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Celestial Masters: History and Ritual in Early Daoist Communities. By Terry F. Kleeman. Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 102. Cambridge, MA and London, England: Harvard University Asia Center, 2016. Pp. xiii + 425. $49.95/£39.95.

Less than a century has passed since the reprinting by photolithography of the Daoist Canon made possible more than occasional research by non-initiates into the rich and ancient traditions of Daoism, and only within the past half century have substantial numbers of monographic studies drawing on this material become available in European languages. In the Anglophone world much of the credit for this is due to a small group of scholars who studied with Michel Strickmann (1942–1994) at Berkeley, and amongst these Terry F. Kleeman has contributed much already, especially with regard to the Daoist history of Sichuan, on which he already has two substantial monographs to his credit. Not until now, however, has he produced a history of the movement, first based in that area, that provided the backbone, so to speak, to the first millennium of the growth of the broader tradition of organized Daoism, and that remains a key component of Chinese religious life to this day. Only a mature scholar well read in the primary sources and in the secondary literature available in a number of European and East Asian languages could have undertaken such a task, yet none are probably more aware than he is of the provisional status of his considerable efforts. If his work in the decades to come is subject to qualification or modification in matters of detail, future researchers will, one hopes, always pay tribute to the signal nature of the advances that he has made.

Foremost among these advances is his clarifying of some of the broader problems that will no doubt remain central to further work, problems that have necessitated a division of his book into two somewhat different parts. The historical sections of his study of the Way of the Celestial Masters (Tianshi dao 天師道) for the moment remain separate from his study of their early rituals and communal religious life, since the texts used to reconstitute the latter elements of their religion cannot be assigned exact dates, and may therefore reflect a stage when Buddhist influences had modified more ancient arrangements. Even so the coherent picture of lived religion provided in the latter chapters of this volume constitutes a valuable resource for the understanding of the Celestial Master tradition more or less as it was received by editors and compilers during the Tang dynasty, and was reflected too in the mainly Tang and tenth-century manuscript deposit retrieved from the Dunhuang caves in the quarter century before the reprinting of the Daoist Canon—manuscripts likewise not widely studied before the second half of the twentieth century.

By contrast with these copious but chronologically quite late materials, the sources introduced in the first half of the book provide us with a narrative thread

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starting within a generation of the very founding of the Celestial Master tradition, in the middle of the second century c.e. The meticulous construction of this continuous narrative, built from sources derived both from outsiders and from within the movement itself, is one of the most immediately appreciable achievements on offer here, in that while the elements from which the narrative are constructed will be familiar to most scholars who have worked on Daoist topics, even so there are a good number of original observations to be found along the way, and the ensemble as a whole presents a detailed picture certainly unprecedented in English and indeed hard to match in any language.[1] Not a single document used is entirely free from problems, and in many cases the solutions to these problems now offered seem not only novel but plausible, too—for example the carefully argued study on pp. 28–37 covering the career of the early religious leader Zhang Xiu 張脩. Certainly for some elements in the unfolding history of Sichuan (pp. 191–94) the author is able to draw on his earlier work on the foundation of the Cheng-Han 成漢 state there in the fourth century, but much here is entirely new.[2]

The course of the narrative also brings into focus some features of the earliest evidence for the movement, an inscription of 173 c.e. recorded in Song times but no longer directly transmitted, that have not been so prominent before. These would include the importance of the term *gui* 鬼 not simply to appreciate the outlook of the ordinary denizen of China in the late Han period and thereafter (a theme well recapitulated on pp. 174–89) but also (as already established on pp. 71–73) to understand the way in which a divinized Laozi was presented to them by the Celestial Masters as "Demon Lao" (Laogui 老鬼). This rather startling appellation now attested inscriptionally at least for the fifth century may have been removed from our transmitted sources by later editing—and it would in my view not be the only such case.[3] Less unexpected but also brought to renewed attention is another term for a high divinity that may even refer to another manifestation of Laozi, Tianlao 天老 (pp. 75, 77). Here there is certainly some limited support for such an identification to

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1 Though one or two odd blemishes do occur, such as the wrong dates for Emperor Ming 明帝—or rather the right dates for the wrong Ming—on p. 22 in n. 2.

2 Terry F. Kleeman, *Great Perfection: Religion and Ethnicity in a Chinese Millennial Kingdom* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1998). For another, contrasting study of this state less concerned with religious history, cf. Nakabayashi Shirō 中林史朗, "Ri-shi shūdan no tenkai to sono seikaku" 李氏集団の展開とその性格, in Nakajima Satoshi sensei koki kinen jigyōkai 中嶋敏先生古稀記念事業会 , ed., *Nakajima Satoshi sensei koki kinen ronshū* 中嶋敏先生古稀記念論集 , vol. 1 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1980), pp. 53–78.

3 In a forthcoming study to be published in a volume edited by Victor Mair in honour of the late Antonino Forte I reconsider one particular terminological revision first noticed by Henri Maspero.

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be found in a research article published some time ago by Zhu Yueli 朱越利, though the question would seem to be a rather complex one.[4]

We then move on to a discussion of a spirit revelation dated to 31 January 255 c.e., that has been transmitted in the Daoist Canon, though this, and a somewhat earlier revelation that is transmitted with it, is likewise given very careful treatment. One can see why: by that date, the movement, now incorporated into the regime of the successful Wei 魏 Kingdom, had lost its most successful leader Zhang Lu 張魯, so it would not be surprising to find his *post mortem* pronouncements—if indeed (p. 137) it is he who is speaking—much sought after for any guidance they could offer. But it also emerges (p. 127) that Tang sources preserve a yet earlier posthumous spirit revelation dated to 1 February 198, from Lu's father, Zhang Heng 張衡. Had such communications been routinized already before the younger Zhang's death? Or if this apparent 198 document is not what it purports to be, despite the verisimilitudinous, very specific date assigned to it, but a retrospective creation, then what of the later members of the series? It would be agreeable to be able to take the source of 255 as an accurate reflection of the mid-third century, since at a time when secular sources record nothing of the progress of Buddhism at all, it avers that Buddhist monks are baldheaded because their predecessors greeted Laozi's miraculous appearance in India by "knocking their heads millions of times" after his displays of power forced them reluctantly to accept celibacy and vegetarianism.[5] Such a negative evaluation of Buddhism is difficult to attest elsewhere until at least a century later, since the eventual rivalries between the two religious traditions seem to have emerged only slowly, but this could, one supposes, have been a local phenomenon that was as it were ahead of its time.

No word denoting Buddhism is used in this passage, and nothing of the actual teachings of the Buddhists—as opposed to observable aspects of their conduct—seems to have informed the revelation in any way, whenever it was composed. But the remarks about their shaven rivals, even if later than the date the document claims for itself, do underline the degree to which the adherents of the movement revealed by Terry Kleeman's work saw themselves from their earliest days as beset by competitors. The inscription of 173 already uses (p. 75) the key term "Correct and Unitary" (*zhengyi* 正一) that still signifies adherence to the tradition to this day. At the level of rhetoric at any rate a strong defence seems to have been continuously mounted against all those forces that were incorrect and multifarious. At the same

[4] Zhu Yueli, "Tianlao kao" 天老考, *Zongjiaoxue yanjiu* 宗教學研究 2 (1986), pp. 52–58.

[5] Cf. the translation of this passage in Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1997), p. 170, and for vegetarianism here and in early Chinese Buddhism, Eric M. Greene, "A Reassessment of the Early History of Chinese Buddhist Vegetarianism," *Asia Major*, 3rd ser., 29, no. 1 (2016), pp. 1–43, esp. p. 25.

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time in the earliest materials at least there is equally nothing that hints of common purpose with any wider grouping, no sense for example of the authors of these materials being "Daoists," but rather that other leaders like Zhang Jue 張角 (pp. 129, 131) of the Yellow Turbans had been their inferiors, even impostors.

There is, moreover, in a number of passages brought forward in this study a certain sense of watchfulness against internal schism. The key phrase indicating this is *zi zuo yi fa* 自作一法, which is translated as "creating their own religion" (pp. 342, 343), following the pattern of an earlier translation of *wu fa* 無法 as "without religion" (p. 155).[6] The phrase certainly turns up in a good number of Daoist canonical texts from before and during the Tang dynasty, and it would seem to be applied in at least some instances to what may be termed apostates, those who had relinquished a higher path to follow the profane course of popular religious cults.[7] Yet in every case it would seem the reference is not to adopting another system of beliefs, but rather to wilfully pursuing one's own praxis, and this would seem to hold true even where the phrase occurs in those materials that have been identified as having been composed under strong Buddhist influence.[8] The expression appears moreover to be confined to Daoist sources, and does not occur in Buddhist texts at all. In other words, whatever the reasoning behind the translation adopted—and one is not really in a position to suggest alternatives to a scholar much more familiar with the materials than almost anyone in the Anglophone world—the word translated "religion" here does not seem to have the same meaning as *fa* does in Buddhism, where it is the standard equivalent for *dharma*. I have elsewhere emphasized the important role of Buddhism as a religious tradition in providing a model for other non-Buddhist Chinese to emulate or at least react to, but here the usage involved, while covering what we might indeed term "religion," seems to both antedate Buddhist influence and to have remained quite distinct.[9] For even in Song times a Daoist *fashi* 法師 was plainly in a business very different from that of a Buddhist dharma master.[10]

[6] On p. 386, moreover, the phrase *daofa* 道法, found in an inscription of 433, is translated as "Daoist religion."

[7] See for example Daoist Canon no. 1411 (Schipper enumeration), *Dongxuan lingbao changye zhi fu jiuyou yukui mingzhen ke* 洞玄靈寶長夜之府九幽玉匱明真科, pp. 10b7, 11b4.

[8] For an example, see Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄, comp., *Dōzō nai Bukkyō shisō shiryō shūsei* 道藏内佛教思想資料集成 (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1986), p. 128, line 3.

[9] T. H. Barrett, "The Advent of the Buddhist Conception of Religion in China and Its Consequences for the Analysis of Daoism," *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 9, no. 2 (October 2009), pp. 149–65. Now also in Perry Schmidt-Leukel, ed., *Buddhism and Religious Diversity* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), vol. 1, pp. 234–51.

[10] Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), p. 14.

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This distinctiveness in self-definition is compounded by another element that Terry Kleeman's study brings to our notice. Schism—again, apparently from as early as 255 c.e.—could also be effected by establishing an independent "parish" (*zhi* 治) of adherents (p. 341). Setting up one's "own religion" (*zi li fa* 自立法; p. 342)—to stay with the terminology for the moment—thus turns out to involve organizational aspects. Some indications that what had originally been developed as a coherent network ended up with separate enclaves under a variety of leaderships can occasionally be glimpsed in our historical sources. One of the protagonists in the fourth century Shangqing 上清 revelations compiled into the *Zhen'gao* 真誥 seems to have had a parish of his own, for example.[11] The poet Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433) is also said to have been brought up in his early years in the personal parish of a hereditary Daoist leader.[12] In at least some such organizations, we learn (pp. 350–51), the master had the power to commute for ordinary members of his flock sentences for crimes deemed worthy even of execution under the secular law of the outside world. But when and where this held true is, alas—given our current state of knowledge of the precise chronology of many of our sources—still unclear. Does this account hark back out of simple historical nostalgia to the days of political independence that preceded absorption of the whole system into the Wei regime? Or does it represent an effort to reassert an arm's length relationship with the state at a later date? Or might it actually be describing the *de facto* situation in some parts of China in certain later periods of Six Dynasties history?

That some parishes of the late fourth century were literally autonomous seems undeniable from the historical accounts (summarized here on pp. 213–14) of the rebellion of Sun En 孫恩, a man who did not hesitate to lead his troops against his ostensible co-religionists if they supported the government. To what extent, then, do our sources, especially those with their highly prescriptive tone that seem to seek to establish standards in religious life, represent a true reflection of correctness and unity, and to what extent are they attempting to reconstitute what was actually a fractured and contested authority by restating or even reimagining the earlier phases of the movement? I would suggest that we should try to move forward from the outline history established by Terry Kleeman with some caution, and in that process perhaps to reflect somewhat upon the nature of the models and parallels we inevitably tend to invoke in order to explain the picture that appears to be emerging.

One notices, for example, that the document of 255 c.e. is referred to at times in this study as an "encyclical," a term that evokes Europe under the Papacy of the Church, a coherent hierarchy spread across time and space. Yet the language relating

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[11] *Zhen'gao*, 18.8b3, text no. 1016, in the Daoist Canon.

[12] Zhong Rong 鍾嶸, *Shipin* 詩品, in He Wenhuan 何文煥, ed., *Lidai shihua* 歷代詩話 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), vol. 1, *juan shang* 卷上, p. 9.

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to the contemporary religious experience of Europe in late antiquity can be used with regard to China in other ways. Gil Raz, for example, has worked extensively with materials of a similar date to those associated with the Celestial Masters, as well as with the same texts that appear in the volume under review, but predominantly with materials not tied to a particular narrative of a community, either established and subsequently scattered, or perhaps even unified or reunified by a common praxis. His published synthesis of his studies—because of the relative chronology of their efforts, Terry Kleeman seems to have worked not with this, but largely with the dissertation whence this synthesis derives—does explicitly mention Christianity, but early Christianity as it is now understood in modern scholarship rather than as traditionally perceived.[13] Here there is a due appreciation of the problems involved in assuming an original uniformity undone by later local compromises, and a careful weighing up of the forces tending towards subsequent integration. The newer models proffered may be helpful, or may not, but it is at any rate useful to be aware of what analogies can be brought into play.

Also of value no doubt are the warnings expressed in the same synthesis about the decidedly loose use of the expression "Way of the Celestial Master" in our historical sources for the fourth–fifth century, which are actually the product of seventh-century editing, since it can be shown in these texts to have been applied to different figures whose religious behaviour seems to have been quite dissimilar.[14] In fact by the seventh century the title "Celestial Master" may have been in some circumstances quite literally no more than a word to conjure with, perhaps generalized well beyond the confines of its original usage.[15]

But if the information about some areas in the study under review prompts to further speculation on such imponderable matters, there are equally other areas in which such evidence as our sources make available is dealt with in ways much more likely to provide a usefully definitive account, at least barring the future retrieval of more materials through archaeology. One such topic would be the sexual rites treated here under the rubric "Merging of the Pneumas" (*heqi* 合氣; pp. 158–74), though there are many more.[16] The clarity of exposition that the writing achieves not

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[13] Gil Raz, *The Emergence of Daoism: Creation of Tradition* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), pp. 19–20, 213–14. In dealing with the Celestial Masters this volume invests more in discontinuity rather than continuity by comparison with Kleeman's work.

[14] Raz, *Emergence of Daoism*, pp. 12–13.

[15] The issue as to what is going on in the relevant medical text is, however, quite hard to decide: see pp. 427–28 of T. H. Barrett, "Science and Religion in Medieval China: Some Comments on Recently Published Work by Nathan Sivin," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd ser., 8, no. 3 (November 1998), pp. 423–30.

[16] This topic is also treated by Raz, *Emergence of Daoism*, pp. 186–209.

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simply on such complex subjects but also throughout the whole work is something impossible to achieve without many years of effort. Those years have certainly been well spent, as any reader will readily appreciate.

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Unruly People: Crime, Community, and State in Late Imperial South China. By Robert J. Antony. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2016. Pp. xi + 308. $65.00/HKD495.00.

本書作者 Robert J. Antony 於1988年完成以海盜、盜匪及拜把結盟為中心，有關1796–1839年間廣東法律及犯罪活動研究的夏威夷大學博士論文後，即鍥而不舍，對相關連串課題作更進一步的探討，撰有論著多篇，本書即為其逾三十年孜孜不倦的綜合研究成果。本書主要關切者，厥為清中葉(約略為1760–1845年間)廣東省內的犯罪活動與法律執行，尤聚焦於盜匪、拜把結盟及地方法律實施方面，探究盜匪、拜把結盟、地方社會及清代國家之間的相互聯繫；換言之，集體掠奪性的犯罪活動及國家對罪行的回應實為全書用心所在。1760–1845年八十五年間為中國史上，因人口爆炸及商業擴張所驅動由盛而衰的劇變動亂年代，持續上升的地方社會騷亂與清政府毫不留情的鎮壓行動之間的暴力衝突，實為此時期的主要議題；華南的廣東省則為此時期的集體犯罪活動與法律施行提供了理想的研究個案，蓋鴉片戰爭軍事上的慘敗，勾畫出國家與地方社會勢力均衡的持久重要變遷。全書主體分為三個部份：(一)探討國家及地方社會對抗盜匪所發展的預防措施及防護策略；(二)分析廣東匪幫拜把結盟的犯罪活動、成份及組織；(三)詳細檢視清政府與地方社會所採納及運用的政策，特別在法律方面，藉以鎮壓這些犯罪社團及抑制其活動。

本書除導論及結語之外，另分十一章。在第一章導論及第二章，作者一方面編織清中葉廣東盜匪及拜把結盟的前後關係，另方面對省內的地理背景與境況、持續上升的生態危機和大規模社會騷動也有所論及。第一部份包括三、四、五共三章。第三章討論清代國家試圖透過法律推廣及道德勸說，防止犯罪及維持社會秩序。第四章作者極力申說，與成說所言國家力所能及的範圍僅到縣衙為止相反，國家代理媒介，特別是縣下面的官員、衙役和軍人，實際上深入滲透到地方社會，在基層執法方面起了不可或缺的作用。運作於中央及地方社會之間模糊場域的保甲和地保，則為雙方合作主要渠道。遏制匪患的力度則繫於國家與地方社會的合作。就地方防止犯罪而言，這一切努力的成果難以確定。第五章分析為了自衛，地方所制定的法

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