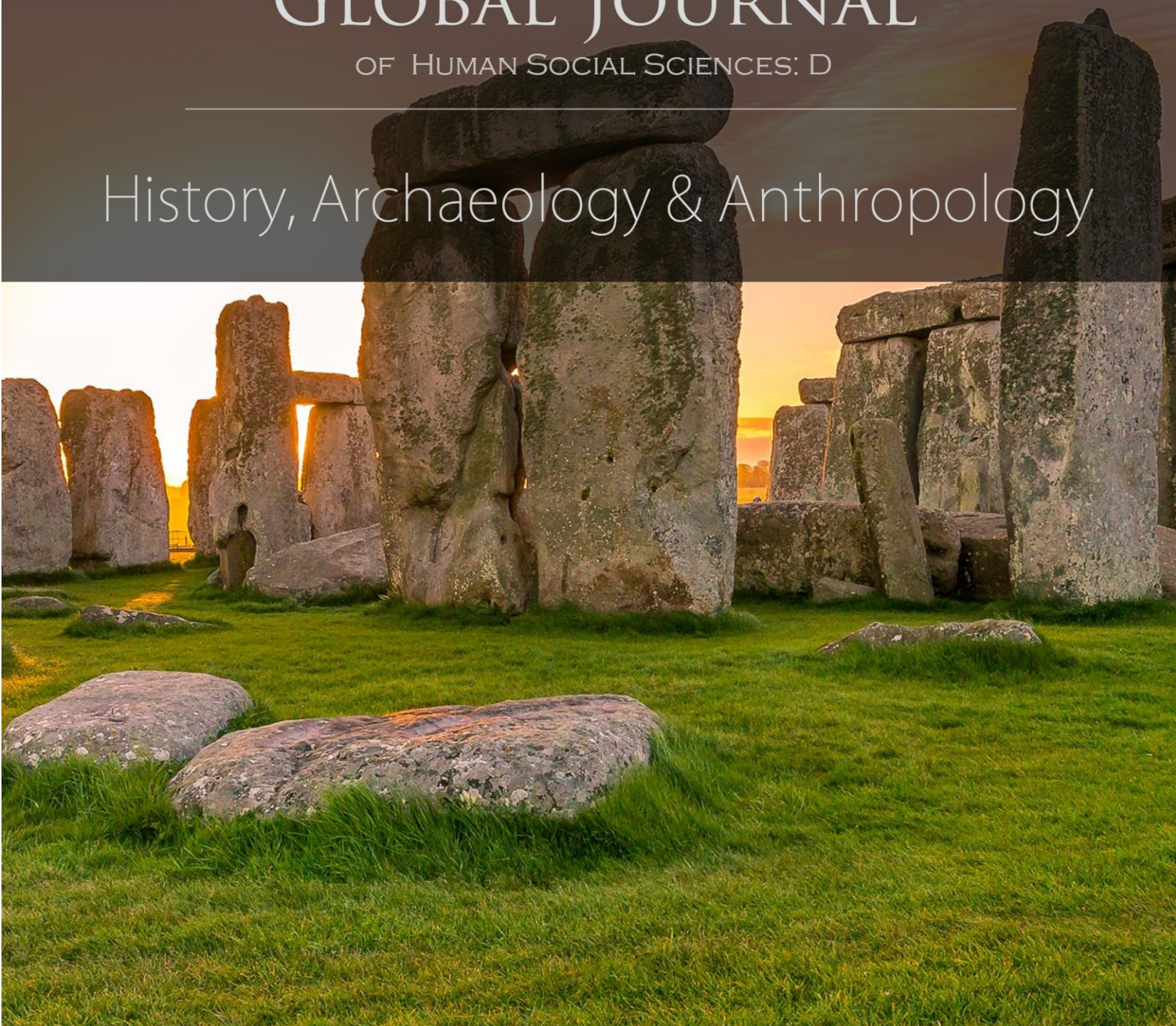


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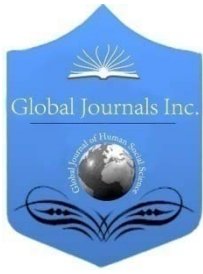
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## Identity and Narrative: A Special Female Case of Chinese Ancient Autobiography

By Wang Ying

*Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China*

**Abstract-** Li Qingzhao (李清照, 1084-1155) is one of the most excellent and most famous female scholars in Chinese literature history, whose Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone<sup>1</sup> (Jin Shi Lu Houxu, 金石录后序), as a rare female autobiography in Chinese ancient literature, has made many unique creative contributions to the development of Chinese biographic literature. As a female autobiography, Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone has covered three identities of Li Qingzhao - a daughter of a noble family, a wife of a civil official and a female scholar - and the self-recognition of the three identities constitutes the triple female perspective of her autobiography. As a lament work, Epilog to Record on Metal and Stone has integrated three dimensional narration spaces - autobiographic facts, lament for her deceased husband; biographical facts, lament for her collected objects; and historical facts, lament for the perished country. The richness, appropriateness and exquisiteness of the discourse structure for three dimensional lament under a triple female perspective have made Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone a milestone in Chinese biographical history.

**Keywords:** *li qingzhao, epilog to records on metal and stone, autobiography, female perspective, lament.*

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# Identity and Narrative: A Special Female Case of Chinese Ancient Autobiography

Wang Ying

**Abstract-** Li Qingzhao (李清照, 1084-1155) is one of the most excellent and most famous female scholars in Chinese literature history, whose Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone<sup>1</sup> (Jin Shi Lu Houxu, 金石录后序), as a rare female autobiography in Chinese ancient literature, has made many unique creative contributions to the development of Chinese biographic literature. As a female autobiography, Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone has covered three identities of Li Qingzhao - a daughter of a noble family, a wife of a civil official and a female scholar - and the self-recognition of the three identities constitutes the triple female perspective of her autobiography. As a lament work, Epilog to Record on Metal and Stone has integrated three dimensional narration spaces - autobiographic facts, lament for her deceased husband; biographical facts, lament for her collected objects; and historical facts, lament for the perished country. The richness, appropriateness and exquisiteness of the discourse structure for three dimensional lament under a triple female perspective have made Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone a milestone in Chinese biographical history. It has not only filled the blank of female authors in ancient Chinese biography, but also provided a narrative spatial model of three dimensional interactions, laying the solid foundation for Li Qingzhao to be a landmark figure in Chinese biographic history.

**Keywords:** *li qingzhao, epilog to records on metal and stone, autobiography, female perspective, lament.*

## I. INTRODUCTION

As the most excellent female poet in Chinese history, Li Qingzhao has also left a striking page in Chinese biographic literary creation, filling the blank of female authors in this field. The Epilog she wrote to Records on Metal and Stone, a book composed by her deceased husband, is widely recognized as a masterpiece in Chinese literary history. In nearly one thousand years, the Epilog has been included in many anthologies. Lin Yutang (林语堂, 1895-1976) has selected several dozen ancient Chinese classics into *The Importance of Understanding*<sup>2</sup>, and paintings; they discussed and appreciated their

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<sup>1</sup> Translated by Stephen Owen, from *Selections of the Tang and Song Dynasties* 唐宋文选, written by Han Yu 韩愈 et al, translated by Xie Baikui 谢百魁 et al, Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 2012, pp. 777.

<sup>2</sup> Selected, Translated, and Introduced by Lin Yutang 林语堂: *Translations from the Chinese (The Importance of Understanding)*, Cleveland: The World Publishing Company. 1960.

collections at night under candlelight; they quoted classics while drinking tea, and interspersed with laughter; they were separated on a journey and then into two worlds. The country was captured and she left her home for a long and lonely journey, during which most of their collection was lost. This story of the assembly and subsequent dispersal of both people and objects, including the Epilog. From a triple female perspective of a noble family daughter, a civil official's wife and a female scholar, *Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone*<sup>3</sup>, as an autobiography, incorporates Li Qingzhao's grief of losing her husband, sorrow of losing her collections, and pain of losing her country, into vivid description of their harmonious married life before her husband died. They painstakingly and frugally collected inscriptions following the tides of history, had terribly tortured Li Qingzhao.

"The lonely inner world of Li Qingzhao in later life contained most heavy things of a tragic destiny: a subjugated country, a broken family, the loss of a husband and roving in strange places: all life's misfortunes befell her. Loss of both hometown and love, of her survival space and spiritual space, had ruthlessly driven her into an unprecedented lonely world. Therefore, her homesick yearning and widowed grief integrated and were hard to separate...As a result, the later life of Li Qingzhao contained the psychological and emotional experiences of a woman facing the overwhelming disasters of the era, which reflected her intense concerns for the time and constituted the most brilliant page of aesthetic awareness of a tragic woman."<sup>1</sup> Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone is a condensed work comprehensively reflecting those aspects; its uniqueness and value as an autobiography should also not be disregarded.

## II. AUTOBIOGRAPHIC POSITIONING IN EPILOG TO RECORDS ON METAL AND STONE

Before we probe into the specific text of Epilog to Record on Metal and Stone, we should take a brief look at the work to which it acts as epilog: Records on

<sup>3</sup> *Selections of the Tang and Song Dynasties*, pp. 777.

<sup>1</sup> Shu Hongxia 舒红霞, *Female Aesthetic Culture - A Study on Song Female Literature (Nxing Shenmei Wenhua: Songdai Nxing Wenxue Yanjiu, 女性审美文化——宋代女性文学研究)*, Beijing: People's Publishing House. 2004, pp. 108-09.

Metal and Stone (Jin Shi Lu, 金石录) itself. What kind of book is it? What thoughts has it expressed? Why does Li Qingzhao have such an inseparable relation with it?

Records on Metal and Stone is a great academic work of Zhao Mingcheng (赵明诚, 1081-1129), the first husband of Li Qingzhao, which has recorded about two thousand metal and stone rubbings from Xia (夏, around 2100 B.C.-1600B.C.), Shang(商, around 1600B.C.-1028B.C.), Zhou(周, around 1027 B.C.-256 B.C.) to Sui(隋, 589-618), Tang(唐, 618-907) and the Five dynasties (五代, 907-960). Zhao Mingcheng is a renowned epigraphist and a relic collector. He was born in the fourth year of the Yuanfeng 元丰 reign of Emperor Shenzong (神宗) of the Song Dynasty (1081), and died in the third year of the Jianyan 建炎 reign of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (1129), at the age of 48. Therefore, Records on Metal and Stone was a book to which he devoted his whole life. In the Northern Song Dynasty, Ouyang Xiu(欧阳修, 1007-1072) laid the foundation for epigraphy, and was subsequently imitated by numerous scholars, making it a very popular hobby. Inspired by Records on Ancient Collections (Ji Gu Lu, 集古录) of Ouyang Xiu, Zhao Mingcheng devoted himself to this field, and accomplished Records on Metal and Stone with 2,000 volumes<sup>2</sup> in 20 years, twice the scale of Ouyang Xiu's Records on Ancient Collections. In his Preface to Records on Metal and Stone, Zhao Mingcheng wrote, "Since I was young, I liked viewing metal and stone inscriptions of former dynasties by following famous scholars and officials to broaden my horizons. Later, I got Records on Ancient Collections by Ouyang Xiu, and cherished it much, thinking that it could correct former errors and help subsequent scholars. However, it has some omissions, and is not arranged chronologically. Therefore, I decided to expand it to a new book for the benefit of other scholars."<sup>3</sup> These words suggested that Ouyang Xiu contributed much to the advocacy and leadership of epigraphy, and Records on Metal and Stone by Zhao Mingcheng was a conscious imitation and transcendence of Records on Ancient Collections.

As Zhao Mingcheng had composed a foreword to the book, Li Qingzhao had to place her afterword at the end, hence epilog, corresponding to the preface at the beginning of the book. It was a tradition to use preface or epilog as a form of autobiography since Autobiography of Taishigong (Taishigong Zixu, 太史公自序) by Sima Qian (司马迁, B.C.145-B.C.90), followed by Ban Gu(班固, 32-92)'s Autobiography in Han Shu(Han Shu•Xu Zhuan, 汉书•叙传), Cao Pi(曹丕, 187-226)'s

Autobiography in Critique of Literature(Dian Lun•Zi Xu, 典论•自叙), Ge Hong(葛洪, 284-364)'s Autobiography in Outer Chapter of Baopuzi(Bao Pu Zi Wai Pian•Zi Xu, 抱朴子外篇•自叙), but later autobiographies gradually became independent parts of books. In this case, as an excellent afterword to the book of her deceased husband, how can Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone by Li Qingzhao be recognized as her autobiography? It is determined by its content.

Pu Jiangqing (浦江清, 1904-1957) commented on Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone, "This work detailed the couple's early life and hobby, experience and separation, collection and dispersion of metal and stone inscriptions, books and paintings, which is full of life incidents and is excellent both in style and sentiment. The life story of Zhao and Li was brief in History of Song (Song Shi, 宋史), but this work can very well supplement the former account. Therefore, in style, this work is an epilog, but in content, it is an autobiography. Qingzhao was good at verse as well as prose, but she wrote it in prose. She narrated her experience in an easy-going way. As her late years were lonely and sorrowful, she didn't intend to stir up emotions. Therefore, the style was natural and neat."<sup>1</sup> From the above analysis, we can confirm that Epilog to Records of Metal and Stone is indeed an autobiography.

Zhao Baisheng(赵白生, 1964-), a well-known biographic expert, once concluded, "Simply put, the main task for autobiographers is to present two relations: first, the relation between me and others; second, the relation between me and the times. In presenting the two relations, the ego is continuously disclosed. To manifest the relation between me and others, biographic facts are needed; to manifest the relation between me and the times, historic facts are needed. As a matter of fact, an autobiography is a trinity centering on autobiographic facts."<sup>2</sup> "In the Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone, the specific reference to Records on Metal and Stone focuses on the first paragraph at the beginning: "What are the proceeding chapters of Records on Metal and Stone?—The work of the governor Zhao De-fu<sup>3</sup>. In it he took inscriptions on bells, tripods, steamers, kettles, washbasins, ladles, goblets, and bowls from the Three Dynasties of high antiquity all the way to the Five Dynasties [immediately preceding our Song]; here also he took the surviving traces of acts by eminent men and obscure scholars inscribed on large steles and stone disks. In all there

<sup>2</sup> Each volume as compared to modern books, just occupied around 10-20 pages of a modern book.

<sup>3</sup> Zhao Mingcheng 赵明诚, *Collation of Record on Metal and Stone(Jin Shi Lu Jiaozheng, 金石录校正)* reviewed by Jin Wenming 金文明. Shanghai:Shanghai Fine Arts Publishing House, 1985.pp. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Pu Hanming 浦汉明 ed. Ji Zhenhui 季镇淮 rv. *Pu Jiangqing Essays on Literature and History(Pu Jiangqing Wenshi Zawen Ji, 浦江清文史杂文集)*. Beijing:Tsinghua University Press, 1997. pp. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Zhao Baisheng 赵白生, *A Theory on Autobiography Literature (Zhuanjie Wenxue Lilun, 传记文学理论)*. Beijing: Peking University Press, 2014. pp. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Zhao De-fu 赵德甫 was another name of Zhao Mingcheng.



were two thousand sections of what appeared on metal and stone. Through all these inscriptions one might be able to correct historical errors, make historical judgments, and mete out praise and blame. It contains things which, on the highest level, correspond to the Way of the Sages, and on a lower level, supplement the omissions of historians. It is, indeed, a great amount of material."<sup>4</sup> Then, the second paragraph from the end reads, "Of those two thousand inscriptions, colophons were written of five hundred of two."<sup>5</sup> All these inscriptions were made by Zhao Mingcheng. The rest of the work, of course, develops by following the collection and dispersal of objects in Records on Metal and Stone. It has clearly presented these two relations - the relation between "me" and "others", namely, the relation between Li Qingzhao and Zhao Mingcheng; the relation between "me" and "the times", namely, the relation between Li Qingzhao and the turmoil at the turning point of the Northern Song (北宋, 960-1127) and Southern Song (南宋, 1127-1279) Dynasties. During the unfolding of the two relations, Li Qingzhao continuously disclosed her ego.

The end of Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone notes that Li Qingzhao finished this work in the second year of the Shaoxing 绍兴 Reign (1132AD), or three years after Zhao Mingcheng died. Given the content of the epilog, it should fall into the category of "commemorative biography" "纪念性传记" defined by Zhao Baisheng, "Many commemorative biographies are composed by kith and kin: a narration by a widowed wife of her deceased husband; a memorial article by a husband for his deceased wife; a work by children recalling their parents....The common point of these biographies is that biographers try to construct a lofty monument for the deceased so that the living are encouraged by their greatness."<sup>6</sup>

The first half of this epilog is a work of this type, but the second half relates facts which occurred after the death of Zhao Mingcheng. Therefore, if the first half is regarded as a biography for the couple, the second half is undoubtedly the autobiography of Li Qingzhao. If the two parts are placed together, Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone is an autobiography that relates significant experiences of the author during her narration to commemorate her deceased husband and her deceased husband's life.

### III. FORMATION OF THE TRIPLE FEMALE PERSPECTIVE IN EPILOG TO RECORDS ON METAL AND STONE

The epilog is written from the perspective of a woman, the style of which can be found in ancient

times. In the whole process of Chinese ancient female literature, this is certainly a monumental work of boudoir literature. Li Ciming (李慈铭, 1830-1894) of the Qing Dynasty (清代, 1636-1911) commented in *Yuemantang Reading Notes* (Yuemantang Dushu Ji, 越缦堂读书记): "When I read Records on Metal and Stone by Zhao Mingcheng, I found an epilog written by Li Qingzhao. It related the intricate experiences of the couple with vigorous strokes and beyond any restrictions. I always like to read it, and think that it is the most excellent boudoir article from the Song Dynasty."<sup>1</sup> It is thus clear that people in earlier times had regarded this as a model work from the genre of boudoir writings.

Now, we will start from this aspect to discuss the three identities of Li Qingzhao and their presentation in Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone as a noble family daughter, a civil official's wife and a female scholar, and how these three identities are interwoven to form a triple female perspective.

#### a) *The identity as a noble family daughter/daughter-in-law*

The identity as a noble family daughter and a daughter-in-law is clearly displayed by Li Qingzhao when she tells us her family background: "In 1101, the first year of the Jian-zhong reign, I came as a bride to the Zhao household. At that time my father was a division head in the Ministry of Rites, and my father-in-law, later a Grand Councilor, was an executive in the Ministry of Personnel. My husband was then twenty-one and a student in the Imperial Academy.<sup>2</sup> When his father, the Grand Councilor, was in office, various friends and relations held positions in the Imperial Libraries.<sup>3</sup> ...I recall that in the Chong-ning reign, a man came with a painting of peonies by Xu Xi (徐熙) and asked twenty thousand cash for it, In those days twenty thousand was a hard sum to raise, even for children of the nobility."<sup>4</sup> The introduction of her maiden family and her husband's family suggests her identities as a noble family daughter and a noble daughter-in-law.

"My father" is Li Gefei (李格非, 1045-1105), father of Li Qingzhao, who is a famous litterateur in the Northern Song Dynasty and writes a masterpiece Record of Famous Gardens in Luoyang (Luoyang Ming Yuan Ji, 洛阳名园记). History of Song (Song Shi, 宋史) introduces him like this, "Li Gefei wrote a book named as Luoyang Ming Yuan Ji, he said in it 'the rise and fall

<sup>4</sup> *Selections of the Tang and Song Dynasties*, pp. 777.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 789-91.

<sup>6</sup> *A Theory on Autobiography Literature*. pp. 122.

<sup>1</sup> Li Ciming 李慈铭 comp., You Yunlong 由云龙 ed., *Yuemantang Reading Notes* (Yuemantang Dushu Ji, 越缦堂读书记). Shanghai: Shanghai Bookstore Publishing House, 2000. pp. 565.

<sup>2</sup> *Selections of the Tang and Song Dynasties*, pp. 777.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 779.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 779.

of Luo-yang is a sign of the empire's order or chaos.<sup>1</sup> Later Jin forces sacked Luo-yang, and people realized his words were wise words."<sup>5</sup> In the first year of the Jianzhong Jingguo 建中靖国 Reign (1101AD), Li Qingzhao and Zhao Mingcheng got married, when Li Gefei was the vice minister of the Ministry of Rites. He "was appreciated by Su Shi<sup>6</sup> (苏轼, 1037-1101) because of his articles"<sup>7</sup>, and worked with Liao Zhengyi(廖正一), Li Xi(李禧), and Dong Rongtong(董荣同) in the library, who were collectively named "The Later Four Scholars 后四学士" of Su's disciples for their literary grace. Li Qingzhao and her mother were also included into the biography of Li Gefei in History of Song: "His wife is the granddaughter of Wang Gongchen(王拱辰, 1012-1085), and is also good at literature. His daughter is named Qingzhao, who is well known for her poems and articles. Qingzhao was married to Zhao Mingcheng, son of Zhao Tingzhi(赵挺之, 1040-1107). Li Qingzhao assumes for herself the art-name Yian Jushi (Hermit Yi'an, 易安居士.)."<sup>1</sup> Li Qingzhao's mother is the granddaughter of Wang Gongchen, a famous civil official of the Northern Song, and is also good at poems and articles. Wang Gongchen was ranked the first in the imperial examination in the eighth year of the Tiansheng 天圣 Reign of Emperor Renzong 仁宗 of the Northern Song Dynasty (1030AD). The emperor appreciated him very much, and granted him a name, Gongshou 拱寿. He was promoted to be vice minister of the Ministry of Supervision 御史中丞. From this we can see, the scholarly family background had contributed much to Li Qingzhao's sublime personal pursuit and excellent literacy.

"Grand Councilor" 丞相 is Zhao Tingzhi, father of Zhao Mingcheng, who entered officialdom as a "Palace Graduate" 进士上第<sup>2</sup>. He is a critical minister in the Northern Song period, and was the vice minister of the Ministry of Civil Office 吏部侍郎 at the time. These backgrounds constitute true noble families. Therefore, Li Qingzhao and Zhao Mingcheng were matched for marriage, which laid a solid foundation for their congenial interests and harmonious relationship. "When his father, the Grand Councilor, was in office, various friends and relations held positions in the Imperial Libraries."<sup>3</sup> This implied the petticoat influence of their eminent family, creating favorable conditions for their relic collection. "Although we were descendants of noble families" suggests that Li Qingzhao clearly confirmed

their acknowledgement and positioning as members of the upper social class.

Therefore, the first female perspective of Li Qingzhao in Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone is directly positioned through a concise introduction of her family background. In other words, she is a daughter and a daughter-in-law from scholarly and noble families, but her identity is presented through human relations.

#### b) A Civil Official's Wife

The female perspective with the identity as a civil official's wife comes mainly from direct description, particularly of the couple's inner household and the resolution of Li Qingzhao to "follow" her husband's will.

The civil official status of Zhao Mingcheng is evidently stated in many sections of the work, "When two years later, he went to take up a post, we lived on rice and vegetables and dressed in common cloth; but he would search out the most remote spots and out-of-the-way places to fulfill his interest in the world's most ancient writings and unusual script."<sup>4</sup> "Later we lived privately at home for ten years, gathering what we could here and there to have enough food and clothing. Afterward, my husband governed two prefectures in succession, and he used up all his salary on 'lead and wooden tablets' for scholarly work."<sup>5</sup> "In 1126, the first year of the Jingkang 靖康 reign, my husband was governing Zi-chuan 淄川".<sup>6</sup> "The next autumn, the ninth month of 1128, my husband took charge of Jian-kang Prefecture 建康府 but relinquished the position in the spring of the following year. Again we put everything in boats and went up to Wu-hu 芜湖 and Gu-shu 姑熟, intending to take up lodging on the river Gan 赣水. That summer in the fifth month we reached Chi-yang 池阳. At that point an imperial decree arrived, ordering my husband to take charge of Hu-zhou 湖州 and to proceed to an audience with the Emperor before he took up the office. Therefore he had the household stop at Chi-yang, from which he went off alone to answer the summons."<sup>1</sup>

The identity of Li Qingzhao as a civil official's wife is displayed in her autobiography through interactive pleasure between husband and wife, which is rare in male works. For instance, "We would sit facing one another, rolling them out before us, examining and munching. And we thought ourselves persons of the age of Ge-tian 葛天<sup>2, 13</sup> "We kept the painting with us a few days, and having thought of no plan by which we

<sup>5</sup> Tuo Tuo 脱脱, et al. *History of Song (Song Shi, 宋史)*. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1977. pp. 13121.

<sup>6</sup> Su Shi was the literary arena leader of the Northern Song, imultaneously was also a profound scholar in his time.

<sup>7</sup> *History of Song*, pp. 13121.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13122.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 11093.

<sup>3</sup> *Selections of the Tang and Song Dynasties*, pp. 779.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 779.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 779.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 783.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 783.

<sup>2</sup> Ge-tian 葛天 was a mythical ruler of high antiquity, when everyone lived in a state of perfect contentment. - Cited from *Selections of the Tang and Song Dynasties*, pp. 873.

<sup>3</sup> *Selections of the Tang and Song Dynasties*, pp. 779.

could purchase it, we returned it. For several days afterward my husband and I faced one another in deep depression."<sup>4</sup> "When he got hold of a piece of calligraphy, a painting, a goblet, or a tripod, we would go over it at our leisure, pointing out faults and flaws, setting for our nightly limit the time it took one candle to burn down."<sup>5</sup> "I happen to have an excellent memory, and every evening after we finished eating, we would sit in the hall called 'Return Home' 归来堂 and make tea. Pointing to the heaps of books and histories, we would guess on which line of which page in which chapter of which book a certain passage could be found. Success in guessing determined who got to drink his or her tea first. Whenever I got it right, I would raise the teacup, laughing so hard that the tea would spill in my lap, and I would get up, not having to been able to drink any of it all. I would have been glad to grow old in such a world. Thus, even though we were living in anxiety, hardships, and poverty, our wills were not broken."<sup>6</sup> "Books lay ranged on tables and desks, scattered on top of one another on pillows and bedding. This was what took his fancy and what occupied his mind, what drew his eyes and what his spirit inclined to; and his joy was greater than the pleasures others had in dancing girls, dogs, or horses."<sup>7</sup> These touching and private elegant pleasures in the boudoir between husband and wife are rarely seen in works by male writers, but these vivid plots and psychological states under Li Qingzhao's description are full of a woman's soft emotions, and her ideal of putting love first in her life.

The civil official's wife identity of Li Qingzhao is also reflected in her cordial love to her husband, and her firm compliance with and implementation of the feudal concept of "following one's husband 从夫".

Her profound love for her husband is reflected in the description when she heard that her husband was seriously ill on the journey to his new post. "As he was hurrying on his journey, he suffered sunstroke from the intense heat, and by the time he reached imperial headquarters, he had contracted a malarial fever. At the end of September, I received a letter that he was sick in bed. I was very alarmed, considering my husband's excitable nature and how nothing had been able to prevent the illness from deteriorating into fever; his temperature might rise even higher, and in that case he would have to take chilled medicines; then the sickness would really be something to worry about. Thereupon I set out by boat and traveled three hundred leagues in one day and one night. At the point when I arrived he was taking large doses of chai-hu 柴胡 and yellow-qin 黄芩; he had a recurring fever with dysentery, and the illness appeared mortal. I was weeping and in such a

desperate state I could not bring myself to ask him what was to be done after his death."<sup>8</sup> The tone of this paragraph is full of concerns, affections and rebukes of a wife to her husband. She knows very well that her husband is impatient, and that he would mistake medicines to worsen his illness. She set off immediately after she received the letter, "traveled three hundred leagues in one day and one night"<sup>9</sup>. As expected, her husband was mortally ill, and finally died. She was so heart-stricken that she didn't bring herself to ask him what was to be done after his death. Her deep affection was also reflected in her mourning for Zhao Mingcheng after he had died for three years. When she recalled him, his lovely voice and expression were so vivid that it seemed to have occurred yesterday: "Nowadays when I chance to look over these books, it's like meeting old friends. And I recall when my husband was in the hall called 'Calm Governance' 静治堂 in Lai-zhou 莱州: He had first finished binding the volumes, making title slips of rue leaves to keep out insects and tie ribbons of blue silk, binding ten *juan* into one volume. Every day in the evening when the office clerks had gone home, he would do editorial collations on two *juan* and write a colophon for one inscription."<sup>2</sup> Endless nostalgia and depression were expressed under her pen, making people sigh deeply even after one thousand years.

Her virtue in "following her husband" is reflected in her firm attitude towards maintaining their collections despite her eternal separation from her husband and even after she had to face a homeless and terrible experience.

Before Zhao Mingcheng died, for the separation when her husband set off for his new post, Li Qingzhao wrote: "On June 13, he set off to carry out his duty. He had the boats pulled up onto the shore, and he sat there on the bank, in summer clothes with his headband high on his forehead, his spirit like a tiger's, his eyes gleaming as though they would shoot into a person, while he gazed towards the boat and took his leave. I was terribly upset. I shouted to him, 'If I hear the city is in danger, what should I do?' He answered from after, hands on his hips: "Follow the crowd. If you can't do otherwise, abandon the household goods first, then the clothes, then the books and scrolls, then the old bronze—but carry the sacrificial vessels for the ancestral temple yourself. Live or die with them; don't give them up!"<sup>3</sup> The advice given by Zhao Mingcheng is ridiculous to most people as he requested her to abandon clothing instead of collections when she had to run away from

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 785.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 785.

<sup>1</sup> A *juan*, originally a "scroll," came to be something like a chapter. The size of a library was measured not in volumes but in *juan*.—Cited from *Selections of Tang and Song Dynasties*, pp. 873.

<sup>2</sup> *Selections of the Tang and Song Dynasties*, pp. 789.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 783-85.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 779.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 779.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 779-81.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 781.

home if the country was occupied by invaders. Personal necessity and safety shall be placed after hobbies! It's evident that a journey for refuge would be full of risks. If she meets storm and snow, clothing can save her life. At critical moments, clothing can be exchanged for food. However, collections are not easy to take, and increased hugely the difficulty of her journey. Furthermore, at critical moments, they don't have practical value but may be sources of disasters. At his last moment, Zhao Mingcheng still cherished his collections very much. "He took a brush and wrote a poem. When he finished it, he passed away, with no thought at all for the future provision of his family."<sup>4</sup> What was the political situation then? "His Majesty had already sent the palace ladies elsewhere, and I heard that future crossings of the Yangtze 长江 were to be prohibited."<sup>5</sup> Zhao Mingcheng neither told his wife where she could go, nor requested her to abandon the collections. To most people, his will was foolish, or even ruthless.

The rest of the work indicated that Li Qingzhao had always followed the instructions of her husband to maintain their collections without caring about risks. She would not give up one piece until her last resort. She practiced the Ancient Chinese traditional female's virtue of "following one's husband" with her life. In the whole work, we can't find one complaint from her about protecting the relics, but just helplessness and sighs whenever her efforts are in vain. It is very clear, that in the female perspective of Li Qingzhao, her behavior was unquestionably correct and just, as it complied with feudal behavioral rules and regulations for a wife. Her resolution and conviction in observing the sacred "following one's husband" principle, as a civil official's wife, constitutes the second female perspective in Li Qingzhao's autobiography.

### c) *Female Scholar*

In the first half of the article, the female scholarly identity of Li Qingzhao mostly coincides with her identity as a civil official's wife. For instance, she wrote this about Zhao Mingcheng's life, before his entering officialdom: "On the first and fifteenth days of every month, my husband would get a short vacation from the Academy; he would 'pawn some clothes' for five hundred cash and go to the market at Xiang-guo Temple 相国寺, where he would buy fruit and rubbings of inscriptions."<sup>1</sup> And after he became an civil official, "There one might find many ancient poems omitted from the Classic of Poetry (Shi Jing, 诗经), unofficial histories, and writings never before seen, works hidden in walls and recovered from tombs. My husband would work hard at copying such things, drawing ever more

pleasure from the activity, until he was unable to stop himself. Later, if he happened to see a work of painting or calligraphy by some person of ancient or modern times, or unusual vessels of the Three Dynasties of high antiquity, he would still pawn our clothes to buy them."<sup>2</sup> "Thus our collection came to surpass all others in fineness of paper and the perfection of the characters."<sup>3</sup> "When the book collection was complete, we set up a library in 'Return Home' Hall 归来堂, with huge bookcases where the books were cataloged in order. There we put the books. Whenever I wanted to read, I would ask for the key, make a note in the ledger, then take out the books. If one of them was a bit damaged or soiled, it would be my responsibility to repair the spot and copy it out in a neat hand. There was no longer the same ease and casualness as before. This attempt to make things convenient led instead to nervousness and anxiety. I couldn't bear it. I began to plan how to make do with only one meat dish in our meals and how to do away with all the finery in my dress. For my hair there were no ornaments of gilding or embroidery. Whenever he came upon a history or the work of a major writer, if there was nothing wrong with the printing and no errors in the edition, he would buy it on the spot to have as a second copy."<sup>4</sup> Combined with the foregoing plots to cite books and taste tea, these words create a vivid image of a woman who has elegant hobbies, profound knowledge and doesn't long for vanity. In such a feudal society, when a talentless woman could generally be treated as virtuous, Li Qingzhao could love the collection of relics with her husband, and could appreciate them as well as her husband. In the plot to cite books and taste tea, they played a game that one asked questions and the other answered. When one raised a historical incident, the other had to tell the particular page, volume and book the answer lay in. The one who gave the correct answer could drink tea first. This game can only be played by experts who have been well read and who have known relevant knowledge extremely well. Their boudoir game stressed profound knowledge, and their hobby is as refined as possible. Her female scholarly identity has integrated her natural gender and scholarly personality, a combination which produces a special image of Li Qingzhao within the grand historical background, and a colorful taste for her autobiography with an unusual female perspective.

After Zhao Mingcheng died, the Jin invasion threw the Southern Song Dynasty into violent storms, and people suffered much from fluctuating political situations. Li Qingzhao had to leave her home and lodge in houses belonging to others. The mental tendency of her work at this time reveals the female perspective even better. In the second half of the epilog,

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 785.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 785.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 787-79.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp.779.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp.779.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 781.



what Li Qingzhao cared about is how to try her best to maintain their collection. At the turning moment between the Northern Song and Southern Song, many male scholars expressed their intense patriotism and transformed themselves from civil officials to military officers, which we can't find in Li Qingzhao's autobiography (unsurprisingly, given her gender).

As we have discussed above, Li Qingzhao wrote this article in the second year of the Shaoxing 绍兴 Reign (1132AD), when Emperor Zhao Gou ruled the country. "Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130-1200)<sup>5</sup> said, 'At the beginning of the Shaoxing 绍兴 reign, the country contains talented people, but their works are coarse, not mentioning grievance and tenderness. Therefore, an appropriate academic spirit should be fostered.' Undoubtedly, the spirit fostered and advocated by literature is patriotism, which supplies courage, strength and confidence to people in wars."<sup>1</sup> If compared with Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone, this paragraph seems to exhibit some differences. Li Qingzhao's article is refined and touching, and the second half is full of grievance and tenderness. At the end, she quotes ancient stories of Xiao Yi(萧绎, an emperor of the Liang dynasty, 508-555AD, reigned in 552-554AD) and Yang Guang(杨广, the second and also the last emperor of the Sui Dynasty, 569-618AD, reigned in 604-618AD), and inquires into historical and cosmic space and time. It has a bleak tone full of laments, but patriotism has not been clearly advocated. In the period's wider literary background, its uniqueness is manifested.

"The invasion of Jin 金 overthrew the The Northern Song Dynasty, and people in central China were pushed to wars. Consequently, scholars who had long enjoyed peaceful and abundant life were also driven to battlefields. As the Northern Song had long valued civil officials, they controlled the wand of the imperial court. In this case, decisions from civil officials would not only influence their own promotion or demotion, but also determine the life and death of the country and its people."<sup>2</sup> "In such a background, at the end of The Northern Song, many scholars united to advocate armed force. Some of them led troops, and some determined to join the army. The former gossiping and coward spirit of The Northern Song scholars changed to a new social and political ideal to protect the

country and defeat the enemy. As a result, a martial spirit came into being with characteristics of bravery, resolution and fortitude."<sup>3</sup> As a woman, Li Qingzhao didn't have opportunities to fight on battlefields. Therefore, she didn't express such great patriotic ambitions in her autobiography as Lu You(陆游,1125-1210) and Xin Qiji(辛弃疾,1140-1207) did.<sup>4</sup> At the turning point between the Northern Song and the Southern Song dynasties when the country was conquered and families were ruined, her aspiration displayed in the autobiography was to maintain their collections as much as possible. Is it that Li Qingzhao didn't have patriotism? No. Her universally appreciated Xiari Jueju(夏日绝句, Quatrains in Summer) are a good case in point, "Living, one should be an outstanding man; Dead, one should be an outstanding ghost. Even today, I forget not Xiang Yu(项羽),<sup>5</sup> Who refused to flee to the east side of the Wu River(乌江)."<sup>6</sup> The commentary below this poem in Reselection of Li Qingzhao's Poems (Chongji Li Qingzhao Ji, 重辑李清照集) says, "Through carefully chewing over its sentiment, we conclude that this poem would have been written in the Jianyan(建炎) Reign when northern troops fled southward in panic."<sup>7</sup> In the poem, she yelled for the conquered territory and ruined country, effectively exposing her righteous patriotism. By quoting the old story of Xiang Yu, she satirized the muddleheaded and incompetent ruling class of the Southern Song, and her intense patriotism jumped out of the lines. So, why wasn't her intense patriotism clearly expressed in Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone? Instead, the central themes were her endeavors to protect their collection and the sheer grief after some objects got lost. Why?

The reason is that protecting the collection was her husband's will, and also a behavior that she persisted in, being faithful to their love. The collection was the evidence for their love. In the second volume of his Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art, Hegel wrote, "It is especially in female characters that love is supremely beautiful, since for them this surrender, this sacrifice, is

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 179.

<sup>4</sup> Lu You and Xin Qiji are the two most famous patriotic poets of the Southern Song Dynasty, both of them not only wrote a great deal of patriotic poems, but also experienced military career to defend the country.

<sup>5</sup> Xiang Yu(项羽, ca.232-ca.202 BC) was a well-known political figure in Chinese history. He was also a prominent military leader in the late Qin dynasty. When he was defeated in Gai Xia(垓下), he felt discredited see Koto elders who lived in the east side of the Wu River, his homeland, so he refused to go across the river, and then he committed suicide with his sword on the shore of the Wu River. Although he failed, his moral integrity and heroism has been admired by the later generations of China for over 2000 years.

<sup>6</sup> Li Qingzhao 李清照 comp. Huang Mogu 黄墨谷 rv., *Recollection of Li Qingzhao Works*(Chongji Li Qingzhao Ji, 重辑李清照集). Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 2012. pp. 86.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Zhu Xi 朱熹, one of the most great thinkers, philosophers and educators of the Song Dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> Wang Xiaoshu 王晓舒, *Chinese Literature Spirit, Volume Song and Yuan*(Zhongguo Wenxue Jingshen-Song Yuan Juan, 中国文学精神·宋元卷) [M]. Ji Nan, Shandong Education Press, 2003. pp. 147-48.

<sup>2</sup> Ma Maojun 马茂军, Zhang Haisha 张海沙, *Dilemma and Transcendence: A History of the Mentality of Literati in Song Dynasty*(Kunjing Yu Chaoyue: Songdai Wenren Xintai Shi, 困境与超越——宋代文人心态史), Shijiazhuang: Hebei Education Press, 2001. pp. 177.

the acme of their life, because they draw and expand the whole of their actual and spiritual life into this feeling, find a support for their existence in it alone, and, if they are touched by a misfortune in connection with it, dwindle away like a candle put out by the first unkind breeze."<sup>1</sup>

Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone is the afterword Li Qingzhao wrote for Zhao Mingcheng's book, but the latter died. Therefore, as a lament article, it is under the lonely, grievous and desperate mood of a widow that her autobiography develops an explicit theme. A weak, helpless and sad woman relates her private story, and other personal characteristics such as lofty patriotism are placed behind, so that an implicit theme can be formed for the author to express her grief in a turbulent historical period. This tender quality, with integration of explicit and implicit themes, and a combination of evident and hidden lines is just the most distinct feature of the female perspective in the autobiography. This is the third female perspective of Li Qingzhao's autobiography.

In conclusion, the female perspective of Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone is comprehensively unfolded with three identities of Li Qingzhao, i.e., a daughter and daughter-in-law of noble families, a wife of a civil official, and a female scholar. These three identities coincided or crossed over each other in the work, to develop a special kind of lament work with a triple female perspective.

#### IV. NARRATIVE SPACE FOR THREE DIMENSIONAL LAMENT IN EPILOG TO RECORDS ON METAL AND STONE

As a lament work from a female perspective, Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone is also special in its development of its lament theme layer by layer in the whole narrative space. In other words, it is an autobiography presented in a narrative space with a three dimensional lament. The reason for three-dimensional lament is that "the core of an autobiography is autobiographic facts, but neither biographic facts nor historic facts can be dispensable. Actually, they are a harmonious trinity, and constitute the three-dimensionality of autobiographic facts."<sup>2</sup>

The three dimensional laments in Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone are lament for her husband, lament for collected objects and lament for the country. The three dimensions are interwoven in the work, corresponding respectively to autobiographic facts, biographic facts and historic facts. Now, let's probe into the text and analyze Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone in these three dimensions:

##### a) *Autobiographic facts – lament for her husband*

This section focuses on real description of Li Qingzhao's emotions and psychological activities. It contains the most personal content and private feelings, things which others can't know. Therefore, it is the part that can best present "the self's" inner world in the autobiography. These feelings are almost all related to the objects collected by the couple.

When she described the happy scene, how she and her husband collected objects, quoted books and tasted tea, Li Qingzhao concluded, "I would have been glad to grow old in such a world. Thus, even though we were living in anxiety, hardships, and poverty, our wills were not broken."<sup>3</sup> When they had frugally collected so many items, that objects were piled in rooms and scattered on tables and beds, Li Qingzhao wrote, "This was what took his fancy and what occupied his mind, what drew his eyes and what his spirit inclined to; and his joy was greater than the pleasures others had in dancing girls, dogs, or horses."<sup>1</sup> When she parted from her husband on the boat, she described "I was terribly upset"<sup>2</sup>, and her husband's words were not an expression of love, but placed the collection in the first place. When she heard that her husband was ill abed due to summer-heat and wrong medication, she wrote, "I was very alarmed, considering my husband's excitable nature and how nothing had been able to prevent the illness from deteriorating into fever."<sup>3</sup> Hurriedly, she came to her husband who was incurable so that she had to witness the death of her beloved. "I was weeping and in such a desperate state I could not bring myself to ask him what was to be done after his death."<sup>4</sup> When she came to Guiji and the collection was stolen by the landlord, she sighed, "I was terribly upset"<sup>5</sup>. With a conquered country, broken family, and her homeless life, their collection was reduced dramatically in size, and the remainder was incomplete and worthless. Li Qingzhao mocked herself, "Yet I treasure them as if I were protecting my own head—foolish person that I am!"<sup>6</sup> Three years after her husband died, when she read Records on Metal and Stone again, Li Qingzhao had a myriad of feelings, "Nowadays when I chance to look over these books, it's like meeting old

<sup>3</sup> *Selections of the Tang and Song Dynasties*, pp.779-81.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.781.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.783.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.785.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.785.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.789.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.789.

<sup>1</sup> G.W.F.Hegel: *Hegel's Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, translated by T.M. Knox, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998. Vol.I, pp. 563.

<sup>2</sup> *A Theory on Autobiography Literature*, pp.32.

friends.”<sup>7</sup> She recalled scenes when her husband sorted out their collection in Jingzhi Hall of Donglai 东莱堂. Back to reality and comparing with the past, as a widow, she felt extremely depressed, “It is so sad—today the ink of his writing seems still fresh, but the trees on his grave have grown to an armspan in girth.”<sup>8</sup> At the end of the work, she made a serious interrogation and contemplation of destiny that had been long hidden in her heart, “It must be that the passions of human nature cannot be forgotten, even standing between life and death. Or perhaps it is Heaven’s will that beings as insignificant as ourselves are not fit to enjoy such superb creatures.<sup>9</sup> Or perhaps the dead too have consciousness, and they still treasure such things and give them their devoted attention, unwilling to leave them in the world of the living. How hard they are to obtain and how easy to lose!”<sup>10</sup> “A span of more than thirty years—how much calamity, how much gain and loss have I witnessed! When there is possession, there must be loss of possession; when there is a gathering together, there must be a scattering—this is the constant principle in things. Someone loses a bow; another person finds a bow; what’s so special in that? The reason why I have recorded this story from beginning to end in such detail is to let it serve as a warning for scholars and collectors in later generations.”<sup>11</sup> Her lamentations include grief for the collection and grief for her husband, and even lament for uncertain fate. The collection was the common interest of her husband and her. All details of relic collection, appreciation, fondling and protection were evidences of their love. The collection was not only their hobby to pursue ancient culture, but also a part of their life that was the most important and glorious so that the collection had been infused into her blood and whole life. The sincere, detailed and undisguised psychological description centering on the collection has incorporated her love to her husband and affection to inscriptions, books and paintings, which constitutes the first narrative dimension of the article, autobiographic fact.

#### b) *Biographical fact – lament for the collection*

The purpose of biographic facts is to manifest the relation between me and others, which is also the main line for the autobiography of Li Qingzhao. In the epilog, the ties to connect Li Qingzhao and her husband as well as others that she dealt with after her husband died are objects listed in Records on Metal and Stone.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp.789.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp.791.

<sup>9</sup> “Superb creatures,” *you-wu* 尤物, here figuratively applied to books and antiques, usually refers to dangerously beautiful women, who inspire destructive passion in those attracted to them.—Cited from *Selections of Tang and Song Dynasties*, pp. 873.

<sup>10</sup> *Selections of the Tang and Song Dynasties*, pp.791.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp.791.

The evolving process of the collection from few to many, from many to few, from dispersion to collection, and from collection to dispersion is cleverly correlated to the relations between her and her husband, and is also a critical ploy to demonstrate that Li Qingzhao is closely linked to the birth of Record on Metal and Stone.

The first half of the epilog, namely, the part from when the author was married to Zhao Mingcheng until Zhao Mingcheng's death, focuses on their indulgence in relic collection. In the foregoing discussion, we saw that they went to Xiangguo Temple 相国寺, buying relics with all of their savings. Collection was their common interest, ideal and pursuit, and their love increased as the collection grew. Biographic facts also told readers the starting time and deep ideas for their collection, main sources and economic foundations for collection acquisition, spiritual happiness and mental satisfaction that the collection brought about, and financial embarrassment and dissatisfaction with the collection. Furthermore, her creation of a literary image of Zhao Mingcheng was closely related to their collection.

The most touching part of Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone is the spiritual pleasure and mental satisfaction that relics bring to their marriage, which have been presented in the foregoing discussion of their collation, night appreciation, book citing and tea tasting. These extremely touching details tell readers what overwhelming and incomparable pleasure and emotional experience the relics described in Records on Metal and Stone have given to the author. In this sense, Records on Metal and Stone has infused into her life so that she couldn't give up and forget. These facts are “the most pregnant moments”<sup>1</sup> elaborated on the collection during their marriage, and the facts are exceptionally representative and suggestive.

The foregoing details on their relic compilation, maintenance and frugal collection have clearly demonstrated their common interest and relic acquisition without paying attention to cost. For the sake of their hobby, they would live in poverty but with much joy. Their extraordinary aesthetic interest and their profound love are vividly presented. They sorted their books, and Li Qingzhao lived with plain clothes and simple meals but she was spiritually satisfied in the private world of their collection.

After the impressive description of pleasure gained from the collection, Li Qingzhao turned to narration of their life's tragedy after the Jingkang Incident. “The next autumn, the ninth month of 1128, my husband took charge of Jian-kang Prefecture 建康府 but relinquished the position in the spring of the following

<sup>1</sup> “the most pregnant moments(最富于孕育性的顷刻)” comes from *Narrative Study on Spatial Dimensions (Kongjian Weidu De Xushixue Yanjiu, 空间维度的叙事学研究)* by Long Diyong 龙迪勇, Beijing: Chinese Social Science News, Oct. 19, 2012.

year. Again we put everything in boats and went up to Wu-hu 芜湖 and Gu-shu 姑熟, intending to take up lodging on the river Gan 赣水. That summer in the fifth month we reached Chi-yang 池阳. At that point an imperial decree arrived, ordering my husband to take charge of Hu-zhou 湖州 and to proceed to an audience with the Emperor before he took up the office. Therefore he had the household stop at Chi-yang 池阳, from which he went off alone to answer the summons."<sup>2</sup> We have seen their conversation about what should be done to the collection in dangers. This exceptionally impressive and reminiscent part is the core of the whole article. After the riverside farewell, when they met again, "He took a brush and wrote a poem. When he finished it, he passed away, with no thought at all for the future provision of his family."<sup>3</sup> At the time when the country was conquered and the family was ruined, he told his wife that she must stay with their collection, and he had never expressed any idea to abandon the relics. Therefore, he treasured the collection more than his own life. His will sanctified Li Qingzhao's behavior in seeking to protect their collection during her life as a refugee.

In the epilog, Li Qingzhao also recorded her relation with other people, which supplies biographic facts after the death of Zhao Mingcheng. Without her husband, Li Qingzhao was extremely lone and helpless, and didn't know where to settle herself. "The situation was getting more serious by the day. I thought of my husband's brother-in-law, an official in the Ministry of War on garrison duty 兵部侍郎 in Hong-zhou 洪州, and dispatched two former employees of my husband to go ahead to my brother-in-law, taking the baggage."<sup>1</sup> "At Gui-ji 会稽, I chose lodging in a cottage belonging to a local named Zhong 钟. Suddenly one night someone made off with five of the baskets through a hole in the wall. I was terribly upset and offered a substantial reward to get them back. Two days later, Zhong Fu-hao 钟复皓 next door produced eighteen of the scrolls and asked for a reward. By that I knew that the thief was not far away. I tried every means I could, but I still couldn't get hold of the rest."<sup>2</sup> Other details such as seeking shelter among noble relatives of her late husband, and the stealing of relics by the landlord suggest the hardship she faced during her attempts to find refuge and the efforts she made.

The arrangement of biographic facts in Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone is seamless. The facts are interwoven with collected objects, and appropriately illustrated the relations between the author and her husband and other people. This is the second narrative space - biographic facts.

<sup>2</sup> *Selections of the Tang and Song Dynasties*, pp.783.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.785.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.785-87.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.789.

### c) *Historical facts – lament for the country*

Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone indicated many historical facts about the Song Dynasty, which were closely related to the fates of Li Qingzhao and their collection. It can be said that these facts are hidden traces and historical backgrounds for Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone, and constitute the historical element of the work. The miserable experience of Li Qingzhao and their collection in the historical turmoil of a subjugated country and broken family stands as the epitome of the experiences of Song scholars in wars and vagrancy after the invasion of Jin troops.

"Autobiographers often present themselves with particular identities, and identity recognition is an essential principle for them to arrange autobiographic facts, biographic facts and historical facts."<sup>3</sup> "Biography neither relates pure history, nor complete literary fabrication; it should be a cohesion, and an account that is based on history but perfects in writing. The relation between history and article is neither one or the other, nor barriers one another. Instead, they complement each other and are interrelated."<sup>4</sup>

Li Qingzhao used her female scholarly identity to treat historical facts in the autobiography. At the turning point of the Northern and Southern Song dynasties, the Jingkang Incident 靖康之祸 became the critical transition of Li Qingzhao's fate, and also the division line between her life statuses. In the Northern Song period, her father and father-in-law were both senior officials, and her husband was promoted gradually. She was brilliantly talented, and enjoyed the graceful life of the literati class. She had a pleasant family atmosphere, and a harmonious marriage, all contributing to an idyllic life for her. Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone has manifested many happy details between her and her husband. After southward migration, her personal destiny was tightly related to the country's fate. If the nest is overthrown, how can you find an intact egg? Disasters of individual scholars are illustrated through the gradual reduction of the collection. Loss of the collection brought heavy sorrow and grief to Li Qingzhao, and reflected in microcosm the national calamities and traumas of the age.

"In 1126, the first year of the Jing-kang reign, my husband was governing Zi-chuan 淄川 when we heard that the Jin Tartars were moving against the capital. He was in a daze, realizing that all those full trunks and overflowing chests, which he contemplated so lovingly and mournfully, would surely soon be his possessions no longer. In the third month of spring in 1127, the first year of the Jian-yan reign, we hurried south for the funeral of his mother. Since we could not take the overabundance of our possessions with us, we

<sup>3</sup> *A Theory on Autobiography Literature*, pp. 83.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44.



first gave up the bulky printed volumes, the albums of paintings, and the most cumbersome of the vessels. Thus we reduced the size of the collection several times, and still we had fifteen cartloads of books. When we reached Dong-hai, it took a string of boats to ferry them all across the Huai 淮河, and again across the Yangtze 长江 to Jian-kang 建康. In our old mansion in Qing-zhou 青州 we still had more than ten rooms of books and various items locked away, and we planned to have them all brought by boat the next year. But in the twelfth month Jin forces sacked Qing-zhou, and those ten or so rooms I spoke of were all reduced to ashes.”<sup>1</sup> Historical facts are closely related to the size of the collection. As the national calamities got worse, the collection became smaller, and her life was increasingly miserable. The collection’s reduction implies that the author couldn’t protect the relics she treasured. It is evident that the nation weakened and the political situation became turbulent.

The disintegration of the country and the upheaval of the political situation are also manifested in the reduction of the collection. Let’s see how rapidly the collection was reduced to one or two tenths of its former size: “After the funeral was over, I had nowhere to go. His Majesty had already sent the palace ladies elsewhere, and I heard that future crossings of the Yangtze were to be prohibited. At the time I still had twenty thousand juan of books, two thousand copies of inscriptions on metal and stone with colophons, table services and mats enough to entertain a hundred guests, along with other possessions equaling those already mentioned. I also became very sick, to the point where my only vital sign was a rasping breath.”<sup>2</sup> “In February that winter, the Jin invaders sacked Hong-zhou 洪州 and all was lost. Those books which, as I said, it took a string of boats to ferry across the Yangtze 长江 were scattered into clouds of smoke. What remained were a few light scrolls and calligraphy pieces; manuscript copies of the collections of Li Bo 李白, Du Fu 杜甫, Han Yu 韩愈, and Liu Zong-yuan 柳宗元; a copy of *Current Tales and Recent Bons Mots* (Shi Shuo Xin Yu, 世说新语); a copy of *Discourses on Salt and Iron* (Yan Tie Lun, 盐铁论); a few dozen rubbings of stone inscriptions from the Han 汉 and Tang 唐; ten or so ancient tripods and cauldrons; and a few boxes of Southern Tang 南唐 manuscript editions—all of which I happened to have had removed to my chambers to pass time during my illness, now a solitary pile of leftovers. Since I could no longer go upriver, and since the movements of the invaders were unpredictable, I was going to stay with my younger brother Li Hang 李迺, a reviser of edicts. By the time I reached Tai-zhou 台州,

the governor of the place had already fled. Proceeding on to Shan 剡 through Mu-zhou 睦州, we left the clothing and linen behind. Hurrying to Yellow Cliff 黄岩, we hired a boat to take us toward the sea, following the fleeing court. The court halted a while in Zhang-an 章安, then we followed the imperial barge on the sea route to Wen-zhou 温州 and Yue-zhou 越州. In February, during the fourth year of the Jian-yan 建炎 reign, early in 1131, all the officials of the government were released from their posts. We went to Qu-zhou 衢州, and then that May, now the first year of the Shao-xing 绍兴 reign, we returned to Yue-zhou 越州, and in 1132 back again to Hang-zhou 杭州.”<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the collection made Li Qingzhao a suspect of treason and she experienced a near escape, “When my husband had been gravely ill, a certain academician, Zhang Fei-qing 张飞卿, had visited him with a jade pot—actually it wasn’t really jade but alabaster. I have no idea who started the story, but there was a false rumor that they had been discussing presenting it to the Jin 金 as a tribute gift. I also learned that someone had made formal charges in the matter. I was terrified and dared say nothing, but I took all the bronze vessels and such things in the household and was ready to turn them over to the imperial court. But by the time I reached Yue-zhou 越州, the court had already gone on to Si-ming 四明. I didn’t dare keep these things in the household any longer, so I sent them along with the manuscripts to Shan 剡. Later when the imperial army was rounding up defeated enemy troops, I heard that these had all been taken into the household of General Li 李将军. That ‘solitary pile of leftovers,’ of which I spoke, had now been reduced by about fifty or sixty percent. All that remained were six or so baskets of books, paintings, ink and inkstones that I hadn’t been able to part with. I always kept these under my bed and opened them only with my own hands.”<sup>1</sup> Up to now, less than a half collection was left. Although she tried her best to maintain the collection, her bad luck was far from its end. When she lodged in a certain Zhong’s household, the collection was stolen, and she couldn’t purchase the objects back, “Two days later, Zhong Fu-hao 钟复皓 next door produced eighteen of the scrolls and asked for a reward. By that I knew that the thief was not far away. I tried every means I could, but I still couldn’t get hold of the rest. I have now learned that they were all purchased by the Circuit Fiscal Supervisor 运使 Wu Yue 吴说. Now seventy or eighty percent of that ‘solitary pile of leftovers’ is gone. I still have a few volumes from three or four sets, none complete, and some very ordinary pieces of calligraphy”.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp.787.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp.787-89.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp.789.

<sup>1</sup> *Selections of the Tang and Song Dynasties*, pp. 783.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 785.

It is very obvious that the political situation led to the dramatic reduction of the collection from an immense number to one or two tenths with little value. The direct causal relationship between the two perfectly manifested the restrictive effect of historical facts on the personal fate of individuals. Implicitly, Li Qingzhao described, under national turmoil, the fact that scholars can't control their fates, but end up being bullied and tortured in a "big panic 大惶怖".

The beginning of Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone reads, "Yet catastrophe fell on Wang Ya 王涯 and Yuan Zai 元载 alike: What did it matter that the one hoarded books and paintings while the other merely hoarded pepper? Chang-yu 长舆 and Yuan-kai 元凯 both had a disease—it made no difference that the disease of one was a passion for money, and of the other, a passion for the transmission of knowledge and commentary. Although their reputations differed, they were the same in being deluded."<sup>3</sup> At the end of the work, she sighed, "Long ago when the city of Jiang-ling 江陵 fell, Xiao Yi 萧绎, Emperor Yuan of the Liang 梁元帝, did not regret the fall of his kingdom, yet destroyed his books and paintings [unwilling to see them fall into the hands of his conquerors]. When his capital at Jiangu was sacked, Yang Guang 杨广, Emperor Yang of the Sui 隋炀帝, wasn't concerned with his own death, only with recovering his books [demonstrated when his spirit overturned the boat in which they were being transported so that he could have his library in the land of the dead]<sup>4</sup>."<sup>5</sup> The two paragraphs correspond to each other, where Li Qingzhao integrated historical facts, legends and personal opinions. The first paragraph tells us that Li Qingzhao was extremely sad and disappointed at the degeneration of the current spiritual and cultural situation, and the depreciated value of worldly ideas. Therefore, she made severe mocking comments to show the great upheaval of her life. The second paragraph relates that she compared her collection to the special behavior of Xiao Yi and Yang Guang when they were confronted with national crises and life-and-death disasters, even after death, which suggests massive lamentation and serious interrogation. By contrasting the will of Zhao Mingcheng at the riverside, at the conclusion of Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone, Li Qingzhao related their collection to this life-and-death theme. In discourse about Zhao Mingcheng, his seemingly foolish and illiberal hobby as

an epigraphist has illustrated great historical values and issues of the meaning of cultural heritage, transcending an individual's times and (one might say metaphorically) moving heaven and earth. At the same time, the recall of two former emperors who treasured their relics over their live when their capitals were being sacked has effectively displayed her grief and anger for a conquered country and ruined families. In this way, she incorporated her lament for the country when South Song was in turbulence. She also expressed her longing for the peaceful, comfortable and scholarly-oriented life in the The Northern Song period. Consequently, she announced her resolution for the collection's spiritual value, and "never-give-up" mentality, even if the country and family faced devastating calamities. These facts constitute the third dimension of the three-dimensional narrative space – lament for history.

"Although biography and history are different in narrative object and writing purpose, they have one essential point, that is, both of them have to be constructed on facts. Faithfully following facts is a fundamental principle that both of them shall comply with."<sup>1</sup> "In historical works, most that we read show a temporal spiral progress (a historical outlook), the cause and effect of events and rise and fall of dynasties, so that we can understand inner logics that drive the historical train forward. The other way round, biography will not take a panoramic view and grasp vital veins, but focus on particular events. The focus is always placed on meaningful details - biographic facts and autobiographic facts. Fluctuating emotions, elusive ideas and impending disasters are all carefully edited so that a movie with individuality is presented to the readers. For this reason, the difference of writing purposes leads to different styles of biography and history."<sup>2</sup>

For the lament autobiography, Li Qingzhao clearly introduced historical facts into the Epilog, and cleverly demonstrated the causal relations to her personal fate with an implicit narrative method. This constitutes the third dimensional narration for Li Qingzhao's autobiography, historical facts - lament for the country.

In short, with her unique female perspective, in Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone, Li Qingzhao integrated three narrative spaces, namely, autobiographic facts - lament for her husband, biographic facts - lament for the collection, and historical facts - lament for the country, which constitute a special autobiographic style with three lament spaces. It has contributed much to ancient autobiographic writing, with a compositional structure that is rich and appropriately selected.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp.777.

<sup>4</sup> This story about Yang Guang is in *The Record of the Emperor Yang of the Sui's life in the twelfth year of Daye 大业 Reign of the Sui Dynasty(616) (Nanbu Yanhua Lu, 南部烟花录, in fact it is a novel described Yang Gaung's life in 616).* Normally the author of it was regarded as Yan Shigu 颜师古(581-645, a famous historian and linguist of Tang), but another opinion of later generations regarded it as a novel of the Song Dynasty.

<sup>5</sup> *Selections of the Tang and Song Dynasties*, pp.791.

<sup>1</sup> *A Theory on Autobiography Literature*, pp. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 45.

## V. CONCLUSION

Comprehensively analyzed, the three dimensional laments in a triple female perspective of Epilog to Records on Metal and Stone are closely interwoven and inseparable. They are a trinity.

Complicated plots and sentimental tones continuously expose the ego of the author through relations between me and others, between me and the times. The whole work is full of ups and downs, offering amazing impressions to the reader. The massive amount of information contained in the epilog also provides traceable, genuine and reliable materials for later generations. Incontrovertibly, this is an autobiography with refined conceptions, complex constructions, and profound meanings. It has not only filled the blank of female writers in the Chinese autobiographical field, but also provided a quite special narrative structure with three dimensional interactions. It has added much value to the original book, and has an irreplaceable status as a literary model. It is a great milestone in Chinese autobiographic history. As a result, Li Qingzhao becomes a landmark figure in Chinese biographical history as well.

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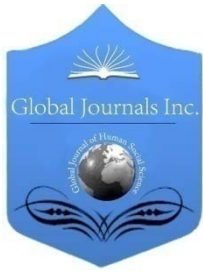
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## Contextualizing Justice and Human Dignity in Rwanda: The "Inyenzi" Phenomenon 1959-1994

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**Abstract-** The word "Inyenzi", which is a Kinyawanda word for cockroaches, came into political lexicon in Rwanda following the Revolution of 1959 in that East Central African nation. Following that Revolution, a hitherto politically dominant ethnic fraction of a broadly homogeneous population - the Tutsi, lost its status to an erstwhile dominated group - the Hutu. Consequent upon this scenario, and in order to escape state-sponsored persecution, the Tutsi fanned out in different directions into the countries of the Great Lakes region - Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania, DR. Congo. From these countries of asylum, Tutsi refugees began to carry out sporadic raids into Rwanda, in an effort to get even with the authorities, but more ostensibly to forcibly re-enter Rwanda and re-assume its former dominant position. The now dominant Hutu ethnicity responded by referring to them as cockroaches, so as to encourage not just disdain and hatred for them from the larger society, but a murderous pre-disposition, much like the natural human disposition toward cockroaches. It is the extent to which this contextualizes the denial of justice and human dignity that this paper seeks to determine. The paper also evaluates the consequences of this exercise for peace and development in the Great Lakes region of Africa.

**Keywords:** *justice, human dignity, Hutu, Tutsi, peace, development.*

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# Contextualizing Justice and Human Dignity in Rwanda: The "Inyenzi" Phenomenon 1959-1994

Sylvanus I. Okoro

**Abstract-** The word "Inyenzi", which is a Kinyawanda word for cockroaches, came into political lexicon in Rwanda following the Revolution of 1959 in that East Central African nation. Following that Revolution, a hitherto politically dominant ethnic fraction of a broadly homogeneous population - the Tutsi, lost its status to an erstwhile dominated group - the Hutu. Consequent upon this scenario, and in order to escape state-sponsored persecution, the Tutsi fanned out in different directions into the countries of the Great Lakes region - Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania, DR. Congo. From these countries of asylum, Tutsi refugees began to carry out sporadic raids into Rwanda, in an effort to get even with the authorities, but more ostensibly to forcibly re-enter Rwanda and re-assume its former dominant position. The now dominant Hutu ethnicity responded by referring to them as cockroaches, so as to encourage not just disdain and hatred for them from the larger society, but a murderous pre-disposition, much like the natural human disposition toward cockroaches. It is the extent to which this contextualizes the denial of justice and human dignity that this paper seeks to determine. The paper also evaluates the consequences of this exercise for peace and development in the Great Lakes region of Africa.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

One of the basic challenges of mankind over the ages has always been the need to recognize and preserve the dignity of the human person in times of conflict and war. Most times, parties in conflict tend to forget the essential humanity of their adversaries, and so proceed with unprintable cruelties against them. The unspeakable atrocities which are at times meted out to opponents or adversaries may be justified on the usual over-riding imperative of winning or triumphing over one's so-called enemies, but humanity must constantly keep in mind that these enemies remain human beings and that today's enemy may become tomorrow's friend! Perhaps it is this realization that propelled mankind to attempt to prescribe some rules on combatants, otherwise referred to as "Laws of War" (Garner II). These were formulated in various codes and conventions which largely emanated from the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, and in many Geneva Conventions of the United Nations.

Aspects of warfare and rules governing them dealt with in these documents include, but not restricted

to the following: blockade, the care of the sick and wounded, protection of medical personnel and facilities, the treatment of prisoners, forbidden weapons, the powers of military commanders in occupied territories, the rights and duties of neutrals, the use of poison gas etc. (Palmer, Perkins 273). In spite of these rules, which were enacted primarily to respect and preserve the sanctity of the human person, even in times of war, mankind has continued to agonize over atrocities being committed against fellow human beings simply because they happen to fall on the wrong side during conflicts and wars.

Even though a commentator has observed that "the laws of war have helped to humanize warfare", he went ahead to indicate, and rightly, that they have not availed to prevent the most inhuman practices (Palmer, Perkins 273). These straddle the broad spectrum of denial of justice and human dignity in times of conflict. It is the extent to which the conflict situation that existed in Rwanda between 1959 and 1994 contextualizes this reality that this paper intends to analyze. We shall proceed by attempting a conceptual understanding of the basic terms of justice and human dignity, so as to enable us to appreciate their adherence or otherwise in the Rwanda of our period.

## II. THE CONCEPT OF JUSTICE

In discussing the concept of justice, we do not intend to delve into the legal rubrics of the subject. Our intention is to highlight the main features of the concept to enable an averagely enlightened mind to appreciate its place in the light of the analysis that will follow. According to Khaja A. Muntaqim, Justice refers to the remedy available to anyone who feels hurt, suffers any damage or has any of his rights infringed upon. Justice demands that the other party make good the loss and restore the infringed right (Muntaqim 170). Since in most cases, the individual, and even a group usually look up to public officials to dispense justice, it follows that the public must be able to rely on the law to ensure that the power available to public officials is used in a way conformable to its ideas of fair dealing and good administration. Thus the more power a government wields, the more the tendency to abuse, and so the more sensitive the public must be to any kind of abuse or unfairness. It is in this context that a commentator noted: "as liberty is subtracted justice must be added".

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(Wade, Forsyth 7) Justice is thus seen as the basis and foundation of a civilized society.

If civilized society must subsist, then what is referred to as natural justice must be prevalent. This is the justice that is based on established principles and tenets of law. Over the years, these principles have crystallized into two rules: that no man should be a judge in his own cause, and that no man should suffer without first being given a fair hearing. This presupposes that judicial, and indeed public officials must be unbiased, disinterested and or impartial when acting in the public realm-judex *in cause* sua-the adjudicator must be disinterested and unbiased.

This brings us to the very related concept of human dignity. To properly contextualize respect or otherwise of human dignity in Rwanda based on the *Inyenzi* phenomenon, we must attain a firm grasp of the concept itself. The issue of human dignity cannot be discussed in any significant detail without relating it to the basic principle of right to life. Hence, taking a cue from section 33 and 34 of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria, C. A Omaka entitle his article on that subject "Rights to Life and the Dignity of Human Person" (Okpara 111). According to Omaka in this article, the right to life is the most basic, the most fundamental, the most primordial and supreme right which human beings are entitle to have and without which the protection of other human rights becomes either meaningless or less effective (Rancharam 63). Further expatiating on this, the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights stated that the right to life is a fundamental right in any society irrespective of its degree of development or type of culture which characterizes it, since this right forms part of the "jus cogens" in international human rights law (Okpara 112). Article 53 of the Vienna Convention on the law of treaties is a preemptory norm from which no derogation is permitted. It emphasizes the fundamental nature of the right to life. The preservation of this right is one of the essential functions of the state, as the numerous provisions of national legislation establish guarantees to ensure its enjoyment.

But for this right to be enjoyed, a corollary, the right to dignity of the human person must also be enshrined, respected and strictly adhered to. The right to life necessarily includes the right to live with human dignity, and all that goes with it (Okpara 129). These include bare necessities of life such as adequate nutrition, clothing, shelter, facilities for reading, writing and expression of oneself. From the foregoing, it is apposite that every individual or group of individuals or ethnic group is entitled to be treated with dignity accorded to human beings, irrespective of their social status. The dignity of the human person is an inalienable right that must be protected and jealously guarded if humanity must continue to maintain its claim as a higher being, next to God on planet earth. As we proceed in

this analysis, we shall now endeavour to determine the background of the *Inyenzi* phenomenon in Rwanda, and how it developed and began to raise issues of justice and human dignity for those involved.

a) *Background to the Inyenzi Phenomenon in Rwanda 1959-1962.*

Rwanda is a tiny land-locked country of about 26, 338 km<sup>2</sup> in land area (Ndunayezu 44). It is geographically located in east central Africa, and formed part of former German East Africa in the colonial days. For space constraints, we may not delve into the details of the history of this rather fascinating, and at same time, foreboding land, that is tucked into the deep recesses of central Africa, even though we may need to do just that if we must get the average reader to really appreciate the actual basis of the *Inyenzi* phenomenon. (Prunier 1995, Newbury 1988, Maquet 1970, Kamukama 1997). We shall therefore proceed to highlight only the main features of that history that can portray this background.

It has become customary to speak of Rwandan society as being divideid into three groups - the Hutu, about 85% of the population, the Tutsi about 14%, and the Twa about 1%. These may not be racial groups, nor are they ethnic groups in the conventional sense. Overtime, the meaning of the terms, and the categories they describe have changed, influenced as it were by changing contexts of power, and by the role of the state (Newbury 112). Rwandans of all categories and groups live side by side each other on physical layout marked by alternating "musozi" or hills, (Prunier 1) and speak Kinyarwanda language.

Before the arrival of the Europeans in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the ruling elite had a sense of its own superiority. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, when Rwanda was located in regions best suited for pastoralism, (De Forges 44) members of the elite prided themselves on their knowledge about, and control of cattle, and looked down on cultivators lacking in both. Later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the central state expanded into regions dominated by cultivators, and the elite responded by making alliances with local leaders, which comprised of *abahinza*- persons with ritual importance ie King makers, and *Abakuru* -heads of important lineages. In the same period, the ruler, Rwabugiri took into his service significant numbers of men from outside the elite in order to increase his control over the old aristocratic lineages. In keeping with these political changes, and in order to keep its superiority, the aristocrats adjusted their attitudes to stress military skills, and scorned the masses that fell short in martial ability and experience. This sense of superiority tended to have been linked to the aristocrats' sense of what they owned and what they could do than to any emphasis on racial characteristics. As Des Forges informs us, the elite we now call Tutsi "encompassed a number of competing lineages who

had arrived in Rwanda at different times over a period of centuries and who had different interests as well as varied backgrounds" (De Forges 44). On the other hand, the masses that we now know as Hutu included both peoples long resident within Rwanda and those who had just arrived from Zaire (DRC) or Uganda. Due to the complex variables of the situation, the categories of Hutu and Tutsi remained flexible as individual could, and did move from one to the other.

We observe that the Tutsi sense of superiority over the Hutu appeared more elitist rather than racist. But the attitude of both groups towards the Twa was clearly racist. They scorned this small, if grotesque (personal observation), part of the population by not only refusing intermarriage, but even the normal courtesies of sharing food and drink with them.

But, when the Europeans arrived at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they brought their own kind of racism. This was to have enormous impact upon Rwandan ideas and practices. Given the rather almost obsessive pre-occupation with race in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Europe, on their arrival in Rwanda, the Europeans assumed their superiority, and proceeded to value others in relation to their perceived nearness - physically and otherwise to themselves. Thus translating their racism into the African context they formulated the "hamitic hypothesis", according to which "white Africans" from the north east had brought civilization to the rest of the "benighted" continent. Colonialists - first the Germans, and then the Belgians found the Tutsi of Rwanda the ideal Hamites: "tall, elegant, narrow featured". (De Forges 44). Being determined to validate their own prejudices, the Europeans explained as unfortunate aberrations those Tutsi who did not conform to their image of what a Tutsi should look like-a dark-skinned European. Having been accustomed to viewing Tutsi and Hutu as homogeneous groups (which they really were in any case), the racist obsessed anthropological thinking of the period proceeded to ascribed stereotypical intellectual and moral qualities to the people of each category.

With little hesitation, the European decided that the Tutsi, were more intelligent, and perhaps more devious- and so born to rule. The Hutu on the other hand, dumb but good natured, could not be other than productive loyal subjects. These ideas were put into practice by the Europeans by limiting posts in the administration, as well as the higher education needed for the jobs to Tutsi. To further ensure that only Tutsi had access to these benefits, they instituted a system of population registration by introducing what can be regarded as ethnic identity cards, labeling each person at birth as Hutu, Tutsi or Twa.

Politically astute by training rather than by birth as the Europeans supposed, the Tutsi readily understood the prejudices of the Europeans, and exploited them fully to their own benefit. They not only

used European backing to extend and intensify their control over the Hutu, they also joined with the Europeans to create the ideological justification for this exploitation. In a great devious, even cynical collaborative enterprise over a period of decades, European and Rwandan intellectuals created a history of Rwanda, that fit European assumptions, but which essentially advanced Tutsi interests. While the Europeans provided the theoretical and teleological, framework, the Rwandans provided the supporting data to explain and describe the progress of Rwanda to the height of its power at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to this description, the first and most "primitive" inhabitants were the Twa hunter gatherers. Next, came the trusty Hutu, who happened upon the scene to cut the forests and create some fledgling political organization. Then swooped the "conquering" Tutsi from Ethiopia or from the sky (Kamukama 12-17). The thesis of "conquerors" appeared plausible as the Tutsi was a minority that managed to subjugate a far more numerous mass through their martial skill and superior intelligence, as the Europeans supposed. Then finally, came the lighter skinned and more clever minority, still fewer in numbers but more powerful in organization- the Europeans, These then established their control over all the others, and proceeded to recruit the Tutsi closest to them in intelligence and physical outlook to embark on a collaborative effort in dominating Rwanda.

The results of this collaborative enterprise were accepted by intellectuals around the court circles. It was not surprising that the Tutsi were pleased with this version of history, but even the Hutu majority swallowed the distorted account of the past hook-line- and -sinker. Thus the people of Rwanda learned to think of the Tutsi as winners and the Hutu as losers in every great contest of the Rwandan past. As time went on, extremist Tutsi, encouraged by European admiration and influenced by the amalgam of myth and pseudo anthropology, moved from elitism to racism. They then proceeded to transform the dividing line between themselves and the Hutu into the same kind of line that had once separated them and Hutu from the Twa.

The colonial policy of the Europeans helped to intensify bipolar differentiation between Tutsi and Hutu, by inscribing ethnic identification on identity cards, as we noted earlier; by relegating the vast majority of Hutu to particular onerous forms of forced cultivation and "corvee"- forced labour exacted through the whip; and by actively favouring Tutsi in access to administrative posts, education, and jobs in the modern sector generally. By the end of the colonial period in Rwanda, though not all Tutsi were wealthy and powerful but most of those who were wealthy and powerful were Tutsi.

But this situation was not destined to last forever. As the nationalist era dawned in Africa of the 1950's and 60's, things began to change. Due



multiplicity of self-reinforcing factors, (Prunier 44-46, Gatwa 52-53) the colonialists switched sides, abandoning their erstwhile protégés, the Tutsi, for the Hutu- the Rwanda Revolution of 1959 had begun. For the Hutu, the Rwandan Revolution was an important watershed. It marked the end of Tutsi domination of the state, and the accession to power of the Hutu. As the revolution ran its course, it culminated in the abolition of the monarchy, the arrow-head of Tutsi power. Nyinginya aristocracy collapsed, as the last Mwami (king) Kigeli V fled abroad to the United States. On January 28 1961, at an emergency meeting of burgmestres and municipal counselors in Gitarama, the sovereign democratic Republic of Rwanda was declared by acclamation. (Prunier 53). Following the toppling of the monarchy, an interim government was formed after controversial elections won by Dominique Mbonyumutwa. But as the UN withheld recognition for the elections, a fresh one held under its auspices in September 1961 was won by Gregoire Kayibanda, who became President designate on 26 October 1961. The UN Trusteeship status granted following the defeat of Germany in World War I was formally terminated, and independence was granted Rwanda on 1 July 1962.

In the midst of these momentous events, an estimated 150,000 (Kamukama 23) Banyarwanda, mostly Tutsi had fled Rwanda to neighboring countries to escape state-sponsored terrorism directed against them by the new Hutu elite.

Between March 1961 and July 1966, ten major armed incursions into Rwanda was carried out by the Tutsi refugees sequestered in neighbouring countries Uganda, Burundi, Tanganyika (Tanzania) and Zaire (Congo DR). These attacks initially targeted Hutu officials, but as time went on, they began to take the form of an organized armed struggle aimed not only at forcing their way back into Rwanda, but reclaiming the lost dominant status of the Tutsi in Rwanda, and possibly re-establishing the monarchy. The issue of

getting back into Rwanda became particularly vexatious following the accession to power of Army General, Juvenal Habyarimana in 1973, who began to argue that Rwanda was too small to accommodate the refugees.

Since the attacks took place at night, Tutsi guerillas who took part in them soon came to be referred to as "Inyenzi" cockroaches in Kinyarwanda. Once again, as time went on, especially during the regime of Habyarimana (1973 -1994), the entire Banyarwanda Tutsi community both within Rwanda, and in the diaspora came to be identified as 'Inyenzi'. So, every Tutsi became a legitimate target of reprisal attack from the state whenever the Tutsi guerillas attacked. Besides, following the heightened rhetoric of hatred in the period leading up to the genocide of 1994, the public was made to see every Tutsi as a "cockroach", not a human person, such that the moral inhibition of killing human beings would be removed if the target or victim is Tutsi. Such was the power of the 'Inyenzi' phenomenon in the Rwanda of the Hutu Republic. The question remains, could this be justified under any circumstance? Can the ends of Justice and human dignity be served in any way by the use to which the 'Inyenzi' phenomenon was put in the Rwanda of the Habyarimana days?.

b) *The Inyenzi Phenomenon and Denial of Justice and Human Dignity in Rwanda of the 1990s*

The very analogy the inyenzi Phenomenon provoked was a pointer to the denial of human dignity to the Tutsi, and their sympathizers both nationally and internationally. This became increasingly evident following the reprisals that were being exacted on the local Tutsi population, each time the so called "inyenzi" attacked, and culminated in the mass arrests that followed the Rwanda Patriotic Front's (RPF) invasion of 1 October 1990. Perhaps we may relay a dialogue between two Rwandese Tutsi on the issue. It ran thus:

*"If the Tutsi refugees attack", I said, it will only mean reprisal killings of Tutsi living in Rwanda".*  
*"But we must fight", he said, "Habyarimana will never allow Tutsi to have equal rights" "Yes, I know", I said, cutting him off* *But a rebellion is not the answer. You know as well as I do that if there is an attack, massacres of Tutsi will begin".*  
 (Sebarenzi 47).

The ends of justice could not be served, since these massacres did not discriminate between culprits, accomplices and those completely innocent or even sympathetic to the Hutu cause (Prunier 248-49). We are

told that there are two basic postulates of natural justice: *Audi alterant partem* - the other party should; also, be heard, as no one can be a judge in one's own cause. In other words, judicial (public) officials: must be unbiased,

was denied so was the dignity of the human person dispensed with during the rather frequent massacres that attended the "Inyenzi" attacks. As Joseph Sebarenzi has informed us, during these episodes Tutsi families would be huddled in plantain and banana grooves for days or weeks without food, shelter or provisions of any sort. If they are lucky to survive, their homes would have been burnt and food, property and cattle looted, stolen or killed respectively (Sebareuzi 250-1). All these culminated in the RPF invasion of 1 Oct. 1990, as we indicated earlier. As Tharcisse Gatwa has indicated, following the invasion, in the night of 4 and 5 October 1990, the army organized-in the city of Kigali and other places a feigned RPF attack with automatic weapons and shootings" (Gatwa 124). Taking it as a pretext, they imposed a curfew the next morning, and proceeded to

arrest more than 10,000 persons. These were herded into football stadiums and later detained under appalling conditions, without food or water over several days. According to a renowned commentator on the Great Lakes regional affairs, over 90% of those arrested were Tutsi (Reyntjens 94). When human beings are herded like cattle, and put in an open space without food and water, their dignity as human beings has certainly been denied.

But this was only a tip of the ice-berg on coming calamities. We are given an inkling by a speech given by Leon Mugesera, the Vice Chairman of President Habyariman's political party-National pour le Movement Revolution et la Development - National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND) in Gisenyi in late 1992:

*whoever wants peace prepares for war. Listen well to me, it is the fourth or fifth time I repeat this in our prefecture of Gisernyi... I was recently talking to a militant of PL (a political party which was associated with the Tutsi and to the RPF), that the grave mistake committed in 1959, though I was too young was to allow the Tutsi to escape alive outside the country. I told him, I tell you that your country (Tutsi) is Ethiopia, and we will soon send you on an express trip via the Nyabarongo River (that is the source of the Nile) Here you are, I repeat this to you we must start the work right now. Finally, I want to remind you of the essential part of my speech: Vigilance. In the first instance, know that whoever you have not beheaded is the one who will behead you (Gatwa 124-25).*

This speech, and many others like it that was to follow in the build up to the cataclysm of 1994, had a foreboding and ominous connotations. First, its reference to the theories that made the Tutsi foreigners, from Ethiopia, and not Rwandans, tended to a Justification of Habyarimana's insistence that Rwanda was already filled with its own citizens, so foreigners must either stay where they are, or better still locate their original homes and go there; and that genocide had already been planned (Gatwa 125). The speech eventually proved to be a prophetic reading of coining events. When genocide began in April 1994, the river became a conduit pipe for corpses of men, women, children, old people and-infants, Tutsi and moderate Hutu elements. Hundreds of Thousands of these victims never had the chance to defend themselves or to prove their innocence for whatever may have been their offenses. The ends of justice and human dignity were deliberately sacrificed on the altar of political expediency.

#### c) *Implications of the Inyenzi Crisis to Peace and Development in the Great Lakes Region to 1994 and Beyond*

A major implication of the crisis induced by the inyenzi phenomenon was the creation of security

problem for the government of the Hutu Republic in Rwanda. With this came economic troubles, as peace is always a concomitant to any form of economic progress. For the region also, implications arose in the form of economic and security and political issues. Traditional Rwanda was an agro-pastoral country where vast land-holdings competed with small farms (Gatwa 182). The republican regime spurned by the 1959 revolution had proceeded to distribute to the agriculturist Hutu the lands and pastures that belonged to what Tharcisse Gatwa called "the barons of the monarchical regime (Gatwa 182). Due to this redeployment on new lands, dramatic food shortages could not become immediately evident, but 50% of the families came to live on a piece of land estimated at between 0.25 and acre (Eripicum 6). As population growth stood at 3.7% per annum in the early 1990's, the inheritance system required a continuing division of the family land into pieces distributed to male children. This tended to a contraction of production rather than growth. As if this was not bad enough, by the late 70's, 1977 to be precise, disadvantageous terms of world trade manifested in the fall in the international price of coffee. This, coupled with bad climatic conditions, led to a deficit equivalent to 6.2% of GDP, which increased within the year to 10.7%. All these combined to a

degradation of the economy, impoverishing the population. Thousands of young men left jobless were ready to accept recruitment by the extremist groups for "dirty jobs". This was a recipe for the tension and insecurity that prevailed in the Rwanda of the period.

Meanwhile, in the "near abroad", especially Uganda, which had received a disproportionate number of the Tutsi refugees, situations began to get from bad to worse as the 80's wore on. Even though the Banyarwanda Tutsi refugees were initially accepted and enthusiastically welcome, especially in areas such as Mbarara, Ntuugama and Bushenyi with dominant Banyarwanda population, as time went on, they began to attract the hostility of local people. This and other factors forced them to enlist in Yoweri Museveni's guerilla army of the 1980's. But as victory was won in 1986, other set of factors arose to cause Banyarwanda Tutsi to become a liability to Museveni in his attempt to achieve national reconciliation in his country (Kamukama 36-39). Consequent upon this, and other factors, the "Rwandans abroad" as the Tutsi refugee community came to be designated, began to be treated as second class citizens. The situation culminated in their expulsion from Uganda during the second Obote regime. This coincided with the time when the Habyarimana junta in Rwanda adopted and pursued the policy represented by the analogy of 'already filled cup of water' as mentioned earlier. According to Catharine Newbury (Newbury 13), this policy can be explained by the claim by Habyarimana that there was insufficient land for the population already in the country, and so repatriation of refugees, often the children of Tutsi who had fled the country over the intermittent episodes of violence, was denied.

So, rejected by the country of asylum, and also rejected by their own home government, the Tutsi or the so-called sympathizers of the 'inyenzi' had no other option than what happened on 1 October 1990: invasion of Rwanda. Thus the ultimate implication and aftermath of the inyenzi phenomenon was the RPF invasion of Rwanda which initiated a period of internal insurgency that culminated in Tutsi (RPF) seizure of power in Kigali in the wake of the 1994 genocide. By so-doing, the history of Rwanda came full circle. The greatest nightmare of the Hutu, which was the driving force behind the inyenzi phenomenon and propaganda: the return of the Tutsi to power in Kigali following their ouster via the 1959 revolution, was accelerated by the injustice of the inyenzi contraption.

### III. CONCLUSION

Modern statecraft must be based on statesmanship. Gains from injustice will always remain a chimera. They have a way of slipping through the fingers of those who claim to have made them. Craftiness and injustice can only bring continuing agonies in the

political economy. That is the lesson of Rwanda to the world of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

We do understand that unlike the pre-colonial ethnicity, the ethnicity that emanates from the rapidly changing national and global conditions is fiercely competitive. It is not aimed at promoting production and commerce, but the control and monopolization of power and maternal resources. It seeks advantage in the socio economic and political scheme of things. These characteristics are reinforced by the partisan nature of the African state-in factional disputes, the extensive intervention of the state in economic and social life. This makes the state a strategic instrument for power and wealth in Africa. From this stand point, one can understand the intensity of the struggle among ethnic groups to control and dominate the state. The above was true of the Rwanda of our period.

We recall that in Rwanda, the Nyinginya state machine as represented by the Mwami and his Court had rejected a hand of fellowship extended to it by the Hutu majority in the period leading up to independence. In what came to be regarded as the Hutu Manifesto, nine young Hutu leaders had petitioned the Mwami (King), making demands which ostensibly amounted to asking the Mwami to institute social reforms that would replace injustice with justice. These, among others were the demands: The abolition of indirect administration favouring the Tutsi elite; the abolition of forced labour; the installation of a social charter designed to promote trade unions: Freedom of speech: The privatization of property and the creation of a rural trust for the promotion of the peasantry: The codification of customs: The promotion of the Hutu in the public administration; equal access to opportunities in education and scholarship; as well as the abolition of the heresy of 'Hamite supremacy'. They also demanded a democratization of institutions before independence is granted, to avoid what they perceived would be "indigenous colonization" should the Belgians withdraw.

Rather than respond to these demands, the Mwami and his entourage energetically rejected the demands en bloc, and in a very arrogant and ethnic tone. They ridiculed the claim of co-operation, and rejected that of brotherhood with the Hutu. Supporting their argument with myths and legends, they wrote:

*The ancestor of the Banyiginya (the reigning lineage) is kigwa. He arrived in Rwanda with his brother Mututsi Mutusi and their sister Nyampundu ... To reclaim resource sharing, one must prove there is brotherhood. But the relations between us (Batutsi) and them (Bahutu) have always been built on servitude. Thus, there is no foundation for brotherhood... The Bahutu have also claimed that Kanyarwanda is our common ancestors, the 'mediator' of all the Bahutu, Batutsi and Batwa families. But Kanyarwanda is the son of Gihanga, of kazi, of Merano, of Randa, of Kobo, of Gisa, of Kijuru, of Kimanuka, of Kigwa. This Kigwa found the Bahutu in Rwanda. How then could Kanyarwanda, far posterior to the three races, Bahutu, Batutsi and Batwa be considered as their common ancestor? Our history says that Ruganzu had killed many Bahinza (Hutu Monarchs) and then conquered the Bahutu counties of which these Bahinza were kings. How then could the Bahutu pretend to be our brothers? (Nkundabagenzi 1961).*

The tone, content and rationale for this reaction is clearly evident, the intention to control and dominate the state for the resources and material aggrandizement of the group, irrespective of the ends of justice and fair play. But as we indicated, benefits derived from injustice cannot long endure. In the 1990's, it was this same group that denied brotherhood with the Bahutu that were agitating to be allowed to return to a supposed home land with the Bahutu as compatriots.

The lesson of Rwanda, once again, to the rest of Africa in a 21<sup>st</sup> century international system remains the abiding need for good governance. The African values of brotherhood and the sanctity of human life must continue to condition our relationship with one another. The timeless virtues of justice and respect for human dignity must also continue to define our interactions either as groups or as individuals. The need to deliberate on the traditional African values of brotherhood and the sanctity of human life, as we indicated earlier, becomes more imperative as we realize that solutions to ethnic intolerance and under development in Africa are unlikely to come from outside the continent, as Rwanda has equally proved.

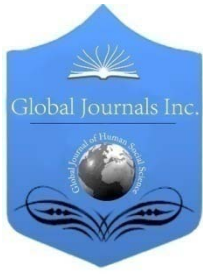
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## Argao's La Torta Dance Festival: A Culture Mix of Colonial and Indigenous Elements

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# Argao's La Torta Dance Festival: A Culture Mix of Colonial and Indigenous Elements

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Cebu is a culture laden and a historically rich island for tourist destinations, in Central Visayas region, Philippines. Her shores have always been opened not only to the beating of the sea waves that strike her pristine white beaches; but also with cultural influences that unceasingly wash ashore for several centuries of her heritage list. One of her precious heritage lists is the celebration of colourful vibrant festivals, which offer a unique window to the island's cultural landscape. Adding to the vivacity of her festivals is the creative beats and rhythms of the sounds of drums, bugles, and lyres that create ethnic music. Music is the universal language of mankind and plays an

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important role in our daily living away from the clutches of desolation and loneliness. It is used for many functions like: therapies, burials, lullabies, weddings, occupations, and anniversaries. To many, "music shrivels when it departs too far from the dance." This simply means that music and dance are inseparable with each other. Rhythms provide artistic projections through the dance as an expression of passion, love, and desire – an important function in stabilizing a culture through social celebrations like her festivals.

According to Panaguigon, Paulma, Chan, Dimaala, Mondejar, and Ibabao (2015), festivals are usually a commemoration of patron saints, reenactment of local historical events, and celebration of bountiful harvest. On the other hand, Buted(2014) accentuates that festivals can be also used to build communities through its collective efforts and experience. Director Romulo A. de los Reyes of the Department of Tourism's Office of Special Projects, as quoted by Baños (2015), rejoins that "cultural festivals are big vehicles to promote the legendary Filipino hospitality and an arena to promote closer kinship and family ties". Major festivals in the Philippines have drawn a considerable number of local and foreign visitors and the number keeps on growing every year as Haguison, Barato, Linaugo, Mendoza, and Montes (2013) point out. Felsenstein and Fleischer (2014) say that "*local festivals are increasingly being used as instruments for promoting tourism and boosting the economy of the region*".

### a) Objectives of the Study

This study determines the embedded elements of the La Torta Dance Festivals. It seeks to answer these objectives: (1) trace the festival's origin and epitomized ethos, (2) describe the festival's dance steps, props, costumes, music, and courtship, and (3) extrapolate themes and values from the key informant's testimonies of faith.

### b) Review of Related Literature

One of the most vibrant festivals in Cebu is the La Torta in Argao. This festival replaces the Pitlagong Festival in 2011. Similar to the Pitlagong, La Torta is a celebration of Argao's cultural heritage. As a cultural colonial town in Southern Cebu, Argao derives its name from *Abgao* or locals call it as *sali-ar-gaw* (*Premnaodorata*) tree, indicative of the townspeople's respect to nature—symbolic of her animistic traditions. La

Torta Festival focuses more on the Spanish tradition of baking *torta* (see photos in Figures 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5), a popular cake with fresh *tuba* popularly known as *lina*, palm wine without a *tungog* (*Excoecaria agallocha*), which Brogan (1979) calls it as powdered mangrove tree bark (coloring to tart its taste). This mangrove grows abundantly in the town's shoreline, as an indigenous ingredient. Although the production of *tuba* through the *pitlagong*, as a cleaning brush of a *tuba* bamboo pitcher called *sugong*, is more indigenous, La Torta certainly brings a classy, festive, and more colorful

dance showdown in Argao. The festival serves as a thanksgiving in honor of St. Michael the Archangel, Argao's patron saint. The celebration also depicts the history, cultural practices, and folklore of Argao's townspeople. Common to the *pitlagong* and the *la torta* is the depiction of Argao's picturesque landscape of tropical palms that provides the production of *tuba* or palm wine, swine for native oil, and eggs of the *manukbisayaor* native chickens (*Gallus gallus domesticus*).



Figure 1 : Tartened Tuba in several decanters, Provenance: Mark Mayol Magallanes (nd)



Figure 2 : Prepared Raisins as Torta enhancers, Provenance: Flores, Mata & Parinasan (2015)

The supply of eggs, for the egg white (albumen), is used in the construction of buildings and in the baking of *torta* (egg yolk) many centuries ago. Joven (2013) enumerates the process of baking the exotic *torta*, which comprises the following steps: (1) pour the purified *tuba* or *lina* into the flour and add salt. Mix well, (2) add the sugar gradually into the egg yolks while beating well, (3) add the oil and blend well, (4) put the mixture into a pan lined with paper and greased with butter or oil and add anise, (5) wait for 7 hours before baking (to allow the butter to rise). However, if the weather is cold, wait for 8 hours before baking, and (6) bake at 325 degrees Fahrenheit until baking is done.





Figure 3 : Mixed Torta Ingredients in molders ready for baking, Provenance: Flores, Mata & Parinasan (2015)

During the Spanish occupation in the Philippines (1565-1898), the construction of Catholic churches all over the islands is needed to fulfill their Catholic mission. In Cebu, one of the major elements in the construction of churches is a massive piling of *tinableya* or rectangular bricks of corals, which the *Indios* (poor Filipino masses) are deputized to work through hard labor. The building of the Catholic churches symbolizes the mighty power of Spain and her slavery among the Filipinos during the three centuries of colonization, for the sake of wider Christianization. The Encyclopedia of Philippine Art (2015) validates the oral lore that plants sap, molasses, and even eggs are mixed into the mortar to make the building construction more durable or binding.



Figure 4 : Baked Exotic Torta Delicacy of Argo Provenance: Flores, Mata & Parinasan (2015)



Figure 4 : Argao's Traditional Baking Ovens, Provenance: Flores, Mata & Parinasan (2015)

In order to strengthen its foundation, Villalon (2014) laments "that hundreds and thousands of chicken eggs are beaten regularly", in order to utilize the albumen in mixing with a naturalized lime, as paste, that fixes the said construction. With the yellow egg yolks left to waste; the villagers in Argao, mostly women find a way to make this egg material functional through the baking of the *torta*. With the passage of time, the celebration of the La Torta Festival has improved. As a result, the festival has attracted tourists to come to the Philippines and witness the festival. The need to study the La Torta Festival, in its wholeness, is a paramount importance to cultivate love and appreciation of Cebu's unique and vibrant cultural heritage.

The review of related studies traces the culture, tradition, and beliefs of different festivals around the Philippines. Aquino (1978) states that "the Filipinos are lovers of music and dancing as a part of recreation, the only way to express their ideas through dancing as cultural and recreational activity which lies in the spiritual satisfaction and the preservation of the people's culture". With this, the La Torta Dance Festival is a microcosmic representation of Cebu's response for merry-making as an expression of faith. This study focuses on the uniqueness and the embedded ethos of the dance festival, as an important feature of Argao. Argao's large flatlands and plains are located along the highway in sub-urban areas; while the central portions are mountainous and very steep. These town's landscapes are covered with tropical palms called coconuts (*coco nucifera*), upon which one of the villagers' means of living is dependent on. Three fourths of their livelihoods are sourced from *tuba* (palm wine) in Figure 1, through *pananggut* (palm wine extraction), *panlulukay* (coconut fronds gathering) for the weaving of

several *puso* (rice pouches), and other related coconut products. These products are one of the lists of Argao's homegrown industries like the torta, weaving, vinegar and pickle making, tuba, which all exist today according to Newman (2015). Ramos quotes Sales (nd) that "the weaving industry in Argao is as old as the town itself", describing women as busy *tejedoras* (weavers) or *hiladoras* (spinners). Like these homegrown activities, baking of *torta* is basically associated with women, while the *pananggut* is associated with men. This means that work among Argao's townspeople, during colonial times, are highly gendered.

The Department of Tourism reports that there are over 1,000 festivals in the Philippines. These festivals reflect the unique traditions in terms of: faith, bountiful harvest or product, remarkable trait, appeasement for unity, art, thanksgiving, legendary hero, and other cultural elements that define the Filipino identity. As substantiated, Wendt (1998) mentions that "festivals can disseminate the new faith, values and ways of life". In terms of faith, Bajos (2013) recounts that the *sinulog*, a dancing to imitate like a *sugor sulog* (a river water current) in Cebu, traces its historical and religious origin when the Portuguese explorer Fernando Magallanes arrives and plants the cross for Christianity on the shores of Cebu, claiming the territory for Imperial Spain. He presents the image of the Holy Child Jesus, *El Señor Santo Niño de Cebu*, as a baptismal gift to Raha Amihan, Raha Humabon's wife, who then later named the Queen Juana, in honor of King Carlo I's mother. Among the rulers of the island, some 800 natives are also baptized to the Roman Catholic Church (Bajos, 2013).

Defining a unique Filipino trait, Buted (2013) laments that the Tinapay Festival in Cuenca, Batangas puts the spotlight on the hardworking bakers or *panaderos* of the place, the reason why the town is dubbed as a "Home of the Bakers". This title defines the assiduous trait of the Batangueños in the Philippines. Another exemplification of a Filipino trait in terms of thanking for bountiful farm harvest is the Pahiyas Festival of Lucban, Quezon, where the townfolks celebrate a thanksgiving in honor to San Isidro Labrador, the farmers' Patron Saint (Rosaroso and Rosaroso, 2015). This claim is also supported with the Dinagat Festival of Cordova, Cebu, where the townfolks participate in the street dancing and the fishing rituals of a bountiful catch of the sea, more especially the *bakasi* or moray eel (*Anguilla japonica*) in honor of Señor San Roque, the town's Patron Saint (Rosaroso, Abao, Daygbil, Macan, Pogoy, and Cardillo, 2013).

As regards to appeasement of the battle, in the interior highlands of Mindanao, the province of Bukidnon celebrates the Kaamulan Festival. Dr. Carmen Unabia, who conceptualizes Bukidnon's famous Kaamulan

Festival in 1974, stresses the need for research on "The Roots of Filipino Culture and their significance in Filipino Festivals" (Baños, 2015). The Kaamulan starts a conflict solving of the seven warring tribes of Bukidnon, Higaonon, Talaandig, Manobo, Matigsalug, Tigwahanon, and Umayamnon to have the *amul* (a gathering for reconciliation). To ease tensions of the conflicting parties, dances and songs are included in the gatherings, in order to achieve unity. Similar to the Kaamulan, is the Sanduguan Festival of Bohol, which symbolizes a blood-sealed peace treaty between the natives of Bohol, which is represented by Datu Sikatuna and the Spaniards, represented by Spanish conquistadores Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, in March 16, 1565 (Festivals and Fiestas of the Philippines, 2010).

In terms of thanksgiving, festivals and fiestas in the Philippines identify the people of Baguio to celebrate the Panagbenga Festival, as a month-long annual flower festival as a celebration of life to rise from a killer quake devastation in 1990. The term is of Malayo-Polynesian origin, meaning "season of blooming". The festival every February includes floats that are covered mostly with flowers. The festival highlights street dancing clad in flower-inspired costumes that are inspired by the Bendian and Baloi dance practices of the Cordilleras (Festivals and Fiestas of the Philippines, 2010).

The Filipinos celebrate art through the art of tattooing, as evidenced in the Boxer Codex. *Pintados* (tattooed people), whose title is derived from *pinta* or tattoo serves as a status symbol, much like a general's badge of today (Agoncillo and Mangahas, 2010). It marks courage, rank and strength most especially during a successful battle in the early times. The bravest warriors are heavily adorned with tattoos which cover every inch of their bodies, head to foot. Indeed, these men are in fact such an unusual sight that the western missionaries consider them frightening and uncivilized upon their first glimpse in these warriors (Festivals and Fiestas of the Philippines, 2010).

## II. METHODS AND MATERIALS

### a) Research Design

The study employed an ethnographic design, which described the elements of the La Torta Dance Festival in a holistic cultural system. Focus group discussions (FGDs) among Argao's selected informants were conducted. There were 5 key informants and 5 casual informants in Argao, who represented as the emic group. To Pelto and Pelto as quoted by Whitehead (2004), an emic approach attempts to understand components of a cultural system from the perspective of the group being studied. Another 5 general informants were chosen outside of Argao, who were foreigners and other local tourists to represent the etic group. An etic approach analyzes a cultural system with research

paradigm brought by the researcher outside of those systems (Whitehead, 2004). This is done to avoid bias in the results and discussions of the study and to explain further the similarities and differences regarding their own culture and customs. Participant observation and in-depth interviews are conducted in order to analyze and interpret the informants' narratives. In connection to such study, it is observed and learned that the behavior, customs, and faith in God of the Argawanon (Argao's townspeople) are boundless.

#### b) Selection of Research Informants

The five key informants (KIs) were selected using these criteria: (1) elderly who ages 60 or beyond, (2) or a resident of Argao. The five casual informants (CIs) were selected La Torta choreographers, designers/artists, dancers, and music experts. Another five from local government officials of the town and tourists were selected as general informants (GIs). These KIs and CIs represent the emic or inside views regarding the ethnography of the La Torta Dance Festival. To provide a balance perspective, the GIs were selected, in order to provide the etic or outside views of the festival. GIs are selected based on these criteria: (1) local and foreign tourists, (2) residents from the neighboring towns of Argao who heard about the festival.

#### c) Ethical Considerations

The researchers and the informants established a rapport to determine the most convenient time for the interviews and participant observations were conducted. Names of the informants were withheld in order to maintain utmost confidentiality.

### III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### a) The Festival's Origin

Argao's La Torta Festival is coined from an exotic *torta*, a sponge cake, the town's famous product. With it, there are arguments encountered that La Torta should not be a festival name because festivals are believed to have religious connections; but because Argao is really known for a delicious *torta* for centuries, as attested by residents, tourists, and celebrities. The town mayor, commission heads, and department heads have approved the La Torta Festival. On the other hand, the replacement of the *Pitlagongas* as the first festival name to La Torta is based on popularity that a *torta* is widely known in Argao—making it unique from other places. CI-4 shares that:

*"Because of former Governor Gwen Garcia's project 'Pasigarbosa Sugbo' (Showcasing Cebu), which promotes a product in support with the Department of Trade and Industry's 'One town, One product' or OTOP policy. Pitlagongis not a product is not widely known as a popular product, unlike the torta."*

With it, they believe that *pitlagong* has to be replaced; because it is used to clean the *sugong* or

thetuba pitcher, which the *manananggalot*, palm oil gatherer commonly uses, before the wine is placed in the *biggalun* (decanter) or *banga* (jar), as a permanent container. During the drinking session, usually attended among male comrades in the village, the *hungot*, coconut shell is used as a traditional wine glass to perform a *tagay*, social drinking, which they can consume more than one *garapun* (a liter) to one decanter or even a jar as the *tagay* continues. Though *tagay* has formed a social significance of *barkadahan*, comradeship, which the *pitlagong* has shaped, it creates a distinct culture of the Cebuanos in the south; however it might bring a bad image of excessive drinking among the other sectors, thus, it is replaced with the La Torta.

The origin of the La Torta Festival is creatively organized by the town mayor, commission, and the department heads. They conduct a meeting to replace the *Pitlagong* Festival into something new because of its product is commonly produced in most towns of the country. With that conference, they brainstorm with different names even naughty names as combinations of their unique products in Argao. Suddenly, at the middle of their meeting, an unknown woman stands up and shouts "La Torta". Another conference is conducted and finally, they have defended La Torta with the majority's support among the townspeople. This narrative is supported by Woosnam and Aleshinloye (2015), that "a festival is created in an effort to attract tourists; rural communities promote their festivals that are unique to the area and local culture". One casual informant supports it that a:

*"torta is more famous and known than the pitlagong and qualifies as important product for DTI's OTOP".*  
– (CI-4)



Figure 6 : La Torta's Gasa steps Provenance: Piccio (2015)



The approval of the La Torta as a new festival of Argao constitutes a certain form of *social mutualism*, a collegial decision transcendent with the local government policy. After La Torta has been approved, the town joins the Pasigarbosa Sugbo (showcasing the best for Cebu) in 2011. For the first time, it leads them to become more famous because of their awards received during performance like Best in Showdown Competition that garners the following awards as: 3<sup>rd</sup> Place, Best in Festival Jingle, Best in Street Dance Competition and many others to mention a few.

i. *The Festival's Epitomized Ethos*

The La Torta Dance Festival uses the *casa real*, a typical colonial Spanish house, as backdrafts. It represents the preservation of their fabulous culture inherited from their Spanish colonizers during a celebration a town's fiesta in honor of the town's patron saint, Saint Michael Archangel. The colonial *casa real* represents an affluent social life of an *illustrodo*, the rich and famous in the town, with sweet smiles as sweet as their *torta*. The festival is typically a Spanish dance using the basic steps of: *paso*, *gasa*, and *polka*. These dance steps indicate the adaptability of the villagers' kinesthetic artistry as shown in the actual dancing.

ii. *La Torta Dance Steps*

Figure 7 shows the *paso* execution. *Paso* is a dance step that progresses a movement forward in any direction. The hand is in the second position of the fundamental arm position also known as lateral position. In performing the *paso*, La Torta dancers march on the dance floors with confidence, incessant smiles, and enthusiasm to entertain the crowd.



Figure 7 : The Paso step of the La Torta  
Provenance: <http://www.yfcebu.com> (2012)

iii. *Cebuano Enduring Hospitality*

"This dance step is performed gracefully and signifies hospitality to welcome the villagers' visitors during the fiesta celebration" – (CI-3).

A Cebuano enduring hospitality is symbolic through the movement of the hands that shows thanksgiving of nature's bounty such as the produce of the town's highlands and lowlands, the picturesque of a peaceful town facing towards the vast immensity of the sea, and the divine assistance of the patron saint. Another dance step in Figure 6 by Piccio (2015) is the *gasa*, which means to scoop, or swing the arm upward and downward, projects animated rejoicings and vivacious attitudes throughout the dance.

iv. *Mystical Tradition of Faith*

"This dance step signifies the praising and offering as their thanksgiving to their patron saint—a gift of profound love to Saint Michael the Archangel" – (CI-2).

This mystical tradition of faith shows how the Argao villagers share their blessings to their visitors, as a unique form of pride. Such mysticism is rooted from their animist tradition before the beginning of the Spanish colonization, which is maintained to flourish by the Spanish religious authorities through the use of religious images of saints. Lastly is the *polka* in Figure 8 (Piccio, 2015), a dance step that begins with standing from Right to Left or from Left to Right directions, a preliminary hop and a step forward on a free foot. This dance step projects merry-making in a social celebration.



Figure 8 : The Polka step of the La Torta  
Provenance: Piccio (2015)



v. *Expression of Inner Peace*

"The polka represents their profound joy and happiness by the blessings received to every town individual, family, and institution" – (CI-1).

The polka symbolizes the expression of inner peace through the dance. The feeling of solitude, being blessed by God, through the intercession of the patron

saint, St. Michael Archangel, protects the townspeople and the town from the destruction of natural calamities.

a. *La Torta Props*

The dance is creatively conceptualized in context to the town's cultural life. The props and the backdrafts (*casa real*) represent the preservation of Argao's Hispanic culture heritage as seen as a background in Figure 8.



Figure 9 : Torta as props

Provenance: Flores, Mata & Parinasan (2015)



Figure 10 : Guitara as props

Provenance: Santos Martnez (nd)

b. *The Collective Values*

Figure 9 shows a big *Torta*, as one essential prop is used in the dance, which symbolizes the town's *strength, unity, and sweetness*. The golden yellow color contrasts the red color of the suits. The shape of the flower represents the town's profound love. The form and shape of the delicacy represent an indigenous concept of a typical shape of a *batya* or basin that looks like a *tansan* or soda cap, which is commonly used to feed the hogs before these are butchered during the town fiesta. The *mantika* or pork oil is basically one of the elements in the baking of the *torta*, which makes the town's delicacy unique compared to the rest of the other baked *torta* in the Philippines. The shape of a basin, the pork oil, the egg yolk, the albumen, and palm wine create such unique elements of the indigenous townspeople's way of life, blending the colonial Christian tradition as a way folk religion. This represents a theme of *cultural dualism*. Cultural Dualism is the process of blending the two cultures such as the native animistic Cebuano traditions and the Spanish Catholic practices. The *torta* epitomizes the townspeople's socio-economic life to be resilient to all the challenges that the town might experience, a sterling vow they commit that they are nothing without nature and God. The abundance of nature is bestowed by God to them unconditionally. It is

their response to nature (animistic) and to God (religiously colonial). These elements bind them together, being responsible people in the village.

c. *A Symphony of Love and Devotion*

The *Guitara* or guitar in Figure 10 represents a musical instrument during the Spanish regime and is used for courtship in the dance by the male dancers. The female dancers hold flowers as an offering to the patron Saint. The dance integrates an angel praising in the introduction of the dance, which shows the towns people's religiosity. The way of courtship during the Spanish regime is also presented during the introduction of the dance. The guitar depicts a social reality of building *symphony of love and devotion*.

"When a man strums his guitar and sings a *harana* (serenade) to a woman he loves to grant his heartfelt intention is a metaphor, that is, compared to devotees intention to please Saint Michael Archangel, as protector of the town and shower them with abundant blessings" – (KI-4).

vi. *La Torta Costumes*

a. *The Female Costumes*

Based on the interview of both the choreographer and the designer, the costumes of the

dancers are designed according to the nature of the dance, which depicts the cultural practices of the town. CI-1 and CI-2 believe that the *mantones* (shawl) serves as a cover of their shoulders symbolizes the elegance and conservativeness of Argao's women during the Spanish regime, which they commonly wear mostly in special occasions like weddings, fiestas, and anniversaries (See in Fig. 11). Their *gown* has a layered Castilianskirt commonly with ruffles popular in Spain and in Latin American countries. This signifies formality in social convention and social regard for femininity. According to CI-1, the *red color* symbolizes the villagers' passion, love, and devotion to Saint Michael. It is also a belief among the elderly natives that during the Spanish colonial times, color red symbolizes power and authority. CI-2 has a different interpretation; the dominant red color in the La Torta costumes symbolizes the villagers' love of the tradition. The designers add that the *white shoes* symbolize women's purity and contrite religious intentions.



Figure 11 : Female Dancer's Gown

Provenance: Flores, Mata & Parinasan (2015)

#### b. The Male Costumes

According to CI-4, for male dancers, a red *long sleeved* with ruffles and *black slacks and shoes* are flamenco inspired. It signifies that whenever they court a woman, formality should be observed in order to catch the eye of their beloved and also in attending socializations and in formal conventions (See Figure 12).

Flamenco is derived from a Latin American term for a music or dance genre. It is *flamenco* inspired because of Argao's Hispanic cultural influences, during colonial times. Lorenz (2007) expounds that flamenco reflects the spirit of desperation, struggle, hope, and pride of people during the time of persecution of the Gypsies, nomads from India, in Andalucia, Spain. This context is also similar to what Cebuanos have experienced from the abuses of the Spaniards during the colonial times for more than three centuries, vis-à-vis, the La Torta Dance Festival is a projection of pride among Argao's folks, with standing their feeling of desperation and struggle under the Spanish rule.



Figure 12 : Costume of the Male Dancer  
Provenance: Flores, Mata & Parinasan (2015)

#### c. Regality in the Dance

"When I wear the gown during the actual festival, I dance like a princess back in time". – (CI-5)

Regality in dance is shown with how the dancers carry the gowns and project their body and facial expression that captures the life of *anilustrado* (the rich and famous) during Argao's colonial times.

#### d. A Chivalric Act

"Wearing the costume during the dance festival, it reminds me a culture that is totally different from what it is at present. It made me feel chivalrous". – (CI-4)

Unique in a flamenco inspired dance, that the male dancers respect gentlemanly the female dancers during the actual dance more especially in the part of the courtship ritual.

e. *La Torta Music*

The music of the La Torta Festival is the best festival jingle all over the province of Cebu. This is composed and arranged by Russel Alegado who is a known Cebuano writer and an arranger of Festival songs. The jingle undergoes three changes just to achieve its attraction. It has a *quadruple meter* and its dynamics is *allegro*, which means faster that made the song to have an up-beat rhythm and much enjoyable to dance. Its texture is *homophonic* since it was accompanied by a *rondalla* together with a soloist. Its structure or form is ternary like all of those common songs in our generation. *Ternary* form has three different melodies heard in the first, second, and the last part of the music. Lastly, this music is inspired from Latin American genre particularly Flamenco music, which is sounded of group of string instruments specifically the guitar.

f. *La Torta Courtship*

Alfonso (2012) emphasizes the courtship episode in the La Torta dance festival as depicted in Figure 13. As revealed, the key informants view *pangulitawoin* Cebuano or *panliligaw* in Tagalog, which means courtship as very significant in the dance because this reminds the townspeople's values of a man's authentic intention to win the woman's heart, before a formal endearing relationship like that of a romance starts (See Figure 13). A woman in the dance is expected to be *pakipot* (playing hard to get), as a way to tell the man that he has to work very hard in order to win her love (Business World, 2002).



Figure 12 : Courtship (Alfonso, 2012), Provenance: De Leon, Felipe (2012)

IV. THEMES AND VALUES

a) *Testimonies of Faith*

Culture and religion refer to a complex set of an integrated pattern of people's learned behaviors, shared and transmitted through interaction; their lifestyle, surviving records, and physical results. It is culture that gives people praise and thanks giving to their patron saint.

*“According to local lore of their ancestors, Argao's townspeople chose Saint Michael as their patron saint happened during the skirmishes between the Spaniards and the locals, when Spaniards are trying to operate the canyons, it has been said that it does not work; but it only gives out “bunot” (coconut husks) instead of bullets” – KI-3.*

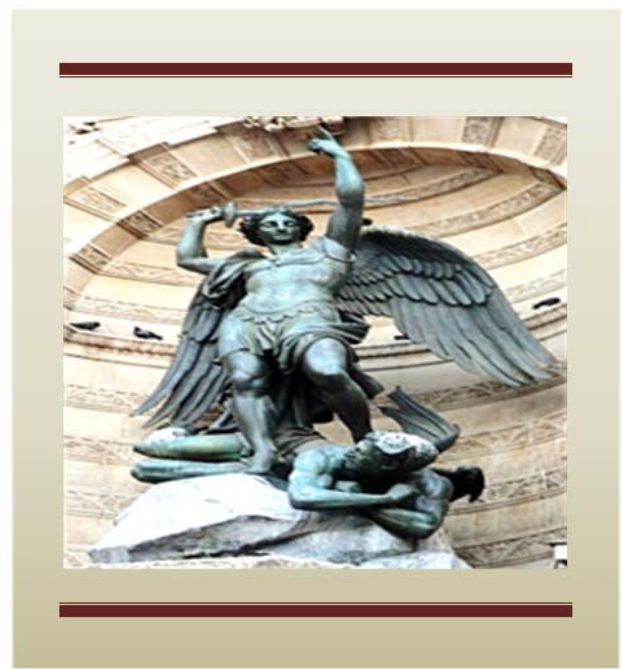


Figure 12 : Argao's Patron St. Michael fighting against the devil, Provenance: Flores, Mata & Partnasan (2015)

This folklore shapes the culture of Argao's townspeople as regards to their faith to the village patron saint. Since Saint Michael is the commander of all guardian angels (Figure 14), they have chosen Him to be their patron. From then, they are very thankful for the blessings and guidance that he bestowed on them. This *faith is based on miracles*. These are the testimonies and petitions granted from Saint Michael, which KI-2 narrated:

*“When I receive a lot of torta orders from customers, I thank St. Michael for the blessings and before I made it, I'll do the sign of the cross and thank Him for the good weather for my ingredients are in good condition. Asking him for a good weather is very important because if the weather is not so good, I*



would have had results within my product and that made all the difference". (3<sup>rd</sup> price of Best Torta in town, 2009)

#### b) Expression of Gratitude

Firstly, the *torta* becomes an expression of gratitude, which means that when devotees manifest good intentions and improve their *torta* business, they owe everything from Saint Michael Archangel. Folks know how to do good because nature provides them the best results, which make the La Torta Dance Festival, a celebration of faith and life.

"Because of St. Michael, I received the first prize of the Best Torta in town competition. Because of this award, I started the business and gain more money. Because of Him, many people order torta from me during our town fiestas. I thank Him for the blessings". – KI-4 (1<sup>st</sup> price of Best Torta in town, 2009)

#### c) Shower of Blessings

Secondly, the *torta* brings a shower of blessings. Strong faith in God results to manifold blessings, a mystical experience of faith and a strong devotion, that no one can fathom.

"Last 2014, a week before our town's fiesta, I washed our clothes outside our home. When I stood up for I was going to hang it to dry, I slipped out; but suddenly I have held a wood beside me. Thanks to Saint Michael who guides me not to totally slipped out from there, because probably for having a big body like this, I would have rushed to the hospital". – KI-1 (teacher and a St. Michael devotee)

#### d) Protector of Life

Thirdly, Saint Michael the Archangel is a protector of life. He protects everybody's life and honors the best of life in a form of thanksgiving and merrymaking during the celebration of the La Torta Dance Festival. This has a closer resemblance of the Dinagat Festival of what Rosaroso, et al (2013) have accounted that that Señor San Roque has saved the Codovanhon from the epidemic strains of diarrhea, leprosy, and other forms of diseases that hit the town of Cordova in several years ago.

### V. CONCLUSION

Argao's La Torta Dance Festival is a culture mix of colonial and indigenous elements as depicted in the dance steps, props and costumes, music and courtship, similar to the Dinagyang Festival of Iloilo, City Philippines, where it depicted a fusion of Roman Catholicism and the indigenous culture of the Panayanons, the people of Panay (Panaguiton, et al, 2015). The La Torta dance steps bestowed an enduring hospitality, a mystical tradition of faith, and an

expression of inner peace of the Cebuanos in the South. The props and costumes represented the townspeople's collective values. The torta props symbolized strength, unity, and sweetness equated with the symphony of the guitar nuanced a passion of love. The costumes of the dancers symbolized women's regality and men's chivalric act shaped in a passionate attraction for courtship. La Torta Dance Festival epitomized townspeople's ethos in the light of cultural dualism, that is, both indigenous and animistic within the townspeople's dependency with nature aided with a strong influence of Castilian heritage left by the Spanish colonizers for more than three centuries in the Philippines (1565-1898). The *torta* remains a symbolism of the townspeople's testimony of faith, an expression of gratitude, and a shower of blessing, which united the townspeople through a colorful festival as a symbol of faith to their patron saint—the protector of life.

### VI. RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that aspiring composers, arrangers and choreographers may continue the La Torta Festival and encourage going beyond their imagination to improve its future choreography, without altering the essence of its unique indigenous and colonial origins.

### VII. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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## Creative Indigenous Technologies in the Transformation of the Groundnut Industry in Central Nigeria

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**Abstract-** Nations of the Asian Tigers, as far back as the 19th and 20th centuries, came to realize and recognize the fundamental role that indigenous technology in the field of commercial agricultural revolution. The Asian tigers, namely, Japan, Korea, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, evolved indigenous technologies overtime which came to serve as the technological base station in the drive for overcoming the hurdles of traditional based economy whose techniques of production were rooted in traditional beliefs and ideas. In this paper, Nigeria has a lot to adopt from the framework of the Asian Tigers if the nation must overcome the challenges of a traditional based economy which depends primarily on primitive crude forces of production. Already, in several fields of her national history, particularly the agricultural sector, there is the invention and evolution of indigenous technologies in the agro-allied sector which can become the panacea for an agricultural driven revolution. This paper focuses in the evolution of indigenous technologies in the processing and production of groundnut, yams and cereals.

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# Creative Indigenous Technologies in the Transformation of the Groundnut Industry in Central Nigeria

Uji, Wilfred Terlumun

**Abstract-** Nations of the Asian Tigers, as far back as the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, came to realize and recognize the fundamental role that indigenous technology in the field of commercial agricultural revolution. The Asian tigers, namely, Japan, Korea, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, evolved indigenous technologies overtime which came to serve as the technological base station in the drive for overcoming the hurdles of traditional based economy whose techniques of production were rooted in traditional beliefs and ideas. In this paper, Nigeria has a lot to adopt from the framework of the Asian Tigers if the nation must overcome the challenges of a traditional based economy which depends primarily on primitive crude forces of production. Already, in several fields of her national history, particularly the agricultural sector, there is the invention and evolution of indigenous technologies in the agro-allied sector which can become the panacea for an agricultural driven revolution. This paper focuses in the evolution of indigenous technologies in the processing and production of groundnut, yams and cereals.

## I. INTRODUCTION

In the agricultural sector, Nigeria's as a nation is greatly endowed with tremendous agricultural resources and potentials particularly in the production of groundnuts, cereals, yams, cassava, etc. The introduction of these cash crops into the Nigerian society dated back to the era of the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade in the discourse between the New-World and Africa which witnessed the introduction of several cash crops into Africa and Nigeria in particular.

As from the age of European colonization of Africa, by the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in Nigeria these cash crops became important natural resources for the rural income earning of the local population as well as the national income earning of the Nigeria nation. For Nigeria, during the colonial era (1864-1950s) agriculture, particularly the cash crop driven economy provided for over 70% of the national income of the nation as well as provided employment level for 80% of the nation's population. Despite the predominant role of agriculture in the Gross Domestic Product of the nation (GDP) the several and methods of production and processing of agricultural cash crops were confirmed to crude techniques of production such as the hoe, cutlass, bush burning, shifting cultivation and several land holding practices

which were inimical to agricultural transformation. The methods of storage as well as marketing strategies remained crude and primitive.

As from the 1970s and the 1980s, through several economic policies and programmes such as the "Green Revolution", Operation Feed the Nation, the Structural Adjustment Programmes, deliberate efforts were made to revolutionized the techniques of agricultural production as well as processing and packaging of agro allied products. This marked the emergence of agro allied industries based upon the evolution of indigenous technologies and industries. Several states and national governments, as well as the private sector, seized the initiative to embark upon medium scale agro industries in the processing, production and marketing of primarily agricultural materials such as groundnuts, yams, corn, grain, etc. This paper takes the position that further research and investment in the evolution of indigenous technologies in the agro-industry will enable Nigeria emerge as an industrialized nation by the twenty first century. The hurdle to such a national transformation however lies deeply in traditional cultural practices which still are endemical to agro-industrialization and national transformation.

## II. PROBLEMS IDENTIFICATION

This research work intends to resolved the following research problems identified

- Local household industries in groundnut oil processing depend upon crude technology that is well primitive. This research work will resolve this problem by providing update technology in the processing of groundnut oil.
- Crude technology produces little output in terms of quantity and volume. The update technology will eliminate this problem by providing for mass production thereby increasing quantity for the market.
- There is the problem of unemployment and poor wealth creation among youths in rural areas. This new technology will provide jobs for the teeming youths in the rural areas.
- Due to lack of industries in the rural areas, there has been an rural urban migration drift. This technology

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will resolve this challenge by curbing rural urban migration.

a) *Conceptual and Theoretical Issues*

Every society in world history had a form of local technology which provides the basis for the gradual technological evolution of a given society. History has demonstrated that all societies in world history, from Asia, Africa, Europe and America, through the domestication of iron technology, developed a peculiar technological process, adapting to the domestic needs of the environment. The evolution of man, from a Homo Glabris to a Homo Sapien, clearly indicates the ability of man, based upon his capacity to think and reason, to invent tools, work and occupation. This process of human evolution, the ability to think and reason, invents tools and work, clearly distinguished man from other world of animals. The invention of work and occupation produced in man a social consciousness and awareness that he exist, the assertion, I exist, which distinguished man in the material history of the universe. Local technologies were first produced from wood, stones and eventually, the discovery of iron and other metals, which began a great revolution in the ability of man to invent tools and machines, domesticate the environment around him and reproduce his material livelihood.

Man in his material history and evolution remained a hunter and gatherer for several thousand of years until the emergence of sedentary forms of life in which cluster of human population began to emerged around the banks of Great Rivers in world history such as the River Nile, River Euphrates, the Mediterranean Sea, the Great Chinese River, River in India, etc were the greatest early human civilizations emerged in world history.

One of such greta ancient civilizations that emerged on the banks of River Nile and the Mediterranean sea was the Egyptian civilization which dates back to thousands of years ago. In Egypt, there was the evidence and existence of scientific and technological inventions in the agro-allied sector such as the invention of the grinding mill, wine press, longator technology, construction of dams, storage of agricultural products, etc. The legacies of the Egypt civilization provided the impetus for the spring up of the Greek and Roman civilizations in world history.

In the West, particularly Britain, France and Germany, technology evolved as a process of adopting and copying from the technological inventions of Asia and Africa as well as improving on the existing technologies through surplus capital investment that was derived from the plantation economy in the New World through the forced black slavery in plantations. The Willens in his work "Slavery and Capitalism" showed a great deal of relations between point ploughed from slavery and invested in the technological drive of

Western Europe subsequently resulting to the Industrial Revolution of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Walter Rodney "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa" also supported this assumption that Western European industrialization was the outcome of her human and material exploitation of Africans and the Americans. Whatever the polemics, by the 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the West became an industrialized technological drive nations that came to overtake the rest of the world in her material transformation.

As far back as the 1940s and the 1950s, in the United States of America, there were strong agreements led by modernization theorist who upheld the view that the path to technological and industrial transformation of the Third World nations like Nigeria lied in a technological transfer through foreign investment in capital and skills. The solution to Africa backwardness, particularly Nigeria, was a cultural modernization which would eliminate cultural bottlenecks inimical to the industrial and technological transformation of the Third World countries. Furthermore, what the Third World needed to do was to encourage good governance through public accountability, transparency, trust, fiscal and monetary discipline.

However, the experienced of industrialized nations like Japan, China, Korea, Taiwan, etc clearly showed that too much over reliance on a foreign technological transfer was not one key to a nation technological industrial transformation. In addition to foreign investments, the basic key to technological transformation is often rooted in exploiting, harnessing and the utilization of the indigenous technology base state of a nation to achieve technological growth. In Africa, European colonization of the continent had almost destroyed the existence of indigenous technologies, craft and industries. The pathway to technological transformation however lied in exploiting the technological resource of the indigenous Africa societies. Recognising the strong need for an indigenous technological drive towards national transformation, a former minister of science and technology in Nigeria, Prof. Emmanuel Omoben pointed out that;

The need for technological development of every nation has become one of the most acknowledged issues in recent times. And the agitation for a need to base such development essentially on the indigenous cultural and engineering resources had become even more pronounced.

Africa and Nigeria in particular, has no choice but to mobilize her indigenous cultural engineering resources to achieve technological growth and national transformation. In recent history, there are crucial attempts to create a technological development rooted in the indigenous cultural resources of the Nigeria people.

### III. AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND PRACTICES IN NIGERIA

The age of British colonial rule in Nigeria marked the commercialization of yams and groundnuts on a mass commercial scale as cash crops that contributed significantly to the Gross Domestic Product of Nigeria as well as the Gross National Product of the nation. In the northern region, under the regional system in Nigeria as from 1946-1967, the groundnut pyramids at Kano, sustained by the railway system for an export bound economy to Europe, provided the major revenue base of the regional northern government led by the Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sarduna of Sokoto. Yams were also produced in several tonnage, transported by rail and exported for the export bound economy. Throughout the colonial era, these agricultural cash crops, yams and groundnuts, were produced using indigenous leisure time, exported to Europeans raw materials. In Nigeria, the export bound economy of agricultural raw materials discouraged the existence of agro-allied industries which could transform the raw materials to finish products. British colonial policies rather encouraged the existence of a consumer driven society which degrade upon the importation of western manufactured products.

In the West, Europe supported the industrial base that came to depend on the export of agricultural raw materials for the survival and sustenance of the industrial system in the West. Europe needed Africa for the export of raw materials while Africa needed Europe for the importation of manufactured goods and services. This reciprocal relations was captured in the Lord Lugard Dual Mandate that;

Europe needed Africa for her raw materials and minerals while Africa needed Europe for her manufactured products, capital and skills.

Lord Lugard argued that European colonization of Africa was of mutual benefit to both European and Africa. However, the importation of western manufactured products, the consumer driven economy in Africa, discouraged the growth of local industrialization and technology. What happened was the near collapse of crafts and industries which locally produced goods and services in Africa.

In Africa, on the yam and groundnut plantations, the production and processing of these cash crops largely depended upon the use of primitive ways of production, processing and storage. In Africa, the Christian missionaries invented the idea of the "Bible and the Plough" in which the techniques of production of cash crops were factored in the use of the hoe and cutlass, exploiting manual and physical labour on the plantation. The use of crude implements of production as mentioned above supported the yam and groundnuts plantation holdings in Nigeria. However, the story was not entirely that of the exploitation of crude manual

forces in the production of agricultural raw materials. The British colonial system, through agricultural extension services, provided critical inputs for farmers in the production and processing of cash crops. On the several plantations and demonstration farms which were established in Africa, farm inputs such as insecticides, fertilizers, improved seeds and varieties, as well as techniques of processing and storage were provided for farmers. The British agriculture extension services provided some basis and elementary farmers' education that enabled rural farmers in Africa cope with the challenge of cash crop production.

Abumere S.I. in J.S. Oguntoyibo et al (ed) *A Geography of Nigeria Development*, examines the dynamics of agricultural systems and practices of farming as well as their national demand and supply requirements. The author assessed the hindrances in the food supply network and reaction by the farmers to innovation in agricultural and economy. According to him, most of the food crops produced in Nigeria is through traditional agricultural system which is predominantly through small holding farming using rudimentary tools like hoe, cutlass, axes and knives. He contends that the irrigated agricultural system involving natural irrigation "provided by seasonal flooded swamp or fadama land..." and artificial irrigation where dams or other water sources supplement natural water sources. By this the author contributed to the understanding of the activities of the Lower Benue River Basin Development Authority especially in terms of water supply through dams and irrigation to the development of agriculture in Tivland. However, Abumere work is not spared of shortcomings. His assumption that most of Nigeria's agricultural productions are largely done using rudimentary tools is far from the truth since both individuals and government all over Nigeria have made concerted efforts at farm mechanization in planting and harvesting. This can also be seen in the activities of the Lower Benue River Basin Development Authority in Tivland which is as well our area of study.

A.O. Falusi and S.O. Olayide's "Agricultural inputs and the small farmers in Nigeria" in S.O. Olayide, (ed) *et al Nigeria Small Farmers: Problems and Prospects in Integrated Rural Development* examines the role played by agricultural inputs on small farms to the overall productive capacity of the Nigerian agricultural sector. This paper suggests that land and labour constitute the main inputs used by small farmers in the production process. They say that human labour accounts for more than three quarters of all farm operations. The source of labour on these farms according to them comes from family labour. They add that most of the problems encountered by the small farm in Nigeria are due to the traditional or rudimentary technology in use together with low productivity occasioned by the use of these traditional inputs. And lastly, it is the demand for farm inputs for the

management of tree crop farming. The author lists two main types of modern farm inputs, which are needed by the small farms for improved productivity. These include “fertilizers, improved seeds, plant protection chemicals, feed and mechanization equipment or tools. Second is water in terms of the provision of irrigation equipment or tools. Second is water in terms of provision of irrigation equipment and water facilities...” They contend that even though the use of the aforementioned inputs is necessary for improved production, their supply is low, grossly inadequate or completely lacking. They argue further that water is a necessary input for increased food production. Adding that drought had adversely affected food production especially in the early 1970s in Northern Nigeria. To solve the water problem, the federal government established the River Basin Development Authorities for the development of the Nations’ water resources. The author’s claim that land ownership rights in the northern states being only “crown or public ownership” is not historically tenable. Pre-jihad Hausa land operated the communal system of land ownership. Similarly, pre-colonial Tivland also operated the communal system of land ownership. Apart from the above omission, the chapter is relevant to our research especially in its analysis of the vital role, which modern farm inputs could play in food production by small farms.

In *Readings in Nigerian Rural Society and Rural Economy*, R.K. Udo posited in his article christened “farming activities of migrant farmers” that people migrate from other places and settle for agricultural activities where they face a lot of challenges like access to land. This paper is relevant to this study because, in spite of the efforts of the Federal Government of Nigeria in expanding agricultural production through mechanized farming by the provision of tractors and construction of dams and irrigation facilities for farmers in Tivland, there is still migration of people from Tivland to other places like Taraba, Nasarawa, Plateau and Adamawa for farming. Thus, it is pertinent to understand that the inefficient functioning and uncoordinated distribution of irrigation infrastructures and dams have led to this migration. Udo contends that crops meant for the market are grown on larger farms than those crops meant for consumption. This means that large irrigation farm projects can enhance the production of large quantity of crops that can in turn be used for markets. This is an area where this book is important to our area of study. The idea for the provision of mechanized agriculture, dams construction and irrigation infrastructure were among other functions of Lower Benue River Basin Development Authority to facilitate large production of agricultural output. Moreso, this chapter provided a historical synopsis in the colonial agricultural policies in migrant tenant farmer but did not look at the post-colonial; policies that have acted as push factors in the migration farmers from Tivland could have been

because of infertility of the soil accentuated with lack of fertilizer, water during dry season with which effective projects of the Lower Benue River Basin Development Authority could have resolved through irrigation of portions of farm land allocated to farmers. This is the area that this research hopes to contribute especially in looking at the impact of the activities of Lower Benue River Basin Development Authority like farm mechanization and irrigation projects to the development of agricultural activities in Tivland.

Vermeer D. has also provided very useful submissions in the understanding of the study. His article “Food Sufficiency and Farming in the Future of West Africa” in the *Journal of African Studies* examines the kind of role played by traditional agricultural practices in promoting food sufficiency in the West African region. He argues that certain factors inhibit the smooth operation of traditional agriculture such as “rising cost of fuel, fertilizer, labour, migration for labour which takes away manpower from the rural areas to location of industries, wage differentials between urban and rural areas and prices of food stuff. He emphasized that the West Africa countries were affected by the low agricultural production of the 1970s especially 1973 and gives factors responsible as climate conditions such as drought, pricing policies on food stuff, migration from rural to urban areas and inadequate infrastructure. Thus, with these problems he failed to identify the solutions applied by the Nigerian Government in the provision of water as a check-mating approach to the draught through the establishment of Lower Benue River Basin Development Authority to enhance water supply for industrial, agricultural activities and domestic uses. With this notification, the impact of the Lower Benue River Basin Development Authority in its catchment area including Tivland could have been more appreciated. It is therefore, the hope of this work to carefully study the establishment of Lower Benue River Basin Development Authority and also look at the future of food sufficiency and farming activities in the future of West African countries as D. Vermeer suggested.

M.O. Odey in his paper “Policies and Performances of Agricultural and Non-Agricultural Sectors of the Economy of Benue State since 1976: A Comparative Analysis” Agricultural and Environmental Issues in Nigeria took a critical reflection on the impact of ever-changing government efforts at the development of the economy of Benue State. He noticeably surveyed the industrial development of Benue State with emphasis on the First Development Plan 1975-1980 where he carried out a study with statistical results suggesting about 20 industrial projects were actually established by the state government such as the Benue Brewery, Otukpo Burnt Bricks, etc. Odey in the agricultural sector articulated that, with Benue State assuming the status of “food Basket if the Nation”, it is subsistence driven mostly by small holder family groups

using crude implements and where farmers depend on natural weather conditions. He adds that even though the state is a major producer and exporter of crops like soya beans, yams, etc. It is uncertain on the percentage retained for domestic consumption hence he says, "we have carefully demonstrated the boomerang effects of the Beubue food stuff trade as an illustration of the dialectics of hunger and rural poverty..." Odey's work is relevant to this study because it exposes the nature of agricultural development in the state through a feasibility analysis.

E.T. Orgbe's work, title "The Effects of National Development Policies on Rural Development: A Case Study of Lower Benue River Basin Development Authority is also very significant in the generation of data for this research. Orgbe has carefully surveyed the impact of Lower Benue River Basin Development Authority with particular emphasis on the supply of water through dams and boreholes. He argues that the authority has over the years remained supportive to economic development through water supply for rural agricultural economy and that has expanded the scope of crop production. The work is however characterized by its failure to look at the actual implementation and In Nigeria, the 1970s and the 1980s, with the decline in the fortune of crude oil, marked a turning point in the massive investment of the Nigeria state in the agricultural sector. As far back as 1978, through the Operation Feed the Nation programme of General Olusegun Obasanjo, attempts were made through the River Benue and River Niger Basin Development Authority to promote the mechanization of the agricultural sector through the importation of critical agricultural infrastructure like tractors, harvesters, longation, dam construction, storage facilities, etc. The state also through cooperative societies and agricultural banks provided inputs such as capital and loans for commercial farmers to emerge. These efforts, laudable and desirable, achieved little results.

The Operation Feed the Nation was followed up by the Green Revolution of the president Shehu Shagari (1979-1983). The Green Revolution in its contextual and theoretical framework was to commercialise the agricultural sector as the key to the Industrial revolution of Nigeria. To achieve the laudable objective, national agricultural bank was established to provide loans to farmers' cooperative societies at the rural areas, feeder roads were opened up, fertilizer blending plants were established and the emergence of a medium agro-allied entrepreneurial class was patronized and promoted by the state. The Structural adjustment Programme of General Ibrahim Babangida era (1985-1992) consolidated in the gains of the Green Revolution through the creation and sustenance of a medium and small scale agro-allied entrepreneur class in Nigeria. Through the import and export substitution programmes, the President Babangida era, succeeded

in the encouragement of the growth and evolution of indigenous technology in the application of the agricultural sector. The era, marked the age of the emergence of indigenous technologies in the agro-allied industry, a critical key to national transformation.

#### IV. HISTORY OF GROUNDNUT PROCESSING IN CENTRAL NIGERIA

As far back as the colonial era, groundnut processing and the extraction of groundnut oil became an important domestic household industry among the female population of the Nasarawa ethnic group of present day Nasarawa state. Groundnut processing was experienced in places such as Kadaroko and Keana in Keana local government of Nasarawa state but the large concentrations of groundnut processing household industries were in Nassarawa-Eggon local government of Nasarawa state spreading to other areas such as Doma local government areas as well as Lafia local government areas.

The colonial economy through the colonial state exacted much demands on the processing and exports of groundnut as an export cash crop as a means of national income earning. In Northern Nigeria, the mainstay of the economy from the age of colonialism up to post-independence era was factored upon the production and export of groundnuts and other agricultural raw materials as the major income earnings of the northern region. Against the backdrop of the exigencies of the cash crop induced economy, groundnut products as well as its exportation became a major economic and commercial activities of the Nasarawa people who were part of the Northern region at that time.

Household industries mobilised factors of production such as labour and capital in the production as well as the processing of groundnuts for the export economy. Available statistics, during the colonial era, showed that groundnuts were an important export crop of the Nigeria state. The engine that drove this commercial enterprise was the household cottage industries managed by some men and women. Below is a table indicating statistical data of the groundnut earnings during the colonial era.

District	Year	Tonnes	Income Earning (£)
Nassarawa-Eggon	1935-1950	10,000	15,000
Keana	1935-1950	15,000	20,000
Lafia	1935-1950	5,000	5,000

In the post-independence era, agriculture continued to feature as the main stream of the economy of the Nigerian state. The bedrock of the Nigerian economy revolved and rotated around small scale and medium scale agro-allied industries managed by



households across the nation. In Nasarawa state, the prominent areas in the groundnut processing and production which as stated earlier on were in Keana, Kadarko, Nassarawa-Eggon, Doma and Lafia which were heavily inhabited by an influx of Eggon, Tiv, Alago and Bekwarra population who provide the labour for the production of groundnuts. Available statistics shows that groundnut became an important household cottage industry providing a sustainable income earning for the teaming rural population of Nasarawa state. In addition, the processing of groundnuts into oil provides important bedrock for the boost of the domestic trade between Nasarawa and other states within Nigeria and even the export trade. Below are figures in respect of this development.

a) *Groundnut processing and exports*

Local Government	Year	Tonnes	Income Earning (₦)
Nassarawa-Eggon	1960-1970	17,000	600,000
Keana	1960-1970	12,000	800,000
Doma	1960-1970	3,000	4,000
Lafia	1960-1970	2,000	3,000

In contemporary times, from 1996 to the present, when the local government of Keana, Nasarawa-Eggon, Doma were created, groundnut processing has remained an important bedrock of the small scale and the medium commercial enterprise providing a basis for both domestic trade as well as export trade. These local governments by the National Population Census of 2006 had a population of over 600,000 people. In addition, the groundnut cottage industries, which largely depend upon crude indigenous technology in the processing of groundnuts, provide a good income earning as well as job creation in Nasarawa state. Below are statistics of this respect:

Local Government	Year	Tonnes	Income Earning (₦)
Nassarawa-Eggon	1996-2011	5,000	2000,000
Keana	1996-2011	6,000	2.500,000
Doma	1996-2011	3,000	600,000
Lafia	1996-2011	2,000	400,000

b) *Groundnut processing; Job creation and income distribution*

Local Government	Job Creation	Income Distribution (₦)
Nassarawa-Eggon	10,000	800,000
Keana	7,000	500,000
Doma	3,000	400,000
Lafia	2,000	350,000

c) *Origin of Indigenous Groundnut Oil Processing Industry in the Colonial Era*

In the colonial age, the processing of groundnut oil through the extraction of oil from groundnut seedlings was located in the domestic household enormous of food process and chain owned and controlled by women.

It is not certain in exact terms how the technology in the processing of groundnut oil began. Oral accounts indicate that the migrant population of Hausa migrants from the far North poured out into central Nigeria with the relevant domesticated technology that could process oil from groundnuts. In the major cities and towns across central Nigeria, Hausa migrants controlled the processing as well as trade in groundnut oil and its allied products such as groundnut cakes. In the central Nigeria towns of Jos, Lafia, Makurdi, Oturkpo, etc, Hausa migrant's traders enjoyed a specialization in the area of groundnut food processing.

During the colonial period, there was a direct synergy between rural indigenous population such as the Tiv, Idoma, Eggon, etc who produced groundnuts as cash crops for the colonial economy, or, the urban based Hausa migrant group with skills and capital to process groundnuts to finished consumer items such as oil and cakes. A survey in the existing markets across central Nigeria during the colonial era such as Makurdi, Abinsi, Lafia, Jos, Oturkpo showed that Hausa migrants dominated over Eighty percent of the trade in the groundnut oil process while the Nigerians population served basically as primary producers of the raw – materials that feed the domestic household economies of the groundnut food industry.

As stated earlier on, there is no gainsaying the fact that groundnuts was a major natural income earning crop of the central Nigeria people thus providing the basis for income generation as well as revenue profile for the colonial states. Despite the strategic role of the groundnut industry, the technology in the processing of its raw – materials to finished products was largely crude, land restricted to the domestic front. Despite the limitations imposed by crude technology, the oil processing industry provided creative economic outlets thus generating wealth and income for the Hausa commercial class.

Migrants populations on central Nigeria like the Bekwarra adopted a crude method of crushing groundnuts using their multiple fingers on the bench and table. However, this process, despite its fastness in the processing of groundnuts was often slow and powerful. With the advent of the small hand machine that could crush groundnuts breaking off the nuts, the processing of groundnut oil had reached a technological stage through the use of machines. The small scale machines were portable, adaptable and easy to manipulate by women and children within the

household economies. The invention of the hand crushing machine was an important step in evolutionary technological advancement of the groundnut oil processing. The technology, domesticated within the household economies, marked an important step in the revolutionary trend in the food processing industry in Nigeria during the colonial age. In the emerging commercial towns of Makurdi, Lafia, Jos, Oturkpo, Hausa migrant traders domesticated the indigenous fabricated technology in the production of oil and its allied production.

d) *Groundnut Processing Industry in the Post Independence Era*

In Nigeria, after the independence era as from the 1960s, agriculture still remained the bedrock of the economy of the nation providing for over 70% of the national income economy. Agriculture provided the cornerstone of the main stay of the economy of Nigeria up to the 1970s which the prospects of crude oil overshadowed the gains made by the agricultural sector. Despite the decline of agriculture as a major national income earning, the sector still accounts for the 60% of the employment generation of the Nigeria nation.

Given the predominant role of the agricultural sector in the 1960s and the 1970s, the oil processing of groundnut into finished products received a major boost under the nations Operation Feed the Nation programme and the Green Revolution programmes launched in the 1970s-1980s with the primary purpose to mechanize the Nigeria's agricultural sector. Through the intervention of foreign technology in the agro-allied industry, important agricultural sectors such as the processing of seedlings – cereals received a boost through a deliberate mechanization of the sector. As far back as the 1960s, giant subsidiaries like the Lever Brothers and the United Africa Company established their subsidiaries on Nigeria with the aim of processing food raw materials into finish products. This deliberate transfer of foreign technology gave impetus to the transformation of the food processing industry in Nigeria particularly that of groundnut oil, soya beans oil, beniseed oil, palm oil, kernels, etc. industrial developments in the agricultural sector in the 1970s and 1980s accelerated the evolutionary trend of food processing agro-allied industries in Nigeria.

The groundnut oil processing industry received a boost of the evolution of technological innovation needed on the processing and extraction of groundnut oil and other allied products. As from 1980s, through the deliberate programmes of state induced industrialization launched out by respective national and state's government, the hydraulic industry in the processing of oils, witnessed a dramatic turn-around in the design and the fabrication of modern industrial factories for the processing, package and export of food oils from Nigeria. The food oil sector became an important

milestone in Nigeria's export as well as important bedrock for the triumph of small scale and medium enterprise across the central states of Nigeria. For instance, Aper Aku conceptualized the Taraku mills which were translated into reality during the Governor Adasu's era. The Taraku mills, a multipurpose hydraulic mill could transform raw cereals and nuts such as soya beans, groundnuts, beniseeds, castors seed, cashew seeds, etc into domestic turkey oil, aviation fuel, as well as other allied products.

In various forms and different directions, hydraulic oil technology became domesticated through a process of indigenous diffusion across central Nigeria. In recent times has witnessed the design and fabrication of indigenous oil mills and factories which has come to transform the industrial landscape of the central Nigeria people. In almost all the commercial and urban towns of central Nigeria, there are thousands of private owned and controlled oil mills providing unemployment as well as wealth creation for the teeming unemployed population of the region. Available statistic shows that the groundnut oil mill industry provides a monthly income of more than one million naira to the population engaged in the industry. Statistics also shows that over millions of people are engaged in the industry from the processing, the industrialist, to the marketers of the finish products in the markets and streets. This is a lucrative industry for national income earning, wealth distribution and national economic transformation for the nation.

There is gainsaying the fact that since the 1990s, the central states of Benue, Nasarawa, Taraba, Plateau, etc have all made the small scale and medium enterprise as the cornerstone of their economic recovery programmes. These states have established bureau for small and medium enterprise as well as microfinance credit institutions to fund the sectors from the billions and trillions of dollars pumped in by the World Bank and the Federal Government through the Central Bank. It is the major pillar of the current administration effort of President Goodluck Jonathan to provide mass employment ease youth restiveness, distribute national wealth.

## V. CONCLUSION

The experience of nations of the Asian Tigers such as Japan, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Taiwan, etc have proven overtime that industrial success can be achieved through the recycling and adoption of post existing indigenous industries and ideas into modern industries. The Asian Tigers adopted the approach of research in the historical past of existing indigenous industries, through a process of education, by evolving ideas from the past to the present. The industrial success of pre-colonial past laid the foundation for the evolution of such industries into modern industries

complex. The point is that recycles and evolves past industrial ideas to achieve modern industrial success.

Nigeria, like the Asian Tigers came under the wake and domination of European colonialism. However, the Asian tigers did not allow their past indigenous industrial and technological success to total collapse or disintegrate as it is in Nigeria. The past is a vital tool in the reconstruction of the present. Past ideas, economic ideas can be recycled into the present, through a process of innovation and creativity to achieve some significant level of national economic transformation and success. The thrust of this presentation is to look at the industrial success of the central Nigeria people and how that can evolve into a consciousness of viable industrial transformation of the area in the present.

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## Did the Spiral Engravings in the Rock Art of our Distant Ancestors Portray Chakras?

By John F. Caddy

*Abstract-* This paper characterizes the use of spirals in rock carvings and other artifacts by early mankind. It formulates the hypothesis that these widely distributed symbols may represent chakras, which are typically considered the route for out-of-body experiences documented in some current vital energy disciplines. A characterization of the types of spirals commonly encountered in rock art, such as those found recently in a cave in Sardinia modelled on the Earth Goddess Gaia, and they suggested the hypothesis that Fermat spirals might also symbolize two-way communication.

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# Did the Spiral Engravings in the Rock Art of our Distant Ancestors Portray Chakras?

John F. Caddy

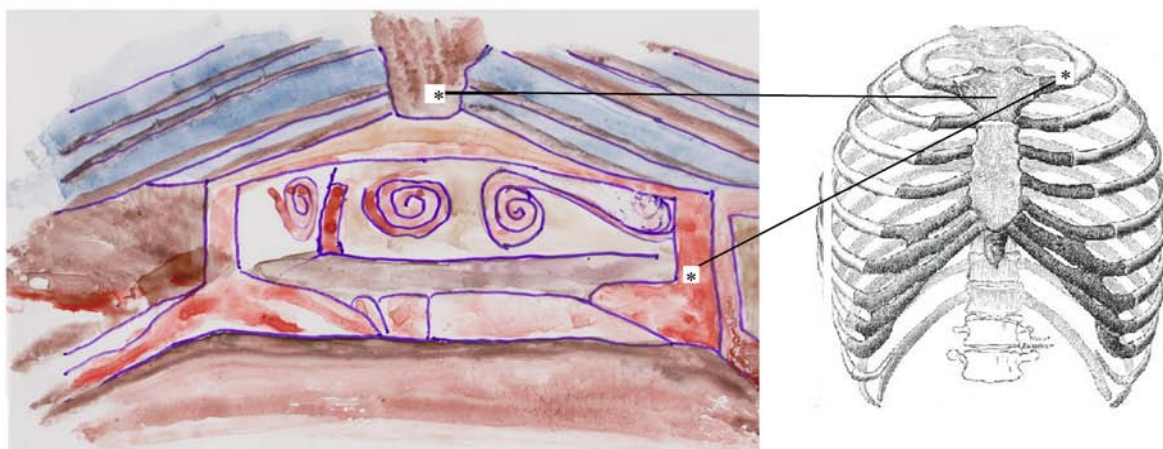
The chakras are intermediaries between the physical body and consciousness (Motoyama 1981).

**Abstract-** This paper characterizes the use of spirals in rock carvings and other artifacts by early mankind. It formulates the hypothesis that these widely distributed symbols may represent chakras, which are typically considered the route for out-of-body experiences documented in some current vital energy disciplines. A characterization of the types of spirals commonly encountered in rock art, such as those found recently in a cave in Sardinia modelled on the Earth Goddess Gaia, and they suggested the hypothesis that Fermat spirals might also symbolize two-way communication.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The remarkable phenomenon provoking this article was the discovery in Sardinia of a cave with simple but evocative internal paintings; the 'Pala Larga'.

Here, the spirals on the walls must play a leading role in our understanding of the purpose of this site. Pala Larga is one of many 'Domus de Janas' or fairy caves on the island, which point to the activities of the ancient inhabitants and their earth goddess religion. Dating back to the late Neolithic (the 4<sup>th</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium), the cave contains evidence of ancient belief systems which are frankly surprising, and I believe are more easily interpreted by reference to chakras. This cave is now sealed, but two sketches based on photos of this site are shown in Figs 1 and 8.



*Fig 1* : Sketch of the internal view of the 'Pala Larga looking towards the 'head end', (based on images in: [www.twcenter.net/forums/showthread.php?t=351728](http://www.twcenter.net/forums/showthread.php?t=351728)). By contrast, the human thoracic cavity is shown (from Wikipedia)

This cave is a 'Spiritual Cavity' (how else could one consider it?), and raises questions on the activities that went on within its confines. You are reminded of common archaic structures on the island of Sardinia, the misleadingly named 'Giant's tombs' (Fig 2). Although these were considered graves for heroes and sages, the high ground energy of their carefully-chosen locations would have prevented rapid decomposition, but also provided a site for regeneration of spiritual energies.

Mauro Aresu, a local dowser with an important record of discovery of ancient sites, has investigated these 'tombs'. From dowsing, he concluded they were invariably constructed over a high-energy water 'dome' where underground streams meet and emanate prana upwards. Paraphrasing his words:

"A pairing of effigies of a bull, the male fertilizing principal – (also present in the Pala Larga), and the Mother Earth, together give vital force for human and animal fecundity through the medium of fertile earth and water".

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*Fig. 2 : View of a Giant's Tomb' in Sardinia*

The ground energy irradiating the tomb makes it an effective location for spiritual healing. It also confirms the sensitivity of the former inhabitants to events within the Earth itself, and their belief in the Earth Goddess. A person suffering from a medical or psychological problem could pass 5 days inside the Giant's tomb (Fig. 2) while fasting, and during this time he/she hoped to be visited by a curing entity. The procedure was described retrospectively as ancient by Aristotle, (who referred to these structures as the 'tombs of the sleeping heroes'), and has some resemblance to an activity in ancient Ireland described by Michael Dames (1992), which took place within tombs shaped after the Earth Mother. In pre-Christian times, a young couple hoping for a child sought the blessing of the earth goddess (often referred to as 'the Old Hag'), and would spend the night in the tomb engaged in reproductive activities. Creating a new human baby within the image of the Earth Mother may have other magical effects we can only speculate upon, one of which could be the reincarnation in your offspring of an important person recently deceased, given that reincarnation was a component of Celtic beliefs.

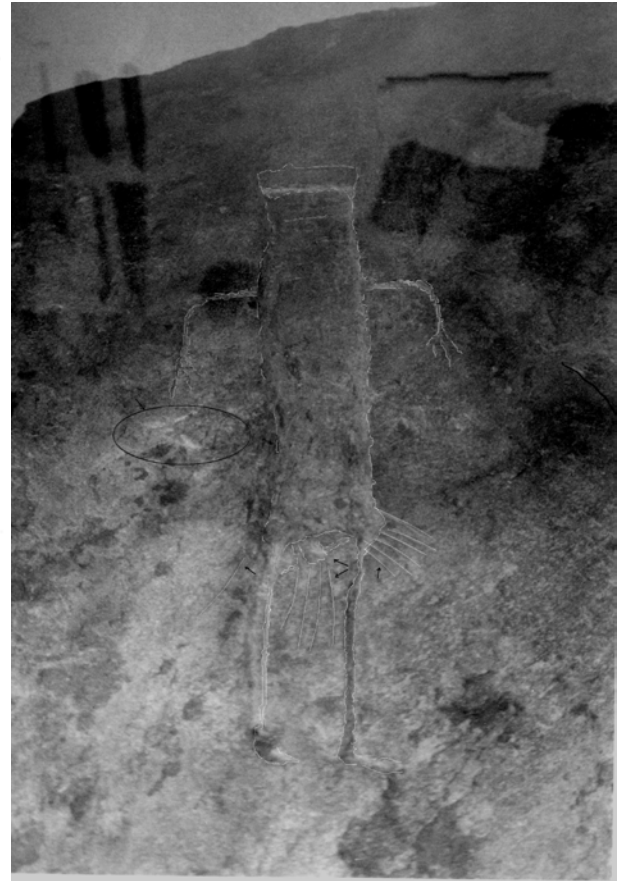
## II. THE PURPOSE OF CHAKRAS

I became fascinated by the phenomenon of chakras after learning to sense them with my hands as taught in the Pranic Healing school of the Philippine energy master Shoa Kok Sui. I mentioned in my book (Caddy 2006a) how on several occasions, I had 'seen' my own chakras while in particular mental states. In a more recent paper (Caddy 2006b) I described a Stone Age engraving from the Grenada Museum of Archaeology which showed a shaman projecting energy from one of his lower chakras (Fig. 3). These phenomena led me to consider what significance such experiences might have had for Stone Age peoples. Given the absence of written records, I suppose that their brains (the same size as ours) were certainly dedicated to other issues than reading printed texts. This unused brain capacity was available for functions not often experienced by modern man. Given the risks involved in living close to nature, they may have been more sensitive to 'messages' from their body, from the environment and from other persons.



An example comes from the work of Belinda Gore (1995), who documented how, by assuming particular bodily postures (e.g. Fig. 3), ancient peoples may come to be placed in contact with spiritual 'locations' guarded by non-physical entities. Belinda learned of this technique from the strange contortions on very early figurines and statues: the bodily positions shown were necessary to contact an entity having

particular skills or knowledge. She confirmed this by meditations while in the same bodily position: showing that 'experiential archaeology' may be the vital link to interpreting ancient artifacts. The basic assumption involved, is that our ancestors, (more than ourselves – though we must share some sensitivities), were aware of subtle energy and disembodied spirits.



*Fig 3 :* (left); Dames (1992) illustrating a position portrayed in Stone Age sculptures, which induces a particular clairvoyant trance, and (right); a photo of an engraving by Stone Age peoples of a shaman participating in a similar trance (note energy lines from the lower abdomen) – Caddy 2006a)

Activating the chakras is a well-documented and ancient procedure, and is often thought (perhaps incorrectly?) to have arisen first on the Indian subcontinent, judging from early Sanskrit texts. It has now become a common practice in the teachings of modern energy schools to stress the role of chakras in the energy body. Although many scientists (and archaeologists!) are reluctant to acknowledge the existence of chakras, their portrayal as 'rock spirals' offers an important clue to ancient religious phenomena. Evidently chakras were once known in ancient Europe, although subsequently lost in this part of the world, perhaps millennia ago. Even today, from T.C. Lethbridge to Clare Graves' theory of Spiral Dynamics, the spiral is identified as the route to higher spiritual states. Their role in European pre-history is implied by the frequency with

which spirals (the basic configuration of the chakra in my hypothesis), occur in early stonework engravings. So did the spiral have a particular significance for early peoples? Robert Graves gives a clue to this question in his esoteric book, 'The White Lady'. He mentioned that in pre-Christian Ireland, death was referred to as 'Going to Spiral Castle', where a 'Spiral Castle' was a Stone Age funeral structure covered with images of spirals (e.g. Fig 4). In the late Stone Age, structures and rock faces decorated with spiral themes were common throughout Europe and elsewhere, and are unlikely to be an attempt to represent living organisms. They seem evidence for a belief system extending over much of the planet, where prior to 'sky-based religions', the Earth's sacred spirit was worshipped. The spirals were significant as 'portholes' to another realm below the

earth, and in discussing their original significance, we should not assume that the thought processes of our ancestors were either simple or primitive.

The belief in an Earth Mother, Gaia, or similar female deities under other names, was widespread in prehistory; though inevitably we have few written records describing the belief systems involved. Many of the 'superstitions' about the magic properties of springs, wells, lakes and mounds, standing stones, fairies and gnomes etc, are probably associated with this 'earth-bound' religion. Dowsing is a practical application of 'earth beliefs' that has persisted from then, despite criticism from scientific quarters. Considering that this 'earth-bound' belief system maintained continuity for millennia, many aspects of it must be tied to man's paranormal abilities. Hence it deserves further attention, since our distant ancestors were certainly further ahead of us in this field.

More recent clues to sensibilities we rarely use come from near-death experiences, where the person having a pre-death vision travels down a 'silver tube' to meet defunct persons of his former acquaintance (Van Lommel et al., 2001). This tube was described by some returning from near-death visions as engraved on the inside by a spiral. An example of this spiral configuration is seen in Maltese monuments from 3000-3500 BC: perhaps the most ancient in Europe (Fig. 4). One easy assumption is that such massive stone structures are funeral emblems. This may be the case, but like the 'giants tombs' in Sardinia, there seems evidence that they were also used for paranormal rites, where the spiral was an important symbol.



*Fig. 4 :* An ancient Maltese 'tomb' showing linked spiral engravings

Spirals are engraved on many rock surfaces, but also used in the 'dream catchers' developed by American Indians as a protection from negative experiences while sleeping (Fig. 6). This application

provides a clue to possible functions of the chakras, namely, as a means of communication of energies to and from individuals, or a route for excursions of the soul from the body to other realms. From archaeological evidence, this postulated mechanism was extensively distributed, implying that spirals formed a common spiritual context for early humanity.

One aspect that makes these early evidences difficult to interpret comes from the change over from a religion based on an earth goddess, to the 'sky-centric' belief systems which now dominate modern religious thought. These latter credos are based on the idea that the Deity (and Heaven) are above the earth, and not below it. Having made this transition, the mode of thinking of modern mankind is certainly out of tune with interpreting the beliefs of their early ancestors.

*a) Modern shamanic experience provides strong analogies!*

Another source of evidence not readily accepted by archaeology is to look for analogies with human activities in the modern day. The spiral tube leading to the lower world can be encountered in shamanic practice. While participating in drumming sessions accompanying voyages to the Lower World of shamanism, we enter a tube leading down to the Lower World paradise. In my experience as a drummer, persons often return from such a voyage describing encounters with persons they knew who have passed on. This personal evidence gives me the temerity to suggest a possible explanation for the configuration of the paintings on the walls of Sardinian locations. I follow the precedent of Graham Hancock (2006), who also reinterpreted a linkage between the Cro-Magnon paintings and shamanic rituals. If we take into account the characteristics of ancient activities that persist into the modern age, we may have more success hypothesizing the rituals once carried out so long ago. If we imagine what religious activities we would carry out if we believed in a global earth goddess, we might erect better hypotheses than if we are influenced by modern sky-centric rituals.



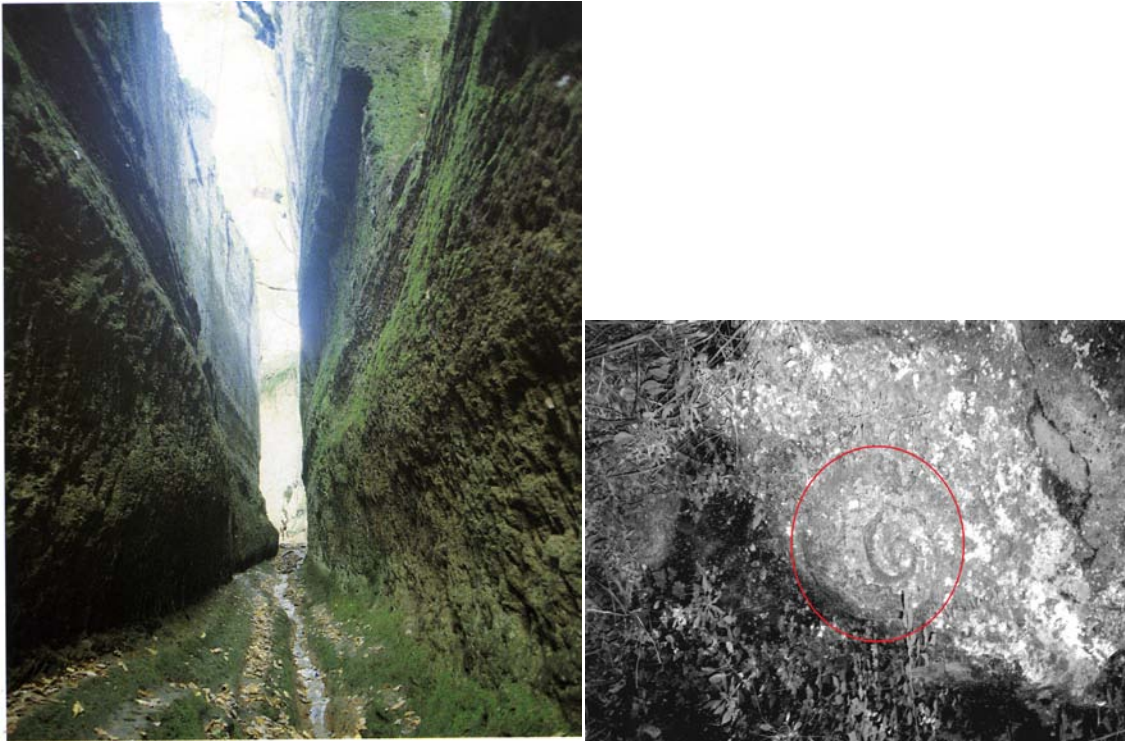


Fig 5 : An Etruscan 'quarry cut' (left), and an engraved spiral at its entry point

Ancient Etruscans excavated deep rifts through the soft tufa bedrock which were referred to as 'quarry cuts' by Giovanni De Feo (1993); an expert on Etruscan traditions and artifacts. The original purpose of the quarry cut is mysterious, but they appear not to have been intended as either waterways or roads. According to local tradition they were traversed by torch-lit processions on special occasions, presumably in recollection of defunct family members resident in the Etruscan equivalent of Hades; a below-ground afterlife. At the entrance to this rift, a small cave was located, and below it, a rock protrusion marked by a engraved spiral (Fig. 5). This suggests that a preparatory ceremony was held there before traversing this below-ground structure.

b) *The possible significance of spirals and concentric circles*

As well as its ubiquity, a wide variety of spiritual meanings have been attributed to the spiral. Carl Jung saw the spiral as an archetypal symbol representing cosmic force. A spiral has also been associated with cyclic events: the seasons, birth, growth and death, and is used in *hypnosis*. Some consider the spiral a symbol for the spiritual journey, which is consistent with the association of spirals with shamanic voyaging. In other words, a common view of many mystics is that chakras are symbols of a portal or cosmic gateway to an alternate plane of reality, and relevant descriptions are given by Robert Bruce (1999).

The fact that many structures in the natural world are spiral in form, means that this is one of the oldest abstract geometric motifs brought to the attention of mankind. Although different mathematical shapes are grouped together by non-mathematicians and categorized as spirals (see Wikipedia), these typologies are not usually characterized in modern terminology; nor perhaps are they adequately distinguished in meaning from a related configuration: the concentric circles also seen in early engravings.

One may wonder if copying natural spiral objects was the main motive for their imitation in ancient times? Natural phenomena assume a variety of similar mathematical forms, such as those of snails and tornados, DNA and galaxies, but assuming they were intended to imitate these structures seems a facile interpretation. The Etruscan spiral in Fig. 5 takes on a

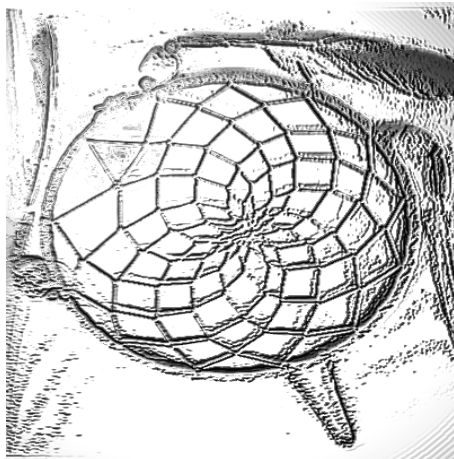


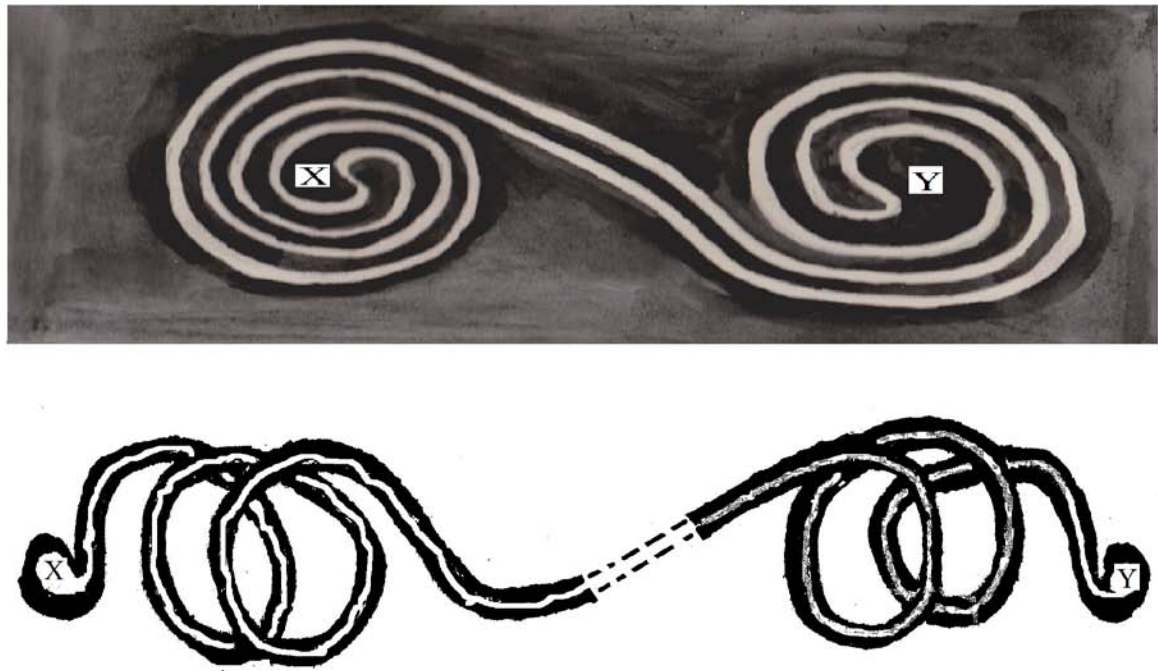
Fig 6 : An American Indian 'dream catcher'



logarithmic form, but most (as in aboriginal Australian art and Celtic art) can be classified as even-spaced or Archimedean spirals. Apart from two dimensional representations, three dimensional or helix spirals are typical of many natural structures – for example, the shape of the DNA molecule, and of some mollus can shells. Another category is the so-called Fermat spiral, (see Fig 7), where the line, on reaching the centre of the spiral, turns back and retraces a spiral to the outside.

In the Pala Larga case, in its configuration and coloring the cave itself shows a remarkable likeness to the upper body of a large person, and there are

examples of linked Fermat spirals in the 'head end' and down the side. One speculation is that these were intended to represent chakras and two-way communication to (and from?) a distant location. Thus, the way to visualize Fermat spirals might be to consider them extended from two to three dimensions (Fig. 7). After spiraling outwards they are envisaged as narrowing in to a distant location – effectively like the 'worm holes' postulated by modern cosmologists as a way of creating a 'short cut' through space, linking two locations, such as X and Y in Fig 7.



**Fig 7 :** (Above): Two linked Fermat spirals on the wall of the cave at Pala Larga and (below) their interpretation in 3 dimensions, as a 'worm hole' or means of communication, (possibly by telepathy?) between X and Y

Some of the few practical uses of spiral-like structures we know of are of interest: the 'dream catchers' of some American Indian tribes (Fig. 6) are intended to protect children by filtering out negative or harmful entities in the energy transmitted to them while sleeping. The chakra-like construct in Mandelbrot's (1977) portrayals was a mathematically-generated component of the boundary between dimensionally separate regimes. The intriguing fact about Mandelbrot's 'spirals' (see e.g., Peitgen and Richter 1986), is that they appear to lead from a high magnification down to a microscopic scale, and may be considered to join macro and micro worlds. A modern equivalent in Asiatic religions is the Mandala. The idea of a chakra as a route between different realities seems to be a perception shared by many mystics, who view

them as traversing a boundary to other dimensions. This gives us a clue as to the supposed meanings of these spiral symbols; they suggest either a change in scale, or even a portal to another dimension, as we approach the centre of the spiral. Gazing fixedly at the centre of the spiral has even been suggested by some experts as a means of initiating a cosmic voyage.

Linked Fermat spirals occur in the 'head' region of the Pala Lunga cave, in what has been referred to as a 'Cornu' spiral. These are similar to the triple spiral or triskell, (considered variously to represent Land, Sea and Sky, Mind-body-spirit, or the cycle of life, death, and rebirth), examples of which can be seen at Newgrange, County Meath in Ireland, dating back to 2500 BC.

Alternatively, if the chakra analogy is correct for these spirals, the paired spirals on the inside of the skull

'head region' of what seems a Gaian portrayal of a buried mother figure, are the ajna or brow chakra, and the crown chakra. The other 7 spirals along the wall to the left are perhaps the lower chakras, described by Hiroshi Motoyama (1981) based on his personal experience and on the writings of Indian mystics in Sanscrit. Should this analogy be correct, one could suppose that whatever ceremony was carried out, concerned visions, prayers or communications directed from within the body of the Earth on her behalf.

Examining Fig. 7, the complex double Fermat spiral must have had a particular meaning for the creators of Pala Larga. Fig. 7 suggests one way of viewing the linked spirals, that is, by expanding them into three dimensions as if they were a coiled spring with a point of communication at each end. Fig. 7 shows we have effectively created what is referred to as a 'wormhole' in cosmological studies. This could perhaps permit long-distance communication or linkages between multiple universes?

c) *What ceremonies were carried out in Pala Larga?*

The above thoughts on the significance of the Pala Larga spirals are of course 'just speculation', since we have no written records on the significance or ceremonial importance of these symbols for the ancient inhabitants of Sardinia, nor will we ever have them. Nonetheless, a more certain speculation concerns the resemblance of the cave to the human chest cavity (Fig. 1) which, as noted, suggests analogies with activities of peoples in the Animist/Earth Goddess tradition elsewhere, who identified the Earth Mother as existing below ground level as the Earth Mother. In fact, the cave seems to resemble the chest cavity of a large human being lying on 'her' back. The red color of the walls supports this anatomical analogy, with the ribs portrayed in blue and white. The overall effect then, is an uncanny portrayal of the human anatomy. For example, instead of assuming as for Etruscan tombs (e.g. at Cerveteri) that the 'ribs' in the roof of the tomb are beams of a house, why not consider them as simply ribs attached to a 'sternum?' The obstruction framing the end of the cavity, seems to be a 'clavicle' separating a smaller 'head cavity' from the main 'body' of the cave. If we assume this to be a Mother Earth portrayal, the spirals on the back wall correspond to symbols inscribed inside the top of the skull, where communication was initiated?

Presumably this cavity was used either for celebrating the passing of an important person in the community, for communication with spirits, or prayers for reincarnation. Or the cave was a location where visits to and from what may be called the shamanic lower world were carried out. Obviously, these ideas are hypotheses, but it seems evident that in seeking a meaning for the ceremonies carried out, we will never find a written explanation. We have to use personal

experience in sensing the possibilities and forming our hypothesis for the role of such structures, and not suggest prosaic materialist explanations. We need to take into account the global distribution of some patterns, and reconstruct the spiritual ideas that underlay them. One deduction that seems more reliable than others, is that the presence of spirals on the walls of Pala Larga implies communication, and the facilitation of transfer of earth energies to and from the sacred cave. Ideally, we should be prepared to carry out personal experiments in 'experiential archaeology' in a similar location, with the spiritual elements in mind of an Earth Mother and her spiral communication aids.

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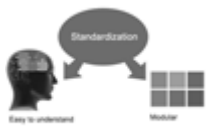
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