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Mapping Charisma in Chinese Religion

Introduction and Glossary

Vincent Goossaert and David Ownby

The study of Chinese religion has long been a divided field. Philologically grounded sinologists have studied the texts of China’s classical religious traditions (Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism), while anthropologists, until recently working largely in the Chinese diaspora (Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the overseas Chinese communities of Southeast Asia), have examined the living practices (particularly ritual practices) of contemporary Chinese religion. Recent events, however, have fundamentally changed the reality, the perception, and the study of Chinese religion. One of these events is a religious awakening of historic proportions under way in the People’s Republic of China since the late 1970s, a revival which spans the full spectrum of religious groups, including Buddhists, Daoists, Christians, Muslims, as well as new religious groups like Falun Gong and a wide array of popular religious movements. Similarly, the lifting of martial law on Taiwan in 1987 was accompanied by a liberalization of state religious policy which has transformed Taiwan’s religious marketplace into a flourishing, dizzyingly diverse panorama of religious activity and innovation. The significance of these events for the study of Chinese religion can only be hinted at in this brief introduction. Suffice it to say that China’s relative openness to Western scholarship, combined with the ongoing pan-Chinese religious revival, is allowing scholars to craft new and broader narratives of the history of religion in modern China, and to bridge the perceived divide between the experience of religion in the
People’s Republic and the experience of religion elsewhere in the Chinese world.²

The sociology of religion has been a relatively neglected methodology in studies of Chinese religion since the Communist revolution, although this too is beginning to change. The French scholar Marcel Granet (1884–1940), who was Marcel Mauss’ student and one of Western sinology’s godfathers,³ laid the basis for a sociological sinology in his work in the first half of the twentieth century. Scholars in China—where sociology, long suppressed as a bourgeois science, is now flourishing⁴—along with Western researchers working on Chinese religion, are focusing renewed attention on the sociology of Chinese religion. Indeed, the origin of the present issue of Nova Religio was an international conference on “Religion and Social Integration in Chinese Societies: Exploring Sociological Approaches to Religion in the Chinese World,” organized by David Palmer, Vincent Goossaert, and Peter Tze-Ming Ng, co-sponsored by the Chung Chi College Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, the École française d’Extrême-Orient, and the Groupe Sociétés, Religions, Laïcités, and held at the Chinese University of Hong Kong on 28–30 June 2007.⁵ The express goal of this conference was to bring together China scholars with noted authorities in the sociology of religion (having little or no expertise on China) in the hope of initiating a dialogue which would enrich both perspectives.

One of the key concepts debated at the Hong Kong conference was that of charisma. Until very recently, sociological concepts such as charisma have not been much in favor with the specialists of Chinese religion. To be sure, the words “charisma” and “charismatic” occur frequently in the literature on Chinese religion, but usually as a shorthand for common-sense references to awe-inspiring or otherwise impressive persons, rather than as a reflective use of the complicated theories of charisma that social scientists have developed continually since Max Weber first coined the concept. Arguably, the exercise of comparing and theorizing was long overdue. No one would deny that modern and contemporary China has had its share of charismatic figures. Revolutionaries would occupy the place of honor, beginning with Mao Zedong, but founders of new religions would come a close second. One thinks immediately of Hong Xiuquan (1812–1864), the aspiring Confucian scholar whose dream vision created a messianic, Christian-inspired Taiping kingdom which fought the Qing empire to a standstill in the mid-nineteenth century before being eventually defeated, leaving tens of millions dead in its wake.⁶ Other candidates might include the founders of the redemptive societies, the new religions of early twentieth-century China who, in the face of the failure of both the late imperial empire and its Taiping nemesis, set out to create a new spiritual identity for a modern China. One such leader, Zhang Tianran (d. 1947) created Yiguandao during the late 1920s, a movement that now has millions of members throughout the world who
revere Zhang as an incarnate Buddha. The leaders of the redemptive societies were in some ways the forerunners of the qigong masters who led the qigong boom in reform-era China. Other charismatic figures would surely include Buddhist reformers such as Taixu (1890–1947) on the mainland, and a number of Buddhist innovators on Taiwan. Case studies of these larger-than-life charismatic figures would surely be instructive, but studies of more localized, small-scale cases of charisma can prove equally illuminating for theoretical and comparative purposes.

Any consideration of the construction of charisma in Chinese religion must begin with the signal research of Stephan Feuchtwang and Wang Mingming, published as Grassroots Charisma in 2001. The very nature of the scholarly collaboration, as well as the research strategy employed in the volume, reflect the recent changes in the field of Chinese religion studies mentioned above. Feuchtwang is a British social anthropologist who first trained with Maurice Freedman, the noted specialist of Chinese kinship, and Wang Mingming is a Chinese anthropologist who did his doctoral work in England. Their collaboration marks the scholarly cross-fertilization made possible by China’s openness to the outside world. In addition, Grassroots Charisma examines case studies of local leadership in both China (more specifically Fujian) and Taiwan, with the two scholars working on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, in hopes of transcending the narrowly political histories of the mainland and Taiwan so as to anchor their systematic findings concerning the fabric of local leadership in a more inclusive view of Chinese culture (although culture is seen as an evolving product of history and not an essentialized set of predispositions).

Beginning with a definition of charisma as “an expectation of the extraordinary,” the authors examine the evolving nature of local leadership, illustrating how claims to efficacy—as well as the moral justifications which undergird the actualization of charisma—tack between religious settings (i.e., a temple) and political settings (i.e., local government institutions), and back again over the course of the twentieth century. The authors stress that charisma is a relationship mutually constructed by leaders and followers rather than an innate set of powers possessed by an awe-inspiring leader. Achievement of charisma—the embodiment of the qualities of leadership, the attraction of followers, the representation of their interests and dreams in real or utopian projects—requires constant attention to the shifting terrain of real and symbolic domains of political and moral authority. Overlaps between local representations of good political leadership (such as the Maoist evocation of self-sacrifice and ascetic lifestyles for the realization of the common good) and of good temple leadership (devoting all of one’s resources to restoring village honor and welfare through the temple) represent particularly fruitful venues for exploring the religious-political continuum where charisma is deployed.
Such a perspective allowed Feuchtwang and Wang to wed their very local case studies to broader trends in the historical evolution of the Chinese world—or to the world in general, since both China and Taiwan are intimately linked to any number of globalizing economic and cultural trends. For example, the authors convincingly link a “disenchantment” prompted by real estate speculation, gambling and other seedy aspects of boom-time Taiwan in the 1980s and 1990s to the evolution of the expression and embodiment of charisma in the local leaders they study.

Drawing inspiration from Feuchtwang and Wang’s work, our aim for the present issue is to focus on the operation of charisma as it contributes to shaping the ongoing transformation of religion in the Chinese world. Most studies of religious change in Chinese societies have granted primary agency to political factors. While not denying the importance of politics, the internal operation of charismatic renewal, in complex interplay with political authority (sometimes cooperative, sometimes confrontational, often a mixture of both) cannot be overlooked. The history of qigong, where China’s political leaders gave free rein to “scientists of the cosmic breath” only to find these charismatic “scientists” had in no time built huge and devoted followings, is a telling example.

In this context, the present special issue of *Nova Religio* focuses on the role of charisma in renewing Chinese religion. Not all articles deal with new religions *stricto sensu*, even though several do, but they all definitely address the topics of religious change and renewal. If charisma is a notion that indissolubly mixes religion and politics, then our essays are definitely more on the religious side, and their contributions attempt to draw attention to the dimension of individual salvation present in most, if not all, mass movements that have shaped modern Chinese societies. The very title, “Mapping Charisma in Chinese Religion,” draws attention to the numerous sectors of rapid change in Chinese society where ideas of salvation, revelations, and hope for extraordinary healing, welfare and moral re-orientation fuel a demand for charismatic leaders.

In our contributions to this issue, all authors started from a common definition of charisma as “an expectation of the extraordinary.” This definition, elaborated, as already mentioned, in Feuchtwang and Wang’s 2001 volume, seemed particularly useful as it squarely defined charisma as a relationship rather than an individual quality, and as it identified its object as something different in nature from other, more mundane expectations people have of their leaders, such as good governance, increased wealth, peace, and so on. The authors in this issue have all attempted to refine this concept by looking at how this extraordinariness can be defined, promised, negotiated, and delivered in the specific context of modern and contemporary Chinese culture. Rather than insisting on an indigenous Chinese charisma—which would diminish the comparative value of our research—this issue is an attempt to refine the concept of “charisma” to make it fully relevant to, and useful in, studying
Chinese society and religion in general, and new religions in particular, in a global context of which Chinese religion is increasingly a part.

This issue begins with an overview by Vincent Goossaert of how charisma can be used as a tool to classify and understand the very diverse world of Chinese religious specialists. Next come more focused, fieldwork-based studies on various types of charismatic leaders. Julia Huang and Ji Zhe both study the world of Taiwanese Buddhism, arguably one of the most prolific fields of charismatic ambitions in the contemporary world. Julia Huang’s study of a distinctly gendered type of charisma is devoted to Zhengyan, the nun who founded and still leads a huge international charity, the Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation (Giji gongdehui; hereafter “Tzu Chi”), and the complex emotional interactions between her and her female adepts. Ji Zhe looks at a smaller group, the Modern Chan Society, and its founder Li Yuansong, who has both renounced traditional Buddhist concepts of authority to establish his own charisma, and also found within the Buddhist tradition a solution to the conundrum of charismatic succession. The following article by David Palmer examines the qigong movement, arguably the largest deployment of charisma in mainland China since Mao’s years. Palmer observes in detail how qigong masters created a bodily charisma. Stephan Feuchtwang reflects on the previous essays and, in light of his earlier work on charismatic leadership in local society, offers new ways to engage theories of charisma with the Chinese experience and to use the Chinese experience to amplify the study of charisma elsewhere. Finally, in Field Notes, David Ownby examines how body charisma functions among Falun Gong practitioners in the Chinese diaspora, where they are largely cut off from Falun Gong leader and founder Li Hongzhi, as well as from one another. How can charisma work in a community that is largely “virtual?” This variety of articles serves to map charisma, then, in a number of diverse manifestations within the context of Chinese religion.

A glossary of Chinese terms used in the articles begins on page 9.

ENDNOTES

1 The term “Chinese religion” in the singular is used by a number of scholars in the field to address the whole variety of religious practices, ideas, and specialists in Chinese societies without over-emphasizing the opposition between the various institutionalized traditions such as Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and others.

2 For examples of such broader narratives, see David Ownby, *Falun Gong and the Future of China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008) and Vincent Goossaert and David Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (manuscript in progress).


5 Sponsored by Chung Chi College Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society (CUHK), the École française d’Extrême-Orient, and the Groupe Sociétés, Religions, Laïcités (EPHE-CNRS).


Goossaert and Ownby: Mapping Charisma in Chinese Religion

GLOSSARY

Amitufo 阿彌陀佛 Amitabha Buddha
arhants or arhats (aluohan 阿羅漢) bands of ritual performers
ban 包桂文 qigong teacher in the 1970s
bexin 悲心 compassion (lit. sorrowful compassionate heart)
bendi fengguang 本地風光 Inherent Scene
bodhisattva 超人 Buddhist perfected being, who remains in this world to save humans
baoguiwen 包桂文 qigong teacher in the 1970s
beixin /ufc2f/ufc3c compassion (lit. sorrowful compassionate heart)
bendi fengguang 本地風光 Inherent Scene
bodhisattva 超人 Buddhist perfected being, who remains in this world to save humans
chaoren 超人 superhuman being
Chen Yingning 陳/ufc6af/ufc5灵/ufc5刘村 Daoist self-cultivation teacher (1880–1969)
chujia /ufc51fa/ufc5灵/ufc66离开 home to enter the clergy (homonymous with to get married, for a woman)
Ciji gongdehui 慈濟功德會 Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation
da'ai 大愛 great love, universal love
daigong kexue baogaohui daowen 帶功科學報告會單位 power-inducing scientific lecture work unit, the base-level organization of society in the People’s Republic
Dao 道 Dao
Daode xueshe 道德學社 Society for the Study of Morality
daoren 道人 man/woman of the Dao
daoshi 道士 scholar of the Dao, Daoist cleric
daoye 道業 religious cause
Daoyuan 道院 School of the Way
dizi 弟子 disciple (“younger brother-son”)
Falun Gong 法輪功 The discipline of the Revolving Dharma Wheel
fanfu 凡夫 ordinary man
fapai 法派 religious lineage
fashi 法師 master of ritual or magical arts
Fengqiao xincun 楓橋新村 New Village of Fengqiao (in Taipei)
fodian 佛店 “Buddha shop”
ganying 感應 moving gods and/or men to react
gaodao 高道 eminent Daoist cleric
gaoseng 高僧 eminent Buddhist cleric
gongfa 功法 self-cultivation method
Guanynin 觀音 the name of a well-known Buddhist bodhisattva
Hong Xiuquan 洪秀全 founder of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1812–1864)
hongfa 弘法 make known the Way; proselytize
hui 會 Congregations
Huijing 慧淨 Taiwanese Pure Land Buddhist master
huishou 會首 community leader
huizhang 會長 community leader
huo pusa 活菩薩 living Buddha
huofo 活佛 living Buddha
jiao 醬 Daoist ritual of offering
**Nova Religio**

jingshen zhiliao  精神治療  spiritual healing  
Jingsong  淨鏡  Buddhist name of Li Yuansong  
jingtu  淨土  Pure Land  
Jiushi xinjiaohui  救世新教會  New Religion for World Salvation  
jiuji  救世  to save the world  
Jiuying shengong  九應神功  Divine qigong of the Nine Resonances  
kelisima  克理斯瑪  Charisma  
Li Hongzhi  李洪志  Li Hongzhi, founder of Falun Gong  
Li Yuansong  李元松  Taiwanese Buddhist leader  
Li Yujie  李玉階  founder of a new religion, Tiandijiao (1901–1995)  

ling  灵  numinous, efficacious, clever, soul  
lishe  礼生  Confucian ritual specialist  
Liu Yuan  劉沅  a failed scholar, who set up his own teaching (1768–1855)  

men  門  doctrine/teaching/sect  
Mituo gongxiuhui  聖陀共修會  Amitabha Society for Collective Practice  

mofa  末法  Dharma decline, signaling an imminent apocalyptic event, the turning of the kalpa  

namo  南無  Buddhist expression to show reverence or worship  
pusa  菩薩  Chinese transliteration of Bodhisattva  
pusadao  菩薩道  Way of the Bodhisattva  
pusadian  菩薩店  Buddha shop, also fodian  
qi  氣  breath, vital force, cosmic energy  
qiansiu  潛修  Retreat  
qichang  氣場  field of qi  
qigong  氣功  breath training; mastery or discipline of cosmic energy  
qigongshi  氣功師  qigong master  
re  熱  heat; “fever” (fad or cultural craze)  
renjian fojiao  人間佛教  This-worldly Buddhism  
shangren  上人  Superior man, supreme person  
shangshi  上師  Supreme Master  
shanxin dashi  善心大士  benevolent persons  
she  社  Congregation  
shenxian  神仙  immortal spiritual being  
shenyi  神醫  miracle doctor  
shifu  師父  master (“teacher-father”)  
shinma  師母  master’s mother  
shushi  術士  expert of divination techniques  
shusheng  術生  Wonderful  
Taixu  太虛  leading Buddhist reformer (1890–1947)  

teyi gongneng  特異功能  extraordinary powers; paranormal abilities  
Tiandejiao  天德教  Heavenly Virtues Teachings  
Tianyin  天印  Celestial Imprint  
Tongshanshe  同善社  Fellowship of Goodness  
Wang Junfeng  王俊峰  a Daoist in Beijing, d. 1903  
Wangguo daodehui  萬國道德會  Universal Morality Society  
Weiyuan  委員  Commissioners
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese Characters</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wudao</td>
<td>wùdào</td>
<td>enlightenment of the Way</td>
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<tr>
<td>Xian</td>
<td>xiān</td>
<td>immortal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiandaichan</td>
<td>xīdáichán</td>
<td>Modern Chan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xianggong</td>
<td>xiānggōng</td>
<td>Fragrant Qigong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiangshan xiuixingren shequ</td>
<td>xīnxi</td>
<td>Xiangshan Practitioners' Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiangtou</td>
<td>xiāngtóu</td>
<td>community leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiansheng</td>
<td>xiānshēng</td>
<td>master (lit. first-born)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiao Changming</td>
<td>xiǎo chāngmíng</td>
<td>founder of a new religion, Tiandejiao, (1895–1943)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Xiaowu</td>
<td>xiàowǔ</td>
<td>Filial daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xingfu</td>
<td>xīngfǔ</td>
<td>greatest bliss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinxixi</td>
<td>xīnxī</td>
<td>qi-filled messages (lit. information conveyed through qigong cultivation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiudaodao</td>
<td>xīu duōdào</td>
<td>sustained practice of self-cultivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xuanjuan Xiansheng</td>
<td>xuānjùn xiānshēng</td>
<td>ritual storytellers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yan Xin</td>
<td>yàn xīn</td>
<td>eminent qigong master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yangsheng</td>
<td>yángshēng</td>
<td>nurturance of life, cultivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yiguandao</td>
<td>yīguǎndào</td>
<td>Way of Pervasive Unity, new religion founded in the 1920s</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yinshun</td>
<td>yǐnshūn</td>
<td>leading Buddhist thinker in Taiwan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yiren</td>
<td>yìrén</td>
<td>wonder-workers (lit. extraordinary persons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Yuanfen</td>
<td>yǒu yuānfén</td>
<td>destined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youqing Youyi</td>
<td>yǒuqìng yóuyì</td>
<td>affection and fraternity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuanyu Wuwo</td>
<td>yuán yù wúwò</td>
<td>conditioned co-arising and non-self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yun dong</td>
<td>yùn dòng</td>
<td>(social or political) movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youzhou Yu</td>
<td>yóuzhōu yú</td>
<td>cosmic language; glossolalia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zailijiao</td>
<td>zǎilǐjiāo</td>
<td>Teaching of the Abiding Principle</td>
</tr>
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<td>Zhang Hongkao</td>
<td>zāng hōngkǎo</td>
<td>eminent qigong master</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zhang Tianran</td>
<td>zāng tiānrán</td>
<td>founder of the Yiguandao (b.?-1947)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zhang Tianshi</td>
<td>zāng tiānshī</td>
<td>Zhang Heavenly Master, hereditary patriarchs of a Daoist ordination system</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zhao Bichen</td>
<td>zhào bīchén</td>
<td>Daoist self-cultivation teacher (1860–1942)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zhenfozong</td>
<td>zhēnfozōng</td>
<td>True Buddha School</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zhengyan</td>
<td>zhèngyān</td>
<td>Taiwanese Buddhist nun who founded the Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation in 1966</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zhenren</td>
<td>zhēnren</td>
<td>True man, Daoist term for an enlightened one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhiguanshuangyuan</td>
<td>zhíguànshuāngyuàn</td>
<td>combination of Concentration and Insight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhonggong</td>
<td>zhōnggōng</td>
<td>Abbreviation for “Chinese Qigong for Nourishing Life and Increasing Intelligence”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zhuan Falun</td>
<td>zhuān fálún</td>
<td>Turning the Dharma Wheel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhuanjian</td>
<td>zhuān jiàn</td>
<td>beauty (lit. solemn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zifadonggong</td>
<td>zīfà dōnggōng</td>
<td>spontaneous movements qigong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zongbai</td>
<td>zōngbài</td>
<td>religious lineage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zongshi</td>
<td>zōngshì</td>
<td>patriarch, master of a religious lineage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zouhuorumo</td>
<td>zòu huò rúmó</td>
<td>erroneous qigong practices which produce harmful results</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zushi</td>
<td>zǔshì</td>
<td>patriarch, ancestor-master</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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