

tion, she does not give it further discussion. An examination of the larger community may be too much for one work, but the title implies that the conclusions of this work are broadly applicable even though it is clear that they may not be so.

Second, Guo's model provides much useful data, but her conclusions regarding identity are difficult to support. Identity consists of many interconnected facets. "Ethnic" and "national" identity are held simultaneously. There are also "religious", "cultural", "gender", and "occupational" identities. Guo's model, however, makes a clear cut across generational lines. "Elderly ethnic Chinese" are characterized by "ethnic identity," "middle aged ethnic Chinese" are characterized by "national identity," and "young ethnic Chinese" are characterized by "trans-national identity." The model thus overly simplifies the question of identity.

Finally, Chapter Six provided many interesting details on the response of the Chinese communities to the Kobe Earthquake, but did not sufficiently link the data to the overall question of the identity of Chinese in Japan. It, therefore, stands isolated from the rest of the text.

The heart of Guo's work lies in her examination of marriage practices among ethnic Chinese in Japan. She provides us with a vast amount of useful data and analysis. The study of marriage in ethnic Chinese communities has been rarely touched on by other scholars. Guo's work blow a fresh wind into ethnic Chinese community studies. I look forward to more by her on this subject.

Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries. By Jacques Gernet, translated by Franciscus Verellen. Columbia University Press, New York. 1995. 441 pages. \$21.00, paper.

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There are many temples near International Christian University in Tokyo where this journal is produced. Jindaiji, the largest by far, attracts hundreds of visitors to the area every week. A small industry of noodle shops, coffee shops, and stores has grown up around the temple to service these visitors. They rent their space from the temple. Just down the hill from Jindaiji is Saikoji, a much smaller temple. Yet Saikoji, too, plays a role in supporting the local economy. It re-instituted a pilgrimage to the seven gods of luck in cooperation with six other temples, the city office, and the local train line. Buddhism plays, and has long played, an important role in local economies. Furthermore, as Gernet demonstrates, it played an important role in the development of market economy concepts.

Long after Gernet's work first appeared 1956, the subject of Buddhism's relation-

ship to local and national economies remains woefully underexamined. The fact that *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries* is appearing for the first time in English, forty years after its initial release in French, is evidence of the quality of Gernet's work, but also of the dearth of work in the field since then. This book is especially welcome for those of us conducting research on Japan where work of this nature has only comparatively recently begun to be published. In the last two decades we have witnessed a turn away from traditional studies of Buddhism that centered on sutra, commentaries and founders. Work has at last begun to move in the direction Gernet pointed to four decades ago.

Gernet's most important contribution is the observation that religion and economics cannot be understood as separate spheres. The inclination to separate religion (the sacred) from economics (the mundane) has often served to prevent scholars from understanding the religious nature of many so-called mundane activities. The sacred and mundane cannot be easily extricated from one another. For example, Gernet shows that gifts to Buddhist temples had to be purified "and this transformation necessitates one or several commercial transactions involving a series of sales and purchases." (77) "It was the introduction of commerce into the circuit of giving that turned a community of mendicant monks into a great economic power." (78)

Gernet gives numerous examples of Buddhism's concrete socioeconomic contributions (see especially Chapter 4 "Lands and Dependents" and Chapter 5 "Industrial Installations"). For example, Gernet reveals that Buddhist communities were responsible for large scale land reclamation. Temples built on non-arable land slowly cultivated outward. This, however, led to an eventual Buddhist "colonization" of prime land. Gernet also describes Buddhist involvement in various industries, such as the production of hemp oil. Buddhist faith also inspired many spinoff industries, such as statuary. Finally, Gernet shows how the sale of ordination certificates created such a market for them over time that by the Sung (960–1279) they were used as a means of exchange wholly divorced from their original meaning as an ordination certificate. They were, he asserts, "one of the earliest forms of paper money." (60)

It is, however, not only the physical "interpenetration of commerce and religion" that is important to understand, we must also understand that "on two different levels, one and the same concept is concerned: that of productive capital." (227) Buddhism carried with it to China the concept of productive capital. "Before the introduction of Buddhism, China had scarcely been aware of this notion, nor of the mechanism of an automatic accumulation of interests." (227) Furthermore, according to Gernet, "Buddhist communities introduced a form of modern capitalism to China: consecrated property, constituted by an accumulation of offerings and commercial revenues, formed communal wealth, the communal management of which was more profitable than individual operations." (228) Buddhist teachings and practices are the basis for this innovation. Gernet offers the Inexhaustible Treasuries, a system for accumulating and growing wealth loosely analogous to banks, as an example (Chapter 7 "The Circuit of Giving"). He notes, however, that the treasuries themselves, "accommodating reli-

gious doctrine to the practice of giving based on both the psychology of the gift and a formidable organization,” were an original creation of China.” (216) Indian Buddhist theories concerning a bodhisattva’s moral qualities, particularly the quality of charity, were brought into the practical realm over time in China as the Inexhaustible Treasures.

This book, however, is not limited to elucidating Buddhism’s contribution to the development of rudimentary capitalism in China. Gernet also documents how socioeconomic changes affected Buddhism. Some of these changes began in India as Gernet shows in Chapter 3, “The Indian Heritage”. For example, interest earning capital and large land grants affected practices such as begging which played a major role in earlier Buddhist communities. In China, the rich used temples as a place to hide wealth from taxation and as a refuge from corvee labor requirements, thus affecting the types of temples formed and the background of priests. Furthermore, he shows that Buddhist temples controlled vast amounts of territory and thus became managers of peasants and owners of slaves. Slaves, in turn, were ordained to exempt them from corvee labor.

In his examination of the details of the everyday temple management, Gernet makes significant contributions to our understanding of the Buddhist institution in China during the fifth to the tenth centuries. Chapter 9 “The Popular Social Environment” extracts from the limited resources a picture of the popular organizations that developed to support temples and priests. (Gernet relies primarily on Tun-hung sources). It should be required reading for students of Japanese Buddhism where research on the popular support structures for Buddhist organizations is just beginning to take off. His work should be of special interest to those studying confraternities (Jpn. *ko*) and parish (Jpn. *danka*) development. Gernet’s was one of the first works to approach the popular side of Buddhism in early China. Unfortunately, it is marked by the scholarly view of the time that posited a clear cut elite-popular divide.

There are few faults with this book, especially considering that it was first written forty years ago and could not have predicted new developments in the fields of Buddhist and Chinese Studies. However, Gernet’s assertion that the Buddhist economy began its collapse in the T’ang with the advent of self-interested rational economic awareness and that Buddhism, thereafter, began a long steep period of decline was then, and is especially now, a difficult position to maintain. Gernet states that “from the moment these milieu [the various groupings of powerful secular supporters of Buddhism] became aware of the private ends, political and economic, that their adherence to Buddhism enabled them to pursue-as soon as their detachment from the religion became more apparent-Buddhism began its decline in China.” (310) This statement appears to undermine his conclusion that religion and economy cannot be easily disentangled. He is asserting that religious “fervor” is not compatible with rational self-interested action. This statement also relies on the assumption that patrons of Buddhism were initially void of political and economic considerations in their relations with Buddhist communities, yet he clearly demonstrates elsewhere that they

were not (see for example Chapter 10 “The Wealthy Laity”).

His vision of Buddhist decline was influenced by the vision of an Indian “original” from which Chinese Buddhism might decline, by the biases inherent in Japanese sectarian scholarship on which he relied (and upon which Buddhist studies scholars in the West still rely), and by the view of Buddhism left to scholars by Confucian literati. Buddhism never went into decline as he asserts, though its form did change. Later scholars such as McRae, Foulk, and Faure explicate developments of Buddhism against early scholars such as Gernet. For example, the number of temples actually expanded during the Sung, a point early scholars such as Gernet were aware of but often chose to explain as a material expansion but spiritual decline.

These few reservations aside, this book is to be recommended highly. It serves to introduce the student of Buddhism and Chinese history to the many facets of early Buddhist communities in China. It also reminds us of the intertwined nature of religion and the economy. It’s reading should not be limited to China specialists. It should also be required reading for Japan specialists and others interested in the broader study of religion and society. The translation by Franciscus Verellen reads very well. Verellen has also added an extensive index and brought the bibliography up date.

Notes

- 1) The following are some recent works on Japanese Buddhism that examine Buddhism and its relationship to the economy: Bernard Faure, *Visions of Power: Imagining Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Janet R. Goodwin, *Alms and Vagabonds: Buddhist Temples and Popular Patronage in Medieval Japan*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994); Nam-Lin Hur, “Popular Buddhist Culture in the Edo Period: A Case Study of Sensoji,” dissertation, (Princeton University, 1992); Toshio Kuroda, “Buddhism and Society in the Medieval Estate System,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, no. 3–4 (1996): 287–320; Neil McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in Sixteenth Century Japan*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Fumio Tamamuro, *Soshiki to danka*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1999).
- 2) The work of these three scholars, though focused on Ch’an (Jpn. Zen), serves as a good introduction to the changes the field has undergone since Gernet’s book was first published. See John R. McRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Ch’an Buddhism*, (Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986); Theodore Griffith Foulk, “Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch’an Buddhism,” in *Religion and Society in T’ang and Sung China*, edited by Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Peter N. Gregory, 147–208, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993); Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).