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NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

The Center for Asian Studies is pleased to publish four senior theses from the 2014-2015 academic year. Every senior graduating with a degree in Asian Studies is required to complete a research project under the guidance of a faculty advisor on any topic related to Asia. Each year, students produce excellent work on a wide variety of topics, and this year was certainly no exception. Earl Grey Chrysogelos' essay, "Capitalist Influences on Chinese Masculinities through Cinema," examines how representations of masculinity in Chinese cinema reflect the influences of capitalism and Western understandings of heterosexual masculinity. In "Working Hard or Hardly Working: An Examination of Factors Contributing to Workloads of Tokugawa Era Peasants," Laura Graham looks at how peasant life in Tokugawa Japan varied depending on region, gender, and class and status. Chandan Maharjan's study, "Newars of Kathmandu Valley," gives an in-depth understanding of Newari Culture. Jessica Wolff's thesis concludes the volume with her analysis of the politics of archaeology in Korea and how the current situation can be remedied through the use of multivocal interpretations, entitled, "Nationalist Archaeologies of Korea and Applying Multivocal Interpretations."

Capitalist Influences on Chinese Masculinities through Cinema

EARL GREY CHRYSOGELOS

China has long been a country that has enjoyed a high degree of power and influence over its neighboring countries. For a great many years China was the powerhouse of the Asian world. Over the course of time other countries begin to rise in power, and challenge the hegemonic rule of the Chinese empire. Between Japan and many Western nations, China was slowly removed from its position as the ruler of Asia, and placed in a position of pure subordination to foreign powers. During this period of imperialism, Chinese government and society was forced to change in order to thrive within the new culture that was slowly beginning to form. Taken on a roller coaster ride of political institutions, China underwent a long period of general uncertainty in everyday life, but eventually capitalism settled in and made itself the main “culture” in China, with Communism remaining the political face. The masculine style of men began to change from a figure devoted to his country to a businessman devoted to the almighty income. This pursuit of a capitalist lifestyle, a Western creation, is something that proves to be detrimental to Chinese masculinity, causing him distress throughout his life by way of economical backlashes, family strife, and lost love. The examples within the selected films show that although China has gained a sense independence from foreign countries, there is still a high degree of Western imperialism influencing the lives of Chinese citizens. This foreign influence clashes with the nationalist desire for independent cultural creation.

Before any claims are made about masculine portrayals in Chinese cinema, we must first look at the definition of masculinity which will be used in this paper. Masculinity, as every other personality trait, is extremely difficult to define. There is no one definition, merely a grouping of culturally accepted ideas that take the shape of masculinity. The cultural creation of gender roles is sometimes referred to as a “gendering process”

(Men and Masculinities). Through this process children learn how to “act out” their genders. While growing up, boys are subjected to societal ideals of masculine privilege, the idea that men are afforded unearned benefits, rights, and advantages in society solely based upon their gender, and they also learn what may happen if they fall outside the appropriate “norms” (Men and Masculinities). General Western ideas of masculinity are sometimes termed “Hegemonic Masculinity,” and the characteristics for this man are:

1. distance oneself from femininity
2. restrict emotion
3. be tough and aggressive (avoidance of vulnerability)
4. be seen as highly sexualized with women
5. prove one’s heterosexuality via homophobia (Men and Masculinities)

The Western man is the embodiment of all masculine features in a single body. It is no wonder that there is such a conflict between the ideal Western man and the ideal Eastern Man. In early China, masculinity was closely tied to cultural development (Zhou). The emphasis on Wen and Wu was also very dependent on the rulers of China, as different eras emphasized the value of one over the other (Jankowiak 5). In Chinese culture, Wen and Wu indicate two conflicting virtues, Wen referring to an “intellectual” trait, while Wu refers to a “physical, action-oriented” trait (Jankowiak 5). Beginning as a figure that may have been worthy of the Western glorification of the bellicose lifestyle, a bearded martial warrior full of Wu, the Chinese man eventually morphed into a “dainty scholar” (Zhou). This transition stemmed from Confucian texts from the Spring and Autumn Period (770 BC-476 BC). Confucius stated that Wen was the feminine “yin” force, and Wu was the masculine “yang” force, and the “proper” man would have a balance of both of these features within himself. Throughout Chinese history the emphasis on Wen over Wu, or Wu over Wen, would fluctuate with the changes in power structures (Zhou). The

concept of Wen and Wu was seen as a purely Chinese one; one unable to be obtained by foreign men who were outside the “orbit of civilization” (Louie 1065). As China suffered years of Western Imperialism, the idea of the Chinese man was broken down and recreated. Western views on Chinese masculinity have always been rather negative. Often viewing Chinese men as “weak, immature, selfish, and impotent”, the West reserved the title of “true masculinity” for figures such as Rambo and Takakura Ken (Song 407). But this can hardly be seen as a fair argument. China has come from a culture that has a long history of androgyny. Having no word that specifically points to cultural masculinity or femininity implies that in Imperial Chinese times, interactions were more important than a linguistic term identifying gender as a social configuration (Jankowiak 3).

Masculinity in China has always been rather fluid. In early dynasties education was stressed as the path that men are expected to take. Civil Service Exams granted literary degrees, which would secure one a position within the government. Open only to males, these exams were highly competitive, placing the sole importance on the mastery of the Confucian Classics. These exams required a high amount of time devoted to the studying and memorization of these texts, which would require one to have enough income and resources to allow one this “leisure” time. Because of this, most students who attained these degrees came from wealthier backgrounds. Like any modern academic degree, these literary degrees awarded one a certain amount of power and privilege, which is clearly justified in the Confucian *Analects*: “those who study well should be rewarded with official posts” (Louie 1065). These exams, closely tied with the concept of Wen, were socially reserved for the rulers of the society: “those who work with their brains rule, those who work with their brawn are ruled” (Louie 1066). These “brawn” workers can be defined as those who embrace the Wu personae: working-class men, long-time bachelors, and bandits (Jankowiak 5). Eventually the Civil Service Exams were abolished as China was ripped from its traditional roots and dragged into “modernity”.

The route of traditional learning in China was traded in for a modern education, as education had always focused on the past. Up until the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), Chinese education focused on the memorization and understanding of Confucian Classics and commentaries on these Classics (The Confucian Classics and Civil Service Examinations). As China underwent forced imperialism at the hands of many Western Countries, the education system chosen by China changed to suit a new culture. This new education system, focusing on foreign languages, business, and science represented a break away from tradition for practices that were “abhorred” by the Confucians: profitable activities (Louie 1076). Confucian texts heavily emphasized traditions, rituals, social conduct, and filial piety; to expend one’s energy for the sake of profit was something that was strongly rejected by Confucian thought. China underwent a time of political fragmentation, battling warlords, fractured political parties, and Japanese invasion; eventually some semblance of order was gained once the Chinese Communist Party gained full control of China by defeating the Kuomintang, which retreated to Taiwan where it became the Republic of China. During the reign of Mao Zedong, men underwent a period of emasculation “through regimentation and mental ‘castration” (Song 407). Under Mao’s guidance, the Communist Party stressed a “selfless and asexual...revolutionary hero” that played the lead role in their ideas of class struggle (Song 406). This “gender equality” reformed the role of Chinese women to be the same as the role of Chinese men; this act “masculinized” Chinese women, but at the same time it “feminized” Chinese men. But even during Mao’s rule the Wen personae, emphasized as “literary masculinity,” was the “masculine ideal,” rather than the Wu personae (Jankowiak 5).

After China eventually emerged from under Mao’s control, the Chinese people slowly gained a small sense of independence to define themselves as Chinese rather than Communist. Many Chinese writers began to question the fall of powerful China and felt that the declining Chinese masculinity led to the humiliation that China faced during the Opium Wars and following events (Song 408). There have been many ideas

of what masculinity means for Chinese men, such as one “who brings honor to the motherland and safeguards national dignity on the international stage” (Song 409). Finally out of the reach of dictators and foreign countries, a sense of “nationalism” began to be the center of masculinity (Song 409). This sense of nationalism exploited the growing trend of capitalism, which became the driving force behind the Chinese “establishment” of masculinity. The influence of capitalist ideas in China began to gain power as masculinity was eventually beginning to take on the definition of wealth (Song 410). Quite a surprising view given the fact that capitalist views are a Western idea, and the masculine nationalist figure in China was Anti-Western and Anti-Japanese. This acceptance sheds light on the fact that although most Chinese tend to hold very strong nationalist emotions, they value usefulness above this powerful feeling. This view is excellently stated by Zhou Enlai, commenting on the direction China was taking during Mao’s rule: “We need to be inclusive; as long as it is useful to us, be it native or foreign, ancient or modern, we will use it!” (Hung 69). Images of masculinity are greatly portrayed through Chinese media, but even then one must use caution when analyzing them. China remains a Communist nation with heavy capitalist tendencies, and the government requires tight controls over most public venues. Film and television producers are at the mercy of the State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television (SARFT), now known as the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television of the People’s Republic of China (SAPPRFT), and this group is under the control of the Propaganda Department of the Communist Party. This department ensures that film and television is “ethically inspiring and uplifting” (Song 411). Because of this, the portrayals of masculinity through mainland Chinese media are highly regulated, and thus these representations must be viewed with caution. With such strict regulation the validity of these portrayals is not always accurate. Other territories, such as Taiwan and Hong Kong, have a higher degree of individual choice in the production of television programs and movies. Hong Kong, which is now under Chinese rule, has experienced many years

of British rule, and Taiwan has been under the rule of the Republic of China, both of which have become more open in recent years. Thus, many of the movies coming from these territories are often considered controversial in many Asian countries, and are thus used as an outlet to portray sensitive circumstances which are often regulated in mainland China.

But before looking at the examples within film, it is important to define several types of Chinese masculinities. As China has followed Western ideas of capitalism, so too have capitalist images of masculinity entered China. Two major categories of masculinity can be defined as “new man” and “new lad” (Song & Lee 354). Both of these identities are said to be “media-created and media-driven and...defined by consumption” (Song & Lee 354). Both the “new man” and “new lad” styles contain cultural features of “hegemonic masculinity”, but they also are very opposite to each other in many respects. The “new man” is said to have feminist trends, be narcissistic, “ambivalent in his sexuality”, and anti-sexist; he is a consumer, not a creator (Song & Lee 354). The “new lad” on the other hand is said to be a “backlash” against the “new man”. He is the embodiment of the “hegemonic masculinity in a consumer society” (Song & Lee 355). “Sexy girls, risky sports, and sexism” are said to be the characteristics of the “new lad” (Song & Lee 355). These two categories are, of course, not all inclusive. They merely represent two extremes of heterosexual masculinities.

Homosexual masculinities are not given as powerful an image, as China has become a “homophobic...patriarchal system” (Chan 142). This homophobic culture is not a “Chinese” phenomenon, rather it was something that arose alongside Western culture in China. “In many periods homosexuality was widely accepted and even respected, had its own formal history, and had a role in shaping Chinese political institution, modifying social conventions, and spurring artistic creation. A sense of tradition lasted up until this century, when it fell victim to a growing sexual conservatism and the Westernization of morality” (Hinsch 4). Chinese history is ripe with many tales of homosexuality, but these did not last through the implementation of Western ideas and Communist rule. The main focus of the

Communists was to re-educate the people, and in order to do this many aspects of Chinese culture were either destroyed or appropriated and used for a different purpose. Therefore much of Chinese cinema was dominated by “political education films” (Chan 144). Even places which are thought of as more open and liberal, such as Hong Kong and Taiwan, held rather conservative stances when it came to homosexuality. Taiwan grew for many years under the KMT (Kuomintang) leadership. The KMT, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, was a highly conservative group, but Taiwan gradually embraced a liberal view (Chan 145). Hong Kong also began with a negative view on homosexuality, as under British rule “gay male sex between consenting adults...was considered a criminal act”, up until 1991 when this law was changed (Chan 145). Because of the quick progression of Taiwan and Hong Kong, they have become the outlets for much of the Chinese speaking world for homosexual cinema and media. With the differences between these two territories and mainland China, it can be difficult to say that these movies represent homosexual individuals within mainland China. As long as this is taken into consideration, the use of Taiwanese and Hong Kong cinema can be used to shed light on “Chinese” portrayals of homosexual masculinity, due to the high degree of foreign influence these countries have experienced when compared to Mainland China. Although with the establishment of bars, websites, magazines, and organizations, homosexual and “gendered men are becoming more visible” (Song 409)

For examples of the different types of masculinities I will be using several different Mainland Chinese movies as examples, as well as a joint Hong Kong-Mainland China production. The films which will be used in this paper are “Shower”, “Beijing Bicycle”, “Together”, and “Lan Yu”. “Shower” is a film about a man with two sons who runs a bathhouse in Beijing. One of his sons is a successful business man, while his other son was born with a mental handicap. The older son, Da Ming, returns home after receiving a letter from the younger son, Er Ming. Da Ming ends up staying with his father and brother for some time as his father’s health begins to decline due to his age. The father’s health decreases faster as he

learns that the hutong that his bathhouse is located in is set to be demolished for new construction. Eventually the father dies, and Da Ming is left to support Er Ming.

“Beijing Bicycle” is a film about a young boy, Xiao Gui, who moves to Beijing without much to his name. Luckily he receives employment at an express bicycle delivery service company. Each delivery boy is given a new, high-end bicycle, the cost of which partially taken out of his wages until it is paid off. Unfortunately Xiao Gui’s bicycle is stolen just as he had finished paying it off. Without a bicycle he is fired as he now has no way to make deliveries. He goes in search of his bicycle, and finds that it with a school boy named Jian. Jian is a boy from a poor family who purchased this bicycle from a peddler who steals and sells bicycles. After some back and forth between the two boys, Xiao Gui goes to Jian’s father who gives the bicycle back to Xiao Gui after a heated fight with Jian. This does not stop Jian, who tracks Xiao Gui down and harasses him until the boys decide to “share” the bicycle. Jian, who has a crush on a young girl, Xiao Xiao, attacks another boy who has obvious feelings for her. Before he can return the bicycle, Xiao Gui and Jian are caught by the courier and his friends. Xiao Gui and Jian are chased and beaten. The movie ends with the ever loved bicycle being destroyed in the attack.

“Together” is a film about a poor father, Liu Cheng, who takes his son, a violin prodigy, to Beijing to receive further training. Along the way the son, Xiao Chun, befriends a young woman, Lili, who makes her living dating wealthy men. Liu Cheng searches for a teacher for Xiao Chun, and eventually finds Professor Jiang, to tutor Xiao Chun. But later Liu Cheng hears of Professor Yu, a highly successful professor who Liu Cheng believes can help Xiao Chun achieve fame. In order to convince Professor Yu to accept Xiao Chun as his student, Liu Cheng admits that he is not Xiao Chun’s father. In fact, Liu Cheng found Xiao Chun abandoned as a baby with a violin in a train station. Professor Yu thus agrees to take in Xiao Chun, and Liu Cheng prepares to return home. Before he is able to do so, Xiao Chun abandons the performance Professor Yu chose for him, and chases Liu Cheng to the train station, where this film ends.

The last film is "Lan Yu". This film is about a young student, Lan Yu, in Beijing who is struggling to afford his tuition. He turns to prostituting himself to older, wealthy men. He ends up falling for a wealthy businessman by the name of Chen. Lan Yu and Chen have a semi rocky relationship, up until Chen meets a woman during one of his business meetings. He leaves Lan Yu with a house he had built for them to marry this woman. The marriage does not work out and the two divorce. A few years later Chen comes across Lan Yu and they slowly begin seeing each other again. But their time together is not long lived as Lan Yu dies in a construction accident.

These films all contain many different instances of the capitalist impact on masculinity. The path to masculinity in a capitalist culture takes on the form of consumer goods, which includes clothing, location and types of housing, modes of transportation, vices such as cigarettes and alcohol, etc. These goods often times affect the personality of the man by way of his personal mannerisms, attitudes towards others, willingness to spend money, etc. As mentioned earlier, masculinity is a personality characteristic that has been through intense fluctuation throughout Chinese history. There are still occurrences of "traditional" masculine ideals holding fast in the ever changing world of modern China. Before delving deeper into these films it is important to realize that, as films, they merely portray societal "norms" and personal opinions rather than a true, unbiased view of "masculinity." But while these films represent a small portion of a society's views, they have the ability to influence a wide audience due to their ease of distribution. These films are capable of influencing a wide array of people by striking at the heart of many cultural norms, and because of this their power must be carefully studied.

Now I will begin to break down what I feel are the most prominent examples of capitalist impacts upon masculinity within these films.

Attire

Power is able to take on many forms, one of which is physical power. This is the type of "Wu" power discussed before. Military force made up

the bulk of this area of power in traditional China. But this not the type of power that has won the battle of Capitalism which has slowly taken over China. The new symbol of power within China is the "businessman" and his access to financial power. Donning a suit and tie, this man rules his domain with his knowledge of economics. This is a power that would constitute the "Wen" side of the Chinese power spectrum. Chinese cinema is ripe with the "businessman" who is recognizable mainly by his attire; power suits and briefcases, which follow this figure into the new world of Chinese business. In the opening scene of "Shower," we are met with a city scene. A man, presumably a businessman in a suit and tie carrying a briefcase, walks up to an automated public shower booth. This man plays no role in the film, and is merely a part of the establishing scene for the film. However this preliminary image of "power" sets the tone for the rest of the film. The elder son, Da Ming, first arrives at his father's bath house in Beijing wearing a button down dress shirt and slacks while carrying a briefcase. Coming from Shenzhen, Da Ming is a successful businessman who is well dressed and educated. His father, Old Liu, is an old man who dresses in clothing that is typical for his manner of work. Baggy pants, old baggy t-shirts or tank tops, and cloth shoes. Old Liu has a hand in every aspect of the bathhouse, from repairing the building, cleaning, giving massages, or washing the customers, Old Liu is always hard at work. On top of all of this, Old Liu is also the only one caring for Er Ming, his younger son who has a mental disability. The men who frequent Old Liu's bath house all dress in similar style to Old Liu, when they are not relaxing in towels, they are all in the same baggy pants and shirts. It is clear that these men all live in the hutongs of Beijing with no access to the professional corporate world. Their finances allow them the small luxury of joining the daily community that the bathhouse provides. They do not have the financial backing to get them modern, fashionable clothing, entrance into a higher class bathhouse, or access to modern consumer goods and luxuries.

In the opening scene of "Beijing Bicycle" we are met with several young men interviewing for a job. These young men are all in dirty, tattered clothing. The woman performing the interview

has a hard time understanding some of them due to their accent, and is not shy when venting her frustration with them. This interview is being performed for a job as a bicycle delivery boy. Once hired, all these boys are given uniforms. These uniforms are nothing special, merely short sleeved dress-style shirts in a sandy tan color with the company logo on them. These uniforms, and a bicycle, are all presented to them but the manager of the company, a man, in a full suit and tie, who has a very dominating presence in the way he addresses his new employees. Later in the film we meet Jian, a high school student who ends up purchasing the stolen bicycle of the main character Xiao Gui. Jian attends a higher class high school that requires uniforms which are much dressier when compared to the tracksuit style uniforms in most Chinese high schools. Similar to the suits of businessmen, Jian and his fellow classmates all look to be of higher class than many of the people they interact with on the streets, of which most are wearing clothing similar to those of the bathhouse patrons in "Shower". Although Jian is not a member of the upper class, he attempts to use his clothing to gain the privileges which are awarded to this social class. Another style is seen towards the end of "Beijing Bicycle". Jian's "girlfriend" XiaoXiao begins seeing a new boy after she and Jian had a falling out due to the troubles with "Jian's" bicycle. This new boy has a very edgy look to him. Dyed orange hair that's always hanging in his face, constantly wearing sunglasses, large baggy shirts, jeans, and leather jackets. This is a style that is clearly foreign. This boy and all his friends share this style of dress, which represents a shift in both generation and social status. Like Jian, they are not members of the upper-class, but through the use of clothing they attempt to gain access to luxuries outside of their true status. They represent men of the new generation, and removed from the high class professional world, this style represents a "street masculinity".

In "Together," Liu Cheng dresses in the same manner of most the "laborers" in the other films. Old baggy clothes, and as this film takes place in the colder months, layers upon layers. His "son", Xiao Chun, dresses in a manner identical to him. Xiao Chun's first teacher in Beijing, Teacher Jiang, is a music teacher who has earned himself a

position at one of Beijing's top music schools. Teacher Jiang, who tutors students from wealthy families, dresses in the same fashion as these "laborers". Baggy slacks and dress shirt, with a ratty sweater on top, and the most noticeable feature of Teacher Jiang: his hair, which is forever unkempt. But even with his uncouth appearance, Teacher Jiang is highly respected by those around him because of his achievements and ability in the music world. Although Teacher Jiang is highly respected, especially by Liu Cheng, he is quickly replaced when a more successful teacher is found. Professor Yu is a highly successful professor, clean cut, always well dressed in suits and properly fitting attire, and is highly interested in Xiao Chun's talent. Believing that Professor Yu's social and financial status will grant him the ability to raise Xiao Chun to the same status, Liu Cheng feels he has no choice but to pull Xiao Chun from Teacher Jiang's tutelage. Teacher Jiang is obviously hurt by this act, but at the same time he seems to display a sense of understanding regarding Liu Cheng's decision. Liu Cheng is so trusting of Professor Yu's ability that he is willing to place the care of his son in the hands of someone who is nearly a stranger to both of them, and to betray the goodwill of Teacher Jiang, who had gone out of his way to assist Xiao Chun.

"Lan Yu" is not different in the regards of using clothing to relay personal power. The opening scene is of a man shaving in a mirror, once he finishes shaving, he dons a suit and jacket and leaves the small apartment. This man, Chen Handong, is a successful, homosexual businessman in Beijing. Through most of the film, he is always well dressed in suits and ties, and at the very least in business casual attire. He happens to come across a young man who is the typical "starving college student." This young man, Lan Yu, is struggling to support himself and his education, and has essentially turned to prostitution in order to earn money. Lan Yu, is always dressed very casually, in sweaters and slacks. Chen always holds himself in a very dominant posture, using his powerful presence to control the situations around him. Several times throughout the film Lan Yu and Chen meet outside when it is very cold. Chen is always wearing a long business-style trench coat and

scarf on top of his suit. Lan Yu is dressed the same as always, only with a jacket thrown on top. Chen obviously does not feel that this is enough for the winter months, as he repeatedly tells Lan Yu that he looks cold, and even gives him his scarf. Chen was already supplying Lan Yu with a steady stream of "income", and this added to his willingness to give Lan Yu his winterwear serves as an example of Chen's display of his financial and social status. Later in the film, as Chen is waiting to pick Lan Yu up on the campus, a young man dressed only in a tank top and shorts jogs by in the cold. Chen is obviously taken to him and begins to chat. This young man is impressed with Chen's manner of dress, as well as his car, and agrees to meet Chen again. When they eventually meet up in Chen's apartment, Chen gives this boy several speedos to try on. This young man has a very muscular physique and chooses clothing to show off his body. It is clear that this young man is physically powerful, but he is treated by Chen as though he does not have much of a brain. Encouraging him to be a model, Chen makes it clear that he is interested in this boy merely for his physical appearance. Even though this man is physically powerful, he does not have any power beyond what his looks can gain him.

In all these films the appearance of each character speaks volumes to their personality and individual desires. Through the use of clothing, they announce their place in the social world surrounding them. Business suits give the image of someone powerful, successful, educated, and often times wealthy. Such meticulous dress requires time and money in order to maintain. The lowly men in baggy pants and shirts are often older men, who have lived their lives and are now enjoying retirement as much as possible. The men who dress like this but are not retired are the uneducated and poor laborers. Working the low paying jobs such as cooks and construction workers, they have neither the time nor energy to focus on their appearance; they are merely trying to survive day to day. The reactions to one's manner of dress is very clear. The powerful, well-dressed men are always respected, and sometimes feared. They represent the success of a capitalist lifestyle, with their access to higher salaries, luxury goods, and beneficial treatment from peers. The lower class men are merely

laborers, the legs of society. They are often not respected, and depending on the class of someone, they are often treated as though they are nothing. But even though the powerful men represent a standard to strive for, they often times sacrifice many different aspects in their life in order to achieve their standard of living. Their glorification of money and power blinds them from the things they are missing in their life. And only by losing their access to money and power do they find what they were truly looking for. Presentation is everything, and if someone's appearance is not up to the standard, they will suffer the societal consequences, but following societal pressures also has its consequences.

Tradition

Tradition is something that is extremely important in China. Their traditional roots are ones that are difficult to ignore, even in the ever changing world of Modern China. With a culture that tends to place such emphasis on the past, it is clear to see why the Chinese cling so strongly to their traditions. The capitalist lifestyle requires one to nearly reject these traditions in exchange for the pursuit of capital gain. "Shower" is an excellent example of the fixation of tradition. Old Liu's bathhouse is extremely traditional with tiled, communal bath tubs, public showers, and open air beds for resting after a massage. Many of Old Liu's clients are of his generation, but there are many younger men who frequent his establishment as well. It is clear that Old Liu will work at this bathhouse until his dying day, and he does. After the death of his father, Da Ming was planning on closing the bathhouse, but Er Ming could not bear to let that happen, and attempted to open the bathhouse on his own. So moved from this act, Da Ming assists his brother, and even calls in all the old employees. Taking his father's place, Da Ming runs the bathhouse in the exact manner that his father had, until the government steps in and forces him to close it, as the hutong in which the bathhouse was located was set to be demolished. Capitalism has a way easing the pain of destroying the past. Da Ming's decision to remain with Er Ming and continue the operations of the bathhouse, which caused him to lose his

wife who was waiting for him in Shenzhen, is a strong example of filial piety, one of China's most cherished traditions. He put aside his personal life and his lucrative career in order to continue his father's legacy the best he could.

In "Beijing Bicycle" Xiao Gui is the picture of dedication and hard work. Upon being employed, he takes his job very seriously. Going above and beyond the requirements of his position, Xiao Gui ensures that every delivery he makes is fulfilled. Once his bicycle is stolen, he is fired from his job as he now has no way to make deliveries. He makes a deal with his boss, one which the boss does not believe will come true, that he will be rehired if he can find his bicycle. After spending days and nights on the streets searching, he finally finds his bicycle in the possession of Jian. His dedication and hard work is contrasted with Jian, the boy who purchased his stolen bicycle from a bicycle peddler. Jian also comes from a poorer background, but still had parental support, while Xiao Gui is working to support himself. Xiao Gui earned the bicycle due to his hard work at the delivery company, while Jian on the other hand stole money from his father and purchased the bicycle because of his father's unfulfilled promises to purchase him a bicycle. Ignoring the fact that both the money used to purchase the bicycle, and the bicycle itself, were both stolen, Jian feels that the bicycle is rightfully his. Xiao Gui endures multiple beatings and muggings from Jian and his group of friends over this bicycle. At the end of the film the bicycle is destroyed as both Xiao Gui and Jian are mugged, but even then Xiao Gui does not give up on his bicycle, and takes the broken bicycle home with him. Xiao Gui was merely attempting to make his way in life, not wishing to become rich or powerful. He was dedicated to his job and believed in doing what was right. Jian was fully focused on increasing his position within the social ladder of China. Stealing from and lying to his family in order to purchase him goods which he believes will build his image, Jian goes against the Chinese tradition of filial piety in exchange for his own benefit.

"Together" has another powerful example of filial piety. Liu Cheng spends his life working hard to raise Xiao Chun as his son. Putting himself aside, he saves up enough money to take Xiao

Chun to Beijing in order help him pursue a career as a violinist. Eventually Liu Cheng finds a teacher, Professor Yu, that has the ability and potential to take Xiao Chun far in the world of music. Liu Cheng arranges for Xiao Chun to stay with Professor Yu to be trained. Professor Yu is hesitant about taking on this responsibility, but is finally persuaded once Liu Cheng admits that he is not Xiao Chun's father, rather he found Xiao Chun abandoned as a baby in a train station. Xiao Chun is not pleased with this decision, and wishes to return home with his father. In an attempt to dissuade this feeling, Professor Yu tells Xiao Chun the truth about Liu Cheng. This does not change Xiao Chun's feelings towards Liu Cheng, he still sees him as his father. Xiao Chun eventually runs away from Professor Yu's house, leaving behind all hope for success and fame to follow Liu Cheng. Professor Yu, blinded by the opportunity Xiao Chun's talent could bring him, does all he can to keep Xiao Chun from returning to his father. Even though Liu Cheng is merely the adoptive father of Xiao Chun, Xiao Chun understands that he has an obligation to him. Xiao Chun is a shining example of one committed to filial piety, he is not blinded by the capitalist gain his talent could bring him.

In "Lan Yu" we see a different side of filial piety. Chen Handong is not extremely close with his family, but he does see them from time to time during holidays. Chen, having strong homosexual feelings, is often on the look out for younger men. He eventually meets Lan Yu through one of his friends, and as he and Lan Yu begin to grow closer to each other, he has a house built for the both of them to live in, which in China is an extremely expensive action. During one of his business meetings, Chen grows close with a female translator. They begin to see each other often and he ends up falling in love with her. Finally, Chen decides he is going to marry her, which requires him to leave Lan Yu behind. Still caring for him, Chen signs the house over to Lan Yu, and the two part ways on rather rocky ground. His reasoning for leaving Lan Yu was: "人長大了就得結婚生子，我一直是這麼想的" (When a man grows up he needs to marry and have children, I've always believed this). The Chinese "need" for children, primarily sons, is ground in the Chinese belief of ancestors. This belief states that one's ancestors "literally live

among their descendants, not only biologically, but also socially and psychologically” (Lopez, 26). Without sons one’s ancestors would starve in this in-between world. As Chen and his new wife are both highly successful, they are the picturesque power-couple. With money to spend, they spend their time buying and selling houses, attending high-class dinner parties, and so on. His wife becomes pregnant, and Chen is overjoyed. He begins planning for how they will raise their child, but little does Chen know that his wife is anything but pleased about the situation. She ends up having an abortion, and this leads to the break down in their marriage. Chen was drawn to this woman because of her success and talent, so much so that he even threw away a relationship with someone who truly cared for him. Chen’s pursuit of capitalist gain, in addition to a family with someone who was merely searching for financial gain, led to an expensive and emotional divorce.

In each film, there is the presence of tradition, and each character within the films has different reactions to these traditions. There are those who fight against capitalist greed and choose to defend their traditions. And there are those who choose to ignore these traditions and chase a powerful and wealthy lifestyle. While many Chinese traditions are slowly suffering at the hands of time, there are many Chinese people who are still attempting to keep them alive. The preference towards sons over daughters has decreased as the Chinese are now realizing that they are now facing a dangerous gender imbalance with men outnumbering women, with 117.6 boys being born for every 100 girls (Larson). As the Chinese are coming to understand that this would be extremely harmful to Chinese society, they are able to slowly let this tradition of “son veneration” go. As more and more Chinese begin to follow the path of the capitalist lifestyle, the traditions, once so respected in China, are beginning to disappear.

Masculine Attitude

There are many who believe that masculinity is all in the mind. The way a man interacts with the world around him speaks volumes to his

personal sense of masculinity. Often times hypermasculine men are often very insecure about their masculinity, with the more secure men comfortable in a more subdued masculinity. The actions a man takes says a great deal about himself. These films all feature men in different classes of society, and they all have different ideas of how to live their lives. Below are several overarching ways that the men in these films have acted. These actions reveal each individual’s personal background, social class, and feelings, but moreover they reveal the way in which each character changes his masculine features in reaction to the capitalist society in which he is living.

Capitalist Gain

In “Shower” Old Liu and Da Ming have very contrasting styles of masculinity. Old Liu feels that it is his position to labor away in the bathhouse supporting himself and Er Ming. He does not feel that he needs to be financially successful or powerful in order to make his mark in the world. His type of masculinity is one of the quiet laborer, silently making his way through life as comfortably as he can. Da Ming on the other hand, went to college, became educated and successful with a powerful job. Old Liu makes his opinions on how life should be known when he and Da Ming are discussing their lives over dinner. Da Ming asks Old Liu how he has been and he replies: “能吃，能睡，能干活” (I can eat, I can sleep, I can work). As long as he is able to survive, he is content with life. Old Liu has very little control over his life, and is at the mercy of his customers and the society around him. This is easily seen when Old Liu receives the notice that his bathhouse, and the entire hutong which he lives in, is due for demolition. He is going to lose his home, history, career, and identity. He has no power to save any of these things. Da Ming, on the other hand, has a much more flexible style of masculinity. With his education and experience, he is able to remove his power from a physical place, and place it in a fluid state within his society. Old Liu obviously does not understand this type of life as he scolds Da Ming after Er Ming had gone missing while under Da Ming’s care: “大

活人！你看不起他，你看不起我” (Big man! You look down on him, you look down on me.) While Da Ming was attempting to purchase a ticket back to Shenzhen, Er Ming wanders off. Old Liu feels that Da Ming was careless in caring for Er Ming, only focusing on returning to his upper class life. Old Liu is acknowledging the fact that Da Ming has raised himself to a higher social status than he and Er Ming. This statement shocks Da Ming, as he has not recognized how he has been acting towards his father and brother, and this is his turning point. Upon realizing that his father was in good health in the beginning of the movie he was ready to return home and to work. So focused on his pursuit of wealth and power, that he rarely had time for his only family. This may be seen as dedication to work, but often it is seen as dedication to money, as he does not work a physically laborious job. Rather he works with his mind, and is paid a much higher salary than those who work with their body. Once Da Ming loses his father, he realizes the price he had paid for his past decisions. He lost out on time spent with his father and brother, and he is then forced to make a decision: return home to his wife and career, or take care of Er Ming.

Masculine Arrogance

This dedication to work is nothing new, as it is seen in “Beijing Bicycle”. Xiao Gui is highly dedicated to his work. But “Beijing Bicycle” introduces us to a different type of attitude. Jian comes from a lower class family, but seems to believe that he is worthy of a higher class. Jian attends a high class school with students who come from rather wealthy families. Paying no mind to how hard his father must work to put him into such a school, Jian feels he deserves more. His father had been promising him that he would purchase him a new bicycle if he did well on his tests. Again and again Jian passed his tests, but his father could not afford a new bicycle. Jian, too self-centered and arrogant to understand this, steals money from his father and purchases a bicycle from a bicycle thief. When Xiao Gui attempts to take his bicycle back, as it is rightfully his in the first place, Jian does not seem to care that Xiao Gui had put in so much time and effort

for this bicycle. He feels that because he had been promised a bicycle in exchange for good grades, that he deserves it regardless of who must be hurt for him to have his way. As bicycles are a popular thing for Jian’s classmates, he feels that he must have one in order to fit in. Not only did this bicycle represent his social standing among his peers, it also increased his ability to attract a girlfriend. He loses his girlfriend, XiaoXiao, when she questions his attachment to the bicycle: “別生氣了，不就一輛車嗎？丟了就丟了。你再買一輛不就完了？” (Don’t get mad. Isn’t it only a bike? If it’s gone, it’s gone. Can’t you just buy a new one and be done with it?) He becomes angry with her over this remark and tells her to leave after she offers to give him a ride home: “誰要你帶我嗎？” (Who asked you to give me a ride?) The thought of a girl riding him home on her bicycle is a pure insult to his masculinity. His brush off of XiaoXiao causes her to lose interest in Jian. Jian is too caught up in his own feelings to realize that he has hurt her. Once he and Xiao Gui come to the agreement of sharing the bicycle, he thinks that he and XiaoXiao will be together again. But when he finds that she has moved on to a new boy, he is unable to control his rage and jealousy. Once his emotions begin to boil over, he follows XiaoXiao and her new boyfriend, and assaults him with a brick. Due to this, Jian, and unfortunately Xiao Gui who is caught in the crossfire, are beaten by XiaoXiao’s new boyfriend and his group of friends. Jian loses his girlfriend, his bicycle, and his status among his family due to his desires to make himself appear more “masculine”.

Filial Masculinity

“Together” brings us a more caring type of masculinity, which is in a position opposite to that of the characters in the other films. Xiao Chun is a young teenage boy, and as most boys his age do, he becomes interested in the opposite gender. Within his violin music books he has taped in magazine pictures of fashion models. Liu Cheng happens upon these photos one evening as Xiao Chun is sleeping. Nothing is mentioned about these pictures, and everything goes back to “normal”. But after Liu Cheng finds a place for the two of them to live, they meet their neighbor Lili,

a young woman who lives off the generosity of wealthy men. Xiao Chun becomes close with Lili, and they end up doing many things together, shopping, going out to eat, discussing their lives, etc. One day during a shopping trip Lili goes to a very high end clothing store to try on a fur coat that was displayed in the window. It is clear that she truly wants this coat, but one look at the price tag and she knows that she would never be able to afford it. Xiao Chun sees her disappointment in not having the money to purchase the coat, and he decides he must do something for her. Doing the unthinkable, he sells his most beloved possession: his violin. Leaving the coat at Lili's door, she is under the impression that this is a gift from her current "boyfriend," unaware of the enormous sacrifice made by Xiao Chun. At this same time, Liu Cheng had found Professor Yu, the professor who had the ability to take Xiao Chun to great heights in the music world. In order for Professor Yu to accept Xiao Chun as his tutee, he must first hear him play. But when Liu Cheng pressures Xiao Chun to play, he finds the violin case empty. Disappointment and rage fill Liu Cheng when Xiao Chun finally tells him what he had done. As he is very young, Xiao Chun does not realize the risk he has put his future in. His violin is his key to success, and without it he is nothing but a laborer like Liu Cheng. He sees a woman he cares for, someone he sees as a mother or older sister, as he never had either in his life, Xiao Chun takes it upon himself to sacrifice himself for the happiness of Lili. Liu Cheng is sent into a rage because of Xiao Chun's actions. Scolding him, Liu Cheng takes Xiao Chun's music book and begins ripping out all the pictures of women pasted inside. Wanting only success for Xiao Chun, Liu Cheng had made great sacrifices in order to afford this opportunity. Not blinded by financial gain, neither Liu Cheng or Xiao Chun think of their own well-being. They focus upon the happiness of others, and make sacrifices which brings financial hardships to themselves. This familial aspect has become something that is seen by a Chinese audience as the "pinnacle of masculinity" (Huang et. al). In television programs when male characters are shown "preserv[ing] their kids from harm [and] guid[ing] them through difficulties in a proper

way" the male is praised, as they are proving their worth as paternal figures (Huang et. al).

Sexual Masculinity

In "Lan Yu" we find a new type of masculinity that is more in touch with the stereotypical Western image of the highly sexualized man. Chen is a highly sexual character in this film, constantly looking for a new conquest. In the beginning of the film we meet Chen and his co-worker Liu discussing Liu's "friend's younger brother". Liu tells Chen that he is a college student who needs money, and Chen begins to pressure Liu into them all having dinner together. In the next scene, the "younger brother," Lan Yu, is in Chen's apartment. This is the beginning of their "relationship", which at this time should really be called a "financial arrangement". Chen gives Lan Yu a steady stream of money in exchange for his companionship. Unfortunately for Lan Yu, he slowly begins to develop emotions for Chen, and this complicates their arrangement when Chen is caught being "unfaithful". Chen brings back a boy he met on the college campus one day while waiting for Lan Yu. Lan Yu, unexpectedly, decides to show up unannounced to Chen's apartment just as this new boy steps out of the bathroom completely naked. This causes a rift between the two, and Chen makes clear his opinion of their situation. Chen feels that they should be "高高興興的，要不然就算了" (happy, otherwise forget it). Once feelings begin to change their relationship, Chen feels it is time for them to end things, as this was merely a situation for fun for him. Chen uses his financial resources to attract younger men for his conquests. Treating Lan Yu as a momentary diversion, Chen believes that he will be able to find a new companion. This is similar to the hegemonic definition of masculinity as "be seen as highly sexualized with women" (Men and Masculinities). Although in this case, it is towards men rather than women. But slowly he realizes that all the conquests he finds are not enough to keep his true emotions at bay. Upon running into legal issues with his company, and losing it and his access to his financial power, Chen realizes

that he had developed strong feelings for Lan Yu, and this begins to complicate his life.

Within each of these films the characters have different attitudes regarding their actions. The men who are after capitalist gain, such as Chen and Jian, do almost anything in order to maintain their status. Their appearance in the eyes of those around them is extremely important to them. Often, they will take advantage of those around them in order to keep this appearance up. And then there are those men who choose to put themselves on hold in order to assist someone else. Liu Cheng and Xiao Chun both represent this type of character, as they rarely think of themselves before thinking of someone else. The greed brought on the capitalist path blinds these characters from feeling for the people around him, he merely sees his own success or failure.

Vices

Within all these films, there are certain habits and actions that are reserved for the world of men. Cigarettes and alcohol are heavily consumed by nearly every man in these films. In "Shower" the men who frequent Old Liu's bathhouse are often seen smoking and drinking Baijiu. Gambling is also seen in this setting through cricket fighting or Chinese checkers. One of the popular diversions in the bathhouse is playing games which require betting. These games become very heated and often have groups of onlookers watching the excitement. "Beijing Bicycle" features heavy useage of cigarettes, with both Xiao Gui and Jian smoking with their friends. "Together" and "Lan Yu" both feature women who consume both alcohol and cigarettes, but these women are cast in a different light. Throughout "Together" we see men smoking in many different settings, both public and private, but the only woman we see smoking is Lili, the young woman who lives off of wealthy "boyfriends". Several times we see her smoking throughout the film, but it is easy to see that she is not of a very "high class". In the opening scene of "Lan Yu" we find a group of people playing pool in a bar. There is only one woman there smoking and playing drinking games. From the way the men treat her, we can tell that she is also not of

very high class. This is a rather interesting phenomenon. Men, regardless of their social rank, can smoke and drink and they are never viewed differently. But women who are of a higher class in society are never seen partaking in either of these activities, and in many studies it has been shown that only 4.2% of women are smokers, when compared with 61% of Chinese men (Hitchman). There are many who attribute the low number of women smokers to social views on gender. Men are "allowed" to partake in morally questionable activities and it is viewed as acceptable. But when women partake in such activities, she is not viewed as a respectable woman (Hitchman). In many countries, the percentage of women who smoke increases with women's access to economic emancipation (Hitchman). But, in China a well defined gender line still exists. Women have gained a small sense of freedom and liberation, but she is still at the mercy of her male counterpart. Only with her beauty and personality can she gain access to economic advancement. The standards which Chinese women are judged are defined by male spectators, and the women who are unable or unwilling to conform to these standards are left behind (Evans 237).

Chinese Masculinity

Upon viewing the different characters within each of these films, we can see the different ways which Chinese men morph their portrayal of masculinity in different situations. Their actions in regards to different Chinese traditions also display the way which Chinese men decide how to act. In most cases when tradition is rejected, it is due to the fact that the character is placing capitalist gain as the paramount goal. When tradition is made the focus, it is typically by a man who has little desire for capitalist gain, instead focusing his attention on relationships and emotion. Through the use of consumer goods, such as clothing, property, vehicles, modern electronics, traveling expenses, etc. the Chinese male is able to flaunt his financial power. As the capitalist lifestyle is one of Western invention, there are many different conventions which have bled into Chinese society. Beginning in the 1980's

with women's fashion, Western influence slowly crept into the world of Chinese men, impacting the way Chinese men handle their masculinity. In the Western world, men are masculinized through the sheer fact of being seen as "sexual and desirable" (Cheney-Rice). Many times people state that "beauty is in the eye of the beholder", but many scientific studies show that this is not the case, and there are certain physical traits which increases an individual's attractiveness. For men a specific body-fat range, a certain waist to hip ratio, broad chin, wide jaw, certain angles of the eyes, etc (Welsh). These traits were shown to be rather consistent as they typically pointed to better mates (Welsh). In the West, these traits have been taken and racialized towards the "majority". The masculine features are given a "white standard", which Asian men (and men of non-white backgrounds) cannot live up to as they genetically do not have these traits (Cheney-Rice). This masculine stereotype has blended into American media, which has been the focal point of much of the world. The Western world in general has paved the way of trendsetting, and the rest of the world has often followed along with these trends. There are many instances within these films of Chinese men taking these trends and turning them into a daily habit. Most times it is a clothing trend which is taken on. The business suit is not only a symbol of wealth and power, it is a symbol of Western imperialism. During the Opium Wars, during which Western powers forced their way into China, an influx of Western ideals entered the traditional world of China. As China slowly began to accept certain pieces of Western tradition, the ancient culture began to take on some fresh features. Many Chinese men began to abandon their traditional clothing for the style of the West. This change was something that was not widely accepted by many Chinese men at the time, but it was something that was unstoppable. The Western world had power to desire, and by appropriating certain aspects of this world, China had more and more access to this power. In each film we can see a Chinese business man using his suit as a symbol of power. Another style of Western dress that we can see appropriated in these films is featured in "Beijing Bicycle". A very Western "90's" style of clothing is seen in this film worn by the character

of XiaoXiao's new boyfriend. Often seen in jeans, baggy T-shirts, leather jackets, and shaggy hair with sunglasses, this is not the style of the average Chinese man at the time. This is a style that can be seen in many "boy-bands" in America at this time. Western styles of clothing for men were designed to have a masculine air, and many cultures have followed these trends attempting to achieve this same sense of masculinity for themselves.

Another defining feature of the Western man that has been taken on by a small majority of Chinese males is physical body image. Chinese men in general are known for their physical size being on the smaller size when compared with the Western world. Being seen to have a leaner musculature, the world of bodybuilding is not something one would immediately associate with the Asian world. There are Asian men who take part in this activity, but they are quite few. In "Lan Yu" we can see the image of the bodybuilding Chinese man in the figure of the boy Chen meets while waiting for Lan Yu on campus. In their first meeting, this boy is in a tank top and shorts while jogging, which shows off his rather bulky musculature. In their second meeting, which takes place in Chen's apartment, this boy is wearing speedos performing traditional flexing poses in the mirror. The adoration of muscles is a Western phenomenon, stemming from "Olympics, Greek or Roman sculptures, or...Norse gods" (Xu). The Western world has a long history of muscle adoration, while the Eastern world has the tradition of emphasizing "literary ability and cultural attainment" as a masculine trait (Xu). America has a more rigid idea of how a man's body should look than Asia does, as American magazines featured "pictures of undressed men 27 percent of the time, whereas Asian magazines only had undressed men 4 percent of the time" (Xu). Even though there is such a low amount of body image issues in China, this issues is "rapidly spreading through Asian countries" (Xu).

As mentioned before, this whole topic of body issue is not as easy to give and take as clothing style. The time and effort required to achieve a well defined musculature, added to the tradition of devaluing muscularity in China (Jankowiak 5), makes this a less chosen path to Western masculinity. Through consumer goods and body

transformation, the Chinese male attempts to follow the capitalist lifestyle by making these aspects a part of his life. A strong sense of masculinity can be obtained by the Chinese man by taking on these foreign concepts, but many sacrifices are made for this decision. While seen as “masculine”, the act of following the capitalist lifestyle causes the Chinese man to give up many of the things which make him “Chinese”. Many of the characters in these films seem to make attempts to shake off their Chinese identity in exchange for a masculine, Western appearance. In “Shower”, Da Ming leaves behind the family business for a college education and moves to an international city for his career. In “Beijing Bicycle”, Jian steals and lies to his father in order to purchase himself goods to increase his standing among his peers. In “Together” Professor Yu attempts to lure Xiao Chun away from his father with promises of success and wealth. And finally “Lan Yu”, the character of Chen attempts to buy love and companionship from others in order to make himself happy. All these films contain a character who is pushing aside traditional aspects of his life in exchange for the pursuit of what he thinks is happiness.

While Western standards of masculinity cannot be said to be the “true” masculinity, it is the standard that has been accepted in China, as they are racing to match the societal advancement that Western countries have achieved. “China was backward throughout its modern history, so we were always seeking the reasons for why the West grew strong...We learned from the West. All of us who are educated have this dream: grow strong and learn from the West” (Osno 136). This view was one that was commonly held by many Chinese who were educated and had the ability to view foreign nations. The power of Western nations became alluring to Chinese society. But when Chinese men attempt to take on foreign, Western ideals in order to chase their capitalist dreams, they run into the issue of being defined as “feminine” when compared to Western counterparts. But even though they are placed in this position, China is still seen to be the more masculine Asian country by some scholars. Due to China’s physical location, which allowed for invasion from foreign enemies, and it’s harsh environments, Chinese

men were required to be “brave” (Potter). But even being masculine in comparison to other Asian countries, it still falls short in comparison to Western countries. While seen as “brave”, Chinese men still do not live up to the Western ideals of masculinity. At most, they are able to fill a role of “marginalized masculinity” within the Western worlds due to their “deficiencies” in race and ability (Men and Masculinities). Race is something that has always been an issue in defining a person, and as there is nothing one can do to change their race, it is something that must be accepted regardless of the loss or gain it brings. Ability is where the appropriation of Western standards comes in. But the appropriation of ideas that are so at odds with one’s own culture can be damaging. Being placed in such a middle ground forces Chinese men to make very radical decisions regarding their pursuit of a capitalist, masculine figure. Masculine in Asia, yet feminine in Western settings, it is a difficult task for the Chinese man to know the path to this capitalist goal. Thus, China has developed it’s own sense of masculinity, one which creates much contention with the outside world. “Contrary to one Western archetype of masculinity that glorifies physical strength (and fit bodies), Eastern male’s masculinity skews towards emphasising inner personality and it puts high value on persistent, ambitious, aspirational, determined, self-motivated, generous, reliable and responsible qualities, rather than single-minded toughness. If a man has a tough identity, he does need to ‘soften’ his temper to ‘balance’ his outside extreme character... Only then can he truly own ‘masculinity’; otherwise, he just is a violent scoundrel (Huang et. al).” Chinese view masculinity to be something fluid and flexible, contrasted with the high rigidity of the West. Focusing on the mind, how one reacts to certain situations, their treatment of others, acting as a protector and supporter of their families, Chinese masculinity has placed great emphasis on traditional ideals. This can all be pulled back to the idea of Wen and Wu. To refresh, Wen is a “intellectual, life posture” (Jankowiak 5). While Wu is a focus on the “brawn” (Louie 1065). This juxtaposition places the Chinese man in a very touchy spot. Does he follow the Western

requirements of masculinity, or does he follow his native Chinese requirements? These films all contain outcomes of each decision. "Shower" shows the regrets of Da Ming after his father dies. His pursuit of the Western form of masculinity on his quest of capitalist gain has cost him time with his father, and now there is nothing more he can do to rectify this situation. Turning to this new style of Chinese masculinity, Da Ming chooses to put his marriage and career in jeopardy in order to now care for his younger brother, Er Ming. In "Beijing Bicycle" we see the downfall of Jian. Doing whatever it takes to gain the goods he feels he requires in order to make a name for himself, Jian eventually alienates himself from his family and friends. In "Lan Yu" we see Chen rejecting those who truly care for him in exchange for new encounters with younger men. When he finally decides to make a move on starting a real relationship, he is first shot down by his wife, and then when he finally accepts the fact that he cares for Lan Yu, Lan Yu dies in a work accident. These three instances show characters who chose a Western path, and have paid for it. Only in "Together" do we see the character of Xiao Chun, who multiple times throughout the film putting aside his well-being and capitalist gain in order to please his family and friends. He is not blinded by greed as the other characters are, rather he places his relationships above all else, and thus this is the only film out of the four to have a happy ending.

Sexuality is one of the main features of the masculine man on a capitalist path, and in the Chinese male is stripped of this in Western settings. They are seen as a "group so devoid of intimacy as to be certifiably sexless" (Cheney-Rice). This is also seen in media perceptions of Asian males "And the way Asian men are depicted in popular culture, [we're] never the object of desire ... we're still very much 'just a friend.'" (Cheney-Rice). Western media highly demasculinizes Asian males, making them nothing more than the supporting roles, never the spotlight. Only in "Lan Yu" do we see a character that actually acknowledges his sexuality. Chen makes no attempt to hold back from someone he finds attractive. From younger men, to his eventual wife, Chen will do whatever he can to sate his desires. This merely acts as

momentary happiness for Chen, as throughout the film he becomes more and more bored with this act and wishes for a "real" relationship.

"Shower", "Beijing Bicycle", "Together", and "Lan Yu" all have heavy influences of the path of capitalist masculinity, but are they trying to say anything about masculinity in China? Chinese masculinity is described as "open-minded yet detail-oriented, aspirational yet practical, entrepreneurial yet family-oriented, persistent yet knowing when to step back" (Huang et. al). This type of masculinity is highly flexible, ready to change. In most of the films there is the businessman figure, but often times this figure is removed from his powerful position through outside forces. In "Shower", Da Ming returns home as a big businessman suit and briefcase. But during his time at home he slowly loses the arrogance he arrived with, he begins to care for his father and brother, and eventually loses his wife and puts his job in jeopardy. In "Beijing Bicycle" Jian begins the film arrogant and cocky. He feels he deserves to have whatever he wants as he's earned it by performing well in school. But once he is forced with deal with Xiao Gui, and eventually losing his girlfriend XiaoXiao, he decides to let Xiao Gui take the bicycle, even if there were other factors causing him to do so. In "Together" Xiao Chun comes from rather poor backgrounds, but through the help of his father, Liu Cheng, he is taken under the wing of a wealthy professor who has the ability to make him successful. But Xiao Chun seems to feel that this is not the correct path for him. Throwing away all his opportunity, he leaves the tutelage of the professor and returns to his father. "Lan Yu", Chen is a businessman focused on success, sex, and tradition. He uses his financial resources to "purchase" company from young men. But when he meets his future wife, he puts all this aside as he feels it's his duty to have children. When this does not work out, they divorce, and soon after his business goes into financial trouble. He is then forced to take assistance from his true love, Lan Yu. But soon after Lan Yu died in an accident and Chen is left alone without a path in life, but thankful that he finally realized that he found true love in Lan Yu.

Within each film, the characters are left ultimately changed, their original selves

recreated into a new man. Undergoing a life changing journey is something that Chinese society sees as highly masculine, "a tough man is the one who bounces back from life's shortcomings and thrives out of failure" (Huang et. al). Rather than emphasizing Western male traits that are said to be masculine, these films are featuring the masculine journeys of many individuals.

Chinese Masculinity and Capitalism

These films all contain different examples of the ways which the path to capitalist gain is harmful to the Chinese man and his sense of masculinity. When pursuing this Western goal, many Chinese men take on Western features believing that this will get them ahead. Chinese society still retains many of its traditional features and this act of taking on Western ideals is something that is new and sometimes exotic. Many times, as we can see from the examples within these films, this leads to difficulty as these two cultures are highly at odds in many aspects and have issues coexisting within a single society. Chinese men, in Western countries and Asia, are unable to achieve a "global" masculinity, as the Chinese idea of masculinity does not seem to be accepted by much of the world. One man recalls "It wasn't until my late 20's...that I heard words like "handsome" and "good looking" used to describe my features" (Adewole). He even goes so far to say "I've always had negative self-image because of my Asian heritage" (Cheney-Rice). Chinese masculinity ends at the borders of China. When China attempts to "Westernize" they focus on standards of living, entertainment, business, and fashion, but there are still hurdles of tradition and culture which must be overcome. Much of the Western world still retains negative views on Chinese, and Asian, men, making the path of capitalist gain difficult. Once cultures begin to blend, so too will the demands of capitalism lessen and more inclusive to people of all races and cultures. With it's eyes constantly focused on the West, ever-growing China is catching up to the global powerhouses. With China's high population, there will be more and

more Chinese spreading to every corner of the globe, bringing with them their traditions and influences. There are already many movements featuring Asian masculinity, such as the *PersuAsian* Project by Idris+Tony. These photographers, one Black and one Asian, decided to do a project featuring Asian masculinity. "Originally conceived as an outlet to depict Asian men in a way most American media won't — i.e. as unabashedly masculine, sexual and desirable" (Cheney-Rice). Projects such as these are attempting break down the barriers that many Asian, and non-White, men face in the capitalist world. They are trying to show that Asian men have the same rights and abilities that anyone has.

The underlying message in all these plots is clear: Western influences regarding the capitalist lifestyle has become a standard which the Chinese use to define themselves. This standard requires one to go against many Chinese traditions. Through appropriation of Western ideas of masculinity, Chinese men are alienating themselves from the East and the West. The Eastern ideas of masculinity are seen as "feminine" in the Western world, emphasizing flexibility and care of family and loved ones. Whereas Western masculinity places importance on the individual by way of muscles and sexual promiscuity. These films show how an individual is portrayed and treated within Chinese society based on the actions he takes. Western influence, and perhaps imperialism to a small degree, still exists within China, impacting the decisions that many Chinese make everyday.

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Working Hard or Hardly Working: An Examination of Factors Contributing to Workloads of Tokugawa Era Peasants

LAURA GRAHAM

PREFACE

The quality of life for the Tokugawa Era peasantry is widely contested. While some scholars believe the peasantry thrived in the late Tokugawa Era, enjoying increased income and free-time others believe the peasants were starving and barely getting by.¹ Scholars cite data regarding increased by-employments, stabilization of population growth and family planning as evidence for both sides of the argument. However it is clear that the quality of life for Tokugawa peasants depended on a number of factors including place of residence, gender, and class. On top of these factors, unforeseen circumstances could greatly affect quality of life at the drop of a hat. While some peasants had to work hard to avoid starvation it is also true that others worked, not out of the pressure to try and survive, but rather to maintain or improve their quality of life. To try and describe the quality of life for the Tokugawa peasantry as a whole involves a great deal of simplification. However, what cannot be denied is that they worked hard: the question remains why? This thesis argues that while all Tokugawa-era peasants did work hard, the degree of hard work required of them was dependent upon region, gender, and class. The region a peasant lived in determined the type of land they would farm, how they would farm it, as well as their chances of experiencing a natural disaster or epidemic. Gender determined the specific type of work was required of a peasant, as well as his or her place in society. The class or socioeconomic status of a peasant would affect whether they worked hard only in agriculture, or if they took up other productive tasks as well. All of these factors influenced how, and more importantly why Tokugawa era peasants worked so hard.

¹ This observation is based on the work of three scholars Thomas Smith, 1958; Conrad Totman, 1986; Mikiso Hane, 1982.

In order to demonstrate the importance of region, gender and class, the two main interpretations of Tokugawa peasant life must first be further explored. In the eyes of scholars such as Totman and Hane the evidence of population stagnation and infanticide suggests that peasants lived miserable lives full of suffering. Under the reign of the Tokugawa shoguns, a hierarchical class system was strictly enforced. This system ranked samurai and their families as the highest social class, followed respectively by peasants, artisans and at the bottom, merchants. Peasants owed taxes to the domainal or shogunal authorities, collected in the form of *koku*, an amount of rice. 1 *koku* is equivalent to 4.96 Imperial Bushels or 47.6567 U.S gallons.² The assessment process is described by Thomas Smith as follows: "For [taxing] purpose[s] each field in each village was surveyed and assigned a grade which expressed its per-acre yield in normal years-yield being measured in units of unhulled rice, or rice equivalents in the case of other crops. Size times grade therefore gave the normal yield of the field—a datum called *kokudaka*, which might be translated as taxable, or assessed, yield. From the data on individual fields it was of course simple to compute the *kokudaka* of holdings and villages.³ Scholars of this school of thought see this tax rate as having been excruciatingly high, making it almost impossible for the peasants to reach their yearly quota. Because the percentage of the crop yield being collected for tax purposes was uncomfortably high, the peasants were left with very little food for themselves forcing them into starvation. To make matters worse, according to Totman, due to the lack of farming knowledge, farmers had unknowingly over-

² Mikiso Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, Women and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan*. 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1982), 13.

³ Thomas C. Smith, "The Land Tax In The Tokugawa Period," *Journal of Asian Studies* 18, no.1 (1958): 52.

worked their fields, further reducing their productivity.⁴ The lack of food ensured that famine was common, a contributing factor in the stagnation of the population.

Furthering the stagnation of the population was frequent infanticide and abortion. In accordance with this viewpoint, infanticide and abortion were used as a measure to ensure the survival of current children and family members. Families could barely afford the children they already had, and the addition of another child would have meant an impossible expense that could put the current children, and the family as a whole, at risk. Mikiso Hane explains that “in the Tokugawa period, peasants had practiced infanticide when they could not afford to feed another child.”⁵ Controlling family size through infanticide or abortion was a way to eliminate any extra children and thus costs after the desired number of children had been reached. In addition to farming, many families took on by-employments as a desperate, last measure to make enough money to survive.⁶ This often meant family members and parents would have to seek work outside of the village, leaving no one at home to care for any additional small children. In this situation, birth control made it possible for members of the family to go earn further income. Infanticide in particular was also an extremely effective method of family planning. If families could attain a desired sex ratio of boys and girls, their children could contribute most effectively to the long-term success of the family.⁷ For example, families needed a male heir, but too many boys could be risky “for fear of causing future competition for the family headship and creating either pressure to divide property or problems in providing for non-inheriting sons.”⁸ However, daughters were also useful for housework and could be married off into other families.

⁴ Conrad Totman, “Tokugawa Peasants: Win, Lose, or Draw?” *Monumenta Nipponica* 41, no. 4 (1986): 465, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2384863>.

⁵ Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, Women and Outcastes*, 653.

⁶ Totman, “Tokugawa Peasants: Win, Lose, or Draw?” 469.

⁷ Thomas C. Smith, *Nakahara: Family Farming and Population in a Japanese Village, 1717-1830* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1977), 76.

⁸ *Ibid*, 79.

Infanticide could also be used to ensure the best possible interval time in between births. If older children could help take care of the younger children, it meant the parents had more time to work in the fields or in by-employments.⁹ Although children were useful for carrying on the family line and labor on the farm, they were also, to put it bluntly, a huge drain on resources needed to survive. Infanticide was a way to make sure the cost of children did not outweigh the benefits to the family and its future.

From this perspective, the heavy burden of taxes required peasants to do backbreaking work in the fields in order to fulfill their tax requirements and have funds left to support the family. When farming alone did not provide enough to survive, some peasants were forced to take up by-employments in addition to their already difficult work on the farm.¹⁰ Because they had so much work required of them, peasants had no time or money for extra children, leading to the use of infanticide as, “post-partum birth control” a term coined by Susan Hanley.¹¹ Through this viewpoint, Tokugawa era peasants led miserable lives, full of hard work and extreme desperation.

By contrast, Scholars such as Thomas C. Smith are of the opinion that peasants thrived during the Tokugawa period. While villages had been surveyed in the early years of the Tokugawa era in order to set tax rates, many villages were never reassessed.¹² This meant that over the years as farming practices improved and farmers were able to farm much more efficiently, the burden of taxes was greatly reduced.¹³ Because peasants no longer needed to work as hard to reach their tax quota, they ended up with extra time on their hands.¹⁴ Some chose to fill this extra time with a by-employment such as raising cash crops or

⁹ *Ibid*, 81.

¹⁰ Totman, “Tokugawa Peasants: Win, Lose, or Draw?” 469.

¹¹ Fabian Drixler, *Mabiki: Infanticide and Population Growth in Eastern Japan, 1660-1950* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2013), 71.

¹² Smith, “The Land Tax In The Tokugawa Period,” 53.

¹³ *Ibid*, 53.

¹⁴ Thomas C. Smith, “Premodern Economic Growth: Japan and the West,” *Past and Present*, 60 (1973): 35.

weaving cloth.¹⁵ Being out in the country meant that they were closer to the necessary supplies needed for a by-employment and because of the proximity to the materials, the cost of attaining them was greatly reduced. Another advantage to being out in the countryside was being out from under the watchful eye of the government.¹⁶ The separation between the peasants in the countryside and the government officials in the castle towns meant peasants were able to get away with having a by-employment, despite not being a “licensed wholesaler.”¹⁷

In this view population stability was seen to have been caused by several different factors. Unlike the previous opinion, infanticide was not practiced out of necessity, but as a way of maintaining a higher standard of living. Peasants enjoyed their comfortable lifestyles and saw extra children as a threat to their newfound comfort. The practice of infanticide meant fewer children and thus fewer mouths to feed preserved a relatively high standard of living.¹⁸ Because peasants had become more efficient at farming due to improvements in agricultural technology, they no longer needed as many children to work on the on a farm.¹⁹ Because having fewer children meant less time was required to raise them, being in a family with fewer children meant that family members could take on by-employments, making it more likely that their economic success would continue.²⁰

One striking similarity to the previous viewpoint is how infanticide was used as a tool to achieve ideal sex ratios and birth intervals with the same exact purpose. Families wanted a son for an heir but also had uses for daughters. Again, having children old enough to take care of the younger ones because of well-timed birth intervals meant more time older family members

could dedicate to working.²¹ However in this case, the extra time for working was desired in order to maintain or increase the standard of living, not as a crucial part of survival in the previous theory. In some areas of Japan, having too many children was regarded as being “animal-like” and people with too many children were compared to cats and dogs and seen as uncivilized.²² Mothers who gave birth to twins were regarded as having had “animal pregnancies.”²³ In this case, the use of infanticide ensured that families would remain respectable in the eyes of their neighbors, another means of maintaining their high quality of life.

Other factors contributing to the stagnation of the population include the “urban graveyard effect” the notion that cities have high death rates.²⁴ Peasants who moved to large urban centers looking for work such as Osaka or Edo were more likely to contract deadly diseases due to the sheer population density and constant close proximity to others experienced in city life. Natural disasters, famines and epidemics are accounted for as factors in population stagnation, however they are not seen as having had a crushing effect on the population like in the previous viewpoint held by scholars such as Totman and Hane.

Unlike in the previous viewpoint in which peasants were working hard just to survive, scholars like Smith believe that Tokugawa peasants worked hard in order to continue thriving. With more efficient farming, wealth increased, as did the quality of life. Peasants struggled less to meet tax quotas and thus took up by-employments for extra income.²⁵ While the population did stagnate, a major contributing factor was infanticide being used to keep families small and thus ensure their high standard of living, not extreme starvation and sickness. This viewpoint does not deny the hard work done by Tokugawa peasants, but presents their lives in a much more positive light.

¹⁵ Kathleen S. Uno, “Women and Changes in the Household Division of Labor,” in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Stanford: University of California Press, 1991), 27.

¹⁶ Smith, “Premodern Economic Growth: Japan and the West,” 31.

¹⁷ *Ibid* 30.

¹⁸ Smith, *Nakahara*, 64.

¹⁹ Smith, “The Land Tax In The Tokugawa Period,” 51.

²⁰ Drixler, *Mabiki*, 40.

²¹ Smith, *Nakahara*, 80.

²² Drixler, *Mabiki*, 128.

²³ *Ibid*, 242.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 112.

²⁵ Smith, “Premodern Economic Growth: Japan and the West,” 35.

While these two theories may present contrasting views on the standard of living, they both clearly agree the peasants were working hard, whether it was to ensure their survival or continue thriving. It should also be noted that aspects of both viewpoints, of scholars such as Hane and Totman and that of scholars such as Smith, held true in particular circumstances dependent upon region, gender and class. However, neither of these theories takes into account the vast differences in the daily lives of peasants due to the difficulties created by the factors of region, gender and class. Each of the factors created unique challenges that required hard work on the part of the peasants. As previously stated, this thesis seeks to explain why peasants worked so hard by assessing the influence of, and challenges created by the factors of region, gender and class, as opposed to making a generalization about the Japanese peasants population at the time as a whole.

Region

The region a Tokugawa peasant inhabited had a significant effect on the amount of work necessary to survive. The combined influences of climate, ideology, and geography held tremendous significance over all aspects, physical and societal, of peasant lives. Despite being a relatively small archipelago, Japan's climate and geography varies greatly. From the northernmost island of Hokkaido to the southernmost island of Okinawa, great climatic differences can be observed, making some areas more suited to agriculture than others. The same can be said of Japan's geographic features. Although much of the country is mountainous, flat plains can be found in some regions. While the two aforementioned factors affect potential food production and economic success, local political-ideology, related to attitudes toward family planning in particular, in some areas played an equal role in determining the outcome of peasant lives.

Northeastern Japan more closely fits Totman's idea of what Tokugawa peasant life was like. Tokugawa peasants living in northeastern Japan had a variety of factors working against

them. Northern Japan has a harsh climate with very cold winters. "If temperatures dropped by even just a few degrees, however, the crop might fail altogether."²⁶ On top of that, farming plots tended to be small and steep, making them even more difficult to farm.²⁷ Peasants living in northeastern Japan did not have the option of double-cropping, being able to plant and harvest twice during the year, like their counterparts living in more temperate areas of the country.²⁸ While peasants living the northeast had smaller plots to farm and harvested less often than peasants living in the central and southwestern regions of the archipelago, it does not mean they had less work to do. Because they had both less space and less time available to them for farming, they had to work hard in order to ensure it would succeed. If the crop was unsuccessful, the consequences had the potential to be very dire.

Compared to other parts of Japan, rates of infanticide were extremely high in northeastern Japan. We know this based on population registers displaying a warped sex ratio, one that would not have occurred naturally, thus implying some sort of human intervention. Infanticide was occurring to the extent that the domainal and the shogunal governments took notice of it. "Administrators worried about dwindling population and falling revenues" prompting them to produce and distribute anti-infanticide propaganda.²⁹ There was large amount of anti-infanticide propaganda put out by the government in the eighteenth century.³⁰ While this may not have affected the quality of life of the majority of the population in northeastern Japan, it obviously presented a huge risk for any infants being born in the area. The chances of survival for an infant born in northeastern Japan were slimmer, given their chances of becoming a victim of infanticide. That risk increased even more for female babies depending on their place in birth order, as a male heir was always desired. But

²⁶ Drixler, *Mabiki*, 120.

²⁷ Gail Lee Bernstein, *Isami's House: Three Centuries of a Japanese Family* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 5.

²⁸ Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, Women and Outcasts*, 115.

²⁹ Drixler, *Mabiki*, 40.

³⁰ Smith, *Nakahara*, 65.

chances of survival even for male infants diminished when being born directly after an older brother.³¹

Northeastern Japan suffered from famines more often than other regions, making it necessary for peasants residing in the northeast to work hard in order to survive. These famines were often caused by with natural disasters. In *Mabiki*, Fabian Drixler describes one such incident: "Then the great Tenmei famine turned a downward slope into a precipice. At the border of Shinano and Kōzuke, Mount Asama spewed ash and rocks over a large part of the North Kantō in early 1783. In June of that year, there followed a series of even greater volcanic eruptions in Iceland. Under the northern hemisphere's darkened skies, temperatures dropped, disrupting farming systems from Iceland to India. In Northeastern Japan, unseasonable frost and hail led to near complete crop losses. In the Kantō, flood damage was severe. As rice prices soared, people went hungry in many parts of Japan. The calamity brought down particularly terrible suffering on the people of northern Honshu."³² Peasants in northern Japan affected by the explosion were at a loss in more ways than one. The volcanic eruptions alone were destructive, and they ended up creating an even more detrimental situation by causing a change in the weather patterns. Peasants like those who lived in northern Japan could do nothing to avoid situations like this short of moving out of the area, an unrealistic option for many. For this reason, peasants living in these areas had no choice but to work hard to overcome and rebuild when events such as this occurred.

Peasants of northern Japan worked hard not only to farm their small, steep fields, but to ensure they farmed them well in order to gain wages they could live off of. Peasants in the north in particular had to be aware of, and ready for the potential threat of famines, or other unavoidable natural disasters, requiring them to work hard in order to be prepared should one strike. If one should hit, peasants in northern Japan had to work hard to recover from the damages and

rebuild what was lost or damaged during the disaster.

Peasants in western Japan were also faced with challenges, especially in regards to weather. The western coast along the Sea of Japan has intense winters with a great deal of snowfall. For this reason, in comparison with other regions of Japan, farmers faced a shorter growing season, making it harder to earn their wages. In the winter peasants, "did not want to spend the winter snowbound in their huts" unable to get anything productive done, and in order to earn money they would often go seek by-employments in other areas.³³ Some peasants had to "use their wages for tax payments."³⁴

Suzuki Bokushi was a wealthy peasant and a writer, among other things, who lived in northwestern Japan. Bokushi was born in 1770 in Niigata prefecture to a relatively well-off peasant family.³⁵ In his collection of stories of local life, translated as *Snow Country Tales*, Bokushi recounts various aspects of life in northwestern Japan, demonstrating the harsh realities of living in the region. Snow came early with the first frost coming in October and snow by the end of the month with the potential of "six, seven or even ten feet of snow" accumulating in a single day.³⁶ Bokushi describes a winter where a friend of his measured the snowfall for the whole winter "and found that in the end a total of 180 feet had fallen."³⁷

Suzuki Bokushi describes the hard word peasants living in the area had to put into surviving the long, harsh winter. In relation to food, Bokushi says "there isn't so much as a single vegetable during the snow season so each family must prepare sufficient provisions to last the winter."³⁸ In order prevent their houses from collapsing peasants had to reinforce any areas of the house that might potentially be weak. Peasants even had to bind the limbs of smaller

³¹ Ibid, 65.

³² Drixler, *Mabiki*, 284.

³³ Drixler, *Mabiki*, 111.

³⁴ Ibid, 115.

³⁵ Bokushi Suzuki, *Snow Country Tales Life in the Other Japan*. 1. ed. (New York, NY : Weatherhill, 1986) xxxvii.

³⁶ Ibid, 11.

³⁷ Ibid, 12.

³⁸ Ibid, 10.

trees and reinforce those of larger trees.³⁹ These sorts of preparations took time and effort. If peasants did not work hard enough on these tasks they faced severe consequences many of them with potentially fatal consequences. If a family did not prepare enough food they could starve to death. A family that did not reinforce their houses well enough or accidentally missed a spot that was weak, there was the risk that the house could collapse, crushing family members underneath and exposing them to the cold, harsh winter. Peasants in western Japan needed to work hard all year long, every year to ensure their survival each winter.

In terms of ideology, peasants in northwestern Japan were for the most part followers of the Jōdō Shinshū or the True Pure Land school of Buddhism. As followers of True Pure Land Buddhism, peasants in northwestern Japan were taught to oppose infanticide.⁴⁰ Instead of practicing infanticide to reduce family sizes like peasants in the northeast, peasants in western Japan had other ways of managing the problem. For example they would instead send some of their children off to work in other places. Fabian Drixler's *Mabiki* quotes an excerpt from the diary of a man named "Satō Nobuhiro ... a roving policy consultant and self-styled expert on agronomy, astronomy, [and] artillery" discussing how "it [was] a common practice to sell girls over seven or eight years of age to other provinces for prostitution."⁴¹ Because of the Jōdō Shinshū ideology, peasants born in this area whose parents could not afford them were cut off and thus forced to work hard in order to make a living on their own.

The peasants of western Japan worked hard in ways different than their counterparts in other regions of the country many sought work in other places. Peasants who left in search of money worked hard to gain enough wages to be able to support themselves and their families back at home in western Japan. Those who stayed behind for the winter worked hard to survive the bitter cold, doing things like preparing their houses for

snow and ensuring they had enough food to last the winter.⁴²

Kansai is the region of Japan in southern central area of the main island of Honshu near the present day cities of Osaka and Kyoto. The living situation in the Kansai area in many ways was more optimal than others and perhaps for this reason the area was the first in the archipelago to be settled and farmed. Peasants in this region may have enjoyed life in a way similar to the manner in which Thomas Smith describes the Tokugawa era. Unlike their northeastern and western counterparts, peasants in the Kansai region enjoyed a relatively mild climate. Although hot in the summer, the Kansai area of Japan has very low snowfall in the winter. Compared to other parts of the country, peasants in Kansai had a longer farming season.⁴³ In addition to this advantage, their plots for farming tended to be larger and flatter, making them in some ways easier to farm.⁴⁴ The combined advantage of milder weather and longer farming season, allowed them to double crop.⁴⁵ While this may have meant they had an easier time acquiring food, the work required in planting and harvesting this food still would have been very strenuous, requiring a lot of hard work and effort.

Some peasants chose to use the relatively easier farming regime to their advantage and take up a by-employment in addition to farming. While this may sound idyllic and in many ways, it was, this does not mean the lives of these peasants were devoid of hard work. If peasants were working in by-employments they still had to do their work on the farm as well.

The region a peasant lived in had a great impact on their life, especially in regard to how hard they needed to work. Despite being a relatively small country, factors such as weather, climate and terrain that determined farming practices, vary greatly in different regions. This effected the length of time available for farming and thus in many ways the type of land a peasant would be farming was dependent upon region. These differences effected necessary

³⁹ Suzuki, *Snow Country Tales*, 10.

⁴⁰ Drixler, *Mabiki*, 97.

⁴¹ Ibid, 117.

⁴² Suzuki, *Snow Country Tales*, 11.

⁴³ Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, Women and Outcastes*, 115.

⁴⁴ Bernstein, *Isami's House*, 5.

⁴⁵ Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, Women and Outcastes*, 115.

farming practices and thus had a major effect on all other aspects of the peasant's life. This all effected how hard the peasant must work in order to try and overcome the climactic challenges. However region a peasant lived in also determined if they were more likely to experience a natural disaster, or if epidemics were common in the area. These were factors were highly destructive, unpredictable and could strike at any time. No matter how hard a peasant worked these factors could not be over come.

Gender

As in any society, gender played a significant role in determining the amount and the nature of work required of an individual. The same applied in Tokugawa Era Japan, for the daily lives of peasants and the work required of them was in some ways dependent upon their gender. Males and females had different expectations placed upon them from an early age and those differences multiplied as they got older. While both men and women worked out in the fields, many of their daily tasks were allocated according to gender. For this reason even men and women within the same family would be responsible for different amounts and types.

Being a male peasant in Tokugawa came with advantages. These advantages started seconds after birth. Being born male gave infants a higher rate of surviving in areas where infanticide was commonly practiced. However it should be noted that, while infanticide was sex-selective, it was not wholly in favor of males over females.⁴⁶ As these boys grew up the advantages continued. Boys in wealthier families had a higher chance of getting an education than their female counterparts.⁴⁷ Eventually if all went well, boys had the chance to become the head of the household for their family. As the head of the household men had more of a say in family matters while at the same time becoming a

respected family figure.⁴⁸ Some men even became village heads. While Tokugawa peasants really had no say in matters at a governmental level, for village heads there was the possibility to have say in what happened at least on the village level. Men also had the obvious advantage of avoiding the health risks associated with pregnancy and giving birth that many women faced at the time.

Despite all of their obvious advantages, being a male peasant in Tokugawa Japan still came with hardships. A male Tokugawa peasant's life course depended in great part on his place in the birth order among siblings. While the first-born son was more than likely to become the heir and when his father died, inherit the position as head of the household, sons born after the heir would not. However if the child designated as heir died or upon becoming an adult was seen as unfit for the position, a younger or more qualified brother might be picked as his replacement. Boys born after the eldest brother occasionally had the opportunity to become head of household for their wife's family. Families with no suitable heir had the option to adopt a son-in-law into the family and then designate him as their heir.⁴⁹

Even males lucky enough to have been designated head of the household had their struggles. As the head of the family, a man would be under a great deal of pressure to ensure that his family survived, making decisions, knowing that their outcomes would directly impact the well-being of their family members. Being the head of the family required men to take actions that would ensure their family line would be able to survive for generations to come. This is a good example of this harsh reality is well documented in the book *Isami's House*. The Matsuura head of household at the time in 1800 living in the village of Yamanashi in present-day Fukushima prefecture, "had to make a difficult decision affecting his only son."⁵⁰ His son had problems with his legs "that made walking difficult" which "raised serious doubts about his fitness to serve as his father's successor."⁵¹ The son, Yuemon had

⁴⁶ Smith, *Nakahara*, 65.

⁴⁷ Brian W. Platt, "Elegance, Prosperity, Crisis: Three Generations of Tokugawa Village Elites." *Monumenta Nipponica*, 55, no. 1 (2000): 51, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2668386>.

⁴⁸ Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, Women and Outcastes*, 199.

⁴⁹ Smith, "Premodern Economic Growth: Japan and the West," 36.

⁵⁰ Bernstein, *Isami's House*, 43.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 43.

to make the difficult choice to adopt another son into the family to replace his “unfit” son. Men designated head of the family out of several brothers were at risk of losing the title to another brother if not successful enough, adding an additional level of pressure to the position. Despite the advantages that may have come with being a village head such as the prestige and the authority, it was by no means an easy job. Village heads had to deal not only with their own families and all the villagers, but on some levels had to deal with the authorities as well. The village head had to work to meet the middle ground and satisfy many parties, often times not an easy endeavor.

Whether rich or poor, head of household or young boy in school, all Tokugawa peasant men worked hard. All men, heads of house holds and regular men alike also had to do more hard labor than women in their daily lives. While both men and women worked out in the fields or in by-employments, women had more of a chance to work inside, cooking or caring for small children, unlike men whose designated place was often out in the fields. Men designated as the head of their family or head of the village, despite being in an advantageous position, had the difficult task of ensuring the well being and future survival of their families or village members, requiring them to work hard not only physically but mentally as well. Village heads having the additional duty of walking the line between serving the bakufu and their fellow villagers at the same time.⁵² Boys and men not lucky enough to have inherited a favorable title such as head of their family had to work hard in order to try and make a life for themselves outside of their families.

Again, as in many societies around the world, being born female often means facing hardships in life not faced by males. Female peasants in Tokugawa Japan were second to men both outside of and inside of the home. Women were never designated as the permanent head of their family in the way men were. Even girls in wealthy families had less of a chance to get an education than their male siblings.⁵³ In an effort to avoid excess money being spent on dowries for

daughters, some peasant families in Western Japan were known for indenturing their daughters in service or prostitution.⁵⁴

Gender also affected the practice of infanticide in early modern Japan, although not to the degree that it did in late imperial China.⁵⁵ Families wanted male babies so they could act as an heir to the family when they grew up. Many population registers show skewed sex ratios in favor of males over females.⁵⁶ In a manner similar to male babies, birth order was a deciding factor in whether female babies lived or died by infanticide. Early on in a marriage a family was more likely to be trying for sons, any daughters born at the time had a higher risk of being discarded.⁵⁷ Even for female babies born later in a marriage in a family trying to balance the sexes of their children, if born directly after an older sister the chances of being discarded increased. The same applies for female babies born into a family that already had too many daughters.⁵⁸

A large part of being a peasant in Tokugawa Japan, meant working out in the fields. Just as much as men, Tokugawa women helped with these duties. “While the farm wife's work varied according to locality, it invariably encompassed planting, cultivating, weeding, and harvesting patties and vegetable fields.”⁵⁹ In addition to the hard work they did on the farm Tokugawa women had the added task of work in the home as well. “The peasants wife’s duties included reproductive chores... doing laundry, scrubbing pots, sewing garments and preparing meals. With all these tasks, a woman’s workday lasted from before dawn to after nightfall.”⁶⁰ If a family was well of and had the additional time, women would occasionally pick up by-employments on top of all their other duties. According to Kathleen S. Uno, “in economically advanced regions women...cultivated cash crops such as vegetables or tobacco, raised silkworms, spun

⁵² Platt, “Elegance, Prosperity, Crisis,” 62.

⁵³ Platt, “Elegance, Prosperity, Crisis,” 51.

⁵⁴ Drixler, *Mabiki*, 116.

⁵⁵ Smith, *Nakahara*, 77.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 66.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 79.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 73.

⁵⁹ Uno, “Women and Changes in the Household Division of Labor,” 27.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 27.

thread, or wove cloth for market."⁶¹ However, if a family was particularly wealthy the woman's duties out in the field diminished but instead were "expected to assist their husbands, supervise the maids, and look after the children and dependent siblings."⁶²

It was especially important that Tokugawa women put effort into being the best wives they could be. If a woman was "unable" to fulfill her duties as a wife, the husband's family could decide to send her back to her natal family, thus bringing shame to the woman's family. A wife could be dismissed for a variety of reasons including being unable to maintain her household duties, unable to produce children or if she was simply disliked by her husband's family.⁶³ "Harmony was usually the bride's responsibility meant that she had to refrain from quarreling with members of her new household, do the work expect of her position, and conform to family customs."⁶⁴ Because there were such a wide variety of reasons for potential dismissal, women needed to work hard to minimize their chances of being dismissed. However "even without a mother-in-law's coercion, the fact that a young wife's future depended on the household's wealth, property and status could drive the [young wife] to diligent efforts for the [family]."⁶⁵

That being said, divorce was not entirely uncommon. Thomas Smith's *Nakahara* cites that "nearly ten percent of all marriages [observed in the village of Nakahara] ended in divorce."⁶⁶ Smith even notes that divorces were not always caused when a wife produced no children. If a woman really did not get along with her husband's family, she herself might initiate the divorce.⁶⁷ Examples of these family dynamics can be seen in the autobiography of Suzuki Bokushi.

⁶¹ Ibid, 27.

⁶² Anne Walthall, "The Life Cycle of Farm Women in Tokugawa Japan," in *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945*, ed. Gail Lee Bernstein (Stanford, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 57.

⁶³ Smith, *Nakahara*, 102.

⁶⁴ Walthall, "The Life Cycle of Farm Women in Tokugawa Japan," 57.

⁶⁵ Uno, "Women and Changes in the Household Division of Labor," 27.

⁶⁶ Smith, *Nakahara*, 106.

⁶⁷ Ibid,102.

Throughout his life Bokushi had six wives and three children, all from different mothers.⁶⁸ "At twenty-two he married his first wife, Mine who gave him a son, but they parted two years later. He then married in succession Hono, Uta, Yu, Tori and Rita. Some of his wives returned to their parents' homes; some ran away."⁶⁹ This is demonstrative of the fact that Tokugawa era women had the agency to end marriages should they so choose, thus making it not always the decision of the husband's family if a marriage ended in divorce.

Work in terms of child bearing and raising was particularly difficult and dangerous in Tokugawa Japan. In a culture of infanticide and abortion as a method of family planning, the danger of a botched abortion existed with potentially fatal results.⁷⁰ Without modern medicine, pregnancy and giving birth could be extremely dangerous. Tokugawa women continued their strenuous work out on the farm throughout their pregnancies, thus increasing the risk of having a miscarriage.⁷¹

Just as male house heads worked to insure the survival of their family and family line, women did the same in different ways. In addition to all the work they did on the farm, Tokugawa women also worked hard to insure their children would be raised in a way that would produce the most favorable outcome for the family's future. While most Tokugawa women would never have the responsibility of being the head of their family, peasant wives did have the responsibility of raising the next generation's head of the household and farmers, a task of tremendous importance. Beyond the responsibility of raising their boys to be good house heads, women also had to raise their daughters to ensure they would become good wives and mothers and not be returned home by their husband's families in the future.

In *Nakahara*, Thomas Smith quotes several passages that demonstrate the value Tokugawa era peasants placed on raising children well and the work that must be put into raising children in

⁶⁸ Suzuki, *Snow Country Tales*, xxxix.

⁶⁹ Ibid,xxxix.

⁷⁰ Drixler, *Mabiki*, 130.

⁷¹ Ibid,195.

order to try and ensure the future success of the family. The passages describe methods of raising children to instill in values in them at a young age that would help them to become successful adults. The first passage focuses on boys, who in the future will become farmers and potential heads of household: "From the age of 8 boys should gather grass for the animals, pick up horse dung from the road, make rope, and help with other light work. When they work well, they should be praised and given a coin. When the coins accumulate to a sufficient sum, the children should be allowed to buy something want. Also, when they are given clothes, they should be told it is a reward for work. Thus their childish hearts will develop the spirit of industry and perseverance. If they are given suitable work in this way when they are young and taught farming skills as they get older, by age 14 or 15 they will be industrious and meticulous farmers."⁷² The above passage teaches boys that if they work hard, even at unpleasant tasks such as collecting dung, it will be worth it in the end and their efforts will be rewarded. By rewarding the boys with coins, they learn the importance of saving their money and spending it wisely. These would have been necessary traits for a male Tokugawa era peasant, especially a potential head of household would need to demonstrate fiscal responsibility.

A second passage featured in *Nakahara* starts by explicitly stating "Nothing is more important than raising children."⁷³ The passage also states how from a young age children "should be made to look after the younger children, help with spinning, and work in the fields" focusing this time on tasks that sound more like the duties of a future peasant wife. Another passage lays out the grim future of a family who do not invest time into raising their children by saying how if children are not raised well that they will "by indolence ruin the family."⁷⁴

Despite their lower status in society and the hard work expected of them, life was not entirely unpleasant for Tokugawa peasant women. Although most women would never get the title

of head of the household, occasionally "in the absence of an appropriate male... a woman could serve as house head."⁷⁵ While the position would not have been permanent, it was still a great honor. Additionally, "among women, the spouse of the current head [of the household]... usually had the most authority... she had jurisdiction over housekeeping, laundry, provisions, meals and some social relations."⁷⁶ Even women who were never the head of their household or the wife of the head were still respected as mothers and grandmothers and had some control over what happened in the home. Smith notes that because women often married so much younger than men, often when the male head of household died, his wife, the mother or grandmother to various members of the household, became well respected in a matriarchal fashion.⁷⁷ While women avoided the pressures and duties associated with the role of being a family head, the hard work they did for their families was crucial.

While women did hold a lesser place in society than men they were not entirely devalued by their families. The hard work women could and did do to benefit their families was crucial and did not go unnoticed. Evidence for this is seen again in birth registries. Even though males held a higher place in society than women, families saw too many sons as a risk and often after having a few sons started to want more daughters. Thomas Smith describes daughters as "not only a part-time field hand but also cook, housekeeper, and surrogate mother to young children" displaying their wide range of helpful abilities.⁷⁸ In terms of their capabilities to be married outside of the family, daughters could be very helpful to their families. Through marriages, daughters could help families to form helpful and powerful alliances with other families.⁷⁹ Additionally in a family with either no sons at all or no sons suitable for the role of head of household, a daughter could marry a man who

⁷² Smith, *Nakahara*, 109.

⁷³ *Ibid*, 117.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 117.

⁷⁵ Uno, "Women and Changes in the Household Division of Labor," 27.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 24.

⁷⁷ Smith, *Nakahara*, 117.

⁷⁸ Smith, *Nakahara*, 95.

⁷⁹ Platt, "Elegance, Prosperity, Crisis," 51.

would then be adopted into the family and made the head of the household.⁸⁰ Daughters were a very viable backup system for securing as heir in case all else failed.

Although women also worked very hard in the field they often did less physically demanding work than the men. Women had the advantage of being able to escape the hard work outside, by taking care of their duties inside, a valuable advantage during the hot, humid Japanese summer. Even with all the dangers pregnancy and childbirth women faced during the Tokugawa period women also enjoyed a longer life expectancy than men at the time.⁸¹

In sum, female Tokugawa peasants worked hard around the clock. In addition to the hard work they did on the farm, they also worked hard at home and occasionally with by-employments. Women did their best to be good wives in order to avoid being and sent back and thus incurring shame upon their natal family. Women had the added responsibility of giving birth to and raising the next generation of their family. While they may not have held the lofty titles of head of the household they worked very hard, doing essential tasks necessary to the daily success of the family. Of course regardless of all the hard work both sexes did, certain unexpected factors could still have dramatic and crippling effects. Although Tokugawa peasants worked hard in order to ensure their successful survival, factors such as famine, disease and natural disasters often could not be avoided nor could their harsh side effects.⁸²

Class and Status

Relative wealth within the peasant class also determined how and whether peasants worked. Factors such as the amount of land a family had determined its status within the peasantry. Despite all being classified as peasants there were large disparities in wealth making it so

peasants living a lower class peasant life lived differently from wealthy peasants.

Higher-class peasants obviously enjoyed a high standard of living than their lower class counterparts. These wealthy peasants had more land, leading to an elevated level of wealth. This level of wealth meant they had the option to rent out their land to other families, tenants to do the farming for them.⁸³ Wealthier families were more likely be village heads. This position not only gained them a higher place in society and respect among their fellow villagers, it also meant they had slightly more control over their lives. As village heads they had an opportunity to make choices at the village level, not just at a personal level.⁸⁴ As mentioned earlier, for any class of Tokugawa peasant there was little opportunity to have any official position in the shogunal or domainal governments.

Due to their greater wealth, rich peasants did not have to put as much effort into survival. This meant they had more time to allot to other endeavors such as reading, writing and traditional arts such as ikebana. Wealthy peasants ended up being able to spend their time more as education than farmers. This eventually led to the rise of village schools, causing an increase in literacy. ⁸⁵ Wealthy families could afford to send their children to these schools. "Schooling was expensive: costs included lunch, clothing, shoes and rainwear in addition to the lose of a valuable resource [as a worker on the family farm]."⁸⁶ The number of years a child could afford to attend of course was directly correlated to their family's wealth.⁸⁷ A high level of education often lead to high status later in life and "literacy was necessary to perform the routine administrative tasks required of village leaders".⁸⁸

⁸³ Smith, "The Land Tax In The Tokugawa Period," 69.

⁸⁴ Chie Nakane and Shinzaburo Oishi, eds. *Tokugawa Japan: The Social and Economic Antecedents of Modern Japan*. Translated by Conrad Totman. (Japan: University of Tokyo Press, 1990), 46.

⁸⁵ Platt, "Elegance, Prosperity, Crisis," 53.

⁸⁶ Walthall, "The Life Cycle of Farm Women in Tokugawa Japan," 57.

⁸⁷ Platt, "Elegance, Prosperity, Crisis," 58.

⁸⁸ Ibid 51.

⁸⁰ Smith, "Premodern Economic Growth: Japan and the West," 36.

⁸¹ Smith, *Nakahara*, 50.

⁸² Drixler, *Mabiki*, 284.

For example, The Ozawa were a wealthy family of village elites in Shinano province in the eighteenth century.⁸⁹ In family records they note how different family members attended schools to study topics such as poetry, noh theater, and ikebana.⁹⁰ While these skills were not necessary for a village leader, they held a different kind of value. "At a symbolic level, aesthetic pursuits represented a form of knowledge historically associated with the court and samurai aristocracy and inaccessible to most villagers. At a practical level, many political and business contacts among elites were forged while participating in cultural activities. And increasingly, the way to gain access to such knowledge and social circles was through formal education."⁹¹ As an obvious display of wealth, devoting time to learn these skills was a way to earn respect with in the community. Poor peasants would not have had either the time or the need for specialized skills such as these. The fact that wealthy peasants had not only the time and the means to do but were also able to put them to use. The prestige that this earned them was worth the hard work required to learn the skills and the money spent on learning them.

For Tokugawa peasants, wealth in one generation was by no means a guarantee of long-term success or happiness. Things could change very quickly, even from one generation to the next. Thomas Smith's *Nakahara* cites data that shows the leading families in a village often did not always stay on top for very long.⁹² Despite the best efforts of families and parents, occasionally a family heir would not have turned out as hoped. If families were not careful, a bad heir could squander all of the family wealth, in just one generation. In a similar fashion, an heir who mismanaged their responsibilities could also deplete a family's wealth.⁹³ In other cases, uncontrollable occurrences such as a bad crop yield could diminish revenue and cause a quick, drastic change of status for a family.

Even for the Ozawa, a family of village elites experienced financial hardships overtime, showing just how difficult it was for a family to stay on top. The family's story is retold from the perspective of the grandson, Watoku, who gives details on the lives of his grandfather, Shisan who lived from 1736-1791 and his father Kameharu who lived from 1762-1834.⁹⁴ Watoku recorded these events in a journal he kept in the senior years of his life from 1861 until 1869.⁹⁵ Trouble starts for the family with Shisan, who after having grown up in an elaborate household, had no idea how to properly farm. Watoku writes how his grandfather was "praised for his learning and culture" but "was unaccustomed to affairs of the real world."⁹⁶ He ended up with so much debt that he had to sell most of his belongings just to pay it all off. ⁹⁷ He eventually ended up with a teaching job that he kept for the rest of his life.

Watoku's father, Kameharu, despite being more practical and hard working than his father also ended up with his share of hardships. Kameharu was faced with the responsibility of having to testify in Edo for his younger brother Ryonosuke who had been fired.⁹⁸ In addition to the fact that "the trips [to Edo] were expensive and took time away from his business", he also had to find a new husband for Ryonosuke's wife, all in all a costly process.⁹⁹ When his father died, Kameharu was expected to pay for the lavish funeral, another drain on his resources.¹⁰⁰ On top of everything already costing him money, Kameharu's house burned down as well. Much like his father he eventually got back on his feet thanks to a teaching job.¹⁰¹

Wealthy families that served as village heads had to play the role of a middleman between the villagers and the authorities. This meant trying to keep both their fellow villagers and the authorities happy simultaneously, which was not an easy task. If things went poorly in relation to

⁸⁹ Ibid 45.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 51.

⁹¹ Platt, "Elegance, Prosperity, Crisis," 52.

⁹² Smith, *Nakahara*, 121.

⁹³ Bernstein, *Isami's House*, 43.

⁹⁴ Platt, "Elegance, Prosperity, Crisis," 45.

⁹⁵ Ibid 45.

⁹⁶ Ibid 54.

⁹⁷ Ibid 54.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 55.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 55.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 55.

¹⁰¹ Platt, "Elegance, Prosperity, Crisis," 55.

the villagers, village heads ran the risk of the peasants revolting against them, a dangerous possibility. On the other hand, if they weren't careful the authorities could come down on them, an equally unfavorable prospect. Such an incident occurred during the time Kameharu was a village head in Ono in 1814.¹⁰² The bakufu requested that the villagers "contribute portage corvée to assist with the passage of authorities through the post town of Shiojiri" which Kameharu promised to do but some of the villagers refused.¹⁰³ Although it was not Kameharu's fault, it resulted in his punishment, being harshly scolded in front of all the other villagers, by the bakufu.¹⁰⁴ Village heads had to carefully walk this line in the middle in such a way that they could still accomplish what they needed to, without upsetting people on either side.

Wealthy peasants did not have to work as hard in order to guarantee their survival, they worked hard in order to maintain their position and say ahead. Wealthy Tokugawa peasants went through a great deal of trouble, requiring hard work in order keep up appearances in relation to being wealthy. Life events such as the birth of a child or the death of an elder both required the family to handle the event with a certain level of lavishness. An example of this is described in Anne Waltham's article, "The Life Cycles of Farm Women in Tokugawa Japan" discussing the trouble a wealthy family went through to announce the birth of a baby girl: "In the case of wealthy families, the ceremonies marking the birth of a child of either sex or often elaborate. Thus, two weeks after Fute was born in 1783 to the Nomura family from Hitachi province, her grandparents held a banquet for 120 people to celebrate her birth. To announce the birth of Ai in 1835, the Sekiguchi family from Namamugi waited only seven days but also celebrated rather lavishly, sending trays containing sake, pickles, radishes, mushrooms and fish to everyone in the neighborhood. A month later they took their newborn daughter to the family shrine, paid a fee of two hundred *mon*, and distributed balls of red beans and rice to the neighbors. The poor could

hardly afford such elaborate celebrations for any of their children."¹⁰⁵ In this situation, the Nomura family was working very hard, not to ensure their survival, but rather to gain the respect of their fellow villagers and to retain the prestige that comes from being a wealthy family. Despite being well off, the need to put on an event such as this was a both a burden and a drain on the family's resources. Another example of this need to display sufficiently wealth is seen as well in the aforementioned lavish funeral Kameharu had to throw for his father despite being low on money himself.¹⁰⁶ The pressure this put on wealthy families was severe enough that for some it was an incentive to stop having children in order to avoid having to spend the money required to keep up appearances.¹⁰⁷ While this was not physically challenging work, lavish ceremonies such as these required hard work to plan, allot funds for and to carry out in a way deemed appropriate for the wealthy family's financial situation.

While not having to work as hard physically, doing chores on the farm and such as other peasants, wealthy peasants worked hard in other ways. Wealthy peasants studying either in a village school or working at learning an art such as ikebana worked diligently in school. In an effort to stay on top, higher-class peasant families worked hard tasks such as raising responsible heirs and keeping up with responsibilities.

Lower-class peasants undeniably had both a lower standard of living and different life style than their wealthier peers. Their poverty affected all aspects of their lives including food, housing, clothing, health, and leisure time. They worked harder to ensure they would have enough food to survive.¹⁰⁸ Because these peasants had less land available for them to farm on, they had to be sure to make effective use of it. If a family lost its land, they would have to take up tenant farming for the richer families.¹⁰⁹ A bad crop had the power to ruin an already struggling family for years.

¹⁰² Ibid 62.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 62.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 63.

¹⁰⁵ Waltham, "The Life Cycle of Farm Women in Tokugawa Japan," 44.

¹⁰⁶ Platt, "Elegance, Prosperity, Crisis," 45.

¹⁰⁷ Drixler, *Mabiki*, 207.

¹⁰⁸ Suzuki, *Snow Country Tales*, 10.

¹⁰⁹ Nakane, *Tokugawa Japan*, 46.

Certain events could have an effect on peasants at both end of the wealth spectrum. Both sides were at risk during an epidemic, although perhaps being better nourished the wealthy had a slight advantage.¹¹⁰ Uncontrolled occurrences that resulted in low crop yield such as locusts, bad weather or a natural disaster would wipe out food supplies for both higher and lower class peasants.¹¹¹ Natural disasters such as the fire experienced by the Ozawa family, flooding, tsunami and volcanic eruptions had potential not only to ruin crop yields, but cause loss of life or property in other, equally if not more detrimental ways. An unexpected death in the family had severe consequences on both sides as well. In both cases it meant one less person to help earn income and with daily chores.¹¹² The loss of the head of a family would be especially detrimental, if another equally qualified family member could not be found. In addition to the upset in daily life, the funerary costs would add an additional level of hardship to the loss.¹¹³

Whether in the higher or lower strata of peasant society, all Tokugawa peasantry worked hard, just in different ways. While higher-class peasants may not have worked as hard physically, they worked hard to maintain order and organization in order to retain their wealth if possible for generations. Wealthy Tokugawa peasant families worked hard in order to keep up appearances by doing things like putting on elaborate ceremonies. Village heads worked hard in order to keep both villagers and the authorities happy. Those peasants that chose to become educated worked hard at their studies in order to make the most of the money spent on receiving an education.¹¹⁴ In comparison the lower class had to work harder just to survive. Unlike some upper-class peasants who could pay to have their land farmed for them, lower-class peasants worked harder out in the fields in order to grow food and pay taxes. With smaller amounts of land they had to make sure that they did have they put

to good use.¹¹⁵ In addition to the hard work they put in on the farm, instead of taking any free time they had to relax, many peasants added additional work for themselves by taking on by-employments.¹¹⁶ Heads of families made important and difficult choices in regards to their families. Both upper and lower class peasants worked hard to ensure a good life for future generations. Both classes worked hard for different reasons and in different ways.

Conclusion

It is easy to assume that because Tokugawa peasants all lived during the same time, in the same relatively small country, while all sharing the same title in the social hierarchy, they would have experienced life in very similarly. Even some scholars are occasionally too quick to summarize the lives of Tokugawa peasants with sweeping generalizations, lumping them all together in such a way that give the impression they all experienced life in the same exact way. Despite all living during the Tokugawa era, peasants experienced life very differently. While the differences occurred naturally, for a variety of different reasons, but the three factors that had perhaps the biggest influence on a peasant's life experience and how much hard work was required of them were region, gender and class.

Different regions of Japan experienced different climates and landscapes, both having a substantial effect on farming and daily life. The region a peasant lived in also either decreased or increased their chances of experiencing a natural disaster. A peasant's gender determined what work was expected of them with in the family realm as well as what positions they could hold. Where as a Tokugawa woman would almost certainly never become the head of their household, it was an option for males. Men and women had some tasks they both participated in such as fuming but often times the work expected of a peasant was based in some ways on their gender. A peasant's social class determined

¹¹⁰ Smith, *Nakahara*, 51.

¹¹¹ Drixler, *Mabiki*, 284.

¹¹² Smith, *Nakahara*, 111.

¹¹³ Platt, "Elegance, Prosperity, Crisis," 55.

¹¹⁴ Walthall, "The Life Cycle of Farm Women in Tokugawa Japan," 46.

¹¹⁵ Bernstein, *Isami's House*, 5.

¹¹⁶ Totman, "Tokugawa Peasants: Win, Lose, or Draw?" 465.

whether they worked hard at surviving and working on the farm for lower class peasants, or other tasks such as schooling, being the village head or studying the arts for upper class peasants.

These three factors and the potential they had to create different workloads for peasants, bring light to the extent to which theories about the lives of Tokugawa era peasants have been oversimplified in the past. Scholars such as Thomas C. Smith writing on the subject have stated rather simply that Tokugawa era peasants were either thriving with ample time on their hands, allowing them to take up by-employments, further increasing their wealth.¹¹⁷ Scholars such as Hane and Totman state the opposite that they were miserable, disease ridden and starving.¹¹⁸ Tokugawa peasant's lives and how hard they needed to work cannot be reduced down to one overarching, all-encompassing hypothesis in the manner of the aforementioned scholars. In order to be properly examined, looking at different factors. This thesis seeks to explain why it is necessary all these factors be taken in to account when trying determine just how hard peasants worked and why they had to work so hard.

These factors and all of these differences they created regarding how hard a peasant must work show the degree to which a peasant's workload depended on many factors. A wealthy female peasant lived a very different life than a poor female peasant in her same region. The differences in workload and reasons for them grow exponentially when looking at peasants of different genders or classes in different regions.

While all three factors created reasons why peasants needed to work hard, it is my conclusion that the most influential factor of the three was region. Although Japan is a relatively small archipelago, huge differences exist between regions, making the differences in how hard a peasant would have to work significant. While farmers in northeastern Japan farmed on small, steep plots, farmers in the more southern Kansai

region farmed wide, flat fields.¹¹⁹ The temperate climate in Kansai allowed for farmers to double crop where in northeastern and western Japan, peasants experienced months of heavy snowfall.¹²⁰ Some peasants had so much success with crops took up by-employments, others like the peasants of western Japan did so in other regions to avoid being snowed in all winter.¹²¹ These extreme variations create extreme variations in peasant workloads. These differences between regions are monumental, and while the differences caused by class and gender are significant factors contributing to peasant workloads, those created by region are much more severe in comparison.

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¹¹⁷ Smith, "Premodern Economic Growth: Japan and the West," 35.

¹¹⁸ Totman, "Tokugawa Peasants: Win, Lose, or Draw?" 469.

¹¹⁹ Bernstein, *Isami's House*, 5.

¹²⁰ Hane, *Peasants, Rebels, Women and Outcasts*, 115.

¹²¹ Drixler, Fabian. *Mabiki: Infanticide and Population Growth in Eastern Japan, 1660-1950* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2013), 111.

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Newars of Kathmandu Valley

CHANDAN MAHARJAN

In ancient times, it is said that Kathmandu valley was a big lake surrounded by high mountains. A man from China by the name of Manjushree came to Kathmandu and drained the lake by cutting open the southern mountain in Chobar with his sword. Cutting the mountain allowed the valley to be formed and growth of population in the valley. Manjushree came from China. In ancient times China was known as Mahachin in Newari. The cutting open the lake was one of the event on which the civilization began to flourish later in Kirat dynasty of Kathmandu. The Kirat Period is said to be the first dynasty in Kathmandu Valley. The Kirati are the people who had emigrated from Mongolia. During this time Buddhism was not very dominant in Kathmandu valley and at this time the Kirati people were grouped according to castes such as Rai, Kirat and limbu.

Newars are said to be descendant of Tibeto-Burmese and Mongolian people. When people from Tibet and Burma came and traded with India they passed through Kathmandu valley. This place was a trade route that was in the way to India, Tibet and Burma. Newars emerged from the Tibeto-Burman traders that begin to reside in Kathmandu valley and also from Indo-Aryans that resided in the place called Panauti, which is to the Southeast of Kathmandu. Because of very fertile land in the valley the population flourished slowly. As time passed through the Indo-Aryans and the Tibeto-Burmese must have come across each other forming community together forming a Newar Community. Buddhism became very dominant in Kathmandu Valley during the Licchavi dynasty. During the Licchavi dynasty, there was no caste system in Kathmandu valley. In the Licchavi dynasty people in Kathmandu valley spoke Sanskrit, which is one of the oldest languages in the world. So we can assume that trade played a special role in bringing Sanskrit language to the city of Kathmandu valley. Sanskrit language is the language spoken by Indians since ancient times and during the Licchavi dynasty

people of Kathmandu Valley also spoke Sanskrit. In that regard, Sanskrit must have come from India. During the Licchavi dynasty, Newars were called Nepam, which refers to people who lived in Nepal. In ancient times Kathmandu valley itself was known as Nepal, so people who lived here became Nepam.

Rise of Buddhism in Kathmandu Valley

A prince named Siddhartha Shakyha attained enlightenment in Bodhgaya, India. The same prince Siddhartha became known as "the enlightened one" or Buddha. Buddha began to travel to all parts of Asia and taught about suffering and how to get rid of suffering and attain nirvana. Buddhism began to flourish and became very well known in all parts of Asia. Buddhism spread to Kathmandu Valley during the Kirat dynasty. In ancient times Buddha had given teachings in the Pali language. The teachings and texts were later translated into Sanskrit language in Nalanda monastery. It is also usually known as Nalanda University in South Asia. Since Kathmandu was very close to Nalanda, the teachings of Buddha spread during the Licchavi dynasty. Monks from Nalanda travelled to Kathmandu valley to teach Newars about Buddhism. This way Buddhism spread quickly.

In seventh century B.C. Guru Padmasambhava made Vajrayana, also known as Tantrayana. Vajrayana is one kind of Buddhism. In English Vajrayana Buddhism is known as diamond way Buddhism. Vajrayana Buddhist was very influential form of Buddhism in India, Kathmandu valley, Bhutan and Tibet. The Licchavi dynasty gave very much importance to Vajrayana Buddhism. With the emergence of Vajrayana books began to emerge and the teaching began to spread. The people of Kathmandu Valley started to follow Vajrayana. Many small stupas and shrines of Vajrayana deities were built during the Licchavi Period. Pandit Padmasambhava was

invited by the king of Tibet to come and spread the Buddha Dharma (Buddhism). Guru Padmasambhava meditated in many caves along his way to Tibet. At the time Guru Padmasambhava had also meditated in the place called Pharping, located in the southwest of Kathmandu valley, and he also meditated in many other parts of Nepal. Guru Padmasambhava is one of the most important founders of Tibetan Buddhism. Although Newars of Kathmandu have heard and read books about Vajrayana, it was during Seventh century B.C that people of Kathmandu valley got to see one of the great Yogis of Vajrayana Buddhism. During this time, the Newars of Kathmandu Valley directly got involved with Vajrayana Buddhism, which is still practiced today by the Newari priests called Bajracharya or Gubhaju. In the Licchavi Period, there was no caste system in Kathmandu valley. Everyone had identified themselves as Newars.

At the time of Licchavi dynasty, the people of Kathmandu valley were more into Vajrayana Buddhism than Theravada Buddhism. Theravada is one type of Buddhism, which is mostly found in Southeast Asia. Almost all the people in Kathmandu valley were following Vajrayana Buddhism. The Vajrayana Buddhism started to rise in India in the third century B.C. Eventually Vajrayana Buddhist texts like Prajnaparamita, Swayambhu Purana and Mahamudra were being translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan by Newars in Kathmandu Valley and from there they travelled to Tibet. The Newars were being employed by the king of Tibet to translate the books into Tibetan. The Newars acted as a bridge between Indian scholars and Tibetans. The Licchavi period is known as the golden age of Newari history because of the prosperity, culture, language and the spread of Vajrayana Buddhism. During the Licchavi period, one of the largest stupas was made. It still exists today and is referred as Boudhanath Stupa in Kathmandu valley. Many more statues of five Buddha figures were created in Newar society, which still exist today. In every ancient Newar community, we can see statues of Buddha made of rocks and stones. We can see this in Kirtipur, Patan and Kathmandu valley itself. Licchavi period is considered as the golden period of Buddhism in Kathmandu valley.

Buddhist Practice

Bajracharya and Shakyas are considered as priestly castes in Newari society. Bajracharya's and Shakyas children (especially boys) are taught Buddhist mantras and prayers at a very young age. When they reach adulthood they have to do learn many tantras, which is only taught to Bajracharyas and Shakyas. The idea of karma is significant part of Buddhism. Every Buddhist, whether it's Tibetan or Newar, believes in the law of karma. Buddhists believe that karma is associated with all humans. If you have good karma your future reincarnation will be prosperous. However, if you commit bad deeds, bad karma is earned. One way to earn good karma is to make offerings to one's guru. (Glenn 148). Guru Mandala is a practice that is done by meditating on a specific deity and ones guru. Every Bajracharya and Shakyas practitioner has a root guru. The root guru can be one of your own relatives or may be an unknown person but he must be someone who has practiced Vajrayana for his whole life. The root guru gives you teachings about the Buddha, dharma, sangha and guru mandala. Guru mandala is practiced by meditating on deity or visualizing the deity. It is believed that all the bad deeds or sins that have been done by mind by thinking of negative thoughts can be cleaned off by meditation and visualizing on a deity. After the Guru mandala is practiced the next step is to practice Vajrasattva. Vajrasattva is practiced to purify the bad deed done by one's body. The person repeats Vajrasattva mantra and confesses his or her sins by visualizing the Vajrasattva deity. Glenn states, Another kind of practice is fire sacrifice (Glenn, 157). In this practice the fire is worshipped. It is also commonly known as Yajna or Homa practice. In this kind of practice thirty-two kinds of grains are used to throw in the fire after saying a mantra of specific deity. This kind of practice is done in front of stupas or monastery. Along the Yajna, hundred and eight Bajracharya are called to recite, each one reciting certain part of the text. Usually the mantras generally start with Om and ends with Hum or Phat. Bajracharya's will go on start practise tantra onces the guru mandala is complete. Tantra is the heart of Vajrayana Buddhism. A

Vajracharya priest must master the art of Tantra before becoming a Newari priest. This is the rule that is followed by Vajracharya. In ancient times during Malla dynasty Newars could only get teaching through Bajracharya's but these days' time has changed.

Very few Newars practice Vajrayana other than the Vajracharya and Shakyas. Tibetan Masters from Tibet who are in exile have resided in Kathmandu valley are now teaching the Newars of Kathmandu Valley how to practice Vajrayana Buddhism. The teaching which were not available to Newars before are now available to Newars. The teachings of Guru Yoga (remembering guru), atiyoga (meditation of Rainbows), mandala (offering of thirty-two kinds of grains), vajra guru (Padmasambhava mantra recitation) and japa yoga (recitation of mantras) are practiced by Newars. The Tibetan practice also came from the Indian source especially Nalanda University and so did Tantrayana practised by Newari priests. In this sense it is same Buddhist Tantrayana teaching that's been travelling from India to Tibet and now Tibet to Kathmandu valley.

Decline of Buddhism

When the Malla Dynasty replaced the Licchavi Dynasty, it all changed. During the Malla Dynasty, the caste system was introduced for the first time in Kathmandu Valley. The caste system was in the heart of India at this time. The Malla Dynasty decided to introduce the same idea in Kathmandu Valley during 1200 AD, but since this idea of a caste system had never been introduced among the Newar community, the Newars did not know what it was.

The first Malla kings decided to put a caste system in society. Like in India, Malla kings decided to divide the caste into four major groups. The caste system is itself known as Jat in Newari culture. Thajjat means the upper caste and Kwojat is referred to as the lower caste. Importance to last names began to be introduced in the Newari society. When the caste system was introduced, the Newari priests only gave profound teachings to their own caste. Bajracharya and Shakyas thought: Since we are

the priests of the Newars, only we should learn it, not others. Otherwise, there will be competition among others and us.

During the Malla Dynasty, the kings worshiped Hindu gods and goddesses. Because the Royal family was Hindu, Hinduism also began to flourish in Kathmandu. Because of this, we see equal Newars who will say they believe in both Hinduism and Buddhism. In the Licchavi period, Buddhism dominated, but during the Malla period Hinduism spread rapidly. That is the reason why we see almost eighty percent of Newars worshiping both Hindu deities and Buddhist deities. Gods like Vishnu and Shiva were widely being worshiped. Many of the Newars could be heard saying that they respected both equally and that God is one, only appearing to us in different forms.

In the Malla period, Theravada Buddhism began to rise slowly in Kathmandu Valley. After the Malla Dynasty came the Shah Dynasty. During the Shah Dynasty, many Nepalese people started to migrate to Kathmandu Valley in search of opportunities. Since the Newar population is only about seven percent of the total Nepalese population, the migration of other Nepalese ethnic groups began to increase and in their own place (Kathmandu), Newars became minorities.

The Shah Dynasty was based on the idea of Nepali identity not Newari identity. The Shah dynasty wanted everyone to speak Nepali so that the country could easily be ruled under one language. The Newari was never prioritized in their own city. However, in this period religious tolerance was emphasized fairly. At one point, the Ranas banished Theravada Buddhism and exiled all the monks and nuns from Kathmandu Valley. The Shah Dynasty was big a believer in Hindu ideology. Although they paid respect to Buddhist deities and stupas, they did not follow Buddhism themselves.

Caste System in Newar Society

Among Newars, the Bajracharyas, Karmacharyas and Shakyas began to be known as the Brahmin class. Although the Karmacharyas are devotees of Hindu gods, they are seen as high class Brahmins for Hindu temples. In other

words, Bajracharyas could also be referred to as Buddhist Brahmins.

Although Buddhism does not talk about the caste system because of the fact that the Malla king had introduced the caste system during Malla period, these Buddhist priests believe in the caste system. The Newari priest class was called the Bajracharya or Gubhaju. These Newari priests are mostly educated, especially men. Women are not as educated. In the death rituals and in other rituals, they perform Buddhist offerings that are related to Vajrayana Buddhism. These Bajracharyas are not monks. They get married as a layperson, but they work as priests for the entire Newars of Kathmandu Valley.

In the Newar caste system, it is a little different from the others. They eat food given to them by other lower castes other than the untouchable caste. When they are not doing priestly jobs, this priestly caste also makes bronze statues of different kinds of Buddhist deities or figures. They have passed this skill from generation to generation. Still today, in places like Lalitpur and Bhaktapur, Shakyas and Bajracharyas work on making statues. Other than making statues, they also make jewellery of gold and silver.

The other castes like Joshi, Malla, Shrestha, Pradhan, Amatya and Rajbhandari are considered as the Kshatriya class. It is said that the Karmacharya, Malla and Joshi are the descendants of Malla kings which ruled the Kathmandu Valley from 1200 AD. These Newari Kshatriyas are mostly educated in academic studies among Newars. They are seen as high Aristocrats in the society, who made decisions for the society in the ancient Malla Period.

Although there are many castes associated with the Newari Kshatriyas, even inside the Kshatriyas they are sub-divided. The Joshis might not see as Shrestha equal to themselves. If a Newari Kshatriya Malla marries a lower caste woman, then his or her social status will go down. These people are called half caste Malla. Although they get to keep their last name, they might be a topic of gossip in the society.

In ancient society, people were very strict about marrying their own caste, and therefore arranged marriages have been very famous with Newars. For example, if someone falls in love

with a girl, the family usually asks what is her caste and where is she from. There is a caste called Tuladhar, who are the hybrid of Shrestha and Tibetan. In ancient times, the Tuladhar especially married Tibetan women in general, but in recent times things have changed. Tuladhars no longer marry Tibetan women.

Castes Like Maharjan, Dongol, Suwal, Sthapit, Shilpakar, Nakarmi, Tamrakar and Singh could be referred as the Vaishya class. Maharjan are farmers, especially from Kathmandu Valley. The Jyapus of Kathmandu Valley harvest rice, maize, mustard, vegetables and wheat, but two of the most important harvest are wheat and rice. In Newari society, Maharjans might feel they are superior to Tamrakar, but Tamrakar might feel equal social status with Maharjans. Everyone wants to top the other.

Maharjans are also referred to as Jyapus, and Tamrakar are referred to as Khusa. Maharjan could be seen in Kathmandu city, Kirtipur, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur. For example, in Kirtipur there are small areas called tol, where only Bajracharyas live, and in another tol/place, only Maharjan live. So, we can see the division between castes by place as well.

The Maharjans are considered as the largest population amongst the Newars. Most of the land in Kathmandu Valley belongs to these Jyapu. Beside farming, the Maharjans are phenomenal carpenters and builders. In ancient Kathmandu Valley, Nakarmi are people who do metal-related work. They make metal tools for farming, and Silpakar make statues.

Castes like Napit, Khadgi, Malakar and Tandukar could be referred to as Sudra class. Manandhar in ancient Kathmandu Valley are associated with making liquor called aila. The Khadgi who are referred to as Na in Newari society are associated with selling meat and killing animals. Malakar are known as Gathu in Newari society. Malakar in the ancient Kathmandu Valley made their living by selling flowers. In ancient Kathmandu Valley, Napit made a living by cutting hair and toenails. In ancient times there would be many different small societies called twale or tol under a large society. The Napit are also referred to as Nau in Newari society, and are called by Maharjan to cut their hair and nails. That was how Napits made

their living in ancient Kathmandu Valley. The Nau is also called by Tamrakar, Tandukar and Shrestha to cut their nail and hair.

Like in India, Newar society also has an untouchable class. This class was thought to be the lowest of the lowest in ancient Kathmandu Valley. Among the untouchable class, Pwo, Kapali, Gayoin, Dwon, Dyalha and Biswokarma are considered an untouchable class. In ancient Kathmandu Valley, Pwo and Gayoin were not allowed inside the temple or stupas. Although untouchables, the Dyalha and Kapali are seen in the temple as priests, especially in Hindu temples. Once inside the temples, Dyalha give food which is called *prasad*, and this *prasad* is offered by people to God. Upon request, they give it to whomever asks for it.

The untouchable class made their living by cleaning around the cities with brooms. They were deprived of education, and people of higher classes did not want to study where untouchables studied. Among the untouchables there is also a class system among them. The Kapali believe that they are higher class than Pwo.

In recent times, times have changed regarding the caste system in Newari society and culture. Today the Shrestha are easily marrying Maharjans. There are a lot of inter-caste marriages happening in Newari society. For example, Bajracharyas are even marrying outside of Newar society. Now the society has opened up. People are open, and so are their ideas. Nepali society and Newar society have never been as close to each other as today. Although society has opened up, there are conservative people who think that their sons and daughters should marry with their own caste men and women.

Ancient Newars were all Buddhists. Although Buddha have never mentioned in any Sutra or teaching about the caste system. Buddha gave teachings to whomever wished to receive it. The Bajracharyas to this day believe that they are superior in the Newar society. With modern education, the Newars have become modern. These days the Newars of Kathmandu Valley are doctors, nurses, teachers, and so on. Even people who were seen as untouchables have proved themselves through education and knowledge in the society.

The traditional jobs do not have any significance among Newars. For example, in many Newari priestly households, Bajracharyas no longer go and chant mantras in the Newar community to earn their living. This is why Newars of all castes have been following Tibetan Buddhism. Teachers from different sects of Tibetans have established their centers near Kathmandu Valley and these Tibetan monks offer teachings to whoever wants to receive it. Very few Newars remain today who say that they are pure Buddhists, and the source to receive Buddhist teaching is through Tibetan Monks.

The Bajracharyas who are still practicing might be the last generation to practice it because new generations may shift the profession and opt out of the old profession. Times have changed; they do business and have other professions. The Newars themselves become the melting pot. As Kathmandu Valley becomes more and more developed, people from different place are coming to this place. Many upcoming Bajracharyas hesitate to do their traditional job because of being ashamed by other people.

Guthi System

According to David N. Glenner in his book *Monk, Householder and Tantric Priest* he states "Guthi derives from the Sanskrit *gosthi* association (231)." It is an association made of community members for the benefit of the society.

The guthi system has been around since the Licchavi Dynasty in Kathmandu Valley. In ancient Newar Society, every man was directly or indirectly involved in the guthi system. Guthi is associated with the land that people own. There are many kinds of guthi. One is government owned, where people pay taxes, and another is government certified but run by local people, where people gather and make decisions for society. David states, "All these castes are very small and urban, and the caste-guthi brings together all members of the caste within one area (237)."

In ancient times, there was a lot of land and a smaller population in Kathmandu Valley. For this reason they created a guthi where the population

was largest. The entire valley's land was divided into many guthi areas. For example, Pashupati guthi, Kirtipur guthi, Lalitpur guthi, Bhaktapur guthi, Swayambhu guthi and Changunarayan guthi. If a person named Ram owned land near Swayambhu, Ram would pay annual tax in the Swayambhu guthi but Ram would still be associated with another guthi in his hometown, associated to his caste. But the payment of taxes would be accepted in one place for Kathmandu Valley.

However, in recent days due to lack of funding in the caste guthi, the members are also paying an annual fee. The government guthi is for all caste people to come and pay taxes, but the caste guthi is an organization or association of common castes to do different communal jobs. There is also a so-called public utility guthi. If there is a shelter made in the roadside for the people who are tired, if the water fountains have to be repaired and to maintain the roads in good condition, this is all done by public utility guthi.

Guthi is the association that tells society and its members who has the authority to determine what is right and what is wrong. For example, if there are irrigation canals to be maintained, it's done by the guthi. If there is fight between the two brothers regarding a property dispute, guthi members help the brothers by determining how much property each brother gets. In modern terms, the guthi can be explained as a club associating with one group that has the same last name or caste status. For example, the guthi for Shakyas and Bajracharyas will be same in some places and may not be the same in another place. It also depends on the population. If a place called XYZ has a smaller population of Bajracharyas and Shakyas, then they might merge together. But if Bajracharyas have a high number of people, they might start a guthi only involving Bajracharyas.

In every guthi, guthi members will be assigned different kind of jobs. If you were a busy man, you could pay extra money and opt out of the work. Women have a very small role in the guthi system. Women are only invited to do cooking or serving jobs. Women cannot be a substitute for her husband or son, but a younger brother can substitute for an elder brother. Members have a specific job according to their status in the guthi. Examples are cremation

activities, buying wood in large quantities for cremation, cooking food and taking care of the guthi building.

In one year, they might have two or three major events where all the members gather together and enjoy food. For example, Guthi feasts are very common, and during the feast they sacrifice animals such as buffalo or chicken. David states, "Nearly all Guthis have at least and often more than one annual feast (232)." They may offer the blood to God and divide the meat in equal halves among all the members of the guthi, or they might not divide the meat and instead have a big dinner called bhwe, or a party. This is funded by the guthi itself, and in most cases the government funds the guthi.

In most case, older men were the leaders. Especially the Thakali, a person who is the most senior in the guthi. The Thakali and his wife will take charge of ceremonial functions in the guthi. In most of the guthi, every year one family takes turns performing ceremonial functions. Paphayeku is turn taking and rotating every year with a new family. Turn taking is necessary, because it is a big responsibility. David states, "Often, when the responsibilities of guarding of valuables, a key is indeed handed over (233)." Every year it is rotating to a new family. The new family who takes up the responsibility will have to do puja, or a worshiping and praying ceremony, early mornings for a year. The same family has to take care of the belongings, or very precious ornaments, and funds as well. Thakali would go to the house and just do the ceremonial function. But all the work is done by the host family, in order make the feast and related activities.

Another kind of guthi is Lineage Deity guthi. A lineage guthi works by preserving the temples and stupas. In a place called Patan there is a guthi of lineage where a cult of karunamaya is held and every year there is a chariot festival. In the Cult of Karunamaya is the statue of the Compassion Buddha, who is worshiped throughout year. The Cult of Karunamaya has enough land and resources to run the guthi. The land is in the name of the guthi itself and on top of that, government also funds it. The rice grains and other kinds of grain are grown in the field, and because of there being too much land, over

surplus of grains are sold. The needed amount of grains are kept in the guthi. The offerings to the Karunamaya also go to the guthi, which helps its guthi members.

The Karunamaya guthi members take turns in looking after the Cult of Karunamaya to insure protection and traditional values of the temple. According to David, "They observe lineage Deity worship in single families or groups of two or three very closed related ones (239)." The families of the Karunamaya guthi take turns in looking after the cult of Karunamaya. Every year the new family comes, and the old family leaves. In this way there are no quarrels among the members. Every member is given the date of appointment and when to leave. The rotation is done to make sure everyone gets his or her share and prosperity.

However there are some rules associated with lineage guthis. If a person dies in the family while serving the Cult of karunamaya, the family serving the Cult cannot serve the Karunamaya for twelve days. They would have to bring other family to serve for the twelve days. If the guthi needs the money, the members take it from the guthi.

It is said that the Karunamaya guthi started from the Licchavi Dynasty, especially in a place called Kwa Bahal in Patan, where there is a masterpiece statue of Compassion Buddha that is run by a lineage guthi. In Kwa Bahal, guthi members are very conservative. They don't even let people to touch the statue. They think that people who are not of their caste should touch the statue to show off their status. During the worship in Kwa Bahal, there are certain rules and regulation the family who is serving needs to follow. They must recite prayers early in the morning and eat special goods made of rice-flour. While eating, the seniors sit in the front, then juniors according to seniority.

Inside Kwa Bahal, there is another guthi called Prajna Paramita guthi. In this guthi only seven family members from Sakya are involved. Not even Bajracharyas are involved. They frequently read the Prajna Paramita text, and each and every one is given certain number of pages so that they may all read their part. Usually it is read on auspicious days, such as on the birthday of Buddha and the month of Gunla,

which is considered a Newari Buddhist month. The Shakyas who read the text are given money by people to read the text for them. While reading the book, they must be in a pure state; they cannot eat or drink anything. The original script that was brought from Nalanda University is being used to read the text that is from the Licchavi Dynasty.

Inter-caste marriages are not acceptable in Kwa Bahal guthi. Either the members have to marry Bajracharyas or Shakyas. The Kshatriya Newar have their own guthi. For example, Pradhan, Amatya and Shrestha might be involved in one guthi whereas Malla and Rajbhandari might have another. Maharjan, Dangol, Singh and Suwal are the most numerous in Newar society. They have the biggest guthi in Kathmandu Valley. The guthi members are called Guthiya. They have meetings every three months. The meeting could be on financial issues or any other problem.

The guthi members show up to those houses where people have died within two to three hours. Death guthis are the most most important of all the guthis. Every man in the household is associated with the death guthi. There can also be branches in a death guthi. According to David Glenner, "As so often, local variation in terminology can be confusing: there is a second type of guthi associated with death which is called sana guthi in Kathmandu"(246). Being a sana guthi just means going to the home of a deceased one and paying condolence and tribute. It can go on for more than five days. All the community members come one by one. If a person is busy for some reason, that same person will come tomorrow or day after tomorrow. If the person does not come to pay his or her respect, then it means that he/she has no respect for the deceased family. Gwa are the people who are known as cremation specialists. They are usually from the farmer castes. During the Malla Dynasty, Gwa were hired by all the high caste Newars to perform cremation activities, but that tradition is not in use anymore.

Disputes are common in almost all guthis. In ancient times, democratic ways were not used to finalize the decision. It was based on the most popular and the wealthy. This created disputes, and in many cases punches were thrown. There are many examples of disputes, but one the most

famous one can be found in Nagbahal, Patan. There was a dispute between the Bajracharya and the Shakyas. It was a large guthi, which was divided later due to a dispute.

The new divided guthi did not use Gwa, but the old still hired Gwa to cremate their dead. The Gwa charges four hundred rupee for every corpse. But these days, the guthi members do all of the jobs. They no longer pay Gwa. The guthi members rotate and take turns in doing so. Attendance of members is compulsory and failure to attend will result in a bad reputation and fines. They help the deceased family by carrying corpses to the cremation ground. The guthi members also carry wood, straw, and the palanquin to help the deceased family.

Dyapa in Newari is a cremation ground. Every year, people who are associated with their own guthi go and pay money like taxes to the guthi, in return the guthi helps people. For example, if a family has not paid the guthi, they will not come to help the family. In Newari culture, there is a tradition that if the family becomes too big, the elder son separates from the parents and starts a nuclear family. This was very common in ancient Newar society and contemporary society. In this case, the elder son of the family immediately joins the guthi to ensure that if there is a death in a family, the guthi members will come and do the necessary job needed.

Although the death guthi is important to all the Newar, in some areas in Bhaktapur, lineage guthi might be more important. In some areas feast guthi might be important. So it depends, according to the area. In that case, the corpse is taken to Pashupati and they cremate them there. The Manandhar, Napit, Tandukar have their own guthi. The guthi also get funding as well as wood from the government.

Language

The Newari language is the language used by Newars. The Newari language is also called Nepal Bhasa or the language of Nepal. In ancient times during Malla Dynasty, Kathmandu Valley was known as Nepal. So the Newari language was known as the language of Nepal. The Newari language evolved during the Malla Dynasty. The

official writing script is called the Ranjana script. According to Hem Raj Shakya and Shankarman Rajbanshi in their book, *Ranjana Lipi Varnamala*, "The importance of Nepalese Ranjana script cannot be overemphasized for it is well known to Buddhist world such as China, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, Bhutan, Ladakh and Tibet (2)". Ranjana script is a very well known script in Asia.

Ranjana script was mostly used in Buddhist monasteries and in temples. One of the famous Buddhist books, *Prajnaparamita* was written in Ranjana script with gold and silver. Most of the popular mantras of different deities have also been written in this language, which was translated from Sanskrit at Nalanda University in ancient times. Among many scripts in Nepal, Ranjana script has also been known as one of the most decorative scripts of Nepal. This script was very popular in Malla Dynasty; however, it is not popular anymore. The Rana Dynasty and Shah gave no importance to this script. In fact, the Rana's and Shah's tried to erase it completely. People who were reading and writing the script were being jailed to unpopularize the script during the Rana Dynasty.

The Ranjana script has sixteen vowels and thirty-six consonants. The Ranjana script has a very thick lining. The reason for the thick lining may be so that it would last for more time. A different kind of pen is necessary to write Ranjana script. The script was developed in the eleventh century AD and was used by Newars in Kathmandu Valley for many years officially in government offices. It is said that in the United Nations, Nepal has used the Ranjana script as the official script of Nepal. It is one of a kind. It is more similar to Tibetan than the Sanskrit script, and a lot of words are the same and similar to Tibetan words.

In contemporary Kathmandu Valley, Newari is not a priority at all. Even the Newari families have not given importance to it. Nepali is being spoken in most of the households. People don't teach their children Newari anymore, because in government offices they use Nepali, schools use the Nepali language, and Nepali is spoken in many parts of Nepal. Some people can speak Newari, but in most cases they cannot write in Newari.

Food

One of the most essential components of the Newar is their food. Newari food is considered as one of the most delicious cuisines in Asia. Many kinds of food are found in Newari culture. Beaten rice or Baji is very delicious. Newars use beaten rice, which is also known as Flattened rice in the western world, and baji in Kathmandu Valley. According to Lowdin, in his book *Food Ritual*, states, "Baji looks somewhat like oats (111)." When rice is harvested from the field, the same rice is boiled for about two to five minutes. After that the same boiled rice is roasted, it is flattened. The final product is similar to uncooked oats. Baji is an essential item. It is eaten during lunch time. It is also used in large feasts - without the baji, a feast cannot be completed. Baji is usually brownish white in color. The next kind of food which is eaten by Newars is ja, or rice.

Ja is simply translated as white boiled rice. Rice is eaten almost two times because sometimes people eat bread called mari, or a wheat flour tortilla, but most people eat white rice twice a day. Usually lentils and curry is added to the plate along with the rice. Ja is never served in the large feast. In other words, ja is consumed only with family, not even with relatives. When Buddhist Newars do the fasting practice called Vrata, ja is not consumed. Instead of eating rice, they consume milk, yogurt and fruits.

Next is white beans, which are also known as bhute in Newari language. The raw white bean is boiled and soaked, then fried later. This kind of bean is used in almost all feasts. Because of its importance, it is more expensive than other beans. Without serving these beans, a feast cannot be completed. It is regarded as respect to serve white beans to people who are close with your family. Another kind of food is chickpeas, known as chana in the local Newari language.

It is also made the same way as the white beans. First it is boiled and soaked. Later it is fried in oil. This food is not necessary to serve, but Newar do serve it in feasts sometimes. The next item is black soya bean and white soya bean. White soya bean is prepared for general gatherings. It is prepared by frying white beans in small quantity of oil. However, is it not that important. Black soya bean is a very essential

food. Whenever there is a feast, there is black soya bean in it. It is called Haku musya, which translates to black beans. It is considered as an essential item in a ritual. Black soya beans are offered to God. It is used in so-called sa puja, which means cow worship, to cure the illness of oneself. The next item is called wa or pulse cake.

Pulse cake is made from black pulses and is also made from green pulses. First it is soaked and then mashed into small fine pieces, then roasted into flat cake. It is also sometimes known as bara which is very well known in the valley. Another kind of cake is yomari cake, or steamed rice flour bread, which has molasses and sesame seed inside it. First, the rice flour is made into a heart shape. After putting molasses in it, they put the whole cake into the boiling water. According to Lowdin in his book, *Food Rituals* "Four days before the yomari punhi the yogari are placed inside the house's storage room (127)."

The reason to put the yomari in the storeroom is to thank God for a good harvest season. Newars believe that the storeroom is where God resides. Thus the Newars try to keep the storeroom clean and secret. The month of December is usually when all farmers welcome the rice grains. Almost all the Newar families make yomari and thank the god of wealth known as Kuber. On the full moon day of December, most of the families thank each other and their relatives for helping each other in the field during harvest season. Newars only make this cake in December and only eat Yomari once a year. Another kind of bread is chattamari.

Chattamari is known as flat rice bread, which is made of rice flour. Chattamari is usually eaten during festival season. People from Lalitpur eat it during Karunamaya or the Compassion Buddha festival. People from Kirtipur eat it during Indrayani, or the Goddess festival. It usually is flat in shape and can be eaten with soup, meat and other vegetable dishes.

Another kind of food, which is loved by Newars and eaten yearly, is sanyakhuna. Sanyakhuna is jellied meat that is only made during the month of December. Lowdin states, "Sanyakhuna is prepared for a large and happy feast (124)." Usually sanyakhuna is prepared for feasts like marriages and festivals. The buffalo meat and fish is boiled for seven to eight hours,

and then the boiled meat is placed in a utensil made from silver or clay. After that it is placed in cold place and naturally it takes the shape of jelly. It takes around six hours to become jellied meat. Usually they put different kinds of spices, but they add a lot of chili powder to make sanyakhuna. However, if you don't add chili powder, it becomes takha, or jellied meat without chili powder. It is generally made for the big feasts as well. Takha or jellied meat without chili powder is also made during festive occasions. It is one of the best dishes of the Newars. Although it is made similarly to sanyakhuna, the takha looks green in color and spices like cumin, turmeric, ginger, salt and garlic are used to make it.

The next dish is the kachila dish. Kachila can be referred as the raw meat of buffalo that's been crushed into pieces then spices like garlic and onions are added to it. It is not served to a large number of people. It is often used in small gatherings and by alcohol drinkers. Hie la is also one of the meats that are eaten in small gatherings. It is not used in large feasts. It is made from the blood of the buffalo. First, the vegetables are fried, and then blood is added to it.

Another kind of food that is most liked by Newars is choyala or roasted meat. Choyala or roasted meat can be made in different ways. It can be boiled or roasted in a fire. The most common choyala in Newar society is the roasted one. It is also commonly known as haku choyala or black roasted meat because of its color after being roasted. The boiled choyala is made by boiling the meat in the water and adding spices to it. If the feast does not have choyala it is not considered a feast. It is a very important food item on the food menu for Newars. Choyala is associated with Tantric traditions.

Sinki is a vegetarian food made from radish leaves. The leaves are soaked and cleaned. It is put in a plastic pot under a cloth cover to dry out. It is one of the foods that give you micronutrients. However, sinki is not eaten daily. It is especially eaten during winter. It can be eaten in the morning with rice and with baji at lunch. It serves as curry. People usually have a negative perception about sinki, but in reality it is one of the most nutritious foods. Often people who eat sinki are referred to as being poor in the society.

Like sinki, gundro is made from radish leaves. The radish leaves are first soaked in water. Then the leaves are put in glass bottles for about thirty days and dried out in the sun for around five days. According to Lowdin, "Gundro is a popular dish largely it is cheap (115)." During lunch, people mostly eat gundro and beaten rice. When people work in the fields, the simplest food to make is gundro because it is cheap and easily made at home. Gundro is also used for household purposes. It is not used in large feasts because people think that eating gundro brings a negative perception about the family who is eating it. It is an excellent source of carbohydrates. The next food is egg.

In Newari an egg is known as khein. Either eggs are made by frying or by boiling. In Newari culture people do not eat eggs daily. Newars use eggs in occasions like feasts and when a guest shows up to their houses. In ancient times, when a guest showed up, the people of Kathmandu Valley would simply serve eggs and wine. It is a great respect to be served eggs and wine. If the Newar family is Buddhist and do not consume eggs, then the guest will simply be served other things like lakamari, which is a sweet, crunchy cake. Duck eggs are considered pure and often used in offerings to God. However, it is also offered to people during special occasions like marriage. When a person travels far away, the family members give him so-called soka, or happy journey wishes, and during that time duck eggs are used. Eggs are seen as good luck sign in Newari culture.

Another kind of Newari food is kwati. Kwati is simply mixed bean sprouts that has at least nine kind of beans in it. The nine kinds of beans are soaked in water for around two days. Then simply boiling it in the pressure cooker makes it, but in ancient times it was made in a clay pot. It is usually eaten with rice and is a great source of protein for vegetarians. There are some days like Janai Purnima, or Full Moon Day during August, when kwati is officially eaten. It is also often eaten in winters among families. Kwati is not eaten if there is a death in the family or a relative's family. You are not supposed to eat kwati for twelve days.

The next food is same baji. Same baji is a combination of mixed food put together.

According to Lowdin, "Same baji is compounded ritual dish made up of fried flattened meat, fish, ginger and black beans"(123). Usually same baji is served in small plates. It is often served in small amounts of choyela or buffalo meat, dried fish, boiled spinach, beaten rice, black eyed beans, pieces of ginger and pulse cake. Same baji is often made during festive seasons and during guthi feasts. Usually wine is an essential part of same baji. First the same baji is offered to God. Without offering it to God, no one eats. After the offering has been made, then people start to eat by sitting down on the straw carpet know as suku.

Next is Ayela or wine. Ayela or wine is a Newari liquor which is made from distilled millet, barley and rice. According to Lowdin, "Ayela is commonly served to greet a visitor (110)." In ancient Newar society, people served liquor and eggs to guests. It is considered as honoring the guest. It is a old tradition that is still alive to this date. Often in old days people drank ayela in the morning due to lack of knowledge and understanding. However, these days it is only drank in the evenings and most of the drinkers are men. Ayela also has medicinal value. It is rubbed into the knees if a person is suffering from knee pain. Farmers or Jyapus make lot of ayela for feasts and for harvesting seasons. Another Newari liquor is thon.

Thon is a rice beer, which is made from brown rice, millet, barley and maize. Many kinds of rice beer can be seen in Newari society like red rice beer, white rice beer and brown rice beer. The thon or rice beer is drunk during feasts and during the fieldwork. Rice beer is drunk by both men and women. Farmers or Jyapus makes most rice beer. Rice beer is offered to most of the Vajrayana deities in Kathmandu Valley like Rahula, Mahakala, and Vajra Yogini. Thon or rice beer is also prepared for festivals and without rice beer the festival is not a successful one. Every household makes rice beer. Women are very knowledgeable about how to make rice beer. Men are only associated with drinking it, not making it.

After eating, every feast or meal people usually eat cloves or betel nut sliced into halves. Betel nut is known as gwe and cloves are known as lawo and often chewed into pieces. For Newars it is like chewing chocolate or candy. Unbroken

betel has an important place in Newar society. It is often exchanged during marriages. The parents of both the groom and bride exchange it to symbolize a new beginning or friendship. When the new bride is brought to groom's home, the bride gives unbroken betel to everybody who is associated with the groom's side. and the relatives give money in return.

In the Newar community, the celery seeds, ginger, turmeric powder, cumin powder, cloves, crushed sesame seeds and garlic are called masalas, or spices. Without these spices no food can be made. In that regard, spices are very necessary to make Newari food. Since ancient times, homemade spices are prepared. Cloves are are chewed after eating lunch or dinner. It is believed in Newari society that cloves make teeth stronger and free of disease. When people have flu-like symptoms due to cold weather, they usually boil the water and add turmeric powder, ginger, clove and garlic. They believe that drinking boiled water that contains certain spices can cure colds and a runny nose.

Ancient Newar Society and Household

In ancient Kathmandu valley almost all houses were made of clay bricks and mud. Houses were at least three stories and the top story was usually used as a kitchen. The kitchen was seen as sacred place. According to Lowdin, "This room is regarded as sacred and one never enters with shoes or any object of leather" (44). The kitchen was seen as sacred because many of the Newars have a storage room near the kitchen. Storage rooms were also where Newars worship god and they strongly believe that the goddess Laxmi or wealth goddess resides in their store room. In ancient society during the Malla dynasty, the Shresthas would not allow the Jyapu or Maharjan into their kitchen but Shresthas would allow them in their living room. The second floor was usually used for living rooms and bedrooms.

The first floor was usually used as stables or spaces for chickens or ducks. People from Kathmandu valley also used the first floor to open business because roads were right in front of their homes. In ancient times, Newars slept on

the floor and they probably did not have beds. The head of the family is most likely a man who was also known as Thakali. The head of the family can be eldest son if and only his father has passed away. However, after the father is dead there might be problem regarding one person working too much in field and another not working so hard. In many case there is imbalance in the family after the father had passed away. In ancient times a household could be very large, up to twelve members per family.

Different kind of jobs was performed in Newari households by different members. According to Lowdin, "Newars are found in all professions (45)". Usually the male population worked all seasons in the field whereas women worked more in the household. Some members might be running the shop and usually they take turns in running the shop. Some of the members might go and work as carpenters and others as house builders. In some cases, brothers split after the father passes away.

Newar society is male dominated. Priority is more often given to sons rather than daughters because daughters get married off whereas sons look after the parents. The parents prefer sons to daughters. Usually the male in the family eats first, and then the female can eat. Men are seen as more superior than females because the men are seen superior than female. The seating order determines who is more important in the household. While eating family members sit on the hay carpet and its usually the head of the family who sits on front. The children, regardless of their sex, eat before the women. Males in the society represent the family, while females are seen as less important.

There are different kinds of marriages in Newari society. Swayamvara marriages are one form of marriage where the groom and bride offer rings to one another. This kind of marriage is less costly because no feast is needed. Usually this happens when the groom and bride are of the same caste and if the bride's parents like the groom and vice versa. The groom and bride eat food from the same plate referred to as a chipa. Newars believe that eating from the same plate increases love for each other. It is also a great way to reduce cost in unnecessary food and liquor.

Arranged marriage is another kind of marriage in which a person called a lami mediates between both the families of the bride and the groom. In ancient society many Newars had arranged marriages. During arranged marriages, the entire history of each family is researched. For example, research might concern the caste of the both bride and groom, their professions and their families' status in the society. Usually in arranged marriages the groom's family take initiatives in finding suitable women for their son. During the marriage the groom does not go to the bride's house. The relatives of the groom's family go and bring the bride to his house.

When she arrives at the doorstep, the groom's mother brings her inside the home and the marriage ceremony begins. Arranged marriages are usually associated with large feast where everybody brings gift to the bride.

The mothers tell their daughters that if they run away with a man that is not from her caste, then she is no longer part of her father's family. "Runaway marriage" is something that is done when men and women from different castes run away from home for two or three days. In ancient Newar society if the daughter did not return home for one night it is understood that she had ran away with the man. In many cases, men and women who are poor and are from the same caste would run away to avoid the cost of feasting. Once the female runs away from her father's home she might not be accepted in her father's home again. Sometimes even men are not allowed inside his own home. This usually happens when he has married women with lower caste.

Festivals of Newars

There are many Newar festivals, which are celebrated each year. One of them is Bisket Jatra. Jatra is a Newari word for festival. Bisket Jatra is celebrated during April. It is not celebrated in every town or city where Newars live. It is only celebrated by Newars living in Bhaktapur. Bhaktapur is a Newar town located seven miles east of Kathmandu. Legend has it that when a god

named Bhairav killed two demon serpents, this marked the beginning of Bisket Jatra.

In Newari, Bi refers to snake and the word syako means slaughter in Newari. Bisket was formed from the combination of these two words. According to Mary M. Anderson, in her book *Festivals of Nepal* states, "Bisket celebration officially opens when Bhaira[v] and Bhadrakali are enshrined in their respective chariot" (44). Bhairav is the male god and Bhadrakali is the goddess. Once the Bhairav and Bhadrakali are enshrined in their respective chariot the festival starts. The crowds will gather in front of the chariot. A person in the chariot instructs the crowd when to pull and when to stop the chariot. Once the person in the chariot gives the command the crowd will pull the rope, which is attached to chariot. The chariot is temple-shaped and has four large wooden wheels.

Thousands of people come to pay their respect to Bhairav with rice grains, holy water, oil, and incense and ceremonial powder. Bisket festival is celebrated for several days. One part of festival is to erect a huge pole representing the linga or genitals of Bhairav. People use ropes and bamboo to support the huge pole. People of Bhaktapur invite their relatives for feast and sacrifice animals in front of gods and goddesses. Later the sacrificed animals are eaten from clay bowls and liquor is consumed from clay cups. It is a dishonor if liquor is not served with eggs or meat during festivals.

Another festival is Rato Machhendranath jatra, also known as karunamaya in Newari. In Newari language it is also frequently known as Jyabalya jatra, which means festival of one who has compassion. In ancient times, it is said that it did not rain for twelve years. Drought was seen everywhere. Rato Machhendranath took birth in Kingdom of Assam and people of Kathmandu Valley went and brought to Kathmandu. Upon his arrival it started to rain. The karunamaya festival takes place during May. It is especially celebrated by Newars of all caste in town such as Lalitpur and Patan. Patan is a Newar town located southeast of Kathmandu Valley. Not only Buddhists but also Hindus show great respect to chariot of Rato Machhendranath. The chariot of Rato Machhendranath made up of all wooden materials.

First of all, statue of Rato Machhendranath is taken to the small pond to bath. The statue is painted red and is carried back to chariot. Then the festival starts. The long towering chariot is first stationed at Pulchok, Patan but in every twelve years the sixty-five feet chariot is made in the place called Bungamati, Lalitpur. It is pulled from Bungamati to Mangal bazar, Patan. The making of chariot began on February 2015, and then the Chariot was pulled from Bungamati to Patan on April 19th 2015. Next twelve years festival will be on April 2027. The people pull the ropes, which are attached to long and towering chariot and move it from one place to another.

As it reaches place called Thahiti, Patan, coconut dropping festival take place. According to Anderson, "During the stop at Tahiti two men climb to the uppermost section of the chariot's spire and drop a coconut into the crowd"(58). Thousands of crowd waits coconut to be dropped. Once the coconut is dropped hundred and hundred scramble to get the coconut. It is said that the person who catches it will be blessed with son and he is also called upon near the chariot and given blessing by priests. Coconut is the seen as the sacred fruit.

Another festival is Gunla. Gunla is a sacred month, which lies between August and September. During this month Buddhist Newars visit stupa of Swyambhu which is around two thousand years old daily for whole month. People fast, pray, sing religious songs, and say prayers and mantra while circumambulating the stupa. People who fast only drink tea and water for one day. People of Kathmandu visit Swyambhu stupa during morning and people of Patan visit Kwabahal Buddhist shrine. People who go to monasteries take vows during this month.

It is said that whatever positive deeds you do during Gunla, your positive karma doubles. People make donations to monasteries. Along with the donation they also donate rice, lentil seeds, maize, barley, wheat and many other things. The Newar priests perform especial puja or worshipping sessions where they also offer different kind of items. The entire day is spent on reading texts of Buddha, purifying sin one has committed by saying mantras and singing the praise of Buddha through songs. Another festival is Gai Jatra.

Gai Jatra is known as cow procession or SA Paru in Newari language. People of Kathmandu Valley believe that on this day of Gai Jatra, which is celebrated in end of September. It is said that the doors of heaven opens for all that have died in this year. Cow procession is done by every family who loves opens have passed away. In this festival the real cow is not sent to visit the valley; instead the young boys and young men are decorated as cows with funny hats made from bamboo sticks are made to visit the city. Upon visiting people's homes they are offered breads, grains and money. On this day, all the family who have lost their loved ones make donation in the name of their loved one's to all the young boys and young men who are decorated as cows.

The sole purpose of this Gai Jatra is to make people laugh since many families have lost their loved ones. In some other parts of valley like Kirtipur, parade takes place with masked people who dance along the road. As drum beats, people start to dance in traditional way of dancing styles and keep going on until the dark. Gai Jatra can be explained as Halloween in the west with different masks but has a lot of cultural value in it. In this festival all the relatives are called upon for feast but those families who have lost their loved ones do not celebrate Jai Jatra. Another festival is Mother's day. In Newari society, mother's day is a very important festival. In this day all the children give gift to their mothers. Women who are already married go back to their mother's house with different food items. This festival has been celebrated since Malla dynasty.

Architecture

Newar culture is very rich in architecture. There are many examples of Architecture that still exist to this day and time. Most of the palace and place were made in Licchavi dynasty and some were made during the Malla dynasty. One such palace is Bhaktapur. Bhaktapur is also known as khope in Newari. It lies to the fifteen kilometer east of Kathmandu valley. Most of the people who live here are Newars. It is the place in front of the palace. Many of the tourists are definitely taken

to this place because of its beauty. Bhaktapur Durbar square is the place in front of Bhaktapur Durbar or palace. The major attraction in Bhaktapur is fifty-five window Palace where there are fifty-five windows which is very beautifully decorated within the wooden frame of the windows.

Golden gate is also located in the same place, which is made from gold. Nyatapola Temple is another beautiful architecture inside Bhaktapur Durbar square. Nyata means five pola means stories. This building does not have any deity or god inside the temple but it very beautifully decorated outside the temple. The environment just like the old Newari city with amazing architecture in all four directions.

Another such place is Boudhanath stupa. Boudhanath Stupa is one of the oldest and biggest stupa in the world. Boudhanath stupa was founded during Licchavi dynasty by Licchavi King Shivadeva. From sky or above, Boudhanath stupa looks like a mandala or Buddhist cosmology. Boudhanath stupa is amazing piece of architecture that's been recorded as world heritage site. Boudhanath is also an ancient symbol of Vajrayana Buddhism in Kathmandu valley. Another stupa, which is also very famous, is Swyambhunath stupa. It is also known as monkey temple by westerners.

According to World cultural heritage, there are seven places in Kathmandu valley that are phenomenal in architecture and its beauty. These were all made during Licchavi and Malla dynasty.

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Nationalist Archaeologies of Korea and Applying Multivocal Interpretations

JESSICA WOLFF

Archaeological findings can be manipulated to tell a convenient story of the past. The Korean peninsula is an area where archaeology has a profound effect on the forming of national identity. It is a nation that vividly remembers Japanese colonization in the twentieth century. Remains in Korea were exploited by Japan to justify colonization and Korea's dependency on other nations. Korean postwar nationalist historians fought these claims after liberation from Japan. Eventually, archaeologists' goals in Korea were to find proof of a strong, independent nation.

China established four commanderies in Korea in the early second century BCE. One of them was called the Lelang commandery (fig. 1), located in present-day Pyongyang. Japanese archaeologists first found the site in 1934, but it has been widely debated by scholars. Some scholars argue that the commanderies were proof that Korea depended on other nations early on, while others argue they did not exist at all. I will delve into these arguments, and study the following questions in this paper: (1) When did Korean nationalism become an issue with which to infuse history with a nationalist bias; (2) What has caused Korean nationalists to vector artifact-finding analyses towards a more nationalist history; and (3) What can future archaeologists do to solve the issue of nationalistic archaeology in Korea?

My paper is constructed in the following order. First, I will give a brief history of archaeology on the Korean peninsula which began during the Japanese occupation in the early twentieth century using Hyung Il Pai's information in *Constructing Korean Origins*. I will argue that in both North and South Korea, historians have manipulated interpretations of archaeological findings to suit ideological, political, and nationalistic goals, and have reclaimed archaeological sites to reconstruct their own national narratives. I will be using the Lelang commandery site as an example, located in the Pyongyang area of North Korea, as an example of nationalistic debate in archaeology.

Second, I will give a history on the Han dynasty's commanderies on the Korean peninsula, especially what is known about the Lelang commandery. I will also be using Mark Byington's facts and interpretations on the Han commanderies to further illustrate their history, and using Hyung Il Pai's extensive archaeological studies on Korea. I will also use other scholars' interpretations of the Han commanderies, especially the contrasting sides that argue whether they existed at all, and argue that past interpretations of archaeology have been used for nationalist political agendas. I will introduce the debate on commanderies such as Lelang, in which North Korean archaeologists and scholars such as Yun Nae-hyon argue that the commanderies did not exist at all. More recent archaeologists, Japanese and Korean alike, argue for its existence due to the large amount of artifacts and ruins found.

I have gathered information from these scholars to line up historical facts, archaeological analysis, and different interpretations. With this information, I will form my argument, which is that Korean nationalism has taken over archaeological interpretations and misrepresented them. In both Koreas, select historical events and objects have been infused with national importance in order to eradicate traces of foreign influences and strengthen national identity. I propose that archaeologists solve this by applying practices from around the world and including different cultures and scientific backgrounds in order to achieve a fair and unbiased interpretation of remains.

To support my argument, I will outline what archaeologists in the American Southwest have debated about property rights with Native Americans and compare their processes in solving the matter to suggest possible solutions for Korean archaeology. I will be using examples from the American Southwest and its own issues with archaeology and narrative-making that have

become the center of debate. In this instance, histories that are written or interpreted by non-Native American archaeologies have been replaced by Native American narratives. Native Americans have been included in ethnohistorical approaches to their history and archaeology surrounding the discovery of ancestral remains.

Lastly, I will be proposing a multivocal approach to archaeology in both Korea in order to find a fair interpretation of the past that is neither colonial nor nationalistic, and will utilize published work by Ian Hodder and Bruce Trigger on this debate that argues for several solutions. In the book "Multiple Narratives," many authors present ideas in several areas of the world for archaeology that evaluates different narratives. I will be using this work to argue for multivocal approaches to Korean archaeology.

I will now give a brief orientation on archaeology and its recent evolution to highlight that it is important to history and national identity. New ideas are always being suggested, and new ways to practice archaeology are being introduced worldwide. These new ideas, and perhaps better methods in the future, can help tremendously with the nationally biased archaeology of Korea. Archaeology is important because people find answers to the past, and it is especially useful if written records are found. For example, in Korea, there is a historical document called the *Samguk Sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) that tells readers much about Korea's history¹. However, the *Samguk Sagi* can only give us a fraction of Korea's past. These documents were also written through Confucian and Buddhist lenses that cite factual credibility to both mythic founding legends and historical events². Archaeologists can use these written records as a way to find artifacts, but accepting them as fact would only be half of the truth.

Archaeology accounts for the ways people lived, and yields hard evidence in addition to written records. It is the study of the human past and behavior using the recovery and analysis of

material objects and remains. Historical accounts may be fictionalized, dramatized, or written in the bias of the victor. Using the latest technology and various sub-disciplines of it, archaeologists can figure out a lot of information of an artifact or site, such as when it existed and who used it. During my studies in anthropology, I have learned that the goal of archaeology is to find out how and why cultures have changed over time. It seems that in extremely nationalistic perspectives in Korea, however, the point is reversed: nationalist historians want to show how much the Korean people have not changed.

In the past, scholars in the field of archaeology have suggested that findings should be studied objectively. Learning lessons from the past, this science has evolved in such a way to establish more objectivity, remove personal biases, respect the boundaries of local people and what they consider their ancestors, and give a voice to the marginal populations of the nations they live in. However, personal biases cannot simply be erased, even in a science such as archaeology.

According to Bruce Trigger, nationalistic archaeology bolsters national morale and pride, and is strongest among nations who were deprived of their rights by more powerful nations. Nationalistic archaeology emphasizes the recent past to draw attention to ancient achievements³. Trigger also argues that archaeological interpretations are never truly objective, as they are a product of context in politics, society, and history⁴. This is important to note because archaeological work is still subject to political and social climates. Trigger's essays sparked much debate in later years on the political implications of archaeology. This logic matches the goals of Korean archaeologists after liberation from Japan in 1945.

I will introduce a basic understanding on certain approaches to archaeology that have evolved over time: processual, postprocessual, and post-postprocessual archaeologies, one of which would be helpful in finding fair archaeological interpretations in Korea. Processual archaeology was argued by American archaeologists such as

¹ Kyung Moon Hwang, *A History of Korea: An Episodic Narrative* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), Kindle Electronic Edition, 14.

² Sarah Milledge Nelson, *The Archaeology of Korea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 9.

³ Bruce G. Trigger, *Artifacts & Ideas: Essays in Archaeology* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2003), 73-74.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

Lewis Binford, who were optimistic of completely objective and scientific study of human remains, and only one way to do this science. Postprocessual archaeologists argued against objective study, placed emphasis on the subjectivity of archaeology, and contended that all archaeologists interpreted remains with their own bias. This view included a wide variety of perspectives, including Marxist, feminist, and phenomenological approaches. Post-postprocessual archaeology involved a diversity of views, with no unified perspective, and included the concept of multivocality⁵, which I argue below as the best approach for Korean archaeology at this time.

The concept of multivocality is the idea of including different voices in archaeological interpretations. In archaeology, this includes the descendants and underrepresented indigenous groups, as well as scholars of different scientific disciplines at the site itself, such as scholars focusing on different anthropological disciplines (culture or forensic) or other scientists, such as geologists. I will go into how this will help Korean archaeology in the Discussion section. I will now introduce Korean archaeology from its recent beginnings after World War II to the present.

Beginnings of Korean Archaeology

Archaeology on the Korean peninsula first began with Japanese archaeologists during the early 1900s. The Meiji state held a monopoly over heritage administration and severely limited archaeological progress in Japan. This caused Japanese archaeologists to turn to colonies, and in turn, to Korean excavations. As early as 1900, Japan sent archaeologists to Korea, beginning with Yagi Sozaburo, Sekino Tadashi and Imanishi Ryu. Tokyo University systematically sent students during the annexation of Korea starting in 1910, convinced that Korea was the source of a common racial link between Japan and Korea⁶.

⁵ Ian Hodder, *Archaeological Process: An Introduction*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 3-5.

⁶ Hyung Il Pai, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity & Identity* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2013), Kindle Electronic Edition: Chapter 4, Location 2407 of 6107.

In addition to finding ancestral roots, Japan's ideology behind its colonial archaeology was based on the desire to prove Korea's subservience to China. Remains in Korea were exploited by the Japanese to justify colonization, and interpretations included the idea that Korean people were not independent and that they posed "a servile attitude towards bigger nations"⁷. Japanese historical analysis emphasized Korea's racial inferiority to Japan and its dependency on China. They also argued that anything excavated in Manchuria and Korea belonged to Japan's prehistoric past and represented Japan's antiquity and imperial origins⁸. Japan was also hoping to downplay their colonial goals by claiming that Koreans and Japanese were one and the same people and that their colonialization was not cruel or forceful at all⁹.

A specific example of Japanese colonial justification is the rediscovery of the inscriptions from the stele of King Kwanggaet'o (414 CE), which brought up a lot of debate. The rubbings of the inscriptions were brought to Japan by a Japanese military officer, and Korean historians believed the inscriptions were falsified. Korean historians also argued that the existence of Mimana (a Japanese military outpost from the third to fifth centuries) was a fabrication to justify colonial rule¹⁰. This is one example of Korean archaeologists attempting to remove foreign interpretations or fabrications of indigenous remains.

Koreans held only nonacademic positions in museums until their liberation in 1945, so their voices were silenced in the realm of Korean archaeology. This colonial time is remembered by Koreans as a time when their past was distorted by the Japanese, and to some extent, they are correct¹¹. As stated before, they were using the

⁷ Hyung Il Pai, "The Politics of Korea's Past: The Legacy of Japanese Colonial Archaeology in the Korean Peninsula," *East Asian History* 7 (June 1994): 40.

⁸ Hyung Il Pai, "The Colonial Origins of Korea's Collected Past," in *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*, ed. Hyung Il Pai and Timothy R. Tangherlini (Berkeley: The Regents of the University of California, 1998), 15.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Minkoo Kim, "Multivocality, Multifaceted Voices, and Korean Archaeology," in *Evaluating Multiple Narratives:*

past to justify colonization and prove subservience to other nations. Hyung Il Pai points out four research themes that were emphasized by the Japanese during this time: (1) the common ancestral origins of the Korean and Japanese people; (2) the existence of Japanese colonies on the Korean peninsula in the past; (3) the overwhelming impact of Chinese cultures on the Korean peninsula; and (4) the backwardness and stagnation of Korean cultures.

The data that Japanese colonial archaeologists collected were selectively used to reconstruct the evolution of Korea¹². They interpreted the origins of Korea and Japan while holding on to the nineteenth-century paradigms of conquests, invasions, and migrations to explain culture change. The prolific scholars and archaeologists during colonial rule cited that the reason for racial and cultural change in Korea was a series of invasions. The interpretation that was accepted was that Koreans “allowed” more than two thousand years of subordination under other races, so they degenerated into a dependent nation until the Yi dynasty. Using this linear logic, dependence on other nations started early on, during the first occupation of Korea with the establishment of the Chinese Han Commandery of Lelang¹³.

Archaeology in South Korea

Finally achieving liberation from Japan after the Korean War (1950-1953), South Korea emphasized archaeology through a nationalist agenda, denouncing colonial interpretations that Korea was a racially and culturally inferior nation. Korean postwar nationalist historians claimed

Japanese archaeological contributions were completed to annihilate Korea’s racial and cultural identity¹⁴. The goal of Korea in taking over its own historical studies was to restore their national pride and redefine their national identity¹⁵. In this light, archaeological interpretations were expected to be compatible with the political ideologies of the time.

After liberation in 1945, it was time for Koreans to redefine archaeology for their nation and gain back their own past. There were many political issues and debate with the postwar period of retrieving Korean artifacts from Japan. For example, in 1965, South Korean president Park Chung-hee accepted war reparations in lieu of Korean artifacts in order to establish infrastructure such as the Seoul-Pusan Highway. This is a complicated matter among the nationalist historians and archaeologists attempting to rebuild the Korean nation and Korean identity¹⁶.

New agencies were founded under South Korean rule to reestablish the past beyond Japanese interpretations. The *Korea [South] Munhwajae Kwalliguk* (KSMKG), or Office of Cultural Properties was founded in 1961 under the Ministry of Education. There was a journal initiated in 1965 (*Journal of the Office of Cultural Properties*) that is still published today, and its goal was to “preserve, manage, and reconstruct...cultural properties so as to hold on to our most precious ancestral heritage and keep them with us for eternity”¹⁷. This goal alone establishes the ideal of rebuilding one’s nation to preserve history and culture prior to colonization, and to expel all recent memory of degradation prior to World War II.

Park Chung-hee continued to use national pride as his political tool. In the early 1970s, much archaeological work was funded by the South Korean government. At one point, the president

Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist Archaeologies, ed. Junko Habu, Clare Fawcett, and John M. Matsunaga (New York: Springer Science + Business Media, 2008), 123.

¹² Hyung Il Pai, “The Colonial Origins of Korea’s Collected Past,” in *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*, ed. Hyung Il Pai and Timothy R. Tangherlini (Berkeley: The Regents of the University of California, 1998), 36.

¹³ Hyung Il Pai, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity & Identity* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2013), Kindle Electronic Edition: Chapter 5, Location 2855 of 6107.

¹⁴ Hyung Il Pai, “The Colonial Origins of Korea’s Collected Past,” in *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*, ed. Hyung Il Pai and Timothy R. Tangherlini (Berkeley: The Regents of the University of California, 1998), 14.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 122.

¹⁶ Hyung Il Pai, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity & Identity* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2013), Kindle Electronic Edition: Chapter 7, Location 3369 of 6107.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Location 852 of 6107.

even landed in the middle of ongoing sites via military helicopter, projecting himself as a strong military leader, with no journalists missing the photo op since they were informed beforehand. He ordered the restoration of ancient sites, such as those of the ancient Silla Kingdom, and built national military monuments to successful famous Koreans, such as Admiral Yi Sun-shin, who led Korean naval forces to victory against Japanese counterparts in 1592, and again in 1598¹⁸.

The KSMKG was renamed the Ministry of Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA) in 1998. It works closely with the National Museum of Korea and the National Folk Museum, and oversees all of the historical sites around South Korea. With the easing of authoritarian government and the belated arrival of a democratic government in the late 1990s, debates have been openly waged online about historical sites until today.

Different versions of the same history emerged when Koreans took the helm after achieving independence in 1945. In an effort to establish national identity and obliterate Japanese colonial influence, South Korea operated under the ideology of the *Minjok t'uchaengsa* (racial struggle)¹⁹, which I will go into later in the Discussion section. Basically, the *t'uchaengsa* was a motivation to preserve Korean identity and culture from invading armies²⁰.

Archaeology in North Korea

In North Korea, archaeological study was implemented explicitly with political goals in mind. Right after liberation in 1945, many scholars in the South migrated to the North. Their early research was based on written Japanese colonial archaeology works alone, but an archaeological

system was being built in the 1940s and 1950s. There were approximately twenty archaeologists in North Korea during the 1950s and 1960s with most of them not having any experience at all²¹. Similar to South Korea, some of the scholarly work was done to counteract Japanese colonial archaeologists' imperial distortion of Korean history.

Every institution established in North Korea has a purpose for politics, and archaeology is no exception. North Korean archaeology was established with a Soviet framework in mind, and borrowed from 1930s Soviet archaeology. In the nationalist craze of the 1950s, especially after Kim Il Sung's *Juche* speech, the use of archaeological works made sense for national pride and the glorification of "Koreanness." North Korea built the Institute for the History of Material Culture (IHM) in 1952, and the Committee for the Conservation of Material Culture and Relics in 1953²².

An archaeological journal in North Korea, *Munhwayusan*, was published in 1957 for the first time. Quotations from Kim Il Sung were cited on the front page, and his words were treated as principles to follow, as is the case for everything written in North Korea. This is evidence of Kim Il Sung's relationship with archaeology and the Korean Worker's Party. Archaeology in North Korea was subject to any decisions made by the Party²³.

Archaeological excavations began in the northern part of the peninsula before the Korean War, and sites such as Anak, Kungsan, and Chodo were researched after the war. Scholarly articles were not published for several years due to the war effort. Excavation accelerated after the war due to reconstruction efforts. This prosperous time for North Korean archaeologists happened in line with the regime's goal in promoting Korean purity, so many articles praised North Korea, Kim Il Sung, and put down other scholars for being "factionalists" when they argued certain points. Some historians were purged in 1958, accused of

¹⁸ Kyung Moon Hwang, *A History of Korea: An Episodic Narrative* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), Kindle Electronic Edition, 80-83.

¹⁹ Hyung Il Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 137.

²⁰ Hyung Il Pai, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity & Identity* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2013), Kindle Electronic Edition: Chapter 1, Location 869 of 6107.

²¹ Hyeong Woo Lee, "The Politics of Archaeology in North Korea: Construction and Deterioration of Toh's Knowledge," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 17, no. 2 (2013): 2-5.

²² *Ibid.*, 9.

²³ *Ibid.*, 10.

factionalism²⁴. This demonstrates the amount of control the regime had over scholarly “debate.”

Toh Yu-ho, a leading figure of North Korean archaeology, agreed that previous Japanese works should be condemned, but that they shouldn't all be discarded. This partly obeyed the regime and partly opposed it. He also indirectly referred to Western archaeological terms and definitions when conducting his research. Toh's information proved invaluable to North Korea, however, and he was not purged. In not completely obliterating all the work the Japanese did on Korean sites, he chose the more objective route, and was the model archaeologist that all others should have emulated. However, academic writings that allowed for debate at first later became a problem²⁵.

Kim Il Sung asked for new ideological concepts in the early 1960s to search for Korean identity. However, in 1967, he criticized academics and accused them of being influenced by bourgeois thought. So, he ended all archaeological work in North Korea. Later on, all major academic activities would return with more established partisan revolutionary traditions²⁶. In the end, the North Korean regime achieved what it wanted, and was able to control any academic pursuits according to the totalitarian government, including archaeology.

Archaeology of Lelang and its Debate

Now I will proceed to briefly explain the history and archaeology of the Han commanderies, specifically Lelang, which was the most stable of China's colonial administrations. China laid siege in 108 BCE to forts and cities in Korea because the northern part of the peninsula was blocking trade to the southern part of the peninsula. Eventually, the Han dynasty conquered the Wiman Choson and established four commanderies in Korea under

Emperor Wu's command, establishing its foothold²⁷.

The Lelang commandery was installed in 108 BCE²⁸. The other Han commanderies fell to Koguryo before Lelang, which was the last to fall. It even survived the fall of the Han dynasty, yet it was conquered by the Koguryo kingdom in the early fourth century²⁹. Koguryo is another Korean kingdom, so overtaking Lelang could have been good news to promote national pride, but a debate later ensued about the existence of the commandery itself.

The Lelang commandery site is located in present-day Pyongyang. Over a few years in the 1980s, there was some controversy on the actual location of the Lelang site. Much of the debate was sparked by Yun Nae-hyon's works, which emphasized that the state of Old Choson was centered not in Pyongyang, but west in the Liaoning region. He claimed this while denying the existence of all Chinese commanderies in Korea in his attempt to eliminate any trace of foreign influences from the peninsula. This claim contradicts all of the archaeological discoveries of Lelang (and not Old Choson) found in the Pyongyang region.

Eventually, the identity of Lelang commandery was supported by discoveries of Han artifacts and seals inscribed with Lelang titles³⁰. North Korean scholars continued work on the site after the Korean War, but they interpreted the Han Chinese remains as Korean origins: from Old Choson. These scholars have denied the existence of the Han commanderies with very little evidence to refute old work done on the site by colonial archaeologists and North Korean archaeologists after the Korean War.

The excavations of the Lelang Commandery were done by Japan's *Chosen koseki kenkyukai*

²⁴ Hyeong Woo Lee, “The Politics of Archaeology in North Korea: Construction and Deterioration of Toh's Knowledge,” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 17, no. 2 (2013): 11.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 15-17.

²⁷ Sarah Milledge Nelson, *The Archaeology of Korea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 165.

²⁸ Kyung Moon Hwang, *A History of Korea: An Episodic Narrative* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), Kindle Electronic Edition, 1.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁰ Hyung Il Pai, *Constructing “Korean” Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 127-129.

(Committee on the study of Korean antiquities). In 1911, Torii Ryuzo hypothesized the location of Pyongyang for the commandery due to his findings in China near the northeastern border of Korea. The debate on the location of Lelang commandery in 1913 raised the need for Japanese archaeological investigation of the Pyongyang area. The earliest comprehensive survey conducted by the Governor-General of Chosen was done in 1925, numbering up to 2,000 with later archaeologists, including North Koreans. The area was investigated twice in 1935 and then in 1937, then continued excavation occurred up until 1943. The control of archaeological investigation then changed hands to North Korea³¹.

It is incontrovertible to contemporary South Korean and Japanese archaeologists that these remains are related to the Han and show similar characteristics. Many of the Lelang burials followed the Han custom of spousal burials, which placed coffins side by side in the same chamber. There were varied tombs, such as wooden chambers and brick chambers (fig. 2), and Japanese archaeologists discovered Han diagnostic artifacts in those that were intact³². According to In-seung Jung, the most important type of evidence for locating the commanderies is the Chinese-style earthen walled sites. These types of sites have been found along the Taedong and Chaeryong Rivers. One of the known earthen walled sites during which Lelang was in power includes T'osong-ni, which is where many Lelang artifacts are found³³.

Archaeologists found eaves tiles with inscriptions that read *Lelang liguan* (officer of rites) and *Lelang fugui* (riches and honor). Also, unquestionable evidence came with the eleven clay

seals that were found, with titles of Lelang appointed officials during the Han dynasty period (fig. 3). Actual excavation of the Lelang site *Chosen koseki kenkyukai* began in 1934. At the Lelang site and surrounding areas, Japanese archaeologists recovered more inscriptions and clay seals, coin molds (which indicate minting on site), pottery, burial sites, and thousands of tombs³⁴.

Some burial sites have been looted, unfortunately. It is so in the Sokkam-ni area, but scholars can analyze what was intact. North Korean archaeologists excavated over 120 graves in Chongbaeg-dong/Chongo-dong in the years since the Japanese first discovered them in the 1910s and 1920s (fig. 4). The types had a mixture of native and Han types of graves. The wealthiest graves were always the ones with Han items with some indigenous types of pottery and weapons. Most of the other sites revealed a Han orientation of burials³⁵.

With little data to analyze previous interpretations, it is difficult to see what the goal was for North Korean archaeology, except for bolstering national and historic pride. North Koreans even used Lelang as a way to prove that Korea was not under Han rule at all. In the early 1990s, more than 2,600 tombs were excavated in the Lelang area. There were no comprehensive reports from these excavations except for a few articles from individual research. North Korean archaeologists interpret this small bit of published research to prove their point that Lelang was actually an independent state of Old Choson³⁶, and not a Chinese commandery at all.

Hong Ki-mun wrote an article in 1949 about the Japanese archaeologists being "conspirators" and forging the finds, purchasing Han artifacts

³¹ In-seung Jung, "The Material Culture of Lelang Commandery," in *The Han Commanderies in Early Korean History*, ed. Mark E. Byington (Cambridge: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2013), 142.

³² Hyung Il Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 168-171.

³³ In-seung Jung, "The Material Culture of Lelang Commandery," in *The Han Commanderies in Early Korean History*, ed. Mark E. Byington (Cambridge: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2013), 140-141.

³⁴ Hyung Il Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 161.

³⁵ Hyung Il Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 171.

³⁶ Youngchan Oh and Mark E. Byington, "Scholarly Studies on The Han Commanderies in Korea," in *The Han Commanderies in Early Korean History*, ed. Mark E. Byington (Cambridge: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2013), 28.

from abroad and faking inscriptions, marking the beginning of the debate³⁷. As I stated before, there were more than 2,600 tombs found at the Lelang site, but there were no comprehensive published reports. According to North Korean archaeologists' interpretations of these finds, it is proven beyond a doubt that Lelang was actually an independent state of Old Choson. This theory refutes South Korean and Japanese scholars' interpretations that the remains found at Pyongyang are those of Lelang Commandery. According to Mark Byington and Youngchan Oh, North Korean scholars are rejecting not only South Korean and Japanese achievements, but their own that they accomplished before the 1990s³⁸. Without concrete data, it is left to a debate with no true solution. For North Korean archaeologists living in a closed nation, there is no way to critically debate the evidence and existence of Lelang without political consequences.

South Korean historians began viewing the Lelang commandery in a nationalistic light because of their political motivations, or, the *minjok t'uchaengsa* (racial struggle) perspective. This perspective views Lelang's existence as an early example of Korea's "antiforeign" resistance. Its rise was beneficial to the Korean population, but it also stimulated a nationalistic zeal among the people which led to Lelang's fall³⁹. Historic accounts paint the Han dynasty in a negative, imperialistic hue, oppressing and controlling the local people⁴⁰. When South Korean nationalist historians began reinterpreting Lelang commandery as excavated by

colonial archaeologists, its location at the center of Korea was bothersome, since it verified colonial theories about dependence on China. According to Hong Ki-mun, Japanese archaeologists like Sekino all conspired to fabricate artifacts and prove that T'osong-ni was the seat of Lelang commandery.

A problem with post-liberation South Korean archaeology is that sites located in North Korea, such as Lelang commandery, can no longer be excavated, as they were cut off in the division of the two Koreas. Scholars instead have to depend on old reports and photographs that are based on data collected by colonial scholars, but not studied or published⁴¹. Until the day North Korea opens its doors to further study, the debate cannot be conclusive. North Korean archaeologists will continue to argue that the commanderies were never established and that Korea was never dependent on Han China. South Korean archaeologists argue for the commanderies' existence with a lot of archaeological evidence, but their nationalistic zeal still points their view in the direction that Koreans did not just let Han China in to colonize them, but held a fighting spirit to the end.

The problem of Korean archaeology is also a question of changing the minds of people who are eliminating foreign influences and building national identity. In North Korea, the people will not readily accept future archaeologists' interpretations of their past due to political ideologies and restrictions. Bringing in non-Korean archaeologists and scholars can pose a problem or a possibility for conflict. Archaeologists cannot just begin arguing with North Korea about controversial opinions on a certain site; everyone involved must consider the sensibilities and the ideologies of the local people. Unfortunately, archaeology cannot be removed from politics in this case.

³⁷ Hyung Il Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 128-130.

³⁸ Youngchan Oh and Mark E. Byington, "Scholarly Studies on The Han Commanderies in Korea," in *The Han Commanderies in Early Korean History*, ed. Mark E. Byington (Cambridge: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2013), 28-29.

³⁹ Hyung Il Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 137.

⁴⁰ Ki-baek Yi and Ki-dong Yi, *Han'guksa kangjwa, I, kodaep'yon* (Seoul: Lectures on Korean History, Vol. 1, Ancient Korea, 1983), 33.

⁴¹ Youngchan Oh and Mark E. Byington, "Scholarly Studies on The Han Commanderies in Korea," in *The Han Commanderies in Early Korean History*, ed. Mark E. Byington (Cambridge: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2013), 29.

A New Perspective on Korean Archaeology

Archaeologists in the American Southwest have learned valuable lessons in working with local Native Americans who identify with past peoples as their ancestors. Oral histories can create leads to new finds and narratives of the past. There are debates on ownership of the “past”; however, no one truly owns it. Everyone can interpret the past in the present, but cannot claim its ownership – only its ancestral connection and sincere desire to solve its mysteries. People of varied backgrounds and interests can establish a common ground for study using a wide spectrum of disciplines, as I indicated with the varied disciplines one can find at an archaeological site: geologists, forensic archaeologists, ethnoarchaeologists, archaeobotany; different cultures, backgrounds and training, and so on.

Recent studies have improved archaeological field work over time. What started out as treasure-hunting and grave-robbing for profit has transformed over decades into the scientific discipline it is today⁴². Archaeology around the world still has many issues to contend with in regards to the ownership of certain sites. For example, American archaeologists in the past were digging up Native American graves without permission from the people themselves. This led to the establishment of NAGPRA (The Native American Graves Repatriation Act), which sets up guidelines for the permission and respect of ancestral graves⁴³.

In order to step back and get a clear view of what is occurring with biased and political goals in archaeology, one must look to other areas that have debated similar issues. In the American Southwest, recent debates have tackled issues such as ownership of the past and respect for Native Americans’ ancestral graves. I will briefly sum up what archaeologists have improved and what solutions they found in dealing with this issue, as I believe following something similar can help with biases in Korean Archaeology.

⁴² Linda S. Cordell and Maxine E. McBrinn, *Archaeology of the Southwest* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2012), 61-65.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 94.

Archaeology of the American Southwest has its beginnings in the late nineteenth century. Early archaeologists were not educated or trained specifically in anthropological disciplines, as archaeology did not exist as a separate discipline. Explorers traveled throughout the area, finding artifacts for collectors and museums. The artifacts were going to be sent to Europe, but locals created such a stir that the Antiquities Act of 1906 was enacted, which protect sites on public land and prevent unauthorized excavation⁴⁴.

Early archaeologists did not consider cultural values and behavior of the people whose refuse they found. Later on, many acts were declared for considerations in archaeology: the Historic Sites Act of 1935 stated it was national policy to preserve historic sites and nationally significant objects for the people of the United States; the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966; the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969; and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978. These acts required agencies to maintain artifact inventories, manage properties and ensure cultural resources were identified before major construction projects⁴⁵.

In the 1970s and 1980s, archaeological research in the American Southwest changed focus from university anthropology departments to those of cultural resource management programs and private archaeological consulting firms⁴⁶. The number of archaeologists greatly increased since then, allowing for a diversity of humanistic and scientific approaches.

A recent trend is the involvement of American Indians as participants in research, which is possible thanks to the federal and state preservation laws. Congress amended the National Historic Preservation Act in 1992, stating that cultural and religious sites can be included in the National Register of Historic Places, recognizing the cultural value of the sites. Native Americans can also conduct their own archaeological research on their land, which is legally sovereign⁴⁷.

⁴⁴ Linda S. Cordell and Maxine E. McBrinn, *Archaeology of the Southwest* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2012), 62-66.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 94.

Under NAGPRA, established in 1990, archaeologists must repatriate any human remains and funerary objects to the tribe involved. Involvement of indigenous peoples in archaeology is a part of an unprecedented international development in the field. Tribal involvement includes American Indian oral histories, which can influence archaeological research questions and modify archaeological methods in ways unseen before⁴⁸. In this way, not only do archaeologists involve the people who feel they are a part of what is being studied, but they also incorporate fresh ideas and perspectives.

The Southwest plays a role in general anthropological studies of formations of social identities. A few anthropologists offer different perspectives on defining ethnic identity. Two of these are: 1) factors defining a group through internal characteristics that have value; and 2) factors defining a group through external factors that set it apart from others. Throughout southwestern studies, anthropologists have honed in on processes that are involved in creating social identities that inform both of these theories. Some examples in the Southwest provide evidence that ethnic identity is situational, and differs with each group. People make decisions individually or as a group, and some of these decisions are made within social and political contexts⁴⁹.

I will share a specific example of collaboration in the American Southwest, specifically with the Hopi population. The Hopi people lived traditionally in the four corners area of the Southwest, but their reservation is currently located in northeastern Arizona. Archaeologists rely on Hopi migration traditions passed down through generations as well as petroglyphs to conclude how many clans migrated to Hopi. Contemporary Hopi people assist in finding their own history, and can assist with preservation of tradition⁵⁰.

In many more cases with different Southwest peoples, oral histories match up with findings, and

it works the other way around. Though the goal of archaeology in the Southwest is to preserve, the lesson to learn for Korea is the art of collaboration. Archaeologists have learned more through local people, while local people were able to access their ancestors' histories beyond oral traditions. In Korea, this can work in a contrasting way – Koreans already work on their own history, but others need to be involved to ensure a clearer perspective with less nationalistic bias.

Archaeology can still have political consequences. For example, in the American Southwest, there was a problem of archaeologists imposing colonial political boundaries on a past where these borders did not exist. This is the case in many Ancient Korean studies, especially with the study of the Koguryo Kingdom that inhabited what is now China above the North Korean border. It has become an issue for debate, since both China and Korea (North and South) consider that land theirs. This all began with excavations that revealed Koguryo remains in China⁵¹.

Discussion

With these tools in mind, I will reiterate the idea of multivocality to solve the problem with nationalistic archaeology in both Koreas. Ian Hodder argues that archaeological sites should have various groups and individuals for a fair interpretation⁵². The sites will become more relevant to people from different academic and non-academic backgrounds, so many interpretations are available. Including the different perspectives, archaeologists must also include the indigenous people so that they hold sovereignty over their heritage.

Though nationalist archaeology bolsters national pride and heritage, it can fall into errors that are often overlooked. Minkoo Kim points out that the error that Korean archaeologists have fallen into is that they perceive their ethnicity as fixed and traceable, with perfect correlation to

⁴⁸ Linda S. Cordell and Maxine E. McBrinn, *Archaeology of the Southwest* (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2012), 94-95.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 304-305.

⁵⁰ "Hopi Footprints Linking Past and Present," *Archaeology Southwest* 22, no. 1 (2008): 14-17.

⁵¹ Yonson Ahn, "The Contested Heritage of Koguryo/Gaogouli and China-Korea Conflict," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, January 11, 2008, <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Yonson-Ahn/2631>.

⁵² Ian Hodder, *Archaeological Process: An Introduction*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 160.

material remains, which is misleading and inaccurate⁵³. The nationalistic perspective is that of preserving the Korean race and keeping it pure throughout five thousand years; however, this ideal is unrealistic when one examines their history of conquests, including the Mongol Invasion and the Japanese occupation. In future, Korean archaeologists and any other who help with excavations and interpretations must accept this fact and keep it in mind.

According to Hodder, misuse of the past needs to be evaluated socially and ethically. He also argues that a completely objective study of archaeology is not going to protect it from misuse⁵⁴. Scientific objectivity is not enough to create archaeologies that avoid bias. Multiple voices of different backgrounds elicit different perspectives, questions, and arguments that can find a fair answer.

In recent worldwide archaeology, it has become increasingly more important to utilize the voice of marginal populations, as they have been kept silenced for many decades. This helps people establish a foothold in their own heritage and ancestral history, much like the Native American archaeologists and anthropologists in the U.S. that help facilitate work between groups. However, this does not mean that marginal populations should take over the work, and that dominant archaeological ideologies be dismissed. In fact, all sides must be considered for fair and varied interpretations. In essence, no one person or people decide what is the "correct" interpretation, but rather, varied interpretations offer the opportunity for common ground and more objective analysis.

Sonya Atalay argues for multivocality in order to reach the public. She mentions that bringing minorities or disenfranchised groups in to archaeological discussions is no longer enough; everyone at the table must have a true

appreciation for different worldviews⁵⁵. In Korea, finding those of different backgrounds (Korean, Western, etc.) could help in providing different perspectives and finding new non-nationalistic research questions. However, this must be implemented so that everyone involved appreciates varying interpretations of the past.

It is understandable that, especially in South Korea, the concept of *minjok t'uchaengsa* (racial struggle) has dominated the minds of the public and scientific scholars. Years of suffering, especially recent ones that are actually remembered in the minds of many, inevitably affect the national attitude. Though rediscovering national pride and culture is important to Koreans, different perspectives must be involved so that archaeological remains are not exaggerated in any one bias.

North Korea would prove much more difficult in establishing multivocal changes, as the regime strictly controls academic pursuits. They announced discoveries of mythical legends such as Tangun, the founder of Korea, and the unicorn lair of King Tongmyong, which do not seem scientifically objective or true. Arguing for scientific truth in North Korea could come at the cost of one's life, and will probably not be possible unless the regime breaks down. The archaeological search for mythical remains can be done with enough evidence to support locations for sites; however, governments should not order these discoveries or fabricate them to exaggerate nationalistic claims.

Until today, South Korean archaeology has been a process to salvage certain sites in a constrained time due to massive construction projects, but Korea has been highlighting only the most famous and prideful monuments and heroes of their history. If the projects can bring in money and tourism, then it is preserved and rebuilt. There are efforts to improve archaeology with trained professionals and more funding; however, this is the current state of archaeology in South Korea.

⁵³ Minkoo Kim, "Multivocality, Multifaceted Voices, and Korean Archaeology," in *Evaluating Multiple Narratives: Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist Archaeologies*, ed. Junko Habu, Clare Fawcett, and John M. Matsunaga (New York: Springer Science + Business Media, 2008), 121.

⁵⁴ Ian Hodder, *Archaeological Process: An Introduction*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 160.

⁵⁵ Sonya Atalay, "Multivocality and Indigenous Archaeologies," in *Evaluating Multiple Narratives: Beyond Nationalist, Colonialist, Imperialist Archaeologies*, ed. Junko Habu, Clare Fawcett, and John M. Matsunaga (New York: Springer Science + Business Media, 2008), 38.

I will also point out that though the American Southwest and other areas may yield different methods and help us understand places such as Korea, the case of the Lelang commandery can be more complicated. The American Southwest can be complicated in terms of different native peoples and their ancestry; however, the Lelang case has many different voices that argue across a large and divided geopolitical void much more volatile than American state borders. Multivocality can help in establishing fair interpretations in Korean archaeology, and perhaps this is the best area to test that theory. It will not be possible in North Korea for many years, but it is a good start in South Korea.

Conclusion

The Korean peninsula has been a contentious area in which archaeology, and especially nationalist archaeology, has played a big part in building and recapturing national identity and pride. Archaeological finds in Korea were exploited by Japan to justify colonization, and Korean postwar nationalist historians attempted to remove colonial interpretations in favor of national pride.

I argued that in both North and South Korea, historians have manipulated interpretations of archaeological findings according to political and nationalistic goals in opposition to colonial interpretations of the past. I used Lelang commandery as a case study to illustrate the debates surrounding the site. It is also contentious in that it is located in the Pyongyang area of North Korea, so that old data collection is all that archaeologists have to work from and North Korea is such a difficult country to visit.

To support my solution to such contrasting views of certain sites in Korea, I used examples from the American Southwest and its own issues with archaeology. I introduced certain acts that were made in support of local peoples, such as NAGPRA, and the way Southwestern archaeologists include the voices of tribes around them. In including the local people, scholars avoid conflict by creating an atmosphere of mutual respect while employing multivocal approaches to avoid biased and incorrect interpretations.

I argued for a multivocal approach to archaeology in both Koreas in order to find a fair interpretation of the past that is neither nationalistic nor colonial. It is my hope that in future, Korean archaeologists can study their past with a balance that includes past and current data as well as more work that is not marred by nationalistic or political goals. To achieve this, they should include more scholars of different backgrounds to interpret these remains. By different backgrounds, I mean that they should come from different anthropological disciplines, but they should also include a more culturally diverse team. Lastly, I am hoping that future archaeological work will yield the opportunity for rediscovering and reinterpreting sites such as Lelang commandery in North Korea.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1

In-seung Jung, "The Material Culture of Lelang Commandery," in *The Han Commanderies in Early Korean History*, ed. Mark E. Byington (Cambridge: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2013), 141.

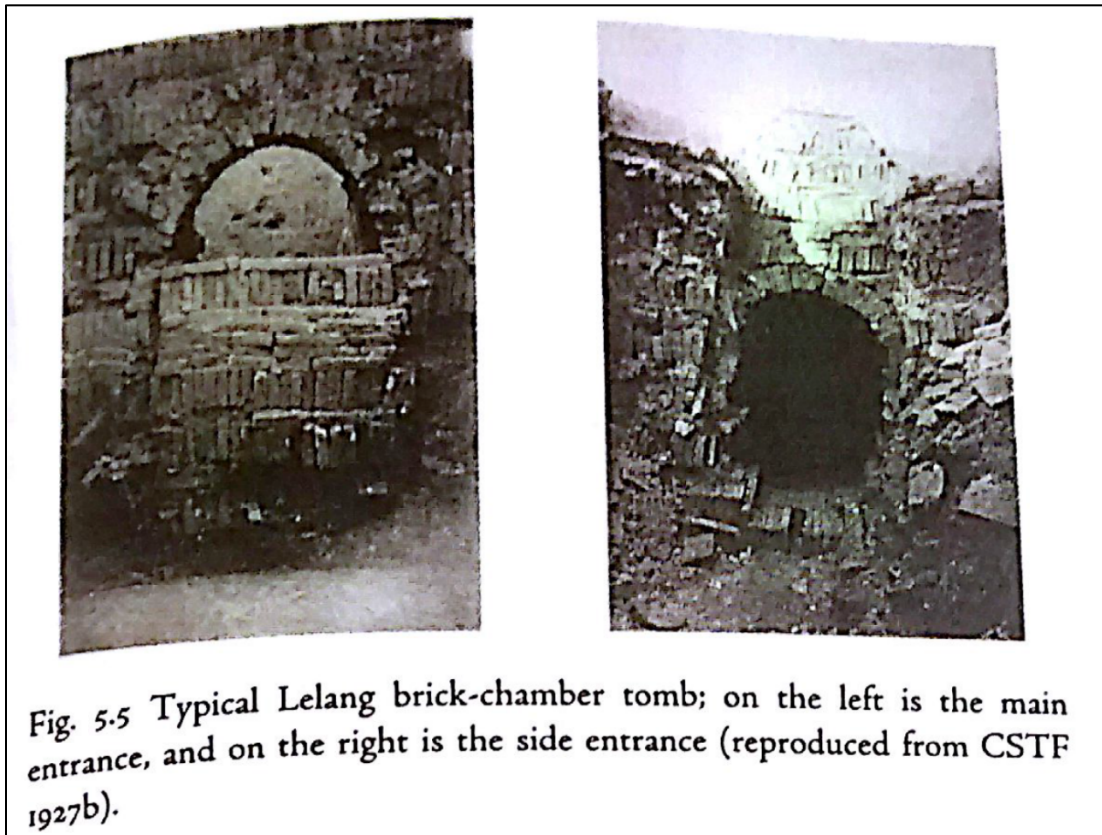


Fig. 2

Hyung Il Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories*, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000, 167.



Figure 1.2 Clay Seals from Lelang's Nanhan District. From Chōsen Sōtokufu 朝鮮總督府, Rakurō-gun jidai no iseki 樂浪郡時代ノ遺蹟 [Remains of the Lelang Period] (Tokyo: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1927): Plates 15-16.

Fig. 3

Youngchan Oh and Mark E. Byington, "Scholarly Studies on The Han Commanderies in Korea," in *The Han Commanderies in Early Korean History*, ed. Mark E. Byington. Cambridge: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 2013, 17.

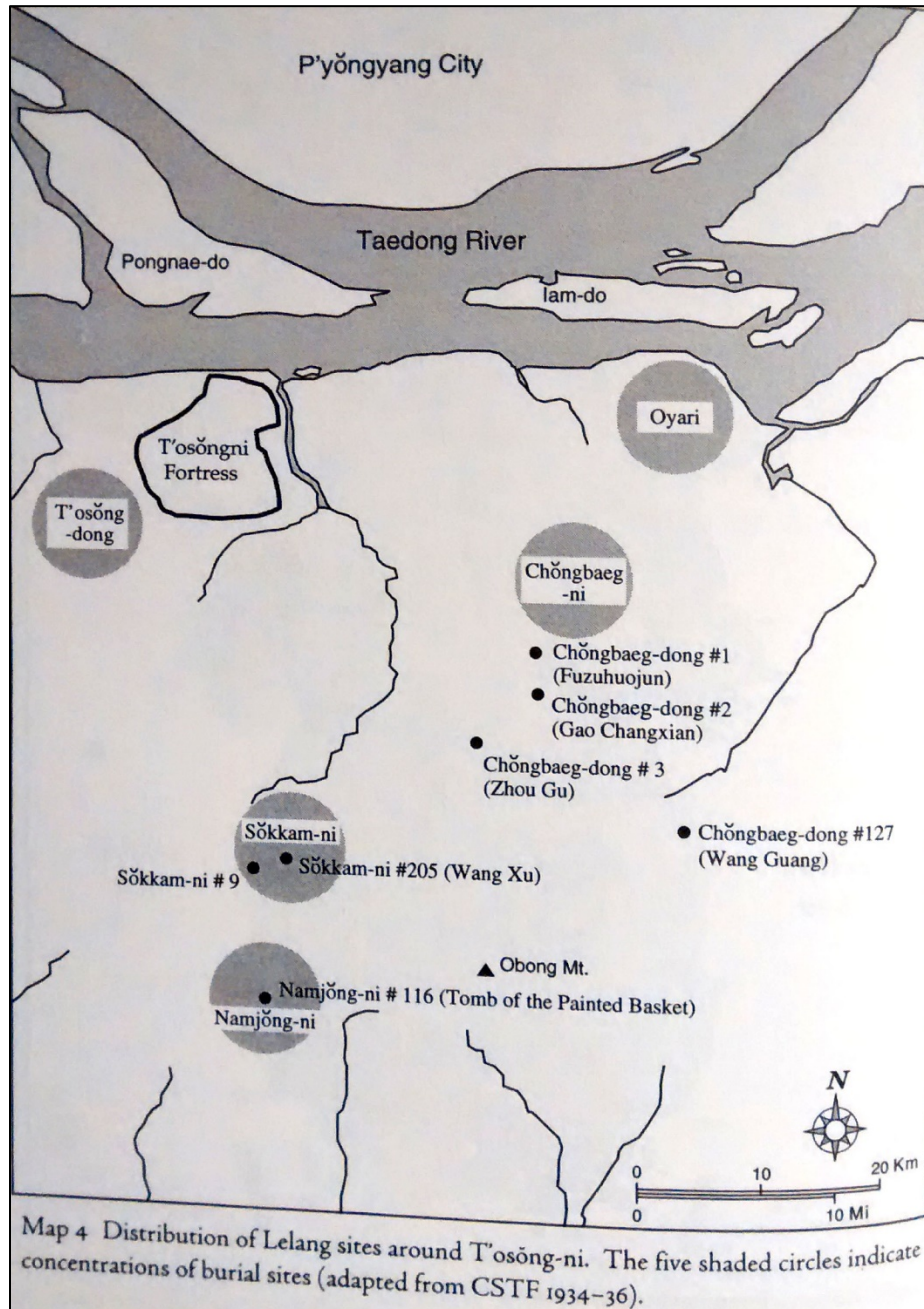


Fig. 4

Hyung Il Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories*, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000, xxvix, map 4.

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