Horizons

A Journal of Cultural and Historical Issues

2002 - 2003

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Editors’ Note

The articles selected for this edition of Horizons offer insight into a wide spectrum of issues related to the history and culture of the Asia-Pacific region. Christopher Brantley discusses the life and legacy of Mongkut, one of Thailand’s most influential monarchs. Brantley reveals the instrumental role that Mongkut played in the creation of a modern and sovereign Thai state. Much as the Thai did under King Mongkut, the people of Mongolia are redefining themselves in the context of the modern world. Yumi Heltzel’s timely piece considers the challenges facing Mongolia and her people as they enter the twenty-first century. Heltzel introduces us to the traditions of the region, and describes life in Mongolia under communism and in the post-communist era.

China produced one of the world’s richest and most dynamic civilizations. Five papers featured in this volume help us understand that reality. Frank Bing provides a fascinating look into the martial arts culture of China in his study of the Shaolin Temple, its monks, and its traditions. Yi-Jia Chen presents a history of the “opening” of China by the West. Hers is a successful attempt at explaining the causes for the so-called “Opium Wars.” In their articles, Ginger Youmans and Zhao Lin Li focus on defining two important elements of Chinese culture: jade and medicine. A piece by Michael Feliciani provides revealing glimpses into the controversial one-child policy, implemented in 1979 in the People’s Republic of China at the urging of the Communist Party.

The nations of Korea and Japan have also left their mark on East Asia. The wealth of their cultures is reflected in papers by Anna Alcon, Jina Min, and Jeff Willard, who respectively elaborate on Korean funerary traditions, Korean dance, and Japanese archery. Besides effectively relating the aforementioned practices, the authors offer interesting glimpses into the spirituality of the region.

Overcoming geographical challenges, Pacific islanders created societies as dynamic, vibrant, and colorful as anywhere else on earth. That is made explicit in the last paper by Shannon Bucasas, who examines fish farming, a revolutionary practice of the early Hawaiians. This concise yet remarkably comprehensive study provides important details about the construction of and uses for Hawaiian fishponds.

These articles reflect the diversity and vibrance of the world in which we live. They provide a glimpse into the history and tradition of a variety of cultures. It is our hope that in reading them, you will expand your own horizons.

The Editors

Horizons: A Journal of Cultural and Historical Issues
The editors would like to thank all the contributors. They also wish to extend their gratitude to the faculty members who encouraged their students to submit their works for inclusion in our publication. Lastly, a huge Mahalo to Wini Au whose guidance and assistance proved invaluable for the completion of this edition of Horizons.

Emma Neff, Senior Editor
Agnes Chun, Editor
Peirre Asselin, Faculty Advisor
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*Horizons: A Journal of Cultural and Historical Issues*
King Mongkut of Thailand

Christopher Brantley

To many people outside of Thailand, King Mongkut has become the archetype of the “noble savage.” These people view him as a vain, boisterous man with a love of polygamy and an unsympathetic attitude. This “knowledge” of King Mongkut comes from the popular yet distorted lens of a camera, a courtesy of Hollywood. The King and I and the fairly recent movie Anna and the King attempt to portray this well-loved and deeply respected king in a way that is both palatable and amusing for the audience. While undoubtedly succeeding in that capacity, the image they leave in the mind of the viewers is defamation of character. Anna Leonowen’s recycled information of her experiences of the court has turned this king, who was instrumental in the shaping of modern Thailand, into a gross stereotype. The films, based solely on her account of Siam, are biased and portray Siam through the perspective of a British gentlewoman with a rather condescending attitude.

The purpose of this article is not to refute Mrs. Leonowen’s claims or to challenge her credibility. While my research has revealed some very interesting and revealing aspects of Ms. Leonowen’s personality, my goal in this paper is to focus on the personality of King Mongkut by revealing his accomplishments and contributions to the state of Siam.

King Mongkut was born on October 17, 1804. He was the second son of King Rama II of the Chakri Dynasty, who ascended to the throne in 1809. He was given the traditional royal education that included studying Siamese and Pali literature (the language used in Theravada Buddhist scriptures), the basic tenets of Buddhism, moral conduct, Siamese history, and the art of war. However, his learning of the world beyond the borders of Siam was very poor as his father and his grandfather (King Rama I) both maintained a policy of isolation from the West: “Europe and England were to him then hearsay, and America was mere gossip” (Moffat 5). At the age of 12, Prince Mongkut’s father King Rama II took direct control over his son’s education and versed his son in the intricacies of language and poetry. King Rama II is considered to be one of Siam’s greatest poets, and his influence on the young Mongkut undoubtedly shaped his appreciation for language.

At the age of 14, Prince Mongkut began his interaction with the Buddhist monkhood by becoming a novice for seven months, as was customary for most children born of noble families. Seeking to firmly establish his knowledge of Buddhist scriptures, the prince returned to the monkhood at the age of 20, at which point in his life he was already married and the father of two children. A short while after Prince Mongkut was ordained, his father died without warning, leaving the throne vacant and without an heir specified. A royal council convened to decide who would succeed, and Prince Mongkut’s elder half brother was chosen. Prince Mongkut remained in the order of monks for the next 27 years.

Prince Mongkut’s time as a monk can be accurately labeled a complete reversal from his former life. He went from living in the luxury of the palace to waking up every morning to beg for food. This practice, however, did connect him to the people of Siam in a way few royals were able to connect. As author A.B. Griswold states, “His travels gave him a knowledge of geography that was rare in those days of poor communications, while his friendly talks with the people gave him an insight into their minds and needs such as few rulers ever attain” (13). The Prince also contin-
ued his study of Pali in order to truly understand the Buddhist scriptures. After three years of intensive research and learning he received a degree and a thorough understanding of Buddhist scripture. The Prince also learned Latin from the French Bishop Monsignor Pallegoix, who helped him compose a Siamese-Latin-French-English Dictionary. Through contact with American missionaries, Prince Mongkut learned to write and speak English fluently, though not always correctly. His exposure to these Western influences also sparked his interest in modern science. The missionaries helped Mongkut in his studies, particularly in astronomy and geography, his main areas of interest.

Prince Mongkut's experience in the order of monks also taught him the urgent need for religious reform. Through his diligence and determination during his monkhood, many necessary religious reforms took place. A group of monks from Ceylon (Sri Lanka) came to Siam in 1840 to visit King Rama III and stayed at the temple where Mongkut was abbot. After unsuccessfully trying to visit Ceylon, the Prince sent a delegation of five monks who returned in 1842 with a loan of forty volumes of scriptures. These scriptures were copied and translated to assist the Siamese order of monks in returning to the true roots of Buddhism. Another mission was sent that returned with thirty more volumes of scriptures as well as forty Sinhalese priests who assisted in the reformation of the order. The Prince also sought to dispel and remove much of the erroneous mythology that existed within the monkhood and the scriptures. He "constantly purged and revised Buddhist texts so that they would conform to truth in the scientific age, and rejected all the books which had no semblance of truth in them" (Manich 30). Mongkut also established the Dharmayukti Sect, which followed strict rules of conduct and has since spread to Burma, Laos, and Cambodia. In the end, the monkhood provided Prince Mongkut with "an acute sense of reality and a knowledge of people he could not have possibly have got amid the artificialities of palace life" (Griswold 13).

King Rama III, Prince Mongkut's half-brother, died in 1851 and on April 3, 1851 Prince Mongkut ascended to the throne. The kingdom he took over was very different from the one he would leave behind for his son. While the reforms enacted by King Mongkut were not extraordinarily revolutionary, they did help open the door for his son, King Chulalongkorn, to enact huge reforms and large-scale modernization.

King Mongkut's exposure to the Western world through his meetings with Bishop Pallegoix and numerous other missionaries made him realize that reform was essential for the prosperity and survival of his kingdom. However, he faced opposition from conservative nobles who, fearing a loss of power through modernization, clung to the established order and kept a stern watch over the actions of the King. The average Siamese citizen, after two kings whose reigns were marked by isolation from the West, had become somewhat xenophobic, fearing that any change would result in the loss of old values and traditions. The King, therefore, had to proceed delicately in proposing the reforms and instituting them.

The printing press was introduced to Thailand by the West. Mongkut realized early on the potential benefits of the printing press. As M.L. Manich states in his book *King Mongkut and Sir John Bowring*:

Mongkut foresaw the revolution in spreading education by this means and had a new printing press with Pali characters established in his monastery in 1836. When he became king in 1851 the press was moved into the Grand Palace for the use of his own printing and for the printing of the official Gazette. This was therefore the first official printing press to be established in Thailand.

The King also instituted other measures in his attempt to revolutionize and remodel the education system within Siam. He introduced formalized education and encouraged its development. The King, undoubtedly to the frustration of the more misogynistic members of the nobility, was also the first king to promote education for women. This is shown by his attempt to educate the women of the court by asking the wives of missionaries to teach them English. Unfortunately, this was unsuccessful due to the fact that the students were "getting tired of the teaching, because the teachers had the intention only of converting them, gradually introduced pictures from the Bible, taught from religious texts, and taught them against the horrible practice of polygamy" (Manich 31).

The King also established the first museum and library within Siam. As a monk he had often wandered about the ruins of the former kingdom of
Sukhothai, a practice that fostered his interest in ar­chaeology. During his reign, King Mongkut invited French archaeologists to come to Siam to excavate the ruins at Sukhothai so that the Siamese people might finally understand their significance and place in Thai history. Through his support and encourage­ment the library and museum grew to such an extent that extra buildings were needed to house them.

The King also began many reforms in regards to the infrastructure of his kingdom. These reforms would enable his son Chulalongkorn to improve upon them unimpeded by either the nobility or the civilian population. With the aid of foreign advisers, King Mongkut began reforms in many areas that concerned the future of the Siamese Kingdom. He constructed new roads and waterways to facilitate faster and more efficient travel throughout the kingdom. In fact, the first road that the King built is still in use. King Mongkut also began the construction of many new buildings that incorporated both Western styles and the indigenous Siamese style. Some of these buildings have survived to this day and serve as an example of the artistry involved. These construction projects were done in an almost complete reversal of old practice, by paid laborers rather than the traditional feudal “corvee” (Moffat 26).

The navy and mercantile shipping forces of Siam were also remodeled and modernized by the King. Under the direction of foreign shipwrights, modern ships were built to supplement the traditional Siamese galleys. Bishop Pellegoix in his book, Description of the Thai Kingdom or Siam under King Mongkut, describes the new Siamese navy in detail: “The navy of the King of Siam consists of about 500 war ships and twenty European-style ships four of which are frigates and sixteen corvettes or war brigs” (169). These ships, Pellegoix goes on to report, were usually under the command of European officers who trained their crews diligently. Foreign advisers also served as the commanders of the regiments and units that they trained within the army and aided in the reformation. With the aide of English officers, a standing army of “more or less ten thousand regular troops of infantry and artillery trained every day by English officers in handling weapons and military movements” (Pelle­goix 165) was established with modern armaments.

King Mongkut also brought to Siam the first inklings of democracy. The king had decided to put in place a notion that had hitherto been unheard of in Siam: judges were elected into office rather than appointed as according to tradition. A council of princes and offi­cials elected the judges and “the King let it be known that he regarded any suitable man as worthy of that high office, ‘even though he be a slave’” (Blofeld 63).

New legislation was enacted and laws that previously would have been unheard of were put into place. The King put forward edicts that would limit the power of the nobility and make it accountable for its actions, even against commoners. “The special privileges of the princes, nobles and high officials were broken to some extent by making everybody equal before the lay and by encouraging commoners to bring complaints against the privileged classes directly to the king” (Blofeld 63). This is in itself remarkable, as previously the nobles had received a carte blanche in their conduct. They were now expected to behave according to the law in the same manner as the commoners. Laws were also brought into effect improving the status of women and children (Moffat 27). King Mongkut also set in place many reforms regarding slavery that paved the way for the eventual abolition of slavery by his son King Chulalongkorn. The edicts he issued in regard to slavery are well described in a passage by Abbot Low Moffat as follows:

One of them limits the conditions under which dependents could be sold into slavery. Another eliminates the loopholes from the law requiring the master to accept the redemption money if it was offered. This was obviously a great protection, because if a slave did not like his master he could nearly always borrow the redemption money from someone else and enter that person’s service (35).

These laws were to aid slaves who with abusive masters, though the system of slavery in Siam dif­fered greatly from that practiced in Western countries at the time. This slavery was more akin to inden­tured servitude than flat out exploitation, though any slavery is undoubtedly an unfavorable situation.

The King, who bore himself as a paternal monarch, also pushed aside many traditions that distanced the King from the people. The King, since the time of Ayutthaya, had been regarded as a God-King; one of the King’s titles was “The Lord of Life.” The relations between the King and his subjects before King Mong-
British attempted to send trade missions in order to

King Rama III but had been monopolized by nobles

West. This was a wise decision in the face of the

the West had been conducted during the reign of

and hampered by high tariffs and the great amount

of restrictions placed on foreign transactions. The


growing threat of European imperialism. Trade with

idly expanding foreign exchange demand (Blofeld 65).

sions to make use of foreign coins to compensate for the

legal tariffs, the granting to merchants of royal permis­

inability of the royal mint to produce the modern Sia­

tax structure; a requirement making it binding on tax

hopes to find strength and salvation in his last hour

as the future beyond” (S. Pramoj and K. Pramoj 29).

The King’s attitude towards the reformation of

trade and economic policy also was extremely pro­

gressive. The King established the Royal Mint that

produced the first flat coinage and a uniform mon­

etary system. King Mongkut’s many economic re­

forms include: “a thorough reform of the unwieldy
tax structure; a requirement making it binding on tax

collectors to issue pamphlets setting forth the scales of

legal tariffs, the granting to merchants of royal permis­

sion to make use of foreign coins to compensate for the

inability of the royal mint to produce the modern Si­

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The King also opened up Siam to trade from the

West. This was a wise decision in the face of the

growing threat of European imperialism. Trade with

the West had been conducted during the reign of

King Rama III but had been monopolized by nobles

and hampered by high tariffs and the great amount

of restrictions placed on foreign transactions. The

British attempted to send trade missions in order to

open up the market in Siam but these had met with

minimal success. King Mongkut, in contrast to his

half-brother, reversed such policies, knowing that

stagnating trade with the West might lead to the irri­

tation of the colonial powers, which could place

Siam in a perilous position. The King removed the

monopolies that the nobles had enjoyed, much to their

dismay, and welcomed Sir John Bowring, a British

trade envoy, in signing new trade agreements with

Britain. Mongkut also reduced foreign import duties

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trade envoy, in signing new trade agreements with

Britain. Mongkut also reduced foreign import duties

and permitted the export of rice in order to stimu­late
good relations with the Western powers. These policy

moves were done for a variety of reasons, but the most

pressing at the time was undoubtedly pure survival.

King Mongkut was well aware of the precarious

situation Siam was in during his reign. He had heard

the news of the Opium War and the outcome that had
slowly ceded China, piecemeal, to the imperialist
powers of Europe. The King realized that in order
to escape the fate that would eventually befall all of
South East Asia he would have to modernize Siam
and establish relations with Europe (and America to

a degree) to garner recognition of Siam as a sover­
eign and respected state. He did this by establishing
diplomatic relations with many countries. Treaties of

commerce and friendship were signed with France,
the United States, Portugal, Denmark, Sweden, Nor­
way, Switzerland, Prussia, the Hanseatic League,
Italy, Austria, and Belgium. King Mongkut also ini-

iated correspondence with Pope Pius IX. Mongkut
undoubtedly felt as though he needed to make up for
lost time; he also realized that diplomacy was impera­tive if Siam was to survive in the age of imperialism.

At the time of King Mongkut’s ascension to the

thronc, the British had established themselves in Sin­
gapore and were also interfering with the affairs of the

Malay states to the North. These Malay states at the
time were vassals of Siam. The French were also mak­ing
their presence known in what is now Vietnam and
appeared to be courting the idea of annexing Cambod­
ia, also a Siamese vassal. The King at the time was
mostly worried about what the French might do as he
considered them to be the more unscrupulous in their
dealings with the non-European world. Though ten­
sions existed between the British and King Mongkut’s
Siam, the King preferred the British to the French.

In 1855, the King and Sir John Bowring, the head
of the British mission to Siam, agreed upon “a diplomatic and commercial treaty that was mutually advantageous to both countries” (Blofeld 79). The result of this treaty was a great expansion of trade with the British. Seeing the great success that resulted from the treaties with the British, King Mongkut signed similar treaties with both the U.S. and France. In 1857 the King, in defiance of tradition, sent an embassy of high-ranking nobles to Queen Victoria, who received them cordially. Little was accomplished regarding either commerce or diplomacy but “as King Mongkut said himself, the mission had achieved its main objective, which was to ‘put Siam on the map’ in the eyes of the Queen and Her Government” (Blofeld 80).

The issue of Cambodia and French aspirations in the region did come to the forefront in 1860 as Prince Norodom ascended to the throne of Cambodia. The encroachment of Britain in Burma and their continued meddling in the politics of the Malay states worried Siam and made the French even more anxious to expand. To counter this encroachment by France and Britain, King Mongkut dispatched ambassadors to both countries. The ambassadors to France hoped to be given assurances that France had no designs on Cambodia, but such assurances were not forthcoming. The French, after seizing Annam (a part of Vietnam), demanded that the Cambodians and their new king pay them the tribute that Annam had traditionally demanded from Cambodia. King Norodom saw no other recourse but to pay the tribute and turn Cambodia into a French protectorate. However, in a secret treaty with Siam, King Norodom reaffirmed his loyalty to King Mongkut. Unfortunately, this “secret treaty” was brought to the attention of the French who were greatly displeased. To show their displeasure they treated King Mongkut and Siam with contempt. “Though it had been agreed that representatives of both France and Siam should place the crown upon King Norodom’s head, when it came to the point, the Siamese representative was not allowed to do, naturally King Mongkut was deeply concerned” (Blofeld 81).

In response to this French offense, King Mongkut began to actively court the favor of the British, in the hope that he might “play the one against the other” (Blofeld 81). King Mongkut also renounced his claim to Cambodia with assurances from the French that Angkor and Battambang (two Cambodian provinces) would remain in the hands of Siam. Meanwhile, the British continued their interference with Siamese vassals in the Malay states. When a successor had been chosen to ascend to the throne of the Sultanate of Tregganu and Pahang by Siam, the British, disregarding Siam’s suzerainty, supported his rival. The Siamese claimant was transported to Tregganu, which was then blockaded and bombarded by the British navy. The protests of the King and Siam against British naval action went unheeded for the time being, but the claimant supported by Siam was eventually allowed to take the throne.

Great distress erupted throughout Bangkok at the news of the British naval action in the Malay region. The situation worsened when the news arrived that the same British fleet responsible for the bombardment was sailing for Bangkok. However, this turned out to be merely a diplomatic visit and any fears the Siamese had of invasion were temporarily assuaged. Unfortunately, the British moved to swallow up Burma completely in 1866 in response to the expanding French presence. With these two rivals poised on all sides of Siam, King Mongkut continued his diplomatic efforts despite the actions of the European nations. He tried, though in vain, to be awarded a decoration by Queen Victoria in exchange for him presenting her with one. He did receive the Legion of Honor from the French Emperor as he continued to try and gain recognition and respect for the right of Siam to exist independent of foreign domination.

In the year 1868, the King, his court astrologers, several ladies and children of the court, scientists from France, government officials, and others interested in astrology traveled to the south of Siam to watch a total eclipse that the King had calculated would occur. His calculations were even more accurate than those of European astrologers. While there, the King contracted a fever that worsened with his return to Bangkok. Wanting to follow the Buddha’s example, the King wished to die upon the day of his birth but many believed that he would not last that long. Much to their astonishment he did, lasting from August until the very day of his birth in October. After giving some final advice on the succession and dictating his farewell message in Pali, on the 17th of October, 1868, King Mongkut, the fourth king of the Chakri dynasty, passed away.

It is my sincere hope that with this article I was able to cast aside many of the myths and erroneous ideas
that have surrounded King Mongkut, both the man and his legacy. He was a great leader whose wisdom and foresight helped Thailand emerge from the Age of Imperialism unscathed by the forces of domination. He was a revolutionary who had his people at heart, knowing full well that for change to be effective it must come in such a way that it can be sustained, so that it might last to bring about some greater good. However, my word of praise shall undoubtedly fall short of what Mongkut is due. The accomplishments of his life and the resulting legacy he has left with the Thai people speak volumes more. In ending I would like to quote Bishop Pallegoix, who made the following statement upon the enthronement of King Mongkut.

Prince Chao Fa (Mongkut) left his yellow robe and was enthroned under the name Somdet Phra Paramander Maha Mongkut, etc., this is His Majesty the King who wears the Great Crown. For twenty-five years the present sovereign of the Thai nation has patiently devoted himself to the study of Sanskrit, Pali, history, religion, geography, physics and chemistry, astronomy, and, finally, of the English language. From his accession to the throne His majesty has made efforts to exercise his troops in European style, to dig canals, build roads and fortresses, construct ships, place orders for steamships and favor the arts, crafts and trade. He has established a royal printing press. He gives freedom of religious instruction to the various nations who compose the population of the Kingdom. In one word, everything foretells that his reign will be a remarkable era in the history of the Thai nation.

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Change and Tradition: Life in
Mongolia

Yummi Heltzel

Introduction

"Who are the Mongolians?" When I ask this question to people, I get the same answer: "the descendants of Genghis Khan, the greatest warrior." Many people also insist that Mongolia is a part of China and that "Mongolian Barbecue" is the traditional food eaten there. The story of the greatest conqueror and the myth of the "Mongolian Barbecue" have made the country famous. However, Mongolia has more to offer. For instance, the country's location, culture, geography, climate, and political system are all atypical. The indigenous people of Mongolia became nomads and learned to adapt to the harsh climate and unforgiving geography. The society of nomads developed and followed a somewhat decentralized social system, except during the era of the warrior nomads. Being surrounded by Russia and China, modern Mongolia requires delicate international relations with these two powerful countries. Politically, Mongolia is a newly born democratic country which abandoned the seventy-year-old Russian-aided communism in 1990. The lifestyle of many Mongolians has changed drastically in the wake of the collapse of communism, and the nomadic life is no longer the dominant life of Mongolian society. Since the end of communism, Mongolia has faced the challenge of adapting to the free market. Modernization has set in, and as a result, the society has created class differences. Traditional nomads and farmers became a pastoral class, and the factory workers became a working class. As with other countries with a newly adapted political system, Mongolian society created a poverty-stricken class. On the other hand, the educated people became the middle class elite, and they currently lead this newly born democratic country towards a stable future.

During the 13th and 14th centuries, Genghis Khan and his successors ruled people through a strict code of law, the Yasa. As Genghis Khan proclaimed, the Yasa applied to all the "people who live in felt tents (Ger)." In modern Mongolia, the educated elites who left the Ger in the rural areas carry the legacy of Genghis Kahn with the hope of rebuilding Mongolia. As an introduction to modern Mongolia, this work focuses on the nomadic people who carry the long tradition of Mongolia and the educated, urban elite who now lead Mongolia. By introducing their lives and comparing lifestyles, this study introduces the culture and society of modern Mongolia.

Key Informants

Mr. Batsaikhan Usukh and his wife, Ms. Erdenechimeg Begzsuren, provided me a great deal of information about Mongolia. Mr. Usukh is doing his graduate study in economics at the University of Hawaii. He received a scholarship from the Asian Development Bank and moved to Hawaii in September 2001. Before that, Mr. Usukh and his family were in Manchester, England, for his intensive English study. Mr. Usukh and Ms. Begzsuren graduated from the State University of Agriculture in Mongolia in 1994. They have a six-year-old son, Munkhbayart Batsaikhan. After four more years of graduate study, Mr. Usukh and his family will return to Ulaanbaatar, the capital city of Mongolia.

Mr. Christopher Greywolf and his wife, Ms. Sansar, helped me understand the brief history of Mongolia. Mr. Greywolf is a student at Kapiolani Community College who spent five years traveling in Mongolia. Ms. Sansar is from Mongolia and majored in sociology at a Mongolian university. She earned a scholarship to attend Bingham Young University in Hawaii and married Mr. Greywolf during her stay. They keep some animals in Mongolia and visit there with their son and daughter every year.
Geography

Mongolia is located in northern Asia, between China and Russia. The country is three times as large as France, but the population is only 2.4 million, about double the population of the State of Hawaii. Mongolia has four distinctive terrains: grassy steppes, mountains, desert steppe, and "taiga." The southern third of Mongolia is covered by the Gobi Desert. The far northern area reaches to the southern tip of Siberia. A belt of coniferous forest, taiga, covers this area. Semi-desert plains and grassy steppes appear in the west and the southwest of Mongolia. All of Mongolia is at a high elevation with an average elevation of 1580m. The capital city, Ulaanbaatar, is located in the central northeast area of the country.

Climate

Mongolian people have to deal with a harsh climate. Due to its inland location, Mongolia has an ultimate continental and desert climate with almost zero humidity. Mongolia's winter is prolonged and extremely cold. The north wind frequently drops the temperature to -30 degrees Celsius. However, the weather warms up rapidly as soon as the wind stops. Therefore, the temperature difference in one day occasionally hits a range of thirty degrees. The temperature in Ulaanbaatar reaches 0°C in October and drops to -30°C in January. The freezing temperature remains until April. July to September is Mongolia's short summer. However, the weather in the summer is still unpredictable and produces occasional, sudden drops of temperature.

Brief History

The indigenous people of Mongolia started their nomadic lives with horses, yaks, and camels around 1500 B.C. They tended herds and moved from one part of the Gobi to the other in order to feed the animals. Nomadic units were small. However, to defend their animals, some clans united to develop tribes. Conflict between Chinese and Mongolian tribes was recorded as early as 4 BC. Although their "confederation" helped to protect animals, early Mongolian nomads preferred to stay as separate clans during non-confrontational periods, or until the end of the 12th century.

In 1206, Genghis Khan, a young leader of the Borjigin Mongol clan, succeeded in uniting most of the Mongol tribes and became the supreme leader of the Mongol empire. His soldiers lived on the back of their horses and fought as cold-blooded barbarians. According to Mr. Greywolf, those soldiers were not an instantly trained army. They were rather a group of skilled herdsmen who learned to ride horses and fight against enemies to protect their animals long before they became soldiers. As leader of what eventually became the great Mongol empire, Genghis Khan wanted his army and people to be united. To prevent soldiers from going back to their clans to tend their animals, Khan had to plan frequent battles for his army. Thus, the powerful invasion of the confederation continued and eventually created the largest contiguous land empire in world history. The Mongol empire stretched from Vietnam in the east to Syria in the west. However, after two generations the empire started experiencing inner conflicts. The conflict among Khan's descendants created nasty battles among tribes of brothers and cousins. Expansion scattered the people of Mongolia throughout the vast empire. The elites moved to newly invaded territories and adapted to those areas and made them their new domains. As a result, the original domain of Mongolia weakened. By 1380, the empire withdrew from China, Central Asia, and West Asia, and by the fifteenth century, the rule over Russia ended.

After the decline of the empire, Mongolia became a decentralized, remote, and sparsely inhabited land. By the end of the 15th century, Mongolia was under threat from the rise of the Manchus, a powerful non-Mongol tribe from the northeast. Centuries of Mongolian revolts against the Manchus came to the end as the Khalka revolt failed in 1759. Manchus massacred great numbers of Mongolians. As a result, the population of Mongolia was reduced massively. The long period of Manchu control in Mongolia finally ended in 1911 when the Republic of China was established.

The Mongolian People's Republic

In 1921, with the support of the Mongolian-Soviet treaty, Mongolia's independence was recognized. On November 26, 1924, the Mongolian People's Republic declared its independence and became the world's second communist country after the Soviet Union. The lands and herds of Mongolia were seized under communist rule and redistributed to peasants. Private businesses as well as foreign trade were banned, and
the transportation system was nationalized. The government provided medical, educational, and welfare benefits to the people of Mongolia, and the Soviet Union provided advanced training and education for Mongolian students. The influence of the Soviet Union over Mongolian society was visible everywhere in Mongolia for the next seventy years. In 1990, however, the power of the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (MPRP) declined while criticism against the command economy and the one-party system spread. In July 1990, a new government was democratically elected, and the Mongolian People’s Republic became the Republic of Mongolia. Wide-ranging programs of privatization and market liberalization were launched. Ironically, in the national election of 2000, the old MPRP won the majority of the seats back in the parliament and returned as the ruling party. Their current focus is on welfare reform and public order.

Current Condition

Over the last twelve years, Mongolian society has struggled through a tough transition. The challenge to transform the former communist country to a self-sufficient, democratic country with a free market economy is far from over. Pastoral herding is still the main stream of Mongolia’s economy. With the aid of the Soviet Union, coal mining and other industries were developed in the 20th century. However, the fall of the Soviet Union in 1990 drove Mongolia into a deep recession. According to Mr. Usukh, the political transition in 1990 went relatively smoothly, with just a few demonstrations by students and intellectuals. The communist ruling party, MPRP, stepped down without much resistance and the new parliamentary body easily obtained the ruling position. However, the new government faced tough reforms far beyond its control. With the withdrawal of its communist sponsor, the Soviet Union, Mongolia lost massive economic and military aid and needed to become self-sufficient immediately. It was a very hard transition for the people, especially for the herders, to adapt to the new privatization program. Before 1990, the MPRP guaranteed their income and social welfare benefits. As a result, productivity stayed low. Under the free market economy, however, nothing was guaranteed. The herders were encouraged to buy out the ownership of their animals from the government. They eventually formed shareholding companies and were forced to compete for better productivity. Mr. Usukh often heard the herders complain: “When will we go back to the communism?” or “When will the Soviet Union come to help our country again?”

Because of his agricultural economic background, Mr. Usukh was involved with the reform of animal herding. To increase productivity of pastoral products, especially cashmere and meat for export, Mongolia’s agricultural department introduced systematic farming to the nomadic herders. The idea was to grow hybrid grass for the harsh climates and build permanent farms in certain location. In order to increase production, they imported animals from other countries. This idea seemed to work very well at the beginning. However, the long tradition of nomadic life was hard to break and the imported animals were not capable of adapting to Mongolia’s harsh climate. As a result, Mongolia’s agricultural reforms are still struggling and the economy, which heavily depends on animal herding, remains weak.

Culture

During the seventy years of communist rule, Mongolian culture was influenced by the Soviet Union. Mongolian people traditionally used the Uighur script for their writing. Today, however, the Russian Cyrillic alphabet has been substituted for the Uighur script. Many intellectuals such as Mr. Usukh and Ms. Sansar speak Russian as well as their national language, Khalka.

Modernism is widely spread in both rural and urban areas of Mongolia. Traditionally, the great horse rider was the hero in their society. In modern Mongolia, especially in the urban areas, the computer skill has replaced the horse riding skill. Soviet-aided communist Mongolia demoted Genghis Khan to a coldblooded villain. After 1990, Mr. Usukh explained, the modern democratic government brought Khan’s status back to the great conqueror and a national hero and tried to raise people’s confidence and nationalism.

The traditions of nomadism have become obsolete in urban areas. However, the entire Mongolian population enjoys traditional horseracing, archery, and wrestling during the National Naadam festival on July 11, the independence day of Mongolia. Mr. Usukh and his family used to go to the festival every year and enjoyed eating traditional food and watching the competition with their friends and family.
Nomadic Herders

Many people who live in the Gobi, steppes, and mountain areas still keep their traditional, seasonal, nomadic lifestyle. They live in the Ger and move four to five times a year with their animals. Mr. Usukh pointed out that currently, there is no official land restriction or property ownership set by the government. As much as the government wanted to control land use, it realized that the long tradition of nomadic life would be hard to break. Lands in the Gobi, steppes, and mountain areas are available for anybody. If there are some Gers already set up in an area where another band wish to settle, the group that came first can declare a temporary ownership of that land. The group that came later has to find another area for “camping.”

Putting up a Ger in a new area is not so hard or time-consuming if it is done in a particular order. First, set two posts in the center and put 88 or 108 poles around them. A door goes in the frame next, and then latticework panels go around the poles. Use horsehair rope around the panels to hold them tight. Then, put the felt mats over the panels. Use horsehair ropes to go around and tie the felt mats. Experienced nomads only need two people and take just one hour to finish putting up the Ger. When it is time to leave for a new place, they disassemble the Ger and load the scrapped tent, as well as all other belongings, on the backs of camels. The caravan of camels and other herds migrate for weeks to get to the new place.

Nomadic herders produce everything they need from their animals. These animals include goats, camels, sheep, and horses. Mongolians eat mutton and make cheese, yogurt, butter, tea, and alcohol out of the milk of those animals. Ms. Chimeg, Mr. Usukh’s wife, gave me a piece of aral, a coin-shaped dried horse milk curd. It had a slight sour taste like yogurt and was hard as a rock. I almost broke my teeth biting into the piece. She told me that Mongolian people have very strong teeth and bones since they eat great amounts of calcium-enriched food. Animal dung is the primary fuel for the Ger. Therefore, the herders collect the dung all summer long to prepare for the severe winters.

Most nomads wear the traditional outfit called Del, a long silk or cotton robe with slit at each side. Both men and women wear trousers underneath the Del and tie a belt around their waists. They also wear heavy leather or felt boots and hats.

People in the Rural Areas

Herding animals and living in a Ger used to be the way of life in the rural areas, or near cities. People tended the animals to produce meat and dairy products for their own consumption, and traded the rest for other goods. Children inherited animals from parents and continued their herder’s life. In modern Mongolia, however, many people in the rural areas have the option to either stay as farmers or head for the city to do something else. Mr. Usukh was one of the people who left the rural area to pursue his education and career in the city.

Mr. Usukh grew up in a rural area and stayed there until he entered the State University of Agriculture in Ulaanbaatar in 1990. His father was a veterinarian assistant, and his mother was a factory supervisor. His parents were not nomadic herders, but they had a farm. Tending the animals was the main chore Mr. Usukh and his five brothers and a sister had to do every afternoon. Mr. Usukh was a hard-working student. However, he could not score the best grades in his school. He simply did not have enough time to study after he worked long hours tending the animals. He knew he would do something other than herding and eventually left for the capital city. Many of the bright students like him from the rural areas have a goal to attend university. To do so, they have to take a national exam similar to the SAT. The scores of the exam are ranked from the highest to the lowest, and students are assigned to certain schools according to their ranking. Four out of six of Mr. Usukh’s siblings graduated from universities and then worked in the city or province center. The oldest brother started as an art teacher and was promoted to director of the educational department of his province. His second brother became a veterinarian and now works for the Agricultural department in his province. His sister is an electrical engineer, and his youngest brother works for the Ministry of Agriculture and plans to study abroad following Mr. Usukh’s advice. His third older brother and youngest brother did not attend university and remain in the rural area where his parents live. His parents wanted those two to work on their farm where they own three hundred sheep, a hundred goats, fifty cattle, and eighty horses. However, none of them had any intention to tend animals.
for their living. Now, Mr. Usukh’s parents live alone without any of their children working on their farm. Therefore, they had to hire some people for their farm.

Life in Ulaanbaatar

Ulaanbaatar, the capital city of Mongolia, is relatively modern. Ulaanbaatar is almost like an independent, modern country located in the center of traditional Mongolia. Outside the city, the nomadic lifestyle has not changed much since long before the Genghis Khan era. In contrast, the lifestyle in the city has changed drastically in the 20th century. Government buildings, office buildings, museums, and movie theaters in Ulaanbaatar were all built during the communist era. Traditional Ger living and Del outfits became obsolete in the city. Now, many urban people live in Russian-style apartments and wear western-style clothes. About fifty percent of the people who live in Ulaanbaatar are from nuclear families, and the rest of the people prefer to live alone. The extended family living in the Ger does not exist in the city. However, according to Mr. Usukh, some people temporarily live with their parents, siblings, or in-laws in the same apartment to save on living expenses. Mr. Usukh and Ms. Chimeg lived with Ms. Chimeg’s sister and brother and shared their living expenses with them. Rent in the city is very high, so having some roommates compensates for the high cost of living.

Mr. Uskh rode a bus to his office everyday and worked there from nine in the morning to six in the evening. Sunday was the only day off up to 1998. Now, most of the workers have both Saturdays and Sundays off. Mr. Usukh’s office provided computers to every worker. However, the office did not have enough Xerox machines. There was always a long wait for making copies. Most office equipment was donated by foreign aid projects.

European influence, especially Russian influence, is visible everywhere in urban Mongolia. In the city, people eat western foods such as meat and potatoes. They even eat salad. Ms. Chimeg admitted that the first time she ate salad, she felt like she was eating grass for animals. Rural people and nomadic herders still do not eat fresh vegetables. For them, fresh vegetables are food for animals but not for humans. Instead of buttered tea served in the rural areas, the city people drink leaf tea. Unlike the nomadic herders who process their food from their animals, the urban people buy food from markets.

Nowadays, urban people get more exposure to the other Asian countries’ cultures. They have close to thirty TV channels, including Russian, German, and other European TV stations. Additionally, they can watch Korean, Chinese, and Japanese broadcasting. Ms. Chimeg and her son, Mun, loved to watch Japanese Sumo tournaments on the Japanese channel in Ulaanbaatar. A Mongolian wrestler named “Tochiazuma” is now in one of the Japanese Sumo stables, and many Mongolians enjoy watching his Sumo matches.

Mr. Usukh occasionally went out for drinking with his coworkers. He actually did not want to go out with them since, as a custom in Mongolia, they drink until they are completely wasted. Because of the Russian influence, vodka is a popular drink in Mongolia. Mr. Usukh was earning $50.00 a month at the Ministry of Agriculture. His income was higher than that of the average city workers. Some herders who own thousands of animals are very rich. However, a city worker’s income is more steady and regular. Every two weeks, Mr. Usukh received his salary. Rural herdsman, however, earn substantial money only when their animals are sold and do not make any income while herding the animals. During the harsh winter years of the late 20th century, many animals died and some herdsmen lost their entire income sources. Without animals, people cannot survive in rural areas. Many of the herders who lost their animals had to move to the city and find any job available for them.

Poverty

The majority of people in Mongolia were born during the communist era. Social welfare, free medical care, and free education were all provided for them by the communist government. Then, in 1990, the overnight change hit the nation very hard. The country had to face the reality that the socialist system was no longer working and able to support the people. While the Soviet Union, the “big brother” of Mongolia, was facing the end of its communist era, Mongolia had to end its system as well. After losing Russia’s support, Mongolia went into a deep recession. As a result, a certain part of the population went down the poverty spiral.

Some herders who could not afford to buy out their
animals from the government lost their animal ownership. Others simply decided to quit herding and moved to the city. The big city like Ulaanbaatar became a refuge for the unemployed ex-herders, who gave up on their herding life in the rural areas. Once they lost their animals, they had to buy food from stores. The food price went up as the market economy started. There were no more food stamps or apartments provided by the government. As a result, the homeless population in the city has drastically increased. The poorest live in the stairwells of buildings, in underground sewage pipes, or in any place where they can stay warm during the cold winter. Some people set up a Ger wherever they find the empty space in the city.

Higher education is the key to success in the city. Those people who only received four years of mandatory education cannot find high-paying jobs. They can be street sweepers, cleaners, or work at the nearby coal mine. The average income for those people is about $25.00 a month.

Alcoholism and crime are increasing in Mongolia, especially in Ulaanbaatar. Frustration due to poverty, unemployment, and an uncertain future often leads people to excessive drinking. More people drink alcohol all day long and end up getting into fights or abusing their spouses. Increasing numbers of thieves and robbers in the city target foreign tourists. Tourists who carelessly walk down the street of Ulaanbatar can be easy targets for criminals.

Mongolia’s Future

Mr. Usukh predicts that Mongolia needs at least twenty more years before it obtains stability in the economy and becomes self-sufficient with a free market. He thinks that if Mongolia can attract more foreign investors, the country can develop more industry based on its abundant natural resources such as oil, coal, copper, and gold. A transition to systematic farming from continuing nomadic herding is necessary in order to obtain economic growth. Becoming a centralized democratic government requires breaking the long history of traditional nomadic life. It is a very tough task to strengthen the links between the countryside and the city. However, uniting people scattered throughout its vast area is a very important step for the future growth of Mongolia.

Mongolia is a country which struggles to find the balance between modernization and tradition. The traditional nomadic herders and the modernized urban dwellers co-exist in one country. Although “reborn” in 1990, the country is still facing serious challenges. Currently, modernization seems to be the only solution for the country’s survival. It is unfortunate that as a result, the traditional culture is disappearing. However, whether they are traditional nomads or modernized city dwellers, the young Mongolians certainly have one hope for their future: provide better living conditions for their children. Mr. Usukh and Ms. Chimeg are committed to work hard for their country’s future so that their son, Mun, can have a better life. Hundreds of other Mongolians who are studying abroad are also working hard to learn the latest technology for their country. Eight hundred years ago, Genghis Khan succeeded in building the largest empire in history. I believe that the modem Mongolians, the descendants of Genghis Khan, can rebuild their county. It might take a long time, but the day will definitely come.
Martial Arts at the Shaolin Temple

Frank Bing

When one thinks of Kung Fu one probably thinks of old martial arts films. In addition, when one thinks of Tai Chi, the image of senior citizens exercising in the park appears. These two forms of martial arts can be traced back to the Shaolin Temple in China, over one thousand years ago. The term Shaolin Kung Fu has been used before but most people never give any second thought to its history. Many people believe the Shaolin temple is some building in the mountains where the kung fu stars learn their martial arts talents. The topic of this paper is the history of the Shaolin Temple. This paper is not solely about the physical temple itself but about the monks who occupied it and the martial arts that have originated there. In looking for information on this topic, data about the temple itself and its history was difficult to come by. Most authors wrote about the practices of the martial arts taught there and not so much on the historical aspects. Historical information in the Encyclopedia of China, a book called Spirit of Shaolin by David Carradine, Shaolin Lohan Kung-Fu by P'ng Chye Khim and Donn F. Draeger, and the Official Shaolin Temple website at http://www.Shaolin.com were the sources of information.

Because of the destruction of certain temples containing written records of the history of the Shaolin temple, its story has been more of an oral tradition passed on through the generations by the monks and people who lived in and around the temple. According to ancient Chinese oral history, the first Shaolin temple was built in the year 495 during the Northern Wei Dynasty. This temple was located about 55 miles southwest of the city of Zhengshou in Henan Province. The temple was built for an Indian Buddhist monk named Tuoba who came to China on a pilgrimage to share the Buddhist belief. Emperor Xiaowen (Hsiao-wen) commissioned the Shaolin temple for Taoist monks who were to translate Buddhist texts from Sanskrit to Chinese. Throughout history, the Shaolin monastery was destroyed and rebuilt several times. The popularity of the temple and its teachings gained popularity and prominence during the Tang Dynasty (618-907), when 13 of its monks fought on behalf of Li Shimin, who founded the Tang dynasty, against enemy Wang Shichong. The second Tang dynasty emperor rewarded the monks by donating large sums of money and land to the temple. The Shaolin temple gained so much popularity and wealth that at one time there was over one thousand monks training and residing there.

The current building dates back to the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) and Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). The floors of the temple’s main hall, “Thousand Buddha Hall”, reveal much wear from the many Shaolin monks who practiced their fighting techniques there. A pavilion called the “Baiyi Pavilion” is home to a mural portraying the many “fighting monks”. The halls contain intricately carved jade sculptures of the Buddhist deity Amitabha and wall paintings of 500 lohan (“worthies”). These sculptures cover three sides of the hall. Many monks spent their entire lives at the monastery and were buried in the 220 pagodas on the compound. Outside the temple is a “forest of stelae” which are stone tablets or columns, containing inscriptions by many famous Chinese calligraphers including Su Shi and Mi Fei. “Bodhidharma pavilion” was built in the complex to honor the Chan founder and his successor, the second Chan patriarch, Huiko, who live from 487-592.

The claim to fame of the Shaolin temple is that from it came the philosophy of Chan. Chan is meditation, from the Indian Sanskrit word “dhyana”. Chan is more commonly known today as Zen from the Japanese interpretation of this philosophy. An Indian Buddhist monk named Bodhidharma is credited for introducing Chan to the Chinese sect of Buddhism during the Northern and Southern dynasties (420-
In China, Bodhidharma is referred to as Tamo and in Japan as Daruma. Bodhidharma arrived in the year 527 in China during the reign of Emperor Wu (502-549). Emperor Wu was the founder of the Liang Dynasty. Bodhidharma's welcome was not as warm as Tuoba's because the Bodhidharma was not as well spoken and eloquent in his speaking. Tuoba's philosophy is known as the "Old Chinese Buddhism". Bodhidharma's philosophy would come to be known as "the New Buddhism". One legend says that he crossed the Yangtze River by floating on a small stick with five leaves on his way to the temple. He made his way to the Shaolin temple in the Shanshon Mountains and was turned away because of his foreign appearance. A legend says that he went to a cave not too far from the temple and meditated for nine years, resulting in the withering of his legs. It also says that his intense gaze burned a hole right through the wall of the cave. This wall gazing is called "Pi-kuan". Bodhidharma would often fall asleep and decided to cut off his eyelids to prevent him from losing his gaze. It is said that where his eyelids touched the ground, a tea tree sprouted and he drank the tea. This tea is green tea and is consumed almost as much as water in China. The Japanese made a statue after this incident called a Daruma doll, which is a small bust of a head of Bodhidharma, whose eyes are wide open and usually have to be painted in. The legend is that one paints in one eye of Daruma and makes a wish; if it comes true they paint in the other eye. The Shaolin monks, seeing this great feat, soon admitted Bodhidharma into the temple. The monks were much like European monks in that they were constantly hunched over tables reading and although they were spiritually and mentally superior than most, they were physically very frail. Bodhidharma would catch the monks falling asleep while in meditation. Bodhidharma is recognized as teaching these monks 18 basic calisthenics exercises and self-defense techniques that ultimately evolved into different forms of martial arts. These techniques promoted physical health and spirit development and the "martial virtues" (wudi) of discipline, humility, self-restraint, and respect for life. These exercises helped the monks gain stamina to withstand the long meditation sessions. Two main techniques evolved out of the Shaolin temple: Kung Fu (gongfu) and Taijiquan (Tai Chi). Bodhidharma's "New Buddhism" was much more artistic than Tuoba's "Old Chinese Buddhism". His philosophy emphasized fasting, meditation, and included Bodhidharma's Five Commandments. These commandments condemned killing, robbery, obscenity, telling lies, and drinking wine. Eating flesh was considered foolish though there was no commandment against it. Silence was highly prized. Hundreds of years later, these commandments were broken and discarded when the emperor gave the monks meat to eat and wine to drink. This was known as "The Change of the Sixth Ancestor".

Applicants for priesthood were made to do the most basic and difficult work related to the upkeep of the temple. Their sincerity and ability to keep the secrets of the order were severely tested for years before the finer aspects of the order were revealed to them. Once accepted by the elders of the temple, his entry into kung fu was to open a whole new world. The student would work long hours training mind and body to work together in a coordinated effort. He would learn the principles of combat, the way of the Tao, and together they would ensure his way to peace.

The student would first be taught the basic fist sets, a set of prearranged forms, which simulated multiple attacks. In turn, these became more complex as the student advanced, while he would concurrently be learning the way of Taoism. Once the student would complete the student stage he would become a disciple who would be taught the higher secrets of the arts and philosophies. Many different weapons would become familiar to him as weapons of attack and defense. He would perfect his movements to match his breathing. His mind would join into the realm of meditation known as mindlessness. These exercises would bring the individual closer to harnessing his Ch'I or personal power.

Kung Fu (gongfu) was one of the two main techniques Bodhidharma taught to the monks of the Shaolin temple. This martial art is weaponless and has two styles: "hard style" and "soft style". Hard style required power, strong kicks, and an "iron hand," meaning having strong fists that could easily handle hard objects. Soft style stressed quick and agile movements and a "poison hand", which is the ability to strike vulnerable places on an attacker's body. Both of these styles shared the "Horse stance" which consisted of a large stance of the legs and the arms at hip height and bent at the elbow.

The other main style that originated in the Shaolin
temple was Taijiquan, also known as Tai Chi. "Tài" means supreme or ultimate; "Jí" means polarity; "Quán" means the fist way. Taijiquan literally means "Supreme Pole Boxing". This style is a collection of exercises that involve slow, curving movements of the arms, head, torso, and legs. It requires of the individual balanced coordination of all parts of the body while focusing on concentration. The movement combines both artistic and acrobatic styles. Though these movements are slow and cautious, they are a form of strength. The theory behind it is to always be on the defensive by using the attacker's energy and redirecting it back to them in a circle. It revolves around the belief of the balance of nature; the Ying and the Yang, which moves in a circle. This style was practiced as exercise and a form of spiritual meditation.

As years passed, the popularity of the Shaolin temple and its fighting monks spread through China, which led to the building of the second main Shaolin temple. The second temple was built at Chuan Chow in Fukien Province in Southern China. A Buddhist priest from the original temple named Ta Tsun-shen founded this temple. Like the Shaolin temple of Henan in the North, the Fukien temple also became a center for physical and mental martial arts training and religious exercises.

Many other Buddhist monks from the Henan and Fukien temples traveled abroad and founded Shaolin temples. Henan Shaolin temple in the North and Fukien temple to the South had similarities and differences in their teachings of Kung-Fu (gongfu). In their basic technique patterns, both Northern and Southern versions of Shaolin make use of five animal forms: Dragon, Snake, Crane, Tiger, and Leopard. The Northern is subdivided into three main branches: 1. Hung, which stresses physical prowess and use of strength in a hard resistive manner; 2. Kung, in which clever tactics of a soft nature offsets the strength; 3. Yue, in which both hard and soft actions combine to produce different techniques. From the Yue branch of Northern Shaolin, the monks developed systems that depend on actions of animals other than the five original, and even of human and supernatural beings. Some examples include the Ta-sheng Men, which makes use of antics of a monkey. The Erh-lan Men is based on the physical actions of a legendary Chinese hero, and Wei-t'o Men, is a concise deity system. The Southern Shaolin styles also consist of five main branches, which are Ta-hung Men, Liu-Chia Ch'uan, Ts'ai-chia Chu'an, Li-chia Ch'uan, and Mo-chia Ch'uan. These five branches can be considered the alter ego for the Northern style in that they basically follow the same origins.

Although there are similarities in the framework of the Northern and Southern Shaolin Kung-Fu systems, there are vast differences in the details that make them up. It seems that both temples tended to focus on opposite fighting philosophies. The Northern Shaolin style was said to rely heavily on long-punching actions and to exhibit a higher order of agility, mobility, suppleness, and fluidity of action in the performance of technique than that of the Southern Shaolin temple monks. The Northern temple was said to use 70% of leg action, and 30% of punches and hand-to-hand techniques. In contrast, the Southern was a direct opposite using 30% leg action and 70% punches. The reason for this peculiar ratio pattern is said to be based on both temples' climate and environment. The Northern temple was nestled in the Shan Son Mountains and was generally always cold. The monks had to wear footwear because of the harshness of the cold on their feet. The Northern monks also exercised more strenuously to raise their body temperatures, thus warming them up during the cold winters. The Southern monks, on the other hand, lived near the rice paddies where it was hot all year long. They would stand in the paddies and cool their feet but wouldn't exercise nearly as long because of fear of heat stroke and fatigue. Their exercises would consist of a lot of punching because it didn't wear out their lower body, which needed to be preserved for the long periods of sitting in a dormant position.

At the height of the Shaolin temple's popularity during the end of the Ming dynasty, the temple had been called upon to provide kings with the strongest monks to head the military and fight in their battles. The Shaolin temple had thousands of monks in attendance at any given time and it was common knowledge that the monks were unbeatable in martial arts. Many landowners, crooked politicians, and militarily or politically involved monks complained to the emperor that if there were ever a Shaolin uprising, there would be no defense. In response to this the emperor ordered the main Shaolin temples and all of the monks be destroyed. Legend says that the temples and monks were destroyed, and all but five monks escaped without harm. These five monks are said to have been the founders of China's first triads.
After the fall of the temple, its disciples helped spread the Shaolin teachings abroad. The Shaolin temple martial art Kung Fu has influenced many other Asian martial arts like Japanese Karate, Ju Do, and Tae Kwan Doe. It is said that after the fall of the Ming dynasty, one Shaolin monk fled to Okinawa. Once there he attempted to enlist an army to return to China and avenge the Shaolin temple. When his plan failed he settled down in Okinawa as a Kung-Fu teacher. His teachings traveled north to Japan and evolved into Karate. The influence of the Shaolin philosophy and training spread, carrying Taoism, Buddhism, and martial arts through the Far East, every style of Asian martial arts is said to be based on some form of Chinese Kung-Fu. Of all the martial arts that are derived from Kung Fu, the Shaolin temple considers Japanese Karate as the newest and crudest of styles. The basis behind Karate is to find the most “effective” or “useful” fighting forms. Kung Fu tries to make of itself a complete art in which everything is fully known and understood regardless of its usefulness.

As time passed in China, more and more Shaolin followers and fighting styles emerged. These new fighting styles in converted temples like the Shaolin temple in Wu-tang were animal in nature. By the twentieth century, the Shaolin temples were standing on their last legs as China was thrown into a crisis known as the Boxer Rebellion. The British arrived and manipulated the imperial family into a regime through their push of opium import and sales to the many impoverished people of China. This opened the door to other European powers like Russia, France, Holland, and later Japan, and America. By the early 1900s, China was split up into national zones, each controlled by one outside power. This caused much animosity towards the foreigners and the Empress started an uprising with the best Shaolin monks as the frontline soldiers. These foreigners saw kung fu and the use of the Shaolin fist forms and generically called the monks “Boxers” because of its remote resemblance to their barbaric European sport. The rebellion was a bust but in effect gave the Chinese an opportunity to integrate foreign weapons into their warfare.

The Shaolin temples fell victim to all of the fighting during the beginning of the 20th century. Many of the temples were used as artillery storage and for target practice. Monks were routinely killed by all faces of the opposing forces but many fled to the hills and abroad where they shared their knowledge of the Shaolin.

Kung Fu reached America’s shores in the mid 1960’s as a young Chinese martial artist took the scene. This Kung-Fu master was named Bruce Lee. He studied and developed a style of Kung Fu known as Jeet Kune Do which consists of fluid, fast movements that focus on sensitive areas of the opponent. America was flooded with movies from China that portrayed Kung Fu and the Shaolin tradition, but they didn’t gain popularity until the arrival of Bruce Lee. His movies and teachings brought the ancient Chinese techniques and philosophies into the mainstream and opened the door for many martial artists like him. The popularity and curiosity of this pioneer led to copycats after his death but eventually gave others opportunities to share their knowledge. It is thanks to the effectiveness of the media and movies that more and more people in the West were intrigued to find out more about martial arts. Other monks transplanted the T'aijiquan techniques here in the West and they are now commonly used as relaxation and meditation methods.

Today, Kung Fu is making a come back after a dormant stage in the 1980s. Names like Jet Li, Jackie Chan, and Sammo Hung are synonymous with Kung Fu movies and TV shows. Today, these artists may not follow the same strict code of the Shaolin but every time we observe them practicing their individual techniques, we see a bit of the past shine through them. Ancient techniques and styles have evolved. Although the temples have been destroyed and rebuilt, they are only physical buildings. The real Shaolin temples live on through the teachings and philosophies passed down through the generations.

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The Opium Wars

Yi-jia Chen

Introduction

The British opium trade in China started the world's very first drug war, in the 19th century. Known as the Opium War, many people also refer to it as the Anglo-Chinese War. Opium is a preparation made from the juice of poppy seedpods, and used to produce heroin (http://www.infoplease.com/ice6/sci/A0836733.htm). The drug was mainly produced in and shipped from the East Indies to China by British merchants. This addictive drug had gotten many Chinese badly hooked by the early 1800s.

In the 15th century, when opium was first introduced to China, it was used as medicine to treat diseases such as dysentery, cholera, as well as diarrhea (http://serendipity.magnet.ch/wod/hongkong.html). It was not until 1700 that the British introduced China to the process of mixing opium with tobacco so that it could be smoked. During the 18th century, Chinese green tea became very popular, and high in demand among Europeans and Americans. Chinese porcelain, as well as Chinese silk, were also very popular in the Western countries (http://www.borndigital.com/opie.ht).

The British merchants' incentive for importing opium from India to China was to balance out their tea trade with China, and to stop the silver and gold from draining in what could have been a one-sided trade. The British had to use gold and silver because China was a self-sufficient country and the Chinese did not want or need anything from Great Britain or any other foreign countries (http://www.hyperhistory.com/online_n2/civil_n2/histscript_6_n2/opium.html). When the British couldn't find any other products to export to China, they decided to bring in opium mixed with tobacco to promote opium smoking.

With nearly 2 million pounds of opium being sold in China each year, opium weakened a large amount of the Chinese population. In the 19th century, 10 percent of the Chinese population was smoking opium. This also affected China economically, due to the large amount of resources, especially silver, flowing out of the country to pay for the opium (http://afe.easia.columbia.edu/teachingaids/china/modern/opium.htm). When the Chinese government first discovered opium smoking in the country in 1729, government promoted policies to prohibit the sale of opium for smoking, and shut down and banned opium-smoking houses. At the time, it became a very serious offense to sell opium for smoking purposes. It was classified in the same category as robbery and murder. The punishment was either banishment or execution (http://serendipity.magnet.ch/wod/hongkong.html). Although the harsh punishments helped rid cities of local dealers and treat drug addicts, they did not stop British merchants from bringing in more opium to China. Because many Chinese government officials were corrupt and accepted bribes from British officials, they also became a part of the illegal opium trade.

When the Chinese government discovered the British smuggling opium into China to sell, it was alarmed. However, it was not until 1838 that further efforts to restrict the opium trade were taken. That was when Emperor Daoguang appointed Lin Tse-Hsua, an imperial commissioner, to lead an anti-opium campaign. Lin wrote a letter to Queen Victoria of England arguing that if the opium was so harmful in its effects that Britain had made opium trading and consumption illegal in England, then why was England exporting such harmful products to other countries (http://www.wsu.edu:8080/-dee/CHING/OPIUM.HTM)?

Although the letter to Queen Victoria was very well composed, it was never delivered into the hands of the
queen. The letter not only failed to inform the queen that England was promoting the sale of opium in China, but it angered British officials in China who felt that it challenged their power. According to one source, “This letter probably could have brought an end to the opium trade if the British hadn’t been nursing grievances against China with Lin’s take-no-prisoners enforcement of Chinese laws combined with the outrage the British had against his decapitation of the opium trade (http://www.wsu.edu:8080/-dee/CHING/OPIUM.HTM).” Not willing to give up on his anti-opium campaign, Lin then threatened England by saying that if the trade of opium did not stop, he would then sever trade relations with the British, as well as begin efforts to expel the British population from China.

After many years of failures for the anti-opium campaign, Lin, in 1839, finally went to Canton, which was then the main port for foreign trade. There, he found a British warehouse full of opium. He confiscated its content and publicly destroyed more than 20,000 chests of the opium seized from British merchants by mixing them with salt and lemon before throwing them into the ocean (http://www.hyperhistory.com/online_n2/civil_n2/histscript6 n2/opium.html). Not deterred by Lin’s actions, the British continued to sell opium in China by smuggling in opium in order to balance their purchases of tea for export to Great Britain (http://www.encyclopedia.com/articles/34714.html).

Having the Chinese government officials destroy and seize large amounts of opium, in addition to the threats of ending all trades with Great Britain and expelling Englishmen from China, did not help the foreign relations between China and Great Britain. When the Chinese government attempted to turn back English merchant vessels in late 1839, which encouraged the British to consider war as the next possible strategy. Soon thereafter, British merchants made an appeal to their government. Ultimately, Great Britain demanded that China put an end to the anti-opium campaign. But Lin refused to end it. In 1840, British gunboats arrived and attacked China, destroying many coastal cities. This was known as the First Opium War. It was also the very first drug war in the history of the world. China, being unaware of the British attack, was unprepared for the attack and unprepared to deal with the advanced technologies of the British. China was behind when it came to the use of modern weapons.

China was eventually defeated by Great Britain, and was forced to sign the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, and the British supplementary Treaty of the Bogue in 1843, which indicted Lin and held the Chinese government responsible for the compensation of the amount of opium that was destroyed during the anti-opium campaign. The Treaty of Nanjing concluded the Opium War and further opened up many ports in China, such as Guangzhou, Jinmen, Fuzhou, Ningbo, and Shanghai, to British trade as well as residence (http://www.encyclopedia.com/articles/34714.html). Soon, many other Western nations were beginning to sign similar treaties with China to allow foreign trade and residence. "The Treaty also fixed the customs duties on imports at such a low level that China was prevented from protecting her new industries from competition of cheap imports," one source commented (http://www.hyperhistory.com/online_n2/civil_n2/histscript6 n2/opium.html).

Under this Treaty, China also ceded Hong Kong to the British for up to 155 years, until 1997. The Treaty of Nanjing marked the beginning of foreign commercial and residential privileges in China. It was the first in a series of “unequal treaties” which gave foreigners special rights in China and set the stage for exploitation of the Chinese economy and resources. The British treaty was soon followed by American and French treaties (http://www.hyperhistory.com/online_n2/civil_n2/histscript6 n2/opium.html). Decades after the First Opium War ended, the Second Opium War started in 1856 (http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/sci/AO836733.html).

The trigger to the Second Opium War was the dispute over the former treaties and the boarding of the British ship Arrow. The Second Opium War is also known as the Lorcha Arrow War. Besides England, France, Russia, and the United States were involved in the war that lasted until 1858. The Second Opium War ended with the Treaty of Tianjin. The British forced China to sign this treaty by burning up the imperial summer palace, also known as the Yuan Ming Yuan (http://www.encyclopedia.com/printablenew/34714.html). Under the Treaty of Tianjin, China had to open up 11 more ports to foreign trade. Additionally, China had to permit foreign legations in Beijing, sanction Christian missionary activity, and legalize the import of opium. The Beijing conventions of 1860, by which China was forced to reaffirm
the terms of the Treaty of Tianjin and make additional concessions, concluded the hostilities (http://www.encyclopedia.com/printablenew/34714.html).

The Opium Wars resulted in the victimization of China by foreign powers for decades to follow. It was not until 1949 and the victory of Mao Zedong and communism that the unequal treaties signed between the Chinese government and the foreign powers were abolished. It was also after 1949 that China took back all the ports, except for Hong Kong. Hong Kong remained a British territory until 1997.
Chinese Medicine

Ginger Youmans

"The whole imposing edifice of modern medicine is like the celebrated tower of Pisa - slightly off balance."

-Charles, Prince of Wales

Western medicine considers the body as two separate areas: the body and the mind. The advancement of agriculture brought about denser populations throughout civilizations. Mass illnesses were common and brought about the need for quicker cures and preventative medicine. By the 20th century, greater knowledge of medicine led to the discovery of sulfa drugs and antibiotics. Today, we have pills for nearly every ache, pain, and illness to treat the mental and physical aspects of the body and the profit from prescriptions has become an astronomical economy reaching into the trillions of dollars.

Proof from archaeological diggings indicates that traditional Chinese medicine evolved about 5000 years ago. Contrary to the approach of Western medicine, Chinese medicine looks at the body as a whole and considers illnesses and diseases to be caused by an imbalance of the entire system.

Traditional Chinese medicine healing methods are comprised of herbs, massage, moxibustion, acupuncture and are becoming more accepted in the mainstream of Western society.

The Traditional Chinese Medical College of Hawaii on the Big Island serves the medical needs of the community while teaching its students the history, pharmacology, herbology, nutrition, medical ethics, basic sciences, acupuncture, pathology, and qi gong by the holistic, Taoist beliefs and rituals of the Chinese people. The techniques of this school and others like it are becoming more and more incorporated into the mainstream American understanding of health.

History of Traditional Western Medicine

Ancient civilizations sprang up around fertile valleys upon man's invention of irrigation systems for agriculture. Surpluses of food led to great increases in population with large families of usually six children providing the needed labor for the fields. Because of dense populations in these areas, diseases and illnesses spread rapidly. The progress and expansion of civilizations created an economic boom of traveling and trading with other areas which were susceptible to foreign illnesses. With the exchange of goods and closeness of combat came the exchange of diseases on epidemic levels.

During this same time period, horses, poultry, cattle, sheep, pigs, dogs, and goats were being domesticated. These animals have historically been riddled with disease, spreading fatal illnesses such as rabies, bacterial infections, and worms. Thanks to 'man's best friend', we share a common thread with the dog: 65 micro-organic diseases and only slightly less with other domesticated animals. Pharmacologists studying ethnobotany now confirm that the uses of some herbs in ancient times did actually provide effective cures and preventative medicine. These herbs were also utilized as narcotics, anesthetics, contraceptives, and the like. The hard life of a laborer brought about a want for drugs such as tobacco, opium, alcohol, and coca. This brings into consideration a view of life including more than the treatment of diseases. Perhaps the World Health Organization's Constitution says it best: "Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity."

Approaches to healing and beliefs of sickness vary widely. Medical ethnologists propose two belief systems in developing societies: supernatural causation and a natural causation theory. The concept of super-
natural causation can be further divided into three areas: Animism (the belief in the supernatural), mystical (placing the blame on taboos), and magical. Other techniques involving rituals and herbs may have been used symbolically. Pharmacologists and ethnobotany studies are also finding that herbs used earlier in man's history were effective in many medicinal uses. From these early drugs, modern medicine has acquired cocaine, ephedrine, quinine, and other important drugs. Mankind only continues to exist by finding remedies for massive illnesses and only continues to be well by a good diet and overall good health. Mark Twain made an interesting statement regarding the Western approach to health. According to Twain, "the only way to keep your health is to eat what you don't want, drink what you don't like, and do what you'd rather not."

Since the introduction of Western medicine to many parts of the world in the 1800s, cultural rituals such as spiritual healing, witchdoctoring, and cults have been considered to be inferior in comparison. A Hawaiian law of 1887 even outlaws "sorcery, witchcraft or other deceitful methods". Western healing methods usually involve only a problem point treated by pills, shots, and surgery rather than the whole body or 'holistic' approach. However, some would argue that the population as a whole is searching for a more natural way of healing rather than invasive (such as surgery) or the chemically-treated approach (pills, shots).

I conducted a written survey of 25 people with six unstructured questions in order to gain some insight as to why people are returning to the alternative methods of healing such as massage, medicinal herbs, acupressure, medicinal plants, acupuncture, and spiritual methods. Twelve of these were students with an average age of 25. The thirteen others were mostly full-time employees, ranging from minimal education to a four-year degree in a career position. Of the total group, eleven were local of various ethnicities and fourteen were Caucasian, some local and some transplanted from the Mainland.

The questionnaires were based upon traditional Western methods of healing (Western medical doctor, pills, and surgery). Alternative methods refer to massage, magnetic therapy, herbs, medicinal plants, lomi-lomi, chiropractic, acupuncture, and spiritual methods. Initially, I was planning to research many different methods but decided to focus on traditional Western methods vs. traditional Chinese methods of healing. Of the 25 respondents, 14 had grown up only using traditional Western medicines, 9 had used or were familiar with a mixture of alternative and Western medicines, and 2 had grown up using only alternative methods. Alternative treatments listed were native Hawaiian plants and banana blossoms, tumeric, ti, aloe, green guava and guava sprouts, massage, herbs, acupuncture, lomi-lomi, shiatsu, and spiritual methods. In addition, some in the study group had experience with chiropractic, homemade folk medicine, and laser surgery. Of those who had experienced these treatments, only one believed that their treatment (in this case, acupuncture) was ineffective.

The primary purpose of this study was to discover why more people are selecting alternative methods of healing. Here are the various, multiple results:

- No health insurance: 1
- Family, culture, values: 4
- Religion: 6
- Don't trust doctors/pills: 3
- Believe in more organic methods: 2
- Don't like medical tests on animals: 1
- Referrals, from physician: 2
- Looked like it would feel good: 1
- Western not working: 2
- Bad experiences with Western Medicine: 1
- Referrals from others: 2
- Own physician practiced both: 1
- Alternatives are more organic: 1

Next, the respondents were asked to explain why...
they believe society is moving more towards alternative methods and they replied as follows:

- Doctors into medicine for the money: 1
- Medical doctors don’t care: 1
- Desire to go back to old ways: 1
- Convenience and availability: 1
- Education on alternative methods: 5
- Lack of faith in Western methods: 3
- Increased awareness at popular level due to increased globalization and contact with other distant cultures: 1
- Traditional western medicine is creating a generation of pill dependent people without immunity: 1
- Searching for whole body healing: 1
- Natural methods without side effects: 4
- People are looking for simple solutions to complex problems (in regard to Western Medicine): 1
- No surgery or drugs: 2
- Different ethnic groups: 1
- Traditional not working: 5
- Less health insurance: 1
- Alternative more effective: 1
- Searching for truth, spirituality: 1

In the Mainland U.S., where much of the population is Caucasian, it would be fair to say that ethnic boundaries exist that might prevent the validation of alternative ethnic medicines. However, because of the ethnomethodological mix here in Hawaii, the acceptance of traditional Chinese medicine is not an ethnic issue, which makes it easier to accept. Had I conducted my survey in the Mainland (except for large metropolitan areas), I believe that my results would show Western medicine to be the dominant choice of healing.

The History of Traditional Chinese Medicine

Of the ancient civilizations that flourished around the Nile River, the Indus River Valley, and the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, the Yellow River Valley of Northern China is where Chinese civilization was born. Oracle bones and tortoise shells excavated during the 20th Century and dated to 1500 B.C. are proof of Chinese healing as these refer to 36 various diseases and cures from herbs.

In the beginning of Chinese civilizations, medicine men (Shamans, or wu in Chinese society) were solely responsible for collecting herbs. Prior to 1122 B.C.E., Taoist hermits delivered wild herbs from the mountains to the medicine men who categorized them and used them for healing.

Quick advancements of medicine during the Chou Dynasty (1122-249 B.C.E.) provided the ideogram for doctor (yi) and for medicine (yao). It was during this time that the Duke of Chou wrote I-Ching. This work represented Taoism and brought the concept of Yin and Yang into a concrete idea. The I-Ching stated that “The ceaseless interplay of Heaven (Cosmos) and Earth (nature) gives forms to all things. The sexual union of male and female gives life to all things. This interaction of Yin and Yang is called Tao, the way, and the resulting creative process is called change. The Chinese realized that nature has its own levels of power; that is, earth is dependent upon heaven. The Tao way of healing imitates and adjusts to the direction of the universe, giving rise to two parts, the Yin and Yang. The literal meaning of Yin is the “shady side of a hill”, representing the cloudy element that is the moon, night, earth, cold, dampness, darkness, water. Yang is the “sunny side of a hill”, representing the sunny elements: heat, fire, heaven, sun, day, dryness. They are not good or bad nor right or wrong but work in unison. According to the Tao way, the human body is divided into three regions: the upper, middle and lower and then subdivided again into three elements: earth, heaven, and man, each with each element comprising...
of one Yin and one Yang and with each subdivision relating to a major organ in the human body. Treatment of a problem area depends upon the location to its Yin or Yang. The physical qualities of Yin and Yang are the five elements: metal, water, wood, fire, and earth. Metal gives us water, water gives us wood, wood creates fire, fire gives us earth and earth creates metal.

The first Chinese medical texts were written during the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E.-220 C.E.), and comprised an accumulation of a large amount of medical knowledge. The Yellow Emperor’s Classic of Internal Medicine was the most important of these texts as it contains the principles of Yin and Yang, the Five Elemental Energies, and other Taoist philosophy which is the basis of traditional Chinese medicine and still applied today.

Another text written during the Han Dynasty is The Pharmacopoeia of Shen Nung (Shen Nung Pen Tsao Ching) which actually divides medicinal herbs into three classifications with the lower division comprising of toxic herbs used for the worst cases, the middle division of herbs that give vitality and tend nature, and the upper division of herbs that promote longevity and sustain life.

The third of these great books, written by Shan Han Lun, is called Discussion of Fevers and Flus. The author devoted his life to the classification and prevention of common diseases after much of his family died from these diseases. He believed that the Yin and Yang forces needed to be balanced and so divided the diseases into six types, three Yin and three Yang.

The science and study of medicine advanced immensely during other dynasties, including the Ming Dynasty which produced another wonderfully gifted person, Li Shihchen (1517-1593). His text Outlines and Divisions of Herbal Medicine was completed after 27 years. It lists some 1,892 medicinal plants, minerals, and animal products and is considered a bible to Chinese herbalists. It was also the first medical text to come out of China that was taken seriously by the West as well.

In 1929, the Nationalist government in Nanking advocated its support of traditional Chinese medicine and this day is now celebrated as Chinese Doctor Day. Although Western medicine has been available in China since the 19th Century, most Chinese prefer their traditional medical healing methods over Western medicine. Traditional Chinese medicine involves not only herbal remedies, but just as important, acupressure, acupuncture, and massage. Healing methods throughout the world differ but only in China are acupuncture and moxibustion applied.

The advent of acupuncture is unknown; however, a variety of stories exist regarding its origins. Some form may have evolved with Asian shamans. Lore tells also of warriors who received arrow wounds and were said to have found relief from other ailments when the entry was located at certain points.

Acupuncture tools have evolved using disposable needles with different gauges which are inserted into 14 different meridians and twirled and maneuvered around to restore and balance the qi and to enhance circulation. Qi (pronounced Chee) is our life energy, the vital force in all living things; the blood circulating through our bodies and through our organs. Qi is determined by pulse reading at three different areas on the inside of the wrist and at three different depths. The tongue is also an important diagnostic tool as it exhibits a patient’s past, present, and future illnesses and determines internal imbalance.

The Traditional Chinese Medical College of Hawaii

Originally, the focus of my field research project was healing beliefs and customs of various cultures, but I became especially fascinated with Chinese healing methods, especially acupuncture. The only way to truly understand anything is to not only observe but to participate as well, and so I became a patient of the Traditional Chinese Medical College of Hawaii (TCMCH).

Located in Waimea on the Big Island, TCMCH was established 14 years ago by Angela Longo. Angela was a student at the University of California, Berkeley, when she became acquainted and eventually apprenticed with Dr. Lea Kong, whose family history extends back to nine generations of acupuncturists. During the Cultural Revolution in China, the government simply arrived one day and confiscated the family’s scrolls and books of medicine and took Dr. Kong’s father, who disappeared forever.

Students attend TCMCH for a period of nine trimesters or three years with a curriculum of Western medicine including Western pharmacology, Western
diagnostic procedures, aromatherapy, acupressure, physiology, massage, theory, and clinical work. Methods of Chinese medicine are studied as well; however, the insertion of needles (needling) is not performed until a student has reached the 8th trimester.

Western pharmacology teaches the different classes of drugs in order for a student to safely determine herbal treatments that compliment a patient’s prescription medicine. There are three Western medical physicians on staff to mix ‘a little of this, a little of that’ of the 300-400 herbs utilizing 150 various formulas. Learning Western medical nomenclature also allows the practitioners of alternative healing arts to converse with physicians on a professional level.

I asked how many patients are referred from Western medical doctors and was told that not many are. The staff believes that there is still quite a resistance to alternative methods, particularly in the medical community. Perhaps physicians fear losing their patients to alternative methods.

Feeling Groovy

Entering into TCMCH is entering another realm. It is very calming to the mind but, at the same time, stimulating to the olfactory senses as the body fills with the scents of hundreds of herbs. I had entered a different zone. You can feel that this is a place of loving, dedicated care. I could tell. And I knew that this experience was one that I would never forget.

The health questionnaire was lengthy but certainly thorough as I tried to summarize my physical and mental health. I was then led by two students into a warm, inviting room with the walls decorated with three large posters of the front, rear, and lateral views of the human body with acupuncture points indicated along the meridians.

A thorough interview was conducted with a myriad of questions concerning my present health. Next, I was instructed to lay my arms across a cushion on a table. With a student on each arm, they checked for three ‘pulses’ at the wrist, both obtaining my blood pressure reading. At this stage, the supervising dean entered the room and occupied one of the seats in front of me. He asked me to open my mouth and stick out my tongue for all three to document the gulleys, hills, color, shape, and size. All of this is the framework for treating in a holistic way according to Chinese tradition. Five diagnostic approaches are applied to establish the total condition of the patient; questioning, observing, listening, smelling, and touching. Each session is overseen by the clinic supervisor who carefully guides the students through the processes.

One of students came from West Virginia and had learned of TCMCH and discovered it to be the best school of traditional Chinese medicine in the nation. She stated that cognitive teaching and treating are learned through clinic work and that acupuncture can’t be performed without accurate diagnosis obtained from pulses and the tongue. She found that TCMCH allows students to be more actively involved in the diagnosis. A first year student was part of the diagnosis process and chose TCMCH because of the hands-on training.

At this point, the two students and their supervisor, who became my consultants, left me to discuss their diagnosis of my qi and to determine the meridian points for needle insertion. Their mutual diagnosis is that I have a deficient spleen and kidney. The kidney deficiency was seen through the crack on my tongue.

Next, I was instructed to lie on the delicate wood acupuncture table. A heat lamp was directed towards my stomach, which aids in digestion. The needle insertion began at my feet as the ‘channel’ to my qi is opened at the feet. Three needles were then inserted into my abdomen area and one in my left wrist to ‘close’ the channel, which, I was told, would balance the whole yin-yang of my body. The only area of sensitivity was at my feet. I was informed that when a sensation (feeling) travels around, then the energy is flowing better. Amazingly, no bleeding occurs except in the ear area. The needles are then left in place for 20 minutes, during which time one student began another process called moxibustion. Acupuncture points on the body number 361. Fortunately, I only needed seven at my first session.

Moxibustion is used to tonify a particular area when something is weak. In my case, the spleen and kidney needed more heat to balance my yin-yang. They were too yin (damp). A small bit of material called moxi wool is placed on the area then lit until the heat reaches the skin, at which point the heat is removed. This process is completed three times. I
am told that in China, if the moxi wool doesn’t burn enough to leave a scar, they consider the treatment a failure. Multiple visits for these treatments, I am told, will “beef up” my wai qi. I was next instructed about a healthy diet that will help with the qi. Cold drinks and cold food entering the body must first be heated by the spleen, which requires energy to heat, then energy to digest. My multiple acupuncture treatments, so far, have yielded nothing but positive results and I look forward to more treatments.

Computers have brought access to the world right to our fingertips. Ethnic barriers are tumbling as humans all over the world are woven together by technology. Like the balance of yin-yang, cultural relativism is becoming more widespread. People want change. Americans are not only adopting better diets but are embracing different cultures. Today, much of mainstream American culture is interwoven with cultures from around the world and is, perhaps, responsible for changes within these cultures. More and more individuals are discovering the rituals, beliefs, and customs of these other cultures and the benefits and healing powers of alternative methods. The holistic approach to healing only makes sense as we try harder at preventive health rather than just curing a deficient self.

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Chinese Jade

Zhao Lin Li

Introduction

This ethnography is on Chinese jade. I wanted to see what were the cultural connotations of jade for the Chinese people. I very much believed that jade was just an ornamental stone for the Chinese. I think this is so because I used to work at a jewelry shop. Also, many customers would ask me cultural questions about jade and I would not know how to answer them. This made me feel very awkward; first, because I was supposed to be knowledgeable about the products I sell and, second, because I was Chinese. These reasons pushed me to do research on jade in Chinese culture.

Methodology

I began my ethnography by performing the basic researching techniques. I read through books, checked the web, and even read about Chinese art in my Kapiolani Community College art class. I felt more comfortable asking jade dealers about their product after gaining background knowledge about jade. This helped me to formulate questions that helped me better understand the significance jade to the Chinese. I did not want to just go up to a dealer and ask, “So what can you tell me about Chines jade?” The background information also helped me to understand some of the terminology dealers use in explaining jade. At certain times, I was able to ask some of my relatives about this precious stone. They told me only the most common and brief beliefs of jade. One merchant I spoke to was Joe Chan at Pacific Jade House. I chose this shop because it was closest to my working place. I spoke with Mr. Chan about three times over the phone, and went into his store once. This covered a span of about a month. I found out that there was more information in the books than what he could tell me. Mr. Chan did tell me certain things about jade that were not in books. All in all, Mr. Chan and the literature on jade gave me a very complete look at jade.

Background

The Chinese admire jade above all other valuable minerals. Historically, in contests, the first place winner would be awarded jade, the second place would be awarded gold, and the third place would be awarded ivory. The Chinese use jade to speak to Heaven and compare it to man’s most admirable attributes. Scholars and archers wore jade rings as a badge of honor. They also believed that jade helped a man realize the God-Nature relationship in man and is the closest material form of the Yin and the Yang. Jade is held highly in Chinese culture.

Jade is so precious that one piece of jade has caused many dramatic moments in Chinese history. Men have betrayed, stolen, fought, and died to obtain the Jade of Ho. Owning this piece, which is a seal made of jade, was the celestial sign of the Emperor’s right to the throne. It performed the same function as the Mandate of Heaven. Every Emperor possessed it since it was carved, whether through war, plots, or inheritance. It was the Chinese Holy Grail.

The jade that the Chinese speak so greatly of comes in two forms, nephrite and jadeite. Jadeite, a pyroxene, only forms under great pressure and heat. The required pressure and heat can be found twenty to thirty miles below the surface of the Earth. This type of jade, a silicate of aluminum, is a microcrystalline and can be easily broken. When jadeite is polished, it is a very brilliant stone. Nephrite, an amphibole, forms closer to the surface through the reactions between calcium, magnesium, and water. Fifty tons of pressure is required to crush one cubic inch of nephrite. This makes it the world’s toughest stone, stronger than diamond. This silicate of magnesium
is fibrous and hard to fracture. Nephrite's appearance is generally soapy looking. It is through erosion that these rare minerals are brought up to civilization.

Jade, for the Chinese, comes in more mystical terms. One story has it that the Storm God, with one hand on a rainbow (jade comes in all colors) and another forging a jade ax, gave it to man to defend himself against his many predators. Another story, sticking more to history, says that when the Tartar barbarians (Mongols) invaded China, dragons cried for the people. When the tears came to Earth, they changed to jade. The earliest Chinese record, speaking highly of jade, says that when men first tested the stone, they threw it into a heated furnace and left it there for three straight days and nights. After they took it out, the stone had the same color, polish, and texture as before.

Jade was first found in the rivers of Chinese Turkestan, thus giving the rivers their names, Black Jade River and White Jade River. Women would gather jade from the rivers since it was believed that men would have a much harder time doing it. The reason was that women were a Yin force, and thus fared much better in attracting jade, which was a Yang force. So the women would wade in the rivers and search, and they normally would be naked to enhance their Yin. This caused most mining to be done at night.

Later, jade was collected from the Kun Lun Mountains. The main mines now are in the Khotan and Yarkand regions. The Chinese traveled far from their villages to gather jade in boulders. They would sometimes be gone for more than a year. The miners would build charcoal fires on these stones to cause a temperature change in the rocks. Then wedges are forced into the cracks produced from the fires to break off boulders of jade. Another method used required that holes be drilled and filled with water. When winter came, the water will freeze to ice and crack the rock. Demand for jade has always exceeded the supply of it.

The earlier jade comes down to the present by a very interesting ritual. Because land for burial was scarce, the government and later Chinese culture expected people to unearth grave sites and cremate the deceased. During the unearthing, the jade buried with the deceased was taken out of the coffin and transferred to later generations of the family. These became heirlooms. However, when times were tough, many people had to sell these jade. These ancient pieces of jade got rarer and rarer. The Chinese soon stopped selling jade either because the economy picked up or because there was no more jade left to sell.

Jade comes in every color of the rainbow. The jade used in ancient Chinese jade pieces is mostly of the "mutton fat" variety. Mutton fat jade is a creamy white with blemishes of light green. These, however, have become rare. These older jade are made up of nephrite. Jade carved nowadays, jadeite, is mostly from Burma and can come in many colors. Pure jade, however, has a white, translucent color. The mineral deposits in the stone is what gives jade its color. Iron compound deposits usually gives a pale green, different browns, different yellows, different grays, black, or blue. Compounds of manganese usually give different grays, different blacks, or pink. And finally compounds of chromium usually produce an emerald green. Colors of jade have special meaning for the Chinese. Yellow can stand for Earth and Saturn. Black can mean water, North, or mercury. White may stand for air, metal, West, or Venus. Red can represent fire, South, or Mars. Green is associated with wood, East, or Jupiter. And finally blue might symbolize Heaven.

The Chinese used jade, the stone of immortality, in worship and burial. Jade was a link that connected the Earth with Heaven. To worship Heaven, a sky blue Pi was used. The Pi is a flat, round disk with a hole in the middle, and represents heaven. The form of the Pi is theorized to have came about because the stone can be suspended by a string and struck to make ritual music, or could have been a circular ax, sun disk, a sun shining through the vault of Heaven, or Heaven itself. It can be one inch in diameter to one foot across. The width of the center is usually 1/5 of the diameter. A yellow Ts'ung is used to worship the Earth. The Ts'ung is a round cylinder enclosed within a square (another way of visualizing it is a cylinder flanked by four prisms), and represents the Earth. The four corners of the Ts'ung represent the four cardinal directions and the four elements: water, fire, wood, and metal. And the fifth element, the Earth, is symbolized by the Ts'ung itself. In tombs, the Ts'ung is placed on the chest and abdomen of the body, with the Pi below the body, the soul is between Earth and Heaven.

The practice of using jade to worship ancestors started a long time ago, maybe about 10,000 B.C.E.
In the ancestor halls of the Chinese, the ancestors are represented with jade tablets. These tablets are what the Chinese used to communicate with their ancestors. Worshippers would make sacrifices (sometimes with jade), pray, or just talk to the jade tablets. Jade would also be used in burials. These are known as tomb jades, and they are usually jade that was once made for the living, ritual jade to take to the world beyond, and specialized jade objects for the dead and to close the nine apertures of the human body. Jade amulets can be placed in the mouth with rice. Circular pieces of jade close the naval apertures. These pieces often times have tigers carved onto them to represent the Yin, female force. As an ancient text said, "Jade cannot prevent the living from dying, but it can preserve the corpse from decaying."

The Chinese believed that jade was capable of many great things. An ancient text said that powdered jade, if taken internally, could cure anything from insomnia to flatulence. The Chinese believed that Jade could also convey awesome powers of invisibility and levitation, and carry more practical feats, such as preventing a person from being thrown off his horse. They also believed that jade, if worn, could heal physical ailments and ward off evil, misfortunes, and mischievous supernatural entities. Jade, used properly by a shaman, can also bring about any manner or number of grotesque beings.

Several myths relate jade with life and immortality. Some say that jade prolongs life. Others say that it can bring immortality if consumed in the right quantity. The Taoists believed that they knew the ingredient to eternal life, jade, but did not know exactly how to use it, the proportions and quantity to be consumed, kinds of other substances to be mixed, and the auspicious conditions under which it was to be worn or taken. And if a person, right before death, swallowed five pounds of solution of jade, his or her corpse would not decay for three years.

Jade is thought to be able to help a person just by being in contact with it. The feel of cool jade is said to elevate and purify thoughts, to quiet the mind, and to induce a state of contemplation. It is also believed that frequent handling of jade will cause the stone to grow even more beautiful in sheen. According to one Chinese proverb, "Jade is cool because it comes from the essence of clear mountain streams." Science says that jade is cool to the touch because it is a non-conductor.

Many Chinese believe that a jade stone eventually becomes a part of the life of its owner. Jade is said to change colors depending on the aura of its possessor. When he or she is down or depressed the jade might be a darker shade. If fortune is good, the stone might be of a lighter tint. It is also believed that when a jade piece cracks or breaks, it has shielded its holder from an evil and harmful event.

In addition to the jade's color, the depiction of the carving has significance also. In general, most Chinese jade carvings represent animals, parts of animals, or mythical animals. Some of the favorite jade depictions are of horses, tigers, rabbits, birds, bats, fish, toads, tortoises, dragons, unicorns, phoenixes, and hydras. Gods and god-like characters are also represented. Most of the animals depicted are usually more god-like and represents natural forces more than they represent the animal.

One of the most revered mythical animals of the Chinese is the dragon. It is believed to once have been a real animal, but has become extinct. Some say the dragon was merely how the Chinese saw the alligators that came when flood season was upon them. That is why they are often called bearers of rain. The dragon, however, has grown to represent many things. It is sometimes called the Guardian of the East and symbolizes Spring, courage, and Imperial Sovereignty. From the mouth of a dragon can come royal edicts, prophecies, proclamations of Heaven, fire, and clouds that bring rain. The eastern dragon, which is capable of great deeds if one treated him reverently, is very different from the western dragon, which is evil and kidnaps princesses.

Buddhism brought many aspects to jade art. With the inception of Buddhism, jade soon depicted pagodas, mountain masses, and religious symbols. Some jade carvings were dedicated to depicting Buddhist figures for worship and were placed at temples. The necessity for these carvings soon led to the expanding of dimensions for jade carvings. The largest jade Buddha was over five feet high, three feet wide, and one foot deep. Prior to Buddhism, most jade carvings were relatively small.

Bodhisattvas are most loved by the Chinese. These
are human beings who have reached the pinnacle of spiritual enlightenment but instead of going to Heaven they decide to stay on Earth and teach humanity how to reach enlightenment. Their favorite Bodhisattva is Kuan Yin, the Bodhisattva of mercy, also known as the Jade Goddess. She is the most widely depicted Bodhisattvas in jade art. She is the Maternal Goddess, Protector of Children, and observer of all sounds, and her jade carvings are often worshiped at temples by women. Kuan Yin is often depicted as a standing, slender figure of infinite grace and greatly composed to convey a sublime selflessness and compassion.

The story of how a jade boulder is turned into a precious piece that is so precious to the Chinese is an interesting one. It starts with the jade miners breaking off boulders from a mountain far from their village. After collecting enough boulders for a profitable outing, they return to their village. Each boulder has its very own characteristics. Then comes the auctioning off of these boulders to individual merchants. The day before the auction is the only time prior to the auction that each merchant is allowed to inspect the individual boulders with great attention. On the day of the auction, each boulder is given a number to be referred by. The host, or the sin sang, of the auction is a large man with incredible memory and a great sense of duty. The sin sang begins by yelling out a number of a boulder. All the merchants then proceed to him and, using their fingers, communicate their bid under long sleeves. This is how they kept the bids confidential. With all these merchants rushing toward the sin sang, it is beneficial if the sin sang is sturdy enough to withhold the rush. Only the sin sang knows the bids and he, by duty, is not allowed to tell another soul. After everyone bids, the sin sang, with his great memory, announces the winner.

The boulder is then brought back to the shop. Here it lies for inspection by the artisan and the shop owner. It might take a year before the artisan and shop owner finally decide how the boulder should be cut and used. They must be sure not to misuse the jade. Artisans normally have to be trained 4-5 years before they are allowed to handle the jade. And after that, they are not considered professional until about 10 years of practice. They are sometimes told to imagine jade pieces to be cut from the clouds, wood, and shadows for their training since jade is too rare to be practiced on.

After studying jade, I have realized that it is much more than an ornamental stone. If I had known this while I was working at the jewelry store, I probably would have been more confident about selling the product, and the customer would have appreciated just how important this stone is to the Chinese. There are many beliefs and myths that go hand in hand with jade in Chinese culture. I doubt I have learned them all.

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Over the past fifty years, westerners have often regarded China as "the enemy of the East." Its communist government is frowned upon by democratic societies. Political parties and figures have used China as an "enemy" when one was needed for some reason or another.

Ironically, westerners know very little about China itself. General information is taught to students in schools, but is often tainted by the views and opinions of a "democratic" educational system. China, as it turn out, is a country that is rich in culture and diversity. It faces many of the same problems that other large countries face. The Chinese government handles trade, urban development, population control, and many other issues just like the rest of the world. The following paper will examine China's practices and policies in regards to population control. Specifically, it will consider family planning policies.

After 1950, China's government--by now communist in nature--began to notice a growing problem in the country. Population numbers were increasing at such a high rate--33.43 per thousand (Oneworld.org)--that the government was finding it difficult to provide for its people. Food was scarce, and some provinces experienced famine. Jobs were also scarce, and the amount of people living under the poverty level increased from 23% to 37% over a ten year period. By 1970, a typical family in China consisted of a mother and father and, on average, five children. The government realized that if the population growth was not slowed in some way, there would be 1.5 billion people living in China by 1990.

In 1979, after over 20 years of trying various methods to control the increasing population, the different branches of the Chinese government held a congress to address the population issue. Members from each branch reported on how the population increase was affecting their departments. It became apparent that the old means of trying to slow the growth were not working. By 1979, the population was growing at a rate of 35.69 per thousand (Oneworld.org). A new commission was created. Known as the State Family Planning Commission of China, or SFPC, its mission was to address the issue of population control. In conjunction with other agencies, such as the Labor and Education Commissions, the SFPC implemented what is now known as the "One-child Family Policy".

The one-child policy changed certain fundamental principles that China had embraced for thousands of years. Before the policy, Chinese families were expected to have several children. As stated earlier, families of five kids were the norm in the 1970s. According to Chinese customs, family honor is passed from father to son. Due to the high rate of infant death in China because of poor health care and lack of food, having more than one child increased the chances of maintaining family honor. For example, if one had five children--three boys and two girls, for instance--and one of the sons died, one still had two other sons to carry on the family line, and its honor.

Under the new policy, families with only one child were given grain rations. Their child was given an education paid for by the government. Most important, families with only one child were placed on population registries. Anyone not on these registries could not apply for jobs in the cities. Being on these registries made it easier for families to support themselves. To have a child, a couple must sign a contract stating that they will have only one child, and that contraceptives and birth control will be used to prevent another pregnancy. In return, the government will provide medical care, food, and an education at no cost to the parents. Also, the SFPC set birth quotas (allowed numbers) in order to manage popu-
At first, the policy was met with skepticism by the people of China. The people feared that if they were allowed only one child, their family honor might be ruined. If they had more than one child, their children's future would be difficult due to the lack of government support. Another issue that the SFPC faced had to do with families that already had children. How could the government make a family have only one child when it already had three? It was thus decided that the policy would only affect families that conceived children after 1979. Also, the government had difficulties implementing the policy in rural communities. In a big city, implementation was fairly easy due to the fact that people gave birth in hospitals. Documentation of births was sent from the hospitals to the SFPC. However, in the rural communities, where births were often performed with the aid of midwives, documentation of births was lacking. The SFPC took action in 1981 by creating a new government position in the provinces. The job performed by the appointed individuals was to attend all births performed by midwives, document the birth and sex of the child, establish who the parents were, and then send the documents to the SFPC (Overpopulation.com).

The one-child policy gave rise to certain practices that are considered by many to be despicable. As stated previously, family honor is passed on to the male heirs of a family. Female children are expected to uphold the honor of their husband’s families, not the families of their birth. These views and beliefs lead to the practice of sex selection. Sex selection was practiced differently in the cities and in the rural areas. In the cities, where ultrasound equipment and good medical care is available, parents, mostly fathers, can abort pregnancies of girl children. While exact numbers are not available to the public, the average number of abortions in China increased significantly between the years 1985 and 1990. The mothers, in most cases, are supposed to support the choices made by their husbands. They are brought to the hospital by their husbands, undergo the abortion, and are then taken home (Forerunner.com). While this practice may appear cruel, it is almost acceptable when compared to the practices of rural areas.

Since hospitals and good medical care are rare commodities in China’s rural areas, in large part because of the inability of the population to pay for these services, most unborn children are carried for the full term. Since sex selection is nearly impossible, expectant parents are unaware of the sex of their child until they are born. If the child born is a male, the parents keep it. If it is a female child, parents not intent on keeping that child may “consider” many options. Most families do not have the means to place their child up for adoption, so less than 20% of female babies are adopted (Forerunner.com). There are other options, such as using forceps to crush the baby’ skull after birth, injecting undiluted formaldehyde into the baby’s brain (which causes instant death), and, most commonly and widely known, drowning or smothering the newborn baby. The last method has led to a cultural stereotype in the West of Chinese parents dumping their baby girls into rivers regularly.

These practices are illegal in China, and any parent caught doing these things is fined heavily (roughly $10,000) and faces a jail sentence of up to 20 years. These punishments are also applied to people whose child lives for a period after birth, and then mysteriously dies later. In the cities, these crimes are rare, since most unwanted girl children are aborted legally. Most girl children who are adopted come from families in the cities. In the rural areas, it is the responsibility of government surveyors mentioned earlier to track the progress of newborn children. However, these workers are understaffed and overworked. This leads to holes in the system which allow these practices to continue today.

One of the more recent methods implemented by the SFPC to combat such practices is sterilization. After a family has its first child, one of the parents undergoes birth control surgery. In most cases (94%), it is the mother who has the surgery (Overpopulation.com). However, as with most of the methods of the one-child policy, these sterilizations have become sinister. According to several unnamed Chinese news organizations, the practice of forced sterilizations is not always voluntary. Cases have been reported of citizens being abducted from their place of work or at night from their homes and sterilized. These people are usually those individuals who broke the law by having more than one child after signing the government’s contract. Whether these incidents are true or not can be debat-
ed, seeing that this information came from news organizations and not official government records. The government has no such cases on file, but again these incidents occurred in rural areas, where people still embrace the old beliefs. Until further official research is conducted, these cases will remain myths. Also, when the western media got wind of these reports, they were sensationalized and used to make the Chinese government look like a "bad guy." However, China does have laws in place that make forced and coerced abortions illegal, and the punishments can be quite severe.

One of the major issues that China faces today is the growing "army of bachelors." According to a 1995 poll conducted by OneWorld.org, the ratio of adult men to women of childbearing age is 4 to 1 in some areas. This has elevated the status of women in Chinese society. Since women in China are scarce, they are now given a choice that was made for them before. Women now can choose who their husbands will be, whereas before the choice was arranged by their fathers, usually through a matchmaker. Family planning has promoted the change of the people's concept of marriage, birth, and family. In 1970, the average marrying age was 20.6 years old; in 1993, that number increased to 22.67 (OneWorld.org). It has also opened doors for women in other areas. For example, in the 1950s and 60s, only 6% of women had a high school education. That number has increased over the past twenty years to 15%. Also, since family planning, the number of female workers increased to 56 million, accounting for 38% of the national total of staff and workers. This is a 24.1% increase since 1985, when 45 million women were workers.

While the negative aspects of the family planning policy have been the topic of many debates, the positive aspects have often been overlooked. Family planning has created favorable conditions for the development of China's economy and the improvement of living standards. Income increased 15.5% for urban dwellers and 14.47% for those living in rural areas since 1978 (OneWorld.org). With less mouths to feed, more money can be spent on luxuries previously unattainable. Health care has also seen a marked improvement over the last twenty years. In an effort to minimize the infant rate of mortality, Chinese officials have increased funding to health care. Prior to 1949, the mortality rate was as high as 20 per 1,000, but at the end of the 1970s that number had dropped to 7 per 1,000. Between 1949 and 1990, life expectancy rose from 35 years to an average of 68.55 years-66.75 years for males and 70.85 years for females (Forerunner.org). Also, in an effort to prevent infanticide, a network of maternity and child care facilities has been created all across China, in both the urban and rural areas. Consequently, the mortality rate for infants has decreased from 200 per 1,000 prior to 1949 to 35 per 1,000 in 1990 (Forerunner.org).

This is only the tip of the iceberg. This issue is massive, and the amount of information, and misinformation, is staggering. While the family planning policy has both benefitted and hurt China's society, reputation, and global standing, the most important point is how the people of China feel about the policy. In a society where living conditions were once hard, people now live comfortably. The economy is better, and for the first time in centuries, women are near equals to their male counterparts. While atrocities have been committed, they are the exception, not the rule. All systems need adjustments, and nothing ever works perfectly the first time. If enough time is given, the family planning system will adjust itself. One final note: China, in its current incarnation, has only existed for 53 years. Like all new countries, it is bound to make mistakes. Also, as errors are made, people learn, grow, and change. Given time, the one-child policy could be the key to China's bright future.

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The Traditional Korean Funeral

Anna Alcon

I have struggled much to come up with an interesting field study topic. I knew there were enough subjects I could do research on, but since the project involved a great deal of participant observation, I wanted to make sure that I picked a fun and interesting subject. However, as much as I wanted the project to be fun, I chose to write about the traditional Korean funeral because of my circumstances. I recently lost my stepmother who lived in Korea when she suffered a massive heart attack and died a few days later. The Korean funeral custom is something that I am not very familiar with. In fact, there are a lot of Korean traditions and customs which I don't know much about since I left Korea at young age. I have attended funerals of Korean people here in Hawaii, but they all followed the traditional Christian practice. Unfortunately, my only opportunity to learn about Korean funeral customs was under these conditions. However, I never thought it would be so complicated. As I went through the whole process step by step with my family, I began to learn the traditional funeral customs.

I received a phone call from my older bother Chong Kook Choi who lives in Korea. He told me that our stepmother had a heart attack and was in the hospital about to undergo a surgery. My sister and I flew over to meet the family in Korea several days later. I arrived to a hectic situation. Everyone looked so ghostly, and my father especially was completely crushed. The two had been married for thirty-two years, and I think she was very good to him. Our stepmother was sixteen years younger than my dad, and has always been a sickly person. She had a least six life threatening operations within the span of those thirty years, and she always took medication. She was only sixty-six years old when she died and my eighty-two year old father wondered why God didn’t take him first instead of her. My brother and sisters who live in Korea were shocked at first, but they seemed to know that, due to her bad health, this end was inevitable.

We were never close to our stepmother. When she came into our young lives over thirty years ago, she played the typical stepmother. She was an aggressive woman who wanted to control us as soon as she moved in to the house, and always managed to find faults in all of us children. She would talk badly about our mother and would gossip with the neighbors. It seemed to be her favorite pastime. Our dad lost all the power to her and her words were the law. We soon figured out that this home was no longer ours. Within a year, four of us moved out of dad’s home and rented our own place. We were all still quite young. I was only fifteen years old and my seventeen and thirteen year old sisters, and ten year old younger brother, lived in a virtual cave. It was the worst period of my life. Even though we moved out, she let us know often enough that she was the boss of all. She would come and visit us once or twice a month with the rice and yun tan (black coal which is used to heat the floor and house) delivery men. She would give us just enough to last a month, and if we ate more than usual in that particular month, we would have to go hungry by the end of the month. The quality of yun tan was bad at that time and even if we were careful, often it wouldn’t burn all the way down. Many times we had to sleep on a frozen floor because we didn’t have enough yun tan. We had to calculate everything. The jar of kimchee had to last a month for us. Thank God we had a wonderful land lady who took great pity on us. She often gave us vegetables and pickles to eat although she struggled herself. We hated our stepmother and our dad. We were like orphans. I used to feel so sorry for my younger sister and brother who often had to miss meals.

I left Korea when I was nineteen years old, determined never to come back again. Ten years later, however, when my youngest sister Chong Jin was getting married, I decided to go back and help her celebrate,
brother Chong Kook became the family representative. The doctor told my brother our father would be taken care of and that he could bury his wife with dignity. Perhaps this was the only way my feelings could be mended. My older brother Chong Kook who phoned me the bad news came to the new In Chon Airport to pick me and my sister Chong Sun up. During the drive on our way to the hospital in Seoul, he told me how he had received a phone call from our older sister Chong Ae. She told him the urgent news and how everyone was at the hospital. My brother misunderstood her to mean that it was our father that had suffered the heart attack. He told us of how he had broken the toilet flush handle when he panicked and thought about losing our father.

As he arrived at the hospital, he was relieved to find dad sitting in front of the patient’s room and quickly sorted things out. After they hugged and cried, my brother was asked by a nurse to meet the doctor right away. From here on, I immediately began to learn the Korean customs.

The doctor would only speak with the oldest son of the patient’s family and discuss matters with him. If there isn’t a son in the family, the first grandson older than twenty years would make the decisions with the doctor and hold the honorable position to take care of the funeral. The oldest son or oldest grandson earns the title of Sang Ju. In our case, my brother Chong Kook became the Sang Ju. He was assigned to wear a white arm band made of hemp cloth on the right arm to let others know that he was the family representative. The doctor told my brother our stepmother suffered a massive heart attack, and that it was impossible to save her. The doctor had operated to try and save her only because it was my father’s wish. He wanted to try everything in the world to save her and told the doctor he didn’t care how much it would cost him to operate. I was amazed to hear my father speaking this way. I remembered that when my younger sister Chong Jin, whose wedding I had attended, had peritonitis when she was thirteen years old we nearly lost her because of our dad. “Just take an aspirin,” he said until she couldn’t sit, eat or breathe anymore. When we finally took her to a hospital, a doctor couldn’t believe her condition and started to scold my dad. The doctor grabbed the fattest empty syringe with the longest needle I’ve ever seen, and inserted it into Chong Jin’s tummy to remove the liquid. Within minutes, she was able to breath. I still blame my dad for Chong Jin being the shortest in our family. She is barely five feet tall and the rest of us are well over five feet five. My dad never believed in medicine. He believed that time would take care of any illness.

I was full of anger at first. “What happened to him?” I thought. “Has he really changed with time or did he simply love her more than his children?” Then I reminded myself he chose her over us long time ago. The drive to the hospital from the airport seemed to take forever.

When we got to the hospital, I noticed everyone was outside of the room. None of the family members were allowed in the room except for Sang Ju. My father held us and cried and thanked us for coming all the way from Hawaii. He told us then he was ever so proud of his children. My second sister Chong Ae and my younger sister Chong Jin were there preparing food and drinks for the guests. They looked extremely tired, and with good reason- they hadn’t slept for two days.

We learned that she was basically dead and the only reason she was breathing was that a machine was pumping her heart. We were not allowed to see her but my brother told me she looked pale but peaceful and her heart was beating very weakly. We could keep her alive but she would never wake up and the cost of hospitalization would be unmanageable. Not even my father was allowed in the room when the doctor was discussing the matters with Sang Ju. Instead, Sang Ju had to inform the family of his discussions with the doctor.

It was time to make a decision. My dad understood the situation but he just kept on crying whenever Chong Kook asked him for the decision. Finally, dad told Chong Kook to remove the cords. It was the
to a stainless steel bed. Cotton balls were placed in the corpse's nose and the ears, and the body was then wrapped in white cloth. Lastly, a name tag and a number were placed on her and a loud person, even when she was talking to my dad. When she used to scold us before, she even foamed at the mouth. She was always tough and mighty, and she never looked like this. "Wake up, wake up!" I yelled at her, but not a word came out of my mouth. "Wake up and scold us one more time. I'd rather see you yelling at us and boss us around. Don't make me feel sad for you. Just wake up!" I cried and cried. Is it possible that I loved her? I really don't know, but I wanted to thank her for taking good care of my dad. God bless my sisters and brother. They were all crying too. We hugged and comforted each other. I worried about who would take care of our father now that she was gone.

Soon afterward, the curtains in the room withdrawn and we were all allowed to see her for the last time. I started to cry. I still don't know exactly why I cried so much, but I couldn't help feeling sorry for her. Her hair was nicely combed and indeed, she looked very peaceful. I was a bit confused by the look on her face. I have never seen her look so peaceful and calm, and it was almost as though I didn't want to acknowledge that it was only because she was dead. She was always a loud person, even when she was talking to my dad. When she used to scold us before, she even foamed at the mouth. She was always tough and mighty, and she never looked like this. "Wake up, wake up!" I yelled at her, but not a word came out of my mouth. "Wake up and scold us one more time. I'd rather see you yelling at us and boss us around. Don't make me feel sad for you. Just wake up!" I cried and cried. Is it possible that I loved her? I really don't know, but I wanted to thank her for taking good care of my dad. God bless my sisters and brother. They were all crying too. We hugged and comforted each other. I worried about who would take care of our father now that she was gone.

Within a half hour, the corpse was removed from the room and Sang A was expected to accompany the corpse to the mortuary which was part of the hospital complex. The corpse was removed from the regular bed to a stainless steel bed. Cotton balls were placed in the corpse's nose and the ears, and the body was then wrapped in white cloth. Lastly, a name tag and a number were placed on her and Sang A was asked to verify that all the information was correct.

The Korean funeral ceremony lasts for three days and is call Sam Il Jung. Sang Ju had to prepare three rooms within the hospital complex for the next three days. The hospital room where she had died became the viewing room and another room was prepared for the guests to stay in. Another room in the hospital restaurant was reserved to feed everyone. I didn't understand why the procedures were so complicated; to me, it seemed only to prolong the grief. We all had to stay in the hospital for three days, during which time we did not sleep.

Sang Ju had to announce the death of the person and invite the friends and relatives. I have never seen my brother work so hard. The family is supposed to greet the guests and serve them. Most of all, we had to cry every time new guests arrived. We as women didn't seem to count very much. We were told to change to traditional funeral clothing which we could rent from the hospital. All the females had to wear a black or white traditional Korean dress called a Han Bok and the males had to wear a regular black suit with a black tie. The females of the family were there to serve the guests with food and drink, and make them as comfortable as possible. My father didn’t do much except greet guests and cry with them. As a matter of fact, all the males in the family except for Sang Ju and his son were expected only to greet the guests. However, Sang Ju's twenty year old son Young Soo Choi had to bow and greet the guests along with Sang Ju.

A man from the hospital was assigned to us to help us prepare the funeral. His name was Young Gil Yi and he became my primary informant. He knew the full procedure and helped us step by step. First, a picture of our stepmother from the waist up was requested. When my dad brought her picture, it was enlarged to fourteen by eighteen inches. Then two pieces of black tape were placed on the frame starting from the upper middle and then taped down each side to one-third of the frame. The picture was placed on the table against the wall in the viewing room where our stepmother lay. The room was fully decorated with white chrysanthemums, and a table in the viewing room was filled with food such as fruits, Duk (rice cake), and Sul (Korean wine).

There were a lot of people we had never met before, especially from our stepmother’s side. We didn’t even know she had a big brother. Friends of my brother and sisters came to share their sympathy. All of my father’s and stepmother’s friends came.
We counted more than a hundred guests; however, some people from our side of the family didn't show up. I learned that the reason for this was that the funeral was soon after the Chinese New Year and people considered it bad luck to deal with death.

When the guests arrived, they first shared their respect and sympathy with my dad who was seated outside the viewing room. They then went to a table just outside the viewing room to sign in and give their donations. The donations were all in white envelopes. Then each guest entered the room one at a time and did the traditional bow to the picture of the deceased person for two and a half times and then did another traditional bow with Sang Ju one and a half times. Sang Ju stayed next to the picture of the deceased person and greeted each guest. The traditional bow was quite different from the ordinary bow. The ordinary bow is a slight bend of neck which is practiced among friends in Korea. The lower you bow down your head, the more respect you show for the other person. I noticed the Korean culture is based on respect and honor. The traditional bow is something that I had to learn this time and it wasn't easy to do. It starts from placing both hands at eye level and then bending at the waist and the legs at the same time until a person touches the mat or the floor. The person's legs, hands, and head must completely bend to touch the ground which reminds me of frogs just before they leap. Sang Ju was expected to do a traditional bow with every single guest. “My poor brother,” I thought. He did this for three days continuously. Within a day, he looked pale and skinny.

When the bowing between Sang Ju and the guest was completed, he or she was escorted to the restaurant. Then the women’s responsibilities began. We served the guests on our hands and knees. We fed them the food, wine, and whatever else they needed until they went home. The guests weren’t permitted to reenter the room once they left. Even the immediate family wasn’t allowed to go in the room, and that rule also applied to my father. The only persons who could go in and out of the room were Sang Ju and the first grandson. Instead, all of the guests talked with one another. We shared jokes and talked about family vacations and once upon a time stories. Most of the guests stayed overnight and despite of our best effort to keep them entertained, many preferred to play Hwat To (Korean cards).

Even as the guests were coming and going, Sang Ju was working hard to select the coffin, reserve the hearse, and select clothing for the deceased person to wear. Luckily, Sang Ju was able to do all that through the hospital helper who also was my informant. Sang Ju also had to prepare for the graveyard and decide on the date of the burial.

It was a difficult three days. Everyone worked hard and felt exhausted. Sang Ju’s work was nowhere near done. On the third day, Sang Ju was called once again by the doctor to recheck to corpse. Then it was brought into another room for final preparation. All the relatives and the families were called in. We weren’t allowed in the room; however, we were allowed to watch from outside. A nurse opened the curtain for us to watch the preparation. Frankly, I regret watching what happened next.

Sang Ju was in the room with the doctor and the nurse. The doctor rechecked the corpse one last time and left. Two men came into the room and started to do the work. They began by asking Sang Ju if it was the right corpse. When he said yes, they started to tie the body. I just couldn’t believe what was happening. “What is the meaning of this? Are they nuts?” I couldn’t help but turn away. My dad’s hands were shaking and his legs were locked. The corpse was tied eight times starting from the ankles, knees, thighs, all the way to her face. She was dressed in white Han Bok and she was covered with a white cloth.

Preparation for the final trip was done. There were four men including my brother in the room and they lifted the body then put it into the coffin. However, Sang Ju wasn’t allowed to carry the coffin into the hearse. We all went into the hearse and headed to the graveyard. The graveyard was far from the hospital. It was not in Seoul but in Pa Ju which is two hours away. My father was still crying on the way to the graveyard, but the rest of us were all too exhausted and numb to cry. We all fell asleep in the hearse.

When we got there, we noticed that the ground was already dug up, but most of all, I noticed the area of the graveyard. My dad later told us that he bought the land for all of us, but I felt it is mainly the oldest son and the oldest grandson that my father expects to be buried there. The entire graveyard sits on a well carved mountain. The grass was green and the trees bloomed.
with pink and yellow flowers. It was indeed a beautiful place. Many of the guests were already there waiting for us. Most of the guests wore black clothing, but not necessarily the traditional Han Bok. Sixty-nine guests came to the funeral and I noticed they all had cars, and some even had their own chauffeurs. I was quite impressed by their lifestyle. Most of the lady guests had brand name hand bags and shoes. They wore full facial make up and wore a lot of jewelry. It seemed almost as if they were competing with and trying to impress each other. "Whatever happened to the traditional hemp cloth mourning clothes?" I wondered.

Before the burial ceremony began, Sang Ju brought out the clothes from the hearse which our stepmother had worn to the hospital and piled them up in one corner. The items that were used during her stay in the hospital such as cotton balls and gauzes as well as sheets and other things were also piled up on top of her old clothes. Sang Ju then lit a match to burn all her belongings. While it was burning, Sang Ju let out a long wailing sound. When I asked the informant about the wailing sound, he explained to me that the louder Sang Ju wails, the less the spirit of the deceased person will harm the living members in the family. I asked him why would the spirit want to harm their own family and he said that most of the spirits are very jealous of the living people, including their own family members. The longer and louder Sang Ju and the family wails, the more the spirit will accept his or her death. As I found out about the Korean traditional funeral and the hidden beliefs, I became more and more uncomfortable. After the items were completely burnt, Sang Ju covered the top of the coffin with a red piece of cloth on which he wrote "Chun," which means "heaven" in Chinese characters. Four men then carried the coffin and carefully placed it in the hole. As soon as they were done, Sang Ju scooped up a shovel full of dirt and poured it on top of the coffin. My dad wasn't allowed to do anything but watch the process. When the hole was halfway filled up by others, Sang Ju did a traditional bow two and a half times. When the hole was three-quarters of the way filled, Sang Ju laid seven pieces of flat wood on the dirt. Once again, Sang Ju did a traditional bow two and a half times. Finally, when the hole was completely filled up, workers added more dirt on the top to make a mound. When the process was over, the grave was shaped like a half a moon. Fruits, dry fish, rice cake, and wine were displayed in front of the grave. Lastly, Sang Ju poured the wine on the grave. The informant told me that wine represents the peace and the food represents the happiness. That was the end of the funeral.

The family was then told to gather at my father's house. Sang Ju and his son carefully carried the deceased person's picture from the car and placed it in front of a folding screen which was already set up in a room. Along with the rice cake and the wine, a full meal was prepared in front of the picture. Sang Ju then scooped out some of the cooked rice into a water bowl and stiffed three times with chop sticks. As soon as he had done that, we had to cry once more. I felt as though I had no more tears to cry. We all took turns doing the traditional bow for one last time, ending the traditional funeral rights. However, we had to cook three meals a day for next seven days and everyone bowed every time we served the meal.

Everything went well until the issue of the tombstone, the grass, the stone table, and the fence around the grave area needed our attention. The condolence money went to pay for the hospital bills. It was the children's responsibility to take care of the grave area, however, no one offered to talk about it. I saw the disappointment on my father's face and this made things even harder. Sang Ju and I went to get a rough estimate and it came out to about five thousand in U.S. dollars since everything would be made from marble. Thanks in large part to my husband's generosity, we were able to purchase the items.

I have learned a tremendous amount about the many customs of the Korean funeral and the Korean culture in general. My father, my brother, and my informant provided me with a lot of information and insight. During the sixteen days of my stay, I met with two different informants and took a lot of notes. However, I learned even more about the Korean funeral process when I started to do research in the library after I returned to Hawaii. Surprisingly, I found that much of the old funeral tradition had been modified over the years.

According to the old tradition, women were supposed to wail out loud to let the village know that their loved one had died. Then the Sang Ju went onto the roof and shouted the deceased person's name three times. At the same time, one of the relatives waved a coat which belonged to the deceased. Such a performance indicated that the soul of the dead was asked
to depart from the house. The women of the family unfastened their hair and wept loudly and were joined by the men. On the first night, the family stayed close to each other and did not sleep. Soon the women began to sew mourning clothes from hemp cloth and Sang Ju ordered the coffin to be made by a carpenter. The shape of the box was roughly rectangular but slightly narrower at one end. On the top of the box, Sang Ju would write the name of the deceased and their clan name. The majority of the box was made from hardwood boards since most of the people were poor. Two days after the death, the unwashed body of the deceased was dressed in its best garment with special paper shoes. Then the body was tied at seven different places with hemp rope. Seven times correlates with the seven stars of the Constellation of the Bear, which Koreans consider lucky. When the coffin was completed, Sang Ju lined the bottom of the coffin with dike grass and added more grass over the body. As soon as the women had completed the mourning clothes, the family gave a death feast which involved a five part ceremonial bow before the body of the deceased. Sang Ju determined the day for the funeral. The feast was prepared on the day after the person died, and the interment occurred on the next day or the third day. If more time was required, the burial was delayed up to a week but had to take place on an odd day; either the fifth or seventh day after the death.

On the morning of the funeral, Sang Ju sent several young men to dig the grave. They would pick a sunny place with as few roots and stones as possible. Members of the burial society brought the funeral equipment into the village, including a hand bell which was used by Sang Ju on the day of the funeral. After the farewell from home, the coffin was taken out to a hearse and was then raised by twelve men of the burial society, six on each side. Sang Ju then took the bell and climbed onto the front of the hearse. The funeral procession began with a man walking in front carrying a flag on which the person's name had been painted by Sang Ju. Sang Ju then sang a verse of the funeral song which was repeated by the carriers. Then he rang the bell and then sang another verse, the same process continued throughout the journey. The men of the deceased person's family followed the coffin. They were followed by the women then the rest of the family and friends.

When they reached the cemetery, the hearse was put down crosswise at the lower end of the open grave. Men slipped lines under each end of the coffin and carried it over the hole, lowered it down, and pulled out the ropes when the coffin came to a rest. Finally, Sang Ju and the boys would take the shovels with a rope attached to each side of the blade and fill in the grave, one holding the handle, numerous others the ropes. A food offering was laid out below the grave and relatives bowed ceremoniously. When these procedures were done, more dirt was added onto the grave to make a mound. When family members came home from the funeral, they immediately put up a folded paper, with the name and date of death on the outside, against the ancestor tablet at the back of the room. Most of the people never had a picture to add to the event since they couldn't afford to take pictures. A food offering was made once more and the family again bowed for the fourth time. Thus ended the old traditional funeral.

The customs of the Korean funeral as I experienced them have changed from the traditional customs as I learned from my research because, I feel, of the shift from an agricultural to an urban lifestyle. A lot of the funeral process has been eliminated because it is simply too time consuming. The Sang Ju, however, is still the person responsible for the funeral, and the funeral process still goes on for three days. The Sang Ju is one of the reasons that having a son is still very important to the Korean culture. The customs are deeply rooted in symbolism and the utmost respect for each other. However, because of my Western lifestyle, I was uncomfortable with some of the practices, such as not being able to sleep for three nights and all the required crying. While I can fully understand the meaning and symbolism behind everything that was done, I do not believe that it is always practical.

As I look back on the Korean funerals that I have attended here in Hawaii, it appears that many of the traditional practices have not been carried over. The role of Sang Ju in the process requires much discipline and puts a good deal of pressure on the oldest son, for his actions alone can determine how the guests view his family. I still do not know how my brother knew all of the procedures and just how to carry them out.

However, even as I look back on my experience in Korea and how uncomfortable I felt at times, I somehow hope that these traditional practices continue on for generations to come. Although I am originally from Korea, I have lost a lot of the traditional ways...
and thinking in favor of my adopted Western culture. In this age of globalization, it is easy for many people to abandon traditional values and customs in favor of Western practices in the name of conformity and progress. It is important that as we evolve into a global society individual cultures fight hard to maintain their own unique identities and not lose touch with the past. Losing ones culture and traditions can mean losing your own unique identity.

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Korean Dance

Jina Min

Introduction

This study is about Korean dance and the significance of this cultural aspect to the people of Korean ancestry all over the world, especially to those Koreans residing on the island of Oahu. This particular topic was chosen because of personal experience and by observing how the Halla Pai Huhm Korean Dance Studio has survived these many years, showing the fact that Korean dance holds an importance to the Korean people. The arrival of the late Halla Pai Huhm to the islands was, in a way, a blessing to the Korean immigrants for she provided a place to gather together in a foreign land. Korean dance was not only an art form for the student dancers of the studio. It was a way for them, especially the second and third generations, to learn about their own history, culture, and heritage.

Methodology

The study did not take place in a certain location. The topic was chosen mainly because of personal experience. There were a couple of interviews that were completed. One interview was in person and the other was done over the telephone. The first interviewee was a young woman named Bianca Min who had danced at the Halla Huhm Studio for a little over two years. She started when she was in third grade of elementary school and stopped when she hit the sixth grade. The interview was done face to face and it only took one visit for approximately twenty minutes. The meeting was basically a time for questions and answers. The second subject was Mary Jo Freshley, who was an instructor at the Halla Huhm Studio for many years. Although she is retired now, she still teaches at the dance studio and at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Her interview was done over the telephone and took approximately thirty to forty minutes. The interview with Ms. Freshley was also done on the telephone.

Almost every country in this world has a form of artistic expression through dancing that is unique to that culture. Korean dance, which has been around for thousands of years, holds certain qualities that distinguish it from the rest. The two words that come to mind when speaking of Korean dance are mut and heung. According to the text Korean Dance and Music, mut connotes some kind of beauty and heung connotes a state of everlasting exhilaration. It states that the essence or the real beauty of Korean dance is in the perfect combination of the two terms. Another source describes mut and heung as "Irrepressible joy—almost reaching the point of giddiness ... a joy pouring forth from within ... from a deep sense of beauty ... a state of everlasting exhilaration." Both texts claim that Korean dance is not about technique or dancing for the dance’s sake, but for mut and heung.

Korean dance is split into two main types of dance, which are court dance and folk dance. Within these two types are various categories. The dances are grouped in the ritualistic, court, folk, or the mask category.

Ritual Dance

Ritual dance is usually in the same classification as court dance and can also be categorized under religious dances. There are three different religious dances: the Confucian, the Shaman, and the Buddhist. The ritual dances were usually performed at the temples or the shrines of royal ancestors. They may be also performed at the house of those who are sickly or those who want their new houses to be blessed. Dancers of ritual dances are usually in long robes and sleeves that look like monk dress.
Court Dance

The court dances were usually performed at the banquets being held at the royal courts. There are two different kinds of court dances: Hyang-ak and Tang-ak. Hyang-ak is an original Korean dance and Tang-ak originated from China. Although court dances are composed of music, dance, and singing, they are usually very formal, restrictive, feminine, and have an emphasis on elegance. The main reason was probably because these dances were normally done for the king and the people of the royal court. The court dancers' costumes were a little more elaborate and elegant than the ones worn by ritual dancers. The reason behind it was because the court dancers danced for the royal court and those in the upper class.

Folk Dance

Folk dances were not confined to certain locations. They were performed in numerous places. Heyman states that mut and heung are important elements in Korean folk dance. There is a lot more emotions and personal improvisations involved in this type of dance. Over the years, many different individuals have choreographed folk dances. These individuals were the ones who brought their own little flair into the dance. This in turn made the performance seem refreshing and exciting to watch. According to Korean Dance and Music, folk dance is looked upon as being “masculine, animated, fast in tempo, and without restraint on the dancers’ movement.” Rhythm is very much involved in this genre of dance. The costuming for folk dances does not have certain specifications because there are so many different categories under it and because the dances were performed for various crowds. The dress could range from very simplistic to extremely extravagant. An example would be the salp'uri dance and the fan dance, which are both folk dances. The costuming for salp'uri is usually very simple. The dancer usually wears a white Korean blouse and skirt and dances with a long silk handkerchief that flows very prettily as the dancer moves around on the stage. The dancers of fan dance are usually in a Korean woman's attire with a court-style coat over the dress. The colors are brighter and the colorful fans that are used in the dance add to it.

Mask Dance

Mask dance dramas are under the folk dance category. They originated under Buddhism and exorcism and were performed by the common people of Korea. Mary Jo Freshley stated that it was important because it gave the commoners a chance to show their concern for society and in a way, poke fun at the upper class. Although this may have seemed shocking, it was seen as politically correct because it was done in a cultural setting. Nowadays, mask dances are performed just for entertainment. Jerky movements of the body characterize the movements of mask dance. Another distinctive move would be the high position of the legs as the dancer is moving around the performance area. The costuming of mask dance is simple. The clothing is usually farmer or commoner wear with an animated mask and long sleeves so that the audience cannot see the dancers' hands. At times the dancers wear fancier coats over their common attire, depending on the dance and where it is being held.

Interviews

The interviews with the two individuals mentioned earlier gave me an insight into Korean dance and the impact it has on people who are exposed to it. Bianca, although she did not enjoy going to dance class because she was forced to attend, admitted that she learned a lot from dancing at the studio. She learned Korean words, some background history of the dances that were taught to her, how to move her body to interpret the dances. Bianca also claimed that Korean dancing was a form of exercise to her and complained that her legs became bigger and muscular from it.

Talking to Ms. Freshley once more was a reminder of how much effort she puts into the Halla Huhm Studio and how much love she has for Korean dance and Korean culture. She sounded a bit surprised to hear from me after so many years of no contact. I was once a student at the studio myself and had stopped attending by the start of my sophomore year in high school. Throughout our conversation, the only thing that I could feel coming out of Ms. Freshley was this strong passion for what she does. Although she has aged after many years of teaching, she still sounded like she had her spunk. I had asked her why she thought Korean dance was important to the Korean culture, especially to the Korean culture of Hawaii. She replied that it was important because it maintained the Korean culture and that it does not teach Korean culture to only Koreans, but to people of other ethnic backgrounds as well. She used the Buddhist dance as an example to illust-
trate how different ethnic groups can collaborate together to perform a dance. Ms. Freshley also believed that all the history of Korea is contained in shamanism and that shamanism is the root of many of the Korean dances. One example would be the salp’uri. The salp’uri is under the folk dance category and is said to be “the crystallization in dance form of all that may be truly Korean.” It literally means to “exorcize the devil.”

Conclusion

Talking with these two individuals really opened up my eyes to Korean dance and the impact it has on the people surrounded by it. Although Bianca was forced to go to dance class, she did get something out of it. She did not do it all for nothing. I believe that because of her experience, her “Korean side” was exposed and grew. Honestly, after having that talk with Ms. Freshley, I was seriously thinking about going back to dance. I learned about my history and was intrigued by how the dances had come to be. I was amazed at what people had to wear back then and was thankful that I did not have to wear those clothes everyday. The grueling hours of practice made everyone want to quit, but the end results made up for our aching bodies. I believe that through dancing you not only learn about Korean culture, but also about discipline and control over yourself. If you wanted to get better at a particular dance, then you had to practice because practice makes perfect. Discipline and control went hand-in-hand at the studio. You needed these two elements in order to survive in Korean dance, just as you would to survive in Korean culture. I end this paper with a excerpt from a letter written by one of Halla Huhm’s student in September of 1991 describing the importance of Korean dance to the Korean community living in the states:

Before I left for college, Mrs. Huhm gave me a red sash she brought from Korea. Though a seemingly small gift, that sash has come to symbolize, in my mind, my acceptance of being different in a non-Korean world. Aside from bringing entertainment and culture to generations of Hawaii and U.S. residents, unknowingly Mrs. Huhm has helped me conquer my childhood feelings of inferiority as an Asian-American because she was so full of pride for her culture and so generous in bringing it to others.

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Jeff: “In western archery I can measure my skill and progress through my score. How can I measure my skill level in Kyudo?”

Sensei: “In Kyudo, there is a difference between shooting that is just skillful and shooting that is technically and spiritually correct. The first we call Noshahichu; the second, your goal, is Seishahichu. You should always keep your technique as clean as possible, but if your spirit is not clean your technique is useless. If your technique is clean and you are spiritually pure you will feel Ki, I will feel your Ki, it will resonate through the whole dojo. Kyudo is not archery, it is Standing Zen.”

Kyudo, the way of the bow, is a fundamentally simple art. It consists of only eight basic movements (Hassetsu), and takes no more than a minute or two to complete. Its defining feature, however, is not the Hassetsu, but the Ki (flowing spirit) of the practitioner. The movements are merely a tool to be used in the meditation. It is helpful to think of the Hassetsu as a parameter to meditation, a procedure on which to concentrate one’s spirit while seeking purity. Just as your arrow is aimed at the target, your spirit is aimed at the Hassetsu.

This is a synopsis of the only conversation I have had with my Kyudo Sensei. For the most part he only talks to me when I am doing something wrong. Such is the nature of the study of a martial art. Such is the nature of Kyudo.

History

The ancient Japanese foraging culture of Jomon used the bow as a hunting tool. As early as 7000 B.C.E., the beginning of the Jomon Era, the bow was the primary weapon used in both hunting and warfare. In approximately 250 B.C.E., at the end and the Jomon and beginning of Yayoi Era, the Iron Age began in Japan. As in all cultures, this was a time of great change for Japan. The Japanese began to congregate into larger, more densely populated settlements. This society was necessarily more strictly organized and stratified. Soon the bow evolved from a mere weapon to a status symbol.

In the Heian and Nara periods most land gradually came under the control of a few privileged landowners. Eventually, the power of the central government diminished, and the power of the elite warrior families increased. A new military class, the Samurai, began to dominate the country. The struggle for supremacy among the Samurai clans led to a confrontation between the two main families, the Minamoto and Taira (the Gempei War, 1180-1185). As a result the use of the bow increased dramatically. The Gempei War firmly established the Samurai as a powerful new social class. The ascent of the Samurai was the beginning of the Feudal Era and was to prove significant in the development of Japanese archery.

In 1192, a few years after the end of the Gempei War, Minamoto Yoritomo, the head of the Minamoto clan, was granted the first title of Shogun. Soon the principles and practices of the military regime inundated the entire Japanese society.

Near the end of the twelfth century, Yoritomo initiated stricter training standards for his warriors. As part of the training, archery was taught according to a standardized method.

As various Shogun came and went Kyudo developed into a strict practice and ceremony (www.kyudo.com). The last Shogunate, the Tokugawa, employed a single family to make their arrows for much of their reign. The arrow makers were the Hasegawa family. This family remains to this day one of the most respected Kyudo families in Japan. Fortunately for me, one of the daughters of this famous

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family is a friend of mine and introduced me to the art. Our sensei, Bishop Gyokuei Matsuura, is one of the most well-known Kyudo masters in America.

Field Study

"In Kyudo one should be like a deep river, calm on the surface but with power hidden underneath, and not like a small stream, which, because of its noise, sounds powerful but is really weak." These were some of the first words that Hasegawa Mizue said to me when I asked her about the spirit of Kyudo. She was, I later learned, talking about Ki. According to Japanese thought, Ki is everywhere, but it takes a strong, stable mind to use its power. Thus, strict self control is essential to try to reach Kiai (the moment of release of Ki). For this reason, the Hassetsu is kept extremely simple. Limiting the practitioner to a strict pattern of slight movements makes us discard all extraneous action and thought and helps us to move into a state of consciousness known as Mushin (no mind).

For most Westerners, Mushin seems strange because "no mind" would mean no thought. And that is unconsciousness. But Mushin is not the elimination of thought; it is the elimination of the residue of thought. The absence of that which remains when thought is divorced from action. In Mushin, thought and action occur simultaneously. Nothing comes between the thought and the action, and nothing is left over. When explained in simple, straightforward terms, Mushin appears fairly easy to understand. However, it cannot be truly intellectually understood; it must be experienced.

That is why, Mizue-san said, that Gyokuei Sensei would not give me any explanations. He would encourage me to find the answers for myself. She was unfortunately correct; except for the conversation above, "You think too much," the most usual answer to my incessant questions about the physical movements and the philosophy behind Kyudo. In fact, when I first questioned him about the actual philosophy, he said, "Kyudo have no philosophy, just bow and arrow." I then decided to rely on Mizue-san as my primary informant for my research as well as my actual study.

One of my first questions was about the importance of hitting the target. I had heard that Kyudo does not hold accuracy in as high regard as Western archery does. Mizue-san explained that of course, everyone who practices Kyudo wants to hit the target. But Kyudo encourages us to see the target as a reflection of ourselves, and to use the shooting to discover our true selves. Sometimes we will hit the target but perhaps miss the self. Other times we will miss the target but hit the self. Our purpose, though, is to hit the target as we hit the self, and hope that Tsurune (the sound of the bowstring whipping forward) releases our Ki.

The practice sessions are every Wednesday night from 6:30 to 8:30 pm at the Soto Mission on Nuuanu Street. All students are expected to arrive early to help set up and clean. One of the most important facets of Kyudo, as in all martial arts, is etiquette. Traditional Japanese customs, like bowing when entering and leaving the Kyudojo and removing our shoes before going inside, are followed. The Kyudojo is kept immaculately clean. Every student must help with the sweeping and cleaning before and after study on Wednesday night.

For the first two months I studied I was not allowed to use a bow. I was relegated to going through the Hassetsu while imagining I held a bow. Being the only physical aspect of Kyudo, we must integrate the Hassetsu into our deepest physical regions before we can begin shooting.

Ashibumi (Footing)

Ashibumi is the foundation of all other steps of the Hassetsu and therefore all of Kyudo. Without a firm, stable Ashibumi, Mizue-san explained, the rest of Kyudo, particularly shooting, is fouled. Therefore, it is vital to have a solid Ashibumi.

It is important to stand erect and spread the feet the distance of one's arrow length (Yazuka). The feet should be at a sixty-degree angle and the weight of the body should be evenly distributed so that the center of gravity is directly between the feet. The feet must be set firmly on the ground. Mizue-san said I should try to draw the energy of the earth up through the floor and into the upper body. The imaginary bow and arrows are held on the hips, with the bow in the left hand and the arrows in the right. Both elbows should point outward. The top of the bow is kept in line with the center of the body and held about ten centimeters above the floor. The arrows are held at the same angle as the bow to form an imaginary triangle in front of you.
Dozukuri (Correcting the Posture)

Once my feet were set, Mizue-san showed me how to turn my attention to the posture of the upper body. She said that special care should be taken with the “three-cross” stance, where the shoulders, hips, and feet are held in line with one another, all parallel to the floor. The imaginary bow is rested on the left knee, and held so that the upper curve is in line with the center of the body. At this point breathing should be regular and natural as the practitioner settles into the position and calms their mind.

Yugamae (Readying the Bow)

The Yugamae is a series of preparatory movements known as Torikake (Setting the Glove), Tenouchi (Gripping the Bow), and Monomi (Viewing the Target).

Torikake

The ability to make a clean release of the arrow depends heavily on one’s ability to set the glove to the string in the correct manner. First, I imagine setting the string in the nocking groove of the glove, then, I lay my first two fingers across the thumb. Next I slide the thumb up the imaginary string until it meets the arrow.

Tenouchi

The importance of a correct Tenouchi cannot be overemphasized, Mizue-san explains. The flight and speed of the arrow cannot be controlled if the Tenouchi is not done properly. Also, the Yugaeri, the action where, at the moment of release, the bow turns in the hand and the string swings around to the left, will not occur if the Tenouchi is incorrect.

While a good Tenouchi often takes years to develop, the basic technique is actually quite simple. I simply keep my hand straight with the fingers extended and held close together, then fold the last three fingers in to meet the thumb. Particular attention must be paid to the correct alignment of the hand, wrist, and arm. Also, the open space between the bow and the base of the thumb must be maintained throughout the rest of the Hassetsu.

Monomi

Monomi, which literally means to view the object, is the final preparation in Yugamae. In Monomi I calmly look at the target. Mizue-san says I should not think of aiming; I should simply send forth my spirit to the target. When I asked her about this she was unable to explain further and said to simply do it.

Uchiokoshi (Raising the Bow)

Uchiokoshi is the preparation for shooting, which is accomplished by letting one’s spirit travel to the ends of the bow and arrows so that they become like extensions of the body. The bow is then lifted without force, like “rising smoke,” as Mizue-san said. It must be kept perfectly straight with the arrow held parallel to the floor. She showed me how to raise the imaginary bow to a point where my hands were just above my head and my arms were at a forty-five degree angle, positioned as if I was holding a large tree trunk.

Hikiwake (Drawing the Bow)

The bow is drawn in two steps. The first, called Daisan, is a preliminary move that sets up the draw. Daisan is formed by pushing the bow to the left as the right arm folds. The move is complete when the arrow has been drawn about half its length and the right hand is a little above and just forward of the forehead. At this point in the draw Mizue-san had me pause momentarily.

The second stage of Hikiwake, the actual drawing of the bow, begins with an inhalation of breath. She had me continue to inhale until I had completed about one-third of the draw.

Kai (Completing the Draw)

Mizue-san explained that in Kai most of the physical work has been done, and that further physical effort will create tension in the body. This is where the spirit becomes the most important aspect. I was told not to try and “expand” my spirit. Mizue-san said I must never think about when to release; I should simply wait until the moment is right for the arrow to fly.

Hanare (The Release)

Mizue-san suggested waiting in Kai for about six to eight seconds to achieve a good Hanare. She said, “Just let the arrow let go of you.”
At the release, if the Tenouchi is correct, the bow will turn in place so that the string swings around to touch the outer left arm. This action is called the Yugaeri. However, this technique is not easily learned. Mizue-san has been practicing Kyudo since she was a child and still she cannot Yugaeri

In Kyudo, Mizue-san explained, “the shooting does not end with the release of the arrow, it ends with Zanshin.” Zanshin is the moment following the release, when you continue to hold your position and “send out your spirit,” even after the arrow has reached the target.

Included within the context of Zanshin is a separate move called Yudaoshi, the lowering of the bow. In Yudaoshi, Mizue-san showed me how to maintain visual contact with the target as I slowly lowered my hands to my sides, so that the end of the imaginary bow was once again in line with the center of the body. After that, she had me step with the right foot in a half-step toward the center of the body, then bring the left foot over to meet the right, thus bringing the basic shooting procedure to a close.

All of this is designed to bring the student to a state of mind called Heijoshin, or “Ordinary Mind.” This means to be calm, well balanced, and disciplined at all times. The closest explanation of Heijoshin is to say that it is the realization that no single event is more significant than any other, no single moment is more important than the next and there is no stratification between one event or moment and another. Through this we can realize that it is the process rather than the product that is important. Whether we hit the target in everyday life is not as important as how we conduct ourselves. This seems abstract to a beginning student like myself and, indeed, I may be years from being able to truly incorporate these theories into my daily action. However, I feel closer to this end now than I did before I began this field study.

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Hawaiian Fishpond

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Introduction

This study examines Hawai’ian fishponds. I am fascinated by the fact that the ancient Hawai’ians were able to construct these ponds and use them as a means of survival. What is most interesting to me is that all ponds were constructed by man, not machinery or modern materials such as cement. I feel that these were great accomplishments for the Hawai’ians, and it is for these reasons that I chose this as the subject of my study.

Methodology

It was hard to find an informant for my research due to the fact that fishponds were created many years ago. However, I was lucky enough to find someone who works to preserve fishponds. My main informant in this project was Mr. Matt Lyum. He belongs to an organization that works to restore the Waikalua Fishpond located in Kaneohe. Matt also referred me to additional sources that he felt could help me in this endeavor.

Analysis and Discussion of Data

Fishponds were a very critical part of the Hawai’ian society. The ponds provided major subsistence to the people of Hawai’i. The most common was the ocean pond or loko kuapa. Most ocean ponds were owned by the ali’is, or leaders. They were able to construct fishponds because they had total control over their subjects. Everyone in the district was forced to contribute to the creation of the ponds. This creation was a difficult process, as told in this testimony of a Moloka’i fishpond:

The Fishpond was affirmed to have been built by all of the people of Moloka’i, is the fruit of their labor and toil in former days, when they were drafted and commanded by lunas and chiefs. Po ‘alima (commoners) worked on the loko. I helped build the wall of fishpond of Pukoo under ilae luna Auhau. All the people were called to this work from Kamalo to Halawa. Women and children also went and worked in the sea gathering lime for the wall.

Construction of a loko kuapa, or walled fishpond, could take a year or more. There were two ways of constructing a loko kuapa: either build a wall across the mouth of a small bay or between two close points of land, or create a barricade along the shoreline to form a semicircular figure. The loko kapua varied in size and could span an area of 1 acre to 523 acres. The distance covered by the wall of a fishpond measured anywhere from a few hundred to several thousand feet. The wall was typically anywhere from 3 to 19 feet wide and between 2 ½ and 5 feet tall.

Coral and basalt were the materials of choice in the construction of the kapua. These raw materials came in pieces that usually weighed about half a ton. Workers would form a long line and pass these heavy rocks from hand to hand in quick succession. Most kapuas were lined on both sides with the rubble of coral or basalt or some combination of the two. On the island of Moloka’i, coralline algae that could be found on the coral was used as a filler. This algae is a lime secreting form of algae. It served as a cement to strengthen the kapua. According to Joseph Farber, two basalt boulders were placed on the kapua. One represented Ku, the god of fishing, war, canoe-building, and sorcery, and the other, the goddess Hina. The boulder representing Ku was placed along the eastern portion of the wall, in order to greet the sunrise and attract the fish. The boulder representing Hina was laid flat on the western end of the pond, representing the setting of the sun. It was here that the goddess Hina brought offerings and requests for an abundant supply of fish.
The tops of the kuapas were leveled so that access to the makaha, or gate, was easy. The makaha was an essential feature of the fishpond as it helped to ensure the healthy flow of water in and out of the pond. Built by binding stickys made of ohia, ai, or lama to several cross beams, the makaha was placed in an upright position at strategic locations along the ocean wall. Acting as a barrier between the fishpond and the open sea, the makaha worked simultaneously to both prevent the fish from escaping and predators from entering. The following is a detailed story of the building of the makaha:

When the stone walls of the kuapa banks were completed, then the task remained to find the proper wood for the makaha. This was selected by the kahuna of the `aumakua who increased the fish in the pond. When the wood was prepared, and the proper day had arrived for construction, the kahuna was fetched to set up the first piece of timber. A hog or a pig was sacrificed in hopes of increasing the amount of fish. Prayer was also done.

An `auwai, or lane, was built by piling rocks to make two rows that extended about ten feet in and out of the pond. A guardhouse, or halekia`i, was usually built near each makaha so that the makaha keeper could supervise the fishpond. On nights of high tide the guard slept in the hale so that he could prevent the fish in the makaha from being stolen or killed by pigs or dogs. When the tide lowered the fish would go back to the center of the pond.

Types of fishponds

Shoreline Ponds

Loko kuapa and loko `umeki were two types of shoreline ponds. As described in the previous section, loko kuapa were walled ponds that were usually built on the reefs. The loko kuapa are unique to Hawai`i; that is, they are not found in any other Polynesian society.

Loko umeki, another type of shore pond, was usually constructed by building low walls that were submerged during high tides. Loko umeki did not require a guard house (makaha); they only needed `auwais, or fishing lanes. A platform was built on each `auwai so that the fisherman could sit on it when they were harvesting the fish.

Inland Ponds

There were three kinds of inland ponds: pu`uone, loko wa`i, and loko I`a kalo. The pu`uone were located near the sea and were connected to it by a ditch or a stream. Brackish or fresh water, or a combination of both, was found in the pond. An `auwai kai, or saltwater ditch, connected the pond to the ocean. There were two different pu`uone; small pu`uones owned by commoners that needed little maintenance and construction, and large pu`uones owned by the ali`is that required considerable manpower both in their construction and maintenance.

Construction of a small pu`uone was not as back-breaking as the loko kuapa. However, for both a small and a large pu`uone, the building process was similar. The pond was usually erected at the sit of a natural basin or a depression near the seashore. Weeds and other vegetation were cleared and the mud was dug to the desired depth. The mud that had been dug up was then used to form an embankment. The `auwai kai ran from the pond to the sea. If a stream connected the loko to the sea, the stream would be enlarged so that the salt water could enter the pond more readily. According to Hawai`ian belief, the seawater helped the fish grow fatter and made them more delicious (in fact, this sea water was actually necessary for their survival). Fish were initially stocked by transporting them from the ocean to the pond.

The second type of inland ponds, the loko wa`i, are also known as the fresh water ponds. These were usually natural ponds that were enhanced as fishponds by erecting kuapas and `auwais. Fish such as o`opu, opae, and awa were caught at the sea or in the streams and carried to the ponds. It is said that in these ponds formed an edible mud, a jelly-like substance that was sometimes substituted for poi.

The loko I`a kalo, also known as taro fishponds, were the last type of inland pond built by the Hawai`ians. These ponds were filled with water that flowed from the mountain streams to the sea. Kuapas and `auwais were constructed so that water flows...
from the stream could flow into the pond. Taro was planted in mounds and the fish were transferred to the loko I’a kalo from nearby ponds. The nutrient-rich taro allowed the fish to grow very large.

Species of Fish Found in the Loko

There were usually two ways to accumulate fish into the ponds. First, the fish could be caught in bays or shallow waters and transported to the loko. Second, large fish could be trapped in the pond because they were too large to exit. Some fish would swim in through the makaha and feed on whatever was in the pool. After feeding, some would be too large to exit through the narrow makaha, and were thus trapped in the pond.

Mullet and ama were the primary fish found in a loko. Aholehole, papio, moi, and kaku were also common. Mullets or Ama’a ama were highly favored by the Hawaiians because they were believed to have been born of human parents.

The awa was the third most common fish in Hawaiian diet and is similar to the ‘ama. Like those discussed thus far, the awa is an herbivorous fish that feeds on the natural algae that grew at the bottom of the ponds. The aholehole were also plentiful in the loko. When there were heavy rains, the aholehole would swim to the makaha. Some believed that the noise made by the falling rain agitated the fish, and in order to escape they would rush to the makaha.

The o’opu is a freshwater fish, aside from a few found in saltwater ponds. It was also an important part of the Hawaiian diet. Believed to be associated with the family of Pele because of its lizard-like appearance, the o’opu was eaten with some misgiving. However, despite the myths associated with it, most Hawaiians were very fond of this omnivorous fish. Usually a generous people, the Hawaiians were uncharacteristically selfish in regards to the o’opus.

Several fish were associated with different taboos in the Hawaiian culture. The papio, for example, is a fish forbidden to women because it was associated with the warrior. The Moi was restricted only to chiefs; commoners were forbidden from eating it.

Crustaceans as well as fish were found in the lokos. ‘Opae, also known as the grass shrimp, was one of the more popular crustaceans harvested; however, Tahitian prawns and crabs were also readily available in the loko.

An interesting characteristic of the fish raised in the loko is their high protein content. This is associated with the rich algae growing in the pond, as well as the species that were selected. The sources of food in the Hawaiian fishpond included diatoms, algae, and organic substances such as vegetable debris and detritus. Due to these factors, the herbivorous fish of the Hawaiian fishpond provided communities with 100 times more protein than wild catch might.

Harvesting

Most of the harvesting of fish was done at the makaha. When the makaha keeper wished to harvest some fish, he would go to the makaha during high tide when the fish were attracted to the incoming water. With a scoop net the men were able to catch baskets full of glittering fish. Some keepers were able to predict the arrival of fish by dipping a foot in the water at the makaha. If the water felt warm and pressed against his foot like a stream he knew the makaha would be full of fish. Fish could also be attracted to the makaha by food. The keeper would drop a bit of taro in the water at the makaha and use an ‘upena ku’u, or net, to collect the fish.

A unique and very effective method used by the Hawaiians to gather fish is known as pa’i pa’i, which means “strike”. Two men would hold one side of the net each while other men beat the water to scare the fish into the net. We should note here that women usually harvested the fish, although the men could also help. Fish could be caught one at a time by using a long net. At night the harvesters would sit on a raised stone platform located at the end of the ‘auwai. The fishermen held the net in the ‘auwai, with the opening facing the sea, and waited for a tug. Long nets were also used to scoop up fish inside of the loko.

Destruction of the loko’s

With the influence of Western culture came the destruction of the Hawaiian loko I’a. The Great Mahele of 1848, which was the privatization of land in Hawai’i, was the turning point for Hawaiian society. Prior to the Mahele the ahupua’as were run by local ali’is, ko-nohikis, and maka’ainana, and each group cultivated
their lands. With the Mahele and the division of land, 24% of the land went to the King, 36% was divided between 251 chiefs, and 36% came to be controlled by the government. Most of the fishponds were given to the ali'is. However, since they no longer had control of the commoners they could not maintain the ponds. Many of the loko either perished or were sold to foreigners. In those areas where the ali'i did have control over the commoners, the population had declined so drastically due to disease that the ponds were often neglected.

Wave activity, erosion, silt build up on the bottom of ponds, and debris filling the makaha were some of the problems that, coupled with neglect, led to the deterioration to the ponds. The polluting of streams and harvesting of sandalwood, along with the invasion of foreign plants, overcame the ponds. Mangroves in particular have caused problems in the fishponds. This plant, introduced from Florida, thrives best in brakish water and spreads all too quickly along the shores and in the ponds of Hawai'i. However, perhaps the greatest destructive force of all has been urbanization. Many fishponds have been destroyed by housing and other developments. Land development farther away from the shore caused the runoff of silt which filled many ponds at the base of streams. However, even without these outside influences, all ponds are destined to destruction without proper care.

Restoration

Sadly, due to the lack of funds, many lokos have disappeared. Waikalua Loko Fishpond Prevention Society maintains Waikalua pond, but due largely to lack of funds no major restoration has been carried out. Fishponds in Kahalu'u and Hakipu'u have been restored as tourist attractions. He'eia pond in Kaneohe has been partially restored and used for commercial aquaculture. Several ponds on Moloka'i have been restored as cultural projects, and the federal government is restoring a major pond in Kona, Kaloko, as part of a national park. However, many obstacles stand in the way of restoration. One is the procedures and permits you must obtain to start rebuilding- six in all! In addition, restoration is costly and time consuming. Lastly, many citizens feel that rebuilding will cause beach erosion, loss of public access to abandoned ponds, and a waste of public money.

Conclusion

This research has revealed the importance of the fishpond for the survival of the Hawai'ian society. The brilliance in the design and maintenance of these ponds, as well as the knowledge that the Hawai'ian people held of the local species of fish are incredible. I find it appalling that these ancient Hawai'ian works of art are being covered by homes, invading plants, and pollution. Perhaps with more helping hands and contributions we will one day be able to restore what is left of the ancient Hawai'ian fishponds.