

ous Favors of the Bodhisattva Jizo," for example, is very similar to a folktale in which a human being attempts to deceive a woman searching for a husband by pretending to be a deity (see p. 113), though nothing about the relationship is mentioned in the notes. There are other such examples, as well.

But in point of fact, these do nothing to detract from the worth of the book. It is already a long book, and to note every little piece of information would make it all the more longer (and hence more difficult to publish in an age when most publishers do *not* share Mujū's wide range of interests). This is a well rounded translation, with enough information to keep most people well satisfied, and enough first hand material to point the way to exciting new directions in the field of Japanese studies.

Mujū Ichien left us with many other works after *Shasekishū*. Let us hope that Robert Morrell follows his example, and continues to provide the type of valuable studies he has shown such a talent for.

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KOREA

KENDALL, LAUREL. *Shamans, Housewives, and Other Restless Spirits. Women in Korean Shamanism*. Studies of the East Asian Institute. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985. Xiii+234 pages. Appendices, glossary, bibliography, and index. Hardcover US\$20.00, ISBN 0-8248-0974-2.

A study of Korean shamanism, both as it has survived the long history of Korea and as it yet remains a dynamic force in certain areas of culture, can provide a glimpse of some fundamental characteristics of the Korean people.

During the 1970s young scholars brought new directions to the study of shamanism in Korea. They attempted to apply the new theories and methodologies of cultural anthropology, comparative religion, psychology and psychoanalysis. Until very recently most of these new works have been published only in Korean (and occasionally in Japanese), which limited their accessibility to Western scholars. In the meantime, a growing number of Western scholars have become interested in Korean shamanism. With the appearance of research works in Western languages by these Korea specialists, a groundwork for international cooperative research on Korean shamanism is being laid.

However, many religious aspects of Korean shamanism have yet to be clarified. Shamanism is a complex phenomenon which has assumed its present shape through incessant and dynamic historical contacts with other (both foreign and domestic) religions. It was persecuted and misconstrued by the Confucian government of the Chosŏn dynasty and was deliberately deformed by the Japanese colonial cultural policies. Christianity and Western rationalism have served only further to denigrate and degrade its position as a modern religion of Korea. These factors have hindered a holistic understanding of Korean shamanism. Numbers of topics have been left untreated: the composition and attitudes of the followers of a shaman, the religious situation in a follower's household, the relationship between follower and shaman, etc.

Kendall's book has for the first time paid attention to some of these topics, especially the religious involvement of women. Her work probably represents the first intensive study on Korean women's rituals. It is an ethnography on Korean shamanism, for

the most part concentrating on its phenomenological aspects.

But an ethnography of such a seemingly minor facet of a "high culture" society like Korea must equally consider both historical and phenomenological aspects of the observed phenomenon. A survey of Korean shamanism which deals with or stresses only one of these perspectives inevitably results in a confused understanding of its fundamental character. Kendall does not seem to have escaped these pitfalls. My objections to her work can be summarized as: 1) it excessively emphasizes the shaman's ceremony as a ritual of women; 2) it lacks sufficient historical perspective; and 3) it lacks a general understanding of comparative shamanistic practices in other areas of Korea.

First, the author overemphasizes the importance of women's role as participants in shamanistic rituals, probably because she limits her exploration to the women's rituals of the household (168).

It is, nevertheless, an established historical fact that in ancient times male shamans played important roles in the politico-religious world. Their present-day numerical inferiority appears to be related to the ruling Confucianist ideology of the Chosŏn dynasty, which highly stressed the patriarchal role of men and degraded shamans to the lowest social class. This contemptuous view of shamans survived into the Japanese occupation and is still widely held today. The true significance of the current dominance of female shamans cannot be understood without considering such historical factors. When they are disregarded, a statement like "the rare male shaman performs *kut* wearing women's clothing" (27) becomes erroneous. The Korean long skirt (*ch'ima*) is, of course, part of the basic garb of Korean shamans, but some were derived from military uniforms during the Chosŏn dynasty.

Second, Kendall does evince historical interest in Korean shamanism, at least when she discusses the historical background of the village where she did her fieldwork (40-44). But, even here, she lacks a proper understanding of the history of Korean shamanism as a whole and could not but rely on the information obtained from her informants. Such reliance often has led her to arbitrary interpretations of the past, at times excessive and oversimplified.

She states that "for lack of an indigenous label, *mansin* 萬神 (shaman) use the term *misin* 迷信 (superstition) to describe women's rituals" (28). There are, of course, many indigenous terms proper to Korean shamanism. Small-scale women's rituals are called *ch'isong* 致誠 and large-scale rituals are called *kut*. It seems to me that Kendall's informants provided her with the negative term *misin* because of a sense of inferiority or due to the traditional virtue of humbling oneself in front of others.

Kendall holds that Korean shamanism is a professional elaboration of Korean household religion, so that a shaman and a housewife appear to perform analogous tasks and deal with the same spirits (166). Her lack of historical perspective and excessive emphasis on the home as the place for women's rituals seem to be largely responsible for this misconception. Even if we grant that her description is partially true in the case of rural shamanism, her conclusion is mistaken, because she overlooks the history of shamanism's role in national and village rites.

There is a fundamental difference in the two ritual roles. The shaman is the professional priest of shamanism who is specialized in communicating with and speaking for her gods and spirits, while the housewife is simply a follower whose occasional participation in trance dances clad in a shaman's costume is at most a kind of religious experience of weak intensity. The housewife in Korean shamanism may invoke and petition the housegods (122), however, it cannot be said that she is vested with priestly authority (122).

Finally, Kendall tends to generalize too much in interpreting her own data. Her

understanding would have gained, had she compared her data with those from other areas in Korea. She says that "the supernatural Official" (apparently her term for the divinity *Taegam* 大監) is lower in rank than, for example, the Mountain God. However, recently I was able to show that *Taegam* belongs to the highest gods of the pantheon of central Korea and that there is no strict distinction between classes of gods (Cho 1985). In surveying Korean shamanistic divinities, Kendall seems to have kept the hierarchy of Chinese Folk-Taoism gods in mind, which reduplicates the Chinese bureaucratic hierarchy almost exactly.

To mention one last example, Kendall says that the *mansin* in the village of her fieldwork distinguishes the Body-governing God (*monju sin*) from a pantheon god who descends into the costumed *mansin* during a *kut* (135). She also says that the Body-governing God compels an ordinary woman to dance (136). However, *monju* in Korean shamanism are originally those gods who possess a "future shaman" and become his/her protecting gods through initiation ceremonies (*naerim-kut*). On the other hand, gods who descend onto women during an interlude in *kut* are called *monju-taegam*, that is, Body-governing *Taegam* of a household.

In general it must be said that it is essential to have a clear insight into the hierarchical characteristics of the gods and spirits, their functions and historical background (See Cho 1983: 4-111) for a proper understanding of their role in shamanism. Since many of these areas remain unexamined and unknown, it is hardly surprising that Kendall overinterprets and misreads her more limited data.

Kendall regrets that there is little mention of Korean household gods in Western language studies of Korea, and mentions only a few authors (115), but she omits other authors who have published in German (See, for example, Vos 1977, Prunner 1977, 1978, and Cho 1982).

Lest this review appear to be overly negative, I wish to add that I consider Kendall's book to be an important contribution to the study of Korean shamanism, especially because it sheds light on the relationship between shamanic ritual in general and shamanistic household ritual. Yet I believe that the full meaning of these rituals can be grasped only by an approach fully aware and cognizant of their formative historical processes. Kendall has uncovered an important clue to the study of Korean shamanism through her interest in women's rituals. But her study could have been more beneficial if it had included a historical perspective.

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CHINA

MALEK, ROMAN. *Das Chai-chieh lu. Materialien zur Liturgie im Taoismus* [The *Chai-chien lu. Materials concerning Taoist liturgy*]. Würzburger Sino-Japonica, Band 14. Frankfurt/M, Bern, New York: Peter Lang, 1985. Vii+374 pages. Appendix and bibliography. Paper SFr. 73.—. ISBN 3-8204-9022-1, ISSN 0170-9453.

The Chinese word *zhai* 齋 in general refers to the preparatory measures taken prior to a religious ceremony which serve to ensure ritual purity. As the purificatory effort usually includes some kind of fasting, *zhai* has come to be translated as "fast" in the West. But the term also encompasses a whole range of different Taoist rites which are not "fasts" in the narrow sense of the word.

Although exact references to the word *zhai* are quite numerous, they have not been succinctly analyzed in any study to date. Roman Malek's work, which tries to delineate the meanings of *zhai* and to interpret their interrelations, has paved the way for a deeper understanding of the nature and structure of Taoist ritual in general. However, since the application of the term *zhai* has not been limited to the Taoist tradition, but was used by various religious traditions throughout Chinese history, there is a vast amount of material to be found. To accumulate and arrange this enormous information is a Herculean task indeed, especially since organization of the source material requires recourse to theoretical scholarship in the field of religious studies, as well as evaluation of the Sinological contributions made to date.

The contributions in the field of Taoist ritual are not very numerous. A complete ritual text has been translated by É. Chavannes, and the *jiao* 醮 ritual has been studied by K. M. Schipper. There is as yet no complete survey of all the various forms and types of ritual in Taoism, though J. Lagerwey is currently preparing a major study of the history and symbolism of the *jiao* ritual. Less theoretical studies, such as those by M. Saso and K. Dean, have tended to concentrate on the practical performance of the *jiao* ritual in Taiwan and also, very recently, on the Chinese mainland.

In filling the lacunae in our theoretical understanding of the concepts and structure of Taoist ritual, the new work by Roman Malek, *Das Chai-chieh-lu*, represents a valuable contribution. Using the late Tang text *Zhaijie lu* 齋戒錄 contained in the Taoist Canon (f. 207) as his major source, the author gives an extensive survey of the various meanings of the term *zhai* throughout ancient and medieval history as well as of numerous types of Taoist rites which are so named.

The work begins by delineating the meaning of *zhai* in pre-Han sources. Different passages in which the word occurs are listed and evaluated. *Zhai* is duly found to denote a state of harmony brought about through purification before a ceremony (27); it also connotes concentration of mind as well as the cleansing and fasting of the body (34). In the Taoism of the early centuries of the Christian era, on the other hand, *zhai* is found to refer to a variety of ritual practices, be they individual measures of purification or communal rites and banquets (40).