire - and equally likely, the need - to show respect to the recipients. Like the attendance books mentioned above, the subscription books were drawn up in an approved style, and it was again usual to have them written by a well-known local scholar or, at the very least, by someone whose calligraphy would not disgrace the organizers (Plate 18 shows one such book, dated 1940, which survives from Tsing Yi Island, New Territories).

In the 1950s, as long before, subscription books were still being prepared in this form, and I recall my chief clerk in the former District Office South bringing in a number of them for my endorsement with the office seal. However, by the 1970s things were different, and I do not recollect seeing these in the District Office, Tsuen Wan, at least not in the time-honoured form.

Who were the calligraphers?

For the production of all the items listed above, writers of a certain calibre and reputation were required. Some of the paid secretaries had these skills, and were greatly esteemed for them, but the associations were also able to enlist the help, from among their closer contacts, of other men with claims to scholarship, who were able and willing to write the scrolls, couplets, presentation items and subscription books mentioned in this paper.

In rural districts, these persons might be a local teacher or headmaster. Their place in the local community was assured, especially if, as was often the case, they were men of worth as well as talent. In the early period of my service, before they were removed by Father Time, there might, too, still be a few rare birds who, like old Mr. Lo, had passed the imperial examinations, as well as a greater number who had achieved honourable failure. Greatly esteemed for their education and attainments, but by then of advanced age, they were still willing to assist for as long as they were able, recognizing the need for their participation, and conscious of the great face given thereby. I have
provided an account of one failed scholar in the Appendix.

Teachers as helpers

Like the scholars, local schoolmasters had long performed a vital role in the literary segment of the popular culture, including assistance with mounting local events and ceremonies. Even after the depopulation or abandonment of many old settlements, and the amalgamation or replacement of schools in places altered by development, had changed their situation, their successors in today's modern and much larger schools in the new town areas of the New Territories are still valued by the rural committees and a wide range of social and cultural associations. Some are calligraphers and scholars in their own right, and assist the associations' leaders and their secretaries in various ways. I used to meet many principals in the course of attending district functions and association dinners, and can bear witness to their major contributions to community life. In the old Southern District (present day Sai Kung and Islands), they were well to the fore, particularly on Cheung Chau, a large and always vibrant though outlying community, with a number of regional associations, some of which provided schools.

Who paid?

The secretaries of kaifong and other urban associations were usually hired and paid for by their chairmen. For this reason, salaries and running expenses were generally kept low, and when a wealthy man was prepared to underwrite the cost, there were in general few changes of chairmen. In the New Territories, a small monthly sub-vention was paid to rural committees from 1961 on, to assist with running expenses, reflecting official recognition of the work they were performing in the public interest, assisting government and people alike in a period of ever-accelerating development and the disruptions it created for ordinary folk. Later on, similar small monthly sums were made available to federations of societies and to mutual aid committees across Hong Kong. (See Friends and Teachers, p.308, and my Tsuen Wan, Growth of a New Town and its People (Hong Kong, Oxford University Press, 1993), Pp.212, 231 and 243 for these several payments).

The cost of the ceremonies and anything that went with them, and in the case of religious festivals of hiring the priests, the opera troupes,
the theatrical matsheds and much else, were borne by association leaders and their members, and by donations from, and levies on, the local communities. The services of the schoolmasters and local scholars were normally rendered without charge, since they were probably pleased to be asked, and their work kept their names and reputation before the public.

Lion or unicorn dances

In Hong Kong, lion and uniform dancers were, and still are, an important adjunct to ceremonial occasions. They are much in evidence at festival times, and in the opening ceremonies for any important event. No resited villagers would occupy their new settlement without the obligatory lion or unicorn dance to help guarantee a safe and prosperous environment, and no self-respecting new bank branch or restaurant would open for business without these harbingers of their future business success. Newly renovated historic buildings were also re-opened in style, with lion dancers well to the fore (Plate 19).

Before development overtook Hong Kong's former rural area, practically all the six or seven hundred old villages of the New Territories had their lion or unicorn dance teams. In Cantonese-speaking villages, it was always a lion; and in the Hakka villages, a unicorn. However, observation and enquiry indicate that their purpose and motivation are much the same. These dance troupes are also to be found in urban areas, past as well as present.

Besides the lion and unicorn troupes, there was a third, much less common and only to be seen among immigrant communities of persons from the Hoklo areas of Northeastern Guangdong. This was the pei yau troupe. Described to me as 'younger brother to the dragon,' the pei yau was rather a joyous, amiable creature. Plate 20 shows a typical example, photographed in a New Territories village in recent years.

1 The dance teams were at the heart of traditional village life. Besides what might be styled their internal duties at family celebrations by fellow villagers or at the opening of temples, ancestral halls, schools and village offices, they were turned out to meet and send off important visitors. If plague menaced, the lion or unicorn dancers accompanied Taoist priests in procession round the neighbourhood in order to dispel it. And should any village be under attack, the troupes under their respected instructors would form the first-line defence. They were, besides, a principal means for maintaining and extending a village's status and prestige.
Final comment

Whilst my aim here has been to note the formal nature of these proceedings and to explain some of the arrangements made behind the scenes, it is also essential to mention how this time-honoured framework of ceremonial and protocol coexisted with the equally pronounced informality and relaxed behaviour of those present.

This was especially the case in the long-settled villages of the New Territories. Rural Chinese, generally the most courteous and assured of men in their social relationships, through long practice had acquired the precious gift of being able to combine these qualities at formal gatherings and in their daily lives.

Like the lion, unicorn and pei yau dancers, this element relieves the tedium which such occasions otherwise create for those concerned: for, in truth, both participants and audiences can go through all the motions almost without thought, so deeply is the procedure engrained in the sub-conscious by countless repetition. But this in itself is part of the culture. It would truly be fascinating to be able to trace opening ceremonies back in time!

Glossary (Cantonese)

Chan Min-yue 陳勉儒

fa pai 花牌

Lo Sheung-fu (Lo Tsz-tsun) 龔湘父 (龔子駿)

pai tau 牌樓

pei yau 繼轆

ta chiu/ching chiu kin chiu/chau yan kin chiu 打醮/清醮建醮/醮恩建醮
Appendix: A Failed Scholar

By the late 1950s, degree men like Mr. Lo Sheung-fu were few, but it was still possible, by enquiry in the villages, to seek out some old men who, in the language of an earlier day, were failed scholars. By great good fortune, when District Officer, South, I was able to visit one of their number in Ho Chung, one of the larger villages of the Sai Kung area.

Born in 1876, old Mr. Chan Min-yue was already 86 years old. His house was still older, and its interior, blackened with soot, had like its owner seen better days. The dwelling was one of several within a large courtyard, approached from the outer village street by an entrance gate, and situated within his own clan’s section of the village.

Bent and shuffling in his gait, Mr. Chan was rather deaf. He could not see very well, and his voice quavered, but he responded well to my enquiries and his memory was still good.

His education had been long and ultimately expensive: first, at little cost, in his own village school for seven years, then in Canton for another six or seven at a considerable annual outlay to his father. One hundred silver dollars was the figure mentioned, though this was probably an approximation intended to convey the sense of expense. Board and lodging had been required, as well as tuition fees. All in all, he had taken the prescribed examinations leading to the first degree five or six times, but always without success. His father had become reluctant to spend even more money, and the young man had to return to the village. He then went into business with a herbal and Chinese medicine firm in a market town, which (he told me) provided him with a pension when he retired.

Unlike many other failed scholars, Mr. Chan had never taught school, but his proficiency in writing scrolls and couplets had been recognized and utilized in the village and neighbourhood. He carried on with his calligraphy until old age and increasing debility obliged him to stop. Men of this type were accustomed to meeting together for literary pursuits. They composed poetry and discussed its merits, held literary competitions, and wrote scrolls and couplets, replicating at the local level the more prestigious gatherings of senior officials, gentry and literati of the kind to be found in all the district and prefectural cities of China, and in the provincial capitals, like Canton.
Plate 1. An exhortatory apothegm for the special silver jubilee bulletin of the Shaukeiwan Kaifong Welfare Association, Ltd., prepared for Mabel Wong, City District Officer, Eastern, 1975.
Plate 3. Inner right sheet of the invitation card to the Shatin Ten Yearly Ta Chiu.
Plate 4. Inner left sheet of the invitation card to the Shatin Ten Yearly Ta Chiu.
Plate 5. Back sheet of the invitation card to the Shatin Ten Yearly Ta Chiu.
Plate 7. Decorated entrance gateway to the Kam Tin Ten Yearly Ta Chiu ground and matsheds, 1985.
Plate 8. Temporary *pai lau* erected for the opening of Peak Road, Cheung Chau, 1960, by the District Commissioner, NT, Mr. A. St.G. Walton.
Plate 9. One of several large floral tributes to mark the inauguration of the 20th term Tsuen Wan Rural Committee, 1970s.
Plate 10. Decorations and flags abound. Group outside the Chung Yee Tong’s premises at Tuen Mun during the 1985 Ten Yearly Ta Chiu.
Plate 11. Hail and farewell! Temporary street *pai lau* to mark a banquet for outgoing and incoming District Officers, Islands, Cheung Chau, 1962
Plate 12. Rosette for District Officer administering the oath to office bearers, first term, Chiu Chau Countrymen’s Association, Cheung Chau, circa 1960. This rosette would have been in addition to one showing name and post.
Plate 13. Rosettes. Christine Chow and Mabel Hayes (City District Commissioner, Hong Kong, and City District Officer, Eastern respectively) at a function, mid 1970s.

Plate 15. Mabel Hayes, City District Commissioner, West Kowloon, presenting a four character banner to a senior police officer, Shamshuipo, Kowloon, late 1970s.

Plate 18. Subscription book for donations to a projected new school, Tsing Yi island, 1940.

"Happiness lies in charity: Public spirit without limit."
Plate 19. Lions and floral tributes. Opening ceremony for the renovated Cheung Chun Yuen at Kam Tin, 1990s.
All photographs are from the author’s private collection. Attributions uncertain save for Plate 19, which is by courtesy of the Antiquities and Monuments Office, SAR Government, and Plate 20, courtesy Mr. Yeung Pak-shing of Tsuen Wan.