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書評 BOOK REVIEWS

Religion in China and Its Modern Fate, by Paul R. Katz. Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2014. xvii, 241 pp. US$40.00 (paper), US$39.99 (e-book).

Despite its far-ranging title, Paul Katz's *Religion in China and Its Modern Fate* concentrates mostly on the period from 1898 to 1948 as a watershed moment in the transformation of Chinese religion. Through original archival research supplemented with useful overviews of recent English and Chinese language research, Katz's study joins a number of recent volumes in arguing that religion played a formative role in the making of modern China, a role previously neglected by historians.[1] Traditional Chinese religion contained a cohesive social system expressed through ritual and temple worship and based on the importance of self-cultivation and moral responsibility. In modernity, much of this system was challenged by changes to "values and organizational modes" (8) that modernity introduced, most particularly through the popularity and influence of Christianity among much of China's most influential intellectual elite. This intellectual elite was suspicious of religion—particularly popular religious practices centered around temples and festivals—as anti-modern, unscientific, and a drain on economic resources. Under the influence of Christianity and Western modernity, acceptable "religions" became defined as "voluntary associations possessing shared scriptural and other textual traditions that were led by trained specialists who had received at least a modicum of modern education" (11). Popular religious practices were cast under the new negative label of "superstition" (*mixin* 迷信). This new binary of "religion" and "superstition" led the state to introduce new kinds of restrictions,

[1] Yoshiko Ashiwa and David L. Wank, eds., *Making Religion, Making the State: The Politics of Religion in Modern China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009); Vincent Goossaert and David A. Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Jan Kiely and J. Brooks Jessup, eds., *Recovering Buddhism in Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, forthcoming).

such as campaigns to convert temples into schools and efforts to curtail temple cults and festivals. However, as the book describes, people of varying social status did not passively accept the state's assault on religion, but found ways to adapt, resist, and negotiate these attempted changes; their efforts often led to the emergence of new forms of Chinese religion. Most of Katz's findings are based on archival research centered in the Shanghai 上海 and Zhejiang 浙江 areas; he claims the book is innovative "as a *regional* study of religious modernization" (16, emphasis mine). However, showing strong familiarity with both Chinese and Western language sources, Katz also makes interesting comparative references to other parts of the country. The book is divided into three chapters that respectively examine the state's attempts to curtail popular religion, the emergence of religious publishing, and the involvement of certain elites in adapting religion to modern times.

Chapter 1 explores the state's challenges to Chinese religion during the period between 1898 and 1948: Katz identifies several key state-led campaigns initiated in the late Qing and Republican periods to curtail popular religious practices under the new label of "superstition," the two most notable of which were the campaigns to turn temples into schools and the campaigns to "eradicate superstition" and "rectify customs" (41). Many of these crusades overlapped with one another. They were spearheaded by officials at different levels of government and by zealous local party activists, who were often students. Some of the operations were carried out relatively peacefully, such as the initial campaign to create schools on temple property, which often left parts of the temples and their religious specialists intact; others involved more aggressive action to destroy temples and their images, which were often met with outright resistance or appeals to stop by local elites and leaders of established religions such as Buddhism. Religious groups struggled to stay on the good side of the state by fitting into its new definitions of acceptable religion. Katz concludes that temples in urban areas, where the state was keen to show off China's modern face, were targeted more than those in rural areas; generally, also, temples suffered more in the north than in the south, where temple cults were more organized and local elites had better resources to preserve them. Nevertheless, Katz's case studies of the Jiangnan 江南

region and the Zhejiang city of Wenzhou 溫州 show that there were many exceptions to these trends and that significant variation in the success of the campaigns could exist even within the same general area. In the concluding section of the chapter, he briefly discusses how the early period of the PRC had an even more devastating effect on temples than the prior Republican period.

Chapter 2 focuses on religious printing. Katz notes that in the face of the government's repressive attitudes toward religion, religious groups did not sit idly by but instead sought to expand their influence by taking advantage of new advances in printing technology. Briefly discussing the origins of modern religious mass printing in China by Christian groups during the mid-nineteenth century, Katz goes on to survey the types and ranges of Confucian-, Daoist-, and Buddhist-based publications produced by religious publishing houses in the early twentieth century, including both books and periodicals. He then turns his attention to his own case study of the Illuminating Goodness Publishing House (Mingshan shuju 明善書局), which was significantly supported by leaders from the Fellowship of Goodness (Tongshanshe 同善社), a redemptive society. Echoing the work of recent scholars such as Francesca Tarocco and Jan Kiely, Katz shows how, in contrast to the efforts of imperial-era religious groups to distribute morality literature freely, this Shanghai-based religious publishing house functioned as a commercial enterprise that sold religious texts to an emerging market.[2] However, the aim of the publishing house was not to earn a profit from this enterprise but rather to "break even" so that it could continue its work. Moreover, it was common for customers to buy large quantities of the publishing house's books and distribute the works for free themselves. While previous studies of religious publishing in the Republican period have focused mostly

[2] Francesca Tarocco, *The Cultural Practices of Modern Chinese Buddhism: Attuning the Dharma* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2008); Jan Kiely, "Spreading the Dharma with the Mechanized Press: New Buddhist Print Cultures in the Modern Chinese Print Revolution, 1866–1949," in *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Publishing and Print Culture in Transition, circa 1800 to 2008*, ed. Cynthia Brokaw and Christopher A. Reed (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2010), 185–212.

on Buddhist or Daoist publishing efforts,[3] Katz's study is unique in focusing on a publishing house connected to a redemptive society. It shows how the publishing interests of religious bookstores were often eclectic. Through an analysis of catalogs kept by the publishing house in the 1930s, Katz notes how the works it produced included reprints of important classics in each of the three teachings; well-known morality texts such as the *Folios of the Most High on Retribution* (*Taishang ganying pian* 太上感應篇); and other works on karmic retribution, the importance of philanthropy, and cultivating moral virtue. The house also produced works specifically for women on morality and health. Katz concludes the chapter with a brief discussion of the spread of books from the Illuminating Goodness Publishing House through religious bookstores in Taiwan.

In Chapter 3, Katz breaks ground by challenging conventional perceptions of Republican-era elites as critics of religiosity and focusing on how some very prominent figures in Republican China played key roles in creating modern Chinese religion. He provides brief religious biographies of major Republican elite religious figures such as the Buddhist monk Hongyi 弘一 (1880–1942), the boxing instructor Chen Weiming 陳微明 (1881–1958), and (most interestingly) Kuomintang 國民黨 president Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887–1975). Mostly from his own archival research, Katz provides a more detailed case study of the life of Shanghai elite Wang Yiting 王一亭 (1867–1938). A self-made entrepreneur who lived most of his life in the city, Wang made his fortune in industry and took on advanced leadership roles in Shanghai business organizations. He was also well known for his love of calligraphy and involved himself in political affairs on the side of the revolution. Wang engaged in a great deal of philanthropy both domestically and internationally, including establishing orphanages and organizing disaster relief efforts following floods in China and the 1923 Great

[3] For Buddhist efforts, see Holmes Welch, *The Buddhist Revival in China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968); Tarocco, *Cultural Practices of Modern Chinese Buddhism*; Kiely, "Spreading the Dharma with the Mechanized Press." For Daoist efforts, see Xun Liu, *Daoist Modern: Innovation, Lay Practice, and the Community of Inner Alchemy in Republican Shanghai* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009).

Kant earthquake in Japan. Wang was a devout lay Buddhist: he was very active in Shanghai's emerging lay Buddhist associations and had important connections with Buddhist leaders of the era such as Taixu 太虛 (1887–1947), Yinguang 印光 (1861–1940), and Hongyi; he also used his relationship with Chiang Kai-shek to advocate the protection of Buddhist temples in the face of renewed anti-superstition campaigns in the 1920s, and to gain legitimacy for the registration of the Chinese Buddhist Association (Zhongguo Fojiao Hui 中國佛教會), with which Wang was closely involved. Katz also reveals that Wang participated in several redemptive societies, including spirit-writing groups, was active in Daoist circles, and carried both Buddhist and Daoist conversion names. Wang also stressed the importance of all the world's major religions for preserving morality and championed the compatibility of religion and modern science. Katz uses the example of Wang's involvement and interests in a variety of religious groups to stress the eclectic and overlapping nature of elite religiosity in early twentieth-century China. Katz also discusses how Chiang Kai-shek himself, despite his conversion to Christianity, remained steadfastly interested in Buddhism. Katz notes how the beliefs and roles of elites like Wang and Chiang complicate notions that China's intellectual and political elites championed a purely secular modernity and, more generally, that modernization is an inherently secular phenomenon.

Katz winds up his study with a brief survey of the fate of religion in post-Mao China. He concludes that while temples in urban mainland China have been further devastated by the increasing valuation of land, temple-based cults have seen some revival in rural areas, and city dwellers still show an interest in religiosity, if mainly outside the temple arena. In contrast to the imperial period, religion is now something in which the avowedly atheist state cannot involve itself. Because of this, while the state, unlike its imperial counterpart, makes a space for religion in China today, it neither legitimates religion through its own selective participation in religious rituals nor endeavors to legitimate itself through that participation. However, Katz suggests that this may be changing with the recent revival of Confucianism.

The title of Katz's book is a bit misleading in that the volume focuses mainly on three key areas in which religion was

transformed in the modern period, but there is less discussion of the *content* of that religiosity. Perhaps "The Modern Fate of Chinese Religion" or "Religious Transformations in Modern China" would have been more appropriate. While Katz resources much of the relevant scholarship on the period he studies, the book could also do more to critically engage and differentiate itself from recently published volumes on the same topic of modern Chinese religious transformations, such as Vincent Goossaert and David Palmer's *The Religious Question in Modern China*, Rebecca Nedostup's *Superstitious Regimes*, and Yoshiko Ashiwa and David Wank's *Making Religion, Making the State*.[4] Katz could also have discussed more how his findings compare and contrast with volumes that offer similar regional case studies of modern Chinese religiosity.[5] Overall, however, this book makes an important contribution to the emerging field of Chinese religion in the modern period: Katz succinctly summarizes the three key areas of transformation—the campaigns to restrict the role of temple-based cults in Chinese society, the effect of mass printing technologies on the nature of urban religion, and the important role that religion played for many modern elites. For readers who are new to the topic of modern Chinese religion, this volume offers a concise, clear introduction to key issues; for scholars of modern Chinese religions, it provides important new data through Katz's careful analyses of campaigns against popular religion in Shanghai and Zhejiang, the publishing practices of the Illuminating Goodness Publishing House, and the religious life of Wang Yiting.

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[4] Goossaert and Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China*; Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Ashiwa and Wank, eds., *Making Religion, Making the State*.

[5] For example, Shuk-Wah Poon, *Negotiating Religion in Modern China: State and Common People in Guangzhou, 1900–1937* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2011); Tarocco, *Cultural Practices of Modern Chinese Buddhism*.