

authoritative textual basis for West African Islam to this day, and as most of them are in Arabic, they promote the Arabization of northern Nigeria.

The effects of the Fulani jihad were significant. It established an aggressive Muslim state in the area of northern Nigeria, Niger, and parts of Benin and Burkina Faso that worked to convert pagans and normify Islamic practice in the area. The jihad also closely linked the Sufism of the *Qadiriyya* order with a tradition of reform that has served as a useful bulwark against contemporary radicalism.

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See also Benin; Burkina Faso; Fulani Jihad; Islamic Modernism; Islamic Reform; Niger; Nigeria; Sufism

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DAOISM

In a modern international context, the Western category of Daoism (also spelled Taoism) may refer to two distinct religious and cultural phenomena: (1) an indigenous Chinese religious tradition that is intricately connected with traditional Chinese culture and is now present throughout the modern world and (2) a new religious movement (NRM) with only loose connections with the earlier Chinese religious tradition. Historically speaking, and beyond dominant Western constructs, only the former is Daoism per se. Nonetheless, both movements are diverse, and both continue to undergo complex transformations within contexts of globalization, multiculturalism, and religious pluralism.

In the West, the matter is complicated by a number of other factors, including Orientalist and popular misrepresentations of the Chinese religious tradition, the complex history of American

forms of alternative spirituality, and the use of a “rhetoric of tradition” among self-identified Western Daoists (or, perhaps more in keeping with their own presentation, Dao-ists). The present entry accepts the validity and importance of studying each phenomenon on its own terms while at the same time advancing a critical analysis of “popular Western Taoism” (PWT). (The word *Tao* is often used in the West; the word *Dao* is more accurate and is derived from the Pinyin Romanization system.) The reader should not make the mistake of assuming an artificial bifurcation: Real Daoism only exists in China, and transnational forms of Daoism are often fabrications, though there are, in fact, ordained and lineage-based Daoists, Chinese immigrants, and “non-Chinese” converts in the West. The present entry examines each phenomenon—the one Chinese, and now global, and the other Western, having become institutionalized in the United States and disseminated throughout the “developed world.” The entry discusses the history of Chinese Daoism, the emergence of Daoism as a global religious and cultural phenomenon, and the challenges that Daoists and Daoist communities face in the modern world.

Chinese Daoism: History and Interpretation

On the most basic level, “Daoism” refers to an indigenous Chinese religious tradition(s) in which reverence for and veneration of the Dao, translatable as both the Way and a way, is a matter of ultimate concern. From a Daoist perspective, the Dao is understood in four distinct but complementary ways: (1) the source of all that exists, (2) an unnamable mystery, (3) an all-pervading numinosity, and (4) the universe as a cosmological process. There are various indigenous Chinese terms that are encompassed by the Western category of Daoism, almost all of which contain *dao* in them. However, rather than a reified entity existing in the world, “Daoism” may be taken as shorthand for Daoist adherents, communities, and their religious expressions. At the same time, Daoists have and continue to view their tradition *as a tradition*, as something larger than personal identity and isolated religious movements. The Daoist tendency to include and synthesize previous expressions of Chinese religiosity into a more encompassing tradition began at

least as early as the fifth century CE with Lu Xiuqing (406–477) of the *Lingbao* (Numinous Treasure) movement. In modern contexts, Daoists often discuss their tradition in terms of the external Three Treasures, namely, the Dao, the scriptures, and the teachers.

One of the principal debates in contemporary Daoist studies centers on when Daoism begins and what should be included. Some would date its origins to the Warring States period (480–222 BCE), while others locate its commencement in the Later Han dynasty (202 BCE–9 CE). More radical interpretations suggest the fifth century CE as a seminal moment, while others go so far as to say that Daoism is *simply* a modern Western construct. Each interpretation has not only its own evidential support but also its own deficiencies and assumptions, especially with respect to conceptions (constructions) of religion and identity. One of the more challenging issues in these competing interpretative accounts is the fact that Daoist religious movements frequently trace their origins to specific revelations and mystical experiences (e.g., the *Tianshi*, *Shangqing*, and *Quanzhen* movements, as seen in the following paragraphs).

The present entry relies on the most recent revisionist scholarship and adopts an inclusive, historically informed perspective. Daoism is an indigenous Chinese religious tradition whose roots go back to the Warring States period, becoming an organized religion in the second century CE. The history of Daoism may thus be divided into the following periods: (a) Classical Daoism, corresponding to the Warring States (480–222 BCE), Qin (221–207 BCE), and Early Han (202 BCE–9 CE) periods; (b) Early Daoism, corresponding to the Later Han (25–221 CE) period; (c) Early-Medieval Daoism, corresponding to the Period of Disunion (221–581 CE) and Sui (581–618 CE) period; (d) Late-Medieval Daoism, corresponding to the Tang (618–906 CE), Song (northern: 960–1126 CE; southern: 1127–1279 CE), and Yuan (1260–1368 CE) periods; (e) Late-Imperial Daoism, corresponding to the Ming (1368–1644 CE) and Qing (1644–1911 CE) periods; (f) Modern Daoism, corresponding to the Republican (1912–1949 CE) and Communist (1949–) periods; and (g) Contemporary Daoism, roughly from 1980 to the present. Classical Daoism includes what Harold Roth of Brown University has referred to as the

“inner cultivation lineages,” associated with the well-known texts of the *Dao De Jing* (道德經; *Tao Te Ching*; scripture on the Dao and inner power) and *Zhuangzi* (莊子; Book of Master Zhuang), as well as lesser known works. Many of these texts provided the foundational cosmologies, principles, practices, and models of attainment for later forms of organized Daoism. Early Daoism includes the *Taiping* (太平; Great Peace) and *Tianshi* (天師; Celestial Masters) movements, with the latter usually identified as the beginning of organized Daoism. The early-medieval period saw the emergence of four major Daoist movements, namely, (1) *Taiqing* (太清; Great Clarity), (2) *Shangqing* (上清; Highest Clarity), (3) *Lingbao* (靈寶; Numinous Treasure), and (4) *Sanhuang* (三皇; Three Sovereigns). These movements were eventually placed in an all-encompassing textual and ordination system. In the late-medieval period, the Celestial Masters, Highest Clarity, and Numinous Treasure continued to be the dominant schools, but during the Tang, new lineages of Internal Alchemy (*Neidan*; 內丹) emerged. Internal Alchemy became more systematized during the Song-Jin period, with *Quanzhen* (全真; Complete Perfection) eventually becoming the dominant form of Daoist monasticism. The late-medieval period also witnessed the creation of new deity cults (e.g., to *Lü Dongbin*) and new ritual lineages. Late-imperial Daoism principally consisted of the Celestial Masters, also known as *Zhengyi* (正一; Orthodox Unity), as the householder tradition and Complete Perfection as the monastic tradition. In addition to the new sub-lineages of Internal Alchemy, formal lineages of Complete Perfection were created during the Qing dynasty. Of these, *Longmen* (龍門; Dragon Gate), associated with Wang Changyue (王常月) (*Kunyang*, 崑陽; 1622–1680), was the most influential. The modern and contemporary periods were times of immense social and political upheavals in mainland China. During this time, Chinese Daoist adherents and communities, like the representatives of traditional Chinese culture more generally, struggled to survive. The introduction and adoption of modern, secular sociopolitical ideologies, including the dissolution of the dynastic system and imperial patronage, resulted in a global Chinese diaspora and the emergence of Daoism as a transnational religious movement (see below). The history of Daoism includes not only major personages

and movements but also significant sacred sites, scriptures, changing pantheons, and various forms of material culture (art, architecture, clothing, etc.). An individual entry could be written on each of the major periods and dimensions of Daoism.

In the modern world, the Daoist landscape in mainland China and the larger Pacific Rim is dominated by the Orthodox Unity and Complete Perfection communities. Members of the former are householders and tend to be village based. Principal religious activities include elaborate rituals carried out by ordained priests, who are often part of family lineages. In mainland China, members of Complete Perfection are primarily monastics and live in temples and monasteries throughout China. However, Complete Perfection Daoists, especially the self-identified members of the Dragon Gate lineage, also reside in Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, and so on, where they are usually householders.

Daoism as a Global Religious and Cultural Phenomenon

Under the leadership of Mao Zedong (1893–1976), the Chinese Communists took over China in 1949. They defeated the nationalists, who along with many members of the Chinese cultural elite fled to Taiwan. In the early years of Communist rule and the subsequent Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), traditional Chinese culture, including Daoism, was designated as “feudal superstition” and severely suppressed in mainland China. It was not until the socioeconomic reforms of Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997) in 1978 that “religious freedom” became more of an actuality and Chinese Daoism began a slow process of revitalization. Today, institutionalized Daoism is part of the Chinese communist bureaucracy, with the Chinese Daoist Association (*Zhongguo daojiao xiehui*) at Baiyun Guan (White Cloud Temple, Beijing) being the most powerful. Major Complete Perfection monastic communities exist throughout mainland China; some of the more prominent include those in Hubei, Shaanxi, and Sichuan provinces. The principal sacred site of Orthodox Unity is Longhu shan (Dragon-Tiger Mountain) in Jiangxi province.

While in earlier moments of Chinese history, Daoism was transmitted, at least to some extent,

to Japan and Korea, during the modern period of Chinese history, Daoists began transmitting and adapting their religious tradition to new cultural contexts. Daoism began a transition from solely an indigenous Chinese religious tradition to a global and transnational religious and cultural phenomenon. Today, there are lineage-based and ordained Daoists and Daoist religious communities throughout the world, including in Australia, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, England, France, Holland, Italy, Malaysia, Russia, Singapore, Thailand, and the United States. These communities are most often associated with Orthodox Unity, Complete Perfection (especially Dragon Gate), or relatively recent family lineages. The latter usually emerged from southern Chinese deity cults and charitable societies. In a global context, such communities tend to be composed of either Chinese immigrants and ethnic, birthright adherents or Chinese immigrant teachers and local converts. For example, in the United States, one often encounters a community composed of a Chinese immigrant teacher and primarily European American converts. However, there are now ordained and lineage-based “non-Chinese” Daoist priests throughout the world. Their communities usually consist of members of the same ethnicity. Few lay Chinese adherents study with non-Chinese teachers. Part of the explanation for this involves dominant forms of religiosity: Chinese immigrants tend to emphasize ritualistic models, while non-Chinese converts, especially in the West, lean toward self-cultivation models. There are also guiding beliefs about the “Chineseness” of Daoism, including its intimate relationship with the Chinese language and traditional Chinese culture.

One of the major challenges in understanding contemporary Daoism in a global context involves “family resemblances.” In addition to ordained priests and tradition-based communities, there are now self-identified Daoists throughout the world who have very little connection with the Chinese religious tradition and who even deny the validity or relevance of that tradition. Contemporary Daoism may thus be charted along a spectrum ranging from “close relations” (Daoist priests, lineage holders) to “distant relations.” While the latter have borrowed some dimensions of their beliefs and practices from the Daoist tradition, their affiliations and characteristics are most often expressions of contemporary forms of hybrid spirituality, with

greater influence coming from modern cultural traditions than from Daoism per se. The endeavor to provide an accurate and viable interpretation is complicated by the fact that popular misconceptions and misrepresentations (i.e., historically uninformed views) are ubiquitous.

At the farthest reaches of this spectrum are adherents who are best understood as members of an NRM or, following their own self-representations, an ancient but new and perennially relevant form of "spirituality." That NRM may be labeled "popular Western Taoism." In the case of the United States, PWT adherents and communities are the most publicly visible self-identified Daoists. They are most likely to construct Daoism as an "ancient philosophy" and (trans-religious) "spirituality," wherein the Dao (*Tao*) is identified as an abstract first principle or "energy field" and wherein Daoists just "go with the flow." Such accounts of Daoism are characterized by ahistorical, acultural, and antireligious views. Here, the Dao De Jing is read, most often in inaccurate popular translations (e.g., by Ursula LeGuin, Stephen Mitchell), as the "Daoist bible," as a source of "universal wisdom," and as a guidebook for alternative spirituality. When people read such translations, they are not reading a Daoist text but rather a contemporary American cultural production.

While its roots extend back to the first moments of the "Western encounter with the Orient," including received legacies of colonialism, missionization, and Orientalism, PWT as an emerging form of alternative spirituality first emerged in the mid- to late 1970s. Major early players in the formation of PWT included James Legge (1815–1987), John Blofeld (1913–1987), Alan Watts (1915–1973), Gia-fu Feng (1919–1985; Stillpoint Foundation), Al Chung-Liang Huang (b. ca. 1930; Living Tao Foundation), Stephen Chang (b. ca. 1940; Foundation of Tao), Bruce Lee (1940–1973), and Kwai Chang Caine (David Carradine; 1972–1975). While PWT appropriates certain elements from Daoism (e.g., the Dao [Way] and Dao De Jing), its primary informing worldview is derived from modern cultural influences. In the case of the United States, these include Protestant Christianity, American Transcendentalism, the 1960s counter-culture, the human potential movement, New Age spirituality, Perennial Philosophy, alternative health care, health and fitness movements, self-help and

popular psychology, and so forth. Contemporary PWT adherents are most likely to conflate Daoism with other Chinese cultural traditions, including Traditional Chinese Medicine, feng shui, Chinese martial arts (e.g., *Taijiquan*), and Qigong, which have only tenuous connections with the Daoist religious tradition. Almost everything found on the Internet is one form or another of PWT. It, along with its representatives' ubiquitous influence on the popular understanding of Daoism, has now become institutionalized in groups, physically existing and virtual, such as the Reform Taoist Congregation, Tao Bums, Wandering Daoists, and various other Tao groups. The PWT construction of Daoism is found in the whole gamut of New Age capitalism and alternative spirituality, from feng shui consultations and *Yijing* divination to yin yoga and the "Tao of" genre of literature. There are also various popular appropriations of the Dao De Jing by individuals like Wayne Dyers, Benjamin Hoff, Ursula LeGuin, and Stephen Mitchell, among others.

There are major differences between the historical contours and defining characteristics of Daoism as a religious tradition and the construction of Daoism within PWT. In addition to the obvious connection with Chinese culture, members of the Daoist religious tradition have placed and continue to place a strong emphasis on revelation, lineage, community, material culture, and place. Throughout Chinese history, Daoists have tended to believe that "tradition" was larger than "self." In addition, although the primary form of Daoist "theology" is monistic, Daoists have recognized the immanent presence of the Dao in all things, including in immortals and gods. Traditionally speaking, Daoists are polytheists. In contrast, PWT, following the cultural traditions mentioned above, tends to reject all of these defining characteristics of Daoism. The matter is complicated by the frequent emphasis on "essences" and the use of a "rhetoric of tradition" by PWT adherents.

Appropriation, Adaptation, and Transmission

In a modern global and transnational context, Daoists and Daoist communities find themselves in societies characterized by multiculturalism and religious pluralism. Such situations prove challenging to the formation, growth, and flourishing of forms

of religiosity that maintain a connection with the religious tradition that is Chinese Daoism. Daoists witness the appropriation and commodification of various dimensions of their tradition into easily marketable and consumable products in modern global economies, including the denial of their voices and perspectives in the interpretation of Daoism. One clear trend in international contexts is appropriation. As the popular bumper sticker says, "That was Zen; this is Dao." While popular misinterpretations of Zen Buddhism fulfilled Western desires for a trans-religious philosophy and spirituality during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, those desires were subverted by revisionist historiography on the part of Buddhologists and Zen Buddhist monastics. Today, Daoism has become Zen's surrogate, and the contemporary Western misunderstanding of the Daoist tradition parallels earlier inaccuracies concerning Zen. Such appropriations and misrepresentations are rooted in legacies of colonialism, missionization, and Orientalism and involve participants in ethical dilemmas that are most often ignored. At the same time, religious adherents are always responding to changing historical and cultural contexts. Viewed historically, Daoists have constantly transformed their tradition in conversation with other influences, challenges, and experiences. Daoism is a highly adaptable, and therefore diverse, religious tradition. Change necessarily occurs when a religious tradition enters a new cultural context and when religious practitioners have different concerns and motivations. However, without a connection and collective memory, such "innovations" become meaningless names. The matter is complicated by the fact that many self-identified "Daoists" have no connection with the Daoist religious tradition and are most likely to reject its history, self-representations, and defining characteristics while simultaneously and paradoxically relying on it for cultural capital and legitimacy. The transmission of Daoism to the modern world is being carried out, quietly and often invisibly, by Daoist priests, lineage holders, and tradition-based communities in various local contexts. Daoist priests and lineage holders are most often either Chinese immigrants or Caucasian converts who received initiation/ordination from the former or in mainland China, Hong Kong, or Taiwan. The demographics of their communities are diverse in

terms of ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic background, and former religious affiliation. Such communities, rarely inhabiting distinctively Daoist places or maintaining formal temples, are a minority voice in the global conversation concerning Daoism. The viability of their religious tradition in an international context remains an open question.

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See also China; Chinese Popular Religion; New Age Movements; New Religions

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DEATH RITUAL

All religious communities have rituals to honor the body and the spiritual presence of the departed and to facilitate the ascendance of their souls to the world beyond. In this essay, the focus will be on the rituals of Hindus in India and in Hindu diaspora communities around the world, since they illustrate the changing nature of death rituals in a global, multicultural context.

Hindus have elaborate rituals at death and mark the date periodically in later months and years. Most Hindus cremate the dead; however, young children and ascetics are interred, as are members of some communities such as the *Lingayats*. The ashes after cremation are frequently immersed in nearby rivers or oceans. Immersion of the ashes in the river *Ganga* is especially recommended. Death

rituals for Hindus who reside outside the subcontinent have to be adapted to local laws and customs and modified to local surroundings.

Bodies are cremated soon after death in India, often within 24 hours, and seldom kept longer. In India, the body is washed by the women in the house, and the forehead is anointed with sacred marks. The family priest begins the rituals at home and concludes it at the cremation grounds. Family and friends garland the body and frequently bow down respectfully, facing south—the direction of death. At the cremation ground, the pyre is lit; the ashes are collected the next day and eventually immersed in the ocean or, later on, in the river *Ganga*.

Rituals overseas, especially in Europe and the Americas, have been adapted to local surroundings. The most important difference is that the dead body cannot be kept at home for the rituals to take place and has to be handed over to a funeral home. Coffins are generally not used by Hindus in India; the body is taken in a bier quickly to the cremation grounds. While family members carried the body in the past, vans are used today in urban areas in India. In most European and American countries, however, the funeral home keeps the body in a coffin and handles all the arrangements. Laws in many countries require that a body cannot be cremated until a certain number of days have passed, in part to ascertain that there will be no further inquiry into the case; thus, in America, the body is not disposed of for several days after the person has died. This is at variance with both text and custom in India.

Since the death rituals are done in the chambers of funeral homes in Western countries, they are minimal and done with family and friends sitting in the pews in front of the dead body. Unlike in India, eulogies have become common during the funeral rituals in the Americas. Soon after the quick rituals—lasting not more than an hour in most countries outside India—the body is taken to an electric crematorium. This is not very different from India; while firewood was traditionally used in the subcontinent, and still is in many parts, electric crematoria are becoming increasingly popular there. While most Hindus and Sikhs who die in the United Kingdom are cremated in gas crematoria, there are occasional legal cases pleading for open-air cremations so that one can adhere to the