

long and so vigorously, but the results are insignificant. / All the endeavors are fruitless and unavailing. Before they are likely to attain useful results we must have exhaustive studies of the history and distribution of individual proverbs" (164-165).

The Index provides not only a listing of where the proverbs might be found in the book but also references to studies of that particular proverb. (Unfortunately this list has not been brought up to date. New references would have added to the usefulness of this book.) The alphabetical listing of the proverbs devotes pp. 11-69 to English proverbs, pp. 73-87 to German proverbs, and pp. 89-100 to Latin proverbs. Other languages listed are: Bohemian, Danish, Dutch, French, Greek, Icelandic, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Spanish, and Swedish. Since the emphasis is on the English proverb, the proportion is not unbalanced. In Taylor's methodology Latin and German proverb studies are important for conclusions regarding origin or meaning or style of the English proverbs. (For example Taylor shows that *The exception proves the rule* should mean "the exception tests the rule" since the Latin reads *Exceptio probat regulam* (78).) One of the virtues of the book is the importance it gives to the use of several languages in research. In fact one gets the impression that a study of English proverbs is liable to be fraught with inaccuracies unless one knows Latin and German and some other European languages.

Although Taylor presents an overview of English proverb studies, a point made repeatedly is the need for detailed studies of individual proverbs. A bibliography of Taylor's works, provided by Mieder, shows what Taylor himself has done in this line after *The Proverb* was written, but otherwise the book is a reprinting of the original 1931 edition with the addition of the Index. Since fifty-four years have passed, at least an article, if not a short book, on what has transpired since then would have been welcome. I am thinking of Schocken's reprint of E. Franklin Frazier's *The Negro Church in America* to which was added *The Black Church Since Frazier* by C. Eric Lincoln. Lincoln's work enhanced the value of Frazier's study.

At first the fact of mere facsimile reprinting disappointed me and it took me a while to appreciate the virtues of Archer Taylor's work. But the book grows on you and you begin to enjoy the personality of the author and the way he works. This book would be fun to use in a Graduate Methodology class both for assignments and for evaluating proffered research. In fact anyone in the field or anyone interested in language might well profit from Taylor's conclusions and caveats.

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1974 *The Negro Church in America and The Black Church since Frazier* by C. Eric Lincoln. New York: Schocken.

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#### JAPAN

HARDACRE, HELEN. *The Religion of Japan's Korean Minority: The Preservation of Ethnic Identity*. Korea Research Monograph No. 9. Berkeley, University of California: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1984. 74 pages. Paperback US\$12.00, ISBN 0-912966-7-67-x.

The Ikoma mountain range straddles the border of the Kyoto, Osaka, and Nara districts. It is several hundred meters high at parts, stretches thirty-five kilometers from north to south and is ten kilometers wide from east to west. This Ikoma mountain range is also well known as a living museum of folk beliefs and folk religion.

The local people believe that many *kami* which can provide this-worldly benefits reside in Ikoma. There are innumerable shrines and temples, churches connected with ascetic sects or the new religions, and other small shrines and sacred places which serve as foci to varieties of nature worship and animistic faiths. Almost all the various forms of Japanese folk religion are represented here. Many religious figures such as Shinto priests, Buddhist monks, ascetics, faith healers, diviners, mediums, peddlers of wonder drugs, and so forth gather in this area to serve the almost ten million people who participate annually in the *Ikoma-mōde*, a pilgrimage to Ikoma.

Among these religious organizations connected to Ikoma is a unique group commonly known as the "Korean temples," supported by Korean residents of Japan, mostly from the Osaka area. Helen Hardacre performed field work at these temples in 1980 and 1981. As there are few studies on this topic by Japanese scholars (see Okazaki 1967), Hardacre is covering new ground. In addition, her purpose is not only to analyze the religious characteristics of this group, but to discuss the wider implications of their ethnic identity.

This book consists of seven chapters. The first on "The Korean Minority in Japan" and the second on "Osaka Koreans" outline the purpose and scope of the work. The third chapter, "Korean Temples in the Osaka Area," is the longest and contains the results of the author's field work. Herein are valuable firsthand observations and records of the Korean temples and their classifications, characteristics, rituals and customs, daily activity, and so forth, and a comparison with those in Korea. I will discuss two points among the many made in this chapter.

The first is that the defining characteristic of these Korean temples is their model layout: the three central structures of the Main Hall, Star Gods Chapel, and Cleric's Residence, along with a waterfall and auxiliary shrines. Especially important are the Star Gods Chapel and the Cleric's Residence. The Star Gods Chapel displays a characteristic triptych of scrolls which are not to be seen in traditional Japanese temples. In the center is the Star God Scroll, with the Mountain God Scroll on the right and the Sea God Scroll on the left. The Cleric's Residence is the regular residence of the temple priest, but at times it is used to erect a temporary altar for communicating with the gods in rites of possession. The most important ritual at the Korean temples is a spirit possession in which a shamaness is possessed by the spirit of an ancestor.

The second important point concerns the structural elements of this ritual of spirit possession. This ritual is performed by a shamaness called a *bosaru*. There are also some male shamans called *simbang*, but this distinction is not considered important by the Korean minority in Japan. A *bosaru* or *simbang* calls the ancestral spirit to communicate with the people, and to forecast blessings or destruction. A major difference between the possession here and that in Korea is that in Japan sutra passages are chanted along with other incantations. A distinct line is maintained between Buddhism and shamanism in Korea, and it is unthinkable in Korea for a shaman to have the qualifications of a Buddhist priest and chant sutras. Actually, at the Korean temples in Japan, if the temple priest is a full-fledged monk, he will merely rent out the room and not participate in the ceremony. This spirit possession ritual, a synthesis of Buddhism and shamanism, is a unique characteristic of the religion of the Korean residents in Japan.

The fourth chapter on "Shamans and Their Followers" and the fifth chapter on

“Ritual, Religious Associations, and Ethnic Identity” considers these shamanistic rituals and their effect on the ethnic identity of the Korean temple members. The book concludes with chapter six, in which the above contents and discussions are summarized.

Hardacre writes that “the shamanic temples examined in this study represent not the transplantation of Korean practice to Japan but an innovative development by Japan’s Korean minority” (63). The unique role of the *bosaru* has been pointed out above. In Korea, for the most part men conduct Confucian-type ancestral rituals and women are associated with Buddhist or shamanistic practices. These two roles are mutually supportive, and this situation has contributed to the development of the electric form found in the Korean temples in Japan today. Women who were lay believers in their home country became religious practitioners through their experiences after coming to Japan. As Hardacre says, “Thus the religious system developed by Koreans in Japan represents the institutionalization of the religious world of the Korean lay woman” (64). However, the significance of the Korean temples in Japan is wider than merely the religious facets. The hanging of the triple scrolls in the Star Gods Chapel is a contribution of the *bosaru*, but its major effect is to underscore the fact that the temple is not a *Japanese* temple. Also, the use of Korean during the rituals, and the restriction of participation in the ritual to Koreans and Korean residents in Japan, results in the formation of a sacred space restricted to Koreans. This provides an opportunity for them to express the uniqueness of their cultural traditions among themselves.

The Korean people in Japan face a variety of conflicts in the secular world. There is tension between Koreans according to their origins. “Koreans from the peninsula look down on those from Cheju, and the wall between the North and South remains impervious” (67). The author points out, however, that their mutual identity as Koreans is reinforced and preserved through participation in the ritual space of these Korean temples.

The author’s analysis of the folk religion of these Korean temples is brilliant. However, some doubts remain concerning her presentation of ethnic identity. As the author admits, those who participate in the rituals of the Korean temples are “a minority [female believers] within a minority” (66). The ethnic identity preserved in the ritual space is an experience limited to those participating believers, and even if one admits that the significance is not related to the number of participants, there is room for doubt as to whether these believers are representative of an ethnic identity. This is to say that the rituals performed by these believers clearly have undergone a transformation which is typically formed by the fact that it happened in Japan. The result is therefore different from what it would be in Korea. On the other hand one can view the place and role of the Korean temples from a different perspective, as part of the milieu of Ikoma as a living museum of folk religion. For example, Ikoma is a place of heightened religious awareness where people transcend the boundaries of nationality. It is also a place where Japanese pilgrims gather and form a religious identity for female participants. If, as the author claims, a sense of identity is formed due to the special ritual space regardless of the small number or character of the participants, then by the same reasoning we can recognize the formation of an identity for folk religion or for female religion, at least in the cult-type sacred space of Ikoma.

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## KOREA

GRAYSON, JAMES HUNTLEY. *Early Buddhism and Christianity in Korea. A Study in the Emplantation of Religion.* (Studies in the History of Religions, Supplement to *Numen* XLVII). Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985. X+164 pages. Charts, bibliography, glossary of Chinese character terms, index. Cloth 64.—guilders, ISBN 90-04-07482-1.

In order to answer the question, “how does a missionary religion become established in a new cultural context?”, the author proposes a theory which, he claims, is different from E. M. Pye’s theory of transplantation as well as from Ralph Linton’s theory of cultural diffusion. It is, as he calls it, a theory of emplantation.

A trained anthropologist, the author has lived for some time in Korea. He has a keen interest in what may happen when different cultures or ideologies meet, and he says that he was prompted to develop his theory of emplantation while he was studying the early history of Buddhism in China. As a result of his analysis he believes that the course of development of missionary religions may be summed up in three stages and determined by five factors. According to him the three stages of the process are: 1) contact and explication, 2) penetration, and 3) expansion. The five types of factors which exert their influence on this process are: 1) resolution of conflict of values, 2) acceptance or tolerance by elite groups, 3) resolution of linguistic or conceptual problems, 4) successful confrontation with other religious systems, and 5) political conditions predisposing the acceptance of the new doctrine.

Grayson is concerned with the implications of the arrival of two great religions, Buddhism and Christianity, in Korea. He begins by describing first the circumstances of the advent of Buddhism in China (chap. I). He then goes on to characterize the circumstances of Buddhism’s arrival in Korea (chap. II) and to describe the cultural and political situation in Korea (chap. III). This sets the stage for a discussion of the conditions under which Catholicism (chap. IV) and later also Protestantism (chap. V) were brought into the country. In the concluding chapter VI the author then develops his theory of emplantation and applies it to analyze the characteristic features exhibited by the process which meant the arrival of the three religions. Aided by fourteen charts and a rich bibliography, this book is a good introduction to the problems related to the process of emplantation of the major religions in Korea. In this sense the book presents clear arguments and is well written.

There are, however, two things I would like to point out. First, I understand that Grayson develops his model from the situation in China and then assumes that he can apply it to Korea because there are, in spite of certain differences, many similarities