玄宗 and Yang Guifei 楊貴妃. Each story includes one or more *tanka* poems, in the style of the Heian-period *uta-monogatari*.

Ward Geddes has translated *Kara monogatari* in full, and discusses in a well-ordered introduction the issues of authorship and dating; manuscripts and printed texts; literary quality; organization; and sources. Notes to each of the stories and to the introduction will be found at the back of the book, followed by a bibliography. The translation is more " literal " than literary, and one would not read it for disinterested pleasure.

As Geddes explains, it is hard to identify with confidence the immediate sources for the stories, but scholars have at least identified in most cases the ultimate Chinese sources. A number of the tales can be traced to such dynastic histories as the *Si ji* 史記 or the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, not to mention the works of the poet Bo Juyi 白居易. In other words the material of *Kara monogatari* comes from literature rather than from any oral tradition. In this sense *Kara monogatari* is not exactly folklore. It is true, however, that one finds in these stories motifs (like the visit to the island of the immortals) or figures (like Yang Guifei) which certainly are common in Japan.

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HARDACRE, HELEN. *Lay Buddhism in Contemporary Japan:* Reiyūkai Kyōdan. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984. Xviii+267 pp. Illustrations, figures, tables, appendix of questionnaire results, bibliography and index. Cloth US$45.50, ISBN 0-691-07284-1.

Among the books in English dealing with the new religions, this one deserves special commendation. A sound approach, careful scholarship, and clear exposition make this study a significant contribution to the literature.

The author, presently an Assistant Professor in East Asian Studies at Princeton University, based her study on three years of field work in Japan. She was guided in her work by her teacher at the University of Chicago, Joseph M. Kitagawa, and by members of the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Tokyo, among others. Well grounded in the language, she combined data gathered from a survey of 2000 Reiyūkai members with insights gained from interviews of branch leaders and personal experiences during an eight month residency at the Eighth Branch headquarters in Osaka. In addition, she drew upon a broad range of resources on Japanese religion and society, as attested by a substantial bibliography, a large proportion of the works being in Japanese.

One feature of Helen Hardacre's approach which sets it off from other studies of the new religions is the serious consideration she gives to the claims made by Reiyūkai members on behalf of their religion. In conscious contrast to other studies, such as Neill McFarland's *The Rush Hour of the Gods*, and Harry Thomsen's, *The New Religions of Japan*, she accepts a functionalist standpoint that predisposes her to look for instrumental effectiveness as a factor in the success of a religious group at gaining and holding members. As she states the principle: " If those problems—precisely the ones that occasion members' joining these groups in the first place—were not meaningfully, *effectively*, addressed by membership in these groups, the groups would not continue to attract a following " (p. 226). Not surprisingly, she concludes that, in

the case of Reiyūkai, members' claims for the effectiveness of their involvement in the religious group are, in fact, borne out. In her own words, " This conclusion differs significantly from those of former studies of the new religions " (p. 230).

From a methodological point of view, Hardacre's approach to the study was an interesting combination of hard and soft. First, during her residency in Osaka, she chose the role of a participant observer, actually becoming a member of Reiyūkai and actively joining in its rituals. She implies that it may have been easier for her to gain access in this way than it would have been for a Japanese scholar of religion, who would more readily have been perceived in terms of his professional status. Being an insider enabled her to have the kind of sustained personal contacts that proved invaluable for demonstrating the impact of the religious beliefs and practices on individuals. A second phase of the research centered in Tokyo and consisted of a survey of Reiyūkai members. For this part of the project she chose to be " an outside researcher," giving up her role as a participant observer. The book clearly shows the benefits gained from her dual perspective. Yet, one wonders what price had to be paid for this transition. Was it possible to go from being a trusted member and close, personal associate in one location to being an outside researcher in another location without engendering personal distrust that would hinder further research at a later time? The author does not say whether or not her membership was terminated when she ceased to be a participant observer.

The structure of the book facilitates clear understanding. The first two chapters cover the historical background of Reiyūkai and its contemporary organization and activities, respectively. The contributions of the founders, Kubo Kakutarō 久保角太郎 and Kotani Kimi 小谷喜美, are described, as are the societal circumstances under which the early growth of the organization occurred. Explanation of the division of the *kyōdan* into branches and small meeting groups (*hōza* 法座) provides the setting for a sociological analysis of Reiyūkai members based upon survey data. Chapter 2 also introduces some of the more religious aspects of the organization's life: the definition and role of ancestors, forms of ritual, pilgrimage, and the character of religious meetings. Chapters 3 through 6 deal respectively with the family, ritual, witnessing and healing, and the role of women. A useful tabulation of survey results is given in an appendix, followed by an excellent bibliography, already mentioned.

A number of points about Reiyūkai are worth citing as highlights of this study. First, there is a strong emphasis placed upon ancestor worship. What she calls " an epochal innovation "—a term that may well be justified—is the fact that Reiyūkai can be seen as introducing the practice of ancestor worship as a focus of a *voluntary association*. She calls this " rare, if not unique, in the history of religions," and contrasts it with usual case of ancestor worship linked to kinship groups (p. 66). Other scholars familiar with ancestor worship in a variety of social settings will find it appropriate to test this claim against existing evidence. Also distinctive is the bilateral selection of ancestors, including the wife's as well as the husband's side, and the amalgamation of individual ancestors under a common assigned name. The author shows how Reiyūkai ancestor practices conformed to the values of the society as a whole at a time when State Shinto was influential. She also places the subject of ancestor worship in the context of general Buddhistic practice pertaining to karma and merit transfer. Traditional ideas have been retained or adapted to produce a world view in which filial treatment of ancestors is felt to have specific pay-offs in terms of this-worldly benefits. Healing, for instance, takes place in the context of ancestral relationships (p. 181) and, as she points out, " the healing process must be a return to correct relationships—within this world and between the microcosm and the macrocosm " (p.

186).

Another important aspect of Reiyūkai, as is suggested by the title of the book, is its lay character. The author's biographical sketch of the founders shows their predilection for a form of Buddhist practice freed from priestly ministrations. She cites the emergence in the 1930's of a " strong anti-clerical philosophy [which] asserted the legitimacy of layman's Buddhism and emphasized personal experience of the truth of ancestor worship and the effectiveness of ancestral rites in healing " (p. 39). Championing the priesthood of all believers, the group " poured scorn on the Buddhist clergy," accusing them of mediocrity, encouraging vice, and being mercenary (p. 41). This tendency has continued to characterize the organization, which relies entirely on its own leadership and family members themselves to carry out the rituals traditionally performed by priests. In addition, Reiyūkai uses a liturgical abridgement of the Lotus Sutra which itself represents an extra-clerical editorializing of a traditional text that would not be acceptable to most Buddhists in the traditional sects.

Regarding the family, Hardacre shows Reiyūkai strongly espousing the *ie* structure in a time when the social trend is toward nuclear families. On this point, her use of survey and interview data demonstrates that attitudes regarding the family are sometimes in contrast to formal pronouncements and testimonies. In any case, the main thrust of Reiyūkai's teachings regarding the family is radically conservative, with its norms and values still derived from the prewar family system. This means self-conscious opposition to " individualism " and strong emphasis on filial duty. The price which members pay for material improvements in their status or way of life is " deeper entrenchment in a narrow, familistic ethic " (p. 229). Especially for women the family becomes the almost exclusive framework within which both self-esteem and religious salvation are to be achieved. Children are taught to maintain obedient, filial, and respectful behavior as well as a general relationship of dependence long into adult life. As the author says, " the call for a return to the values of the family system continues to be the group's major message " (p. 46).

Readers will probably find Hardacre's characterization of the role of women in Reiyūkai to be a substantial contribution to the broader study of women in present-day Japan. Her presentation is at once sensitive, restrained, and moving. She explains the reasons for widespread acceptance by women of the group of a subservient role which is gradually being eroded in the larger society. Women have played a major role in group leadership and proselytization, providing strong role models of respectful obedience for new members. These words of a young Osaka woman illustrate the typical projected image: " Women should be like the rice plant in full ear, bending back and forth in a summer breeze without resisting the will of others. but giving themselves instead to the service of those about them. Their passive, selfless service and sacrifice are beautiful, profound blessings in human life, like the abundant fertility of rice " (p. 90). As Hardacre points out, it is precisely in their voluntary acceptance of a humble role that women not only secure their salvation but gain a position of greater influence as well. This underscores the general point made by the author in her conclusion about a paradox found generally in the history of religions: " religion's dual potential for both liberation and bondage " (p. 230). In this case, a voluntary acceptance of bondage is interpreted as the appropriate path to liberation.

Shortcomings in this masterfully crafted work are few. Persons accustomed to thinking of Reiyūkai in terms of the recently much publicized media image of " Inner Trip " will find only passing reference to this term. One might wish for more information concerning the youth program which, under the rubric of Inner Trip, introduces

newcomers to a form of association which seems to have little relation either to formal religion or to many of the values of the organization as a whole.

Otherwise, this reader would like to add only one other word of reservation. One cannot generalize about the new religions from a knowledge, however deep and sound, of only one tradition. Occasionally, the author's pronouncements on the new religions are made to sound as though they carry the same weight as the insights based directly on her research. Reiyūkai may, indeed, be representative of a group of the new religions, but this does not remove the need for great care in moving from the particular to the general.

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CHINA

EBERHARD, WOLFRAM. *Lexikon chinesischer Symbole. Geheime Sinnbilder in Kunst und Literatur, Leben und Denken der Chinesen.* Köln: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1982. 320 pp. Illustrations and eight color plates. Hardcover DM 39,80. ISBN 3-424-00750-1.

An adequate knowledge of Chinese symbolism is necessary to understand Chinese culture, art, literature, or religion. China is a country opulent in symbolic words and objects rooted deep in her long history. Wolfram Eberhard, who has contributed a great deal to the study of the history and culture of China through his numerous works, summarizes his knowledge and interprets symbols in China in the present volume. For this we have ample reason to be grateful to him.

The scope of this book is very broad, and entries are arranged in alphabetical order of headings, irrespective of the categories to which each of them belongs. Each heading consists of the German word and its Chinese equivalent in Chinese character and romanization in the Wade/Giles system. The variety of topics included in this dictionary may be exemplified by sixteen entries under the letter 'N.' This section includes among others symbolic number as 'nine,' food as 'noodle,' annual festival as 'New Year,' biological function as *Niessen* (sneeze), cardinal directions such as 'north/south' and mythological figures as 'No-cha' and 'Nu-kua.' Five entries are accompanied with one or more text figures. These sixteen entries are accomodated in eight and half pages.

The entry on phoenix, a rather long one, will provide an illustration of what the content of an entry looks like. We read there a short history of the word phoenix, the bearing of this mythical bird to kingship, its relationship to wind, and to the south of the four cardinal points. We learn furthermore that the expressions containing the term phoenix have often sexual connotations: female genital organ, cohabitation, and homosexuality. It is certainly a merit of this book to pay special attention to this