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Community Building:
Family and Nation, Tradition and Innovation

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BUDAPEST

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Introduction to the Project of the "East Asia" Thematic Group and its Peculiarities

Ágnes Birtalan
(editor)

Thematic Excellence Program: "Community Building: Family and Nation, Tradition and Innovation" supported by the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund offered several possibilities for the East Asia thematic research group.[1] Under the aegis of the program, associates of the Institute of East Asian Studies had the opportunity to systematise thematically relevant research materials, compiled over many years, and to present them to the scholarly community. Colleagues who had not previously done research on the theme of family, nation and community building could analyse their materials from a new angle, i.e., based on their source corpuses and the project's criteria. This unified approach resulted in a collection of studies that is innovative, proving how the "intellectual capital" of diverse disciplines can be mobilized in targeted research and how its contents can be used as methodological material in education.

As the project leader, I set the goal to map the basic terminology in Eastern and Inner Asia in the first year, on which further research could be initiated and based. The main terminology in that year were the *family*, *system of relations* and *rites of passages*. Focusing on these central themes, the consequent essays sought to clarify variegated terminology and its usage, and there are articles discussing exactly the kinship "vocabulary" as Wuyingga's article based on her fieldwork investigates the dialectological problems of the specific terms of the Mongolian kinship system while Krisztina Nguyen studied the language teaching aspect of Korean kinship terminology. The former research of several colleagues was connected to the topic of traditional *rites of passages* and papers were completed prior to this project by Melinda Papp, Ramóna Fajkuszné Kovács, Judit Béres,

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[1] The present project has been implemented with the support provided by the Ministry of Innovation and Technology of Hungary from the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, financed under the ELTE TKP2020-IKA-06 funding scheme.

and Aodunhu. Their contributions included in the volume present new results based on time-tested methodological approaches and their own collections from field research. Several scholars investigated the structure of the kinship system and its possible anomalies using historical sources as well, cf., Mónika Szegedi's and Alexa Péter's analysis of Tibetan materials, He Ruyi's interpretations of sources about the historical Uyghurs and Mátyás Balogh's discussion of several early Inner Asian peoples. As a new aspect of their ongoing research in religious studies, the central theme of the project was introduced in the interpretation of primary Buddhist sources, cf. the articles of Imre Hamar about Chinese, Beatrix Mecsi about Korean and Krisztina Teleki about Mongolian Buddhism. A popular and widely appealing theme is the research into the understanding of the notion of *"family"* in contemporary or pre-modern times, which explores the problems of affiliation in the families. Relevant to this theme are two studies looking into the social context in China by Zsombor Rajkai and the Chinese diaspora by the co-authors Eszter Knyihár and Gergely Salát. The situation of Japanese women in two significant periods of social transformation is examined by Ferenc Takó and the co-authors Yuko Umemura and Melinda Papp.

The above-reviewed volume, as a colourful yet unified collection of studies, is a worthy debut of the creative collective of the Institute of East Asian Studies. Unfortunately, the conference organised for 2020 with the participation of notable foreign experts had to be cancelled just one day before its start due to the pandemic situation. The practice of holding online conferences has only been introduced latterly. The papers of the volume do not entirely cover the material of the planned conference, as some papers delivered in 2020 are to appear in the volume of the next year for thematic considerations.

Let me also mention the workshop devoted to Mongolian themes held in September 2019 as an introduction to the project year. The apropos of the workshop was the Mongolian poet laureate Gombojawiin Mend-Ooyoo's visit to Hungary. In concert with the field research of the Department of Mongolian and Inner Asian Studies and the PhD-program in Mongolistics, the workshop topic was *"The literary and visual anthropological representation of the Mongolian family"*. The programme and poster of the workshop are also appended to this volume.

As a new phase of the current project, we scrutinize the problem of *identity* (2021). Relying on broader resources of history, sociology, religion, culture and language, the project examines the crucial social and environmental questions of our day using the latest international research trends and methods, including a presentation of the utopian and dystopian possibilities of nation and family in the Eastern and Inner Asian region (2022).

“东亚”专题组项目介绍及其特色

毕尔塔兰·阿格奈丝 (BIRTALAN, Ágnes)
（编辑）

题为“社群建设：家与国，传统与创新”的专题卓越计划由国家研究、发展和创新及基金支持，为东亚专题研究组提供了多种可能性。在该计划的支持下，远东研究所的成员们有机会将多年汇编的专题相关研究材料系统化，并呈现给学术界。之前没有研究过家庭、国家和社群建设主题的同事可以从一个新的角度分析他们的材料，即基于他们的来源语料和项目标准。这种统一的方法产生了一系列具有创新性的研究，证明了如何在有针对性的研究中调动不同学科的“智力资本”，以及如何将其内容用作教育中的方法论材料。

作为项目负责人，我在第一年设定了绘制东亚和内亚地区基本术语的目标，并以此为基础开展进一步的研究。那一年的关键术语是家庭、关系系统和成年仪式。围绕这些中心主题，在其后的文章力求澄清各种术语及其用法，且有文章专门讨论了亲属关系的“词汇”：如乌英嘎(WUYINGGA [UYANGA])基于她的实地考察调查了蒙古族亲属制度特定术语的方言学问题，阮基丝(NGUYEN, Krisztina)则研究了韩国亲属称谓的语言教学问题。几位同事之前的研究与传统的成人仪式主题相关，并且在此项目之前帕伯 • 麦琳妲(PAPP, Melinda)、高拉慕(KOVÁCS, Ramóna)、貝尤吉(BÉRES, Judit)和敖敦胡(AODUNHU [ODONKÖÜ])完成了论文。他们在本刊中的贡献是展示了基于久经考验的方法论方法和他们自己的实地考察收集所得出的新结果。多位学者还使用历史资料研究了亲属制度的结构及其可能的异常现象，参见瑟格迪 • 莫尼卡(SZEGEDI, Mónika)和贝特尔 • 阿雷萨(PÉTER, Alexa)对西藏资料的分析，赫如意(HE Ruyi)对历史维吾尔族来源的解释，以及豹马伽(BALOGH, Mátyás)对几个早期内亚民族的讨论。作为正在进行的宗教研究的一个新方面，该项目的中心主题被引入到对主要佛教资料的解释，参见郝清新(HAMAR, Imre)

关于中国、梅奇 • 贝娅特丽克丝(MECSI, Beatrix)关于韩国、德雷基(TELEKI, Krisztina)关于蒙古佛教的文章。对当代和前现代时代“家庭”概念理解的研究是一个流行且广受关注的主题，它探讨了家庭中的从属关系问题。与该主题相关的是晨星(RAJKAI, Zsombor)的两项针对中国社会背景的研究，以及竹馨(KNYIHÁR, Eszter)和绍莱特(SALÁT, Gergely)合著的关于华侨的研究，塔克费(TAKÓ, Ferenc)与合著者梅村裕子(UMEMURA, Yuko)和帕伯 • 麦琳妲(PAPP, Melinda)则考察了日本女性在两个重要社会转型时期的状况。

汇集了以上研究的刊物，作为一个丰富且统一的研究合集，是远东研究所创意极品的首次亮相。遗憾的是，鉴于流行病状况，2020年本应由著名外国专家出席的会议不得不在召开前一天取消。举办在线会议的做法是之后才启动的。本卷论文合集并未完全涵盖计划会议的资料，出于主题的考虑，2020年提交的一些论文将刊登在明年的刊物中。

有关对项目年的介绍，我还想提一下2019年9月份举办的蒙古专题研讨会。该研讨会恰逢蒙古桂冠诗人贡布扎布·门德奥约访问匈牙利。结合蒙古与内亚研究系的实地考察和蒙古学博士课程，研究会的主题是“蒙古家庭的文学和视觉人类学表现”。本卷中还附有讨论会的日程和海报。

作为当前项目的一个新阶段，我们计划仔细探究身份问题(2021)。该项目依靠更广泛的历史、社会学、宗教、文化和语言资源，使用最新的国际研究趋势和方法来研究当今重要的社会和环境问题，包括展示东亚和内亚地区国家和家庭的乌托邦和反乌托邦的可能性(2022)。

Mythology and Religion in Connection with the Family

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The Buddhist Interpretation of the Confucianist Concept of Family: Filial Piety as Universal Compassion

After Buddhism had spread into China in the first century AD from India and Central Asia, it went through a number of essential modifications due to the conflicts with Chinese indigenous thought, religions and socio-political order. By the time Buddhism entered China, Confucianism, with its family-based value system, had become the mainstream ideology of China. The ideal of Confucianism is the *junzi* 君子 who is loyal to his ruler, upholding Confucianist values such as benevolence (*ren* 仁), righteousness (*yi* 義), proper behaviour in society (*li* 禮), and filial piety (*xiao* 孝). The maintenance of the Confucianist social hierarchy based on the family model was essential for keeping the harmony and order in society. The *junzi* was greatly concerned about public welfare, as through his efforts to practice the Confucianist virtues he sought to establish harmony in society. This harmony was also sought in family life through well-defined family relations, ensuring the prosperous future of the family by begetting offspring.

When the first Indian and Central Asian Buddhist monks arrived at China along the Silk Road around the first century, their appearance with their robes and shaven heads, and their way of living in communities and observing celibacy, must have seemed unusual for Chinese people. Probably because it differed so strongly from Chinese social norms, even at the end of the Han dynasty (202 BC – AD 220), Buddhism was mainly a religion of foreigners, and was not able to infiltrate Chinese culture and society.[1] When the social interaction between Buddhist followers and Confucianist literati started, several apologetic works were written by both sides, often revolving around filial piety, the cornerstone of Confucianist philosophy. In order to show that Buddhism was originally concerned with filial piety at least fourteen texts directly addressing the importance of this

* MTA–ELTE–SZTE Silk Road Research Group
[1] Zürcher 2007: 24.

virtue in Buddhism and thirty-one closely related texts were translated between the Han and Tang (619–907) dynasties. These texts either directly reveal the teaching of filial piety in Buddhism, or narrate stories showing how filial piety was practiced by Buddhist followers.[2] In addition to translating Indian Buddhist texts and composing polemical essays, Chinese Buddhists also composed texts that resembled original sūtras ostensibly preached by the Buddha. These forged sūtras, traditionally designated dubious sūtras, and called apocryphal sūtras by modern Western scholars, reflect the Chinese Buddhist interpretation of filial piety.[3]

It would be difficult to deny that Buddhism runs counter to the requirement of filial piety stipulated in the Confucian *Classic of Filial Piety,* which says that "the body, hair and skin are received from our parents, and one should not dare to injure them" 身體髮膚，受之父母，不敢毀傷. However, the text also adds that this is only the beginning of filial piety; it becomes complete if somebody can establish himself by his virtue and through his fame his parents will also be known. The idea that virtuous activity is more important in practising filial piety than preserving the body intact provided an ideal escape route for Buddhists wishing to show that through their work for the welfare of all living beings they are also filial.

Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416), the famous monk of early Chinese Buddhism who advocated the autonomy of the Buddhist community in his essay 'A monk does not bow down before the king' (*Shamen bu jing wang zhe lun* 沙門不敬王者論), argues that those followers of Buddhism who live in a family follow the proper rites in serving the ruler and respecting their elderly relatives. However, monks leave household life behind, and since their ambition is to understand the cause of suffering and to seek the highest principle they cannot be confined by the rites of secular life. "Only this way they are able to save the drowning world from the deep stream, to pull out the hidden roots (of existence) from the successive eons, far-away to wade through the ford of the Three Vehicles, broadly to open the way to manhood and divinity."[4] 夫然，故能拯溺俗於沈流，拔幽根於重劫，遠通三乘之津，廣開天人之路。[5] He emphasized in his letter to Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404) that monks support imperial authority by promoting virtue in the world.[6]

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[2] Guang Xing DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.559.

[3] For an introduction to the topic of apocryphal sūtras in Chinese Buddhism, see Buswell's Introduction to a book about the Chinese apocryphal sūtras. Buswell 1990.

[4] For Zürcher's translation of a passage from Huiyuan's treatise, see Zürcher 2007: 258.

[5] CBETA, T52, no. 2102, p. 30, b14–15.

[6] CBETA, T52, no. 2102, p. 30, b14–15.

The argument that Buddhists were able to carry out beneficial acts for the whole of society is grounded in the Buddhist theory and practice of merit transfer *(pariṇāmanā)*. This is an essential part of Mahāyāna practice as the bodhisattva who initially takes the vow to dedicate himself to the cause of liberating all living beings from their sufferings gladly offers all the merits accrued by his spiritual cultivation to all living beings. This practice is attested by an inscription at Pauni as early as the second or first century B.C.E where the donor Visamitra presented her gift "for the happiness of all beings." In Sri Lanka we find several similar inscriptions dated between 210 and 200 B.C.E, one of which records the wish of princess (Abi) Tissā to give her cave to the Saṅgha of the ten directions for the benefit of her mother and father.[7]

Based on the possibility of merit transfer large numbers of sūtras were copied and many Buddhist artefacts were made in China in order to benefit the deceased parents or other relatives by securing their liberation from suffering in their next lives. Usually, specialised copyists and artists were commissioned to do this work on behalf of Buddhist followers who wished to fulfil their filial piety after their parents died. It is important to emphasize that in the process of merit transfer the meritorious deed does not have to be performed by the donor whose relatives are supposed to profit by it. The actual merit-generating activity is carried out by an agent, artist or copyist, or by monks who recite the scriptures for the benefit of the deceased relative.

The following story is recorded in the *Miraculous stories about the Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Dafangguang fo huyanjing ganying zhuan* 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳), which includes reports on the miracles related to this sūtra. The protagonist, Deng Yuanying 鄧元英, was informed by a good friend who died but returned to life after seven days that Deng's father was about to be pursued by the guardian of Hell. In order to save his father from this fate he decided to collect some merit by copying the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. He bought paper and ink in the market, and asked a Chan monk and a copyist to complete the assignment.

> "In the Zhengsheng 證聖 period (695) Deng Yuanying (in other version Yuanshuang) of Huayin had a friend who suddenly died, but after seven days he returned to life. He told Yuanshuang: 'I saw that the guardian of Hell was about to go after your father, and the official document was almost complete. You should hurriedly cultivate merit to redeem him.' Yuanying was frightened, and asked: 'What kind of merit should I cultivate in order to save him speedily?' That man replied: 'You should quickly copy the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*. Do not be delayed, for

[7] Schopen 1997: 7. For more Indian inscriptions about merit transfer to parents, see Schopen 1984. Gombrich argues that the introduction of the transfer of merit into Buddhism took place around the time of the Buddha, close to 400, or soon thereafter. See Gombrich 2006: 127.

time is pressing.' Yuanying immediately went to the market to buy paper, and visited a Chan master and a famous copyist from a Chan temple of a Buddhist monastery in his neighbourhood. They kept the [rules] of purity, and started to copy momentarily. They finished copying the sūtra in less than ten days, and he held a feast to celebrate it. Afterwards he was able to avert this calamity. Yuanying had finished mourning for his mother, yet he was deeply affected. In the eleventh month of that winter, the stems of [the flower] he had planted on his mother's grave and which had already withered, started to blossom and grow leaves. The grave was covered with fragrant and colourful flowers. It must have been the response to his [filial act of] copying sūtra. The official of the district submitted a memorial about the event. Empress [Wu] Zetian sighed with admiration and bestowed a gate of filial piety upon him and issued an edict praising him"

證聖年中，花陰鄧元英(有本名元爽)有一親友，忽染時患，死經七日却穌。謂元爽曰：「見冥道宮吏將追君父，文案欲成。急修功德以禳之。」元英驚懼曰：「修何功德，而疾獲免？」彼人云：「急寫大華嚴經一部。若遲，大期不遠。」元英乃遽市買紙，向隣寺伏禪師院，請禪師與名召經生。如法護淨，一時書寫。未俞旬日，經已周畢，辨齋慶之。於後遂免斯厄。元英仍依母服免切在懷。至其冬十一月中，於母墳所舊種寒枯之莖，忽生花葉，芳[廾/(麩-夫+玉)]榮艷，五彩含英。斯蓋寫經之感也。洲縣以之聞奏。則天嗟異，賜立孝門，降勅旌表。[8]

A classic example of merit transfer for the benefit of parents is the *Ullambana-sūtra,* which became the locus classicus for filial piety in Chinese Buddhism and the basis for the Ghost Festival held after the retreat of the rainy season on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. The festival was widely observed not only in China but also in other East Asian countries.[9] It has been a topic of debate whether this scripture, which was first allegedly translated into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa (265?–311) under the title *Fo shuo yulan pen jing* 佛說盂蘭盆經 (T 685) and paraphrased under the title *Fo shuo baoen feng peng jing* 佛說報恩奉盆經 (T 686) by an unknown person, is a Chinese apocryphal work or an authentic Indian scripture. Several studies have refuted the idea that Chinese Buddhists started to emphasize filial piety only in order to conform to Chinese social norms; in fact, filial piety also played an important role in

[8] CBETA, T51, no. 2074, p. 177, a10–21.

[9] For a very detailed study on the Ghost Festival, see Teiser 1988. Based on the *Ullambana-sūtra* and other apocryphal sūtras related to filial piety, Alan Cole suggests that Buddhism, by emphasizing the mother-son relationship, redefined the concept of filial piety in Confucianism which is predominantly concerned with the father-son relationship. See Cole 1998: 2.

Indian Buddhism, which is reflected in avadāna literature and vinaya rules.[10] We can be quite certain that *Ullambana-sūtra* has an Indian antecedent that was paraphrased and further elaborated in China.[11]

The sūtra tells the story of Mulian 目連 (or Maudgalyāyana in Sanskrit), who being Buddha's disciple has acquired the six supernormal powers, and searches for his mother in various realms after her death. He is frightened to see that his mother is suffering in the realm of hungry ghosts, and cannot eat the food he offers her as it is burnt before she can eat it. Buddha tells Maudgalyāyana that his merit alone is not enough to save his mother: the only way to relieve her suffering is to make an offering of *ullambana* (rice bowl) to the Buddhist community that is going to pray for her.[12] The joint efforts of the monks save not only his mother but also all of his relatives up to seven generations.

> "O son of good family, if there are *bhikṣu*s, *bhikṣuṇī*s, kings, crown princes, ministers, prime ministers, head officials, various civil servants, or tens of thousands of commoners who are devoted to their present parents and their ancestors of the past seven generations, they should, on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, a joyous day for the Buddha and a day after the retreat, offer a meal of various tastes on a tray to the monks who participated in the retreat. They should then ask [the monks] to pray that their present parents will have a lifespan of one hundred years, free of illness and all kinds of suffering, and that their parents of the past seven generations may be free from the suffering of the realm of hungry ghosts and be born in the realm of heavenly beings *(devas)* which is accompanied by infinite happiness and pleasure."[13]
>
> 善男子！若有比丘比丘尼、國王太子、王子大臣宰相、三公百官、萬民庶人行孝慈者，皆應為所生現在父母、過去七世父母，於七月十五日——佛歡喜日、僧自恣日——以百味飲食安盂蘭盆中，施十方自恣僧。乞願便使

[10] For an early study of filial piety in Indian and Chinese Buddhism, see Ch'en 1968. Ch'en gives the examples of *Śyāma jātaka* and *Ullambana-sūtra* as proofs that filial piety was important in Indian Buddhism. In fact, not only the *Ullambana-sūtra,* but also *Śyāma jātaka* was very influential in Chinese Buddhism, as is attested by mural paintings depicting *Śyāma jātaka* in Dunhuang and other Buddhist caves along the Silk Road. The story of Shanzi 睒子, who served his blind parent, even affected Confucianist tradition, as it was integrated into the twenty-four examples of filial piety (*ershisi xiao* 二十四孝). See Galambos forthcoming. For further study on filial piety in Indian Buddhism, see Guang 2005, 2016; Schopen 2007; Strong 1983.

[11] See Guang 2011, Karashima 2013.

[12] Karashima tries to find the Sanskrit origin of the word *ullambana* which was misunderstood for centuries as "hanging upside down", but finally he identifies it as 'rice bowl' from the Sanskrit *odana* based on the context of the sūtra. See Karashima 2013: 300–302.

[13] Bandō 2005: 22–23.

現在父母壽命百年、無病，無一切苦惱之患，乃至七世父母離餓鬼苦，得生天人中，福樂無極。[14]

An important apocryphal sūtra on filial piety, *The Sūtra on the Parents' Great Kindness* (*Fumu enzhong jing* 父母恩重經, T 2887), which was relatively widespread in popular religion, as is attested by the over sixty manuscripts found in the Dunhuang library cave, refers to the Ullambana offering as a way to repay the parents' kindness. [15] This work was compiled on the basis of an authentic scripture, *The Sūtra on the Difficulty in Repaying Parents' Kindness* (*Fo shuo fumu en nan bao jing* 佛說父母恩難報經, T 684), allegedly translated by An Shigao 安世高 (148–180), including materials from other authentic sūtras such as the *Antarābhava-sūtra* and *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*.[16]

Even if *The Sūtra on the Parents' Great Kindness* was modelled on the earlier translation of an Indian scripture, the content was considerably modified in view of the Chinese sensitivity over the concept of filial piety originally defined in the Confucianist context and standardised by Chinese society before the arrival of Buddhism. The only common point in the two works is that the parents have to overcome many difficulties to bring up a child, and that is the reason why a child has to find a way to repay this kindness. The Indian version, however, emphasizes that a child should correct the parents' ignorant, unbelieving, immoral, greedy behaviour, and teach them to respect Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. It would have seemed quite odd and unacceptable to the Chinese, who required obedience from a child, to correct the parents' behaviour. Thus it is no wonder that the Chinese version dropped this argument, and simply recommended the following way to repay the parents' kindness.[17]

"The Buddha said to Ānanda, "Listen attentively to my words and think them over carefully. I will explain it to you in great detail. As the parents' favours are like the vastness of the sky, how can we repay them? If a child full of affection and filial piety toward his parents accumulates pious acts, copies Buddhist sūtras, produces an *ullambana* tray on the fifteenth day of the seventh month and offers it full of food and drink to the Buddha and his disciples, then he can attain numerous merits and repay his parents' kindness. Moreover, if someone makes copies of this holy sūtra and disseminates it among the people, at the same time

[14] CBETA, T16, no. 685, p. 779, c6–14.
[15] Ma 2001: 467–480.
[16] Guang 2008, Ogawa 1984.
[17] Guang 2008: 138–139.

keeping it for himself and reciting it, then he is a person who repays his parents for their favours."[18]

佛告阿難：「汝諦聽，善思念之，吾當為汝分別解說。父母之恩昊天罔極，云何可報？　若有孝順慈孝之子，能為父母作福造經，或以七月十五日能造佛槃盂蘭盆，獻佛及僧得果無量，能報父母之恩。若復有人，書寫此經。流布世人，受持讀誦，當知此人報父母恩。」[19]

In the preceding discussion we have shown that filial piety was an important topic during the transmission of Buddhism, as it was debated in the apologetic literature whether Buddhism was able to live up the standards of filial piety defined by Confucianist society, and Indian sūtras related to filial piety were translated and indigenous sūtras were forged in order to prove that Buddhism was much concerned with filial piety. However, filial piety and the Confucianist moral standards influenced not only popular Buddhist religion, but also the Buddhist practice and scholarship of the elite. We will now examine a few examples from specialised Buddhist literature which shed light on how the Confucianist concept of family was incorporated into Buddhist practice and theory.

There are six apocryphal sūtras that form a group of texts known as visualisation sūtras (*guanjing* 觀經).[20] These scriptures are extant only in Chinese: they cannot be traced back to any original Indian scriptures, and the attribution of translation is dubious, thus they were probably compiled in Central Asia or in China; they may even be hybrids, originating in both China and Central Asia.[21] They describe meditation and repentance practices mostly related to one of the celestial bodhisattvas, providing guidelines for the visualisation of the bodhisat-

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[18] Arai 2005: 123–124.

[19] CBETA, T85, no. 2887, p. 1403, c8–13.

[20] Yamabe 1999: 40. For a recent study on these scriptures, see Mai 2009.

[21] 1. *The Sūtra on the Ocean-Like Samādhi of the Visualization of the Buddha* (*Guanfo sanmei hai jing* 觀佛三昧海經, T.643), 2. *Amitāyus visualisation sūtra* (*Guan Wuliang shou fo jing* 觀無量壽佛經, T.365) 3. *Visualisation of Maitreya bodhisattva's birth in Tuṣita heaven sūtra spoken by the Buddha* (*Fo shuo guan Mile pusa shang sheng doushuaitian jing* 佛說觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經, T.452), 4. *Ākāśagarbha visualisation sūtra* (*Guan Xukongzang pusa jing* 觀虛空藏菩薩經, T.409), 5. *Visualisation of two bodhisattvas Medicine King and Medicine Supreme sūtra* (*Fo shuo guan Yaowang Yaoshang er pusa jing* 佛說觀藥王藥上二菩薩經, T.1161), 6. *Samantabhadra visualisation sūtra* (*Guan Puxian pusa xingfa jing* 觀普賢菩薩行法經, T.277). David Quinter suggests that the *Fo shuo wenshu shili banniepan jing* 佛說文殊師利般涅槃經 (T. 463) also belongs to this group of scriptures, although the title does not include the word 'visualisation'. See Quinter 2010. Another probably lost scripture, the *Guanshiyin guan jing* 觀世音觀經 was also a visualisation sūtra, though Greene argues that this work has survived under a different title. See Greene 2012: 83.

tvas and their realms. As these scriptures were probably written in China, Chinese concepts also percolated into the texts.

The most well-known text of the six visualisation sūtras is the *Amitāyus visualisation sūtra* (*Guan Wuliang shou fo jing* 觀無量壽佛經), which, describing the Western Pure Land, the Sukhāvatī, the land of Amitābha Buddha, became one of the central scriptures of the Pure Land school in East Asia. The sūtra declares that if an ordinary being wishes to be reborn in Sukhāvatī he has to perform three kinds of acts. The first group of acts, which lists basic moral requirements, includes having filial piety and taking care of one's parents (*xiaoyang fumu* 孝養父母) as the first requirement, suggesting that all the other virtuous deeds are based on filial piety.

> "Whoever wishes to be born there should practice the three acts: first, caring for one's parents, attending to one's teachers and elders, compassionately refraining from killing, and doing the ten good deeds; second, taking the Three Refuges, keeping the various precepts, and refraining from breaking the rules of conduct; and third, awakening aspiration for enlightenment *(bodhicitta),* believing deeply in the law of causality, chanting the Mahāyāna sūtras, and encouraging people to follow their teachings. These three are called pure karma."[22]

> 欲生彼國者，當修三福：一者、孝養父母，奉事師長，慈心不殺，修十善業。二者、受持三歸，具足眾戒，不犯威儀。三者、發菩提心，深信因果，讀誦大乘，勸進行者。如此三事名為淨業。[23]

In this sūtra Buddha states that people who will be born into the Western Pure Land can be divided into nine grades (*pin* 品). There are highest, middle and lower grades, and each grade is divided further into three levels (highest, middle, lower). In the lower grade we find living beings who are responsible for all kinds of vicious deeds, and do not follow the Buddhist teachings on proper behaviour. In the higher and middle grades there are people who perform virtuous deeds, but up to the middle level of the middle grade the people are all Buddhist practitioners with various kinds of achievements. However, the last level of the middle grade is reserved for non-Buddhists who complete the duty of a *junzi* by their filial piety toward their parents (*xiaoyang fumu* 孝養父母) and their benevolent (*ren* 仁) and righteous (*yi* 義) acts in the world. Even if a Confucianist cannot reach the level of a Buddhist at the lowest level, yet his moral behaviour is certainly acknowledged by this sūtra.

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[22] Inagaki 2003: 68.

[23] CBETA, T12, no. 365, p. 341, c8–13.

"Those who attain birth on the lowest level of the middle grade are good men and women who are dutiful to and care for their parents and do benevolent deeds for others. When such a person is about to die, he may meet a good teacher, who fully explains to him the bliss of the land of Amitāyus and the Forty-eight Great Vows of Bhikṣu Dharmākara. Having heard this, he dies; and in as short a time as it takes a strong man to bend and straighten his arm he attains birth in the Western Land of Utmost Bliss. Seven days after his birth there, he meets Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, rejoices at hearing the Dharma from them, and so reaches the stage of stream-winner. After one smaller *kalpa,* he becomes an *arhat*."[24]

中品下生者，若有善男子、善女人，孝養父母，行世仁義，此人命欲終時，遇善知識為其廣說阿彌陀佛國土樂事，亦說法藏比丘四十八大願。聞此事已，尋即命終。譬如壯士屈伸臂頃，即生西方極樂世界。生經七日，遇觀世音及大勢至，聞法歡喜得須陀洹。過一小劫，成阿羅漢。[25]

Another visualisation sūtra, *The Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Visualisation of Two Bodhisattvas, King of Medicine and Lord of Medicine* (*Fo shuo guan Yaowang Yaoshang er pusa jing* 佛說觀藥王藥上二菩薩經) relates that the two bodhisattvas who used to be brothers in their previous lives a long time ago, and vowed that they would cure living beings from all kinds of diseases when they became Buddha. Whoever can see these bodhisattvas, hear their names, or recite their dhāraṇīs, can get rid of all of the sins of their past lives and can be reborn to a Pure Land. To be able to hear the names of these bodhisattvas the sūtra requires practitioners to keep the Buddhist moral conduct, including filial piety and taking care of one's parents, to have a calm mind, to read the Mahāyāna sūtras and to believe the eternity of the Buddha.

"Beings in the future may hear the names of the two Bodhisattvas King of Healing and Supreme Healer by achieving five prerequisites. What are the five? (1) One's mind should unceasingly radiate loving kindness.[26] One should perfect the Buddha's moral precepts, never breaking the principles of majestic conduct. (2) One should see to the filial care of one's parents, and should practice the ten wholesome precepts of life in the world. (3) One's body and mind should be peaceful and quiescent, with thoughts bound to that which is free of disorder.

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[24] Inagaki 2003: 83.

[25] CBETA, T12, no. 365, p. 345, c1–7.

[26] The correct translation would be "his mind is benevolent and does not kill (*cixin bu sha* 慈心不殺)". The same expression appears in the Amitāyus visualisation sūtra. See CBETA, T12, no. 365, p. 344, c14.

(4) One should listen to the vaipulya sūtras (the "expanded," Mahāyāna texts) without harbouring suspicions and doubts, neither drowning [in emotions] nor backsliding [in spiritual progress]. (5) One should believe in the eternity of the Buddha, and the mind should unceasingly flow like a running stream towards the ultimate truth."[27]

未來眾生具五因緣，得聞藥王藥上二菩薩名。何謂為五？一者、慈心不殺，具佛禁戒，威儀不缺。二者、孝養父母，行世十善。三者、身心安寂，繫念不亂。四者、聞方等經，心不驚疑，不沒不退。五者、信佛不滅，於第一義心如流水念念不絕。[28]

The Samantabhadra visualisation sūtra (*Fo shuo guan Puxian pusa xingfa jing* 佛說觀普賢菩薩行法經) gives a very elaborate depiction of the appearance of Samantabhadra bodhisattva riding on a six-tusked elephant. The sūtra requires five practices of repentance from the kṣatriya and lay followers of Buddhism, mostly related to the support of Buddhist community and Buddhist practice, but the second repentance is "to be filial and caring toward their parents and respectful toward their masters and seniors (*xiaoyang fumu gongjing shizhang* 孝養父母、恭敬師長)".[29] In order to have a clear vision of Samantabhadra the practitioner must purify his six sense-organs by performing a repentance ritual; however, the sūtra emphasizes that the real repentance is reading the Mahāyāna sūtras and understanding the concept of emptiness. The practitioner must see all people as Buddha and all living beings as his own parents. Here, Buddhist practice extends the meaning of the traditional Confucianist filial piety by redefining it as universal love toward all living beings.

"Then the follower makes this vow: 'Had I [received] some blessings through my former destinies, I could surely see Universal Virtue. Be pleased, honoured Universal Fortune, to show me your form and body!' Having thus made his vow, the follower must salute the buddhas in all directions six times day and night, and must practice the law of repentance; he must read the Great-vehicle sūtras and recite them, think of the meaning of the Great-vehicle and reflect over its practice, revere and serve those who keep it, see all people as if he were thinking of the Buddha, and treat living beings as if he were thinking of his father and mother."[30]

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[27] Birnbaum 1979: 118.
[28] CBETA, T20, no. 1161, p. 661, a26–b1.
[29] T09, no. 277, p. 394, a24–b5.
[30] Kato 1975: 216.

> 發是誓言：「若我宿福應見普賢，願尊遍吉示我色身。」作是願已，晝夜六時禮十方佛、行懺悔法、誦大乘經、讀大乘經、思大乘義、念大乘事、恭敬供養持大乘者、視一切人猶如佛想、於諸眾生如父母想。[31]

Another very important apocryphal sūtra in East Asian Buddhism is the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (often mentioned under its reconstructed Sanskrit title: *Brahmajāla-sūtra*), which is said to have been translated by Kumārajīva in 406 but it is regarded as a Chinese composition from the middle of the fifth century.[32] The sūtra has become famous for its bodhisattva precepts introducing ten major and forty eight minor precepts that can be taken not only by nuns and monks but also by laywomen and laymen. This scripture also teaches that all living beings should be regarded as our parents because they could have been our parents in one of our former lives. Here it is not only a mental practice to generate general kindness toward other living beings, but this concept also creates a moral obligation to save animals that are to be slaughtered and to release captive animals into the wild.

> "My disciples, you should compassionately engage in the practice of releasing captive animals into the wild. All men have been our fathers, and all women our mothers. In our numerous past lives there is no one who has not been our mother or father. Therefore, sentient beings in all six destinies have all been our fathers and mothers. If we were to slaughter and eat them, it would be the same as slaughtering and eating our own parents, as well as slaughtering [and eating] my own former body."[33]

> 若佛子，以慈心故行放生業。一切男子是我父，一切女人是我母。我生生無不從之受生。故六道眾生皆是我父母。而殺而食者，即殺我父母亦殺我故身。[34]

The importance of filial piety is shown by the passage introducing the bodhisattva precepts which says that Śākyamuni Buddha after his enlightenment first preached about the precepts that were meant to make people pious toward their parents, masters and the Three Treasures. The scripture regards piety as the principle of the ultimate path (*zhidao zhi fa* 至道之法), and quite surprisingly identifies piety with moral discipline. This way the text very clearly associates the most important terms of Confucianist ethics and Buddhist practice. Later

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31 CBETA, T09, no. 277, p. 390, b7–11.
32 Buswell 1990: 8.
33 Muller–Tanaka 2017: 55.
34 CBETA, T24, no. 1484, p. 1006, b9–12.

on, the text repeatedly defines breaking Buddhist precepts as unfilial behaviour, underlying the interrelatedness of the two concepts.

> "At this time Śākyamuni Buddha first sat beneath the *bodhi* tree and achieved peerless enlightenment. [After this] his first act was to establish the *Prātimokṣa,* [encouraging his followers] to piously obey their fathers and mothers, honoured monks, and the Three Treasures. Filial piety and obedience is the principle of the ultimate path. "Filial Piety" is synonymous with "moral discipline," and also means "restraint." [35]

> 爾時釋迦牟尼佛，初坐菩提樹下成無上覺。初結菩薩波羅提木叉，孝順父母、師僧、三寶。孝順至道之法。孝名為戒，亦名制止。[36]

Chinese Buddhist scholar monks made great efforts to understand and interpret various Indian Buddhist scriptures, composing lengthy commentaries to sūtras. Commentaries became a special genre in Chinese Buddhist literature with its own characteristics and structure, and this kind of literature evolved gradually and finally reached its apogee under the Tang dynasty (618–907).[37] One of the greatest representatives of commentary writing is Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839), the fourth patriarch of the Huayan school, whose major contribution to the Huayan school is his commentary and its subcommentary to the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*.[38] Although Chengguan was brought up in the monastery he thought secular writings were also important in spreading the Buddhist teachings, thus he also mastered the Chinese Classics that are quoted in his commentaries along with more than five hundred Buddhist works. He was on good terms with high officials and served as imperial preceptor, thus it was essential for him to be able to refer to the Confucianist Classics while explaining abstruse Huayan tenets. Although in terms of philosophical views Chengguan was critical toward Chinese indigenous philosophies and was opposed to the idea of harmonising the three teachings, he was much indebted to Chinese philosophy in formulating his Huayan doctrines.[39]

The eleventh chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra,* the Purifying Practice (*jingxing* 淨行), describes the method a bodhisattva should follow while carry-

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[35] Muller–Tanaka 2017: 42.

[36] CBETA, T24, no. 1484, p. 1004, a23–25.

[37] For an introduction to commentary-writing in Chinese Buddhism until the Tang period, see Kanno 2015.

[38] For Chengguan's biography, see Hamar 2002.

[39] Chengguan levelled ten points of criticism against Confucianism and Daoism based on the different ontological and soteriological views of Buddhism and Chinese indigenous philosophies. See Hamar 1999.

ing out his practice under various circumstances.[40] A lay or a monk bodhisattva, whatever activity he is engaged in, whether being at home, serving his parents, being with his family, leaving his family to join the Buddhist community, meditating, eating, going to the toilet, etc., should always wish that all living beings could have the chance to practice Buddhism in different ways and realize the Buddhist truth. If somebody is devoted to his parents and serves them, he should wish that all living beings serve the Buddha. The sūtra makes it very clear that the practitioner's primary concern should be the well-being of others, even when he expresses his filial piety toward his parents.

> Enlightening beings at home
> Should wish that all beings
> Realize the nature of "home" is empty
> And escape its pressures.
> While serving their parents,
> They should wish that all beings
> Serve the Buddha,
> Protecting and nourishing everyone.
> While with their spouses and children,
> They should wish that all beings
> Be impartial toward everyone
> And forever give up attachment.[41]
>
> 菩薩在家，當願眾生：知家性空，免其逼迫。
> 孝事父母，當願眾生：善事於佛，護養一切。
> 妻子集會，當願眾生：怨親平等，永離貪著。[42]

Explaining this passage, Chengguan points out that if somebody understands the nature of emptiness, he will not feel any pressure while staying at home. He stresses that there is a reason why filial piety is mentioned first in the text, as it is the most perfect merit: all activities originate from this. In his subcommentary he refers to the *Classics of Filial Piety* as a source for stating that filial piety is the most perfect merit.[43] Next, he quotes an unfortunately unidentified sūtra which says that serving our parents is identical with serving the Buddha.

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[40] This chapter of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* is part of the proto *Buddhāvatamsaka-sūtra,* thus it belongs to the early strata of the sūtra. See Nattier 2005.

[41] Cleary 1993: 313.

[42] CBETA, T10, no. 279, p. 70, a4–8. An early version of this text found in *Fo shuo pusa benye jing* 佛說菩薩本業經, CBETA, T10, no. 281, p. 447, b25–29.

[43] CBETA, T36, no. 1736, p. 264, b13–19.

He says that all living beings used to be our son, and all men and women used to be our father and mother, thus we must protect them. Here Chengguan extends the framework of the sūtra, referring to the concepts of classical Chinese philosophy and the apocryphal Chinese sūtras.

> "If you understand the emptiness of human nature, then even if you live in a family, you do not feel the pressure of family life. Next is the wish to perform filial piety at home, as it is the most perfect merit, the origin of all activities, it is explained in the beginning. *The Sūtra of Great Collection* says: 'If there is no Buddha in the world, you must serve well your parents. If you serve your parents, it is identical with serving the Buddha, as the parents became enlightened earlier than me.' Now, on the other hand you serve Buddha, you grow the dharma-body. 'Protecting and nourishing everyone' [in the sūtra] means that all living beings used to be my son [in previous lives] thus I must protect them. All men and women used to be my father and mother [in previous lives] thus I nourish them. There is no living being which did not live as [my parent], I equally respect them as dharma-kāya Buddha."
>
> 若了性空，則雖處居家，家不能迫。次一在家行孝願，以是至德行本故，首而明之。大集經云：「世若無佛，善事父母。事父母者即是事佛，父母於我為先覺故。」今翻令事佛者，生長法身故。護養一切者，一切眾生皆我子故，護之。一切男女皆我父母故，養之。生生無不從之受身故，平等敬之法身佛故。[44]

Chengguan's main disciple was Zongmi 宗密 (780–841), who became the fifth patriarch of the Huayan school, but, in addition, he was also the patriarch of the Chan school, thus one of the major characteristics of his teaching is the synthesis of the doctrinal teachings and Chan meditation. Zongmi was greatly indebted to his master not only for incorporating Chan elements into Huayan school but also for his references to Chinese Classics. He was well versed in Chinese Classics since before renouncing the lay life he had studied the Classics in order to take part in the national exam to become an official.[45]

His debt to Chinese Classics is reflected in his classification of teachings (*panjiao* 判教) which was a Chinese hermeneutic innovation to interpret and harmonise the various Buddhist teachings.[46] The third patriarch of the Huayan school, Fazang 法藏 (643–712) established a scheme of five teachings

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[44] CBETA, T35, no. 1735, p. 616, a8–15.

[45] Gregory 1991: 27–32.

[46] For the various classifications of teachings in Chinese Buddhism, and especially in the Huayan school, see Gregory 1991: 95–135.

(Hīnayāna, elementary teaching of Mahāyāna, final teaching of Mahāyāna, Sudden, Perfect) which included all Buddhist teachings starting from the basic teachings of Hīnayāna Buddhism, through the Mahāyāna teachings of Yogācāra, Madhyamaka, the Tathāgatagarbha, to the Huayan teaching representing the highest level of Buddha's teaching.[47] Although Chengguan confirmed Fazang's legacy by preserving his five teachings, his disciple Zongmi made radical changes in arranging various teachings. In his seminal work, *Inquiry into the Origin of Humanity* (*Yuan ren lun* 原人論, T 1886) he provides a very detailed explanation of his five categories of teachings: 1. teaching of humans and gods 2. teaching of the Hīnayāna 3. teaching of phenomenal appearances 4. teaching that refutes phenomenal appearances 5. teaching that reveals nature.[48] His most important contribution is the inclusion of teachings of men and gods as the first level of teachings, which refers to the five Buddhist precepts (*wujie* 五戒) that lay practitioners are required to keep according to the Buddhist scriptures. Here Zongmi related the five precepts with the five constant virtues (*wuchang* 五常) of Confucianism, emphasizing that both of them can result in avoiding birth in hell and the realms of hungry ghosts and as an animal by securing birth as human or god.[49]

> "Not killing is humanity, not stealing is righteousness, not committing adultery is propriety, not lying is trustworthiness, and, by neither drinking wine nor eating meat, the spirit is purified and one increases in wisdom."[50]
>
> 不殺是仁；不盜是義；不邪淫是禮；不妄語是信；不飲噉酒肉，神氣清潔益於智也[51]

Even if Zongmi belonged to the elite Buddhist circles with his exceptional erudition in Buddhist scriptures and Chinese Classics, he was much concerned with the ritual of the Ghost Festival, as is attested by his writing a commentary on the *Ullambana-sūtra* (*Fo shuo yulanpen jing shu* 佛說盂蘭盆經疏, T 1792). At the beginning of the commentary he confesses that he must have committed a sin as he lost his parents when he was young, and he was sad that he could not look after them. He regards Ullambana as a wonderful practice (*miaoxing* 妙行)

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[47] For a very detailed study of Fazang's life, see Chen 2007. For a very good summary of his teachings, see Liu 1979.

[48] For an English translation, see Gregory 1995.

[49] The correlation between the five precepts and the five constant virtues first was put forward in the Chinese apocryphal scripture, *The sūtra of Trapuśa and Bhallika* (*Tiwei Boli jing* 提謂波利經) composed by Tanjing 曇靖 (?–?) in 460. See Gregory 1991: 281–282; Sheng 2004.

[50] Gregory 1991: 284.

[51] T45, no. 1886, p. 708, c18–19.

which he himself had recourse to every year. He emphasises that filial piety is a shared value of Buddhism and Confucianism.

> “Beginning in formless chaos, filling all of heaven and earth, uniting men and spirits, connecting noble and poor; Confucianists and Buddhists both revere it – it is the Way of filial devotion. Responding to filial sons’ sincerity, saving parents from distress, repaying broad heaven’s kind virtue – it is the teaching of *yulanpen*.”[52]

> 始於混沌，塞乎天地，通人神，貫貴賤，儒釋皆宗之，其唯孝道矣。應孝子之懇誠，救二親之苦厄，酬昊天恩德，其唯盂蘭盆之教焉[53]

As we have seen, since Buddhism began to spread filial piety as a principal value of Confucianism played a very important role in the process by which Buddhism was adapted to the Chinese world. In the beginning it was an easy target for Confucianist scholars, who could attack Buddhism for celibacy, which prevented monks from fulfilling a man’s most important filial obligation: to produce an heir for the family. However, Buddhists were able to point out how Buddhism can help to ensure a harmonious society, and argued that this service can overshadow the shortcomings of celibacy. Although Indian Buddhism also emphasized the importance of filial piety, it would be hard to deny that Chinese Buddhists made great efforts to show that through merit transfer Buddhist practitioners have effective methods to take care of their parents not only in this world but also in the nether world. The *Ullambana-sūtra* inspired the establishment of the ritual of the Ghost Festival which became the primary religious occasion in East Asia for making offerings to deceased relatives.

The topic of filial piety was also incorporated into the indigenous sūtras which underlined the importance of filial piety in Buddhist practice, and in addition, proposed a new understanding of the concept of filial piety which was radically different from the traditional Confucianist view. Based on the Buddhist idea of endless rebirth, Chinese Buddhists argued that all living beings could be our parents in our former lives, thus we must take care of them as if they were our parents. Undergoing a kind of paradigmatic change in the way it is understood, filial piety becomes universal love or compassion toward all living beings, which is the most important drive for all Mahāyāna practices. This way filial piety is regarded as the most essential Buddhist precept which all bodhisattva should practice. Chengguan even emphasises that respecting our parents is identical with respecting the Buddha. Finally, Zongmi regards filial piety as

[52] Teiser 1988: 93–94.

[53] CBETA, T39, no. 1792, p. 505, a6–8.

a seminal moral value in both Confucianism and Buddhism, and this shared moral basis enables him to include Confucianism as the first level of his system of Buddhist teachings.

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Celibacy or Marriage? Dilemmas for Buddhist Monks in Korea. Manhae Han Yongun 萬海 韓龍雲 (1879–1944) and His Ideas for Promoting Clerical Marriage

Introduction

Toksŏng 獨聖, or the Lonely Saint can often be seen in Korean Buddhist monasteries. For the question, why he is lonely, the usual answer – which appears in the not so technical literature about him as well –, is that he is alone; he doesn't have a wife.[1]

But why do such explanations about a Buddhist monk exist when Buddhist monks at the time of the production of such representations were traditionally supposed to be celibate?

These interpretations were thought to reflect the influence of Confucianism – the dominant and official ideology of the Chosŏn times (1392–1910) – yet, it is more likely that these statements were usually made only after the early 20th century, when the Korean Buddhist religious landscape became considerably changed during the Japanese colonial period.

With the arrival of the Japanese, a trend appeared for Buddhist monks to marry, which was a custom in Japan that dated back as early as the Heian period (794–1185),[2] and became standard after the Meiji period edict of 1872[3] when its purpose was to weaken Buddhist clergy and to blur the borders of religious and secular life while promoting Shintoism.

With the appearance of such an alternative, the traditionally celibate Korean monks had to face a dilemma – to be celibate or to get married. The question was twofold: the new custom to be a married monk is usually interpreted as

[1] Covell 1982: 62; Covell 1986: 76.
[2] Morinaga Sōkō 1993.
[3] Ketelaar 1990: 6.

a sign of modernization, yet as a tradition connected to the colonizers, there was also resistance to this custom because of national sentiments.[4]

However, a closer look at this issue reveals a much more nuanced picture of what might have led Korean monks traditionally living in celibacy in the early 20th century to more willingly adopt the married lifestyle.

In addition to the simplistic and much-publicized views of research dominated by the greatest order that now considers celibacy as their ideal, it can be shown that in addition to ideological and religious considerations, many other, – sometimes much more prosaic–, factors have played a role in increasing or decreasing monastic marriages.[5]

If we look at the responses for the idea of married clergy we can find different approaches amongst Korean thinkers and monks. In this paper I will focus on the text promoting marriage for Buddhist clergy by the famous poet and politician monk, Manhae Han Yongun 萬海 韓龍雲 (1879–1944) and show how his personality and life story, the current ideologies of his times and Confucian ideals played a role in his approach to marriage.

It is also important to look at the original Buddhist teachings, where we can find a more complex attitude towards marriage and celibacy amongst Buddhist clergy.

1. Indian origins, Vinaya and the nature of sources on celibacy

Gautama Siddhārtha, the later Shakyamuni Buddha (“the Enlightened”), the founding teacher of Buddhism was himself married before he embarked on an ascetic life and search for liberation. But how did the idea of celibacy become connected to Buddhism? Buddhism is regularly understood as a monastic movement, of leaving the family (Skt. *pravrajyā*, Pāli, *pabbajjā*, “going forth”) and adopting an ascetic lifestyle.[6] The original teachings of the Buddha known as the four noble truth says that life is suffering (Pāli, *dukkha*), and the cause of suffering (Pāli, *samudaya*) is attachment, but there is a possible way to end this suffering. This is explained as the eight-fold path to end suffering (Pāli, *magga*). The key concept is then attachment, either in a literal or non literal sense. A central teaching of the Buddha is that even the most respected and pure attachments such as parental love unavoidably produce grief as everything in the world is perishable and temporary. The only way to avoid the pain of losing

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4 Yun – Park 2019: 5.
5 Park, Jeongeun 2016.
6 Cole 2004: 280; Keown 2008.

anything dear to us is not to be attached to anything and anybody.[7] However, if we consider that the relevant cause of suffering is not coming from outside but perceived subjectively, then we can assume that it is still possible leading a holy life as a householder, though it is more difficult.[8] The easiest way to follow this ideal is to be a wandering monk, who is free from possessions and attachments to anything and anybody. Nonetheless, as Buddhism is practiced in organized communities, it was necessary to set certain rules *(vinaya)* for the community members. Vinaya texts are the Indian Buddhist monastic codes, regulating the lives of monks and nuns in the monasteries, but these rules later became to be debated and analysed more from a point of view of Buddhist teachings than regarded as a result of quoting certain cases to bring order in a community. We can find very detailed prescriptions about sexuality in those texts.[9] Often, these types of documents were used when searching for attitudes towards family and sexuality in Buddhism, so we should be careful to what degree these documents are faithful depictions of actual practices, mentioning some special cases in order to punish the misbehaviours within the community.[10] The other pitfall of taking the legal documents and vinaya texts on face value is that sometimes we can trace a hidden, or not so hidden agenda behind referring to these texts, serving some Buddhist or anti-Buddhist groups' interests by showing an image of a decadent Buddhism, keeping reformation or other goals in their minds.[11]

In India, to prevent Buddhism being regarded as a threat to society due to converts leaving their families, they have adapted the four stages of life to allow a man to abandon the world only after he had fulfilled his family duties (Faure 1998).

2. China. Confucian Opposition and Issues of Filial Piety

When vinaya texts were translated into Chinese before the 5th century, they tried to stay consistent with Indian societal norms, whilst keeping in mind the historically legitimate aspirations of Chinese Buddhism[12] and taking into account the most influential religious and philosophical traditions in China, including the social norms of Confucianism in which the public and social spheres were

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[7] Ruzsa 2018: 12.

[8] Majjhima-Nikāya, 36. Transl. Ṅāṇamoli-Bodhi 2009: 335.

[9] Sexual offences were often taken such seriously that the offenders were expulsed from the community (Asanga Tilakaratne 2007: 85–96).

[10] Clarke 2015.

[11] Faure 1998: 204.

[12] Bodiford 2005: 5.

emphasized.[13] Buddhism was regarded as a foreign creed practiced by mostly Central Asian merchants in Chinese trade centers in the former period.[14]

Buddhism often was criticized by Confucians for its lack of filial piety, the virtue regarded as the most important by Confucians. Leaving home, thus abandoning filial duties and not continuing the family line, was regarded as a big challenge to the traditional Chinese family system.[15] As Buddhism embraced local traditions, Kenneth Ch'en believes that this special feature of Chinese Buddhism grew out of a response to Chinese culture and the appearance of filial piety in Buddhist practice comes from indigenous Chinese traditions.[16] However, as it is referred to by Guang Xing,[17] John Strong and Gregory Schopen argue that filial piety already existed in Indian Buddhism. They have shown recently that filial piety in Indian Buddhism can be connected to the idea of karma, and thus as a feature of Buddhism, it is based on a different logic to Confucianism, of where filial piety is a central plank in its system. Therefore, the criticism against Buddhism as not being filial cannot be fully justified. Praising living parents and taking care of the ancestors became an important aspect for Buddhists in China[18] and we can witness the imitation of family relationships within the monastic community.

3. Married Monks in Japan

Even though the vinayas prescribe celibacy for Buddhist monks, from sources as early as the Heian period we can read about married monks in Japan.[19] We can interpret this phenomenon not as a norm, but rather as a deviation from tradition. In some historical periods the local regulations became less strict regarding sexual issues.[20] While in the earlier times vinaya was taken more loosely in Japan, during the Edo period (1603–1868) we can witness a radical change with more serious punishments for Buddhist clergy by either death or banishment.[21] However, in the Meiji period (1868–1912) with abolishing the power of the *bakufu* (the shōgun's administration) and giving back the power to the emperor, introducing Western technologies and philosophies, they have supported *shintō*

[13] Yao 2000: 29.
[14] Keyworth 2003: 170.
[15] Lancaster 1984: 143.
[16] Ch'en 1964.
[17] Guang Xing 2016: 212–226.
[18] Lancaster 1984: 143–145.
[19] Morinaga 1993.
[20] Faure 1998: 176.
[21] Faure 1998: 181.

as an official religion. Since Buddhism was connected to the shōgunate and intertwined with shintō in a syncretic way (*shinbutsu-shūgō* 神仏習合), Meiji politics attempted to separate the two religions (*shinbutsu bunri* 神仏分離), and the government, in order to undermine the prestige of Buddhist monks, allowed marriage and issued an order in year 1872 in which they have declared that priests might do as they wished in regards of eating meat, marrying and cutting their hair.[22]

At the turn of the 20th century, the marriage of Buddhist monks became connected with modernization. Modernization, social Darwinism, and the consequent westernization of Japan had a strong impact on Buddhism by blurring the borders between clergy and laity, thus loosening the identity and prestige of Buddhist monks. As Japan entered the international stage as a respected, strong and modernized country, Koreans also aimed to reform Buddhism in Korea. Thinking in the spirit of social evolution which had made a huge impact on Korean society from the end of the 19th century, Korea felt that they needed to similarly change and adapt and looked at the modernized form of this secular Buddhism in Japan as an advanced phenomenon they should emulate in order to be seen as progressive, measuring themselves with Western standards.[23]

4. Korea: From Celibacy to Marriage and Back to Celibacy

In contemporary South Korea the *Chogye* Order (조계종 曹溪宗) of celibate monks and nuns is the largest, while the *T'aego* Order (태고종 太古宗), which allows marriage for its clergy, is about similar in scale regarding its number of monks.[24] However, in 1945, at the end of the Japanese occupation about 7000 clerics were married and only 300 remained celibate in Korea[25] as a consequence of the Japanese intervention (in October 1926 clerical marriage became widely practiced with official governmental approval).[26] Nonetheless, we can see that this situation and the proposal that Buddhist clergy could take a spouse was not so obviously a policy purely driven by the Japanese, but was also propagated by Korean intellectuals, especially before 1911, before Japanese intervention to religious affairs was not much institutionalized.[27] In this paper I would like to focus on the ideas about clerical marriage as they appear in the writings of one

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22 Ketelaar 1990: 6.
23 Tikhonov 2010: 245 and Yun – Park 2019.
24 Yun – Park 2019: 6.
25 Pori Pak 2016: 27.
26 Pori Pak 2016: 13.
27 Huh 2000: 67.

particular and influential person, Han Yongun (1879–1944) (pen name Manhae) who wrote the first and most comprehensive systematic writing on Buddhist reformation in his time.[28]

The struggle for and against monastic marriage had an interesting dynamic in the 20th century Korea, because traditionally – and Korea belonged to the really traditional Buddhist countries –, to become a monastic meant leaving home, renouncing the world, and focusing on ascetic practice, it was believed that monks could not marry while practicing asceticism.[29]

In order to understand the changing attitudes towards clerical marriage in Korean Buddhism, it is important to summarize how Buddhist tradition in Korea was perceived and what were the special features regarding their interpretation of the vinaya rules in different times. The role of Buddhism in politics and state affairs was very prominent, especially in the formative periods, and this feature played an important role for later generations when thinking about clerical marriage, either supporting this idea (connected to social engagement) or opposing it (wishing to revitalize traditional Buddhism with an even stronger reliance on the vinaya rules).

4.1. Background: Korean Buddhism and Its Role in Society

Buddhism in Korea in the Unified Shilla (668–935) and Koryŏ periods (937–1392) was thought of as a national ideology and accorded higher status than the indigenous shamanism, bringing writing and other forms of civilization into the peninsula. Buddhism was treated as a state religion (Hoguk Pulgyo 護國佛教).[30] With the support of the royal court, Buddhist monks helped the nation to flourish by asking buddhist deities for their help. By the Koryŏ era, affluent economies were developing around monasteries with thousands of monks, their servants, and lands. They were involved in various businesses like noodle making, tea production and distillation of spirits.[31] This enormous power and its subsequent abuse caused the final collapse of Koryŏ dynasty. In the following Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910), Neo-Confucianism was elevated as a central ideology, limiting Buddhism and pushing it to the margins of society. Because of Buddhism's previous affluence and connection with politics, the restrictions became more severe. Gradually the polemics extended from criticicism of Buddhism's political, economic and social influence to its doctrines as well, criticizing Bud-

[28] Pori Pak 2010: 46.
[29] Yun – Park 2019: 5.
[30] Cho 1998; Birtalan 2013: 258.
[31] Buswell 1992: 23.

dhism from this point of view to support their acts against it, and consequently the number of monasteries dropped from one thousand to 242.[32] Monk ordinations were halted for some periods of time, and the support of Buddhism was limited to some royal women patrons,[33] resulting in Buddhism become a chiefly private enterprise rather than a state concern.[34] During this time Buddhist monks were banned from entering the capital,[35] a restriction which become permanent in year 1623[36] isolating Buddhism from power and the intellectual and cultural debates of the times.

4.2. Korean Buddhism During the Japanese Colonial Period

With the appearance of Japanese influence on the peninsula at the end of the 19th century (1897), which continued with the annexation of Korea to Japan in 1910, the situation for the Buddhists changed. We can differentiate two stages of its influence, first, the stage of attempted assimilation, then later, after the annexation and the introduction of regulations, we can talk about the time of control.[37]

4.2.1. Attempts for Assimilation: Adopting the Japanese Model

The previously mentioned ban for Buddhist monks on entering Seoul was lifted due to the intervention of the Japanese Nichiren monk Sano Zenrei 佐野前勵 (1859–1912) who convinced King Kojong 高宗 (1852–1919) to make this proclamation.[38] Sano might have seen a good opportunity in supporting the weakened Korean Buddhism after the long years of Confucian marginalization to unify Korean Buddhist schools with Japanese congregations, more specifically, with the Nichiren school.[39] But those Japanese schools aiming for proselytizing and melting Korean Buddhist schools into their congregation (typically Pure Land and Sōtō Zen schools) were very different from the native tradition, not

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[32] Buswell 1999: 139.

[33] Yoshikawa (1920: 47) in his seminal work about Korean Buddhism attributed the survival of Buddhism in this time to the support of women. He noted the practice of women visiting monks at Buddhist hermitages around the city wall asking to perform prayers for them forgiving as not being born as a man (the privileged gender in Confucian ideology).

[34] Baker 2014: 153–169.

[35] Park 1964: 7.

[36] Buswell 2007: 32.

[37] Huh 2000: 67.

[38] Cho Sungtaek 2010: 315.

[39] Tikhonov 2010: 260.

having real counterparts in Korean Buddhism, and therefore these attempts usually failed in the end.[40]

A group of Korean reformists who were conscious of the Western imperialist ideas permeating Japan, as well as the social Darwinist notion that society benefits from the survival of the fittest, adopted these ideas of modernization, believing that the current problems and backwardness of Buddhism in Korea would be mended by accepting the models of the more powerful nations. Moreover, by adopting modernization and secularization as seen in Japan, Korean Buddhism could gain back its former glory. Taking their examples from Japan, by calling for the marriage of Buddhist clergy, they aimed to be more responsive to the needs of modern life.[41]

4.2.2. Time of Control: Conservative Opposition

The Japanese colonial administration treated Buddhism as a tool of government policy. The Governor-General Terauchi Masatake 寺内 正毅 (1852–1919) promulgated a series of measures in November 1906, that began to place regulations on Korean Buddhism similar to those placed on Japanese Buddhism during the Meiji Restoration.[42] On June 3, 1911 the Korean Monastery Law or Temple Ordenance 寺刹令 (Jap. *jisatsurei*; Kor. *sach'allyŏng*) formalized direct Japanese supervision of Buddhist temples and in 1911 established a new, centralized system of government control,[43] in which they changed the traditional system. Temples would now be run as a collective enterprise by the monastic community, replacing the previous system with Japanese-style management practices in which temple abbots, appointed by the Governor-General of Korea, were given private ownership of temple property and given the right to inherit it.[44] The abbots of thirty (later thirty-one) head monasteries, all licensed and confirmed by the Japanese government, controlled a large number of smaller branch temples.[45] The system of grouping head and branch monasteries created by the Japanese were often arbitrary and based purely on administrative convenience. This centralized structure also resulted in authoritarianism and corruption within the order which caused deep resentment towards the administration.[46]

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[40] Buswell 2007: 32.
[41] Buswell 2007: 34.
[42] Ketelaar 1990.
[43] Tikhonov 2012: 227.
[44] Sørensen 1999.
[45] Buswell 2007: 33.
[46] Buswell 2007: 33.

While Koreans welcomed the help coming from Japanese Buddhists and concentrated on the survival of the Korean monastic community in the first period, after the introduction of the Korean Monastery Law, Koreans became more politically oriented. Desiring the separation of church and politics, they fought for the abolition of the Temple Ordinance, with which they believed the Japanese Government had taken their independence.[47] Conservative reformists opposed the strategy connected to the colonizers and aimed to restore the glorious past of Korean Buddhism of the Koryŏ and Shilla periods by emphasizing national sentiments and following the traditions. The most important representatives of the conservative movement were Sŏngu Kyŏnghŏ 鏡虛惺牛 (1849–1912) who wished to recreate the late Koryŏ *Imje* 臨濟 (Chin. *Linji*) shool of *Sŏn* 禪 (Chin. *Chan*) Buddhism with its practice of using keywords (*Hwadu* 話頭)[48] thus reviving Kanhwa Sŏn 看話禪[49] and Paek Hangmyŏng (1867–1929) who initiated an agriculture-based religious movement combining meditation with working in the fields, probably influenced by the *Sirhak* 實學 (Practical Learning) school of critical Chosŏn literati.[50] Paek Yongsŏng 白龍城 (1864–1940), the most conservative and traditionalist reformer of this group used the traditional Korean script *(hangŭl)* for his sūtra translations and was a strong advocate of the traditional celibate lifestyle of the monks, to such a degree that in 1926 he wrote a memorial to the Japanese governor-general entitled "Prohibit the Lifestyle of Breaking the Precepts" 犯戒生活禁止 (Pŏmgye saenghwal kŭmji) and several times transmitted the complete monastic precepts[51] (*kujokkye* 具足戒).[52]

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[47] Pori Pak 2016: 3.

[48] Sørensen 2010: 131.

[49] Jin Y. Pak 2019: 248.

[50] Buswell 2007: 35.

[51] Huh 2005: 29–63 and Buswell 2007: 35.

[52] He was also the advocate for combining agricultural activities with Buddhism and in his hermitage at Paegun Mountain planted over 10,000 persimmon and chestnut trees, which he and his monks tended (Buswell 2007: 35–36) and emphasized the superiority of Buddhism to the alien and Western religion, Christianity. In his writing entitled *Kuwŏn chŏngjong* 鳩垣正宗(The Orthodox School that Returns to the Fountainhead) he compared Buddhism to Confucianism, Daoism, and Christianity and concluded that only Buddhism presented moral and transcendental teachings. He even wanted to rename Buddhism to the "Religion of Great Enlightenment" 大覺教 (Taegakkyo), as its most important feature is awakening. Between the two groups there were also some voices combining the two opinions of modernization and traditionalism. An important representative of this was Pak Hanyong 朴漢永 (1870–1948) who saw hope in the betterment of Buddhism in Korea and argued for the combination of meditational practice with doctrinal studies bringing back the Koryŏ tradition, but he also promoted Western culture, science and technology (Buswell 2007: 36). Sot'aesan Pak Chungbin 朴重彬(1894–1943) also had an important effect on Korean Buddhism.

4.3. Ideas of Manhae Han Yongun (1879–1944). Married Monastics as Solution for Korea?

Amongst many Korean intellectuals the idea of a married clergy was connected to modernization and an attempt to restore Buddhism and its monastic community, so as to make it more socially engaged and attractive for future generations.

Especially the ideas of Han Yongun (1879–1944) (pen name Manhae) were very influential and set the frame for future reforms.[53] He was a celebrated leading figure of his times, not only siginificant for religion, but also famous in the literary world (known for writing the first modern poem in vernacular Korean entitled "The Silence of the Beloved" (Nim-ŭi ch'immuk, 님의침묵) in 1926, wrote 163 Chinese poems and five novels),[54] worked as editor for several journals and was prominent in his social activities (acted as leader of the March First Movement [Samil Undong], the independence movement from Japanese rule).[55]

His ideas of clerical marriage appear in the 13th point in his writing entitled the *Chosŏn Pulgyo yusinnon* 朝鮮佛教維新論 (Treatise on the Restoration of Korean Buddhism) drafted first in year 1910[56] then published in 1913.[57]

The ideas and arguments he uses in this text show a very compex attitude, taking inspiration from carefully selected Buddhist teachings and texts (the Hwaŏm teachings of consummate interfusion 圓融 (Kor. *wŏnyung* Chin. *yuanrong*).[58] In addition, he used the Vimalakīrti sūtra where the bodhisattva ideal is featured including the married householder way of life.[59] He also used the current ideologies of his time, such as Spencerian social Darwinism, and liberal democracy,[60] and was probably considerably influenced by his character and life events (such as being married early in his life, then abandoning his family, then remarring again later in his life, fathering two children).[61]

Han Yongun was born on 29th August 1879 in Hongsŏng.[62] During his childhood Korean society suffered from noteable domestic and external events. The Tonghak (Eastern Learning) Rebellion (1894) which sought to purge Western influences from Korean society and restore native Korean values had a great

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53 Pori Pak 2016: 16.

54 Pori Pak 2016: 10.

55 Buswell 2007: 37. There are plenty of references to his work, not only in Korean, but in other languages as well, approaching his legacy from different aspects.

56 Pori Pak 2016: 11.

57 Han Yongun 1913. For the translation of the text see Han Yongun 2016.

58 Buswell 2007: 43.

59 Huh 2000: 83.

60 Tikhonov – Miller 2007.

61 Huh 2000: 68.

62 Chŏng 1991.

impact on him in his adolescent years as both his father and brother were killed related to this event. He studied Chinese classics for ten years and in 1892, at the age of 13 (!) he married a woman from the Ch'ŏnan Chŏn clan.[63] In 1897, he left his hometown, to become a monk, wandering to various temples such as Paektamsa temple 百潭寺.[64] After entering the monastic order, he resided at Oseam hermitage where he acquired a basic knowledge of Buddhism and practiced sŏn meditation.[65]

He was greatly influenced by the encyclopedic writings about the West and Western philosophy and political thought by Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873–1929),[66] and decided to travel to the United States and Europe via Siberia. However, he only got as far as Vladivostok, and had to abandon his itinerary because of the threat to his life at the hands of immigrant ethnic Koreans who perceived Buddhist monks as carrying out espionage activities for the Japanese Imperialist forces. After this he came back to secular life, and in December 1904 his oldest son was born.[67] In 1905 he returned to the Buddhist order. Between April and October 1908, he travelled to several areas of Japan in order to observe first-hand the new culture and institutions and he studied at the Sōtō Zen University (today: Komazawa University) in Tokyo.[68] The peaceful connection between traditional forms of Buddhism and modern technological culture that he experienced here affected him greatly. After coming back to Korea, he presented two petitions to the Governor-General in 1909, addressing the issue of monks marrying[69] and wrote a treatise in 1910 promoting radical changes in Korean Buddhist traditions, applying Western liberalism in a Korean context that aimed to take his tradition-bound country into a modern dynamic society.[70]

He mobilized the younger Buddhists and found support for his case later in Buddhist associations independent of monastic control, such as the Buddhist Youth Association, Buddhist Reformation Association, and General League of Buddhist Youth which associations were founded in the 1920s and 30s.[71]

Han Yongun emphasized egalitarianism in his treatise, meaning that all the inequalities of the world could be seen as in fact equal. He took this idea from the Hwaŏm/Huayan notion of the unimpeded interpenetration pertaining between all phenomena in the universe 事事無礙 (Kor. *sasa muae* Chin. *shishi wuai*).

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[63] Huh 2000: 68.
[64] Pori Pak 2016: 10.
[65] Huh 2000: 68.
[66] Pori Pak 2016: 11.
[67] Huh 2000: 68.
[68] Mohan Pankaj 2014: 3.
[69] Huh 2000: 68.
[70] Buswell 2007: 37.
[71] Buswell 2007: 38.

This teaching says that each thing creates, and is in turn created by, every other thing, what he regarded as foundation for world peace and could develop into the modern political doctrines of freedom and universalism, what he opposed to the way of looking at things from the standpoint of the individual or the nation.[72] The other principle he emphasized was the idea of saving the world with this compassionate and non-egoistic attitude. He believed that he could accommodate Western ideals of democratization while maintaining indigenous Korean culture.[73] But in order to do this, he proposed bringing Buddhism out of the mountains, where it had been forced into exile during the Chosŏn period, and into the cities and everyday lives of the people. To these ends he worked for the secularization of Buddhism, popularizing and simplifying rituals so that they might be more approachable for the laity and promoted education based on modern subjects and languages and encouraging overseas experiences to expand their intellectual horizons.

In Korea, celibacy was a distinct characteristic of Buddhist monks and nuns, but Manhae Han Yongun, in order to blur the border between clergy and laity, supported the idea of allowing monks and nuns to marry. During the time of the arrival of Japanese missionaries, more and more monks were encouraged to take wives and conduct family lives, emphasizing that materially advanced Asian Buddhist nations permitted monks to marry.[74] In Buddhist Journals, such as in the *Chosŏn Pulgyo wŏlbo* (Korean Buddhism Monthly) of November 1912, Korean monks were criticized for not keeping the precepts. However – as Han Yongun argued –, instead of hiding this deviation from the precepts, marriage should be allowed publicly. In March and September of 1910, Han Yongun sent petitions to the Japanese cabinet 中樞院 (Chungch'uwŏn) and the monastery supervisory board 統監府 (T'onggambu) asking that they lift restrictions on Buddhist monks and nuns taking a spouse and give them freedom (but not the obligation) to marry. Han Yongun used arguments referring to the socially changing society of modern times in which celibacy was no longer relevant. Furthermore, in order to increase the willingness of young candidates to become monks it could be more desirable, and, as Han Yongun argued, this revitalized Buddhism could strengthen both the government and society.

He used the Hwaŏm doctrine of consummate interfusion to solve the problem of the vinaya prohibition on sexual intercourse, the main reason he thought that stood behind the traditional practice of celibacy of Buddhist clergy.

"Since truth and falsity had no real essence, and merit and demerit had no fixed natures of their own, all such extremes were actually interfused. Thus,

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[72] Buswell 2007: 38.
[73] Buswell 2007: 39.
[74] Buswell 2007: 42.

celibacy and marriage were really no different, and neither should be considered optimal for monastic practice."[75]

He thought worthwhile and beneficial for monks to understand secular life. Since the vinaya rule about sexuality are from a later date than the other rules – Han argued –, that it cannot inviolate the original Buddhist practice and asked the government to permit marriage when necessary.

Since he did not get a response for his petitions, neither from the cabinet nor from the monastery supervisory board, he included his argument in the 13th point of his treatise *(Chosŏn Pulgyo yusinnon)* in a more systematic way, explaining why clerical marriage would be better suited to contemporary society. He made a list of four major arguments against clerical marriage and then rejects these one by one. His arguments were the following:

In the first point Han Yongun argued that marriage of the clergy controverts ethical norms. He was using here the ancient Confucian argument against Buddhists as being unfilial. However, it is interesting that he uses this old claim where he wanted to sound more progressive. Looking at his attitude, it is evident that he heavily relied on traditional Confucian ethics. He connected social engagement and the ideas of saving the world with a Confucianist approach.

In his second point Han states that clerical marriage injures the nation and argues this point in a way which would have appealed to the cultural and social inferiority complexes Koreans felt at that time. He says that "all civilized nations allow people to get married" and elevates Western politicians to a higher status, and argues from a kind of compulsion for conformity when he says that "Were any great Western politicians to hear about the prohibition of clerical marriage, would they not feel odd, shocked, or saddened?" "If we do not reverse the prohibition now, the state will make it obsolete by a law in the future".[76] In this statement he accurately predicted events, as later, in October 1926 clerical marriage became widely practiced with governmental approval.[77]

In his third point, Han says that not allowing marriage for monks is harmful for the propagation of the religion. He argues that if marriage is restricted for monastics and do not allow potential converts to have a family, then they will lose interest and revert to lay life.

In the final point Han Yongun says that marriage of the clergy inhibits moral development and he acknowledges carnal desires. He suggests that holding fast to such precepts cannot help Buddhism to develop for the better and it is not possible to supress "natural human desires" what everyone possesses – he writes. Rather than keeping an "irrelevant precept", he advocates the free choice

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[75] Quoted by Buswell 2007: 43.

[76] Han Yongun 2016: 169.

[77] Pori Pak 2016: 13.

for clerics to marry or not if they wish so.[78] He quotes famous Western intellectuals who were not married but made a great contribution to science and politics, and later he names Buddhist persons, householder bodhisattvas, mostly from the Indian tradition who had children, though still they could be regarded as respectful religious persons. Emphasizing the opposite cases, he affirms his argument for the right of free choice.

Han Yongun goes as far to say that as long as the monk remained devoted to his religion, it was of little consequence whether he kept all the myriad rules of the vinaya. By allowing monks to choose, they would learn personal freedom in their choices, “a necessary quality along the road toward democracy”.[79]

Han Yongun’s lobbying gained only little support within the order, but due to an intense Japanese pressure in October 1926 the head abbots were forced to withdraw the prohibition against marriage. From that point on, monks were officially allowed to marry 帶妻 *(taech’ŏ)* and eat meat 食肉 *(sigyuk)*.[80] This was similar to what was promulgated in the 1872 edict of Meiji Japan.

The sedentary lifestyle of married monks who relied on their income and their families were usually regarded more convenient for the government to control than celibate monks who could travel freely and be involved in spying or other such activities considered harmful for those in power.

The schism between married priests 帶妻僧 *(taech’ŏsŭng)* and celibate monks 比丘僧 *(pikusŭng)* became much bigger and while celibate monks concentrated on traditional monastic work such as doctrinal study, meditation practice, and proselytization,[81] married monks took gainful employment and accumulated more private property and income to support their families. Consequently, by the time of liberation in 1945 about 7000 clerics were married and only 300 remained celibate in Korea.[82]

Subsequently, immediately after the Japanese were removed from power, the conservative anti-Japanese voices became louder, aiming to revive the golden age of Buddhism of the medieval Koryŏ period and initiated the “Purification movement” 淨化 運動 (chŏnghwa undong) and in the 1950s and 60s they purged the Japanese elements from Korean Buddhism, amongst these maybe the more important feature, the married clergy[83] and promoted traditional celibate life.

They were supported by Syngman Rhee 李承晩 (1875–1965), the first president of the Republic of Korea who released a series of presidential instructions

[78] Buswell 2007: 44.
[79] Buswell 2007: 45.
[80] Pori Pak 2016: 13.
[81] Buswell 2007: 45.
[82] Pori Pak 2016: 27.
[83] Buswell 2007: 46.

that monk marriage was a Japanese legacy and thus should be eliminated to revive authentic Korean Buddhism. He needed to establish the legitimacy of his government against the communist North Korea, and the most important expression for it was to show anti-Japanese sentiments.[84] With this policy, the current situation for monastic marriage in Korea has turned in the favour of the conservative celibate monks, and the married monks of the T'aego Order are still looked upon as remnants of the Japanese occupation.

However, a recent study based on hitherto unpublished documents has shown that the willingness of Korean Buddhists to embrace monastic marriage in the early twentieth century was neither due to Japanese pressure or stemming from carnal desires, nor even the modernization and progress voiced by reformist intellectuals played as much a role as considerations of certain other material aspects, which Park Jeongeun (2016 and 2020), in her analysis of the household registers for monks and the documents of the abbot elections, has brought to light.

Marriage of priests was not the main interests of Japanese colonizers but was one of the means of adapting to their system of succession of temple property. The concept of the dharma family was the tradition in Korea before the colonial period, where the abbot's estate could be inherited by his chief disciple in the name of performing ceremonies in memory of his master after his death. However, with the introduction of Japanese household registers and rules, monks should have been listed under their names and could only inherit property within this system. Thus, as the previous possibility of inheritance between the master-disciples was eliminated, it became important for them that they could maintain the inheritance on a blood basis.

Conclusion

After centuries of Confucian persecution, Japanese colonizers were sympathetic towards Buddhism, and helped gain back the self-esteem of Buddhists. However, the concept of marriage of monks which was exercised in Japan from the Meiji period onwards deviated from the fundamental precepts of Buddhism. In Korea this was regarded as a Japanese tradition, and therefore many found it unacceptable. With the focus on ideas of the social role of Buddhism, progressive reformists called for secularization, including marriage of the clergy. The subsequent tightening rule of the Japanese colonizers coincided with the official introduction of these ideas and became associated with Japanese policy.

[84] Yun – Park 2019: 6.

By highlighting the texts promoting clerical marriage by the famous poet and politician monk, Manhae Han Yongun (1879–1944), we can see his ideas in context of his personal character, his life story, the current ideologies of his times and the Confucian ideals.

Following the Confucian period of the Chosŏn era, which overshadowed and limited Buddhists at the beginning of Japanese colonial rule, the possibility of monastic marriage, typical of Japanese practice, appeared as an alternative for Korean Buddhists in the early twentieth century. While the repressive memory of Japan's colonial heritage is often emphasized in the literature discussing clerical marriage, an analysis of documents written at that time presents us with a much more complex picture. Most notably among Korean intellectuals, one of the most significant personalities of the era, Manhae Han Yongun (1879–1944) whose systematic writing urged the reform of Korean Buddhism in his treatise entitled *Chosŏn Pulgyo yusinnon* 朝鮮佛敎維新論 (Treatise on the Restoration of Korean Buddhism). In the thirteenth point of this work he uses polemics against celibacy and presents the circumstances to authorize the practice of priestly marriage. In this treatise we can see that his Confucian education, personality, and life played as much a role in his reasoning as the ideologies of the era- social Darwinsm, modernism and democracy. However, primary documents revealing the daily lives and circumstances of the monks additionally show that the willingness to marry was also greatly influenced by the new inheritance rules introduced by the Japanese colonial system.

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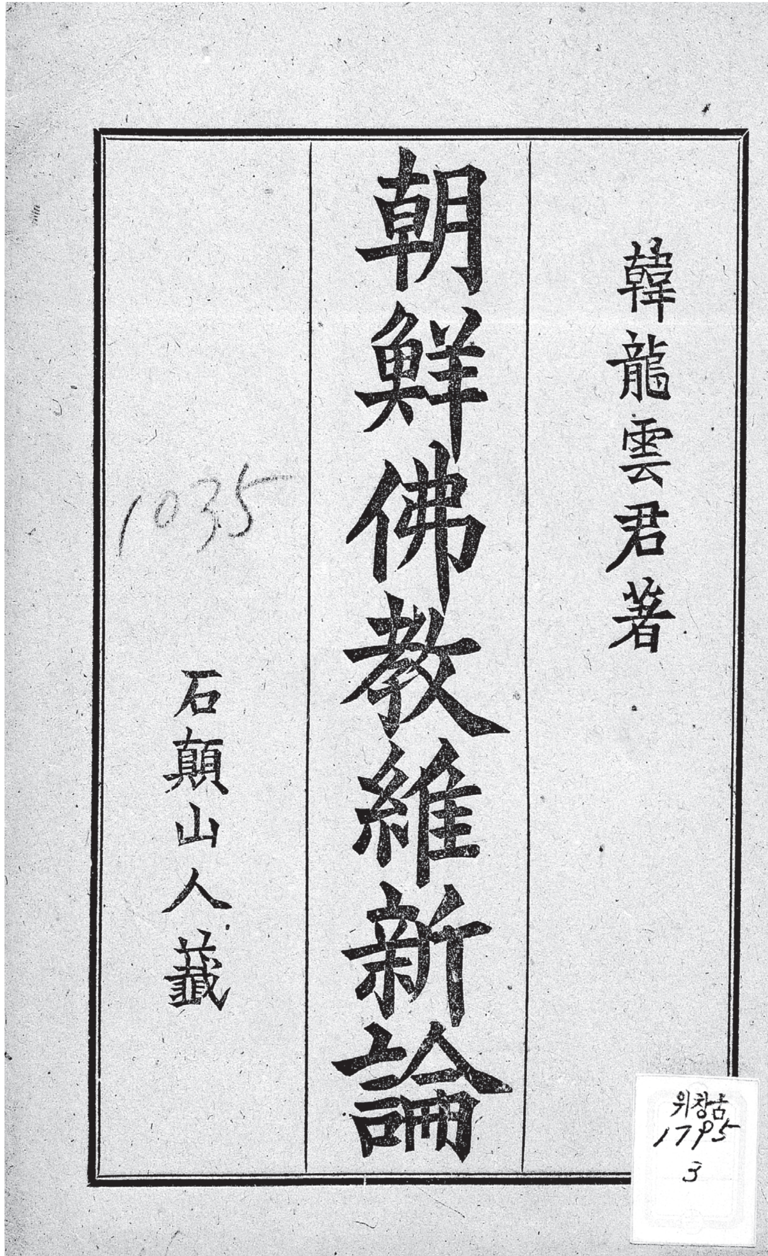
韓龍雲君著

朝鮮佛教維新論

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Cover page and excerpt from Han Yongun's *Chosŏn Bulgyo Yusinnon*.

之良規라楚越之人이可以同事어든況聯其食同其鼎者乎아然則以上所言之二種特色이皆他人之所無而我獨有之者也니豈不美哉아噫라衣內明珠가不能辟傭作之貧則其孰使之然歟아

論佛敎之前道가關於僧尼嫁娶與否者

有問於余者曰佛敎何以將興고余ㅣ必曰解僧侶嫁娶之禁이亦一要事急務也라難曰子ㅣ胡爲乎發此不經之言ᄒᆞ야以汚佛戒也오梵網經에曰若佛子ㅣ自淫과敎人淫과乃至一切女人을不得故淫이라ᄒᆞ시고四分律에曰犯不淨行을乃至共畜生이라도是比丘波羅尼不共住라ᄒᆞ고受戒儀中沙彌十戒之第三曰不淫이오比丘四波羅尼戒之第一曰不淨行戒오且戒淫之雜出於諸家者ㅣ指不勝屈則佛家之禁婚이果何等申重乎아爲佛敎者ㅣ豈能肆行嫁娶ᄒᆞ야墮損戒律也리오以謂嫁娶而興敎론無寧爲嫁娶而亡敎니라曰子言이似焉이라雖然이나不足以知華嚴經事々無碍之上乘也로다夫高尙玄虛ᄒᆞ고深淵廣漠ᄒᆞ며眞妄이無性ᄒᆞ고功罪ㅣ本空ᄒᆞ야無處不入ᄒᆞ고無事不容之佛敎가豈在於區々戒律之間哉아求佛敎於戒律者는實釣龍於盃水오探虎於蟻垤이라烏可得也리오果嫁娶而不成佛道ㄴ딘何故로過去七佛이無佛無子ᄒᆞ고

恒沙菩薩이多出在家오但對小乘之根機淺薄ᄒᆞ야流於欲樂而難回者故로權設細律而制限之라夫佛敎者는若實若虛ᄒᆞ고若縱若奪ᄒᆞ며若王若覇ᄒᆞ고若天地若毫末ᄒᆞ야不可名狀이오不可一端이라其微言至意로應病與藥ᄒᆞ야幷使人으로欲隨緣入道而已니平心循理ᄒᆞ야先尋宗旨則思過半矣라迥乎漠哉ᆫ져井蛙가豈聞江湖之相忘이며枝鷃가安知雲霄之圖南이리오圓敎는非律宗之敢望이니但有味乎秋月空山과春水大海則佛法이在是ᄒᆞ니라

傳에曰處今之世ᄒᆞ야反古之道면菑必逮夫身이라ᄒᆞ니今日之舞臺는非前日之道場이라非改着長袖면不能登場善舞라五千退席이一時盡去則世尊이不得不先說阿含方等而導之오淫男이難化則觀音이不得不化美人而度之니此皆應時隨機也라雖使嫁娶로違於戒律而難行이라도當以嫁娶로利於佛敎之時機則權行嫁娶ᄒᆞ야適時順機라가更待不嫁娶利於佛敎之時後에還收而復舊ᄒᆞ면其誰曰不可리오且嫁娶之禁이不適於世道乎아請論其所以不適之理ᄒᆞ리라

(一)害於倫理라聞人之爲罪가不孝ㅣ爲大而無後ㅣ尤大니以其絕祀斷裔也라我之一身이已與前此千百世之祖先과後此千百世之血胤으로無復相續則罪何容貸리오

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Renouncing the World and Taking Ordination – Family Ties of Mongolian Buddhist Novices

"Blessed One, please explain what is meant by the words 'taking ordination'."
"It is the complete avoidance of all sinful deeds.
It is the perfect elimination of desire, anger and ignorance.
It is the cleaning away of all the defilements from being ensconced in the darkness of fighting, battle, blaming, quarrel, disputation, deception, and dishonesty.
It is the basis of all virtues, just as fertile soil is the basis of all grains.
It is the source of all precious things.
It is the wish-fulfilling gem of all happiness.
It is the exalted abode of all virtues.
It is what gives relief to all sentient beings."[1]

Introduction

The 20th century brought a number of different periods to the history of Mongolia: the end of the Manchu era (1691–1911), the Bogd xan's theocratic reign (1911–1921), socialism (1921–1989) and democracy (1990). This article aims to describe what renouncing the world (especially the home and the family), taking ordination, and taking monastic vows meant in two different periods of Mongolian Buddhism: at the turn of the 20th century and a century later. Citation of

[1] *Sūtra of Nanda's Ordination* (Tib. *dga' bo rab tu byung ba'i mdo*). Degé Kangyur, 328, Vol. 72 *(mdo sde, sa)*. 254b–257a. www.84000.co.

interviews reveals the life of novices with a particular emphasis on boys *(band')* or pre-novices who took ordination *(rawǰün,* Tib. *rab byung),* illustrating their family background, connections with family members after ordination, support from and towards the family.[2] Another aim has been to define the master-disciple relationship *(bagš šaw')* as honouring the *guru* who transmits his knowledge to a disciple has great significance in Vajrayāna tradition. As few written sources are available to study monks' family ties,[3] the research was based on a handful of interviews recorded with old monks who lived in monasteries in their childhood (prior to 1937),[4] monks who took ordination in 1990, and pre-novices of the current Tantric monastic school of Gandantegčenlin Monastery, the Centre of Mongolian Buddhists.

Mongolian Buddhism

Mongolian Buddhism is of Indian and Tibetan origins, and belongs to the Vajrayāna tradition. Though the Mongolian monastic system has been based on the teachings of the Tibetan Gelugpa stream since the 17th century,[5] several local, nomadic features and values were involved, generating a special form of Lamaism. After three hundred years of exhaustive spreading and blossoming, all of the approximately 1,000 monastic sites were destroyed around 1937, and after the total cessation of Buddhism during socialism, religious practices could be revived only 50 years later as a result of the democratic changes in 1990. Nowadays, both the Yellow (Gelugpa) and the Red (mostly Nyingmapa) streams are present in Mongolia. The number of monks is approximately 2,500, the majority of which belong to the Yellow stream.[6]

Mongolian monks composed a special social stratum until 1937, having distinct living circumstances, philosophy and beliefs, rules and regulations, and roles and responsibilities in society.[7] Thousands of monks lived countrywide, comprised of different age groups, education and monastic vows. Men can take four types of vows even nowadays: lay devotee, taking ordination with pre-novice vows, novice, and fully ordained monk.[8] Only fully-ordained monks

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[2] I would hereby like to express my thanks to the Institute of History and Ethnology, Mongolian Academy of Sciences for hosting my fieldwork in Mongolia.

[3] For contemporary religion and society in Mongolia see Abrahms-Kavunenko 2018, 2019a.

[4] For detailed interviews with old monks see Majer–Teleki 2019, Teleki 2019, Teleki 2015: 37–66, Mongolian Temples Project (online).

[5] On Tibetan monasticism see Goldstein 2010.

[6] On contemporary Mongolian Buddhism see Birtalan et al. 2015.

[7] Boldbātar 2010: 65.

[8] Lay vows *(genen*, Tib. *dge bsnyen*, S. *upāsaka),* taking ordination and pre-novice vows

need live a celibate life. Nunneries have never existed in Mongolia as taking a full ordination is against the basic role of women: giving birth. However, the Red stream included and includes female (married) tantric practitioners, and many elderly ladies "cut their hair" to become Buddhist "nuns" *(čawganc)* when growing old to accumulate merits for future life.[9]

Regarding the main theories of Mongolian Buddhism, "Suffering is not caused by others' actions, but by our non-virtuous deeds. Happiness does not come from others' actions but from our virtuous deeds.[10] The basic task of monks is "to love and protect Buddhism and to help all sentient beings of the six realms of existence[11] who might have been our mothers in one of our previous lives in *saṃsāra*" (Ven. M. Nandinbātar born 1979).

Family and Monkhood

Family is the main sphere in the life of the Mongols. Even during socialism, having six children was usual and at present an average family has three children. The concept of family embraces more than just a close circle of family members (including parents, children and maybe grandparents): it also definitely includes uncles, aunts, cousins from both the mother`s and the father's sides, as well as the family of the spouse.

Close family members share a yurt and thus all domestic interactions, eating, and conversation occur in the same space. There is a respect for old people and support of youngsters is common. This "yurt milieu" is often preserved even in present-day blocks of flats in the capital city: siblings share a room to get to know each other completely and build strong family ties. Naturally, grandparents also live with the family and the younger family members take care of them. Moreover, the relatives of parents or other family members (uncles, siblings, cousins) often live with the immediate family or stay in their homes

(barmarawǰin / barmarawǰün, Tib. *bar ma rab byung),* novice vows *(gecel*, Tib. *dge tshul*, S. *śrāmaṇera),* and fully ordained monk (*gelen*, Tib. *dge slong*, S. *bhikṣu* with 253 precepts).

[9] Lay vows *(genenmā,* Tib. *dge bsnyen ma*, S. *upāsikā),* pre-novice vows *(barmarawǰun), gecelmā* (Tib. *dge tshul ma*, S. *śramāṇerikā*), fully ordained nun (*gelenmā*, Tib. *dge slong ma*, S. *bhikṣuṇī*, 364 precepts). *Emegtei lam* ('female monk') or the more honorific *ane* (Tib. *a ne*) are in use for women these days. Before the purges, female practitioners were called *xandmā* (Tib. *mkha' 'gro ma*, S. *ḍākinī* / *yoginī* or female sky-goer). At present only one residential nunnery operates for female monks (all with *gecelmā* vow), whilst in the other women's centres, most of the female monks have only *genenmā* or *barmarawǰün* vows.

[10] Boldbātar 2010: 65.

[11] Rebirths occur in six realms of existence namely three good realms (heavenly, demi-god, human) and three evil realms (animal, ghosts, hellish).

for a while to share accommodation and living costs, especially during a period of education taking place at a location far from their own abode (e.g. primary school in the district centre, university in the capital city, visiting the capital city or the countryside for work or holiday).

For centuries, family relationships have even been influencing the life of Mongolian Buddhist monks, who took monastic vows in accordance with the teachings of Buddha Śākyamuni prescribed in the Vinaya.[12] Until the beginning of the 20th century Buddhism was the state religion in Mongolia and most families had monk relatives. All households respected Buddhism, possessed sacred texts, rosaries, and venerated holy images at home. Monasteries functioned as the only settled centres among the nomadizing yurts (moving every season), and the nomads often visited local monasteries to prostrate themselves, pray, venerate the Buddhas, visit their monk relatives and provide food for the monastic community. In parallel, parents sent their 6 or 7 years old sons to a monk relative or to their Buddhist master to train him in monasticism. These children shared a yurt with their masters, began to study the Tibetan alphabet as well as the memorization and recitation of sacred texts. After some years they knew the Tibetan script well, could chant sacred texts by heart and had learnt how to live in a monastic milieu without a family. They took ordination and started to participate in ceremonies in monasteries that differed in size: extensive monasteries had about 25 temples and 2,000 monks whilst the smallest ones operated in a temple or yurt with a couple of monks.

Though Tsongkhapa's (1357−1419) Gelugpa teachings prescribe celibacy, its Mongolian version combines the Tibetan tradition with the features of Mongolian nomadic way of life. For instance, the monks who did not live inside the monastery could marry and live in the countryside if their homecoming was required to herd the livestock, maintain the household and the family.[13] In spite of this phenomena, it seems that at the beginning of the 20th century the majority of Mongolian monks had full ordination and lived a single life inside the walls of monasteries, where they participated in ceremonies, held services, and educated disciples in monasticism.

The monasteries were destroyed and the monks were chased away in 1937: those with rank were slaughtered or imprisoned, while monks aged 18–45 had to join the army to fight in the war at the River Xalx, and children were sent to newly established primary schools. Many disrobed monks became herders or workers after 1940 and got married. Only one monastery, Gandantegčenlin operated with a limited number of monks from 1944–1989. Religious practices were permitted again in 1990 due to the democratic changes: many monasteries

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12 Pozdneyev 1978.

13 Pozdneyev 1978.

were rebuilt,[14] former monks dressed in their monk robes once more (being 70–80 years old at that time) and Buddhist services and the admission of pre-novices restarted. Many devotees who practiced their beliefs in secret during socialism sent their sons to the reopened monasteries. The revival became very effective: old monks trained the young monk generation in the 1990s and 2000s based on the knowledge that they had obtained from their masters before 1937.

On the other hand, the remnants of socialist values and the exigencies of modern-day capitalism have "continued" to influence religious practices in Mongolian society. It is true that Buddhism has benefited from the political changes, becoming the state religion once more. Since the 1990s, Buddhist devotees have once again been visiting monasteries to venerate the Buddhas or request the monks to chant sacred texts for the well-being of all sentient beings, as well as to bring health and success to their families. Nonetheless, despite these beneficial developments, a major obstacle for the reintroduction of Buddhism has been that it does not receive much state support; monasteries operate purely on the basis of private donations, though they are tax-exempt. Moreover, like all Mongolian men, monks are obliged to live within new social and economic systems – receive salaries, pay tax and insurance, buy travel tickets, perform compulsory military service, etc. One reason for this is that the majority of Mongolian monks, ordained mainly in the 1990s, got married after having only attained pre-novice vows. Being closer to ordinary Mongolian men in this sense, they had to take responsibility for their immediate families, acting as husbands, fathers, and grandfathers.[15] Sometimes this causes difficulties for monks as they are able to only work 'part-time' in monasteries and consequently receive low salaries.

Despite the fact that taking ordination means "go forth from home to homelessness",[16] at present only a handful of monasteries have dormitories and thus a number of young, middle-aged and old monks live at home with their families and visit the monasteries only for ceremonies and religious services. Their families take care of them and ensure the proper life circumstances to practice Buddhism. Only a few monks are able to take full ordination and focus on vows

[14] Actually one temple building was built on the sites of some ruined monasteries. For details on old and new Mongolian monasteries see Mongolian Temples Project (online). For old photographs of old monks and monasteries see British Library Projects (online).

[15] The present article does not describe these roles and family ties.

[16] Various Tibetan expressions describes this act such as 'abandon one's land and take ordination' (Tib. *sa bor nas rab tu byung*), 'abandon one's home and take ordination' (Tib. *khyim rnams bor nas rab tu byung*), 'going forth for ordination' (Tib. *rab tu byung bar nges par 'byung ba*), and 'go forth from home to homelessness' (Tib. *khyim nas khyim med par rab tu byung*). Cf. *Sūtra of Nanda's Ordination* (Tib. *dga' bo rab tu byung ba'i mdo*). Degé Kangyur, 328, Vol. 72 (mdo sde, sa). 254b–257a. www.84000.co.

and precepts. These monks are highly respected by those monks with lower vows and by society in general.

Comparison of Pre-Novice Status in Two Different Periods of Mongolian Buddhism

What follows here is the comparison of monastic life, monks' life circumstances at the beginning of the 20th and 21st centuries. Several traditions remain today, but the different social and economic situation has also resulted in `innovations`.

1. Monastic Life at the Turn of the 20th Century

Becoming a Monk

At the beginning of the 20th century, Mongolian boys became monks of their own volition and were encouraged to do so by their parents or other family members.

> "I remember that I wanted to join the local monastery, Barūn xürē at the age of 8. My father took me to the monastery to participate in the Kanjur ceremony lasting for some days. Then, we returned home to the countryside and I planned to leave my home in autumn. However, the weather became so harsh in that year of the Pig that I could not move to the monastery, but stayed at home with my family for winter and spring. I moved to the monastery next year, in the year of the Rat. The monks of Barūn xürē participated in the Maitreya procession of the nearby Erdene jū Monastery. At that time we often spent a night there, but the only thing that I remember is being homesick. As a small child I truly wanted to return to my family" (N. Osor, 1921–2016, Barūn xürē, Xarxorin district, Öwörxangai province).

Boys started to learn the Tibetan alphabet from a master and memorize the basic Buddhist prayers. Mainly family members or learned local monks became their masters. A bit later they could take ordination.

> "A temple and a *stūpa* stood on the bank of the River Ongi. That place called Cagān Suwarga ['White *stūpa*'] remained as a former site of the monastery of our banner. My parents sent me to Orgoi monk at the age of 6. I became the disciple of this master: I prepared his meals and he taught me the Tibetan alpha-

bet. Then what happened? A woman, called Bor, who used to prepare tea and meals for him, disappeared one day! A man had arrived on a loaded camel. He talked to my master and showed him his load. Being a doctor, my master tried to cure his eyes. They made a dinner: a pile of tasty *būj* dumplings. Then, we went to sleep. Bor and that man woke up early in the morning and left together. Bor came back soon, having been infected with Hepatitis. My teacher went to the hospital, worried about infecting a child. They met, gestured, and talked for a whole day. Next evening someone took me away from there. It happened in wintertime, snow covered the homestead. Camels drank from the well at Tüin on the Northern plateau. They had many camels. When I approached that site to take ice to water the camels, I was told that my master had flown away. I wondered how, looking around to see where he was flying. I was looking toward the nearby *owō* cairn in the north at Mandal: if he was flying there or if he had settled on the line post as a bird. My master closed his eyes forever. He passed away. I do not know where Bor went and became ill. After this event I returned home to my family and played with my younger brother. That winter was without snow so we moved to Caxiagīn us before the Lunar New Year. My mother combed her hair and went to greet his older brother for the Lunar New Year. She spent a day there and requested him to teach Tibetan sacred texts to me. He refused, saying that he could not teach me if I stayed with my family. My brother was five years older than me, and he left with our uncle, an educated monk. My mother had nine siblings and he was one of her older brothers, maybe the second oldest one. Soon after, I was sent to Cagān xömsögt's ['with white eyebrows'] family. When my parents decided to send me to study from Cagān xömsögt, they sewed a robe for me. One of our neighbours took me to my new home on horseback. We left in the morning. I took the Tibetan alphabet and the *Going for Refuge* prayer *[Itgel,* Tib. *skyabs 'gro]* with me. We arrived at the white, bright yurt from the north-eastern direction. Cagān xömsögt's family had several cattle, camels, and sheep. He was a son of a learned monk and was born in the countryside and lived as herder. He told me, 'You have studied many sacred texts, now it is time to study herding too.' When I entered the yurt it was crowded with adults. There were no children at all. They talked, drank tea, came in and went out. When I left the yurt all the sheep ran away. There were no children in that family at all. Camels and cows were all wild. That family did not see any children. They had two or three dogs which I had to train. I was 6, no 7 years old at that time. I turned 7 after the Lunar New Year.[17] I lost my master, Orgoi monk at the age of 6, and was given to Cagān xömsögt's family at the age of 7. I spent seven years with them. It absolutely does not mean that I studied Tibetan sacred texts from him. I was

[17] Birthdays did not have much importance in Mongolia, but people's age increases by one at the Lunar New Year in January or February.

coming and going: I spent some days in the nearby monastery, but then I had to return to my master's household. I became a worker, a shepherd. I herded sheep, calf and colt. In summer I herded sheep, handled foals when milking mares, and participated in horseracing. Only adults surrounded me at all times. My master, Cagān xömsögt had a younger brother: a learned monk wearing monk robes. He was not problematic. However, two or three girls also belonged to the family. The two older girls always gave tasks and instructed me. If I think back to them, they did not have any sense of how to handle children. My mother worried a lot about my fate: becoming a servant. I sometimes participated in ceremonies in the nearby monastery, Xutagt lamīn xīd from the age of 7–14. I lived in Xutagt lamīn xīd until the age of 30 when the community was broken up in 1937" (C. Dašdorǰ, 1908‒2015, Xutagt lamīn xīd, Saixan-Owō district, Dundgow' province).

Parents' Advice

People living in the countryside had strong beliefs in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. These nomads were not well-educated in Buddhist philosophy but had deep faith, so sent their sons to the monasteries for education.

"I lived in Ȫld beisīn xürē Monastery for four years, from the age of 11 to 14. My mother's family had several monks. Elderly people educated the younger generation how to be good people. They always told parables to illustrate how to love sentient beings. For example, if we ride a horse, its leg might get sore. My parents loved the livestock very much. From the other hand, they taught me to honour others. If you honour others, they will honour you. Cursing, praising, and insulting others have no sense. The older generations taught us to love, support, and honour others. They used to tell me 'You are a man and will visit various sites. Help the exhausted, suffering, and sorrowful people! It will have a result. They might return your benefaction even in your next life.' That is a reason for compassion and loving kindness. For instance, the area where I grew up is abundant in water. The livestock were weakened in spring, after the harsh winter. Some of them got stuck in sludge on the bank of the river, so we removed them. This kind of help to other beings will have a positive result in this life and next lives. This is the karmic law! In parallel, we made efforts for democracy, worked hard for a better way of life with great endeavours, even tormenting our bodies during socialism. It will have positive effects. This body is a container only for this life. Someone who suffers a lot would be happy at the end. My parents used to tell me 'Don't spare your body! Go and work hard! Do well and do have well!'" (Š. Tügǰ, 1923–2014/2015, Ȫld beisīn xürē, Ölǰīt district, Arxangai province).

Living in the Monastery

Monasteries consisted of temple buildings in the centre surrounded by courtyards with monks' dwellings. Monks participated in ceremonies every day, and spent their spare time studying sacred texts. Children joined first the assembly hall *(Cogčin dugan*, Tib. *tshogs chen 'du khang)* memorizing basic prayers of the daily chanting. The monasteries provided the catering for the community, serving milk, tea and meals, also dairy products donated by countryside worshippers.

> "We used to wake up early in the morning and started the ceremony at 8am. After the ceremony, the monks usually spent their free time at home in their yurts. We got food called *caw* in the monastery. Salary was called *jed*. It could be money which was rare at that time, so mostly silken scarves and other valuable articles were distributed to the monks according to their ranks. High ranking monks took more of such wages as they had more responsible work. This was the way of monastic life. In winter, all monks returned home to the remote countryside to help with the preparation work for winter.[18] These monks brought food from the countryside, so the monastic community had meals even in winter. Firewood, saxaul and cow dung for heating were all collected and provided by the fathers, mothers, and brothers of the monks. In other words, monks' families supplied the monastery. Monks did not leave the monastery unnecessarily, but lived inside keeping their monastic precepts" (G. Galsan, 1916–2011, Usan jüilīn xürē, Tonxil district, Gow'-Altai province).

Children's Life

Though the main task of pre-novices was to memorize Tibetan prayers, they often played with knucklebones *(šagai),* with football or shuttlecock, wrestled, raced, trapped marmots or turned each other on large prayer wheels until they felt dizzy.

> "I was a child, so I just sat there. A child's life is a different thing" (S. Gončig, 1909–2015, Tegšīn xürē, Cecen-Ūl district, Jawxan province; Bogdīn xürē, Ulānbātar, interview recorded in 2009).

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[18] Winter is extremely cold in Mongolia. Rural households move to their winter dwellings in November, and prepare enough food to survive until the end of spring. For details on traditional Mongolian culture see Birtalan 2008.

> “Actually, there was no time for playing. We always learnt. We read the sacred scripts at all times. We played with shuttlecock when we were bored after the suspension of ceremonies and the closure of monasteries” (R. Perenleiǰamc, 1922–2011, Lū günī xürē, Batcengel district, Arxangai province).

> “I took ordination at the age of five. I resided at my master’s place in Ganǰūrīn ǰas Monastery until the age of 13. Persecution started at that time, in 1937. Our masters were seized, and we became disrobed children. If you visit the ruins of the monastery you will see large bronze caldrons buried in the ground. We played with dogs catching them with caldrons” (U. Čoiǰamc, 1923/1924–?, Ganǰūrīn ǰas, Saincagān district, Dundgow’ province).

Master-Disciple Relationship

Normally, a young pre-novice shared a yurt with his master, an adult monk. The master educated the boy in Tibetan script, recitation, memorizing, proper behaviour, and the boy also learnt housework: he prepared tea and meals for his master, chopped firewood, cleaned the yurt, and did all the work in the household. It was the disciple’s obligation to acquire the master’s knowledge and reimburse him his goodwill.

> “Monks lived mainly alone or two of them lived in a yurt. Also there were children, young disciples who studied from them. They prepared their masters’ meals. It was the rule” (G. Galsan, 1916–2011, Usan jüilīn xürē, Tonxil district, Gow’-Altai province).

Mongolian monks highly respect the master-disciple relationship. Without the guidance of a master, enlightenment cannot be attained. A disciple has the following thoughts: “I am ill. My master is the doctor. His teaching is the medicine. If I follow his teaching I will be cured. The master is the most distinguished holiness. May the Buddhist teaching flourish!”[19] In reality, these views refer to the most distinguished holiness, Buddha Śākyamuni who is represented by the master who guides the disciples on the path to enlightenment.

> “I moved to the monastery with this old monk when I was 9. I became his disciple and served him in Delgerexīn xīd Monastery. He taught me the sacred texts.

[19] Boldbātar 2010: 67. For monastic life in 1921 see also Forbáth 1934.

> This is his photograph. Oh, my dear, beloved master!" (Š. Sodnomceren, 1916–?, Delgerexīn xürē, Darwi district, Xowd province).

Saints and reincarnation *(xutagt xuwilgān)* had even more disciples, the whole community of a monastery and the nearby area.

> "The famous reincarnating saint *Manjšir xutagt* had disciples in his monastery. Also his brothers. Monks lived alone in a building or residence with their disciples. Saints and reincarnations were exceptional!" (S. Gončig, 1909–2015, Tegšīn xürē, Cecen-Ūl district, Jawxan province; Bogdīn xürē, Ulānbātar, interview recorded in 2010).

Family Ties after Ordination

Many pre-novices studied in local monasteries, and later moved to other monasteries for further education, or to Urga, the monastic capital city which had the most monastic schools.

> "Near our Mengetīn xīd Monastery was a caravan route. I came to Urga with the caravan wearing my monk robes. I liked Urga at first sight! I wasn't homesick, and did not think about going back to my family. I did not have such thoughts as I had left my home and took ordination" (D. Gončig, 1916–2010, Mengetīn xīd, Lūs district, Dundgow' province).

Family ties remained by and large, even over great distances: from time to time family members visited their monk relatives or monks returned home to their parent monasteries after obtaining philosophical degrees in Urga. The Mongols, especially men (including monks) respect their mothers and try to express their thankfulness in every moment of life. Monks try to return the endless maternal love by attaining enlightenment to help all other beings.

> "Gandan Monastery in Urga had strict monastic regulations and only monks lived there. Parents and family members came only for veneration. They could enter the monastic area accompanied by a sentinel. A severe "police force" operated at Gandan. Women followed the sentinel, prostrated, and left. They could meet their monk relatives at the large prayer wheels that surrounded the monastic area. They had a common meal from the food these relatives brought from the countryside. They left the other food for the monks" (S. Gončig, 1909–2015,

Tegšīn xürē, Cecen-Ūl district, Jawxan province; Bogdīn xürē, Ulānbātar, interview recorded in 2009).

Monks and pious devotees had fundamental roles in saving Buddhist idols during socialism:

"The majority of sacred texts were burnt during the era of persecution. Some monks hid sacred items in mountains and caves. The statues and accessories that remained could not have been on display during socialism. My mother hid such items in her 'woman box'. Some women preserved sacred books and other items in this way: they placed the religious items into their private boxes called 'the box at the leg' as these sat at the end of the bed. It contained women's stockings, boots, trousers, and other personal belongings. According to Mongolian customs, outsiders cannot even touch it. Therefore, women hid sacred items into these boxes as nobody could check their contents" (Š. Tügǰ, 1923–2014/2015, Ȫld beisīn xürē, Öljīt district, Arxangai province).[20]

2. Monastic Life at the Turn of the 21st Century

Former monks in 1990

During socialism Gandantegčenlin xīd Monastery operated with restrictions as the only functioning Buddhist monastery in Mongolia. However, after the democratic changes in 1990, many of the monks from the early 20th century began to dress in their monk robes again and to join the reopened monasteries.

"I joined Jǖn xürē Daščoilin xīd Monastery in Ulaanbaatar in 1990, at the age of 83. I wished to become a monk again. I came to the monastery and talked to the abbot, Dambaǰaw. He asked questions about my former monastery and my duties there, and advised me to revisit him after three days. He said, 'Arrange the case of your party membership and come back in three days'. I gave my party approval back to a person called Cōdol, the head of the party branch, bought red cotton in the State Department Store for an *orximǰ* scarf to wear on my shoulders. I came back to the monastery wearing a monk's robe: a *dēl* gown lined with cotton pad. This was my first monastic robe, so I love it very much. After I was told to come

[20] Interview recorded on 3 November, 2010 in Lamrim dacan Monastery in Ulaanbaatar. The informant answered the questions of Claire A. Whitaker, an exchange student with Students of International Training Program from Saint Michael`s College, Vermont, USA, who conducted research on 'Mongolian Buddhism during socialism'.

Fig. 1. An old monk, Ven. L. Išǰamc and his disciple. Gandantegčenlin xīd Monastery, Ulānbātar 2010.

back in three days, my wife sewed a toneless *dēl* gown for me and cut her hair [i.e. she became a *čawganc* nun]. I asked my daughter to sew a new gown, and I joined the ceremonies here in September. Twenty old monks belonged to the monastery at that time, but no children" (C. Dašdorǰ, 1908–2015, Xutagt lamīn xīd, Saixan-Owō district, Dundgow' province).

Pre-novices in 1990

The old monks reopened, rebuilt, newly built temples and joined Buddhist assemblies, and announced the enrolment of novices. In accordance with the old Buddhist tradition, many families devoted one of their sons to monasticism. These pre-novices, having been teenagers in 1990, are 40–50 years old by now. They have great responsibilities in the maintenance of Mongolian Buddhism as their old masters have now all passed away.

> "I was born in Bulgan province, Büregxangai district in 1979. I have three older brothers, a younger brother and a younger sister. My parents were Buddhists. My mother had many monk relatives in former times. Religious practices were freed again after the democratic changes, and our parents taught us the basic Buddhist practices: how to use a rosary *[erx barix],* recite mantras *[mān' unšix],* and prostrate oneself *[mörgöl xīx].* The statuette of the Green Tārā, the saviouress stood at our home altar. My parents performed smoke-offerings, tea and food offerings to the Buddhas at the Lunar New Year at home and at the nearby *owō*. My parents strictly followed the old traditions. A former monk of our local, ruined monastery, who later became my master, participated in the revival of J̄ūn xürē Daščoilin xīd Monastery in Ulaanbaatar in 1990. After returning home in 1991 he reopened our local monastery, J̄ūn günī xürē Šaddüwdarǰālin xīd on 13 June 1991. Monks started the services and announced the enrolment of pre-novices. Local elderly people often said that a monk would be born in my family. As a child I observed curiously the happenings at the reopened assembly. After watching the monks, I imitated them at home, taking a shoulder scarf and a monastic hat. My master to be visited us and my father introduced me to him 'This is my son who would be a monk.' My master replied 'Welcome! He is such a cute boy. He will definitely be a good monk.' My grandfather shaved my head, and my mother sewed my monastic robe. We visited the master and I took ordination in front of him at the age of 12 or 13. My monastic name became Šīrawǰamc. Monks did not move to the monastery at that time as it operated in a yurt, at a 2 or 3 km distance from the district centre. We lived in the district centre, so I took my monastic bag and went to the monastery every single day on foot. Later, a temple building was built but children stayed with their families. After ordination a monk should follow his master's instructions. As we, pre-novices were only 12 or 13 years old at that time, our master did not teach details on Buddhist philosophy to us. He taught that we were to have to respect, love and protect the Buddha's teaching. He talked about the history of Buddhism and the history of our monastery. The most special knowledge that we obtained from him was the proper way of life of a Buddhist monk. You know, family ties have primary importance in Mongolian

Fig. 2. Ven. M. Nandinbātar during the *Cam* masked dance. Jūn xürē Daščoilin xīd Monastery, Ulānbātār 2019.

society. The immediate family lives in a yurt, so all events and conversations are shared. We respect our elders and help children. This harmonious lifestyle still exists in Mongolian rural areas where people live from keeping livestock. Therefore, nomads are open-hearted and love sentient beings. In former times, if someone became a monk he moved to his master's yurt. The master trained him in Tibetan texts, and the disciple ran his household *[Bagšīnxā gal togōg barix]* by cooking, cleaning, and chopping firewood. Old monks lived in yurts even in the 2000s and their disciples assisted them, for example accompanied them to ceremonies. It is an old tradition: disciples receive the master's knowledge, i.e. Buddhism, and try to return his goodwill. Through these tasks we also get acquainted with labour which is beneficial. The master teaches only proper things to his disciples. Are you interested in how my master lived a righteous life? He woke up early in the morning, washed, and then cleaned the Buddhist equipment of his home altar. He offered tea and food offerings to the Buddha, then performed his morning prayers and prostrations. I have seen and learnt all this from living with him and assisting him. This is the right monastic behaviour! I have been a monk for almost 30 years. I arrived to Ulaanbaatar in 1996 and got

a BA degree at the Buddhist College, and an MA degree in religious sciences at the National University of Mongolia. I joined Jūn xürē Daščoilin xīd Monastery in Ulaanbaatar in 2000, first as a shrine-keeper, then the assistant of the abbot, the bookkeeper of the monastery, and a chanting monk. I have fulfilled the role of assistant to the abbot for more than ten years. I visited my local monastery in 1999, and my old master nominated me as *corǰ* [Tib. *chos rje*], and I have been the abbot of that rural monastery ever since. We built a new temple building in 2012 in the district centre, and I visit my monastery twice or three times a year for *owō* veneration and other services" (M. Nandinbātar, born 1979).

Pre-novices in contemporary times

Recruitment of the monk community is a pressing issue even nowadays. According to a law introduced a few years ago, besides monastic education, pre-novices must now receive the mandated general state education. Only the wealthiest monasteries have had the resources to employ private teachers. Consequently, the number of pre-novices have decreased in many monasteries in recent years as they have had to enrol in state schools. What follows here is the accounts of four pre-novices (aged 14–18) who study in the Tantric monastic school *(J̌üd dacan*, Tib. *rgyud grwa tshang)* of Gandantegčenlin xīd Monastery and live in its dormitory:[21]

"I expressed my wish to become a monk to my parents when I was pupil. They visited their master, who suggested that I study some more classes in primary school and meet him again when I reached 12. So, I took lay vow from that master when I was 12, and after two or three years of study in this tantric monastic school I took ordination in front of Jhado rinpoche" (C. Lxagwadorǰ, 18).

"A monk was recruiting in our province, Xöwsgöl, and my grandmother liked the idea of sending me to a monastery. I thought it over and agreed to become a monk. I was preparing to leave my home, but my father did not agree with it. Three years passed, and I joined this tantric monastic school at the age of 8 and took ordination" (L. Mönxbātar, 14).

"My parents are Buddhists. They often recited mantras, but could not teach me Buddhist theory. They still live in the countryside, so we do not really keep in

[21] I am grateful to Luwsancolmon nun who kindly organized the interview, and the master of the four pre-novices who kindly permitted the interview.

touch. I visit them for the summer holiday as the monastery allows us to go home for holidays such as the *nādam*[22] festival" (C. Ganjorig, 14).

"My parents live in Ulaanbaatar, so they often visit me or I go home at the weekends. We can ask for permission to leave from the master. Small children at the age of five or six usually spend a week in the monastery, and a week at home. I keep in touch with my family by phone, too, as after the age of 16 we can possess mobile phones" (C. Lxagwadorǰ, 18).

"A seamstress sewed our first monastic robes. We had to offer a silken scarf *[xadag,* Tib. *kha btags],* a butter-lamp *[jul]* and an incense stick *[xüǰ]* to the master at the time of ordination. Taking ordination means that someone becomes a new person. Our clothing, hairstyle, and outer appearance totally change. We have not taken the novice vows yet, but are only pre-novices. Our main vows include avoiding the ten false deeds[23] and to perform the ten virtuous deeds.[24] Three objects, namely the rosary *[erx],* the bowl *[tagš],* and sacred texts *[sudar,* S. *sūtra]* are inseparable from a monk. Monastic life is great! We recite and memorize texts with the other children. We learn marvellous things: first, the Tibetan alphabet, then sacred texts by heart. We recite and translate Buddhist texts. Later, we can study philosophical texts, tantric texts, and meditation texts. Monks have various tasks: recitation of sacred texts for the benefit of all sentient beings, accumulating merits, performing compassionate deeds, and attaining enlightenment to help all others" (C. Lxagwadorǰ, 18).

"We wake up at 6am on weekdays and 7am at weekends. We memorize texts in the morning. Then, we gather in the temple to hold the ceremony with the other monks from 9–11am. We have a short rest around noon, than start the classes of general education. School teachers visit us to hold lessons on Mongolian language and literature, English language, and Mathematics. These lessons take two or three hours in the afternoon. Then, we memorize and recite sacred texts again. We go to sleep at 10pm" (L. Mönxbātar, 14).

"Certainly, we can play with other children, for instance our younger siblings. We also have common ceremonies with the pre-novices of other monastic schools. If

[22] National sport festival of the Mongols, including wrestling, horseracing and archery.

[23] Three sins of the body: killing, theft, lust; four sins of the speech: lying, censorious speaking, rude speaking, gossip; three sins of the mind: greed, animosity, false theories.

[24] Three virtuous of the body: avoidance of killing, theft and lust; four virtuous of the speech: telling truth, not to speak censoriously, soft speaking, not to gossip; three virtuous of mind: contentment, compassion, right views.

Tibetan rinpoches visit our monastery, we participate in their lectures. Some of them have arrived specifically visiting our temple, for instance Kushog rinpoche, the Dalai Lama and Jhado rinpoche" (C. Lxagwadorǰ, 18).

"Gandantegčenlin monastery has three philosophical monastic schools and a Kālacakra monastic school. Our monastic school, the tantric monastic school is specialized in secret, tantric teachings *[ag tarnī yos, nūc tarnī yos]*. We chant the prayers included in the *Šarǰün* [or *Šarǰin*, Tib. *zhar byung*] textbook on a daily basis. We recite the short version of the *Guhyasamāja tantra [Sanduin ǰüd,* Tib. *gsang 'dus kyi rgyud]* every day. Monthly ceremonies include the *Sanduin dagǰid* [Tib. *gsang 'dus bdag skyed*], a detailed ceremony of Guhyasamāja on the 15th, and the ceremony of the Dharmapālas on the 29th and 30th days of the lunar month. In addition, we perform *Širnen düdeg* [Tib. *sher snying bdud bzlog*] exorcist rite on certain days such as the 9th and 19th days of the lunar month. Ceremonies last longer on these feast days. For instance, on the day of exorcist rites we recite *Šarǰün* in the morning, than we prepare the offering cakes, and begin the ceremony at 6 pm. Our temple has a community of 50 monks: some are fully-ordained and others novices, and 34 are pre-novices or children. Ranking monks direct the temple: the *lowon* [Tib. *slob dpon*] master, the disciplinarian, and the chanting master" (C. Lxagwadorǰ, 18).

"I am a shrine keeper in our temple, so I prepare and change the offerings and offering cakes on the altar" (C. Ganjorig).

"Our master *[nomīn bagš, nom jādag bagš]* took novice vows and lives with us. He prescribes for us what to learn. We repeat the memorized text to him, and he teaches the melodies, revises our handwriting, and instructs how to play the ceremonial musical instruments. We have to keep his instructions. He decides whether our actions are proper and merciful or not. Our parents do not have any say in how we live as novices. We have a lesson about appropriate life-style, and our dormitory has special rules including cleaning. The master does not teach us in a class but deals with us separately, exlusively. First, we memorize the prayers of the daily chanting of our Gandantegčenlin xīd Monastery *[Cogčin sudar*, Tib. *tshogs chen],* then the daily chanting of our monastic school called *Šarǰün*. Afterwards, we start to learn by heart the texts of the Dharmapālas and the texts of the annual ceremonies. Naturally, we can recite the unknown texts from books, but then we have to learn and recite them by heart. Sometimes we visit households with our master for special requests to perform rituals" (C. Lxagwadorǰ, 18 and the others).

Fig. 3. Ven. L. Mönxbātar in ordinary robes during the excursion in Xöwsgöl province in 2017.

“The monastery provides the meal(s) for the monastic community. Monastic tea is called *manj* [Tib. *mang ja*], and meal is called *caw* [Tib. *tsha ba*]. We usually eat rice with milk *[bres*, Tib. *'bras zas]*. Sometimes our relatives bring dairy products from the countryside, and faithful donors offer fruits, beverage, biscuits, and candies. Monks over 16 receive a wage from the monastery. We also go out for excursions every year. Three years ago we participated in Jhado rinpoche's teaching in Xöwsgöl province, and in this year in the *Cam* dances in Xöwsgöl and Töw provinces” (C. Lxagwadorǰ, 18, M. Mönxbātar, 14).

“Currently, seven or eight monks study in India, in Gyume Dratsang. Most of them are adult monks. After their arrival we can go there for five-year studies” (C. Lxagwadorǰ).

“If someone would like to become a monk we definitely support his decision. We hope that our parents are proud of us” (four pre-novices together).

Monks' Tasks

Monks practice Buddhism and mightily support the life of their own families and others' families.

> "In my opinion, enrolment of children has great importance to maintain the Buddhist monastic tradition. However, according to the education law children under 16 cannot leave school, but should study both in the monastery and in primary school. Such a possibility is rare, thus pre-novices' number decreased in the recent years. If someone aims to become a monk, he visits a monastery to meet the monks. First, he begins to learn the Tibetan alphabet and memorize basic Buddhist prayers at home, guided by a master. If the child has some talent in memorization he can continue learning. As we know all children are naive and innocent. Similarly, pre-novices never experience difficulties: they run to the ceremony, memorize sacred texts, drink and eat in the monastery. They do not have other thoughts. Difficulties start when they enter adulthood. For instance, children do not have to pay for travelling on the bus until 16, but then they need to buy a ticket. The question arises how they can gain money to finance their travelling and clothing, whether their families give money to them or not. Living inside the monastery is better to practice monasticism. Taking ordination means that someone leaves his family, leaves his home for homelessness. Accordingly, if someone made the decision to be a monk, it is better to leave his home and family and move to a monastery. Repressing personal wishes and following the master's instructions are easier within the walls of the monastery. If someone stays with his family, difficulties arise: he is not fully a civilian, nor fully monastic. As for me, I have various responsibilities in my own family, and in others' families, too. Regarding my own family,[25] we are in daily contact. I have to fulfil all duties related to Buddhism. My family members ask for my advice in decision making, and I help them as much as I can, reciting sacred texts for appropriate circumstances, in the case of choosing a school, moving, and the proper date of a hair-cutting ceremony.[26] Regarding society, Buddhist practices of the 1990s differ from those of present day. In 1990 Buddhism still lived in people's heart, thus the revival of Buddhism became successful. Since then, the old, faithful people have all passed away, but the younger generation started to be interested in Buddhism. They have many questions about Buddha's views on the important questions of life. The young generation uses the internet, and in instances where they have further questions they can come to the monastery, join Buddhist centres and foundations. I think that family, old traditions and

[25] Family means all close and distant relatives.

[26] A boy's hair is first cut at the age of 3 or 5, and girl's hair is first cut at the age of 2 or 4.

innovation are all important. Mongolian customs cannot be understood without Buddhism. A monks' main task is to help sentient beings and spread the teaching of the Buddha. A Buddhist family should practice Buddhism on a daily basis, day by day like water flowing. As it is natural to wash in the morning, we have to clean Buddhist items and make tea or water offerings to the Buddha. Reciting mantras, praying in front of the Buddhist images and getting blessings for the work and life of family members are essential. Besides these, we have to confess the misdeeds we committed during the day. Buddhists or sympathizers can visit the monasteries anytime for prostration and veneration and can also invite monks to their homes to talk about the Buddhist doctrine, to ask for advice, or to make recitals of sacred texts. Astrology composes an ancient science in Buddhism, so people often ask the monks for advice regarding their lives, their children's lives, proper and improper decisions on marriage, moving, hair-cutting, and other important events of life" (M. Nandinbātar, born 1979).

Conclusion

The interviews revealed similarities and differences in monastic life at the beginning and at the end of the 20th century. These have historical reasons: politics, society, economics, and religious practices changed during socialism, and Buddhism could not attain its previous, absolute, dominant role in the last thirty years that have passed since the democratic changes.

Monks' vows and living circumstances also changed over the century: monks lived mostly alone in a yurt or with their disciples a century ago, but nowadays only few monasteries have a dormitory, where mainly pre-novices coming from the countryside live. Even fully ordained monks share a household with their families (e.g. father and mother). On the other hand, family has always had a great role in the life of Mongolian monks, and family members still support their monk relatives, supply the monastic communities by giving alms. We can conclude that traditions and innovations which exist in parallel assist the development of Mongolian Buddhism.

Due to the law on general education, recruitment is a problematic issue. However, thanks to the master-disciple relations, the efforts of recruiting monks, and study possibilities in Tibetan monasteries in India, it is unquestionably possible to maintain and spread Mongolian Buddhism. All monks work for it: recently recognized young members of old reincarnation lineages, fully-ordained monks, novices returning from India and others might allow Buddha's teachings to flourish again.

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Rites of Passages: Examples on Birth and Wedding Rituals

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Matrimonial Typology in the Mongolian Heroic Epic, *J̌angγar*

1. Introduction to the *J̌angγar* Epic

The Mongolian epic (Mong. *tuuli*, Kalm. *dūlwr*, *bātrlγ tūl'*, *ayistē tūl'*, Khal. Oir. *tūl'*, *bātrlγ tūli*, Bur. *ül'ger*)[1] is probably the most significant genre of Mongolian folk literature. The Mongolian heroic epic, *J̌angγar* (Mong. *J̌angγar*, *J̌ingγar*, Kalm. *J̌angγr*) is a traditional, long, oral narrative and one of the most typical and prominent epics of the Mongols. The main content of *J̌angγar* describes the story of orphan J̌angγar qaγan and his twelve main heroes as well as thousands of warriors who fought against enemies to protect their homeland. They established the ideal kingdom, *Bumba* that was like paradise: a place without war, disease, and hunger, but with evergreen grasslands, abundant in herds and flocks. This epic is not only a performance or product of people aiming to achieve well-being and protection through odes to heroes and ancestors, but also reflects the life of Mongolian people.

From 1802 to 1803, the German missionary B. Bergmann was retold long chapters from the *J̌angγar* by Kalmyks on the banks of the River Volga and published a summary of the stories in German in 1804 and 1805.[2] According to our present knowledge, B. Bergmann was the first man to introduce this Mongolian heroic epic to the world. In 1864 K. F. Goltunsky published two manuscripts of *J̌angγar* written in Mongolian clear script (Mong. *todo bičig*), collected in Astrakhan,[3] and which is the first version recorded in the world in one variant of Mongolian scripts. Regarding *J̌angγar* studies, the Russian scholar B. Ja. Vladimircov studied the emergence, formation, transmission and variations of

[1] Birtalan 2011: 39.
[2] Bergmann 1804: 205–214; Bergmann 1805: 183–214.
[3] Голстунский 1864: 8–74.

J̌angγar first.[4] Since then, the scholars of more than twenty countries including Russia, Germany, Mongolia, Hungary, the UK, France, Finland, and Japan have studied *J̌angγar*, from the perspectives of language, history, literature, religion, culture, and so on. Clearly, the theme of *J̌angγar* has become the subject of international interest.[5]

2. The Main Motifs of Matrimony in Mongolian Epics

The following scholars studied the structure and pattern of the Mongolian heroic epics and reached the consensus that matrimony forms a body of richly patterned motifs within these epics. N. N. Poppe, one of the founders of studies in Mongolian heroic epics, was the first researcher to establish the *J̌angγar*'s typology based on Khalkha materials.[6] He divided the epic into four categories: 1. The hero fights and defeats the enemy; 2. The hero goes through three "manly competitions" and gets married; 3. The hero is revitalized by super-natural power; 4. The hero and his son defeat the enemy. In 1978, Russian scholar A. S. Kichikov divided the heroic epic into 12 parts in his article, of which parts 7–10 are related to the hero's matrimony:[7] 7. Getting information on the hero's destined wife; 8. The hero goes to remote places to find his destined wife; 9. The hero fights for his destined wife; 10. Encountering obstacles while going home with the wife. In 1978, German scholar W. Heissig divided the storyline structure into 14 categories based on the analysis of many Mongolian heroic epics, dividing it into several further types and motifs. The 12th and the 13th categories are about the marriage of heroes, with the 12th category divided into 7 subcategories and 36 motifs, and the 13th category divided into 3 subcategories.[8] The Chinese scholar

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[4] Vladimircov – Krueger 1983–84: 5–58.

[5] Sečenmöngle et al. 2018: 1–9.

[6] Поппе 1937: 74–84.

[7] Кичиков 1978: 3–6.

[8] Further expression about the 12th and 13th categories: 12. Courtship: 12.1. Land of the bride; 12.2. Residence (yurt, palace); 12.3. Herd ownership; 12.4. Bride; 12.5. Bride's parents; 12.6. Marriage proposal (12.6.1. rough behavior of the groom; 12.6.2. reference to pre-engagement of children [süi] / declaration of intent; 12.6.3. riddles; 12.6.4. refused by the bride's father; 12.6.5. trying to find a way to approach the bride; 12.6.6. the men compete for the bride); 12.7. Competition (12.7.1. wrestling: 12.7.1.1. wrestler; 12.7.1.2. description of the wrestling; 12.7.1.3. forms of victory; 12.7.2. archery: 12.7.2.1. distance; 12.7.2.2. goals; 12.7.2.3. tensioning the bow; 12.7.2.4. shot; 12.7.3. horse race: 12.7.3.1. distance [race track]; 12.7.3.2. participants [riders and horses]; 12.7.3.3. use strategy; 12.7.4. The bride's parents raised other obstacles: 12.7.4.1. fight against a phoenix; 12.7.4.2. fight against seven blue wolves; 12.7.4.3. Mongγol köke buq-a [blue Mongolian bull, the embodiment of mangγus monster]; 12.7.4.4. search for horses etc; 12.7.5. Parents' lists: 12.7.5.1. attempted murder with poison; 12.7.5.2. stop; 12.7.5.3. falling into

Rinčindorǰi classified it into two types: single-round and multi-round (a series type and a parallel type). He pointed out that the Mongolian epic is comprised of two types of fighting and courtship.[9] The above-mentioned scholars studied the structure and pattern of the Mongolian heroic epics and reached the consensus that matrimony is a considerable pattern in Mongolian epics. In *J̌angγar,* Qongγor is one of the people's favorite characters: the story of his marriage has been disseminated in the various regions where Mongolians live.

3. Variants of Qongγor's Matrimony in *J̌angγar* Epic

At present, there are more than twenty variants of the chapters of Qongγor's marriage. Its main motifs can be summarized as follows: At J̌angγar qaγan's suggestion, Qongγor married a girl who was an evil (demonic) woman. After Qongγor figured out her real nature, he killed her and started to look for his destined wife. Qongγor eventually overcame the three "manly competitions" and married the destined girl.

3.1. Kalmyk version

The *Ten Chapters of J̌angγar* sang by Ēlyan Owla, was published with Kalmyk script lithograph in Saint Petersburg in 1910 (Mong. *Taki J̌ula qaani üldül Tangsaγ Bumba qaani ači Üǰüng Aldar qaani köbün üyiyin önčin Bjangγariyin arban bölüg*) by the initiation and with the financial support of W. Kotwicz. D. Taya transcribed it into written Mongolian and published it in 2012. In this version, there is a chapter about Qongγor's marriage entitled The Chapter of 'Qongγor's Marriage' (Oir. *Qongγoriyin ger abalγani bölüg*).[10]

3.2. Khalkha version

U. Jagdasüren collected the versions of *J̌angγar* from various regions of Mongolia and Tuva, and published them in Ulaanbaatar in 1978. There is a chapter

a pit; 12.7.5.4. messengers, servants of the parents / lies; 12.7.5.5. penalties for failure to perform the task). 13. Wedding: 13.1. Blessings of the parents / consent; 13.2. Dowry; 13.3: Wedding celebration. Cf. Heissig 1979: 9–27.

[9] 仁钦道尔吉 Ren qin dao er ji 2001: 50.

[10] The Kalmyk edition was published in 1910 by W. Kotwicz in Saint Petersburg on the basis of the J̌angγar told by the Kalmyk bard Ēlyan Owla in 1910. In this essay, I will quote from the version that transcribed in written Mongolian (Taya 2012).

about Qongγor's marriage, 'Qongγor, Well-known in the World' (Mong. *Ayanan aldartu ayalγan Qongγor*),[11] which was recorded from the *J̌angγar* performer (Mong. *J̌angγarči*) G. Odo of Khöwsgöl Province.

3.3. Xinjiang versions

Six different versions were collected in Xinjiang, China. Some of them have only one chapter related to Qongγor, whilst others have several relevant parts.

(1) *Manuscripts of J̌angγar* (Vols. 1–12): In 1979, the *J̌angγar* Collection Office was set up in Xinjiang. They recorded *J̌angγar* from the areas of Bayanγool and Bortala in Xinjiang. The twelve volumes of the Manuscripts of *J̌angγar* were published in Mongolian clear script based on these collected materials from 1979 to 1996. There are five chapters related to Qongγor's marriage.

Vol. 3. 'The Chapter of Lion-like Qongγor Married Düdbür Sira Način, Lost His Blood-red Horse and Defeated Dombo Bars' Qaγan (Mong. *Araslang-un Araγ Qongγor Düdbür Sir-a Način-i abču burqan saiqan ǰegerte-ban aldaγulǰu abuγad Dombo Bars qaγan-i daruγsan bölüg*).[12] It was recorded from the *J̌angγar* performer G. Basai of Hejing County in 1980.

Vol. 5. The chapter 'Lion-like Qongγor Captured Torγon J̌iluγu Qaγan and His Territory, Married the Daughter of Kögsin J̌ambal Qaγan and Occupied the Territory of the Three Large Enemies' (Mong. *Araslang-un Araγ Qongγor Torγon J̌iluγu qaγan-i gele bariǰu, tegün-ü nutuγ-i olǰalaγad, basa Kögšin J̌ambal qaγan-u keüken-i qatun kiǰü, γurban yeke mangγus-un nutuγ-i olǰalaǰu iregsen bölüg*).[13] It was recorded from the *J̌angγar* performer Aǰaγa of Bortala in 1980.

Vol. 10. The chapter of 'Red Qongγor Married the Little Daughter of Kürel J̌ambul Qaγan' (Mong. *Odoqan Ulaγan Qongγor Kürel J̌ambul qaγan-u Otqon Dagini lai gerlegsen bölüg*).[14] It was recorded from the *J̌angγar* performer Büdibaǰar of Bortala in 1986.

Vol. 11. The chapter of 'Qongγor with Marbled Yellow Horse Killed Alaγači Talaγači Asar J̌andan Qaγan, and Married His Daughter, Otqon Qaraγči Dagini' (Mong. *Гandiγ qula mori-tai γalsang-un ulaγan Qongγor Alaγači Talaγači Asar J̌andan qaγan-i alaγad Otqon Qaraγči Dagini-yi ni ǰalaγsan bölüg*).[15] It was recorded from the *J̌angγar* performer Doki in Bortala in 1978. Also, the chapter of 'Little Red Qongγor Married Güsi J̌andan Čečeg Who is the Daughter of

[11] Загдасүрэн 1978: 69–82.
[12] *J̌angγar-un eke materiyal* (γurba) 3. 1985: 285–326.
[13] *J̌angγar-un eke materiyal* (tabu) 5. 1985: 209–237.
[14] *J̌angγar-un eke materiyal* (arba) 10. 1992: 405–498.
[15] *J̌angγar-un eke materiyal* (arban nige) 11. 1996: 455–511.

Alaγači Qaγan' (Mong. *Otqon Ulaγan Qongγor Alaγači qaγan-u keüken Güsi J̌andan Čečeg-i ǰalaǰu abuγsan bölüg*).[16] It was recorded from the *J̌angγar* performer Gerbü in Bortala in 1980.

(2) The Manuscript of J̌uunai's *J̌angγar*: J̌uunai, a famous bard of Qoboγsayir, Xinjiang, presented D. Taya with his Mongolian clear script manuscripts of *J̌angγar* written down by himself from 1983–1999. D. Taya prepared these materials in written Mongolian and published them in 2006. A chapter describes the marriage of Qongγor, namely the chapter of 'Red Qongγor's Marriage Who is a Hero of the Bumba Kingdom' (Mong. *Bumba-yin oron-u baγatur Burǰin Ulaγan Qongγor örgöge örgögelegsen bölüg*).[17]

(3) *Publication of J̌angγar Studies*: classical texts of *J̌angγar* sung by a Chinese *J̌angγar* performer: the anthology of *J̌angγar* sung by the bard from Ili, Xinjiang. It contains 21 chapters of the *J̌angγar*. Mandarwa sorted out those chapters with Mongolian clear script and published it in Xinjiang in 2009. In this version, there is one chapter dedicated to Qongγor's marriage recorded from bard B. Nasunka of Mongγolküriye County: The chapter of 'Red Qongγor's Marriage Who is the Grandson of Böke Mönggün Sigsirge and the Son of a Lion (Wrestler)' (Mong. *Böke Mönggön Sigsirge-yin ači arslang-un köbegün Araγ Ulaγan Qongγor-un ger abulγa-yin bölüg*).[18]

(4) *J̌angγar* (Vols. 1–3): It includes the original records of epic singers and was compiled by the Xinjiang Folk Artists Association according to the dictation of the Xinjiang *J̌angγar* performer original audio tape, recorded in the late 1970s.

Vol. 1. 1). The chapter of 'Qongγor, the Son of Böke Mönggün Sigsirge Took the Head of Geleg J̌ambul Qaγan and Married the Daughter of Alaγači Qaγan' (Mong. *Böke Mönggün Sigsirge-yin köbegün Qongγor Geleg J̌ambul qaγan-u toloγai-yi abču Alaγači qaγan-u keüken-i mordaγulǰu iregsen bölüg*).[19] 2). It was recorded from the *J̌angγar* performer B. Wčir of Bustunaγur County in 1980. The chapter of 'Lion-like Red Qongγor Defeated Dombo Bars Qaγan' (Mong. *Arslan-u Araγ Ulaγan Qongγor Dombo Bars qaγan-i daruγsan bölüg*).[20] It was recorded from the *J̌angγar* performer G. Basai of Hejing County in 1982. 3). The chapter of 'The Holy J̌angγar Attacked Sira Gerel Qaγan' (Mong. *Boγda noyan J̌angγar Sira Gerel qaγan-i dayilaγsan bölüg*).[21] It was recorded from the *J̌angγar* performer Basangqara of Nilqa County in 1985.

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[16] *J̌angγar-un eke materiyal* (arban nige) 11. 1996: 7–139.

[17] Taya 2006: 46–89.

[18] Mandarwa 2009: 303–327.

[19] *J̌angγar* (nige) 1. 2013: 643–675.

[20] *J̌angγar* (nige) 1. 2013: 676–692.

[21] *J̌angγar* (nige) 1. 2013: 55–174.

Vol. 3. The chapter of 'Little Red Qongγor Married Gilbaγa Dalba Güüsi J̌andan Čečeg, the Daughter of Alaγači Talaγači Aral-tai Qaγan' (Mong. *Otqon Ulaγan Qongγor Alaγači Talaγači Aral-tai Qaγan-u Keüken Gilbaγa Dalba Güüsi J̌andan Čečeg-i ǰalaγsan bölüg*).[22] It was recorded from the *J̌angγar* performer Saγǰai of Rasiyan County in 1980.

(5) The 23 Chapters of P. Arimpil's *J̌angγar*: This academic text of the *J̌angγar* epic includes 23 chapters sang by the famous bard P. Arimpil, which involves five chapters recorded by Čoiǰongǰab, 17 chapters recorded by D. Taya, and 1 chapter collected by O. Taibung. D. Taya published it in 2013. There are two chapters related to Qongγor's marriage: a whole chapter, namely the chapter of 'Qongγor's Marriage' (Mong. *Qongγor-un ger abulγa-yin bölüg*)[23] and an incomplete chapter, the chapter of 'Qongγor's Marriage' (Mong. *Qongγor-un ger abulγa-yin bölüg*).[24]

(6) *Bayanγool J̌angγar* (Vols. 1–3): The three-volume manuscript of *Bayanγool J̌angγar* was edited both in Mongolian clear script and traditional Mongolian script by B. Möngke, Xiong Fu Ma, Amǰilta, and Naranγuwa in 2015. It includes material from the counties of Hejing, Yanji, Qosiγud, and Bostunaγur. There are six chapters related to the marriage of Qongγor:

Vol. 1. The chapter of 'Qongγor's Marriage' (Mong. *Qongγor-un ger abulγan-u bölüg*),[25] which was recorded from *J̌angγar* performer Liǰai of Hejing County in 1982.

Vol. 2. 1). The chapter of 'The Married Qongγor and his Son, Qosiγon's Defeat on Malai Qabqa Qaγan' (Mong. *Silbi-yin ulaγan Qongγor gerlegsen ba Qongγor-un köbegün Qosiγon Malai Qabqa qaγan-i daruγsan bölüg*).[26] It was recorded from the *J̌angγar* performer Basang of Hejing County in 1980. 2). The Chapter of 'Red Qongγor's Defeat on Qara Kükül Qaγan' (Mong. *Silbi-yin Ulaγan Qongγor Qara Kükül qaγan-i daruγsan bölüg*).[27] It was recorded from the *J̌angγar* performer Busqumǰi of Hejing County in 1981.

Vol. 3. 1). The chapter of 'Qongγor Occupied Alaγači Qaγan and Married His Daughter Araqini Dagini' (Mong. *Qongγor Alaγači qaγan-u nutuγ-i oruγulǰu abuγad Araqini Dagini-yi ǰalaγsan bölüg*).[28] It was recorded from the bard Lireb of Qosiγud County in 1980. 2). The chapter of 'Qongγor's Defeat on Gelüg J̌ambul Qaγan' (Mong. *Qongγor Gelüg J̌ambul qaγan-i daruγsan bölüg*).[29] It was

[22] *J̌angγar* (γurba) 3. 2013: 458–497.
[23] Taya 2013: 150–209.
[24] Taya 2013: 210–226.
[25] *Bayanγool J̌angγar* (nige) 1. 2015: 228–417.
[26] *Bayanγool J̌angγar* (qoyar) 2. 2015: 841–945.
[27] *Bayanγool J̌angγar* (qoyar) 2. 2015: 412–500.
[28] *Bayanγool J̌angγar* (γurba) 3. 2015: 276–324.
[29] *Bayanγool J̌angγar* (γurba) 3. 2014: 226–246.

recorded from the *J̌angγar* performer J̌oǰon of Qosiγud County in 1983. 3). The chapter of 'Lion-like Red Qongγor's Defeat on Kögsin J̌ambul Qaγan' (Mong. *Arslan-u Araγ Ulaγan Qongγor Kögšin J̌ambul qaγan-i daruγsan bölüg*).[30] It was recorded from the *J̌angγar* performer N. Bulaγa of Yanǰai County in 1981.

4. Matrimony in the Story of Qongγor's Marriage

Various rites are held at important stages of a person's life including birth, adulthood, marriage, death, etc. These rite processes are defined as "rites of passage" by Arnold van Gennep,[31] as they help individuals to pass from one social group to another as their life progresses and embrace certain cultural norms. Regarding terminology P. S. Pallas,[32] B. Bergmann,[33] G. Bálint,[34] G. Kara,[35] Á. Birtalan and A. Rákos,[36] and many other scholars recorded and published available sources of Oirad-Mongolian weddings. As for the typologies of Mongolian marriage, J. Holmgren demonstrated the system of political marriages in the Mongolian empire and the Yuan dynasty (1206–1368),[37] and also explained the essence and functions of levirate and bride-price theories, and made assumptions on the marriage customs of the early Mongolian society.[38] G. Q. Zhao analyzed the Mongolian royal marriages of the Mongol Empire in his PhD dissertation, focusing on the characteristics and strategies of Mongolian royal marriages, and describing the various marriage relationships between the royal family of the Mongols and their marriage partners including the Onggirat, Ikires, Oirat, Öngüt tribes, the Korean royal family, and others.[39] P. Ratchnevsky pointed out that the Yuan dynasty introduced a dualistic levirate system to correspond to the relevant local situation: each nationality would have followed traditional marriage customs: Mongolians could have practiced levirate, but the Hans and southerners would not.[40] R. Pop summarized levirate and polygamy as typologies of matrimony existing for a long time in the ancient Mongolian society.[41] A. Sárközi

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[30] *Bayanγool J̌angγar* (γurba) 3. 2014: 121–149.
[31] Gennep 1960.
[32] Pallas 1801: 235–241.
[33] Bergmann 1804: 145–152.
[34] Birtalan 2011: 139–144.
[35] Kara 1997: 72.
[36] Birtalan – Rákos 2002: 83–86.
[37] Holmgren 1991: 58–97.
[38] Holmgren 1986: 127–192.
[39] Zhao 2008.
[40] Ratchnevsky 1968: 45–62.
[41] Pop 2010: 87–92.

introduced the history and current status of levirate based on Mongolian historical sources and modern Mongolian social phenomena experienced in Qaračin, Mongour, Ordos, and other areas.[42] The studies which came later indicate that scholars primarily focused on historical sources related to the royal clan and made a thorough inquiry into the forms of Mongolian traditional marriage.

In the Mongolian heroic epic *J̌angγar,* exogamy, monogamy, and bride-price appear as signs of preponderant matrimony system. What follows below is a description of these phenomena in different versions of Qongγor's marriage.

4.1. Un-destined wife

Un-destined wife (Mong. *birman süidü*) refers to a woman who married a hero, but she is not the destined one for him. *Birman* in this context means "evil, demon"; and from the word *süidü,* the *süi* steam means "betrothals, engagement"; and the suffix of adjective derivatives *-dü* is added. This noun refers to an engaged woman. This expression is fully demonstrated in the story of Qongγor`s marriage:

1. Motif of marrying an un-destined wife

The chapters on Qongγor's marriage starts with a woman called Sira Način as Qongγor's wife. Most of the chapters name J̌angγar qaγan as the person who chooses her to be Qongγor's wife. However, after getting married, Qongγor thought that Sira Način was not a proper spouse. As Altan Čegeǰi said:

Tödbör Način bolqul-a *belgegüsün-eče ni ögede-ben bolqul-a* *qorin dörben* *qoortan moγai-yin sinǰi büridügsen* *belgegüsün-eče ni uruγu-daγan bolqul-a* *qorin dörben šulum-un…* (*Bayanγool J̌angγar* 2005 [Vol. 1]: 237–238)[43]	Tödbör Način whose upper half of the body is twenty-four venomous snakes, lower half part of the waist is twenty-four demonic [characteristics]…

This motif also exists in the chapters of Qongγor's marriage, sung by Ēlyan Owla.

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[42] Sárközi 2006: 259–267.

[43] The collection, *Bayanγool J̌angγar,* was written in clear Mongolian script and traditional Mongolian script. In this essay, the traditional Mongolian edition is quoted.

γadar bey-e ni mön araqini mön bolba *ču dotor-a bey-e ni šolom-un düri-tei* *keüken bile.* (Taya 2012: 7)	Although she looks like a fairy from the outside, actually is an evil woman inside.

Sira Način was constructed as an image of an evil woman, one who is clearly not the perfect wife of a hero that people expected.

2. Motif of killing the un-destined wife

Qongγor had a bad dream in one morning:

Bum kürügsen *Bumba-yin oron* *butaraγsan bolǰu* *boγda noγan J̌angγarai* *olǰa-du yabuγsan bolǰu.* *Bumba-yin burqan saiqan ǰegerde ni* *tergen-ü arsi-du oruγsan bolǰu* *Qongγorai bey-e ni* *terge daγuγsan bolǰu ǰegüdün ni oruγad* (*Bayanγool J̌angγar* 2005 [Vol. 1]: 259–260)	The hundred-thousand-year-old Bumba palace has been disintegrated, the holy J̌angγar was caught by the enemy. The gorgeous red horse of Bumba is pulling the shafts of cart, Qongγor himself became the carter – these appeared in his dream

In ancient times, the main function of dreams was to anticipate the future.[44] In the Mongolian heroic epic, dreams similarly represent a prediction. Qongγor regarded his dream as a bad omen. He killed Sira Način and ran away from J̌angγar qaγan's court to find his destined wife. The motif of killing the un-destined wife by the hero is not only a pre-condition for finding one's destined wife, but also confirms monogamy in the *J̌angγar* epic.

4.2. Qongγor Pursues his Destined Wife

Destined wife (Mong. *ǰaγaγan-u süitü*), as the name suggests, becomes the real spouse of a hero. Some motifs of marriage rites appear in the process of finding the destined wife, which correlate to Mongolian traditional wedding customs, and also reflect features of exogamy, monogamy, and bride-price system.

44 Stevens 1997: 11–13.

1. Motif of marriage proposal

One such source is 'The Secret History of the Mongols', which refers to the marriage proposal (Mong. *uruγ duradqu*). It describes the great Chinggis Khan's father, Yisügei Baγatur, meeting Dei Sečen, while on the way to the Olqunud tribe for the courtship of his nine-year-old son. Dei Sečen says:

> "Quda Yisügei, I had a dream last night, I did. A white gyrfalcon clasping both sun and moon in its claws flew down to me and perched on my hand. I told the people about this dream of mine, saying, 'Before, when I looked, I could only see the sun and the moon from afar; now this gyrfalcon has brought them to me and has perched on my hand. He has alighted, all white. Just what sort of good thing does this show?' I had my dream, quda Yisügei, just as you were coming here bringing your son. I had a dream of good omen. What kind of dream is it? The august spirit of you, Kiyat people, has come in my dream and has announced your visit."[45]

Yisügei baγatur discontinued his trip and agreed with the marriage proposed by Dei Sečen. This is a famous example of acting in accordance with a dream metaphor. People firmly believed that a dream was an indicator of the future and a sacred inspiration coming from a supernatural power. In the *J̌angγar* epic, information relating to the destined bride was received in various ways, for instance, the hero has a dream early in the morning or predicted as an augur. According to the chapters of the marriage of Qongγor, he dreamed about a white hair old man who told him about the destined girl:[46]

Buγurul J̌ambal qaγan-u *J̌ula J̌andan gedeg üren bain-a* *egün-i* *aγuu yeke küčütei* *asar Ulaγan Qongγor köbegün* *abču gedeg* *ataγa möröi* *yamar saiqan kereg!* (Taya 2013: 165)	Buγurul J̌ambal qaγan has a daughter, whose name is J̌ula J̌andan. It is a wonderful thing if the great, powerful Red Qongγor marries her.

To take yet another example:

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[45] Rachewiltz 2013: 13.

[46] The destined girl in various chapters has different names. Cf. P. Arimpil: J̌ula Jandan; J̌. J̌uunai: J̌oo Jandan; Ēlyan Owla: Gerenǰil; Gerbü: Güüsi Jandan Čečeg.

ǯayaγan-u süitü čini bolbal… buγurul Ǯambal qan-u keüken Ǯoo Ǯandan-i örgögeledeg bolqula čini ene orčilang-du berke qobor, aldar čola ǰirγal edlene či. (Taya 2006: 55)	your destined wife is… Ǯoo Ǯandan, the daughter of Buγurul Ǯambal qan. If you marry her, there is nothing impossible and you will enjoy honor and happiness.

The hero went to a distant tribe in search of a destined wife. On the way, he faced many natural or man-made obstacles. Qongγor was not afraid of these difficulties and was not shaken by temptations. He persistently looked for the destined girl. To a certain extent, this motif embodies the characteristics of exogamy and monogamy in the *Ǯangγar* epic.

2. Motif of leaving a sign

Putting a sign (Mong. *temdeg talbiqu*) refers to mementos given by a hero as a token of love. In *The Secret History of the Mongols*, before Yisügei baγatur returned home, he left a horse as gift for Dei Sečen:

kötöl moriniyan belge ögčü, *Temüǰin-i küregete talbiǰu otču.*[47]	Then he gave him his spare horse as a pledge and went off, leaving Temüǰin as his son-in-law.[48]

This is an early phenomenon of the bride-price (Mong. *süi beleg*) system. A certain object was used as a symbol of engagement. This custom has gradually become a provision recognized by law. For example, in the *Oirat Code*, the corresponding bride-price enactments are proposed according to different classes.[49] In the chapters of the marriage of Qongγor:

ta nar-tu yamar temdeg bain-a ged *Alaγači qaγan suraqul-a ni:* *eǯen düni unuγuluγsan morin bolqul-a* *aduγun dotor-a ni bain-a* *yender esitei tongγoraγ ni* *abdar-a duni bain-a* *man-u öggügsen yaγuman tere gedeg* (*Bayanγool Ǯangγar* 2005 [Vol. 3]: 318)	What is your symbol? Alaγači qaγan asked them. A horse for the owner to ride among the horses, the knife with the long handle in the cupboard. We gave these things.

47 Bayar 1981: 112.
48 Rachewiltz 2013: 14.
49 Doronatib 1985. See the terms of 37–43.

In another version:

Alaγači qaγan-luγa *quda anda uruγ eligen boluγsan ulusud biden.* *minu temdeg bolbal* *aduγunduni talbiγsan boru morin čiki bain-a* *küisü-yi ni kerčigsen kituγa basa* *keüken-ü abdar-a-du bayidaγ bolqu* *minu temdeg tere gejü keledeg ni* *ene bile gen-e lai.* (*J̌angγar* 2013 [Vol. 1]: 650)	With Alaγači qaγan we are relatives by marriage. My symbols are a grey horse among the horses, the knife to cut off the umbilical cord in the cupboard of the girl. These are my symbols.

The word *temdeg* means "symbol, mark". In these two versions sang by bards Lireb and Anǰa from Bayanγool and Bortala counties, Xinjiang. A horse and a knife were given to the destined girl as tokens, and a symbol of their engagement. The bride-price system in the *J̌angγar* epic originated from the life of Mongolian people. Meanwhile, this system has been fully demonstrated and preserved in folklore.

4.3. The Hero's Competition

Matrimony by competition emerged with the development of exogamy. In this marriage system, men were not allowed to marry women within their own clan, but had to marry women from other clans who were of a different lineage.[50] The heroes of the *J̌angγar* epic, for instance, J̌angγar, Böke Mönggün Sigsirge, Qosiγun Ulaγan, Qaγan Siir, Kündü Γar-tu Sabar, and Qongγor all travelled afar to look for their destined wives, and overcame various obstacles to complete inter-clan matrimony. In order to make their own tribe more powerful, the chieftain (Mong. *qan*) would choose a son-in-law who came from a more powerful clan. In general, there were two ways of testing the power of contestants. The first is a common motif in the *J̌angγar* epic: heroes take part in the "three manly games" (Mong. *ere-yin γurban naγadum*), which include horseracing (Mong. *mori uralduqu*), archery (Mong. *sur qarbuqu*), and wrestling (Mong. *böke barilduqu*).[51] The other type is that the hero completes the challenges proposed

[50] Владимирцов 1934: 46.

[51] Bálint recorded the Kalmyk traditional custom of the "three manly games". This is one of the first records about these games and competitions, though in Bálint's material "stealing horse or livestock" belongs to this custom, as a challenge for the men's skills. Cf. Birtalan 2011: 148–149.

by his future father-in-law. The example below is from the Kalmyk version of the chapter of Qongγor's marriage sung by Ēlyan Owla:

Doγsin Čaγan J̌ula qaγan marγuγa kine bi tere marγuγa abuγsan tani keöke mini abuγtun kebe.	Doγsin Čaγan J̌ula qaγan said, My daughter will marry the one who wins in competitions.
Türügün marγuγan-du tabin bara γaǰar-tu urulduγa talbiγsan-du Sanal-un buγurul qalǰan külüg tasurqai tabin bara γaǰartu γarču irebe.	In the first competition of horse racing for fifty miles, Sanal's bald grey horse reached the final line first and got the win.
Qoyadaγči marγuγa ni sumu qarbulγan boluγsan-du J̌angγar-un mergen erke qara gedeg bodong saγuγsan-iyar-iyan oroγuluγad sanaγsan-iyar-iyan γarγaγad ataγa marγuγa abuba.	In the second competition of archery, J̌angγar's soldier Mergen Erke Qara was thinking deeply and as he expected, hit the target [easily].
Basa edür-ün sayin-du γurbadaγči marγuγa boluγad γurban naγur bulǰu saγuγad qoyar kürgen-i noolduγuluγ-a geǰü baina.[52] (Taya 2012: 28.)	After that, on a nice day people gathered for the third competition, let two candidates (Qongγor and his opponent) wrestle.

In the above example, in order to choose the most powerful son-in-law, the chieftain proposed three tasks. But it was not Qongγor who completed these three tasks alone. First of all, the hero Sanal won the horse racing competition; secondly, the hero Mergen Erke Qara won the archery competition; finally, Qongγor defeated his opponent in the wrestling competition. This confirmed that J̌ambal qaγan not only examined the strength of his son-in-law, but also tested the strength of the entire tribe.

Conclusion

There are various versions of Qongγor's marriage story recorded in the Kalmyk, Khalkha, and Xinjiang areas. To a certain extent, the motifs that appear in the chapters of Qongγor's marriage in the *J̌angγar* epic, explain the features of matrimony. The main points of Qongγor's matrimony are as follows:

[52] Taya 2012: 27–28.

Qongγor married two wives, but not at the same time. He killed the first, un-destined wife before looking for the destined one. Therefore, Qongγor's marriage complies with monogamy.

Bride-price marriage systems have been wide-spread in Mongolian society since the clan-period. This is verified by historical sources. Qongγor gave a horse and a knife as signs of his betrothal, which is evidence of the bride-price system in the epic *J̌angγar*.

The custom of competition for the bride is a wide-spread motif in the Mongolian epic and appears in the J̌angγar as well.

Traces of traditional exogamy are clearly reflected in the chapters about Qongγor. Exogamy is the most notable feature of the matrimonial system of the Mongolian heroic epic, *J̌angγar*.

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JUDIT BÉRES

Wedding Customs in Amdo, Eastern Tibet

Marriage and the customs associated with it are broadly similar in different Tibetan areas, although they can differ in detail just like folksongs and toasts accompanying these rituals and celebrations. The purpose of this paper is not to discuss these differences in detail, for as the Tibetan saying goes, "In each valley there is a spring, at each place there are different customs, in each village there are different dialects, in each family there is a different lifestyle",[1] and clearly this would require a larger volume of writing. Therefore, this paper will only give an overview of wedding customs, the structure of the wedding, and the folksongs and toasts, based on examples from some areas of Amdo, Eastern Tibet. Concerning Tibetan words, Wylie transliteration[2] is used.

For the purposes of this paper, a Tibetan wedding includes not only the act of marriage itself but also the events and customs related to the whole process – from the selection of a spouse to moving in a new family. Due to modernization in Tibet, wedding traditions have also been shortened and simplified from their original form, which often involved a process lasting several days or even weeks. However, this article doesn't deal with the changes brought about by modernization, instead focusing principally on an examination of the traditional structure of Tibetan weddings. Arranged marriage is peculiar to Tibetan families, although free will has also gained some ground in recent years. In the case of arranged marriage, the first thing that is looked at is whether the two families are a good fit regarding their wealth and social circumstances, and who the protector deities of the families are *(srung ma)*. For example,

[1] *Lung ba re la chu mig re / sa cha re la lugs srol re / sde ba re la bshad lugs re / khyim tshang re la 'gro lugs re/* Gcod pa – Snying bo 2004: 451.

[2] Wylie, Turrel V.: "A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* Vol. 22 (1959), Harvard-Yenching Institute, 261–267.

there can be grounds for refusal if one of the families respects Therang *(the'u rang),*[3] and the other Palden Lhamo *(dpal ldan lha mo)*[4] as protector deity.[5] When the family's background is examined, the presence of "body odor" *(gseb dri/bse dri)*[6] can be grounds for refusal as well. Marriage with other nationalities is not preferred, and especially so with those of other religions[7] – Muslims, Christians, Bon believers. Basically, marriages with Mongols are considered the least problematic, but most Tibetan people marry Tibetans.

Inter-clan marriage is also an area where restrictions can be imposed and varies from place to place. South of Kukunor *(mtsho lho)* in Serchen Dzong[8] *(gser chen rdzong)* it is permitted, but east of Kukunor *(mtsho shar)* in the Hualung[9] (Bayankhar) area *(dpa' lung/ba yan mkhar)* it is not possible to marry a cousin from the paternal side.[10] In Mangra[11] *(mang ra),* marriage from the same clan is not allowed.[12] Another custom is the preference for the parties to be of about the same age, and is especially favourable when the boy is slightly older. Birth dates must be examined with the assistance of an astrologer using three methods: mo divination,[13] astrological calculations and prophecy *(mo rtsis lung gsum).* Although the calculations are derived from a very complex system, the results showing incompatible birth years *(lo dgra/bdun zur)* are represented simply as the following saying shows:

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[3] Therang is a type of spirit who can bring fortune and wealth to the person who respects him, but harm to the others depending on their appearance – for example, a mountain or wild Therang *(ri the'u)* and home Therang *(yul the'u).* The custom of respecting Therang may inherit in the family lineage.

[4] Most of the families in Amdo respects Palden Lhamo as a family protector. But many other deities, such as Gyelvo *(rgyal bo),* Gompo Chagdrug *(mgon po phyag drug)* are respected as well (Bon 2016: 188).

[5] Bon 2016: 188. It's believed that a family that respects Therang, with the help of the deity can cause damage to the property of others.

[6] Bon 2016: 187. Kun dpal 2007: 23. The examination of a clan's purity is divided into two parts: meat *(sha)* is the mother's part *(ma rgyud),* the bone *(rus)* is the father's part *(pha rgyud).* Somebody from a family with *gseb dri* (or with an ancestor with *gseb dri*) can only marry a person from the same type of family.

Lcags 2012: 13–14. But there are many examples of marriage between a Buddhist and a Bon believer as well.

[8] Gonghe County, Hainan Prefecture, Qinghai Province.

[9] Hualong County, Haidong Prefecture, Qinghai Province.

[10] Informant: Nyima Tshering 2020.

[11] Guinan County, Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province.

[12] Bon 2006: 185.

[13] Tibetan divination, a way to answer questions with the use of different kinds of objects, such as stones, bones etc.

> "Dog and dragon are enemies through their speech, mouse and horse are enemies through their legs, tiger and monkey are enemies through their ability, pig and snake are enemies through their dwelling place, ox and sheep are enemies through their punch, rooster and rabbit are enemies through their food."[14]

Polygamy and polyandry[15] also may occur in some regions in Amdo, but it is not typical at all and in the majority of areas decidedly taboo.

Proposal *(gnyen slong ba)* and engagement *(gnyen rtags kyi cho ga)*

If the above-mentioned examinations go well, the boy's family will choose a matchmaker – or two or three – with a glib tongue *(bar ba).* The matchmaker first visits the girl's family *(bar ba gtong ba)* to let them know of the intended proposal. The next visit will be "official". Depending on local customs, in the early morning, the matchmaker might bring different kinds of presents: one or more[16] bottles alcohol *(gnyen chang)* with a *khatag (kha btags),* a ceremonial scarf on it, bread and tea.[17] Even if the family agrees to the marriage, a game then begins to delay the decision-making and allow for the negotiation of a good price. The matchmaker gives a speech *(bstod),* praising the boy, the merits of the boy's family, and the gifts they sent, to which the girl's father also responds with a speech, praising the girl's merits and so on. If the decision is not made immediately, a new date will be set to meet. If the proposal is rejected,[18] the gifts will be returned. If accepted, a lucky date will be set for the engagement, during which the matchmaker will visit the girl's family and discuss the value of the bride's dowry *(rgyu rin).*[19] Traditionally, gifts can be livestock, silk, cloth for dresses, the skin of animals (fox, otter), tea, *chang*[20] *(chang)* and silver. Now-

[14] A gnam 2007: 286. *Khyi 'brug skad kyi bdun zur / byi rta rmig pa'i bdun zur / stag sprel rtsal gyi bdun zur / phag sbrul tshang gi bdun zur / glang lug rdung ba'i bdun zur / bya yos zas kyi bdun zur /*

[15] For details see: Rong 2001.

[16] Lcags 2012: In Gling rgya village this number is from 7 to 10.

[17] Bon 2016: 204.

[18] In the case of the girl agreeing, the boy's family can elope with the girl *(gro mor khyid pa).* Before they enter the boy's home, similarly to the normal wedding, the girl prostrates at the gate and makes offerings to local protector deities. Next day mediators *(dmag 'gog)* go to the girl's home to get permission, and they bring the girl back in new clothes. A barging can start here (Skal – Stuart 1996: 443–444.). A married woman can escape as well. Nowadays a lawsuit *(gyod)* may also take place, but traditionally the man, who elopes, sends mediators *(gzu ba)* and let them compensate the husband with livestock or money *(bag stong/stong 'jal ba).* Bon 2016: 164–165.

[19] Skal – Stuart 1996: 444–445.

[20] Alcohol made of fermented barley.

adays families give only money.[21] During these negotiations, the male family member's words are more decisive, reflected in the following Tibetan proverb: "Father and uncle give advice, women braid the hair" *(blo pha khus gros dang skra ma srus bsles)*.[22] Finally, the contract is sealed with an opened bottle of *chang*[23] and so this part of the procedure is also referred to as the "meat of deliberation, *chang* of deliberation" *(gros sha gros chang).* Fumigation and libation are made to the supposed direction of the local protective deities.

Preparation *(gra sgrig)*

As a sign of engagement, the bride's hair will be braided. In some areas, this ceremony *(bag skra bsles/bag skra'i cho ga)* is held one or more days, weeks, months, or even a year before the wedding,[24] but generally, it's on the night when the bride departs to the groom's family. A married female relative[25] is called upon to braid the hair, however, a widow, a woman who has lost her parents or one who is divorced are taboo. She braids the hair into small braids, extending the ends with black thread and decorating them with silver and coral ornaments. The bride's close friends can accompany to the procedure, and various songs and advice *(kha ta, skra bshad)* are sung by relatives in a sorrowful mood. Their content emphasizes the correct behavior of a wife towards her husband and her husband's family. The bride is expected to mourn her abandonment of the family home. The following excerpts [26] are from a *hair recital (skra bshad)* that the brother tells his sister:

bkra shis phun tshogs kyi nyi ma//
bde skyid mnyam 'dzoms kyi nyi mar //
bar ba kun dga' don 'grub kyis //
chang bdud rtsi zil ma'i dam kha la //
'ja' dar tshon sna lngas g.yang btags nas //

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[21] The amount is different, it depends on the wealth of the family and the job of the bride. If she works in the public sector, her family will ask for more money, because her salary will be high as well. Lcags 2012: 23.

[22] Kun dpal 2007: 25.

[23] The bottle can be open by a distant relative, not a close one (Lcags 2012: 18). In other places, this is a task performed by the eldest male relative from the bride's side Bon 2016: 257.

[24] Kun dpal 2007: 28.

[25] Not only can female relatives braid the hair but the bride's brother too, as we can see below in the *hair toast.*

[26] Because of their length I am presenting only parts of the recitals, but the whole texts can be found in the sources indicated in the footnotes.

nga'i sring chung gnas la ster dgos zer //
nga'i sring chung gnas la byin pa'i nyin //
skra thog skra'i rin pa rta brgya ster zer //
skra 'og skra'i rin pa nor rgya ster zer //
skra ral ba'i rin pa lug brgya ster zer //
gos 'brug ma 'dom la 'jal nas ster zer //
g.yu byu ru bre la tshad nas ster zer //
dngul dong tse lag gis rtsis nas ster zer //
kho gnyen tshang dpon po'i mdzod khang ster zer //
ngas sring chung gnas la mi ster zer //
rgyu mi rtag rtswa mgo'i zil ba 'dra //
dgung nyi ma shar dus yal nas 'gro //
de bsam nas sring chung mi ster zer //
[...]
ma bu mo 'gro sa gnas yul yin //
mo gnas nas rgas na las 'grub yin //
nga'i sring chung lo lo gnas la song //
rtags rten 'brel nyi ma'i rtse mo la //
nga'i sring chung lo lor skra stsol zhu //
skra thog skra stsol dang thog lwa bzo //
thog lwa gos chen 'brug ma bzo //
skra bar skra stsol dang bar lwa bzo //
bar la nor bu cha bdun bzo //
skra ral ba stsol dang 'og lwa bzo //
'og lwa a 'jam tsha ru bzo //
[...]
ma sems can bag mar rta zhig yod //
khyod gzhan dang mi 'dra rta zhig yod //
rta mgo yid bzhin nor bu yin //
rta rnga dar skud gle ma yin //
'gros gom pa rlung nag 'tshub ma yin //
[...]
nga'i sring chung ma ngu gnas la song //
dus de ring nyi ma'i rtse mo la //
bag lam dkar po dar gyis bsu //
de med na sring chung mi bskyal zer //
bag ma gangs seng 'o mas bsu //
de med na sring chung mi bskyal zer //
bag rta 'bru drug nas kyis bsu //
de med na sring chung mi bskyal zer //

ja chang gnyis kyi mtsho mo skyil //
de med na sring chung mi bskyal zer //
sha thud gnyis kas ri rab brtsigs //
de med na sring chung mi bskyal zer //
glu gar rol mas bsu ba byos //
de med na sring chung mi bskyal zer //
nga'i sring chung lo lo nga la nyon //
gnas kha btsan che no bod kyi dpe //
kha yag tshig gis brtsi shes byos //
zhim po mngar mo las shes byos //
rgan rgon byis pa snyor shes byos //
'gro gom pa 'gro shes 'dus shes byos //
kha tshig gsum bshad dgod shes byos //
gos a 'jam tsha ru gon shes byos //
phyi sde ba'i mi la 'grig ni byos //
las dkar nag gnyis kyi dbye ba phyes //
de byas na sring chung bsam don 'grub //
de skyid kyi nyi ma dgung nas shar //
dka' sdug gi mun pa mtha' nas sangs //
nga'i sring chung ma ngu gnas la song //
skyid me tog bzhad pa'i bkra shis shog //[27]

On the day of auspicious happiness and prosperity,
On the day of this joyful gathering
The matchmaker, Kunga Dondrub
Bound the fortune to this glass of glorious chang
With silks in five colours of the rainbow.
My sister must be endowed[28] – they said.
On the day, when my sister gets married,
A hundred horses will be given for the roots of her hair – they said.
A hundred yaks will be given for the end of her hair – they said.
Hundred sheep will be given for her braids – they said.
Feet[29] of best silk[30] will be given – they said.
Liters of turquoise and coral will be given – they said.

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[27] Chab 'gag 2006: 20–27.
[28] In this context, and in Amdo dialect, *gnas* is the groom's home, with the meaning of getting married.
[29] *'Dom* is a Tibetan measure unit, it's equivalent to about 1.8 metres.
[30] *Gos 'brug ma* (silk with dragon pattern) it refers to a very good quality of silk.

Handfuls of silver coins will be given – they said.
A chief's treasury will be given – they said.
I don't let my sister be endowed – I say.
The impermanent wealth is like a dewdrop on the grass,
The Sun disappears after rising up.
If I think about this, I don't want to give my younger sister.
[…]
The groom's home is the place for the bride.
It's her karma to get old there.
Go, my sister, to your groom's home
At the dawn of this auspicious day.
I am braiding my younger sister's hair,
I am braiding on the top and sewing upper clothes.[31]
I make it from expensive silk.
I am braiding in the middle and sewing the middle clothes.
I put seven jewels in the middle.
I am making the braids and sewing the shirt.
I make it from the wool of lamb.
[…]
A bride has got a horse,
But you have a horse which is different from others.
The head is like the wish-fulfilling gem,
The tails are silk thread,
When steps are like a black storm.
[…]
Don't cry, my sister, go to your groom's home.
The bride's way is covered with white silk
On the morning of this day:
If not, my sister cannot be brought – I say.
The bride is greeted with the snow lion's milk:
If not, my sister cannot be brought – I say.
Her horse is greeted with the best, six kinds of grains:
If not, my sister cannot be brought – I say.
Ocean of tea and chang is damming,
If not, my sister cannot be brought – I say.
The Sumeru is built by meat and thu[32]
If not, my sister cannot be brought – I say.
Greet her with songs, dance, and music,

[31] Upper clothes made of cotton or silk.
[32] *Thud* is a kind of sweet made of butter, sugar and cheese.

If not, my sister cannot be brought – I say.
Listen to me, my sister,
Be silent in your husband’s home, this is the Tibetan way.
Talk with nice words, respect.
You have to know how to cook delicious, sweet food,
Take care of the elders and children.
You have to know when to stay and when to go,
When to talk and when to laugh.
You have to know how to wear a lambskin dress.
Get along with the folks of the village,
Make a distinction between good and bad.
If you do so, my sister, your wish will be fulfilled,
The sun of your happiness will rise in the sky,
The fog of obstacles will clear up.
Don’t cry, my sister, go to your groom’s home.
The blooming flower of your happiness may be blessed!

During the preparation the bride is said to cry for her home she is leaving behind. This is the expected behavior as well. Below, a part of a song sung by the bride during the braiding of her hair is presented: *Pearl beads of tears of the bride (bag ma’i mig chu mu tig phreng ba):*

[…] pha a khu rdza ri mthon po yin //
rdza gang mtho bltas nas ’dug no yin //
ma bu mo rdza mgo’i zil ba red //
zil ba mi ’dug ’gro ni yin //
snying re e rje pha khu tsho //
ming chung rdza rdo khra mo yin //
rdza gang gzar bltas nas ’dug no yin //
sring chung rdza chu bsil ma red //
rdza gang zab bltas nas ’gro no yin //
snying re e rje ming chung tsho //
[…]
ma bu mo yul na yod dus su //
pha a khus rta brgya ’tshos na yod //
rta brgya ’tsho rogs bu mo yin //
bu mo gnas la ’gro dus su //
bu mo’i rdzongs la rte’u chung byin //

rte'u chung ma bsdad 'tsher nas yong //
snying re e rje a khu tsho //[…][33]

The father and uncles are high rocky mountains.
No matter, how high they look like, they stay there.
The girl is a drop on the rocks,
The drop doesn't stay, it goes on.
My father and uncles, don't you feel sorrow for me?
The brothers are multicolored stones of the rocks.
No matter how rugged they look like, they stay there.
The little sister is a cool mountain gill.
No matter how deep it looks like, it goes on.
My brothers, don't you feel sorrow for me?
[…]
When the girl lived at home,
The father and uncle bred a hundred horses.
The girl assisted in herding a hundred horses.
When the girl gets married,
The farewell gift is a small horse.
The horse doesn't stay, comes in fear.
Don't you feel sorrow for her, my uncles? […]

A mother's advice to the girl *(pha ma'i kha ta)*

[…] khyod gnas la song ba'i phyi nyin la //
zas 'go ma dkon mchog gsum la mchod //
zas bar ma a myes a ner byin //
zas gzhug ma rang gi tshe grogs byin //
de'i zas lhag 'phro lhag rang gis zos //
de byin na bu mo'i rgyan zhig yin //
[…]
khyod gnas la song ba'i phyi nyin nas //
rgyab gon pa lug chung tsha ru yin //
dbyar char chu bab na mnyam re zhog //
gos tsha ru sbangs dus rul ma zer //
rgyab 'dogs rgyan dngul dang dong tse yin //
dbyar smug pa 'thibs na mnyam re zhog //
dngul bca' yis zin na rul ma zer //
mgo gon pa zi ling wa mo yin //
me dmar bo bus na mnyam re zhog //

[33] Chab 'gag 2006: 28–44.

wa me lce rgyugs dus rul ma zer //
ske 'dogs rgyan g.yu dang byu ru yin //
g.yu byu ru rgyun thag sra mo byos //
gan thag se 'thor dus rul ma zer //
[…]
mgron dga' nas rtse nas yong dus na //
me ma 'bar bsdad na ngan ma zer //
thal ma 'phud bsdad na ngan ma zer //
mgo 'phrug nas bsdad na ngan ma zer //
ja ma bskol bsdad na ngan ma zer //
khyim ma phyags bsdad na ngan ma zer //[…][34]

[…] When you get married, the next day
The first food offer to the Three Jewels,
Then give to your mother-in-law, father-in-law,
Then to your lifemate,
Then what is left, eat yourself.
If you do so, it's a girl's honor.
[…]
When you get married, from next day
It's a lambskin that you wear on your back.
Take good care of it, when it rains,
If the lambskin gets wet, it's said you are a slothful wife.
Silver and copper is your back's ornament,
Take good care of it, when summer fog falls across it.
If the rust corrupts the silver it's said you are a slothful wife.

The hat on your head is a Ziling fox,[35]
Take good care of it, when you set fire.
If the flame catches, it's said you are a slothful wife.
Your necklace is turquoise and coral,
The thread of turquoise and coral firmly must be tied,
If that thread is torn, it's said you are a slothful wife.
[…]
When guests arrive for enjoyment and fun,
If you sit without setting a fire, it's said you are bad.
If you sit without clean the dust, it's said you are bad.
If you sit and scratch your head, it's said you are bad.

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[34] Chab 'gag 2006: 50–61.
[35] Fox fur from Ziling (Xining), which is a good quality fur.

> If you sit without boiling tea, it's said you are bad.
> If you sit without sweeping the house, it's said you are bad.
> […]

Before departure, the women make a big piece of bread,[36] which they will bring to the groom's home. In Dowi[37] *(rdo sbis)* and Gyelwo *(rgyal bo)*[38] a kind of game, *pulling the matchmaker's ear (bar ba'i rna mchog 'then pa)*[39] is played on this day. The groom and his helper *(mag rogs),* who is usually equivalent to a matchmaker, go to the bride's home after sunset. In the bride's home, the guests are welcomed, songs are sung and the *mag rogs* gives some presents to the female relatives and asks for the bride with songs in which he wishes long life to the bride. Some women then pull his ear to get more presents and money *(rna mchog gi sgor mo)*.[40] In Bonkor[41] this game is played a few days after the wedding party, held in the groom's home *(bag ston)* and entails the groom and some close male relatives going to the bride's family for a small party *(mag ston)*. Here the groom's ear is pulled *(mag pa gi rna mchog 'then).*

In the case of the bride moving to the groom's home,[42] it is the task of the groom's family to prepare the party, arrange foods and beverages. The festive table is richly decorated, similar to the table prepared for the New Year, with the decorative dishes[43] towered high on the plates.[44] The whole decorated table is called *derkha (sder kha)*.[45]

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[36] It is a popular custom around Repkong, called *kha thud* and *gor thud. Kha thud* is given to the bride and female guests. It is a flat bread of about one meter in length or even longer. *Gor thud* is for the groom and the male guests, in the case of the groom moving to the bride's home, but it can be made for other celebrations too. It is about half a meter long round bread. Lcags 2012: 21.

[37] Xunhua Salar Autonomous County, Haidong Prefecture, Qinghai Province.

[38] Tongren County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous County, Qinghai Province.

[39] Rin chen 2006: 619.

[40] Skal – Stuart 1996: pp. 453–454.

[41] Snying bo – Rino 2008: 106.

[42] For example, if there are only girls in a family, the groom from a poorer family with more boys can move there *(mag pa 'gyo pa)*. It's not really popular, because it means the groom's family don't have enough money to pay for the bride, so they are looked down upon a little bit.

[43] These decorations are really only decorations, for the guest there are several snacks to eat.

[44] The higher the better. It symbolizes the wealth of the host family. Just like in the New Year celebrations, the "stage" number on the plates must be odd.

[45] Lcags 2012: 25.

Wedding party *(gnyen ston)*

A wedding can be held at any time during the year, but there are some dates that more preferable than others. Some days of the lunar month – according to the lunar calendar prepared by the monastery – are luckier. Also, New Year is a favoured date and generally speaking the whole winter, when there is less work with livestock and in the fields.

Regarding food, two kinds can be distinguished for the wedding party: vegetarian *(dkar ston)* and non-vegetarian *(dmar ston)* celebration. If the wedding is non-vegetarian, basically meat, butter and *thud*[46] will be consumed. In this case, each family in the village *(sde ba)* gives a piece of mutton tied with a *khatag*. Other gifts will be given at a vegetarian wedding.[47]

In many places, on the day before the wedding, the bride must not eats anything or at least only a little. It's said to be lucky to arrive at the groom's home before sunrise, so the household get up very early and the bride dresses with the help of female relatives.

Before they depart, the men make incense offerings *(lha bsangs)* and a ceremony[48] is performed to preserve the family fortune *(g.yang 'bod)*.[49] Throughout the wedding, maternal uncles, *azhang (a zhang)*[50] play an important role, one such task being to accompany the bride. At a nomadic wedding, their number can be as many as 15-20, whereas in agricultural areas usually less *a zhang* take part in transporting the bride. Before leaving the home behind, the bride makes prostrations. In a description[51] of a nomadic wedding in Rungen *(ru sngan),*[52] west of Kukunor *(mtsho nub)* we can read the following words:

"With the help of an *a zhang*[53] the bride sits on her horse *(bag rta)* and goes around the tent three times in a clockwise direction.[54] Meanwhile, a man imitating the bride's mother and shouting in a high voice, says:

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[46] A kind of sweet made of butter, tsampa, sugar and cheese.

[47] Gcod pa – Snying bo 2004: 457.

[48] He can be a monk or tantric practitioner *(sngags pa),* but can also be the girl's father or an elder male relative as well.

[49] So that the bride doesn't take it with her. However, for the groom's family, the bride brings them luck too.

[50] At weddings all male relatives are referred to as *a zhang,* not only the maternal uncle. Snying bo – Rino 2008: 105.

[51] Ru sngan 2004, 216.

[52] Dulan County, Haixi Mongol and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province.

[53] According to Kun dpal Tshe ring in Kangtsa (*rkang tsha;* Gang cha County, Haibei Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province), from north to Kukunor *(mtsho byang),* it's made by a person whose birth date harmonizes with the bride's birth date. Kun dpal 2007: 30.

[54] Incense altar in the courtyard of houses. If there is no such altar, they go to the public one near the house *(bsang khri).*

> Skyid cig yod na rang gis khyer // g.yang zhig yod na pha mar[55] (yul) skyur //[56]
> What is happiness, take with you, what is fortune, give to your parents.
> Then *a zhang* answers: *o ya / ya //" Ok!*

We can read something similar in this description of the Bonkor wedding:[57]

> "[…] During the *g.yang 'bod* is performed, with the help of two *a zhang*s the bride circle around the incense pot in the courtyard three times, meanwhile, incense offering is performed in the direction of the monastery and the location of local protector deities. During this time or when the bride leaves the home, the mother or a relative calls to the bride at the gate".

Before arriving at the groom's home, the matchmaker and some male relatives welcome them on the road.[58] In the description of Lcags byams Tshe ring[59] about weddings in Lingya *(gling rgya)*[60] a custom is mentioned in which female relatives from the groom's side welcome the bride on the way and offer presents to "get the bride". The companions hit the present (some meat) with a stick and say: "Beating the meat sounds like skinny bone, looks like this sheep has not eaten anything for three months." Skal bzang Nor bu and Kevin Stuart mention[61] the following game in Dowi: The bride is welcomed by the matchmaker and male relatives on the road. When they arrive there, somebody from the groom's side asks for the bride, but the bride's side refuses to give her with the result that the groom's side "steal her". Then some songs are sung by the bride's side to entrust her to the groom's family. When they arrive at the house, at the door the *a zhang* makes offering with some alcohol *(sgo chang)*[62] and the bride makes prostrations. But first, the bride can only get off the horse at the door near to a swastika *(g.yung drung)* shape grain drawing on the ground.[63] Here, once more, a game begins, called *debate about the bride's horse's bridle (bag ma'i rta kha*

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[55] *A mar* (to your mother) instead of *pha mar* (to parents). Bon 2016: 281–282.

[56] Ru sngan 2004, 216.

[57] Bon 2016: 281–282.

[58] Or women relatives welcome them with presents for the female relatives of bride's side. Lcags 2012: 30.

[59] Lcags 2012: 31.

[60] Tongren County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous County, Qinghai Province.

[61] Skal – Stuart 1996: 445.

[62] In Rungen it's said: *khong tshang la dkyus skor brgya dang brgyad tshang dgos la / ma tshang la de ring nang la mi phebs /* Ru sngan: 2004: 216.

[63] With a symbolic meaning of "unchangable".

rtsod pa/ rta kha bsu pa[64]*)*. A young girl gives a *khatag* to the person who is holding the bridle:

> "bkra shis pa'i kha dar dkar po 'di khyed la 'bul / don 'grub pa'i srab mda' khra chung de nga la ster rogs /"[65]

> "I give you this white lucky khatag, you give me this small multicolored task-fulfilling bridle!"

Then the girl takes the bridle and leads the horse to the swastika. The bride is asked to get off the horse by praising her and the horse:

da a zhang dgung gi nyi ma 'dra gi //
dgung dro khol 'dzoms dus rta las bobs //
bu ming chung rgya stag dmar po 'dra gi //
stag thig le sgrigs dus rta las bobs //
a ne khu byug sngon po 'dra gi //
gsung snyan mo ma sgrogs rta las bobs //
a bag ma a lo lo //
[…]
rta 'do ba g.yu 'brug sngon mo 'dra //
sga bes sang nyi ma rang shar 'dra //
yob chen zla ba tshes pa 'dra //
glo rnyed nyi 'od shar ba 'dra //
rta mgo yid bzhin nor bu 'dra // […][66]

A zhang is like the Sun on the sky.
As the sky warms up, get off the horse!
The small brother is like the red Bengal tiger,
As the tiger's stripes are arranged, get off the horse!
The aunt is like the blue cuckoo,
Don't sing a pleasant song now, get off the horse!
Little bride! […]
The excellent horse is like the turquoise dragon,
The good saddle is like sunshine,
The stirrups are like waxing moon.

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[64] Skal – Stuart 1996: 442.
[65] A gnam 2007: 292.
[66] Chab 'gag 2006: 75–82.

The girth is like the sunshine,
The head of the horse is like the Wishfulfilling Gem. […]

After getting off the horse, she is helped to the house by some women from the groom's side, while covering her face all the way. Arriving at the door, *a zhang* and some women from the groom's family sings *door songs*[67] *('gyog glu/sgo 'gyogs)*. The song below is from Trika[68] *(khri ka)* sung by *a zhang:*

sgo ya shing yar la gtad nas zhog //
ma dal can ma zhig thon gi yod //
sgo mar shing mar la gnon nas zhog //
rkang sug lham ma zhig thon gi yod //
bag ma'i so 'di dung so yin //
ma dung so ma zhig thon gi yod //
bag ma'i skra 'di dar skra yin //
ma dar skra ma zhig thon gi yod //
bag ma'i mig 'di khyung mig yin //
ma khyung mig ma zhig thon gi yod //[69]

Let the lintel lift!
A light-footed girl is coming.
Let the threshold sink!
A girl with leather boots is coming.
The bride's teeth are like pearls,
A girl with pearl teeth is coming.
The bride's hair is like silk,
A girl with silk hair is coming.
The bride's eyes are of garuda's eyes,
A girl with garuda's eyes is coming.

This is an answer variation from Rungen:

'gyog 'gyog 'gyog zhang brgya 'gyog /
zhang brgya bo 'gyog pa dgung nas 'gyog /
sgo yar gyag yar la gyag le yod //
mgo wa mo can zhig yong gi yod //

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[67] *'Gyog* means "lift", the meaning of the song is to symbolically let the door rise up in order to let the bride go in.

[68] Guide County, Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province.

[69] Chab 'gag 2006: 105.

sa sgo 'gram thad gi lang nge yod //
gos 'brug ma can zhig yong gi sdod //
sgo mar gyag mar la smad le yod //
rkang sag lham can zhig yong gi sdod //
sha ri rab 'dra zig brtsigs le yod //
de za gi a zhang yong gi sdod //
chang mtsho mo 'dra zhig bskyil lo yod //
de 'thung gi a zhang yong gi sdod //
rdza khra yag 'dra ba'i a zhang shog //
'brong bre ser 'dra bas bsu gi yod //
nags rgya rdzong 'dra ba'i a zhang shog /
stag thig las 'dra bas bsu gi yod //
chu gtsang mo 'dra ba'i a zhang shog /
nya gser mig 'dra bas bsu gi yod /[70]

Lift, lift, lift, hundred uncles, lift!
All hundred uncles lif it to the sky.
The lintel lifts upwards.
Someone in fox fur hat is coming.
The dust rises from the door,
Someone in a silk dress is coming.
Threshold sinking, sinking,
Someone in leather boots is coming.
The meat piles like Mount Sumeru,
The uncle who will eat it is coming.
Chang swirls like a lake,
The uncle who will drink it is coming.
Motley rock-like uncles, come here!
We'll welcome you like the wild yaks,
Huge forest-alike uncles, come here!
We'll welcome you like the striped tiger.
Clear water-alike uncles, come here!
We'll welcome you as the golden fish.

Then the bride makes prostrations at the home altar. During the celebration, the bride stays in kind of small tent *(bag ras/bag khang)* with her helper *(bag rogs),* she doesn't take part in the party. Neither too does the bride or the groom sing.

[70] Ru sngan 2004: 217–218.

Guests then enter the room and take their seats at the tables according to rank (age) and make an offering with tea *(ja mchod cho ga).* Then female members from the groom's side ask for a *khatag* from the bride's family in song and in the form of a playful discussion *(bu res rtsod pa/bu ras bslangs pa)*.[71] If it is asked on the groom's side, it is called *bu ras*, if the bride's family requests, it is called *chu dar*.[72] Upon each request, the guest family responds that the *khatag* have been lost or forgotten, and so on. Their responses to each other are as follows:

> "stod rgya gar yul gyi phrug gcig dgos / phrug gcig rung thig le mi gcig pa zhig dgos / smad rgya nag yul gyi gos shig dgos / gos gcig rung ri mo mi gcig pa zhig dgos / bod gangs can yul gyi dar zhig dgos / dar gcig rung dar sne mi gcig pa zhig dgos /"[73]

> "We need a woolen dress[74] from India, but not any kind of woolen dress, but a differently patterned dress. We need silk from China, but not any kind of silk, but a variety of figurative silk. We need a khatag[75] from Tibet, but not any kind of khatag, but a khatag of different ends."

Thereafter different kinds of songs can be sung. In Amdo there is no specific order and type. Usually though, these are *praise songs (bstod glu)* and *debate songs (glu shags).* Later the younger ones can sing *love songs (la ye),* at which point the elder relatives go to sleep. But before singing, permission must be asked:[76]

dgung a sngon gnam na bya gsum yod //
bya gcig 'phur re stod la song //
bya gcig 'phur re smad la song //
bya gcig ma 'phur da rung yod //
bya de 'phur ba'i gnang ba zhu //
nga'i gangs dkar sems na glu gsum yod //
glu gcig 'gral mgo'i a khur blangs //
glu gcig gnyen tshang rgan por blangs //
glu gcig ma blangs da rung yod //
glu de len pa'i gnang ba zhu //[77]

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[71] In some places this game is played in the night when the "matchmaker's ear is pulled" (informant: Nyima Tshering 2020).

[72] Bon 2016: 178.

[73] Gcod pa – Snying bo 2004: 460.

[74] *Phrug lwa*: traditional upper clothes with long sleeves and belt on the waist.

[75] *dar* means silk or clothes, and *khatag* as well, here the latter one.

[76] Many taboos are connected to singing love songs, one is that they are prohibited to be sung in front of elder relatives.

[77] Ru sngan 2004: 222–223.

There are three birds on the sky,
One has flown to India,
One has flown to China,
One bird has not flown anywhere yet, still here.
This bird is waiting for permission to fly.
There are three songs in my snow-white soul:
One I sing for the uncles sitting at the head of the table.
One I sing to the elders from the groom's family,
One song I have not sung yet, still with me,
I am waiting for permission to sing.

A kind of permission can be a song like this:

'ur cha bzung ste nor la 'gro na /
thom bu bzung nas chu la 'gro na /
sta re bzung ste nags la 'gro na/[78]

If I hold a sling, we go to herd yaks,
If I hold a bucket, we go to take water,
If I hold an ax, we go to the forest.

Most of the guests stay a few hours, the *a zhangs* can stay overnight. During the celebration, the tail of mutton is offered to the uncles. *A zhang* recites *wedding recital (gnyen bshad),* and the groom prostrates to him three times and male family members sing songs to praise the *a zhangs.* The wedding recitalis long with many proverbs in a copious style. It starts with the history and genealogy of Tibetans, continues with the origins of wedding celebrations – first between gods and *nagas*, the earth and sky – the marriages of Songtsen Gampo *(srong btsan sgam po)* and later the origin of their clan. The bride, groom and their family are praised in a long toast, finally, the *a zhang* entrusts the bride to the new family, wishes good luck and long life for them. Belowis a part of such a wedding recital:

"ya nga'i lag gi kha btags 'di'i lo rgyus drang gsum gyi gtam re bshad na / 'di stod nas ma chad smad nas chad zig / smad rgya nag rgyal bo'i yul nas chad zig / rgya 'dar ma 'dar gyi lag nas chad zig / kha btags na 'dom gang zer ba / kha tshar na khru gang zer ba / stod rgya gar yul la khyer na / pha bla ma bzang bo'i mjal dar nyan gi / smad rgya nag yul la khyer na / dpon chen po'i khrims dar nyan gi / phyir pur rgyal bod la khyer na / gzhon nu nga tsho'i lce dar nyan gi zer rgyu can gyi lo rgyus drang gsum gyi gtam re bshad na 'di 'dra zhig red zer gi"[79]/

[78] Ru sngan 2004: 222–223.
[79] Karma – Bkra shis 1997: 4.

> "So, I tell three kinds of true stories about this khatag held in my hand: It's not from the upper, it's from lower parts,[80] it originates from the country of the Chinese emperor. It is made by Chinese people. The length is almost two meters,[81] the width is about a cubital. If we bring it to India, we can offer it to eminent monks. If we bring to China, we can give to big leaders in the court. If we bring to Tibet, we, youth, hold in our hands and say toasts. All of them are true just as I told these three kinds of story."

Other *celebration recitals (ston bshad)* can be recited as well, the style and way of telling are similar to wedding speeches, but the topic differs a little bit: praising of the guest and decorations, food served on tables.

Several other songs and toasts are sung and recited, such as *chang* speech *(chang bshad),* which is about the origin and praising of *chang*. *Tea speech (ja bshad)*[82] about the origin and praising of tea. *Fast questions* can be asked *(mgyogs 'dri gtong ba)* from the groom's side to the bride's side, and the *a zhang* can say a kind of *belt recital (mag lcug bcings pa).* Sometimes small horseraces can be held, and the guests enjoy small song competitions and games:

According to the description of a wedding in Rungen, a piece of meat is put on a tent and younger girls and boys try to grab it *(bo sha rgyag pa).*[83] In his article[84] about weddings of nomads near Kukunor Gcod pa don grub mentions a *meat competition (sha rgyug),* in which some members of the two families pull a lump of meat.[85]

When *a zhangs* depart home, again *door chang (sgo chang)* is offered to them. They make an offering and the mutton's tail is presented to them as well. The closest maternal uncle will receive a bigger present, traditionally horse *(zhang rta)* or dress *(zhang gos).* The brothers of the groom *(ming bo)* may receive a horse as well *(ming rta).* The bride's mother receives a female of yak *('bri)* or female of yak-cow *(mdzo mo)* as *milk-money (nu rin),* a reward for raising the bride. Another speech is connected to this: *mother's milk price (a ma'i nu rin).*

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[80] Upper *(stod)* under lower *(smad)* have geographical sense, usually mean North *(stod)* and South *(smad),* but sometimes, and definitely in this case, they mean India and China.

[81] '*Dom,* is a Tibetan unit, equivalent to about 1,8 meters.

[82] It can be recited not only at weddings but there are different types for different occasions. For instance, in Rdo sbis, *chang* and tea speeches are not recited at weddings. Skal – Stuart 1996: 442.

[83] Ru sngan 2004: 217–218.

[84] Gcod pa – Snying bo 2004: 459.

[85] In Mongolian areas the meat can be on a horse's back, and the two groups – girls and boys – try to grab it from there (informant: Nyima Tsering 2020).

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Pihon yŏsŏng – New Lifestyle and New Choices for Marriage and Unmarried Life in South Korea

Introductory remarks

What decision do people face when getting married in a modern Asian society? At the heart of this question lie traditional attitudes toward marriage (*kyŏrhont'aedo* 결혼 태도 結婚態度) which are completely different from those held by Westerners. Therefore, when we discuss issues such as number of marriages, number of single households and low birth rates, it is important that these factors are understood within their own cultural framework. In East Asia, traditional ways of thinking and basic principles and ideologies are markedly different from the West. It is clearly true in the case of South Korea, where an originally patriarchal Confucian society is now facing the problem of extremely low birth rates in conjunction with the appearance of new ways of life. One of these is the main focus of this paper, namely *pihon yŏsŏng,* women who remain single by choice.

As one of the "four dragons", South Korea is a proud and well-developed country with a strong presence in the world economy, exporting its goods and services to countries all over the world. However, by taking a closer look at Korean society and reading about its latest problems, we find that it is facing many of the problems experienced by other similarly developed European nations, namely economic imbalances caused by a rapidly aging society, gender inequality, a widening generation gap, youth unemployment, falling rates of marriage, rising divorce rates and an extremely low birth rate. Of course, we might find parallels between these nations regardless of their geographical locations, but we can also point to unique factors which originate from the cultural background of each country.

The aim of this paper is to examine factors that influence the decisions of young Koreans regarding marriage and establishing a family. It places particular focus on women because these new social trends are more relevant to the cultural changes that have taken place in their lives - their new decisions are the ones which go against the traditional norms, and so receive more criticism than those of men. To these ends, the paper will list some of the new phenomena that have appeared during the last 10–15 years and, towards the end of the paper, address the question of premarital cohabitation in Korea, which even today is viewed by Koreans as an unorthodox way of life and a contentious and quite divisive phenomenon.

The primary purpose of this paper has been to draw a schematic picture of current social issues in South Korea for those who are unfamiliar with this Asian country's ideological background, and furthermore it is hoped that these basic ideas might prove useful for comparative purposes to professionals researching ongoing social change in other Asian countries. Several questions originating from the basic topic of this paper are also raised during the course of the paper but unfortunately could not be discussed thoroughly here.

The main points of the chosen topic relied primarily on the research results and academic papers of Korean researchers and these have been illustrated with statistical data. The author has also inserted some of her acquaintances' experiences, which were collected via personal conversation or online dialogue.

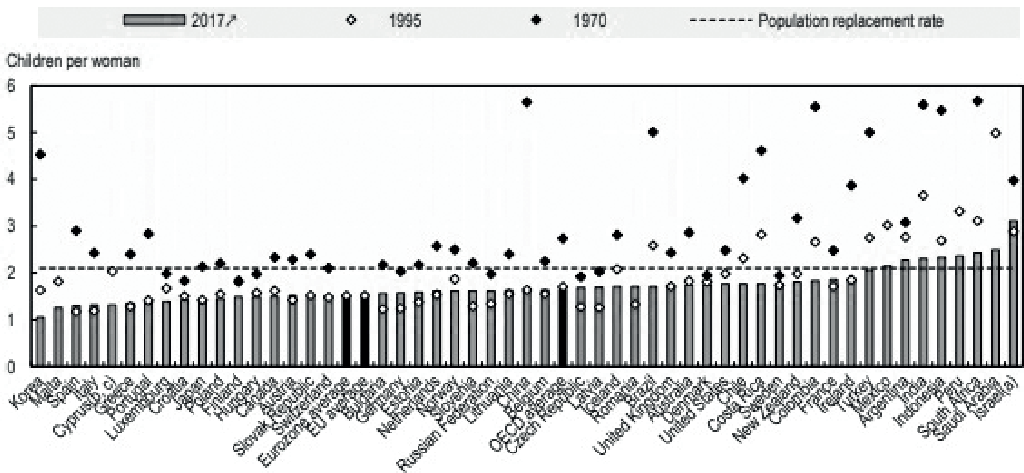
Terminology

Before starting the discussion, a few terms are listed which might aid analysis when reading academic papers in Korean and which are also often used by news portals and official statements when contemporary issues in Korean society are raised. The most important basic term in the focus of this paper is *pihon* (비혼 非婚) and *mihon* (미혼 未婚). *Mihon* can be understood simply as the opposite of *kihon* (기혼 既婚), which means 'married'. Generally, *mihon* is widely used to describe those people who wanted to marry but missed their chance to do so, whereas *pihon* contains the additional meaning of a situation where one doesn't want to marry. This compares with the word *pihonjuŭi* (비혼주의 非婚主義), which indicates the new trend of preferring a single lifestyle instead of one of commitment, literally meaning 'principle of not wanting the marriage'.

Manhonhwa (만혼화 晩婚化), one of the most serious issues in contemporary South Korea, means 'tendency to late marriage'. *Manhon* (만혼 晩婚) itself means 'late marriage', which reflects a phenomenon statistically observed for several years now, especially since 1998. The age of first marriage (*ch'ohonyŏl-*

lyŏng 초혼연령 初婚年齡) is constantly increasing for both men and women in Korea. (Its reasons will be discussed below.) It is already a problem that the number of marriages is dropping (1990: 399,000 → 2015: 302,800 per year), but moreover, those who marry do so at an older age than in past decades, causing several other difficulties such as decreasing birth rate with an attendant slowing of population growth and the economic effects of these. For women, this age was around 24 in 1990, and rose to 30 in 2015. For men a similar change occurred, changing from 27.8 to 32.6.[1] According to the Korean Statistical Information Service (KOSIS), in 2019 the average age of first marriage was 30.59 for women and 33.37 for men,[2] proving that the trend for postponing marriage has not abated yet – and is unlikely to stop in future years either.[3]

The reason is quite simple: according to young people in Korea, the ideal age to get married (*kyŏrhon chŏngnyŏnggi* 결혼 적령기 結婚適齡期) is not in their 20's anymore as social factors (for example attitude towards roles in the family, less emphasis put on traditional customs, women's participation in social and economic life), education, employment issues, wedding customs and services, and the economy make it impossible. Although differences based on social class, educational background, geographical region, etc. play a role, in the main it is a combination of social factors and individual factors which contribute to the delay of first marriage.[4]



Picture 1. OECD fertility rate. OECD Family Database.
http://www.oecd.org/social/family/SF_2_1_Fertility_rates.pdf (03.04.2020.)

[1] "[Kŭraep'ik] Honin'gŏnsu mit ch'ohonyŏllyŏng ch'ui." *Joongang Ilbo.* 2016.12.13.

[2] The answers of my acquaintances confirm the statistics. Only one out of twelve people said 28 as a marriageable age, and only one said 38, the other 10 mentioned the range between 30~35.

[3] Marriage, statistical index, KOSIS.

[4] Kim 2006: 57–60.

Declining trends of marriage and childbirth – women's responsibility?

Based on the statistical data of recent years, it is clearly evident that at the present time only about half of the young Korean women consider marriage to be essential. As already mentioned, even if they decide to get married, they usually do so in their 30's, which is a considerable change compared to previous decades. According to a statistic published by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family in 2017, the age of first marriage for women reached 30,0 in 2016 and is constantly growing.[5] Marriage itself is interpreted in different ways by Korean women and attitudes towards marriage are also in flux. Researchers who have conducted surveys on these attitudes report opinions from the interviewees such as *"I will not live as my mother did", "For women in the Korean society, marriage means more disadvantages than advantages", "If marriage means earning money together and dealing with problems of child rearing, then it'd be better not to do it".* In other words, the obligations demanded by the society are in general negatively highlighted, and marriage is characterized as cooperation between a man and a woman to establish a household together, rather than a personal bond between two people who love each other. The pressure not to marry is bigger for women. Traditionally, a wife's assistance (*naejo* 내조 內助) was one of the main tasks a woman had to complete, while observing numerous rules which regulated the life of a decent woman.[6] However, decades of modernization has not only changed the economic structure, demography, infrastructure and educational life of South Korea, but also significantly impacted the social structure, roles and lifestyles.[7] Given the range of new possibilities available to girls and women, they have become less interested and concerned about traditional roles, adopting instead new lifestyles that are displacing marriage as the main form of self-realization. In parallel, Korea is facing the problem of an extremely low birth rate.[8] Many articles and forums suggest that the problematic birth rate and the decline of marriages are clearly the fault of women who are too selfish to adhere to the traditional gender role. In 2018 the National Assembly Budget Office (국회예산정책처) published an analysis of results with the title *The reasons and the economic effects of the low birth rate in Korea* (우리나라 저출산의 원인과 경제적 영향). In this paper, they sought to publicise the factors influencing the decision of the young Koreans by highlighting

[5] "[T'onggyero pon yŏsŏng] 'kyŏrhon p'ilsu' mihon yŏ 6nyŏnsae 47%→3%." *Yonhap news.* 2017.06.27.

[6] For details see Kovács 2015: 143–146 and 181–182.

[7] For details about the women's lives during the modernization era see Lee Mijeong 1998. *Women's Education, Work and Marriage in Korea*. Seoul National University Press.

[8] South Korea became a low birth rate country in 1983, and a super low birth rate country in 2002.

the necessity to expand facilities for pregnant women, making greater efforts to improve equality between men and women, shortening working hours, and increasing the number of daycare centers and kindergartens, etc.[9] Currently, the government is in the middle of implementing 5-year-plans over three periods[10] until 2020.[11] While, of course, it is not only South Korea that is in a difficult situation, it is alarming that among the OECD countries Korea has the lowest birth rate.[12] (Picture 1) Additionally, other countries like the Czech Republic, Japan and Slovakia were able to achieve slightly better numbers in 2016, whereas Korea's fertility rate continued its decline.[13]

Especially since the 2000's, there are several new lifestyle trends appearing in Korean society, and some of these directly influence decision making for marriage and childbirth. In some cases these trends have similar effects on both men and women, but in many cases they have a disproportionate one on women's lives, and thus more fundamentally affect their lifestyle. We will now examine some of the factors one by one.

The trend for living alone. In 1985, only 7% of the Korean population was considered as a one-person household, but this percentage rose to 24% by 2010. Before this, the strong bond between family members, living together under one roof with and in cooperation other generations, was the foundation of the family unit.[14] But now, education and employment influences the available options for residence as well. If we look specifically at women between the ages of 25 and 34 in a 2010 survey, 66% of them attended two-year college or four-year university (1980: 7%) and 62% attended a regular workplace (1980: 26%). Many of these girls began to live separately because they had to relocate in order to be able to go to school or work.[15] With the experience of living on their own came a realization of the positive sides to their independence and accordingly a reluctance to move back together with parents. However, the economic burden of high housing and living costs, sometimes in conjunction with sending a part

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[9] National Assembly Budget Office 2018: 107–113.

[10] The first stage (2006~2010) was to provide better childcare support for low income families, the second (2011~2015) targeted the double income households and the middle class families, while the third period (2016~2020) focused on the support for the young people, including for example the employment of the young, and housing support for newlyweds, etc. Local autonomous entities were involved in several measures as well.

[11] National Assembly Budget Office 2018: vii–viii.

[12] Fertility rates. OECD Family Database.

[13] National Assembly Budget Office 2018: 16–19.

[14] Park–Choi 2015: 1178–1179.

[15] Park–Choi 2015: 1189–1193.

of their salaries home to support their parents, hinder the continuation of these single households.[16]

Higher educational level. It is observed that the more a girl studies, the later the first marriage commences, this being especially true after 1998. They prefer to take advantage of opportunities to get a higher degree and then, since they have invested so much (time, money, energy) in that achievement, they are not willing to give it all up after a few years, choosing instead to pursue careers with further goals.[17] Women who complete a full program of education might graduate university with two degrees, focus more on learning languages than is common in other Asian countries, and prepare for entering the world of work.[18] Consequently, by the time they reach the end of their 20's, there will have been few chances to get married in the meanwhile.[19]

Employment and career. The type of workplace has a huge impact on the possibility of finding a potential partner. To find a candidate for marriage, working women need a relationship network and this essentially depends on whether it can or cannot originate in the workplace. In some cases, a network of co-workers can help to arrange meetings with potential partners, but in other cases, the rigid working environment and the long working hours place obstacles to forming relationships outside the company.[20] Additionally, the commitment to the workplace is sometimes not a personal decision, rather a consequence of circumstances. Those women who come from a lower income family may have to support their elderly parents, and consequently do not have extra time or money to find a potential partner. That means, the reasons of working women coming from different background can be different as well.[21] Nowadays a stable workplace (*chigŏbanjŏngsŏng* 직업안정성) that provides a constant source of income is one of the top priorities and therefore, until a woman attains a satisfactory workplace position, she may avoid becoming settled as a wife. On the other hand, those girls who start working immediately after high school or finish a two-year college course and gain certification for a certain job might start working full-time earlier, making it possible for them to earn money sooner and to leave the workplace more easily for reasons of marriage and pregnancy.[22]

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[16] Park–Choi 2015: 1201–1202.

[17] Lee–Kim 2015: 42–45.

[18] In South Korea, there is a so-called employment examination (*ch'wijik shihŏm* 취직 시험). Many companies use it as a selection stage for choosing and testing the applicants, and they organize it once a year. This means, if somebody wants to enter a specific company or sector and they cannot pass the test, they have to wait for a whole year before they can apply again.

[19] Lee–Kim 2015: 50–55.

[20] Lee–Kim 2015: 48–49.

[21] Lee–Kim 2015: 42–45.

[22] Lee–Kim 2015: 50–55.

These women work to make a financial contribution for their future lives, while those who graduate with higher levels of education do so for self-realization (*chaashirhyŏn* 자아실현). They are motivated to be successful at what they do and may wish to be equal to their (future) spouse at the level of income and position as well.[23] However, we should not conclude that these status-driven reasons for employment are the only ones to have a negative effect on marriage decisions. In the 2000's, the number of two income couples have been constantly rising because the income of one person is no longer enough to maintain the financial outgoings of the whole family. Although in the past part-time work was preferred for women, recently the full-time working mom has not only made an appearance but also become widespread.[24] From this perspective, a woman with skills and who has graduated from a good institution can get well-paid employment and thus contributes to the household more – in other words her suitability as a wife is derived from these economic characteristics.[25] Here I would like to add a personal comment regarding several stories I heard from a Korean woman who is in her 30's now and participated in multiple 'blind dates'[26] at the bequest of her parents. She was disappointed after experiencing inquiries about her precise income, a question which came up almost every time at these first meetings. She explained that in one meeting her date even told her that he found it rational to ask about the financial issues at the beginning of the date because good numbers created a win-win situation for both parties.

Work and household responsibilities have to be in a balance because, even though the traditional gender roles are fading, childcare and household management still remains the wife's responsibility. This 'second shift' can cause serious difficulties for maintaining her performance in the workplace and is precisely why many Korean women quit their workplace eventually.[27] Fortunately, we can see a positive change in the attitude of young husbands.

Partner's attitude towards childrearing. In a male-centered society like South Korea, discussion about the father's role in childrearing is a quite new phenomenon. Nonetheless, nowadays it is gaining more and more in popularity. Academic papers and social platforms such as blogs and online articles often discuss the father's participation in childrearing. Although many people still think that taking care of a child is essentially the mother's responsibility, attitudes are changing especially among young Koreans. For instance, in a survey

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[23] Lee–Kim 2015: 55–59.

[24] Lee 2008: 175–176.

[25] Lee 2008: 180–181.

[26] *Sogaet'ing* 소개팅 is usually an arranged meeting for two people who haven't met before, but who have a common friend or their meeting is arranged by an agency.

[27] Lee 2008: 181–182.

executed in 2016, all the participants answered that a father had to take part in childrearing for various reasons. These were the belief that in general it is the task of both parents, that the two income couples should share the responsibilities of the home, and that it is good for children's development. On this last point there is a belief that changes in society have resulted in an expectation that a young father should be interested in his children's daily life not only as a financial supporter, but also as an active participant who shows interest, affection and spends time playing with them. We need to note, that the importance of these factors differs according to single income and two income families. Despite increased awareness and acknowledgement of the importance of the father's role, actual circumstances still prevent its realization. The workplace, lack of time, exhaustion, lack of knowledge and lack of interest adversely affect participation rates, and also around 8% of Koreans still maintain it is not even the father's task. In the survey, they also mention several times that more information and education is needed for fathers regarding questions related to childrearing because, even if they have time to spend together with their children, many lack knowledge about how to interact with them and how to take care of them.[28] Relevant here is the traditional cultural background of Korean men, whose influence probably extends well into the second half of the 20th century. This saw sons raised differently from daughters, the former being raised to be good mothers and wives the latter to be responsible bread winners. Therefore, Korean males not only lack positive images of male child-rearing but also even a basic concept of one.

Overcoming these cultural and social impediments to more equal childrearing roles between men and women requires the application of social policy interventions, for example, producing educational material and programs for modern-day fatherhood. Furthermore, in order to ensure their success, government will need to change the atmosphere and attitudes in the workplace by introducing beneficial measures and strengthening the motivation from different sources, like financial and social support from company leaders and communities.[29] The simple story that follows highlights the type of workplace dilemma that educational programs might help to resolve. Co-workers in an architectural company came into conflict with a female co-worker who had to go home to take care of her children. She had already asked the boss several times to allow her to leave without completing her overtime work. Male co-workers felt that, by being allowed to go home earlier (and here earlier meant leaving the workplace at the end of the regular working hours without overtime), their female co-worker was receiving an unfair privilege. However, when the question "what

[28] Park–Ko 2018: 203–206.

[29] Park–Ko 2018: 209–211.

is your wife doing right now?" was raised, the answer was: "She is at home taking care of our children of course". Here we can see double standards at play. For the male co-worker (as a single breadwinner), it was simply natural that his wife stayed at home, but he felt entitled to criticize others trying to attain a similar situation (in the context of a two income family).[30] This anecdote illustrates a common and problematic issue, the different point of view regarding a given situation; Korean working mothers may have to fight for their acceptance both inside the family and the workplace, and modern fathers who may want to participate in their children's childhood actively might face similar problems and conflicts.

We can conclude that two income married couples who share both the household responsibilities and the childcare do so because the man is more likely to understand a working mother's double burden and consequently, participate more actively in their children's daily life. In most cases, the father is a partner to play with, someone to take the child for outdoor activities, excursions and cultural experiences, but who is not yet ready to give advice, to lead their children's thoughts on studies or everyday life decisions. Nowadays, young fathers show interest in their children's personal concerns but they are at an early stage of fulfilling this role. Of course, different factors like work system, educational background, and family background also influence a father's participation.[31]

Considering the current situation and judgments on a father's participation in child-rearing, it is understandable that women may find accepting the role of a wife to be a daunting proposition. In many cases it requires that she ends her career and any further self-cultivation due to the fact that it is socially unacceptable for a woman to deny her responsibilities as a mother. In contrast to this, despite the growing social awareness of the importance of a father's participation, it remains acceptable if a man fails to participate actively in child-rearing. Such double standards can also discourage women from starting a family.

Financial issues. In Korea, there is one specific preparation to start married life – this is *honsu* (혼수 婚需), which traditionally refers to all the household goods that may be needed after a married couple move in together.[32] Nowadays it is still a custom, but its evaluation can vary from family to family. There are some who think of it as a practical contribution to the newly wedded life, while others have higher expectations which can lead to conflicts or in severe cases

[30] Personal conversation, 2015.

[31] Lee–An 2017: 48–53.

[32] In the past, the items included in the *honsu* depended on the type domestic arrangements that were customary in different historical eras, for example, living with the wife's family's house, living at the husband's family's house, and establishing a new home separately. In most cases, the woman had to prepare mainly clothes and textile goods which could be used after moving in with the in-laws, and that meant some economic support for that household as well.

even result in divorce.[33] Actually, the amount of time and money that is spent on preparing every item is considerable, and this is due to particular standards and rules which have to be strictly followed if the marriage preparations are to be fulfilled properly (*olbarŭn kyŏrhon chunbi* 올바른 결혼 준비). The in-laws can be quite fussy and strict about what they receive as *honsu* and it is not uncommon for women to listen to the complaints of their in-laws regarding *honsu,* sometimes even years after the marriage day. Concurrently, the future husband is responsible for buying the house itself and also faces significant financial burden if he cannot afford to do so without a loan or the help of his parents.[34] Recently, more and more couples decide to solve these marriage preparations as a joint project, sharing the financial burden between themselves and without involving the parents. Naturally, given their age, many newlyweds do not have enough money and so require a loan. Nowadays it is more common for married couples to pay back any loans together and this is especially true in the case of two income families. Even though attitudes are changing, a lot of young women see such loans as a heavy burden and this is also mentioned as a negative factor when considering marriage.[35] Another factor that can raise the cost of a wedding is when *honsu* is accompanied by *yemul* (예물 禮物) and *yedan* (예단 禮緞). The former is a wedding gift to the future spouse, and the latter is a wedding gift to the future spouse's family. In many cases, when young Koreans don't agree with this additional aspect of *honsu*, either finding this further duplication of gifts unnecessary or preferring the finances of a smaller wedding, they opt for unmarried life instead. Furthermore, the costs of a wedding can rise due to the size of the wedding party. Due to family bonds still being strong among the older generations, the idea of the small wedding has not gained widespread acceptance in Korea yet. Consequently, wedding parties are swollen by a parent's natural inclination to invite many relatives, co-workers and acquaintances to their child's wedding regardless of whether they have actually met the bride or groom before. Modern-minded young men and women, however, are not so fond of entertaining total strangers anymore and accordingly go against their parents' wishes by minimizing guests to a circle of close relatives and real friends.[36] Conclusively, they can either take matters into their own hands to avoid ending up as *wedding poor*, or choose the unmarried lifestyle.[37]

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[33] "Honsu." *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture.*

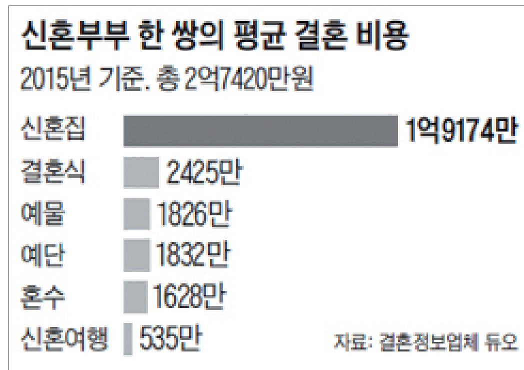
[34] Lee–Kim 2015: 59–61.

[35] "Namjanŭn chip, yŏjanŭn honsu? 'olbarŭn kyŏrhon chunbi'e taehan saenggakŭn …" *dongA.com.* 2018.06.14.

[36] "Namŭn chip, yŏnŭn honsu? mihonnamnyŏ modu 'twaetkŏdŭnyo'." *Chosun.* 2016.07.13.

[37] Lee–Kim 2015: 74–76.

In order to gather data on attitudes toward marriage in contemporary Korea, I myself interviewed some young Korean women (between age 28 and 38). According to my respondents, one of the main reasons young people don't get married is the financial factor – to cover all the costs of a traditional wedding, a couple would need 3억~4억 won (300~400 million won), which is more than 300,000 USD. Making matters worse, (Picture 2) South Korea is in the middle of an unemployment crisis and full-time entry level employment with a permanent contract, a prerequisite for saving money, is extremely hard to find.



Picture 2. Average cost of marriage
男은 집, 女는 혼수? 미혼남녀 모두 "됐거든요" Chosun Ilbo.
https://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2016/07/13/2016071300278.html (28.03.2020.)

(New home, wedding, present for future spouse, present for future in-laws, *honsu*, honeymoon)

Confucian norms vs. me-time. The new socioeconomic status of *gold miss*[38] was a frequently discussed issue in Korea[39] about 10 years ago. This was due to a rapid rise in the number of such women who choose a single life over marriage. A *gold miss* is a woman who has graduated university and has a stable job with a high wage and consequently, lives an independent life without the need to rely on anyone else. A *gold miss* is financially unconstrained, living in good circumstances and with disposable income for leisure, material goods and so forth. [40] This lifestyle is the opposite of the traditional gender role prescribed by

[38] The term comes from 'old miss' which originally indicated a woman who couldn't marry.

[39] The phenomenon is not only Korea-specific, it can be observed in other developed Asian countries, like Japan, Taiwan.

[40] There is a term *silver miss*, meaning an unmarried woman in her 30's, but with a less well-paying job and less stable life level, so she cannot afford all the luxury a *gold miss* can. A *silver miss* soon regrets not getting married on time. ("'Koltŭmisŭ' twie karyŏjin 'shilbŏmisŭ'." *Herald Economics* 2010.04.05.)

Confucian ethics.[41] In general, unmarried women can be criticised or blamed for not being able to meet the expectations of a man, but for the *gold miss* this is not the case for they choose not to marry and thus their decision cannot be construed as failure. Young Korean women, unlike their mothers or grandmothers, now have the opportunity to attend tertiary educational institutes to build a career and then travel easily around the world and therefore, living alone is a positive way of life for them.[42] In South Korea's modern consumer-based society they are prospective customers for the fashion, food, and cultural industry, while services such as car companies, travel agencies and many others vie for their business with customized products as well.[43]

Of course, not every unmarried Korean women can attain such high standards of living and count herself as a *gold miss*. Nonetheless, for many of women keeping their freedom is an end in itself. During the talks I had with young Korean women, in answer to the question 'what is the disadvantage of the married life?' half of them replied the lack of 'me-time'. To the question 'what is the advantage of unmarried life?' more than 90% answered 'freedom', but as a disadvantage they mainly mentioned loneliness and instability.

Still, we can observe the weakening of the Confucian norms. Since traditional Korean society was based on patriarchy, girls were always subordinated to other men, either the father or the husband. They had to follow the traditional customs which prescribed the rules of meeting with other people, activities, obligations and relationship principles. A woman's primary role was to give birth to offspring, preferably a boy. There were other strict rules whose purpose was to engender perfect behaviour. For example, women were not allowed to chat too much, to interfere in men's issues, to show jealousy (even at the time of Chosŏn polygamy),[44] and additionally they had to serve their in-laws humbly. To achieve a full and purposeful life, the main life path was to get married and become a mother.[45] Many of these principles were still followed by the generations living in the second half of the 20th century, but nowadays it is different. Although self-realization is still achieved through married life and motherhood, counter cultural forces are evident in women who are constantly fighting for gender equality in society, primarily in their personal relationships and in the workplace. Respecting and helping the in-laws may be still expected, but in contrast with the Chosŏn society, the husband's and the wife's family members

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[41] Hwang 2015: 534–538.

[42] Lee–Kim 2015: 74–76.

[43] Park–An 2008. *The Korea Times.*

[44] During the Chosŏn era (1392–1897), Confucian ideology dominated all the aspects of social life, regulated the hierarchy and prescribed every position's roles. In marriage, especially in the higher classes, polygamy was accepted, meaning a man could have more than one wife.

[45] Kovács 2015: 143–146 and 181–182.

are not distinguished. Women prefer to decide about the important matters of their life for themselves and this results in a tendency not to follow the norms of the older generations.

New social phenomena

Continuing the thoughts of the last paragraph, the clash of old and new traditions give some sense of the paradoxical notions circulating in contemporary Korean society. To the outside observer, South Korea is an advanced and highly technological superpower, largely based on outstanding educational achievement and a disciplined society. However, there is actually a pressing need to overcome the tensions that have built up between the flawed perspectives on personal relationships and modern ways of thinking. Even though the typical female figure has changed greatly compared to the beginning of the 20th century, traditional principles still influence the judgment of the older generations. Through the act of childrearing, primary socialization and so forth, this old-fashioned thinking can be transferred to younger generations, resulting in an exceedingly slow rate of social change. A wide generational gap generates conflicts between family members because the youngsters, who are already adjusted to a modernized lifestyle and way of thinking, have to fight for their own decisions to be accepted within their family. This contradiction can also be considered as one of the factors why newlywed couples prefer to live separately from their parents and to start their married life independently (consequently, the nuclear family model is becoming more and more widespread). Furthermore, such differences of opinion appear in workplaces. Citing a personal example, the experience of one of my Korean friends, who is in her 30's and not yet married, is quite telling. She spent several months in Canada at the end of her 20's to gain some life experiences – strengthening her English language skills and experiencing life outside Korea. On returning home, she found the majority of her contemporaries were married or preparing for marriage and starting a family. She recounted how she had to face social awkwardness each time they had a gathering because those who were married or in the throes of marriage often insisted that she should hurry up before it became too late. They were unable to understand her alternative views on a happy life, one which required postponing early marriage for the enjoyment of time spent abroad, gaining more professional experiences and the benefits of new experiences. Before long these topics of conversation became exhausted as she hated hearing the repeated suggestions for potential husbands or references to her 'time wasting'. What does this story illustrate? Clearly, differences in attitudes to marriage originate not only from ageist ideas but furthermore, may

be connected to family background, personal experiences and the expectations of the surrounding society.

Besides the *gold miss*, we can discuss several new phenomena in the 21st century which are also related to the *pihon yŏsŏng,* namely 'unmarried women'. It is interesting to observe how the Korean language invents expressions to capture modern-day social issues. These are called *shinjoŏ* 신조어 (neologism). To mention a few of these neologisms, we can start with *chok'ababo* 조카바보, which means 'crazy for niece or nephew'. This word describes a tendency for single women who have no children of their own to show affection for their nieces or nephews, spending much time and money on them and bragging about them to others as if these children were their own. It is possible to combine this expression with the already discussed *gold miss*, resulting in the term *gold aunt* (골드앤트) (or gold uncle in the case of men). A similar tendency also appears in childless couples, who also spend a lot of time with their nieces and nephews. This love towards nieces and nephews influences shopping habits as well, driving them to spend more money on gifts for birthdays or children's days.[46] Sometimes this desire can be strong and behaviour can be extreme, resulting in what is called *chok'ababo syndrome*.[47] A similar phenomenon can be observed in Japan, where a new expression 'eight pocket' (에잇포켓) is used to describe a situation where an only child benefits from parents and grandparents from both sides of the family as well as uncles and aunts, all of whom spend time and money on him/her.[48]

In the popular media, the word *pihaengsonyŏ* 비행소녀 first appeared in 2017 (Picture 3) when a Korean channel presented a program featuring unmarried female stars who said they are completely satisfied with their single lifestyle and had no intention of marrying at all.[49] The word *pihaeng* is actually a combination of *pihon* (not married) and *haengbok* (happiness), so the expression literally means 'unmarried happy girl'. Given their age, it is remarkable how positively they evaluate their unmarried life – in contrast to the traditional views.[50] Some-

46 *Ŏrininal* 어린이날 is children's day, celebrated in Korea on the 5th May since 1923. In its first year, it was established with the motto "씩씩하고 참된 소년이 됩시다. 그리고 늘 서로 사랑하며 도와갑시다", saying *"Let's be brave and sincere children. And let's always love and help each other"*. Even today, it is a much enjoyed festive day with various events ("Ŏrininal" *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*).

47 "Shinggŭlchogege nae chashikkat'ŭn kŭ aet't 'chok'ababo' shindŭrom." *Asian Economy.* 2016.06.13.

48 "Chok'aege p'uk ppajin shinggŭltŭl, chok'ababo shindŭrom!" *Life and talk.* 2016.06.20.

49 The reality program was aired between 2017.09.07. – 2018. 07.13., with a total of 46 episodes showing the everyday life of famous Korean women. The publicity poster for the program undoubtedly presented this type of lifestyle in a positive way. (MBN)

50 "'Pihaengsonyŏ' Kim Wansŏn, tebwi 33nyŏn mane chip ilsang ch'ŏt konggae 'pihon sam koengjanghi haengbok manjok'." *Joongang Ilbo.* 2018.04.02.

body who didn't or couldn't get married at the proper age (*chŏktanghan nai* 적당한 나이) was previously stigmatized by society, as it was assumed something was not acceptable with the woman in question.[51] In the program their reasons for an unmarried life were similar: they preferred focusing on their work, they needed their 'me-time' for self-cultivation, they were comfortably accustomed to living alone, or they wanted to marry only if they found a compatible partner. When the ideal partner did not materialise and they grew older, they might have to give up on the idea of marriage and motherhood forever. Nonetheless, this did not result in failure for them.[52]

Not couldn't marry, but don't want to marry?

Picture 3. I am not *mihon*, I am a *pihon*
MBN program information. https://www.mbn.co.kr/vod/programContents/746/4767 (28.03.2020.)

"When are you planning to get married?"

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[51] Lee–Kim 2015: 61–64.

[52] "Pihon mwŏgillae? 'Pihaengsonyŏ' ayumi·chomiryŏng·ch'oeyŏjin 'kyŏrhon? an han kŏt'." *dongA.com.* 2017.09.05.

Here is the answer of those women who get this question every day.
I am happy, even if I am not married!!!
Travel, cooking, dance, songs, club, work…
There are so many things I would do before getting married!
Here is the 'recipe' of those women who can live quite happily alone.

Youngsters are slowly changing their mind about customs related to marriage and weddings as well. For example, traditional money gifts for happy occasions (*ch'ugŭigŭm* 축의금) are now widely discussed by netizens. In South Korea, money gifts usually involve guests handing over an envelope of money to the wedding couple when they attend a wedding. The name of the giver along with their exact amount is registered on a list by the wedding couple. In this way, whenever they attend the wedding of a guest who attended their own wedding, they can return to them an amount of money similar to the amount they received on their wedding day from that guest. Consequently, money gifts represent a zero sum exchange. However, since more and more young people are deciding not to marry, when they do attend weddings and give money as a present they can never get it returned in the traditional way. To solve this problem, there are already people who agree to collect money for their unmarried friends after 10 or 15 years to rebalance the monetary value of the gifts given and received, and this money compensation benefit is called *wirogŭm* 위로금 instead.[53]

These new trends in Korea's rapidly changing society are followed with interest and ease by the world of services and online groups. In Korea we can find the *Unnie network,* a group supportive of women which incorporates feminist ideals in its statement of purpose and site description with such keywords as sister love, cultural movement, networking. Their mission is to create a network for women, regardless of skin colour, gender identity, age, economic background or regional origin, with the purpose of establishing a group to fight against discrimination and help women to fulfil their dreams in different fields. Additionally, the site facilitates sincere discussion among women with regard to familiar problems they face, both large and small, including sexual harassment as well. Events, seminars, courses, publishing periodicals and books, etc. are organized and their website offers a special menu for and about unmarried women, which presents outstanding female figures from the past like Simone de

[53] "[Pihon ŭi kyŏngjehak] Kyŏrhon? chashik? nae salmi chungyohajyo." *Joongang Ilbo.* 2016.07.10.

Beauvoir, Alekszandra Mihajlovna Kollontaj, Kim Iryeop,[54] Na Hyesok,[55] Lee Tai-young,[56] Chung Chilsung,[57] and more.[58]

There are other services that are more socially shocking than internet support groups – these are the photographic studios which target single Koreans who are choosing sologomy. *Pihonsik* 비혼식 is an event organized for a single person who has chosen not to marry and wants to celebrate their decision with family and friends. Single weddings (싱글웨딩) involve no other person but a single bride (or groom), who goes to a photo studio with a beautiful dress, nice hairstyle and makeup to have a photo shoot (스드메 = 스튜디오·드레스·메이크업, *sŭdŭme* [acronym] = studio plus dress plus makeup).[59] They want to have these photos as a memory and they need to take them while they are young. Even if they never have a real marriage, they want to experience the feeling of wearing a wedding dress, which remains a nice fantasy for many girls. The owners of these studios report seeing this as an increasing tendency. Many people were too shy and ashamed to visit a studio some years ago, however, nowadays the average number of photo shoots per week is constantly growing.[60]

As a consequence of these new phenomena, a new group of consumers is forming. These are the ones who live in one-person households and whose purchasing habits reflect a closer attention to the interior of their home, self-cultivation, hobbies, leisure. (Those who can't afford their own residence, in many cases live together with flat mates.) The real estate market is also paying attention to their needs.[61]

Living together before marriage

The issue of premarital cohabitation (*honjŏndonggŏ* 혼전동거 婚前同居) in South Korea, as a social question that concerns many in and outside Korea, is clearly a topic for a paper all of its own, Here I would like to simply present the basic notions and problems regarding the generational gap on this issue in Korea.

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[54] 김일엽 (1896–1971) Buddhist nun, writer, poet, activist.

[55] 나혜석 (1896–1948) painter, sculptor, activist.

[56] 이태영 (1914–1998) lawyer, activist.

[57] 정칠성 (1897–1958?) dancer, activist.

[58] Unni network website.

[59] "'Nanŭn nawa kyŏrhonhanda'… shinggŭrweding sŏnt'aek'anŭn 'sollogomijok'." *Asian Economy.* 2018.03.22.

[60] "'Namp'yŏn ŏpsŏdo kwaench'ana' nahollo kyŏrhonhanŭn 'shinggŭrwedingjok'." *Money today.* 2015.07.10.

[61] "[Pihon ŭi kyŏngjehak] Kyŏrhon? chashik? nae salmi chungyohajyo." *Joongang Ilbo.* 2016.07.10.

Differences of opinion regarding marriage beliefs are under pressure because the percentage of the younger generation who accept cohabitation before marriage is constantly growing, in spite of the fact that it was unimaginable even a few decades ago. Parents still have a strong influence on their children's decision regarding marriage, and this extends to cohabitation as well. In a common case, if parents are decidedly against cohabitation, it will not even occur to the young couple to attempt it without permission. Nonetheless, the aforementioned problems and difficulties that affect young people's everyday lives drive them to try new things, in the hope that these may provide solutions or at least a helpful alternative. Premarital cohabitation falls exactly into this category.

It is important to distinguish *pihondonggŏ* (비혼동거 同居). This refers to two people who are living together as a couple or life partners, but who don't plan to marry at all. Although *pihondonggŏ* is not so common, it is slowly spreading as a way of life. This alternative 'family type' is not simply one of convenience but also an expression of current society as well.[62]

Among the definitions, we may meet the term 'precursor to marriage cohabitation' (*yebidonggŏ* 예비동거 豫備同居). It aims to reveal the compatibility of a future husband and wife who have already decided to get married.[63] But in most cases, there is no firm decision on the subject of marriage yet; they simply decide to move in together and start a life with somebody they like without the pressure of marriage customs, obligations and family issues – the critical point here is that they may have to do this in secret, meaning that the parents and relatives remain unaware if possible. As I have heard from Koreans, sometimes it is not enough to move far away from the people who might criticize this decision. The couple must pay attention to the neighborhood as well, because if conservative-minded people live next door, they can also interfere and start conflicts.

Often, cohabitation is a test before the first marriage or it is a new alternative to couples living separately. In more and more cases though, it provides a path for those who have already quit a failed marriage via divorce and choose cohabitation before remarrying. (Detailed research takes other factors into consideration such as educational background, age group, family background, employment status, etc.)[64] It can be observed that the ratio of cohabiting households is increasing in line with the rise in divorce rates. Those couples who decide to live their lives together in cohabitation in general or try cohabitation before getting married are living in a more healthy relationship because gender equality is achieved more naturally and easily within them. (Sometimes the tra-

[62] Yu 2015: 86.
[63] Lee 2008: 80.
[64] Lee 2008: 97.

ditional gender roles' reversal might happen as well.)[65] Cohabitation is usually more influential in the lives of women because it guides their decisions more strongly. Premarital cohabitation means also having sex before marriage, which is still generally seen as a taboo. Moreover, cohabitation does not necessarily lead to marriage as the experiences gathered during the cohabitation period might make the man or woman reconsider their future plans and sometimes result in the cancellation of wedding plans, although this is actually a positive outcome in a way as it prevents a possible divorce.[66]

To understand the cohabitation issue in Korea, it is important to take a range of factors into consideration: thoughts on marriage within the given society, negative judgments on children born out of wedlock,[67] acceptance of criticism from family members, gender roles and financial management of the cohabiting couple, relationship to the future in-laws, and last but not least, notions of family itself. This last one can regard to the question of children, or in today's society to pets as well.[68] To draw a full picture of the nature of premarital cohabitation, naturally requires a fuller and more detailed discussion of this topic.

Closing remarks

The topic of this paper has focused on current questions surrounding marriage and the rise in single lifestyles, from the point of view of Korean women. As we can see from research, statistics and anecdotal sources as well, contemporary Korean society is now facing several declines which generate a series of problems. Nowadays it is not only academic researchers who are eager to reveal all the relevant data regarding the novel decisions of young Korean, but also the government, which is paying particular attention to new developments affecting young Koreans because their decisions may well have a direct influence on economic, demographic and social aspects of South Korean society. There is an urgent need to find a solution to encourage not only women, but also men to find happiness and stability inside a healthy relationship, but the issue is more complex. Clearly, we need to analyse all these factors within the frame of Korean ways of thinking and customs. However, as Western researchers it may be useful to make comparisons with European societies because, in general, the above mentioned difficulties are not unique to South Korea indeed several developed nations are fighting with the same problems.

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[65] Lee 2008: 98.

[66] Kim 2006: 63–66.

[67] Kim 2006: 66–68.

[68] Yu 2015: 88–96.

As for Korea, first steps should give priority to developing women's facilities and daycare centers, disseminating educational material on child care and child-rearing for men, encouraging companies to think over their policies toward female employees especially those with or intending to have children, re-evaluating Confucian norms and confirming their actuality in the 21st century. Unfortunately, only when sexist atmospheres inside workplaces and the dominant ideas held by society about family formation and gender roles change sufficiently, will new laws or measures have their desired effect.

This paper has discussed several questions and presented some of the new phenomena related to *pihon yŏsŏng,* yet there are still many more to be discussed and analysed. I hope this overview and summary will assist further research, comparison and evaluation on the topic of unmarried young Koreans.

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Passage from Youth to Adulthood in Japan: Coming of Age Rituals and the Process of Change

Coming of age is one of the major transitions in the human life cycle. Marking the period which separates childhood from adulthood, the length of this period can vary from person to person, or from culture to culture. It is also closely connected to the legal age of adulthood, which varies between societies. Similarly, in different historical periods the specific age at which a given society associates the start of adulthood varies within that same society. The process of coming of age is a complex one that entails physical, psychological as well as social maturity of the person. There exist a range of instruments that societies use to culturally "treat" the passage to adulthood. One way of acknowledging this change is the coming of age ritual which belongs to the category of rites of passage, defined and labelled in the early years of the twentieth century by the French-Belgian anthropologist, Arnold van Gennep.[1] In Japanese society, a number of coming of age rites have existed during its history and whose forms varied on the basis of social class, gender, and local custom. All these historical forms belong today to a tradition that is still remembered but rarely observed in an unchanged forms. After WWII, a new form of coming of age rite was established by the Japanese state and it is this form that young Japanese people observe today throughout the country. The present article will discuss the major changes that affected the coming of age rite in Japan, starting with a description of the well-known traditional forms before addressing the present day situation in which the new modern form is facing challenges due to upcoming changes in the age of legal adulthood.

[1] In 1909, *The Rites of Passage* (van Gennep 1960).

Transition and rites of passage

As mentioned above, in his seminal work from 1909, van Gennep, basing his theory on the analyses of a number of disparate cultures, pointed out that there are rituals that are observed in most cultures and that these rituals often share a common structure.[2] These rites usually marked important turning points or thresholds in the lives of the community and/or of its individual members. Such critical junctures were, for example, pregnancy, birth, coming of age, marriage, and death. In van Gennep's understanding, 'rites of passage' – the name he adopted for these rituals – marked critical junctures and at the same time facilitated the transition that was perceived as a moment of crisis in the examined communities. Rituals had the function of helping to control the crisis and also to give social acknowledgement to a change that was taking place at a physical level.[3] Furthermore, rites of passage also spoke to the difference that existed between social and physical puberty, or between social and physical parenthood.

Generally speaking, rituals work in a complex way and this makes it possible for rituals to have multiple effects and to work on multiple levels, symbolic as well as social. It is through rituals that the child becomes a 'complete' or 'full-fledged' member of the community. In brief, van Gennep explained rituals as instruments that assist in the task of elaborating and appropriating change and transformation in the society. In the decades following the publication of van Gennep's seminal work, generations of scholars have elaborated on various aspects of his theory. Among others, the anthropologists Victor Turner and Mary Douglas showed how rites of passage produce positive effects not only for the community, but also for individuals concerned.[4] In this regard, James Bossard and E. Stoker Boll emphasized the psychological aspects of rites of passage that have the potential to restore equilibrium during periods that are perceived to be a transitional and distinguished by increased vulnerability. To this end, they argued that rites of passage are essential in the social development of the individual.[5]

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[2] Van Gennep 1960.

[3] Van Gennep 1960: 60–68.

[4] Turner 1969 and Douglas 2003 (1970).

[5] The authors exposed this theory in their *The Sociology of Child Development* 1960(1948). For elaboration of this theory see also their work *Ritual in Family Living* (1950).

Cultural specifics of coming of age in Japan

Coming of age rituals have a rich tradition in Japanese society as already mentioned above. Japanese culture has always been particularly rich in this type of ritual and there have been several theoretical attempts to explain this fact. Japanese folklore literature places rites of passage into the overall cosmology that is used to embrace everyday life and customs of individual members and their communities in the past. The theoretical frame known as a cyclical life view (*junkanteki seimeikan* 循環的生命観), in other words, 'circular or cyclic life-view' is based on Kunio Yanagida's original interpretation of the progress of the human soul during the entire life and after death cycle.[6] Another observation points to the heightened perceptivity of the Japanese people towards age. According to this observation, compared to the Westerners, the Japanese are distinguished by a higher sensitivity and in particular emphasize, *positive* sensitivity regarding age and ageing.[7] Stronger age awareness can be noted, for example, in their attitudes towards belonging to a particular age group or towards ageing in general. Old age, indeed, is not associated as much with negative views as is more commonly the case in contemporary Western cultures. On the contrary, ageing is seen as the accumulation of experience, which is highly valued in Japanese society.[8] The high number of elderly people in elevated positions, administrative and industrial, clearly demonstrate this reality. Moreover, belonging to an age group defines behaviour and finds expression in language, in dress style and consumer behaviour, too.[9]

The importance of acknowledging the process of coming of age in Japanese history is evident in many aspects of the culture and across wide segments of the population. Historical documents and collections of ancient laws (Yōrō ritsuryō 養老律令) include notions of age for the individuals and point out certain

[6] Itabashi 2007: 288–291. For an English language account of this see Papp 2016, for Hungarian, Papp 2011.

[7] In this regard, Augustin Berque makes an interesting observation, saying that Japanese cultural values change over 'substance' or 'being', therefore 'becoming', or 'transformation' gains more attention from the society (Berque 1995: 252–254).

[8] Rohlen 1976: 141. There is a number of non-Japanese scholars of Japanese society who explored the subject of cultural interpretations of age and ageing in Japanese culture. See among them D. W. Plath ("The After Years" in D. Cowgill and L. Holmes (eds.) *Aging and Modernization*. New York, 1972, 133–150).

[9] Divisions by age groups can be observed in many spheres of everyday life in Japan. In traditional agricultural communities age groups were active parts of community organization. In modern Japan, the system of career progress in companies is mainly based on the number of years spent in the same company. Another example of this is the media where there is a wide range of journals that address distinct age segments. Consumption is also majorly aligned along distinct age groups (Papp 2016).

ages as being important thresholds from a legal point of view.[10] So for example, before the age of ten, children were not regarded – legally – as responsible for crimes.[11] Emphasis on rituals marking the passage of age altered with changes taking place in the society, in particular those regarding social structure. Ryō no shūge 令集解 , a ninth century legal document, lists the ages of three and seven as limits for the jurisdiction of a number of regulations.[12] Descriptions of age rites emerge in several annals of upper social class families from the 15th century.[13] These age rites included the rite of *hakama*[14] *(hakamagi* 袴儀), which later became a popular rite of passage for samurai sons in samurai society.[15] Rites of passage that highlighted affirmation, demonstration, and perpetuation of social standing acquired a central role, particularly in those social groups that attributed major significance to these aspects. Thus, when the warrior samurai class rose to political power and gained higher social status, age rites originally observed only by high ranking court noble families were imitated and appropriated by samurai families.[16] The rite of *hakamagi* was adopted by samurai families for male children, as part of the series of coming of age rites guiding the male child towards adulthood and on the path to become a faithful vassal of his shogun. The ritual indicated that the samurai son was from this moment on allowed to put on his first formal crested garment.[17] Between the age of 13-16, the completion of another rite of passage called *genpuku* 元服 was the condition that preceded the formal introduction of the samurai boy to his immediate lord.

Genpuku **and age groups in traditional Japan**

Generational groups, also called "age groups", were common in pre-Meiji Japan, in particular in rural communities. During the modernization of Japan these groups gradually lost their function in the community, some of their roles being taken over by the state and the newly established educational institutions.

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[10] Sakurai 1938: 121.

[11] See also Yamaji 2005.

[12] In the ninth volume of Ryō no shūge (Sakurai 1938: 121).

[13] Sugawara 2007: 229 and Sugawara 2000: 47–51.

[14] *Hakama* is a pants-like garment in the traditional Japanese dress, originally worn by court nobles of both sexes. Later it became part of the ceremonial male clothing of the samurai class. See also Papp 2016.

[15] For a list of historical documents mentioning age related rituals observed among noble and samurai families, see Tsuboi 1976.

[16] Tsuboi 1976: 166–170.

[17] The crested formal garment worn for the ritual had a central role in the samurai society in which heritage and the continuation of the family line were viewed as of particular import. See more on this Papp 2016.

In the past, age groups had diverse functions and roles in the community, ranging from the preparation of the village festivities to fire protection. The activities were organized according to the group and participation in its activities was considered important for the individual's social education. The youngest cohort was made up of children between 7 and 14 years of age (called *kodomogumi* 子供組) after which boys between the age of 14 and 16 entered the youth group called *wakamonogumi* 若者組, girls into *musumegumi* 娘組. In the case of girls, eligibility to enter the *musumegumi* was on the condition of their first menstruation (*shochō* 初潮), while in the case of boys it was their physical strength that made them eligible.[18] The transition from one group to another was marked by a rite of passage, whose form varied from region to region and by social class. In rural places one type of ritual for celebrating a girl's maturity was the *heko iwai* 兵児祝い (or *fundoshi iwai* 褌祝い). This ritual indicated that the girl received her first piece of loincloth worn by adult women. This was seen as part of the sexual education of girls and as a sign of the beginning of their sexual maturity. The custom of teeth blackening (*kanetsuke* 鉄漿) was also observed as a female coming of age rite but sometimes it was performed only upon marriage. A change in clothing and in physical appearance (hair, blackening) was a frequent element of these coming of age rites, and of rites of passage, in general. The changed physical appearance, brought about by a new piece of cloth or an adult hairstyle, was seen as a visible acknowledgment of the new social status acquired by the young adult.

Another widely observed coming of age rite for boys was the *genpuku* which was known throughout history by many different names, such as *kakan* 加冠, *eboshi iwai* 烏帽子, *uikōburi* 初冠, names that described the head wear *(eboshi, kanmuri)* placed ceremonially on the head of the boy. The rules that defined which head cover is associated to which age varied by social class and changed over the course of history but, in general, it marked the period from when the young person was allowed to wear adult head wear. The hair style was adjusted in order to make it suitable to carry the head cover (by shaving or by tying it, depending on the custom). Boys also received a new name and abandoned their childhood name. All these changes were aimed at reinforcing the awareness of a symbolic rebirth, in other words the emergence of a new identity coupled with new social responsibilities and social status.[19]

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[18] Iwata 1999. For an English language account of age groups and their place in the social structure of Japanese rural communities see Fukutake 1972: 96–116 and Papp 2016: 229.

[19] Akata 1979.

The birth of the modern coming of age rite, the *seijinshiki*

The traditional coming of age rites in Japan have gradually faded away during the period following the Meiji Restoration (1868). With the social and economic transformation of traditional village communities, age groups lost their function. Similarly, the social structure of Japanese society underwent major transformation. After the end of the WWII, the country found itself in need of rebuilding its structures and communities which had been heavily affected by the war and prior militarization. In 1946, the youth organization (*seinendan* 青年団) of Warabi town 蕨市 (Saitama prefecture) decided to hold a ceremony for its local group of young adults with the aim to raise the spirit of the future generations after the societal depression caused by the war.

The young population was expected to carry the weight of rebuilding the nation, which had been devastated by the war, and boost the country's economy. The public ceremony organized by the youth organization of the town of Warabi was to represent the hopes that the town's adult population held towards its young adults. The news of this ceremony soon spread to the national media and the Japanese government decided to make the ceremony a model for a public coming-of-age event to be integrated into the national holiday calendar. In 1948 the law regarding national holidays was issued and January 15th, traditionally the end of the New Year's celebrations (*koshōgatsu* 小正月), was selected for Adults' National Day (*seijin no hi* 成人の日). In 1949, the government ordered town and cities to establish ceremonies on this day and by the 1960s over 90% of municipalities were already organizing *seijinshiki* ceremonies for their young population. In present times, this figure has risen to 99% of municipalities holding *seijinshiki*. Even private companies organize their own *seijinshiki* ceremonies for their young employees reaching adulthood in the preceding year. In 2001, the date of the *seijin no hi* was moved to the second Monday of January.

Until the 1990s, when the baby boom generation (born in the 1970s) reached 20 years of age, *seijinshiki* celebrations were held in public halls, organized by town councils. Afterwards, due to the growing influence of the falling birth rate, the number of young people started to decrease and big town halls began to seem too big for these ceremonies. As a consequence, nowadays, *seijinshiki* ceremonies in many towns are held in schools, though their organization continues to be led by municipalities. Since 2000, another change which impacts the ceremony has occurred. During the ceremony the behaviour of young people started to visibly deteriorate. Instances increased of young attendees of the ceremony showing undesirable conduct, such as shouting, causing public offense by rude manners, throwing objects on the stage, gathering outside the hall, consuming

alcohol, using cell phones during the ceremony, and street disorders.[20] All the more worrying were some cases in which misbehaviour resulted in arrests. These incidents soon aroused media attention and stirred public debate about social problems concerning the younger generation. Public discourse centered on issues of whether the tradition of *seijinshiki* should be discontinued or whether there needed to be reform of the content of *seijinshiki* ceremonies. Some critics questioned the authentic meaning of the ceremony, saying that it was only an empty shell and without a genuine purpose in a society where a sense of community has been lost. Others pointed to the fact that youth at the age of 20 could not be seen as independent – either financially and emotionally – and therefore the meaning of the coming of age ritual was lost. Indeed, several opinion polls show that the majority of young adults do not consider themselves as adults and are still financially dependent on their parents.[21] Moreover, young people nowadays feel too much the pressure of responsibility of adulthood, and on the other hand general optimism for the future stagnates at low levels. Regardless of these issues, print and electronic media continue to closely follow *seijinshiki* ceremonies throughout the country every year. Irresponsible behaviour is monitored and promptly exposed in the media directing public attention to the allegedly deteriorating moral qualities of the younger generations (*moraru teika* モラル低下). Critics often underline that *seijinshiki* should be the place where young persons show their maturity and preparedness to behave like adults, instead of being an occasion to show up and misbehave. The intensity of criticism surrounding these incidents is worthy of examination. Public misbehaviour has been always seen as something socially unacceptable in the Japanese society. To know and follow the socially approved rules of formal behaviour is considered as sign of maturity and consequently, the formal occasion of *seijinshiki* is seen manifestly as a symbol of maturity. The meaning of the *seijinshiki* ritual is, after all, the acknowledgment of adulthood. Offending the rules on this occasion is perceived as a very sensitive issue by the majority of adult society. This can explain the heightened attention with which the Japanese public follows year after year the celebration of the *seijinshiki* and the incidents that accompany some of these events. However, it is important to keep in mind that young people causing trouble represent only a small percentage of all attendees.

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[20] In Okinawa young people, called *yankii* ヤンキー, often parade in town center driving extravagant rented cars. Occasionally fights with police, too arise.

[21] Every year a relatively big number of surveys on the opinion of new adults about becoming adult and their attendance in *seijinshiki* are undertaken and published. They are carried out by several organizations and companies. See for example: https://www.linebiz.com/jp/column/research/20200110/ https://www.macromill.com/r_data/20140108shinseijin/, https://prtimes.jp/main/html/rd/p/000000527.000000624.html.

In order to understand the phenomenon, it is also necessary to hear from the other side. When asked about the incidents, young people say that *seijinshiki* is seen as a rare occasion where they can allow themselves to relax and feel free from the pressure that the society otherwise places on them. The occasion is also seen by many young people as place to meet their old classmates, especially as the celebration gathers together persons who attended the same middle school.[22] It is also thought to be the last occasion when classmates and old friends can meet before becoming committed to family and regular work. The event of *seijinshiki* has been seen as an occasion for meeting old classmates since long before these problems started. This trend has also been strengthened by the decision of many town councils to move the place of *seijinshiki* to the gym of middle and high schools, a tendency which has grown since the 1990s. Another trend sees the *seijinshiki* organized during the summer months, in particular in August, not by municipalities in this case, but by ex-classmates. This is typical for those students who attended a secondary school not in their hometown. These young adults prefer to see their classmates instead of attending official *seijinshiki* events in their hometown.[23]

Regarding the age of majority, for a number of years the change of the legal age of adulthood has been under serious consideration in Japan. Recently, it has been decided to change it from 20 to 18 years of age and the government has enacted a bill which will take effect in 2022, April. This is the first time in Japan's modern history since 1876 that the age of adulthood has changed. A step preparing for this was the lowering of the voting age from 20 to 18 in 2015, probably with the aim to counterbalance the shrinking number of young people in this ageing country. This decision also caused questions about the timing of *seijinshiki* emerge, dividing the public opinion in two groups, one of which says that the celebration of *seijinshiki* should follow the legal adulthood age, the second saying that there is no sense in celebrating a coming of age rituals for young persons who are yet to finish their secondary education.

Conclusion

Seijinshiki is a coming of age ritual and it is not merely a symbolic action, but a social one as well. Not only can rituals reflect changes in society, but also they can integrate and embed change. In this sense, rituals are active agents in society and serve as a mirror of and to the society. At the same time, they play an active role in the elaboration of societal changes. The concept of change is not easily

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[22] Town councils send invitation to all young persons registered with their home address within their administrative unit.

[23] Personal communication from professor Ishii Kenji, Kokugakuin Daigaku, 2015.

interpreted within the ritual's interpretative framework. Rituals are often judged and appreciated because of adherence to traditions; people expect rituals to convey traditional values, norms and rules.[24] When change takes place in a ritual, it is always difficult to interpret, both for the scholar, ritual expert, and lay public. The contemporary practice of *seijinshiki* is an excellent example how change is integrated as well as reflected throughout the practice of ritual. On one hand, *seijinshiki,* despite being a modern invention, is nourished by a century-long tradition of ritual culture that placed at its centre the passage in human life course, the major examples of which have been listed above. On the other hand, changes over the last two decades show that *seijinshiki*, while continuing to be regarded by the public as an important event marking a threshold in the human life cycle, now also mirrors a number of problems that Japanese society has been facing in recent times. However, critical voices targeting the misbehaviour of young people during the ceremony disregard a basic function of rituals expressed by Victor Turner in his seminal work from 1969, *The Ritual Process*.[25] Turner described ritual process as a movement from structure to communitas and again back to structure. Accordingly, in rites of passage individuals or groups become liberated from the structure in order to enter the communitas, and subsequently, once revitalized from the experience of communitas, they return to the structure. Through the rite of passage, individuals become integrated into the structure, in other words, into the society, in a more complete way. As we hear from young Japanese, life in the structure, i.e., in the adult society, represents many difficulties and hardships. It demands decision making, responsibility, sacrifice, and hence, it can become hard and tedious. The ritual of *seijinshiki* offers an occasion – even if for a limited period of time – where within controlled circumstances members of the society can experience the regenerating power of communitas and all that comes with it, freedom and liberation. Moreover, ritual is also an occasion when the society's values and norms are re-examined.[26]

In brief, today, the passage from youth to adulthood occurs in a very different manner compared to the pre-modern past in Japan. It is no longer concentrated in one short period of time but rather spread over a longer period during which symbolic events of transition such as school entrance ceremonies, graduation exams all represent single stations in this lengthy process. In Japanese society, rituals like *seijinshiki* still comprise part of this process, a fact which on one hand indicates that Japanese culture continues to give importance to the ritual treatment of passage. On the other hand, problems emerging within *seijinshiki* reflect social processes and problems taking place in present day Japan.

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[24] Grimes 1982: 541.

[25] Turner 1969: 129.

[26] Turner 1969: 129.

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A Historical Glimpse into the Family Relations

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From Family Crisis to State Crisis The Case of Former Yan (Qian Yan 前燕, 285/337–370), a Xianbei Conquest Dynasty

Former Yan, a state in Northeast China was established by the Murong 慕容 tribe of the Xianbei 鮮卑, a partly nomadic people who had moved to the vicinity of the Chinese frontier in the 220s. The Murong gradually accommodated themselves to Chinese ways and having defeated their rivals along the frontier by the 340s, they became a major power in North China.[1] A decade later they destroyed Later Zhao (Hou Zhao 後趙, 319–351) – once the strongest one among the states north of the Yellow River – and their ruler assumed imperial dignity. By this time the Murong were close to becoming the masters of North China. Schreiber argues that one of the secrets of their success lay in the creation and operation of the Yan government as "a family affair". Claiming that as a result of it Yan was a stable state, relatively void of internal turmoil and civil war.[2] However the "promise and potential" of the Murong "was abruptly cut short in 370 when it was conquered by the even more powerful Former Qin (Qian Qin 前秦, 351–394) Empire."[3]

This paper argues that deteriorating family relations within the ruling elite – which despite dragging on for about two decades did not lead to serious armed conflict – did nonetheless play a major role in the gradual demise of the Murong's state. Below I examine the causes of this deterioration and aim to shed light on the connections between the crisis it precipitated and earlier attempts to forestall such a crisis.

[1] Holocombe 2013: 10–15.

[2] Schreiber 1956: 120.

[3] Holocombe (2013: 14) gives the dates of Former Qin's existence as (351–384). This is an error that might have been caused by the notion that Former Qin's fragmentation started in this year after its devastating defeat by the troops of the Eastern Jin dynasty (Dong Jin 東晉, 317–420). This fragmentation and Former Qin's the subsequent struggle for survival lasted for another decade and came to its end only in 394.

The Root of the Problem

The crisis of the Murong leadership started with a worsening relationship between two brothers, Murong Chui 慕容垂 (originally called Murong Ba 慕容霸) and Murong Jun 慕容俊/儁, sons of Murong Huang 慕容皝, the king (*wang* 王) of Yan, who died in 348. During the preceding decades the Murong had risen from a rather weak Xianbei tribe to become the most formidable power of Northeast China, and in this, Murong Chui played a huge part.

The *Jinshu* 晉書 records that during the reign of Murong Huang, Chui and his uncle, Murong Han 慕容翰 took part in a military expedition against Koguryeo in 342 and against a neighboring Xianbei tribe, the Yuwen 宇文in 344. During these campaigns both Han and Chui are recorded to have fought on the front line. Both campaigns resulted in victory for the Murong. In the Koguryeo campaign they captured 50 000 people from Koguryeo, dug up the corpse of the king's father and took them along with the present king's still living mother to their capital at Longcheng 龍城 (today: Liaoning 辽宁, Chaoyang 潮阳 city). The Koguryeo king then sent his brother with presents to the Murong court and managed to retrieve his father's remains, but his mother was obliged to stay in Longcheng so as to ensure her son's obedience. The Yuwen were also utterly defeated. Their chief, Yuwen Yidougui 宇文逸豆歸 fled to the north and died a year later. His tribe was conquered and relocated near Changli 昌黎 (today: Liaoning, 辽宁, Chaoyang 潮阳 city).[4]

For his contribution in destroying the Yuwen, Chui was created the *Marquis of Duxiang* (Duxiang hou 都鄉侯), and later he was posted near the Tu 徒river, which formed a border with the Murong's major rival, Later Zhao. Here he successfully prevented the Later Zhao general, Deng Heng 鄧恆 from launching a campaign comprising troops numbering several tens of thousands against Yan.[5]

Murong Huang had at least 19 sons and a daughter.[6] We know from our sources that he applauded his fifth son, Murong Chui's abilities, but in the end he designated his then eldest living son (second by birth), Murong Jun as his heir. When Huang died and Jun ascended the throne in 348, their western neighbor, Later Zhao was still posing a serious threat to Yan. Moreover, the founders of Yan's next major rival, Former Qin were still subjects of Later Zhao. In the followings I will argue that not only did Murong Huang's decision on the succession determined the future of his two sons Chui and Jun's relationship but, as a result of this also Yan's relationship with its rivals and ultimately its fate.

[4] JS 109.2822, 123.3077.

[5] JS 123.3077, ZZTJ 97.3069.

[6] We only know of one daughter, the one who married Tuoba Shiyijian 拓跋什翼犍, the last prince (*wang* 王) of the Tabgach Dai 代 (310–376) state, in 344.

Our sources provide very brief and somewhat different explanations about the circumstances of Huang's designation of his heir. The *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 says the following:

> "Initially the king of Yan, Huang, was amazed by Ba's (Chui's original name) talent. That is why he gave him the name Ba and was about to designate him as his heir. His ministers however admonished him and prevented [him from doing that]. Nonetheless he treated him more favorably than the heir apparent (Jun). Therefore Jun despised Ba."[7]
>
> 初，燕王皝奇霸之才，故名之曰霸，將以為世子，群臣諫而止，然寵遇猶逾於世子。由是儁惡之。

The *Jinshu* on the other hand, does not state explicitly that Huang first wanted to designate Chui as heir, but still makes it clear that Chui was his favorite son:

> "Murong Chui was Huang's fifth son and his courtesy name was Daoming. Already as a young boy he stood out by his talent and abilities. He stood seven feet and seven inches tall, and his arms hung below his knees. Huang was very much fond of him and often turned to his younger brothers saying: 'This boy with his broad mind and curiosity will ultimately be able to defeat others or become a great person. Therefore he gave him the name Ba and the courtesy name Daoye and favored him over the heir, Jun. Because of this, Jun could not live in peace with him."[8]
>
> 慕容垂，字道明，皝之第五子也。少岐嶷有器度，身長七尺七寸，手垂過膝。皝甚寵之，常目而謂諸弟曰：此兒闊達好奇，終能破人家，或能成人家。故名霸，字道業，恩遇逾於世子儁，故儁不能平之。

Chui's original name, Ba 霸 meaning "first among the princes" clearly indicates Huang's partiality towards him. The depictions of Chui's appearance and physical prowess in the chronicles are also telling. A number of other prominent figures from the era are recorded to possess similar superb physical characteristics as Chui. For example the Xiongnu 匈奴 Liu Yuan 劉淵, founder of the first of the so called Sixteen Barbarian states, Han-Zhao (漢趙 304–329) is described in the *Jinshu* as having long arms like those of an ape (*yuanbi*猿臂) and being a good archer (*shanshe* 善射). He was stronger than others (*lüli guoren* 膂力

[7] ZZTJ 99.3140.

[8] JS 123.3077.

過人) and had a massive, tall body (*ziyi kuiwein* 姿儀魁偉).[9] He stood eight feet and four inches.[10] His nephew, Liu Yao 劉曜, whom he admired, similarly to Murong Chui, had arms hanging below his knees (*chuishou guox*i 垂手過膝) and had red light in his eyes (*muyou chiguang* 目有赤光).[11] Murong Han, one of Chui's uncles is also characterized as having ape-like arms and being a skillful archer (*yuanbi gongshe* 猿臂工射).[12] Another notable person of similar physique is none other than Fu Jian 苻堅, the formidable future adversary of the Murong. Fu Jian is also described as having arms hanging below his knees (*bichui guoxi* 臂垂過膝), and having purplish light (*muyou ziguang* 目有紫光) in his eyes. His father, Fu Hong 苻洪 found it curious and (because of this) liked him (*qi er aizhi* 奇而愛之).[13] It is also noteworthy that both Chui and Fu Jian were favored by their fathers because – or at least partly because – of their outstanding or peculiar physical features, especially long arms.

Jun is also recorded as possessing unusual bodily features. According to the *Jinshu* when Jun was born his grandfather, Murong Hui noticed that his bones were somewhat unusual (*gu xiang buheng* 骨相不恆) and took it as a sign of Jun one day becoming an emperor. Jun is also described as having a tall, robust body and possessing both literary talent and military prowess (*you wen wu ganlüe* 有文武幹略).[14] In the latter, however, Murong Chui exceeded him by far.

From the above it is clear that an unhealthy rivalry developed between the two bothers. Jun was resentful of Chui, probably in part because of his previous military achievements. Besides this, we cannot exclude the possibility that Murong Hui's admiration and treatment of Jun as future emperor, which was discontinued and diverted to Chui by his father, was a factor here.

Like nearly all military leaders of the era, Chui (at that time still named Ba) too loved to hunt. According to our sources[15] during one such occasion he fell off his horse and broke his front teeth. Jun then referring to his loss of teeth changed Ba's name first to Que, which means "deficient". Later he discovered that the character had an auspicious meaning in prophesies,[16] and thus he again changed his brother's name to Chui 垂, by the deletion of the 夬 part of the character.

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[9] A variant of this particular expression is found in the description of Tuyan 吐延 (JS 97.2538), son of Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 and founder of the Tuyuhun Kingdom: *xiongzi kuijie* 雄姿魁傑.

[10] JS 101.2646.

[11] JS 103.2683.

[12] JS 109.2826.

[13] JS 113.2883.

[14] JS 110.2831, Schreiber 1956: 2.

[15] JS 123.3077, ZZTJ 99, TPYL 125.605.

[16] In TPYL 125.605 and JS 123.3077: *chenji zhi wen* 讖記之文, in ZZTJ 99.3140: *ying chenwen* 應讖文.

Murong Ba's new final name, Chui, does not have a discernible negative meaning, but Jun's initial attempt to give him a scornful name, overtly speaks of his animosity towards Chui. Unfortunately, our sources do not tell us what sorts of emotions Chui had towards Jun.

The Succession of Murong Jun

From the above we can see that Huang had overtly favored Chui and according to one of our sources wanted Chui to succeed him. However, later he was dissuaded from doing so by his ministers. Schreiber, citing this same source,[17] writes that "The court protested because Jun had the right of succession by his priority of birth". Despite this, the Chinese text of this part of the chapter does not mention the reason for the protest.

It does not explain why they stopped him and thus Schreiber's explanation that "Jun had the right of succession by his priority of birth" is clearly not evidenced in the source. While Schreiber is most probably right in assuming that Jun's priority of birth was the reason, it leaves unanswered the question why the priority of birth was so important for the officials.

On this point, De Crespigny puts forward the following argument about succession in China: "In China imperial succession came to the son who was chosen by the reigning emperor: it was often advantageous for the dynasty that the eldest son should be chosen, but it was not always desirable and certainly not required."[18] With this in mind, one might not be mistaken to assume that the officials' protest was not merely for the sake of convention, but probably was due to concerns about the possibility of Jun's rebellion if Chui had succeeded his father.

Furthermore, Jun's claim to the throne would not only have been supported by the traditional Chinese preference for the first son, but also by the fact that the precedent of such successions had already been set in Yan. Both the father, Murong Huang, and grandfather, Murong Hui 慕容廆 were the eldest sons of their father. In all probability the officials knew the sons' temperaments well and, perhaps by judging their personalities, could see that Chui would be less likely to revolt if Jun succeeded their father. Additionally, Chui's claim to the throne – despite being favored by his father – was weaker than Jun's by traditional Chinese standards. To all appearances the intention of Huang's officials was to prevent or at least to minimize the chances of a civil war. If this holds true, they were successful, but only in the short term. Chui did not revolt, but on the contrary he continued to serve Yan's interests with exceptional dedication.

[17] ZZTJ 99.3140.
[18] De Crespigny 1984: 510–511/32.

Nonetheless, as we shall see, in the long run Chui's loyalty and further achievements were the very factors that fed Jun's jealousy and thus accelerated the development of a serious crisis – but for the time being – not civil war within the Yan government.

I am convinced that Jun's later suspicious and hostile treatment of Chui, was not solely based on his general resentment of Chui might try to seize the throne from him at an opportune moment. The Xianbei traditions of assuming leadership had been radically different from the Chinese, and despite the fact that the Murong had already adopted Chinese ways in the times of Chui and Jun, these old traditions had not completely vanished. De Crespigny argues, for instance, that among the Wuhuan 烏桓 (close relatives of the Xianbei) the chiefs' power was not hereditary.[19] According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 the Wuhuan elected as chiefs those who were brave, strong, and able to make just decisions.[20] The Xianbei ruler, Tanshihuai's 檀石槐 ascent in the mid-2nd century A.D. suggests that similarly to the Wuhuan, the Xianbei too traditionally elected their rulers based on their abilities and personal qualities.[21] The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 describes Tanshihuai as "brave, strong and wise and resourceful" (*yongjian you zhilüe* 勇健有智略) and records that he was elected chief (*tui yi wei daren* 推以為大人) after he defeated an adversary who had stolen livestock from his family. After this act of bravery none dared resist him.

Despite the fact that the previous two rulers represent an important precedent among the Murong, both Huang and Hui were the eldest sons of their fathers, it is prescient that their successions had not been smooth. Hui was the legitimate designated heir, but after his father's death in 283, his throne was usurped by his uncle. He eventually succeeded to ascend the throne only after the usurper was assassinated by his own men in 285. Soon after this, a conflict broke out between Hui and his half-brother, Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 who probably posed a threat to his position.[22] Hui's son, Murong Huang, suffered from an even more precarious position as ruler at the beginning. After Hui's death in 333, a war erupted between him and his brothers, who allied themselves with the Duan 段 and the Yuwen, old enemies of the Murong. Only after having defeated them by 336-337 did he become the undisputed sovereign of the Murong.[23] This clearly indicates that the succession of the first son by the legitimate wife was not at all indisputable at Murong Hui during Murong Huang's time. Murong traditions still provided enough leeway for Huang's brothers to challenge each other's

[19] De Crespigny 1984: 366.

[20] HHS 90.2979.

[21] Gardiner & De Crespigny 1977: 21.

[22] Yihong 2013: 275.

[23] Schreiber 1955: 419–422.

position on the basis of their own power and abilities. Therefore it would be unsurprising that after Huang's death, Jun anticipated that danger on the part of Chui, the most talented and extolled of his brothers, was imminent.

Murong Chui's Further Services

By the time of Murong Huang's reign (337–348) the Murong had defeated their local rivals the Yuwen and the Duan as well as the prominent Chinese warlords of Northeast China, and had begun to threaten Later Zhao. Not long after Murong Huang's death in 349, turmoil broke out in Zhao, from which the ethnic Chinese Shi Min 石閔 , the adopted son of the ruler Shi Hu 石虎 , emerged victorious. Shi Min assumed his original family name Ran冉 and, having defeated his step-brothers and other contenders, established a new dynasty by the name Wei 魏, customarily referred to as Ran-Wei (冉魏 349–352).[24]

As we have seen, Chui had had experience in defending Yan territory from Zhao advances. Consequently, when the turmoil broke out in Zhao he saw an opportunity to wage war and wrote a memorandum to Jun:[25]

> "Shi Hu is utterly evil and excessively cruel. Heaven has abandoned him [his state] is in ruins and [its people] are butchering each other. Currently China is in sore straits. [The people] are longing for humanity and relief so much that if a great army arrived, they would join in to fight."[26]

> 石虎窮凶極暴，天之所弃，餘燼僅存，自相魚肉。今中國倒懸，企望仁恤，若大軍一振，勢必投戈。

Jun did not approve, responding that the mourning period after their father's death was not yet over, therefore they should not start a war. Chui then visited Jun in Longcheng to convince him personally:

> "Now is the time to seize this opportunity, which is hard to obtain and easy to lose. If by any chance the Shi family recovers from its decline, or a hero emerges from among them and they start mobilizing their resources, then we will lose our advantage and I am afraid we will find ourselves in great trouble."[27]

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[24] Holocombe 2019: 130.
[25] Schreiber 1956: 4.
[26] ZZTJ 98.3092.
[27] SLGCQ26.97 (https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=58905&page=97 last accessed: 11.09.2021.)

難得而易失者，時也。萬一石氏衰而復興，或有英雄據其成資，豈惟失此大利，亦恐更爲後患。

Jun in his reply warned about the risks of the proposed campaign. Yet this time he did not use the mourning period as an excuse, instead arguing that the operation would be simply too dangerous. Chui in his reply expanded on his master plan, which entailed a surprise attack in the vicinity of Deng Heng's base, where his troops were stationed. He argued that this surprise attack would frighten the soldiers into retreat for their morale was already very low due to the disturbances and inner turmoil ensuing from Shi Hu's demise. After this surprise attack – as Chui proposed – Jun could advance westward with his army without meeting any obstacles.[28]

From this we can surmise that the main reason of Jun's reluctance to attack Zhao was not in fact the current mourning period, but the seemingly hazardous prospects of the campaign. Nevertheless, Jun's worries about the risks cannot be taken at full face value with the knowledge of his contempt and envy for his brother. There is good reason to postulate that Jun was more concerned about a particular consequence of a successful campaign: an increase in Chui's popularity. Indeed, it is palpable in the light of the beneficial outcomes for Jun in Chui's plans. Chui's proposal to clear the way for Jun's troops, allowing his brother to finish the campaign triumphantly had the potential to eliminate both of Jun's concerns as well as the threat posed by the looming recuperation of Later Zhao.

After this Jun consulted three of his advisors, all of whom supported Chui's idea of the campaign. One of them, Muyu Gen 慕輿根 pushed impatiently for the launching of the campaign and was in complete agreement with Chui's earlier recommendations, arguing that the turmoil within the Shi clan and among the people in Central North-China provided a rare opportunity that should not be missed. Furthermore, in his reply Muyu Gen intimated that without taking immediate action Jun would not be able to conquer China (*qu Tianxia* 取天下).[29]

In 350, Jun convinced by Chui and his advisors finally agreed and launched a huge campaign with 200 000 soldiers. Chui was set in motion according to his plans commanding 20 000 troops. A son and a brother of the late Murong Huang, Murong Ke 慕容恪 and Murong Ping 慕容評 were appointed into high military positions and played major roles in the offensive.[30] The war with Ran-Wei lasted till the autumn of 352 but it proved to be a great success. Ran Min was captured and put to death in Longcheng. Soon after this Yan forces occupied the city of Ye (Yecheng 鄴城, Hebei, Handan), the Ran-Wei capital. The following

[28] Schreiber 1956: 5.

[29] In Schreiber's translation "to become emperor" (Schreiber 1956: 7).

[30] Schreiber 1956: 7.

year Jun assumed imperial dignity, created his wife, Kezuhun 可足渾 empress, designated his crown-prince (who later predeceased him) and moved his capital to the newly occupied Jicheng 薊城 (modern day South-West Beijing). Murong Ping was posted to Yecheng as defender and administrator, while Murong Ke was sent to further campaigns in the newly conquered territories which had in the meantime rebelled against Yan.[31] Not surprisingly, Murong Chui was granted only a humble position. He was appointed *Head of the Imperial Supervisorate* (*Jishi huangmen shilang* 給事黃門侍郎). Schreiber notes that his salary was equal to that of the magistrate of a smaller prefecture.[32] Jun's intention to inhibit Chui's advancement from these developments is discernible.

Chui's Supporters

Chui due to his close relatedness to the Jun, and his accomplishments was too conspicuous of a person to simply efface him. Previously Murong Huang had entrusted the task of conquering Central China to Jun and advised him to appoint capable and wise men to important offices, such as another of his sons, the "exceptionally brave and wise" (*zhi yong jian ji* 智勇兼濟, *li kan ren zhong* 力堪任重) Murong Ke.[33] In the conquests that had allowed Jun to proclaim himself emperor, Chui had unquestionable merits. Murong Ke, was probably the most popular person in Yan and the most feared one by Yan's enemies and at the same time a persistent supporter of Chui. He and two of his uncles repeatedly asked, and finally persuaded Jun to give Chui a high office that would match his talents (*ming shi zhi cai* 命世之才, *yi zong da ren* 宜總大任). Thus Jun delegated Chui to Changshan 常山 (Hebei 河北, Shijiazhuang 石家庄) and granted him the titles: *General delegated by the Imperial Court to pacify the East* (*shichijie andong jiangjun* 使持節安東將軍) and *Inspector of the northern part of Ji province* (*bei Jizhou cishi* 北冀州刺史). The next year Chui was appointed governor of the entire province and his seat was moved to Xindu 信都 (Hebei, Hengshui 衡水), the regular residence of the governors of Ji. Later, Chui was appointed to an even higher position, as the commander of the old capital, Longcheng and was conferred the title *Palace attendant* (*shizhong* 侍中). According to the *Zizhi Tongjian*, Chui's renaming (from Ba to Chui) took place around the time of this latest elevation in position.[34] All of the above reveals that Chui's gradual ascent in power was taking place despite Jun's still

[31] Schreiber 1956: 38–40.
[32] Schreiber 1956: 40.
[33] TPYL 121.583 (Murong Huang), Schreiber 1949: 480.
[34] Schreiber 1956: 41, ZZTJ 99.3140.

extant adversity towards him. This was certainly partly due to pressure from his influential relatives, his brother, Ke and their two uncles. To some extent, Jun might have thought that besides making Chui content with his position in Yan's leadership, his abilities and talent needed to be put to greater use. Moreover, Chui himself needed to be kept occupied in order to eliminate the threat Jun felt from this direction and there can be little doubt that this was a primary interest for Jun. The location to where Chui was posted – in my opinion – is also telling. The theater of Yan's expansion was still located in the West and soon after Jun became emperor a new front opened in the South. Chui's new base, the previous capital, Longcheng was located in the Northeast, the ancestral lands of the Murong. As more and more attention had to be paid elsewhere, the defense and upkeep of this traditional center of Yan was undoubtedly a prestigious task for Chui and also useful for the dynasty. Thus sending Chui to Longcheng initially might have seemed the ideal solution for Jun, but in the long run even this was unable to guarantee the continued overshadowing of Chui's talents:

> "Chui succeeded in making the Northeast peaceful, thus Jun recovered his hatred against him and called him back"[35]
>
> 垂大得東北之和，儁愈惡之，復召還。

At this point, Jun must have been perplexed as to what to do with Chui next. Sending him into a "prestigious exile" with the goal of making him more or less content and useful yet at the same time harmless had not worked out. Getting rid of him either by imprisonment or execution would certainly have infuriated his influential relatives and a number of advisors and supporters of Chui at court. At this point, a high official Nie Hao 涅皓 appeared to offer a solution to Jun's problem. He accused Chui's wife and an accomplice of witchcraft in an effort to tarnish Chui's reputation by association (*lianwu* 連污). We know no more about Nie Hao 涅皓 appeared to offer a solution to this problem. He accused Chui's wife and her accomplice of witchcraft in an effort to tarnish Chui's reputation by association (*lianwu* 連污). We do not know more about Nie Hao than what the *Zizhi Tongjian* tells us, notably that he held the position of *Palace attendant-in-ordinary* (*zhongchangshi* 中常侍) and that his motivation to make the accusation was to please the Emperor (the *Zizhi Tongjian* uses the term *xizhi* 希旨 "to cater to the will of a superior").[36] Nor are we told what sort of benefit Nie Hao could have expected. The fact that the main target of the accusation was not Chui himself has two likely explanations. Firstly, caution

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[35] Schreiber 1956: 41 translates: "Chün became jealous" (Chün = Jun).

[36] Schreiber 1956: 41, About the title *zhongchangshi*: Hucker 1985: 188/1532.

may have persuaded Hao not to directly accuse a person of such high standing as Chui. Secondly, and in concord with the first, a mutual grudge between the wives of Jun and Chui offered an excellent opportunity to harm Chui's reputation without having to deal with him directly. The *Zizhi Tongjian* explains that Chui's wife was the daughter of Duan Mopei 段末怌, former chief of the Duan tribe, whom the Murong had defeated in 337. Chui's wife, Lady Duan is described as being talented and having a fiery temperament (*cai gao xing lie* 才高性烈) and regarding herself of noble origin had no respect for Jun's wife, the Empress, lady Kezuhun. This made lady Kezuhun and Jun belligerent (*xian* 銜) and displeased (*bukuai* 不快). Jun arrested Lady Duan and her official and sent them to be tortured. The torture got harsher every day but they were resolute and did not confess, even when Chui asked her wife to do so by means of a secret messenger. In her answer Lady Duan explained:

> "I'd rather die than to disgrace my ancestors above, and bring trouble to you (the king) down on earth by falsely confessing to a terrible crime. I will definitely not do this!"[37]
>
> 吾豈愛死者耶！若自誣以惡逆，上辱祖宗，下累於王，固不為也！

Schreiber translates the words: *lei yu wang* (累於王) as "involve my husband" which implies that Lady Duan's confession could have been used against Chui himself. Thanks to Lady Duan not confessing, Chui was spared (*de mian guo* 得免禍) but sent farther East, to Liadong as governor of Ping province (Pingzhou 平州). Soon after Lady Duan perished from the torture. According to Xianbei customs, Chui then took his deceased wife's younger sister as his second wife. However, Kezuhun intervened, deposing Chui's new wife and forcing him to marry her sister. This made Chui hate Kezuhun even more.[38]

In 351, during the war between Yan and Ran-Wei, Former Qin emerged as a new state out of the ruins of Later Zhao. Former Qin occupied Chang'an 長安 and made the city its capital thus becoming Yan's main rival in North China. The Jin dynasty with which Murong Jun formally severed ties when he proclaimed himself Emperor in 353, also started to pose a serious threat not only to Yan but to Qin as well. In 354 Huan Wen 桓溫, Jin's famed general, attempted to take Chang'an but the Qin forces had harvested all the wheat around the city in advance, forcing the Jin troops to retreat as they began to run out of supplies.

[37] SLGCQ 51.88 (https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&file=58920&page=88 last accessed: 11.09.2021.)

[38] Schreiber 1956: 42, ZZTJ 100.3173.

In the following years Yan was busy consolidating its grip on its newly acquired territories. In the years 358 and 359 a district governor from Jin launched three successive invasions against Yan, but each time he was defeated and the Yan forces even managed to occupy some Jin territory.[39] In 360 Murong Jun died and many in Jin saw it as a good opportunity to resume its aggression against Yan and to embark on the reoccupation of North-China. Only Huan Wen argued against the invasion reasoning that as long as Murong Ke was alive they could not defeat Yan.

Chui, an Unrewarded Hero

Shortly before his death, Jun asked Ke to be his heir to the throne (his designated crown-prince had died) but Ke refused and proposed that instead he would serve as regent of the new emperor, Jun's other son Murong Wei, who was a minor, 慕容暐. Jun agreed and during his regency Ke constantly warned the young emperor against employing the wrong people, and tried to bring Chui back to power. This seven-year period (360–367) is marked by Former Yan's mostly successful campaigns against Jin. In 365 Ke and Chui besieged and took Luoyang 洛陽, the former capital of China from Jin.[40] After this great victory Chui became the governor of Jing province (*Jingzhou mu* 荊州牧) with his seat in Luyang 魯陽 (Henan, Lushan 魯山), and was bestowed the title *Grand Commander-in-chief who conquers the south* (*zhengnan da jiangjun* 征南大將軍).[41]Chui thus became a high ranking military leader, in charge of the military affairs of ten provinces and an army of ten thousand soldiers.[42] From these developments it is evident that Ke intended to assign Chui an important role in the wars with Jin. It is not beyond possibility that Ke was striving to build up Chui to become either his successor as regent – or one day – even emperor. Ke is recorded to have said to the Murong Wei:

> "Chui, the prince of Wu is ten times as talented as myself, both as a general and as a minister. Only because of the order of seniority did the late emperor make me precede him. I wish that after my death Your Majesty will entrust the affairs of the whole country to the Prince of Wu".[43]

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[39] Schreiber 1956: 56–57.
[40] Schreiber 1956: 69–71, Bielenstein 1996: 77.
[41] Schreiber 1956: 71.
[42] ZZTJ 101.3199.
[43] ZZTJ 101.3205.

吳王垂，將相之才，十倍於臣。先帝以長幼之次，故臣得先之。臣死之後，願陛下舉國以聽吳王。

Later on his deathbed, Ke turned to him once more and said:

> "If Your Majesty entrusts the government to him (Chui), then the country will be safe, otherwise – I am afraid – our two enemies (Qin and Jin) will certainly be on the lookout for a plan."[44]
>
> 陛下若任之以政，國其少安。不然，臣恐二寇必有窺裔之計。

Ke had also turned to his vice-regent, Murong Ping, and the emperor's elder brother, Murong Zang 慕容臧 and told them separately that the safety of the country (*guojia anwei* 國家安危) depended on Chui, the most talented of the eligible candidates, being given the most important military position of *Commander of the armies* (*da sima* 大司馬) one which was equivalent to Huan Wen's position in the Jin.[45]

In 367 however, Chui's fortunes changed when Ke, his only supporter of considerable power died. As a consequence, it was to be Murong Ping and not Chui, who took over as the new regent.[46] Ping was one of the youngest sons of Murong Hui, and thus the uncle of Jun, Chui, and Ke. Our sources describe him as envious (*duo caiji* 多猜忌), and greatly concerned about whom to appoint as the *Commander of the armies*. Eventually this position was granted to a then rather insignificant member of the family, Murong Chong 慕容沖, one of the emperor's younger brothers.[47] At this time the emperor was still under the strong influence of her mother, Kezuhun and his regent, Ping, neither of whom wished to see Chui advance in rank or in prestige. In 368, the year following Ke's death, a serious revolt occurred in Qin. Four of Fu Jian's relatives rebelled against his rule and were willing to cooperate with Yan against their overlord. Chui, his younger brother, Murong De 慕容德 and others suggested that Yan take advantage of the situation and launch a major invasion against Qin to conquer North-China. However, Ping – who according to the *Jinshu* had been secretly accepting presents (*jianhuo* 間貨) from Fu Jian – opposed the idea of an inva-

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44 JS 111.2859.

45 The *Jinshu* (JS 111.2853 mentions Huan Wen as the Jin's *commander of the armies*: *Jin da sima* 晉大司馬).

46 ZZTJ 101.3208–3209, Schreiber 1956: 76.

47 ZZTJ 101.3209,

sion on the grounds that the conquest of Qin would be an insurmountable task for Yan and the best they could do against Qin was to defend their borders.[48]

In 367, shortly after Ke's death, a Jin provincial governor launched an attack against Yan and retook the city of Yuan (Yuancheng), which Yan had earlier taken from Jin. When seeing that Yan did not retaliate for more than a year, Huan Wen took it as a sign of weakness and prepared for a major invasion of Yan. His troops swiftly advanced towards the North, taking Murong Chong, the *Commander of the armies* prisoner on the way. Huan Wen's forces also defeated Murong Chui's troops and all other armies sent successively against them by the emperor. At this point Wei and Ping decided to abandon the capital, the city of Ye, and flee further north to Yan's old capital, Longcheng.

At this crucial moment Chui volunteered to lead another attack against the invaders, saying to the emperor:

> "I request to attack them. Even if I do not win, it still will not be late to escape."[49]
>
> 臣請擊之，若戰不捷，走未晚也。

In such a desperate situation the emperor was unable to refuse Chui's offer. Giving Chui 50,000 troops and appointing him as *Grand Commander-in-chief for a punitive expedition into the South especially delegated by the Imperial Court* (*shichijie nantao dajiangjun* 使持節南討大都督), the emperor placed him in charge of the counter attack with the assistance of Murong De as *Commander-in-chief who conquers the South* (*zhengnan jiangjun* 征南將軍).[50] In the meantime, Wei sent a diplomatic mission to Qin to ask for additional help, offering a portion of Yan's territory in exchange. The Qin court, figuring that it would be easier to defeat Jin first and Yan later, agreed to help and sent 20 000 troops, infantry and cavalry to Yan's rescue.[51] Before their arrival, the brothers, Chui and De inflicted a disastrous defeat on Huan Wen's troops by setting a trap and then launching a second brutal attack on their exhausted and retreating soldiers. Hearing of this, the Qin troops launched a third attack on Huan Wen's remaining forces.

In the meantime, during the years following Jun's death, Kezuhun's relatives began to dominate the government (*rao guozheng* 橈國政), a phenomenon that frequently occurred in China when imperial widows were in power.[52] Murong Ping is also recorded to have been seeking to enrich himself at the expense of the state.[53]

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[48] S 111.2851, Taskin 1992:102.
[49] JS 111.2853.
[50] JS 111.2853, ZZTJ 102.3215
[51] Schreiber 1956: 87–90.
[52] ZZTJ 102.3225, Schreiber 1956: 82.
[53] Schreiber 1956: 81.

Chui earned great merit on the battlefield and his reputation (*weide* 威德, *weiming* 威名) grew all the more (*mizhen* 彌振, *dazhen* 大振, *yizhen* 益振), which frustrated (*buping* 不平, *da buping* 大不平) Ping and made him deeply envious (*shen ji'e* 深忌惡, *yuji* 愈忌).

The *Zizhi Tongjian* is the only source that mentions that Chui, having returned from the battlefield, appealed to Ping to promote and reward his brave and outstanding generals, yet Ping, after looking into all these cases did nothing. Chui repeated his request several times and frequently quarreled over it with Ping at Court. As a result of this, their resentments and differences deepened (*yuan xi yu shen* 怨隙愈深). Kezuhun, who had always hated Chui, disparaged his war merits and in collaboration with Ping secretly plotted to execute (*mimou zhu* 密謀誅) him. At this time, one of Murong Ke's son, having learned of the plot, suggested that Chui attacked Ping, but Chui refused. Instead, in fear of his safety he fled to Fu Jian together with his sons.

The other sources are briefer about this episode and simply state that Kezuhun and Ping out of jealousy and hatred, planned to kill (*mou sha* 謀殺) or execute (*mou zhu* 謀誅) Chui, who then fled to Fu Jian.[54] The *Zizhi Tongjian* contain much more details about Chui's flight. According to this source, Chui first headed towards Longcheng, but one of his sons, Murong Lin 慕容麟, who had always ben resentful towards his father, turned back and reported him. Only when Ping sent an army against Chui, did he turn back and flee to Fu Jian instead. The younger sister of Chui's murdered wife, and several of Chui's sons, as well as other supporters followed him to join the ranks of Fu Jian. Fu Jian was a natural rival of Yanand completely interested in its destruction. Our sources agree that similarly to Huan Wen, Fu Jian had not risked to attack Yan as long as Murong Ke had been alive. Moreover, even after Ke's death he had kept his anti-Yan plans in secret, and as we have seen he had even assisted Yan in his defense against Jin. Now that Yan had its internal problems and Chui had sought refuge at his court, Fu Jian decided that the time was ripe for an invasion. The *casus belli* was provided by Murong Wei, who had gone back on his promise to concede a portion of its territory for Qin's military assistance. Not surprisingly it was Murong Ping whom the emperor entrusted with the command of 300 000 elite troops to defend Yan from the invaders. The Qin general was leading only 60 000 troops, cavalry and infantry into Yan territory. However as a result of Ping's attempt to increase his wealth during the campaign by selling firewood and water from the forests and streams to his own soldiers, the Qin troops scored a decisive victory over the Yan forces.[55]

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[54] JS 111.2853, 123.3078.

[55] Schreiber 1956: 97–123.

Thus in 370, Qin completely defeated Yan and moved all the Murong and other notable families of Yan to Chang'an and its vicinities. Within the next five years Qin, became the first among the Barbarian dynasties to conquer the whole of North China, though this unity lasted for only a brief seven years.

In Qin Murong Chui became one of the most important generals of Fu Jian. When in 383 Fu Jian decided to attack Jin in order to conquer South China, Murong Chui with his troops participated in his campaign. Qin suffered a disastrous defeat at the Battle of the Fei river (*Feishui zhizhan* 淝水之戰), but Chui's contingent remained intact.[56] After the defeat, Fu Jian's empire disintegrated and several leaders from states that Qin had subjugated earlier, rebelled and restored their independence. New states also appeared from the ruins of Qin.[57] Murong Chui like many of his contemporaries, turned his back on Fu Jian and restored Yan (Later Yan, Hou Yan 後燕 384–407), this time with himself as emperor. However, he was not the only one among the Murong with this ambition. Murong Wei was executed by Fu Jian in 385, but one of his younger brothers, Murong Hong 慕容泓 established another, rival state by the name Yan (Western Yan, Xi Yan 西燕 384–394). Thus for the first decade of their independence the two Yan states existed simultaneously and in opposition to each other. Later, after a grave defeat at the hands of another Xianbei tribe, the Tabgach (Tuoba 拓拔), a portion of the Murong led by Chui's brother Murong De broke away from Later Yan and founded another state, Southern Yan (Nan Yan 南燕 398–410). They were eliminated by a Jin invasion, while Later Yan was destroyed by a coup and replaced by yet another Yan state, Northern Yan. In short, the Murong were incapable of achieving unity ever again and consequently it was not them, but the Tabgach who succeeded in unifying North China and maintaining this unity, not only for a few years, but for almost a century (439–534). Moreover, the unifiers of China – both South and North - i.e. the imperial houses of the Sui 隋 (581–617) and Tang 唐 (617–907) dynasties were closely linked to the Tabgach state, Northern Wei (Bei Wei 北魏, 386–534).[58] Yet the achievements of the Murong did not vanish completely without trace as the system of dual administration that they had developed in the northeast was borrowed by the Tabgach. Undoubtedly North China's unity could not have lasted that long under their rule without it.[59]

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[56] Holocombe 2019a [CHC 2/5]: 112–114, Holocombe 2019b [CHC 2/6]: 137, Bielenstein 1996: 86–87, Rogers 1968.

[57] Graf 2019 [CHC 2/12]: 279.

[58] Holocombe 2013: 1–2, 24, 34, Sanping 1996: 51–55.

[59] Pearce 2019 [CHC 2/8]: 158/14, Barfield 1992: 118.

Conclusions

From the review of our primary sources it is evident that Murong Chui's exclusion from the highest echelons of government and military affairs brought about the demise of the Yan state and deprived the Murong of their chance to become the unifiers of North China. That they might have had such aspirations suggests Muyu Gen's above-quoted warning: "without taking immediate action the emperor will not be able to conquer China." The root of the problem was that it was not Chui but his father's favorite Jun, the eldest son, who inherited the throne This happened at the behest of Chinese officials who believed their actions would prevent civil war. Here a conflict between Xianbei and Chinese traditions of inheritance is palpable. During the later years of Murong Huang's reign and perhaps even after his death, Yan was in a crucial period of transformation from a Barbarian border state into a Chinese dynasty. Murong Chui's designation as heir would have been the perfect decision for the purposes of a former type of polity. Murong Huang's final decision about the inheritance was completely in line with the Murong's growth in power and probably was also based on his concerns about a possibility of civil war, one that as an eldest son himself, he had had to fight in order to secure his own throne. Murong Jun's designation as heir offered a solution and worked, at least in the short run. First, it probably helped the Murong to secure the loyalty of their Chinese subjects.[60] Second, the first years of Jun's rule were without doubt the most successful years of Yan and Chui did not rebel against his brother, on the contrary, without his assistance Jun could not have proclaimed himself emperor. In the long run however, the slowly but steadily brewing conflict among the members of the imperial family, especially after Murong Ke's death eventually led to the corruption of the leadership and the desertion of Chui. Yan was a "family affair" of the Murong as Schreiber has put it, and the deterioration of family relationships caused the fall of their state.

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[60] About this problem see Schreiber 1956: 123–127.

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Some Characteristic Features of Family Structure in the Old Uighur Societies (as Reflected in Contractual Documents)

1. Introduction

The Old Uighur (回鹘) is one of the main ethnic origins of the present Uighur and Yughur.[1] In 744, Old Uighur people established the Uighur Khanate in the Mongol Steppe, and the empire continued until 840. After that, the Old Uighurs migrated to the west and south. Some of them also migrated to the Qocho area. During the Yuan dynasty (13th–14th century), they still lived in this area and integrated with many other ethnic groups. They used Old Uighur script, which mainly prevailed between the 9th and 15th centuries. Since the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century, many contractual documents recorded in Old Uighur script have been unearthed in the Turpan area of Xinjiang. These documents are important first-hand sources reflecting the culture, customs, religion, economy, social system, family life and other aspects of the Old Uighurs.

Old Uighur documents are profoundly studied. Most of the research focuses on the philological studies of the text, such as transliteration, interpretation and translation.[2] In addition, some scholars have also done research from the perspective of history, economics and culture.[3] As a direct reflection of the economic and social life of the Old Uighurs at that time, contractual documents need to be studied further from various perspectives. Family is clearly an important unit in this social structure. In different historical periods and different social and cultural backgrounds, the family structure and characteristics of each ethnic group

[1] This opinion is accepted by most Chinese scholars, while some European scholars have a different view.

[2] Radloff 1928; Ligeti 1973; Zieme 1974; Yamada 1993; Li 1996; Liu 2000; Geng 2006; Li 2012.

[3] Vernadsky 1936; Gabain 1973; Zieme 1976; Zhang 1983; Yang 1990.

manifest their own differences. There has been much previous research in this field and the selection of research for this paper has been of very great interest to the author of this paper. On the basis that Old Uighur contractual documents shed light on some of the characteristics of family structure in the Old Uighur societies, previous studies have been selected on the basis of the inclusion of such contracts. The main source corpus comes from those collected by Nobuo Yamada 山田信夫 in "Sammlung Uigurischer Kontrakte" / *Uiguru bun keiyaku bunsho shūsei* ウイグル文契約文書集成[4] and is used to briefly introduce some features of family structures in the Old Uighur societies during Yuan dynasty.

The present paper explores the sources from the following aspects. Firstly, we briefly introduce the main types and formats of Old Uighur contractual documents, and the Old Uighur society in the 13th–14th century; next, we analyze the family structure of the Old Uighurs according to some contractual documents. In the following, we mainly discuss the status and male and female roles in the Old Uighur's family. Finally, we expound the phenomenon of selling and mortgaging relatives in the Old Uighur's society.

2. The main types and formats of Old Uighur contractual documents

There are about 400 Old Uighur contractual documents collected and published in many countries such as Germany, Britain, France, Russia, Japan, China and the United States.[5] Most of them are from the period of Yuan Dynasty (13th–14th century), and are written in cursive script. Based on their content, they can be divided into sales contracts, loan contracts, lease contracts, exchange contracts, slave contracts and so on.

The structure and content of Old Uighur contractual documents follows below:[6]

1. borrowing date
2. names of the creditor and debtor[7]
3. list of borrowed objects and their amount

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[4] Yamada (author), Oda et al. (eds) 1993.

[5] Radloff 1928; Ramstedt 1969; Zieme 1974, 1977, 1980a, 1980b, 1992; Hamilton 1986; Yamada 1993; Li 1996, 2012; Geng 2006.

[6] The format of the Old Uighur loan contracts presented in this article have been based on Yamada 1965: 165.

[7] In Old Uighur contractual documents, the guarantor *(baošïn, taybaošïn)* and the witness *(tanuq)* usually have specific terms, while the debtor and the creditor do not. They are usually expressed by the verb *al-* 'buy', *sat-* 'sell', *bir-* 'pay' and so on. For instance, *(xxx) Altmïšaq-qa birürmän* "I rented xxx to Altmïšaq". The words *alγučï* 'buyer' and *birgüči* 'seller' only appeared in a few documents.

4. repayment date
5. repayment amount
6. additional repayment amount
7. the solution when the debtor cannot repay
8. names of witness *(tanuq)*
9. fingerprint of debtor and witness
10. writer[8]

The Old Uighur Contractual documents are greatly influenced by Chinese contractual documents.[9] To be more specific, the format, frame and main content of Old Uighur contractual documents are basically the same as that of Chinese contractual documents. In addition, Zhang and Cui (2017) pointed out that some appellations of the participants in Old Uighur contractual documents are transliterated words borrowed from Chinese such as *baošïn* 保人 'guarantor', *taybaošïn* 代保人 'substitute guarantor', *tungsu* 同取人 'co-debtor'. And some appellations are translations of Chinese words, such as *birlä alγučï* 同取人 'co-debtor', *yügärüki tanuq* 时见 'eyewitness on the spot'.[10] To some extent, it shows that the Old Uighurs had been closely connected with the Chinese people in successive dynasties for a long time.

Most importantly, these different types of contractual documents reflected the social and economic life of the Old Uighurs at that time, and also reflected their family structure and characteristics.

3. The Old Uighur society in the 13th–14th century

During the 13th–14th century, the Old Uighur society in Qocho area was composed of people from various ethnic groups such as Old Uighurs, Mongolians, Chinese, Kipchaks, Sogdians, Arabs, Khitans and so on. In this period, the Old Uighurs were under the rule of the Mongols. This fact was reflected in some contractual documents (e.g. Sa11[11]), for example, if the signers violated the terms of the contract, they had to pay separate fines to the Mongolian emperors and Mongolian princes.

[8] In Old Uighur contractual documents, the writer also doesn't have a specific term, it is expressed by verb *biti-* 'write', for example, *xxx bitidim* 'xxx wrote'.

[9] Yamada 1965; Liu 2000.

[10] More details can be found in Zhang – Cui 2017.

[11] The document number here refers to the serial number marked in Yamada, N (1993).

In this period, the Old Uighurs mainly lived a settled agricultural life,[12] as demonstrated by the many agreements for buying and selling fields and orchards. In addition, they also show that this horticulture and commerce was well-developed. The presence of *altun* 'gold', *kümiš* 'silver' and other currencies in precise units in contractual documents prove that commercial activities in the Old Uighur society had developed to a very mature level. There were also some textiles such as *qunpu* 'official cloth' and *böz* 'cotton cloth' which used instead of money as a medium for sale and exchange.

The phenomenon of trade in humans was another important characteristic of the Old Uighur society in this period. It began in Han Dynasty (202 BC–220 AD) and became more frequent in the Tang (618–907), Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1271–1368) dynasties. Consequently, the trade in humans in the Old Uighur society was considerable during this period, and the main groups that were bought and sold were slaves, children and women.

4. Family structure in the Old Uighur society

From the Old Uighur contractual documents, it can be seen that most civilian families adopted monogamy, and the type of family structure was the extended paternal family consisting of kin groups. The kinship system of Old Uighurs was inherited from the system of the Old Turkic period (6th–7th century), and was developed and diversified into a more detailed system by the Old Uighurs. Its kinship appellation was also more complex and systematic than in previous periods, and reflected a strict distinction between paternal and maternal relatives. The main kinship terminologies of Old Uighurs are as follow: *ata, ada, baba, qaŋ* 'father', *ana, ög, uma* 'mother', *aqa, äči, bay* 'elder brother', *iči* 'uncle/elder brother', *äkä* 'elder sister', *ini* 'younger brother', *oɣul, oɣlan* 'son', *qïz* 'daughter', *balïz, balïr, siŋil* 'younger sister', *bäg* 'husband', *qadaš* 'sibling', *kiši, yutuz* 'wife', *yägän* 'nephew', *küdäg* 'son-in-law', *kälin* 'daughter-in-law'.[13] As far as we know, the kinship terminology of the Old Uighurs has not been studied in a very detailed or comprehensive way. Nonetheless, there are some studies on individual kinship appellation, such as the study on the term *yägän* 'nephew' in Old Uighur contract.[14]

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[12] A more detailed study of medieval Uighur society and history was conducted by Brose (2017). In addition, the material culture of the Old Uighurs was also studied in detail and systematically by Gabain (1973). Therefore, the present paper does not elaborate on these aspects.

[13] Gabain 1973; Chen 1996.

[14] Liu – Kou 2006.

The Old Uighur loan contracts show that the relationship between family members was very close, the blood relationship being especially important. Specifically, brothers lived together and shared property in the family. In general, there were several types of main participants in the Old Uighur loan contract, these were creditor, debtor, guarantor, eyewitness and writer. Among them, the guarantor was the main subject that we will discuss. An example of the above loan contracts in Old Uighur script follows below:[15]

Lo10:[16]
1. tonguz yïl ikinti ay altï
2. otuz-qa manga šivsadu tutung-qa
3. küsmiš kärgäk bolup šinsun šäli-
4. -tä on stïr kümiš altïm onïnč
5. ay on yangïqa tägim-čä birür
6. -män birginčä yoq bar bolsar
7. -män inim ozmïš toγrïl köni
8. birṣün tanuq arqaγun ïnal
9. tanuq sarïγ toyïn tanuq öküz
10. toγrïl tanuq känt qay-a
11. tanuq artï ïnal bu tam-γa
12. biṣ-ning ikägününg ol män
13. šivsadu tutung ayïḍïm bitidim

Translation:

"On February 26th, in the year of the pig, since I, Šivsadu Tutung, needed the silver, I borrowed ten *stïr* silver from Šinsun Säli, I give them back on time on October 10th. Until then, if I'm gone, my brother Ozmïš Toγrïl should give it correctly.
Witness: Arqaγun Ȉnal,
Witness: Sarïγ Toyïn
Witness: Öküz Toγrïl
Witness: Känt Qaya
Witness: Artï Ȉnal
This seal belongs to us.
I, Šivsadu Tutung, wrote it after asking."

[15] The document numbers mentioned in this paper refers to the number compiled by Yamada (1993) and the transcription of the Old Uighur text also adopts the transcription of Yamada (1993). The English translation is made by the author herself.
[16] The original transcription, Japanese and German translation can be seen in Yamada (II, 1993: 92–93).

This document gives clear information about the parties to the contract (creditor: *Šïnsun Säli*, debtor: *Šivsadu Tutung*), the date of its establishment (February 26 in the year of the pig[17]), the date of repayment (October 10th), and information about the guarantor (debtor's brother *Ozmïš Toγrïl*), five eyewitnesses and writer. In the loan contract, the guarantor plays a very important role, which is to assume the responsibility for ensuring that the debt is repaid. When the debtor is unable to repay the debt, the guarantor will be liable for the debt. In most Old Uighur loan contracts, we can see statements like *"birginčä yoq bar bolsar, män...birṣün",* indicating that if the debtor dies before he repays, the debt will be repaid by his guarantor. From the observation of 30 Old Uighur loan contracts, which were collected in Yamada's text corpus (1993), we found that in most contracts the debtor's guarantor is assumed by their family members such as brothers, parents, children, wives, and sisters, the distribution of guarantors are shown in the table below:

guarantors	the number of documents	quantity	proportion
wife	Lo07, Lo08	2	7%
brother/ brother and family members	Lo09, Lo10, Lo12, Lo13, Lo18, Lo20, Lo21, Lo23, Lo24, Lo27, Lo28, Lo29	12	40%
son/ son and family members	Lo05, Lo14, Lo19, Lo25	4	13%
family members	Lo06, Lo11, Lo26, Lo30	4	13%
unclear	Lo01, Lo02, Lo03, Lo04, Lo16, Lo17, Lo22	7	23%
land	Lo15	1	3%

Table 1: Distribution of guarantors in the Old Uighur loan contracts (Yamada 1993)

In some documents, it is recorded as *män birginčä yoq bar bolsar, män inim/ oγlum...birṣün* "If I die before I pay it back, my brother/son...pays for it". In some documents, it is recorded as *män birginčä yoq bar bolsar, män inim...äwtäki-lär bilä köni birṣün* "If I die before I pay it back, my brother...and my family members pay for it". And in some documents, it is recorded as *män birginčä yoq bar bolsar, män äwtäki-lär bilä köni birṣün* "If I die before I pay it back, my family members pay for it", without specifying which family member it is.

[17] Old Uighur documents follow the dating of Chinese zodiac, but the exact year cannot be determined from the text.

It can be seen from Table 1 that in most Old Uighur contracts, the guarantor is assumed by the debtor's family members. There are also six loan contracts with which the debtors use their land as collateral, but it only accounts for 3% of the total. In addition, there are also some loan contracts in which the guarantors were not explicitly written down or because over time parts of the text became lost. The cases in which the guarantor was unclear accounted for 23% of the total.

The cases in which family members acted as guarantors accounted for 73% of all the Old Uighur contractual documents. In contrast, in the Dunhuang Chinese contractual documents, in addition to family members, there was a larger proportion (about 36.2%) of the guarantors who were not related to the debtor by blood. Instead, these guarantors could be from the same profession, the same surname of the debtor or even monks.[18] This comparison reflects the fact that in most cases the position of guarantor was assumed by family members in Old Uighur contracts, showing the importance of strong relationships between family members and how prominent concepts of the family were among the Old Uighurs at that time.

Among the family members, the debtor's brother was most likely to act as the guarantor, accounting for 40% of all these contractual documents. The proportion is even higher than the proportion of sons as guarantor. It shows that in the society of Old Uighurs, brothers were very close to each other and mostly shared the ownership of property.

5. The status and roles of male and female in the family

In the family of Old Uighurs during the Yuan dynasty, the dominant position was held by males, while females were generally subjugated. This characteristic is fully reflected in the Old Uighur contractual documents.

First of all, it can be seen from the Old Uighur loan contracts that the debtor who signed the contract were always the master of the household. Among the 30 Old Uighur loan contracts mentioned above, there was not a single case where a woman acted as the debtor. This can indicate that the main power in the family, especially the control of property, was in the hands of men. Meanwhile, in most cases, the primary guarantor in Old Uighur loan contract was usually assumed by the brother or son of the debtor, such cases accounting for 53% of the total. It was rare for a female role such as wife, daughter or sister of a debtor to act as independent guarantors. Of the 30 loan contracts, only two, Lo07 and Lo08,

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[18] The detailed study can be found in Huo – Zhang (2004).

were independently guaranteed by woman, and these two contracts belonged to the same person. The following is the transcription and translation of the Lo07 contract:

Lo07:[19]
1. *küskü yïl törtünč ay bir yangïqa*
2. *manga bolmïš-qa asïγ-qa kümüš*
3. *kärgäk bolup qra oγul-ta altï stïr*
4. *kümüš altïm qač ay tutsar-män ay*
5. *sayu birär yarïm baqïr kümüš asïγ-*
6. *-ï bilä köni birürmän birginčä yoq*
7. *bar bolsar-män kišim tüzük köni*
8. *birzün tanuq borluqčï tanuq är buqa*
9. *// tamγa män bolmïš-nïng ol män*
10. *yïγïna tutung ayïḍïp bitidim*

Translation:

"On April 1, in the year of the mouse, since I , Bolmïš, needed the silver with interest, I borrowed six stir silver from Qra Oγul. For how many months I keep them, I give them back with interest of one and a half *baqir*[20] silver per month. If I'm gone, before I give it, my wife Tüzük should give it correctly.

Witness: Borluqčï

Witness: Ȁr buqa

This seal is mine, Bolmiš.

I, Yïγïna Tutung, wrote it after asking."

From the above extract, we can see that the debtor Bolmïš made his wife Tüzük as the guarantor of the contract. In Old Uighur loan contracts, except for one or two cases like this, there was almost no females who acted as independent debtor or guarantor, and thus the main rights of their families were still held by male.

Secondly, from the testament recorded in Old Uighur, it also can be seen that in the family of Old Uighurs, males had more power and a higher status than females. As is recorded in the following testament WP01, when the male master of the family died of illness, he often left a testament to instruct whether his wife could remarry.

[19] The original transcription, Japanese and German translation can be seen in Yamada, N II (1993: 90–91).

[20] *baqir* is the unit of weight of money.

WP01:[21]
1. *küskü yïl säkizinč ay säkiz ygrmikä*
2. *män tüšiki aγïr igkä tgmiš-kä*
3. *ädgü ayïγ bolγay-män tip kišim*
4. *sïlang-qa bitig qotdum mïnta*
5. *kin är-kä bäg-kä tgmätin ävim-*
6. *-ṅi tutup oγlum altmïš qay-a-ṅï*
7. *asïrap yorïzun....*

Translation:

> "On August 18, in the year of the mouse year, because I, Tüšiki, had got a serious illness, and I do not know whether I will be better or worse, I left (this) letter to my wife Silang. From now on she shouldn't go to another man (remarry), she should care for my family and look after my son Altmiš Qaya...."

Liu and Yan (2006) state that it can be seen from this document that the husband did not want his wife to remarry after his death, and clearly stated that his wife *ävim-ni tutup* "hold my family". That is to say, the wife was to be head of the family from then on. Although the husband's statement that he would not let the wife remarry can indicate that the wife's right to remarry,[22] we hold the different opinion. Even though women had the right to remarry during the Yuan dynasty, we see wives still occupying the weaker position in the family of Old Uighurs since the husband's testament could determine the woman's right to remarry or not, clearly demonstrating that the rights and roles of men in the family remained of paramount importance. Therefore, this document also embodies the rights that males used to dominate the family in the society of the Old Uighurs at that time.

In short, from the analysis of the above two aspects, it can be seen that in the families of the Old Uighurs during the Yuan dynasty, the rights and status of men are higher than those of women. Not only is the debtor in the loan contracts usually assumed by the male master of the family, but the guarantor is also a male role in most instances. In addition, men can decide whether their wives can remarry or not. All these are proof of the characteristics of the family of Old Uighurs, that is, a patriarchal and traditional family dominated by men. The reasons for these characteristics are related to the economic situation and social system of that time. As we have mentioned before, during the 13th–14th century,

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[21] The original transcription, Japanese and German translation can be seen in Yamada, N II (1993: 134–135).

[22] More explanation can be seen in Liu–Yan (2006).

the main economic mode of the Old Uighurs was agricultural production, so men were the main labour force in the family economy and production. Such an economic system results in men having a higher position in the family than women and thus having more dominant power over the family.

6. The phenomenon of selling and mortgaging relatives

During the Yuan dynasty, there were all kinds of illegal and legal trade in humans among the population. Among these, the most commonly traded goods were slaves and relatives. Some of the Old Uighur contractual documents also describe this phenomenon. Some contracts were used to sell sons and other relatives, and some contracts were used to sell their sons into pawnship. In some of the Old Uighur sale contracts and mortgage contracts such as Sa26, Sa27, Pl01, Pl02, it can be seen that the father could freely and legally sell or mortgage his son to others, as shown in the sale contract below:

Sa26:[23]
1. ...yïl üčünč ay tört yangï-
2. -qa ... qutluγ tämür är tuγmïš
3. tuqḍamïš olar-qa yunglaq-lïq yarmaq
4. kümüš kärgäk bolup sängäkḍaẓ aqa-a-tïn
5. altmïš altun alïp mṳbäräk qoč aḍlïγ
6. oγlum-nï män aḍasï qutluγ tämür aq-a-
7. -sï är tuγmïš aq-a-sï tuqḍamïš üčägü birlä
8. bolup toγuru tomlïḍu saḍtïm män bu
9. oγul-qa ming yïl tümän kün-kä tagï
10. sängäkḍaẓ aq-a ärklig bolṣun....

Translation:

"On March 4 of... year, since I, Qutluγ Tämür, Ằr Tuγmïš and Tuγḍamïš, these (people), needed silver to consume, I sold my son named Mṳbäräk Qoč legally and reasonably. I, his father Qutluγ Tämür, his older brother Ằr Tuγmiš and his older brother Tuγḍamïš, all three together, received 60 gold coins from older brother Sängäkḍaẓ. This son will (always) belong to the older brother Sängäkḍaẓ for a thousand years, ten thousand days...."

[23] The original transcription, Japanese and German translation can be seen in Yamada, N II (1993: 55–56).

It is obvious that the behaviour of father and older brother in selling their son and younger brother was a common phenomenon in the Old Uighur's society at that time. In their family, the patriarch had very great power and could decide either to sell or pawn the relatives. We argue that the reasons for this phenomenon are as follows: firstly, trade in humans was a long-standing social phenomenon that had existed since the Han Dynasty and became more frequent during the Yuan Dynasty. Therefore, in this social environment, population trading also existed commonly in the Old Uighur's society in the Yuan Dynasty. Secondly, due to the frequent occurrence of wars and disasters during this period, as well as the heavy tax burden, people lived in poverty and many chose to sell and pawn their relatives. This was especially true of the youngest son who, having least ability to make an economic contribution, more acutely impacted the problems of survival faced by the whole family.

7. Conclusion

This paper discusses the family structure and characteristics of the Old Uighur's society in the Yuan dynasty, as reflected in the Old Uighur contractual documents. These documents show the following characteristics of the family:

Firstly, most of civilian families of Old Uighurs adopted monogamy, and the type of family structure was the extended paternal family, consisting of kin groups. In Old Uighur loan contracts, the debtor's family members, especially the brothers, played the role of the guarantor in most cases. This shows that the ties between immediate family members were strong, blood relationships being particularly important. Specifically, brothers live together and share the property of the family.

Secondly, in the family of Old Uighur's society, the rights and status of males were higher than those of females. In most of loan contracts, the debtor is usually assumed by the male master of the family, and the guarantor is also taken by a male such as a brother and or son of the debtor. In addition, when men died, they had the right to make a testament which decided whether their wives could remarry or not. The reason for this practice was that men were the main labor force in the economy and production at that time, so they occupied the dominant position in the family.

Thirdly, some Old Uighur contractual documents also reflect the phenomenon that people could sell and mortgage their relatives such as son, and this habit was very common at that time. This phenomenon is a continuation of the customs of previous dynasties. Concurrently, due to poverty, people were forced to choose this course of action to maintain their livelihood.

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ALEXA PÉTER

The Khon Clan and the Sakyapas

The Khon (’Khon)[1] is one of the great clans of Tibet which created a stable princedom in the area of Sakya (Sa skya) in southern Central Tibet, after the imperial period of Tibet.

Khon Konchog Gyalpo (’Khon Dkon mchog Rgyal po, 1034–1102), the main disciple of Drogmi Lotsawa Yeshe (Brog mi Lo tsa wa Ye shes, 992–1072), founded a monastery at Sakya in 1073. It was this monastery that gave its name to the whole monastic order of Drogmi. Konchog was a member of the Khon clan, the family that went on to produce the successive abbots or chief lamas of Sakya who have continued as the heads of this order ever since until today. The succession of abbots within the family was established on the father to son or uncle to nephew pattern. In the instance of an abbot could remain celibate (this was not obligatory), it was his brother or a close relative who continued the family line and controlled the monastery’s worldly affairs. When the abbot died, he was succeeded by either one of his sons or nephews.

The Sakyas reached the summit of political power in the 13th century when Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen (Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga’ Rgyal mtshan, 1182–1251) and later the next abbot, Chogyal Phagpa (Chos rgyal ’Phags pa, 1235–1280) won the confidence and favour of Mongolian khans. Sakya Pandita and Phagpa were appointed as regents of Tibet whereby Tibet became subject to a single political authority for the first time after the collapse of the monarchy in the 9th century.

The aim of this paper is to show the development of the Khon clan, how a minor aristocratic family transformed into a significant power in Tibet in both historical and religious aspects, through the efforts of some prominent members of Khon family.

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[1] In the text the Lhasa pronuncation of the Tibetan words and phrases is used, in the brackets the written forms are indicated.

1. The Khon family in the period of the first diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet

The exact political position of the Khon clan during the imperial period of Tibet is uncertain. The lists of clan dominions of these times do not mention the Khons at all, although certainly not all clans are represented, including the important Lang (Rlang) and Gar (Gar) families. The Khon family probably were minor aristocrats in the area of Lhato (Lha stod) in Tsang (Gtsang) where they had a well-selected but politically insignificant estate.[2]

Because of the instabilities of Tibetan power after the dynasty's collapse in the mid-ninth century, the aristocratic houses in potential positions of authority tried to augment their political reputation by presenting themselves as being divine, according to either Tibetan or Buddhist standards of divinity. The Khon family skilfully constructed a myth that they were both Tibetan and Buddhist. The early version of this myth is apparent in the Red Annals of 1363 and the legend of the Khon family's origin grew over time, particularly after the 12th century.[3]

This legend begins with three "celestial gods" (Tib. *gnam lha*): "Long life", Tshering (Tshe ring), "Long turquoise", Yuring (G.yu ring) and "Grizzled hair", Use (Dbu se) who dwelt in the realm of the gods of clear light. One day they descended from their celestial abode to the realm of men at Crystal Mountain (Tib. Shel dkar) which is located in the mountain range known as Namla (Gnam la) in the far north of Tibet, in the border region between Tibet and Mongolia. These gods who had come down with their entourages enjoyed great wealth and splendour. They displayed various signs of the wealth gods, such as the wish-fulfilling cow and dwelt in the sky in a golden celestial mansion, a place decorated with turquoise, fine precious stones and jewels.[4]

Yuring, one of these gods, was attracted to one of the daughters of the Tibetan Mu (Dmu) clan leader and "received her in his fortress."[5] They had seven sons and six of them decided to return to the divine realm with their father via the sacred "*mu*-rope" (Tib. *dmu thag*).[6] The seventh son lived in the world of men which was located in the "intermediate realm" (Tib. *bar snang*) between the sky

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[2] Hardy 1999: 254.

[3] Davidson 2008: 270–271.

[4] Chogye 2003: 17.

[5] An allusive vocabulary of Tibetan honorifics. Davidson 2008: 270.

[6] The *mu*-rope signifies the connection between earth and heavens which is present in numerous Tibetan folk and religious practices. In the earliest version of the legends of Tibet's mythological kings, the first king and his six descendants returned every night to their divine home in the sky with the *mu*-rope that was attached to the crown of his head. Upon death, they returned permanently to the heavens having no need for earthly tombs. Sumegi 2008: 22.

and the earth. His son, Yapangkye (G.ya' spang skyes) was born at the border between a mossy "meadow" (Tib. *spang*) and slate "hillside" (Tib. *g.ya'*). He took up residence on a high mountain northwest of the Shang (Zhang) area of Tibet, a mountain that came to be known as Yapang's mountain or Yapangri (G.ya' spangs ri).[7]

In those ancient times there were some demonic beings dwelling in the foothill of this mountain and in caverns below their base. Yapangkye became attracted to the beautiful wife of a demon so he killed the demon and took his widow as his bride. A son was born to them who – in honour of his being conceived through the "struggle between a god and a demon" (Tib. *lha dang srin po 'khon pa*) – was given the name Yapang Khonbarkye (G.ya' spangs 'Khon bar skyes). Thus the Khon family name came from the "struggle" (Tib. *'khon*) between a celestial god and a demon in Central Tibet.[8]

When Khonbarkye grew up, he married a woman from Tsang and she gave birth to a son, Khonpa Jegungtag ('Khon pa Je gung tag) and thus the Khon lineage began. Khonpa Jegungtag established his fiefdom at Nyentse tangsho (Gnyan rtse Thang shod) in the western part of Tsang. As King Thrisong Detsen (Khri srong Lde btsan, 742–797) esteemed him so greatly, he was entrusted with the high office of "minister of the interior" (Tib. *nang rje kha*) and became known as Khon Palpoche ('Khon Dpal po che), the Great Glorious Mr. Khon.[9] During this period, the Khon family specialized in the Nyingma (Rnying ma) tradition of Tibetan Buddhism.

Khon Palpoche's elder son, Khon Lui Wangpo ('Khon Klu'i Dbang po) was a disciple of Padmasambhava (Tib. Pad ma 'byung gnas, 750–800?), a legendary Indian Buddhist mystic. He became one of the "seven good men" (Tib. *sad mi mi bdun*) who were in the first group of Tibetans ordained by Shantarakshita (Skt. Śāntarakṣita, Tib. Zhi ba tsho, 705–788) at the newly constructed monastery of Samye (Bsamyas).[10] His younger son, Khon Dorje Rinchen ('Khon Rdo rje Rin chen) also received all the teachings from Padmasambhava but to continue the Khon lineage he married a wife and had seven sons.

Neither the name of Jegungtag, nor the names of Palpoche's sons appear in the early surviving documents. What is evident, is that the Khon family was largely kept at the periphery of the dynasty, irrespective of their court presence. The earliest Khon records did not mention the imperial appointment of Jegungtag; they begin with Lui Wangpo, although the information about him is

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[7] A district of Tsang, north of Tashilhunpo (Bkra shis lhun po).

[8] Davidson 2008: 268.

[9] Smith 2001: 100.

[10] Kunga 2003: XXVII–XXVIII.

sparse. Sakya and Nyingma writers include him likewise among the disciples of Padmasambhava, that is apparently a later view about the imperial period.[11]

2. The Khon family in the age of feudal disintegration

Through the 10th and 11th centuries the aristocratic clans and regional lords became the centres for both political power and religious authority, sometimes vested in the same person. The Tibetan aristocracy possessed a variety of estates distributed throughout Tibet and they made marital alliances based on social status and benefit.[12]

The Khon clan became visible among the Tibetan aristocracy when Lui Wangpo's younger brother, Khon Dorje Rinchen married a girl of the Dro ('Bro) clan. The Dro family, along with the Khyungpo (Khyung po), were the powerful clans in Tsang during and following the imperial period. Dorje Rinchen's seven sons planned to challenge the dominion of their Dro relatives thus the Dro chieftain with a group of his armed men strove to deal with this problem. In the end, the youngest son remained in Tsang and contended with the Dro clan alone, while the six elder sons left the area and relocated widely throughout western and southern Tibet – in Mangyul Gungtang (Mang yul Gung thang), Nyaloro (Gnya' Lo ro) and Nyangshab (Nyang shab) – establishing the Khon clan in each of these areas.[13] Their descendants became known as the "eight groups of the Khon" (Tib. *'Khon tsho brgyad*) in that area.

Dorje Rinchen's sixth son, Sherab Yontan (Shes rab Yon tan) lived in Yarlung (Yar klung). His great-great grandchild, Khon Shakya Lodro ('Khon Shākya Blo gros) had two sons, the elder son was Khon Sherab Tshultrim ('Khon Shes rab Tshul khrims) and the younger was Khon Konchog Gyalpo. The two brothers were heirs to a long tradition of ritual systems dating from the period of the first diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet. They decided that the efficacy of these teachings declined because they were taught openly in violation of the tantric requirement of secrecy. They deemed that their inherited teachings were irreparably corrupted and consequently took all texts and ritual implements and sealed them into a stupa.[14]

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[11] Davidson 2008: 270.

[12] Davidson 2008: 80.

[13] Davidson 2008: 271.

[14] According to the Sakya legend, the protective deities told them that the Vajrakumara system (Skt. Vajrakumāra, Tib. Rdo rje gzhon nu) of Vajrakilaya (Skt. Vajrakīlaya, Tib. Rdo rje Phur ba) and certain Yangdag Heruka (Yang dag He ru ka) cycles were to be exempted from this kind of house cleaning. These cycles thus remained part of the Khon rites and continued to be part of the Sakya teachings.

Sherab Tshultrim, a celibate layman, was a disciple of an Eastern *vinaya* monk, Zhuton Tsondru (Zhu ston Brtson ’grus). Konchog became interested in this newly emerging direction of Buddhist practice and literature represented by Zhuton Tsondru. Konchog met many eminent translators and scholars who had travelled to and from India. One of them was Drogmi Lotsawa Yeshe who had returned from extensive studies in India. Konchog took him as his teacher despite Drogmi’s demand of a high fee for his teachings, which resulted in Konchog selling some of the land he owned in Yarlung and presenting seventeen horses to Drogmi. After he finished studying with Drogmi, Konchog began to teach and constructed a centre in Drawolung (Bra bo lung) close to Yarlung. Soon it became too small for the growing group of his disciples so he sought a new location.[15] Passing through a valley he was impressed by its auspicious features which included a mountain that looked like an elephant’s trunk, a pale grey soil and good water sources. He obtained permission from the local lords to build a temple. In 1073 he finally completed Gorum Zimchi Karpo (Sgo rum Gzims spyi Dkar po). This event is considered the founding of the Sakya Monastery, from which the small temple eventually developed. The monastery and the tradition that Konchog established there came to be named after the landscape in that area hence the name Sakya “gray earth”. Later the name of Sakya came to be more commonly associated with the family than their original name of Khon.[16] The Sakya monastery was regarded as the seat of great “vajra holders” (Tib. *rdo rje ’chang*) or “throne holders”, *tridzin*s (Tib. *khri ’dzin*). The thirty-nine-year-old Konchog accordingly is counted as the first throne holder of Sakya, a post he occupied from 1073 to 1102, the year he died.[17]

3. The Khon family in the period of the second diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet

Konchog, as one of the new religious leaders took the place left by the old feudal nobility and also became prominent in worldly affairs. The Buddhist monasteries became centres of learning and religious life and also of economic power, thus creating a new monastic aristocracy.[18]

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[15] Davidson 2008: 273.

[16] *The Treasury of Lives* 2007.

[17] About the rise of the Sakya sect there are three basic and authoritative works: (1) *Sa skya’i gdung rabs chen po rin chen bang mdzod* by ’Jam mgon A myes zhabs Ngag dbang Kun dga’ bsod nams (1597–1662), (2) The supplement (Tib. *kha skong*) to the above, *Rin chen ’dzad med* by Sachen, (3) The supplement (Tib. *kha skong*) to the above, *Sa skya’i gdung rabs mtshar rin chen kun ’phel* by Sa skya pa Drag shul phrin las (1871–1935). Smith 2001: 101.

[18] Hoffmann 1975: 53.

When Konchog passed away, his eleven-year-old son, Sachen Kunga Nyingpo (Sa chen Kun dga' Snying po, 1092–1158) was too young to replace his father and therefore Sachen's teacher, Bari Lotsawa (Ba ri Lo tsa wa, 1103–1111), the great translator became the second Sakya throne holder.[19] Sachen was twenty years old when he replaced his teacher.[20]

Following the founding of the Sakya order in 1073, the Sakya tradition rose to prominence in Tibet from the time of Sachen through the efforts of the next four great Sakya masters: Sonam Tsemo (Bsod nams Rtse mo, 1142–1172), Dragpa Gyaltsen (Grags pa Rgyal mtshan, 1147–1216), Sakya Pandita and Chogyal Phagpa. These five masters are regarded as the real founders of the Sakya tradition. They were known as the "five patriarchs" or "three whites and two reds", which means the three laypersons and two monks.[21]

Sachen's most outstanding teacher was his paternal relative, Khon Kyichub Dralhawa ('Khon Skyi chub Gra lha ba) who appointed him to take over his monastery and the numerous disciples. Sachen accepted his uncle's offer but he remained a layman so he could have children and carry on his family lineage. Tibetan yogin Zhangton Chobar (Zhang ston Chos 'bar, 1053–1135) transmitted to Sachen the "path and its result", *lamdre* (Tib. *lam 'bras*) teaching, the core of the Sakya tradition. *Lamdre* is a system of knowledge of practicing the entire range of sutric and tantric teachings of the Buddha. These teachings were brought to Tibet by the Indian scholar Gayadhara (994–1043) and were translated by Drogmi Lotsawa.[22] In 1141 Sachen's first disciple was Jangchub Sempa Aseng (Byang chub Sems pa A seng), an important monk from Kham (Khams), and was followed by Sachen's own sons Sonam Tsemo and Dragpa Gyaltsen.

The two sons, who were his closest disciples, became the forth and fifth Sakya throne holders and patriarchs. Sonam became an excellent scholar renowned in Tibet and India, whilst Dragpa remained at Sakya and chose the path of a reclusive meditator becoming a great accomplished master in Tibet.

Sachen's youngest son, Palchen Opo (Dpal chen 'Od po) never held the throne but was the father of Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen, the important scholar and the sixth Sakya patriarch. Sakya Pandita was the principal disciple of his uncle, the great Dragpa.[23] Sakya Pandita taught widely and became renowned across Tibet for his scholarship and skill in teaching. His writings are counted among the most widely influential in Tibetan literature and prompted commentaries by

[19] Bari Lotsawa is the only master who was not part of the Khon family in the lineage of throne holders of the Sakya school.

[20] Chogye 2003: 20.

[21] *Sakya Heritage Society* n.d.

[22] *The Treasury of Lives* 2007.

[23] Chogye 2003: 23.

countless subsequent authors. His works on Buddhism were so significant that they were translated into Indian languages.

As a distinguished scholar in all fields of science and study, he drew the attention not only of the people of Tibet but of all neighbouring countries as well. In 1244 Sakya Pandita received an invitation to present a report to the court of Prince Goden, the son of the supreme Mongolian leader, Ogodei (1186–1241). Goden was in charge of the regions of the Mongolian Empire that bordered on Tibet. Following the practice of Genghis Khan (1162–1227) and his successors, Goden also enumerated the foremost sects which could confer about the circumstances in Tibet, and he selected the Sakyapa sect.[24] Tibetan historians present the events with Sakya Pandita going to Mongolia to serve as religious preceptor. However, it is more likely that he was summoned to serve as proxy for Tibetan acceptance of Mongolian rule.

The sixty-three-year-old Sakya Pandita and his two nephews, the heirs to the Khon family, made a journey to meet Goden in the Karakorum region. The sons of his brothers, Chogyal Phagpa and Chagna Dorje (Phyag na Rdo rje, 1239–1267) went along as disciples and attendants to their teacher and uncle. The two young men both later played important parts in the history of Tibet, Mongolia and China.[25]

According to Tibetan histories, in 1249 Sakya Pandita became the Mongol "representative" (Mong.: *darugachi*) and thus wielded power throughout Tibet. Sakya Pandita and Goden reached an agreement whereby Tibet would acknowledge Mongolian sovereignty and agree to a fixed tribute. Mongolian secretaries and treasurers entered the country to supervise the collection and payment of tribute. Sakya Pandita remained in the Mongol camp for years and sent a letter to other leaders in Tibet urging them to submit to the Mongol rule and pay tribute. He pointed out that resistance would be not only impossible but disastrous, too. Tibetan nobility revolted and did not want to accept the ruling of the Sakya abbot but the insurrection was suppressed by Mongol troops.

Sakya Pandita's relationship with Goden is often cited as a model for the later development of the so-called "priest-patron" (Tib. *mchod yon*) relationship between Tibet and its – in military aspect – more powerful neighbour, Mongolia. Sakya Pandita's ventures in Mongolian power also helped to lay the ground for the long standing tradition of linking Buddhist authority and political rule in Tibet.[26]

Beside his political activities, Sakya Pandita also gave Goden religious instruction and cured him of a serious illness, probably leprosy. It seems that

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[24] Sagaster 2007: 383.

[25] Wylie 1977: 104–115.

[26] *The Treasury of Lives* 2007.

Sakya Pandita made a deep impression with his sense of diplomacy and great wisdom onto the tolerant Mongolians.

The young boys, Phagpa and Chagna grew up at the court and were educated in Mongolian and Tibetan languages by their uncle. When Goden and Sakya Pandita died almost at the same time, Phagpa and Chagna had to leave the court of Goden and the prince's descendants were no longer connected with Tibetans.[27] Chagna spent his whole life in Mongol surroundings with his wife, Goden's daughter. His political role was never clarified as his life was cut short by his early death. [28]

In 1253 the new great khan, Kubilai (1215–1294), invited Sakya Pandita to his newly built city of Kaiping (latter known as Shangdu) to teach his son, Jingim (1243–1286) Buddhist intellectuality and spirituality. Sakya Pandita passed away in 1251 and so Phagpa took his place. Phagpa, the seventh throneholder, was well known and highly esteemed among Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhists as the nephew of Sakya Pandita and a member of the powerful Khon family. Phagpa settled at Kubilai's court and he gained a significant degree of influence and authority. He had a unique position in regard to both Mongols and Tibetans and therefore was particularly suited to form an alliance, the so-called dual rule with Kubilai.[29] They shared ecclesiastical and secular powers: the lama presided over religious affairs and the khan over secular affairs in their dual rule.[30] Phagpa had both religious and administrative duties. He was authorised to propagate the Buddhist doctrine, to give explanations of the religious scriptures, to found monasteries and to pray for the longevity of the emperor and the well-being of the state. His most important political and administrative duty was the administration of all matters relating to the Buddhist clergy in the entire empire and the responsibility for all Tibet.[31] The Khan offered "thirteen myri-

[27] In 1251, Goden's cousin, Mongke (1209–1259) became the great khan of the Mongol Empire. He gave his younger brother, Kubilai control over the Chinese territories in the eastern part of the empire. Monke entrusted him with the responsibility of unifying China under the Mongol Empire. However, Mongke was killed while leading an expedition into Western China in 1259 and Kublai was elected as Mongke's successor in 1260. In 1278, he destroyed the Sung dynasty and established the Yuan dynasty. Kubilai became the leader of an empire that stretched across two continents: he became the overlord of all the Mongol dominions (the Golden Horde in southern Russia, the Il-Khanate of Persia and regions inhabited by the traditionally nomadic Mongol princes), as well as the ruler of his own territory of China.

[28] Petech 1990: 20.

[29] Phagpa and Kubilai agreed on a new alliance the so-called "two laws" in Mongolian *qoyar yosun* , while Tibetan use three phrases: "two modes", *gnyis lugs*; "two laws", *khrims gnyis* and "two-protective", *gtsug gnyis lag*.

[30] Migmar 2008: 245–247.

[31] Grousset 1970: 304.

archies" (Tib. *khri 'khor bcu gsum*) to Phagpa, which approximately included U (Dbus), Tsang and Ngari (Mnga' ris).[32]

In 1268 Kubilai requested Phagpa to devise a new script[33] to be employed for Mongolian, Tibetan and Chinese. He created the so-called Phagpa alphabet[34] on the basis of the Tibetan writing system. Although one year later it was declared as the national script and its use was required in official documents, it never gained general acceptance.[35]

Kubilai nominated Phagpa national and imperial preceptor[36] and issued a document, the "Pearl Edict" (Tib. 'Ja sa mu tig) which exempted the monks from taxation as well as military and labour service.[37] It was a reconfirmation of the privileges granted by Chinggis Khan long before.[38] Phagpa's authority over Tibet was consistently challenged by the monks of the Drigung monastery ('Bri gung dong) of the rival Drigung ('Bri gung) sect. When Sakya Pandita left this monastery the new abbot of Sakya, Shakya Zangpo (Shakya Bzang po) was given the new office of "great authority", *ponchen* (Tib. *dpon chen*) and given a centralized system of administration with civil, judicial and military authority over all of Tibet. There were the thirteen "local lay and monastic rulers", *tripon*s (Tib. *khri dpon*) under this official who directly ruled in their own myriarchies. The office of *ponchen* functioned for all practical purposes in the same way as the Tibetan government, i.e. at the pleasure of the Mongol khans and later Yuan emperors, and it was subordinate to the national preceptor. The *ponchen* was invariably a Tibetan person nominated by the ruling Sakya lama and approved by the reigning emperor.[39]

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32 Dawa 2001: 55.

33 The Mongolian official correspondence of Kubilai's empire was conducted in the old Mongolian alphabet adopted by Chinggis in about 1204. This was a late form of the old Uygur alphabet which by that time contained no more than 14 letters, many of them polyphonic and easyly to be mixed up with one another. On the other hand Kubilai's Chinese official business was carried on in Chinese, a language which his Mongol kinsmen and principal officers might perhaps speak, but could certainly not read, nor write. So he wanted urgently a good "one letter, one sound; one sound, one letter" alphabet, easy to read and suitable for writing both official languages of his empire. Clauson 1959: 301.

34 It consisted of forty-one letters, many of which were square in shape. Accordingly it is also referred to as "square-script".

35 Petech 1990: 22.

36 Historically, "imperial preceptor" (Ch.: 国师 *guo shi*) appeared before "national preceptor" (Ch.: 帝师 *di shi*); functionally *di shi* supplanted *guo shi* as the highest clerical honour and marked a development in the relationship between throne and sangha. *Guo shi* originally functioned as a religious tutor to the emperor and his family. Dunnel 1992: 86–87.

37 Petech 1990: 16–18.

38 Petech 1990: 16.

39 Dawa 2001: 55.

Returning to Sakya in 1274 Phagpa spent his last few years in semi-retirement. There he convened a council of lamas at Chumig Ringmo (Chus mig Ring mo), known as the "Chumig Chokor" (Tib. *Chus mig Chos 'khor*), for religious discussions and to persuade the leaders of various traditions to accept Mongol-Sakya rule. It was a fruitless effort as the Drigung sect continued to resist. The refusal of the Drigung monastery to accept the arrangement forced Kubilai to send troops to enforce Sakya control and Mongol control of Tibet was restored within a year.

Soon after a postal system was devised, taxes were imposed and a Tibetan militia was formed, all under Mongol direction. The system of governance devised for Tibet consisted of an imperial preceptor (Phagpa being officially the first), who was in charge of Buddhists throughout the empire as well as in Tibet and a second Mongol-appointed official, the *ponchen*, who lived in Tibet and administered the region more directly. This system was in place for the next eighty years. Phagpa and Kubilai also deepened their relationship through marriage alliances; Phagpa's younger brother, nephew and grandnephew all married Mongol princesses.[40]

Phagpa was able to use the power and other resources of his position to further his uncle's scholarly and cultural projects. With the aid of the *ponchen*, Phagpa built Lhakang Chenmo monastery (Lha khang Chen mo) at Sakya, which was a centre of scholarly activity of Phagpa and his successors. Sakya Pandita established the study of the five sciences[41] across Tibet and Phagpa maintained the momentum through his writing and polemics. He sponsored the translation of poetry, literature and metrics. It was also largely thanks to the Sakya influence that Sanskrit poetry became the basis of high literary culture during this time.[42]

In 1280, the year after Kubilai conquered the remnants of the Song dynasty, Phagpa died at Sakya, allegedly poisoned by an unpopular *ponchen*. With Mongolian support, the Khon family ruled Tibet until the middle of the 14th century.[43] After the death of Kubilai in 1295, the power of the Mongols began to decline in China. In 1305 Zangpo Pal (Bzang-po Dpal, 1280–1307), the nephew of Phagpa came to the throne of Sakya and reigned for thirteen years. The Chinese emperor ordered him to marry as many as seven wives to carry on the legacy of the

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40 *The Treasury of Lives* 2007.

41 The five sciences (Skt. *pañcavidyā*, Tib. *rig gnas lnga*) are five classes of knowledge (Skt. *vidyā,* Tib. *rig gnas*) of ancient India. The five sciences are: linguistic science (Skt. *śabdavidyā,* Tib. *sgra*), logical science (Skt. *hetuvidyā*, Tib. *gtan tshigs*), medical science (Skt. *cikitsāvidyā*, Tib. *gso ba*), science of fine arts and crafts (Skt. *śilpakarmasthānavidyā*, Tib. *bzo rig pa*), and spiritual sciences (Skt. *adhyātmavidyā*, Tib. *nang don rig pa*). Gold 2019: 15.

42 *The Treasury of Lives* 2007.

43 Following his example, later Chinese emperors continued the tradition of revering the descendants of Khon lineage as their spiritual preceptors.

teachings of the forefathers. So Zangpo Pal fathered fifteen sons securing the future of the tradition.

The political system carried out during Phagpa's period continued with the actual powers held by *ponchen*s and the *tripon*s. During the reign of the eldest son of Zangpo Pal, Sonam Gyaltsen (Bsod nams Rgyal mtshan, 1312–1375), the political strength of the Sakya began to wane in Tibet. Most of the later Sakya lamas concentrated more on their religious duties and left the entire political administration to the *ponchen*s and *tripon*s. The immediate victor to emerge from the downfall of Sakya government was one of its *tripon*s, Changchub Gyaltsen (Byang chub Rgyal mtshan, 1302–1364). He and his descendents ruled U and Tsang for nearly 97 years under the dynastic name of Phagmodru (Phag mo gru, 1354–1618). [44]

Sonam Gyaltsen withdrew to Samye monastery to engage a long meditation retreat. Thus, he came to be known as Lama Samyepa (Bla ma Bsam yas pa), spending much of his later life in the restoration of Samye monastery. He had many famous disciples who excelled in various Buddhist traditions of Tibet for this reason Sonam Gyaltsen may be seen as the root of the "non-secreterian" *rime* (Tib. *ris med*) tradition within Tibetan Buddhism.[45]

In 1430 an eminent Sakya master, Ngorchen Kunga Zangpo (Ngor chen Kun dga' Bzang po 1429–1489) founded the Ngor Evam Choden monastery (Ngor E vam Chos ldan) near Sakya and became the head of one of the main subschools of the Sakya tradition. The Ngor lineage was famous for the preservation of the seven mandalas of Ngor.[46]

The other subschool of Sakya was the Tshar lineage, founded by the eclectic Sakya teacher, Tsharchen Losal Gyatso (Tshar chen Blo gsal Rgya mtsho 1502–1566) who began his Buddhist career as a Gelugpa (Dge lugs pa) monk. He received his novice ordination from the first Dalai Lama, Gedun Gyatso (Dge 'dun Rgya mtsho, 1475–1542) and trained at Tashilhunpo monastery. Nonetheless he had strong faith in the Sakya tradition and in a Sakya master, Kunpang Doringpa (Kun spang Rdo ring pa, 1449–1524), his main teacher. Tsharchen reached a high level of realization but he did not found a new monastic order. The Tshar lineage was established at Dar Drangmoche ('Dar Grang mo che) by his disciples. Many great masters of this lineage, including the fifth Dalai Lama taught at this monastery.[47]

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[44] Dawa 2001: 56.

[45] Chogye 2003: 24.

[46] Seven mandalas of Ngor: Guhyasamaja, Hevajra, Chakrasamvara, Vajrayogini, Vajrabhairava, Saravavidya and Mahakala. Smith 2001: 248.

[47] Smith 2001: 248–249.

The third subschool is the Dzongpa tradition founded by Dzongpa Kunga Namgyal (Rdzong pa Kun dga' Rnam rgyal, 1382–1456) and based at Gongkar Dorjeden (Gong dkar Rdo rje gdan). This lineage engaged in a wide religious curriculum based on Indian tantric texts and on commentaries and instructional manuals that were written mainly by Tibetan masters of the Sakya sect.[48]

The Sakya school might be represented as a tree from whose main trunk the Ngor, Tshar and Dzong schools branch out in different directions, but essentially remain connected at the source. The difference between these lineages mainly lies in the various rituals and transmissions they specialize in.[49] The Ngor tradition became influential in the dissemination of the Sakya tantric teachings and the Tsharpa in the esoteric transmission known as the *lamdre lobshe* (Tib. *lam 'bras slob bshad*) or manuals on uncommon *lamdre* teachings, which contrasts to the more widely taught *lamdre tsogshe* (Tib. *lam 'bras tshogs bshad*) or treatises on common *lamdre* teachings.[50] There are several independent institutions that share Sakya doctrinal tradition, including Jonang *(Jo nang),* Bodong *(Bo dong),* and Bulug/Zhalug *(Bu lugs/Zhwa lugs),* and which are frequently considered part of the Sakya tradition.

4. The Khon family in the modern era

In the 14th century, Kunga Lodro Gyaltsen (Kun dga' Blo gros Rgyal mtshan, 1299–1327), who was the eldest of fifteen grandsons of Sakya Pandita's brother, established four dynastic houses: Zidong (Gzi gdong), Rinchengang (Rin chen sgang), Lhakang (Lha khang) and Ducho Ladrang (Dus mchod Bla brang); out of them only Ducho Ladrang has survived to this day. In the 18th century however, Ducho Ladrang was split between two 'palaces,' namely Dolma Podrang (Sgrol ma Pho brang) and Phuntsog Podrang (Phun tshogs Pho brang).

Pema Dudul Wangchug (Pad ma Bdud 'dul Dbang phyug, 1784–1856) established the Dolma Podrang, whilst Phuntsog Podrang was established by his youngest son, Kunga Rinchen (Kun dga' Rin chen, 1806–1843). Ever since then, the leadership of the Khon Family has alternated between Dolma Podrang

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[48] Fermer 2019.

[49] Chödung 2016: 25–27.

[50] Generally the *lamdre* literature could be classified into six parts: 1. expositions on the Hevajra Tantra (Tib. *rgyu bshad*), 2. classical *lamdre* manuscripts (Tib. *lam 'bras glegs bam*), 3. hagiography of the lineage masters (Tib. *bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*), 4. treatises on common *lamdre* teachings (Tib. *lam 'bras tshogs bshad*), 5. manuals on uncommon *lamdre* teachings (Tib. *lam 'bras slob bshad*), 6. liturgy on initiation rites, rituals and Hevajra Sadhana (Tib. *dba'da dkyil chog sgrub thabs skor*).

and Phuntsog Podrang.[51] Two of their descendants in the following generation were the father and paternal uncle of the 41st Sakya Trizin.[52]

His Holiness the 41st Sakya Trizin, Ngawang Kunga (b. 1945) lives with his family in Dehra Dun in North India, after he fled from Tibet in 1959. There he established the Sakya Centre as his seat in India and decades later established a new monastery in Walden, New York, as his seat in the United States. 41st Sakya Trizin frequently travelled abroad to offer the teachings of the Sakya tradition to students from all over the world.[53] In 2017 after his retirement, the 42nd Sakya Trizin, Ratna Vajra Rinpoche (b. 1974) became the new head of the school. He is the eldest son of the 41st Sakya Trizin, chosen from among the members of the Khon family on the basis of seniority and qualification.[54] Jetsun Kushog Chime Luding (Rje btsun Sku shogs 'Chi med Klu sdings, b. 1938), the sister of 41st Sakya Trizin, is also a fully qualified lineage holder, as having received religious training alongside her brother in Tibet. Jetsun Kushog currently resides in Canada.[55]

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[51] Tsem Rinpoche: n.d.

[52] Chogye 2003: 25.

[53] *Drogmi Buddhist Institute* – about the Sakya tradtion. n.d.

[54] Chödung 2016: 25–27.

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An Initiation Rite in Tibetan Historiography

Historiography in Tibet shows many features of syncretism, similarly to Tibetan Buddhism in general. Beyond containing records of actual events, Tibetan historiography is full of etiological myths modified according to current ideological needs, yet preserving many ancient motifs. These express not only the origins of the Tibetan people but also the wider context of the movements and interactions of the different peoples of India, Tibet and China.[1]

In this paper I shall investigate a quasi-historical event in the biographies of the second 'Dharma King' of the Tibetan Empire, Khri-srong Lde-btsan (Trisong Detsen[2]). As the newborn heir to the throne, he was stolen from his mother by a rival queen; however, at a ceremonial event the still infant prince indicated his true descent by sitting on the lap of his maternal uncle. As Ruzsa (2016) noticed, the complex motif of the new ruler choosing his family by sitting on the lap of a male representative can be found in the Indian legend of Śunaḥśepa, embedded into a much richer structure. Following his reconstruction, by analysing further parallelisms in a wider corpus, it appears that the seemingly innocent story of a baby prince is, in fact, a remnant of an archaic rite. I argue that originally this was a rite of passage, related to a special variant of puberty initiation: the consecration of the heir apparent. Furthermore, its relationship to the Indian legend of Śunaḥśepa connects it indirectly with the stories of Isaac and even Snow White and also with several rites of passage in ancient Greece.[3] I will also

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[1] Szegedi 2013a, Szegedi 2013b.

[2] All Tibetan text, names and titles are in Wylie's transcription. The approximate pronunciation is given in brackets after the first occurrence of those names, which are used in that form in a translation quoted here.

[3] I am deeply thankful to Professor Ferenc Ruzsa for his valuable suggestions and very inspiring comments.

suggest that some versions of the legend point to a probably even more obsolete cycle of maternity rites with parallels in Solomon's judgment and the Chinese *Chalk Circle*.

Khri-srong Lde-btsan chooses his family

Khri-srong Lde-btsan[4] was the second "Dharma king" *(chos-rgyal)* of Tibet, called so on account of his strong and effective support of Buddhism. He ruled between 755 and 797, more than a century after the founder of the Tibetan empire, the first Dharma king Srong-btsan Sgam-po. His empire was huge, and he was militarily very active; in the west, fighting the Abbasid Caliph at the Oxus (Amu Darya), while on the East even occupying the Chinese capital Chang'an in 763, although he was unable to hold it for long.[5]

Interestingly, according to Tibetan Buddhist historiography, Khri-srong Lde-btsan was himself half Chinese: he was born to the third wife of his father Khri-lde Gtsug-btsan (704–755), nicknamed Mes Ag-tshoms, "Bearded Grandfather". Mes Ag-tshoms' first wife was from the Nanzhao kingdom (Tib. Ljang or Ljongs; south of the Tibetan-Chinese border), the second one was from the important Tibetan Sna-nam (Nanam) clan, and the third wife was Kim-shing kong-jo (Kyimshing Kongjo, Jincheng Gongzhu 金城公主), the (adopted) daughter of the Chinese emperor.

The quite unusual story of the birth of Khri-srong Lde-btsan is described in several ancient chronicles. Three works, representatives of three eras in the history of Tibet, are presented here. The well-known and authoritative 14th century *Clear Mirror* gives a quite detailed description of the episode. The important chronicle of the 5th Dalai Lama in the 17th century has a concise rendering, omitting important motifs. *The Testimony of Ba,* originally composed in the 9th century (surviving in several, somewhat later versions) is our earliest testimony; although short, it preserves important elements that were later not fully understood.

A) The Clear Mirror

The first text of our analysis will be the 20th chapter of *The Clear Mirror Royal Genealogy*[6], a chronicle of the world but especially of Buddhism in Tibet, writ-

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[4] Name variants are Khri-song Lde-btsan, or Khri-song Lde'u-btsan.

[5] Concerning Khri-srong Lde-btsan's role in Tibetan politics, see Schaik 2011: 27–44.

[6] *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long.*

ten around 1350 by the powerful politician and religious leader Sa-skya Bsod-nams Rgyal-mtshan.[7] The full story runs as follows:[8]

> One year later, Kyimshing Kongjo learned she was pregnant with an infant prince, but a senior consort named Nanam Zang Zhiteng grew jealous and falsely declared, 'I also carry the king's successor'. When Trisong Detsen was born to the Chinese princess in the Iron-male-horse Year [730] at Dragmar, Nanam Zang came to her, and although she showed her great affection,[9] she stole[10] the princess's infant and announced deceitfully, 'This baby was born to me!'
>
> Kyimshing Kongjo exposed her breasts, uttered lamentations and wept, but Nanam Zang refused to yield the child.[11] The Chinese princess therefore informed the ministers and petitioned the king,[12] but Nanam Zang rubbed upon her own breasts an ointment that caused the milk to flow, and having done so, she too showed the ministers. They became filled with doubt, not knowing who was the true mother. As Kyimshing Kongjo's baby had been stolen by the senior consort, and as she could not withstand the older woman's aggression,[13] she had no further course of action.
>
> Kyimshing Kongjo then thought to herself, 'It is difficult for the baby to benefit me at this juncture. I shall therefore destroy this land of Tibet!' She studied the geomancy of the mountains, and in order to sever the royal line of descent, she drew a wheel with her own menstrual blood[14] on the summit of the king's life-force mountain, which resembled a snow-lion leaping into the sky. The princess then concealed the cipher beneath a stupa. Next, in order to prevent the advent of intelligent ministers, she blocked the 'nose' of the ministers' life-force mountain with molten bronze, and severed the conjoined 'tails' of Tagri, 'Tiger Mountain', and Sengri, 'Snow-lion Mountain'. In order to cause famine, she

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[7] On the background of *The Clear Mirror* see Szegedi 2013b: 270, Szegedi 2013a: 80–82.

[8] Taylor – Yuthok 1996: 226–229. Their translation may be compared to Sørensen 1994: 358–362. RGM: 199–201. I will give some alternative interpretations in footnotes.

[9] *Shin-tu blo nye-ba-ltar byas-nas*: "affecting very amicable" (Sørensen 1994: 358). This may be connected to the motif of the demoness hiding her identity as seen in the *Sba-bzhed* and *Ma-hommagga* versions of the story.

[10] *Rgya-mo'i bu-chung phrog-ste*: she seized/grabbed/took forcibly/snatched. See later in the *Sba-bzhed*'s context.

[11] *Bu-chung ma btang-bas:* didn't let go her hold of the baby. – This suggests the 'pulling the child' motif, cf. fn. 13, and see later in the *Sba-bzhed*'s context.

[12] *Rgyal-po-la zhus-pas*: She (or: they) asked the king [for decision].

[13] *(... phrogs-pas/) dbang-shed-mos ni ma thub/ byed-thabs med-par song-ngo*: She, having been unable to cope with [her] power and physical strength, and having no means of action, went away.

[14] *Mngal-khrag-gis 'khor-lo bris* (RGM 199–200): She drew a circle with her postpartum blood. – Note that this feature supports the suggested maternal rite interpretation.

cut the 'roots' of Mena Mountain at Yarlung, which resembled tender shoots of rice, and in order to bring leprosy to Tibet, she removed the 'bill' of Mangkhar Mountain, which resembled a great eagle soaring in the sky.

When she had accomplished all this, as it was her son's first birthday, the families of the two consorts were invited from China and Nanam to attend a festivity to celebrate the boy's first steps. They duly reached Tibet from their respective lands, and the people of Nanam brought gifts, ornaments, clothing and garlands of flowers for the little boy's amusement.

The king sat upon his golden throne in the centre of the royal palace with the family of Nanam on his right and the family of the Chinese princess on his left. His father, the king, adorned the boy with many ornaments, placed a golden cup filled with rice-beer in his son's hands, and said,

> My only son, born of two mothers,
> Although small, your body is the manifestation of a deity.
> Place this vessel, a golden cup filled with rice-beer,
> Into the hands of your uncle.
> By this we will determine who is your true mother.

So saying, he offered prayers and sent his son, who was just able to walk, on his way. Taking the cup, the boy set off. Although the people of Nanam enticed him with clothes, ornaments and garlands of flowers and beckoned to him, the child ignored their exhortations and[15] went instead to the Chinese, to whom he gave the golden cup and addressed these words:

> I, Trisong Detsen, am a nephew of the Chinese.
> I do not understand my uncles from Nanam.[16]

With that, he sat down in the lap of his Chinese uncle.[17] His mother was overjoyed and said:

> By the virtue of good karma accrued in former lives,
> To me, a girl who came from China,
> The son of a matchless king was born.
> But on account of my adverse karma,
> This boy who was born to me was stolen by another.
> Ignoring my honest pleas,
> Although I showed my breasts, the infant was not returned.

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[15] The Tibetan text in footnote 17 starts from this point.

[16] *Sna-nam zhang-gi don mi 'tshal* – I have no deal with an uncle of Sna-nam.

[17] *Rgya-rnams-kyi rtsar byung-ste/ gser-skyog Rgya-la gtad-nas 'di-skad zer-ro/ nga Khri-srong Lde-btsan Rgya-tsha yin// Sna-nam zhang-gi don mi 'tshal// zer-te/ zhang-po Rgya'i pang-du song-ngo//*

> The body and mind of this Chinese princess were seared with pain,
> And being unable to bear the suffering of mental fury,
> I undermined the beneficial geomantic influence of the mountains of Tibet.
> Today, the sun of the deity has arisen:
> Son, you recognised your uncle.
> You mother's body and mind repose in happiness.
> The decline of the geomantic influence of the mountains of Tibet
> Will be reversed without harm.

Thus she spoke. Knowing that the boy was indeed the son of the Chinese princess Kyimshing Kongjo, a great celebration was held.

B) Melodies of the Spring Queen

The *Annals of Tibet, Melodies of the Spring Queen*[18] is a historical work written by Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang Rgya-mtsho, the 5th Dalai Lama (ruled 1617–1682), one of the greatest Tibetan authorities. He tells the story concisely:

At that time, (another of) the king's consorts, (called) rNam-sNaṅ bZa',[19] said that she had borne the king's son in her womb. (So saying), she stole the Chinese consort's son and pretended that he had been born to her. The king and his ministers had their doubts but did not dare to decide the matter legally. The Chinese consort, being dissatisfied, damaged some of the favourable (reports on the) "examination of the land" of Tibet.

Not long afterwards, at the ceremony of setting the son's feet (on the ground, for the first time), (sitting) in the middle of the two queens' friends and relatives and his ministers and subjects, the king placed a golden cup, filled with rice-wine, in the hands of his son, saying,

> Son, place this golden cup, filled with wine,
> In the hands of your maternal uncle.
> We shall then be sure who your mother is.

The son placed the precious cup in the hands of the Chinese, saying,

> I, KHri-Sroṅ lDe-bTSan, am a grandson of the Chinese (emperor).
> (The name) rNam-sNaṅ has no meaning whatsoever for me.

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18 *Bod-kyi deb-ther dpyid-kyi rgyal-mo'i glu-dbyangs*

19 Rnam-snang Bza': Lady Splendour (Namnang) is a later, standardized, theophoric form of the name Sna-nam (Nanam).

The Chinese consort was delighted. […]

She is said to have repaired the (reports on the) "examination of the land," which she had damaged previously.[20]

C) Testimony of Ba

The so-called *Testimony of Ba* is in fact an English title given to at least three different, but closely related texts. They are different royal narratives (*bka'-mchid*) written by members of the Ba (spelled Sba/Dba'/Rba) clan probably during the 8–9th centuries, and which were reworked in the 11–14th centuries. This corpus is a very precious source for studying Tibetan history, being the earliest documents containing histories of the first spread of Buddhism in Tibet, especially of Khri-srong Lde-btsan's reign. The works are traditionally attributed to Sba/Dba' Gsal-snang, a minister of Khri-srong Lde-btsan. The Dba' version is supposed to be earlier than the Sba version, but the relationship of the texts is not fully clear.[21]

C1. The Dba'-bzhed *chronicle*

The entire story is lacking in this version of the work.[22] We can identify the chronological locus of the event known from the other sources, but the description of the birth of Khri-srong Lde-btsan is absolutely absent. His parents are dead, and the 13 year-old Khri-srong ascends the throne:

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[20] Zahiruddin 1995: 50. – Tib. *dus der rgyal-po'i btsun-mo Rnam-snang Bzas kyang "Rgyal-po'i sras shig mngal-du chags-pa" skad zer-nas Kong-jo'i sras phrogs-te khong-rang-las skyes-pa-ltar byas-pas/ rje-blon-rnams the-tshom-du gyur-pas zhal-lce gcod-pa'i spobs-pa ma byung-zhing/ Kong-jo yid ma rangs-par Bod-kyi sa-dpyad bzang-ba 'ga'-zhig nyams-su bcug [/] mi ring-bar sras zhabs-'dzugs-kyi dga'-ston-la btsun-mo gnyis-kyi pha-ming dang blon-'bangs-rnams 'tshogs-pa'i dbus-su/ rgyal-pos 'bras-chang-gis bkang-pa'i gser-gyi phor-pa sras-kyi lag-tu gtad-de/ snod gser-skyogs chang-gis gang-ba 'di// bu khyod-rang-gi zhang-po'i lag-tu thod// ma gang yin-gyi yid-ches de-la byed// gsungs-pas/ sras-kyis rin-po-che'i phor-pa Rgya-rnams-kyi lag-tu gtad-nas/ nga Khri-srong-lde-btsan Rgya-tsha yin// Rnam-snang gang-gi don mi 'tshal// gsungs-pa dang/ Kong-jo yid rab-tu dga'-ste/ gsungs-pa dang/ Kong-jo yid rab-tu dga'-ste/ tshe sngon-ma'i las-kyi 'phen-pa-yis// nga Rgya-nas 'ongs-pa'i bu-mo-la// rje 'gran-med rgyal-po'i sras shig 'khrungs// zhes-sogs-kyi gtam smras-nas/ sngar sa-dpyad nyams-su bcug-pa-rnams bsos skad/* (Ngag-dbang 1991: 51–52).

[21] Some fragments of the probably earliest manuscript of 31 folios has been found in the Dunhuang caves in 1997. For further information and bibliography see Martin 1997: 23, Kapstein 2000: 23–37, Schaik – Iwao 2008, Szegedi 2013b: 275–278, 281, Tsumagari 2013, Doney 2021a.

[22] Wangdu – Diemberger 2000: 34–35, Gonkatsang – Willis 2021: 108–109.

> Then the bTsan po and Ong co passed away. During the reign of the son [of Khri lDe gtsug btsan], Khri Srong lde btsan, as soon as he took over the governance of the kingdom at the age of 13, […].[23]

C2. The Sba-bzhed *chronicle*

It is quite significant that in some recensions of the *Testimony of Ba,*[24] we can find a rather concise description of King Khri-srong's origins.

> When the king went to the 'Phang-thang in Yarlung to see his new-born child, Kong-jo's [the Chinese queen's] son was forcibly taken by Sna-nam Bza' Bzhi-stengs, saying: "This was born to me". In order that all ministers could examine it, they laid down the child into a Tang [i.e. Chinese] divination hole,[25] and made [them] do "who [can] get the child?". Kong-jo grasped him first;[26] Bzhi-stengs, thinking "if he dies, dies", forcibly drew him. So Kong-jo, fearing that the child may die, loosened her grasp: "Although he is mine, but you are a demon!" – she let him go. It was recognised that the child is Kong-jo's.
>
> A year later the festival of the first steps of the child was organised. The people of Sna-nam each held a small cloak of brocade in their hands, and said: "come to the lap of your maternal uncle." The prince said:
>
> "I am Khri-srong Lde-btsan, offspring of the Chinese,
> What shall I do with an uncle of Sna-nam?"
>
> Saying so, he went to the lap of the Chinese. He gave his name himself.[27]

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[23] Wangdu – Diemberger 2000: 35. Tib. [4r5–6]: *Btsan-po dang Ong-co ni sku-'das-so// sras-po Khri-srong Lde-btsan-gyi sku-ring-la/ dgung-lo bcu-gsum son-pa-na* chab-srid phyag-tu bzhes ma-thag-tu (...).* Gonkatsang – Willis 2021: 108. [4r5–6] (*lon-pa-na).

[24] Concerning the extant recensions cf. Doney 2021b: 6–17. Doney 2013 gives a comparative analysis of Bashe tradition with some Nyingma chronicles. This is an important contribution to the interpretation of the locus examined here.

[25] *Thang-rtsis-kyi bu-gar – Thang-rtsis* is my emendation of *thang-tshigs* in the edition, based on Nyang-ral 1980:169. It reads: *blon-po kun-gyi[s] thang-rtsis-kyi bug-par bu bzhag-nas mo gnyis sus thob byed-du bcug-pas* – "As all ministers laid down the child into a divination hole, and made the two women do 'who [can] get [him]' […]". For the interpretation as 'Chinese divination hole' cf. e.g. Namgyal 2015. Stein (1961: 4) reads *thang-rtsigs.*

[26] Or: at the front (*sngon-la*).

[27] *Sba-bzhed*, pp. 4–5., my translation. Tib. *rgyal-pos Yar-lung 'Phang-thang-du sras bltams-pa gzigs-su byon-pa'i tshe | Kong-jo'i bu Sna-rnam (nam) bza' Bzhi-stengs-kyis phrogs-nas 'di nga-la skyes-pa yin zer | der blon-po kun-gyis brtag-par bya-ba'i phyir | thang-tshigs-kyi bug-gar bu bzhag-nas bu su thob byed-du bcug-pas | Kong-jos sngon-la zin-pa Bzhi-stengs-kyis shi-na'ang shi snyam-te phrogs-pas | Kong-jos bu shi dogs-nas lhod-btang-ste | yin dang nga'i yin-te dri (dre)-mo khyod zer-nas btang | bu Kong-jo'i yin-par shes | lo gcig lon-tsa-na zhabs*

In this narrative the supposedly historic event receives a fabulous tone. It resembles a mystery play or fairy tale; however, some degree of truth can be ascribed to a narrative of this kind as well. Although the narrative may not depict an ordinary event, it could represent a considerably important custom or rite that had been alive formerly, but whose memory had faded by the time of the chroniclers.

History and legend

It is clear that what is at stake in the story is not motherly affections but power relations: which group can control the current and the future king. The great clans, ’Bro, Sna-nam, Mgar, ’Khon, Chog, Rma’ etc. families were involved in the process of Tibet’s first conversion to Buddhism. Their affiliations with several tribes in the region (e.g. with Zhangzhung, Khotanese and Chinese communities) made up a wide, “international” alliance. The leaders of these clans and their descendants have remained important players in Tibetan history for many centuries. Family relationships had great importance from the beginning in the formation of the Tibetan power structure towards a theocratic state.

One of the most significant relationships was the uncle–nephew connection; here ‘uncle’ refers primarily to the maternal uncles (*zhang*). The most influential families ran the great monasteries with the surrounding territories as feudal manors. Senior leaders of the clans occupied the position of state ministers (*zhang-blon*, ‘uncle minister’) who were often able to seize the main power, controlling the state instead of the young emperors. Nephews inherited from their maternal uncles not only their secular powers but also spiritual leadership in the religious sphere.

So the situation is clearly historically realistic. Nonetheless, it is important to recognise that most key elements of the story are not and cannot be historically accurate. Is it conceivable that people would be unable to easily decide which of two young ladies has recently given birth? Would a king leave such an important decision to a one-year old baby? Would he be able to deliver his judgment in verse? How is it possible to recognise one’s Chinese uncle whom one has never seen before?

'dzugs-pa'i dga'-ston byas-te | Sna-nam-pa-rnams ber chung-ngu re lag-na thogs-nas zhang-po'i pang-du shog zer | rgyal-bu na-re | Khri-srong Lde-btsan Rgya-tsha lags | Sna-nam zhang-gi ci bgyi 'tshal | gsungs-nas Rgya'i spang (pang)-du song-bas | ming yang rang-gis btags-so | The versions given in brackets are found in the contemporary Chinese Tibetan edition (cf. *Sba-bzhed*) which is a contaminated edition. The story is briefly rendered in Stein 1961: VII., Kapstein 2000: 26–28. Doney (2013: 23–24) gives alternative readings and a partial translation, too. The episode of the “pulling test” he omits. They all interpret the situation as if the child had gone to his *mother*.

Comparing the three Tibetan historical narratives given above, we can see that they do share a set of motifs; some are clear, others are faded or hidden, and the three versions handle the motifs in a different manner. Herein I will highlight only some of the more obvious parallels/analogues in order to ascertain the function of these motifs and to clarify the origin of our narratives. All these elements belong recognisably to a huge set of common archaic mythological motifs, surviving to the present day in ancient texts and in current folk-tales.[28] Three of the motifs will be analysed by comparing them to other, and at times, quite distant variants.

Who is the mother?

To start with the best known, although perhaps the most absurd motif: identifying the true mother (where two females claim the baby) is, of course, the focus of the judgment of Solomon.[29]

> Then two prostitutes came to the king and stood before him.
>
> "If it please you, my lord," one of the women said, "this woman and I live in the same house, and while she was in the house I gave birth to a child. Now it happened on the third day after my delivery that this woman also gave birth to a child. We were alone together; there was no one else in the house with us; just the two of us in the house. Now one night this woman's son died; she overlaid him. And in the middle of the night she got up and took my son from beside me while your servant was asleep; she put him to her breast and put her own dead son to mine. When I got up to suckle my child, there he was, dead. But in the morning I looked at him carefully, and he was not the child I had borne at all."
>
> Then the other woman spoke. "That is not true! My son is the live one, yours is the dead one"; and the first retorted, "That is not true! Your son is the dead one, mine is the live one." And so they wrangled before the king.
>
> "This one says," the king observed, " 'My son is the one who is alive; your son is dead,' while the other says, 'That is not true! Your son is the dead one, mine is the live one.' Bring me a sword," said the king; and a sword was brought into the king's presence.
>
> "Cut the living child in two," the king said, "and give half to one, half to the other."

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[28] Folk-tales preserve archaic myths and epic material, see e.g. on the Kalmyk folk material Birtalan – Rákos 2002: 79–81.

[29] 1 Kings 3.16–28, quoted from Jones 1968: 364–365.

> At this the woman who was the mother of the living child addressed the king, for she burned with pity for her son. "If it please you, my lord," she said, "let them give her the child; only do not let them think of killing it!" But the other said, "He shall belong to neither of us. Cut him up."
>
> Then the king gave his decision. "Give the child to the first woman," he said, "and do not kill him. She is his mother."

The Biblical story is remarkably successful in making the problem credible: here both women have recently given birth; although the motivation for stealing the baby is far from obvious. As Hugo Greßmann showed already in 1907, there are many parallels to this story worldwide. Closer to Tibet, the story is known from the Chinese *Chalk Circle (Hui Lan Ji* 灰闌記*)*, a four-act drama by the 14th century classical poet Li Qianfu 李潛夫. It is also present in the Indian Buddhist tradition, at least a millennium earlier. In the *Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka* ('The birth story of the Great Tunnel'), the Buddha in an earlier life plays the role of Solomon.[30]

> A certain woman took her son and went down to the sage's tank to wash her face. After she had bathed her son she laid him in her dress and having washed her own face went to bathe. At that moment a female goblin saw the child and wished to eat it, so she took hold of the dress and said, "My friend, this is a fine child, is he your son?" Then she asked if she might give him suck, and on obtaining the mother's consent, she took him and played with him for a while and then tried to run off with him. The other ran after her and seized hold of her, shouting, "Whither are you carrying my child?" The goblin replied, "Why do you touch the child? he is mine." As they wrangled they passed by the door of the hall, and the sage, hearing the noise, sent for them and asked what was the matter. When he heard the story, although he knew at once by her red unwinking eyes that one of them was a goblin, he asked them whether they would abide by his decision. On their promising to do so, he drew a line and laid the child in the middle of the line and bade the goblin seize the child by the hands and the mother by the feet. Then he said to them, "Lay hold of it and pull; the child is hers who can pull it over." They both pulled, and the child, being pained while it was pulled, uttered a loud cry. Then the mother, with a heart which seemed ready to burst, let the child go and stood weeping. The sage asked the multitude, "Is it the heart of the mother which is tender towards the child or the heart of her who is not the mother?" They answered, "The mother's heart." "Is she the mother who kept hold of the child or she who let it go?" They replied, "She who let it go."

[30] Sub-story 5 in *Jātaka* No. 546, quoted from Cowell – Rouse 1907: 163. Kapstein (2000: 30–36) notices the parallelism of the queens' fight with Solomon's judgment and the *Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka.* He supposes that this type of *judgment* may be a common motif of stories wandering along the Silk Road.

> "Do you know who she is who stole the child?" "We do not know, sage." "She is a goblin, – she seized it in order to eat it." When they asked how he knew that he replied, "I knew her by her unwinking and red eyes and by her casting no shadow and by her fearlessness and want of mercy." Then he asked her what she was, and she confessed that she was a goblin. "Why did you seize the child?" "To eat it." "You blind fool," he said, "you committed sin in old time and so were born as a goblin; and now you still go on committing sin, blind fool that you are." Then he exhorted her and established her in the five precepts and sent her away; and the mother blessed him, and saying, "May'st thou live long, my lord," took her son and went her way.

There are several versions of the motif in the Tibetan Buddhist canonical literature.[31] It can be found embedded in the *Sutra of the Wise and the Foolish ('Dzangs-blun zhes-bya-ba'i mdo)*[32] as part of the folk-tale story of the householder Stickholder *(Dbyig-pa-can)*.

> There were also there two women who disputed the possession of a young boy. When they petitioned the king for a decision, he wisely said to them: 'Each of you take one of the boy's arms and pull. Whoever is strongest will have the boy.' One woman had no thought for the child's life and pulled hard. The other woman, fearing for the child, was gentle. Seeing this, the king said to the first woman: 'This is not your child. It belongs to the woman who was gentle with him.' The mother then took the child and departed.[33]

Another canonical version from the Kanjur is even more successful than the Biblical version in making the problem credible: here the judgment occurs some years after the birth of the child and there is a logical explanation for the exchange of mothers.

> There was a householder in a hill-village who, after he had married in his own rank, remained without either son or daughter. As he longed earnestly for a child, he took unto himself a concubine. Thereupon his wife, who was of a jealous disposition, had recourse to a spell for the purpose of rendering that woman barren. But as that woman was quite pure, she became with child, and at the end of nine months bare a son. Then she reflected thus: "As the worst of all enmities is the enmity between a wife and a concubine, and the stepmother will be sure to seek

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[31] The Tibetan Canon is, of course, a collection of translations, mostly from Indian languages, but also many from Chinese etc. sources.

[32] In the critical edition: Tóth 1996: 308. – I am grateful to Erzsébet Tóth for a careful reading of this paper and several valuable suggestions.

[33] Frye 1981: 213. This is a translation of the Mongolian version, since there is no English translation of the Tibetan. A Hungarian translation is available: Halászné Róna 1999: 110.

for a means of killing the child, what ought my husband, what ought I to do? As I shall not be able to keep it alive, I had better give it to her."

After taking counsel with her husband, who agreed with her in the matter, she said to the wife, "O sister, I give you my son; take him." The wife thought, "As she who has a son ranks as the mistress of the house, I will bring him up."

After she had taken charge of the boy the father died. A dispute arose between the two women as to the possession of the house, each of them asserting that it belonged to her. They had recourse to the king. He ordered his ministers to go to the house and to make inquiries as to the ownership of the son. They investigated the matter, but the day came to an end before they had brought it to a satisfactory conclusion. In the evening they returned to their homes. Viśākhā again questioned Mṛgadhara, who told her everything. Viśākhā said, "What need is there of investigation? Speak to the two women thus: 'As we do not know to which of you two the boy belongs, let her who is the strongest take the boy.' When each of them has taken hold of one of the boy's hands, and he begins to cry out on account of the pain, the real mother will let go, being full of compassion for him, and knowing that if her child remains alive she will be able to see it again; but the other, who has no compassion for him, will not let go. Then beat her with a switch, and she will thereupon confess the truth as to the whole matter. That is the proper test." Mṛgadhara told this to the ministers, and so forth, as is written above, down to the words, "The king said, 'The Champā maiden is wise.' "[34]

In all the Indian, Chinese, and Tibetan versions we find the softer test of pulling the child instead of the cruel Solomonic idea of cutting the child in two (to which, quite absurdly, the non-mother agrees). In the *Clear Mirror* and in the second part of the story in the *Testimony of Sba* it is further softened to calling the child to the maternal party. Still, it is patently obvious that we find here not a historical event but an archetypical international legendary motif.

Stealing the baby

A second, seemingly closely related, yet in fact quite independent, motif is stealing the newborn baby from the queen in order to gain influence over the king. We find it in many fairy tales, where the rivalry of co-wives is absent, since in European folklore legal polygamy is, naturally, unknown. Therefore, the queen is killed or removed in some other way, and the evil witch's daughter takes her position. In the Russian tale of *Burenushka, the red cow* we find a compressed version:[35]

[34] Schiefner – Ralston 1906: 120–121.
[35] Afanas'ev 1945: 143.

> Princess Maria gave birth to a son. She wanted to visit her father, and went to his house with her husband. Her stepmother turned her into a goose and disguised her elder daughter as Prince Ivan's wife. Prince Ivan returned home. The old tutor of the child got up early in the morning, washed himself very clean, took the baby in his arms, and went to an open field, stopping near a little bush. Geese came flying, gray geese came. "My geese, gray geese! Where have you seen the baby's mother?" "In the next flock." The next flock came. "My geese, gray geese! Where have you seen the baby's mother?" The baby's mother jumped to the ground, tore off her goose skin, took the baby in her arms, and nursed him at her breast, crying: "I will nurse him today, I will nurse him tomorrow, but the day after I will fly beyond the forests dark, beyond the mountains high!"

In a Grimm version, *Little Brother and Little Sister,* the transformation to a water-bird element is replaced by the drowning, i.e. killing with water, of the mother.[36]

> As time went on, the Queen had a pretty little boy, and it happened that the King was out hunting; so the old witch took the form of the chambermaid, went into the room where the Queen lay, and said to her, "Come, the bath is ready; it will do you good, and give you fresh strength; make haste before it gets cold."
>
> The daughter also was close by; so they carried the weakly Queen into the bath-room, and put her into the bath; then they shut the door and ran away. But in the bath-room they had made a fire of such deadly heat that the beautiful young Queen was soon suffocated.
>
> When this was done the old woman took her daughter, put a nightcap on her head, and laid her in bed in place of the Queen. …
>
> But at midnight, when all slept, the nurse, who was sitting in the nursery by the cradle, and who was the only person awake, saw the door open and the true Queen walk in. She took the child out of the cradle, laid it on her arm, and suckled it. Then she shook up its pillow, laid the child down again, and covered it with the little quilt. And she did not forget the roebuck, but went into the corner where it lay, and stroked its back. Then she went quite silently out of the door again. The next morning the nurse asked the guards whether anyone had come into the palace during the night, but they answered, "No, we have seen no one."
>
> She came thus many nights and never spoke a word: the nurse always saw her, but she did not dare to tell anyone about it. When some time had passed in this manner, the Queen began to speak in the night, and said—
>
> "How fares my child, how fares my roe?
> Twice shall I come, then never more."

[36] Grimm – Grimm 2013: 75.

> The nurse did not answer, but when the Queen had gone again, went to the King and told him all. The King said, "Ah, heavens! what is this? Tomorrow night I will watch by the child." In the evening he went into the nursery, and at midnight the Queen again appeared and said—
>
> "How fares my child, how fares my roe?
> Once will I come, then never more."
>
> And she nursed the child as she was wont to do before she disappeared. The King dared not speak to her, but on the next night he watched again. Then she said—
>
> "How fares my child, how fares my roe?
> This time I come, then never more."
>
> Then the King could not restrain himself; he sprang towards her, and said, "You can be none other than my dear wife." She answered, "Yes, I am your dear wife," and at the same moment she received life again, and by God's grace became fresh, rosy, and full of health.

The much shorter presentation in *The Six Swans* is perhaps the most archaic; here it is the king's mother that removes the unwanted competitor, which seems to be a version of the Oedipal motif.[37]

> The King, however, had a wicked mother who was dissatisfied with this marriage and spoke ill of the young Queen. "Who knows," said she, "from whence the creature who can't speak, comes? She is not worthy of a king!" After a year had passed, when the Queen brought her first child into the world, the old woman took it away from her, and smeared her mouth with blood as she slept. Then she went to the King and accused the Queen of being a man-eater. The King would not believe it, and would not suffer any one to do her any injury. She, however, sat continually sewing at the shirts, and cared for nothing else. The next time, when she again bore a beautiful boy, the false step-mother used the same treachery, but the King could not bring himself to give credit to her words. He said, "She is too pious and good to do anything of that kind; if she were not dumb, and could defend herself, her innocence would come to light." But when the old woman stole away the newly-born child for the third time, and accused the Queen, who did not utter one word of defence, the King could do no otherwise than deliver her over to justice, and she was sentenced to suffer death by fire.

It is remarkable, that in several of the stories the ability to suckle the baby is the mark of the true mother, just as we find it in *The Clear Mirror*:

[37] Grimm – Grimm 2013: 272.

Sitting on the lap

Interestingly, the baby Khri-srong Lde-btsan is not asked to identify his mother but rather his maternal uncle. He does so by handing over the goblet of rice-vine as requested; as a seemingly insignificant addition, he also sits on his uncle's lap.

As Ruzsa (2016)[38] noticed, the complex motif of the new ruler choosing his family by sitting on the lap of a male representative can be found in the Indian legend of Śunaḥśepa, the legend narrated at the *rājasūya* ceremony, i.e. at the consecration rite of the heir apparent. Following his reconstruction, we can see that our apparently innocent and endearing story of a baby is, in fact, a remnant of an archaic rite.

As Ruzsa, following Frazer, convincingly demonstrated, the taking of a child onto the lap is a widespread ritual of adoption, symbolising new birth into the new family. This interpretation fits our story perfectly well. Following Ruzsa's observation, we can add several further parallelisms between the two stories. Viśvāmitra, who adopts Śunaḥśepa is his maternal uncle (*mātula*) in the version told in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. And in the oldest version, in the *Aitareya-āraṇyaka*, similarly to Khri-srong Lde-btsan's story, two parties contend for the child, although here they are males: the father, Ajīgarta and Viśvāmitra. Moreover, both try to 'invite' the child, to lure him to themselves, and he chooses. His decision is not a private affair: he changes not only his family but also his clan. In both cases the sitting on the lap happens at a large ceremony, specially convoked with the child in the centre. In the Tibetan version, since Khri-srong Lde-btsan is but one year old, it is apparent that the child's choice is not an act of free will but a kind of ordeal, a result of supernatural intervention. The context is also specifically ritual, a rite of passage: the feast of the first steps of the child *(zhabs-'dzugs-kyi dga'-ston)*. Ruzsa has also reconstructed for the legend of Śunaḥśepa (and indirectly for the stories of Isaac and even Snow White) a rite of passage interpretation – originally it was a special variant of puberty initiation: the consecration of the heir apparent, the ritual initiation of the future shaman-king.[39]

As seen above, the main motifs of the Tibetan 'historical' narrative can be considered analogous to the motifs in the Indian material, and therefore the conclusions drawn from the latter can also be transferred here. Therefore, it seems plausible to suggest that the Tibetan chronicles also show fragmented traces of a rite of passage which are no longer understood: an initiation rite and royal consecration.

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[38] In an earlier Hungarian version (Ruzsa 2015), he also gives a translation of the whole story.

[39] The shamanistic element is elaborately discussed in Ruzsa 2018.

The main motifs

Comparing the structural motifs of Khri-srong Lde-btsan's legend in the attested sources a clear "storyboard" comes into view. The earlier the source text, the more complete the dramaturgy. It has the most complete form in the *Sba-bzhed*, despite its most concise and obscure style. There the ritual events are separated into two acts. The birth of the child is immediately followed by the "chalk circle" test, or rather "pulling test". At the age of one, the ceremony for choosing the family takes place.

On closer inspection, *The Clear Mirror* also shows traces of the twofold ritual. The purpose of the "first steps" ordeal is expressly to choose a family. Although the previous issue of breastfeeding is seemingly just about the Sna-nam queen's power tricks, it is in fact a maternity test. The "pulling test" in *Sba-bzhed* serves to decide the true mother; structurally it is equivalent to the "breast-test". Noticeably, this event is rendered in more detail than the "second act", and thus it obviously refers to an independent and significant test-ceremony. Only the woman who will be able to draw the child from the hole is the one who gave birth to him. This magical verification is analogous to the "breast-test": the woman who is able to suckle the child herself is evidently the one who had born him.

The "pulling test" closely resembles the famous "chalk circle test". However, this is not a witty court decision to end some laywomen's squabble, but a life-and-death struggle. Considering the parallel in the *Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka,* where the non-mother is a *yakṣinī* who wants to eat the child, we infer that here, too, the story represents a struggle between good and evil. The evil power is identified by the spell: "You are a demon", uttered by the mother (or the shaman-king? The participants of the apparently ritualistic dialog are not clearly identified). Geomancy as magic performed by the true mother in the later texts, and the "You are a demon" sentence as a revealing spell seem to be functionally equivalent. The "breast test" and the "pulling test" on the one hand, and the spell unmasking the demon and geomancy on the other, are thus parallel elements.

The mother's recognition of the Sna-nam woman as a non-human, strange, demonic enemy also parallels the child's identification of the maternal uncle and his relatives as representatives of a familiar, protecting power.

In the Buddhist Jātakas there is always a moment when the Buddha identifies the key agents of the story with the individuals involved in the "real-life" situation where the teaching occurs. To find the new Dalai Lama or another reincarnated person (Tib. *sprul-sku*), a set of tests are applied, among them recognising the personal items of the previous spiritual leader. When, during the first-steps ceremony the one-year-old prince is being enticed by his true

and sham relatives, it further reminds us of the demons of good and evil in the "intermediate existence" *(bar-do)* calling the dead soul to the next birth. Some conception of rebirth may be supposed as a background for the "recognizing" motif in the family-choosing rite. This is consistent with what Ruzsa has shown of the connection between adult initiation and sitting on the lap as a symbol of rebirth in India.

The layout of the scene of the "pulling test" is also remarkable. I think that the central motif is the scene's centre itself: the "hole" or "pit". What has the phrase "divination hole" to do with the situation described in the text? To my mind, pulling the child from a ritually empowered hole or circle is a symbolic act, related to life's limits. To be during birth is a liminal situation, an intermediate stage. The women, Life-mother against Death-demon, meet and fight for the child. The title of the *Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka,* 'The birth story of the Great Tunnel' may be distantly related to the same symbolic image. This seems to be a double-sided symbol. On the one hand, it's about the dangerous process of birth: it involves the quasi-magical maternal power, and there is the risk of death – losing the child and/or the mother. On the other hand, pulling the child from a ritual pit or circle may refer to the border-passage between the World of Living beings and the Other-/Underworld of dead spirits as it is described in so many myths and folktales worldwide. Roughly speaking, the "great tunnel" or the "divination hole" refers to the birth canal literally, and figuratively the passageway from death to birth and vice versa.[40]

Considered this way, the "pulling test" seems to have an extremely archaic and rather shamanistic cultural background.

Traces of female life-cycle rituals

It cannot go unnoticed that the issue under investigation involves the ritually most important role of women: childbirth and breastfeeding. The underlying motif of the first rite ("pulling the child from the hole") seems to be the fear of losing the newborn child – an archetypal, universal human condition. The burden of this is mainly on women. Being concerned with giving birth and maternal family relations, the pseudo-historical narratives depicted above appear to be connected with matriarchal[41] traditions.

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[40] It is possible further that the "divination hole" originally referred to the oracle bone divination. The hole or pit drilled into the bone might be marked with the sign of "child". In any case, the Tibetan narratives speak clearly about laying down the child into a pit or hole. In this way the figurative layout provides an opportunity for a fight in a tug-of-war manner.

[41] 'Matriarchal' here does not suggest a society ruled exclusively by women. It denotes a so-

It seems that the complex of motifs, revealed so far through this paper's analysis and comparison, show signs of being the literary remnants of former customs and beliefs. Assuming that these narratives preserved the main structure and often even the characteristic wording of archaic myths, and that these myths were closely related to liminal rites (Skr. *saṁskāra*), we can try to reconstruct the fundamental form, meaning, and context of these rites. The story reveals some stages of a female fertility rite cycle. The "pulling-the-child" and "go-to-the-maternal-uncle" rites are most likely related elements of an archaic female ritual complex, which could certainly have had a function in a matriarchal socio-cultural environment for many centuries.

It is a nearly impossible task to find the roots and connections of these motifs. However, the key constituents of this long-obsolete rite may be related not only to elements of Indo-European and other initiation myths but also to a remarkable group of recent anthropological and sociographical data on some Tibetan ethnicities.

Recent studies of the Naxi Mosuo 纳西摩梭 and Zhaba 扎巴 peoples on the Eastern border of historical Tibet, in Western Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces may suggest some explanations for the wider original context of the rite. Féng (2010) draws attention to the fact that there are several ethnic groups scattered throughout the region, called the "Yí–Tibetan Corridor",[42] among whom the characteristic elements of matrilineal customs still exist. He gives a detailed description of the marriage customs and family organization of the Zhaba, including economic aspects and other circumstances. Socially, maternal uncles play an extremely important role even in modern times. Based on the data collected by Michaud (2015) we can say that the situation is the same with the Mosuo people. That some peoples of the region have been able to preserve more elements of the earlier culture may be explained by the fact that their original religion was only much later supplanted by Buddhism than in other areas of Sino-Tibetan culture.

There is an ongoing project mapping small Himalayan languages approaching extinction, and also their mythologies.[43] In the course of documenting oral traditions the French researchers noticed that the origin myths of several of these peoples show a marked matriarchal character.[44]

cial organisation where women have way more important social functions and responsibilities than in the well-known patriarchal model.

[42] Fei Xiaotong's term, see Féng 2010: 273.

[43] *Parallel corpora in languages of the Greater Himalayas,* http://himalco.huma-num.fr/index.htm (ANR HimalCo project).

[44] Cf. for example the researches at http://himalco.huma-num.fr/corpus/comparable/mythology.htm. Shi (2018), although describing in detail the historical movements of peoples in the area, surprisingly does not refer to matriarchal features.

All these customs documented for certain ethnic peoples in Eastern Tibet and Nepal, and the inferences that can be drawn from them suggest the following remarks.

The special importance of maternal uncles is a feature of matriarchally organised societies. In contrast, polygyny (which is so central in our story) is characteristic of the leading elites of patriarchal communities. Considering this observation, we may notice another aspect of our story beyond its interpretation as an initiation rite. The maternity rite – as depicted in the Tibetan narratives – seems to occur in a patriarchal environment. The father brings his wife from another place (exogamy with patrilocal residence); belonging to the elite, he has several wives (polygyny). The point of departure is a typical patriarchal problem – the dominant man has no male descendant from his first wife. This constitutes a major difficulty for the inheritance of power (patrilineal descent and inheritance).

In our story, however, the focus is on the key factor in matriarchal communities: Who is the mother? Two women are fighting for the child. Although, viewed from the ruler's perspective, it does not matter who bears him a son. The only important thing is that he should have one. The fight of the mothers here has political significance, for the mother who owns the child has the greatest influence over the ruler. And this seems to be meaningful only in an environment where the mothers and their blood relatives form a strong and effective group that has the wealth and the network of connections necessary to realise their power ambitions.

Therefore, in addition to the external parallels and remaining within the limits of the attested material itself, the main motifs of the Tibetan story can be contrasted by way of the matriarchal versus patriarchal opposition. I think that such a rite as rendered in *The Clear Mirror* could have been practiced by aristocrats with patrilocal marriage and patrilineal inheritance – where being blessed with a child, especially a boy as successor, was a central issue; and they could afford the ceremony. In this way, the etiological myths, female fertility rites and marriage customs – all with fundamentally matriarchal origin – could have become connected to the initiation of the heir apparent in the context of the (throne) inheritance, despite the latter being a markedly patriarchal feature.

From these observations we may infer that the basis of the Tibetan historical narrative was not only a local inheritance crisis but also a source of real social tension and a change of historical dimensions. The conflict of the 'fatherly' and 'motherly' interests could express several real phenomena.

1. It could be an expression of the open conflict of two social groups with different structures (characterised by more matriarchal vs. patriarchal features).

This could correspond to the conflict of the immigrant warlike patriarchal nomads and the indigenous settled matriarchal agriculturalists.[45]

2. The conflict of 'fatherly' and 'motherly' interests could express the tensions of an age of transition when several ethnic groups working on the formation of an empire appear in the area, organising a unified state from the loose network of tribal groups. In the process, the matriarchal organisation quite adequate for small local communities gets gradually pushed into the background, with the corresponding structures and rites breaking up, becoming secondary, or losing their meaning. Although the isolated elements of the fragmenting tradition can no longer fulfil their original function, nonetheless they are still retained in the memory of the community. In spite of the general expansion of patriarchal features (due partly to state organisation), the influence of consanguinity bonds (both maternal and paternal) is naturally preserved in kinship relations. The possibly dominant position of authority in the earlier structure: the position of the maternal uncle continues to be a significant power factor.

In support of the idea that a ritualistic interpretation of the story is required, some further facts may be noted. The Tibetan historical works report a lot of ritualistic events; prediction of the future, funeral and geomantic ceremonies, repression of hostile demons, revenge over the anti-Buddhist aristocrats, etc. The colophon of *Dba'-bzhed* says explicitly that it is about a ritual: "The account of the food offering ritual is finished."[46] The institution of the *tshe* rite is attributed to the Chinese princess Jincheng.[47] Also, the narrative of how Jincheng takes revenge on the Tibetan ruler (she draws a circle with her postpartum blood)[48] clearly shows the dominance of the maternal rite aspect in the birth-story of Khri-srong Lde-btsan. Several sources contain an account of how minister Ba Selnang became convinced that Buddhist teachings were true. This narrative has a clear theme of the rite affecting the *bardo* state, and that of the newborn child who recognize their previous life's possessions.[49] We could continue with a series of examples. So, we find that the broader context of the events described in the text includes various rites.

The initiation rite reconstructed from the story may have been part of a complex of rites that had been alive and effective presumably in a previous matriarchal environment. Due to social restructuring, the rite lost its function, and at the time of the writing of the chronicles only some isolated elements were

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[45] For a culturally significant parallel, the incoming of the Aryans into agricultural (Dravidan?) India, see Ruzsa 2007.

[46] Gonkatsang – Willis 2021: 156–157. Tib. *Zas-gtad-kyi lo-rgyus rdzogs-so* (fol. 31v).

[47] Concerning the supposed Chinese roots of the *tshe* rite see Kapstein 2000: 38–39 (who follows Stein's argumentation).

[48] *Mngal-khrag-gis 'khor-lo bris-nas* (RGM 199–200).

[49] See Stein 1961: VIII., Kapstein 2000: 39.

still known. These, however, were probably considered respectable constituents of the tradition, and the intellectuals producing historical records for the elite understood it as their duty to preserve these traditional accounts – at the same time attempting a rationalisation of the stories.

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Contemporary Aspects of Family Relations

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The Role of Family in the Construction of Traditions among Second-Generation Chinese Immigrants in Hungary

1. Introduction

The family is the most important social construct in the immigrant's life. It plays a truly complex role: acts as a link between the host and home society; conserves the traditional values; also introduces new cultural forms; a genuine environment where ideas and values can clash, and generations are able to negotiate. To successfully take up all these roles, the boundaries, the structure and the rules of the family have to be flexible and adaptable. The immigrant family is a rather interchangeable creation which has to reevaluate its standards frequently according to the requirements of the host society and the needs of the family members.[1] Culture plays a central role in this reevaluation process, as well as in the negotiation between generations where the outcome is based on the size of the cultural distance between these factors.[2]

Chinese immigrant families in Hungary also organize themselves according to this formula. In this article we focus on families constructed by two generations in which the second- generation has grown up in Hungary. In our cases parents arrived in the country 20–30 years ago taking up with the challenges caused by migration. They are the old members of the Hungarian Chinese diaspora, calling themselves *lao yimin* 老移民, 'old migrants'. It is known from studies conducted on this subgroup that many among them came to make their fortune in Hungary; they are the big survivors, big innovators, people who could adapt and endure even at times when many of their peers couldn't. Usually their youth were spent with hard work and learning in a new environment, and in the

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[1] Foner 1997: 961.

[2] Foner – Dreby 2011: 547.

process of acculturation they were often forced to revisit and reevaluate their norms and traditions.[3] The twenties of the *lao yimin* were spent differently from the twenties of their children. The parents socialized themselves in times and in cultures which required their own set of skills not necessarily regarded useful by their children anymore.

The children of the first-generation immigrants who grew up in a multicultural setting have their own challenges to deal with. They built up their identity from elements learned from their parents and picked up from the host society. This identity shows a high degree of complexity which goes beyond the definition of biculturalism. Even though they value their parents' traditions, they are the ones who challenge them.[4] Given this situation in the immigrant family, the dialog between these two generations, based on their different understanding on norms and values, is often complicated.

As we will show in the next sections, in many cases Chinese immigrant families try to balance between traditional norms and learned behaviours. This tiptoeing often results in conflict and negotiation between generations and can produce new traditions and hybrid cultural elements.

2. The case of Hungarian Chinese second-generation immigrants: methodology and terminology

To gain better understanding on what role the family plays in the life of the second-generation Chinese immigrants, we conducted 20 semi-structured anonymous interviews with young adults aged 18 to 33. The interviews took place in Budapest, Hungary in the interval of 5 month from October 2019 to February 2020. Each interview took 60 to 90 minutes, was conducted in Chinese and Hungarian and with the consent of the interviewees they were recorded. After the transcription we organized and analysed the content of the material and elicited the meaning from it to draw our conclusions. Out of the 20 interviewees: 12 were born and lived in Hungary with two first-generation Chinese immigrant parents; 5 were born in China, arrived at Hungary before their adolescent years and lived in the country with two first-generation Chinese immigrant parents; 3 were born and lived in Hungary and had a mixed heritage with one Chinese and one Hungarian parent. According to the definition of the European Commission and Asher the first group could be regarded as *'second generation',*[5] the second

[3] Nyíri 2013: 3861, Guo 2010: 123, Várhalmi 2010a: 173, Huang – Gove 2012: 10, Suárez-Orozco – Suárez-Orozco 2015: 128, Sebestyén – Fülöp 2014: 145.

[4] Suárez-Orozco – Suárez-Orozco 2015: 133, Foner – Dreby 2011: 549.

[5] According to the definition of the European Commission. Our experiences tell us that Chi-

group as *'1.5th generation'*[6] and the members of third group as *'individuals with mixed background'*.[7] However, in this article we will use the title *'second generation'* as an umbrella term for the sake of simplicity, and also because we consider these young people as the members of the second generation in their respective families.

3. Changes of traditions in the Chinese immigrant family

In this section we discuss the special situation of traditions in the Chinese immigrant family in Hungary, paying closer attention to the differences between the two generations.

3.1. Flexibility of the traditions

Previously we mentioned that the immigrant family setting provides an exciting environment to traditional norms and values to clash with new ones. Usually in this disposition the members of the first generation are more attached to the traditions brought over from the home society and the members of the second generation tend to represent the new norms.[8] However, oversimplifying the situation by making a division like *first generation – traditionists, second generation – reformers* would not be correct.

Tradition is a complex phenomenon and hard to define. Based on the literal meaning of *'handed over'*, it is often regarded as a collection of cultural elements and features found worthy to preserve and pass on by someone[9] which, as a result, have survived with the process of transmission from one generation or individual to the other.

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nese immigrant children born in Hungary were often sent back to China in their toddler years. Usually raised by the maternal grandparents, many of them even started primary school there. It seems it was a common phenomenon among first-generation early migrants who arrived at Hungary to open their own businesses which took most of their time. Usually when the children reached school age they were brought back to Hungary, where they were raised with the help of a Hungarian nanny. Even though they were born in Hungary, they needed to relearn the language and culture which were alien for them. Given their special situation it is challenging to label their group according to existing definitions.

[6] According to the definition of Curt Asher (Asher 2011: 44).

[7] According to the definition of the European Commission.

[8] Foner – Dreby 2011: 547.

[9] Graburn 2001: 6.

However, if we look closer, we can discover the limitations of this definition. Tradition is a sort of *cultural reproduction* which results in the replication of an action someone already had done before. This process incorporates two parts: repetition of something *old* which *had already existed* before and the construction of something *new*. That is why we cannot consider tradition to be static and unchangeable; in reality it is the creation of an actual person in a given time influenced by actual circumstances. Flexibility is in the nature of tradition, since it has to withstand the challenges of different times and it needs to be adaptable. As Oring points out, tradition comes from the past but constantly mutates; it has to be modified and transformed or else it disappears. The exciting question is how long a tradition can maintain itself, and when it changes to a degree that it ceases to be a tradition and evolve into something new. We can even go to the extent to say that tradition is 'change', something 'new' and 'unique.'[10]

When we focus on immigrant cultures, we also recognize how tradition is tied to uncertainty. These traditions must survive in a different cultural setting of the host society. Due to the need to fit in this new cultural environment, they are often overridden, retranslated and many times they only survive as an element of a new tradition. Traditions are rather individualistic, they are strongly dependent on the person who recreates them, and in the life of the immigrant they are often romanticised to the degree when they become more significant than they used to be.[11]

If we accept this thread, we understand the complex phenomena attached to the traditions of Hungarian Chinese immigrant families. According to the findings of our research, a certain kind of reevaluation and merging process can be discovered in regard: the size of the family; the dynamics within its boundaries; the way how the generations negotiate the institution of filial piety, celebrate holidays and create their own language.

3.2. Challenging the brought over traditions: everlasting Confucianism and the imprinted xiao

Even though times are changing and China with its large overseas population is going through a huge economic, social and cultural transformation, regardless of their location, the dynamics and the structure of Chinese families are still influenced by Confucian traditions. This inherited collection of ethics, moral rules and teachings still constitute the backbone of Chinese culture, and they can

[10] Oring 2013: 22–25.
[11] Foner 1997: 963.

be identified even in the most insignificant decisions of a person.[12] Confucian ethics underline the foremost importance of the family. Shaped by experiences produced by a long history, and due to the lack of trust in other social constructs, the family earned the privilege to become the most important social unit in Chinese people's life.

The role of the family is so significant that the individual's sense of self is strongly attached to it. This culture underlines the belief that the person should strive in behalf of the whole family.[13]

Family is not only important for the first-generation Chinese immigrants in Hungary. According to our findings, it maintains its central role in the life of the second-generation Chinese immigrants as well. Many of the interviewees reported strong attachment to their parents and siblings.

> "Maybe it is a cliché… but they say how important family is in Chinese culture. And if I think more, I have to realize how close I am to my parents, especially to my mother. I love to hug them. I can see among my Hungarian friends that these two generations are more far apart, and the gap is bigger between them. And yes, there is this sense in Chinese culture that even if you are close to others you should be open to your family members. Your family always will be your family. And I think it is a really important thing."

Chinese migrants are usually considered to be the typical representatives of network migration. The information provided by the people of their networks help them choose the best migration strategy and their success in the new environment is also influenced by the capability of profiting from those networks. This type of intense networking is in accordance with the attitudes of East Asian cultures. There are theories stating that the rapid economic growth in the region was strongly reliant on *network capitalism*.[14] In the Hungarian environment Chinese communities also build up their layered extended networks and they tend to include many relatives both from the home country and the host society. These relatives are instrumental to the economic growth and they also provide emotional support.[15] Having friends and relatives in the host society can give a lot of comfort, especially during the first years in the new country. They represent the *familiar* in an *unfamiliar* environment. They speak the same language, they like the same type of food and they have the same cultural traditions.

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[12] Huang – Gove 2012: 10.
[13] Fukuyama 1996a: 85–86, Huang – Gove 2012: 10.
[14] Putman 1993: 38.
[15] Várhalmi 2010b: 178.

We found that even though their extended network contains a lot of relatives, the immigrant family is limited in its size and tend be rather small. The members of the second generation have a strong sense of the nuclear family only including parents and siblings, even if in many cases other family members from the parents' side had also migrated with their children. It is not clear why the nuclear family is so exclusive, but it seems likely that the trust and the system of dependency play key roles in it. Somehow in the process of migration and integration this nuclear family was born, and its member have the highest degree of trust in each other.[16] As the result of the language barrier and different cultural settings, the children of the immigrant family are strongly dependent on the parents' view of the host environment, and later, the parents will rely on the help of their more integrated children. They tend to think of themselves as a unit who imagine their future together, more or less tied to each other.[17]

The way family members trust each other can be explained by the still existing notion of filial piety. One of the central virtues of the Confucianism, *xiao* 孝 obliges the children to respect and support their parents, elders and ancestors throughout their life. *Xiao* traditionally leads to the construction of a tight family hierarchy in which there is no place for challenging the parental authority.[18] If the children do so, they often do it with unease bearing the consequences of the loss of their face (*mianzi* 面子), their righteousness and pride, which will be reflected in their social status. Filial piety withstood the challenges of the changing times and was perfected to the extent that even if family members can't trust each other, they can still trust the system of *xiao*.[19]

Our interviews showed that respecting the parents and elderlies also comes naturally to the second-generation Chinese immigrants. They honestly want to give respect to the parents and help them when they need help. They value the institution of *xiao* and they feel it is missing from Hungarian culture.

> "Hungarians could learn about respecting the elderly. I see that many Hungarian young people won't respect their parents and the elderly. They treat them like lepers."

> "There is something in China… called *xiao*, the respect for the elderly. I believe that is something right to do. When the kid grows up and leaves the house of the

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[16] Foner – Dreby 2011: 548.

[17] The formation of extended families faces challenges not only overseas but in the Chinese homeland as well, as it is restricted by the economic growth and the limited space provided by the cities. Yang – Scott 2014: 2.

[18] Fukuyama 1996b: 85, Lieber et al. 2004: 325.

[19] Huang – Gove 2012: 10.

> parents, it should not be like… [he] leaves and never looks back, and that is all. The parents also need to be taken care of. If they brought us up, we should help them when they get old, or something like that."

We also found that in the case of the second generation, *xiao* can be traced down to the relation to the ancestral line. Even though the members of the second generation regard the family as a nuclear unit, there is still a sense of a large lineage they tend to tie themselves to. They feel kinship to their ancestors, and regard themselves as members of a bigger bloodline which originates in China. Many of them respect and value this heritage and express the feeling of loss when thinking of breaking that lineage.

> "It is so important to teach Chinese culture for my future kids. I know that from my mother's side the family tree is huge in China, and if I marry a local [Hungarian] man, this branch will die out with me, and I don't want that. I even had this crazy idea that I adopt a baby from China who will keep in touch with the family there."

As it can be seen the question is not whether there is *xiao* or not, the question is the degree or amount of *xiao* given to the parents and whether the parents are satisfied with it. The culture of *xiao* is so deeply rooted in the first generation's identity that even parents who seemingly disowned their *Chineseness* were still strongly demanding it from their children.

The conflict within the immigrant family rises when the members of the first generation feel they don't receive the respect they deserve from the members of the later generations. This conflict is even stronger when the member of the second generation is more integrated into the host society and feels distanced from the culture of the parents and at the same time the parent strongly ties him- or herself to the "traditional" values. In these cases, the parents' wishes and rules are felt unreasonable and over-restricting for the children.[20]

> "I know I'm a rebel. And my father doesn't take this well… that I won't obey his majesty. But sadly, I have European education."

However, as we mentioned before, the life of the immigrant family is based on constant negotiations. Cultural, social change like migration usually weakens the position of the brought traditions. In order to survive in a new social and cultural environment, the family has to adapt, and as a reason of this adaptation,

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[20] Foner – Dreby 2011: 547.

the parents often reevaluate their set of values and traditions.[21]According to our interviews, the Chinese immigrant parents don't exercise strict parental control in every segment of their children's life and they give them bigger freedom than they would do in their home country. At the same time, children also have their own take on filial piety. They don't blindly obey their parents, dare to question them, and in some cases they break the rules laid down by the first generation.

> "[About taking the parents' advice]: Luckily my mother is pretty open-minded, she accepts my opinion. Of course, I won't listen to her all the time. If we have a different opinion, I won't listen to her."

However, there are segments in the second-generation immigrant's life which receive particular attention from the parents; education, dating and marriage, and language skills. Since the parents exercise the greatest control over these segments, these are the focal points where most of the negotiations may take place.

3.3. Education

Confucian traditions also have a strong influence in the evolution of attitude towards education. Education has a central role in Chinese culture and in children's upbringing. Among those new wave Hungarian Chinese immigrants who arrived in the country recently, many migrated to provide a better education for their children. This deep-rooted emphasis on education relies on the classical Confucian belief that educated people will get the top places in the hierarchy. Better education means that the person has better chance to obtain a *decent* job, which can give both financial safety and *mianzi* for the whole family. Chinese parents in the traditional sense are the figures of authority, and they have the responsibility to bring the best out of their children.[22] In this bilateral relation children feel the obligation to be respectful and maintain good academic achievement and the parents also feel the obligation to overview the children's education. The failure of the children would mean the failure of the parents.[23]

Our findings show that the children of immigrant parents certainly have a lot of challenges to deal with. They are going through important steps of their life—childhood, early adolescent years, etc.—sometimes in the middle of the migra-

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[21] Huang – Gove 2012: 10, Lieber et al. 2004: 327–328.

[22] Huang – Gove 2012: 10, Lieber et al. 2004: 326, Borsfay – Nguyen 2018: 11.

[23] Huang – Gove 2012: 13.

tion process. Those second-generation immigrants who actually had to move back and forth between China and Hungary needed to be extremely adaptable.

> "[About the hardship when she moved back to Hungary to enrol in primary school]: Yeah, back then I had no idea what was going on, where I was, who I was and what I had to do."

They had to find their way in a new culture, and socialize themselves with peers they had trouble to communicate with.

> "Here I had to enrol in primary school, but back then I didn't really know Hungarian… I had to enrol into 6th grade… My primary school years were awful. I constantly needed to take extra classes, I thought I wouldn't survive…"

The conflict rises when parents don't understand the emotional hardship their children are going through, and they keep raising their expectations. In many cases parents expressed their disappointment when their children didn't do well academically after they had enrolled into the Hungarian education system.

> "At the first year of high school I got B-s and C-s mostly, and a couple of D-s. And I learned everything by myself. It was not like primary school anymore. It was really hard for me to learn those subjects in Hungarian. And when I showed my grades to my father, he asked me why I couldn't do better. I got so upset and pissed. After I showed those grades to my private teacher she said that she was proud of me, because I achieved everything by myself, and she also said that I shouldn't give a damn about what my father said, since he had no idea what it was like."

The average Chinese immigrant parent feels the obligation to provide all the necessities for their children to do well academically. Thanks to their widespread networks they know which institutions are the best for their children, and if they are dissatisfied with the results, they are not afraid to change schools quite frequently. Besides the compulsory education, parents tend to take their children to extracurricular courses and weekend schools. Since they compare themselves to their Hungarian peers, the children find these extra activities overwhelming and unfair.

Education plays a central role not just in the children's but also the whole immigrant family's life. In the case of the *lao yimin* we should also consider how migration reinforced this attitude. Many of hard-working first-generation migrants had to do hard labour to make ends meet and to provide a better future

for their families. They want their children to enroll in a good university to procure a better life than they did.[24] With the children's success the parents also feel fulfilled and they take pride in the achievement.

> "… Chinese parents are not proud of what they have been through [during the first years of their migration], but they are proud of their children if they can go to university and earn a lot of money. They won't talk much about what they went through in '96, but they will talk about us [children], what we achieved and what they could provide for us."

The school environment is a really important part of the immigrant children's lives. This is where they must face the host society's environment and make connections on their own, outside of the immigrant family, on a daily basis. This is where the children have to deal with the constant assimilating influence coming from their peers and teachers.[25]

> "Well, at home I learned the Chinese costumes and at the school I learned the Hungarian ones. There was a really Chinese situation in the primary school. I was eating soup and there was some left in the bottom of the bowl, and I picked the bowl up and started to drink the soup out of it. And the teacher showed up, and said to me: Darling, don't do that! You have to put down your bowl, and use your spoon to eat the soup, nice and slowly. I still keep this habit, and at home my mother often asks me what my deal is, why I'm eating so quietly."

3.4. Marriage and dating

The other important field which enjoys overwhelming parental focus is the field of marriage and the choice of the future spouse. In the life of the immigrant family forging kinship ties like marriages within the community can help to succeed in the new environment.[26] Our findings showed that in the case of Chinese immigrants the parents of the second generation often wish their children to marry someone who is Chinese. They have the desire to communicate fluently with their in-laws and some of them are afraid that marrying someone from the host society will make their children's life harder. In their eyes, Hungarian in-laws speak a different language, have a different culture, and locals have a tendency to divorce easily. Even though they would create a stronger link between the

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[24] Suárez-Orozco – Suárez-Orozco 2015: 132, Guo 2010: 132.
[25] Kibria 1993: 146.
[26] Foner 1997: 965.

family and the host society, it is still too much trouble for a little benefit. This determination to keep family unity and have the same understanding on culture and language sometimes goes to the extent that some parents don't just want a Chinese partner, they want a Chinese partner from same province where they came from.

> "In my family they say: 'It is ok that you have a Chinese girlfriend, but it is not enough. We want you to have someone from the same province which we are from.' … I think they are like this because China is huge, and the culture and costumes, the language is different everywhere."

This wish of the parents is usually understood by the members of the second generation, and most of them find it reasonable. Confrontation starts, when the children feel the parents overstepped their boundaries and practice too much control over their personal life. This also occurs when parents act like traditional keepers and children already socialized themselves in a different cultural environment. In this case the bigger the cultural difference between the host and home society, the harder the negotiation is between the two generations.[27]

> "They [the parents] already got used to the life here [in Hungary], but they can't get used to the culture. Since my father is really traditionalist, he thinks in a more conservative way… When I wanted to make friends with boys, he didn't let me.... Until today I had a couple of boyfriends. The first, when I was 16. One day he walked me home, and for my surprise my father appeared and told me to go home, and he would invite my boyfriend for a cup of coffee. I went home, and I was in shock. What else could I have done? I went home like a robot."

3.5. Language

Language has a special role in the immigrant family's life. Besides being the most widely used instrument for communication and self-expression, it is a visible marker of integration and an important medium for keeping traditions. Depending on the capability of learning a new language and keeping the old one, this multipurpose tool contributes to the survival of the immigrant family in the new environment and attaches them to their familiar culture.[28] It is a channel used during the negotiation process, and it itself can be the subject of those negotiations.

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[27] Foner – Dreby 2011: 547.

[28] Gelmana – Roberts 2014: 7901, Esser 2006: 1.

The children of the first-generation immigrants have the chance to get familiar with at least two languages during their childhood. They are often titled as bilinguals, even though bilingualism in its pure form is a non-existing phenomenon. Depending on the level of their integration, they are dominant users of one of these languages.[29]

We found that in the second generation's life usually home is the space where they use Chinese dominantly. However, depending on where the family originates from and whether there are more children in the family, the situations can differ widely. If the parents came from a province where they use a local dialect, they tend to use that dialect at home. If the children don't have a grip on that dialect, the communication is mixed, parents using the dialect and the children answering them in Mandarin. Conflict arises when the parents have expectations for their children to speak the dialect and the children aren't able to do so and experience constant sense of failure.

> "I couldn't learn the local dialect. There's something inside me, which is blocking it. This is a spoken language, it doesn't have a written from… It often frustrates me. My father often asks me: Why haven't you learned the dialect already?! And I tell him, damn it, give me a book and I learn it."

The dialect in the immigrant family setting symbolizes the emotional attachment to the parents' home, and sometimes knowing it is the only way to communicate with the grandparents.

The attitude towards languages is fueled by the parents' high expectations pressuring the children to be fluent in as many languages as they can. By their adolescent years, children act as the family's agents being able to translate using Hungarian, Mandarin and sometimes a local dialect. Parents have a clear idea on the value of these languages. Even though learning Hungarian is a time-consuming investment, it's still important for the well-being of the family in the host society. With the economic development of China and the increasing number of Chinese tourists in Hungary, parents consider Mandarin Chinese as a valuable asset, therefore it is expected to be practiced by the children. Besides these, the parents want their children to speak the local dialect of their homeland and learn at least one more language, most often English or German, to be able to go abroad. Many of the children are multilingual, capable of switching between languages without any problem, but this skill often comes with the feeling that they can't use any of these languages perfectly.

[29] Nesteruk 2010: 272.

Family is the environment for the creative process where siblings create their own method of communication. Given their multilingual situation they often mix the words and grammar structures of the languages they use. According to their description most of the time it is not a conscious choice, mixing the languages happens for the sake of maintaining a fluent communication.

> "When I talk to my brother, we use all kinds of languages. We mix them a lot. We often start to talk about something like the weather, and when I have trouble recalling a word in the given language, I will switch to another one, and he will understand it. We can switch without any trouble. We talk two sentences in Chinese and two sentences in Hungarian."

Mixing the languages can also give an opportunity for the siblings to create their own domain within the family. By profiting from their multilingual situation, they can invent a hybrid language which is used only between them excluding the parents.

> "With my sister sometimes we… how should I say… use a special language, what we call *Chingarian* [Chinese and Hungarian, 'kigyar' in Hungarian]. We invented this. For example, if there is some sort of housework we need to do, we will use the Chinese word *xiwan* 洗完 and add a Hungarian suffix to it. And we will say: Will you go *to xi wan*? [in Hungarian: *xiwanozni*]. So, we do this sort of stuff."

3.6. Dependency vs. Independency

According to previous findings the close control practiced by the parents can make the children feel troubled to find a balance between dependency and independency.[30] In the case of the second-generation Chinese immigrants in Hungary we found that parents oversee the life of their children even well into their twenties, and practice control over it at some degree.

> "I think in the eyes of the Chinese parents their children always will be children. So they feel they have to take care of them. For example, they say that I should not meddle in their business and I should shut up, since I'm just a kid and I don't know anything. But I'm already twenty years old… It hurts of course, but then I shut up [laughing]."

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[30] Huang – Gove 2012: 13.

Immigrant children, however, speak the host society's language better than their parents do, and can act as cultural brokers; translating, interpreting and managing official matters for the whole family.[31] This makes parents dependent on their children to some extent and give the children some independence.

We also found that on the one hand parents struggle to give enough authority to their children to practice, in the other hand the children must take over more responsibility much earlier than their Hungarian peers do.

> "Why is it important to my parents whether I speak good Hungarian or not? One word: translator machine, I'm a translator machine for them [laughing]."

> "When I was fourteen, I needed to accompany my father to the court, because they didn't find an interpreter. And my father asked the judge whether they let me translate for him or not. Since they couldn't figure out another solution, they said 'ok'. And the judge asked my father if I had any problem understanding Hungarian, and my father's response was that I could speak fluent Hungarian, I only had a problem with Chinese. And I sat down in the courtroom… and that was something. It was a lot to take in. And the judge was talking to me like I was mentally challenged, it was really funny."

3.7. Creation of hybrid traditions

As we saw before, the immigrant family is a very dynamic institution. Parents and their children have to find a common ground for their different values and norms; many beliefs and cultural patterns undergo change, while others persist and stay. Within this creating process, sometimes something new occurs which reflects the elements of both the home and the host society's traditions, but in the same time it is also different from those.[32] This creative process can be discovered in the changing of holiday traditions.

According to our findings, in the case of holidays what is kept and what is abandoned strongly relies on convenience and availability. The Chinese holidays don't overlap in time with the Hungarian ones. Their biggest festival is the Chinese Spring Festival, which is a huge family celebration, lasts for a week and changes its time every year according to the lunisolar calendar. Although this holiday is kept by the Chinese immigrant family, they are not able to celebrate it completely in the traditional way. Usually they reduce it to one night when the nuclear family and a couple of their friends and other relatives get together to

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[31] Foner – Dreby 2011: 548.

[32] Foner 1997: 965–966.

eat, watch the same Chinese TV program as the one broadcasted in China, and give *hong bao* 红包, a sort of red envelop filled with money, to their children. As it is the case with many festivals, food enjoys a central role in the celebration. Even though many of the ingredients can be found in Chinese markets, most of the immigrants still complain how the variety of fruits and vegetables is much smaller in Hungary than in China. Sometimes they have to be innovative and use Hungarian ingredients to create traditional Chinese dishes.

Holidays strictly reliant on special places can't survive in Hungary. A good example for this is the *Tomb Sweeping Festival* (Qingmingjie 清明节) , when the whole family is supposed to visit the ancestral tombs, clean them, leave food offerings there, burn joss ticks and joss money. Since the ancestors of these Chinese families are buried in China, even though they find it important to commemorate them, they are not able to celebrate it as they would do in their home country.

The task of introducing new cultural elements often rests on the shoulders of the second generation who combine aspects of their parents' culture and the culture of the host society.[33] We saw that in many cases children are the indicators of picking up new holiday traditions. Typical case is Christmas which is learned by the members of the second generation at school, from their peers, Hungarian nanny or private tutor.

> "I celebrate Christmas. I told him [to his father], 'If you celebrate Spring Festival, then I celebrate Christmas.' I told him, the presents are not important, the important is that we get together, spend some time with each other and wish Merry Christmas. That's it. And he replied: 'Ok'."

There is a sort of hybridity in these holidays and they are often celebrated in a modified way. In many cases only those elements are kept that can also be understood and valued from the parents' cultural point of view. In our cases Christmas was celebrated by the family with missing traditional elements. Sometimes they didn't buy Christmas trees or instead of presents they gave *hong bao* 红包 to the children. However, they always kept the element of gathering and eating together even though the celebrational food was strongly influenced by Chinese taste.

> "[About what he misses from their Christmas celebration] I miss the kind of habit that you take time and think about what the other likes, and you buy the presents based on this. This is missing from home. Ok, my parents give me money, and

[33] Foner – Dreby 2011: 549.

> I also give them smaller presents, but this is not really typical in Asian cultures. Chinese people are really family-oriented, but still it is missing from their culture that they give thoughtful presents. This is really strange for me, and I think it is a really important thing."

As we mentioned, traditions in the immigrant family are quite fluid and often exist only temporally. The importance of celebrating Christmas often faded away with the children growing up.

4. Conclusion

As we have seen, in the life of second-generation immigrants family enjoys a central role, providing a rather complex environment for ideas, norms and values to meet each other. In this settings there are traditions which withstand the social and cultural changes caused by migration and still influence the dynamics within the family. Elements of Confucian personal ethics and the practice of filial piety can be discovered in the different segments of the immigrant's life. In harmony with these traditions, the importance of the family, the ancestral heritage and the respect given to parents is still highly valued by the members of the second generation.

As the traditions and norms brought over by the members of the first generation have to survive in the host society's new cultural environment, they are often revisited and modified according to the requirements of the new situation. Recognizing the need of being adaptable, parents tend to be more flexible regarding the upbringing of their children, and able to give them more space to express their own take on the traditional norms. However, there are fields – such as education, dating and marriage, and language knowledge – which are highly valued by the parents and are the subject of more negotiations between the generations. Conflict rises in cases when children feel the parent's expectations are too high, and their interference is inappropriate.

As *brought over* and *newly picked up* traditions meet in the environment of the family, they often undergo changes. One of the most visible subjects for these dynamics are the holiday traditions. The family is influenced by the host society and tend to personalize the holiday traditions according to convenience and availability. Most of the major Chinese festivals are still kept in Hungary, even though they are frequently modified to fit the new circumstances. There are holiday traditions which are newly learned in the host society and often introduced by the members of the second generation. Most typical case is Christmas

which is celebrated although it is modified according to the understanding of the immigrant family.

It has to be kept in mind that in this article we only studied second-generation immigrants whose parents arrived in Hungary 20 to 30 years ago. Because of the complexity of the Chinese diaspora we were able to cover only one segment of the researched subject. The findings can depend on many factors such as time and purpose of migration, age of the parents and their children, home province, educational background, etc., which would call for more researches conducted on the topic. Our goal was to add new insights to already existing literature, and to show the complexity of the dynamics between the Chinese immigrant family and traditions.

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What has Changed in Japan? Case Studies of Women's Life Paths from the Last Two Decades

"Japanese society is changing" – this is a sentence that we can often hear from diverse sources in recent years. It is also said that this change mostly concerns the family and within it, women's traditional role. Although we know that change has been always part of the society, family and women's role in the society have been affected by radical change in a lesser degree compared to other societal institutions in Japan. While this can be partly true, it has to be underlined that the Japanese family has indeed undergone two major transformations in the last one and half century due to the modernization processes promoted by the Meiji Restoration after 1868. In the 21st century it seems that Japanese society is facing another major transformation. Some of its signs can be already observed, however, most of the effects are to be shown only in the upcoming years and decades. In this paper we are presenting three case studies of women's life paths in nowadays Japan that allow us to see how far this transformation has proceeded so far and what can be said about the future direction of this change. Before presenting the case studies and their analysis, a brief overview of the changes in women's position during the last one and half century will be provided.

Major changes in women's social position between 1868 and 1945

From a legal point of view, the law that majorly affected women's position in the Japanese society in the 19th century was the Meiji Civil Code issued in 1898 (Minpō 民法). It remained in effect until 1947 when it was replaced by the new family law. The Meiji Civil Code regulated the family model and single members' position within it. The Code defined that the society's smallest unit

shall be the *ie* 家 based on hierarchical relationships among its members.[1] The Meiji Civil Code basically overtook the patriarchal *ie* household model typical to the samurai society of the Tokugawa period, but it also greatly drew on the family registration system, the *koseki seido* introduced by the Meiji government as one of the instruments to control the population.[2] While back in the Tokugawa period the model functioned as a custom, now it became the law and as such, it presented a number of legal obligations. The Meiji Civil Code ordered the application of the *ie* model to the entire society and established it as the only legal form of family system. In this system the male head received all authority over its members, wife and children included, and property rights and inheritance system became based on this authority. The law served also as a means to control reform initiatives, among them feminist movements. The Meiji family law had its opponents already at that time and critics pointed out that it was not following the needs of the modern society which progressed towards to the diffusion of the nuclear family model.[3]

Indeed, the family as such was not merely the passive observer of the political decisions in the Meiji-Taisho period. The family soon became one of the platforms where societal change started and proceeded. Women often took the lead in these processes.[4] One of the signs of the modernization at this time was the emergence of the middle class and accompanying life style, in particular in the urban areas. The family became the central focus of the realization of the middle class lifestyle and in its creation women as wives and mothers had an important role.[5] With the spread of the official ideology of *ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母 ("good wife, wise mother") women's role was increasingly imagined within the private sphere of the family passing the responsibility of childrearing and household work entirely to women – while men became the "public face" of the family and its breadwinner.[6] The ideology of "good wife, wise mother" was in effect until the end of the war, however, its influence continued to be felt long

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[1] Here it is important to note that the English translation of *ie* as "family" is not always exact and covering the actual sense of the Japanese word. The Western "family" and the Japanese *ie* concept of family system is not overlapping in every sense. The Japanese *ie* system is a much broader concept compared to the Western concept of family and therefore its translation is often problematic. The translation needs to be placed into textual context and depending on context, translations such as "house", "clan", "dynasty", "extended family" may be more feasible (Hendry 2019).

[2] Nobuyoshi 1994: 67.

[3] Nobuyoshi and Searight 1994: 68.

[4] White 1996: 209.

[5] Ambaras 1998, Papp 2015 and 2014.

[6] Papp 2016.

after the war and even today thinking about family and labor division between male and female division still bears an imprint from this ideology.[7] Nonetheless its widespread use, the validity of this ideology was questioned already in the early twentieth century. Women's participation in the labour market was essential in several sectors of the early industrialization of Japan. Such an example is the textile industry where the majority of workers were young women. Also, the *ie* model proved not to be feasible for the big number of young people who migrated from the countryside into urban centers in search of work and opportunities. Indeed, in towns and cities the number of nuclear families started to grow long before the new 1947 Constitution would have abolished the *ie* system.[8]

How did the Japanese family changed in the postwar decades? In his study from 1994, the sociologist Nobuyoshi describes the Japanese modern family at that time as: "[…] family as the basic unit […], with the husband as the provider of social labor, and the wife and children supporting this role."[9] Here we can see that the division of gender roles and labour is not significantly differing from the Meiji-Taisho ideology. The gender based division becomes visible also in the rate of labour participation of women which continued to decline in the postwar decades until its lowest point in 1975.[10] Nobuyoshi concludes that the postwar Japanese family law, even if it formally stipulated equality, clearly failed to resolve the gender inequality in Japan.[11] While labour participation of Japanese women began to slowly rise after 1975, gender equality has been hardly achieved and roles in the family are still based on tradition and custom. The following three case studies illustrate this situation.

Case study 1

Mariko has worked in the media sector for 30 years.[12] At the age of 40, she had her first (and only) child and took a one-year-leave from work. When the child

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[7] Uno 1993.

[8] For a detailed analysis of the nuclearization process see Kato 2013. It has to be noted that the traditional family system continues to exist in changed forms in present-day society, too. This is true in particular for families where significant property and its inheritance are at stake, or where a traditional craft and art is to be continued in the family (Hendry 1981, 1986, Kato 2013).

[9] Nobuyoshi and Searight 1994: 76.

[10] From 54.5 percent in 1960 it has fallen to 45,7 percent in 1975 (Nobuyoshi and Searight 1994: 77).

[11] Nobuyoshi and Searight 1994:78.

[12] Personal names throughout the case studies are all phantasy names.

turned one, she found a nursery and returned to work. Even though her employment conditions were fairly favourable, she was able to return home from work only one and half hour earlier than her co-workers. She had no free time and managing everyday life became strenuous. After a period of fatigue, she had the impression that in neither of the two realms, family and work, she was doing well. Moreover, her husband, too, had a demanding work and the major part of housework has been entirely left to her. In the fifth grade of elementary school, in order to secure an acceptance of the child into a good middle and then, high school, the parents decided to send their child to *juku*. *Juku* is an afternoon school institution type that is very common in Japan. Families send their children in these schools to study extra hours to improve their academic achievement. *Juku* attendance also meant that the load of work on the mother increased; she had to accompany the child to *juku* and then at home her help with the homework was needed, too. Exactly at this time her company decided to start an early retirement system that offered relatively favourable conditions.[13] After a long consideration, she decided to take the opportunity and retire. Now, she has sufficient time to help her child and take care of the household and family. As the child is approaching the entrance exam period, her support and help is even more important.

Analyisis

In Japan, there is no real part-time employment contract. Part-time in Japan does not mean a substantial decrease of work time, it basically refers to unfavourable conditions regarding payment, taxation and benefits. Moreover, the switch between employers is seen in negative light by the society, therefore women's return to the job market after childbirth and/or after the childrearing period, is often difficult. Once having left the workplace, there is little chance to return to it after a few years with the same conditions.[14] There exist no unpaid leave, either, and the system leaves little tolerance for switching between active and passive periods or between different workplaces.

Also, many companies take advantage from distinguishing between *seikikoyō* 正規雇用 and *hiseikikoyō* 非正規雇用 employment mode. *Seikikoyō* com-

[13] Early retirement system in Japan offers the possibility to retire earlier than the retirement age. Before this system has been introduced, early retirement was possible only on very unfavourable conditions. Today, not all but many big companies offer this possibility in order to enhance a swifter exchange of employees.

[14] As a common practice, Japanese companies accept new employees at the same time of the year, typically selecting from the fresh university and high school graduates.

monly means a full-time regular employment with an open-ended employment, whereas *hiseikikoyō* is a non-regular employment. Non-regular employment contracts have for example part-time workers, dispatch workers or the so called *arubaito* workers. Companies can apply different conditions, though, in terms of benefits career opportunities and wage there is a huge difference between regular workers and non-regular workers. For women, in particular, it is extremely hard to work in the *seiki* system as it is loaded with obligations such as job mobility and long working hours. Consequently, women, especially once married and with children, usually accept employments in the non-regular mode while most men are employed in the *seiki*, regular system. In 2012 women comprised of 70 percent of all non-regular workers.[15]

The Equal Employment Opportunity Law (EEOL Equal Opportunity and Treatment between Men and Women in Employment) has been accepted in 1985 as a sign to promote equality in employment relations.[16] The EEOL made it possible for the first time for women to be employed in a career employment mode, the so called *sōgōshoku* 総合職, to which earlier women had no access. Before this, the only careerpath open to women was *ippanshoku* (non-career track) which is mostly offered to women to cover administrative tasks in the office without the possibility to progress higher. S*ōgōshoku* enables the employee to progress to higher managerial positions. Nevertheless, in spite of the EEOL, there has been no drastic change in the employment practices of Japanese companies. Due to severe conditions of employment, even today many women quit their jobs after marriage and childbirth. Most women would wish to return to labormarket once the most difficult period of childrearing is over, however, the employment opportunities and in particular, employment modes open to them are very restricted. This is worsened by the lack of childcare facilities and the minimal participation of husbands in household work. As a result, many Japanese mothers give up regular employment for good.[17]

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[15] Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2013. In recent years, however, there is a steady increase in the rate of non-regular work in Japan among all active population due to the prolonged period of economic recession.

[16] The law has brought about some improvement as it is shown in recent White Papers on Gender Equality (White Paper | 内閣府男女共同参画局 (gender.go.jp) last visited 20/07/2021

[17] Although the number of full-time housewives is decreasing, in 2014 there were approximately 7.2 million *sengyō shufu* in Japan (Statistics from the Japanese Institute for Labour Policy and Training: http://www.jil.go.jp/kokunai/statistics/qa/a07-1.html).

Case study 2

Nanase lives with her family in her husband's homeland in Hokuriku (Japan sea). The husband's family has been owning and managing a traditional inn there for long. By marrying her husband, Nanase also married his family and their enterprise. One day, she knows, that she will take over her mother-in-law's tasks around the house and in the inn. In traditional Japanese inns the responsibilities of the owners' wife (called *okami* in this case) are great, she is the one representing the face and the soul of the inn and is supervising the employees, as well. Nanase therefore needs to learn everything from her mother-in-law and to show respect to her in every sense. She has to give her full support in all work and in the course of the years she learned to appreciate this work and not only, she also learned to like it. She is determined to take care of her relationship to her mother-in-law as well as to the other employees of the inn. She finds full satisfaction in this work and in the chosen path.

Analysis

Nanami's life is a success story even if it needs to be noted that she did not have much choice in it. Once she decided to marry her husband and his family she was more or less aware of the responsibilities she will have to take on. As it is the case with other similar traditional institutions, in family enterprises, often handed over by several generations, the continuity of tradition and family customs are factors on which the economic success is based, and family happiness depend on. Complying with the traditional ways is the condition to secure the continuity of the family and its economic activity. However, as for matters concerning childrearing, it has to be also underlined that within this system the load of childrearing on the mother is less heavy than in the case of wives of salarymen employed in big companies. Nanami has two children and during the years her parents-in-law and other family members gave substantial help with the children. Because of this, for example, her children did not need to attend nursery. The condition of this successful co-existence, however, is personal sacrifice and compliance to existing customs.

Case study 3

Yui is an only child and she was working at an insurance company when her mother got ill. For a while her father was able to take care of his wife but soon he got tired. So, Yui, at age of 33, was forced to quit her job, leave Tokyo and return to her native town in the region of Kansai. As it is the case, women at her age do not have much employment opportunities and those existing mostly fell under the category of non-regular employment. For Yui it was not possible to take an 8 hours-work because of her mother's needs and therefore, she took on short-term contracts and part-time contracts. These cover shop assistant jobs and simple office clerk works. In these conditions she slowly reached her 50s without being able to think about her own life, marriage and children.

Analysis

Japan has started to elaborate its social welfare system rather late leaving the bulk of responsibilities on the family, and within it on women. The care for elderly parents was left to their adult children, mostly on wives and daughters-in-law. With the longest life expectancy in the world and dropping fertility rate makes Japan one of the most rapidly ageing society in the world.[18] Policies for the elderly has been changed several times in the 1980s and 1990s as a response to the rapidly changing demographic situation. The care for elderly parents is still mainly falling on families that find it always more difficult to fulfil this task. In 1989 a policy focusing on community-base and in-home services for the needy elderly was established.[19] The Gold Plan of 1989, modified again in 1994, was a 10-year plan with the aim to promote health care and welfare for the frail elderly and give community-based assistance to families for home-care. However, as Usui and Palley conclude, "These policies are designed to use families and communities as building blocks of Japanese services to the elderly."[20] However, Yui could take use of these services only when her mother reached 65 years of age. The services, though, have several limitations and also in the case of Yui, not all her needs are met. There are still many women in Japan who have to leave their work because of the necessity to take care of elderly parents or parents-in-law.

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[18] See the recent annual report on Annual Report on the Ageing Society [Summary] FY2020 (cao.go.jp) (accessed: 20.07.2021).
[19] Usui and Palley 1997: 364.
[20] Usui and Palley 1997: 376.

Conclusion

In the recent three decades, many things have changed in Japan. Rapid and drastic demographic changes exercise a strong pressure on the society and on the traditional ways of thinking about family and women's role. The marriage as the only socially acceptable lifepath is not any more widely applicable and the society is more ready to tolerate alternative life choices. Women decide to get marry at a later age, the number of divorces is slowly rising and single life style is seen as acceptable, too.

Nonetheless, task division within the family is still based on traditional customs. The majority of women still comply with this way of thinking and gives up career or simply, jobs when their help at home is needed. This is typical first of all to middle class with husbands able to financially support the family and home staying housewife.[21] Good education provided to offspring is still seen as a must in middle-class lifestyle and in order to achieve this, mothers' work is important and necessary apart from the financial means. Career possibilities for women are further rendered difficult by the work conditions in companies where long working hours are expected from employees with regular contract. This not only means that women are not able to keep these hours along their other duties in the family, but it also means that husbands' participation in family life and housework is kept on minimal. It can be said that this structure based on wives' work in the family and husbands' full dedication to work has become a condition for industrial growth in Japan during the twentieth century and it is very difficult to change it.

Gender equality is still an aim hard to reach in Japan. Results of statistics demonstrating progress in gender equality attract public attention every year. In the most recent Global Gender Gap Report 2020 Japan has arrived as last in the list of developed countries.[22] The participation of women in politics is low, too Japan results as the 144th country in the world remaining behind compared to several Asian countries. The number of women deputies is extremely low and sociologists suggest to introduce obligatory quotas for women in the parliament. However public opinion seems not to back up this kind of initiatives.

In sum, while still many women have little choice whether to be a full-time housewife or a working mother and wife, the pressure of the society seems to have being decreased in the recent years. Women's equality in education has been more or less achieved. Women marry later nowadays and therefore, can follow a career before marriage and childbirth for longer. All this can be seen as

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[21] Vogel 1996: 178–180.

[22] World Economic Forum, Global Gender Gap Report 2020. In a total comparison, Japan is on the 121st place among 153 countries.

an indicator of a start for a positive change for women and generally, of a change in gender roles and employment modes in Japanese society.

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The Role of Family in Modern China: A Blended Compressed Transformation of the Private and Public Spheres

The study of family formation has been a central subject in the social sciences since the birth of sociology in the nineteenth century. The reason for this early academic interest in family studies lies in the fact that the family – through its connection to social actors such as the workplace, neighbourhood community or the state on the one hand, as well as to the individual on the other hand – can serve as an important reflection of the path of modernisation in a given society. According to its multicontextual social embeddedness, family studies have both addressed internal relations within the family such as marital and parent–child relations, and discussed its external relations to the political and economic spheres, as well as to the emerging civil communities in modern society. Linked to modernisation, family has frequently been used for cross-national studies in order to compare the different paths of social transformation from traditional to modern. Such studies often centre around the question whether the family in various societies is converging into a common Western(ish) family model on a global scale, or rather it is maintaining unique and local (occasionally even pre-modern) characteristic features during the process of modernisation.

Given its complex role in society, the present paper addresses the role of the family in modern China, with a special attention to its contribution to the reconstruction of the private (family) and 'public' (in other words non-private, such as the political, economic and civil society) spheres. The Maoist period (1949–1976) with its stress on workplace relations over family ties and the post-Mao era (especially from 1978) that restored the family as an important social unit not only provide a remarkable glimpse into the varying relationship between the family and society, as well as the family and individual, but also suggest a path of modernisation different from the apparently unilinear Western model. The case of China rather shows a certain type of compressed moderni-

sation where the reappearance of pre-modern elements mingle with modern and post-modern features. This blended characteristic feature of family conditions is further deepened by the stark contrast between rural and urban families, and this makes the generalisation of the family's social role in contemporary China even harder to achieve. Yet, it can be argued that the role of the family in today's China shows growing importance in the midst of a strongly marketising socio-economic environment.

Decline of the family in the era of collectivisation

China's post-war history is largely divided between the Maoist period, characterised by collectivisation, and what is called the 'post-Mao era', hallmarked by marketisation after the country adopted its reform and opening up (*gaige kaifang* 改革开放) policy in 1978. The two historical periods greatly affected the role of the family in China's post-war social transformation, albeit in opposite ways. Whereas the Maoist period weakened the role of the family in society, the succeeding era rehabilitated the family as the basic social unit. This kind of shift between political orientations towards the family is not unique to countries that experienced socialist modernisation. During the first decade (1917–1926) of the Soviet Union (called Soviet Russia up to 1922), the institution of family was heavily weakened and transformed to the degree that it eventually lost its previous function in the society. This in turn resulted in an increased number of children outside of family control, who often formed gangs and engaged in criminal activities. Given this problem, the family as an important social unit was restored thereafter, especially from 1934[1] although – due to the lack of precise instructions in the classical socialist canon – it remained a dilemma as to what characteristics should be attributed to the family in a socialist society.

The first (so-called Maoist) period of post-war China underwent a process similar to that in the Soviet Union in regard to the family. The family was viewed as an institution of the past and considered to be an obstacle to the people's liberation from feudal social conditions. In the spirit of communalism, collective ties were stressed over family bonds, and from the late 1950s this was supposed to be achieved through the creation of workplace-related units. This was all despite the fact that the family had long been rehabilitated in the Soviet Union (the then model country for China) by this time. The people's commune in rural areas and the so-called *danwei* (work unit) system in urban settings not only guaranteed permanent employment, but also tied the workers to the designated

[1] Somlai 1990: 35, Horváth 2008: 62.

work unit. Their function however went beyond that of a simple workplace, and they rather operated as multifunctional social entities. These socioeconomic organisations provided schools, hospitals, post offices and other welfare services in both rural and urban China – though at a much lower level in the case of the former.[2] In doing so, they also aimed to strengthen the connection of the individual to the community, as well as to the state, at the expense of family ties. Under these circumstances both the people's commune and the *danwei* system significantly blurred the boundary between the private and public spheres. One of the most remarkable attempts to weaken family relations was the ban on private kitchens[3] that was replaced by centralised canteens. This blurred boundary was even more obvious through the spatial (physical) differentiation of urban *danwei* compounds from the 'outside' world due to the walled barriers built around them. Within these walled compounds people worked and lived together, and since basic social needs were provided on the spot, people rarely needed to leave their residential space. The proximity of the workplace and residence both helped people achieve a certain degree of home–life balance and create a kind of local culture that in turn increased a sort of sense of belonging in spatial terms. On the other hand, the connection between the various compounds was less pronounced, and this led to an increased social separation between them.[4]

The intention to weaken family relations along with individual autonomy in early post-war China reached its peak time during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Ancestral halls and family records became the target of attack, and this – alongside with the previous restriction of several types of private properties – significantly hindered the process of family formation. However, this political dependence also had unintentional and positive effects on family relationships. Despite the then fierce criticism of the traditional family in general, certain pre-modern values, such as those emphasising the importance of mutual assistance and cooperation, as well as harmony and stability within the family, were not directly attacked. This suggests that the position of the state policy at the time regarding the socialist modernisation of the family was not entirely clear.[5] However, there were at least two additional factors that had positive effects on family bonds. First, life expectancy at birth extended at a remarkable pace from about 45 to 64 years between 1960 and 1976 in the early post-war period[6] due to the improved health care and food provision in general. This significantly increased the possibility of the formation of cross-generation

[2] Liu 2008: 67.
[3] Dikötter 2010: 54, 60, 286, 311.
[4] Chai 2014: 184–185.
[5] Wu 2016: 175.
[6] Macrotrends.

relations. Second, most adult men, as well as their sons were tied to their place of birth due to a restriction on migration, and this further enhanced the possibility of increased support between different generations within the same family.[7]

A similar paradox could be seen in regard to family values too. Whereas early post-war China intended to foster the connectedness between the individual and community, as well as the individual and the state, the increased possibility of cross-generational interactions opened the way to realise traditional family-centric core values. In contrast to the quasi-survival of cross-generation ties, marital relations went through a larger transformation. In accordance to communist ideas that viewed traditional marital patterns as a hindrance to women's liberation from feudal conditions, a new marriage law was introduced as one of the earliest reforms of socialist China. The Marriage Law of 1950 banned several earlier practices related to marriage such as child betrothal or the institution of concubinage, prohibited marriage by proxy and allowed women to file a divorce independently, at least in theory. In doing so, it emphasised four fundamental principles: free mate selection, equality between men and women, heterosexual monogamy and the protection of both women's, children's and the elderly people's legal rights.[8] All this was done in the spirit of egalitarian ideology.

Despite the fact that China's early post-war family policies aimed to blur the boundaries between the private and public spheres, it can be argued that the former managed to retain a certain degree of autonomy. A remarkable example is the state's policy towards fertility. During the 1950s, no consistent policy regarding fertility had as yet emerged. At the time of the establishment of socialist China, the new state took a sort of pronatalist position for the first few years. This was replaced by a call for the necessity of certain family planning in 1953 that lasted until 1958 when a pronatalist position appeared again and lasted until 1962.[9] In the early 1960s the state decided to promote birth control in urban settings,[10] and after 1974 in rural areas too, though the degree of control at this time appears rather modest compared to the more general restriction that was introduced in the late 1970s.

As suggested by the aforementioned examples, the relationship between the family and state, as well as the family and individual in early socialist China varied according to the investigated aspects of the relations involved. These relations rather show a sort of blended picture containing a number of contra-

[7] Davis – Harell 1993: 1.

[8] Wang – Weisfeld 2018: 110.

[9] Qu 1987: 36–38. It is worth noting that population theory studies were banned between 1957 and the early 1970s. Thereafter, however, population research restarted, and it became a vibrant academic field of research (Qu 1987: 37, 39, 1988).

[10] Davis – Harell 1993: 14.

dictions. The inconsistent impacts on cross-generation relations, along with a radical state intervention into marital traditions and – compared to this – a relatively mild control over fertility all caution against an overgeneralisation of the role of the family in the Maoist period. It can be argued however that alongside the rather blended and paradoxical situation into which Chinese families were embedded at this time, the family as an institution was not completely destroyed. Instead, it managed to survive the period of collectivisation and communalisation, in spite of the fact that the family was not viewed officially as the basic social unit in early socialist China. The family survived the Maoist era, however, by the end of the period, the family pattern changed radically, and it was no longer identical with what it had been before.

The quasi-rehabilitation of the family in the era of marketisation

A new era started in 1978 with the promotion of reforms to revise the previous period of collectivisation, and, to open up a market economy. The shift to marketisation, which was in contrast to the former socialist planned economy, had serious social implications that also affected the role of the family. The most remarkable feature of marketisation can be seen in the weakening of state control, as well as state support, over various segments of the society, and this generated a second reconstitution of the private and public spheres in China's post-war history. The marketisation of the economy affected family ties conversely to the previous Maoist period. In association with a weakening state control over the private sphere, family ties were given greater significance, along with greater responsibility in terms of social sustainability.

China's social transformation after 1978 was best manifested through the decline of the people's commune in rural areas and the *danwei* system in urban settings that had previously functioned as a direct connection between the individual and the local (working) community, as well as the individual and the state in the era of communalism. On the other hand, this decline took a rather radical and abrupt form in rural China, where the system of the people's communes was turned into a structure of townships and towns in 1983.[11] In contrast, the *danwei* system in urban China went through a fairly gradual transformation. This gradual change is partially reflected in the decreasing urban population residing in *danwei* (work unit) communities. Whereas close to 95 per cent of the urban working population lived in *danwei* compounds in 1978, about 65 per cent still resided in such communities in the early 2000s.[12] This 30 per cent

[11] Christiansen – Zhang 1998: 6, Christensen – Levinson 2003: 223.
[12] Chai 2014: 184.

seems to be significant. However, a greater change to the *danwei* system was the shift to emphasising its professional (working) function over its previously determined social function. Among other things, public housing was replaced by a new housing system of private ownership, and this generated a mingling between former *danwei* members and new residents. The *danwei* communities also took various strategies in the highly marketising society. Certain *danwei* communities that were located in the city centre were relocated after having sold their compound site. In contrast, there were also *danwei* communities that managed to maintain their original locations by having successfully adapted to the challenges of the new era. In addition to these spatial restructurings, the former walls surrounding the compounds were removed and/or changed in a way that minimised the physical boundary between the compound and the outer world. All such changes resulted in a gradually individualised and diversified form of life within the compounds, and an obvious decrease in the sense of spatial belonging.[13]

The decline of social organisations established in the Maoist period as a result of the market economy after 1978 strengthened the role of the family in terms of social sustainability. The quasi-rehabilitation of the family as an important social group has also been emphasised in Chinese academic studies since the era of reform and opening up. Whereas social sciences had been made voiceless in the Maoist period, Chinese scholars started to emphasise the social role of the family from the 1980s, by naming the family the cell of society (*shehui de xibao* 社会的细胞). The growing significance of the family is also manifested in the increase of values related to family in the new era. The data of the World Values Survey (WVS) database suggest that there has been a significant change to the view that the family is important in life. Whereas the total number of respondents who chose “very important” and “rather important” has been well over 90 per cent since the late 1980s, there has been a remarkable increase in those selecting “very important”. The ratio of the respondents saying “very important” was just barely above 60 per cent for most of the 1990s and early 2000s, this however gradually raised to almost 90 per cent from the middle of the 2000s.[14] This high percentage seems to be valid across all social strata in contemporary China, except for the upper class that shows about 65 per cent in the case of those choosing “very important”. The sample size for this social stratum, however, is very small and possibly does not accurately reflect the proportion of those opting for “very important”. In contrast, the regional distribution of those saying “very important” varies greatly. The lowest ratio was measured in Shanghai (73.2 per cent), whereas the highest proportion can

[13] Chai 2014: 186.
[14] Inglehart et al. 2020.

be seen in Guizhou province (96.1 per cent). There is also a striking difference between large cities such as Shanghai and Beijing (94.3 per cent).[15] However, it remains uncertain whether these regional differences are caused by the survey sampling or reflect actual differences. If the latter, then the question needs to be asked what causes this divergence. Either way, it can be argued that the majority of people in contemporary China value family to a very high degree, regardless of which social strata they belong to.

Family relations and family autonomy

In association with the undergoing transformation of the private and public spheres, freedom in the formation of marital relations was (further) increased in the new era. The amendment of the marriage law in 1980 ruled that a decline of mutual affection between the spouses provided sufficient reason for filing divorce.[16] This amendment, which indicate that marital relations are now at least partially based on conjugal affection, can be interpreted as a major step towards the recognition of the family as a private autonomous social group. Two decades later an even greater relaxation of the existing law took place in regard to marital relations. From 2003, couples no longer need permission from their employers for getting married or divorced. This also includes a provision that no health examination is required prior to marriage either.[17] Though the first marriage law in socialist China emphasised free choice in regard to mate selection, this mainly referred to suppress traditionally arranged marriages, at least in theory. Nonetheless, couples who planned to get married were required to get permission from their employers, and thus they had not enjoyed complete autonomy before the amendment in 2003. The new era, although not immediately, changed this restriction resulting in marriage and also divorce becoming a private matter.

Alongside this increased autonomy regarding marital relations, a quasi-retraditionalisation took place in terms of wedding practice from the 1980s. In the era of collectivisation the use of lavish wedding expenses including bride price[18] were denied from an ideological point of view in the spirit of puritanism, though it must be noted that the implementation of this denial was more successful in urban settings than in rural areas. In contrast, during the first decade of the market economy the use of lavish wedding practices increased. Notwithstanding,

[15] Haerpfer et al. 2020.

[16] Xia – Zhou 2003: 237.

[17] Feng et al. 2016: 96.

[18] Bride price refers to a sum of money or quantity of goods that is given from the groom's family to that of the bride.

there seemed to be differences in this quasi-retraditionalisation in both social and regional senses. The practice of high wedding expenses, such as lavish dowries, tended to be relevant when there was a need to promote the interest of the family through a daughter's marriage.[19] Given the widening financial gap across the various social strata today, it can be assumed that this financial investment in weddings may be a practice even more relevant in contemporary China than before.

The recourse to lavish wedding expenses gives an interesting glimpse into the revitalisation, as well as the transformation of intergenerational relations in the era of marketisation. The intensifying intergenerational relations become conspicuous in other aspects too. For instance, there is a tendency for a more balanced locality of young married couples in terms of patrilocality and matrilocality. Whereas patrilocality seemed to be the norm in the past, this is obviously weakening in contemporary China. Young couples today usually reside in the proximity of either the husband's parents or the wife's parents, although, this bilateral characteristic feature of locality, accompanied by mutual support, appears to be more true for urban families than rural families.[20] The proximity of location to the parents' residence, however, is an important feature that suggests an intensive intergenerational interaction. In fact a quasi-return to intensive interaction between the parents and their adult (married) child(ren) can be seen in urban families regardless of their social strata in the era of marketisation. This strengthened vertical family tie in urban settings is noticeable in both a financial and emotional sense. With the decline of the *danwei* system's social function, family members became more reliant on each other than in the era of collectivisation. This appears to be more true for rural families from the early 1980s on, due to the abrupt break with the people's commune system, whereas urban families were also exposed to a similar challenge in the long run. For instance, the increased cost of childcare and medical expenses, as well as the soaring urban housing costs are all making financial co-investment between parents and adult (married) child(ren) for each other's needs indispensable.[21] Similarly, though mate selection is basically based on the free choice of the individual, parents in urban families often attempt to search for a marriage partner for their adult child. In doing so they aim to match not just the interests of the two persons for marriage, but also that of the two families, as was the practice before the era of collectivisation.[22] It must be noted that the strengthening of vertical family relations often takes place at the expense of the horizontal spousal relationship. This

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[19] Davis – Harell 1993: 10–11.
[20] Xu – Xue 2016: 42–43.
[21] Davis 2019.
[22] Tian – Davis 2019: 337–338.

quasi-return to previous practices is at the same time being accompanied by the aforementioned shift from patrilateral to bilateral intergenerational relations. As an outcome of the long-lasting one-child policy, the relationship between parents and their adult daughter today bears the same importance as the relationship between parents and their adult son in urban China.[23]

Birth policy as a countermove to family autonomy

Despite the obvious decrease of state concern over the private sphere in general, a specific aspect of family formation was kept under a remarkable state of control in the era of reform and opening up. The introduction of a strict universal one-child policy in the late 1970s, as a further extension of the previous birth control policy, has had a profound effect on family dynamics and is without precedence in history. There is an ongoing debate about whether the ideas for this strict fertility control originated on the side of scholars, represented by Song Jian 宋健, an aerospace engineer and demographer, or from within China's inner political circle. Song Jian himself allegedly was introduced this idea in 1979 when visiting Europe and after reading two books related to population growth and survival. He considered that the ideal population for China would be between 650 and 700 million for the next 100 years, and he argued that this could only be achieved through a universal one-child policy.[24] On the other hand, there are claims stating that the political decision for a universal one-child policy had already been made before Song Jian's idea became known in the political sphere.[25] Either way, the one-child policy required a direct intervention of the state in the private sphere. This policy was more rigidly implemented in large cities than in rural areas where a second child was permitted from the 1980s on, provided that the first-born child was a daughter. Thereafter this policy mainly remained unchanged until the end of the 2000s when – due to the gradual distortion of China's demographic structure – a series of amendments were made in regard to the one-child policy. First, in 2009 the policy was amended so that a second child was allowed for couples where both the husband and the wife were an only child. In 2014 the restriction was further relaxed so that a second child was permitted if at least one of the couples was an only child. In 2016 the universal one-child policy was finally replaced by a general two-child policy. As the last part of this series of legal relaxation, a three-child policy was introduced in May 2021 whereby a couple is now allowed to have three children.

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[23] Davis 2019.

[24] Greenhalgh 2005: 266.

[25] Wang et al. 2012: 119–120, 127. Note no. 6.

The implementation of the one-child policy raised concerns in regard to its effectiveness as early as the late 1970s. Notwithstanding the need for a full investigation to answer this question, in general, it can be argued that the classical path of social transformation from traditional to modern suggests a natural decline in the birthrate to two children per a couple. This occured in association with the rise of economic prosperity and without any particular birth control imposed from above. Perhaps a more pertinent question for China now is whether the recently introduced three-child policy can meet the expectations for solving China's demographic problems in the future. Whereas the two-child policy showed some immediate positive effect with a rise in the birthrate in 2016, the birthrate subsequently declined again over the following years. Whether the previous legal norm of allowing only one child has in general become a quasi-cultural norm for young couples today will be an interesting line of enquiry for future investigators.

The formation of new family types

The transformation of the private and public spheres during the era of the reform and opening up has had a deep impact on the formation of family types in contemporary China. According to Chinese national census data (1982–2010), whereas the proportion of single-person households was stable at around 8 per cent in the 1980s and 1990s, there was a sudden increase of such households to 13.7 per cent (2010) during the 2000s. In contrast, the ratio of the nuclear family here broadly defined to include both childless couples, couples with child(ren) as well as single-parent households, decreased from 67 per cent (1982) to 59 per cent (2010). Within this demographic, the proportion of couples with child(ren) decreased from 48.2 per cent (1982) to 33.1 per cent (2010), while the ratio of childless couples increased from 4.8 per cent (1982) to 18.5 per cent (2010).[26]

The trends above throw light upon changes in the Chinese family which seem to be following a path similar to the pluralisation of the family perceived in Western countries today. However, we should exercise some caution here as this data may not be an accurate reflection of the real situation. First of all, there seems to be a discrepancy between the census data and actual living conditions in the case of single-person households. If a family has more than one dwelling, one of the family members tends to be registered in the new dwelling as that person's permanent residence, at least on paper.[27] Furthermore, similar limitations of the census data may be a better explanation for the apparent gen-

[26] See Wang 2014 for more details.

[27] Xu – Xue 2016: 16, 23, 31, 48.

eral decrease in the percentage of the nuclear family. The increase of domestic migration, which often involves the migration of the whole family in the era of marketisation, results in the size of nuclear family being undercalculated in the statistical data due to the registration of different family members in different dwellings. At the same time, the percentage of extended families, especially that of the stem families,[28] seems to be remarkably stable at slightly over 20 per cent. This suggests that the path of modernisation for the family has not caused the decline of the extended family type. In contrast, the number of couples without child(ren) increased significantly, only, in this case there seems to be a huge gap between this statistical reality and the values attached to the ideal number of children. According to value surveys, a high proportion of young people believe that the ideal number is two children.[29] On the other hand, how well such value surveys capture the objective opinions of respondents is in a question. There is a possibility that the respondents may simply be reflecting a number based upon social expectations of the ideal norm in contemporary China.

Despite the fact that the family in China managed to retain a certain degree of stability, there is a remarkable form of pluralisation in regard to the family type today. New family types have emerged in response to the current transitional period in the era of marketisation. One notable family type refers to the so-called intergenerational nuclear family (or generation-skipping family) where both parents move to a big city for work, leaving their child(ren) with the grandparents at home. Another new family type, called the unconventional nuclear family in Chinese academic studies, refers to a family form where the mother raises the child(ren) with the help of her kinship connections while the husband works in a remote place. In contrast, elderly people in what is called 'alternate supporting families' are assisted by their married children in rotation. All these family types are present in rural areas, whereas in the cities there is an inclination to the formation of 'temporary stem families', where the grandparents stay together with the family of their married child in order to help them with bringing up their children. However, these new family types do not seem to be converging into some stable family form in the future. They rather appear to be merely temporary adaptations to the challenges caused by the marketisation of economy, and thus they show a certain transitional characteristic feature. This transitionality however is being accompanied by an intensive family dynamics in search for sustainability.[30]

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[28] This refers to a specific family household where a couple lives together with their married child, as well as with that child's spouse and child(ren) in the family home.

[29] Xu – Xue 2016: 33.

[30] Xu – Xue 2016: 36–37.

The emergence of modern familism

China's unique path of modernisation, which shows both similarities and differences with Western countries, gives little room for theoretical generalisation. China's post-war decades have not been able to slow down the ongoing social transformation to the degree where it becomes possible to identify a firm social structure, including family structure. Instead, the speed of social change is so fast that any attempt for generalisation seems to fail to grasp its transitionality. Yet, as early as the 1990s a couple of features were identified as firm characteristics of post-war China's social transformation in regard to the family.[31] One such characteristic refers to the aforementioned quasi-return to certain pre-modern family practices and values. Another one pertains to the tendency of Chinese families to adjust their decision making strategies according to the accessable local socioeconomic conditions, generally during times when no universalising family policy is being implemented. A third characteristic has been the rapid decline of pre-modern kin groups and the decline in the number of children, both of which show similarities to Western countries. However, these can be attributed to particular patterns of social transformation which took place not at a grassroots level, but as a result of a homogenising policy imposed from above upon Chinese families in the era of collectivisation. It can be argued that all these features continued to characterise family change even after the 1980s in China. Nevertheless, while all these seem to be true for post-war China's family conditions, these do not necessarily reveal uniquely Chinese characteristic features, and a certain degree of similarity can be expected between China and other countries that also experienced a shift from a planned economy to a market economy.

From the perspective of classical modernisation theories, China does not show the linear path of modernisation that can be identified in Western countries. Instead, it suggests a blended picture of having both pre-modern, modern and post-modern characteristic features simultanously. For instance, the increasing intergenerational relationship accompanied by strong filial piety shows a quasi-return to pre-modern conditions, whereas the stressed freedom of mate selection is rather a modern characteristic of Chinese families. In contrast, China's current total fertility rate (varying between 1.5 and 1.6 in the past two decades), which is well below the reproduction level, shows a post-modern characteristic feature of the family, albeit as a result of a direct state intervention into the private sphere. All this points to a sort of compressed characteristic feature of China's modernity, where the respective stages of pre-modern,

[31] Davis – Harell 1993: 20–21.

modern and post-modern social conditions were not able to succeed one another in their 'proper' order, as seen in Western countries in general. This blended and compressed characteristic feature can also be seen in the ambiguous transformation of the private and public spheres. This is all due to the fact that the length of time of modernisation in China has been too short and heavily burdened with various types of challenges. However, it can be argued that contemporary China offers new perspectives to the social sciences which can provide a better understanding of the different paths of modernisation, characterised by a sort of new modern familism, and in which family keeps playing an essential role for social responsibility and sustainability.

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Education and 'Civilization'
Westernisation through Centralisation and the Concept of Women's Education in Late 19th Century Japan[1]

Studies on the transformation of the Japanese educational system in the Meiji period usually emphasise the intensity of reforms and their comprehensive character. In the framework of the present study, I will briefly summarise the central aspects of this transformation, then turn to the examination of the tension manifested in Meiji period discourses on education. This is a tension that emerges when one compares the interpretation of the Meiji era as the introduction of 'enlightened' Western liberalism and the ideology of centralised reform, far from being as liberal as reported by Meiji period intellectuals themselves. In my study, I will draw attention to this tension as manifested in the purposes of Meiji educational reforms, then I will turn to the analysis of the education of women as a central question in terms of the interpretation of the family in Meiji Japan. The analysis is based on the writings of the leading intellectuals of the era, basically their essays published in the famous journal of the 1870s, *Meiroku Zasshi.*

Transformation of the educational system: Westernisation through centralisation

Reforms introduced in the beginning of the Meiji era had several antecedents in the *bakumatsu* period, i.e., in the final decades of the Tokugawa *bakufu.* At the end of the Edo period, there existed four main types of educational institutions in

[1] This study is a modified and extended version of a paper published in Hungarian in *Gyermeknevelés [Child Rearing],* journal of the Faculty of Primary and Pre-School Education of Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) in November 2019, based on a presentation held at the same faculty in 2017 at the conference titled "Gyermekkép és oktatás Japánban" ["Notions of the Child and Education in Japan"].

Japan. Schools of the *bakufu* and of the *han* operated mainly for the *bushi;* there were local schools, *gōgaku* 郷学, which sometimes belonged to the *han,* open to commoners; private academies, the *shijuku* 私塾; and monastery schools, the so called *terakoya* 寺子屋 in which sometimes only one person served as a teacher.[2] Between 1854 and 1867, within the decade following the arrival of Admiral Perry, more than 4000 *terakoya* opened in the country. The curricula and the methodology of teaching were quite different in the various institutions. Children of the *bushi,* constituting the ruling class of society, were basically educated in classical Chinese studies, writing and martial arts; i.e., the studies of *bun* 文 and *bu* 武. Meanwhile in one third of the schools the knowledge of 'national learning' (*kokugaku* 国学) was also part of the curriculum, and one quarter of them also included studies of 'Western learning' (*yōgaku* 洋学) which was restricted to technical subjects (medicine, military strategy, shipbuilding).[3]

For the new administration unifying and centralising the curriculum in terms of both its structure and its content represented one of the most urgent tasks, as it was an important means of renewing Japanese society. However, while it is unquestionable that education was a central factor in shaping the character of Meiji Japan, this role must not necessarily be understood in the sense suggested by the frequently used terminology of 'reforms'. It is true, on the one hand, that the Meiji transition focused on Western learning, shifting the emphasis from Confucian studies and from *kokugaku* teaching. The new organisation, as Rubinger argues, is well characterised by newly introduced terms such as *gakkō* 学校, the second component of which (校) had rarely been used in a general sense for 'learning', 'science' or 'studies' as a pair for *gaku* 学, but much more in terms of "restriction, limitation, or conformity to a uniform standard".[4] The aims of the Meiji government were exactly of this kind: regulations and restrictions, the formation – and adoption – of 'uniform standards'. On the other hand, the reason why the 'new' terms and the corresponding *kanji* compounds were so easily applicable in practice was simply that while denoting the elements of the 'reformed' structure, they still carried a thousand-year-old web of meaning complexes comprehensible to everyone. As I will argue through the examples below, the way the old traditions appeared in form of old 'names' (*ming* 名) with reformulated meanings – as if appearing in new robes made of the same cloth[5] – truthfully reflects the internal tensions of the intellectual atmosphere which permeated various aspects of the Meiji transition.

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[2] Rubinger 1988: 196.
[3] Rubinger 1988: 197–198.
[4] Rubinger 1988: 211.
[5] Cf. Wakabayashi 1984: 491.

Douglas Howland drew attention to this internal tension in his important work *Translating the West* through the famous story of Fukuzawa Yukichi 福沢諭吉 (1835–1901),[6] usually cited as an example of Meiji liberalism. The story describes the scene in which a peasant jumps off his horse on seeing Fukuzawa coming along the road since he cannot remain on horseback in the presence of a *bushi,* but Fukuzawa teaches him that such distinctions no longer exist. However liberal Fukuzawa's attitude might seem in this interpretation, says Howland, examining Fukuzawa's autobiography, the picture immediately gets another layer of meaning that is rarely referred to in the literature. Fukuzawa here describes how he explained the structure of the new social order, teaching the peasant he could sit on his own horse any time he wanted, but as he still did not behave as if he had understood the message; Fukuzawa went on to say:

> "'Now, get back on your horse,' I repeated. 'If you don't, *I'll beat you* [*bun-naguru* 打ん撲る]. According to the laws of the present government, any person, farmer or merchant, can ride freely on horseback without regard to whom he meets on the road. You are simply afraid of everybody without knowing why. That's what's the matter with you.'
>
> *I forced him to get back on the horse* [*murimutai ni noseta* 無理無体に乗せた] and drove him off."[7]

It hardly needs to be explained how well the two-sided character of Meiji period 'liberalism' is reflected in the cited passage. Still, it must be added that although the Meiji era was not purely liberal in the sense it is usually considered to be, it was not despotic either. Its bipolarity is symbolised, on the one hand, by its 'revolution', which was imposed from above, sharply distinguishing it from the revolutions of 18th- and 19th-century Europe, but was nonetheless a re-volution in its achievements; and, on the other hand, by the 'restoration' of the authority of the ruler of the country in a form in which it had never actually existed before.[8] The following examples will reflect how this tension was manifested in different areas of the field of education.

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[6] Howland 2002: 22–23.

[7] Howland 2002: 23. *Fukuōjiden* 福翁自伝 1899, p. 390. Translation cited by Howland 2002: 22–23 from *The Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi,* translated by Eiichi Kiyooka, Tokyo, Hokuseido, 1981: 243–244. My emphasis.

[8] Cf. Eisenstadt 1996: 264–277.

Education and the establishment of a nation state

One of the most crucial and far reaching traumas of the early Meiji era was the moment when the new government was informed – basically through the reports of the delegation led by Iwakura Tomomi 岩倉具視 (1825–1883) on its return from the West – of the extent to which Japan 'lagged behind' Western countries in terms of modernisation, industrialisation, its social and governmental system, and in building a 'nation state'. From the 1870s on, many Japanese intellectuals travelled to the West to collect knowledge about the economic, political, educational, bureaucratic and social systems operating there. Mori Arinori 森有礼 (1847–1889), who later became one of the leading intellectuals and also Minister for Education of the Meiji government, had already been studying in England in the 1860s, then between 1871 and 1873 he served as the ambassador of Japan to the United States. One of his main activities was to study the educational system of the country. With that purpose, he wrote letters including a short survey to high-ranking personalities of the USA, asking for advice regarding the Japanese educational reforms. Mori collected the responses in a volume, in the preface of which, besides expressing humility towards Western countries and their institutions, he asssured his readers with considerable emphasis that the dynasty reigning on the Japanese islands was the oldest one in the world.[9] There were, however, several realms, such as education, where the country required development based on Western models.

> "The political giants of yesterday are the dwarfs of to-day. Our youths, educated abroad, are returning with their faces flushed with enthusiastic sympathy with the modern civilization of Christendom. Their opinions and ideas are influencing and bending the actions and desires of their leaders and patrons. One of the difficult problems for our solution is the restraint of our youths, so that their little knowledge will not prove a danger, but will become, in its maturity, a powerful weapon of defence, and a beneficent influence in the grand advance of our nation. Wise advice from abroad on this vital question is called for. Education has become imperative."[10]

It is clearly reflected also in this short paragraph that the main motivation behind Mori's endeavours towards reforming the educational system was the establishment of a unified, firmly established nation state. He considered the development of education as an organic element of that unity, and the American system

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[9] Mori 1873: iv.

[10] Mori 1873: lii.

as one of the possible models for such development.[11] The questions sent to the addressees of his letters, important thinkers and governmental figures of the time, were formulated in a similar spirit:

> “In a general way, I wish to have your views in reference to the elevation of the condition of Japan, intellectually, morally, and physically, but the particular points to which I invite your attention are as follows:
>
> The effect of education –
>
> 1. Upon the material prosperity of a country.
> 2. Upon its commerce.
> 3. Upon its agricultural and industrial interests.
> 4. Upon the social, moral and physical condition of the people; and –
> 5. Its influences upon the laws and government.”[12]

As it can be seen here, while the Confucian tradition was by this time no more the foundation of curricula, a very important element that also characterised the Confucian mind-set still defined the ideas and world-view of Mori: the praxis-oriented nature of his approach to education. This aspect of education in itself was also stressed by Fukuzawa Yukichi in his *The Encouragement of Learning* (*Gakumon no susume* 學問ノスヽメ), a work which had an enormous impact on Meiji intellectuals. There was another important point, however, also related to practical considerations, on which the opinion of Fukuzawa differed from the convictions of the majority of Meiji intellectuals. Mori and other leading figures of the 1870s, most of the members of the Meiji Six Society (Meirokusha 明六社), a group of the most influential Meiji period thinkers, believed that intellectuals cannot and should not be independent from the government of the country. They saw the task of education as establishing national unity, with everyone making efforts to promote that unity as part of one and the *same* hierarchy.[13] Thus Mori, a leading figure of the Japanese ‘civilization and enlightenment’ movement (*bunmeikaika* 文明開化), living for years in the home of the *Declaration of Independence*, an etalon text of the revolutions of European Enlightenment (translated into Japanese by Fukuzawa Yukichi himself), asked his American contemporaries for advice from a viewpoint which was ‘civilising’ in a significantly different way to that described in such principal texts of Western liberalism. What Mori had in mind was not the establishment of a *civil* society in the Western sense of the word, i.e., a people constituted by free individuals (cf. *citoyen*), but the need of forming a strong *nation*.

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[11] Swale 2016: 106. ff., Fisher 1983: 83–84.

[12] Mori 1873: 1–2.

[13] Fisher 1983: 87. ff.

This requirement of unity appeared in various aspects of the transformation of Japanese society in the Meiji period, overriding all kinds of traditional barriers inherited from the past. The discussions regarding the reform or eventual change of the writing system is a telling example for this. In the opening issue of *Meiroku Zasshi* 明六雑誌, the journal of the Meirokusha, Nishi Amane 西周 (1829–1897) and Nishimura Shigeki 西村茂樹 (1828–1902) published a debate on the possible consequences of introducing the Latin alphabet in Japan. Nishi argued that the developments required for comprehensive progress in the country could only be reached *through* the introduction of the alphabet, while Nishimura believed that the alphabet could not be introduced without reaching a certain level of general education of the people.[14] Without going into details about their arguments, I would like to emphasise that the *only* point where Nishi's and Nishimura's views differed was the question of *when* the Latin alphabet should be introduced. They had no concerns with regard to either the means, or the complexity of such a crucial reform; both took it for granted that the Latin alphabet should be introduced in Japan. The explanation for this is that while such novelties definitely meant radical, so to speak 'revolutionary' changes in society, these were changes that could only be coordinated under the closest centralised state control – Meiji intellectuals were indeed thinking within such a framework. They had no doubt that reforms as complex as a new alphabet or even language (Mori was arguing for the introduction of English in the same period[15]) were possible if the purpose was to establish a country that equaled the 'West' in all terms of modernisation and development. In this respect, as Nishi argued, the introduction of the alphabet (just like the importing of any other Western institutions) would actually have been one of the oldest traditional solutions Japan had applied: the introduction of a new alphabet or language was imagined in the Meiji period in the very same way as it had been more than a millennium earlier. At that time the main task of the intellectual elite had been the introduction of the Chinese model with the purpose of achieving equal rank with China. China was now replaced by the West, and equality of rank was replaced by equality of rights. The latter concept, however, while the idea itself became more and more important, basically meant equality of Japan as a whole with other countries of the world. In the social context, the 'equality of rights' could only be understood with certain characteristic restrictions, as we find exemplified by the discussion of the education and the rights of women.

14 Nishi [1874]; Nishimura [1874].

15 Swale 2000: 64–65.

Equality of rights – equality of duties: the education of women

The introduction of the general education of women justifiably counts as the most progressive idea of the Meiji period; one that clearly reflects the effects of Western world-views. Still, if one examines the reasoning behind this important reform of the age more closely, it becomes clear that the novelty which at first sight reflects the recognition of the principle of equal rights[16], carries in itself the same internal tension mentioned above in different aspects. Here I will analyse essays published in *Meiroku Zasshi* to point out how this tension appeared in the discussion of women’s rights, and how the idea of the education of women was connected far more closely to the formation of a strong Japanese nation state than to the true realisation of the idea of the equality of rights. The key to this connection is the way in which the family as the basis of the nation state and the role of the mother in its formation was imagined at that time. As Eisenstadt emphasised, “[w]omen’s roles in Meiji Japan were defined, not as in many Western countries with a strong emphasis on the private family sphere as against the public order, but as agents of the state.”[17] This definition of women can be traced back to the earliest sources of the Meiji transition.

In issue 8 of *Meiroku Zasshi*, several essays addressed the question of the social status of women. One of these studies was Mitsukuri Shūhei’s 箕作秋坪 (1826–1886) “On Education” (“Kyōikudan” 教育談). In the first part of the text, Mitsukuri explains that in Western countries it is already a widely accepted idea that the education of children at home is more important than their education at school. If this is so, he continues, both parents have an important role in educating the child. If parents accept this idea, the described concept becomes a tradition passed on from generation to generation.

> “What I desire still more deeply is only that, by actively establishing girls’ schools [*jogaku* 女学] and devoting our energies to educating girls, we may train these girls to understand how important it is for them to educate the children to whom they give birth. Napoleon I once observed to the famous woman teacher Campan, ‘Since all the old methods of education really seem to be worthy of respect, what do we lack for the good upbringing of the people?’ When Campan replied ‘Mothers,’ the emperor exclaimed in surprise, ‘Ah, this is true! This

[16] As Molony put it, “[t]he Meiji era neologisms for ‘rights’ (*kenri* [権利]), ‘women’s rights’ (*joken* [女権]), ‘male-female equality’ (*danjo byōdō* [男女平等]), and ‘male-female equal rights’ (*danjo dōken* [男女同権]) were, at times, used interchangeably,” despite their significantly different meaning (Molony 2000: 641). For a detailed examination of the term ‘right’ as *ken* in the Meiji period cf. Yanabu 2009: 149–172.

[17] Eisenstadt 1996: 37.

> single word suffices as the guiding principle [*hōsoku* 法則] of education.' These are indeed meaningful words."[18]

Here we see the 'equal rights' of the wife appearing as the prerequisite of the wife's *duties,* which are equal to those of her husband. It is also telling that the example referred by Mitsukuri does not concern one of the famous liberal thinkers of Europe, but the general and later emperor who had built his empire on the ruins left behind by the French Revolution. Thus, the fact that the rights of women are discussed more and more frequently does not imply that the *individual freedom* of women would become the central topic of such discussions. The latter notion, i.e. the woman as an autonomous individual, would only become a widely discussed topic as late as the turn of the century, as feminist activities would also start at the very end of the 19th century.[19]

> "For Meiji-era policymakers and many advocates of women's rights the immediate goal of women's education was not to prepare them for suffrage but to mold ethical wives and mothers who led by example in the family and in civil society."[20]

As Mikiso Hane emphasised, besides all the liberal views Fukuzawa Yukichi himself claimed to have applied in his family and his famous statements on the equality of men and women,[21] "he left the education of his daughters to their mother, who was very conservative and believed that women were innately inferior."[22]

The first essay of Mori Arinori's five-piece series "On Wives and Concubines" ("Saishōron" 妻妾論) was published in the same issue of *Meiroku Zasshi.* Mori's argument was based on the conviction that the moral development of a people can reach the level of Western countries only if "mutual assistance and mutual protection" (*aitasuke aitamotsu* 相扶ケ相保ツ) is realised between husband and wife. This 'mutual' relationship can be understood here as a special type of the 'equality' of rights which is linked, to a significant extent, with the traditional Confucian roots of the concept of society. Here 'mutuality' does not refer to the *same* duties required from each person towards the other, but to a

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[18] Mitsukuri 1874: 6. In English: *Meiroku Zasshi* 1976: 108.

[19] For a detailed analysis of Meiji state regulations on women's rights cf. Nolte and Hastings 1991: 151 ff.

[20] Molony 2000: 644.

[21] Cf. Fukuzawa's *Encouragement of Learning* criticising Kaibara Ekiken's *Onna daigaku:* "It may be natural for a girl to obey her parents when she is young, but in what way is she to obey her husband after marriage? I am curious about that!" (Fukuzawa 2012: 62.)

[22] Hane 1969: 366.

web of interpersonal relations in which participants 'mutually' have their duties, but *different* duties towards the others based on their status in the structure of society.

> "The relation between man and wife is the fundamental of human morals. […] When people marry, rights and obligations emerge between them so that neither can take advantage of the other. If you ask what these rights and obligations are, they may be described as the paths of mutual assistance and mutual protection. That is, the husband has the right [*kenri* 權利] to demand [*yōsuru* 要スル] assistance from the wife while he shoulders the obligation [*gimu* 義務] to protect her. And, conversely, the wife has the right to demand protection from the husband while she bears the obligation to assist him." [23]

Until the law guarantees, Mori says later, that concubines do *not* have the same privileges as wives, the contemporary system of marriage largely hinders the 'enlightenment' of the people. The only possible way to change the situation, as he writes in the third essay of the series, would be the introduction of general education also extended to women.

> "If we really want to achieve marriage worthy of the name, there is not better approach than to spread education generally and then await the time when women voluntarily protect their chastity [*happun rissō* 発憤立操]. Such being the case, we must all endeavour industriously to bring about this condition of affairs. To preach this vainly without achieving actual results is not only useless verbiage. Such conduct generally obstructs the road to enlightenment and is indeed hateful."[24]

It must be added here that regarding women's role in society, 19th-century Western societies were characterised not only by the equal rights of women but also by the notion of the mother leading her life focusing on staying at home, taking care of her children and the family.[25] The fact that this *topos* of the loving, caretaking mother had a peculiar, characteristically Japanese counterpart that had been present in Japanese society for a very long time, significantly contributed to the process by which the idea of the equal rights of women was reconciled

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[23] Mori 1874a: 2–3. In English: *Meiroku Zasshi* 1976: 104.

[24] Mori 1874b: 2. In English: *Meiroku Zasshi* 1976: 190. This imperative resembles the way Mori wrote about the successful American practice of the education of women in *Life and Resources in America* edited under his control in 1871 (Mori 1871: 264–266).

[25] McVeigh 2004: 222.

with the traditional concept of the subordinate role of women, which had its roots in Confucian thought.

With regard to the reasons behind the propagation of the education of women, an even more illuminating source might be Nakamura Masanao's 中村正直 (1832–1891) speech, "Creating Good Mothers" ("Zenryō naru haha wo tsukuru setsu" 善良ナル母ヲ造ル説), published in volume 33 of *Meiroku Zasshi* in 1875. In the same way as in the cited articles, here too we find the author emphasising the importance of equal rights, arguing that the basis for this is equal education. But if we look at the final purpose, it is again not the theory, i.e., not the mere idea of equality that underlies the argument.

> "Of course, men and women should observe virtuous principles [*zentoku no rippō* 善徳の律法] equally and without distinction. Love is the most important of the many human virtues. To quote the famous words of the poet [Robert] Browning, 'True love [眞正ノ愛] surpasses knowledge.' […] A wife possessed of a feeling of deep love will bring her husband ease and happiness and encourage him to exert himself in enterprises useful to the country. Not only in the West but even in China wise men recognize this fact."[26]

Here follow two references to the *Book of Changes* and to the *Book of Odes,* directly invoking the Confucian tradition. But the argument itself is also very closely related to that. As it can be seen, the education of women is understood as the education of mothers and wives, making them able to give birth to men fit to serve the nation (and the next generation of mothers giving birth to such men). This idea developed later into the concept characterised by the slogan 'good wife, wise mother' (*ryōsai kenbo* 良妻賢母) that "gave expression to the view that defined women's role in the society primarily within the family", and that "continued to govern ideal images of the family for a long time even in the post-war decades."[27]

It must be stressed, on the one hand, that the ideas investigated above did not mean, of course, an immediate practical change in the daily life of the Japanese household. Kathleen S. Uno's insightful analysis describes in detail how the traditional family model in which the shared participation of family members, involving in child rearing not only the mother and the father but also older children, was slowly transformed through many struggles to the new structure of the family in an industrialised Japan.[28] What the above examples have shown

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[26] Nakamura 1875: 3. In English: *Meiroku Zasshi* 1976: 402–403.
[27] Papp 2016: 210.
[28] Uno 1999: 19–46.

is the theoretical foundation of this transformation, which changed the view of Japanese women as mothers in an important way. As Uno put it:

> “From long before the 1868 Restoration, Japanese families had expected the mistress of the house to be a diligent, shrewd, and dedicated household manager; the new element in *ryōsai kenbo* was its emphasis on motherhood – the married adult woman’s indispensable role as the nurturer and above all the socializer of children. No longer was female inferiority ground for denying women, even young wives, a major role in the education of children. In expecting lower-class mothers to raise industrious and loyal citizens and middle-class women carefully to rear future leaders, the state’s new view of womanhood nominally entrusted women with unprecedented responsibility for shaping the destiny of nation and society.”[29]

On the other hand it is important that the above examples must not be misunderstood as if the interpretation of ‘equality’ in the peculiar way we can find in the essays published in *Meiroku Zasshi* simply meant the preservation of Confucian values as such under the veil of Western political philosophical concepts. Yoshiko Miyake righteously warns that “[c]ontrary to the views of many writers in later years, *ryōsai kenbo* was not synonymous with Confucian teachings about women” inherited from the Tokugawa era.

> “The term, as used in discussions among intellectuals, such as members of the Meirokusha (Meiji Six Society), meant the creation of a new womanhood suitable for Japan’s modern society. However, its meaning was distorted when Confucianism became an official doctrine in the mid-Meiji period.”[30]

Still, while this ‘new womanhood’ was imagined in a way that was undoubtedly not simply ‘Confucian’, it had several characteristics strongly resembling the Confucian tradition – not in terms of women’s ‘inferiority’, but in the understanding of ‘equality’ in terms rather of ‘equal duties’ than of ‘equal rights’. The concept of women’s roles in the newly established social order had its strong traditional roots in certain Confucian concepts, as we could see above, as well as in the Japanese understanding of the *ie* 家. This concept went through significant changes in the Meiji period, still it was this unity of the family and not the autonomous individual subject that became the basis of the Japanese notion of ‘nation state’.

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[29] Uno 1999: 44.

[30] Miyake 1991: 276. n. 19.

Conclusion

During his stay in the West, Mori Arinori was fascinated by the role Christianity played in the 'civilisation' of Western countries and the moral coherency that religion provided to the West. In this context it is not surprising that he opened his *Education in Japan* with the citation from the Bible: "What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" The full passage (Mark 8:34–37) is also cited in Mori's *Life and Resources in America.* It reads:

> "And when he had called the people unto him with his disciples, also, he said unto them – Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his *cross,* and follow me. For whosoever, will save his life, shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life, for my sake, and the Gospel's, the same shall save it. For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?"[31]

The cited passage reflects not only the role of religion (Christianity or any other) in the development of education, but also the extent of the significance of education itself in the eyes of a leading Japanese intellectual in the end of the 19th century. It was primarily in the general and comprehensively reformed and unified educational system that the Japanese intellectuals of the Meiji era saw the guarantee of preserving the 'soul' of the Japanese, or rather: *the* 'Japanese soul', the unity of which could only be established by means of education. They truly believed that a nation state along Western lines could be built on the 2500-year-long tradition of Japan – but only through the substantial reform of education.

With regard to what this meant in terms of the education and the general treatment of women, I argued above that while in the Meiji period the framework of the education of women was, in fact, modern, in its background there lay more than just the idea of equality brought to Japan from the West. Its foundations were laid, at least to the same extent if not even with more weight, on the traditional concept of the family, understood as a building block in the construction of an empire, reinterpreted (or 'restored') and adapted to the needs of modernity. In this old-new concept, the idea of 'equality' indeed played an important role, but *not* in the same way as it was understood in its Western political philosophical context. It was not so much their equality as individuals, but much more their equality as performers of the common task of the Japanese, i.e., building a strong Japanese nation, that made them 'equal' in the eyes of the 'enlighteners' of the Meiji period.

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[31] Mori 1871: 153 (Mark 8:34–37).

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Teaching Culture through Language: Teaching Korean Kinship Terms in Korean in Foreign Language Classrooms

Introduction

In step with the current upsurge in the consumption of Korean cultural products around the globe,[1] a growing number of people are engaging in various forms of Korean language learning. An in-depth understanding of the Korean culture has become one of the key motivating factors and target goals of Korean language learning.[2] One interesting phenomenon learners may encounter through experiencing interactions between Korean people is the extensive use of kinship terms.

Korean kinship terms form a highly complex system, and the situation-appropriate selection of *terms of reference* (*chich'ing* 지칭; abbreviated as RT; used when talking about an individual) or *terms of address* (*hoch'ing* 호칭; abbreviated as AT; what one actually says to another individual during direct interaction) may cause confusion to learners of Korean as a foreign language (KFL). Kinships terms are also important bearers of cultural information, through which Korean society and social values are reflected. Although the topic of kinship terminology is approached by researchers from the fields of ethnography, anthropology, sociology or linguistics, proposing a typology or an analysis of kinship terms,[3] investigating the changing meanings of the terms,[4] or examining their (extended) usages,[5] little international research is addressing the KFL teaching context or emphasizing the cultural importance of teaching

[1] Kim 2013, Kuwahara 2014, Lee–Nornes 2015, Jin 2016.

[2] For example, see Chan–Chi 2010, Lee 2018; for Hungarian context, see Hanó–Németh–Nguyen 2016.

[3] For example, see Kim 1967, Wang 1988, King 2006, Baik–Chae 2010, Osváth 2016.

[4] For example, see Kim 1998; Harkness 2015, Brown 2017.

[5] For example, see Pak 1975.

such terms to language learners, who are more than likely to encounter situations involving kinship terminology early into their language learning endeavor. The lack of a comprehensive study on Korean kinship terms and their cultural connotations, positioning them in the framework of culture teaching, while also taking KFL education into consideration has prompted the present study.

Focusing on the potentials for teaching culture in a KFL classroom, the following questions are proposed for closer examination in this study:

1. Why is it important to teach kinship terms to learners of Korean as a foreign language?

2. What aspects need to be considered when teaching Korean kinship terms to learners of Korean as a foreign language?

First, the study will provide a brief overview of the Korean kinship system itself, highlighting the unique features of the terminological system. Then building on this introduction, the relationship between kinship terms and culture will be examined in detail. The third part will look at different aspects of teaching kinship terms to learners of KFL with regard to the learners' development of cultural awareness.

Overview of the Korean kinship terminology

In the following, the kinship system will be briefly introduced with its general and more specific characteristics. The most frequently used ATs and RTs for kinship terms will be presented through tables in order to supplement the understanding of the system. Moreover, as the basis for future sections, the different usages of kinship terms will be discussed as well.

Kinship terminology system

In general, John A. Ballweg lists two fundamental functions of kinship terms: one is the ordering and classifying function, while the other is the function of designating the distance between selected individuals.[6] Thus, kinship terms provide a hypothetical "social grid", where individuals appear in relation to one another with the underlying social roles that are expected by their given position.

Kinship terms are one of the most common ATs and RTs used in the contemporary South Korean society.[7] As the Korean society may traditionally be described as a family-clan-centered society, where deeply-rooted values of

[6] Ballweg 1969: 84.

[7] Kim 1998: 271.

Confucianism are still quite prevalent, the active use of kinship terms in speech situations is widely observable. China's long-standing cultural influence is also evident in the choice of kinship terminology itself, since even native Korean ATs or RTs of close relatives have Sino-Korean equivalents, and the more distant relatives are generally referred to by terms of Sino-Korean origin exclusively.[8]

In the Korean kinship system, the descent is traced bilaterally *(cognatic kinship),* although historically male lines are more emphasized – an effect of the patriarchal Confucian traditions –, which is evident in the predominantly high number of terms appearing on the paternal side. The system primarily displays characteristics for the most descriptive type of kinship. Terminologically, the descriptive kinship patterns reflect the relationships among the kin members accurately; this means that not one relative is referenced identically. However, some features of the system point to a more classificatory type of kinship.[9] For example, the brothers of the father are usually addressed as *chakŭnabŏji* 작은아버지, if one is younger than the father, and *k'ŭnabŏji* 큰아버지, if one is older, which means that partially the same expression ('father', i.e. *abŏji* 아버지) is used for those individuals. Furthermore, parallel or cross cousins are addressed using the same terms as one's own siblings (*ŏnni* 언니*, oppa* 오빠*, nuna* 누나 or *hyŏng* 형). At the same time, as RTs, the distance from the self or speaker is often expressed with a mixture of the word 'cousin' and a term used for siblings (for example, *sach'onŏnni* 사촌언니, as in a female cousin who is older than the ego).[10]

The degree of relatedness is based on *ch'on* 촌 or the kinship space existing between individuals. The ego serves as the point of reference, and thus, the most immediate relatives, ego's parents are situated at a one *ch'on* distance from the ego, and ego's siblings are two *ch'on* removed from the ego. From three *ch'on*, i.e. ego's parents' siblings, *ch'on* (the word itself) enters the terminology. For instance, ego's uncles may be referred to or addressed as *samch'on* 삼촌*;* however, considerable variation exists here due to various factors (e.g. paternal or maternal side of the family, marital status).

The terminology system is often regarded as highly complex and particularly confusing for learners of KFL, and even for some native Korean people.[11]

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[8] Osváth 2016: 102.

[9] King 2006: 114–115. For more details on the six different kinship patterns, see Morgan 1877.

[10] Lee–Kim 1973: 37.

[11] You 2002: 307; Jeon 2012: 32.

Kinship terms of address and terms of reference

Kinship RTs and ATs are abundant, and the system's high complexity leads to the difficulty to choose contextually appropriate terms, since the choice between more options depends on various factors, which will be enumerated in a later section. The classification of relatives falls into two basic categories: consanguineal (related by blood) and affinal (related by marriage) relatives (*injok* 인족). Among consanguineal relatives, the descending, ascending and collateral lines are also differentiated; furthermore, the ascending line is divided into paternal consanguineal (*ch'injok* 친족) and maternal consanguineal (*wejok* 외족) relatives.

It is important to note that only those kin members are addressed by specific terms who are older or who occupy a higher kin status than the ego. When addressing younger members, personal names with the intimate vocative particle (*-a* -아 or *-ya* -야) are used, as long as the status-superiority condition is not violated. For example, if an 'uncle' is younger than the addresser, then he or she has to call him with an appropriate term for 'uncle'. There are certain exceptions to the practice of using personal names for younger members; they mainly concern some affinal relationships such as a husband addressing his younger brother's wife as *chesu* 제수 or a wife addressing her husband's younger brother as *toryŏng-nim* 도령님 among others. In the case of some descending relationships, both specific kin terms and personal names are used for addressing younger members, such as addressing one's own son as *adŭl* 아들.

As the present study adopts a synchronic approach and focuses primarily on the ascending lines, collateral and affinal relatives (where the ATs and RTs show a greater complexity), the following tables show a short summary of the currently widely used central ATs and RTs for older kin members, which also appear in KFL textbooks, based on Ross King and Kang So-san, Jeon Eun-joo.[12]

Term of address/ Term of reference		
father	abŏji/ abŏnim appa	아버지/아버님 아빠
mother	ŏmŏni/ŏmŏnim ŏmma	어머니/어머님 엄마

[12] King 2006: 101–117; Kang–Jeon 2013: 374–380. See also Park 1997 on Korean terms of address.

brother	hyŏng (male's older brother)	형
	oppa (female's older brother)	오빠
sister	nuna (male's older sister)	누나
	ŏnni (female's older sister)	언니

Table 1: Terms for the nuclear family

	Term of address/ Term of reference			
	PATERNAL RELATIVES		**MATERNAL RELATIVES**	
grandmother	halmŏni	할머니	oe-halmŏni	외할머니
grandfather	harabŏji	할아버지	oe-harabŏji	외할아버지
uncle	samch'on (before marriage)	삼촌	oe-samch'on	외삼촌
	chakŭnabŏji (younger brother after marriage)	작은아버지		
	k'ŭnabŏji (older brother after marriage)	큰아버지		
aunt	komo	고모	imo	이모
cousin as RT	sach'on	사촌	oe-sach'on	외사촌
cousin as AT	hyŏng (male's older male cousin)		형	
	oppa (female's older male cousin)		오빠	
	nuna (male's older female cousin)		누나	
	ŏnni (female's older female cousin)		언니	

Table 2: Terms for main paternal and maternal relatives

<table>
<tr><th colspan="6">WIFE'S FAMILY</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="3">Term of reference</th><th colspan="3">Term of address</th></tr>
<tr><td>mother-in-law</td><td>changmo</td><td>장모</td><td>mother</td><td>ŏmŏnim</td><td>어머님</td></tr>
<tr><td>father-in-law</td><td>changin</td><td>장인</td><td>father-in-law
father</td><td>changin
abŏnim</td><td>장인
아버님</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">sister-in-law</td><td colspan="3">ch'ŏhyŏng (one's wife's elder sister)</td><td colspan="2">처형</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">ch'ŏje (one's wife's younger sister)</td><td colspan="2">처제</td></tr>
<tr><td>brother-in-law</td><td colspan="3">ch'ŏnam</td><td colspan="2">처남</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="6">OWN FAMILY</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="6">Term of reference/Term of address</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">sister-in-law</td><td colspan="3">hyŏngsu (one's elder brother's wife)</td><td colspan="2">형수</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">chesu (one's younger brother's wife)</td><td colspan="2">제수</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">brother-in-law</td><td colspan="3">maehyŏng (one's elder sister's husband)</td><td colspan="2">매형</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">maeje/maebu
(one's younger sister's husband)</td><td colspan="2">매제/매부</td></tr>
</table>

Table 3: Terms for affinal relatives (husband's point of view)

<table>
<tr><th colspan="6">HUSBAND'S FAMILY</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="3">Term of reference</th><th colspan="3">Term of address</th></tr>
<tr><td>mother-in-law</td><td>shiŏmŏni</td><td>시어머니</td><td>mother</td><td>ŏmŏnim</td><td>어머님</td></tr>
<tr><td>father-in-law</td><td>shiabŏji</td><td>시아버지</td><td>father</td><td>abŏnim</td><td>아버님</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>sister-in-law</td><td>shinui</td><td>시누이</td><td>sister-in-law</td><td>hyŏngnim</td><td>형님</td></tr>
<tr><td>brother-in-law</td><td>shiajubŏni (older than husband)</td><td>시아주버니</td><td>brother-in-law</td><td>ajubŏni (older than husband)</td><td>어주버니</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>shidongsaeng (younger than husband)</td><td>시동생</td><td>brother-in-law</td><td>toryŏnnim (younger than husband and unmarried)</td><td>도련님</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">OWN FAMILY</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">Terms of reference/Terms of address</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">sister-in-law</td><td colspan="2">olk’e</td><td colspan="2">올케</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2" rowspan="2">brother-in-law</td><td colspan="2">hyŏngbu (one’s elder sister’s husband)</td><td colspan="2">형부</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">chebu (one’s younger sister’s husband)</td><td colspan="2">제부</td></tr>
</table>

Table 4: Terms for affinal relatives (wife’s point of view)

Usages of kinship terms

Generally, three main usages of kinship terms can be distinguished: consanguineal, affinal and fictive usage. Consanguineal and affinal usages of kinship terms relate to addressing and referencing relatives by blood or by marriage, respectively. Within a kin group, personal names are regarded with little value compared with terms that include indexing the occupied position of a member in relation to the addresser. This also explains the widespread practices of *teknonymy* (addressing an adult individual in relation to their own children, i.e. as someone’s father or as someone’s mother, for example, ‘Jŏngu’s mother’ *Jŏngu ŏmŏni* 정우 어머니) and *geononymy* (addressing an individual based on their place of residence, for example, ‘Sŏul uncle’ *Sŏul samch’ŏn* 서울 삼

촌) with regard to kinship terms.[13] Essentially, ATs, including kinship terms or titles of occupation, all serve a similar purpose in the Korean language because the use of personal names cannot sufficiently index the significant differences in social position between the addresser and the addressee.[14]

In the case of fictive usage, the use of kinship terms is extended beyond the family circle. More specifically, people of no actual blood, marriage or other legally recognized relations are referred to or addressed using these terms in order to evoke kin-like relationships.[15] Extending the kin terms to non-relatives is a frequently observable practice in the Korean society. Primarily, the following terms are extended for non-relatives: terms for siblings *(ŏnni, oppa, nuna, hyŏng),* terms for parents *(ŏmŏni, abŏji),* terms for parents' siblings (*imo*, *samch'ŏn*) terms for grandparents (*halmŏni*, *harabŏji* 할아버지) and *ajumŏni* 아주머니 (a female relative, similar in age to one's mother), *ajŏssi* 아저씨 (a male relative, similar in age to one's father).

Park Soon-Ham proposes four subcategories or sub-usages of pseudo-kinship.[16] First, the affectionate use of kinship terms refers to calling close friends of the family by kinship terms, as a form of remedy to placate the alienated "outsiders", i.e. individuals outside of the close-knit family unit. Similar practices are identifiable for instance in the Japanese language[17] or in the English language.[18] The second usage is the use of kinship terms in pseudo-family relations. Due to the prevailing Confucian disposition, Koreans have the tendency to categorize organized social institutions as a form of family, even without the involvement of affectionate feelings. One example of this would be an educational setting, where kinship terms may be adopted between junior and senior students.[19] Next, Park S. lists the euphemistic use of kinship terms. In this case, kinship terms are used to address near strangers from the lower social strata, typically, taxi drivers, deliverymen, cleaning staff and others. Therefore, the higher the social status, the less likely kinship terms will be used as a form of address. Finally, the euphemistic use of kinship terms involving the use of children's names to refer to and address individuals is mentioned. This practice is known as the previously mentioned *teknonymy*.

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[13] For more details on the practice *teknonymy* and *geononymy* see Lee–Kim 1973 and Ahn 2017.

[14] Ahn 2017: 414.

[15] Agha 2015: 402.

[16] Park 1975: 5–7.

[17] Norbeck–Befu 1958.

[18] Ballweg 1969.

[19] In educational settings, terms as 'senior' *sŏnbae* 선배 (optionally with the addition of the honorific suffix *–nim* -님) are also frequently adopted.

Korean kinship terms and culture

To deepen the understanding of the importance of kinship terms and their appropriate usage in reference and address, which comprises a crucial part of teaching kinship terms to KFL students, not only the linguistic system, but also the cultural factors that are intricately mingled with and reflected through language should be carefully examined.

The place of kinship terms in the Korean language

ATs, and among them kinship terms, provide one of the most basic tools for social interaction.[20] This statement particularly holds true for the Korean language. As Nicholas Harkness eloquently phrases, "[…] to know what to »call« someone is a guide to how to speak to someone, and to know how to speak to someone is a guide to how to behave with someone – to be with someone else."[21] Undoubtedly, considerable emphasis is given to ATs in the Korean language, because the language system as a whole, reflecting the culture and society, consists of an intricate system of honorifics in which formulating a sentence is hardly possible, if the speaker does not possess the situation-proper social information about the addressee or the referent, i.e. age, social status and in- or out-groupness. Thus, the nuanced social stratification is reflected in the well-developed linguistic system by tools of indexicality, such as various levels of sentence-endings, hierarchical sets of ATs and RTs, kinship terms, honorific suffixes, case particles and verbs. Korean speakers, on the basis of power and solidarity, strategically use these linguistic tools to achieve their communicative goals.

Cultural concepts and value orientation of Koreans

Among cultural factors influencing the use of kinship terms, significant attention should be devoted to the ideology of Confucianism and its values that have been permeating the Korean society for centuries, and which have produced discernible effects on even today's social and linguistic behavior of Korean people. Confucian ideology has first gained considerable influence on the Korean Peninsula during the Chosŏn Period (1392–1897), which provided a fertile ground for the strict hierarchical social relations and the sophisticated honorific language system to flourish. Emphasizing a division between the superior and inferior

[20] Wierzbicka 2015: 1.
[21] Harkness 2015: 308.

ranks of the social class system, Confucianism heavily relied on principles that entailed the determination to sustain harmonious and hierarchical relations among the members of society. *Samgangoryun* 삼강오륜 三綱五倫 or "three bonds and five relationships" formed the basis for interpersonal behaviors.[22] The five relations also comprise the three bonds, and out of the five, four stresses the subordination and obedience of those inferior in social status (sovereign-subject, parent-child, husband-wife, senior-junior).[23] Family represented the basic unit of society, where males lines were more emphasized, and typically first-born male heirs were entrusted with performing rituals to worship their ancestors in adherence to institutional guidelines.[24]

After the downfall of the Chosŏn Dynasty and the appearance of Western ideologies on the Korean Peninsula, the emphasis on the strict hierarchical social relationships has diminished, and a democratic class system has emerged with diluted ideas of Confucianism and a simplified honorific system. Despite the gradual shift in the value orientation of the Korean people to a relatively egalitarian consciousness, traditional values continue to persist in some way or form.

After examining the Confucian ideological background, which shaped the Korean society for a long time, let's delve into how this background translates into today's social characteristics that underlie the usage of kinship terms.

Based on the cultural dimensions proposed by Hofstede,[25] today's South Korea may be described as a slightly hierarchical and a strongly collectivist society, where people belong to different groups (family, extended family or other extended relationships), to which they are strongly committed. As previously mentioned, hierarchical interpersonal dependency propelled an asymmetry in the use of honorifics. In other words, specifically the Confucian principle of *changyuyusŏ* 장유유서 長幼有序, i.e. precedence of senior over junior, profoundly influenced the communication pattern of Koreans,[26] and as Hyejeong Ahn argues in relation to the present topic, it is even more pronounced with regard to "[…] address terms interwoven with the cultural metaphor of community members as kin".[27] This principle also serves as one of the bases for the practice that little value is associated with the use of personal names when

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22 Pratt – Rutt – Hoare 1999: 469. More about Confucianism in Grayson 2002.

23 Sohn 2006: 13.

24 Pak–Cho 1995: 118.

25 Cultural dimensions include power distance, individualism versus collectivism, masculinity versus feminity, and uncertainty avoidance. The four basic dimensions were later supplemented by two additional dimensions: long term orientation versus short term normative orientation and indulgence versus restraint. Hofstede 2010; Hofstede (n.d.).

26 Yum 1988: 374

27 Ahn 2017: 412.

addressing persons older than the addresser. Violating this principle would also mean that the respect for someone older or someone in a higher social status is lost. Additionally, failing to properly index an individual would suggest an offense, which may lead to losing one's *face.*[28]

Eventually, the taboo of addressing older individuals by their personal names became pervasive, and to circumvent this taboo, a wide variety of ATs and RTs has been adopted, and the scope of usage of kinship terms was also extended beyond the consanguineal and affinal usages. The device of *teknonymy* and *geononymy* is commonly employed, as well. For example, the practice of *teknonymy* is traditionally so widespread among (married) women friends when they address each other (as someone's mother) that they usually do not even know each other's names.[29] In other situations involving *teknonymy*, when kinship terms are not immediately available due to the non-existence of a child, the desire to avoid uttering personal names may reach such an extent that the addresser resorts to using the name of the family's dog when referring to someone (for example, Micky's father *Mik'i abŏji* 미키 아버지).[30] This serves the purpose of avoiding inflicting offense by misaddressing someone, but it simultaneously conveys added warmth. Similarly, fictive use of kinship terms is noticeable in various other everyday communicative situations. For instance, the kin term 'aunt' *(imo)* is often used euphemistically to address older waitresses in family-run smaller restaurants. Also, an example for extending kinship terms in the affectionate way would be easily observable among younger in-group members: even a marginal age difference of one or two years may lead to asymmetrical address; therefore, terms for siblings *(ŏnni, oppa, nuna, hyŏng)* are widely adopted. This is often initiated by the younger members without being explicitly prompted to do so, with the intention to establish psychological closeness.[31]

The current use of kinship terms also reflects some changes or problematic issues arising in contemporary Korean culture and society. Minju Kim addresses the value depreciation of kin terms when addressing an unacquainted woman

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[28] *Face* or *ch'emyŏn* 체면, as a sociological concept, has been occupying an extremely central role in Korean society. De Mente explains *face* as the following, highlighting the time when the concept first gathered momentum during the Confucian Chosŏn Era:

"People became extremely sensitive to the behavior of others and to their own behavior because everything that was done or said impacted their highly honed sense of propriety, self-respect, and honor. Protecting and nurturing one's 'face' and the 'face' of one's family thus became an overriding challenge in Korea life and had a fundamental influence in the subsequent molding of the Korean language and culture in general. Chaemyeon […] or 'face saving', often took precedence over rationality, practicality, and truth." De Mente 2012: 22.

[29] Kim 2015: 564.

[30] Ahn 2017: 415; Jo–Nan–Lee 2019: 9.

[31] Lee–Cho 2013: 77.

(as 'older sister' *ŏnni*, 'aunt' *imo* or 'mother' *ŏmŏni*) in service sectors.[32] These kinship terms are in stark contrast with the generally job title-centered ATs used for men (e.g. 'company president' *sachangnim* 사장님), which points to asymmetrical practices between the two genders. Moreover, M. Kim also points out a semantic change: the recent quite disdainful usage of 'sister' *ŏnni*.[33]

In popular culture, older sibling terms (especially the terms used by the opposite sex: *oppa, nuna*) are extensively used in a fan–artist relationship. In a recent study analyzing authentic popular culture materials, Lucien Brown discusses the newly emerging *chronotopic* meanings of the sibling terms, i.e. new social practices anchored in time and space by the terms.[34] These new *chronotypes* entail covert meanings of a romantic and sexual nature, which are not recoverable from the original traditional connotations invoking social hierarchy (power) and kinship (solidarity).[35] Similarly to M. Kim, L. Brown also points out an apparent gender bias between the usages of *oppa* and *nuna*, as the latter mainly indicates a rather hyper-sexualized and illicit relation, while *oppa* is associated with more innocent images. The new meanings are viewed as a negotiation process between traditional morals, modern values and new discourses of gender equality. Additionally, the new meanings are also carriers of certain cultural images in their own right, which extends beyond the native Korean environment: *oppa* has become a trendy word for Korean male singers and actors, who possess pretty, effeminate features and an appeal to female audiences with a boy-next-door image.

Nowadays, Korean popular culture has reached not only the Asian, but also a global audience due to heavy popularizing and marketing measures in the name of strengthening South Korea's *soft power*. The international audiences became active consumers of cultural contents, and thus, they may encounter extended usages of kinship terms and semantic changes of these terms on a daily basis. Concerning KFL learning, such phenomenon and in general the underlying cultural connotations of kinship terms can hardly be ignored.

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[32] Kim 2015: 559.

[33] For more details about the semantic derogation of the term *ŏnni,* see Kim 2008. Kim investigates how the term for older sister has been adopted by older speakers to refer to younger women with lower occupational status (usually working in the service sector).

[34] Brown 2017: 1–10.

[35] The underlying process of conscious selection of Korean ATs proves to be a fascinating subject for researchers, who are attempting to rationalize the language speakers' choice in the terms of *power and solidarity semantics.* See for example Koh 2006.

Lee and Cho concisely define *power* and *solidarity* as the following: "'[p]ower' results from differences in age, sex, class, and/or role/occupation, whereas 'Solidarity' is generally thought of as the commonalities or symmetries shared by two people, e.g., the same school, hometown, company and of course, kinship." Lee–Cho 2013: 78. For more discussion on *power* and *solidarity* refer to Brown–Gilman 1960.

Aspects for consideration regarding the teaching of Korean kinship terms

When teaching outside the country of the target language – where daily direct contact with native speakers of Korean might not be possible and there is a heavy reliance on the native or nonnative teacher, teaching materials and other additional materials – there are several aspects that need to be considered when teaching kinship terms to learners of Korean. In the following, kinship terms in language textbooks, variations in kinship terminology and the method of approaching kinship terms will be examined in relation with the learners' culturally conscious development.

Intercultural competence development and kinship terms

By exploring the relation between kinship terms and culture in the above section, the importance of kinship terms as carriers of heavy cultural "loads" has been made evident. However, it is often reported that foreigners in contact with Korean people feel confused or embarrassed when trying (and failing) to find the appropriate ATs to address acquaintances, friends or colleagues.[36] The struggle may originate from a lack of knowledge or a lack of exposure to other forms of conceptualizations of kinship terms.[37] The differences in the use of ATs, RTs and kinship terms in different languages can lead to experiencing obstacles in communication or even result in misunderstandings. Furthermore, the conversation partner may regard the terms that are not situation-appropriate as a form of discourtesy, which can lead to the severance of personal ties. Even though, through the use of kinship terms, Korean cultural concepts, attitudes and values and thus Korean people's intricate web of cultural and mental worlds can be accessed, proper instruction is necessary to grasp these underlying cultural connotations and sometimes different cultural conceptualizations of certain kinship terms.

Today's globalized world provides a growing number of opportunities for intercultural encounters. For communication to be successful and effective in such encounters, one needs not only skills in a given foreign language, but also the ability or the competence to apply these skills appropriately to the actual cultural context. Culture constitutes an integral part of foreign language learning: a foreign language cannot be mastered and successfully used in intercultural communication without an understanding of the given cultural context.[38] Learn-

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[36] Ahn 2017: 411.
[37] Sharifian 2013: 73.
[38] For example, see Kramsch 1993, Seelye 1993 and Agar 1994.

ing about culture is an indispensable aspect of foreign language classrooms. Therefore, learners of KFL in formal educational settings do need to be appropriately instructed in learning Korean culture, and among its many elements, Korean kinship terms as well. Understanding not only the characteristics of the language, but also demonstrating a knowledge of underlying concepts, attitudes and skills will contribute to having a good command of the language and to successfully reaching communicative goals in an intercultural setting. More and more focus is directed at the development of this competence, i.e. *intercultural communicative competence* (ICC).[39] Janet M. Bennett and Milton J. Bennett define ICC concisely as "the ability to communicate effectively in cross-cultural situations and to relate appropriately in a variety of cultural contexts."[40]

However, the new objective of developing this competence also requires teachers to assume a new, professional role to facilitate students' language learning process,[41] while assisting them to become successful intercultural speakers. Teachers can only successfully operationalize this objective, if they themselves are fully aware of the concepts, and if they are able to help their students from the standpoint of an intercultural mediator. Therefore, teachers of KFL – native and nonnative teachers alike – are also required to assume new roles in order to effectively teach kinship terms among other elements of culture to learners of Korean. Providing sufficient cultural knowledge and opportunities for students to acquire the necessary skills to use kinship terms appropriately are indeed largely dependent on the instruction of the teachers.

Kinship terms in KFL textbooks

While recognizing the central role of Korean language educators, who are primarily responsible for their students' culturally conscious development, the importance of language textbooks should not be neglected either, since much cultural content may be conveyed through textbooks. Textbooks are generally regarded as key constituents of any foreign language class as they provide

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[39] *Intercultural communicative competence* (ICC) has various components, among them there are *intercultural competence* (IC), linguistic competence, sociolinguistic competence and discourse competence, redefined by Byram. Throughout the years, several models of IC were designed. Among these models, the most frequently cited remains Byram's model, specifically designed for the foreign language classroom. In Byram's model, five *savoirs* are differentiated: *savoirs* or knowledge, *savoir-comprendre* or skill of interpreting and relating, *savoir-apprendre/faire* or skill of discovery and interaction, *savoir être* or attitudes of openness and curiosity, and *savoir s'engager* or critical cultural awareness. Byram 1997: 57–63.

[40] Bennett–Bennett 2004: 149.

[41] Sercu 2005: 5.

guidance to reach classroom objectives and also determine classroom work.[42] Therefore, it is essential to examine how Korean kinship terms are presented in the currently available KFL textbooks.

Chang Yoon-jung examines the cultural content of three sets of major Korean language textbooks (from beginner to advanced level) published before the year 2000.[43] Through content analysis, the different forms of ATs and among them kinship terms were detected in dialogues, and the findings reveal that only two textbooks presented various ATs, while the remaining other textbook performed poorly. However, the results indicate that only a limited range of kinship terms was actually included among these ATs. Chang Y. generally calls for the inclusion of more diversified usages of ATs in dialogues to assist the understanding of these terms.

Kang S. and Jeon E., in their large-scale study analyzing KFL textbooks published by representative KFL institutions after the year 2000, aim to provide a report on the current status and issues of ATs and RTs as presented in language textbooks.[44] Overall an ambitious number of 35 textbooks (from seven main sets and all levels of proficiency) were meticulously analyzed with mixed-methods. The results reveal that only three (sets) of textbooks set the explicit goal of learning ATs and only one focusing on RTs as part of the syllabus, while the others do not specify such overt learning goals. Specifically, the majority of the set objectives concern the acquisition of kinship terms, when they are addressed in chapters about family. While it is considered positive that emphasis is laid on kinship terms, the otherwise low number indicates a general lack of attention with regard to kinship terms and other ATs or RTs. Moreover, the depth of topics seems to remain quite on the surface-level, and the exercises do not aid students to explore different usages of the terms. Only one textbook provides tasks, where different types of relations are introduced (e.g. family and personal

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42 Davcheva–Sercu 2005: 90.

43 The following Korean language textbooks were analyzed: *Han'gugŏ*한국어 [Korean] 1–6. (1992–1994, Yŏnsedaehakkyo han'gugŏhaktang); *Mari t'ŭinŭn han'gugŏ* 말이 트이는 한국어 [Pathfinder in Korean] 1–3. (1998–2000, Ihwayŏjadaehakkyo ŏnŏgyoyukyŏn'guwŏn); *Han'gugŏ(Korean through English)* 한국어(Korean through English) 1–3. (1992–2001, Sŏultaehakkyo ŏhakyŏn'guso). Chang, 2002: 27–48.

44 The major textbooks analyzed were *Han'gugŏ* 한국어 [Korean] 1–6. (2001, Kyŏnghŭidaehakkyo); *Ch'injŏrhan han'gugŏ* 친절한 한국어 [Friendly Korean] 1–4. (2008, Pusandaehakkyo kukchegyoryugyoyugwŏn); *Han'gugŏ* 한국어 [Korean] 1–4. (2005, Sŏultaehakkyo ŏnŏgyoyugwŏn); *Paeugi shwiun han'gugŏ* 배우기 쉬운 한국어 [Easy to Learn Korean] 1‒6. Sŏnggyunŏhagwŏn); *Han'gugŏ*한국어 [Korean] 1–6. (2006, Yŏnsedaehakkyo han'gugŏhaktang), *Mari t'ŭinŭn han'gugŏ* 말이 트이는 한국어 [Pathfinder in Korean] 1–5. (2001, Ihwayŏjadaehakkyo ŏnŏgyoyukyŏn'guwŏn); *Oeguginŭl wihan han'gugŏ* 외국인을 위한 한국어 [Korean for Foreigners] 1–4. (2007, Han'gugoegugŏdaehakkyo han'gugŏmunhwagyoyugwŏn). Kang–Jeon 2013: 363–389.

relations), and students are invited to make comparisons between kinship terms in their mother tongue and the Korean language.

Kang S. and Jeon E. also performed a frequency analysis of kinship terms used as ATs on the selected books and found that on average only seven or eight terms, primarily in relation to the immediate family, are presented in every textbook. They point out that the terms *ajumŏni* and *ajŏssi* appear in the case of a buyer-seller interaction exclusively. In a few cases, textbooks presented teknonymy by such forms as 'someone's father'. Concerning the presentation of kinship terms used as RTs, the situation is much more diverse on all levels of proficiency: numbers between 23 and 48 are reported, including terms of not only consanguineal but also a variety of affinal relations.[45] However, the analysis also reveals that some textbooks tend to create clusters of kinship terms by adding a number of them into a single chapter. The authors imply that this might be a potentially inefficient method, because it may overburden students. In another case, terms typically treated as a 'unit', e.g. the four alternative terms for older siblings, are introduced in different chapters, creating possible confusion. The authors conclude their study with several proposals for improvement, out of which one underlines the need for a systematic approach in the case of teaching kinship terms. They also emphasize the importance to teach terms with sufficient information about their usage in diverse situations.

Comparing the two studies, seemingly nothing essential has changed between different publications of major KFL textbooks concerning kinship terms. Although Kang S. and Jeon E. have conducted a much more in-depth study, even examining kinship terms as RTs, both findings imply that the range of usage of kinship terms is quite limited. The recommendation on the wider inclusion and diverse presentation of kinship terms by Kang S. and Jeon E. correlate with the previous suggestions by Chang. You Seok-Hoon, in a rare study dedicated to the teaching of kinship terms to KFL learners, also underlines the need for clear descriptions with diverse usage examples.[46] As kinship terms are one of the most frequently used ATs and RTs, it would be necessary to highlight their different usages through dialogues, exercises and, if possible, through other explanations in order to make kinship terms more approachable and to ease the learning process. By following a system of balance and relevance throughout all levels of proficiency, the introduction of new kinship terms would not overwhelm learners with an indigestible informational load, and by providing diversified dialogues or tasks (possibly by adopting a carefully

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[45] The most frequent terms found by Kang and Jeon form one of the bases for the tables in the overview about the kinship terminology system in the present study.

[46] You 2002: 313.

designed character repertoire), the learner would also feel more confident in their appropriate usage.

Teaching variations in kinship terminology

Presenting a diversified image of kinship terms in the language classroom is fundamental in understanding the existing variations of kinship terms. Several sociocultural factors influence the selection of kinship terms, and learners of Korean must consider the possible variations by assessing the context of an interaction.

Lee Kwang-Kyu and Kim Youngsook enumerate five factors or sources that lead to variations in kinship terminology.[47] One of these factors is the relative age of the participants of a communicative situation. For example, younger children would call their father with the shorter and more affective term *appa,* but as adults, the longer and more formal expression *abŏji* is preferred. Next is the gender of the addressee and the addresser: for instance, a girl would refer to an older, brother-like male figure as *opp*a, but on the other hand, a boy cannot use the same term in a similar situation for an older, brother-like male figure; he would have to use *hyŏng*. Another factor is the degree of formality. For example, older children and young adults will consider their immediate environment when making a choice between the familiar *ŏmma* and the formal *ŏmŏni,* when addressing or referencing their mother. Thus, *ŏmma* will be selected at home, while *ŏmŏni* will be used in an official situation. Social class may also constitute a source of variation. Lee K. and Kim Y. note that those in the upper social strata are keener on adopting formalities. Kinship categories also determine variation: for instance, the term for 'aunt' is different on the maternal *(imo)* and on the paternal side *(komo).* R. King adds two more dimensions: regional dialects and the marital status of the addressee.[48] The latter determines whether a father's younger brother will be called as *samch'ŏn* before marriage or as *chakŭnabŏji* after marriage.

Korean language learners must be properly instructed to acquire sufficient knowledge about the various usages of kinship terms and the above presented factors of variation (with maybe the exception of variations in regional dialects, which would be quite difficult to account for during language classes, where time constraint is always an issue), as these aspects determine the appropriate choice of kinship terms. For communication to be successful, the learner has to identify and weigh the given interactional clues to be able to make the correct decision.

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[47] Lee–Kim 1973: 33–34.

[48] King 2006: 108–110.

Further aspects for consideration

Teaching kinship terms to Korean language learners, who at first are not familiar with the cultural background and do not have a grasp of the highly nuanced honorific system, is a topic that should be handled sensitively. Naturally, exposure to new conceptualizations of different terms that may already be present in the learners' first language could lead to confusion or it could challenge the existing worldview of the learner. For example, see the four types of sibling terms with their various connotations and their English equivalents of 'brother' or 'sister'.

Investigating the use of honorifics in the Korean language, L. Brown reports that there are two conflicting views about the attitudes towards kinship terms among KFL learners.[49] One is positive and pertains to mainly exchange students, who find enjoyment in the adoption of kinship terms; however, professionals would rather avoid using such terms. Specifically, the older female learners are mentioned in connection with the term 'older brother' or *oppa*. As this term can take cultural connotations previously discussed, Western women find it difficult to identify with the submissive feminine role the use of the term may entail. They associate the term with a whiny prosody and cuteness, while also reporting confusion because the term can be used in a variety of contexts.

Observing such reactions, the importance of treating the topic of kinship terms with care should be recognized. Not only exposure, but also explanations of the cultural meanings are necessary to introduce kinship terms to learners.

Conclusion

The present study has sought to understand the importance of teaching kinship terms and to explore the different aspects of teaching these terms regarding the culturally conscious development of learners in a KFL learning environment. Kinship terminology forms a highly complicated system, which responds sensitively to the variations in interpersonal relationships and their immediate context. Through a brief overview of the characteristics of the terminology system, an insight has been gained as a basis for understanding the cultural background of the system. As one of the most frequently used ATs and RTs, the important status of kinship terms in the honorific system of the Korean language has been established. Addressing people properly is crucial in understanding how to behave with them. In order to be able to strategically use kinship terms, it should be acknowledged that these terms carry essential cultural information,

[49] Brown 2011: 141.

which have long-standing traditions, and reflect value orientations of Korean people. Confucian values were found to permeate the usages of kinship terms even today in the collectivist and slightly hierarchical Korean society.

Turning to the implications of these cultural connotations on the teaching of kinship terms, it was revealed that the diverse usages of these terms, especially beyond the consanguineal and affinal relationships, may lead to confusion, misunderstandings or even breakdowns in communication, as misaddressing someone could result in threatening someone's *face.* To avoid such situations, it is necessary to instruct learners of KFL appropriately. While focusing on the development of language skills in KFL classrooms, cultural instruction should not be overlooked either. It is important to emphasize new objectives of language courses that take *intercultural competence* development into consideration. Kinship terms form an essential sociocultural aspect of the language, and thus, fundamental knowledge should be conveyed and a platform to nurture skills and attitudes should be provided by the teacher, teaching materials and other possible forms of instruction to aid the students learning process toward becoming successful intercultural mediators. In the study, special attention has been given to kinship terms in Korean language textbooks; however, it was found that a systematic approach and even more diverse dialogues and tasks are necessary to demonstrate the various usages of kinship terms. In addition, teaching the sources of variation in terminology, as it directly affects the choice of terms is especially important. Handling the topic sensitively is another issue for consideration, because kinship terms may possess cultural conceptualizations entirely different from the learners' pre-existing notions, which may result in challenging learners' worldviews.

Following the semantic changes of kinship terms, while also focusing on the existing connotations is not an easy task. However, treating kinship terms in the greater system of the language i.e. dealing with all the implied cultural connotations of these and not simply as disparate words of vocabulary to be taught, will hopefully begin to be recognized by native and nonnative teachers of KFL alike.

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Introduction to the Mongolian Kinship Terminology in Inner Mongolia On the Example of Qarčin-Tümed Dialect

Introduction to the Mongolian Kinship System

Kinship is one of the main organizing principles of a society,[1] and is one of the most basic social institutions, one which establishes relationships between individuals and groups. People in all societies are bound together by various bonds. The most basic bonds are those based on marriage and reproduction. Kinship refers to these bonds, as well as all relationships resulting from them. Thus, the institution of kinship refers to a set of relationships and relatives formed thereof, based on either the consanguineal or affinal.[2] Consanguineal kinship refers to the relationships based on blood, for example, relationships between parents and children and those between siblings, which are the most basic and universal kinship. Affinal kinship refers to the relationships formed on the basis of marriage.

Detailed research on the Mongolian kinship system in western countries started with the epochal works of B. Ya. Vladimirtsov. According to him, the Mongolian kin: *oboγ* was "the typical union of relatives by blood, based on the principle of agnate and exogamy, the patriarchal unit, with a few features of the former cognate relationships, the union tied by the institute of revenge and a special cult."[3] Later on, L. Karder investigated the topic through anthropological studies in his work *Social Organization of the Mongol-Turkic Pastoral Nomads*.[4]

Research on Mongolian kinship terms started in the late 20th century in China. The research during this period includes amongst others ǰaran-nige's *Mongolian*

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[1] Farber 1981: 250.
[2] Dousset: 2011.
[3] Владимирцов Б.Я. 2002: 354.
[4] Karder 1963.

Kinship Terms written in 1981,[5] Temürbaγan's *Mongolian Kinship Terminology* (1984),[6] Namsirai's *Research on Mongolian Kinship terms* (1987).[7] However, only the terms of Mongolian kinship are briefly described and introduced in these articles.

Since the 1990s, there has been more research on Mongolian kinship terms, which has expanded on these descriptions of Mongolian kinship terms and their standardization. It has extended the discussion to the etymology of kinship terms, such as in Qasbaγatur's (1994) "The Origin of Mongolian kinship terms 'Son-in-law', 'Daughter-in-law', 'Sister-in-law'"[8] and "The Origin of Mongolian kinship terms 'Mother', 'Sister', 'Wife' and 'Daughter.'"[9] The relationship between kinship terms and national culture, and the regional differences of kinship terms was researched by Fan Lijun *A Study of Features of Kinship Terminology in Mongolian Dialect in Inner Mongolia,* written in 2004. Wenying explored Mongolian cultural relics by the analysis of contemporary Mongolian kinship terms.[10] Furthermore, there is research that mainly discusses the Mongolian marriage system, such as Tana's work, "Research on the Mongolian Marriage Form in *The Secret History of the Mongols*",[11] which retrieves and researches the kinship terms of Middle Mongolian. Qasungerel analyzed the contemporary Mongolian kinship terminology from the perspective of semantics in 2011.

Compared to the kinship terminology of some other languages, as for example Hungarian or English (vernacular terms in today use),[12] contemporary Mongolian kinship terminology is more complex and detailed. The Mongolian terminology has a corresponding term for almost every family member, differentiating between the maternal and paternal family relationships. For example, the grandfather on the maternal side has a different name from the grandfather on the paternal side; *Ebüge* means grandfather on the paternal side in the contemporary Mongolian, and *naγaču ebüge* means grandfather on the maternal side in the contemporary Mongolian. This contrasts with Hungarian or English (vernacular terms in today use) where the same term is used for both, e. g. *nagyapa* refers to both the maternal and paternal grandfather in Hungarian (vernacular terms in today use) as does *grandfather* in English (vernacular terms in use today). Like any other society, the Mongolian kinship system is classified

[5] J̌aran-nige 1981.
[6] Temürbaγan 1984.
[7] Namsirai 1987.
[8] Qasbaγatur 1994.
[9] Qasbaγatur 1995.
[10] Wenying 2003.
[11] Tana 1992.
[12] Hidasi 2014: 43–48.

as consanguineal and affinal. However, consanguineal kinship is further divided into collateral consanguinity and lineal consanguinity. Lineal consanguinity is the relation in a direct line − such as between parent, child, and grandparent. Furthermore, it is also determined either upwardly − as in the case of son, father, grandfather − or downwardly − as in son, grandson, great-grandson. Collateral consanguinity is a more remote relationship describing people who are related by a common ancestor but do not descend from each other − such as cousins who have the same grandparents.

Comparison of the Kinship Terminology of Middle Mongolian and Contemporary Mongolian

By the 13th century, Mongolian kinship terminology had already formed. *The Secret History of The Mongols,* the earliest and most important literary monument of the Mongol-speaking people, is the native account of the life and deeds of Chinggis Khan and his successors. Linguistically, it is the richest source of pre-classical Mongolian and Middle Mongolian.[13]

Indeed, *The Secret History of The Mongols* is regarded internationally a work of classic literature. It describes the formation, development, and growth of the Mongol empire, and the earliest existing historical literature of the Mongols. Both the marriage system and the kinship terminology have been recorded in this source. *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* is a work of literature and history, produced in the Mongol Ilkhanate in three volumes, written by Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlullāh Hamadānī at the beginning of the 14th century. It describes many cultures and major events in world history from China to Europe. Mongolian history, the life of the Mongols, wars, family and marriages were also recorded. The *Jāmi ʿal-tawārīkh* consists of four main sections in which *Taʾrīkh-ī Ghazānī* is the most extensive part, and which includes the history, genealogies and legends of Mongolian and Turkish tribes.[14]

According to these records, the Mongolian marriage system was polygamous.[15] Men could have multiple wives. For example, the father of Chinggis Khan had many wives from different tribes.[16] Chinggis Khan himself and his brothers also

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[13] As a spoken medium, the language of the historical Mongols is known as Middle Mongol, or Middle Mongolian. Middle Mongol is documented in a variety of written sources using several different systems of script (Janhunen 2012: 4). Written Mongol has ever since remained in use as the principal literary language of the Mongols. Evolving successively through stages termed Pre-Classical (13th to15th centuries), Classical (17th to 19th centuries) and Post-Classical (20th century).

[14] Cf. Aigle 2014.

[15] Yu Dajun – Zhou Jianqi 1997: 6.

[16] Yu Dajun – Zhou Jianqi 1997: 64.

had more than one wife.[17] Additionally, there was also the takeover-marriage: if the father died then his son could marry his wife, providing she was not his biological mother.[18] If a man had brothers and one of the brothers died, then he could marry his wife as well.[19] Due to these circumstances it was difficult to form a consistent kinship terminology.

Through historical developments, the marriage system has changed from being polygamous to being monogamous and has led to changes in kinship terminology over time. Regarding the study of the system of kinship in the Middle Mongolian period, Pavel Rykin's (2011) work is of the utmost importance.

Pavel examined thoroughly the use of kinship and affinity terms in Middle Mongolian, basing his research on all Middle Mongolian monumental works which were accessible to him, such as *Beilu kao, Huayi Yiyu* and so on, as the sources of linguistic material. Hence, the kinship and affinity terms appearing in the monumental works were selected and categorised according to their morphological structures: 'elementary' (independent words not dissolved into meaningful components), 'complex' (kinship or affinity terms modified by other kinship or affinity terms in the form of a stem), 'composite' (stems in combination with any determinative which it is not by itself a kinship or affinity term) and 'descriptive' (formed by the combination of several elementary or composite terms where the modifying element is expressed by the genitive) Simultaneously, he indicated the most extensive category is composed by the elementary terms, which is consistent with the following research conclusions.

In order to compare the historical changes of the Mongolian kinship terminology, twenty words for kinship terminology that are found in *The Secret History of The Mongols* and *Huayi Yiyu,*[20] are compared with the contemporary Mongolian (20th century) kinship terminology. I prepared tables 1, 2, 3, and 4 on the basis of the sources mentioned above. In the table1, letters F, M, B, Z, S, D represent father, mother, brother, sister, son, and daughter. Symbols (+) and (–) represents elder and younger. The letter L represents *Lineal consanguinity kinship.* As shown in table 1, 2, 3, 4.

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[17] Yu Dajun – Zhou Jianqi 1997: 64, 67, 70, 71, 73, 85.

[18] Yu Dajun – Zhou Jianqi 1997: 268–269.

[19] Sárközi 2006.

[20] Huayi yiyu (1407) is a general term from the late Ming (1368–1644) and early Qing (1644–1911) period as a designation of multi-language dictionaries for officials confronted with one or more languages of the multi-ethnic empire and with foreign languages.

F father	Z sister	(+) elder
M mother	S son	(–) younger
B brother	D daughter	L Lineal consanguinity

Table 1. Explanation of abbreviations

Consanguineal Kinship		
English Kinship Terminology	Contemporary Mongolian Kinship Terminology	Middle Mongolian Kinship Terminology
Great great grandfather (FL)	qulunča ebüge	borqai
Great great grandmother (FL)	qulunča emege	-
Great grandfather (FL)	elünče ebüge	elünče
Great grandmother (FL)	elünče emege	-
Grandfather (FL)	ebüge	ebüge
Grandmother (FL)	emege	emege
Father (L)	/ ečige/ abu	ečige
Uncle (F) (+)	(( ) ih) abaγ-a	ebin
Uncle (F) (-)	abaγ-a	abaγ-a
Aunt (F) (+)	( ) (ih) abaγ-a eǰi	-
Aunt (F) (-)	abaγ-a eǰi	-
Grandfather (ML)	naγaču ebüge	-
Grandmother (ML)	naγaču emege	-
Mother (L)	eǰi	eke
Uncle (M) (+, -)	naγaču	naγaču
Aunt (M) (+, -)	naγaču eǰi	-

Table 2. Comparison of Consanguineal Kinship Terminology

Mongolian kinship terminology has changed considerably not only in number but also concerning the word structure over time. It can be seen from the tables that all of the kinship terms in the Middle Mongolian consist of one single word, and some of these words are still maintained in contemporary Mongolian, while some have changed their meanings or are used for the opposite gender and some are no longer used. For instance:

1. Terms existing both in Middle Mongolian and contemporary Mongolian with the same meanings are *elünče* 'great grandfather', *ebüge* 'grandfather', *emege* 'grandmother', *ečige* 'father', *abaγ-a* 'uncle', *naγaču* 'maternal kinship term', *aq-a* 'elder brother', *degüü* 'younger brother', *egeči* 'elder sister', *ökin* 'daughter', and *ǰige* 'nephew'.

Consanguineal Kinship		
English Kinship Terminology	Contemporary Mongolian Kinship Terminology	Middle Mongolian Kinship Terminology
Brother (+)	aq-a	aq-a
Brother (-)	degüü	degüü
Sister (+)	egeči	egeči
Sister (-)	ökin degüü	düi
Cousin (FBS)	/ üyelün aq-a/degüü	-
Cousin (FBD)	/ üyelün egeči/ökin degüü	-
Cousin (FZS) (M(B/Z) S)	/ bülü aq-a/degüü	-
Cousin (M(B/Z) D)	/ bülü egeči/ökin degüü	-
Son (L)	küü	kübegün, nuγun, keöken
Daughter (L)	ökin	ökin
Nephew (BS)	ači küü	-
Niece (BD)	ači ökin	-
Nephew (ZS)	ǰige küü	ǰige
Niece (ZD)	ǰige ökin	-
Grandson (SSL)	ombol küü	ači
Granddaughter (SDL)	ombol ökin	-
Grandson (DSL)	ǰige ombol küü	-
Granddaughter (DDL)	ǰige ombol ökin	-

Table 3. Comparison of Consanguineal Kinship Terminology

2. Terms existing in Middle Mongolian, but replaced in contemporary Mongolian are, for example, the word *köken* used to refer to son in the Middle Mongolian, but in contemporary Mongolian the term is used to refer to a girl or a daughter. The word *düi* once used to refer to a younger sister is today replaced by *ökin degüü*. *Ači* used to refer to grandchildren but today refers to children of brothers and the term referring to the son changed from *köbegün* and *nuγun* to the *küü*.

3. Terms that exist in both Middle Mongolian and contemporary Mongolian but have different meanings. For example, there were different terms to differentiate elder uncle and younger uncle in Middle Mongolian, but term *ebin* which refers to elder uncle has not been passed down, only *abaγ-a* remains in contemporary Mongolian, which refers to both elder and younger uncle now.

Affinal Kinship		
English Kinship Terminology	Contemporary Mongolian Kinship Terminology	Middle Mongolian Kinship Terminology
Wife of uncle (F)	ᠠᠪᠠᠭ᠎ᠠ ᠪᠡᠷᠭᠡᠨ ᠡᠬᠡ abaγ-a bergen ehe	-
Husband of aunt (F)	ᠠᠪᠠᠭ᠎ᠠ ᠬᠦᠷᠭᠡᠨ ᠠᠪᠤ abaγ-a kürgen abu	-
Wife of uncle (M)	ᠨᠠᠭᠠᠴᠤ ᠪᠡᠷᠭᠡᠨ ᠡᠬᠡ naγaču bergen ehe	-
Husband of aunt (M)	ᠨᠠᠭᠠᠴᠤ ᠬᠦᠷᠭᠡᠨ ᠠᠪᠤ naγaču kürgen abu	-
Wife of brother (+)	ᠪᠡᠷᠭᠡᠨ bergen	-
Wife of brother (-)	ᠳᠡᠭᠦᠦ ᠪᠡᠷᠢ degüü beri	-
Husband of sister (+)	ᠬᠦᠷᠭᠡᠨ ᠠᠬ᠎ᠠ kürgen aq-a	-
Husband of sister (-)	ᠳᠡᠭᠦᠦ ᠬᠦᠷᠭᠡᠨ degüü kürgen	-
Father-in-law	ᠬᠠᠳᠠᠮ ᠠᠪᠤ qadam abu	-
Mother-in-law	ᠬᠠᠳᠠᠮ ᠡᠵᠢ qadam eǰi	-
Brother (+) in law	ᠬᠠᠳᠠᠮ ᠠᠬ᠎ᠠ qadam aq-a	-
Brother (-) in law	ᠬᠠᠳᠠᠮ ᠳᠡᠭᠦᠦ qadam degüü	-
Sister (+) in law	ᠬᠠᠳᠠᠮ ᠡᠭᠡᠴᠢ qadam egeči	-
Sister (-) in law	ᠬᠠᠳᠠᠮ ᠥᠬᠢᠨ ᠳᠡᠭᠦᠦ qadam ökin degüü	-
Son-in-law	ᠬᠦᠷᠭᠡᠨ kürgen	-
Daughter-in-law	ᠪᠡᠷᠢ beri	-

Table 4. Comparison of Affinal Kinship Terminology

Kinship Terminology in a Contemporary Mongolian Dialect – Qarčin-Tümed Case Study

The Inner Mongolian dialect[21] is composed of multiple sub-dialects and there are great phonetic differences between these dialects.[22] Some are mixed with Chinese loanwords due to their geographical location and historical background. This article focuses on the *Qarčin-Tümed* dialect as an example to reveal the differences of kinship terminology in Mongolian dialects.

The *Qarčin-Tümed* dialect belongs to the eastern dialects of Inner Mongolia.[23] The eastern dialects include *Qorčin* and *Qarčin-Tümed* dialects.[24] The characteristic feature of the *Qarčin-Tümed* dialect is the vowel **u* of the initial syllable, which has become in certain positions a diphthong *ua* or *ωa*, and the

[21] Mongolian in China can be divided into three dialects: Inner Mongolian dialect, Barγu Buryat dialect, Oirat dialect. Cf. Činggeltei. 1991: 1

[22] Poppe 1965: 23.

[23] Тодаева В. Х. 1985.

[24] Sečinbaγatur 2005: 354

Paternal side	FF	FM	F	FB+	F(B+) W	FB-	FB (-) W	FZ (+) (-)	FZ (+) (-) H
Standard (Colloquialism)	öbög	emeg	ečig/aab	abaγ	abaγ bergen ek	abaγ	abaγ bergen ek	abaγ eǰi	abaγ kürgen aab
Dialect	yeye	nænæ	abaa	daya	damöm	šü šü	sinse	gügü	guya aab
Chi. pinyin	ye ye	nai nai	ba ba	da ye	da ma	shu shu	shen zi	gu gu	gu fu
Chi. hanzi	爷爷	奶奶	爸爸	大爷	大妈	叔叔	婶子	姑姑	姑父
Maternal side	MF	MM	M	MB (+) (-)	MB (+) (-) W	MZ+	MZ (+) H	MZ (-)	MZ (-) H
Standard (Colloquialism)	naγač öbög	naγač emeg	ek	naγač	naγač bergen ek	naγač eǰi	naγač kürgen aab	naγač eǰi	naγač kürgen aab
Dialect	naγa yeye	naγa nænæ	mömö	ǰüǰü	ǰümü	naγa eeyi	naγa aab	naγa ǰeǰ	naγa aab
Chi. pinyin	wai gong	wai po	ma ma	jiu jiu	jiu ma	yi ma	yi fu	xiao yi	xiao yi fu
Chi. hanzi	外公	外婆	妈妈	舅舅	舅妈	姨妈	姨夫	小姨	小姨夫
Ego	B+	B (+) W	B-	B (-) W	Z+	Z (+) H	Z-	Z (-) H	-
Standard (Colloquialism)	ah	bergen	düü	düü ber	egeč	kürgen ah	ökin düü	düü kürgen	-
Dialect	göög/aǰa/aǰe	bergen	anggaa/ düü	düü ber	ǰeǰe	kürgen ah	ikin düü	düü kürgen	-
Chi. pinyin	ge ge	sao zi	di di	di xi	jie jie	jie fu	mei mei	mei fu	-
Chi. hanzi	哥哥	嫂子	弟弟	弟媳	姐姐	姐夫	妹妹	妹夫	-
Affinal kin	S	SW	D	DH	SS	SD	DS	DD	-
Standard (Colloquialism)	küü	küü ber	ökin	ökin kürgen	ombol küü	ombol ökin	ǰee ombol küü	ǰee ombol ökin	-
Dialect	küü	ber	ikin	kürgen	ombol küü	ombol ikin	ǰee ombol küü	ǰee ombol ikin	-
Chi. pinyin	er zi	er xi	nv er	nv xu	sun zi	sun nv	wai sun	wai sun nv	-
Chi. hanzi	儿子	儿媳	女儿	女婿	孙子	孙女	外孙	外孙女	-

Table 5. Comparison of Contemporary Written Mongolian and Küriy-e Sub-dialect (Wuyingga 2020)

group **aγu*, which is pronounced *ō*, while **uγu* has become *ū*.[25] It is also representative of a dialect most affected by Chinese. In the early studies, some scholars divided the *Qarčin-Tümed* dialect into *Qarčin* sub-dialect and *Tümed* sub-dialect. Later, some scholars divided it into *Qarčin* sub-dialect, *Mongγolǰin*

25 Poppe 1965: 21.

sub-dialect and *Küriy-e* sub-dialect.[26] In order to show the differences between kinship terminology in Mongolian dialect and contemporary written Mongolian, the following comparison was made. *Küriy-e* sub-dialect is selected for comparison. As shown in Table 5.

As mentioned above, letter F refers to father, here FF refers to the father of father, FM refers to the mother of father (which are the paternal grandparents), H refers to Husband, W refers to wife, SW means wife of son, DH means husband of daughter. Due to the geographical location and historical background, the Mongolians living in this area have always had linguistic and cultural contact with the Han populations and Manchus. As such,the appearance of Chinese loanwords in their dialects is an inevitable result.

As we can see from the table, some Chinese loanwords appeared in the kinship terminology of *Küriy-e* sub-dialect; these terms were borrowed and used in their dialect after Mongolization, such terms as *yeye* (vernacular terms) 爷爷 'grandfather on paternal side', *nainai* (vernacular terms) 奶奶 'grandmother on paternal side', *daya* (vernacular terms) 大爷 'elder brother of father', *gügü* (vernacular terms) 姑姑 'elder sister of father', *göög* (vernacular terms) 哥哥 'elder brother' and so on. Some kinship terminologies are the combinations of Chinese and Mongolian words, such as *damöm* (vernacular terms) 'wife of elder uncle', *γuya abu* (vernacular terms) 'husband of aunt', *naγ-a nainai* (vernacular terms) 'grandmother on maternal side', *naγ-a yeye* (vernacular terms) 'grandfather on maternal side' and so on. The Chinese word *Da* 大 means big and elder; the *da* being borrowed from the Chinese and Mongolian word *mömö* (vernacular terms) 'mother' has been added to refer to wife of elder uncle. Similarly, *guye* 姑爷 borrowed from Chinese and pronounced as *γuya* and then Mongolian word *abu* 'father' has been added to refer to husband of aunt. It is the same with *naγ-a nainai* and *naγ-a yeye*.

The combination of Chinese loanwords and Mongolian words as kinship terminology distinguishes the *Küriy-e* subdialect from other dialects. This phenomenon not only appears in the kinship terms, but also in their daily life. Through field investigations I have found that, since people speaking in Küriy-e sub-dialect have in the majority of cases been neighbours with the Han populations, they have been in contact with Han cultures earlier, and the impact of Han cultures has often led to the phenomenon of mixed language in daily conversations. They borrowed Chinese words and used them after mongolization.[27]

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[26] Sodubaγatur 1999: 99

[27] E. g. *dianhua da-y-a* (*dian hua* 电话 is telephone in Chinese, *da* 打 means call in Chinese, *y-a* is a Mongolian suffix refers to future time) means "I will call you".

Conclusion

Language is not only a communication tool, but also a carrier of culture. Local characteristics in culture are largely reflected and inherited by language. Kinship terminology is a language carrier that reflects human relation and is a primitive vocabulary of humans and belongs to basic terminology. By comparing the terminology of Mongolian kinship of the Middle Mongolian with contemporary Mongolian, most of the terms are still used now and they are all composed of one single word. With the development of society, intercultural interactions are becoming more and more influential, therefore, some terms with a compound-word structure appeared. Mongols living in Eastern Inner Mongolia are neighbours with the Han populations since the establishment of the Qing dynasty (1636–1912) and the fact that some Chinese loanwords appear in their dialects is inevitable.

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Fieldwork

Wuyingga: Fieldwork in Udan tal-a γačaγ-a, *Küriy-e qosiγu, Inner Mongolia,China*. From June to July 2019.

ADDENDUM

“Mongolian Family Pictures on Notebook Pages and Video Tapes”

(Цаасан дээрх, видео бичлэгт хадгалагдаж буй монгол гэр бүлийн дүрслэл
Олон талын тайлбар болон өөрийн талын төлөөлөл)

16th September 2019

Related to the Thematic Excellence Program “Community Building: Family and Nation, Tradition and Innovation”, the Department of Mongolian and Inner Asian Studies and the Research Centre for Mongolian Studies of the Faculty of Humanities of Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE) organised a workshop on 16th September 2019 with Gombojawiin Mend-Ooyoo, Mongolian poet, as a distinguished guest. The primary purpose of the workshop was to summarise the results of research into “family, identity and tradition”, and to analyse collected materials from new perspectives such as visual and literary representation. Gombojawiin Mend-Ooyoo, writer and poet, immortalizes in his works the shepherds of the *dariganga* landscape and its rogues, as well as Buddhist monks. Family background, tradition, community existence and loneliness are central themes of his poetry. Zoltán Füredi, researcher of Mongolian Studies and anthropologist, analyses in his films the different cultural codes of Mongolian family members living abroad and the ways in which they preserve their traditions.

Programme of the workshop
Ágnes Birtalan: Introduction, overview of the project “Community Building: Family and Nation, Tradition and Innovation” and its relation to the project of the Department “Respect and preservation of traditions” *(Өв соёл, уламжлал дээдлэх)*.

Keynote lectures
Gombojawiin Mend-Ooyoo: “Representation of the family in Mongolian literature” (Монгол уран зохиол дахь гэр бүлийн дүрслэл)
Zoltán Füredi: “Letter to Grandma – A Cross-cultural Message in Space and Time” – film screening and analysis

Invited contributors
Attila Rákos, research fellow; Mátyás Balogh, senior lecturer; G. Lhagwasüren (Mongolia), language teacher; Kornélia Bán, doctoral student; Judit Béres, doctoral student; Yevgeniya Shubina (Russia), Stipendium Hungaricum doctoral student, Wuyingga (China), doctoral guest student

The workshop was followed by a book launch organised by the Department of Mongolian and Inner Asian Studies, the Embassy of Mongolia to Hungary, and the Hungarian PEN Club.

Ágnes Birtalan

ABSTRACTS

Aodunhu (Odonküü)

Matrimonial Typology in the Mongolian Heroic Epic, *J̌angγar*

The Mongolian heroic epic *J̌angγar* cycles include many independent chapters, which are all connected to the deeds of the king, J̌angγar qaγan and his warriors. N. Poppe, A. S. Kichikov, W. Heissig and Rinčindorǰi studied the structure and pattern of the Mongolian heroic epics and agreed that matrimony is a notable pattern in Mongolian epics. The marriage of Qongγor is a classical story which reflects the typology of matrimony. In this article, I analyse the chapters describing different versions of the marriage of Qongγor in Kalmyk, Mongolia and Xinjiang. In the epic, the hero's marriage follows the monogamous pattern, and a horse and a knife are presented as signs of engagement. This is evidence of the bride-price system. In addition, the custom of competition for the bride and the exogamy are the most notable features of the matrimonial system described in *J̌angγar*.

Balogh, Mátyás

From Family Crisis to State Crisis
The Case of Former Yan (Qian Yan 前燕 285/337–370), a Xianbei Conquest Dynasty

Former Yan (285/337–370) was a state in Northeast China established by the Murong branch of the Xianbei, a partly nomadic people who had settled on the Chinese frontier in the 220s. The Murong gradually accommodated themselves to Chinese ways and, having defeated their rivals along the frontier by the 340s, became a major power in North China. A decade later they destroyed the states which had been strongest north of the Yellow River (Later Zhao 319–351) and their ruler assumed imperial dignity. By this time they were close to becoming the masters of North China. Schreiber explains one of the secrets of their success by arguing that the creation and the conduct of the Yan government was "a family affair". He claimed that the Yan was a stable state, relatively free of internal turmoil and civil war. However, deteriorating family relations within the ruling elite, which did not lead to serious armed conflict but dragged on for about two decades, played a major role in the demise of their state. In the present paper I examine the causes of this deterioration and attempt to shed light on the connections between the crisis it caused and earlier attempts to forestall such a crisis.

Béres, Judit

Wedding Customs in Amdo, Eastern Tibet

A wedding in Tibetan society is the most important family celebration. The quality of the wedding shows the role that a family plays in the tribe, *tshowa*. The structure and rules may vary in different regions, but the main elements are more or less the same. Preparation and the ceremony itself can take a few days or more, and traditionally it is preceded by a consultation with an astrologer. Only if the parties are well matched according to their horoscopes are they allowed to marry. In my study, I will focus on the marriage customs of Amdo – nowadays most of Qinghai Province, and some parts of Gansu and Sichuan Provinces of China; in particular the structure and the songs and toasts that feature at each stage of the wedding. During the feast the role of certain relatives such as the maternal uncles is extremely important: their repertoire contains a large number of songs. We can say that the whole wedding is a mapping of hierarchy and filial piety in a traditional Tibetan family.

Kovács, Ramóna

Pihon yŏsŏng – New Lifestyle and New Choices for Marriage and Unmarried Life in South Korea

In recent decades, the term *pihon* has become widely used among young Koreans, and it actually refers to a growing tendency: more and more men and women choose not to marry, even if this goes against the traditional social norms and the expectations of society. There are social, economic and psychological factors that influence this decision. For Koreans in their 20's it is not easy to find stable employment; thus they tend to marry later and to have their first child when they are already in their 30s. As for having children, we should note that the birth rate in South Korea is extremely low; something that the government too finds alarming. However, it is difficult to encourage young people to have more children, since uncertainty about employment, poor support for mothers, high tuition fees and gender roles all affect this life-changing decision. The *pihon,* people who choose not to marry, have a very different lifestyle: members of the group prefer to focus on their careers, their independent lives and their own way of living. It is interesting that society's view is – albeit slowly – also changing, and this attitude is more and more widely accepted, even though the older generations would prefer the traditional family structure. Of course, singles have to face problems such as loneliness, but they tend to think of it as "convenient" rather than "sad". There is a notable paradox in Korean society – traditional concepts

are still powerful in the 21st century, but circumstances can no longer ensure the conditions to support them. This causes misunderstandings and a wide gap between generations.

Hamar, Imre

The Buddhist Interpretation of the Confucianist Concept of Family: Filial Piety as Universal Compassion

Filial piety is one of the cardinal moral values in Confucianism, and has become a keystone in the Chinese social value system, describing and prescribing the proper functioning of human communities at micro (family) and macro (state) levels. The introduction of Buddhism, which advocates that only those who live in celibacy pursuing the career of a monk can easily have access to the highest truth, challenged the uniformly accepted moral obligations of Confucianism, and initiated a dialogue, sometimes a debate, with the Chinese literati on the differences and similarities of Buddhist and Confucianist ethics. This article offers an insight on how Chinese adepts of Buddhism made efforts to prove not only that filial piety is a requirement for all practitioners of Buddhism as a kind of concession in a social environment where filial piety is a representation of virtuous human existence, but also, by forging Indian scriptures on filial piety and visualisation and commenting on Indian scriptures, that this lies at the centre of Buddhist practice.

He, Ruyi

Some Characteristic Features of Family Structure in the Old Uighur Societies (as Reflected in Contractual Documents)

In this paper, I introduce some characteristics of family structure in the Old Uighur societies, based on previous studies. The corpus used as a source for the investigation comprises 13th–14th century contractual documents. I summarize the features of family structure in the Old Uighur society from three aspects. Firstly, the family structure is the extended paternal family consisting of kin groups. The ties between family members are strong, and blood relationships are particularly important. Secondly, males play a dominant role in the family and society. Thirdly, relatives can be freely traded and pawned. In addition, I also briefly explain the reasons for these peculiarities.

Knyihár, Eszter – Salát, Gergely

The Role of Family in the Construction of Traditions among Second-Generation Chinese Immigrants in Hungary

Previous research conducted in Hungary has shown that second generation Chinese immigrants construct a complex, multicultural identity which contains elements from the cultural environment created by the host society, the migrant diaspora, the family of the migrant and the country of origin as well. This paper presents the findings of an interview-based research project conducted in Hungary with the involvement of 20 second-generation Chinese immigrants and seeks to examine the complexity of their cultural identity, focussing especially the role of the family in the construction of traditions. According to our findings we argue that in the family setting, there is constant negotiation between generations regarding norms and traditions, which reveal different priorities. In this article I show that those areas where the most negotiations occur also overlap with the fields of increased parental interest and control, namely: *education, dating/marriage,* and *language*. I also discuss how *holidays* celebrated by the family show a high degree of flexibility and mixed solutions, involving cultural elements from both the host society and the country of origin.

Mecsi, Beatrix

Celibacy or Marriage? Dilemmas for Buddhist Monks in Korea. Manhae Han Yongun 萬海 韓龍雲 (1879−1944) and his Ideas for Promoting Clerical Marriage

Following the Confucian period of the Chosŏn era, which overshadowed Buddhists and confined them to the margins of society, at the beginning of Japanese colonial rule the possibility of monastic marriage typical of Japanese practice emerged as a viable alternative for Korean Buddhists in the early twentieth century. While the repressive memory of Japanese colonial heritage often appears in the relevant literature about clerical marriage today as the main reason for Korean Buddhists to get married, an analysis of contemporary documents presents us with a much more complex picture. Most notably among Korean intellectuals, one of the most significant personalities of the era, Manhae Han Young'un's (1879−1944) systematically urged the reform of Korean Buddhism, Chosŏn Pulgyo yusinnon 朝鮮 佛 敎 維新 論 (Treatise on the Restoration of Korean Buddhism). In connection with the presentation and circumstances of the thirteenth point formulated to allow polemics and the practice of priestly marriage, we can see that his Confucian education,

personality, and life play as important a part in his reasoning as the ideologies of the era, social Darwinism and modernism, and democracy. But primary sources revealing the daily lives and circumstances of the monks also show that the willingness to marry was also greatly influenced by the new inheritance rules introduced in the Japanese colonial system.

Nguyen, Krisztina

Teaching Culture through Language: Teaching Korean Kinship Terms in Korean in Foreign Language Classrooms

One socio-cultural aspect of the Korean language that foreign learners may encounter early is the extensive use of kinship terms in communicative situations. Korean kinship terms are carriers of important cultural information, thus misunderstandings or even breakdowns in communication are likely to happen if one lacks exposure to the cultural conceptualizations of these terms. Following the paradigm shift towards emphasizing *intercultural communicative competence* development in foreign language classrooms, the present study explores why teaching kinship terms in a Korean language classroom is important. The study presents an overview of the kinship terminological system and its relation to the cultural concepts and value system of Koreans, examines the current teaching situation of kinship terms primarily through language textbooks, and considers specific aspects that may affect the teaching of these terms. The study finds that insufficient attention is given to kinship terms, even though they are one of the most frequently used terms of address and reference. It is proposed that greater emphasis should be given to teaching kinship terms; furthermore, it is suggested that teachers should actively guide students to acquire the essential cultural knowledge about kinship terms.

Papp, Melinda

Passage from Youth to Adulthood in Japan: Coming of Age Rituals and the Process of Change

Coming of age, as one of the major transitions in the human life cycle, marks the threshold between childhood and adulthood. This transition involves the physical and psychological, as well as the social maturity of the individual. The present article discusses the contemporary practice of the Japanese coming of age ritual, known as *seijinshiki*, which although it is a relatively modern invention, is nourished by a century-long tradition of coming of age rituals

as well as by the traditional world-view on the human life cycle. Today, the ceremony is facing a new challenge due to the upcoming changes in the age of legal adulthood in Japan. *Seijinshiki* is an excellent example of how change is integrated as well as reflected throughout ritual practice. It vividly reflects social processes as well as mirroring several problems that Japanese society has been facing in our own time. The paper will examine some of these problems together with the major changes that affected the various forms of coming of age rites in Japan across history. The paper also demonstrates that ritual continues to be regarded in Japan as a valid social and individual instrument to treat passages in human life.

Papp, Melinda – Umemura, Yuko

What has Changed in Japan? Case Studies of Women's Life Paths from the Last Two Decades

This paper examines some of the aspects of the overall transformation that is taking place in women's position in present-day Japanese society. The paper's special focus is on the changes that are occurring in women's traditional roles within the family and how this influences women's opportunities on the labour market. The first part of the article gives a general outline of the major changes that have affected Japanese women's role within the institution of the family during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In the second part we present and analyse three case studies. The case studies depict three different life paths that illustrate the transformation that is going on in our own time. Analysis indicates that marriage as the only socially acceptable life path is no longer widely applicable and present-day Japanese society is more ready to tolerate alternative life choices. Although it is still true that gender equality continues to be seen as an aim that is hard to attain in Japan, recent changes indicate that radical changes in gender roles and modes of employment are inevitable and Japanese society is more than ever ready to embrace this transformation.

Péter, Alexa

The Khon Clan and the Sakyapas

Khon Konchog Gyalpo, the main disciple of Drogmi, founded a monastery at Sakya. It was this monastery that gave its name to the whole monastic order of Drogmi. Konchog was a member of the Khon clan, the family that went on to produce the successive abbots or chief lamas of Sakya who have continued as

the heads of this order ever since. The succession of abbots within the family was established on the father-to-son or uncle-to-nephew pattern. In the instance of an abbot remaining celibate, it was his brother or a close relative who continued the family line and oversaw the monastery's worldly affairs; when the abbot died, he was succeeded by one of his nephews. The Sakyas reached the summit of political power when Sakya Pandita and Phagpa won the confidence and favour of Mongolian khans. The Sakyas were appointed as regents of Tibet, whereby Tibet became subject to a single political authority for the first time after the collapse of the monarchy. The aim of this paper is to show the development of the Khon clan, how a minor aristocratic family was transformed into a significant power in Tibet in both historical and religious aspects, through the efforts of some prominent members of Khon family.

Rajkai, Zsombor

The Role of Family in Modern China: A Blended Compressed Transformation of the Private and Public Spheres

Following the Maoist period (1949–1976), which stressed workplace relations over family ties and the post-Mao era, which restored the family as an important social unit, the family in contemporary China suggests a blended picture of both pre-modern, modern and post-modern characteristics. For instance, the increasing intergenerational relationship accompanied by strong filial piety shows a quasi-return to pre-modern conditions, whereas the freedom of mate-selection rather reveals a modern characteristic of Chinese families today. In contrast, China's current low total fertility rate shows a post-modern feature of the family, albeit as a result of direct state intervention in the private sphere. This blended and compressed characteristic can also be seen in the ambiguous transformation of the private (family) and 'public' (defined here as 'non-private', such as political, economic and civil society) spheres. However, it can be argued that contemporary China, which offers new perspectives to social sciences for a better understanding of the different paths of modernisation in general, is being characterised by a sort of new modern familism where the family continues to play an essential role in social responsibility and sustainability.

Szegedi, Mónika

An Initiation Rite in Tibetan Historiography

I shall investigate a quasi-historical event in the biographies of the second 'Dharma King' of the Tibetan Empire, Khri-srong Lde-btsan (Trisong Detsen). As the newborn heir to the throne, he was stolen from his mother by a rival queen; however, at a ceremonial event the still infant prince indicated his true descent by sitting on the lap of his maternal uncle. As Ruzsa (2016) noticed, the complex motif of the new ruler choosing his family by sitting on the lap of a male representative can be found in the Indian legend of Śunaḥśepa, embedded in a much richer structure. Following his reconstruction, by analysing further parallelisms in a wider corpus, it appears that the seemingly innocent story of a baby prince is, in fact, a remnant of an archaic rite. I suppose that originally this was a rite of passage, a special variant of puberty initiation: the consecration of the heir apparent. Furthermore, its relationship to the Indian legend of Śunaḥśepa connects it indirectly with the stories of Isaac and even Snow White and also with several rites of passage in ancient Greece. I will also suggest that some versions of the legend point to a probably even more archaic cycle of maternity rites with parallels in Solomon's judgment and the Chinese *Chalk Circle*.

Takó, Ferenc

Education and 'Civilization'
Westernisation through Centralisation and the Concept of Women's Education in Late 19th Century Japan

Studies on the transformation of the Japanese educational system in the Meiji period usually emphasise the intensity of reforms and their comprehensive character. In the framework of the present study, I will briefly summarise the central aspects of this transformation, then turn to the examination of the tension manifested in Meiji period discourses on education. This is a tension that emerges when one compares the interpretation of the Meiji era as the introduction of 'enlightened' Western liberalism with the ideology of centralised reform, far from being as liberal as reported by Meiji period intellectuals themselves. I draw attention to this tension as manifested in the purposes of Meiji educational reforms, then I turn to the analysis of the education of women as a central question in terms of the interpretation of the family in Meiji Japan. The analysis is based on the writings of the leading intellectuals of the time, basically their essays published in the famous journal of the 1870s, *Meiroku Zasshi* 明六雑誌.

TELEKI, KRISZTINA

Renouncing the World and Taking Ordination – Family Ties of Mongolian Buddhist Novices

The 20th century brought different periods in the history of Mongolia including theocracy, socialism and democracy. This article describes what renouncing the world (especially the home and the family), taking ordination, and taking monastic vows meant at the turn of the 20th century and a century later. Extracts from interviews reveal the life of pre-novices, illustrating their family backgrounds, connections with family members after ordination, and support from and towards the family. The master-disciple relationship which was of great significance in Vajrayāna tradition, is also described. As few written sources are available to study monks' family ties, the research was based on interviews recorded with old monks who lived in monasteries in their childhood (prior to 1937), monks who were ordained in 1990, and pre-novices of the current Tantric monastic school of Gandantegčenlin Monastery. The interviews revealed similarities and differences in monastic life in given periods due to historical reasons. Though Buddhism could not attain its previous, absolutely dominant role in Mongolia after the democratic changes, nowadays tradition and innovation exist in parallel.

WUYINGGA (UYANGA)

Introduction to the Mongolian Kinship Terminology in Inner Mongolia On the Example of Qarčin-Tümed Dialect

Kinship terminology is a reflection of the kinship system in the language. Kinship is produced through marriage and family relationships. Terminology that refers to such kinship has gradually been refined over time. Due to historical developments and influences, Mongolian kinship terminology has increased and became more specific from the 13th century until today. Loanwords are an inevitable result of contacts with different languages and Mongolian kinship terminology has been influenced by this process as well. Mongolian dialects in Inner Mongolia were influenced by Chinese and are observable in kinship terminology. This does not apply to Mongolia and Russia (where the Kalmyks and Buryats live). This article will address three aspects. Firstly, the Mongolian kinship system will be briefly introduced. Secondly, the differences in kinship terminology between Middle Mongolian and contemporary Mongolian will be shown. Thirdly, kinship terminology of one of the Inner Mongolian dialects will be introduced.

摘要

敖敦胡 (Aodunhu [Odonküü])
蒙古英雄史诗《J̌angγar》中的婚姻类型学

《J̌angγar》史诗中包括很多独立的章节，都与国王J̌angγar qaγan和他的战士的事迹有关。据我们所知，N. N. Poppe、A. S. Kichikov、W. Heissig和Rinčindorǰi研究了蒙古英雄史诗的结构和模式，一致认为婚姻是蒙古史诗中的重要模式。Qongγor的婚姻是一个反映婚姻类型学的经典故事。在本文中，我分析了卡尔梅克、蒙古和新疆关于Qongγor婚姻的不同版本的章节。在《J̌angγar》史诗中，英雄的婚姻遵循一夫一妻制，马和刀是订婚的标志。这是聘礼制度的证据。此外，争夺新娘竞赛和异族通婚的习俗是蒙古英雄史诗《J̌angγar》中婚姻制度最显著的特征。

豹马伽 (Balogh, Mátyás)
从家庭危机到国家危机
前燕案例（前燕285/337–370）— 鲜卑征服王朝

前燕(285/337–370)是一个在中国东北由鲜卑慕容部落建立的政权。慕容在公元 220 年左右沿着华夏的边境定居后，逐渐适应了汉族的生活方式并吸取了他们的风俗习惯。慕容在 340 年初击败了邻近的对手们而成为华北的主要力量。十年后，慕容摧毁了黄河以北最强大的政权（后赵319–351）而他们的酋帅自称皇帝。此时，他们就快成为华北唯一的统治者了。Schreiber 认为慕容部落成功的秘诀之一是他们把前燕政府的创建和运行视为“家庭事务”。他声称前燕是一个几乎没有内乱和内战的相对稳定的政权。然而，在慕容统治阶级之中的家庭关系不断恶化。这一过程虽未导致严重的武装冲突，但是由于持续了二十多年，在前燕的灭亡中起到了主要作用。在本研究中，我考察了家庭关系恶化和随之而来的政治危机的情况和原因，以及慕容统治者先前为避免此类危机所施行的一些

貝尤吉 (Béres, Judit)
藏东安多的婚礼习俗

在藏族社会，婚礼是最重要的家庭庆典。婚礼的质量显示了在部族“*tshowa*”中家庭的作用。它的构成和规则在不同地区可能有所不同，但主要元素或多或少是相同的。准备和仪式本身可能需要几天或更长时间，依照传统先要征询占星师的意见。只有当双方的星象相互匹配时才被允许结婚。在我的研究中，我将重点关注安多（现在的青海省大部分地区，以及甘肃和四川省的部分地区）的婚俗，特别是其构成以及出现在婚礼每个阶段中的歌曲和祝酒词。在婚宴上，某些亲属的角色，比如舅父的作用是极为重要的，他们的节目包含大量的歌曲。可以说，整个婚礼是藏族传统家庭等级和孝道的映射。

高拉慕 (Kovács, Ramóna)
不婚女性 – 韩国婚姻和未婚生活的新生活方式和选择

在过去的几十年里，“不婚”这个词在韩国年轻人中广泛使用，实际上它显示了一个当前的现象：越来越多的男女选择不结婚，即使这违背了传统的社会规范和周边环境对他们的期望。影响这一决定有其社会、经济和生理的原因。对于二十多岁的韩国人来说，找到一份稳定工作并不容易，因此初婚年龄越来越高，当第一个孩子出生时已是三十多岁。至于育儿方面，可以说韩国的出生率极低，这也是政府的主要关注点之一。但是，鼓励年轻人多生育很难，不稳定的就业、对母亲支持不够、高昂的学费和性别角色都影响着这一改变人生的决定。不婚族是那些选择不结婚而过着截然不同生活的人，他们更专注于个人事业、独立的生活和自己的生活方式。有趣的是，社会观点也在慢慢发生变化，并且越来越接受，尽管老一辈仍会支持传统的家庭结构。单身自然要对独自生活等问题，但他们往往认为这是“方便”而不是“忧伤”。韩国社会存在明显的悖论：传统观念在二十一世纪仍很强大，但环境已不能确保条件支持它。这导致了世代之间的误解和巨大差距。

郝清新 (Hamar, Imre)
儒家家庭观的佛教解释：孝为普世慈悲

孝道是儒家的基本道德价值观之一，已成为中国社会价值体系的基石，在微观和宏观层面描述和规定了人类社群的良好运作，即家庭和国家。佛教传入后，主张只有那些独身并寻求出家的人才能更容易地获取无上真理，挑战了儒家公认的道德义务，并与中国文人就佛教和儒家伦理的异同展开对话，时有进行辩论。这篇文章深入探究了中国佛家如何努力证明，孝道是对所有佛教徒的要求，是作为在以孝道为人性美德象征的社会环境中的一种忍辱修行，并且将复制有关孝道的印度经文以及观想和评论印度经文作为佛教修行的核心。

赫如意 (He Ruyi)
旧维吾尔社会家庭结构的一些特征（反映在契约文书中）

在本文中，我们基于先前的研究介绍了旧维吾尔族社会家庭结构的一些特征。调查的源语料库包括十三至十四世纪的契约文书。我们从三个方面总结了旧维吾尔社会的家庭结构特征。首先，家庭结构是由亲属群体组成的大家庭，家庭成员之间的纽带很牢固，血缘关系尤为重要。其次，男性在家庭和社会中占据主导地位。第三，亲属可以自由交易和用作抵押。此外，我们还简要解释了这些特征的原因。

竹馨 (Knyihár, Eszter) – 绍莱特 (Salát, Gergely)
匈牙利二代中国移民的思想观念中家庭在传统架构中的作用

根据之前在匈牙利进行的研究表明，受定居国社会、移民侨民生活圈、移民家庭和原籍国文化环境的影响，第二代中国移民形成了一个综合性多元文化的身份认同。本文介绍了在匈牙利进行的一项基于访谈形式的调研，20名第二代中国移民参与了此项调研，研究目的是为了检验他们文化身份的复杂性，特别是家庭在传统构建中的作用。根据调查结果，我们认为在家庭环境中几代人之间经常会就规范和传统进行争论，它涵盖了不同重要性的领域。本文中表明，那些引发争论最多的领域通常与父母增强关注和控制的领域相重叠，例如：教育、约会/婚姻和语言。文中还讨论了关于安排家庭假期时显示出的高度灵活性和混合解决方案，其中涉及了居住国社会和原籍国的文化元素。

梅奇•贝娅特丽克丝 (Mecsi, Beatrix)
独身还是婚姻？

韩国佛教僧侣的困境。万海韩龙云(1879–1944)及其推广僧侣婚姻的思想
大朝鲜国的儒家时期过后，佛教徒黯然失色并被逐渐边缘化。日本殖民统治初期，日本僧侣可以组建家庭的模式在十二世纪初成为韩国佛弟子生活的可行替代方案。日本殖民遗产的压抑记忆作为韩国僧侣婚姻的主要原因，经常出现在当今关于僧侣婚姻的相关文献中，针对当代文献的分析向我们展示出一副更复杂的图景。尤其是在韩国知识分子中，作为那个时代最重要的人物之一，万海韩龙云（1879–1944）的系统著作《韩国佛教维新论》推动了韩国佛教改革。关于允许论战以及僧侣结婚的第十三点的陈述和状况，我们可以看出他的儒家教育、个性和生活在其论证中起到的作用与时代意识形态、社会达尔文主义和现代主义以及民主同样重要。但揭示僧侣日常生活和状况的主要来源也表明，日本殖民制度引入的新继承规则也极大地影响了结婚意愿。

阮基丝 (Nguyen, Krisztina)
通过语言教授文化：在外语课堂中教授韩国亲属称谓术语

社交场合广泛使用的亲属称谓术语可能是外语学习者较早接触韩语社会文化的一部分。韩国亲属称谓是重要的文化信息载体，缺乏对这些术语文化概念的了解，可能会造成沟通上的误解甚至中断。遵循在外语课堂强调跨文化交际能力发展的范式转换，本研究探讨了韩语课堂上教授亲属称谓术语的重要性。文章中概述了亲属称谓系统，以及该系统与韩国人文化观念和价值体系的关系，主要通过语言教科书考察亲属称谓的当前教学现状，并考虑可能影响这些术语教学的特定方面。研究发现，尽管亲属称谓是最常见的称呼和参考术语之一，但并未给予足够的重视。建议应更加重视教授亲属称谓术语。此外，建议教师积极指引学生掌握亲属称谓的基本文化知识。

帕伯•麦琳妲 (Papp, Melinda)
日本从青年到成年的历程：成年礼和转变的过程

即将成年，作为人生周期的主要转变之一，标志着从童年向成年的过渡。这种转变包括生理和心理，以及社会方面的个人成熟度。本文讨论了日本成年礼的当代实践，被称为“seijinshiki”的成人仪式，虽然是一项相对现代的发明，但它受到一个世纪之久的成年礼传统以及对人生周期的传统世界观的滋养。今天，由于日本法定成年年龄即将发生变化，仪式面临着新的挑战。“seijinshiki”是个很好的例子，说明如何整合及反映在整个仪式的实践中。它生动地反映了社会的进程，以及日本社会在我们这个时代所面临的一些问题。本文将研究其中一些问题，以及影响日本历史上各种形式成年礼的主要变化。文章还表明，仪式在日本仍被视为一种对待人生各个阶段的有效的社会和个人工具。

帕伯・麦琳妲 (Papp, Melinda) – 梅村裕子 (Umemura, Yuko)
日本发生了什么变化？过去二十年女性生活方式的案例研究

本研究考察了当今日本社会中女性地位发生整体转变的一些方面，特别关注女性在家庭中的传统角色所发生的变化，以及对女性在劳动力市场上机会的影响。本文的第一部分概述了二十世纪和二十一世纪影响日本女性在家庭制度中角色的主要变化，第二部分中介绍了三个案例研究及其分析。案例研究展示了三种不同的生活道路，说明了当今正在发生的转变。分析表明，婚姻不再是唯一被社会认可的生活方式，当今的日本社会已经准备好接纳其他方式的生活选择。尽管性别平等在日本仍然被视为难以实现的目标，但最近的变化表明性别角色和就业模式的巨变是不可避免的，日本社会比以往任何时候都更愿意接受这种转变。

贝特尔•阿雷萨 (Péter, Alexa)
昆氏家族和萨迦族

卓弥·释迦益的主要弟子昆·贡却杰波在萨迦建立了一座寺院，正是这家僧院赋予了卓弥僧团的名字。昆·贡却杰波是昆氏家族的成员，该家族持续诞生了萨迦历代法王和萨迦大喇嘛们，从那时起直至今日一直是僧团的首领。家族中法王的传承建立在父子或叔侄的模式上，如果法王保持

独身，则由其兄弟或近亲延续家族血脉，并掌管寺院的世俗事务。法王往生后，由他的一位侄子继位。当萨迦·班智达和八思巴赢得了蒙古可汗的信任与青睐时，萨迦族登上了政治权力的顶峰。萨迦族被任命为西藏的摄政王，这是在君主制垮台后西藏首次受制于单一的政治权威。本文旨在展示昆氏家族的发展，以及一个小贵族家庭如何通过族内一些显赫成员的努力转变成为在西藏历史和宗教方面拥有重要权力的家族。

晨星 (Rajkai, Zsombor)

现代化进程中的中国家庭：家庭与公共领域的混合压缩转型

与原先重视家庭关系的传统习俗相比，毛泽东时代更注重工作场所中的人际关系，但随后的时代再次强调了家庭作为社会基本单位的重要性。一方面，由于中国现代化的特殊性，今天的中国家庭同时呈现出传统、现代和后现代的特征。例如，强调孝顺父母的价值观是基于传统的儒家思想，但自由选择伴侣已经算是一种现代性的行为。另一方面，作为独生子女政策的结果，目前的低生育率显示了中国家庭的一种后现代性。中国家庭的这种混合压缩性（即传统、现代与后现代家庭条件的并存）还体现在家庭与其它社会领域（政治与经济领域以及市民社会）之间的关系形成上。尽管如此，对于社会责任和社会发展而言，"家庭"在当代中国仍然发挥着基础性的作用。因此，学习当代中国家庭的特殊性可以为学习现代化的不同路径提供新的研究视角。

瑟格迪 • 莫尼卡 (Szegedi, Mónika)

西藏史学中的成人礼

我考察的是吐蕃帝国第二代"法王"赤松德赞传记中的一个准历史事件。作为新生的王位继承者，他被一位敌对的女王从母亲身边偷走。然而，在一次仪式上，还是婴儿的王子坐在他舅舅的腿上，表明了他的真实血统。正如Ruzsa(2016)所提到的，新统治者坐在男性代表的腿上表明血统的复杂主题可以在有关尾狗(Śunaḥśepa)的印度传说中找到，通常被嵌入在一个更丰富的结构中。跟随他的重现描述，通过在更广泛的语料库中分析进一步的平行性，显示出这个看似天真无邪的小王子的故事实际上是一种古老仪式的遗留。我想这最初是一种成人礼仪式，青春期开始的特殊说法：显示继承人的神圣仪式。此外，它与尾狗的印度传说的关

系间接地将它与以撒甚至白雪公主的故事，以及古希腊的一些成人礼联系起来。我还认为，这个传说的某些版本指向了一种更为老式的孕产仪式，与所罗门的审判和中国的灰阑记相似。

塔克费 (Takó, Ferenc)
19世纪末日本的中央集权西化和女性教育理念

对于明治时期日本教育体制转型的研究普遍强调改革的力度和综合性。在本研究的框架内，我将简要总结这种转变的核心含义，继而转向考察明治时期教育领域讨论中所表现出的紧张感。当人们将明治时代的诠释与引入"开明的"西方自由主义和集权改革思想进行比较时，这种紧张关系就出现了，远非明治时期知识分子自己所述的那样自由。我提请注意明治教育改革目的中所表现出的这种紧张关系，之后则转向分析女性教育，用以解释明治日本家庭的核心问题。该分析是基于当时顶尖知识分子的著作，主要是他们1870年代发表在著名期刊《明六杂志》上的论文。

德雷基 (Teleki, Krisztina)
离世和出家 — 蒙古佛弟子的家庭关系

二十世纪蒙古历史上出现了包括神权政治、社会主义和民主在内的不同时期。本文描述了在二十世纪之交以及之后，离开世俗（尤其是家和家庭）、受戒、出家的含义。所引用的采访揭示了初学佛弟子的生活，描述了他们的家庭背景，出家后与家庭成员的联系，以及来自和给予家庭的支持。师徒关系在金刚乘传承中也被描述为具有重要意义。由于研究僧侣家庭关系的书面资料很少，因此这项研究基于那些童年时期（1937年之前）就生活在寺院的老僧、1990年出家的僧人以及现在甘丹寺（Gandantegčenlin）密宗学校学习的沙弥的采访记录。访谈揭示了由于历史原因在特定时期内寺院生活的异同。显然，佛教在民主变革后无法在蒙古获得其先前的绝对主导地位。如今，传统与创新并存。

乌英嘎 (Wuyingga [Uyanga])

内蒙古蒙古族亲属称谓介绍 — 以喀喇沁-土默特方言为例

亲属称谓是亲属制度在语言中的体现,它随着人类婚姻和家庭关系的形成而产生。称谓系统是语言研究的重要研究对象之一，亲属称谓作为称谓系统不可或缺的部分,在语言研究中同样占具着重要的地位。随着社会和婚姻制度的发展，亲属称谓系统也随之发展和变化。自 十三世纪至今，受历史的影响和发展，蒙古语亲属称谓在数量、词汇的结构和组合上都有了较大变化。其中，不乏外来词的借入。借词现象是民族语言接触的必然结果。长期以来，居住在内蒙古东部地区的蒙古族与汉族为邻，汉语外来词在其方言中出现是不可避免的。内蒙古东部地区的蒙古语亲属称谓也受到了这一过程的影响，并且映射到了其亲属称谓的词汇结构和组合上，这一现象在蒙古语喀喇沁-土默特方言中尤为明显。本文将由以下三个方面展开介绍。首先，简要介绍蒙古语亲属称谓系统。其次，揭示从中古蒙古语到现代蒙古语（内蒙古境内使用）这一过程中蒙古语亲属称谓的发展变化。文中将中古蒙古语时期与现代蒙古语的亲属称谓进行了比较，发现大部分称谓沿用至今，且大部分称谓都是由一个词组成。但随着社会的发展，跨文化交流的影响越来越大，出现了一些复合词结构的术语。最后，文中以蒙古语喀喇沁-土默特方言为例，探讨了民族语言接触的过程对内蒙古东部地区蒙古语亲属称谓的影响。