CHAPTER 22

ADHERENCE AND CONVERSION TO DAOISM

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"Conversion" is not a word that readily comes to mind when one thinks of Daoism, but conversion, adherence, and religious identity are central aspects of the religious tradition. Historically speaking, Daoists have organized and continue to structure their tradition along a number of distinct lines, with the most prominent being initiation, ordination, and lineage affiliation (spiritual genealogies). In addition, one finds the consistent occurrence of revelations and mystical experiences as well as a strong emphasis on self-cultivation throughout Daoist history. The latter characteristics are potentially subversive: new movements and lineages have been established through personal revelations, mystical experiences, and personal practice. This means that Daoist ways to affiliation include conversion through both human and divine inspiration. Some individuals have converted to Daoism through standardized ritual procedures (e.g., ordination rites), others through personal instruction under a recognized religious leader, and still others through encounters with immortals and Perfected (*zhenren*).[1] In addition, as discussed below, there is a larger pattern in earlier Chinese history of entire communities and "non-Chinese" ethnic groups converting to Daoism for cultural, economic, and political reasons.

Daoist conversion, like religious conversion more generally, is thus a complex and multifaceted topic. It includes demographics, such as age, ethnicity, gender,[2] socioeconomic background, and levels of education, plus the psychology of potential adherents and the socio-political and economic dimensions of affiliation. These various dimensions of religious conversion bring our attention to other, equally challenging interpretative issues. For example, is there a hierarchy of motivations? Is it more "authentic" to convert based on personal affinity with doctrine and practice rather than economic distress or socio-political expediency? This may sound like a normative question, but it can be profitably approached by investigating adherent views on the subject. Unfortunately, the ways in which Daoists have established and maintained religious affiliation have not been thoroughly studied. One fundamental question that awaits future research focuses

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on requirements for conversion and corresponding commitments. As discussed below, some insights may be found in Daoist precept texts and monastic manuals.

The present chapter presents a tentative and pioneering inquiry into Daoist adherence, affiliation, and conversion. I present, synthesize, and analyze disparate scholarship in an attempt to present a more complete account of historical examples and patterns of Daoist conversion. In addition to discussing "conversion" as a comparative category and as a cultural phenomenon in China, I investigate Daoist views on the subject and the ways in which Daoists have set parameters for religious affiliation and inclusion. This is followed by an examination of domestic conversion, by people of both Chinese ("Han") ethnic identity and ethnic minorities, to Daoism in Chinese history. In this respect, one interesting topic is the relationship among ethnic, cultural, and religious identity. On one level, the ideal form of Daoist identity is one in which the adherent is ethnically and culturally Chinese. However, there is also some sense in which "barbarians" and "foreigners" can become Chinese and Daoist by being enculturated. The final section presents information on foreign conversion to Daoism. This includes brief discussions of Daoist conversion in Hong Kong, Korea, Japan, and in the modern West. Here, I suggest that Daoism has become a global religious tradition.

Conversion as a Comparative Category

Etymologically speaking, the English term "conversion" relates to two Greek terms: *epistrophe*, which can mean "conversion" or "turning around," and *metanoia*, which can mean "repentance" or "turning around," with emphasis placed on the inner transformation of the convert.[3] "The term *conversion* was employed initially within Judeo-Christian circles to describe a believer's self-identification with a religious [Abrahamic] tradition either through faith in God and/or through commitment to new beliefs, rituals, and a religious community."[4] Considered cross-culturally, "conversion" may be employed as a comparative category to refer to changes in religious identity, affiliation, and participation (see below), although there are nonreligious forms of "conversion" as well. We may also make a distinction between adherent and academic perspectives on the matter. This includes a larger theoretical and interpretative spectrum, which Rambo and Farhadian divide as follows: personalistic theories (psychoanalytic, archetypical, attachment, and attribution); social/cultural theories (multicultural, postcolonial, identity, intellectualist, narrative, and globalization); religious/spiritual theories (theological and translation); as well as convergence theories (process, feminist, and Christianization, and Islamization).[5] Each reveals a certain dimension of the phenomenon of conversion from a specific interpretative perspective. Reflecting on such theories from another perspective, one might categorize them as anthropological, comparative, philosophical, psychological, sociological, and theological.

In studying the process of religious conversion in specific religious traditions, I would suggest that we begin with a phenomenological approach. Phenomenologically

speaking, religious conversion involves a change in religious affiliation, which includes dimensions of personal and social identity and forms of social participation. In the case of converting to a new religious tradition, there frequently is a corresponding commitment to a new worldview, set of concerns and values, practices, and way of life. This may entail apostasy (from the Greek, "defection" or "revolt"), the formal abandonment or renunciation of former beliefs. Outside of the contemporary global context, wherein one finds individuals who claim multiple religious identities, one cannot be an adherent of two religious traditions with mutually exclusive soteriologies and theologies (e.g., Judaism and Zen Buddhism ["Jubus"]).[6] Globalization, multiculturalism, and religious pluralism lead to distinctive patterns of modification, adaptation, and appropriation. That is, there are types of conversion and of religious identity and affiliation that only occur through the encounter with radically alterior worldviews and constructions of reality.

The proposed phenomenological and comparative "definition" of conversion requires some additional clarification. There is a tendency to conflate conversion with evangelism, missionization, and proselytization. While there may be overlap in certain religious movements, a distinction must be made. Proselytization is the practice of religious adherents actively attempting to convert non-adherents to their religious tradition. In the case of Christianity, proselytism is often referred to as evangelism, the process of bringing the "word of God" to non-Christians and preparing the way for eternal and universal salvation. Among contemporary American evangelical Christians, this often goes by the name of "bearing witness to Christ" or "spreading the good news." As undertaken by adherents, proselytization presumes the superiority and salvific power of their own beliefs. Similarly, missionization is an intentional, organized, and large-scale process of colonizing other peoples and cultures in the attempt to increase the degree of adherence to the missionary's religion. (Of course, missionaries tend to frame their activities in more humanitarian and altruistic terms.) There is thus overlap between proselytization and missionization. However, "missions" are usually supported by a larger institution. While most proselytizers work to change individuals, missionaries usually attempt to establish viable institutions within which proselytization may occur. One might say that proselytization is psychological and social, while missionization is institutional. The former may occur inside or outside of the adherent's own culture, while the latter usually involves one ethnic group entering a different cultural context to missionize another ethnic group. Historically speaking, proselytizing and missionary activity is most prominent among Buddhists, Christians, and Muslims. In the modern world, the tendency is well represented in more recent Christian groups such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS; "Mormons"), Jehovah's Witnesses, and Seventh Day Adventists. Invariably, there is a soteriological worldview that envisions global transformation and perhaps homogenization. Of committed missionary sensibilities and projects, one may thus ask the following questions: Do they presume a world purified of difference and restructured according to their own constructs? Can their religious imaginations include alternative possibilities? Is there an underlying

soteriology and teleology that is utopian and contains the potentiality of genocide, whether cultural or physical? Connecting these views to conversion, we may make a distinction between "voluntary" or "self-directed conversion" and "forced" or "coerced conversion." Much of proselytizing and missionary activity falls into the latter category, with problematic ethical and political dimensions that are either ignored or subordinated to supposed "higher callings." There is often a corresponding installation of fear and/or threat and the exercise of violence. Proselytization and missionization are thus often connected with colonialism and imperialism. Such tendencies are almost entirely absent among Daoists, and this chapter will explore some of the reasons why this is the case.

In the case of China, the primary missionary religions have been Buddhism and Christianity, both Catholic religious orders and Protestant denominations. That is, missionization principally happened within the context of foreigners entering China in an attempt to convert the indigenous populations. Buddhist missionaries, principally from Central Asia, first entered China in the second century C.E. The initial indigenous response was dismissal and rejection. It took a few centuries for Buddhists to establish their tradition in mainland China in the form of translated sutras and viable institutions, including ethnic Chinese converts. However, it was not until Sinification (the process of making something Chinese) occurred that Buddhism became more accepted and acceptable.[7] The transformation of Buddhism into a Chinese religion resulted in a variety of indigenous Chinese schools, which became the dominant forms of Mahayana Buddhism throughout East Asia. Similarly, missionaries from Catholic religious orders, first the Jesuits and then the Dominicans, began entering China in the sixteenth century.[8] Christianity was even less palatable than Buddhism, especially due to its claims of exclusivity and its authoritarian power structure. The latter in particular challenged a parallel indigenous framework with the emperor as autocrat. In both cases, foreign religious traditions faced enormous challenges from the indigenous population and established cultural norms, especially among the cultural and political elites.

As far as current research has determined, Daoists never made a formal and sustained attempt to convert non-Chinese people to Daoism; instead, relevant research suggests that minority groups within China actively sought affiliation with the tradition (see below). Generally speaking, individuals converted to Daoism; Daoists did not strive to convert individuals or communities to their tradition. Moreover, historically speaking, most people who converted to Daoism were ethnic Chinese and living within China.[9] Unlike their Buddhist counterparts, Daoists did not engage in missionary activity in other East Asian countries. Even in the modern world, where Daoism has become a global, transnational, and multiethnic religion, instances of conversion are voluntary and self-directed. This chapter attempts to provide a preliminary exploration of the patterns and motivations behind such conversion.

Daoist Identity, Affiliation, and Conversion

The religious tradition that is Daoism is intimately connected with traditional Chinese culture. Many of the defining characteristics of Daoism are distinctively Chinese, although certain Daoist values and concerns have challenged dominant Chinese views. Daoism thus must be recognized as an indigenous Chinese religion and as an important dimension of Chinese history, culture, and society. However, unlike some modern European and Chinese scholars, I see no evidence that Daoism can be considered the "essence" or "spirit" of China. It is also a mistake to deny the possibility and reality of the transformation of Daoism into a "trans-Chinese" religious tradition, which is clearly occurring in the modern world. The latter makes inquiry into Daoist conversion much more complex.

Examining the deep connection between Daoism and Chinese culture provides some insights into the near absence of Daoist missionary activity, especially in the form of "coerced conversion." Throughout Chinese history, the ethnic majority and ruling elite considered Chinese culture to be the pinnacle of human civilization. Generally speaking, before the modern period of Chinese history and the complex patterns of cultural exchange between the indigenous Chinese population and Western colonialists and missionaries, to be cultured and civilized was to be Chinese. This was so much the case that non-Chinese peoples had to become Chinese (through enculturation) in order to gain recognition. Chinese culture and history is thus characterized by a distinct form of ethnocentricism, or Sinocentrism to be more specific.

The Chinese sense of cultural and ethnic superiority was expressed in many ways, and one can find endless examples. Here three will suffice to provide some glimpses into dominant cultural mindsets, views that were influential on and accepted by Daoists. The first is the indigenous Chinese name for China: Zhongguo (Central Kingdom). Those living within the borders of China were part of the center, and this center was characterized by a series of contracting and expanding concentric circles. The Chinese emperor, imperial house, and capital represented the center of the center. The further away from the center, the less cultured and civilized one was. The civility of all other "kingdoms," or countries in modern terms, was directly proportional to their proximity to China. Thus, Japan and Korea, kingdoms that early on in their histories accepted Chinese culture as superior, were considered among the most cultured and civilized. Another symbolic expression of Sinocentrism is the Great Wall, the earliest sections of which were constructed by the Qin, an ancient state located in the central and southwest part (Shaanxi to Sichuan) of what we now refer to as China. After unifying the other so-called "warring states" in 221 B.C.E., the Qin made two responses concerning walls: they destroyed earlier wall fortifications between states, and they connected sections of walls on the northern frontier.[10] The former action expressed the unity of the Central Kingdom, while the latter sealed the realm from the possibility of foreign invasion, specifically

from the Xiongnu, a nomadic tribe in the north. While it is true that the Great Wall served as a political demarcation and military fortification, it also tells us something significant on a metaphorical level: the inside would be kept in, while the outside would be kept out. The inside ("Chinese") was seen as superior; it deserved respect and protection. The outside ("foreign") was inferior; it was dangerous and required either opposition or enculturation. This inside/outside mentality and social ordering would continue throughout Chinese history, and it played a major role in Daoist views of the Daoist religious affiliation.

Finally, the so-called Rites Controversy (roughly 1615 to 1721) provides yet another window into indigenous Chinese attitudes toward things foreign. During the early moments of Catholic, specifically Jesuit, missionary activity in China, this controversy centered on the nature and correct categorization of Chinese rituals, specifically whether or not they were religious ("idolatrous") and therefore incompatible with Catholicism.[11] The Jesuits, who themselves became Sinified in many ways, argued for the compatibility, while the Dominicans took the opposite position. In the eighteenth century, Pope Clement XI (1649–1721; r. 1700–1721) and Pope Benedict XIV (1685–1758; r. 1740–1758) sided with the Dominicans and condemned Chinese rituals. This remained the position of the Catholic Church until 1939. The papal condemnation led to a corresponding indigenous Chinese response: the Kangxi Emperor (1654–1722; r. 1661–1722) issued a decree that proscribed Christianity, a decree which was not lifted until 1846. From the perspective of the pope, his power extended beyond national and political borders; from the perspective of the emperor, nothing inside of China was exempt from imperial authority (and the outside was, of course, irrelevant).[12] This general stance is perhaps best represented by the Chinese emperor sitting on his throne and receiving ministers and guests for an imperial audience, and by the Silk Road along which foreign merchants brought foreign goods in and took Chinese goods out.

I have provided some examples of Sinocentrism so that readers may understand dimensions of Chinese culture that have informed Daoist approaches towards religious affiliation and conversion. Why have Daoists not been active missionaries? One answer is that Daoists, as members of Chinese culture and society, already resided at the center of the world and within the most advanced civilization. There was no reason to leave China's borders. Moreover, Daoism, as an indigenous Chinese religion and as part of Chinese culture, was inherently superior. Although Daoists' views of their own religious tradition have yet to be thoroughly studied, certain patterns are clearly relevant for the study of adherence and conversion. One of the most peculiar and indicative is the infamous *huahu* ("conversion of the barbarians") theory.[13] This theory represents a Daoist nativistic response to the introduction and increasing power of Buddhism in Chinese society. It was first expressed in a nascent form toward the end of the Later Han dynasty (25–220 C.E.) and became more fully developed in the Six Dynasties period (220–589 C.E.). Briefly stated, this Daoist theory, drawing on the mythological biography of Laozi (Master Lao) in the *Shiji* (Records of the Historian), which tells us that Laozi left China through the western frontiers, argued that the historical Buddha was, in fact, Laozi and that Buddhism was a simplified form of Daoism appropriate for "barbarians"

(read: Indians and Central Asians). According to the *huahu* theory, Laozi attempted to explain the complex philosophy and soteriology of Daoism to non-Chinese peoples, but they were unable to understand due to their ethnic/cultural inferiority and intellectual deficiencies. Laozi, as the Buddha, then created Buddhism as a means of moral rectification.[14] The theory was codified in the *Huahu jing* (Scripture on the Conversion of the Barbarians; partially lost; DH 76),[15] which contains historical layers from the fourth to eighth centuries, and the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) *Laojun bashiyi hua tushuo* (Illustrated Explanations of Lord Lao's Eighty-one Transformations),[16] an illustrated recounting of Lord Lao's various incarnations through which he attempted to assist humanity. Part of the motivation behind this theory involved attempts to gain cultural capital and imperial patronage, and Buddhists, as one would expect, issued passionate responses.

This dimension of religio-cultural exchange came to a head in the Buddho-Daoist debates of 520 and 580 and of 1258 and 1281, all of which eventually led to various proscriptions against Daoism.[17] The enduring presence and continuous modification of the *huahu* theory in Daoism provides specific insights into issues of conversion and missionization. Daoists viewed Daoism as inherently superior, partly because it was indigenous to China and produced by Chinese sages.[18] If one accepts the logic of the *huahu* theory, Daoism *as Daoism* could not be exported because only Chinese people were capable of understanding it. It was intricately tied to being Chinese. This view continues into the modern world in many forms, present among both Daoists and scholars of Daoism; one must be Chinese in order to be a Daoist. If one is not ethnically Chinese, one must "become Chinese" by learning the language, understanding the culture, and perhaps taking on its mannerisms.

However, active or coerced conversion and proselytism also go against foundational Daoist values and principles. For example, the so-called Nine Practices (*jiuxing*) of the early Tianshi (Celestial Masters) movement, which derive from the *Daode jing* (Scripture on the Dao and Inner Power), read as follows:

> Practice non-action.
> Practice softness and weakness.
> Practice guarding the feminine. Do not initiate actions.
> Practice being nameless.
> Practice clarity and stillness.
> Practice being adept.
> Practice being desireless.
> Practice knowing how to stop and be content.
> Practice yielding and withdrawing.[19]

Here and in the corresponding passages in the *Daode jing*,[20] emphasis is placed on living in a state of open receptivity. Daoists who embraced and applied these principles—they formed an ethical cornerstone of one of the earliest Daoist religious communities—endeavored to embody specific existential qualities: effortless activity, flexibility and yielding, egolessness, contemplative presence, voluntary simplicity, and so forth.

These and similar values, values that have had a pervasive and continuous influence in the tradition, inhibit the habituated human tendency to elevate self above others and to persuade others about one's philosophical and religious positions.[21] The Daoist tendency to be carefree or unconcerned has often led non-Daoists to categorize Daoists as lacking compassion, but such is the perspective of enculturated modes of perceiving. A Daoist perspective would see the classical and foundational existential approach as a transpersonal, or Dao-centered, way of being, beyond the limitations of ordinary human perception. In terms of converting others, such values translate into a distinctive lack of interest. Beyond the necessity of patronage and support, Daoists have seen conversion to the tradition as a matter of personal affinity and fate. Patterns of conversion in Daoism are largely voluntary and based on personal affinity.

Although much of the present discussion is conjectural and requires additional research, I would also suggest that other defining characteristics of the tradition have influenced Daoist ways of relating to others in terms of their religious beliefs. First, Daoism is a place-specific religious tradition; places matter to Daoists. In this way, Daoism more closely resembles traditions such as ancient Judaism, Shinto, and Native American religions. Most of the events in Daoist religious history have a corresponding geographical dimension that Daoists regard as significant and that the religious community remembers. This includes the mythological transmission of the *Daode jing* from Laozi to Yinxi at Hangu Pass; Lord Lao's revelations given to Zhang Daoling on Mount Heming; and Wang Chongyang's training of his disciples in the Kunyu mountains. The place-specific aspect of Daoism is perhaps most clearly expressed in the system of the grotto-heavens (*dongtian*).[22] The standardized system of grotto-heavens consists of ten major and thirty-six minor sites. These are hidden passageways into a sacred landscape where the numinous presence of the Dao is more fully present. Each and every one of these sacred sites, or mystical terrestrial spaces, if you will, is in China. Traditionally speaking, to be outside of China is to be remote from the sacred as accessible in landscapes.[23] In terms of place-significant sacred sites, sacred sites to which the majority of Daoists might consider making pilgrimages, none are outside of mainland China. From such a perspective, it is difficult to imagine the significance or necessity of "non-Chinese" converts to Daoism.

A second dimension of the tradition that inhibits active proselytizing and coerced conversion is the non-eschatological or non-apocalyptic dimension of Daoism. This includes a fundamental lack of concern with "salvation." It was only under the influence of Buddhism that Daoists began creating soteriological systems based on notions of universal salvation and messianic intervention in human history. The most representative and influential movement in this respect is Lingbao (Numinous Treasure).[24] It seems likely that religious tendencies toward mass conversion and homogenization are rooted in a specific teleology, and perhaps a world-consuming one at that. In the case of Buddhist-inspired Daoist eschatologies, they invariably focused on Chinese rulers, on China itself, and on the Chinese people. Perhaps the most famous example in Daoist history was the early Taiping (Great Peace), sometimes inaccurately referred to as the Yellow Turban Rebellion.[25] It is, moreover, no coincidence that this notion of Great

Peace and a messianic figure melded quite easily with the Christian apocalyptic movement known as Taiping during the years of 1850 and 1864.[26]

Issues of conversion also relate to identity. On the one hand, conversion focuses one's attention on religious affiliation, including types of participation and levels of commitment. This is the anthropological and sociological dimension of conversion. However, viewed from a theological perspective, conversion and religious identity are often determined by certain types of religious experiences. In the case of Daoism, we find the entire spectrum of ways to affiliation, from ordination and lineage affiliation to revelation and mystical experiences. Initiation, ordination, and lineage (spiritual genealogies) have been central defining characteristics of Daoism from its earliest stages of development. For example, the early Celestial Masters organized their communities hierarchically, with the Celestial Master at the top, followed by libationers (*jijiu*), and then by community members more generally.[27] There were corresponding degrees of commitment and requirements for participation, often appearing in the form of precept texts.[28] Similarly, the importance of formal religious standing is expressed in the late medieval and late imperial Daoist ordination systems.[29]

However, this institutional and ecclesiastical dimension of Daoist religious affiliation is challenged by other features of the tradition. First, individuals engaging in eremitic and ascetic training, most often in the mountains and away from imperial court politics, have been recognized as Daoists by Daoists.[30] This includes alternative ways of understanding and expressing religious identity: from a greater emphasis on cultivation and refinement to master–disciple relationships that do not easily fit into standardized or official presentations. Daoist sources that substantiate these claims include received hagiographies.[31]

Similarly, conventional accounts of Daoist religious history often neglect or gloss over the centrality of revelations and mystical experiences in the lives of specific Daoists and in the formation of specific communities and movements. The later lineages or schools of organized Daoism were most often formed through a revelation/transmission from specific deities or immortals to the recognized founder. To name a few, these include revelations from Lord Lao to Zhang Daoling (fl. 140 C.E.) and the subsequent formation of the Tianshi (Celestial Masters) movement; the mystical encounters of Yang Xi (330–386?) and the Xu brothers with various deities and Perfected and the subsequent establishment of the Shangqing (Highest Clarity) movement; and Wang Chongyang's (1113–1170) mystical experiences with immortals, traditionally identified as Zhongli Quan and Lü Dongbin, and the subsequent formation of the Quanzhen (Complete Perfection) movement. That is, these Daoists, some of the most important figures in Daoist history, became Daoists through divine, not human, means. Although such examples prove challenging to social scientific and materialist accounts of religious identity, affiliation, and conversion, they nonetheless problematize certain constructions of institutional locatedness. The importance of revelation and mystical experience in the Daoist tradition suggests that the inspiration for and motivation behind "conversion" may come from non-human sources. This might lead a scholar with theological leanings to redefine the Daoist religious community to include divine beings, similar to what Daoists themselves would do.

Before discussing specific examples of conversion to Daoism, I would like to make one additional point. Following the introduction and subsequent Sinification of Buddhism in China, especially during and after the Period of Disunion (220–581), Daoists increasingly accepted and developed certain aspects of Buddhism. For present purposes, one of the most significant modifications to a foundational Daoist worldview involved the notion of reincarnation (*lunhui*). This account of human existence involved a corresponding soteriology based on karma (*yinyuan*). The extent to which Daoists at various moments of Chinese history believed in reincarnation is an important question and one that deserves further research; however, it is clear that a Buddhist-inspired worldview based on reincarnation became increasingly convincing to Daoists over time and has occupied a central place in the tradition. In the case of contemporary Daoism, this is expressed in an emphasis on "former incarnations" (*sushi*) and "predestined affinities" (*yuanfen*). Taken seriously in terms of the study of conversion, reincarnation has a number of potentially disturbing consequences. For example, it is possible that members of religious traditions in a previous existence have been reborn into other religious traditions. Imagine an apparent Roman Catholic who converts to Daoism. From a reincarnation-based perspective, this is not an example of conversion at all because the supposed "Daoist convert" has, in fact, returned to her actual religious tradition.

Domestic Conversion to Daoism

The study of conversion to Daoism and of Daoist views concerning conversion is complicated not only by the lack of research on the topic but also by the relative dearth of attention to the demographics of the religious tradition. In particular, because specialists so frequently identify Daoism as "China's indigenous higher religion," little research has been done on the ethnic backgrounds of adherents and converts. Pioneering research has, of course, been conducted by Michel Strickmann and his intellectual heir, Terry Kleeman, but there are major gaps in our understanding. For example, possible relevant topics include Tangut and Jurchen conversion to Quanzhen (Complete Perfection) Daoism during the Song-Jin period (tenth to thirteenth centuries) and Manchu conversion to the Longmen (Dragon Gate) lineage of that same monastic order during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). In this section, I investigate domestic conversion to Daoism by both ethnic Han ("Chinese") and minority groups[32] and offer some tentative suggestions about the motivations behind such conversions.

Tianshi dao (Way of the Celestial Masters) was one of the earliest forms of organized Daoism, and the success of this movement proved seminal in the development of Daoism as an organized religious tradition. The Celestial Masters are so named because of a revelation that Zhang Daoling (Zhang Ling; fl. 140s C.E.) received from Lord Lao, the deified form of Laozi, in 142 C.E. In addition to being directed to establish a regional Daoist community in the land of Shu and Ba (present-day Sichuan), Zhang Daoling was appointed as the first Celestial Master, Lord Lao's terrestrial representative. Pejoratively

referred to the "Five Pecks of Rice" sect, this movement embraced a patrilineal organizational structure, with the position of Celestial Master passing from father to son. For present purposes, it is noteworthy that the Celestial Masters movement created an autonomous theocracy that remained independent of imperial control until Cao Cao (155–220), the nominal founder of the Wei dynasty (220–265), conquered it in 215. After the initial revelations and subsequent organization, especially under the third Celestial Master, Zhang Lu (d. 216), the Celestial Masters movement gained regional control and large numbers of followers. This culminated in the Daoist millennial kingdom of Hanzhong.[33] According to extant historical sources, several tens of thousands of households became members of the community.[34] The community was organized hierarchically into "parishes" (*zhi*), twenty-four administrative centers. Each parish was overseen by a libationer (*jijiu*), who served as the community leader and local representative of the Celestial Master. Both men and women filled these positions.[35]

Various motivations for adherence and conversion to the early Celestial Masters may be identified. In addition to providing protection from violence, the Celestial Masters instituted a system of grain distribution. They collected and stored grain from the various parishes as a requirement for membership. This grain was then distributed throughout the region, with the abundance and surplus of one area relieving shortages in another. There were also millennial dimensions of the movement. The Celestial Masters envisioned a world purified of moral degradation and social injustice. The social and political upheaval of the coming end times would be replaced with a utopia, a Celestial Masters' kingdom, characterized by Great Peace (*taiping*). Members of the Celestial Masters' community would serve as the "seed people" (*zhongmin*), who would repopulate a purified world.

> The Masters of the Three Offices will select seed people and take those who have matched their qi (*heqi*) [through our communal rites]. There will be 18,000. How many have there been until today? The great quota is not yet full. You should admonish yourself and rectify your heart-mind.[36]

The promise of a life free of turmoil and strife and of a society free of violence and chaos was at least one major influence on this particular pattern of Daoist conversion.

Primarily due to the research of Terry Kleeman, we also now know that the early Celestial Masters attracted large numbers of non-Chinese converts. In particular, the Ba (also identified in some sources as Man and Zong), an ethnic minority living in the eastern part of Sichuan at the time of the Celestial Masters, became a distinctive segment of that Daoist religious community. First documented in Chinese history around 700 B.C.E., the Ba people were hunter-gatherers most well-known for their military prowess and their service as mercenaries for their neighbors.[37] In the formative moments of the Celestial Masters movement, there were large numbers of Ba living in Sichuan. Their socio-political life was characterized by an adversarial relationship with local representatives of the Chinese state, who sought to integrate the wealth and power of the unassimilated Ba tribes into the Chinese administrative framework and thereby provoked

repeated rebellions. "When the [Celestial Masters'] Daoist message of deliverance spread through the region, the Ba flocked to its banner, with Ba kings, marquises, and other local elites leading groups numbering in the thousands to adopt the new faith and join the apocalyptic kingdom of Hanzhong."[38] There are, in turn, various accounts of mass conversions among the Ba to the Celestial Masters movement. Local leaders converted with their entire communities, and one group in particular under Li Hu, a Ba tribal leader and grandfather of the founder of the Dacheng state (see below), consisted of more than 500 families, amounting to perhaps 2,500 individuals. Some Ba converts migrated to Hanzhong to participate directly in Zhang Lu's millennial kingdom, while others maintained a base of support in Sichuan.[39] In addition to the above-mentioned motivations for conversion to the Celestial Masters more generally, it seems that the Ba were attracted to Daoist claims about prophylactic and mantic techniques for controlling demonic forces.[40] These various details not only reveal a pattern of conversion among non-Chinese peoples but also demonstrate a religious openness among the early Celestial Masters. As Kleeman notes, "We must conclude, I believe that the earliest Celestial Masters community was truly multiethnic, accepting people from a variety of ethnic backgrounds as equal members of the new faith."[41]

Equally interesting and perhaps even more surprising, the Ba eventually established their own millennial kingdom called Dacheng (Great Perfection).[42] This could be seen as the culmination of early Ba conversion to the Celestial Masters. In 215, the famous Chinese general Cao Cao attacked the Hanzhong community and defeated Zhang Lu and the Celestial Masters' army. Following this, Cao Cao divided the Daoist community and forcibly transferred its members throughout present-day Shaanxi and Gansu. Several tens of thousands of families, possibly as many as two hundred to three hundred thousand individuals, were relocated to the Chang'an area. This group probably included Li Hu and other Ba tribesmen, who passed through the Chang'an area on their way to Gansu.[43] At the end of the third century, a large number of Ba refugees were driven south by civil unrest, natural disasters, and famine. Members of the Li family, descendants of the Ba tribal leader Li Hu, eventually resettled in eastern Sichuan. In 306, with the support of Fan Changsheng, Li Xiong, the grandson of Li Hu, established the kingdom of Dacheng,[44] of which the total population was probably over one million people. The Ba rulers of this Daoist utopian kingdom attempted to incorporate Daoist principles and the early Celestial Masters' theocratic model into their own administrative system.[45] For about fifty years, Dacheng, in a fashion parallel to the earlier Hanzhong kingdom, consisted of Chinese and non-Chinese Daoists living in harmony and equality and enjoying the limited government and lenient punishments associated with Daoist rule. Here we have an example in Chinese history of "non-Chinese" Daoists, members of the Ba ethnic minority, endeavoring to create and preserve a Celestial Masters Daoist community.

The Yao, also distinguished as Miao-Yao and Hmong-Mien, is another minority ethnic group with large numbers of members who converted to Daoism.[46] Traditionally speaking, Yao tribal culture was characterized by slash-and-burn agriculture, upland habitation, and widespread migratory patterns.[47] People of Yao ethnic identity have lived in the southern Chinese provinces of Fujian, Hunan, Guangdong, Guangxi, and

Yunnan. They eventually migrated to Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand, probably in the thirteenth century, where they continue to form a segment of those societies. The Yao have their own non-Sinitic (possibly Sino-Tibetan) language, but, similar to pre-modern Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese, they utilize Chinese script as the primary form of written language. Extant sources and current research suggest that large numbers of Yao most likely began converting to Daoism during the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279). With the defeat of the Northern Song by the Jurchens, the Song imperial court and masses of northern Chinese migrated to Hangzhou in Zhejiang province. There they came in direct contact with the Yao and other indigenous peoples living in southern China.[48] In this context, Daoism, specifically as expressed by Daoist ritual masters and communities in the newly codified "orthodox rites of Celestial Heart" (*tianxin zhengfa*),[49] formed part of the dominant Chinese state, wherein it served as a means by which to assimilate and "civilize" non-Chinese peoples (i.e., Sinification).[50] According to Michel Strickmann's state-centered perspective,

> *T'ien-hsin cheng-fa* [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 T'ien-hsin rites in the course of their official duties: pacifying their district, reducing epidemics, and guaranteeing the harvest.[51]

In terms of the Yao's own motivations for conversion, little research has been done to date. Many accounts, following a fairly conventional anthropological and sociological perspective wherein the Yao are seen as passive recipients rather than active agents, fail to consider the Yao's own views on Daoism and their own process of "Yaoicization" of Daoism. That is, the Yao did not simply become Sinicized or Daoicized.

One of the most interesting and distinctive characteristics of "Yao Daoism," especially as expressed among contemporary Yao communities in Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam,[52] is its social organization. The Yao maintain a universal Daoist priesthood, with every member passing through successive levels of ordination with corresponding Daoist spirit registers (*lu*). Social standing within Yao society is based on one's position in the religious community. The Yao situation is particularly noteworthy because identity formation and social standing are directly correlated to Daoist religious adherence and affiliation. To be a respected and senior member of Yao society is to be a higher-level Daoist ordinand. Here we see a context of conversion and adaptation wherein certain Yao communities have become "more Daoist" than their indigenous Chinese counterparts. While the Yao have, of course, adapted and modified Daoist beliefs and practices to their own cultural concerns, "it is still remarkable that they have maintained a non-Chinese society over an extended period of time based upon the strictures and beliefs of a distinctively Chinese religion."[53]

The final example of domestic conversion to Daoism that I would like to present involves the Quanzhen (Complete Perfection) movement. Composed of the nominal

founder Wang Chongyang (1113–1170) and his first-generation disciples, Quanzhen began as a small eremitic community in eastern Shandong that eventually transformed into a regional religious movement and subsequent monastic order.[54] One dimension of conversion centers on the lives of the first-generation adepts and on the relationship between Wang and his disciples. Quanzhen sources tell us that Wang Chongyang only became fully committed to a Daoist religious path after a series of mystical experiences, specifically with immortals or spirit beings. That is, from a Quanzhen perspective, Quanzhen originates in the founder's encounter with and instruction under immortals and in his subsequent commitment to Daoist ascetic and alchemical training. As a spiritual teacher, Wang Chongyang is remembered as strict and demanding, with very high expectations concerning committed and sustained practice. Requiring abstinence from the Four Hindrances (alcohol, sex, wealth, and anger) and dedicated self-cultivation for lineage affiliation, Wang exercised discernment concerning potential adherents:

> Because he frequently manifested his divine extraordinariness (*shenyi*), people of the east [Shandong] followed him. He forged and purified those who were authentic and reliable, and excluded and purged those who were hollow and false. Refining them a hundred times, he punished and angrily insulted them. The unworthy fled.[55]

Among Wang's "methods of refinement" concerning potential converts, perhaps the most famous is his "dividing pears" (*fenli*). According to the preface to the *Fenli shihua ji* (Anthology of Ten Conversions through Dividing Pears; DZ 1155), Wang sent poems accompanied with a divided pear (*fenli*) to Ma Danyang and Sun Buer every ten days. The purpose of this gesture was to convince the couple to divorce, with the Chinese phrase "divided pear" also being a pun on *fenli* ("separation" or "division"). While Wang Chongyang's personal dedication and conviction probably played some role in Ma's eventual conversion, it seems that it was other anomalous experiences that were especially influential. According to the *Jinlian ji* (Record of the Golden Lotus; DZ 173, 5.9b), "[Wang Chongyang] would send out his spirit and enter their [Ma and Sun's] dreams in various kinds of transformative manifestations (*bianxian*). He frightened them through [visions of] the Earth Prison (*diyu*) and enticed them through [visions of] the Celestial Hall (*tiantang*)."[56] Similarly, a stele inscription preserved in the *Ganshui lu* (Record of Ganshui; DZ 973, 1.2b–10a) contains the following account:

> [Wang Chongyang] was locked in the Hermitage of Complete Perfection for one hundred days transforming himself. Sometimes he ate and sometimes he refrained from eating.... [One night] Master Ma was sleeping on the second floor of his private residence. The doors and windows were all locked. Perfected [Chongyang] arrived during the night to have a face-to-face conversation. Ma did not know where he came from. [Later] a person wanted to draw his [Wang's] spirit. [However,] his left eye revolved to the right, while his right eye revolved to the left. At various moments he appeared as old and young, fat and skinny, yellow and vermilion, as well as azure and white. His form and appearance had no stability.[57]

Among Wang's early formal disciples and lay supporters, there were a variety of motivations for conversion. One aspect was the movement's local connections: many of Wang's early disciples were prominent members of eastern Shandong's, specifically Muping's, aristocracy and social elite. A more influential element was the leader's personal charisma and level of spiritual cultivation. However, if we follow standard hagiographical accounts, many people converted due to the numinous abilities (Skt.: *siddhi*; Chn.: *shentong*) of Wang and his direct disciples. This included the ability to send out a yang-spirit, formed through alchemical praxis that could enter people's dreams and manifest in distant places. There were spiritual and mystical, in addition to socio-political, dimensions of religious conversion to Quanzhen.

In addition to formal disciples, those who embraced a renunciant and monastic life, we know that large numbers of people in Shandong became lay followers and supporters. During the years of 1168 and 1169, Wang and his disciples established five religious associations throughout the Shandong peninsula. Although it is generally unclear who initiated such establishments, how many people participated, what types of activities occurred, and what, if any, lasting influence they had on the later development of Quanzhen as a formal monastic order, these meeting halls provided a communal context for the early Quanzhen adepts, a place for potential adherents to become familiar with Quanzhen views and practices, and an opportunity for lay participation and involvement. With respect to the number of lay adherents and patrons, there is some fragmentary information. One source informs us that the Pingdeng hui (Association of Equal Rank) may have had as many as one thousand members.[58] In the formative phase of the movement, lay members of Quanzhen probably numbered in the thousands. By establishing these associations, Wang created a context where those with less resolve and fortitude could gain basic instruction and spiritual benefits. The associations also were places were charitable deeds and communal ritual was carried out[59] and where basic forms of meditation, emphasizing clarity (*qing*) and stillness (*jing*), were taught. There is also substantial evidence that the Quanzhen incorporation and modification of the "cult of Lü Dongbin" contributed to the increased institutional success of the movement; in addition to religious motivations, there were socioeconomic factors involved in singling out Lü for veneration and inclusion in an emerging Quanzhen pantheon.[60] Thus, the motivations for lay conversion, adherence, and patronage were diverse, and that diversity only increased after Chinnggis Qan (Genghis Kahn; ca. 1162–1227; r. 1206–1227) granted imperial recognition to Qiu Changchun, the third patriarch and national leader, and the Quanzhen monastic order in 1223.

Foreign Conversion to Daoism

The formation and growth of a global Daoist community is largely the result of socio-political developments in the early to middle twentieth century, specifically

the Chinese Communist revolution and rise of the secular nation-state of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. In this way, the globalization of Daoism parallels that of Tibetan Buddhism. In the case of Daoism, again paralleling the dissemination of other Asian religions throughout the world, this has occurred through Chinese immigrant teachers, their foreign converts who become disciples and eventual spiritual heirs, as well as foreigners who trained in China and Taiwan and subsequently established communities in their home countries. Jan Nattier has noted a similar pattern in American Buddhism, which she categorizes in terms of "import Buddhism" (demand-driven transmission), "export Buddhism" (supply-driven transmission), and "baggage Buddhism" (non-missionary immigrant adherents).[61]

When discussing the globalization of Daoism, specifically with respect to foreign conversion, it is vital to identify defining characteristics. One key consideration involves employing an informed, accurate, and sophisticated understanding of the religious tradition that is Daoism. This is especially important in the case of Daoism, as there is much confusion among non-specialists, including many self-identified Daoist adherents and teachers.[62] Most prominent is the mistaken belief that there is a non-religious pre-modern form of Daoism. In terms of the emergence of a "trans-Chinese" Daoism, or at least the presence of Daoists and Daoist communities outside of mainland China, I would suggest that a significant aspect involves cultural adaptation, assimilation, and modification. Here, Daoism becomes a transnational, multicultural, and multiethnic religious tradition. Paralleling the emergence of new schools of Buddhism in medieval China (e.g., Chan and Tiantai), we are witnessing a corresponding transformation of Daoism throughout the contemporary world. In addition, it is not enough to note the presence or influence of certain "Daoist ideas" on foreign cultures.[63] I suggest that additional conditions must be met. On the most basic level, these include the following: (1) the presence of ordained clergy members, namely, Daoist monastics or priests, (2) the formation and development of a community of adherents, and (3) commitment to Daoist doctrines and practices on the part of adherents, including some understanding of Daoist scriptures. That is, religious affiliation presupposes religious literacy, commitment, and communal involvement. The extent to which Daoism as an intact religion, one which would be recognizable to and recognized by Chinese Daoists, is present in countries beyond the traditional Chinese cultural sphere of influence is directly connected to the establishment of viable institutions. The relative youth of Daoism as a global religion is evidenced by the almost complete absence of Daoist temples, monasteries, and sacred sites outside of mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.

Prior to the twentieth century, Daoism was largely contained within the boundaries of China. As far as current research goes, and it should be mentioned that much work remains to be done, Daoism was never established as a viable religious tradition in the larger Chinese cultural sphere, which includes Japan, Korea, and northern Vietnam. Within Japan and Korea in particular, Chinese schools of Buddhism and Confucianism were much more influential. Our understanding of foreign conversion to Daoism is complicated by the dearth of research on this important topic. Here, I provide some

information on Hong Kong, Korea, and Japan. This is followed by a brief discussion of contemporary global Daoism.

The establishment of Daoist communities and institutions in Hong Kong was largely an extension of popular spirit-writing cults and charitable societies in southern China during the late Qing dynasty (1644–1911).[64] Many of the former specifically focused on mediumistic activity related to Lü Dongbin ("Ancestor Lü"), a famous Tang dynasty immortal and wonder-worker identified as the patriarch of certain internal alchemy lineages. For some reason, these groups often identified themselves as Longmen (Dragon Gate), a lineage of the Quanzhen (Complete Perfection) monastic order. However, if one believes the internal histories of certain southern families, it seems that there were also formal Longmen temples in southern China whose affiliates eventually migrated to Hong Kong. According to the *Luofu zhinan* (Guide to Luofu), ordained Longmen priests first established temples in Guangdong in the late seventeenth century,[65] but the actual relationship between these temples and the Daoist temples in Hong Kong remains unclear.[66] In any case, major Daoist temples and organizations were established in Hong Kong from the late nineteenth through the middle of the twentieth century.[67]

These organizations include both ordained, married clergy as well as a much larger lay community. Hong Kong Daoism has developed its own unique characteristics and forms of ritual activities, including newer forms of Daoist liturgical practice. It seems that the dissemination and growth of Daoism among southern Chinese groups who would eventually migrate to Hong Kong was largely due to two major factors. First, in the case of Lüzu cultic activity and temples, individuals were given insights into an unpredictable future through spirit-writing sessions. In addition, many people reported supernatural and healing experiences. Such events no doubt proved appealing to potential converts. Second, in the case of charitable societies, people were given assistance in times of need. Combined together, one finds a context where popular devotionalism and social solidarity flourished. Such patterns of community involvement continue in the contemporary Hong Kong Daoist emphasis on services for departed ancestors.

Although conversion to Confucianism and Buddhism was most common throughout East Asia, we do have some evidence of a Daoist presence in these countries during different moments of Chinese history. Among the larger Chinese cultural sphere, namely, Japan, Korea, and northern Vietnam,[68] Korea received the greatest degree of transmission and acceptance of Daoism. Current research indicates that Daoism was first introduced into Korea when Emperor Gaozu (r. 618–626) of the Tang dynasty sent Chinese Daoist priests and a statue of a Celestial Worthy to the kingdom of Koguryŏ in 624 and had priests read the *Daode jing* before the Korean king and court.[69] The first Daoist temple, named Bokwŏn kung (Palace of the Auspicious Source) was built at the beginning of the twelfth century under the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392). It housed statues of the Sanqing (Three Purities) and was tended to by more than ten white-robed Korean Daoist priests.[70]

It appears that some form of institutionalized Daoism, however small, existed in Korea until the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910), which adopted Confucianism as state ideology. The then-extant fifteen officially recognized sites for Daoist offerings and rites

that had been established during the Koryŏ dynasty were almost all abolished.[71] Early Korean involvement with Daoist beliefs and practices primarily centered on the court; Daoist priests performed rituals to protect the state on behalf of the court and royal family. With the decline of Daoist state ritual under the Chosŏn dynasty, Korean intellectuals became more interested in nourishing life (*yangsheng*) and internal alchemy (*neidan*) practices. Around the fifteenth or sixteenth century, such interest grew into the formation of a specifically Korean *neidan* school, namely the Haedong sŏnp'a (Korean Immortal Lineage).[72] Although the motivations behind and degree of Korean conversion during this period is currently unknown, Daoist internal alchemy practice became one dimension of Korean religious culture. For example, the contemporary group Kuksŏn to (Way of National Immortals) practices a form of *neidan*-inspired breathing techniques.[73] There is also Sundo (Way of the Immortals), a more recent group founded by Hyunmoon Kim (dates unknown). The movement is present in the United States among groups associated with Hyunmoon Kim[74] as well as with Hyunoong Sunim (dates unknown) of the Sixth Patriarch Zen Center.[75] Both groups are principally rooted in Korean Son (Zen) Buddhism, but Zen meditation is combined with *daoyin* and internal alchemy practice.

In contrast to Korea, Daoism as an intact religious tradition, with ordained clergy and temples, never gained a foothold in Japanese society. Recalling the earlier four dimensions of Daoist transmission and adherence, Japan historically lacked an ordained Daoist clergy, a formal Daoist community, and any viable Daoist institutions. Similarly, as far as current research indicates, no Daoist *jiao* offering or *zhai* purification rituals were ever performed in Japan. It is primarily in the areas of doctrine and practices that one finds Daoist influence on Japanese culture, religion, and society.[76] One major early Japanese folk custom associated with Daoism was the Kōshin cult.[77] First introduced in the ninth century and practiced even in contemporary Japan, the Kōshin cult is based on the belief that the body is inhabited by the Three Death-bringers (*sanshi*). Once in every sixty-day cycle, on the *kōshin* (Chn.: *gengshen*; 57th) day, these biospiritual parasites or worms ascend to the heavens to report a person's transgressions and to receive instructions for punishments, such as sickness, bad fortune, and early death. In order to prevent them from leaving and making their detrimental report, on the eve of the corresponding day people take ritual precautions and attempt to stay awake. The belief is that three such vigils on the Kōshin night will severely weaken the worms. If they are prevented from leaving seven times, they will perish. The individual will, in turn, become free of sickness and bad fortune, and his or her lifespan and happiness will increase.[78] The example of the Kōshin cult reveals one aspect of Daoist influence on Japanese culture; noticeable is a Japanese concern for health, longevity, and good fortune. This example also shows that Daoist conversion and adherence among Japanese people was small to non-existent, but that Daoist beliefs and practices occupied some place in Japanese culture. In addition, it seems that Daoist elements were incorporated in Shinto (Way of the Kami) and Shugendo (Way of Cultivation and Experiential Confirmation),[79] with the latter also associated with the Yamabushi mountain hermits.

With respect to the larger Chinese cultural sphere, specifically conversion to Daoism outside of mainland China, we may thus conclude that large-scale conversion and adherence was non-existent outside of Hong Kong and Taiwan. Korea had the greatest number of "non-Chinese" converts and adherents, but they still represented a very small segment of the larger Korean population. Nonetheless, there were ordained Korean Daoist priests who inhabited Korean Daoist temples until the Chosŏn dynasty. In contrast, Japanese society lacked formal Daoist converts or adherents; Daoist influence on Japanese culture was largely in the form of specific beliefs and practices.

As mentioned, the formation and growth of a global Daoist community, a transnational, multiethnic, and multicultural community, is largely the result of socio-political developments in the early to middle twentieth century, specifically the Chinese Communist revolution and rise of the secular nation-state of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. That is, modern political events in mainland China have led to the globalization of Daoism. There are now a variety of national Daoist organizations, including the Belgian Taoist Association (http://www.taoiststudies.org), Brazilian Taoist Association (http://www.taoismo.org.br), British Taoist Association (http://www.taoists.co.uk), French Taoist Association (http://www.aftao.org), Singapore Taoist Mission (http://www.taoism.org.sg), Swiss Taoist Association (http://www.ataos.populus.ch), and so forth. The matter is complicated by a number of factors, not the least of which is that the contemporary designation of a national "Daoist association" (*daojiao xiehui*) technically indicates elected leaders who represent the entire tradition in a given country. For most of these organizations, such conditions are not met. In the case of the United States, a number of individuals, most of whom have no formal standing in the Daoist religious tradition, have attempted to form such a nominal organization without the requisite community outreach. We also have yet to see the establishment of Daoist temples and monasteries inhabited by a distinctively Daoist community in the West.

In the remaining pages, I will focus on Daoist adherence and conversion in North America, as this is the area with which I am most familiar.[80] Such a study faces a variety of challenges. One of the most representative issues involves popular constructions of Daoism. I will not address these in detail here.[81] Briefly stated, there is a fundamental ignorance about the religious tradition that is Daoism. This is so much the case that many self-identified American "Daoists" deny that Daoism is a religious tradition. Most of these individuals are part of a New Religious Movement (NRM) best categorized as "Popular Western Taoism" (PWT), with "Taoism" pronounced with a hard "t" sound.[82] In the present context, such individuals are neither converts nor adherents. They are best understood, following Thomas Tweed's interpretative framework,[83] as sympathizers. Here I will focus on insights gleaned from my ethnographic research on Daoism in North America, including my involvement with a variety of communities as a participant-observer. I will concentrate on individuals and communities who fulfill three necessary requirements: (1) they accept the historical fact of Daoism as an indigenous Chinese religion; (2) they have some formal connection with that tradition, either through lineage, ordination, or training; and (3) they understand Daoist adherence as a religious path.[84] Needless to say, these conditions are almost completely absent among

members of the larger American population who claim some interest or affiliation with Daoism. In this respect, the current state of American Daoism is comparable to that of Zen Buddhism in the 1960s and 1970s.

In studying Daoism in North America, one encounters the whole spectrum of transmission, adaptation, and appropriation. The American Daoist community is largely composed of Chinese immigrant teachers, Chinese immigrants, ethnic Chinese adherents, and Euro-American converts. The latter include a few ordained Daoist priests with formal lineage affiliation, some of whom studied and received ordination in China.[85] The majority of potential converts to Daoism in the United States are interested in health and longevity techniques or "Daoist philosophy." Again, the matter is complicated by the misidentification of such things as Qigong (Ch'i-kung), Taiji quan (T'ai-chi ch'üan), Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), the *Yijing* (Classic of Changes), and yin-yang cosmology as "Daoist." Few individuals actually think of themselves as "converting to Daoism." Rather, Daoism is conceptualized as a "way of life" or a "philosophy of living."

In the case of individuals who actually consider themselves as "Daoist converts" and "Daoist adherents," there are various motivations. Some individuals began an active search for "alternative spirituality" and "personal healing" after a catastrophic illness or injury. Their interest in Daoism developed out of personal trauma, and in Daoism they found healing and rejuvenation. Similarly, one finds many people who want to recover or maintain optimal health. These types of converts represent the largest segment of the American Daoist community, and there is much overlap with the larger phenomenon of American health and fitness movements. Other converts had distinctive mystical experiences that eventually led them to seek out and find Daoist teachers and communities. These mystical experiences include both unitive and relational types of experiences. Some individuals have had feelings of oneness with nature and the cosmos, which they later identified as "union with the Dao." Others have encountered specific Daoist gods and immortals through visionary and auditory experiences. This latter group is among the most fascinating, as most individuals did not know anything about Daoism when the event occurred. I have elsewhere referred to this as "trans-tradition mystical experience."[86] One example is a woman who woke up in the middle of the night to see a spirit-being standing at the base of her bed. The being had the appearance of a refined Chinese gentleman who was dressed in traditional robes and carried a fly whisk. There was a corresponding subtle communication that the woman needed to change her life. Somewhat bewildered, the woman spent many years searching for an explanation. She eventually ended up at a branch of the Hong Kong-based Ching Chung Taoist Association (Ching Chung Koon) in Australia. After she described her experience, the resident monks showed her a picture of Lü Dongbin and asked if he was the being whom she encountered. It was indeed. From that moment forward, she became a devout lay Daoist. Similar mystical experiences have led others to seek out formal training as Daoist priests. When I discussed such events with contemporary Daoist monastics in mainland China, they often categorized them as instances of "predestined affinity" (*yuanfen*) or as evidence that such people were Daoists in a former existence (*sushi*). Still other converts find an affinity with some aspect of Daoism. Common interests include

Daoist reverence for body and place, Daoist literature, and Daoist philosophy. As one would expect in a country characterized by individualism, the motivations behind Daoist conversion and adherence are quite diverse. They often differ significantly from earlier patterns in Chinese history that have been described above.

Ways to Affiliation

The history of Daoist conversion and adherence reveals complex and multifaceted patterns. Although additional research needs to be done, among indigenous Chinese converts those patterns of conversion have centered on personal affinity and social solidarity, as well as eschatological and soteriological promises. They have involved charismatic teachers and leaders, regional communities, mystical experiences, revelations, and so forth. Conversion is, in turn, connected with religious affiliation and identity. In the case of Daoism, adherence has most frequently centered on initiation, ordination, and lineage affiliation. As Daoist monastic manuals, precept texts, and ritual texts indicate, the ethical requirements, expectations, and types of adherence become increasingly strict as one progresses through the levels of Daoist commitment and participation. This is perhaps most clearly expressed in the late medieval Daoist ordination system.

In the case of "non-Chinese" and foreign converts, the Daoist religious tradition has been intricately tied to larger Chinese cultural values and perspectives. As the above discussion indicates, Daoism became one agent in a larger pattern of Sinification throughout East Asia, from the Ba and Yao within the geographical borders of China to people of Korean and Japanese descent in their own countries. Major influences on and motivations behind conversion included eschatological and soteriological aspirations, socioeconomic prosperity, personal health and fortune, and Sinitic cultural hegemony. Interesting in terms of demographics and the categorization of Daoism as the "indigenous higher religion of China," it seems that the earliest Daoist religious communities were multicultural and multiethnic. Research on the ways in which "non-Chinese" traditions were incorporated into Daoism and the ways in which Daoism became transformed by non-Chinese converts and adherents is a promising and important topic.

With the contemporary globalization of Daoism, the traditional connection between Daoism and Chinese culture becomes more tenuous. Contemporary Daoism, paralleling earlier Chinese adaptations of Buddhism, is being transmitted, adapted, and appropriated in varying degrees throughout the modern world. The emergence of an international Daoist community, a community that is transnational, multiethnic, and multicultural, begs the question of what it means to be a Daoist. How have Daoists understood the requirements and expectations of conversion and affiliation? How have Daoists set parameters for participation in their tradition? Here the issue of recognizability and family resemblance is central, including the germane historical question concerning origins and influences. It also requires researchers to reflect on the difficult

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topic of who participates in and represents the Daoist community. In the case of modern Daoism, self-identification proves insufficient because of modern constructions with roots in colonialist, missionary, and Orientalist legacies.

NOTES

1. Immortals (*xianren*), also translated as "transcendents," and the Perfected (*zhenren*) are the primary religious ideals in organized Daoism, especially within the context of external alchemy (*waidan*) and internal alchemy (*neidan*). From this perspective, Immortals and Perfected are individuals who have completed a process of self-divinization.
2. The present discussion does not address gender issues in Daoist conversion. The most famous example of female conversion to Daoism involves two Tang dynasty princesses, but female religious leaders and community members have occupied a central place and made major contributions to the tradition. See Charles Benn, *The Cavern Mystery Transmission: A Taoist Ordination Rite of A.D. 711* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991); Catherine Despeux and Livia Kohn, *Women in Daoism* (Cambridge, MA: Three Pines Press, 2003); Suzanne Cahill, *Divine Traces of the Daoist Sisterhood: Records of the Assembled Transcendents of the Fortified Walled City* (Cambridge, MA: Three Pines Press, 2006).
3. Lewis Rambo and Charles E. Farhadian, "Conversion," in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, rev. ed., ed. Lindsay Jones, 3: 1969–1974 (Detroit: Macmillan Reference, 2005).
4. Ibid.
5. In their entry in the revised *Encyclopedia of Religion*, Rambo and Farhadian provide brief summaries of each approach utilized in "conversion studies." For additional clarification, see Andrew Buckser and Stephen Glazier, eds., *The Anthropology of Conversion* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003); Donald Gelpi, *The Conversion Experience* (New York: Paulist Press, 1998); Christopher Lamb and M. Darol Bryant, eds., *Religious Conversion: Contemporary Practices and Controversies* (London: Continuum, 1999); H. Newton Malony and Samuel Southard, eds., *Handbook of Religious Conversion* (Birmingham, AL: Religious Education Press, 1992); Lewis Rambo, *Understanding Religious Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Lewis Rambo, "Theories of Conversion," *Social Compass* 46, no. 3 (1999): 259–271; Chana Ullman, *The Transformed Self: The Psychology of Religious Conversion* (New York: Springer, 1989).
6. I use "soteriology" and "theology" as comparative categories. "Soteriology" refers to actualization, liberation, perfection, realization, salvation, or however religious adherents define the ultimate goal of a religious system. "Theology" refers to "discourse on the sacred," with "sacred" being a place-holder for that which a given individual or community identifies as ultimately real. Primary cross-cultural theologies include animistic, monistic, monotheistic, panenhenic, panentheistic, pantheistic, and polytheistic. We also need to make a distinction among descriptive, historical, and normative theological discourse.
7. See Arthur Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1959); Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972); Robert H. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002).

8. David E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989); David E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500–1800* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005); Norman Girardot, *The Victorian Translation of China: James Legge's Oriental Pilgrimage* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002); Eric Reinders, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004); Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).
9. To what extent this can be considered "conversion" and the ways in which particular Chinese "converts" understood their religious identity deserve further research.
10. See Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, eds., *The Cambridge History of China*: vol. 1, *The Ch'in and Han Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Michael Loewe and Edward Shaughnessy, eds., *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
11. See David E. Mungello, ed., *The Chinese Rites Controversy: Its History and Meaning* (Nettetal, Germany: Steyler Verlag, 1995); Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West*.
12. Interestingly, this even included the promotion of gods in the celestial bureaucracy. See Valerie Hansen, *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127–1276* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); James Watson, "Standardizing the Gods: The Promotion of T'ien-hou ('Empress of Heaven') along the South China Coast," in *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China*, ed. David Johnson et al. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 292–324.
13. See Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao: Debates among Buddhists and Taoists in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Livia Kohn, *God of the Dao: Lord Lao in History and Myth* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998), 275–289.
14. The history and defining characteristics of the *huahu* theory are much more complex than this brief summary indicates. For some readily available discussions, see Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), 288–320.
15. DH refers to the Dunhuang manuscripts, while DZ refers to the Ming-dynasty *Daozang* (Daoist Canon). Catalogue numbers for Daoist textual collections follow Louis Komjathy, *Title Index to Daoist Collections* (Cambridge, MA: Three Pines Press, 2002), with DZ numbers paralleling those of Kristofer Schipper et al. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.
16. See Florian Reiter, *Leben und Wirken Lao-Tzu's in Schrift und Bild: Lao-chün pa-shih-i-hua t'u-shuo* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1990).
17. On the Buddho-Daoist debates, see Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao*. Although opposition and contention was one form of interaction between Buddhists and Daoists, it was clearly not the only one. For additional insights on this complex historical issue, see Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest*; Erik Zürcher, "Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism," *T'oung Pao* 66 (1980): 84–147; Stephen Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety: Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007); Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008).

18. Compare Terry F
in *Daoist Identit*
(Honolulu: Unive
19. *Laojun jinglü*, DZ
20. See Louis Komja
Institute, 2008).
21. For a classical and
and philosophica
Master Zhuang).
22. See Franciscus Ve
and Cosmology,"
Sites," in *Daoism*
23. There is, of cours
festation of the D
24. See Stephen Boke
California Press,
25. Barbara Hendrisc
Daoism (Berkeley
26. See Jonathan D. S
27. See Terry Kleema
(Honolulu: Unive
Movements," in *L*
28. See Livia Kohn, (
MA: Three Pines
29. See Livia Kohn, *M*
2003); Kohn, *Cos*
30. See Aat Vervoort
Tradition to the
Alan Berkowitz, *I*
Medieval China (
31. See Stephan Pete
2000); Robert Fo
of Ge Hong's Trac
California Press,
32. Throughout Chir
tified by the ethn
dominant cultur
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speak over 150 di
33. Kleeman, *Great I*
34. Ibid., 68.
35. See Bokenkamp
Hendrischke, "E
36. *Nüqing guilü*, DZ
37. Kleeman, *Great I*

18. Compare Terry Kleeman, "Ethnic Identity and Daoist Identity in Traditional China," in *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual*, ed. Livia Kohn and Harold Roth (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 31.
19. *Laojun jinglü*, DZ 786, 1a.
20. See Louis Komjathy, *Handbooks for Daoist Practice*, Vol. 5 (Hong Kong: Yuen Yuen Institute, 2008).
21. For a classical and seminal Daoist perspective on the importance of "nonknowing" (*wuzhi*) and philosophical openness, see chapter 2 of the fourth-century B.C.E. *Zhuangzi* (Book of Master Zhuang).
22. See Franciscus Verellen, "The Beyond Within: Grotto-Heavens (*Dongtian*) in Taoist Ritual and Cosmology," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995): 265–290; Thomas Hahn, "Daoist Sacred Sites," in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 683–708.
23. There is, of course, another Daoist reading of places in which any natural place is a manifestation of the Dao and thus Daoist temples and altars can be built anywhere.
24. See Stephen Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997).
25. Barbara Hendrischke, *The Scripture on Great Peace: The Taiping jing and the Beginnings of Daoism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007).
26. See Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son* (New York: Norton, 1996).
27. See Terry Kleeman, *Great Perfection: Religion and Ethnicity in a Chinese Millennial Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 61–85; Barbara Hendrischke, "Early Daoist Movements," in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 134–164.
28. See Livia Kohn, *Cosmos and Community: The Ethical Dimension of Daoism* (Cambridge, MA: Three Pines Press, 2004).
29. See Livia Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003); Kohn, *Cosmos and Community*.
30. See Aat Vervoorn, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of the Chinese Eremitic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1990); Alan Berkowitz, *Patterns of Disengagement: The Practice and Portrayal of Reclusion in Early Medieval China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000).
31. See Stephan Peter Bumbacher, *Fragments of the Daoxue zhuan* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000); Robert Ford Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth: A Translation and Study of Ge Hong's Traditions of Divine Transcendents* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002).
32. Throughout Chinese history, various minority groups (Di, Hu, Man, Yi, etc.), often identified by the ethnic majority and ruling elite as "barbarians," were seen as outside of the dominant culture, as "others." In modern Communist China, there has been a tendency to read over this history and to imagine a unified China wherein the category "Chinese" includes minority groups such as these, including Tibetans. Today, the Chinese government officially recognizes fifty-five minority ethnic groups ("non-Chinese peoples") who speak over 150 distinct languages and worship a variety of spirits and gods.
33. Kleeman, *Great Perfection*.
34. Ibid., 68.
35. See Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, 29–77; Kleeman, *Great Perfection*, 61–85; Hendrischke, "Early Daoist Movements."
36. *Nüqing guilü*, DZ 790, 5.1a; adapted from Kleeman, *Great Perfection*, 74.
37. Kleeman, *Great Perfection*, 25–46.

38. Kleeman, "Ethnic Identity and Daoist Identity," 25.
39. Ibid., 26.
40. Ibid., 27–28; see also Kleeman, *Great Perfection*, 74–76.
41. Kleeman, "Ethnic Identity and Daoist Identity," 28.
42. Kleeman, *Great Perfection*.
43. Ibid., 77.
44. Ibid., 80–84, 98; Kleeman, "Ethnic Identity and Religious Identity," 29–30.
45. Kleeman, *Great Perfection*, 84–85.
46. On the Yao, see Michel Strickmann, "The Tao among the Yao: Taoism and the Sinification of the South," in *Rekishi ni okeru minshu to bunka* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1982), 23–30; Jacques Lemoine, *Yao Ceremonial Paintings* (Bangkok: White Lotus, 1982); Jess Pourret, *The Yao: The Mien and Mun Yao in China, Vietnam, Laos and Thailand* (Bangkok: River Books, 2002); Eli Alberts, *A History of Daoism and the Yao People of South China* (Youngstown, NY: Cambria Press, 2006). See also the website of Barend ter Haar, http://website.leidenuniv.nl/~haarbjter/yao.htm.
47. Alberts, *A History of Daoism*, 1.
48. Lemoine, *Yao Ceremonial Paintings*, 22; Alberts, *A History of Daoism*, 125.
49. Tianxin was one of a number of new Daoist ritual lineages that became prominent during the later Song dynasty. See Judith Boltz, *A Survey of Taoist Literature: Tenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, 1987).
50. For a brief overview, see Alberts, *A History of Daoism*, 14–16, 118–121.
51. Strickmann, "The Tao among the Yao," 26, 28.
52. See Lemoine, *Yao Ceremonial Paintings*; Pourret, *The Yao*; Alberts, *A History of Daoism*.
53. Kleeman, "Ethnic Identity and Daoist Identity," 33.
54. The present discussion is based on Louis Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection: Mysticism and Self-transformation in Early Quanzhen Daoism* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).
55. *Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 1.10b; Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection*, 45.
56. In the *Panxi ji* (DZ 1159, 3.3a), Qiu Changchun writes, "[Wang Chongyang] sent out his spirit and entered dreams, and people became frightened."
57. *Ganshui lu*, DZ 973, 1.5a; cf. *Jinlian xiangzhuan*, DZ 174, 21b; translated in Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection*, 224.
58. *Lishi tongjian xubian*, DZ 297, 1.6a; Hachiya Kunio, *Kindai dōkyō no kenkyū—O Chōyō to Ba Tanyō* (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo hōkoku, 1992), 132; Stephen Eskildsen, *The Teachings and Practices of the Early Quanzhen Taoist Masters* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), 10.
59. See Eskildsen, *Teachings and Practices*, 155–193.
60. See Paul Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999).
61. Jan, Nattier, "Who Is a Buddhist? Charting the Landscape of Buddhist America," in *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, ed. Charles Prebish and Kenneth Tanaka (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 188–190.
62. For reliable general accounts of Daoism, see Livia Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Livia Kohn, *Daoism and Chinese Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Three Pines Press, 2001); James Miller, *Daoism: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003); Russell Kirkland, *Taoism: The Enduring Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2004); Fabrizio Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism* (London: Routledge, 2008); Komjathy, *Handbooks for Daoist Practice*.
63. Compare J. J. Clarke,
64. See Mori Yuria, "Iden of Patriarch Lü in Qi Kohn and Harold Rot "Manifestations of Li Spirit-writing Cults," *Taoist Tradition and* (Kong: Hong Kong Ch
65. Tsui, *Taoist Tradition*
66. See Shiga, "Manifesta
67. See Tsui, *Taoist Tradi yu daoguan* (Hong K *daotang keyi lishi yu c* is understudied at pı more attention has b the early Celestial Ma
68. Research on Daoism yet to be conducted i istics is Caodai, a mo spective, see H. D. Bu Wave. 2000); see also Buddhism, Christian the history and chara
69. Jung Jae-seo, "Daois 2000), 794; Miura Ku Fabrizio Pregadio (L
70. Miura, "Daoism in th
71. Jung, "Daoism in Ko
72. Ibid., 799; Miura, "D
73. Miura, "Daoism in th
74. See http://www.sund
75. See http://www.zenh
76. See Masuo Shin'ich (Leiden: Brill, 2000) *Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio
77. See Livia Kohn, "Kōs (Part 1); 20, no. 1 (195
78. Masuo, "Daoism in J
79. Ibid., 827–831.
80. See Louis Komjathy, no. 2 (Nov. 2004): 5– ed. Livia Kohn (Ca resources may be fou istcenter.org).
81. See Komjathy, "Qigo
82. See Komjathy, *Hand*
83. Thomas A. Tweed, *T and the Limits of Dis*

63. Compare J. J. Clarke, *The Tao of the West* (London: Routledge, 2000).
64. See Mori Yuria, "Identity and Lineage: The *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* and the Spirit-writing Cult of Patriarch Lü in Qing China," in *Daoist Identity: History, Lineage, and Ritual*, ed. Livia Kohn and Harold Roth (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 165–184; Shiga Ichiko, "Manifestations of Lüzu in Modern Guangdong and Hong Kong: The Rise and Growth of Spirit-writing Cults," in Kohn and Roth, *Daoist Identity*, 185–209; Bartholomew P. M. Tsui, *Taoist Tradition and Change: The Story of the Complete Perfection Sect in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Christian Study Center on Chinese Religion and Culture, 1991).
65. Tsui, *Taoist Tradition and Change*, 66–70.
66. See Shiga, "Manifestations of Lüzu."
67. See Tsui, *Taoist Tradition and Change*; You Zian, ed., *Daofeng bainian: Xianggang daojiao yu daoguan* (Hong Kong: Fung Ying Seen Foon, 2002); Li Zhitian et al., eds., *Xianggang daotang keyi lishi yu chuancheng* (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 2007). Hong Kong Daoism is understudied at present, especially in terms of Western language publications. Much more attention has been given to Taiwanese Daoism due to its nominal connection with the early Celestial Masters and its relative accessibility in the modern period.
68. Research on Daoism in Vietnam, apart from the above-mentioned Yao ethnic group, has yet to be conducted in a systematic way. One group that exhibits some Daoist characteristics is Caodai, a modern syncretistic and monotheistic movement. For an adherent perspective, see H. D. Bui and Ngasha Beck, *Caodai: Faith of Unity* (Fayetteville, AR: Emerald Wave. 2000); see also http://www.caodai.org. Members of Caodai see it as a synthesis of Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, and Daoism. In terms of the present discussion, the history and characteristics of Daoism in Vietnam are intriguing.
69. Jung Jae-seo, "Daoism in Korea," in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 794; Miura Kunio, "Taoism in the Korean Peninsula," in *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio (London: Routledge, 2008), 190.
70. Miura, "Daoism in the Korean Peninsula," 190.
71. Jung, "Daoism in Korea," 798.
72. Ibid., 799; Miura, "Daoism in the Korean Peninsula," 192.
73. Miura, "Daoism in the Korean Peninsula," 192; cf. Jung, "Daoism in Korea," 802.
74. See http://www.sundo.org.
75. See http://www.zenhall.org.
76. See Masuo Shin'ichiro, "Daoism in Japan," in *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 821–842; Sakade Yoshinobu, "Taoism in Japan," in *Encyclopedia of Taoism*, ed. Fabrizio Pregadio (London: Routledge, 2008), 192–196.
77. See Livia Kohn, "Kōshin: A Taoist Cult in Japan," *Japanese Religions* 18, no. 2 (1993): 113–139 (Part 1); 20, no. 1 (1995): 34–55 (Part 2); 20, no. 2 (1995): 123–142 (Part 3).
78. Masuo, "Daoism in Japan," 835.
79. Ibid., 827–831.
80. See Louis Komjathy, "Tracing the Contours of Daoism in North America," *Nova Religio* 8, no. 2 (Nov. 2004): 5–27; Louis Komjathy, "Qigong in America," in *Daoist Body Cultivation*, ed. Livia Kohn (Cambridge, MA: Three Pines Press, 2006), 203–235. Other relevant resources may be found on the website of the Center for Daoist Studies (http://www.daoistcenter.org).
81. See Komjathy, "Qigong in America."
82. See Komjathy, *Handbooks for Daoist Practice*.
83. Thomas A. Tweed, *The American Encounter with Buddhism, 1844–1912: Victorian Culture and the Limits of Dissent* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 39–47.

84. Almost everything on the Internet and in popular publications expresses Western colonialist and Orientalist appropriations. Some representative examples of PWT include the Church of the Latter-Day Dude (Dudeism), Reform Taoist Congregation (Western Reform Taoism), Tao Bums, Wandering Daoists, and various other "Tao Groups." One issue here involves family resemblances and recognizability. In the case of PWT, rhetoric most often supersedes reality, including the use of a "rhetoric of tradition."
85. Although their claims of lineage affiliation deserve further study, some such individuals include Alex Anatole, Wesley Chaplin, Bill Helm, Jerry Alan Johnson, Michael Rinaldini, Scott Rodell, and Brock Silvers.
86. Komjathy, *Cultivating Perfection*.

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