A History of Daoism and the Yao People of South China

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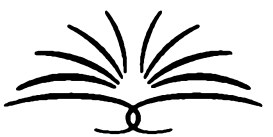
Eli Alberts



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For my parents

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FOREWORD

Writing a foreword to a book that one would have loved to write oneself is something of a challenge. Let me begin by telling something of the string of coincidences which led up to this book.

In 1992, a Dutch tourist guide who regularly visited Thailand came to me with a pile of Chinese manuscripts that turned out to be Yao ritual texts. My response was one of tremendous excitement. In the following months, we succeeded in persuading the Leiden Ethnographic Museum (Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde) to buy roughly half of the complete set of manuscripts, and two complete sets of ritual paintings from one single Yao priest who had lived and worked in Laos. The other half of the manuscripts was later acquired by the Sinological Seminar at Heidelberg University. The importance of the collection is that it all stemmed from one and the same ritual specialist, unlike most of the other material available for scholarly inspection. This discovery sparked my interest in Yao culture in a way that would have been impossible without such artifacts, although I never got around to studying them in real depth. Similar collections of texts exist at other places in Europe and no doubt elsewhere, but apart from a voluminous catalogue of the material preserved at the

Bavarian State Library in Munich (Germany), little to no work is being done on these materials.

Thanks to email and the Internet, Eli Alberts became aware of my own work in the late 1990s and before he knew it he was swept up into the study of the Yao. This book is the fruit of the conversation that followed, which he carried out in China, Thailand, the Netherlands, and the United States.

A major obstacle to initially pursuing work on the Yao ritual texts themselves was the lack of proper background research on the Yao from a social, cultural, and religious historical perspective. There is now a substantial amount of sound Western and Chinese ethnographical research, by Peter Kandre, Ralph Litzinger, and Hjorleifur Jonsson, as well as by Chinese scholars such as Pu Chaojun and Guo Zhu, to mention only a few. By contrast, serious research on the different historical dimensions of the Yao is virtually absent, except for an excellent 1970 dissertation—never published—by Richard Cushman. Until the present book by Eli Alberts, we were stuck with the impressionistic comments of Michel Strickmann on the possibly ancient roots of Yao religious culture in new Daoist traditions of the Song period. Despite early attempts to bring together international research at conferences devoted to Yao studies, actual research is still hampered by a serious language barrier (numerous Western ethnographers who do not use modern and/or classical Chinese resources, Chinese scholars ignoring Western research, and sufficient command of the Yao languages), as well as by a lack of expertise and sympathy among Chinese scholars with respect to the religious dimensions of Yao culture.

The present book by Eli Alberts is therefore the first in-depth survey in any language that is based on a broad survey of Chinese, Japanese, and Western research on issues of Yao identity and religious culture. Topics covered are the discovery of Yao Daoism (which antedates by decades the well-known comments by Michel Strickmann, but was ignored by subsequent scholarship), the history of the Yao as a cultural and religious entity, the relationship between the Yao and older cultural groups in southern China, and the origins

and significance of their use of Daoist ritual traditions. As he shows, the "Yao" as a people are very much the result of interaction with and construction by imperial Chinese politics and culture. The modern category of the Yao as an ethnic group is the result of recent political events following 1949, but the same is true of past definitions as well. The very name "Yao" reflects the concerns of Han-Chinese officials, as well as of the groups themselves with freedom of taxation and labor service. Luckily, the name itself did not have strong pejorative connotations, as is also demonstrated by the author on the basis of careful analysis of the Chinese characters for Yao. This is an interesting difference with that other major southern culture, who are known to students of Chinese culture as "Miao" and who call themselves Hmong. "Miao" is undoubtedly derived from the name of one of the mythological enemies of the Yellow Emperor, the Sanmiao (Three Miao). The name Miao implies an abomination, which is indeed how Chinese officials perceived of local groups sharing this culture. Names matter, but not always in the way that we are accustomed to look at them! Now that Alberts has demonstrated that the name Yao is just one, albeit important, attempt at classification from a certain perspective, this should enable the future researcher to look at the historical as well as the ethnographical record in ways much less hampered by convention and tradition. It should enable us to see crucial similarities and differences between the Yao and other southern cultures, such as the Miao, the Hakka, or the She. In fact, it should free up researchers to look at all kinds of local cultural formations in a much more open way.

What we usually call "Daoism" played a crucial role in the formation of a Yao ethnicity, but not in the sense of the adoption of a "foreign" (exogenous) religious culture by an already existing local group/culture. A definitive analysis of the overall process for all southern Chinese cultures is not yet possible at the present stage of our knowledge of local Daoist traditions in the Yuan, Song, and preceding periods. Nonetheless, Alberts' analysis suggests to me that in understanding the creation of southern Chinese groups such as the Hakka or the Cantonese, we need to take their use of

politico–religious culture extremely seriously. As he points out very convincingly, the very history of Daoism since the Celestial Master's first revelations is intimately tied to the adoption of sinitic political ideals, of what we might call Mandate of Heaven lore, by local cultures. These cultures are conventionally constructed as "ethnic," but the differences with so-called Han cultures probably were only a matter of degree.

Hakka culture could be studied as the outcome of a very similar evolutionary process, in which the adoption of Daoist culture also took place, but was then given up to some extant in exchange for Christian and Confucian inspired ideologies. Here we can expect to profit from the ongoing project led by John Lagerwey and others on Hakka culture in southern China (especially in Jiangxi province). A similar project is required for Cantonese and Minnanese cultures, in order to establish the precise ways in which they eventually became "Chinese." Preliminary historical work here has been carried out by David Faure and Michael Szonyi, but much still remains to be done.

The adoption by the Yao of what we call "Daoism" did not signify simply the taking over of a religious culture, as much as it was the acceptance of a politico–religious system with the Son of Heaven as the central representative and bestower of crucial rights. As such it gave these local cultures a whole new set of rights. Given the fact that "Daoism" is a modern term to begin with, these cultures undoubtedly did not think of the event as a religious conversion. Indeed, as demonstrated by Eli Alberts, they thought of it primarily in political terms. And to be honest, since the Yao were able to survive into the twenty-first century, it might be argued that their adoption of this political culture was quite successful for a long period of time.

To me, therefore, this book is not only the history of Daoism in connection with the creation of a Yao cultural identity, which eventually shaped an ethnic one; it also points to the importance of understanding this Daoism as both a religious and a political religious enterprise. This brilliant study by Eli Alberts has now cleared away much of the cloud that has been caused by previous, mostly impressionistic

scholarship on the "Dao of the Yao." The following step that needs to be taken is to study what remains of the religious and scriptural culture of the Yao, as well as its more recent past, not only on the basis of the extant ritual and other types of manuscripts, but also based on their living culture.

Professor Barend J. ter Haar
Leiden University

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I am grateful to too many people to list in one or two pages—many of whom I never had a chance to meet, but only know through written works, which have enriched this book in countless ways. Among them, I owe a great deal to Richard Cushman's dissertation, *Rebel Haunts and Lotus Huts*, which he was completing about the same time I was born. Unfortunately, he passed away in 1991, so there is no way for me to return the favor.

While time limitations have made it impossible to contact past scholars, those based on space are now easily overcome thanks to email. It is because of email that I first met Barend ter Haar. As he mentions in the Foreword to this book, I contacted him in the late 1990s with myriad questions about Yao religion and culture, and that initial email led to a conversation that eventually brought me to Leiden, where we collaborated for almost a year. During that time, ter Haar exposed me to most of the secondary literature on Yao in Chinese, Japanese, and Western languages. He also helped me to grasp the significance of Yao culture, formulate questions about it, and chart the course of my dissertation, which has resulted in this book.

I must also thank Victor Mair and Paul Goldin of the University of Pennsylvania. It was during a seminar offered by Mair that I first became interested in the question of the Dao among the Yao, and when I wrote the paper that became the nucleus around which this book took its form. Goldin helped me to transform a collection of disparate chunks into a cohesive narrative. He also led me to reread what I had written from the perspective of the potential reader.

I would also like to mention Nancy Steinhardt, who has also always been there when I needed advice, and Alan Berkowitz of Swarthmore College, who exposed me to the world of Chinese hermits and taught me how to find what I need in Chinese sources.

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Finally, thank you to my parents, who brought me into this world and gave me a place in it. You have always been there for me. Thank you also Heather, Mitch, Bob, Nellie, and Jacob.

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INTRODUCTION

THE DISCOVERY OF YAO DAOISM

The term "Yao" (瑶, 猺, 傜, 徭)[1] refers to a non-sinitic[2] speaking, southern "Chinese"[3] people who originated in central China, south of the Yangzi River. Peoples identified as Yao, whose cultures, until recently, were characterized by a reliance on swidden or slash and burn agriculture, upland habitation, and widespread migratory patterns, live in the southern Chinese provinces of Hunan, Guangdong, Guangxi, and Yunnan; in Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand; and in the last few decades, in Europe and North America. Despite categorization by Chinese and Western scholars of Yao as an ethnic minority with a primitive culture, it is now recognized that not only are certain strains of religious Daoism prominent in Yao ritual traditions, but Yao share many elements with pre-modern official and mainstream Chinese culture: their cosmology, their festive calendar, their pantheon of deities with its heavenly hierarchy, their system of ritual practices, and their script.[4] All Yao scriptures are written in a variant of Chinese, marked by a combination of literary, vernacular, and even southern Chinese and Yao dialectal elements. This unique combination

has formed the primary textual medium of politico–religious life in Yao society.

I am interested in the position of Chinese texts and other ritual objects in Yao politico–religious traditions, and ask the question: *How do Chinese script and "Daoist" imagery—both evidence of imperial authority—function in the creation and maintenance of Yao identities*? I argue that their function is similar to that of texts and other patterns (*wen* 文) in Chinese official religion, going back at least to the Han Dynasty. Just as revealed scriptures, or treasures (*bao* 寶), served to legitimate the authority of the emperor and the dynastic line through their symbolic expression of the Mandate of Heaven, so too do Yao Chinese texts serve to legitimate the authority of village leaders and clan lines, as well as to create and maintain local and extra-local Yao identities. In this way center and periphery resemble each other.

To elaborate, the larger research theme yields such specific questions as: How did mountain-dwelling, swiddening agriculturalists moonlighting as ritual specialists, obtain these heavenly treasures, originally granted solely to the emperor? When and by what means did Yao *become* Daoists, and how did the reception of this imperial (and textual) religion serve to mediate relations between Yao and non-Yao communities, between Yao and local Chinese officials, and finally, between Yao and the state—both the Chinese and other states into whose domains Yao entered? How did literacy in the Chinese script, a requisite to participating in Daoist ritual culture, help to cement a Yao sense of identity in contradistinction to non-literate societies in their midst?

THE DAO AMONG THE YAO REVISITED

Contemporary discourse concerning the practice of Daoism in Yao societies often credits Michel Strickmann as being the first scholar to apprehend Daoist elements in Yao ritual culture. In his brief article "The Tao Among the Yao: Taoism and the Sinification of South China," published in 1979, Strickmann detected what Shiratori Yoshiro—the compiler of the *Yao Documents*,[5] "600 pages of manuscripts in Chinese characters" collected by Shiratori and his colleagues—had not.

Although Shiratori raised the possibility of Daoist or Buddhist influence in the materials, he remained silent to the fact that the vast bulk of the *Yao Documents* were Daoist texts used by Yao priests in their religious rites. In his article, Strickmann attempted to explain how and when Yao came to adopt Daoism as their religion, and argued that it was part of a larger sinifying process, one that began by the thirteenth century. While paving the way for future research, and defining a new field of academic endeavor, his discussion was impressionistic, and left many questions unanswered. I will reassess Strickmann's initial intuitions about the appearance of Daoism among the Yao people, expanding on his argument in some places, and in others, diverting from it.

Prior to Stickmann's writing about Daoism in Yao society, most research on Yao by Western and Japanese scholars was conducted in Southeast Asia, primarily in Thailand, by anthropologists who were for the most part unfamiliar with Chinese cultural and religious traditions, let alone with the Chinese script.[6] Complaining about the lack of communication between different fields of learning, which resulted in the failure to recognize Daoist elements in Yao ritual manuals, Strickmann remarked:

> The fashionable isolation of different scholarly disciplines from one another can sometimes have rather unfortunate results. Taoist studies have traditionally been much cultivated in Japan, and it is regrettable that in this instance anthropology should have been so far removed from Sinology. It is odd that the anthropologists should suppose these texts, written in excellent Chinese, to be simply indigenous Yao productions.[7]

Many Chinese scholars writing about Yao during the same period—presumably capable of reading Chinese and familiar with Daoist themes—were equally ignorant of the Daoist composition of Yao ritual culture. Influenced by Hegelian notions of progress,[8] they were wont—as it is still common in much Chinese scholarship—to associate "ethnic minorities" with "primitive religion," an ideological persuasion which resulted in their overlooking the obvious: the

basic commonality between Yao and local (i.e., Southern) Han ritual practices, as well as among other peoples living in South China and Southeast Asia.[9]

In 1982, Jacques Lemoine published his *Yao Ceremonial Paintings*, which while reiterating many of Strickmann's points, attempted a more detailed study of Yao paintings and their significance in Yao ritual culture. Unlike Strickmann, Lemoine was not a Daoist specialist, but rather an ethnographer of Yao (Iu Mien) and Hmong religion, as well as a collector of Yao paintings; therefore, most of his arguments about the history of Daoism and how it spread to South China were heavily influenced by Strickmann. Following in Strickmann's footsteps, Lemoine recognized that the paintings were primarily representations of Daoist deities. In a similar fashion, he criticized previous scholarship for not recognizing this:

> For some reason or other, many observers in past decades have failed to see for what it is this whole body of rituals, and the books and paintings on which it relies. One or two of the dozen or so Chinese researchers who have been to the Yao hills during this time have noted in passing that some of the rituals they watched were 'taoist-like,' but most other anthropologists have sought to explain Yao religion in terms of archaic and indigenous tribal beliefs. This is surprising, because one needs only a minimum knowledge of Chinese religious practices to understand that Yao religion and rituals can only be a borrowing from a more powerful tradition. And this tradition is Chinese Taoism.... The paintings which are displayed on such occasions [the last two months of the Chinese calendar year] are also all the more striking and it is difficult to ascribe them to a primitive tradition. Unfortunately, the common prejudice that mountain people are 'backward' has somehow blinded some of their most enthusiastic supporters. Ignorance of the Chinese script has also been a serious obstacle for most Western anthropologists working with the Yao.[10]

Ignoring the majority of previous scholarship that countered their assertions (see the following section), Lemoine and others endorsed Strickmann as the one scholar who *discovered* Yao Daoism.

Yao Daoism Before Liberation

Despite his being credited with this *discovery*, Strickmann clearly was not the first scholar to speak of it. Already in the Qing Dynasty, some gazetteers and other locally based documents from South China discussed Yao practices, using terminology that most contemporary scholars would associate with Daoism, unfortunately only in brief mention. Li Laizhang's 李來章 *Bapai Fengtu ji* 八排風土記 (1654–1721), for instance, explains that Yao mourners, after burning spirit money and covering the deceased in a white cloth, must conduct a purification 修齋 for one night—a practice which could either be Daoist or Buddhist in nature.[11] The same text more explicitly states that "...they make offerings to the deities and invite Daoist priests to intone Daoist scriptures...."[12] 奉神延道士口誦道經 *The Gazetteer of Lianshan County* 連山縣志 (1693) claims that Yao do not take medicine when sick, but rather "...invite Daoist priests to pray for them...,"[13] 請道士禱之 *The Gazetteer of Lechang County* 樂昌縣志 (1719) adds that they "[administer] talismanic water to heal them,"[14] thus recalling the standard use of talismans and talismanic water in mainstream Daoist healing rituals since the 2nd century C.E.[15] The *Lianshan Suiyao Ting zhi* 連山綏猺庭志 (c.f. 1830) describes the presence of Daoist priests at Yao funerals. In front of the pit where the body of the deceased will be buried: "...Yao Daoist priests face the corpse and intone memorials and charms, and only then place it in the coffin."[16] 猺道面尸誦章咒乃殮 Further on the same page the text maintains that "Yao Daoist priests are their teachers. They also have *keyi* (Daoist liturgy). Their texts cannot be understood. For those who are outstanding in their studies they invite Daoist priests so that they can receive the registers (*shoulu*).[17] Those who receive the registers wear a scarlet robe."[18] 猺道自為教亦有科儀其文不可曉學優者則延諸道為受籙受籙者服朱衣 Finally, the *Gazetteer of Lianshan County* remarks: "Those male children

who are intelligent do not read Confucian (*ru*) books, but only follow Yao Daoist priests in their studies."[19] 兒之聰穎者不與讀儒書唯從猺道士學 Mention of Yao Daoist priests (simply *yaodao*), liturgies (*keyi*), receiving the registers (*shoulu*), and talismanic water (*fushui*) all indicate the recognition of Daoist rituals in Yao society during the Qing Dynasty, at least by the local officials who wrote these gazetteers.

Evidence also suggests that Chinese scholars during the decades leading up to "liberation" (i.e., before 1949) were aware of the presence of Daoist practices in Yao societies. As Barend ter Haar describes in his excellent annotated bibliography of Yao religion,[20] some very detailed studies by Chinese anthropologists on Yao religion and culture appeared during the Republican period, which recognized the presence of Daoist texts written in Chinese, Daoist deites and practices, as well as various ritual implements also used by Han or orthodox Daoist priests.

There appears to have been an ongoing discussion during the Republican period about whether or not Yao Daoism was the same as *real* Daoism as practiced in Han communities. Writing in 1943, Liang Zhaotao 梁釗韜 pointed out that most people who had previously investigated Yao religion were aware of conspicuous Daoist influence. Not only did many Yao deities and rituals appear to be Daoist, but Yao also followed the Yin/Yang Five Phase system.[21]

According to Liang, prior to his going into the mountains to investigate Yao religion he was prepared to witness the Daoized (*daojiaohua* 道教化) religion that earlier scholars had described; once in the mountains, however, he soon came to the conclusion that Yao religion was only superficially Daoist. Perhaps Yao worshipped the most important deities in the Daoist pantheon, but these deities lorded over others that were clearly indigenous to Yao society.[22] Liang further distinguished Yao religion from its Han counterpart by asserting that Yao merely worship and fear their deities, and perform rituals to them as a means of dispelling evil spirits.[23] He also argued that Yao interpret yin / yang and the five phases more simplistically. For instance, he claimed that in the Han and Yao conceptions, the five phases correspond to yin and yang differently.[24] For these

undeveloped reasons Liang believed that Yao religion only had the appearance of Daoism, but in its substance was really comprised of a mixture of more primitive elements: Spirit worship (*jingling chongbai* 精靈崇拜), Animism (*youling chongbai* 有靈崇拜), and Fetishism (*yaowu chongbai* 妖物崇拜).[25]

Six years earlier, writing in the same journal, Jiang Yingliang 江應樑, provided what ter Haar has considered: "probably the first serious study of Yao religious life, including its Daoist aspects."[26] Although Jiang began his investigation of Yao in Northern Guangdong with the expectation that he would discover the religion of a primitive people (*chumin* 初民) without writing or an advanced sociopolitical structure, and who worshipped a dog king, Jiang Yingliang soon discovered that Yao religion had been influenced by Han religion and culture:

> 徭[27]人固然是多神教的崇拜者，但是這種崇拜卻並非全部含有原始宗教的意義而是多量的有著漢化的色彩，而在漢化之中，卻又不完全是漢人宗教的典型.
>
> While it is true that Yao people are worshippers of a polytheistic religion, their worship, contrary to expectations, does not completely consist of primitive religious significance. Rather, it has multiple characteristics of Hanification; yet, in the midst of such Hanification, it is not completely the religion of the Han people.[28]

Jiang went on to explore the multiple layers of Hanification (*Hanhua*) in Yao religion, and insisted that in every instance where Yao religion showed similarities with Han practices, it was due to Han influence on Yao society; thus, for Jiang, the aspects of Hanification that he recognized in the Yao religious context were not the *real* Yao religion.

Like Strickmann over forty years later, he discovered that Yao priests—who he referred to as shamans (wu 巫)—used Chinese script; i.e., they used Han writing. However, he also saw that interspersed among the standard Han graphs were others that were clearly Yao inventions.[29] These *strange* invented characters combined with

an equally *peculiar* syntax and grammar made it difficult for Jiang and his colleagues to comprehend.

Jiang sinocentricly viewed this divergence from Han convention as a failing on the part of Yao ritual specialists. Somehow they had learned to use Chinese writing but had failed to grasp how the language worked. In so doing, Jiang assumed that there was an intrinsic connection between the Chinese script—in his understanding, a Han Chinese phenomenon / invention—and Chinese language. What he did not take into account was the possibility that Yao employed Chinese script to represent their own semantic and syntactic necessities.[30] It is also the case that many Yao documents are copies—or at least related versions—of sources that also appear in official compendia, such as the *Daoist Canon* (*Daozang* 道藏).

After seeing a Chinese couplet (*duilian* 對聯) hanging over a temple in a Yao village and said to have been written by the village headman (*cunzhang* 村長), Jiang questioned whether Yao could even read, or grasp the meaning of, the words that they wrote.[31] Unfortunately, he failed to explain in detail why he came to this conclusion. The couplet follows a standard format of parallel verse, with two corresponding seven character lines: "The three stars together shine, bringing peace to our residence. The five fortunes approach, blessing with goodness our home 三星拱照平安宅，五福来臨慈善家."[32] What about this couplet convinced Jiang that, even though Yao people could write, they were unable to understand the meaning of the characters?[33] Is it because of where they hung it and that their choice of location did not follow Han conventions?[34] From a Han perspective, such a couplet belongs more on a family home than on a temple, since it is more a prayer for family blessing. Perhaps, but following a convention is not the same as understanding the meaning of what is written.[35]

As Jiang noted, every Yao village he visited had a similar, simply constructed religious structure—the only white building in a village—which his Yao informants called "shrines" (*ci* 祠) rather than "temples" (*si* 寺).[36] A shrine is generally a place for the worship of ancestors or important deceased heroes; thus, it is not so unusual that there would be a couplet ushering in blessings for the families living in the village.

Such a couplet would be stranger indeed at an urban temple or at a mountain monastery.

Jiang looked to Yao religious architecture as further evidence of Han influence. The important point for him is that the temples and everything inside them were made by Han craftsmen.[37] Lemoine makes a similar point about the scriptures and paintings used by Yao in Laos and Thailand: "The Yao were probably taught the art of painting at the same time as they learned calligraphy.... But, as in the reproduction of liturgical books, the Yao must often have been obliged to rely on Chinese painters."[38] Lemoine then relates the following anecdote about an amateur Chinese painter that he met while in Laos:

> When the artist was Chinese, he might well have been also a kind of 'weekend amateur' painter. When I was in Luang Prabang in Laos, some ten years ago, I knew a petty Chinese peddler who used to settle himself, for months at a time when business was slow, in a Yao village near Vang Vieng. In this area, predominantly populated by lowland Laotians and others, stood a group of three Yao villages which had been there for about forty years, and formed, as it were, a kind of demographic and cultural island. In spite of the villagers' attachment to their traditions and culture, their isolation increased the difficulty of securing proper training in the Chinese script for their children, and proper rituals by qualified High Masters for themselves. The nearest qualified High Master for a *tou sai* ceremony had to be fetched from a neighboring province, at five days distance on foot and by boat. It was thus a great advantage for them to have an itinerant Chinese copyist and teacher on the spot. When this man announced that he could also reproduce their sacred paintings and books, a family commissioned him to copy a number of rituals and a series of paintings. A son of the family became his apprentice; and this young man learned so well that, when his teacher left, he could paint unaided from the originals already in the house.[39]

Lemoine used this anecdote primarily as evidence for how Yao might have originally learned to paint and write, and "... how an isolated village, with neither artists and calligraphists and with its tradition threatened by the decay of its religious paraphernalia, can nevertheless reconstitute its cultural capital by making best use of opportunities as they arise."[40] Jiang, on the other hand, looked to such examples as evidence that the deities painted in Yao temples were not representations of an authentically Yao awareness of divinity.

Jiang recognized that many Yao deities, such as the Heavenly Worthies of the Three Pure Realms (*Sanqing* 三清), the Jade Emperor, and the Heavenly Master, Zhang (*Zhang Tianshi* 張天師)—dressed in their official garb—were in fact the most important deities of religious Daoism. However, like the Yao documents with their invented Yao graphs mixed in with the more typical Han ones, the Yao Daoist pantheon was comprised of a mixture of typically Han deities with ones that were indigenous to the Yao religious setting. Unlike Strickmann and Lemoine, Jiang had little interest in the Daoist elements in Yao religion—even though he documented them quite efficiently—or in the fact that Yao religion might indeed be Daoism; he was more interested in its pre-Daoist (i.e., pre-Han) attributes. In one place in his article he even expressed his disappointment in response to certain prayers in Yao ritual manuals: "Unfortunately, they are all too Daoized, and actually do not represent the primeval, mysterious flavor of the Yao people."可惜都太道教化了，實不能代表徭人原始的神秘意味.[41]

Although Jiang noticed Daoist imagery in Yao ritual culture, he could not accept that Daoist deities and temples were authentic Yao religion; in his view, the original and authentic Yao religion did not use paintings or statues, or even temple structures. Instead, the only truely Yao religious structures in the mountains where Yao dwelled, were large stones in front of which they worshipped.[42] According to Jiang, when it came time for Yao living in mountainous areas to worship their deities,[43] they congregated in front of such a stone, lit a fire with wood, and everyone sat to the side of the fire. They hung paper money on top of the rock and placed six bowls of food in front of it.[44] To Jiang, the worship of a large stone was evidence of Yao religion in

its pre-Hanified state. This may be true, but Yao worshipped Daoist deities; Jiang made little attempt to demonstrate when this later layer of practice altered traditional Yao ways. Moreover, the sanctification of rocks and mountains, rivers and lakes, trees, and other objects of nature has been a standard feature of Chinese religious history since very early times.

Jiang also pointed out that even though Yao worshipped Daoist deities, these deities were personified quite differently in the Yao context than in the Han one. For one, many Yao deities, he explained, were associated with specific professions, such as those administering ritual, wealth and property, fate, hunting, and farming. This in and of itself is not indicative of a distinction between Han and Yao views of divinity.

Jiang then argued that Yao embraced a negative characterization of several esteemed Han deities. For proof, he looked to the songs of deities in Yao ritual manuals, where the Earth God (*Tudigong* 土地公) and the Kitchen God (*Zaojun* 灶軍) are portrayed as demons (*mogui* 魔鬼). In the Han context these deities also have their fearful sides; they judge human actions and report them to higher authorities, who then administer punishments, such as a decrease in lifespan.[45] One might also ask if there really is indeed standardization of Han views of the same deities.

Why did Jiang react with such disappointment to the notion that Yao religion was indeed Daoism, or had been Daoized? As mentioned earlier, Jiang came to the Yao Mountains of northern Guangdong hoping to witness primitive religion, similar to a birdwatcher catching a glimpse of a rare species. As part of a larger international anthropological project, he was attempting to grasp the evolution of human society at an earlier stage of development—where did he as a civilized human being come from.[46] Jiang and other anthropologists of the time viewed Yao people living in the mountainous regions of Guangdong and Guangxi as being permanently held in a changeless state, outside time, and beyond the laws of evolution. The signs of Hanification and Daoification they discovered, upon closer investigation, were in their understanding part and parcel of the influence of civilization on lower cultural forms—the forms they were ultimately attempting to grasp.

THE CONTEXT OF STRICKMANN'S ARGUMENT

Clearly, Strickmann was not the first scholar to discuss Yao Daoism. More accurately, he brought it to the attention of fellow Western sinologists, especially those studying Daoism and other aspects of Chinese religion. To understand the significance of Strickmann's findings, it is necessary to view them in the context of Western scholarship on Chinese religion from the 1960s through the 1980s. Taiwan was the primary laboratory and Han religious traditions—Daoism, Buddhism, and popular religion—were the key samples under investigation. At that time, there was a great deal of discussion between anthropologists based in Taiwan and sinologists (those who were working primarily with classical Chinese texts), many of whom had studied Chinese in Taiwan, and were thus exposed beyond the text to the living religious culture that to this day can be witnessed on Taiwan's streets and in its temples.[47]

Some scholars of Chinese religion in Taiwan, such as Kristofer Schipper, combined study of actual ritual traditions with equal attention directed at reading the texts used by practitioners, and made comparisons with practices that were known to have existed on the mainland. During the 1960s, Schipper, a sinologist by training, left his post at the Academica Sinica to immerse himself in Daoist life in South Taiwan.[48] Schipper's work in Taiwan shed light on the connections between religious life—particularly Daoist—in Taiwan and in the regions of China from where Taiwan's inhabitants had come. In his own words:

> It is a widely verifiable fact that the traditional culture of this area is similar, if not identical, to that of the places of origin of its inhabitants—the regions of Ch'üan-chou [Quanzhou] and Chang-chou [Zhangzhou] on the Chinese mainland. This fact enables us to gain a certain amount of historical perspective on the field observations of J.J.M. de Groot, who worked in Amoy 100 years ago. Beyond his first-hand account, I have relied on Chinese scriptural sources. This information provides indications that support my contention

> that the distinction between these two kinds of liturgy, one written in classical Chinese and the other in vernacular—the so-called vulgar rites (*su-fa*)—has a long history in China.[49]

As de Groot had argued for southern Fujian, Schipper distinguished two separate ritual traditions. On the one hand, the Daoist priests (*daoshi* 道士) of the Orthodox Unity (*Zhengyi* 正一) line—the Celestial Masters who claimed descent from Zhang Daoling, the progenitor of their ritual lineage—use the Chinese texts of the Daoist Canon (*daozang* 道藏). On the other hand, another class of ritual specialist used texts of a "vernacular" tradition.

As Schipper points out, in order to perform orthodox Daoist ritual, it is necessary to be able to read classical Chinese:

> The classical ritual performed in Hokkien is in pure *wen-yen* [literary Chinese] in a variety of styles, usually alternating prose with rhymed parts....The classical rituals have to be read, that is, the text (always manuscript) has to be present on the altar and the officiant—or one of his acolytes—turns the pages as the reading progresses, even if the text is known by heart. This reading (and chanting) is done in the classical Hokkien pronunciation (*thak-im*; Mandarin: *tu-yin*), which is entirely different from the spoken language.... The use of this classical pronunciation requires much training on the part of the performers. The masters of classical ritual are specialists. And so, in a different way, are the performers of vernacular ritual.[50]

Thus, for Schipper, one of the defining features of the Daoist priest is his literacy in Chinese, and his ritual use of Chinese texts, which he explains are always in manuscript form, and are not only meant to be read but also have a place in the ritual as objects of great symbolic power.

In contrast to the orthodox traditions of the Daoist priests, Schipper—following de Groot—distinguished a separate class of specialist known

as a "ritual master" (*fashi* 法師) who used his own set of "vernacular" texts for his rituals.[51] Like other texts found in print form in southern Fujian since the 18th century, the texts of the Taiwanese ritual master are in Hokkien syntax. "However, when used ritually, the vernacular texts that are transmitted in writing are never read; they are always recited by heart."

Following Schipper's work—as well as that of the many anthropologists who produced ethnographic accounts on Chinese religion in Taiwan—a next step was to trace the origin of specific practices and pantheons to the mainland. It is for this reason that much of the serious ethnographic work on Chinese religion during the 1980s and 1990s was conducted in Fujian, in precisely those areas from where Taiwanese hailed.

Meanwhile, another trend that gained momentum during the 1990s—and continues today—was the detailed investigation and documentation of local ritual practices throughout China, work that in some ways harkened back to the work of Chinese anthropologists during the 1930s and 1940s. The *Minsu Quyi* 民俗曲藝 series, administered by the Taiwanese scholar, Wang Qiugui 王秋桂, is most representative of this trend, in that the majority of research in the series of now over one hundred volumes was conducted by scholars who hailed from the areas under investigation.[52] Rather than making generalized claims about a single Chinese religion that was the same at all places and all times, the *Minsu Quyi* scholars limited their focus to the county and district levels. Despite its highly descriptive nature, the *Minsu Quyi* series has made it possible for scholars to explore the regional variations of Chinese religious phenomena, as well as specific patterns that seem to unite different regions, classes, and ethnicities. This project was begun after Strickmann's article.[53]

DAOISM AND SINIFICATION

To Strickmann, and those who followed him, the existence of Yao Daoism was nothing short of remarkable, because it was an indication

that Daoism had spread beyond a single ethnic group, and even beyond Chinese borders. As Strickmann remarked:

> Yet there is another, basic question that we may well ask: how have these Taoist texts come into the hands of impoverished Yao villagers in the mountains of northern Thailand? And what is the significance of this extensive corpus of Taoist ritual material, assimilated to their own traditions and preserved by a distinctly non-Chinese ethnic group?[54]

Embedded in Strickmann's questions was a more fundamental issue than simply the fact that Yao were Daoist practitioners—what did this fact say about the diffusion of Daoism throughout China and beyond Chinese borders, and what other Chinese political, religious, and cultural traits were simultaneously propagated in this process?

Strickmann's initial question—how have these Daoist texts come into the hands of impoverished Yao villagers in the mountains of northern Thailand—connotes a sense of surprise at the fact that Daoism could have transcended Chinese and other national borders (as if there was a wall), and reached the hands of impoverished villagers living in the mountains. His use of the words, "come into the hands," implies that the texts somehow mysteriously traveled south to Thailand and reached the mountainous terrain where Yao dwell, where he would expect to find primitive, illiterate villagers. There is no agency in Strickmann's question, other than the question word: "how." His emphasis is the texts that he holds in his hands, not the exchange between actors. Because of this, he does not consider that those very impoverished villagers came to Thailand from Central and South China with their texts and ritual paraphernalia already in hand.

The surprise that Strickmann expressed upon discovering that Yao religion was fundamentally Daoist is understandable, given that he saw Daoism as intricately bound to Chinese language and ethnicity—a factor which marks a major difference between how Daoism and Buddhism have been viewed in contemporary discourse. Daoism is

viewed as a Han Chinese phenomenon, what Anna Seidel has called China's "unofficial higher religion,"[55] even though Daoist communities were open to various groups from the earliest days of their inception as an organized tradition.

Although Buddhist texts first appeared in South Asia and were written in Pali and Sanskrit, the religion quickly spread beyond its region of origin. As it spread, the texts associated with it were translated into multiple languages, including Chinese and Tibetan, and new texts were written in diverse areas. As such, Buddhism has not been restricted to a single language or people, even though Pali and Sanskrit still survive as authoritative languages. Few are shocked at the presence of peoples in East and Southeast Asia who practice Buddhism.

What is referred to as Daoism, on the other hand, is comprised of emblems of the Chinese state. Its script is Chinese. Its deities are Chinese officials; even the clothing they wear is the garb of officialdom. Daoist ritual is modeled on official Chinese rituals and administrative practices. For Strickmann, it was through the propagation of Daoist ritual practices, with their emphasis on Chinese script and imperial icons, that Chinese literacy, cultural norms, and a distinct sociopolitical structure spread to certain non-Chinese groups (such as the Yao) in South China:

> Taoist liturgical patterns were adapted to native mythology and sacred typography; Taoist social organization was integrated within native communal structure. Written memorials and talismans have always been a prominent feature of Taoist ritual. In Taoist priests, the Yao would have had competent guides to Chinese literacy, well able to introduce them to the involved paperwork that effective communication with the heavens required.[56]

To Strickmann, at least as he expressed the issue of Yao Daoism in his 1979 article, all agency is in the hands of the Chinese official and his main accomplice—the Daoist priest.[57]

The Significance and Plan of the Present Work

The point of departure for the current project was Strickmann's questions about how and when Yao became Daoists, and how Daoism functioned in Yao society, as opposed to its function in other mainstream Chinese traditions. What I discovered is that official sources prior to the Qing Dynasty are silent about the question of Yao Daoism. Moreover, no written Yao sources remain from the pre-Qing period, though most extant materials are copies of older documents, and there is frequent allusion in them to earlier times. In the case of Yao ritual manuals, many can be found in the Daoist Canon, and are known to have been extant during the Song period. However, the early provenance of a text is not necessarily an indication of the use of that text by a given community. Conversely, lack of concrete evidence from earlier periods does not prove that Yao Daoism is a Qing phenomenon—merely that it is difficult (if not impossible) to say when Daoist traditions were revealed to Yao societies.

Although pre-Qing sources do not shed much light on the question of Yao Daoism, or on any other aspects of Yao religion, they do contain a great deal of information about contacts between Yao and the Chinese state, as well as with other sociopolitical entities in what is now South China. By "Chinese state" I mean the administrative network that linked diverse regions with the capital, as well as the official bureaucrats and military commanders who, as representatives of the emperor, controlled individual administrative units and pacified autochthonous populations that threatened them. One of the central concerns of authors who we might now call geographers and ethnographers was the detailed documentation of this administrative network. What was important to them was determining exactly what counted as state/government territory—that is, what were the limits of the Emperor's realm. Throughout this book I am interested in how the state was constructed, both as a physical, territorial entity, but also as a virtual one represented in various textual and visual media, and delineated by such terms as: the Central State (*Zhongguo* 中國) and the Nine Continents (*Jiuzhou* 九州)—terms which pre-figure

a dichotomy between center and periphery, inside and outside, civilized and wild.

The results of my research in Part I show that contacts between Yao and Chinese officialdom did not begin in the Song Dynasty, as some studies argue. Instead, by the 11th century, new labels were used to refer to border peoples and their changing relation to the central government. In Chapter One, I examine the specific definitional parameters of the Song labels—*Yaoren*, *Yaoman*, and *Manyao*—and the Tang label—*Moyao*. All of these terms point to phenomena associated with taxation, corvée, and registration, as much as they do to specific peoples. These were perennial concerns for the official elite, but became evermore apparent with the increasing trend toward unification during the late Six Dynasties period.

Previous scholarship has either denied links between these Tang and Song labels and earlier ways of referring to peoples in the same region, or has accepted them without question. In Chapters Two and Three, I explore specific narratives that were told about and by the autochthonous peoples—known as Man 蠻—in Hunan and outlying areas, and demonstrate that they reflect many of the same concerns that are evident in Song and later sources about Yao. Yao sources, known as the *Yao Charters* (*quandie* 券牒) and as the *Passport for Crossing the Mountains* (*guoshanbang* 過山榜), express the very same concerns. The claims made in these documents—official and Yao alike—stem from actual bonds and covenants made between Man leaders and the leaders of various kingdoms (Qin, Chu, etc.) during the Warring States and early imperial periods.

In Part II, I investigate the emergence of Daoist movements—most notably, the Celestial Masters and the Yellow Turbans—at the end of the Han Dynasty, during the same period that Man rebellions became most prevalent. The founding leaders of the Celestial Masters movement, like the Man chieftains, were regional leaders in the area directly to the west of the Man heartland. At least one Man subgroup—the Banshun—were, as Terry Kleeman has brought to our attention, among the first proponents of the Celestial Masters. The very name of the budding movement—the Newly Emerged Correct and Unitary Dao and the

Covenant with the Powers 新出正一盟威之道—also alludes to the earlier tradition of making covenants, albeit with heavenly, as well as earthly, powers.

The system of ritual practice, generally known as Daoism, could very well be referred to as *imperial*. That the early Celestial Masters Daoist community in second century Sichuan province, and through extension, all subsequent movements tracing their origin back to it, derived their ritual practices from the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.–220 A.D.) politico–religious landscape, has been convincingly argued by Anna Seidel. Beginning in the latter part of the Western Han (ended in 9 A.D.) apocryphal manuscripts, divine charts, textual descriptions of the appearance of extraordinary beings and bizarre anomalies, talismanic script and seals, and following the collapse of the Han Dynasty, revealed "Daoist" scriptures and the priests who presented them, were all symbols of the emperor's mandate bestowed on him by heaven above. The Yao documents collected by Shiratori, and discussed by Strickmann and Lemoine, are part of this very same tradition.

I conclude this book with a detailed analysis of the *Passport*, a document possessed only by Yao leaders, which Yao view as evidence of imperial and heavenly recognition.

Part I

Yao

Chapter One

Genealogy of a Label: Center and Periphery

Introduction

This chapter documents the evolution of official categorization and characterization of peripheral peoples referred to as *yao*, who lived in the border areas just beyond the administrative units established by government troops and bureaucrats, at the limits of state control. Since the early Song Dynasty (960–1276) until the beginning of the twentieth century, the term *yao* was applied in official sources to certain people(s) inhabiting the region extending from modern day Hunan southward into northern Vietnam, and beyond. Was *yao* a label or an autonym?[58] Evidence in official sources suggests that it was initially an administrative and territorial category, and only later did it become an ethnic marker.

To date, Richard Cushman's dissertation, "Rebel Haunts and Lotus Huts,"[59] has been the most comprehensive work on Yao ethnohistory,

and, as such, has set the groundwork for this chapter. Cushman mined the entire corpus of imperially sponsored documents available to him, extending back to the Song dynasty, and thereby attempted to disclose all available evidence pertaining to Yao culture. Comparing traditional historiographic source material with modern ethnographic work, he maintained a critical and skeptical attitude toward many of the conclusions reached by earlier scholarship on Yao culture and history. His work also helped to shed light on the problematic nature of the majority of historical works employed, which, as official sources, reflected the consciousness of a specific class or field of pre-modern Chinese elite society, and not necessarily of the non-literate mainstream of whose concerns we have very little evidence. As Etienne Balazs has argued: "History was written by officials for officials."[60]

Modern referents, such as *Yaozu* 瑤族 (Yao nationality), *minzu* 民族 (ethnic group or nationality), and *shaoshu minzu* 少數民族 (minority nationality or ethnic minority) imply the notion of Yao and other non-Han groups as being single, homogenous, and marginal ethnic communities. All are in fact modern Chinese equivalents of Western anthropological and political notions, and only superficially correspond with pre-modern historical realities in texts and on the ground. In actuality, there are a great number of Yao subgroups, if they can be so termed, none of who call themselves Yaozu.

Since 1949, Chinese scholars have adopted a single graph to refer to the Yao "ethnic minority," thereby simplifying terminological confusion and eliminating negative connotations associated with earlier graphic representations. Cushman explains that in the 1930s and 1940s Chinese scholars, "influenced by Western anthropology," changed the graph to 傜 with a human radical, 徭 with a double human radical, 遙, or simply dropped the radical.[61] However, his presumption that *yao* was originally written with a dog radical (as most scholars argue), is inaccurate. On the contrary, there is ample textual evidence that it was written with a human or double human radical in its earliest manifestations.

Confusion surrounding the term *yao* and related terms makes study of Yao culture problematic. A major hindrance to this investigation—one

that I believe can for the most part be overcome—is the variety, and, in earlier texts, inconsistency, of graphs used to represent Yao people. Although the phonetic element has not changed since at least the early Song dynasty, the choice of radicals has, as have the different modifying words that are affixed to it, and to which it is affixed. Since Song times, the graph used to represent Yao people was written either with a dog radical (猺), a human radical (傜), or the double human radical (徭).[62] Digging further back into the pre-Song official discourse, the picture becomes even hazier. Although scattered Tang Dynasty sources employ the binome Moyao 莫徭, medieval authors were much more likely to speak of the Southern Man 蠻 when they referred to non-Chinese peoples[63] living in South China, particularly in the region known today as Hunan; these are facts which call into question the relatedness of these apparently different labels to a single, historical ethnic identity. Questions pertaining to the choice of graphs have significance beyond mere philological analysis; they are the choices made by officials, some who were military commanders responsible for pacifying border regions; others (often the same people) were bureaucrats in charge of administrative districts in those regions.[64] These choices thus reflect sociopolitical concerns.

The Jade Radical and Allusions to Immortal Realms

In 1949, Chinese scholars began to replace all previous iconic designations of the people known as Yao with 瑤, written with a jade radical, and in so doing, imposed a graph with its own, complex historical matrix of metaphors and meanings. According to Mathews, 瑤 (jade) means: "A precious jade; also defined as a precious kind of jade, inferior to jade. Clear and pure. Precious."[65] The Han dynasty lexicological work, *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 defines it as "jade of [particular] beauty" (*yu zhi mei zhe* 玉之美者).[66] The *Hanyu Da Cidian* and the *Zhongwen Da Cidian*, both dictionaries of classical Chinese usage, list several compounds with *yao* 瑤, in the majority of which it is a descriptive modifier, pertaining to the beauty or brilliance of jade, or things and places which radiate a jade-like, or even auspicious

quality. For example, *yaoyu* 瑤玉 means "beautiful jade," *yaoyue* 瑤月 means "radiant moon," and *yaochuan* 瑤川 refers to the glistening quality of a frozen river. *Yao* 瑤 is also a graph used to modify the realms of heavenly or transcendent beings. The *yaochi* 瑤池 (radiant pond) is a pond on the summit of Kunlun Mountain (崑崙山), the land of immortals where Xiwangmu 西王母 (The Spirit Mother of the West)[67] lives. *Yaoshan* 瑤山 (mountains), *yaotian* 瑤田 (fields), *yaolin* 瑤林 (woods), and *yaodao* 瑤島 (islands), all point to heavenly landscapes, realms where immortals dwell.

From these examples, it is clear that the use of the "jade" radical to refer to Yao people paints a rosy picture with allusions to beautiful jade and heavenly realms. This in and of itself is not problematic. Each of the graphs in question had its own history of application. A fundamental lesson of etymology is that there is no such thing as a permanently maintained definition. However, attempts to alter previous forms of the graph to conform to modern biases and realizations have severed the links between contemporary discourse and historical reality. Not only do all modern Chinese scholarly studies of Yao use the jade radical, but most recent editions of historical texts and collections of indigenous Yao documents also gloss earlier forms with the modern surrogate. This makes it difficult to ascertain exactly how literate people, mainly officials, in earlier times, viewed peoples who lived on the periphery of the empire. It also obscures how Yao refer to themselves in their own texts.[68] Moreover, such glossing impedes the process of locating Yao settlements on contemporary maps, where for instance, Yao Mountain (瑤山) can indicate a mountain inhabited by an ethnic minority, the abode of immortals, both, or neither.

THE DOG RADICAL AND ASSOCIATIONS WITH WILD BEASTS

Many contemporary scholars believe the presence of the dog radical in the graph 猺, an apparent association with wild beasts, to be iconic of the Han Chinese—taken as a unified, unchanging class—contempt toward non-Han groups. Cushman goes so far as to say the dog radical was commonly used throughout Chinese history "... in most Chinese

characters for the names of non-Chinese ethnic groups [and] gives the name a distinctly contemptuous connotation."[69] However, prior to Tang times, one rarely finds the dog radical used in ethnonyms or toponyms of groups living in South China and beyond. In fact, most early texts use the dog radical only in certain toponyms attached to the north, such as the northern Di 狄.

Consider, for instance, the four directional labels of peoples in ancient China who lived outside the domain of the central states (*zhongguo* 中國): the northern Di 狄, the southern Man 蠻, the western Rong 戎, and the eastern Yi 夷. *Di* written with a dog radical is clearly associated with the north. The *Shuowen* contains another formulation which explains the radicals used in the toponyms of the four directional peoples: "In the south, the Man and the Min follow (or derive from) insects, in the north, the Di follow dogs, in the east the Mo follow lizards, in the west the Qiang follow goats." 南方蠻閩從虫，北方狄從犬，東方貊從豸，西方羌從羊 In the case of the Qiang, "follow goats" is explained as "The Qiang are people in the west who raise goats."[70] 羌，西方牧羊人也 Statements such as these are clearly symptomatic of early Chinese propensities toward correlative thinking and not strictly signs of contempt. Moreover, the practice of using the dog radical in graphs referring to specific peoples in South China, including Yao, only begins in Tang sources, and is increasingly standardized in the 11th and 12th centuries.

It is interesting to note the variety of wild animals and associated words which are categorized in Chinese dictionaries with the dog radical. Besides so-called canine animals, such as dogs and wolves (*quan* 犬, *gou* 狗, and *lang* 狼), the dog category also includes monkeys and other graphs for ape-like creatures (*hou* 猴, *fei* 狒, *ju* 狙, *hu* 猢, *nao* 猱, *yuan* 猿, *sun* 猻, etc.), lions (*shi* 獅), foxes (*li* 狸 and *hu* 狐), as well as the general word for wild or four-legged animals (*shou* 獸). It is also found in words associated with hunting—or the art of chasing and capturing wild animals: to hunt (*lie* 獵), to hunt in winter or the imperial hunt (*shou* 狩), and obtain (*huo* 獲), perhaps also because dogs were hunting animals. From this sense of capture, graphs for jails and prisons are also written with the dog radical (*yu* 獄 and *an* 犴). Many

graphs representing wild or uncivilized attributes are also derivatives of the dog category: crazy, mad, violent, and unrestrained (*kuang* 狂 and *chang* 猖); vicious, cruel (*hen* 狠); cunning, crafty (*jiao* 狡); bold, brave, fierce (*meng* 猛); unruly, lawless (*jue* 獗), etc. No doubt, one motivation behind the application of the dog radical to certain groups and peoples was that they lived outside—and threatened—the state, which, armed with Confucian virtues and education, saw itself as the primary force and source of civilization. It perhaps also reflects Yao worship of their primogenitor, Panhu 槃瓠, a dog (or dragon-dog).

RADICAL QUESTIONS: WHAT WAS THE EARLIEST FORM?

Yao 猺 (dog radical) was indeed the most common graph used to represent Yao people throughout much of the late imperial and early modern periods from the 12th century until the revolution in 1911. Cushman believed it to be the original form of the graph. Unfortunately, to reach his conclusions he primarily explored two later works for evidence: the *Da Ming Yitongzhi* 大明一通志 (*Comprehensive Gazeteer of the Great Ming*), and the *Da Qing Yitongzhi* 大清一通志 (*Comprehensive Gazeteer of the Great Qing*). As for the *Da Ming Yitongzhi*, which he claims is "the only available original edition of a Ming dynasty or earlier work listed in the bibliography,"[71] everywhere *yao* appears "without modification" it is written with a dog radical. "Wherever the phrase *Manyao* 蠻徭 or *Yaoman* 徭蠻 appears, however, *Yao* is written with..." a double human radical (亻).[72] Cushman continues to argue that *yao* 猺 (dog) was the only form of the graph to be used in Qing dynasty works; his comments are for the most part correct for the early modern period. Unfortunately, throughout his discussion of the derivation of the *yao* graph(s), Cushman overlooks several Song and Yuan sources, including geographical, literary, and other political treatises.

Compounds such as *Yaoren* (Yao people), *Yaoman* and *Manyao* first appear in official histories beginning with the *Songshi* 宋史 (*Official History of the Song Dynasty*), which was first printed in 1370, during the Yuan dynasty.[73] Cushman minimizes the importance

of the *Songshi*, claiming it "...does not enjoy much of a reputation for reliability...,"[74] but, as a fourteenth century official history, it still reveals some indication of the pre-Ming form of the graph in question. Moreover, since the accounts in the *Songshi* are taken almost verbatim from earlier works, it is generally possible to compare passages in it with a variety of other sources. Most available editions, however, were printed during the present century, and in each, *Yao* is written in more than one way, perhaps due to the views of editors or simply because of scribal errors. In the Zhonghua edition, published between 1962 and 1975, *Yao* is written either as 猺 (dog) or as 傜 (double human). On the other hand, in the *Sibu Beiyao* 四部備要 edition, published in 1936, in every instance where *yao* appears as an ethnonym, it is written with a dog radical.[75]

The most reliable edition of the *Songshi* for the purposes of discovering how *yao* was written during Song and Yuan times is the *Bainaben* 百衲本 (*Hundred Patches Edition*),[76] since it is a photo reprint of a late Yuan edition, which at least demonstrates how one or more copyists wrote the graph during the Yuan dynasty. I have examined every passage where *yao* appears in combination with *ren* 人 and *man* 蠻 in the *Baina* edition of the *Songshi*. It is true that in most occurrences *yao* appears to be written with a dog radical, though in many of those instances it is difficult to say beyond all reasonable doubt whether it is actually written with the dog radical or with the double human radical, since the two display some similarities of form. However, I have detected several instances in which *yao* is clearly written with either a double human 傜 or a human radical 傜. Out of more than fifty occurrences of the term, it unmistakably appears with either of these two radicals at least ten times. In one instance, the graph written with the double human radical appears in the same passage as its dog-like counterpart.[77] It is possible that these slightly different graphs refer to different peoples, but based on the available evidence, I believe that it is simply the case that there were scribal discrepancies concerning the composition of this graph, which still left their mark as late as the Yuan dynasty, and even into the Ming, as we saw in the case of the *Da Ming Yitongzhi*. It is likely

for this reason that the much later *Zhonghua* edition has so many inconsistencies in its choice of radicals.

Statements in the *Songshi* purporting to be records of Yao activities in early Song times resemble those found in actual eleventh and twelfth-century sources, when the written form of the binome *Yaoren* (Yao people) was first employed. In one of its earliest occurrences, in Chen Shidao's (1053–1102) *Houshan Congtan* (A Collection of Discussions by Houshan),[78] it is clearly written with a human radical. In fact, based on the source evidence, during the 11th century all three graphic forms—徭, 傜, and 猺—were used by Chinese officials to refer to Yao people, with precedence given to the former two.[79] However, by the 12th century, beginning with Fan Chengda's 范成大 (1126–1193) *Guihai Yuheng zhi* 桂海虞衡志, *yao* (dog radical) became the standard form of the graph to represent the people by that name. Despite this move toward standardization, in some available Song and Yuan editions, such as the *Yudi Jisheng* 輿地紀勝 Wang Xiangzhi (jinshi 1196) and the *Fangyu Shenglan* 方輿勝覽 by Zhu Mu (13th century), *yao* was still written with either a human or double human radical. As I will demonstrate below, the human and double human radicals were likely the earliest forms, and signified contacts between center and periphery, and questions surrounding taxation, corvée, and registration.

THE MOYAO 莫徭，莫傜，莫猺，獏猺

The binome Moyao entered official written discourse in the early years of the Tang Dynasty as a descriptive modifier referring to specific groups of Man people living in the Jing 荊 region.[80] It first appeared in three official histories, all purporting to be pre-Tang accounts—the *Liangshu* (Documents of the Liang Dynasty), the *Nanshi* (Official History of the Southern Dynasties), and the *Suishu* (Documents of the Sui Dynasty). No subsequent official history would again mention the Moyao until the *Yuanshi* (Official History of the Yuan Dynasty) was compiled by Song Lian 宋濂 some seven hundred years later. However, several Tang and Song literary works do in fact mention them.

According to Cushman, besides mention in the three official histories [he does not mention the Yuanshi], they are also noted in: "A poem by Du Fu in the eighth century and two poems by Liu Yuxi in the ninth [which] picture the Mo Yao as mountain dwellers."[81] He then adds: "Such a small number of references for a group scattered all the way from Sichuan to Fujian is rather surprising."[82] Although the number of references to Moyao is scant, the geographical range, as it is envisioned in official records, is not as broad as Cushman articulates.

Despite a few exceptions, all of these works place the Moyao in the southern part of the Jing region, where the Man descendents of a dog named Panhu were known to dwell. "At the beginning of the seventh century, a shoeless people whom the Chinese called Mo Yao (Mak Yeu) lived scattered throughout Hunan."[83] Both the *Liangshu* and the *Nanshi* record the presence of Moyao in the mountainous areas of "Lingling, Hengyang, and other commanderies." 零陵衡陽等郡[84] The *Suishu* states that the Moyao live scattered among the Yidan autochtonous peoples (or Yi and Dan) in Changsha commandery and then lists the following areas: Wuling 武陵, Baling 巴陵, Lingling 零陵, Guiyang 桂陽, Liyang 澧陽, Hengshan 衡山, and Xiping 熙平.[85] All are in western and southern Hunan, in precisely the same areas now inhabited by Yao. Schafer further explains: "The exiled poet Liu Yü-hsi [Liu Yuxi] wrote of them in the vicinity of Lien (Lyen)-chou [Lianzhou] in northern Kwangtung [Guangdong] early in the ninth century."[86] Lianzhou was at the southernmost extreme of Jingzhou, just south of the Southern Range (*Nanling* 南嶺), which marked the divide with the Lingnan region. Du Fu's *Suiyanxing* 歲宴行 (Year End Travels) mentions Moyao shooting geese with mulberry bows in the vicinity of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers and Dongting Lake. The very mention of these waterways points to the geography of Hunan. One other quote from the *Song Gaosengzhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Eminent Monks of the Song Dynasty), not mentioned by Cushman, records a passage from a Tang monk, who complains of the Moyao's practice of slash and burn agriculture: "The trees have been chopped and the mountains have been burnt on the southern (yang) side of Heng

Mountain by several generations of Moyao mountain people." 衡山之陽多被山民莫徭輩斬木燒山[87]

The question then remains whether *moyao* should be understood as a name, quality, or a claim of a people. Schafer argues that Moyao were a people known as the Mak, and not, as most Chinese scholars believe, the ancestors of the people known in later sources as Yao—basing his claim almost entirely on a phonological reconstruction of Moyao as Mak Yeu during the Tang Dynasty:

> There is no reason to doubt that the Mak of the twentieth century, now restricted to a few villages of Kweichow [Guizhou] Province, are the remnants of this once widespread people. Most of these have "Mak" as a "surname" and they distinguish themselves clearly from the neighboring Yao (or Miao) peoples, whom they call "Hiu."[88]

Schafer's evidence here is rather scant and does not account for the presence of the graph *yao* and the fact that the so-called Mak people are now restricted to Guizhou.[89] Of course, it is possible that the Mak once inhabited a larger area, including southern Hunan and northern Guangdong. However, the presence of Yao—their most concentrated presence—has been recorded in the border region where Hunan, Guangxi, and Guangdong meet, since early Song times up until the present day.

Most dictionaries and commentaries take *yao* 傜 (human radical) and *yao* 徭 (double human radical) to be the same graph, with a meaning similar to corvée or forced labor; this clearly gives the graphs an administrative connotation. Matthews defines both forms as "compulsory service; vassalage; forced labor." *Yao* is often considered to be synonymous and frequently appears in binomes with the graph *yi* 役 [(1) military service; (2) to guard the frontier; (3) to dispatch; (4) to employ as a servant; (5) to serve; a servent; (6) to do; to undertake]. The *Guangyun*, for instance, states: "*yao* is none other than *shi* (to dispatch) and *yi* (to serve)." 傜使也役也 Hucker translates the binome *chaiyao* 差徭 as:

> Forced Labor—throughout history a common term for the assignment of residents to state service,

> particularly to hard labor in state construction gangs or as haulers or carriers of state goods; usually a more menial and physical type of labor than that called Requisitioned Service (*chaiyi* 差役) and often (perhaps most commonly) a form of punishment.[90]

Mo 莫 is simply a negating marker,[91] meaning "no, not, there is no." *Moda* 莫大, for instance, means "there is no [one] higher." *Mobu* 莫不 means: "there is no [one] that is not" or simply "everyone is." *Moyao* would then mean: "there is no forced labor, vassalage," or as Cushman translates it, "are not subject to corvée."

Internal evidence also suggests this understanding of *moyao*, as it was understood by the officials who wrote these texts. The *Liangshu*, followed by the *Nanshi*, says: "...there are those that are *moyao man*..." 有莫徭蠻者[92] This statement could either be interpreted to mean "there are Man that are called *Moyao*" or "there are Man who are not *yao*," that is, who are not subject to corvée, forced labor, forced military service, etc., or more generally, who are not vassals.[93] This second understanding, which distinguishes one group of Man vis à vis the state, implies that there are Man which are / do *yao* and there are those which are / do not. The text provides further evidence that we should understand *moyao* in an administrative sense, that is, in terms of Man submitting (or not submitting) to state authority. The Liang historian complains that these Moyao Man have not paid tribute to the court for successive administrations 歷政不賓服.[94] They submitted and pledged their allegiance to the state (*xianghua* 向化[95]) only after the official Zhang Zuan 張纘 arrived and alleviated the government's policies concerning forced labor.[96]

The *Suishu* account of the Moyao is even more striking in its association of the term with exemption from forced labor and military service. Although the official historian drops the graph for *Man* and says there is a people called "Moyao" (*mingyue moyao* 名曰莫徭), he clearly places statements about Moyao in the context of discussion concerning Man customs, particularly related to their costumes and the worship of their ancestor, Panhu. He then

goes on to explain the meaning of their name, stating that it is derived from Man claims of sovereignty: "They themselves say their former ancestor(s) had merit [and therefore] have long been exempt from corvée (*yaoyi*[97]). Therefore, they take it [moyao] as their name." 自云其先祖有功, 常免徭役, 故以為名 This is precisely the claim made in almost every version of the Panhu myth, from the fourth and fifth century accounts in the *Soushenji* and *Houhanshu* to later Yao indigenous documents—probably from Yuan or later times—that record the myth.

Cushman was highly critical of most scholars' attempts to form connections between Yao people and apparently earlier groups, based on philological evidence; he was fairly convinced that Yao first came under the official radar beginning only in Song times. "While further research may well uncover other sources substantiating these eleventh century dates, it seems highly unlikely, given the wide range of sources drawn upon here, that the date will be pushed back much earlier."[98] However, the impossibility of digging further back in time is only inevitable if one adopts an essentialist understanding of the term *yaoren*, whereby the existence of a given ethnonym in a text during a specific period necessitates the initial appearance of a people by that name on the historical stage. Terms changed, as did the ways officials referred to peripheral peoples. Terms thus reflect the changing consciousness of officials and their relationship with those whom they represented. Rather than allowing terminology to define the limits of inquiry, it is important to perceive the patterns which link terms with the underlying phenomena they represent.

Despite Cushman's skepticism, he did allow for the possibility that Moyao were the ancestors of the Yao people: "Although the theory has been presented in its most cogent form only in modern times, it is, in its essentials, a rather older Chinese attempt to explain the derivation of one particular ethnic label." What Cushman describes as a theory is simply the attempt to claim—or rather, the taking for granted—that Yao and Moyao are the same group, and to base this claim on the meaning of the term Moyao: "not subject to corvée." Although Cushman was highly skeptical of the Yao / Moyao connection, he

did give some credence to the possibilities that: "Such widespread acceptance of the Moyao theory, if warranted, would push back the first appearance of Yao, as a distinct ethnic group in the Chinese sources, roughly five hundred years." Cushman's most valuable contribution was to raise doubts about previously unquestioned assumptions, so that later scholars would be forced to examine and verify them in a thorough, scientific fashion, rather than merely accept the received tradition.

Cushman, like many scholars, was misled by the terminological shift in official records from the late Han Dynasty through Song times, and therefore viewed it as an indication of the discovery by the state of new groups that either had not existed, or were unknown, before. It is certainly possible, and likely, that new peoples were discovered as the state expanded its sphere of influence and control into the south. However, the appearance of new terms to categorize peoples on the periphery also reflects transformations at the very core of the state apparatus that profoundly affected the dynamics of interaction between Chinese officialdom and other sociopolitical entities that existed on the margins of the empire.[99]

The three earliest works to record the Moyao were all completed during the early years of the Tang Dynasty.[100] The *Liangshu* and the *Suishu*, both finished in the same year, were begun in the final years of the Liang and Sui Dynasties, respectively. All three works were compiled during the pivotal period during which an increasingly centralized government took the reigns of a unified empire. Statements about Moyao in these works, therefore, reflect the consciousness of officials who witnessed and participated in this transition. Likewise, the binome Yaoren (Yao people) first appeared in official sources during the early years of the Song Dynasty, which came into being after five decades of division beginning with the gradual Tang collapse.[101]

Connecting Moyao with Yaoren

Despite Cushman's skeptical attitude and Schafer's association of the Moyao with another people, the Mak, it is clear that Song

officials believed both terms—Yao and Moyao—referred to the same people. The confusion might have resulted from a scribal error or chosen omission in the Tang Dynasty work, *Yuanhe Junxian Tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 [The Record of Charts of the Commanderies and Counties up to the Yuanhe Reign Period (806–821)], written by Li Jifu (758–814). In a passage detailing the territorial history of the southern part of the ancient Chu state and its later development in the dynastic records, *yao* 徭 (double human) appears as the designation of a people. The quote is almost the same as that found in the earlier *Suishu* describing the Moyao, except for the omission of the negative marker *mo*: "Now, according to their customs, mixed among [the people there], there are *yi* people who are called Yao and themselves claim that because their forebears had merit, they were exempt from corvée." 按其俗, 雜有夷人,名徭, 自言先祖有功, 免徭役也

That the binome *yaoren* replaced *moyao* in early Song sources—whether intentionally or accidentally—and that both are related to earlier groups known as Man is evidenced in a memorial that Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072) submitted to Emperor Renzong in 1044 about the rebellious activities of the Man peoples who inhabited southern Hunan, and the government's inability to deal with them: "Because the Man rely on the mountains in Hengzhou, Yongzhou, Daozhou, and Guiyang Outpost, they can come out from all sides and pillage." 蓋以蠻所依山, 在衡州, 永州, 道州, 桂陽監之間, 四面皆可出寇[102] Living among the "true Man of the Pan clan" 盤氏正蠻 are other groups, such as "those classified as the Moyao mountain people" 山民莫徭之類 Yao is clearly written with a human radical. Although in Ouyang Xiu's mind the true Man are only those of the Pan clan—either those with the surname Pan or who claimed descent from Panhu[103]—he also indicates: "It is said that the customs, clothing, and language of the Moyao is the same as that of the True Man." 云莫徭之俗, 衣服, 言語一類正蠻[104] Moreover, several later Song sources recount the same event, in which, a monk named Deng 鄧和尚 and one Huang Zhuogui 黃捉鬼 (Catching Demons Huang),[105] along with his brothers, beguiled the Man into rebellion. However, whereas Ouyang Xiu speaks of the Moyao, all later sources refer to Yaoren.

The *Songshi* includes a passage relating this event, which was apparently sparked by the government's opposition to what it considered the illegal selling of salt by local people. Although it employs the dog radical, it explicitly defines *Yaoren* in terms of taxation and requisite labor service, and also points to a specific geographic domain—the border area between southern Hunan, northeastern Guangxi, and northern Guangdong:

> 蠻猺者，居山谷間，其山自衡州常寧縣屬于桂陽、郴連賀韶四州，環紆千餘里，蠻居其中，不事賦役，謂之猺人
>
> The Manyao (possibly the Man and Yao) live among the mountains and gorges. Their mountains extend from Changning County in Heng Prefecture, as well as Guiyang, and the four prefectures, known as Chen (modern day Chenzhou in southern Hunan), Lian (modern day Lianzhou in northern Guangdong), He (modern day Hezhou in northern Guangxi), and Shao (modern day Shaozhou in northern Guangdong), encircling more than a thousand li. The Man dwell within this area. Those which do not serve taxes and requisite labor are called Yao people.[106]

Although one would expect Yaoren to be the opposite of Moyao (if *mo* is indeed a negative marker), it is here synonymous. This is precisely the same region where we presently find the greatest density of Yao settlements in China.

A similar quote in Chen Shidao's 陳師道 11th century work, the *Houshan Congtan* 後山叢談, provides us with one of the earliest examples of the compound *Yaoren*, clearly written as "傜人 (human)," and also with a useable definition, at least for the early Song period. Chen Shidao writes: "Those dwelling in the mountain valleys of the two Guang and not under the jurisdiction of the administrative districts (prefectures and counties) are called Yao people." 二廣，居山谷間，不隸州縣，謂之傜人[107] What is most striking about this quotation is that it uses the appellation *Yaoren* not as an ethnic label,

but rather as a geo-administrative category. First of all, it names a geographic zone: the region known in Song times as *Erguang* 二廣 (the two guang), that is, *Guangnan donglu* 廣南東路 and *Guangnan xilu* 廣南西路 (modern day Guangdong and Guangxi).

Chen Shidao defines Yao people not simply in geographic, but also in topographical terms: they are those people living in the mountainous areas of Guangxi and Guangdong beyond the administrative units established by the state. Such a definition, though quite pithy, points to an economic niche, one inhabited by upland communities, and has obvious implications pertaining to livelihood and natural resources—issues perpetually on the minds of officials. Chen Shidao contrasts, or perhaps relates, Yao people with two other groups or categories, governed by separate ecological niches and their associated livelihoods: "Those dwelling on boats are called Dan People. Those dwelling on islands are called Li People."[108] 舟居謂之蜑人島上謂之黎人 There is no mention of other groups, such as the Zhuang, the Miao, the Dai, and the many other mostly upland groups now associated with the south. Chen delineates peoples in the south who live beyond the domain of state administrative boundaries (*zhouxian* 州縣), are not registered subjects, and therefore do not pay taxes or fulfill labor and / or military duties, in one of three categories, defined by region, economic niche, and profession.

The primary distinction Chen makes here is between peoples living in the mountains—or upland groups in general—and those living by or on water. Michael Szonyi speaks of a similar difference as a general feature of official views toward the local populace in South China since at least the Tang Dynasty: "From the Tang, if not earlier, Chinese authors distinguished the Chinese from two other groups, those living in the hills and those living afloat."[109] Although they employed different terms in different regions, what defined these labels remained fairly constant. In Fujian, for instance, in opposition to those groups who had migrated from north or central China (or claimed they had)—people now referred to as Han Chinese—officials discerned two other groups, which they labeled as *She* 畲, who lived in the mountains, and the *Dan* 蜑, who lived on boats.

What distinguished *She* from *Yao*, at least in the minds of specific officials, more than any cultural or linguistic traits, was the geographical domain in which they lived—nothing more. As Liu Kezhuang (1187–1269) wrote:

> Those who [live] on the streams and in the caves belong to more than one type. There are the Man, the Yao, the Li, and the Dan. Those in Zhangzhou are called the She... . The She excel at using poison...and practice shifting cultivation in the deep mountains, creeping about like rats. The She do not fulfill the service levy. She lands are not taxed; the origins of this are long ago. Wealthy and powerful families begin to enter their territory...and take over their livelihood. Officials also demanded local products such as honey, tiger and monkey skins. The She could not bear it, and petitioned the prefecture without relief, so they... raided and plundered.[110]

In this quote, what differentiates *She* from *Yao* is that they live in Zhangzhou, an upland, coastal area. The primary concern of officials in reference to all of these groups is that they "...do not fulfill the service levy..." and that their "...lands are not taxed... ."[111]

Yaoren as the Opposite of Moyao

We are still left with the question why the negative marker "mo" was first omitted. What major shift in the official consciousness governing center / periphery relations did it represent? Based solely on a surface level reading, one would certainly assume that *moyao* and *yaoren* had opposite meanings, that one group served the state while the other avoided contact with it at all costs. In the next chapter, I will discuss how certain Man chieftains entered into alliances with the state, thereby elevating their stature above other leaders. Such relations remained fluid, as government policies developed, and the political landscape shifted. During periods when the central government lost its grip on the periphery, local chieftains and powerful families filled

the power void, and became the primary arbiters of law and order. Instead of the emperor far away in the capital, it was they who collected taxes and demanded service from the local populace.

As the Tang Dynasty began to lose its grip on peripheral areas, what had been a unified state fractured into several smaller nodes of power. Anyone of these could have remained an independent state, as was the case with northern Vietnam, which had been a satellite of the Chinese empire from Han times until the Five Dynasties period. When the Zhao ruling family of the Song Dynasty rose to power, Hunan, as elsewhere, was controlled by Man chieftains who didn't easily submit to central authority, and were often rebellious. The state had two clear options. It could either send government troops to pacify uprisings or it could recognize and officialize local leaders, an option which had historical precedent. The first option was costly, since it would require transporting, feeding, and paying thousands of soldiers. If the state could ally itself with one powerful, local leader, then it could bring an entire region under its control.

A passage in the first of the arrayed accounts (*liezhuan*) of the "Manyi of the Various Grottoes in the Southwest" in the *Songshi* describes the process by which a local Man chieftain was recognized by the emperor, thereby giving him immense prestige among the various Man factions, but also transforming him into an emissary of the emperor. I quote the passage in full:

> 太祖既下荊湖, 思得通蠻情, 習險阨, 勇智可任者, 以鎮撫之. 有辰州猺人, 秦再雄者, 長七尺, 武健多謀. 在行逢時, 屢以戰鬥, 立功, 蠻黨伏之. 太祖召至闕下, 察其可用, 擢辰州刺史, 官其子為殿直, 賜予甚厚, 仍使自辟吏, 屬予一州租賦. 再雄感恩, 誓死報效. 至州口訓練土兵, 得三千人, 皆能被甲渡水, 歷山飛壑, 捷如猿猱. 又選親校二十人, 分使諸蠻以傳朝廷懷來之意, 莫不從風而靡,各得降表以聞. 太祖大喜, 復召至闕, 面加奬激, 改辰州團練使. 又以其門客王允成為辰州推官. 再雄盡瘁邊圉, 五州連袤數千里, 不增一兵, 不費帑庾. 終太祖世邊境無忠

Emperor Taizu had traveled down to Jinghu,[112] hoping to understand the situation of the Man, and to familiarize himself with the strategic passes and with those who were brave and clever who could be hired for service, in order to pacify the area. There was one Qin Zaixiong, a Yao person from Chenzhou,[113] who was seven *chi* tall, was martial, strong, and resourceful. During the time of Zhou Xingfeng,[114] he had established merit in battle, and so, the Man factions yielded to him. Emperor Taizu summoned him to the palace gates to examine how he could be employed, and promoted him to the position of district magistrate of Chenzhou, and hired his son as palace guard.[115] He bestowed on him many gifts, allowed him to self appoint clerks and officials, and gave him all of the taxes of a single prefecture. Zaixiong felt deep gratitude and swore to death that he would return the debt.

After returning to his prefecture Zaixiong trained troops daily and obtained three thousand men, all who, while wearing armor, could cross rivers, traverse mountains, and fly across chasms as swiftly as wild monkeys. In addition he selected twenty of his relatives and officers to disperse among the various Man, in order to propagate the court's policy of conciliation toward those who returned (i.e., surrendered). There were none that did not follow the trend, and it spread (從風而靡). Each [tribal leader] submitted a letter of capitulation to the throne. Taizu rejoiced and again summoned Zaixiong to the palace gates...and changed his position to the Military Training Commissioner of Chenzhou, and also made his retainer, Wang Yun the Administrative Assistant of Chenzhou. Zaixiong exerted himself to the utmost in the border region, and in five prefectures, extending several thousand *li*, it was not necessary to add even one soldier or waste any funds or grain. Till the end of Taizu's reign, the borders were without trouble.

Taizu 太祖 (960–976) was the first Song emperor. The fact that the binome *yaoren* entered official written discourse during the following

century gives credence to the view that the term reflects a new relationship between specific Man leaders and the emperor, as well as an increasing drive to pull Man peoples into the state system beginning during the early years of the Song Dynasty.

The application of the term, however, was never static, varying from one official to another, though its usage always revolved around questions of service and taxation, registration, and the specific territorial claims of the state, as well as of the autochthonous powers in the region. To one official it evoked earlier definitions of the Moyao. To another, such as the author of the *Lingwai Daida* 嶺外代答, Yao were precisely those people who performed (or at least claimed they performed) corvée duties. Zhou Qufei (received jinshi degree in 1198) wrote: "Yao (dog radical) people are said to be those who uphold corvée for the Central State."[116] 猺人者言執傜役於中國 This statement no doubt reflects the fact that soon before Zhou Qufei wrote the *Lingwai Daida*, Fan Chengda subjugated Yao living in Guangxi, and it is largely on Fan Chengda's own writing that Zhou's work is based. It was also during this period that the graph *yao* (dog radical) began to take precedence over other forms.

Textual evidence suggests that by the eighth or ninth century some authors had already begun to use the dog radical in the binome *moyao*. Liu Yuxi (772–842) wrote two poems about the Moyao, "Song of the Moyao" 莫猺歌 and "Observing the Moyao Hunting on the Western Mountain in Lianzhou During the New Year Sacrifice." 連州臘日觀莫傜獵西山 In the first *yao* is written with a dog radical; in the second with a human. In both poems, Liu observes—as most officials did—the Moyao as he would an animal. They are oddities with strange customs, who hunt with dogs, practice slash and burn agriculture, and who wear unusual costumes.

Liu Yuxi's use of the dog radical highlights a specific function of radicals in the Chinese written language: they are categorizing markers. Over a century after Liu Yuxi wrote about his observations of the Moyao, the *Guangyun* 廣韻, an early Song rhyme manual compiled by Chen Pengnian (961–1017), wrote both *mo* and *yao* with dog radicals, and defined 猺 as "the name of a wild beast. It is

also the Moyao dog race."[117] 獸名也又獏猺狗種 It thus classifies *yao* 猺 in the dog category and gives it a primary meaning of wild beast and a secondary meaning referring to a people with beast-like qualities.

A poem, entitled "Congratulating the Transport Commissioner for Dispersing the Yao People" 賀運使學士分散傜人 included in the *Wuxi ji* 武溪記 (Record of Wu Stream), written by Yu Jing (1000–1064), conveys all of the negative connotations that modern scholars have in mind when they come into contact with the dog radical. Yu Jing writes:

> 狂猺數載擾湘東，多謝招降息戰攻
> 千里山川還漢界，萬人戈甲卷秋風
> 牛羊野放狼心伏，鷹犬閒眠兔穴空
> 不獨事寧論爵賞，須知全活有陰功
>
> For several generations the wild Yao have caused havoc in the east of Xiang[118]
> Several thanks for getting them to surrender and cease their fighting
> A thousand miles of mountains and streams returned to the Han realm
> The halberds and armor of ten thousand people rolled up in the autumn wind
> The cows and sheep let loose in the wilds, their wolf hearts prostrate
> The eagles and dogs leisurely sleep, the rabbit caves are empty
> It is not only that the situation is stable, we can also discuss emoluments and rewards
> You should know that there is hidden merit in all life.[119]

Note that in the title, the author uses the binome Yaoren 傜人 (Yao people), written with a human radical, and yet the poem begins with the binome *Kuang Yao* 狂猺; both graphs are written with a dog radical. The author speaks of *Kuang Yao* 狂猺 causing mischief in eastern Hunan (*xiangdong* 湘東) and fighting with official forces.

The graph *kuang* 狂, also written with a dog radical, has a range of negative meanings, including crazy, mad, violent, unrestrained, uninhibited, and wild—the very attributes officials associated with peoples on the borders of the state, and with rebellious subjects. The use of the dog radical in both graphs further emphasizes these qualities of unrestrained violence. The author continues to employ canine imagery in line 3 (line 5 in my translation) where he writes: "their wolf hearts prostrate." The word *fu* 伏 also has canine connotations as Mair explains: "'to prostrate, yield; hide, lie in ambush;' these are all actions typical of dogs. The caninity of *fu* is evident in the visual form of the graph...it consists of a man on the left and a dog on the right, neither of which is a phonophore."[120]

Negative connotations associated with the dog radical, while perhaps echoing (Northern) Chinese ethno-cultural prejudices, also highlight a major subtext of official narratives about peoples living in border areas: the constant threat of rebellion by local peoples, viewed by officials as bandits. To understand this, it is important to recognize the context of the majority of passages concerning Yao culture in pre-modern official sources. Cushman explains:

> Probably ninety percent of the total Chinese sources relevant to the Yao are devoted to their relations with the Chinese. Unfortunately, at least eighty of the ninety percent are restricted to accounts of the suppression of Yao rebellions, with the result that ten percent (or possibly less) of the total historical information available on Yao-Chinese relations must suffice to cover such topics as local taxes, trade, and the details of the methods of local rule.[121]

Perhaps more nefarious than the dog radical was the frequency with which Yao were described as insurgents, bandits, and robbers—enemies of the state.

According to von Glahn, from the 1070s onwards, approximately the same period the term *yaoren* appears in official sources, the Song state encroached more and more into "frontier" areas south of the

Yangzi River, seeking the valuable resources and income from taxation to support its war efforts in the north.[122] It established new settlements, built roads, set up mining camps, and became more persistent in registering the local populace. The people known as Yao lived in the very areas where those resources were sought, resources such as salt, cinnabar, and valuable metals such as gold, silver, and copper. Yao and other "bandit" groups were the proprietors of these resources and of the mountain passes that had to be crossed to transport such resources to the capital and other regions in the empire. Competition between the state and the local populace for these resources was probably responsible for the major Yao rebellions in 1043, 1047, 1131, 1140–1141, 1165, and 1208–1209, as well as Yuan, Ming, and Qing rebellions.[123]

The mention of Yao in the *Wuxi ji* points to another reason for selecting the dog radical: the belief (or knowledge) of Song officials that Yao were the descendents of the dog named Panhu, whose worship they associated with the Five Streams (*wuxi* 五溪) region in western Hunan, not far from Dongting Lake.[124] Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1193), a military commander responsible for pacifying Yao uprisings in Guangxi, writing more than a hundred years after Yu Jing, described them in his *Guihai Yuhengzhi* as: "Originally the descendents of Panhu of the Five Streams"[125] 本五溪槃瓠之後 Subsequently, Zhu Fu wrote similar words in his *Ximan Congxiao* 溪蠻叢笑: "The Man of the Five Streams are all of the Panhu race."[126] He then claimed that there were five specific peoples, each apparently associated with one of the five streams. The graphs representing each of these groups are written with dog radicals: "Now there are five, known as the Miao, the Yao, the Liao, the Tong (Zhuang), and the Gelao."[127] 今有五曰猫曰猺曰獠曰獞曰犵狫

Beginning in the twelfth century, not only did officials increasingly use the dog radical in their graphic depiction of native peoples in Hunan and further south, but also became more and more exact in their divisions and depictions. Subgroups, based on linguistic, geographic, and ethnographic data, multiplied, and were named after regions, customs, and costumes. This was a process that expanded immensely

during Ming and Qing times when knowledge of distant regions became ever more detailed and localized in the form of gazeteers, and authors described everything about a locale—natural resources, local products, weapons, musical instruments, animals, and strange peoples.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have provided the reader with an etymology of the term *yao*—both its graphic variation and the specific phenomena to which it referred—viewing it as a label rather than an autonymn. The binome *yaoren*, which I discovered first appeared in written Chinese sources during the 11th century, also appears in some Yao materials, namely the *Passport for Crossing the Mountains*, where it is synonymous with Fan Chengda's definition: Yaoren (pronounced Iu Mien) are the descendents of the dragon-dog Panhu, who they revere as their primogenitor, and on whom their claims of autonomy from the state are based. Because of the great merit he achieved in the service of a mythical emperor, Ping 評, in the *hundun* 混沌 (chaos) reign period—that is, prior to the emergence of the dynastic system—they were issued an imperial charter, which granted them exemption from taxation, and allowed them to settle on all of the mountains under Heaven. Another version maintains that the Yao primogenitor was the sage king Pangu (盤古聖王), who created the cosmos. Therefore, in its own words, Yao people appeared prior to heaven and earth, and before the existence of the court (*xian you Yaoren, hou you chaoting* 先有傜人, 後有朝廷). In both versions the claims are the same: Yao have certain privileges because of the deeds of their first ancestor—their link to an imperial line and to the source of all things.

By the early Tang, three official histories recorded similar words spoken by a people called Moyao, who claimed they were exempt from corvée (and / or taxation). As of the early Song Dynasty, when the binome *yaoren* was first employed, it retained the meaning of the earlier label. Yao people were defined as those living in the mountains of South China, including Hunan, who were not under the jurisdication of state administrative units. As the state pacified Yao rebellions and

increasingly integrated South China into the administrative network, the meaning of *yao* changed. However, the issues stayed the same: competition over territory and resources. From the official perspective, the land where Yao dwelled was part of the Emperor's realm. From the perspective of the autochthonous peoples who inhabited the land, they were there before the court. Both center and periphery used texts as their evidence.

In Chapter Two, I will continue this discussion by tracing the textual history of the Panhu myth, and its association with what I call the Southern Man narrative, back to the latter part of the Han Dynasty. As will become apparent, many of the same issues are at play in official and Yao versions of the myth.

Chapter Two

Yao People and the Southern Man Narrative

The Narrative Elements

Claims made by modern scholars concerning the derivation of Yao from one or another Man subgroup stem from textual traditions of recording border peoples propagated by Chinese officialdom. A single narrative matrix binds the aforementioned labels—*yao*, *moyao*, and *man*—into a common hermeneutic framework. In their discussions concerning Yao people, Song officials inherited a narrative of border peoples in the South, namely that of the Southern Man, which was constructed hundreds of years earlier, and subsequently passed on from generation to generation primarily through such textual media as the official histories, geographical texts, memorials to the throne, and anomaly accounts. These somewhat distinct textual traditions interacted on multiple levels to form the official consciousness of border groups who lived outside state controlled zones of authority.

New narrative strands were incorporated into knowledge accumulated over centuries, as officials recorded their experience—sometimes first hand, sometimes the product of hearsay. The tradition of recording these southern border groups developed most noticeably during periods of state expansion, both those of the unified Chinese state, as it exists today, as well as of the separate, evanescent kingdoms of which it was composed at various times, and which over time were conquered and gradually absorbed into what can be termed the Chinese empire.

Although many of its strands extend further back into the pre-Qin era, the official narrative of Man people developed during the course of the Han Dynasty and Three Kingdom's period, and achieved a cohesive, codified form—one that would be transmitted with only limited change up until modern times—during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D, when Fan Ye (398–445 A.D.) compiled his *Houhanshu* (History of the Latter Han) account of the Southern Man.[128]

Much of the received wisdom concerning Yao and other southern groups down to the present day was inherited almost wholesale from this account. In fact, the *Songshi* (Official History of the Song Dynasty), written some nine hundred years later, begins its account of the "Manyi of the Various Grottoes in the Southwest" 西南諸峒蠻夷, which also includes most of the *Songshi*'s passages on Yao, with precisely the same narrative elements established by Fan Ye; namely a focus on (1) the region known as Jingzhou 荊州 (modern day Hunan and Hubei),[129] which had during the Warring States period become synonymous with the Chu kingdom, (2) the many territorial battles fought in this region, (3) the various Man tribes (subgroups?) whose leaders allied with one state over another, (4) the Qin defeat of Chu, which ultimately resulted in the Qin unification in 221 B.C., (5) the Qin occupation and pacification of this region and establishment of administrative districts, first by the Qin government, followed by every successive dynasty, (6) the Man peoples who lived beyond these districts, and were thus autonomous, (7) the attempts by every dynastic government to bring the Man into the imperial system, (8) Man reactions to changing government policies toward them,

(9) Man rebellions, (10) Man claims of sovereignty, and (11) the association of the Panhu myth with the Man.[130]

JINGZHOU 荊州 AND THE JINGMAN 荊蠻

The Southern Man narrative took root in the territorial battles centered in the region known as Jingzhou, one of the most pivotal battleground regions as early as the late *Spring and Autumn* period, when the Chu 楚 state moved its capital into the region. Every geographic text from the *Warring States* up to the present refers to Jingzhou (also known as Jingchu 荊楚) as one of the Nine Continents[131] and as synonymous with Chu 楚, though it only became the Chu heartland through the course of Chu expansion into the south during which it vanquished several smaller, indigenous states and peoples, including Yue 越 in the east and Ba 巴 in the west. It became Qin territory in the third century B.C., after Qin conquered Chu, and set up commanderies as far south as modern day Guilin and Guangzhou. During the Han dynasty, much of the region was only nominally under central, imperial control.[132]

With the erosion of the imperial apparatus characteristic of the late Han Dynasty, and the emergence of three distinct states vying for power[133] Jingzhou became the locus terminus where the map of the Three Kingdoms period (221–265) was divided. The Cao family's Wei kingdom controlled most of the land in the north of Jingzhou, what is now Hubei, while Sun Quan's Wu kingdom dominated the south: modern day Hunan and the Lingnan region. Liu Bei's Shu kingdom claimed the lands directly to the west, including modern day Sichuan and Guizhou, but was covetous of the Jing region. Following Wei's capture and fortification of Hanzhong 漢中 (modern day Shaanxi),[134] directly to the northeast of Shu, Wu and Shu signed a treaty, in which they divided control over Jingzhou:

> 是歲，曹公定漢中，張魯遁走巴西．先主聞之，與權連和，分荊州.江夏、長沙、桂陽東屬，南郡、零陵、武陵西屬
>
> In that year, when Duke Cao[135] stabilized Hanzhong, Zhang Lu fled to Baxi.[136] When the Former Lord

> (Liu Bei) heard of this, he joined forces with Sun Quan. They divided Jingzhou, with the Jiangxia, Changsha, and Guiyang commanderies going to Wu, and the Southern, Lingling, and Wuling commanderies going to Shu.[137]

In the subsequent period, after the Sima family's loss of control of North China, which marked the beginning of the Six Dynasties period (265–581), the line of division between north and south coursed through Jingzhou.

The history of Jingzhou which I have thus far detailed is the main backdrop to all medieval discussions of the Man peoples who inhabited the region—autochthonous peoples who found themselves in the midst of battles between larger, more powerful states on whose margins they dwelled. The Southern Man account in the *Houhanshu* views the history and mythology of the Man in terms of their relation to larger sociopolitical entities, and contextualizes them in the mytho-historical frame of the emerging Chinese state. Harkening back to the legendary emperor Gao Xin 高辛, the account begins with the Man primogenitor, a dog named Panhu, fulfilling merit for the emperor and marrying his daughter.[138] Following this account, the *Houhanshu* then relates how the Man paid tribute to the legendary sage kings, Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 (Tang Yu 唐虞), but in subsequent ages increasingly caused trouble in the border regions of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou states. It then demonstrates the process by which they were associated with Chu, which, in its words, happened during the time of King Zhuang of the Zhou Dynasty (696–681 B.C.), when Chu conquered the region: "[The Man] only then submitted [to the Chu generals]. From that time on they belonged to Chu." 乃服自是屬於楚[139] For much of the remainder of the Southern Man account, Fan Ye discusses the relations between the various Man peoples and the Han government, particularly focusing on their rebellious activities.

GENERIC AND SPECIFIC APPLICATIONS OF THE TERM *MAN*

While some earlier and later sources speak of the Man in more generic terms—either the South in general, or Jingzhou,[140] when specific—the

Houhanshu describes apparent Man tribes, commonly interpreted in modern sources as subgroups, though not in terms that would satisfy modern ethnographic conventions. Fan Ye discusses the affairs of the Wuling Man 武陵蠻, the Lingling Man 零陵蠻, the Changsha Man 長沙蠻, and Man with other place specific designations. For instance, he claims that the Wuling Man particularly flourished during the reign of Guangwu, the first Eastern Han emperor,[141] and explains: "In the first year of the Jianchu reign period of Emperor Xiaozong, Chen Cong and others of the Lizhong and Wuling Man rebelled, and entered the realm of the Lingyang Man." 肅宗建初元年，武陵澧中蠻陳從等反叛，入零陽蠻界[142] Further on, he writes: "Moreover, the Lingling Man entered Changsha. In the winter, more than six thousand Wuling Man plundered Jiangling... ." 又零陵蠻入長沙。冬，武陵蠻六千餘人寇江陵[143] From these and several other passages, it is clear that the official historian is primarily interested in Man insurgencies, and not in providing the reader with ethnographic and linguistic data.[144]

Most modern Chinese—and several Western—scholars who have conducted research on Yao history and culture have attempted to establish a clear link between modern day Yao and one of these Man *subgroups*, generally either the Lingling or the Wuling Man, but it is clear that Fan Ye was not thinking in terms of *subgroups*, in the modern sense of the word.[145] To understand this point it is necessary to understand the common discursive practice in Chinese of placing modifying words before the terms they are modifying. Whereas in English it is standard to say "the Man from Wuling" Chinese will say "Wuling Man." Wuling, Lingling, and Changsha were all commanderies in Jingzhou. Fan Ye defines the various Man inhabitants there in terms of their relations with respect to the administrative districts established by the Han government, and also due to their having separate leaders—known in the *Houhanshu* as *jingfu* 精夫[146] and in later texts as *qiuzhang* 酋長 (chieftain)—some who formed alliances with the state and others who maintained autonomy, sometimes violently so. To Fan Ye and most subsequent officials, all of these seemingly disparate groups arose from the same origin: Wuling, where the dog

named Panhu and the daughter of the legendary emperor, Gao Xin, settled down and gave birth to twelve children, six boys and six girls, the Man ancestors.

PANHU AND THE WULING MAN

Although scattered pre-fourth century accounts are somewhat confusing about the geographic setting of the Panhu myth,[147] by the time Fan Ye wrote his *Houhanshu* account, the Man of Wuling and other areas of the Jing region were known as the descendents of Panhu. Mair explains: "Since the second century, Chinese sources have made sporadic reference to an ethnogonic myth which asserts canine ancestry for various peoples living to the south of the Yangzi River. The dog ancestor myth finds its first full and more or less complete expression in Gan Bao's [fl. 317–322] *Soushenji* 搜神記 (*Records of Searching for the Supernatural*."[148] In Gan Bao's version, it would seem that the Man descendents of Panhu inhabited a vast region, including Hunan, Hubei, Sichuan, and parts of Shaanxi.[149] He claims: "Presently the Commanderies of Liang Han, Ba Shu, Wuling, Changsha, and Lujiang are all inhabited by Man."[150] Liangzhou was one of the nine provinces, to the west of Jingzhou, and covered much of modern day Sichuan, extending west to Chengdu. The eastern Ba commandery (Badong) was directly to the west of Wuling, and Hanzhong (or simply Han) was further to the northwest, at the modern border between Shaanxi and Sichuan provinces, by the Han River, which flows through Hubei and Shaanxi. Hanzhong was the seat of Liangzhou, which was, by the Northern and Southern Dynasties, a commandery of greatly reduced size. Lianghan and Bashu probably point to the approximate western limits of the Man domain, as Gan Bao saw them. Wuling, Changsha, and Lujiang, on the other hand, were all commanderies in Jingzhou since the beginning of the Han Dynasty.[151] Gan Bao's now lost *Jinji* 晉記 (The Annals of Jin) omits these general geographic markers; pointing specifically to Jingzhou: "The aborigines of Wuling, Changsha, and Lujiang are all descendents of Panhu. They live scattered in [the area of] the Five Streams." 武陵、長沙、廬江郡夷，槃瓠之

後也。雜處五溪之內[152] The *Houhanshu* version narrows the domain even further: "The Man in Changsha and Wuling are none other than these." 今長沙武陵蠻是也[153] Following Fan Ye, in practically every consecutive official source the Man and the Panhu peoples are synonymous, and are situated in this very region.[154]

The *Peach Blossom Spring* and the Five Streams

Written slightly earlier than Fan Ye's *Houhanshu*, Tao Qian's (317–420) *Taohuayuan ji* 桃花源記 (*Record of the Peach Blossom Spring*), described the very same Wuling Man, albeit in a somewhat idealized and imaginative form, and excluding the label, Man.[155] To date, most sinologists have paid little attention to the connection between this story and the so-called Man peoples who inhabited Jingzhou 荊州.[156] This is largely because Tao Qian is widely viewed—at least among western scholars who have studied him—as a poet and not as an ethnographer or historian, despite the widely held view that his poems are a reflection of the historical conflicts of his day, albeit through the eyes of a hermit. As such, it has primarily been scholars of literature who have studied his work, most of whom discussed the *Peach Blossom Spring* as a fictional tale—a figment of Tao Qian's imagination that reflected his own beliefs of an ideal utopian society beyond the Chinese state, or as a Daoist wonderland.[157] However, authors generally do not concoct their tales without precedent nor from a single source, but are influenced by their times, what they have heard, what they have seen, what they have read, and what they have experienced. As David Johnson writes:

> Whether he was one of the creative few or the imitative many, when he put his thoughts or feelings into words he could not help but draw heavily, both consciously or unconsciously, on what he had earlier heard and read. This is why it is possible, in theory at least, to reconstruct the influences on a persons thought, or more accurately, the sources of a particular text. Each individual was constantly engaged in fashioning out of

> what he had heard and read a more or less coherent view of the world. This weaving together by each person of the almost infinite variety of verbal material he had encountered in his life was in itself a process of cultural integration, perhaps the most fundamental one.[158]

I shall argue that Tao Qian incorporated the various strands of the Southern Man narrative into his own account, or alternatively: Tao Qian was in fact one of the architects of the Southern Man narrative.

Tao Qian's account takes place in the very same region that Fan Ye and other official historians situated at least one Man group, and which many later scholars believed to be the heartland of Yao culture. In Tao Qian's story, a fisherman from Wuling 武陵 travels by boat to the source of a mountain stream (xi 溪): "It came to an end at the foot of a mountain whence issued the spring that supplied the stream."[159] The fisherman leaves his boat and enters a cave at the base of the mountain and, after making his way for several paces through the dark, narrow passageway: "it suddenly opened out" (*huoran kailang* 豁然開朗):

> ...onto a broad and level plain where well-built houses were surrounded by rich fields and pretty ponds. Mulberry, bamboo and other trees and plants grew there, and crisscross paths skirted the fields. The sounds of cocks crowing and dogs barking could be heard from one courtyard to the next. Men and women were coming and going about their work in the fields. The clothes they wore were like those of *outsiders*. Old men and boys were carefree and happy.[160]

Mention of Wuling and the fact that the fisherman travels on a mountain stream just outside the commandery sets the exact geographical bounds of Tao Qian's tale. Hightower notes that Wuling is in: "Modern Chengde in Hunan. It is not far from the town of Taoyuan (Peach Spring)."[161] What Hightower refers to as Wuling was merely the seat of a rather large commandery, which occupied much of western Hunan, and outlying areas, including parts of modern day Hubei, Guizhou, and "the basin of the Qian River 黔江 in Sichuan;"[162] it

was first established as a commandery, known as Qianzhong 黔中, following the Qin defeat of Chu there in 278 B.C. or 277 B.C.[163] During the Western Han, the name was changed to Wuling.

The fact that Tao Qian's fisherman is from Wuling makes the identification of the *xi* on which he travels obvious: it is one of the five streams (*wuxi* 五溪) that flowed from Wuling (or simply Wu) Mountain,[164] and from which the designation "Man of the Five Streams" originated. Li Daoyuan's *Shuijing Zhu* 水經注, (edited ca. AD 515–527) emphatically makes this point:

> 武陵有五溪, 謂雄溪, 樠溪, 酉溪, 潕溪, 辰溪, 悉是蠻夷所居, 故謂五溪蠻.
>
> There are five streams (*xi*) in Wuling. They are called Xiong 雄, Man 樠, You 酉, Wu 潕,[165] and Chen 辰. All are places where Manyi dwell. Therefore, they are called the Man[166] of the Five Streams.[167]

Several Tang and later texts, such as the late Tang *Yuanhe Junxian Tuzhi* and the early Song *Taiping Huanyu ji*, follow Li Daoyuan in associating the Five Streams with Wuling, but further claim that the inhabitants of the Five Streams were originally from the Ba Kingdom. For instance, the *Taiping Huanyu ji* states:

> 五溪謂酉, 辰, 巫, 武, 沅等五溪, 古老相傳云, 楚子滅巴, 巴子兄弟五人流入五溪, 各為一溪之長. 一說五溪蠻皆槃瓠子孫。
>
> The Five Streams are called You 酉, Chen 辰, Wu 巫, Wu 武, and Yuan 沅. The elders tell that when Chu destroyed Ba, five Ba brothers flowed into the Five Streams, each becoming the leader of one of them. One account suggests that the Man of the Five Streams are the descendents of Panhu.

Although this legend of the Five Streams was apparently recorded late in official sources, it very well might be based on earlier written or oral traditions since in each instance where this legend is discussed,

the authors speak of it as if it is the product of local legend.[168] The tradition of associating the Five Streams with Ba might very well be an old one—one based in the realities of the Warring States period—and likely reflects the movement of the Chu kingdom, and later the Qin, into the region. For the moment, what interests me here is not whether or not one or another story is true, but rather the accumulation of narrative layers surrounding, told about, and emanating from, the Five Streams in Wuling.[169]

STRANGE AND IMPENETRABLE TOPOGRAPHY

The Five Streams region was famed for the strangeness of its topography and its inaccessibility, qualities which no doubt contributed to tales of mystery and the supernatural associated with it. An event recorded in the *Houhanshu* highlights the impenetrability to the area by outside forces:

> 建武二十三年，精夫相單程據其險隘，大寇郡縣．遣武威將軍劉尚發南郡長沙，武陵兵萬餘人，乘船泝沅水入武谿擊之．尚輕敵入險，山深水疾，舟船不得上．蠻氏知尚糧少入遠，又不曉道徑，遂屯聚守險．尚食盡引 還，蠻緣路徼戰，尚軍大敗，悉為所沒。
>
> In the 23rd year of the Jianwu reign period[170] the [Wuling] *jingfu* Xiang Dancheng and others occupied the strategic passes and greatly plundered the commanderies and counties. [The court] dispatched the martial and mighty general, Liu Shang, to lead more than ten thousand troops from Nanjun, Changsha, and Wuling. They traveled by boat upstream on the Yuan River and entered Wu Gorge, [attempting] to attack them. Shang took the enemy lightly and entered the strategic passes. The mountains were deep and the current rapid. The boats weren't able to ascend. The Man leader knew that Shang had little grain and had already entered deeply. Moreover, he was unfamiliar with the way. The Man thereupon gathered together to protect the upslope. When Shang's food ran out he led the troops back. The

> Man followed their path and attacked them. Shang's soldiers suffered a terrible defeat. They all perished.[171]

In the following year these very same Man surrendered to the famous military commander, Ma Yuan 馬援.

In the *Peach Blossom Spring* and the various versions of the Panhu myth the place that is described is impenetrable or invisible to outsiders; in fact, it is a land protected from the forces of the state. In Tao Qian's tale, the fisherman coincidentally walks into the mysterious grotto, but as he is leaving, the people there ask him not to tell any outsiders about their hidden world. Although he marks his path, emissaries sent by the magistrate are unable to retrace the fisherman's steps. One Liu Ziji even spends his life looking for the opening at the base of the mountain, but ultimately dies without success.

Likewise, in the story of Panhu, although Panhu easily traverses the landscape, forces sent by the emperor to find his daughter are repelled from Panhu's lair: "The emperor was sorrowful and missed her, and sent envoys to search for her, but these met with winds, rains, earthquakes, and darkness, and could not advance any farther."[172] The *Soushenji* has a similar incident. Even more striking is that in both versions of the Panhu tale, the emperor's daughter must change her clothes, leaving the world of the court behind her.[173] In the *Soushenji* version she changes them before even entering the foreign landscape; in this way, an antonymy is established between the world of the court and a world in the wilds that is beyond the reach of government troops and bureaucrats and the civilization they promote.

Both accounts describe similar landscapes, though in Tao Qian's version, with somewhat more idyllic imagery. Like the government forces recounted by Fan Ye, the fisherman travels on a *xi* to its source, an opening at the base of a mountain through which he enters a mountain valley. Although he recognizes the strangeness of the scenery, it does not appear as treacherous, but is simply characterized by the profusion of peach blossoms. The fisherman:

> ...rowed upstream, unmindful of the distance he had gone, when he suddenly came to a grove of peach trees

> in bloom. For several hundred paces on both banks of the stream there was no other kind of tree. The wild flowers growing under them were fresh and lovely, and fallen petals covered the ground. *The fisherman marveled at it.*[174] He went on for a way with the idea of finding out how far the grove extended. It came to an end at the foot of a mountain whence issued the spring that supplied the stream. There was a small opening in the mountain and it seemed as though light was coming through it.[175]

In the various Panhu accounts, Panhu carries his wife to a land characterized by similar topographic features. However, Panhu differs from the fisherman in that he is an anomalous creature (*yiwu* 異物) himself, and does not recognize the landscape as strange, nor does he find it difficult to traverse.[176] It is his natural habitat. The *Soushenji* relates: "The dog took the girl into the southern hills [*Nanshan*] where the undergrowth was so dense the feet of men never trod. There she discarded her court robes, donned those of a common freeman, and bound herself to Panhu as his servant. He then led her over mountains and through valleys until they reached a cave in the rocks."[177] The *Houhanshu* adds: "Panhu, having obtained a wife, bore her on his back to Nanshan...stopping at a stone chamber [*shishi* 石室]. That place was extremely treacherous: no human tracks went up to it."[178] As White points out, the *Nanshan* in both quotes is none other than Wu Mountain;[179] the now lost *Wuling ji* 武陵記 (Record of Wuling), by Huang Min (sixth century),[180] describes the stone chamber where the descendents of Panhu lived as follows:

> 山高可萬仞山半有槃瓠石室可容數萬人中有石牀槃瓠行跡.
>
> The mountain is tens of thousands of feet tall. Panhu's stone chamber is halfway up the mountain. Several thousand people can fit in it. Inside is a bed of stones, which are the traces of Panhu.[181]

In all of these accounts, a cave, opening, or stone chamber at the base or halfway up a mountain gives way to a space where thousands of humans can dwell.

The *Peach Blossom Spring* describes the main topographical features of the Five Stream region and of much of South China in the areas where Yao and other non-Han groups were known to dwell: streams (*xi* 溪)[182] and grottoes (*dong* or *tong* 峒).[183] Similar imagery is not only characteristic of the actual landscape of South China, but also appear frequently in Chinese art and literature, where: "An out-flowing stream is a frequent iconographic feature in the depiction of grottoes, showing the mountains interior as a source of life, of renewal, and as a place of passage—the stream providing the link of communication."[184] Grottoes were also known to Chinese officialdom as the sites of habitation of the various Man tribes. One of the general labels in medieval times for the indigenous peoples living between mountains and valleys (*shangujian* 山谷間) was Man of the Streams and Grottoes (*xidong man* 溪峒蠻), or simply, Grotto Man (*dongman* 峒蠻).[185] By Song times, *dong* became an official label for small settlements of autochthonous (*tu* 土), southern populations. In fact, the very term *dong* appears to be a Chinese transcription of a native designation. According to Pullyblank, a *dong* "...seems to represent a native word meaning 'mountain valley' or 'level ground between cliffs and beside a stream'...Xi, which simply means 'mountain stream,' is primarily a geographical term, referring to the five Xi of western Hunan..."[186] David Holm, who has studied Zhuang ritual culture in Guangxi province and is fluent in the Zhuang language, translates the Zhuang word *ndongl* as "...the wooded slopes and mountains that surround the ricefields and villages of the river flatlands inhabited by human beings."[187]

Grotto Worlds

Grotto worlds or heavens (*dongtian* 洞天) hold an important and frequently recurring position in Southern Chinese and Yao religious life, as well as in mainstream Daoism. As early as the fourth century,

stories appeared in written Chinese of people following streams and other waterways to their source and happening upon hidden realms beyond the confines of conventional, imperial space. The main characteristic of such stories is the interplay between mythographic and topographic imagery, where paradisiacal realms are hidden just beyond the surface of actual scenery. The appearance of anomaly accounts portraying the discovery of grotto worlds in written sources was closely connected to the codification of grotto heavens in medieval, southern Daoist traditions, such as the Shangqing 上清 and Lingbao 靈寶 movements, which conceived the world as being comprised of sacred mountains, connected by underground passageways, where immortals dwelled and texts were revealed.[188]

Should the profusion of anomaly tales during the Six Dynasties period and the depiction of strange grotto paradises be viewed as the recording of local mythology or the creation of imaginative literati? This is a chicken and egg question. There are indeed a plethora of similar accounts in imperial compendia, as well as in the Daoist Canon. At the same time, several indigenous traditions in South China still believe in the existence of such paradisiacal realms. It is impossible to say if such literary and mythological traditions were the product of the literati—who claimed they were of northern provenance—or whether they had local, oral origins.[189] No *ur*-text exists, making it difficult (if not impossible) to prove the prevalence of oral transmission in medieval times, though many anomaly accounts are introduced in medieval texts as being the record of local beliefs and legends. As Campany points out:

> When it comes to local sources, first of all, a significant number of items pointedly mention the folkloric (and therefore usually local) nature of information they transmit, using such phrases as "the common people [there] say" ([*qi*] *minyue* 其民曰, *suyue* 俗曰) or "the folk call it..." (*suwei zhi* 俗謂之...), Such items need not have been directly derived by the author himself from oral sources; they could have been based on local topographies or other written records, but an ultimate oral source is nevertheless clearly implied.[190]

As the state penetrated deeper into territory south of the Yangzi River, and officials established administrative units on land previously governed by native chieftains, the process of bifurcation and contact between imperial and indigenous spaces gave rise to the documentation and elaboration of unusual landscape and customs.

Peach Blossom Spring Grotto and Meishan Mountain

Peach Blossom Spring Grotto is a realm of great importance in both mainstream Daoism, and in the mytho-religious traditions of Yao and other southern Chinese peoples, particularly in the Meishan ritual tradition. According to ter Haar: "In the Meishan ritual tradition, as in southern Chinese religious culture in general, grotto worlds are of central importance, especially the Peach Blossom Spring Grotto (*taoyuandong*)."[191] The Yao document known as the *Passport* lists Peach Blossom Spring Grotto as one of the areas over which Yao were granted sovereignty. In Yao and other southern cultures associated with Meishan (Plum Mountain), Peach Blossom Spring Grotto is the paradise where the deceased soul returns prior to reincarnation. A Yao ritual manual collected by Shiratori, entitled, "The Document for Crossing Meishan," 過梅山書—describing a ritual to accompany the deceased soul on its journey through the thirty-six caverns of Meishan on its way to the courts of the Ten Kings 十王, who will judge it before reincarnation—mentions the Peach Blossom Spring. "The Seventh Cavern of the Peach Blossom Spring is there for a reason. At the mouth of the Cave, the Flowers bloom. They are truly new."[192] Lemoine explains: "When the time comes they will be moved to Peach Blossom Spring Cavern (t'or nyuan tong), where they will await reincarnation."[193] The late Tang court Daoist, Du Guangting, included Peach Blossom Grotto among the thirty-six grotto heavens, and located it in the Five Streams region.

Song Dynasty geographical texts, as well as the *Songshi* do in fact speak of a *Taoyuan* (grotto, grove, or mountain) in Dingzhou 鼎州, the Song Dynasty name for part of western Hunan. According to the *Songshi*, and corroborated by several earlier works, such as Hong

Mai's *Yijianzhi* 夷堅志 and Wang Xiangzhi's *Yudi Jisheng* 輿地紀勝, writing was discovered on a rock at Peach Spring Grotto in Dingzhou in the fourth month of the third year of the Jiandan reign period (1130), and might be evidence of a religious tradition practiced in that area. The *Yudi Jisheng* adds: "There was a text which seemed like a heavenly document. The words that were painted glistened."[194] 有文似天書而字畫皎然 A poem of thirty-two characters was legible, which read as follows:

無爲大道天知人情無爲窈冥神見人形
心言意語鬼聞人聲犯禁滿盈地收人魂

The Great Dao of Non-Activeness
Heaven knows human feelings
Non-Active and Mysterious
The spirit sees the human form
The heart speaks meaningful words
Ghosts hear human sounds
Their violations overflowing
The earth receives the human soul.[195]

While I have as yet been unable to link these words with any known ritual tradition, the reference to *Wuwei Dadao* is curious and deserves further investigation. Iu Mien (Yaoren) in Thailand refer to their particular ritual tradition as *Sanqing Dadao*, "The Great Dao of the Three Pure Ones." The title *Wuji Dadao*, "The Great Dao of Boundlessness," appears in at least one Yao ritual manual in the Leiden collection.

A passage in the *Songshi* discussing a Man group known as the "Man of Meishan Grotto," who Strickmann believed to be Yao,[196] locates them in precisely the same region known in earlier texts as Wuling:

梅山峒蠻舊不與中國通其地東接潭南接邵其西則辰其北則鼎澧而梅山居其中

The Man of Meishan Grotto were formerly beyond the reach of the Central State. Their land meets Tanzhou (潭州) in the east, Shaozhou (邵州) in the south, Chenzhou (辰州) in the west, and Dingzhou

> (鼎州) and Lizhou (澧州) in the north. Mei Mountain occupies the center.[197]

That their territory also included Dingzhou implies the inclusion of Peach Blossom Spring Grotto. Does this quote offer a clue to the origin of the Meishan teaching that is central to the ritual traditions of Yao, Zhuang, and other groups in South China—from Hunan to Sichuan, and all the way to northern Thailand? Did the Meishan teaching spread as Yao migrated south and southwestward? Although the origin of the Meishan ritual tradition is still a mystery, some scholars believe Mei Mountain in Hunan Province, between Xinhua 新化 and Anhua 安化 counties, is indeed its center of activity.[198] That Mei Mountain rose in the middle of what were the lands of related Man peoples—and were later inhabited by Yao, Man, Dong, and Tujia—might be an indication that it was a site of sacred reverence, a source of religious attribution.

The Man as Outsiders *Wairen* 外人

In his *Peach Blossom* account, Tao Qian uses the binome *wairen* (lit. outside people) three times, denoting the position of the inhabitants of the Peach Blossom Grotto as outsiders, quite similar to the Man, who were known as living beyond the state and the civilized world. Previous translators have failed to recognize Tao Qian's innovative use of this binome. For instance, Hightower translates the first instance of *wairen* as "ordinary people" instead of "outsiders" (The clothes they wore were like those of *ordinary people*)[199] and claims: "This line is probably intended to convey the idea that these were not immortals or otherworldly beings clad in shining raiment or covered with feathers, but people just like any other."[200] In the second instance he translates it as "outside world" and the third as "outsiders," both referring to those who live outside this hidden retreat. Here, Hightower is more on track, though he argues: "This second occurrence makes it unlikely that it means 'foreigners' here—that they were wearing a garb not familiar in fourth-century China, as might be the case if they were

actually dressed in the style of the Qin dynasty."[201] He has missed the point of Tao Qian's rhetorical innovation.

To make sense of this double entendre it is necessary to understand the perspectival or relativistic thinking which characterizes the passage.[202] There is clearly a change in perspective between the first use of *wairen* and the second and third, which leads to a different interpretation than Hightower perceived. In the first instance the perspective is that of the fisherman. From his perspective, the people in this land are seen as *wairen*, or outsiders. The clothes they wear are different, unlike those of people living within the commandery. In the second and third instances, the perspective shifts to that of the people in this "detached realm" (*juejing* 絕境). The words come from their mouths: "There's no need to mention our existence to outsiders."[203] The inherent contradiction in the use of the term *wairen* is that the fisherman travels outside the bounds of the state and, as such, goes beyond the world of civilization, but once he enters the grotto world, the world that he left behind becomes the outside. The perspective shifts. In the eyes of the villagers, the fisherman becomes the true *wairen*. They are as shocked to see him as is he to see them.

These people are outsiders both in the physical sense already mentioned, but also in a sociopolitical one. They live in a hidden grotto, yes, but hidden from whom—from the reach of the state and its imperial armies. As they explain, they have been living apart from the world for several hundred years:

> They told him that their ancestors had fled the disorders of Qin times and, having taken refuge here with wives and children and neighbors, had never ventured out again; consequently they had lost all contact with the outside world [*wairen*]. They asked what the present ruling dynasty was, for they had never heard of the Han, let alone the Wei and the Jin. They sighed unhappily as the fisherman enumerated the dynasties one by one and recounted the vicissitudes of each.[204]

Thus, Tao Qian situates his tale in the very same historical context outlined in the *Houhanshu*. Like the grotto people in *Peach Blossom Spring*, the Man peoples who inhabited the same region lived beyond Wuling Commandery, from where the fisherman begins and ends his journey. From the perspective of the fisherman—a representative of the state—they are outsiders, for they live outside the domain established by imperial design. Just as official historians focused their attention on the costumes of Man and other groups who lived on the periphery, the fisherman likewise notices the otherness of their dress. As I argued in the previous chapter, passages in official sources surrounding the term *yao* also highlight this quality of otherness, the sense that there are certain groups, peoples, and places that are outside—outside society, outside the state, and outside the world.[205]

The Panhu Myth As the Basis of Man and State Claims

Several scholars have pointed out that the Panhu myth—especially its ascription to canine provenance—was evoked by Chinese officialdom to highlight, and perhaps exaggerate, the otherness of the Man and other southern peoples. Mair argues: "The ascription of canine attributes to humans from groups other than one's own is a convenient way to classify and partially dehumanize them. The people whom one cynanthropomorphizes are still human beings, but they are human beings of a very peculiar sort; they are dog-humans."[206] One section of his essay on dog ancestor myths is even entitled "Dogs and the 'Other.'" This is also a central theme of White's discussion of Chinese dog-man myths.[207] The fact that Panhu is an anomalous creature (*yiwu*), even in Yao documents, does give credence to this view of the Man as other and outsider, something different from other human beings. However, the Man traced their provenance back to the marriage between an anomalous, wild dog-man and a woman of imperial ancestry.

In official discourse, the Panhu myth served another function: it not only highlighted the otherness of the Man peoples, but also wove them into the state-centered discourse of peripheral peoples, thereby legitimating "various economic relationships between vassal and empire... .

This account is the foundation myth for a tributary relationship that the Middle Kingdom maintained with the Man... ."[208] It is for this reason that Fan Ye begins his chapter on the Southern Man with the Panhu account, and situates it in the ancient past, during the time of the legendary emperor, Gao Xin 高辛.[209] In doing so, he alludes to a time when Man submitted to state authority and happily served. Directly following the Panhu account, Fan Ye makes the claim even more explicitly: "During the time of Yao and Shun, [they] established a bond with them [the Man]. Therefore it is called the Yaofu." 其在唐虞與之要質故曰要服[210] The history of Man rebellions is thus explained as a deviation from this early covenantal relationship.

To understand the meaning of the bond between Gao Xin (also known as Di Ku 帝嚳) and Panhu, it is necessary to understand Gao Xin's place in the schema of the Five Emperors (*wudi* 五帝), which became the basis for legitimacy of the ruling houses in early China: The Yellow Emperor (*huangdi* 黃帝), Gao Yang 高陽 (also known as Zhuan Xu 顓頊), Gao Xin, Yao 堯 (or Tao Tang 陶唐), and Shun 舜 (or You Yu 有虞).[211] In addition to their inclusion in this list of mythical sage-emperors, Gao Xin and his predecessor, Gao Yang, both great grandsons of the Yellow Emperor in the formulation of Sima Qian's *Shiji*, were known as the primogenitors of the ruling houses of the first three Chinese dynasties—the Xia 夏, Shang 商, and Zhou 周—and of the various families that controlled China during the Warring States Period. As David Hawkes explains:

> To Qu Yuan, as to other members of the ancient Chinese aristocracy, *di* were the legendary forefathers from who one traced one's ancestry: divine beings who had once lived heroic lives on earth and who were now 'up there,' though at the same time they were in some mysterious way also present in the places where they had been buried. Gao Yang, also known as Zhuan Xu, was one of a pair of *di* (the other one being Gao Xin, also known as Di Ku) from whom nearly all the princely houses of Qu Yuan's day believed themselves to be descended. Two of the three dynasties which

> successively held sway over the North China Plain during the two millennia before his time, the Shang and the Zhou, traced their ancestry from Gao Xin. The Xia, the most ancient of the three, were supposed to have been descendents of Gao Yang. Gao Yang was also the god-ancestor of the princely houses of Qin, Qi, Zhao, and Chu. In recognition of the cultural affinity of these two groups, genealogists gave them a common ancestor in the person of Huang Di, the 'Yellow Ancestor' or 'Yellow Emperor.' According to this rather late and sophisticated view, Gao Yang and Gao Xin were both grandsons of Huang Di, and all Chinese, irrespective of their lineage, were 'children of the Yellow Emperor.' Qu Yuan could trace his ancestry back to Gao Yang because the Qu lineage to which he belonged was a collateral branch of the Chu royal clan.[212]

Here we witness the rationale behind the bond between Panhu and Gao Xin: it as an alliance between the primogenitor of the Man peoples and that of the Shang and Zhou ruling houses, respectively. It is a means of placing the Man in the traditional genealogical system, while at the same time viewing them outside it.

The Man, and later Yao people, also relied on the myth to support their own claims of autonomy from the state. Because of Panhu's meritorious deeds his Man / Yao descendents were granted certain privileges. The *Houhanshu*, for instance, records: "Because their late father had merit and their mother was the daughter of the Emperor, they sell in the market what they produce in the fields, do not hand over tallies at custom's stations, and do not pay taxes of any kind." 以先父有功母帝之女田作賈販無關梁符傳租稅之賦[213] This statement is ambiguous as to whether it is the Man themselves who make this claim or the official historian conveying government policy. Nonetheless, it argues for the complete sovereignty of the Man and exemption from the demands of the state, including taxation and the handing over of tallies to government officials.

The *Houhanshu* paints a revealing picture of Man interactions with the state, in which certain Man leaders apparently formed alliances

with the state, while others maintained their independence. In fact, recognition by the Emperor and / or his representatives, whereby titles and other emoluments were conferred, granted immense prestige to local chieftains and helped to legitimate their authority over other chieftains. Through this process, known since Han times as the *Jimi* 羈縻 (loose reins) system, and in post-Song times, as *tusi* 土司, Man and other chieftains were officialized, and were thereby brought into the state apparatus while at the same time retaining certain semi-autonomous privileges for their people, including milder forms of taxation, and other labor and military duties demanded by the state. Although officials tended to rely on these *jimi* leaders to pacify uprisings, the desire to bring in more revenue from the periphery also proved to be a source of contention, both among officials, as well as between officials and the Man peoples.

TAXATION AND CORVÉE

An incident recorded in the *Houhanshu* for the first year of the Yonghe reign period of Emperor Shun (136 C.E.) highlights the court disputes concerning taxation of the periphery, as well as Man responses to changing government policies toward them. In that year the Grand Protector (*taishou* 太守) of Wuling submitted a memorial to the throne in which he advocated raising taxes on the Manyi as if they were Han subjects, because they had been forced to submit (以蠻夷率服可比漢人增其租賦).[214] All of the emperor's advisors agreed, except for one Yu Xu 虞詡 who memorialized as follows:

> 自古聖王不臣異俗. 非德不能及, 威不能加. 知其獸心貪婪, 難率以禮. 是故羈縻而綏撫之. 附則受而不逆, 叛則棄而不追. 先帝舊典所由來 久矣. 今猥增之, 必有怨叛. 計其所得, 不償所費, 必有後悔
>
> Since antiquity the sage kings did not subjugate them and change their customs. This was not because their virtue could not reach [them] or that their majesty could not be added [to them]. Rather, it was because they knew the covetousness of their beastly hearts and

> the difficulty of setting them in order by means of the rites. Therefore they loosely bridled (*jimi*) them so as to placate them. If they [the Man] conformed then they [the sage kings] would receive them and not turn them away. If they rebelled then they would dismiss them and not pursue them. In the old statutes of the former sovereigns, the amount of taxes to be offered has already been established for a long time. Now, it would be a mistake to increase them [their taxes]. There will invariably be animus and rebellion. If you only calculate what will be obtained and not take into account what will be lost, there will definitely be regret.[215]

The emperor did not listen, and as Yu Xu predicted, the new tax policies toward the Man in Wuling, instigated a string of rebellions because "the required tribute of textiles was not in accord with the old bonds."貢布非舊約[216]

According to the *Songshu* (Documents of the Song Dynasty),[217] it was common during that period—the same period that Tao Qian wrote his *Peach Blossom Spring Record*—for Song subjects who were too poor to meet the requirements of taxation and corvée to flee among the Man:

> 蠻民順附者, 一戶輸穀數斛, 其餘無雜調, 而宋民賦役嚴苦, 貧者不復堪命, 多逃亡入蠻, 蠻無傜役, 強者又不供官稅, 結黨連羣, 動有數百千人, 州郡力弱, 則起為盜賊, 種類稍多, 戶口不可知也, 所在多深險.
>
> Of the Man people the submissive paid several *hu* of grain per household and there were no miscellaneous levies besides, but for the people of Song the taxes and services were harsh and the poor could no longer bear their lot. Many took flight and joined the Man. For the Man there was no *corvée* labor; the strong also did not pay the government taxes. They formed associations and joined together in bands in which some hundreds or thousands took part. When the forces of the provinces or commanderies were weak,

> they rose as bandits. There were many different tribes among them and their population could not be known. Their localities were remote and inaccessible.[218]

Similar patterns occurred throughout Chinese history, as well as in other Southeast Asian Kingdoms, up until modern times. Regarding the colonial period in Burma James C. Scott remarks:

> In bad years the collection of taxes fell off substantially and, reluctantly, remissions were granted for whole districts hit by floods, pests, or drought. This lenience may in part have been due to a symbolic alignment of the traditional court with the welfare of its subjects but it was also a reflection of the traditional state's inability to reliably control much of its hinterland... . Hard pressed peasants in one region would move into the forest or seek protection of another local chief. Since the basis of power in the traditional state was control of population (the source of surplus) rather than land, local leaders were happy to accept refugees and to expand their clientele. The resistance to pay taxes by those who stayed in place must have also grown after a bad season and helped reduce the tax-collecting capacity of the state.[219]

Scott describes the situation in pre-modern Thailand in much the same terms, where:

> ...a major dilemma of traditional statecraft was to raise enough in corvée and kind to maintain the court, but not so much as to drive the cultivating population out of range. During good crop seasons and where yields were most stable, the problem may have been manageable, but during hard times the revenue could be squeezed out, if at all, only at the risk of losing much of the kingdom's future tax base... . The more burdensome the kingdom's taxes became, the more it lost population and encountered resistence...[220]

In the same way, though for a much earlier period, the *Songshu* portrays the effects of increasing government demands on the struggling populace.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the prehistory of Yao / State relations from the Warring States through the Six Dynasties period, and have analyzed the relationship between historical issues laid out in the official histories and the mythical patterns repeated throughout medieval times concerning border peoples.

Tribute, taxation, corvée (forced labor), and rebellion were central issues which defined all interactions between center and periphery, and are essential for understanding the official application in Tang and Song sources of terms such as Moyao, or simply Yao, to peoples living in Hunan and further south.[221] Similarly, the majority of Man insurgent attacks in the south during the pre-Tang period are described as stemming from changing government policies concerning the levy of taxes and imposition of corvée. Man and other peoples responded to unfair tax and corvée policies by rebelling against them and invading state administrative units; these activities were most common during periods of turmoil, marked by famine and warfare.

The Panhu myth and the related story by Tao Qian, *Peach Blossom Spring*, point to the same contacts between center and periphery as do the terms *yao* and *moyao*—between those who lived within the administrative units of the state and those who dwelled beyond. The historical record indicates the presence of autonomous peoples in Hunan and further south throughout the Six Dynasties period. Their leaders, who controlled much of the south when the central government was weak, entered into alliances with various dynastic powers, which bestowed on them prestige and authority over other chieftains and in the eyes of their followers.

However, as an increasingly centralized state consolidated its power over what is now South and Central China, these leaders were viewed more and more as wild and dangerous insurgents who threatened the existence of peaceful and civilized people living within the prefectures and counties (*zhouxian* 州縣).

Chapter Three

The Linjun Myth, the Man Inhabitants of Ba, and the Li Family

In Chapter Two, I quoted a passage found in Tang and Song sources, which explained that five brothers from Ba became the rulers of the Five Streams region, each of them ruling over one of the streams. The story was apparently transmitted by local elders, though it is difficult (if not impossible) to prove or deny its veracity, as no earlier written sources detail the same narrative. However, early medieval sources, including the *Houhanshu*, *Huayangguo zhi*, and the *Jinshu* do describe Ba peoples who hailed from the same region as the Man groups I described in Chapter Two: Wuling. Recall that by the fourth century, official sources associatied the Five Streams comprising Wuling Commandery with the Panhu myth, and that by the 12th century, Song officials claimed Yao people descended from the Panhu race

who had inhabited one of the streams. What was the relationship (if any) between Ba and the Wuling and other Man peoples?

Most contemporary scholars connect the Tujia ethnic minority 土家 in contemporary China with the ancient state of Ba, which intersected with Wuling, to the east, and by some accounts, was a part of it. An etymological study of the binome *tujia* is neither beyond the parameters of this study nor am I insinuating that Yao people are the true descendents of the Ba. However, Fan Ye included discussion of Ba peoples in his account of the Southern Man; he referred to them as Man; and the stories he and others told about them fit into many of the patterns I have already discussed—questions pertaining to bonds and other relations with the state, which led local leaders to assert specific claims concerning their own local authority and autonomy.

Moreover, as Terry Kleeman has argued, certain Man inhabitants of Ba Commandery were among the first proponents of the Celestial Masters movement, from which all later Daoist lineages derive, and even founded a state in Eastern Sichuan based on Daoist principles.[222] As such, they were an important early conduit for the spread of the Way of the Celestial Masters in the south and the west, and might be a key in understanding how peoples on the margins of the Central State (*Zhongguo* 中國) adopted Daoist ritual traditions, and in the process became Chinese.

THE LINJUN MYTH AND THE BA CLAN

Following discussion of the Panhu myth and the various Man groups who were believed to be his descendents, Fan Ye's Southern Man account then relates a second origin myth—of the Man inhabitants of the Ba and Southern Commanderies—which, like the Panhu myth, describes the deeds of an ancestral figure, known as Lord Lin 廩君,[223] on whose merit later generations based their claims of legitimation and sovereignty.

The myth begins by describing five clans who emerged from a so-called Zhongli Mountain in Wuluo: "Originally there were five clans: the Ba, the Fan, the Yi, the Xiang, and the Zheng. They all emerged

from Zhongli Mountain in Wuluo."[224] 本有五姓：巴氏，樊氏，曋氏，相氏，鄭氏，皆出於武落鍾離山 Like Panhu and his descendents, these five clans are said to live in caves within the mountain. However, the Ba clan lived in a separate cave: "There were two caves—a red one and a black one—in the mountain. The children of the Ba clan lived in the red cave; the children of the other four families lived in the black cave."[225] 其山有赤黑二穴，巴氏之子生於赤穴，四姓之子皆生黑穴 Whereas the Panhu myth served to explain the existence of the twelve original descendents of Panhu—the twelve clans—the Lord Lin myth begins with five clans, and then distinguishes one of these from the others. They live apart.

Besides living in a separate cave marked by a different color, the Ba clan is special because one among them becomes their temporal ruler, but also becomes the prototypical ruler to which all later rulers will associate themselves. The myth then serves as a rationalization of a particular political order:[226]

> 未有君長，俱事鬼神。乃共擲劍於石穴，約能中者，奉以爲君。巴氏子務相乃獨中之，眾皆歎。又令各乘土船，約能浮者，當以爲君。餘姓悉沈，唯務相獨浮。因共立之，是為廩君
>
> They did not yet have a ruler and together served the spirits.[227] They then all threw swords in the stone cave,[228] and made a bond that they would raise up as their ruler the one who could hit the target. A son of the Ba clan named Wuxiang alone hit it.[229] The crowd all sighed. Again it was commanded that each would ride an earthen boat, and they made a bond that the one who could stay afloat they should take as their ruler. [Those of] the other families all sunk. Only Wuxiang remained afloat. They thereupon all exalted him as "Lord Lin."[230]

The account thus far demonstrates how a member of the Ba clan, Wuxiang, rose to prominence as the ruler of the five clans who emerged from Zhongli Mountain, through the course of competition

between the different clans. In Kleeman's words, "The myth is, again, teleological, meant to sanction and legitimize the claims of the Ba clan to dominance over a number of other groups in the Sichuan area."[231]

Kleeman is correct in alleging that the story of Wuxiang's rise to power had a religious as well as political function: "That the leadership of this group was, at least purportedly, determined by magical combat involving the performance of miracles implies that the winner had a religious role as well as a political one."[232] Indeed, there was little distinction in pre-modern China between what contemporary academic communities discern as the separate fields of politics and religion. The emperor in the capital could be viewed as the conduit between heaven and earth, as possessing god-like attributes, and as a descendent from a lineage with divine provenance. The same was true of regional powers, whether we view them as "Chinese" or as "barbarian."

This basic nexus between politics and religion, or their fundamental similitude, becomes even more apparent as the text goes on to describe the encounter on the Yi River 夷水[233] between Wuxiang—transformed into Lord Lin—and a Salt Spirit 鹽神: his final rite of passage in becoming the deified ruler and ruling deity of the five clans. Lord Lin travels down the Yi River and reaching Yanyang 鹽陽 meets a spirit lady (*shennu* 神女) who says to him: "This land is vast, with fish and salt emerging from it. Don't you wish to stay and live together?"[234] 此地廣大，魚鹽所出，願留共居。 Lord Lin did not accept.[235] Thereupon, Lord Lin accomplished his meritorious deed, which assured him his deification by later generations of Ba people:

> 鹽神暮輒來取宿，旦卽化為蟲，與諸蟲群飛，掩蔽日光，天地晦冥。積十餘日，廩君伺其便,[236] 因射殺之，天乃開明
>
> At sunset, the Salt Spirit would come and stay with him. At daybreak, she would transform into an insect and fly together with the various insects,[237] [thereby] concealing the rays of the sun. Extending for more than ten days, heaven and earth were indistinguishable in their darkness. The Lord of the Granaries [Lord Lin]

> awaited an opportune moment, and thereupon shot and killed her. Heaven only then cleared up and became bright.[238]

In defeating the Salt Spirit, Lord Lin completed his final initiation to become the leader of the Ba people.

A further indication of the nexus between religion and politics in this passage appears in the play on the use of the term, *jun* 君, which here is used both to qualify the temporal ruler of the Ba people, but also, in the Daoist sense, of deity, e.g. Laojun, Lord Lao. Recall that the competition begins with the realization that there are no rulers (*junzhang* 君長) in society. After defeating members of the other clans, Wuxiang becomes the leader or lord 君 of all five, and is given the title: "Lord Lin." At this stage in the narrative, *jun* is taken in a classical sense. He is the leader of the five Ba clans, who must lead them to a bountiful (*lin* 廩) land. It is only after a second stage of competition, in which Lord Lin defeats the Salt Spirit, as well as her insect accomplices, and thus, masters the forces of nature—one of the goals of Daoist ritual—that the *jun* in his title takes on a new meaning.

The narrative also serves as a rationalization of Ba ritual practices, and seems to depict the supplanting of one tradition of worship—that of insect deities—by another: the White Tiger, which, in traditional Chinese cosmo-geographical conceptions, was also one of the four directional animals; it was associated with the west. Just as the Celestial Masters Daoist priests of medieval times, as representatives of Lord Lao, attempted to subjugate the deities and demons of local belief, so too did Lord Lin kill the Salt Spirit. Unlike the Celestial Masters, who were opposed to blood sacrifice, it would seem that the worship of the White Tiger took the form of such a sacrifice. "Upon his death his soul (*hunpo* 魂魄) became a white tiger for generation after generation. Because the Ba clan believes that tigers drink men's blood, they sacrifice men to him."[239] What is the implication of the words *yi ren ci yen* 以人祠焉?[240] Does *ren* indicate an actual human or a statuary model of one? *Ci* isn't necessarily a sacrifice, but can also be a shrine dedicated to him.

Moreover, does this statement come from the mouth of an insider or is it the judgment of the historian?

THE BANSHUN MAN

An account of the Banshun Manyi 板楯蠻夷, who Kleeman takes to be the same "ethnic group" as the Ba, depicts the prowlings of a white tiger, but demonstrates how the Banshun Man achieved merit by killing it, rather than portraying it as an object of worship:

> 秦昭襄王時有一白虎，常從群虎數遊秦蜀巴漢之境，傷害千餘人。昭王乃重幕國中有能殺虎者，賞邑萬家，金百鎰。時有巴郡閬中夷人，能作白竹之弩，乃登樓射殺白虎。
>
> During the time of King Zhaoxiang of Qin, there was a white tiger, who several times roamed in the realms of Qin, Shu, Ba, and Han, hurting more than a thousand people. King Zhao then proclaimed that if there is one who could kill the tiger, he would reward them with a fief of ten thousand families, and one hundred yi of gold. At the time, there were Yi people from Langzhong in Ba Commandary who could make a crossbow of white bamboo. They then ascended a tower, shooting and killing the white tiger.[241]

This event is confirmed on the next page, when Cheng Bao 程包, an official of Emperor Ling of the Han Dynasty, advises the emperor not to use military means to squelch an uprising of the Banshun Man because of the merit of their ancestors: "Seven families of the Banshun shot and killed the white tiger, and established merit."[242]

The aforementioned stories, including the Panhu myth, involve the shooting of someone or something, either an enemy of the state or a destructive natural or social force, such as a rampaging tiger, or insects that obscure the rays of the sun. In the Panhu myth, a dog or dragon-dog killed an enemy leader—either General Wu in early accounts, or one

King Gao 高 in the Yao rendering of the tale. For the Banshun Man, the enemy was a white tiger, which to the Ba clan, was also a deity of worship. Lord Lin—like the more widespread Archer Yi, who shot down nine of the ten suns so that only one remained—achieved merit by rectifying a natural phenomenon that affected his people adversely. Other stories abound, which involve heroes resolving natural calamities—usually droughts and floods—through the shooting or killing of the deity who caused them.

Besides eulogizing the deed carried out by heroic figures of the past—often primogenitors of various clans, or of religious and philosophical traditions—these narratives often relate how the merit attained by these figures resulted in bonds and / or covenants between them and one or another emperor. Panhu did service for the sage emperor Gao Xin, and was then rewarded with betrothal to the emperor's daughter, marking an alliance between Panhu's Man descendents and the mytho-historical state. During the reigns of Emperors Yao and Shun, we are told, the Man of Jingzhou were connected to the state through a bond (*yao* 要), which both Man chieftains and Chinese officials apparently abided by up through the Western Han, and to which Chinese historians continued to allude throughout imperial times.

While the alliance between Panhu and the state was said to have occurred in the distant, legendary past, bonds between the Ba clan, as well as the Banshun Man, and the state, apparently took place during Qin and Han times; these bonds led to marriage alliances between Man leaders and imperial daughters, special ruling privileges, and reduced—or even exemption from—taxation. Following the account of Lord Lin in the Southern Man account, the official historian explains: "Reaching the time of King Hui of Qin's conquest of Bazhong (Central Ba), they took the Ba clan as the leaders of the Manyi,[243] and for generations offered them Qin women [in marriage] ... ."[244] 及秦惠王幷巴中，以巴氏為蠻夷君長，世尚秦女 Thus, not only was one among the Ba clan established as the leader of five clans through a competition, but that clan was also recognized as the legitimate ruling clan of the Manyi peoples.

In recompense for the Banshun Man's killing of the white tiger, King Zhao of Qin inscribed a covenantal bond (*mengyao* 盟要) on a stone, stating that they:

> 夷人頃田不租，十妻不算，傷人者論，殺人者得以倓錢贖死。盟曰："秦犯夷，輸黃龍一雙；夷犯秦，輸清酒一種。"夷人安之
>
> ... would pay no tax for one *qing* of land, up to ten wives would be exempted [from tax]; those who injure others could redeem the death through payment of *tan* 倓 cash. The covenant said, "If Qin transgresses against the Yi,[245] it will pay with a pair of yellow dragons.[246] If the Yi transgress against Qin, they will pay a barrel of pure wine." The Yi were comfortable with this arrangement.[247]

At the core of these alliances is the question of taxation and service to the state; they generally entail either exemption or a reduced or modified form of offering. After King Hui of Qin recognized the Ba clan, besides offering their leaders Qin women in matrimony, as well as specific ranks (*jue* 爵), he also required of them only a reduced amount of taxation:

> 其君長歲出賦二千一十六錢，三歲一出義賦千八百錢。其民戶出幏布八丈二尺，雞羽三十鏃。
>
> Their leaders gave two thousand sixteen cash of taxes yearly and one thousand eight hundred in proprietary taxes every three years. The households of their subjects would offer eight *zhang* two *chi* of *jia* 幏 cloth, and thirty *hou* 鏃 of chicken feathers.[248]

The text then relates how after the Han Dynasty rose to power, the Grand Protector (*taishou* 太守) of the Southern Commandery requested that the Han follow the precedent of the Qin. These statements point to tribute and taxation agreements between the Chinese state and certain border peoples during Qin and Han times.

Cong People

Further evidence of such agreements is embodied in the term *cong* 賨, which Kleeman takes to be an ethnic marker, but the *Houhanshu*, among other earlier texts, such as the *Huayangguo zhi*, describes as a type of taxation offered to the state by Man peoples. We have already seen in our discussion of the Wuling Man that *congbu* 布 referred to a yearly tribute of cloth.[249] Later, other texts are more specific about what the *cong* tribute is, and to whom and where it applies—the Ba inhabitants who lived on the margins of—or in—Wuling Commandery. The *Jinshu* (*Documents of the Jin Dynasty*) further relates:

> 秦并天下，以為黔中郡，薄賦斂之，口歲出錢四十．巴人呼賦為賨，因謂之賨人焉．
>
> When Qin unified All-under-Heaven, the territory was incorporated into Qianzhong commandery[250] and taxed lightly, each person paying forty cash. The Ba people called the tax *cong* 賨, and for this reason they were referred to as the Cong people.[251]

Although Kleeman recognizes that *cong* is a word for taxation, he still accepts the binome *congren* as an ethnonym. What is more likely, in my view, is that *cong* is, as the text indicates, a transliteration of the Ba word for tax, which was then applied to the people(s) of Ba, secondarily, as an exonym—not what they called themselves, but what Chinese officials called them.

The *Jinshu* then relates how people identified as Cong did service for Han Gaozu before he became emperor, and were therefore exempted from taxation:

> When Han Gaozu (i.e., Liu Bang) was King of Han, he enlisted the Cong people to pacify the Three Qin (southern Shaanxi). When this was accomplished, they asked to return to their native place. Gaozu, deeming their achievement equal to that of his followers from

> Feng 豐 and Pei 沛 (his native region),[252] exempted them from taxes and changed the name of their homeland to Ba commandery. The earth (of their home) yields bounties of salt, iron, cinnabar, and lacquer.[253]

Although the text indicates that Gaozu likens the people of Ba commandery to his followers from his own native land, and thus, exempts them from taxation, it also emphasizes the bounty of natural resources in the region, and perhaps provides evidence for the true reason behind the government's exemption of the people of Ba commandery from taxation; salt, iron, cinnabar, and lacquer were simply more valuable than any other taxes the local population might provide.

While the *Houhanshu* does describe *cong* as the specific tax that people in Ba, and remember, the descendents of Panhu, as well, submitted to the government, it does not include the binome: *congren*. Instead, it substitutes *congren* with *yi* 夷 and *banshun manyi* 板楯蠻夷—labels which do not appear in the *Jinshu*, nor does the story about the killing of a white tiger. Instead of relating a narrative about the inhabitants of Ba commandery, the *Houhanshu* mentions seven families from Central Ba—Luo 羅, Pu 朴, Du 督, E 鄂, Du 度, Xi 夕, and Gong 龔 (presumably the same seven families who established merit by killing the white tiger. According to the *Houhanshu*, it is only the leaders of these seven families—or perhaps the entire families—who do not have to pay taxes. "The other households, on the other hand, every year submitted *cong* cash, forty per mouth."[254] 餘戶乃歲入賨錢，口四十. This discrepancy alludes to the different contexts of the same stories, and the varying purposes of these texts. The *Houhanshu*'s Southern Man account, which demonstrates the interests of the central government in the south, labels the different Man peoples who were either pacified or who pursued alliances with the government. From this perspective, Banshun is simply one variety of Man.

THE LI FAMILY

The *Jinshu* has another quality that is not present in the *Houhanshu*: whereas it speaks of seven family names—names, except for *Luo* and

Gong, not typically Chinese—of the Banshun Man, the *Jinshu* and *Huayangguo zhi* set the very same narrative in the context of the account of a man named Te 特 of the Li 李 family. The *Jinshu* account, for instance, opens: "Li Te 李特, sobriquet Xuanxiu 玄休, was a man of Dangqu 宕渠 in the commandery of Baxi."[255] It then places his ancestors in the same line as Lord Lin and includes almost the same narrative of Wuxiang and the Ba clan's rise to prominence, as found in the *Houhanshu*, though without mention of the worship of a white tiger, or the killing of one. Moreover, the Linjun account is followed directly by the passages about alliances—and tax agreements—between the Ba people, of whom Li Te was a descendent, and the Qin and early Han governments. The *Houhanshu* ascribes these bonds to the Banshun Man, who are not clearly defined as descendents of Linjun.

The *Jinshu* version supplants Liu Bang's recognition and exemption from taxation of the leaders of the seven Banshun clans with that of an *apparently* different clan: every detail in this version serves to explain, and even legitimate, the rise to power of the Li family—the ruling house of Cheng-Han 成漢, a powerful state which was a continuous threat to the Eastern Jin during the fourth century.[256]

Kleeman paints a somewhat negative picture of the context in which the narrative of the Li family and the Cheng-Han state appears in the *Jinshu*:

> The *Book of Jin*, being a history of the legitimate ruling dynasty, gives short shrift to the independent states that arose to contest with Jin for the territory of China. They are treated in a series of thirty chapters at the end of the work that are designated "illegitimate annals" (*zaiji* 載記).[257] The Cheng-Han state is given two chapters (120 and 121) that omit much important information available to men of the early Tang.[258]

What Kleeman does not mention here is that the official histories oftentimes "omit important information;" they are always selective. This is not surprising, considering that the compilers of such histories were under the patronage of emperors; their task, beyond merely recording

events, was to represent on the page the central line (*zhengtong* 正統) of the virtual state—that is, the state projected and imagined through textual and visual media—the main actors of which were the members of specific, authorized ruling houses. They were genealogies, always written from the perspective of the dynasty in power. The *Jinshu* was "... one of a number of historical works compiled by imperial commissions during the early part of the Tang dynasty in an attempt to supply official histories for the dynasties of the preceding era that did not yet possess a standard record."[259] As such, its creation was very much tied to the consolidation of power by the Tang ruling house. Given this context, it is somewhat surprising that the account isn't more negative. For the most part, the *Jinshu* follows the narrative of much earlier sources. In sum, every telling of the same events arranges the available source materials in different ways, according to the motives and logic of the person or persons doing the narrating.

Perhaps the earliest source to discuss the exploits of the Li family, as well as much of the narrative material in this section about the three Ba commanderies, is the *Huayangguo zhi*, written by Chang Qu 常璩 (ca. 291-ca. 361), who "... was a native of Sichuan, an official in the Cheng-Han state, and a prolific historian whose works on Sichuanese history were the primary sources for almost all other information."[260] In this capacity, one would expect Chang Qu's account to be the most reliable, if not most partisan, version of events surrounding the rise of the Li family—the source of all later accounts. Yet, his telling diverges from the others in some fascinating ways, raising the likelihood that the *Houhanshu* and *Jinshu* relied on works other than the *Huayangguozhi*. For one, instead of claiming Li Te was immediately indigenous to Baxi, as does the *Jinshu*, *Huayangguo zhi* 9 (which depicts the lives of Li Te and his relatives) states that he was a man from Linwei 臨洧 in Lueyang 略陽 (modern day Gansu).[261]

Unlike the *Jinshu*, which claims descent of the Li family from Linjun, the *Huayangguo zhi* omits the Linjun account entirely, and instead includes—albeit in an earlier chapter depicting Ba history—the story of the killing of the white tiger by certain men of Ba.[262] The *Huayangguo zhi* version, moreover, uses this story to explain, not only specific

agreements with the state about taxation, but also a given profession in Ba related to tiger killing, as well as certain names for Ba people associated with that act:

> 漢興亦從高祖，定亂有功，高祖因復之，專以射白虎爲事. 戶歲出賨錢口四十. 故世號白虎復夷，一曰板楯蠻，今所謂弓頭虎子者也.
>
> After the rise of the Han they followed Gaozu (Liu Bang) in putting down rebellions, thereby attaining achievements. Gaozu therefore exempted them, making them responsible solely for shooting white tigers. Each household would yearly pay *cong* 賨 cash, forty per person. For this reason men of the day called them the White Tiger Exempted Barbarians. One source calls them the Board Shield Man-barbarians (Banshun Man 板楯蠻). They are the ones we call the Hard-headed Tiger Cubs (*Jiangtou huzi* 弓頭虎子).[263]

The fact that Banshun Man appears in the context of two other titles that include the word for tiger seems to imply that "banshun," translated by Kleeman as "board shield," has something to do with killing the white tiger. It is likely that it was initially a transliteration of an indigenous Ba word, such as was the case with *cong*.

Although it does not directly link those who killed the white tiger with seven Banshun families (at least in this passage), the *Huayangguo zhi*, like the *Houhanshu*, follows this event with a discussion of how seven families helped Gaozu subdue the three Qin. It also includes the same speech, in which Cheng Bao speaks of the merit of the Banshun Man: "The seven families of the Banshun took the shooting of white tigers as their trade. They established merit during the former Han. Initially, they became loyal subjects and were exempted from requisite service (*yaoyi*)."[264] 板楯七姓以射白虎為業。立功先漢。本為義民，復除徭役 In the telling of the *Huayangguo zhi*, it is one Fan Mu, first employed by Gaozu as a marquis, who then exempts seven families from taxation: "Mu then exempted the subjects Luo, Pu, Zan 昝, E, Du, Xi, and Gong. These seven families did not have to offer taxes

(*zufu* 租賦)."[265] Kleeman translates a similar passage from the earlier *Fengsu Tongyi*, by Ying Shao (ca. 200 C.E.), which, please recall, was the earliest source to tell of Panhu's meritorious deeds.

> In Ba there are Cong people who are valliant and brave. When Gaozu was King of Han, Fan Mu 范目 of Langzhong persuaded him to recruit Cong people to quell 定 the Three Qins. He enfeoffed Mu as Marquis of Langzhong Cifu District 閬中慈鳧鄉侯. He also granted a tax remission to the seven clans of Cong people whom Mu had sent, the Lu 盧, Pu 朴, Da 沓, E 鄂, Du 度, Xi 夕, and Xi 襲: they did not need to contribute taxes 租賦.[266]

Of the seven names mentioned in the *Fengsu Tongyi*, three differ from those listed in the *Houhanshu*—Lu instead of Luo, Da instead of Du, Xi instead of Gong. In the case of the first two, and possibly for the last, this is probably due to phonetic similarities between these names, and does not necessarily indicate that they were different families. Xi 襲 and Gong 龔 are graphically similar. There is only one divergence between the *Huayangguo zhi* and the *Houhanshu*—Zan 昝 instead of Du 督, both of which are graphically similar.[267]

What then is the relationship between the seven Banshun Man families and the Li clan which founded the Cheng-Han state? The surname Li 李 is not mentioned at all in *Huayangguo zhi* 1, which records early Ba history; Banshun does not appear in Chapter Nine, which relates the exploits of Li Te and his family, though it does claim that Li Te's ancestors were originally Cong people 賨民 from Dangqu in Baxi, a claim which would have situated the Li family strategically between the Central state (in whose eyes they were perceived as northerners who had migrated to the Ba region) and the autochthonous population over which they ruled (to whom they could make the case they were originally Ba people who had migrated northward to Gansu and then back to Ba.)

The beginning of Chapter Nine lists five people—likely leaders along with their populations—who had purportedly traveled with

Li Te's grandfather, known as Li the Tiger (*Li Hu* 李虎), northward toward Lueyang: Du Huo 杜濩, Pu Hu 朴胡, Yuan Yue 袁約, Yang Ju 楊車, Li Hei 李黑, among others. The surname Du 杜 is homophonous with Du 督 and Du 度, both listed among the seven Banshun families in the *Houhanshu*. Pu 朴 is mentioned in all three accounts of the seven families. Moreover, Li Te marries a woman from the Luo 羅 clan, the first of the seven in two of the accounts. Du 杜, Yang, and Li are more typical Chinese surnames, and might be evidence of sinification in the Ba region beginning in late Han times, as well as the attainment of a certain degree of literacy among Man peoples in Ba—at least their leaders.

The Banshun Man and the Pacification of the Qiang Tribes

A further indication of the connection between the Li family and the Banshun Man is the position of at least some of their members as protectors against the Qiang tribes, whose lands intersected with imperial territory since early Han times.[268] Li Te's father, Mu 慕,[269] for instance, had the title Eastern Qiang Hunting Commander (*dongqiang liejiang* 東羌獵將).[270] Other members of the Li family and their associates had similar titles. One He Pan 何攀, who was the "Colonel of the Eastern Qiang" (dong Qiang xiaowei 東羌校尉), hired one of Li Te's younger brothers, Li Liu 流, as Inspector of the Eastern Qiang (*dong Qiang du* 東羌督).[271] Li Xiang, another of Li Te's younger brothers "...had formerly been Worthy Commander of the Eastern Qiang."[272] (*dong Qiang liangjiang* 東羌良將) Other titles paint them as subduers of the four directions, e.g., Great General Stabilizing the North (*zhenbei dajiangjun* 鎮北大將軍), held by Li Te.

If the Li family were indeed related to the seven Banshun families, or one of them, then they must have had a long pedigree in their capacity as subduers of the Qiang. During the reign of the Han emperor, Ling, Cheng Bao had opposed the use of military force to pacify Banshun rebellions, because of the meritorious deeds of their ancestors:[273] they had been employed by the state to quell Qiang attacks on

Chinese administrative districts. "Formerly, during the Yongchu reign period (107–114 C.E.), the Qiang entered Hanchuan[274] and destroyed [the forces] there ... the Banshun were hired to save it."[275] 昔永初中，羌入漢川，郡縣破壞，得板楯救之 The Qiang were apparently terrified of them and called them "Spirit Troops" (*shenbing* 神兵). In another incident that took place during the second year of the Jianhe 建和 reign period (147–150 C.E.), government troops again relied on the Banshun to quell the Qiang insurgency.

In discussion surrounding events of the Han Dynasty, the label Banshun is employed, while for events following the Han collapse, the available sources speak of the Li and other families. The *Houhanshu* is primarily interested in the history of the Eastern Han, and relies on Han Dynasty sources, such as the *Shiben* 漢中,[276] and therefore speaks only of the Banshun. The *Huayangguo zhi*, which is a history of the Ba-Shu area (modern day Sichuan province, including Chongqing and Hanzhong) and of the Li family, straddles both periods. In its description of the Ba region during Han times, it uses the label, Banshun. However, it omits this label when discussing the Li family during the post-Han era, though it does call them *Cong* people—more a tax-based classification than an ethnonym. The *Jinshu*—a much later work interested in distinct spheres of power beyond the mere tribal confederations implied by terms such as Man—replaces "Banshun Man" with "Cong people," and even provides an etymology of the latter term. Its sole emphasis is the rise to power of the Li clan.

It is then possible to trace a somewhat clear trajectory form the *Houhanshu* account of autochthonous peoples who entered alliances with the Qin and Han states to the emergence of the Li family as sinicized rulers of an independent kingdom in western China described in the *Huayangguo zhi* and the *Jinshu*. Kleeman frames his discussion of the Banshun Man, Cong people, and even the Li family, primarily in ethnic terms: they are non-Chinese. But in what sense—racially, ethnically, politically? It is more fitting, I believe, to frame analysis along the lines of the colonization of the south by the Chinese state; this is, after all, the focus of the Southern Man account in the *Houhanshu*. Prior to this time, who was *Chinese*? Framed in this way, we can then explore how

different groups *became Chinese*, and how what is defined as *Chinese* changed over time as new cultural and political entities were conquered and absorbed.

The Li Family and the Celestial Masters

Huayangguo zhi 9 situates discussion of Li Te and his relatives with that of the rise of Zhang Lu and the Celestial Masters in Hanzhong at the end of the Han Dynasty:[277]

> 俗好鬼巫。漢末張魯居漢中，以鬼道教百姓。賨人敬信。值天下大亂，自巴西之宕渠移入漢中[278]
>
> In their customs, they liked demons and shamans. At the end of the Han, Zhang Lu occupied Hanzhong, and used the Way of Demons to teach the one hundred surnames. The Cong people revered and trusted him. When the world fell into great disorder, they moved from Dangqu in Baxi to Hanzhong.[279]

The *Jinshu* contains the same passage—for the most part unaltered—[280] though it places it directly following the passage about Qin and Han recognition of the Cong people and before one depicting Cao Pi's—Emperor Wu of Wei (r. 220–226)—defeat of Zhang Lu at Hanzhong, at which time: "Te's grandfather Hu 虎 led more than five hundred families in submitting to him. Emperor Wu appointed him general and transferred him to the region north of Lueyang."[281] In this way the *Jinshu* establishes a chronological sequence of events, in which the ancestors of the Li family performed service for both regional (Zhang Lu) and imperial powers, from the Qin unification to Liu Bang's ascension, and through Cao Pi's declaration of a new dynasty—the Wei.

The Surname *Li* 李 and Dao-ification / Sinification

Given what we know about their early embrace of the Celestial Masters community in Hanzhong,[282] led by Zhang Lu, the grandson of its

founder, it is not surprising that *Li* would become a prominent surname among a community of its supporters.[283] After all, *Li* was the putative surname of Laozi, known to the Celestial Masters as "The Supreme High Lord Lao" (*Taishang Laojun* 太上老君) and as, "The Newly Emerged Lord Lao." 新出老君 Kleeman explains:

> Speculation about the reappearance of a divinized Laozi reached a peak around the middle of the second century. In 147 and 154 men surnamed Li 李, the reputed surname of Laozi, rose in rebellion, the second of these in Sichuan, and declared themselves Emperor .... Emperor Huan (r. 147–168) was a devotee of Laozi. Immediately upon his ascension to the throne, he had a temple erected at Laozi's supposed birthplace. Eunuchs were dispatched to worship there in 165 and 166, and an imperial sacrifice was performed in the palace in 166. It is also in a record from 166 that we first hear of the theory that the Buddha was a transformation of Laozi after he had left China to go among the barbarians. An 'Inscription on Laozi' from 153 tells more about his religious identity, describing him as a divine figure who was born from primordial essences and dwells among the stars .... This[284] traces Laozi through a series of avatars in this world, feigning death only to be reborn in a new age with a different, though related, name, often as a famous counselor of sage rulers of the past. Seidel attributes this scripture to an otherwise unknown sect operating in Sichuan toward the end of the second century. She believes that the Celestial Masters saw themselves as the successors to Laozi in his role as advisor to rulers.[285]

Needless to say, the surname Li, by the second century C.E., had great resonance throughout China, due to its association with Laozi, and the belief that one bearing that surname would appear in the world as a savior, ushering in the utopian age of the Great Peace (*taiping* 太平).

It was this vision that animated the earliest revelations of the Celestial Masters.[286] According to the legend of their founding, a new

avatar of Lord Lao appeared to Zhang Daoling on Heming (Crane Call) Mountain (west of modern day Chengdu, Sichuan) in 142 C.E., revealing to him "The Newly Emerged Correct and Unitary Dao of the Covenant With the Powers."[287] 新出正一盟威之道 The *Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記 relates this event, though not explicitly attributing it to Laozi:

> Suddenly a Heavenly Man (*tianren* 天人) descended, accompanied by a thousand chariots and ten thousand horsemen, in a golden carriage with a feathered canopy. Riding dragons and astride tigers, they were too numerous to count. At times the man referred to himself as the Scribe Below the Pillar 柱下史, sometimes others would call him the Lad from the Eastern Sea 東海童子. He bestowed upon Ling Newly Emerged Correct and Unitary Dao of Covenanted Awe .... Having received this, Ling was able to heal illness.[288]

As Kleeman explains, Scribe Below the Pillar is "a title reputedly held by Laozi" when he was court historian during the Zhou Dynasty.[289] Kleeman further explains that the Lad of the Eastern Sea is: "Goumang, the Earl-Father of the East, and the Blue Lad; together with the Queen Mother of the West, he forms a pair often depicted in Han art."[290] Whether this appellation also refers to an avatar of Laozi here is uncertain; however, in most sources—and the received tradition as a whole—that treat Zhang Daoling's revelation, the bestower of texts is generally ascribed to be Laozi. It is then understandable why the rulers of the Cheng (Perfection) state would have been surnamed Li, given their adherence to the Celestial Masters, and the centrality of Laozi in the lore of this tradition.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed similar issues as the two previous chapters—issues that were central to all characterizations of contacts between Man peoples and various dynastic powers. While the Panhu myth—which opened Fan Ye's Southern Man account—referred to a bond

between the Man primogenitor and one of the five mythical emperors, the stories discussed in this chapter describe bonds between specific Man leaders and the Qin and Han emperors. At the heart of these bonds were specific claims—memorialized in symbolic objects—about taxation, based on the meritorious deeds of ancestral figures.

Such stories also served to legitimate regional nodes of power in contradistinction to, and yet, in harmony with, the imperial claims of the central government. They could be appealed to at different times by different groups, depending on the situation. During times when changing tax-related policies in the capital adversely affected peoples in the hinterland, the deeds of Panhu, Linjun, and the seven families could serve as evidence of prior agreements. Officials could also argue that Man had certain duties to the emperor because of the very same bonds.

Documents recording imperial recognition of primogenitors who had committed heroic acts not only appear in official histories and compendia, but are, to this day, found in the homes of local leaders everywhere Yao have settled down.[291] While it is not certain that every such document was the result of an actual bond between center and periphery, what infused them with symbolic power was the long history of like alliances and the claims referring back to them.

Part II

Dao

Chapter Four

The Emergence and Spread of the Celestial Masters

This chapter will examine the emergence of traditions that have come to be termed "religious or orthodox Daoism." Within the context of this book, I am primarily interested in how Daoism served to form links between center and periphery throughout Chinese history, and actually expanded the sphere of power and prestige of the state-defined center. The early Celestial Masters inherited a model of socio-political order that could be reproduced and transmitted over time to various peoples and classes through their embodiment of the moral, political, and cosmic cohesion of the Han Dynasty, and subsequent propagation of it to regions on the margins of the empire. For the first time in history, the mysteries of the Dao were revealed, at least in theory, to nobles and commoners, alike. The emperor was no longer the sole and central conduit between heaven, earth, and humans. Entire communities could be organized in accordance with the proper guidelines and

generative principle of the cosmos—the Dao itself. Commoners and those living in the hinterlands of the empire, could, once exposed to the civilizing force of the Dao, rise from their lowly and marginal position into the ranks of a celestial hierarchy that co-existed with the terrestrial bureaucracy in the capital.

DEFINITIONAL DOMAINS OF THE TERM "DAOISM"

In reaction to vague and general usage of the term "Daoism,"[292] Michel Strickmann attempted to establish a concise definition, one which restricted its usage to religious traditions emanating from the politico-religious movement known as the Celestial Masters, founded by Zhang Daoling: "...the social history of Daoism begins with the founding of the Way of the Celestial Master in the second century A.D."[293] Strickmann went on to clarify three specific criteria that distinguish Daoist traditions:

> Thus, I am proposing to use the word *Daoist* only in referring to those who recognize the historical position of Zhang Daoling, who worship the pure emanations of the Dao rather than the vulgar gods of the people at large, and—I may add—who safeguard and perpetuate their own lore and practices through esoteric rites of transmission.[294]

To some, such a definition might appear as overly narrow, as it views Daoism as a unique, late Han phenomenon with loose connections to earlier philosophical and religious trends.

While this definition is in accord with later official narratives concerning Daoism, as promoted by the Orthodox Unity denomination (*Zhengyidao* 正一道),[295] it is not completely in line with the ways that Daoists of other lineages view their traditions. To Complete Perfection (*Quanzhen* 全真) Daoist priests,[296] for instance, Zhang Daoling merely institutionalized practices and beliefs that were known since distant antiquity. As we can ascertain from the earliest Celestial Masters' sources, the revelation to Zhang Daoling on Heming

Mountain 鶴鳴山 in Sichuan province was simply a newly appeared manifestation of Lord Lao (*xinchu Laojun* 新出老君) in the world. Nonetheless, Strickmann's definition has been extremely influential in the international field of Daoist studies, and has led many scholars to adopt a more disciplined approach to the study of Daoism.

One of the central contributions of Strickmann's definition is that it severed the links between religious Daoism—as represented in the Celestial Masters community and derivative movements—and the earlier philosophers of Warring States times, such as Laozi and Zhuangzi,[297] who were also known—at least in later times—as Taoists.[298] Scholars who followed it no longer accepted the generalized view that religious Daoist communities were somehow outgrowths—or corruptions—of the thought of Laozi and Zhuangzi. This is not to say that these early figures, and the texts attributed to them were not important to later Daoists. Laozi's *Daodejing* was indeed a critical text used by the Celestial Masters, who even produced one of the earliest extant commentaries of it, known as the *Xiang'er zhu* 想爾注.[299] Moreover, Laozi, as the deified incarnation of the Dao, and transcendent teacher of emperors throughout the ages, was certainly a significant figure in the Celestial Masters lineage; after all, he revealed the Dao to Zhang Daoling, the progenitor of that tradition.[300] However, the relation between Zhang Daoling and the deified Lord Lao is not the simple equation of religious Daoism equals philosophical Taoism plus misinterpretation; the texts of the early Taoists are not even the only textual influences on later religious Daoism.[301]

Strickmann's definition minimizes the significance of politico-religious developments of the middle to late Han periods that led to the formation of the Celestial Masters tradition, and the manifestation of an official Han worldview in early texts of the Celestial Masters' community.[302] Moreover, it fails to situate—except minimally—the Celestial Masters in the context of other late Han movements, such as the Yellow Turbans; both movements demonstrate remarkable resemblances. Several other regional leaders seized on the same imperial symbols and rhetoric to challenge the authority of the emperor and the dynasty that he led.

In contrast, Anna Seidel, while choosing the same point of orientation—the emergence of the Celestial Masters at the end of the Han dynasty—tackled the issue from a somewhat different perspective. Rather than viewing the Celestial Masters as a beginning point, Seidel saw them as a culmination and resurrection of a Han Dynasty utopian consciousness; the Celestial Masters were an outgrowth—albeit a revolutionary one—of trends that had been alive in China since the late Warring States and Western Han periods, though not strictly limited to the thought of Laozi and Zhuangzi.

Most significantly, rather than viewing the early Daoist community in a purely religious cast, as many scholars did, and still do, Seidel framed her study of the Celestial Masters in politico–religious terms, claiming that the Celestial Master—and later, the Daoist priest—inherited the cosmo-political role and position of the Han dynasty emperor. In fact, the entire organizational structure of the budding Daoist movement modeled itself on the Han governmental apparatus. As she asserts in the opening of her seminal 1983 article:

> The decline of the Han Dynasty and the contemporary establishment of Taoism [Daoism] in Szechwan [Sichuan] are, as we know, not unrelated events. Indeed, as R.A. Stein has shown, we can interpret the organization and the priesthood of Taoism as a recreation, on a spiritual level, of the lost cosmic unity of Han. When the Han administration failed, the Celestial Master and his priests became, in the eyes of their followers, the supernatural administrators of the Chinese people. What is more, the Taoist priests of the centuries after the Han seem to have understood their own charisma and function in terms similar to those in which the Han emperor himself had seen his religious authority and investiture by Heaven.[303]

Thus, for Seidel, and her mentor, Stein, the Daoist priests of the Celestial Masters community took over the *spiritual* functions of the Han emperor.

The Early Celestial Masters and Chinese Officialdom

Daoist ordination rites, terminology, and symbols of legitimation derive from the Han imperial system. Seidel cites the *Statutes of the Dark Capital* (*Xuandu Lüwen* 玄都律文), one of the oldest codebooks of the Celestial Masters community, which equates Daoist ordination rites with imperial rites of investiture: "The bestowal of the titles of parish offices and of registers (*falu* 法籙) on male and female [Taoist] officials[304] is comparable to the investiture of the king (*wangwei* 王位); the selection for office and the appointment to vacancies all emanate from the Celestial Terrace."[305] John Lagerwey has further argued that the altar where Daoist rites were performed, known as a *tan* 壇 or "platform," was also modeled on the altars of Han imperial ritual.[306]

The appellations for practitioners in the budding community were in essence Han administrative terms, as was the word used to represent the basic unit of division of Celestial Masters communities. Novice converts, for instance, were known as "demon soldiers" (*guizu* 鬼卒), or as Bokenkamp translates it, "revenant forced laborers," which he explains as follows:

> The latter part of the name was the term used in Han administration for those who owed corvée service to the state, usually military duty or the construction of roads, dikes, and so forth. And, in fact, one of the punishments exacted by the Celestial Masters for minor offenses was road-repair duty.[307]

More advanced members of the community were known as "libationers" (*jijiu* 祭酒), another Han term: "The title is derived from the Han administration, where it was granted to morally upright elders in the local community. The Celestial Masters applied the title both to men and women."[308] In the context of Celestial Masters society, libationers were community leaders, mediaters between their

communities and heavenly as well as earthly powers. Terry Kleeman goes on as follows:

> The movement that arose in Sichuan during the mid-second century C.E. evolved a distinctive social organization that linked followers into communities under religious officiants called Libationers, who maintained rosters of the community, administered communal centers where food was provided to the needy, officiated at rituals of prayer and penance where sins were confessed and illnesses healed, and ordained new members.[309]

Thus, just as the Celestial Master, himself, was in the image of the Han emperor, the Libationers were modeled on Han officialdom.

The original Celestial Masters community was divided into geographical units that followed closely the system of Han administration. The basic unit was known as a *zhi* 治, which, as a verb, means "to govern, to order" and "to heal," thus linking the health of the body with the order of the community.[310] In all, there were twenty-four *zhi* extending from Hanzhong, in the southern part of modern day Shaanxi province, to Xichang 西昌, near the Sichuan / Yunnan border.[311] The majority was in river valleys in the vicinity of Chengdu, especially to the north, northeast, west, and southwest of the city.[312]

The standard rationalization for the arrangement and composition of the twenty-four *zhi* is that it was based solely on correlations derived from Han cosmological systems of thought, such as the theory of the Five Phases.[313] Isabelle Robinet, for instance, says:

> Each of the 24 *zhi* was connected with one of the Five Agents, one of the 24 periods of the year, one of the 28 zodiacal constellations (in two cases with two of them, and in one case with three), and with signs of the sexagesimal cycle. All the faithful belonged to one of the districts, according to their birth signs. Each district was administered by 24 officials, who had under their command 240 armies of spirits, made up of 2400 generals, 2400 officers, and 240,000 soldiers.[314]

Given what we know about the Celestial Masters, knowledge mostly mined from later sources, it is likely that their cosmological outlook was an outgrowth of Han dynasty correlative and numerological thinking. However, to say, as some scholars do, that their decisions about where to fix community centers was determined solely on their relation to astronomical patterns, without any concern for strategic territorial positioning, is, I feel, to paint only one side of the picture. After all, as early as the Warring States period, official geographical sources used the same astronomical correlative rationalizations in their discussions of administrative units.

A strategic explanation for the geographical arrangement of the twenty-four *zhi* is that the Celestial Masters based their allocation of administrative units on the geography of the Southwestern Silkroad, which began in Chengdu, passed through Xichang, and then through Yunnan, Burma, and finally to what is now India.[315] This explanation gains further credence when we compare the maps of the twenty-four *zhi* with the map of the reconstructed Southwestern Silkroad. The two maps—at least with respect to the Sichuan region—are almost identical. Besides Xichang several other points correspond. Indeed, "Crane-call Mountain" (*Hemingshan* 鶴鳴山),[316] where Zhang Daoling is said to have made a covenant with Lord Lao, is located in Linqiong 臨邛 or Qionglai 邛崍 (modern day Dayi and Pujiang counties), another important stop along the trade route.

Another administrative unit that the Celestial Masters established—known as "lodges of righteousness" (*yishe* 義舍)—provides further evidence that their administrative framework followed the contours of Han Dynasty trade routes from the capitals in Chang'an and Luoyang to Chengdu, and from Chengdu to states beyond the empire. Kleeman explains:

> Historical sources compare these lodges to the lowest level of the Han administration, *ting* 停, or "hostels." This type of hostel, headed by a local chief (*zhang* 長) who was not a formal member of the central bureaucracy, administered a neighborhood but also functioned

> as inns for traveling officials and sometimes served meals or offered lodging to non-official travelers. The Daoist parish, controlled by a Parish-Heading Great Libationer (*zhitou dajijiu* 治頭大祭酒), had a similar range of functions. The most famous of these was its role as a distribution point for food for the needy. Rice and meat were hung in the lodges and were free for the taking, but those who took more than they needed would be punished by the spirits.[317]

It should not be surprising that the Celestial Masters adopted imperial symbolism when we recognize that the founders of this tradition were themselves regional officials.

THE WESTERN HAN CONCEPTION OF THE SAGELY RULER

Central to Han notions of statecraft adopted by the Celestial Masters was the belief that the emperor was the pivot between heaven, earth, and humanity, responsible for maintaining cosmic harmony. His authority, and the fate of the empire—conceived as an extension of his own body[318]—was dependent on the mandate of heaven. As long as the emperor fulfilled his ritual duties, there would be peace—conceived as harmony between yin and yang forces—throughout the empire (all under heaven 天下). Emperors who violated the Mandate would lead their empire into ruin. In response, Heaven revealed certain signs of disapproval, such as natural (drought, floods, eclipses, other strange phenomena) and political (rebellion) disasters.

This notion that Heaven responded favorably or unfavorably to specific actions[319] of the ruler[320] finds one of its most overt expressions in the *Huainanzi*, written by a team of specialists of arcania (*fangshi* 方士), under the patronage of the king of the state of Huainan, Liu An, and presented to Emperor Wu, Liu An's nephew.[321] One of the central concerns of the *Huainanzi* is the establishment of a society governed by a sagely ruler, who harmonizes his every action, and intention, with the patterns and cycles of the cosmos. When

such a ruler is in charge, so the authors believed, all under heaven flourishes. *Huainanzi* 20, *Taizu* 泰族, describes such a society:

> 聖主在上，廓然無形，寂然無聲，官府若無事，朝廷若無人，無隱士，無軼民，無勞役，無冤刑，四海之內莫不仰上之德，象主之指，夷狄之國重譯而至，非戶辯而家說之也，推其誠心，施之天下而

> When a sagely ruler is on high, vacuous without form, silent without sound, it is as if there are no affairs in the official buildings and no people in the court. There are no hermits, no émigrés, no hard labor, and no wrongful punishments. All within the four seas revere the charisma of the one on high and take as a model the will of the ruler. The states of the various yidi 夷狄[322] cross over multiple translations and arrive. This is not because [the lord] goes to every family and household to persuade them. Rather, it is due to his promoting his perfected (or sincere) heart, and extending it to all under Heaven.[323]

The opposite of this scenario occurs when the wrong ruler is on high—that is, a ruler, who is violating Heaven, must rely on harsh punishment, servitude, and coercion to force distant peoples to submit. In the eyes of the *Huainanzi*'s authors, such actions can never accomplish their task.

An earlier passage in *Huainanzi* 20 selects an actual, albeit idealized, Shang dynasty king—Gaozong (the post-humous title of Wuding 武丁)—to further elucidate the miraculous happenings that occur when a sagely ruler is in power:

> 高宗諒闇，三年不言，四海之內，寂然無聲，一言聲然，大動天下。是以天心呿唫者也。故一動其本而百枝接應，若春雨之灌萬物也，滭然而流，沛然而施，無地而不澍，無物而不生。故聖人者，懷天心，聲然能動化天下者也。故精誠感與內，形氣動於天，則景星見，黃龍下，祥鳳至，醴泉出，嘉穀生，河不滿溢，海不溶波。

> When Gaozong dwelt in the mourning hut, for three years he did not speak.[324] All within the four seas was silent, without sound. With one utterance he greatly moved all under heaven with awesome force. This was because his inhale and exhale [were activated by] his heavenly heart. Therefore, with one movement of his roots the one hundred branches all respond. This can be likened to the spring rain's drenching the ten thousand things, flowing profusely, spreading abundantly. There is no ground that is not soaked, and no organism that does not come to life. Therefore, the one who is a sage embraces the heavenly heart. Awesome, he can move and transform all under heaven. Therefore, when seminal perfection[325] moves within, the manifested *qi* motivates heaven. Then, auspicious stars appear, the yellow dragon descends, the fortuitous phoenix arrives, the sweet springs bubble forth, the good grains grow, the Yellow River does not overflow its banks, nor does the ocean send calamitous waves.[326]

This passage evokes a utopian vision of a society governed by a sage, who at every moment cleaves to the heart of heaven, and in so doing, takes on heaven's creative and nurturing functions. Such a vision resonates with the Han dynasty belief in *taiping* (the Great Peace)—the state of affairs when a dynasty is in accord with the Mandate of Heaven.

That the *Huainanzi* was ultimately presented to Emperor Wu is an indication that such passages were meant to be admonitions to the emperor: he should model his actions on this type of ideal ruler.[327] The text goes on to demonstrate the result of a ruler who goes against heaven and a state that is about to perish; all of the correct and expected cycles of the cosmos reverse order. The five phases and the four seasons lose their sequence. It is dark during the day and light at night; mountains crumble and rivers dry up; there is thunder in winter and frost in summer. "Therefore, when a state is in peril of collapsing the heavenly patterns fluctuate. When a generation is tumultuous rainbows appear." 故國危亡而天文變，世惑亂而虹蜺見[328] In fact, throughout the Han Dynasty it became increasingly common for ministers

and regional, rebellious rulers to use such logic to claim the dynasty had lost the Mandate.[329]

The Utopian Vision of the *Taipingjing*

A tradition of writing about a universal *Great Peace* (*tianxia taiping* 天下太平)—when a sage ruler rose to power and ushered in a utopian age, similar to the one portrayed in the *Huainanzi*—developed throughout Han times and gradually crystallized in the vision of a text known as the *Taipingjing*, which still survives, albeit in a later, edited form, in the Daoist canon, and as quotes in a variety of medieval documents.[330] Despite some discrepancy about its mysterious origins, many contemporary scholars accept the traditional view that the received *Taipingjing* derives from two *Taiping* texts that were presented to Han emperors; to what extent the received version is actually the Han Dynasty text is still a question open to debate.

Less than a century after Emperor Wu's death, a text, known as the *Taiping Canon Embracing the Origin and the Calendar of Heavenly Officials* (*Tianguanli Baoyuan Taipingjing* 天官曆包元太平經, which also offered advice about the Mandate,[331] was presented to Emperor Cheng (32–6 BCE.). The presenter of this *Taipingjing*, one Gan Zhongke 甘忠可, claimed:

> 漢家逢天地之大終，當更受命於天，天帝使真人赤精子，下教我此道
>
> The House of Han is witnessing the great end of Heaven and Earth, *and* should receive afresh a Mandate from Heaven. The Heavenly Emperor has sent the *Perfected* Master Essence-of-Red to teach me *this Dao*.[332]

Gan Zhongke was eventually arrested after the court librarian, Liu Xiang 劉向, argued that he "...deceived the emperor and misled the masses through the use of ghosts and spirits."[333] However, his disciples, led by one Xia Heliang 夏賀良, presented the text again to the subsequent emperor, Ai, charging that all of the dynasty's dilemmas stemmed from the fact that the previous emperor had violated the

mandate. Subsequently, Emperor Cheng remained childless, Emperor Ai was unhealthy, and there were inauspicious portents. Only by changing the year title and the emperor's appellation could the problem be resolved.[334] Although Liu Xiang's son, Liu Xin, criticized Xia Heliang's advice, the emperor temporarily followed it. On July 13, 5 B.C., he issued the following decree: "Let there be a great amnesty for the whole world. Let the year-title be changed *from the second year of the Jianping era to the* 'first year of the era Taichu yuanjiang 太初元將.'[335] Let my appellation be 'August Emperor of the Great Peace who displays the Sageness of the Liu.' Let the clepsydra *take 120 as its capacity.*" 大赦天下．以建平二年為太初元將元年．號曰陳聖劉太平皇帝．漏刻以百二十為度[336] Despite the fact that it was quickly revoked, similar advocacy would influence emperors throughout the Han Dynasty, and on the basis of such claims the so-called usurper, Wang Mang, rose to power.

Gan Zhongke asserted that he had learned from a Perfected One (*zhenren* 真人) named "Master Essence-of-Red" (*Chijingzi* 赤精子) who was sent by the Heavenly Emperor (*Tiandi* 天帝). This reveals an interesting development from the time the *Huainanzi* was presented to Emperor Wu and the reigns of emperors' Cheng and Ai. In the case of the *Huainanzi*, Heaven responded directly to the behavior of the ruler in the form of portents. The memorials of Gan Zhongke and his disciples still make reference to such portents and the mandate of Heaven, but the source of their knowledge is now a representative of the Heavenly Emperor, himself. Heaven has become a personalized deity who sends teachers and texts to instruct misguided emperors.[337]

Seidel, and others,[338] believed that this *Taipingjing*, also known as the "Prognastication of Master Essence-of-Red" (*Chijingzi zhi chen* 赤精子之讖) was the first in a series of revealed texts that served as instruments of legitimation during the period leading up to Wang Mang's ascent to power: "This was the first revealed scripture to be used in Han politics. Previously the will of Heaven had been read only from natural phenomena, from auspicious objects and their occasional short inscriptions, a practice that continued under Wang Mang."[339] By the reign of the first Eastern

Han ruler, Guangwu, heavenly texts had become the primary emblem of the Mandate of Heaven. As Seidel has convincingly argued, Daoist priests in later times came to embody this practice of textual discovery that derives from the latter part of the Western Han (ended in 9 A.D.).

A century and a half after Gan Zhongke first presented a text known as the *Taipingjing*, another text was given to Emperor Shun (126–144), known as the *Documentof the Great Peace With Green Headings* (*Taiping qingling shu* 太平清領書), which had much in common with the earlier *Taipingjing*.[340] For one, the man who offered it to the emperor, Xiang Kai 襄楷, claimed in 166 that its original provenance was Langye (Southern Shandong): "I have presented a divine book to the throne which Gong Chong 宮崇 from Langye 琅邪 received from Gan Ji. It did not agree with the illustrious Understanding (= the emperor's)."[341] Seidel argued that this *Taipingjing* most likely derived from the earlier text, which "must have continued to circulate in its place of origin, the *fangshi* stronghold of Langye 琅邪 in Southern Shandong... ."[342]

Like the earlier *Taipingjing*, the latter with green headings was believed to have been of divine origin. Recall that Xiang Kai referred to it as a divine book (*shenshu* 神書). Later Fan Ye notes:

> 初順帝時，琅邪宮崇詣闕，上其師干吉於曲陽泉水上所得神書白七十卷，皆縑白素朱介青首朱目，號太平清領書
>
> Initially, in the time of the emperor Shun, Gong Chong from Langye had, as a private person, presented a divine book of 170 chapters to the throne which his teacher Gan Ji had obtained at the waters of the Quyang springs.[343] All (chapters) were on clear white plain silk, with red border-lines, green headings and red title indications. It was called "Book of the Great Peace with Green Headings."[344]

Ge Hong's 葛洪 (283-ca.343) "Accounts of Divine Transcendents" (*Shenxianzhuan* 神仙傳) adds that Gong Chong and Gan Ji

encountered a divine transcendent at Quyang springs, who presented them with the text, and they thereby achieved immortality. The fact that Gan Ji obtained the divine text at a waterway points to a legendary tradition in which sage rulers, such as the Great Yu, discovered at rivers charts and documents that were viewed as signs of Heaven's recognition. The River Chart (*hetu* 河圖) and the Luo Writing (*luoshu* 洛書) were the most prominent examples of this phenomenon.[345] The revelation of the Dao to Zhang Daoling, though occurring on a mountain instead of at the banks of a river, follows a similar format and is also said to have taken place during the reign of Emperor Shun.[346]

Moreover, those who presented the Latter Han *Taipingjing* followed their predecessors in asserting that the emperor had lost the mandate to rule because he did not follow the principles revealed in the text. Xiang Kai makes this clear during his second visit to the emperor:[347]

> 比年日食於正朔，三光不明，五緯錯戾．
> 前者夫夫子事夫不孝，則日食星．宮崇所獻神書，
> 專以奉天地順五行為本，亦有興國廣嗣之術．
> 其文易曉，參同經典，而順帝不行，故國胤不興
>
> In recent years there have been eclipses on the first days of lunar months, the three luminaries have not shined, and the five stars have been in disarray. Formerly because the Son of Heaven lacked filial piety in his service to Heaven, the sun ate the stars. The divine book that Gong Chong presented focused exclusively on honoring Heaven and Earth and according with the Five Phases. It also contained the arts for making a state flourish and for multiplying offspring. Its writing was easy to comprehend and in agreement with the classical canons. Yet, Emperor Shun did not put them into practice, and therefore the descendents of the emperor will not flourish.[348]

Xiang Kai's words not only reflect the vision of the Western Han *Taipingjing* but also the passages from the *Huainanzi* I have already cited. The transgressions of the emperor caused a series of bad omens that threatened disaster for the state. In each case, *fangshi* appeared

at court to offer a textual solution to the emperor's dilemma. In the case of the *Huainanzi* the *fangshi* were in the court of Liu An, who presented the text to the emperor in the capital. For the two *Taiping* texts, *fangshi* from Shandong, as emissaries of Heaven, offered them directly to the court. In each case, the advice of the texts, and those who presented them, ultimately remained unheeded.

This notion that the Han Dynasty had lost the Mandate of Heaven and was coming to an end no doubt inspired many of the rebellions that took place during the years leading up to the dynasty's collapse. Rebel leaders living on the periphery of the state now had recourse to the same arguments made by Xiang Kai, and the same emblems of the state used by emperors to legitimate their rule. Seidel argues:

> The prophecies and speculations which the apocrypha had elaborated to legitimize the renaissance of the Han Dynasty now backfired against it. The theory linking the succession of the Five Phases to the succession of dynasties served rebels to proclaim the end of the Han Dynasty's phase of Fire and to prove the timeliness of their rise in the sign of whatever element they chose for their new era. The rebels invented their own talismanic writings (*fushu* 符書), imperial jade seals, *bi* 璧 discs, *gui* 珪 jade tablets, and contract tallies of iron, which they distributed to "officials" of their self-created administrations.[349]

It was in this context, where the authority of the emperor, once concentrated in the capital, gradually dissipated, that the Daoist movements began to blossom: "Out of these rebel movements the Taoist [Daoist] religion crystallized."[350] In fact, during the same half century—when Gong Chong offered the *Taipingjing* with green headings discovered by Gan Ji—a politico-religious movement known as the Yellow Turbans (*Huangjin* 黃巾) came into being in Shandong, which would challenge the very foundations of Han Dynasty society. During the same period, Zhang Daoling's grandson, Zhang Lu, served as an official, or leader of a semi-independent state, in Hanzhong.

THE *TAIPINGJING* AS A DAOIST OR PROTO-DAOIST TEXT

The received *Taipingjing* shares many of the views expressed by Gan Zhongke and his clique, and with those of Xiang Kai, making it likely that the Daoist version is at least based on the model of these earlier works. Most significantly, in it, Heaven sends an emissary, now referred to as a Celestial Master (*tianshi* 天師), to offer advice on how to rectify society and bring it in line with the Way of Heaven (*tiandao*天道).[351] The Celestial Master of the *Taipingjing*, as Barbara Hendrischke argues, takes over the communicative authority of the Han emperor and other leaders, and through dialogues with his disciples, helps to enact the Will (or Heart) of Heaven (*tianxin* 天心), which seeks to save not only the emperor and his dynasty, but the whole of humankind.[352] Hendrischke explains:

> The disciples claimed that heaven had sent them to ask for instructions. On behalf of heaven they approached the Heavenly Master, and on behalf of heaven the Master answered questions and gave lectures. Heaven was thus seen as instigating and supervising the spread of its own message. For this reason missionary activity became in itself the first step toward the fulfillment of heaven's will. Talking to each other the Master and disciples actualized a process of salvation that heaven had set in motion. By reporting these meetings the *Taipingjing* became the journal of heaven's attempts to save the world.[353]

Hendrischke views the thought of the extant *Taipingjing* as a turning away from the importance of the emperor's (and his official's) ritual activity, and a movement toward missionary activity. However, such a missionary movement was only necessary because past emperors failed to heed the words of Heaven's emissaries. Hendrishke's own translation of the text points this out quite clearly:

> 嵗嵗至嵗，至於今。天運生聖人使其語，無而盡解除其病者。故乃使真人自來，與吾相覩，乃一得為天具語。

> It has now been a long time that the way of heaven has lost its order, year after year, until now. In regular turns heaven has sent sages to convey its words, but they did not succeed in eradicating this illness. For this reason heaven has sent you, the Perfected, to come and see me so that on behalf of heaven I can tell you all.[354]

Who are the sages to whom this quote refers? Could they be the clique of *fangshi* from Shandong who presented *Taiping* texts to Han emperors? Recall that Gan Zhongke used similar language in his memorial to the emperor: "The Heavenly Emperor has sent the *Perfected* Master Essence-of-Red to teach me *this Dao*."

The Yellow Turbans and the De-Centralization of Imperial Authority

The *Taipingjing* presented by Gong Chong was the direct source of inspiration for the Yellow Turban rebellion, led by Zhang Jiao 張角.[355] Although scant evidence exists, there are some indications that point to a connection between the budding movement and the *Taiping* text. For one, according to the *Houhanshu*, despite the fact that the court viewed it as a heterodox text and had it stored way, Zhang Jiao later had many of these books (presumably the *Taipingjing*) with him. 後張角頗有其書焉[356] Seidel goes so far as to argue that the Yellow Turbans revered and recited the *Taipingjing* much as the Celestial Masters did the *Daodejing*.[357] Unfortunately Seidel failed to provide evidence for this claim, and as it stands, no other early source makes explicit reference to the use of the *Taipingjing* by the Yellow Turbans. In any case, by no later than the 4th century, the movement that Zhang Jiao had founded was known as the "Way of the Great Peace" (*Taipingdao* 太平道).[358]

Secondly, Zhang Jiao and his two younger brothers, Zhang Bao 寶 and Zhang Liang 梁,[359] hailed from Julu (modern day Hebei), the same region where Gan Ji had purportedly discovered the *Taiping* text with green headings. Studies of the Yellow Turban uprisings in western languages tend to focus on it as a purely eastern movement.

The great geographical divide is often raised as an objection to claims of contact between the Way of the Great Peace in Northeastern China, and the Way of the Celestial Masters in Western China—the Ba-Shu region (modern-day Sichuan)—despite several related practices, texts, beliefs, and a common surname shared by the founders of both movements.[360]

According to *Houhanshu* 101, which recounts the career of the Han official, Huangfu Song 皇甫嵩, Zhang Jiao, calling himself "The Great Worthy and Good Master" (*Daxian Liangshi* 大賢良師), began to foster disciples on the principles of the Way of Huanglao—that is, the Yellow Emperor and Laozi—during the decade leading up to the Zhongping reign period. During these years he apparently gained a reputation as a healer, in a similar fashion to the Celestial Masters in the Ba-Shu region: "He healed illnesses of the diseased using talismanic water and the saying of incantations. The one hundred surnames increasingly trusted and flocked to him."[361] 符水咒說以療病病者，頗愈百姓信向之 Although in the early years of his movement, Zhang Jiao apparently was viewed more as a healer, whose teaching attracted the attention of people in his home region, he did not stay that way for long.

Over time, his movement spread and took on a more political / militaristic framework, as Zhang Jiao sent his followers out to convert people in other provences:

> 角因遣弟子八人使於四方，以善道教化天下...十餘年間衆徒數十萬連結郡國，自青，徐，幽，冀，荊，揚，兗，豫，八州之人莫不畢應，遂置三十六方，方猶將軍號也。大方萬餘人，小方六七千，各立渠帥.
>
> Zhang Jiao, thereupon, dispatched eight of his disciples as emissaries in the four directions. They taught and transformed All-under-Heaven using the Way of Goodness... .[362] After more than ten years the masses of his followers had grown to several hundred thousand, connecting people of eight provinces, including Qingzhou, Xuzhou, Youzhou, Jizhou, Jingzhou,

> Yangzhou, Qiongzhou, and Yuzhou. There was no one who did not completely respond. They subsequently established thirty six military units. A unit is none other than the title of the commanders [in charge].[363] The bigger units each had more than ten thousand people. The smaller ones had six or seven thousand. Each [unit] raised up a commander.[364]

Fan Ye asserts that Zhang Jiao's movement attracted large numbers of followers and had a reach that extended to every corner of the empire. Unfortunately, the text does not go into detail as to who participated. What he does reveal is that in the eight provinces, everyone responded (*mobu biying*).

Further on, the text provides an account of the exploits of one Yellow Turban leader—Ma Yuanyi 馬元義—who was active in Jingzhou and Yangzhou. "In the first year of the Zhongping reign period, the great commander, Ma Yuanyi and others first received several tens of thousands of people in Jingzhou and Yangzhou."[365] 中平元年大方馬元義等先收荊揚数萬人 It is tempting to speculate a connection between the Yellow Turban uprisings and the Man insurgencies in Jingzhou, which took place with increasing persistency during the late Han period. The last entry in the *Houhanshu* Southern Man account concerning rebellions of the Wuling Man, took place in the third year of the Zhongping reign of Emperor Ling.[366]

During the Zhongping reign period, the Yellow Turbans and various other—perhaps related—regional nodes of power threatened the government's hold on the periphery and the Emperor's unique cosmo-political claims to authority. Although Zhang Jiao and his two younger brothers, Bao and Liang, were killed in fierce battles by the end of the first Zhongping year, the process that they had helped set in motion—the complete overthrow of the Han Dynasty—was destined to gain momentum. Throughout these years, men of military means who were initially employed by the government as regional powers of the state gradually abandoned the claims of authority of the Han emperor—coveting it themselves.

BANSHUN MAN CONNECTIONS TO THE YELLOW TURBANS

In Chapter Three, I discussed a Man group from Ba, known as the Banshun, which Kleeman has argued were among the first practitioners of Celestial Masters Daoism. The Southern Man account in the *Houhanshu* makes no mention of their involvement in this movement; however, it does contain vital information about the spread of the Yellow Turbans to the Ba region, and the relations between the Banshun Man and this movement.[367] Following Cheng Bao's speech praising the past deeds of the Banshun Man, Fan Ye relates: "Coming to the fifth year of the Zhongping reign period, when the Yellow Turban bandits of Ba Commandery arose, the Banshun Manyi thereupon rebelled again."至中平五年，巴郡黃巾賊起，板楯蠻夷因此復叛[368]

Are we then to take the phrase *Bajun Huangjin* (Yellow Turbans of Ba Commandery) as an anomaly, perhaps a mistaken or liberal application of it to unrelated events in western China? Or does *Yellow Turban* refer to a much wider spread phenomenon than scholars have imagined—one that, as we know, shocked the Han Dynasty at its very core? According to the *Benji* (Original Annals) of Emperor Ling in the *Houhanshu*, in the sixth month of the fifth *zhongping* year—the same year that the Banshun Manyi were incited to rebel by the Yellow Turbans—a Yellow Turban from Yizhou 益州 (Sichuan) named Ma Xiang 馬相 attacked and killed the governor (*cishi* 刺史), Xi Jian, and declared himself the Son of Heaven. Then he plundered Ba Commandery and killed the commandery defender (*junshou* 郡守), Zhao Bu. Jia Long, the *congshi* 從事 of Yizhou, attacked Ma Xiang, decapitating him. 益州黃巾馬相攻殺刺史郗儉，自稱天子，又寇巴郡，殺郡守趙部，益州從事賈龍擊相，斬之[369] The *Records of Shu* 蜀志 section of the *Records of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguozhi* 三國志) adds more detail concerning Ma Xiang's activities in the Ba-Shu region, and his bold declaration:

> 是時益州逆賊馬相，趙祗等於綿竹縣自號黃巾，合聚疲役之民，一二日中得數千人，先殺綿竹令李升，吏民翕集，合萬餘人，便前破雒縣，攻益州殺儉，又到蜀郡，犍為，旬月之間，

破壞三郡。相自稱大子，衆以萬數。州從事賈龍領家兵數百人在犍為東界，攝斂吏民，得千餘人，攻相等，數日破走，州界清靜

At this time, the insurgent bandits in Yizhou, Ma Xiang, Zhao Zhi, and others, called themselves "Yellow Turbans," and gathered together commoners in Mianzhu County who were weary of conscription. In the space of one or two days, they obtained several thousand people. They first killed Li Sheng, the commander of Mianzhu, and gathered officials and commoners together, more than ten thousand strong. They then advanced on and overwhelmed Luo County. Then they attacked Yizhou, killing Xi Jian. Again, they arrived in Shu Commandery and Jianwei, and within a month devastated three commanderies. Ma Xiang declared that he was the "Son of Heaven," and amassed ten thousand people. The *congshi* of the prefecture, Jia Long, commanded several hundred family soldiers (*jiabing* 家兵) on the eastern borders of Jianwei, and enlisted more than a thousand men, both officials and commoners. They attacked Ma Xiang and the others, and after several days, forced them to flee. The borders of the prefecture were tranquil.[370]

Ma Xiang's declaration of imperial sovereignty was not an isolated incident, but was a direct outgrowth of a strategy that had been orchestrated, at least in part, by Zhang Jiao; this was a strategy that reached fruition, and was set in motion, in the first year of the Zhongping reign period of Emperor Ling. "In the second month of the first year of the Zhongping reign period Zhang Jiao, a man from Julu, declared himself, 'The Yellow Heaven.' As for the unit commanders, there were thirty-six *fang* (directional leaders?), who all wore yellow turbans.[371] They rebelled on the same day."[372] 中平元年春二月，鉅鹿人張角自稱黃天，其部率有三十六方，皆著黃巾，同日反叛。This quote reveals a coordinated strategy of rebellion against Han imperial rule, one which attempted to replace the emperor—no longer viewed as a representative of the will of Heaven—with a new sovereign who could bring the cosmos back into harmony, and thus restore the utopian vision of the Great Peace (*taiping* 太平).

Daoism and Becoming Chinese

Man peoples living in Ba not only participated in the Yellow Turban rebellion, but were also among the first practitioners of the budding Celestial Masters tradition; by embracing this tradition they took on a Chinese surname (*Li*) and founded a state in Eastern Sichuan based on Daoist principles.[373] This was one of the possible trajectories taken by non-Chinese peoples toward becoming Chinese. Kleeman views this as an ethnic sinifying process:

> It had always been the case that barbarians were free to absorb the transforming influence of Chinese civilization and merge into the Chinese populace. Here we find culturally and ethnically distinct peoples forming a new union with the Chinese while maintaining their own identity as Ba.[374]

It is this openness to "culturally and ethnically distinct peoples" that was at the heart of the Celestial Masters community, which Kleeman argues "was truly multiethnic, accepting people from a variety of ethnic backgrounds as equal members of the new faith."[375] Kleeman believes that this formation of a multiethnic religious community was unique, "an unprecedented event in Chinese history," but I would counter that such was the history of China, which Valerie Hansen has rightly called, an "Open Empire,"[376] a synthesis of cultural patterns from a variety of origins.

Although Kleeman recognizes that anyone could become Chinese, he conceives of a great contrast between "the barbarians" and "the Chinese populace." Neither was a fixed category; both were official constructions. The term Yao, for instance, was rarely mentioned in opposition to Han or any other ethnic conception of Chineseness. In Song texts, peoples were labeled "Yao" because they were not registered subjects. They did not pay taxes nor did they carry out service for the state. Gradually, this definition shifted to mean those who did, but the opposition did not become an ethnic one until Ming and later times. In most cases, Yao were opposed to Min 民 (subjects) or Shengmin 省民

(provincial subjects)—those who were part of state administrative units and those who were not. Officials often remarked that the customs of Yao and Min in a given area were the same.

Similarly, the use of Man and other terms usually translated as "barbarian" were also official constructions.[377] In the most generalized sense of the term Man, it referred to the South, and was opposed to the Center (*zhong* 中) and to the other generic terms associated with North, West, and East. As I discussed in Chapter Two, even when Man referred to specific groups, officials discussed them with reference to state administrative units.[378]

That the Celestial Masters and other derivative Daoist lineages followed a similar center/periphery model is evident in early written sources of those communities. The fifth century *Book of the Inner Exegesis of the Three Heavens* (*Santian Neijie jing* 三天內解經), for instance, includes the following sentence which harkens back to Western Han texts, such as the *Shiji*: "Since Heaven and Earth separated, there have been border peoples.[379] The Qiang, Man, Rong, and Di became a fence surrounding the Central State(s)." 自天地開闢，乃有邊夷，羌蠻戎狄為中國籬落[380] Schipper takes *Zhongguo* in the modern sense of the Chinese nation-state, but it is more accurate to translate it as the Central State.[381] The basic notion is that there is a single state, or groups of states, in the center, and other peoples surrounding that center, thus creating a periphery. As conceptual constructs, neither center nor periphery can exist without the other. Moreover, what is center and what is periphery were not constant; the center could expand or shrink, depending on what became state—really imperial—territory. A person or a people from the periphery could also identify themselves with the center.

Daoist ordination was one means by which they achieved such identification. Schipper, Strickmann, and Kleeman have all pointed to one text in the Daoist Repository, possibly from the fifth or sixth century,[382] entitled the *Zhengyi Fawen Taishang Wailu yi* 正一法文太上外籙儀 (translated by Kleeman as the "Ceremony for External Registers of the Most High, from the Zhengyi Canon"),[383] as evidence for how this process probably occurred. One chapter in particular—*Xiaren*

Siyi Shou Yaolu 下人四夷受要籙 (Certificate for the Conferral of the Essential Registers to Lowly People and the Four Yi[384]) contains an actual example of "model documents for the initiation of foreigners as Taoist adepts...."[385]

The chapter opens with a quote from the *Taipingjing* that claims even the lowliest bondservent can ascend a spiritual hierarchy if they study with a good person (*shanren* 善人). Both Kleeman and Schipper view this passage as a negative treatment of servents and non-Chinese because it describes their condition in strictly negative terms. However, it also grants them the opportunity to rise above their condition through proper study and by receiving Daoist registers: "If they follow a good person in their studies, and receive the registers according to the law, they can be called a ruler." 學依善人，受籙如法，稱君主[386] As Kleeman explains:

> In addition to expressly linking non-Chinese with slaves, maidservants, and retainers, this document advises the supplicant to admit his or her origin among the Man, Mo, Di, and Lao and to proclaim that although sins in previous lives led to this mean birth, he or she bears no resentment.[387]

Schipper translates the memorial as follows:

> I, so and so, Foreigner (Yi, Di, Qiang, or Rong) living outside in the wild regions of the East, West, South, or North—or living in the bounds of China on the mountains or along the streams of this or this prefecture and commandery—declare that today I stay here in this and this place, that I have changed my family and personal names and that I was born on this and this date and hour. Prostrating myself and beating myself [in remorse], I respectfully announce that because of previous wickedness I was born in the outlying wilds. I did not know ritual ways and ignored upright manners. But in the midst of indecency and vileness, my fundamental good foundation was not severed. Now, in this and this year, month, day, and hour, because of this and this

> business—or in the following of this and this person—I have come to China, and heard and saw the Liturgy of the Tao (*Daoke* 道科). The more I learned about it, the more I became elated. The *qi* I harbor wants to live; on the evidence of my true nature I beseech [eternal] life. I have prepared [money] offerings according to the rules and present this memorial, expressing the wish that the enlightened master may show his exceptional mercy on me. Respectfully submitted....[388]

Again, Schipper translates *Zhongguo* as China, rather than as the "Central State." However, the same geo-political model that I have described throughout this book is at work here. Peoples are defined based on their positioning vis-à-vis specific administrative units—*prefecture and commandery*. Instead of officials attempting to register subjects, Daoist priests coax them into preparing memorials (symbolic registration?). Thus, anyone could become a Daoist, and thereby become Chinese: "Beyond adopting a Chinese surname and personal name, the aspiring Daoist had to learn how to write proper ritual petitions."[389] In the process, they took the first step towards literacy.[390]

How Yao Became Daoists: Strickmann's Argument

Although Strickman accepted the fact that organized Daoist communities were from their inception, multiethnic communities, and even pointed to the *Zhengyi Fawen* as significant, he still viewed the appearance of "Daoist" practices and iconography in Yao religious culture as the result of the unidirectional introduction of "Daoism" to the Yao during the Song dynasty (960 A.D.–1278 A.D.). Strickmann claimed that the Yao "conversion" to "Daoism" was part of a larger civilizing process: "...it seems safe to assume that by the thirteenth century a process had begun, which doubtless had accelerated with time: the sinification of the Yao and certain other aboriginal groups, through conversion to Daoism."[391] In Strickmann's understanding, travelling Daoist priests functioned as "missionaries" of the Chinese state, and attempted to sinify (i.e., colonize) all of South

China. Strickmann viewed Daoist ritual practice, with its emphasis on Chinese script and imperial icons, as an effective tool in this process.

In his analysis of the Shiratori materials, Strickmann noticed elements of a ritual movement that came into being during the Northern Song, which, he argued, formed the foundation of the Yao ritual manuals. Besides mention of "the most exalted members of the standard Taoist pantheon..." in these manuals, Strickmann also recognized:

> the presence of a second level of more active celestial agents allows us to be more precise about the origins of this literature. Like other Taoist ritual handbooks, the texts include a number of blank forms for various documents, to be filled in and submitted to the spirits as the occasion warrants: prayers, petitions, writs, memorials, and the like. All of these are issued under the authority of the "Bureau of Exorcisms of the Northern Bourne" 北極驅邪院. They contain the names of such personages as the Three Generals Tang 唐, Ge 葛, and Zhou 周, and an imposing series of "Grand Marshalls" 元帥. These data enable us to relate this collection to a body of ritual texts that was first revealed during the Northern Sung. It was called the "True Rites of the Heart of Heaven" (*Tianxin Zhengfa* 天心正法). The liturgies of the movement were systematized and codified during the reign of the great Taoist emperor, Huizong 徽宗. They were included in the first printing of the Taoist Canon, around 1117, and they are still to be found in the Canon today.[392]

Why then did Strickmann believe it was *by the thirteenth century* that Yao were *converted* to Daoism?

According to Strickmann, during the twelfth century, when the *True Rites* were first being codified, the centralized state was tightening its grip on border regions in South China where Yao lived more than it ever had during previous dynasties:

> In the twelfth century, new and simplified forms of Taoist ritual spread throughout south China, with official

> participation and support. At the same time, the Yao, one of the major ethnic groups of the region, were brought more effectively than ever before under Chinese control.[393]

What Strickmann did not mention is that it was also during the eleventh century that officials first began to record the presence of a people (or peoples) known as Yao,[394] and almost every mention of them in those sources viewed them through the lens of the Song state and its interests.

In order to understand Strickmann's conjecture, it is necessary to grasp how Daoist symbolism was harnessed by Chinese emperors beginning no later than the Tang Dynasty, and as we have seen, much earlier, by regional rulers. Tang and Song emperors were especially effective at utilizing Daoist symbolism as an instrument for legitimizing their authority. The Tang ruling family, also surnamed Li, had achieved this by claiming descent from Laozi, who, by the late Han had come to be deified by Daoist communities as the very embodiment of the Dao. The Northern Song emperor, Zhenzong 真宗 in 1008, more than a century prior to Huizong's reign, "had ordered the establishment of Daoist temples bearing the name Tianqing 天清 in every prefecture of the empire.... The decree was one element of a broader upsurge of innovating Daoist religious activity in the capital, with Zhenzong himself at the center."[395] During this time, Zhenzong, like his Tang counterparts before him, effectively exploited the rituals and ideologies central to Daoist communities and other mythologies associated with the Mandate of Heaven, to win the hearts of peoples living far from the capital.

During his reign, so the story goes, "Heavenly texts" were sent by Heaven to the emperor, who subsequently had revelatory dreams. He then performed the Feng and Shan sacrifices on Mt. Tai in Shandong, the quintessential symbol of the inheritence by an emperor of the Mandate of Heaven. These events, according to Robert Hymes:

> ...all formed part of the same movement. A crucial element was the revelation that the first ancestor

> of the emperor's own Zhao lineage was a powerful Daoist divinity who had previously been incarnated as the Yellow Emperor of highest antiquity and who was now recognized as the first founder of the Daoist religion, displacing Laozi from his traditional position.[396]

By aligning himself and his family with the Yellow Emperor, Zhenzong, in the words of Suzanne Cahill: "...sought...to borrow the charisma of a potent religious figure to lend legitimacy to his rule and his lineage."[397] In this way, the emperor attempted to establish a national religion, as a means of integrating the various regions of China into a single, unified empire. All under heaven would worship one and the same divine being, of whom the emperor was, himself, the embodiment.

Emperor Huizong 徽宗, over one hundred years later, went even further in his "...efforts...to promote a translocal integration of society through a religious medium.... The court sought to establish a unified empire-wide hierarchical structure of Daoist institutions, based in the prefectures and centered in the capital."[398] In fact Huizong's efforts to promote his authority through the creation of Daoist institutions went beyond those of any preceding emperor, and can perhaps be compared to the manner in which certain Tang and Northern dynasties' emperors promoted themselves as bodhisattvas. During the Xuanhe 玄和 reign period (1119–1125), Huizong decreed that Shenxiao 神霄 Daoist temples were to be established in every prefecture in the empire, primarily through the conversion of existing Daoist and Buddhist temples:

> Deriving its authority from a newly conceived highest region of the heavens, the Divine Empyrean (shenxiao), and thus subordinating to itself all previous revelations and all earlier forms of Daoism, the new religion discovered the elder son of the supreme Jade Emperor, namely the Great Lord of Long Life, Sovereign of the Divine Empyrean, dwelling in the person of the emperor Huizong.[399]

Thus, whereas previous emperors had legitimized their authority by tracing their genealogy back to a divine being, Huizong actually rooted divinity in his own being: "The focus of each of the temples was to be an image of Huizong."[400]

Lemoine echoed many of the points made by Strickmann regarding the spread of Daoism to Yao and other groups in South China. For the most part, Lemoine accepted Strickmann's theory about the use of the *True Rites* as a means of assimilating Yao and other "non-Chinese" peoples. First of all, he quoted Strickmann's exploratory essay:

> Tianxin Zhengfa priests worked as ambulant missionaries bringing their exorcistic and therapeutic rituals directly into the homes of the common people. There is evidence that they received official support.... several magistrates who were initiated into the movement...made use of the Tianxin rites in the course of their official duties: pacifying their district, reducing epidemics, and guaranteeing the harvest.[401]

Lemoine adeptly seized on the heart of Strickmann's argument as to how Yao became Daoists.

From this point, however, he diverged, in his attempts to explain more clearly what Strickmann had only alluded to—that by the thirteenth century Yao had become Daoists. Where Strickmann was thinking in terms of a process that culminated—rather picked up speed—in the thirteenth century, Lemoine was looking for a fixed point, and thus took Strickmann's words to mean "in the thirteenth century." He argued that Yao were exposed to Daoism when the Song imperial court along with masses of northern Chinese migrated to Hangzhou, where they moved the capital, putting them in direct contact with Yao and other indigenous peoples living in South China: "With the shifting of the political center from North to South, the Empire was coming into closer contact with Southern ethnic groups. Among these, the Yao must have been the first of these to have been encountered."[402] It may very well be the case that the state was in closer contact with Southern ethnic groups than in previous times, but this was not the first moment

in history that Chinese imperial forces came into contact with peoples living in the South; as we have seen, the state had established administrative units in or near Yao (Man) areas since at least Qin times.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have viewed the emergence of the Celestial Masters not as an isolated historical event, but in the context of mid to late Han politico–religious trends—the same trends that gave rise to the Man rebellions in Jingzhou discussed in Chapter Two. During this period, the central government lost control of the hinterland of the empire as, at the same time, regional leaders, some who had been imperial representatives, gradually came to liken their own authority with that of the emperor. To support their claims, they selected titles such as "The Son of Heaven" and "Huangdi," proclaimed that the Han emperor had lost the mandate, and fashioned imperial symbols and insignia that bestowed on them immense symbolic power.

Throughout the medieval period, a variety of people, both in the capital and on the margins of the empire, appealed to Daoist ordination rites and symbolism both to confer legitimacy on their rule and to bring order to their societies. In a similar fashion, Tang and Song emperors supported claims of heavenly recognition by promoting narratives of the links between their family lines and such mythical figures as Laozi and the Yellow Emperor, just as Man peoples had expressed the heroic deeds of their own primogenitors.

Most studies that have addressed the issue of Yao Daoism have viewed it as a Song or later phenomenon. In my view, the answer to the question of how Yao societies adopted Daoist traditions is no different than the way Han villagers in the same regions were exposed to similar ritual practices. We should, when possible, look at the religious activities that were prevalent in those regions throughout history—the interactions between monastic and other religious communities, local officials, powerful gentry families, and autochthonous populations. Strickmann has offered one scenario, which emphasized

the role of the Daoist priest as imperial representative. Song emperors perhaps promoted new—at least newly discovered—ritual movements. However, many of these movements were of Southern provenance.[403] During the same period that these local movements were patronized by Song emperors, the binome *yaoren* first appeared in official sources.

Chapter Five

Textual Mandate on the Periphery: Script, Image, and Legitimacy In Yao Culture

In the previous chapter, I discussed the emergence of the Celestial Masters and other proto-Daoist movements at the end of the Han Dynasty, and how Daoist beliefs and practices spread to certain peoples living in the borderlands of the Chinese empire throughout the Six Dynasties period up to the Song Dynasty. In this chapter, I will examine how specific textual and visual media have functioned in Yao societies, and will specifically analyze a Yao document, known as the *Pinghuang Quandie Guoshangbang* 平皇券牒過山榜, or "The Charter of Emperor Ping and the Passport (or roster) for Crossing the Mountains,"[404] a document that has obvious allusions to official textual traditions and terminology. The themes of this book—the

Panhu and other origin myths, claims of autonomy, and symbols of legitimacy—come together in the *Passport*.

Lemoine relied on the *Passport* to support his and Strickmann's arguments about the Song provenance of Yao ritual materials. Strickmann had mentioned it in passing in his article, though he found it to be the exception to his claim that all of the documents collected by Shiratori were Daoist and "used by Yao priests in their rites." On the other hand:

> The most spectacular document, however, with which the book opens, is not a religious text. It is, rather, a charter issued under the Southern Sung emperor Li-tsung 理宗 (Lizong) in 1260. The present manuscript is probably a nineteenth-century copy. It confirms twelve Yao clans in the possession of their lands, recalls the legend of their divine ancestor, P'an-ku (Pangu) 盤古 or P'an-hu (Panhu) 盤瓠, and guarantees their right to practice their immemorial slash-and-burn technique of cultivation.[405]

The *Passport* is perhaps the most important Yao document, and is found in Yao—Iu Mien—villages throughout South China, and as the Shiratori materials revealed, as far south as Northern Thailand.

Lemoine accepted Strickmann's—and most previous scholars'—views that the *Passport* is not a religious text, but rather an official document issued to Yao leaders in 1260. Moreover, he resorted to this understanding in his attempt to demonstrate that Daoism was propagated to Yao people starting in the second half of the thirteenth century:

> Thus, as a first step, the Han might have brought the Yao rebellions to an end by granting the Yao charter (1260 A.D.). This was, of course, not a Taoist document. But after that, there might have followed the Taoist missionary-administrators with their rituals for universal pacification to which the Yao of today still adhere. Or, as Dr. Strickmann puts it: "Thus, it seems probable that the recently-subdued Yao had already been exposed

> to this rapidly expanding stream of Taoist practice by the XIII century—from which time dates the imperial charter granted to the Yao."[406]

There are several problems with Lemoine's—and Strickmann's implied—logic. For one, both take the claims of the *Passport* at face value, and accept that it was of imperial provenance. Was it an imperial or indigenous production? Did Emperor Lizong issue it to a Yao leader in 1260? Neither Strickmann nor Lemoine considered the real significance or use of the *Passport* in Yao society.

This is not to say that 1260 was a year of no significance for Yao / State relations, or that the state never issued such documents to Yao leaders, granting them specific privileges. The prevalence of the year 1260 in Yao documents implies that something did happen in that year, something that later generations considered important enough to record in writing.

The year 1260 is by far the most frequent year mentioned in the *Passport* and other similar documents, often referred to collectively as the *Yao Charters*. This profusion of usage leads me to believe that the year 1260, toward the end of the Song dynasty, was indeed a year of import in Yao memory. We might find our answer in the decades leading up to 1260. In the 1250s, after overpowering much of the territory from central Asia to Eastern Europe during the previous decade, the Mongols, under the great Khan Mongke, began their assault of Chinese imperial territory. Before 1260, they had conquered all of northern China, Sichuan, and Yunnan: "The Mongols had attacked the southwestern kingdom of Ta-li (Dali) from eastern Tibet and had threatened Vietnam as part of their conquest of the Southern Sung dynasty."[407] In 1260, braced for victory along the Yangzi, Khubilai Khan became the leader of the Mongols. Seventeen years later, after his armies had defeated the Southern Song: "the Mongols demanded submission from the rulers of Vietnam, Burma, the Tai states, Champa, and even Java."[408] Khubilai's policies toward these states were particularly aggressive, and it was only after his death that they were abated: "When these rulers did not respond with sufficient respect,

the Mongols invaded their countries."[409] By the time of the Southern Song collapse, Yao most likely were already living in Hunan, Guangdong, Guangxi, Yunnan, and northern Vietnam.[410] These were all areas that came within the sphere of Mongol domination.

Yao in Southern Hunan currently tell a story about how their ancestors lived peacefully in their homeland, Thousand Family Grotto (Qianjiadong 千家峒)[411] until government forces disrupted the lives of their ancestors during the Great Virtue (*Dade* 大德) period (1297–1308) of Khubilai's reign. The *Yuanshi* (Official History of the Yuan Dynasty) indeed documents a series of Yao rebellions during the earlier years of the Yuan in Yongming, the former name of Jiangyong County.[412] However, relations between Yao and representatives of the central government certainly did not begin in 1260, nor did Yao rebellions, as I have shown throughout this book. However, it is possible that the *Passport* reflects a prior agreement with Chinese officialdom or perhaps merely the claim of one.

THE PASSPORT FOR CROSSING THE MOUNTAINS

The *Passport for Crossing the Mountains* (*Guoshanbang* 過山榜) is not found in every Yao village, nor is it certain how many copies exist in any given village. However, based on my own and others' fieldwork, it would seem that some villages, particularly larger ones, have more than one copy, and they are generally in the hands of Yao leaders.

Although related documents with somewhat varied content do indeed exist, the type that I refer to simply as the *Passport* always has approximately the same form and content. Such documents are arguably copies of an original *Passport*, the provenance of which is no longer certain, nor is it documented in official sources.[413] What is clear is that there are *Passports* in Yao villages in South China, Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand, and that the majority of copies have been from one single sub-group—Iu Mien—who also happen to be the most populous Yao sub-group, the only sub-group to have reached Thailand, and the only one to have left Asia en masse. Thus, study of the *Passport's* dispersal and relation to similar texts might convey

some sense of the migration patterns of Iu Mien and other Yao sub-groups.[414]

The *Passport* claims to be imperially sanctioned and issued to the ancestors of the Yao people, granting them freedom from taxation, corvée, and the need to pay obeisance to local officials, as well as the right to sovereignty over the myriad mountains and grottoes under heaven. However, there is no evidence that it was ever actually presented to an official, except in Yao documents. Although most Chinese and non-Chinese scholars who have studied the *Passport* have taken its claims at face value, interpreting it as an official document with pure historical data—especially when it comes to dating—it is most likely a Yao invention. A long scroll-like document[415] written in a Yao variant of literary Chinese and stamped intermittently with authenticating seals of the Emperor, the *Passport* is rolled up and stored in the homes of Yao leaders, only to be displayed during certain important ceremonies, such as those held during the lunar new-year.

Yao claims to sovereignty derive from the myth of their primogenitor, the dragon-dog Panhu, which is enshrined as the main centerpiece of the *Passport*. In the version of the Panhu myth that commonly appears as the central narrative motif of the *Passport*, an apparently mythical Emperor Ping desires to assassinate an enemy king named Gao.[416] His ministers are all helpless in forming a plan. Only the dragon-dog, Panhu, jumps forward in the Emperor's court, revealing his desire to kill King Gao. After receiving the mandate, Panhu flees the court, as if flying on clouds, and within days, returns with the head of the enemy king. Because of his marvelous deed, Panhu is granted the hand of Emperor Ping's daughter in matrimony, at which point he is clothed and becomes a human. The couple settles down on Mount Guiji, in Southeast China (present-day Zhejiang), where they have twelve children, six boys and six girls—the origin of the twelve Yao clans.

As ter Haar notes, Guiji Mountain had been connected, since early times, with the early sage king, the Great Yu 大禹:

> Of old, Kuaiji [Guiji] was believed to be the place of burial of King Yu the Great. He is a figure of paramount

> importance in Chinese mythology. After he quelled the great flood, he created the first Chinese nation and subsequently ruled it. He received the first Daoist scriptures and the Eight Trigrams from Heaven, which was an essential element of Daoist ritual.[417]

Qin Shihuang 秦始皇, China's first emperor, is said to have traveled there during his imperial tour of inspection (*xunshou* 巡守),[418] echoing the Great Yu's journey during the semi-mythical Xia dynasty: "After ten years, Emperor Yu made an imperial tour of inspection to the east. When he reached Kuaiji [Guiji], he passed away."[419] The *Shiji* records that the First Emperor "...ascended Mount Guiji, sacrificed to the Great Yu, performed the Wang Sacrifice to the Nanhai 南海 [Southern Ocean], and erected a stone, carving an elegy on it lauding Qin's good deeds."[420]

Moreover, Guiji Mountain was also known as the ancestral land of the ancient Yue peoples, and, as such, was recognized as the frontier of the civilized world. Kern argues: "Especially Mt. Kuaiji [Guiji], where the capital of the old state of Yue 越 had been located, appears to have been recognized as the borderline of the unrestrained and uncontrollable world of barbarian people..."[421]

THE MYTH OF CROSSING THE SEA

Another Yao legend not included in the *Passport*, apparently exclusive to the Iu Mien, claims that their place of origin was in Nanjing. As Lemoine relates: "According to it, the Mien Yao were driven away from Nanking Administrative Circuit (*Nanjing dao* 南京道) in the second half of the XIVth century A.D. when, following a period of civil war, the first Ming emperor, Hongwu, defeated his rival and acceded to the throne."[422] Taking this account at face value, Lemoine maintains that these Mien Yao families then traveled by boat to *Nanhai*, that is, Guangdong Province, attempting to escape the famine, drought, and chaos of Hongwu's reign. There are certain problems with Lemoine's literal interpretation. One is that he takes "Crossing lakes and seas" (*piaohu guohai* 飄湖過海) and "Fluttering across the sea" (*piaoyao*

guohai 飘遥過海), to refer to the actual ocean.[423] As Li Mo points out, in Cantonese, "crossing the sea" (*guohai* 過海) can also refer to "crossing a large river."[424] Richard Strassberg discusses the evolution of the term *hai* in early China as not being restricted to the modern English words "ocean" and "seas," but could refer to any body of water or any vast expanse: "In the distant past, the concept of 'seas' may have been more metaphorical, referring to any body of water or even a land mass that lay beyond the limits of the home territory."[425] The second definition of *hai* in the *Hanyu Da Cidian* indicates that it can also refer to large lakes or ponds. "Crossing the seas" might then indicate the crossing of a large lake, such as Dongting Lake 洞庭湖, in the north of Hunan, south of the Yangzi River, or any number of other lakes or rivers.

There was indeed historical, if not mythological precedence surrounding the hazards of crossing such waterways. The First Emperor is said to have encountered such hazards while engaged in his imperial tour of inspection. According to Martin Kern, while the emperor was traveling down the Yangzi River: "At Qiantang 錢唐, the famous tidal bore of this place forced him again some 120 *li* back west before he could cross the Zhejiang 浙江 and finally—after another turn east—reach Mt. Kuaiji [Guiji]."[426] Again, "At Mt. Xiang 湘 [on an island in the middle of Dongting Lake] according to this *Shiji* passage, the emperor became outraged by a storm which nearly prevented him from crossing a lake. Blaming the local spirits, he ordered three thousand men to strip the mountain of all trees, rendering it dirt-red."[427] It is also possible that, metaphorically speaking, it simply refers to a long journey. Yao stories about their origin in Guiji and subsequent migrations liken their travels with the imperial tour of inspection, going back to the First Emperor, and the legendary Yu.

The Yao legend is clearly also an explanation of and rationalization for at least one of their contemporary ritual practices, the thanksgiving ritual known as 歌堂 (Mien *tzo dang*; Mandarin *getang*). As Lemoine translates:

> They at first prepared money from white paper, and made ready three animals for a major sacrifice. They

> beseeched the (Pantheon of) Ancestors wreathed in eternal incense, their founding Ancestor and Forebears, and the Five banners of horsemen, to turn their heads and faces upon them. They made a written promise of a great *tzo dang* ceremony if these Holy Beings would enter their ships and protect the Blessed Descendents of the Twelve Yao clans.[428]

Perhaps the biggest discrepancy in the *crossing seas* narrative—and this isn't a criticism of the narrative[429] itself—revolves around the question of when the Yao ancestors set off on their journey. The narrative records that they were driven out of the *Ten Protected Areas (shibaodong* 十保洞) of Nanjing Administrative Circuit during the reign of the first Ming emperor, Hongwu (1368–1399 AD), in response to repressive government policies. After a long journey at sea, the Yao ancestors arrive at Luochang County (落昌縣) in Shaozhou Prefecture (韶州府), Guangdong Province. From this account, Lemoine assumes that the early Yao settlers arrived in Guangdong sometime in the mid to late 14th century and then traveled north to Hunan, northwest through Hunan to Guizhou, west through Guangxi to Yunnan and beyond, and southwest through Guangxi to Vietnam.[430] The problem with this scenario is that Chinese official sources record the presence of Yao in Hunan, Guangxi, and Guangdong, at least as early as the Song Dynasty (995–1279). Ter Haar argues, instead, that such narratives represent symbolic geographies rather than actual territory.

VISUAL FRAMING OF THE TEXT

In addition to its textual narrative, the *Passport* is decorated with varied imagery, which all serves to highlight the narrative effect of the document. Early *Passports*, possibly from the late 18th century only reveal one narrative scene, either at the beginning or the end of the document.[431] It appears to represent a ceremony to Emperor Ping, invoking the Yao origin myth and its related ceremony. Emperor Ping stands in the top center of this scene, with a servant on his right holding an umbrella and a servant on his left holding a fan. Further to the right

a dragon floats over a dog, with the words "Panhu Dragon-dog" separating them. Panhu, in his human incarnation, stands to the left of Emperor Ping. Below them, in the foreground of the scene, are five people wearing ceremonial Yao clothing, one playing a flute-like instrument, the other beating an hour glass drum—they are performing the ceremony. This image is framed by text, but also serves as the frontal frame of the main body of text.

In other possibly later versions there is a similar scene, but Emperor Ping, surrounded by imperial seals and Daoist talismans, stands over the twelve original descendents who are lined up in a row; the six boys on one side and the six girls on the other. In some versions, more than twelve descendents appear, possibly indicating affiliation with another Yao sub-group.[432]

If Jess Pourret is correct in dating the passports photographed in his book, then beginning in the 20th century, an ever greater trend toward Daoist religiosity found its overt expression in the passports. For one, the image of Emperor Ping undergoes a transformation. Though flags and tablets still bear his name,[433] the image of his person is replaced by iconic representations of the Three Pure Ones (*san qing* 三清), the highest deities or cosmic principles in the Daoist, as well as the Yao Daoist, pantheon. *Daode* 道德, or the Way and its Virtue, the very generative principle of the Dao incarnate, is on the right.[434] Above him hovers a single floral image. In the middle, next to Daode is *Yuanshi* or Primal Beginning (here written *Lingshi* or Numinous Beginning). Above his head the floral image has morphed through a seeming act of mitosis into two floral images. To the left of *Yuanshi* is *Lingbao*, or Numinous Treasure. Three floral images rise above his head. These floral images, one splitting into two and two splitting into three highlight the explanation that the Three Pure Ones are a visual, humanized representation of the famous line in the Daodejing: "The *One* gave birth to the *Two*. The *Two* gave birth to the *Three*. The *Three* gave birth to the *Ten Thousand Things*." In its Yao context, this line might be re-interpreted as "the *three* begat the twelve *clans*."

Besides the transformation already discussed, there is also a movement toward greater multiplicity of imagistic detail. The same five

human figures conducting a ceremony appear under the image of either Emperor Ping or the Three Pure Ones. In every version, the figures wear roughly the same outfits, holding the same utensils, and performing the same rituals. However, other icons of Yao ritual culture enhance the narrative effect. There is a bridge extending over a raging fire and separating the two figures on the right and the three on the left. In at least one version, the two figures to the right of the bridge are no longer visible and four more figures are added on the left side of the bridge. Two apparently heavenly beings stand on the backs of dragons that fly over the form of Emperor Ping. Two additional figures, one with a pitchfork like tool, also flank the emperor.

Similar bridges appear in many visual contexts among Yao and other southern Chinese groups, and are often visualized as icons separating the world of the living from the world beyond. Nicholas Tapp speaks of a bridge connecting the world of the living with the otherworld in his analysis of Hmong religion in Thailand: "At the meeting of the two worlds there is a great piece of water, crossed by a bridge."[435] In his book on the Chinese Triads, ter Haar discusses the appearance of bridges as a common motif in Southern Chinese rituals and beliefs related to birth, death, and ordination.[436] "People cross water on their journey into the underworld, and back again when they are reborn in the land of the living."[437] As represented in the Yao ceremonial painting of the *Ten Kings* the deceased soul must cross the *Naihe* 奈河 River in order to be reborn.[438] Ter Haar goes on to say, "...they can cross the river over the Silver or the Golden Bridge (*yinqiao* or *jinqiao*). Only after traversing the river, can the deceased enter the city of the underworld and begin to be processed by the underworld bureaucracy." According to ter Haar, the deceased cannot make it across unless the proper funerary rituals are carried out. It is likely that the ceremony surrounding a bridge in the *Passport* is such a funerary ritual, though it is also possible that it is a composite of various Yao rites.

Another standard image to appear below the feet of either Emperor Ping or *Yuanshi*, at the center of the *Pure Ones* triad, is a root-like structure, in which a flower at the center gives birth to roots, which grow in every direction; at the end of each root a new flower blossoms.

In some versions this structure grows on the left-side of the bridge, while in others it replaces the image of the bridge. Similar root-like structures appear in the right and left corners, above the Three Pure Ones, as if generating the deities, themselves. Two gourds entangled among the roots further enhance this idea of the genesis of the cosmos,[439] as mentioned earlier in my discussion of the Three Pure Ones. According to ter Haar, a common belief among many groups in South China likens children to "...white (male) and red (female) flowers on a plant in a pot, which represents the mother and her womb."[440] Both Jacques Lemoine, and Jeffery Macdonald, who interviewed Iu Mien in Portland, Oregon for his dissertation, confirm this point in relation to Yao culture. Ter Haar continues:

> Long before birth, children are already present on the mother's plant in the form of small buds. The pots stand in the Heavenly Flower Gardens. Upon being born, the child passes out of the gardens over a bridge into the womb and into the world of the living. The corresponding bud on the plant will then start to flower.

This flower producing root producing flower imagery, including the floral images undergoing mitosis, is evidential of what ter Haar terms the "Heavenly Flower Gardens."

This trend toward multiplicity of imagery first takes shape at the opening or closing of the document, but through time greater multiplication of images appears throughout the document, at what seem, perhaps to the untrained eye, to be random points in the narrative structure of the text. The greatest percentage of these images is imperial and / or divine personifications. Some are actual historical figures, such as the first emperor, Qin Shihuang, the founder of the Tang Dynasty, Tang Taizong, and Emperor Renzong of the Song dynasty. Others are deified sovereigns and still others are more difficult to identify, possibly heroes of Yao legend and more locally based southern Chinese deities.[441]

Another common feature of later *Passports* is the appearance of a somewhat roughly drawn map with Chinese characters indicating

place names. These are perhaps maps of places where Yao families traveled, as Pourret purports in his discussion of one *Passport* when he mentions: "a 'map' of this family's travels from China to Vietnam, Laos and Thailand,"[442] though he leaves this question open in his discussion of another *Passport*, which includes: "...a 'map' of the countries through which they may, or may not, have actually traveled."[443] Place names such as "Asia" (亞洲), "Yunnan" (云南), "the Nine Continents" (九洲), the traditional Chinese name for the known world, "California" (加州), the site of the largest Yao community in North America, and "Europe" (歐洲),[444] all seem to confirm this as a possibility. However, there are also other more problematic place names, such as "Africa" (非洲), "India" (印度), and "Japan" (日本), places to which no Yao communities are known to have traveled, as well as mythical placenames, such as the Fusang tree 扶桑. Such maps might have been conceived as the world known to Yao—including the mythical landscape—at the time of creation of a given *Passport*.

Seals appear intermittently throughout the body of the *Passport*. At first glance, it would seem like the seals are randomly positioned. After more careful examination, however, it becomes clear that there is a logic motivating the placement of seals. First of all, in what appears to be the earliest form—and in some later versions—no seals appear. However, in most versions I have seen, imperial-like seals are a common feature, and they are stamped at quite specific places. Gazing at the central narrative scene, there are seals covering the names of important historical, mythical, and religious figures. In at least one version, the four characters, *sanqing dadao* 三清大道 or the *Great Dao of the Three Pure Ones*[445] are each covered with a seal, and in other versions seals also highlight the four characters, *Pinghuang Quandie* 評皇券牒 or *Imperial Charter of Emperor Ping*. In fact, virtually every time the names, Emperor Ping, Panhu, King Pan, and the appellations of the Three Pure Ones appear, either in the central narrative scene or in the main body of text, imperial seals are also included. Moreover, the opening words of the main body of text, *Zhengzhong* 正忠 (usually interpreted as *Lizong* 理宗[446]) *Jingding* 景定 are also stamped. Seals often appear on the words *zhunci* 准此 "authorized as such (?)," which

follows imperial proclamations and the granting of laws and titles, on the images of particular figurines or groups of figurines, and at specific points on maps. In one version, in a section recounting members of the different clans who did service to the state, one seal covers the name of a member of the Shen clan and another covers the name of a member of the Zhou clan. Why are these two names stamped and the others not? It is possible that the person who commissioned this *Passport* was affiliated with one or both of these clans.

Functions of the *Passport*

Besides merely recording the Yao origin myth, the *Passport* also recorded necessary information for Yao communities to remember as they migrated further away from their place of origin in central China: specific laws and customs, myths and history, especially pertaining to Yao relations with the state, places to which Yao families traveled, as well as important Yao leaders and heroes. One purpose of the visual representations of ritual scenes can be conceived as mnemonic aids to performance. Text and image function harmoniously to preserve ritual traditions in living memory.[447]

Along with this last point, another aspect of the *Passport*, related to mnemonics, is its function as a genealogical document. One section that appears in most versions of the *Passport* eulogizes the service done by specific members of each of the twelve clans for the state, as well as the positions and emoluments those members received in kind. It should be noted that the emoluments listed are hyberbolic alterations of standard emoluments provided to officials. Generally, the last piece of information recorded in any *Passport* is the name of the person who commissioned it, followed by a list of several generations of his male ancestors, along with their wives. Thus, from the central narrative scene through the origin myth and the deeds of representatives of each of the twelve clans, and finally to the list of ancestors at the end, there is a line of transmission, in which Yao serve the state, and through that service are granted protection and exemption from the demands imposed by them. According to Richard Cushman, as Yao subgroups

migrated further away from their original homeland and adapted to changing conditions, they relied on, "...a core of ritual, legitimizing their clan system and linking them into a vast chain of deceased and living Yao, all of whom trace their decent to Panhu."[448] The *Passport* as genealogy is then a textual shrine to this "ritual core to Yao identity."

However, the *Passport* does not merely reflect genealogical traditions of entire Yao communities, but rather of the male lines of ruling families. Only Yao leaders, i.e. powerful leaders, could possess the passport. The anthropologist, Horleifur Jonsson has called the *Passport*: "a rare prestige object which enables a leader to take off with followers to a new domain. As such, the scroll makes a leader out of whoever has a copy of it."[449] The crucial factor empowering, i.e. authorizing, the *Passport* as a document granting legitimacy to those who carry it in their hands, is its appearance of, and modeling on, various emblems of the state, especially those associated strictly with the authority of the emperor.

Bourdieu's notion of symbolic capital is a helpful heuristic tool for analyzing the legitimizing effect of such emblems. Bourdieu defines symbolic capital as: "...any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception which cause them to know it and to recognize it, to give it value."[450] Bourdieu conceives as symbolic capital everything from "the concept of honor in Mediterranean societies...which exists only through repute," to the different means by which juridical, and other, institutions legitimize and reproduce their authority, to the various "modes of access to nobility" and officialdom, as well as to the very documents that ratify such access: "The nomination or the certificate belongs to the category of official acts or discourses, symbolically effective only because they are accomplished in a situation of authority by authorized characters, 'officials' who are acting...as holders...of a function or position assigned by the state." [451] Thus, for Bourdieu, the state "...is the site par excellence of the concentration and exercise of symbolic power." In fact, in his eyes the very "genesis of the state" results from "the concentration of a symbolic capital of recognized authority,"[452] that is,

from the conversion of all other forms of capital—economic, military, cultural—into symbolic capital.

I have already described the appearance of the *Passport* to some extent, and its profusion of imperial imagery, both in the first scene and in the portrayals of human figures that appear in later versions. Whether they are representations of deities or of historical personages, the majority share an imperial appearance—a common feature of religious Daoist portraiture. The combination of such imagery, alongside the Chinese script and imperial seals radiates the effect of a document issued by the state. In a society where so few actually achieved literacy, the *Passport* must have conveyed great symbolic power. This would have been especially true the further Yao communities migrated from their homeland and Chinese officialdom, away from those who were actually literate in the script.[453]

It is important to recall the claims of the *Passport* itself: because of Panhu's meritorious deeds in the service of Emperor Ping, he and his ancestors, descendents of the twelve original families, were granted pure autonomy as long as they dwelled on the mountains under heaven. Yao with whom I have discussed the *Passport*, and most scholars who have written about it, still believe the words that open the main body of text, "I *zhen* 朕 (imperial I), the Emperor Lizong, in the 12th month of the twelfth year of the Jingding reign period [1260], re-issue this document to the descendents of the twelve Yao families... ."

The Panhu myth, as enshrined in the words of the *Passport* not only describes the origin of Yao culture and its connection to the state, but also describes the origin of the *Passport*, itself. Emperor Ping not only granted Panhu the hand of his daughter, but also decreed on him and his descendents the very *Passport* that many Yao leaders still store in their homes. In doing so, he bestowed on the twelve clans, descending from the unlikely marriage, all Yao laws, customs, clothing styles, and even their human form. Just as the Chinese emperor received the Mandate of Heaven, so too did Panhu receive the Mandate of Emperor Ping. As such, the *Passport* both displays Panhu—later to become King Pan—as the Yao primogenitor and as the model of Yao authority, as legitimated by both imperial and divine recognition.

Stamping a document with a seal is an act of authorization. Bureaucrats in offices, as representatives of the authority of the emperor, the focal point of the greatest concentration of symbolic capital in the state, stamped the emperor's seal on documents. This very act not only authorized the document, but also empowered its possessor within the limits specified by the document. In China, the emperor—the very embodiment of the ruling power, along with his representatives—had the divine privilege of issuing documents, conferring titles, and ordaining monks and priests in monasteries.

Moreover, the very names of the *Passport*, its appearance, and content, all allude to imperial provenance. The Chinese names by which it is called—*bang* 榜, *quandie* 券牒, and *diewen* 牒文—are words that have resonance with official culture, especially pertaining to the Chinese bureaucracy. All of these words refer to documents used by Chinese officials when they submitted memorials to the throne, as well as by the emperor when he issued proclamations. For instance, *bang* or *bangwen* 文, usually translated as *Passport*, is more like a roster or list,[454] used most commonly in pre-modern official sources to refer to the roster of names of successful examination candidates, and in its Yao context, probably referred to the ancestral list at the end of the *Passport*. Actually *quan*, often translated as "charter," comes closer in meaning to *passport*. The word *quan* clearly conveys the meaning of a contract between two parties, in which both retain matching copies. Similar practices, which were common in China since antiquity, are indicated in official sources by a variety of characters.

CONCLUSION

Pourret and Lemoine, as well as most other scholars who have studied the *Passport* have viewed it in isolation from those materials that are commonly termed Daoist. In this chapter, I have attempted to explain the *Passport* in the context of both Yao ritual practice and in relation to state practices of legitimation. As such, it can be related to Daoist ritual manuals, ceremonial paintings, and the whole range of ritual implements, both those wielded by deities in paintings and

those employed by ritual specialists as they perform their rites. These include swords, spears, and daggers, talismanic seals, incense burners, masks, small wooden statues, and ceremonial attire with its symbolically embroidered patterning. All of these objects, as representations of symbolic capital, bring great prestige to those who carry them, by identifying specific positions in a celestial nexus of power relations, all of which have terrestrial and territorial correlations. The possession of ceremonial paintings and ritual manuals identify the position and occupation of ritual specialists in Yao society. Just as officials in the Chinese bureaucracy submitted memorials to the throne, so too do Yao and other Daoist priests submit their memorials to a celestial throne, which responds to human pleas, only because those humans hold in their hands specific documents ratifying their rank. However, these specialists cannot possess the *Passport*, the supreme example of the very local dimensions of the Mandate of Heaven, as it manifested itself—and perhaps continues to manifest itelf—in Yao society.

NOTES

1. This character was, until recently, most commonly written with a dog radical. See Chapter One of this book for discussion of the changing appearance of this character, and Chapter Two for discussion about the Panhu myth; also see Victor Mair (1998) and David Gordon White (1991).
2. The use of the label "non-Sinitic" is in no way meant to be pejorative, but rather to point to the fact that the primary spoken Yao languages are not generally categorized as Chinese; yet, similar to pre-modern Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese, Chinese script is the primary medium of all Yao documents. Moreover, the verdict is still out as to what language family Yao actually belongs. Some linguists include the various dialects spoken by Yao and Miao in their own language family—Miao-Yao or Hmong-Mien. Most Chinese linguists view Miao-Yao as a branch of Sino-Tibetan, while Western linguists commonly consider it to be a branch of Austro-Thai. However, neither Miao nor Yao are seamless, stable categories, and both are broader than Hmong and Mien; the latter refers to the most populous and widespread Yao subgroup—Iu Mien—who inhabit a region extending from Hunan to Northern Thailand. Iu Mien (or simply, Mien) is the only Yao group known to be in Thailand and to have left Asia en masse. The other main Yao group is usually referred to as Landian Yao or by their autonym: Mun. Mien and Mun are clearly Yao pronunciations of the Chinese character *ren* 人 (human), or conversely, Yao use *ren* 人 to graphically represent the word in their own tongue for "human." To my knowledge, adequate research has yet to be conducted on the relationship between languages termed as Miao-Yao and the multiplicity of "Chinese" dialects in South China, including Cantonese, Fujianese, Hunanese, Hakka, etc.
3. Throughout this book, I purposely avoid ethnic definitions that merely equate the term "Chinese" with the term "Han," which represents the ethnic majority of contemporary China. Instead, I use "Chinese" to refer to a geographical domain, a cultural-political sphere, not confined within the Chinese state's current boundaries, and a linguistic system.
4. Jacques Lemoine, in describing Yao culture, has even gone so far as to say: "the core of this culture is a borrowed one," as if Chinese culture is somehow a genetic Han trait, but only "borrowed" in the case of Yao.

5. Shiratori collected Yao ritual manuals, among other textual and visual materials, from Yao villages in Northern Thailand, where he had conducted fieldwork during the 1970s.
6. Strickmann's characterization that previous scholars were not aware of Daoist elements in Yao religion was not entirely accurate. Writing three years before Strickmann published his article, the Swedish anthropologist, Peter Kandre, wrote an insightful article, based on several years of research and fieldwork in Yao villages in Northern Thailand, which described Daoist and other Chinese cultural elements in Yao ritual practice. His article begins: "The magical taoists and ancestor worshippers of the present study...." See Kandre, "Yao (Iu Mien) Supernaturalism, Language, and Ethnicity," pp. 173–197. See below for discussion of the work of Chinese anthropologists during the 1930s and 1940s.
7. Michel Strickmann, "The Tao Among the Yao: Taoism and the Sinification of South China," p. 23.
8. See, for instance, Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History From the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (1995). Also see Ralph A. Litzinger, *Other Chinas: The Yao and the Politics of National Belonging* (2000).
9. This is not to say that all religious practice in South China and Southeast Asia is the same, but rather that religious and cultural elements should not be viewed as restricted or intrinsic to one group in a region or even to a single region. Such elements have traveled with the groups who have embraced them and kept them alive through the practice of specific rituals.
10. Jacques Lemoine, *Yao Ceremonial Paintings* (1982), p. 21.
11. See Huang Chaozhong and Liu Yaoquan, *Guangdong Yaozu Lishi Ziliao* 廣東瑤族歷史資料 [Historical Materials for the Study of the Yao Nationality in Guangdong], p. 671.
12. See ibid., and Li Laizhang, *Bapai Fengtu ji* 八排風土記.
13. See ibid., p. 680.
14. See ibid.
15. See for instance Strickmann, "Disease and Daoist Law," *Chinese Magical Medicine* (2002), p. 9: "Taking up his writing-brush once more, the priest drew a talismanic figure in one of the scripts employed by members of the celestial hierarchy. This rarefied script was actually only an archaizing variation of ordinary Chinese writing, and so can be read and interpreted even by mortals such as we. Thus we can tell that the talismans generally bear words of stern command addressed to the disease-demons that have taken possession of the patient's body.

Having drawn the appropriate talisman, the priest would burn it in the flame of the incense burner, collect the ashes, mix them with water, recite a spell over the potion, and give it to the patient to drink."

16. See Huang and Liu, p. 677, and *Lianshan Suiyao Ting zhi*, p. 43. See section on customs 風俗.
17. That is, become ordained.
18. Ibid.
19. See Huang and Liu, pp. 677–678, and *Lianshanxian zhi*. At least one of the manuals in the Leiden collection is a copy of the *Four Books* 四書. It is dated from the *Minguo* period, somewhat later than the writing of the *Lianshan zhi*.
20. See ter Haar website: http://website.leidenuniv.nl/~haarbjter/
21. See Liang Zhaotao, "The Religious Beliefs of the Yao People of Ruyuan in Northern Guangdong" (*Yuebei Ruyuan Yaomin de Zongjiao Xinyang* 粵北乳源傜民的宗教信仰), *Journal of Chinese Folk-lore* 民俗專刊 (1943), vol. 4, p. 22.
22. See ibid., p. 22. As examples of indigenous Yao deities, he lists: the Second Gentleman, Zhao (*Zhao Erlang* 趙二郎), the Third Gentleman, Zhao (*Zhao Sanlang* 趙三郎), and the Ninth Gentleman, Zhao (*Zhao Jiulang* 趙九郎). These are all important deities in the ritual tradition known as the Teaching of Plum Mountain (*Meishanjiao* 梅山教), which is practiced by Yao, Zhuang, Han, and other groups living in South China and Southeast Asia. This tradition, often referred to as Meishan Daoism, though widespread, has still yet to be studied and documented to its full extent.
23. I am not sure in what sense he views Han Daoism as different.
24. See ibid., p. 22.
25. Ibid.
26. See ter Haar's website and Jiang Yingliang, "Beliefs and Religico-Magic of the Yaos" (Guangdong Yaoren zhi Zongjiao Xinyang ji qi Jingzhou 廣東徭人之宗教信仰及其經咒), *Journal of Chinese Folk-lore*, vol. 3. For the English title I use the one printed in the volume.
27. The graph for Yao in this edition of *Minsu* is written without a radical.
28. See Jiang Yingliang, p. 2.
29. See ibid., p. 2.
30. There have certainly been other languages—e.g., Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese—which have modified Chinese script to fit their own syntax.
31. See Jiang, p. 3.
32. Ibid.

33. See ibid., "可見徭人雖能寫字，但卻不知字中之意所云爲何."
34. Several Chinese friends suggested this to me.
35. It is also possible that, as ter Haar suggests (personal communication) they simply could not explain why they placed the couplet where they did because of language and / or cultural barriers. One might ask whether local Han Chinese farmers would have a better understanding of the written language.
36. See ibid., p. 3. He also says the word "dragon" (*long* 龍) often appears in their name, e.g., "Dragon Head Shrine" (*Longtouci* 龍頭祠) and "Dragon Stream Shrine" (*Longxici* 龍溪祠).
37. Ibid., p. 4.
38. See Lemoine, p. 34. One Yao person who I interviewed in Phayao, Thailand told me that people in his village had recently purchased a set of paintings from a Chinese artist in Sichuan.
39. Ibid., p. 35.
40. Ibid., p. 35.
41. See Jiang, p. 31.
42. See Ibid., p. 4, where Jiang relates how he witnessed such stone worship in two or three mountainous places. I have seen such a sacred stone in Jiangyong County, Hunan, near what is now known as Qianjiadong 千家峒 (*Thousand Family Grotto*), the homeland of the Yao people.
43. He explains that there are four definite periods during the year that Yao congregate to worship their deities, namely, the Beginning of Spring (*lichunri* 立春日), the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month, any day during the ninth lunar month, and the fourteenth day of the eleventh lunar month. He goes on to list six items that Yao use in their offerings: (1) incense, (2) candles, which they buy from Han people, (3) paper money, (4) liquor, (5) meat, (6) and rice.
44. On page 5, Jiang also explains that smaller rituals are performed in peoples' homes. This is confirmed by the work of most anthropologists who have studied Yao rituals.
45. See, for instance, Arthur Wolf, "Gods, Ghosts, and Ancestors," *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society* (1974), pp. 131–183, and Richard von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: the Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (2004).
46. See Jiang, p. 29, where he quotes from Bronislaw Malinowski, "Magic, Science, and Religion" as evidence of the use of magic in primitive societies. See also Robert Wright, "NonZero: the Logic of Human Destiny," for a fascinating discussion of the anthropological agenda of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Wright describes

how anthropologists of this period followed the lead of Lewis Henry Morgan, who had applied Darwin's Theory of Evolution to his view of human cultures: "'Savagery' was just a stage in the orderly history of human cultures. There had been a time when all human beings were savages, but then some of them got a cultural promotion—to 'barbarians.' Or, at least, to "low" barbarians. Barbarism had three subdivisions—lower, middle, and upper—and a culture, after passing through them, could cross the threshold into civilization" (p. 13).

47. The communication between disciplines that Strickmann advocated was already in evidence during the 1960s. For example, see *JAS* 23.4 (August 1964), which includes a "Symposium on Chinese Studies and the Disciplines." The participants in that symposium re-examined the traditional field of Sinology, and asked how Chinese Studies could be enhanced through interaction between different disciplines, particularly between historical and philological based ones, and the more contemporary-oriented ones that comprise the social sciences, such as anthropology and sociology. Two of the papers in that collection are worthy of note: G. William Skinner's, "What the Study of China Can Do For Social Science" (pp. 517–523), and Maurice Freedman's, "What Social Science Can Do For Chinese Studies" (pp. 523–531).
48. See Norman Girardot's forward to Kristofer Schipper, *The Taoist Body* (1982).
49. See Kristofer Schipper, "Vernacular and Classical Ritual," *JAS* 45.1 (1985): pp. 21–57.
50. Ibid., p. 22.
51. Ibid., p. 21. See also Edward Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Sung China* (2001), for discussion about the history of the ritual master (*fashi* 法師), which he traces back to the Song Dynasty.
52. See also the related projects associated with John Lagerwey, on Hakka religion and culture in the New Territories, and with David Holm, on Zhuang religion in Guangxi.
53. I would advocate extending the domain of this and related projects beyond Chinese borders, to include Chinese and especially upland communities who emigrated from China to Southeast Asia. Similar projects by local Vietnamese, Laotian, and Thai scholars would likely also lead to a fascinating picture of trans-national or trans-border religious and cultural flows.
54. Strickmann, p. 25.
55. See Anna Seidel, "Taoism: The Unofficial High Religion of China," *Cahiers d'Extreme-Asie* 3 (1987): 223–230.

56. Strickmann, p. 28. One aspect of the Yao documents collected by Shiratori that Strickmann ignored was how ritual specialists in Yao communities read and recite them. What I noticed while conducting fieldwork in Iu Mien villages in Northern Thailand was that ritual specialists recited their liturgical manuals in a mixture of at least three languages—Mien, Southwestern Mandarin (referred to as Yunnanese), and Cantonese. Specific graphs, sections of manuals, or entire manuals were pronounced using one of the three languages (dialects?). This mixing of phonetic and other linguistic elements may be likened to S.J. Tambiah's discussion of mantra in the Sinhalese context: "...they embody a subtle design which uses the notion of a hierarchy of languages. When Hindu gods are invoked and their origin myths referred to, the spells contain Sanskrit expressions, no doubt distorted from the point of view of a purist. When the Buddha or Buddhist mythological elements are alluded to, Pali words are employed, once again portraying syntactical infelicities. When however the spell actually narrates an origin myth, the language used is that of the classical Sinhalese literary forms prevalent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Finally, when demons are directly addressed and commanded, the words are a polyglot mixture and therefore unintelligible, being compounded of Sinhalese, Tamil, Pali, Sanskrit, Malayalam, Telugu, Bengali, and even Persian. This powerful and exotic mixture is the 'demon language.' See Tambiah, "The Magical Power of Words" (1968), pp. 177–178. However, it would be necessary to conduct more fieldwork in a variety of regional contexts before making further remarks about why and when Yao ritual specialists use which linguistic elements in their recitation. What I can say with reasonable confidence is that when they invoke their origin myths, they use Mien language.
57. See my discussion of Strickmann, Lemoine, et al., in Chapter Four.
58. See the discussion of the distinction between autonyms and labels in ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (1992), and Michael Szonyi's comments about ter Haar's distinction in his "The Illusion of Standardizing the Gods: The Cult of the Five Emperors in Late Imperial China" (1997), p. 116. See also ter Haar, "The Gathering of Brothers and Elders (*Ko-lao hui*): A New View" (1993).
59. Richard Cushman, "Rebel Haunts and Lotus Huts: Problems in the Ethnohistory of the Yao," dissertation, Cornell University, 1970.
60. Quoted in Wilkinson, p. 479.
61. Cushman, p. 50. I have only seen *yao* written without a radical in some Republican era ethnographic accounts and have found no occurrences

of 遙 used in the context of the present discussion. See Jiang Yingliang (1936), where *yao* is written without a radical.

62. 傜 and 傓 are in effect and meaning the same graph.
63. By "non-Chinese" I am here speaking of peoples who were not registered subjects, that is, those who lived outside the officially sanctioned domain of civilization.
64. The majority of extant sources are not original manuscripts: they are redactions copied and re-copied by scribes. The same texts appear in multiple editions.
65. *Mathews.*
66. *Yuandong Hanyu Da Zidian* vol. 2, p. 1131.
67. See Paul Goldin, "On the Meaning of the Name Xi wangmu, Spirit-Mother of the West" (2002), which argues against the frequent translation of Xi wangmu as "Queen Mother of the West."
68. In most recent Chinese collections of Yao indigenous documents, 傓 and 猺 are replaced by 瑤, though in some earlier collections, especially those published during the 1950s, 瑤 is simply added in parentheses, e.g. "猺 (瑤)."
69. Cushman, p. 50.
70. *Shiji* 123/3159.
71. Cushman, pp. 49–50, Note 1. He doesn't explain what he means by "original edition," but it might refer to an actual Ming dynasty manuscript or to a photo reprint.
72. Cushman, p. 50, Note 1. He then questioned whether there is a semantic difference between the unmodified *yao* 猺 and the already mentioned compounds with the graph 傜. It should be noted here that when Cushman wrote his dissertation, there were much fewer Chinese sources available to Western scholars, as he himself remarked: "Many older Chinese works, in particular Ming and early Qing editions of fangzhi which tend to contain more detailed information on tribal groups than do later Qing editions, are unavailable outside Mainland China. In addition, many relevant Chinese materials, including local government records and a considerable number of works in the Siku Quanshu, have never been published and are extant only in manuscript form on the Mainland. Finally, little effort has been devoted to collecting oral history or written documents from the tribal peoples themselves" (Cushman, p. 14). The situation has changed considerably since then, especially since Shiratori's *Yao Documents* was published.
73. *Man* is usually translated as "barbarian," but it is not clear whether it was originally a pejorative label for peoples in South China or an indigenous

term of southern provenance that was adopted by officials, and only later obtained negative connotations. It might be, in fact, a transliteration of a Southern Chinese word for person or human, and also an autonymn of certain groups living in South China. Ter Haar argues that *man* is a Mandarin pronunciation of *Hmong* (personal communication). It is also phonetically similar to the Yao autonymns, *Mien* and *Mun*, both of which can be translated as: human, person. During the spring of 2003, while conducting fieldwork among Mien living in California, I asked a ritual specialist to pronounce the Chinese term for citizen, *renmin* 人民, which I wrote on a piece of paper. He said: "mien man." The Cantonese pronunciation of *min* 民 is likewise, "man." I therefore leave it untranslated.

74. Cushman, p. 51.
75. Based on comparison with a variety of extant editions, in which *yao* appears, I speculate that the editor(s) of the *Sibu Beiyao* altered the radicals, in order to create a greater consistency of form, just as contemporary scholars have applied to the jade radical.
76. Wilkinson explains the name as "...referring to the fact that each History was taken from the best Song and Yuan editions."
77. *Bainaben Songshi* 494/24810.
78. Houshan 後山 was Chen Shidao's style name.
79. See below.
80. See Chapter Two for discussion about the Southern Man and the Jing 荊 region.
81. Cushman, pp. 55–59.
82. Ibid.
83. Edward Schafer. *The Vermillion Bird: Tang Images of the South.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (1967), p. 51.
84. See *Liangshu*, 34/502 and *Nanshi*, 56/1387. These two passages are nearly identical.
85. See *Suishu*, 31/897.
86. *The Vermillion Bird*, p. 51.
87. See "The Biography of the Tang Monk Xuan Tai of Seven Treasures Platform Temple on the Southern Marchmount" 唐南嶽七寶臺寺玄泰傳, *Song Gaosengzhuan* 宋高僧傳, SKQS 1052/243b.
88. *The Vermillion Bird*, p. 52.
89. Mair points out that Mak is also a common surname in the New Territories near Hong Kong (personal communication).
90. Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China.* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1985.

91. Paul Goldin suggests another possible reading of *mo*, which can also mean: "settled or pacified" (personal communication).
92. See *Liangshu*, 34/502 and *Nanshi*, 56/1387.
93. It might also mean: "who do not pay taxes." See Chapter Three.
94. Ibid.
95. Also read 懾化; this might support Goldin's understanding of *mo* as: "pacify."
96. Ibid.
97. It is unclear whether he means two specific types of corvée, *yao* and *yi*, or uses the binome to refer to labor and military duties to the state, generally.
98. See Cushman, p. 51.
99. This is not to say that border peoples did not change.
100. The *Liangshu*, compiled by Yao Cha 姚察 (533–606) and Yao Silian 姚思廉 (d. 637), was completed in 636 and covers the period from 502–556. The *Suishu*, compiled by Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643), was completed in the same year as the *Liangshu* and covers the period from 581–617. The *Nanshi*, compiled by Li Yanshou 李延壽 (fl. 618–676), was completed in 659 and covers the period from 420–589.
101. The Five Dynasties period lasted from 907–960.
102. See "Zai lun Hunan Manzei Yizao Zhaoxiang Zhazi," 再論湖南蠻賊宜早招降劄子 in *The Complete Works of Ouyang Xiu* [Ouyang Xiu Quanji 歐陽修全集], juan 105, pp. 1599–1560.
103. Pan 盤 is indeed one of the twelve Iu Mien (Yao) surnames.
104. Ibid.
105. This name is probably an indication of his occupation as an exorcist. See Davis (2001).
106. ZHSJ *Songshi*, p. 14183.
107. Chen, Shidao, *Houshan Tancong* 后山談叢, SKQS 1037/89b-90a.
108. Ibid.
109. Michael Szonyi, *Practicing Kinship: Lineage and Descent in Late Imperial China* (2002), p. 43.
110. See Liu Kezhuang, 93:5b-8a; translated in Szonyi, p. 44.
111. Ibid.
112. Jinghu 荊湖 is roughly equivalent with Jingzhou—modern day Hunan and Hubei. See Chapter Two.
113. Chenzhou 辰州, the westernmost prefecture in Hunan, was directly in the heart of what had been known as Wuling.
114. He was a local leader during the Five Dynasties period.
115. He is probably a hostage. This was suggested to me by Yang Jidong of the Chinese collection at the University of Pennsylvania library.

116. Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai Daida*. SKQS 589/414.
117. *Yuanben Guangyun*. SKQS vol. 236, juan 2, p. 275.
118. Eastern Hunan.
119. See SKQS 1089/16a.
120. Mair (1998), p. 25.
121. Cushman, p. 149.
122. See Chapters Seven and Eight of Richard Von Glahn, *The Country of Streams and Grottoes: Geography, Settlement, and the Civilizing of China's Southwestern Frontier, 1000–1250*, dissertation, Yale University (1983). I have cited von Glahn's dissertation rather than his published book by the same name, because the latter omits two chapters that deal with Hunan.
123. Von Glahn also remarks: "The endemic conflict over lands and resources between the natives and Han was the salient feature of local society in many areas and shaped the development of social and political life on both sides of the frontier. In Hunan, as in Sichuan, attempts to expand the limits of Han settlement were sporadic and local until the 1070s, when the central government adopted the policy of subjugating native peoples and sponsoring Han settlement of the frontier." (p. 295).
124. See Chapter Two.
125. SKQS 586/386.
126. See *Baibu Congshu Jicheng* 4, no. 143.
127. Ibid.
128. See Fan Ye, "Nanman Xinanyi Liezhuan," *Houhanshu*, 86/2829-2843. Of course, authors of this period relied on earlier textual sources, such as the *Shanhajing* 山海經, *Shijing* 詩經, *Chuci* 楚辭, etc. In this case, however, it is impossible to detect the origin of the narrative, especially without access to orally transmitted knowledge of the day.
129. However, during Song times the geographical focus shifted, or at least widened, southward to the Lingnan region, that is, the region south of the Southern Range, which demarcated the southern extreme of Jingzhou. It is not clear why this shift took place. By Song times, what had been known as Jingzhou—then known as two separate routes, Jinghu Nanlu 荊湖南路 and Jinghu Beilu 荊湖北路—had become more secure in their designations as Chinese territory, though official histories still report of Yao and other uprisings. Migration was also certainly a factor, though not the only one.
130. See *Houhanshu*, 86.
131. According to the *Yugong* chapter of the *Shangshu*, the Great Yu 大禹, divided his realm into nine continents, demarcated by specific mountains

and waterways. The limits of Jingzhou were Jing Mountain 荊山 in the north (Hubei) and the area to the south of Heng Mountain 衡山, the Southern Marchmount (*nanyue* 南嶽) in Hunan.

132. Miyakawa argues that it was due to state interest in the southeastern sea trade which made the region desirable to Chinese officialdom: "Because the South Sea trade made Guangdong particularly interesting to the Chinese, Hubei and Hunan were settled and developed as early as Han times in order to facilitate access to Guangdong ports. From these three areas, serving as bases in the east, west, and center, respectively, the regions to the southeast and southwest—Jiangxi, Fujian, Yunnan, Guizhou and Guangxi—were brought under Chinese control." In this way Jingzhou was an important strategic region for the economic activities of the Chinese state in southern regions. Miyakawa's points are valid, though I would argue that the totality of Chinese control of the south at this time is exaggerated.
133. This is also the context in which we witness the emergence of religious Daoism. See Chapter Four.
134. The defeat of Zhang Lu 張魯 at Hanzhong was also a significant event in the history of Daoism. Zhang Lu was the grandson of Zhang Daoling, the religion's founder. After Zhang Lu's defeat, he and thousands of his followers were forced to move to the Wei capital in Luoyang, which helped to disseminate the religion to North and Northeast China.
135. Because this passage comes from the Shu history 蜀書 of the *Record of the Three Kingdoms* 三國志, it refers to Cao Pi as duke rather than emperor. Liu Bei is called *Xianzhu* 先主, "Former Lord."
136. The former Ba state in eastern Sichuan was divided into three commanderies, Baxi (western), Bazhong (central), and Badong (eastern). See Chapter Three for further discussion about Ba.
137. See *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, 32/883.
138. The myth is almost exactly the same in Yao versions, primarily found in the *Passport for Crossing the Mountains* (*Guoshanbang* 過山榜). See Chapter Five.
139. *Houhanshu*, 86/2831.
140. *Man* is often understood as a generic label for non-Chinese Southern peoples. The likely logic determining this toponymic use of the term is that Jingzhou was indeed the southernmost frontier of the Zhou kingdom.
141. The *Sanguozhi* (*Record of the Three Kingdoms*) actually written earlier than the *Houhanshu*, though describing later events, mentions the Wuling Man, as well.

142. See *Houhanshu*, p. 2832.
143. Ibid., p. 2834.
144. He does provide some information about Man customs in general, as well as some Chinese transcriptions of Man terms. He does not, however, distinguish between subgroups, in terms of language and customs.
145. Gong Zhebing, a professor at Wuhan University, for instance, claims that modern day Yao derive from the Lingling Man, while Miao derive from the Wuling Man. Such assertions are based mainly on the geographical correspondence between the modern groups and the locations of Lingling and Wuling. Recall that Song authors believed that Yao were the descendents of the Wuling Man.
146. Mair (1998), p. 10 argues that *jingfu* may in fact be a transcription of an Austroasiatic word: "For example, *ching-fu* (jingfu) (said by Fan Ye to refer to the leaders of the Man; roughly reconstructed as *tsiayngpooeh for the fifth century) closely matches Vietnamese truong-pho ("precinct head")...."
147. Some accounts link the myth to a different people, known as the Dog Rong 犬戎, believed to be northerners. It is interesting that in versions of this myth explaining the origins of the Man, Panhu kills their leader, one General Wu.
148. Mair (1998), p. 3. However, Campany (1996), p. 56, argues that the *Soushenji* was probably lost during the early Song Dynasty. The currently extant version—as are many other medieval anomaly books—is most likely a late Ming recompilation based on collections of passages quoted in late texts. A version of the Panhu myth—the same as the *Houhanshu* account—is also included in the Eastern Han work, the *Fengsu Tongyi* 風俗通義, by Ying Shao 應劭 (140–206 A.D.), but it is not present in the extant text, the length and arrangement of which "...stem from the Northern Song....Wang Liqi's critical edition includes 140 pages of quoted passages recovered from collectanea but not found in the extant text." See Campany (1996), p. 46.
149. Wuling commandery also covered a relatively large area, including much of western Hunan and parts of Sichuan, Guizhou and Hubei.
150. Translated in Mair (1998), p. 5.
151. During the reigns of the first few Han emperors Changsha was one of nine semi-autonomous kingdoms. It was the only one of these to be ruled by family without blood ties to the Han imperial family, surnamed Liu.
152. *Houhanshu*, p. 2830.
153. See ibid., p. 2830. The Zhonghua edition underscores Changsha and Wuling Man separately, as if to say: "The Wuling Man in Changsha."

However, even when Changsha was a kingdom, during the early years of the Han Dynasty, Wuling was a separate commandery, and from the late Western Han throughout medieval times, Wuling and Changsha were two distinct commanderies. Moreover, the *Houhanshu* contains references to both Wuling and Changsha Man.

154. The late Tang work known as the *Manshu* 蠻書, by Fan Chuo 樊綽, appearing to be an exception, claims: "Their ancestors proliferated greatly. From Qiannan [Ch'ien-nan] (i.e. the south of Guizhou, they overpassed the land of Kun, (Yunnan?), Xiang (Hunan), and Gaoli 高麗 [Korea!], and formed a kingdom of their own." Translation in Mair (1998), p. 7. Besides mention of Korea, this would fit Yao migration patterns. The passage goes on as follows: "The skin and bones of Panhu are still visible in Qianzhong 黔中." While Qianzhong was a circuit in Tang times, covering much of modern day Guizhou Province, it was also an earlier designation for Wuling Commandery. Most Yao documents situate their origin myth in a different location, namely Guiji 會稽 Mountain (modern day Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province).
155. Although Tao Qian never uses the word Man in his text, he is without a doubt speaking of the same people.
156. I have found one reference in a Japanese dictionary that indicates such a connection. A.R. Davis (1983) discusses an article by Tang Changru, who believed the Peach Blossom Spring to be a story about the Man. (p. 142). See Tang Changru 唐長孺, "Du Taohuayuan ji Pangzheng Zhiyi 讀桃花源記旁證質疑," in *Weijin Nanbeichao Shilun cong Xubian* 魏晉南北朝史論叢續編.
157. Most authors who have viewed Tao Qian's work in its historical context have focused on the chaotic times during which Tao Qian lived—a period marked by constant warfare. From this perspective, the *Peach Blossom* narrative is a tale of imaginative, or even religious, retreat from the turmoil of medieval Chinese society. Stephen Bokenkamp, on the other hand, has argued that the "direct source of inspiration" for the *Peach Blossom Spring* was a tale, which he terms the "Grotto Passage," found in the late third or early fourth century scripture, known as *Lingbao Wufu xu* (Preface to the Five Talismans of the Numinous Treasure, with Preface). Though I find his argument captivating and agree with it on most of his points, I would argue against a "single" source of inspiration.
158. See David Johnson, "Communication, Class, and Consciousness in Late Imperial China," p. 45.
159. See Mair, p. 578.

160. The italics are mine. I have also changed "ordinary people" to "outsiders.".
161. Mair, p. 578, note 2.
162. Nienhauser (1994), p. 130, note 36.
163. Nienhauser (1994), p. 168, note 17 explains: "*Shiji*, 5:213, 15:742, and 40:1735 all claim that Qin [Ch'in] took Chu's [Ch'u] Wu and Qianzhong [Ch'ien-chung] commanderies in 277 B.C., a year after the fall of Ying. *Shiji* Chapter Five gives 278 B.C. as the year of Bai Qi's enfeoffment, while *Shiji* Chapter 15 has 277 B.C."
164. The *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽 lists three separate mountains—Wu, Wuling, and Wuxi—perhaps to distinguish the Peach Blossom and Panhu narratives, but these three probably refer to the same mountain or range of mountains.
165. This is written as *wu* 武 in other sources.
166. Terms such *Man* 蠻 and *Yi* 夷, as in *Manyi*, are generally translated as "barbarian." However, these terms need not be interpreted only as pejorative labels, at least as they appear in early texts. *Man* and *Yi* clearly refer to peoples who are outside the bounds of Chinese culture, as defined by officialdom—their customs are simply different. I therefore leave both terms untranslated.
167. *Shuijing Zhu Jiaoshi*, p. 649.
168. The earliest source I have been able to find it in is from the eighth or ninth century, some four hundred years after Tao Qian's version. See Chapter Three.
169. There certainly were chieftains who lorded over the area. They told stories about themselves, as did Chinese officialdom. The region was Ba territory prior to the Chu defeat of Ba, so there is likely some validity to this story. In Chapter Three, I will examine the discussion in the Houhanshu and other medieval sources concerning the inhabitants of Ba, who Kleeman has argued, were among the first proponents of the Celestial Masters Daoist movement, then led by Zhang Lu.
170. That is the first reign period of Han Emperor Guangwu.
171. See *Houhanshu*, 86/2832.
172. *Houhanshu*, 86/2829. Translated in Mair (1998), p. 6.
173. Interestingly, in Yao versions of this story Panhu must put on embroidered clothing, in order to become human. This part of the story is especially important during wedding ceremonies.
174. Italics are mine. Hightower translates *yi zhi* 異之 as "it made a great impression on him." Tan Shilin is more on the mark with his translation "ravished by the wonder." In light of medieval usage of the term

yi in anomaly accounts, and the similarity between Tao Qian's tale and such accounts, there is no doubt that he also had the anomalous in mind. See Campany (1996), p. 28: "The terms connoting 'anomaly' include *yi* 異 and *guai* 怪 (both of which as verbs mean 'to wonder at'), and *yao* 妖. Traditional dictionaries often gloss *yi* with *guai* and vice versa, as well as with another term, *qi* 奇, which curiously does not appear among the titles to Six Dynasties anomaly accounts, being used only after the beginning of the Tang..."

175. Translated in Hightower (1970), p. 254.
176. Still, it may be asked why the fisherman alone is able to discover the hidden abode.
177. Translation in Mair (1998).
178. Ibid., p. 6.
179. David Gordon White (1991), p. 146.
180. Campany ascribes it to Bao Jian 鮑堅. See Campany (1996), p. 98. It is quoted in several later sources.
181. Also translated by Campany in White (1991), p. 147.
182. *Xi* is sometimes written as 豁, probably as an indication of a mountain valley or gorge (*gu* 谷).
183. *Dong* can also be written as 峒, the only difference being that the mountain radical (*shan* 山) is placed on top of the phonetic instead of to the left of it. An alternate form, 洞, is the graph used in many Daoist texts to indicate grotto heavens 洞天, hidden realms in or under mountains where immortals dwell. There are thirty six grotto heavens according to mainstream Daoist traditions. For a general discussion of grotto heavens, see Verellen (1995) and Bokenkamp (1986), which looks at the *Peach Blossom Spring* as a grotto world in the Daoist sense. See also ter Haar (1998a), pp. 89–150 and index, and ter Haar (1998b) for enlightening discussion on the significance of grottoes in southern Chinese ritual and mythology.
184. See Fransiscus Verellen, "The Beyond Within: Grotto-Heavens (*Dongtian* 洞天) in Taoist Ritual and Cosmology," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995): 265–290.
185. The modern ethnonym *dong* 侗 (human radical) is perhaps related to this.
186. See E. G. Pulleyblank, "The Chinese and Their Neighbors in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times," (1983): 411–466.
187. David Holm, "The Exemplar of Filial Piety and the End of the Ape-Man: Dong Yong in Guangxi and Guizhou Ritual Performance," *T'oung Pao* 90.1–3 (2004): 32–64. This, of course, does not prove that the word was originally Zhuang.

188. See ter Haar, *Ritual and Mythology of Chinese Triads*, p. 92: "In Southern Daoist Traditions, entire grotto-worlds are situated under the mountains, connected underground with each other and stretching all over China. These mythological constructions originated in widespread beliefs about the construction of the world that antedate Daoism as an identifiable tradition. Inside these grotto-worlds, we find palace complexes and beautiful natural scenery. The border between the grotto-worlds and the ordinary land of mankind is formed by water."
189. Of course, many of these literati were born and raised in this region.
190. *Strange Writing*, p. 186.
191. Ter Haar (1998b), p. 10.
192. Translated in Lemoine (1982), p. 114. See also Shiratori, pp. 106–128.
193. Ibid., p. 114.
194. See *Songshi* 66/1447 and *Yusheng Jisheng*, vol. 3, p. 2327.
195. Ibid.
196. See Strickmann (1982), p. 25: "For example, even though Mei Shan is obviously an otherworldly location, its prominence in the manuscripts inevitably recalls the Mei Shan Yao tribes of Hunan, with whose submission the Sung authorities were so concerned...Now found on maps as Mount Hsüeh-feng [Xuefeng] 雪峰嶽 or Snowy Peaks, the Mei Shan range corresponds to the highest and most thinly settled area of Northwest Hunan. It is in this region that some authorities have situated the ancient homeland of the Yao. The original Peach-blossom Spring is also located in northwest Hunan."
197. See *Songshi* 894/14196.
198. This was related to me by John Lagerwey by email. It is also an underlying question of the *Minsu Quyi* 民俗曲藝 series, organized and edited by Wang Qiugui. Ter Haar believes Meishan should be viewed as a mythological rather than an actual place. More fieldwork needs to be done before a complete picture of the Meishan teaching can be presented.
199. See Hightower (1970), p. 254.
200. Ibid., p. 257.
201. Ibid., p. 257.
202. It is also characteristic of many of the stories found in the *Xiaoyaoyou* 逍遙游 and other chapters of the *Zhuangzi*.
203. Hightower, p. 256.
204. Ibid., p. 256.
205. This understanding of "outside the world" still has resonance in the modern proverb (chengyu): "Beyond the world, a Peach Spring" (*shiwai taoyuan* 世外桃源), used to describe otherworldly scenery.

206. Mair (1998), p. 17.
207. See Chapters 6.3, 7, and 8 of David Gordon White, *Myths of the Dog-Man.*
208. *Myths of the Dog-Man*, p. 140.
209. Yao documents speak of a different emperor, one Emperor Ping 評皇 (sometimes written 平) in support of their claims of provenance.
210. The Yaofu 要服 recalls the five zones of submission established by the sage emperor Yu, wherein peoples submitted tribute in accordance with which zone they lived.
211. In some versions of this schema, the Yellow Emperor is listed as the last of the Three Sovereigns (*sanhuang* 三皇), along with Fuxi 伏羲 and Shennong 神農. Shaohao 少昊 is the first of the Five Emperors in this schema.
212. See David Hawkes, *The Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology of Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets*," pp. 78–79, note *l*.1. Tao Qian follows a similar precedent in his poem, "On Naming My Son," 命子 by tracing his family line back to Emperor Yao, the fourth of the Five Emperors: "Far, far back our ancestral line / Began with the Lord of T'ao-T'ang." See Hightower, p. 33.
213. *Houhanshu*, p. 2829.
214. Here I have translated *Hanren* as Han subject, that is, a subject of the Han empire, and not in an ethnic sense.
215. See *Houhanshu*, p. 2833.
216. See ibid. It is also possible to take *gongbu* simply as offering of tribute, but earlier in the text Fan Ye explains that after the Han rose to power and Wuling commandery was established: "According to the yearly command adults gave one pi of fabric and children gave two zhang. This was called *congbu*." 歲零大人輸布一匹小口二丈足謂賨布 (p. 2831) See Chapter Three, where I discuss the label: *congren* 賨人.
217. The *Songshu*, compiled by Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513), was completed in 493 and covers the period from 420–478. The Liu Song Dynasty of the Six Dynasties period should not be confused with the later Zhao Song Dynasty (960–1279).
218. See *Songshu*, 97/2396. Translation in A.R. Davis, *T'ao Yüan-ming: His Works and Their Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (1983), v. 2, p. 142.
219. James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press (1976), p. 53.
220. Ibid., p. 54.

221. This is not to say that these issues did not play out in other regions.
222. See Terry Kleeman, *Great Perfection*. See also Chapter Four of this book for discussion of the Celestial Masters and their significance in the history of organized Daoism.
223. Kleeman translates his name as, "Lord of the Granaries." I leave it untranslated, since *lin* might be a transliteration of a Ba word.
224. *Houhanshu* 86/2840.
225. Ibid.
226. As ter Haar suggests (personal communication), it is clearly a post-facto rationalization based on the political order that was already in place.
227. Here I follow Kleeman's translation. See *Great Perfection*, p. 117, note 6. As Kleeman points out, the *Houhanshu* diverges markedly from *Jinshu* 120, which he translates as: "These five clans emerged at the same time and all contested to be god," and from the *Shiben* reading: "They emerged together and had a contest of supernatural powers (*zhengshen* 爭神)...." Kleeman deems the latter to be the most fitting, given that there is indeed a competition. However, I would argue that all three of these work in the passage. They are competing both for the right of rulership, but also for the right to be deified. Lord Lin defeats members of the other clans, and at the same time, obliterates other deities, presumably those to whom the people of the region had earlier worshipped, in his pursuit to becoming the high god of the Ba people.
228. Kleeman translates the same words in the *Jinshu* passage: "Accordingly, all tried to pierce the cave roof with their swords, and he who could stick his sword in would be made Linjun."
229. *Jinshu* 120 reads: "None of the swords of the other four clans stuck, but Wuxiang's sword hung suspended there." See Kleeman.
230. See *Houhanshu* 86/2840. *Jinshu* 120: "They made boats from earth, carved designs upon them, and floated them on the water, saying, 'He whose boat stays afloat we will take as Linjun.' Again Wuxiang's boat alone floated. Thereupon they proclaimed him Linjun." *Great Perfection*, p. 118.
231. *Great Perfection*, p. 48.
232. Ibid.
233. See Kleeman p. 118, note 7, where he says the Yi River is "Probably to be identified with the Qingjiang 清江 of southwestern Hubei," and note 12: "Li Xian cites a *Map of Jing Province* (*Jingzhou tu* 荊州圖) that (following the emendation of Hui Dong) tells of a Warm Spring 溫泉 west of Yiling (modern Yichang, Hubei) that was said to have

once produced salt and which had a salty odor. West of the town there is a mountain with a cave containing two stones ten feet apart, a wet one called the yin stone and a dry one called the yang stone. Hui Dong cites an account in the *Jingzhou ji* of Sheng Hongzhi 盛弘之 that describes a mountain cave containing a yang 陽 stone and a yin 陰 stone that were involved in a rain-making ceremony. A man would beat the yin stone to produce rain and the yang stone to clear the skies, but this man suffered a shortened lifespan and no one dared speak his name."

234. *Houhanshu* 86/2840.

235. The *Jinshu* version adds: "*Wo dang wei jun qiu lin di*," 我當為君求廩地 which Kleeman translates as: "I must search for a bountiful place for you," claiming it is a more natural reading than: "I must be lord and seek a bountiful land." In choosing the former, Kleeman takes *wei* 為 as "for [somebody, something], rather than "to be, to become." However, the latter reading appears to be more relevant. Why would he need to find bountiful land for the Salt Spirit? In light of the context of this passage as Wuxiang's journey towards deification as the primal ruler of the Ba people, it is more likely that *wei* is "to be, to become." It is his duty and his rite of passage as ruler to find a land of plenty for his people. See *Great Perfection*, p. 118.

236. The text actually reads *si* 思, but I follow Kleeman in "adopting the textual emendation, suggested by Hui Dong, of *si* 思 to *si* 伺," ibid., note 11. Of course, taken as 思其使, the passage could also be read "conceived of a means."

237. According to the *Jinshu*, she flies with other gods, rather than insects: "All the gods would follow her in flight." Translation in Kleeman, p. 118. This exchangeability between "gods" and "insects" perhaps explains the derivation of the graph, *man* 蠻, which might have reflected an actual belief in insect deities.

238. See Kleeman, p. 118, which adds: "Linjun wanted to kill her but could not identify her. Nor could he tell east from west or Heaven from Earth.... Then Linjun presented to the salt goddess a green thread, saying, 'Wrap this around your neck. If it fits, I will live with you. If it does not fit, I am going to leave.' The salt goddess accepted it and wrapped it around her neck. Linjun stood on a multicolored stone (*dang* 碭) stone and, searching for the one with a green thread on its breast, knelt and shot it, hitting the salt goddess. The salt goddess died, and the many gods who flew with her all left. The heavens then opened up and shone."

239. Translation in Kleeman, p. 119, note 13; as Kleeman notes, the *Houhanshu* diverges from the *Huayangguo zhi* version of events, which says nothing about the transformation of Lord Lin into a white tiger. Instead, it describes how he established a city for his people.
240. Ter Haar explains it as: "enshrined him as a human" (personal communication).
241. *Houhanshu* 86/2842.
242. Ibid., p. 2843.
243. The text doesn't specify if Manyi here refers only to those in Central Ba or to all Manyi.
244. *Houhanshu* 86/2841.
245. Kleeman translates *yi* as "barbarian," where I leave it untranslated. As I have already stated, terms such as *man* and *yi* are used by the official historians, and others, to refer to peoples living beyond *Zhongguo* 中國, which in pre-Qin texts referred to the "Central States," and following the Qin unification, was the "Central State," though it is not completely certain when this shift took place. *Zhongguo* should not be taken as "China" in the modern sense. Again, the distinction is not between ethnic Chinese and non-Chinese, but between registered subjects living within state boundaries and those maintaining various degrees of autonomy, who could become "Chinese."
246. Kleeman explains in note 101: "Ren I5n3, following Deng Shaoqin, argues that *long* 龍, 'dragon,' stands for *long* 瓏, meaning a circular jade with a dragon carved on it."
247. Here I follow Kleeman's translation.
248. *Houhanshu* 86/1841, see also Kleeman p. 119, note 14.
249. See *Houhanshu* 86/2831.
250. Recall that Qianzhong commandery was the Qin appellation for the territory that was known from Han times on as Wuling commandery. Kleeman translates *yiwei* 以爲 as "incorporate into," but it could also be "take [their territory] as," Qianzhong, i.e., Wuling.
251. Translation in Kleeman, p. 119.
252. This was also from where the founder of the Celestial Masters, Zhang Daoling, was said to hail.
253. Ibid.
254. See *Houhanshu* 86/2842.
255. Translation in *Great Perfection*, p. 117. See also Kleeman's remarks in note 1: "Dangqu was located seventy *li* northeast of modern Qu 渠...I follow Gu [Jiegang] in placing the administrative center of Baxi commandery twenty *li* east of modern Langzhong...the name

Langzhong, which was in use at this time, clearly indicates a place like modern Langzhong, surrounded on three sides by the winding Jialing River, also known as the Langjiang 閬江." Kleeman also points out that *Huayangguo zhi* 9/119.I places Li Te's birthplace in "Linwei 臨渭 in modern Lueyang 略陽 but that his ancestors had originally been Cong 賨 people from Dangqu, Baxi."

256. See Kleeman, *Great Perfection*, introduction, for a discussion of the ethnicity, religion, and history of this state.
257. *Zaiji* probably did not have the negative connotations implied in Kleemans translation: "illegitimate annals." On the contrary, much of the narrative in the *Jinshu* version serves to legitimate the Li family—from the links to Linjun and his clan's rise to prominence, to the alliances between certain Ba people and the Qin and Han states, to the exploits of members of the Li family during Jin times. It is worth pointing out that the *Jinshu* is the only official history to include *zaiji* chapters appended at the end of the traditional *liezhan* accounts. As Kleeman explains, they are descriptions of the independent states that co-existed on the margins of the Jin political realm.
258. Ibid., p. 113.
259. Ibid., p. 113. Kleeman goes on to explain: "Tang Emperor Taizong ordered the compilation of this work in a decree of 646, appointing Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579–648), Chu Suiliang 褚遂良 (596–667), and Xu Jingzong 許敬宗 (592–672) to direct the work. They completed this task no later than 648. As one of the standard dynastic histories, the *Book of Jin* has enjoyed a careful and continuous transmission to the present."
260. Ibid., p. 108.
261. The ruling house of the Tang Dynasty several hundred years later also claimed provenance in Gansu, and was also surnamed Li.
262. See *Huayanguo zhi* 1/3.
263. See Kleeman p. 42.
264. See *Huayangguo zhi* 1/7, which writes *yaoyi* 徭役 (requisite service) instead of *zufu* 租賦 (taxes), just as later texts explain names such as *moyao* and *yaoren*. These binomes are fairly commonly interchangeable throughout imperial Chinese history. Moreover, by equating *yaoyi* with the submission of *cong* money, it would seem that *yaoyi* in fact refers to taxes, and not, as earlier discussed, corvée.
265. Ibid., 1/3–4.
266. Kleeman, p. 42.
267. For a more definitive discussion of these names, it would be necessary to submit them to a reconstruction of historical phonology, as well as

relate them to actual surnames in the Ba region. See Kleeman's discussion on pp. 42–43.

268. The name *Qiang* was applied in Han and later sources to refer to certain groups in what became Northwest and West China—in parts of modern day Gansu, Shaanxi, and Sichuan provinces. According to the *Account of the Western Qiang* (*Xi Qiang Zhuan* 西羌傳) in the *Houhanshu*, the Western Qiang originally descended from the Three Miao (*sanmiao* 三苗), whose state (*guo* 國) was near the Southern Marchmount (*nanyue* 南岳), Heng Mountain (*Hengshan* 衡山), in the vicinity of which, Man peoples were known to dwell. The text goes on to explain that the legendary emperor, Shun, relocated them to the northwest, the southern part of their territory connecting with that of the Manyi who lived beyond the borders of Shu and Han (modern day Sichuan and Southern Shaanxi). See *Houhanshu* 87/2869.
269. The *Jinshu* gives his name as Mu 穆.
270. Concerning this title, Kleeman, p. 121, note 22 says, "This title is otherwise unknown. It is uncertain if the Eastern Qiang describes the people Li Mu was supposed to police or the troops he was to lead. Ren Naiqiang (1987:486n2), pointing out the importance of hunting in this region, argues that this title indicates a leader of hunters and that the Eastern Qiang are in fact the Di, hence the Ba Di of our account."
271. See Kleeman, p. 144.
272. Ibid., p. 127.
273. This event is recorded in both the *Houhanshu* and the *Huayangguo zhi*. I will come back to the issue of uprisings during Emperor Ling's reign in Chapter Four.
274. *Huayangguo zhi* 1 says Hanzhong 漢中.
275. *Houhanshu* 86/2843.
276. As Kleeman explains, the *Generational Origins* (*Shiben* 世本) was "a work that was in existence at the time of the compilation of the *Account of the Historian* (ca. 100 B.C.E.) but was expanded in later ages. It is possible that Fan Ye's immediate source was earlier compilations of Latter Han history...passages in the same chapter of the *Book of the Latter Han* can be shown to derive from the *Continued Book of Han* (*Xu Hanshu* 續漢書) of Sima Biao (240–306) and the *Book of the Latter Han* (*Hou Hanshu* 後漢書) of Hua Qiao 華嶠.
277. The *Houhanshu* is silent about this connection, though, as will become apparent in the next chapter, it includes vital information about the spread of the Yellow Turban movement to the Ba region and among the Banshun Man. Chapter Four also discusses the emergence and significance of the Celestial Masters.

278. See *Huayangguo zhi* 9/119.1–2.
279. Based on Kleeman's translation of *Jinshu* 120/3022. See *Great Perfection*, p. 120.
280. It does add, (following Kleeman's translation), that after the Cong people moved to Yangjuban in Hanzhong, "They robbed and plundered passing travelers. The populace suffered because of them and called them the Yangju Ba." See Kleeman, p. 120.
281. Ibid., p. 120.
282. See *Great Perfection*, one of whose mains themes is the connection between the Li family and Zhang Lu's community.
283. According to Hu Tiansheng and other Chinese scholars of contempo rary Tujia 土家 culture, the Ba surname *Li* actually derives from the *Lin* in *Linjun*. These scholars, applying their knowledge of the modern Tujia dialect to the passages about *Linjun* and the white tiger, understand *Linjun* not as the "Lord of the Granaries," but rather as the *Lin* Lord. They argue that the Tujia word for tiger is none other than *li*, and that *lin* is actually phonetically equivalent; thus *Linjun* is really the "Lord of Tigers," which explains why his souls transformed into a white tiger upon his death. Such an explanation seems to have been in circulation at least since the 1950s. As Kleeman points out, "Zhang Guanying (1957:70) suggests a different interpretation for this name. Pointing out that among the Tujia, putative descendents of the Ba, "tiger" is called *li* 力, he speculates that *lin* might also be a non-Chinese word meaning "tiger," hence *linjun* would mean something like "tiger lord." That the meaning of the name *Linjun* derives from the sound of a Ba word rather than from "granary" might also resolve Kleeman's dilemma in rationalizing the appellation, "Lord of the Granaries" with a people whose livelihood was apparently based on hunting and not on farming: "Linjun literally means 'lord of the granaries,' a curious term for the leader of a people renowned for their hunting and fishing, rather than agricultural skills." It very well might be the case that the Tujia surnames, *Li* 李 and *Lin* 林, are derivative of the Tujia or Ba word for "tiger;" however, this realization does little to explain the exact choice of graphs used to represent indigenous sounds, and the fact that these are the written forms of standard Chinese surnames—they have significance, and have resonance beyond a specific region or ethnic community.
284. *Scripture of the Transformations of Laozi* (*Laozi Bianhua jing* 老子變化經), preserved in Dunhuang and translated by Anna Seidel. See her, *La Divinisation de Lao Tseu dans le Taoïsme des Han* (1969) and "The Image of the Perfect Ruler in Early Taoist Messianism: Lao-tzu and

Li Hung." *History of Religions* 9.2-3 (1969–1970):216–247. Also see Stephen Bokenkamp, "Time After Time: Taoist Apocalyptic History and the Founding of the T'ang Dynasty." *Asia Major*, 3rd series, 7.I (1994): 59–88.

285. *Great Perfection*, p. 65. Further on, he adds, "...Sichuan had been an important focus of speculation and prophecy concerning the appearance of an avatar of Laozi bearing the surname Li, who would usher in cataclysms followed by a utopian world." Ibid., p. 82.
286. See Chapter Four for more on the Celestial Masters.
287. Kleeman, p. 67, prefers, "Newly Emerged Correct and Unitary Dao of Covenanted Awe," but in my view, this translation doesn't fully explain the import of *mengwei*.
288. See *Taiping Guangji* 8, entry 3. Translation in Kleeman, p. 67.
289. See Kleeman, p. 67; *Shiji* 63/2140. Nienhauser, vol. 7, p. 21, note 3, points out that it is actually the *Liexian zhuan*, which claims Laozi was *zhuxiashi*. See also his discussion in note 2 on the same page about the surname, *Li*, which "...is not attested in works earlier than the last half of the Warring States period. The lack of early attested examples of the *cognomen* Li is disturbing for those who regard Lao Tzu [Laozi] as an authentic figure living at the same time as Confucius."
290. See Kleeman, p. 67; Jeffrey Riegel, "Kou-mang and Ju-shou." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 5 (1989–1990): 55–83; and Suzanne Cahill, *Transcendence and Divine Passion: The Queen Mother of the West in Medieval China*, 1993.
291. See Chapter Five.
292. See Nathan Sivin, "On the Word 'Taoist' as a Source of Perplexity: With Special Reference to the Relations of Science and Religion in Traditional China," *History of Religion* 17 (1978): 303–330.
293. Michel Strickmann, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching," (1979), p. 165.
294. Ibid., pp. 165–166.
295. See *Yuanshi* 202/4526, for instance, which claims: "Those who are known as the Celestial Masters of the Orthodox Unity started with Zhang Daoling of the Han...." 正一天師者, 始自漢張道陵.
296. I interviewed Complete Perfection (*Quanzhen* 全真) Daoist priests at Qingyang Monastery 青羊宮, Sichuan province, from January to July 2001. Quanzhen Daoism is a fairly late denomination in Chinese history, with roots going back to Song times, but is currently the most representative order in China.
297. There is also no evidence that either of these *philosophers*, or the lineages of their followers, thought of themselves as *Taoists*. *Daojia*, from

which the English *Taoism*, or *philosophical Taoism*, derives, was a category promoted by the Han official historian, Sima Tan, and his son, Sima Qian.

298. When referring to the thought of Laozi and Zhuangzi, et al., I write "Taoism" with a "t," since most recent books in English on these figures have, as they still do, employed this spelling. The majority of recent works in English on religious Daoism, on the other hand, have accepted the pinyin-ized version of the name. This distinction between "taoism" and "daoism" was suggested to me by Alan Berkowitz (personal communication). See also Berkowitz, *Patterns of Engagement: The Practice and Portrayal of Reclusion in Early Medieval China* (2000), pp. 2–3, note 4: "I retain the orthography 'Taoist' (also Taoism) to refer to the general philosophical bent (often called 'philosophical Taoism') that has found expression in such texts as the *Zhuangzi* and the *Laozi*. The orthography 'Daoist' (also Daoism) is used when referring to China's indigenous system of religious beliefs whose codification began in the second through fourth centuries of the Common Era." The basic division in Chinese is between *daojia* 道家 and *daojiao* 道教, though both of these binomes have their own etymologies, which do not always reflect their modern sense. See Sivin, "The Word Taoism as a Source of Perplexity."

299. See Bokenkamp, "Early Daoist Scriptures," for a translation of the extant version of the Xiang'er commentary, unearthed at Dunhuang.

300. A Mien informant in Northern Thailand confirmed to me that Mien in Thailand view Laozi as the first teacher of their ritual tradition.

301. The text of the Zhuangzi is indeed included in the *Daozang* under Zhuangzi's deified name, (Nanhua Zhenren 南華真人), as are other Warring States and early Han collections, such as Mozi, Hanfeizi, Sunzi, and the Huainanzi.

302. Strickmann was primarily interested in establishing clear and concise criteria for recognition of Daoist lineages that derived from the Celestial Masters. He apparently placed more emphasis on the Celestial Masters as a tradition than in distinguishing the various textual elements of which that tradition was comprised. The words of Stephen Bokenkamp, who was Strickmann's student at the time he wrote "Sources of the Ling-Pao Scriptures," perhaps reflect or respond to Strickmann's own view: "When confronting a religious tradition, surely the chief point at issue is not the sources of the various elements but what kind of mixture has emerged from them." See Bokenkamp, "Sources of the Ling-Pao Scriptures," p. 435.

303. See Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha," in *Tantric and Taoist Studies* 21, p. 291.
304. Several scholars have noted that contemporary Yao Daoism resembles this early Celestial Masters community more closely than does orthodox Han Daoism, as has been studied in Taiwan and South China. All members of the Yao community—at least its male members—endure ordination rites. In orthodox Daoism, the Daoist priest is viewed as a professional hired by the community to perform specific rituals.
305. See *Xuandu Lvwen* 玄都律文; Translation in ibid., pp. 291–292.
306. See John Lagerwey, "Taoist Ritual Space and Dynastic Legitimacy" *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995): 87–95.
307. See Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, p. 36. Bokenkamp goes on to describe the graph *gui* (demon, revenant) in terms of its relation to the Celestial Masters' belief that "all those who do not act in accord with the Dao are no more than 'mobile corpses.' Converts to the religion, then, may have been regarded as 'revenants'—those from among the 'living dead' who had returned to the true source of life and thus owed a debt of service to the Dao." Ibid., p. 3.
308. See ibid., p. 68, note 24, and also Rolf Stein, "Remarques sur les Mouvements du Taoïsme politico–religieux au IIe siècle ap. J.C.," T'oung Pao 50 (1963), pp. 42–59.
309. See Terry Kleeman, *Great Perfection* (1998), p. 4.
310. *Zhi* is commonly translated as diocese or parish.
311. See Fransiscus Verellen's detailed study of the twenty four dioceses on the website of the Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative: http://www.ecai.org/24dioceses/24Dioceses_article.html. I visited several of them while residing at the Institute of Daoism and Religious Studies at Sichuan University in Chengdu, from January to July 2001.
312. See the map on p. 80 of Wang Chunwu 王純五, *Tianshidao Ershisi zhi kao* 天師道二十四治考.
313. See, Isabelle Robinet, *Taoism: Growth of a Religion*, p. 56.
314. See Isabelle Robinet, *Taoism: Growth of a Religion* (1997), pp. 56–57.
315. This is also one of the routes through which Buddhism might have entered China. In fact, some of the earliest Buddhist images in China have been found in Sichuan.
316. It is known in some sources as Red-Stone Wall Mountain (*Chichengshan* 赤城山), not to be confused with Green-Stone Wall Mountain (*Qingchengshan* 青城山), another important Daoist sacred site to the west of Chengdu.
317. See Kleeman, pp. 69–70.

318. See Nathan Sivin, "State, Cosmos, and Body in the Last Three Centuries B.C." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 55.1 (1995): 5–37.
319. Charles Le Blanc refers to this "cosmological principle" as *Ganying* 感應, which he translates as "'stimulus and response,' or more simply, 'resonance....' As a preliminary definition, the idea of resonance means all things in the universe are interrelated and influence each other according to pre-set patterns, so that interaction appears as spontaneous and not caused by an external agent." See Le Blanc (1985), p. 8.
320. The *Ganying* principle is not always used in the *Huainanzi* in connection with rulers, but can also describe the heavenly response, often magical, to the actions of individuals who have reached the highest stages of training, cultivation, and refinement, or whose behavior expresses a completely pure and focused intention, without any signs of deception. Le Blanc's translation of *Huainanzi* 6, known as, "Peering into the Obscure" (*Lanming* 覽冥), for instance, opens as follows: "In ancient times, when Master Kuang 曠 played the White Snow melody, wonderful creatures because of this descended, rain and wind broke loose, Duke Ping 平 became afflicted with infirmity, and the land of the state of Jin 晉 was scorched red. When the commoner's daughter declared herself to Heaven, thunder and lightning struck down, the towered pavilion of Duke Jing 景 collapsed, his limbs and body were cut and broken, and the waters of the sea gushed forth in a great flood." See Le Blanc, p. 103.
321. Charles Le Blanc explains: "When Liu An 劉安, King of Huainan 淮南 (179–122 BC), paid his state visit to Emperor Wu 武 (r. 141–87 BC), he presented him, as a token of esteem, with a book in twenty-one chapters that had "just recently been completed." C.f. Le Blanc (1985), p. xv.
322. *Yidi* is one of the many names for the autochthonous peoples who lived beyond the administrative units established by the state.
323. See SKQS 848/740.
324. Mention here of the imperial mourning and its duration recalls a passage in the *Shangshu* that begins with the same words (*Gaozong liangyin, sannian buyan*). In fact, those words are repeated in a variety of Warring States and imperial sources. That there was quite a bit of discrepancy about what Gaozong's mourning period actually entailed is evidenced in a passage in the *Lunyu*. One of Confucius's disciples, Zizhang 子張, asks the master what is meant by the statement in the *Documents*, "When Gaozong was in the mourning hut, for three years he did not speak?" The master provides Zizhang with the following

explanation: "What is the necessity [of speaking about] Gaozong? Ancient leaders were all like this. When the lord died, the one hundred officials regulated themselves (or following Legge, p. 291: all attended to their several duties....) by following the direction of the prime minister for three years. 何必高宗，古之人皆然，君薨百官總己以聽於冢宰三年 See *Lunyu* 14.40.

325. That is, a moral, spiritual, and physiological state of perfection, also represented by the *heavenly heart*, whereby one's *qi* becomes fully rarefied and pure.
326. See SKQS 848/738-39.
327. Apparently, Liu An warned the emperor on more than one occasion about the reckless use of force in subjugating peoples. For iinstance, in 135 B.C. he wrote: "A long letter...to Emperor Wu about the domestic troubles of the region of Min-Yue 閩越, on the south-east border of the Kingdom of Huainan. Liu An was alarmed at the threat of a military intervention by the imperial army, which necessarily overrun Huainan." See Le Blanc, p. 23.
328. See SKQS 848/740.
329. Liu An was one such rebellious leader; in 122 B.C. he was arrested, along with his family and retainers, who were all executed for plotting a rebellion. See Le Blanc, p. 23.
330. In 1960 Wang Ming published an authoritative version of the *Taipingjing*, called the *Taipingjing Hejiao* 太平經合校, in which he combined the *Daozang* version with quotations from a variety of other sources. As Mansvelt Beck relates: "He punctuated the text in Western fashion (i.e. with quotation marks, question marks etc.), and he corrected mistakes made in the early 15th century during the editing of the 'Taoist Repository.' Moreover, Wang Ming looked for quotations from the *TPJ* in old encyclopedias, religious tracts etc., and wherever it was possible he re-injected these into the text." See Mansvelt Beck, "The Date of the Taiping Jing," p. 151.
331. It might, in fact be two separate texts, as Mansvelt Beck believes.
332. See *Hanshu* 75/3192. Here, I follow Mansvelt Beck's translation, except for minor changes in italics. See Mansvelt Beck, p. 155.
333. Ibid., p. 155.
334. See ibid., p. 156.
335. Some versions of this story write "Taichu yuannian."太初元年 Thus there is some discrepancy in the *Hanshu* about this reign period. It could be translated either as the first year of the "Primal Commander of the Utmost Beginning" (*taichu yuanjiang*) or "The First Year of the

Utmost Beginning" (*taichu yuannian*). The former seems somewhat unusual as a reign title, and might be a scribal error, though it could also be a reflection of the boldness of the proposals. The figure of the "Primal Commander" and other military manifestations of divinity are very important in later Daoism.

336. Translation follows ibid., p. 156, except for italics.
337. Of course, the *fangshi* in Liu An's court might be viewed in a similar fashion, as might the fact that Liu An presented a text to the emperor. It is also possible to view such descriptions in light of Warring States and Han Dynasty notions of patronage, such as is displayed in Sima Qian's *Shiji*, one of its central themes being the ability of certain rulers to recognize and patronize worthy men. However, during the early Western Han, such worthy men and *fangshi* are not explicitly heavenly emissaries.
338. Mansvelt Beck explains that "Yang Shuda 楊樹達, *Hanshu kuiguan* 漢書窺管 (Peking, 1955), p. 463, mentions a remark by Liang Yusheng 梁玉繩 (1745–1819) to the effect that this *TPJ* [Taipingjing] is thereby the oldest example of prognostication literature 讖. See Ibid., p. 157, note 13.
339. See Seidel, *Imperial Treasures*, p. 304.
340. See Mansvelt Beck, pp. 157–159; Barbara Hendrischke, "The Concept of Inherited Evil in the Taiping Jing 太平經," East Asian History 2 (1991), pp. 1–30; and Seidel, "Imperial Treasures," 335–340.
341. Translation of *Houhanshu* 30/1080 in Beck, p. 158.
342. See Seidel, p. 336. Other scholars have questioned the likelihood of the two texts being related. See Beck's discussion. Hendrischke, p. 1, questions the existence of either text: "There are no hard data—no early citations or parallel texts, no bibliographical evidence—to prove the existence of a Han dynasty *Taiping* text." All we have is statements in a handful of mostly later sources, which I assume were based on earlier sources, and do convey varying levels of veracity.
343. See Mansvelt Beck, p. 158, note 16, explains that "These springs are situated in Julu 鉅鹿 (northeastern China)."
344. Translation in Mansvelt Beck, p. 158. Pei Songzhi's 裴松之 (372–451) commentary to the *Sanguozhi* cites a work of the historian Yu Xi 虞喜 (fl. 307–343), which records almost the exact same passage.
345. For more on the River Chart, see Seidel's excellent discussion in "Imperial Treasures." See also Campany, *Strange Writing*.
346. See below.
347. Mansvelt Beck explains: "Alarmed by a spate of bad omens, Xiang Kai had traveled during the year [166] from his home in southern Shandong

to the capital and as a private person submitted two memorials to the throne." See Mansvelt Beck, p. 158.

348. See *Houhanshu* 30/1081.
349. See "Imperial Treasures," p. 337.
350. See ibid., p. 337.
351. Of course, "Celestial Master" could in fact be a later insertion by a medieval Daoist editor. However, the connotation is that of a divine, rather than human actor, and the word is most likely related to the Han Dynasty term, "Emissary of the Celestial Emperor." (*tiandi shizhe* 天帝使者).
352. See Barbara Hendrischke, "The Place of the Scripture on Great Peace in the Formation of Taoism," *Religion and Chinese Society: Ancient and Medieval China*, vol. 1, pp. 249–278.
353. Ibid., p. 253.
354. See ibid., p. 253 and Wang Ming, 119.675.
355. I romanize his personal name as "jiao" instead of "jue," as most scholars do, since both *Houhanshu* 8/35 and *Sanguozhi* 8/261 speak of another rebel leader, living during the same period, named Zhang Niujiao 牛角 (Bull's Horn), which is a conspicuous reference to Daoist-like practices.
356. See *Houhanshu* 30/1048 and Beck, p. 159.
357. See "Imperial Treasures."
358. See *Houhanshu* 75/2436.
359. He should not be confused with Zhang Liang 張良, the chief strategist for Liu Bang, the first Han emperor.
360. The surname *Zhang* was significant, at least for the Celestial Masters, because it was also the surname of Zhang Liang良, Liu Bang's chief advisor, who helped him rise to power and eventually become the first Han emperor. Bokenkamp explains: "Zhang Liang (d. 189 B.C.E) was, as early as the Former Han, regarded as the 'Master,' or teacher, of the Han ruling house. His confirmation of the Han mandate was a military text and seal he had supposedly received from his master, Lord Yellow Stone. In the apocrypha of the Latter Han, Lord Yellow Stone is identified with Laozi. In later Celestial Master texts, Zhang is said to be a direct ancestor of Zhang Daoling." See Bokenkamp (1997), p. 170. While early Celestial Master texts do not explicitly mention a familial link between Zhang Daoling and Zhang Liang, one of the earliest known Celestial Master texts, *Commands and Admonitions for the Families of the Great Dao* 大道家戒令, purported to be the words of Zhang Lu, highlights Zhang Ling as one of the important

points of transmission of the Dao to worldly leaders. It was through him that the "red Han house" received the Mandate. See Bokenkamp, p. 170. Moreover, Zhang Daoling hailed from the same region as Liu Bang and Zhang Liang. The *Family Commands* also views Gan Ji as an earlier point of transmission, though he is placed in the Zhou Dynasty, as opposed to the Latter Han.

361. *Houhanshu* 71/2299.
362. Compare this with Zhang Lu who taught people using the Way of Demons.
363. It would seem that *fang* referred both to the generals in charge, as well as to their followers. It would be worthwhile to compare the thirty-six *fang* of the Yellow Turbans with the twenty four *zhi* (diocese) of the Celestial Masters. Most scholarship on this subject views the *fang* as military units and the *zhi* as religious units, although with allusions to Han administrative terminology.
364. See *Houhanshu* 71/2299.
365. *Houhanshu* 77/2300.
366. See *Houhanshu* 86/2834. See Chapter Two of this book for a lengthy discussion about the Wuling Man.
367. See Chapter Three.
368. See *Houhanshu* 86/2843.
369. See *Houhanshu* 8/356.
370. See *Sanguozhi* 31/866. *Huayangguo zhi* 5/70 has the same passage with minor changes, except that it takes place in the first year of the Zhongping reign period, and Ma Xiang is from Liangzhou 涼州. Kleeman mentions Ma Xiang, but offers little comment about the relations between him and either Zhang Jiao or Zhang Lu: "Ma Xiang 馬相, proclaiming himself a Yellow Turban, led a revolt in Sichuan in 184, and by some accounts Zhang Xiu 裴脩 also led such a group. These rebellions were put down only with much bloodshed; the local and national military forces formed to suppress them were beyond the control of the central government and eventually carved up the empire among themselves." See *Great Perfection* p. 66.
371. Presumably, everyone in the service of these commanders wore yellow turbans.
372. *Houhanshu* 8.
373. This is the subject of Kleeman's book, *The Great Perfection.*
374. See Kleeman, "Ethnic Identity and Daoist Identity in Traditional China," *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual* (2002), p. 28.
375. Ibid.

376. See Hansen, *The Open Empire: A History of China to 1600* (2000), p. 4, for instance, where she writes: "This new approach results in a view of China before 1600 that differs from what readers might expect. These sources depict an empire that incorporated different regions and different peoples as it was taking shape and that remained open to outside influence throughout its long history—not a central kingdom closed to foreign influences."
377. This is not to say that the words were created by officials; they very well may have had autochthonous provenance, but in official discourse they had specific semantic significance.
378. "Banshun" is still somewhat of a mystery in this regard. Unlike "Wuling" and "Lingling" it does not appear to be a geographic modifier.
379. I have translated *bianyi* 邊夷 as "border peoples," rather than including *yi* so as to preserve the traditional parsing into four directional groups: Qiang 羌, Man 蠻, Rong 戎, Di 狄. Schipper's translation includes Yi as one of five foreign peoples: "From the times of yore, since Heaven and Earth separated, there were neighboring countries. The Yi 夷, the Qiang 羌, the Man 蠻, the Rong 戎, and the Di 狄, encircle China." See Schipper, "Purity and Strangers," *T'oung Pao* 80 (1994): p. 72.
380. See *Daozang* 28.414b.
381. In Warring States times *Zhongguo* referred to the Central States—that is, those states deriving their legitimacy from the Zhou kingdom. However, it is likely that after the Qin unification it became a singular conceptual entity.
382. So far, I have yet to encounter a good argument for why it is a fifth-or sixth-century text, though it seems to be a generally accepted assertion. One point that might help to date it is that it cites the *Taipingjing*, which in its extant form, was first compiled in the sixth century. Strickmann explains: "The true 'reconstruction' of the T'ai-p'ing ching was that attempted under the Ch'en dynasty (557–89) by Taoists at Mao Shan. They ventured to produce, or 're-produce,' the large scripture that had been presented to the Han court in the second century A.D. by draping diverse archaic or archaic-seeming materials over a scaffolding built up from the Mao Shan revelations of 364–370." See Strickmann, "History, Anthropology, and Chinese Religion," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40.1 (1980): pp. 201–248.
383. See *Daozang* 32/207.
384. Schipper translates *siyi* as foreigner, but it obviously refers to the four directional groups. The point is that they are border peoples, not that they are foreigners.

385. See Schipper, p. 74.
386. See *Daozang* 32.207.
387. See Kleeman, "Ethnic Identity," p. 31.
388. See Schipper, p. 74.
389. See Kleeman, pp. 31–32.
390. Note that this should not be considered complete literacy, since the initiates are only learning how to copy certain types of generic document; they are not learning how to manipulate the language in creative ways or to read for comprehension.
391. However, no evidence pertaining to textual traditions or ritual practices has been found prior to the Ming dynasty. Moreover, the oldest extant Yao manuscripts only date from the Kangxi period (1662–1723) of the Qing dynasty, though some, at least, are most likely copies of older sources. Such facts raise obvious limitations to any discussions concerning Yao religion and culture, unless new evidence should be discovered.
392. See Strickmann (1982), pp. 23–24. See also Edward Davis (2001), Poul Anderson (1996), Judith Boltz (1987), and Boltz (1993).
393. See Strickmann, p. 27.
394. See Chapter One for a full discussion of the label Yao in various written sources.
395. Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen*, p. 192.
396. Ibid., p. 192.
397. Suzanne E. Cahill, "Taoism at the Sung Court," p. 40.
398. Hymes, pp. 192–194.
399. Ibid.
400. Ibid.
401. Quoted in Lemoine (1982), p. 22.
402. See Lemoine, p. 22.He goes on to add in a parentheses: "Even today, the Yao and the She are the northernmost of all the Southern Chinese ethnic groups."
403. See Davis (2001).
404. Throughout my book I refer to it simply as the *Passport*. It is often discussed in relation to a larger body of literature, known in English as the *Yao charters*.
405. See Strickmann, p. 23.
406. Lemoine, p. 23.
407. See Wang Gungwu, *Cambridge History of China, Ming Dynasty*, p. 302. See also Frederick Mote, *Imperial China, 900–1800*, pp. 439–455.
408. See ibid., p. 303.

409. See ibid., p. 303.
410. See Cushman, pp. 119–147. According to him, "In the first century (the eleventh) that the term Yao is reported in the Chinese historical literature, Yao are to be found in Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Hunan, and Fukien, and even in North Vietnam. pp. 123–124. Other scholars also include Yunnan and Guizhou, as well as other Southeast Asian states.
411. Gong Zhebin believes this is in Jiangyong County, in Southwestern Hunan, near the Hunan / Guangxi border and west of Jiuyi Mountain 九嶷山, where the sage emperor Shun was said to be buried. Acknowledgement of this location as the Yao homeland supports his claim that Yao are the descendents of the Lingling Man. The story has many similarities with Tao Qian's, *Peach Blossom Spring Record*. Instead of a fisherman discovering the grotto, it is government forces that intrude on Yao territory. Rather than the fisherman leaving, the Yao families, themselves, leave, after splitting a bull's horn among different families who each set off in a different direction. The original homeland, then, remains hidden from later generations.
412. See *Yuanshi* 30, 38, 40, and 63.
413. However, during an interview I conducted with Iu Mien (Yao) living in California, a ritual specialist told me that the original *Passport* is in Thailand. Another informant, who claims to have come from a line of leaders in Laos and South China, and is himself recognized as a leader in America, told me he has five copies, which are presumably all manuscripts, rather than printed copies.
414. Some other groups, like the *She* 畲 (also pronounced *Yu* when it means swidden agriculture) in Guangdong, Fujian, Anhui, and Zhejiang, are also known to possess similar documents. The linguistic and cultural affinities between *She* and *Yao* have yet to be adequately investigated. More fieldwork needs to be conducted among different Yao subgroups, such as the Landian or Mun, before ascertaining whether the *Passport* is universal to all Yao subgroups or is primarily a Iu Mien phenomenon.
415. According to Pourret, "In general a Cia Sen Pong [Mien pronunciation of Guoshan bang] is made of bamboo or white cotton, in lengths of 5 to over 7 meters, with an average width of 44 cm. In all Mien Yao areas the form is the same. Some Mun Yao [Landian] seem to have an abridged book relating the same tradition but we have not found any similar to those of the Mien Yao." See p. 248.
416. In the Yao version of the Panhu myth, the figure of Emperor Ping 評 replaces that of Emperor Gao Xin; instead Ping's enemy is one King Gao. Is King Gao (high) an allusion to the mythical Chinese emperor?

If so, then it would be a subversion of the story, as found in dynastic records, and of the dynastic tradition itself, in that Gao Xin rests at the origin of this tradition. The graph used to represent Emperor Ping 評 (to criticize, admonish) is also a peculiar deviation from dynastic sources, where the epithet *ping* is usually written as 平 (level), e.g., King Ping of Chu (*Chu Pingwang* 楚平王).

417. Ter Haar. *New* Interpretations, p. 10.
418. See Martin Kern; Robert Campany, pp. 106–112.
419. *Shiji* 史記, Give Chinese. Translation by Nienhauser. See *The Grand Scribes Record*, p. 36.
420. *Shiji, Basic Annals (Benjia* 本紀), number 6. Translation by Nienhauser, volume 1, p. 152.
421. Kern (2000), p. 109.
422. Lemoine (1982), p. 14. He argues, "an identical vernacular tradition of their migrations is kept by the whole group, in places as far apart as Guangdong Province in China and Northern Thailand." This is also true of the Panhu myth, as well as the *Passport*, in which it is recorded. We are less certain about the stories of origin of other Yao sub-groups. Lemoine continues: "It is embodied in a thanksgiving ritual—called *tzo dang* [in Mien language] (歌堂)—in honor of the Lords of the sanctuaries, *miu hung* [Mien] (廟王), one of them being their first ancestor, *Bien Hung*, that is, Panhu.
423. Lemoine's translation of this second phrase is: "Voyage across the Sea at the Mercy of the Waves." See p. 17. He claims that this story is a "second origin myth for the Mien Yao."
424. See Li Mo. "The Ancient Distribution of the Yao in Guangdong," in Lemoine (1991), pp. 145–173.
425. See Strassberg. *Strange Creatures from the Guideways Through Mountains and Seas*, p. 33.
426. Kern (2000), p. 107.
427. See ibid., p. 107.
428. Lemoine (1982), p. 17. 願在船中內裡。備辦白紙銀錢。三牲長利。敖動祖宗香火。太祖家先五旅兵馬。回頭轉面。許上完盆。部書歌堂良願在案。進在船中裡內。担保十二姓猺仙子孫。.
429. Such narratives are not necessarily based solely on the same kind of historiographical criteria that guides modern historical and journalistic endeavors. They do not simply record facts, though this is not to deny the possibility of discovering facts embedded in narratives that are driven by other needs and purposes.
430. See map II in Lemoine (1982), p. 17.

431. Pourret claims that in the earliest versions of the *Passport* this scene appears on the left side, at the end of the main body of text.
432. Not all Yao sub-groups, nor do all *Passports* that I have read, claim twelve original clans.
433. In almost all versions, there is an image of a tablet bearing the words *Pinghuang Zhengwei* 評皇正位, "the Legitimate Position of Emperor Ping." In one version made in Laos in the 1960s or 1970s, reproduced in Pourret, *King Pan* is substituted for Emperor Ping. This should be viewed as either a shift in ritual emphasis from the figure of Emperor Ping to King Pan, or as an amalgamation of these two figures. In contemporary Yao society, one of the most important holidays is the King Pan festival, *Panwang jie* 盤王節. As far as I am aware, there is no separate festival commemorating *Emperor Ping*.
434. In standard Daoist depictions of the Three Pure Ones, *Daode*, also known as *Laozi*, the reputed author of the *Daodejing*, and as *Taishang Laojun*, is usually on the left and *Lingbao* is on the right. Moreover *Yuanshi* is commonly referred to as the Dao prior to the genesis of the cosmos. Yao look to *Taishang Laojun* as the primal teacher of their ritual traditions.
435. Tapp (1989), p. 65.
436. See especially his comments about bridges as links between the worlds of life and death, and their appearance in Triad initiation rites, which marked the symbolic death of the initiate, in his fascinating discussion of "Boundaries and Passages," pp. 89–150.
437. Ter Haar, p. 97.
438. Chinese versions have been found as early as the Tang Dynasty in Dunhuang. See Teiser. Ter Haar translates the name of this river as the "Whatcanwedo River."
439. See Victor Mair's (1996) discussion of southern bottle-gourd myths: "...there is a widespread belief among many people in China that their ancestors were born from a gourd." (p. 188) As Mair points out, the gourd is also associated with "cosmogonic and anthropogonic myths having to do with chaos, creation, the flood, and the peopling of the world...Gateways, especially those leading to gardens, are often cut in the outline of a bottle gourd. Isolated utopias are frequently described in the imagery of separate, self-contained worlds existing inside of bottle gourds, and sagely Daoist transcendents are said to retreat inside of them." (p. 186).
440. Cf. ter Haar, p. 90. "White is the color of the bones—produced by male semen; red is the color of the flesh—produced by female menstruation blood."

441. I showed pictures of *Passports* in Pourret's book to Iu Mien living in California, who recognized some images, but failed to recognize others.
442. Pourret, p. 252.
443. See ibid., p. 258.
444. There is a community in Toulouse, in southern France.
445. In Thailand, this was explained to me as the name by which Iu Mien refer to their ritual tradition.
446. That is, the last Song dynasty emperor, who was defeated by the Mongols, led by Khublai Khan, in 1279. The Jingding year is 1260, the very year Khubilai rose to power.
447. I have also seen cotton and hemp tapestries—what Pourret calls "squares"—that visually represent ritual practices. One that I found in Northern Thailand portrays various life cycle rituals, such as those associated with giving birth, being born, marriage, ordination, and death. The same bridge over a raging fire appears in this piece. I have been unable to ascertain whether such pieces were strictly mnemonic aids or actual décor used during ceremonial occasions.
448. Cushman (1971), pp. 144–147.
449. Jonsson (2000), p. 73.
450. See *Practical Reason*, p. 47.
451. See ibid., p. 52.
452. See ibid., p. 47.
453. One informant in California claimed that when his ancestors travelled from Yunnan province, in China, through Vietnam, to Northern Laos, where they settled down, they were able to convince the officials that they were authorized by the Chinese emperor to migrate and settle wherever they pleased, by showing the *Passport*.
454. As Mair suggests, it "is usually rendered as something like an 'announcement' or '[text of a] public notice'" (personal communication).

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