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REVIEW ARTICLES

Identity, Assimilation and Distinctiveness

LIVIA KOHN – HAROLD D. ROTH (eds): *Daoist Identity. History, Lineage, and Ritual.* Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2002. ISBN 0-8248-2504-7. 333 pp.

This volume is a collection of thirteen articles originally presented at a three-day conference in York, Maine, 1998. The twenty participants from Japan and the United States discussed various aspects of identity in Daoism.

In the introduction Livia Kohn and Harold D. Roth, both prominent experts on Daoism, present a short history of the question of identity generally, in which special attention is paid to Hans Mol's theory of identity. Thereafter Daoist identity is briefly considered mainly within the framework of Mol's concept. Though Mol's theory does seem to be fitting to describe certain aspects of Daoist identity, it is regrettable that no other contributor seems to have used any notions (sacralisation, commitment, objectivation, etc.) of this major theoretician. Thus, it would have been more appropriate to place this part of the introductory thoughts among the main articles, and give a more objective and more proportioned history of identity theories.

In this review, I will briefly summarise the basic contents of each essay, dwelling upon some of them longer than others; naturally, length by no means implies any kind of implicit assessment of the study, it simply expresses the reviewer's ignorance of or interest in certain topics.

The contributions of PART I (*Early Formations*) present some aspects of the early history or the early roots of Daoism: the role of minorities in the *Tianshi* sect, the importance of confession of sins, and the roots of exorcistic practice.

1. TERRY F. KLEEMAN's article (*"Ethnic Identity and Daoist Identity in Traditional China"*, pp. 23–38) is a general presentation of the problem of the ambiguous relationship between Daoism and the former (or even present-day) "minorities". Daoism is reckoned as one of the great religious accomplishments of Chinese culture, *Daodejing* and *Zhuangzi* are both considered to be among the most idiosyncratic Chinese achievements. Many aspects of later Daoism, however, are not so "purely" Chinese as the philosophical works mentioned above. Kleeman argues that in 2nd century Sichuan, the ethnic (*Ba*) influence was rather significant in shaping the religious concepts and practice of the Celestial Masters (*Tianshi*).[1] Known as val-

[1] Kleeman is also the author of a book-length study on the subject (*Great Perfection: Religion and Ethnicity in a Chinese Millennial Kingdom*. Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1998).

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iant warriors since the Spring and Autumn period, the *Ba* people, similarly to the *Tianshi* masters, widely used military metaphors in their religious practice. Although Chinese popular religion of the late Han and early Six Dynasties probably did not lack this kind of military language either, the overall presence of such attitude was even more conspicuous in Ba culture. Thus, it is not surprising to find many fundamental elements in a movement with many *Ba* people involved.

Kleeman argues that it was the social program of the millennial kingdom in Hanzhong that especially appealed to the local communities, which resulted in creating a multiethnic Daoist Kingdom. Though Chinese and ethnic origin was still considered hierarchic, revelations could also be communicated in non-Chinese languages. Originally envisaged as a universal religion, Daoism naturally accepted and easily assimilated "foreign" cultural elements (cf. its early view of Buddhism). The author also touches upon the peculiar case of modern Yao in Southeast Asia who, surprisingly enough, still maintain a Daoist priesthood, for a long time not present in China herself.

The question, however, remains whether the *Ba* people were attracted by the *Tianshi* movement precisely because of the common religious features or this socially attractive sect was actually shaped by the indigenous practice. Another exciting problem is whether the (anti-)demonic motif, which was ostensibly pervasive in Sanxingdui culture, had any continuity in *Ba* culture, and consequently, in *Tianshi* movement or not.

2. TSUCHIYA MASAAKI's *"Confession of Sins and Awareness of Self in the Taiping jing"* (pp. 39–57) explores the intimate relationship between sin and illness, more precisely, the confession of sins and curing ailments. The examples cited (*Sanguozhi, Hou Hanshu, Shenxian zhuan, Daomen kelüe* and *Santian neijie jing*) unanimously reveal a coherent practice of confession with constant formalities on the whole (fasting, retreat in a purification chamber (*jingshi*), meditating on wrong deeds, writing down the sins, public confession, self-punishment, drinking talisman-water, etc.). Questioning Ōfuchi Ninji's claim that the effectiveness of early Daoist confession of sins – which, compared to the Christian and Buddhist parallels, is more utilitarian and formal – derives from its "lightening the penitents' burdens", Tsuchiya Masaaki proceeds to analysing the relevant passages in the *Taipingjing* to substantiate his opposing views. He argues that Ōfuchi Ninji's explanation might be accepted by a modern psychologist (cf. psychosomatic illness), but it definitely would not have been shared by a Daoist, least of all by the author of the *Taipingjing*, who explicitly states that Heaven can pardon sinners via their mutual share of *qi*. Thus, Heaven perceives the utmost sincerity (*zhicheng*) of one's heart, manifested in the act of self-blame, breast beating and kowtowing, and, consequently, restores health (the balanced *qi*) in the body, which became sick owing to the bad deeds which cut off the original harmony between man and Heaven.

The author often hints at the analogy between the Heavenly Masters' confession of sins and the contemporary legal practice, but does not elucidate this connection in detail. Tsuchiya Masaaki seems to imply that, similarly to the Daoist imitation of state bureaucracy and the possible connection of purification chamber and chamber of interrogation, confession of sins may also go back to the pardoning of legal sins through confession. This latter practice, however, is only illustrated by a single example from the *Hou Hanshu*. It is to be noted, however, that the sin committed by Sun Xing, the tax collector, is a petty one (takes the state's money to buy his father new clothes), moreover, the motivation of the theft has a strong overtone of filial piety, thus, pardoning is not especially surprising. Thus, the conclusion that "this story documents that criminals who would voluntarily confess their deeds could expect to be pardoned in the ancient legal system" (p. 53) seems rather premature and unfounded. Overall, the article is stimulating, and one only wanders why there are not more articles on the conspicuous similarities between the Christian and Daoist practice of confession of sins.

3. PETER NICKERSON's contribution ("*'Opening the Ways': Exorcism, Travel, and Soteriology in Early Daoist Mortuary Practice and Its Antecede*", pp. 58–77) is a thorough reflection on and a serious continuation of Anna Seidel's research on Han dynasty tomb ordinances or contracts (*muquan*), with special focus on the grave-securing writs (*zhenmu wen*). Nickerson demonstrates that there is no significant break between the general, ancient mortuary rites and the *Lingbao* or the *Tianshi* practice. Focusing on one particular document (*Yaoxiu keyi jielü chao*, HY 463), which appears to contain the traditions of four Daoist masters, Nickerson argues that 5th–6th century "religious Daoist" practice surprisingly does not considerably deviate from the Han or earlier mortuary practices, exemplified by the Han grave-securing writs or the *Yili*. The traditional death-as-journey paradigm and the necessary exorcistic measures against the imminent daemonic influences were "simply" enriched by the specific soteriological perspective of religious Daoism. Furthermore, the author adds that by overwriting earlier mortuary patterns and incorporating them into their own bureaucratised religious system, Daoists attempted to gradually exclude the former, generally illiterate representatives of the same function.

PART II (*Texts and Symbols*) contains essays on the emergence of revealed texts in the Han, the specific metaphors used by a Tang poetess and a Ming-dynasty Confucian philosopher's Daoist affiliation.

4. MARK CSIKSZENTMIHÁLYI's "*Traditional Taxonomies and Revealed Texts in the Han*" (pp. 81–101) convincingly argues that the accepted taxonomies in the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* reveal more about their authors' attitude and world concept than about the groups of philosophers in question. The seemingly equivalent categories of the "philosophers" chapters in these works actually obscure the differently organised types and the distinct social backgrounds of these groups. The late *Chunqiu* institutional model of Confucius and Mozi was the prototype of all later descriptions. By the Warring States period, however, these groups were already considered to be fragmented, as is seen from the relevant chapters of *Xunzi*, *Zhuangzi* and *Han Feizi*. These works portray Warring States Confucian and Mohist schools by the names of the leaders at the head of the differing factions. In describing this process of fragmentation and degradation, *Han Feizi* and *Zhuangzi*, in contrast with *Xunzi*, seem to reject the possibility of a correct transmission, thus argue for the necessity of a new system and a "natural innateness", respectively. These texts all view the divergence of the various interpretative schools as inevitable, thus, the Warring States model can be justly called interpretive.

In the Han period, the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* described the different schools based on the methods they use, and, though not always explicitly, emphasise the applicability of their teachings and methods in governmental practice. The ancient method being lost, Han historians attempted to restore it by collecting and joining all available techniques, which were seen as particular aspects of the ancient *dao*. By presenting the institutional model of the Spring and Autumn, the interpretive model of the Warring States, and the generic model of the Han dynasty, Csikszentmihályi wants to demonstrate that these classifications often give a distorted view of the real religious landscape.

In order to trace the Han antecedents of A.D. 2nd–3rd-century "religious" Daoist movements, Csikszentmályi seeks to find their place in the traditional classifications mentioned above. He argues that the Huang-Lao tradition was invented for this new group of revealed texts. In his taxonomy, Sima Qian tried to confer authority on these texts (linked to Huangdi or Shennong) by emphasising the methods they use instead of their revelatory origin. The category of revealed texts thus found its way into the earlier accepted schools. As taxonomies generally do not give details about the sociological background of the various schools, only passing remarks, like those about Yue Chenggong (*Shiji*) or Yang Hou (*Hou Hanshu*), can give us a clue to the possible transmission and the so-

ciological environment of these revealed texts. In sum, the fact that traditional taxonomies do not treat revelatory traditions (the possible predecessors of later religious Daoist sects) independently, does not exclude the possibility that these groups, often with distinct sociological features, did exist during the late Warring States and the Han, and became more discernible only later. Thus, Csikszentmihályi succeeds in giving a possible explanation for the seemingly *ex nihilo* emergence of religious Daoist schools.

5. SUZANNE CAHILL's contribution ("*Material Culture and the Dao: Textiles, Boats, and Zithers in the Poetry of Yu Xuanji (844–868)*", pp. 102–126) describes the specific images used in the poetry of a Tang poetess, Yu Xuanji (844–868). Being a courtesan and a Daoist nun, Yu Xuanji experienced the ebbs and tides of life, and did not refrain from expressing them. Her attitude naturally gave rise to controversial judgments about her character by subsequent generations. Yu Xuanji was supposed to transgress social, sexual and legal norms; therefore her sincerity of being a Daoist has often been questioned. However, her poetry, Cahill argues, attests to passionate, but sincere emotions of a woman who felt constrained by the conventions of Tang society. Cahill analyses three major motifs in her poetry: textile (clothes), boat, and zither. Though the poems are exquisite and the interpretations are insightful, Cahill does not convincingly demonstrate her basic assertion that "Yu Xuanji uses [Tang poetic] conventions [of these images] in many unconventional ways" (p. 104). In Tang poetry, clothes stand for someone's state (p. 104) in the society or in the world; in the conclusion we learn that in Yu Xuanji's poetry a silk sleeve might be "the target of her rage and frustration over intellectual opportunities lost" because of her being only a woman (p. 123). Divine garment may symbolise "her longing for a contemplative life", not hindered by social conventions. Boat and zither represent "the wandering soul" and "attempts to express oneself", respectively (p. 104), in Tang poetry generally, and they fulfil the same functions in Yu's poems (p. 124). Consequently, there are two options: 1. we should further investigate Yu's poetry to find some unconventional usage of images, or 2. we must not protest against the fact that everybody is determined by the social and poetic conventions of her/his time.

6. MABUCHI MASAYA's "*A Mid-Ming Reappraisal of Laozi: The Case of Wang Dao*" (pp. 127–146) presents some basic features of the Ming dynasty philosopher Wang Dao (1487–1547), a student of the Confucian Wang Yangming and Zhan Ruoshui. Despite being a commentator on the *Daodejing* (*Laozi yi*), and an advocate of the unity of the three teachings, Wang Dao can be best approached as an innovative Confucian with a Daoist self-definition. Mabuchi explores Wang Dao's Daoist identity, while focusing on his relationship to his predecessors and contemporaries. Mabuchi introduces the stimulating ideas of an interesting, neglected philosopher, but he wants to comprehend Wang Dao's ideas nearly exclusively in relation to the notions of other, well-known literati. One might await an ensuing article that would put more emphasis on the understanding of this original thinker in his own right.

PART III (*Lineages and Local Cultures*) focuses on the certain figures in local cults, especially that of Lüzu.

7. EDWARD L. DAVIS, in his "*Arms and the Dao, 2: The Xu Brothers in Tea Country*" (pp. 149–164), traces the local temple cult of the Xu brothers, starting in tenth century Fujian and growing into a vastly popular sect during the Yuan and the Ming. Their popularity reached such an extent that Yongle ordered a replica of the Lingjigong (the original being in Qingbu) built in the Forbidden City. While alive, the two princes, Xu Zhizheng and Xu Zhi'e were worshiped as local heroes, after their death they became Daoist transcendents in the worshippers' esteem. Several scriptures and liturgies dedicated to their cult were included in the Daoist Canon. After summarising the basic conclu-

sions of a former study from 1985, Davis proceeds to arguing that, despite the seemingly abundant relationship with Daoism, the Xu brothers in fact had few (if any) Daoist elements in their cult.

Major cultic activities in the Lingjigong included spirit-writing, mediumism, local seasonal ceremonies, Buddhist-inspired rituals, and the promotion of a local academy. All these and other activities basically indicate that the cult of the Xu brothers was an expression of the social, political, and religious ambitions of some local literati families like the Zhou or the Fang lineage in Putian. The rituals in the Lingjigong community temple were the refined and literati counterparts of the mediumism among the members of the less educated stratum of the region.

8. MORI YURIA's "*Identity and Lineage: The Taiyi jinhua zongzhi and the Spirit-Writing Cult to Patriarch Lü in Qing China*" (pp. 165–184) discusses the transmission of the famous inner alchemical *Jinhua zongzhi* (in R. Wilhelm's and C. G. Jung's translation *The Secret of the Golden Flower*). From among the six different redactions, the author analyses three: Shao Zhilin's (1775), Jiang Yupu's (1803), and Min Yide's (1835) versions. Monica Esposito has previously shown that this writing originated from the *Jingming* (Pure Brightness) tradition of the *Quanzhen* and was later appropriated by various other sects. Mori Yuria emphasises the strong interrelation between the texts of the *Jinhua zongzhi* and the practice of spirit-writing. The latter is closely associated with the figure of Lüzu (Lü Dongbin), whom the author finds the key point in the history of the transmission. Therefore, despite the apparent sectarian character of the different transmission lineages, there is a shared underlying current among them: the spirit-writing cults centered on Lüzu.

9. Lüzu also features in SHIGA OCHIKO's essay ("*Manifestations of Lüzu in Modern Guangdong and Hong Kong: The Rise and Growth of Spirit-Writing Cults*"; pp. 185–209) which explores the social background of a seemingly Daoist organisation like the Daoist temple society (*daotan* or *daotang*) in modern Hong Kong. The main activities in these important societies are spirit-writing séances, celebrations of the gods' birthdays, death-related services and the maintenance of charitable institutions (schools, nursing homes, clinics). Originating from mid-nineteenth spirit-writing cults in Guangdong, it is usually supposed to be a distant descendant of the *Quanzhen* tradition. However, it is not *Quanzhen* Daoism, the author argues, that is fundamental in the origin of *daotan*, but the cult of Lüzu and the lay practice of spirit-writing. This is the reason why it can appeal to a much wider spectrum of the society than a sect with an overwhelmingly dominant *Quanzhen* background.

Studies in PART IV (*Ritual Boundaries*) contrast Daoist and Buddhist, Daoist and popular religious practices, putting a special emphasis on rituals.

10. In "*Fang Yankou and Pudu: Translation, Metaphor, and Religious Identity*" (pp. 213–234) CHARLES D. ORZECH, an expert on Chinese vajrayāna (*Zhenyan, Mijiao*), contrasts the Daoist *pudu* (rite of universal salvation) with the Buddhist *fang yankou* (release of the flaming souls) rituals. Orzech attempts to disqualify the generally accepted view that Daoist *pudu* is essentially a syncretic imitation of *fang yankou*, its Buddhist equivalent.[2] First, the concept of syncretism itself is rejected as being completely inappropriate to describe real processes. Although the concept of syncretism does often appear in contexts where no further spatio-tempo-

[2] In the early phase of Daoist studies, "religious Daoism" was often considered to arbitrarily assume or even "steal" concepts, elements, or rites from Buddhism. In this process it did not even care, as was supposed, to hide the vestiges of larceny. This "lazy thief"-model is overtly present, for example, in the relevant passages of K. K. Ch'en's classical work (*Buddhism in China: a Historical Survey.* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1964, pp. 473–476).

ral details can be provided in a certain process of change, the investigations of its various forms (e.g., Ulrich Berner), not cited by the author, did specify a more exact usage of this complex and rather elusive notion.[3]

Besides T. K. Stewart's concepts, Orzech principally relies on the metaphor-theories of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson.[4] After briefly summing up their concepts, Orzech proceeds to the actual topic of his essay. The apparent similarities between the *pudu* and the *fang yankou* rites are numerous: material details (five pointed crown, *vajra*), conceptual terminology (karma, ghost), the use of "Brahma-language", mantras, and mudras and the general structure of the rites (invocation, visualisation, attacking hell, feeding the beings, preaching of merit, dismissal). Despite all these conspicuous resemblance, Orzech argues that the Daoist *pudu* is not an imitation, but an idiosyncratic and complex translation of the Buddhist rite. This can be proven if one considers the two rites in the frame of the Lakoff – Johnson theory. The Buddhist ceremony stresses the metaphor of the BODY AS ALTAR AND COSMOS (consequently mudras and mantras play a prominent role), while the Daoist rite treats THE BODY AS A BUREAUCRATIC STATE (thus emphasises the importance of written words and talismans). *Fang yankou* concentrates on the opening of hell and the eradication of karma, while mentions only briefly the feeding of the spirits. On the contrary, Daoist *pudu* stages a short hell-bust, but narrates the feeding and clothing of orphaned souls in considerable detail. In sum, Daoist *pudu* does not copy the Buddhist *fang yankou*, but translates the Buddhist ritual program into its own system of metaphors, therefore exemplifying the „metaphorical equivalence"-paradigm in T. K. Stewart's terminology.

11. MITAMURA KEIKO's article ("*Daoist Handsigns and Buddhist Mudras*", trans. Livia Kohn, pp. 235–255) explores the Six Dynasties Daoist adaptations of Buddhist mudras (*mudrās*). Two groups of Daoist mudras can be distinguished: 1. the seemingly obvious use of Buddhist mudras, originating in the Chinese Vajrayāna (*Mijiao, Zhenyan*) tradition; 2. later developments of distinctly Daoist handsigns. Though the overall picture seems to be manifest, some facts oppose this oversimplified situation. First, Daoists seem to use mudras in a specific way: they often exchange the roles of the left and the right hands; they do not simply apply the gestures themselves, but associate each finger segment with indigenous Chinese astrological concepts. These and other characteristics point to the fact that Daoists did not imitate, but adapted Buddhist mudras, and thus found a new way to express their own message.[5]

There is scarce textual evidence for the existence of ritual gestures from before the Tang dynasty. The Six Dynasties *Baopuzi* (17.8a), and the strongly Buddhist-inspired *Lingbao* sect preserved some allusions to mudra-like usages. Mitamura thinks that others were not recorded because of the dominantly oral transmission (p.

[3] Berner, Ulrich (1978): Heuristische Modell des Synkretismus-Forschung (Stand 1977). In: Wiessner, G. (hrsg.): *Synkretismusforschung. Theorie und Praxis.* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1978, pp. 11–26; Berner, Ulrich (1979): Der Begriff »Synkretismus« ein Instrument historischer Erkenntnis? *Saeculum* Vol. 30, pp. 68–85. Also see Berner, Ulrich (1982): *Untersuchungen zur Verwendung des Syncretismus-Begriffes.* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz; Heissig, W. – Klimkeit, J. (hrsg.) (1987): *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens.* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz; Wiessner, G. (ed.) (1978): *Syncretismusforschung: Theorie und Praxis.* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz; Martin, L. H. (1983): Why Cecropian Minerva? Hellenistic Religious Syncretism as System. *Numen* Vol. 30, pp. 131–145.

[4] Prior to this, Sinology has already profited from this theory, see for example Sarah Allan's *The Way of Water and Sprouts of Virtue* (Albany, New York, SUNY Press, 1997).

[5] The same is true of seemingly Buddhist concepts and motifs, see Zürcher, E. (1980): Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism. *T'oung Pao* Vol. 66, pp. 84–147.

238). Though this possibility cannot be ruled out, it is to be noted that this is a typical "argumentum ex silentio", and thus, is to be avoided. The Tang dynasty *Sandong zhunang* (HY 1131: 5.6ab), and *Daodianlun* (HY 1122: 4.4b) describe the apotropaic functions of hand gestures with incantations. The author does not stress sufficiently that the Daoist use of mudras, in contrast with Tantric ones, basically aims at warding off sickness, demons and difficulties, and not at attaining a more elevated spiritual level.

After the arrival of Tantrism in Tang China (traditionally attributed to three masters: Śubhākarasiṃha – Shanwuwei, 637–735; Vajrabodhi – Jingangzhi, 663–723; Amoghavajra – Bukong, 705–774), the number of mudras increases significantly. The *Xuanpu shan lingkui bilu* (HY 580) from 800 A.D., however, lists the names of mudras with a typical Daoist terminology. Although some scholars (like Li Zhongyu) think that the usage of dhāraṇīs and mudras reveals *Zhenyan* impact, other sources seem to demonstrate that the actual Daoist context is more relevant. The Song dynasty *Zhuguo jiumin zongzhen biyao* (HY 1217: 8.19a), or the Ming dynasty *Tianhuang zhidao taiqing yuce* (HY 1472: 3.1a) both assert that the purpose of mudras is to fight against evil demons, to heal diseases, to help the way across rivers and mountains, or to create talismans. Mitamura is convinced that Daoists applied mudras for purposes similar to those of the representatives of popular religion and shamans. Thus, surprisingly, one could even say that Daoists used mudras as *upāya*s for their own purposes. Song dynasty manuals, like the *Zhuguo biyao* with 80 mudras, or the *Tianxin zhengfa* with 36, testify to the tendency that Daoist emphasis becomes even more prominent in the subsequent centuries: contact with cosmic powers (Sun, moon, Ursa Maior), especially known from the *Shangqing* tradition, and the fight against demons, popular in the *Tianshi* sect.

Interestingly, the number of mudras did not increase. On the contrary, the several hundreds of mudras in the Tang became some dozens by the Ming period (*Daofa huiyuan* HY 1210). Theoretically, this fact could prove the permanent presence of *Zhenyan* influence, as the intensity of Chinese *Vajrayāna* also varied accordingly. On the other hand, the fact that religious Daoism had a similar history, does not exclude the original hypothesis that it was the Daoist, and not the *Zhenyan* context that basically determined the history of Chinese mudras.

Thus, based on their own tradition, Daoists translated Buddhist mudras into their own distinctive, dynamic cosmological system.

12. MARUYAMA HIROSHI (*"Documents Used in Rituals of Merit in Taiwanese Daoism"*, pp. 256–273) discusses a specific type of written document, used in the highly formalised and bureaucratically organised Daoist interaction with transcendence. Maruyama Hiroshi's main concern is the continuity of the earlier Song dynasty and the modern versions of these rituals of merit, the purpose of which is to transfer the souls of the dead to the realm of heavenly life. The author compares three sets of Taiwanese manuals (the Zeng collection, the Du collection – both acquired by the author during fieldwork in southern Taiwan from 1987 – and Chen Rongsheng – Ōfuchi materials) to conclude that certain parts of these modern documents (e.g., preparatory announcement, the three talismans in the Writ of Pardon ritual, the offering format) can be undoubtedly traced to Song sources (*Jin Dafa*). The sources of other parts (e.g., the writ of pardon, the announcement to the Department of Earth, mandates issued to the Lads) can be found in the slightly later Wang Dafa manuals from Zhejiang. The mandates of untying the knots and filling the treasury are of even later origin (Yuan and Ming dynasty).

13. ASANO HARUJI's essay ("*Offerings in Daoist Ritual*", pp. 274–294) points out the various interactions between Daoist and Confucian, Buddhist, or popular religious rites, evidenced by the analysis of items offered. Examining Taiwanese *Zhengyi* (*Tianshi*) offerings at *zhai* and *jiao* rituals, Asano concentrates on the "illegitimate" presence of meat among the other, legitimate offerings (fruit, flowers, candles, and

incense). The author argues that mainstream Confucian and popular religious practices, though differing in motive and purpose, both considerably influenced the Daoist list of offerings. However, the fact that meat is never placed in front of the Three Pure Ones signifies a certain degree of conscious aloofness from this popular practice. Investigating the uniquely Daoist presence of writing utensils, the author details the function of the Daoist priest as an otherworldly official.

This collection of thirteen essays, dedicated to Michel Strickmann (1942–1994), explores variegated facets of Daoist identity. The inspiring studies in this volume can be of interest for Sinologists, historians of religion, and sociologists alike.

Gábor Kósa

New Developments in Baihua Linguistics

The aim of this review article is to introduce a new book on *baihua* linguistics. This work, *Jindai hanyu yufa yanjiu* 近代漢語語法研究 (*Studies on the Grammar of the Baihua Language*) is not only a comprehensive study of the *baihua* language, but also many new research developments of *baihua* linguistics are included in it. Therefore it is of utmost interest for scholars who study this topic. The book was written by two well-known *baihua* linguists, the Chinese Yu Guangzhong 俞光中 and the Japanese Ueda Hitoshi 植田均. It was published in 2000 by the Xuelin chubanshe 學林出版社 in Shanghai as a paperback edition of 461 pages.

In China, up to the modern times, there was a long co-existence of two main literary language forms: the Classical and the vernacular. Classical Chinese, or the *wenyan*, was based on the written language of the era ranging from the Springs and Autumns period down to the end of the Han dynasty. It was the language of the "official literature" and, as its name (*wenyan*, lit. 'ornamented language') indicates, it was respected as the language of high culture. However, the Classical language was not suitable for every literary purpose: it was extremely difficult to learn, so the *wenyan* works would be only written for a limited number of readers.

To fulfil the demands of those genres, which needed a simpler language, a new literary language came to existence about at the end of the Han dynasty. This was the written vernacular, or in Chinese, the *baihua*. It differed in many aspects from the Classical prose: the vernacular was easy to read, it had its own "popular" style and, from a linguistic point, it was more similar to the contemporary spoken language, than Classical Chinese.

As Jerry Norman writes (1988, p. 111) in *Chinese* about the *baihua* genres: "Vernacular elements were particularly evident in two types of writing: religious (especially Buddhist) texts and various genres of popular literature". The vernacular first was employed by Buddhist missionaries, who, by the words of Norman, "by the nature of their work, try to present their teachings in a simple and accessible language". Later, around the time of the Tang and Song dynasties, the stylistic and grammatical features of the *baihua* language became matured. The vernacular writers mastered the techniques of the *baihua* writing, many popular literary *genres* were born, like the short stories and novels, or the dramas of the Yuan dynasty. Beside the Buddhist translations and the popular genres, any other kind of writing could contain vernacular passages, when the authors quoted "direct speech" from a person. This kind of quoting was especially frequent in the *chan*/*zen* and Confucian *yulu* 語錄 texts, where the oral transmission of teachings had a central importance (Kanaoka 2000, pp. 115–167; Xu 2000, pp. 64–78, 258–272).

Understanding the grammatical features of the written vernacular is important for the researchers of the literary history, as well as of many other fields. For example, the scholars of the modern Chinese language have to trace back many present-day linguistic phenomena to their earlier form. As Chao Yuen Ren writes in his *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese* (1968, p. 1): "The present study is a description of Mandarin Chinese of the present time … Frequent reference will, however, be made to earlier stages of

the language, often reflected in older forms or older distinctions in other dialects, whenever it is relevant to the description of the present". (And vice versa, for the scholar of *baihua* language it is essential to study the grammar of modern Chinese to understand what the outcomes are of several linguistic progresses rooted in the vernacular language. That is why, for example Yu and Ueda, the writers of the revised book, often quote Chao's work.)

Its universal importance is one of the reasons, why the vernacular language became an intensively studied field, especially in Chinese, Japanese and Russian sinology. To demonstrate how preferred this topic is, it is only enough to mention such well-known *baihua* researchers as Kōsaka Junichi 香坂順一, Ōta Tatsuo 大田辰夫, Cao Guangshun 曹廣順, Lü Shuxiang 吕叔湘, I. S. Gurevich or others. Even Wang Li 王力 (1980) studied the vernacular language. Another interesting fact is, that Xu Shiyi 徐時儀 (2000) in the "bibliography" part of his work lists nearly 900 books and articles, which deal with the *baihua* language.

However, there are very few *comprehensive* studies of the vernacular language because it is difficult to discuss its whole, complex system. That is one of the reasons why the book of Yu Guangzhong and Ueda Hitoshi can be called an outstanding work: the writers not only study the *baihua* comprehensively, but they do it strictly in a systematic way. Their book not only contains lots of new information, but it is a *useful handbook* as well. It deals with all stages of the *baihua* language from the earliest times to the Qing dynasty, thus the reader, according to his/her interest, can find all sorts of information in the book. Furthermore, the authors use, quote and analyse many Chinese, Japanese, and Western works, and add their own study results to the earlier data, therefore the book is a summary of the linguistic studies of the *baihua*, too.

The book can be easily used, the authors express their thoughts in a clear way. They explain every grammatical question with examples from well-known sources, like, for example, the *Shuihu quanzhuan* 水滸全傳, or the *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅. When it is needed, they also illustrate several points with illustrations. They precisely mark the chapter and page of a standard edition, where the example can be found. At the end of each chapter, the authors attach the list of reference works which were used for the study. For the Western reader it is also an advantage that the authors use international linguistic abbreviations. The only shortcoming of the book is, that there is no glossary attached, which would be useful for the reader, as there is too much information included in the long work.

The content of the book can be divided into two main parts. The first five chapters deal with certain syntactic constructions, the second part, of eight chapters, discusses the word classes of the vernacular language.

The first chapter deals with the locative preposition *zai* 在 and its modifications, like *zaili* 在裏, etc. There is a long semantical analysis to illustrate the meaning of *zai* and the part of the sentence modified by it. Furthermore, the chapter writes about the historical process of the particularisation of *zai*.

The topic of the second chapter is the *de* 得 complement. First the authors examine the several forms and meanings of the particle. Later they discuss how a sentence of a similar meaning can be made without the *de*. The chapter also writes about an interesting question of the vernacular language: how can the *de* particle be replaced by other ones? It turns out from the study, that the *baihua* language is rich in "synonyms" of *de*.

The third chapter analyses the *baihua* passive "*bei* 被 sentence". For the better understanding of vernacular texts, the writers enumerate the synonyms for *bei* 被, *chi* 吃, *gei* 給 and *jiao* 叫. A useful comment at the beginning of the chapter explains, which kinds of passive forms, like *jian* 見, etc., cannot be called real *baihua* passive markers. The chapter is divided into two main parts: the "*bei* sentences" with and without a noun in front of the particle (N+*bei*; …*bei*).[1]

[1] Yu and Ueda refer to the two types with terms borrowed from Wang Li. They call the

Wang Li (1980, pp. 425–435) has already discussed this topic. However, while Wang Li held the "…*bei*" sentence to be a distortion of the "normal" "N+*bei*" sentence, Yu and Ueda discuss the two types separately. They not only examine the syntactical differences between the two types, but also prove that there is a major semantic difference between them: the "N+*bei*" sentence contains an "unfortunate" meaning, while the "…*bei*" sentence only expresses passivity, or sometimes it does not even have any passive meaning. Determining this fact has general importance in *baihua* linguistics, as even Kōsaka Junichi (1992, pp. 207–210) confuses the two one by saying that both of them express "unfortunate" meanings.

The topic of the fourth chapter is the so-called "*ba* 把 sentence". The authors first introduce several synonyms of *ba*. Then they discuss the possible meanings of the "*ba* sentence". Beside its well-known verbal usage they separate the occurrences of *ba* into two big groups according to its meanings. The first group contains three special applications of *ba*: the causative, the instrumental and the locative usage. In the second group they include the several disposal applications of it. They discuss this question in detail. At the end of the chapter, the authors trace the historical development of the whole "*ba* sentence".

In the fifth chapter the authors study the question forms of the vernacular language. They write about four groups of *baihua* questions. It is a debated point of *baihua* linguistics, Ōta Tatsuo 大田辰夫 (1958), for example, mentions five question groups, while other authors write about only three. The four groups division of Yu and Ueda is the result of a careful treatment of the problem, as they speak about *three* "*basic groups*" and a fourth, so-called *tixuan shi wenju* "提選式問句" (lit. 'choice-offering question form') *subgroup*, which can only be separated because "too many sentences can be classified into this subgroup" (p. 95). The three main groups of Yu and Ueda are: 1. *shifei wenju* "是非問句" (lit. 'true or false question form'), 2. *xuanze wenju* "選擇問句" (lit. 'choosing question form'), 3. *zhengfan wenju* "正反問句" (lit. 'positive and negative question form').[2]

From the sixth chapter to the thirteenth the *baihua* word classes are studied. The sixth chapter itself deals with the verbs (especially with the auxiliary verbs) and the adjectives of the vernacular language. The verbs and adjectives are studied here together "by considering the many similarities amongst them".[3] The authors study first the three *le* 了 particles of *baihua*, from which "*le* 0" disappeared in the modern Chinese language. A Chinese translation of Ueda's article about the "*le* 0" is attached to the chapter, in which Ueda names the particle as "the unique *le* particle of the *baihua* language". His extensive studies can be an important source for the scholars of the modern *le* as well. After treating *le*, the authors discuss the 着 *zhe* particle. They reconstruct its historical development,[4] and separate its "activity" marking from "fluency" marking within the vernacular context. The authors then go on to study the *guo* 過 particle and they divide its occurrences, as do many of the modern Chinese grammars, into two main types. The next topic of this chapter is the *de* 得 particle, which is studied here not as a complement, but as part of a verbal compound. Studying the *shi* 是 particle, the authors do not deal with its common copular usage,

N+*bei* sentence "N被句", while they call the other type "empty sentence" (*lingbei ju* 零被句).

[2] Two question groups of Yu and Ueda are identical with every *baihua* classification. These are the "*xuanze* 選擇" and the "*shifei* 是非" groups.

[3] P. 127. The authors also mention, that in the vernacular language the adjectives behave even more verb-like, than in the modern Chinese.

[4] For the sake of precise reconstruction, they do a statistical research of texts written in different times in different regions. (Under 'region' they mean roughly the Northern and Southern regions of China.) By this method they can determine the semantic development of "V+*zhe*" structures. See pp. 166–172.

instead, they study three other aspects of it. The first aspect is the "really", or "surely" meaning of *shi*, which had already been used in the Classical language; the second is its "identifying" capability, which differs from the copular usage; while the third is its emphasising feature. After the discussion of *shi*, in the last part of the chapter, the authors turn to the verbal pre- and suffixes of the vernacular, like, for example, *da* 打, *si* 廝, or *que* 卻, and the comparison particles of verbal origin, *bi* 比 and *ru* 如.

The seventh chapter is devoted to the nouns. The authors first write about the several methods for nominalisation in the vernacular language. To distinguish the permanently nominalised verbs from other words, which are only occasionally used as a noun (they use the term *mingyong* 名用 for such words), they apply a method of Lü (1979, p. 36). They discuss shortly the *zi* 子, *er* 兒 and *tou* 頭 nominal suffixes. As it is a well-known topic, the authors only mention some special baihua usages of them. In the last part of the chapter, the special *baihua* role of the four nominal compound elements *shi* 時, *chu* 處, *li* 裏 and *xing* 行 is analysed in details.

The topics of the eighth chapter are the numerals and measure words. The authors separate measure words into three different groups and they introduce a problem: in many cases it is only custom that determines the measure word of a given noun. By analysing the measure words of the *Shuihu quanzhuan* 水滸全傳, they find three main differences between the vernacular and modern Chinese. At the end of the subchapter on the measure words, the authors discuss the problem of the so-called "universal" *ge* 個 measure word. Of the numerals, the authors study first the *baihua* phenomena of the "empty place" (*gongwei* 空位) and some special features of the *yi* 一. Then they enumerate several vernacular methods to denote an approximate sum. At the end of the chapter they analyse the "false numbers" (*xushu* 虛數), which have existed in every stage of the Chinese language. It turns out that in the *baihua* language there were many "false numbers", which could be used in modern Chinese only as an archaism.

The ninth chapter is devoted to the pronouns. The detailed studies about the personal pronouns are mainly based on the researches made by Lü (1985) and Kōsaka (1992; 1997). The authors often use the method of historical phonology to find out about the connections among the several personal pronouns. The plural markers *men* 們 and *jia* 家 are also discussed here. In the second part of the chapter the demonstrative pronouns are studied. The authors describe the several groups of *baihua* demonstrative pronouns, they take the phonetic similarities and the common features of demonstration[5] as a basis for each group. They do the same with the interrogative pronouns, where groups of *shenme* 什麼, *zenme* 怎麼, *shui* 誰, *na* 哪, etc. type questions are separated according to the common phonetic and interrogative features.

The tenth chapter analyses the *baihua* adverbs. The authors study the negation adverbs *bu* 不, *wu* 無 and *mei* 沒. With respect to the *bu* adverb, they distinguish four types, the fourth of which does not have a negative function. To reconstruct the historical relationship between *wu* and *mei*, they make a statistical research of four Yuan dramas and the *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅. Several groups of adverbs are studied next, like the *que* 卻, *zi* 自 and *zhi* 只, or the *xu* 須, *zhi* 直, *ke* 可 and *zhengnai* 爭奈 groups. At the end of the chapter, the authors analyse some special *Wu* 吳 dialect adverbs of vernacular origin, which have already disappeared from the standard *putonghua*.

The eleventh chapter deals with the prepositions. After a short, general study of the *baihua* prepositions, the authors discuss *he* 和, *gong* 共 and *tong* 同. They distinguish four types of *he*, deriving all of them from the original verb *he*. About the two types of *gong* they state that although their meanings resemble some types of

[5] As the authors write, in the *baihua* the near-far demonstrative capability is not necessary in every case, because there are many demonstrative pronouns that do not involve such a distinction.

he, both of the *gong* prepositions have adverbial origin. *Tong* usually appears in the vernacular texts as an adverb or verb, here two prepositional usages are studied. In the second part of the chapter the authors study *xiang* 向, *qu* 去, *cong* 從 and *zai* 在. Several types of their occurrences are analysed in detail, and so is their historical development.

In the twelfth chapter the authors study the conjunction words. They explain how difficult the separation of the Chinese conjunction words and adverbs is, especially in the *baihua* language. In this chapter, the so-called "non-traditional"[6] conjunction words are discussed. The conjunction words are classified into several groups, according to the kind of relationship the given conjunction word denotes between sentence parts. This way, the authors establish the main groups of "condition", "reason and result", "turn of event" and "joint" markers with many subgroups therein.

The last chapter is devoted to the particles. The authors start with the *di* 底, *di* 地 and *de* 的 particles, comparing their *baihua* and modern usage. There are many linguistic studies about the origin of *di* 底, they accept the explanation, which holds that *di*, originated in both *zhi* 之 and *zhe* 者. Next, the authors study the particle *lai* 來, dividing its uses into four types. They also attach an interesting study about the special usage of the *lai* and *youlai* 有來 particles in the texts of the Yuan dynasty, and another one about *qulai* 去來. *Na* 那 and the *li* 裏 are studied as two groups with many members. The introduction of the *baihua ye* 也 and *he* 呵 is useful, as their vernacular usage differs from the Classical one. The other *baihua* particles, like *qu* 去, *zhe* 者, or *zege* 則個, etc., are also discussed extensively in this chapter.

[6] The authors state that they apply this term according to the instability and context of a given conjunction word. By "instability" they mean that most of these conjunction words already disappeared, while "context" means, that the "non-traditional" conjunction words are mainly spoken language elements and they can be seen only in a few vernacular works. See pp. 388–389.

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