

Spiritual Revolutions: A History of New Age Religion in Taiwan

Paul James Farrelly

Australian Centre on China in the World

October 2017



A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University.

© Copyright by Paul James Farrelly 2017

All Rights Reserved

I, Paul James Farrelly, declare that this thesis of 88,632 words, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, Australian Centre on China in the World, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. This thesis has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

Paul James Farrelly

October 2017

Table of contents

| | |
|---|------------|
| Images | ix |
| Acknowledgements | xi |
| Abstract | xv |
| Notes on translation and terminology | xvii |
| Preface | xxiii |
| Introduction | 1 |
| Why Taiwan; Why Wang and Hu; Why Texts? | 2 |
| Methodology | 6 |
| Structure | 11 |
| Chapter 1: Contextualising the New Age in Taiwan | 13 |
| Considering the idea of a New Age | 17 |
| The New Age in Asia | 40 |
| New Age religion in Taiwan | 44 |
| Taiwan's social, cultural and religious context | 49 |
| Religion in Taiwan | 52 |
| The New Age and Taiwan's modernity | 58 |
| Modernity in late Qing and early Republican China | 64 |
| Modernity in Taiwan | 66 |
| Chapter 2: Early Lives (1930s-1971) | 71 |
| Wang's youth in China and Taiwan | 73 |
| War and chaos in China | 74 |
| A childhood in Taiwan | 77 |
| The English language | 80 |
| Unsettled family dynamics | 82 |
| Catholicism and a developing spirituality | 85 |
| Studying at National Cheng Kung University | 88 |
| Hu's early years | 90 |
| Ongoing family problems | 94 |
| Boarding school in Taipei | 95 |
| Early religious influences | 97 |
| Chapter 3: Wang's first trip to the USA and <i>The Prophet</i> (1964-1971) | 103 |
| Not born in the USA: Taiwanese immigration | 103 |
| Reading <i>The Prophet</i> | 106 |
| Beating the drum: Wang's early columns | 118 |
| Chapter 4: Wang encounters Seth (1971-1987) | 133 |
| Back in the USA | 133 |
| An Ordinary Mind for <i>China Ladies</i> | 138 |
| The Woman in the Tower | 142 |
| Taiwan's Proto-New Age | 147 |
| Translating Seth | 156 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| <i>San Mao Cuts Across Time and Space</i> | 158 |
| <i>Out on a Limb</i> with Shirley MacLaine | 162 |
| Chapter 5: Terry Hu, travel and fame (1971-1987) | 169 |
| Fu Jen Catholic University | 169 |
| Singing your own song | 170 |
| Hu's first sojourn in New York | 174 |
| Becoming a film star | 175 |
| Independent in mind and action | 177 |
| <i>Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking</i> | 182 |
| <i>Immensee</i> | 188 |
| Final films | 191 |
| <i>Respect for the Art of Acting</i> | 194 |
| Chapter 6: Encountering Krishnamurti and writing <i>Ancient Future</i> (1987-1996) | 201 |
| Back in New York and travelling in the USA | 202 |
| The Advent of Taiwan's New Age? | 208 |
| History of the Fine Press | 212 |
| The New Age Series creates its own reality | 214 |
| Translation and retreat as spiritual practice | 220 |
| <i>Ancient Future</i> | 225 |
| Writing the New Age as religion | 234 |
| Hu retreats again | 236 |
| Wang as relaxed, free and joyous | 238 |
| Wang on Seth as a religion | 240 |
| Other publications that helped define Taiwan's early New Age | 241 |
| <i>Spiritual Revolution</i> | 241 |
| <i>The Aquarian Conspiracy</i> | 245 |
| <i>Hidden Potential Quarterly</i> | 246 |
| An expanding market | 250 |
| Krishnamurti: A (Buddhist) New Age guide | 253 |
| Chapter 7: Solidifying the New Age (1996-2000) | 265 |
| <i>The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life</i> | 265 |
| <i>Revolution in the Heart</i> | 283 |
| The New Age as 'rich in a religious mood'? | 297 |
| Hu leaves the New Age | 305 |
| Postscript | 311 |
| Conclusion | 319 |
| Appendices | 333 |
| 1. List of books published in the <i>Xinshidai xilie</i> 新時代系列 [New Age Series] between 1989 and 2000 | 333 |
| 2. Graph of books published in the <i>Xinshidai xilie</i> 新時代系列 [New Age Series] between 1989 and 2000 | 337 |

Translations

| | |
|---|-----|
| 3. Preface to <i>Out on a Limb</i> (1986) | 338 |
| 4. The Advent of the New Age (1988) | 341 |
| 5. Preface to the New Age Series (1989) | 345 |
| 6. The Combination of Yin and Yang (1990) | 352 |
| 7. Preface to <i>The Aquarian Conspiracy</i> (1993) | 357 |

Bibliography

359

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| Primary Chinese language sources | 359 |
| Secondary Chinese language sources | 370 |
| Primary English language sources | 372 |
| Secondary English language sources | 376 |

Images

Figure 1: Terry Hu 胡因夢 (left), C.C. Wang 王季慶 (right) and Sun Chen-hwa 孫春華 in front of what appears to be the Great Temple of Isis, Egypt (n.d., likely late 1980s or early 1990s). xxi

Figure 2: C.C. Wang in San Francisco (n.d.). 李祖原 C.Y. Lee, “難以對付的王季慶 *Nanyi duifu de Wang Jiqing* [The difficult-to-deal-with C.C. Wang]”, 純文學 *Literature Monthly* 49 (9:1) January 1971: 107. 105

Figure 3: C.C. Wang in *San Mao Cuts Across Space and Time*. Dong Xiaoling “Who can contact ghosts? Discussing parapsychology with C.C. Wang” in Dong Xiaoling (ed.), *San Mao Chuanyue Shikong* 三毛穿越時空 [*San Mao Cuts Across Time and Space*] (Taipei: Crown, 1984). 159

Figure 4: Terry Hu 胡茵夢. *Hu yan meng yu* 胡言夢語 [*Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking*]. Taipei: Four Seasons Publishing Co. Ltd., 1980. 184

Figure 5: Meng Dongli 孟東籬, Tsao Yu-fang 曹又方, Terry Hu 胡茵夢, C.C. Wang 王季慶 and Ning Mingjie 寧明杰. See Tsao Yu-fang 曹又方. *Lingyu Ciqing* 靈慾刺青 [*Tattoo of Spiritual Desire*] (Taipei: Eurasian, 2005). np. 215

Figure 6: Terry Hu 胡茵夢. *Gulao de weilai* 古老的未來 [*Ancient Future*] (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1990). 226

Figure 7: The Krishnamurti pamphlet inserted with Fine Press Publications (1996). 260

Figure 8: C.C. Wang 王季慶. *Xinnei geming: mairu ai yu guang de xinshidai* 心內革命: 邁入愛與光的新時代 [*Revolution in the Heart: Stride into the New Age of Light and Love*]. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1997. 284

Acknowledgments

First I must thank my wife, Serena, for her wholehearted support throughout my PhD candidature. I met Serena in September 2005, not long after I commenced what has become a never-ending process of studying Mandarin. We lived in Taipei (twice, and for a total of nearly three years) while preparing for and then completing the thesis. I have dragged her to all manner of New Age activities and New Religious Movements and she has heard more about ‘Sister Wang’ and ‘Teacher Hu’ than anyone deserves to. Thanks for all your love, support and patience! Also thanks to my parents Sue and Pat and siblings Nich and Cath (and their growing families) for their ongoing support and, especially, for their editorial assistance. Also, my late Grandmother-in-law, Betty Cornhill, shared many of her vast collection of New Age texts with me, for which I am truly appreciative.

I wish to thank my supervisor, Dr Benjamin Penny of the Australian Centre on China in the World (CIW). Having guided me through my MA in 2007-2008, he has shared years of advice, making time to listen to my ideas and read my writing. I appreciate his tactful mentoring in helping me shape this thesis. Methodologically, theoretically and conceptually, I have benefitted from his guidance. Thanks too to my advisors Dr Scott Pacey and Dr Benjamin Dorman, who read various versions of this thesis and offered insightful comments. Both have directed several publication opportunities my way, for which I am most grateful.

Doctoral study requires significant funding and I am fortunate to have benefitted from several generous sources. My PhD scholarship granted me 3.5 comfortable years of research. Through ANU’s China Institute, Dr Mark Strange offered funding for fieldwork. The CIW/Academia Sinica Winter Camp in early 2013 was a great opportunity to learn from experts in Taiwan studies. Vivaly, the Taiwan Fellowship awarded by Taiwan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and National Central Library granted

me a year in Taipei to finish this thesis, complete several book chapters and other short articles, work on a new research project and continue my language study. Also thanks to the Academia Sinica Institute of Ethnology for sponsoring me as a visiting fellow in 2016.

Thanks to the staff at the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Canberra for their years of support and encouragement. I also benefited from a number of reading groups in CIW and ANU's School of Culture, History and Language. An early chapter was shared in Dr Nathan Woolley's thesis writing group in 2013: thanks to Nathan and the group for their critical comments. Much of the dissertation took shape in the thesis bootcamp and veterans days conducted by Dr Inger Mewburn, Dr Melanie Haines and Dr Cathy Ayres – thank you for creating and maintaining a space so conducive to in-depth academic writing.

I have benefitted from the collegial advice of Prof Liao Hsin-tien 廖新田, Dr Tsai Tsan-huang 蔡燦煌, Dr Huang Hsuan-ying 黃宣穎 and Dr Kao Chen-yang 高晨揚 in shaping this thesis. Dr Chen Jia-luen 陳家倫, Dr Shu-chuan Chen 陳淑娟 and Dr Albert Chen 陳建志 all shared their work and thoughts on Taiwan's New Age with me and I thank them for their time and expertise.

In preparation for (and then during the course of) this dissertation I have studied at National Taiwan Normal University on three separate occasions and thank the teachers there for their professional tuition.

Thanks to Francis Markham for his MS Excel wizardry in preparing Appendix 2. Thanks to my officemate of three years Zhu Yayun 朱亞雲 for patiently sharing ideas with me as I developed this project. Thanks to all the staff at CIW for providing a stimulating and fun workplace, and for the various part-time work opportunities that helped me stay afloat in the last years of this project.

I would also like to thank the editors who have included my research in their anthologies over the last seven years: Lenore Manderson, Wendy Smith and Matt Tomlinson; Jeffrey Samuels, Justin Thomas McDaniel and Mark Michael Rowe; Stefania Travagnin; Jørn Borup, Katarina Plank and Marianne Q. Fibiger; Chang Hsun and Benjamin Penny; Erica Baffelli and Jane Caple. Thank you for your support and offering these valuable opportunities to publish my work.

Finally thanks to C.C. Wang and Terry Hu for taking time to talk with me and share their experiences, and for writing so frankly and extensively over the decades.

Abstract

My thesis is a cultural history of New Age religion in Taiwan. I focus on C.C. Wang 王季慶 (1941-) and Terry Hu 胡因夢 (1953-), the two earliest and most prolific sinophone proponents of a ‘*Xinshidai* 新時代 [New Age]’. I consider their lives (as New Agers) and written works (as New Age figures), concentrating on the period to 2000. In this thesis I explore how Wang and Hu introduced New Age religion to Taiwan through analysis of their publicly available writings and translations. In chronologically examining their life experiences and the various ideologies that they gradually wove into their work, I demonstrate the agency of these two women as New Age innovators and show how they represented their own lives as evidence of the transformational efficacy of New Age religion for modern Taiwanese women.

Raised in a family who escaped from China and then converted to Catholicism, Wang’s most important contributions are her translations of Jane Roberts’s Seth books (beginning in 1982). These continue to be popular with readers and have inspired a new generation of teachers and students. She also translated internationally popular texts such as Kahlil Gibran’s *The Prophet* (1970) and Neale Donald Walsch’s *Conversations with God* (1998). Viewing this work alongside her efforts in beginning the Fine Press’ 方智出版社 New Age Series (1989-) and establishing the Chinese New Age Society 中華新時代協會 (1992), her publisher described her as “the mother of the New Age in Taiwan” (2012). Wang began developing expertise on American culture when raising a family there in the mid 1960s and again for much of the 1970s. She used these domestic experiences as the basis of her burgeoning literary career.

An important part of Wang’s oeuvre are the monthly columns she published pseudonymously in *The Woman* 婦女雜誌 and *China Ladies* 仕女雜誌 between 1969 and 1981. In these columns Wang not only established herself as a trans-Pacific expert of everyday life techniques (especially regarding relationships and parenting), she also

articulated the psychological unease that she would later seek to remedy through spiritual exploration and, ultimately, in translating New Age books. Her early work is notable for both illustrating a particular type of modernity available to young urban females and for establishing the nurturing and inquisitive spirituality she would later disseminate widely. Already interested in the type of ideas discussed in the New Age, it was only after a life-altering encounter with a Seth book in a California library in 1976 that Wang began exploring the New Age more deeply. She eventually discovered Shirley MacLaine's *Out on a Limb* (and later wrote the preface to the 1986 Mandarin translation), which she described as inspiring and "a book of enlightenment."

Hu was born to a politician father who also escaped from China. She learnt English as a child and developed a fascination with American culture. After a short stint in New York's bohemian Greenwich Village in the early 1970s, she soon became a film star in Taiwan. She featured in several dozen movies and was briefly married to the author Li Ao 李敖 (b.1935). She retired from acting in 1988 and devoted her energy to translating New Age texts, especially the work of Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895-1986) who she depicted as a "New Age Buddhist." Throughout her careers as an actor and author Hu appeared as an archetype of the global, modern and, ultimately, spiritually sophisticated woman.

Hu's individual identity was strongly grounded in the social context of Taiwan's elite, and she increasingly blended martial law-era Chineseness and her celebrity status with American post-hippie spiritual trends. Her multifaceted and evolving identity augments dominant identity and gender discourses in Taiwan and binds her into the New Age's transnational web of religious innovation and personal transformation.

Notes on translation and terminology

In the context of language, ‘Chinese’ refers to what is commonly known in English as Mandarin. Publishers in Taiwan use complex or full-form traditional Chinese characters (繁體字 *fantizi*), as opposed to simplified characters (簡體字 *jiantizi*) which are now used in China and, subsequently, commonly taught in classrooms around the world. Almost all primary sources in this dissertation were published with traditional characters, a form I maintain in this thesis. I transliterated Chinese names and terms using *pinyin* unless there is an established alternative (such as Chiang Kai-Shek and Taipei or, for this thesis, C.C. Wang and Terry Hu). I translated relatively unknown names using *pinyin*. Where I found a local name rendered in Roman characters in another source or catalogue, I have used that version.

‘Taiwan’ refers to the main island (and, less importantly for this research, its various outlying islands) since 1945 known officially as the Republic of China. Pre-1949 ‘China’ refers to the Republic of China (as it was on the Chinese mainland) and post-1949 it refers to the People’s Republic of China, that is, continental China.

Unless specified, all translations from Chinese are my own.

The first two appendices were prepared during the process of gathering data about the Fine Press’s New Age Series. Appendix 1 demonstrates the variety of books in the series and Appendix 2 depicts the rate with which books were published. The other five appendices are texts I translated while researching this thesis. I chose them because each offers insights as to the particular nature of Taiwan’s New Age.

On the surface we possess remarkable material achievements and yet in our hearts there is no great difference between us and other hominids. We are still full of fear, worry, conflict, antagonism and violence. Reflecting on this, the enlightened movement of the New Age gives rise to the spiritual revolution of modern times.

Terry Hu, 1991¹

The New Age emphasises the 'individual.' It is through revolution in one's heart that a new society, nation and world will be created.

C.C. Wang, 1997²

¹ Terry Hu, “*Dangdai shengzhe tan xinling geming-xinshidai de qimeng yundong weiguan pian* 當代聖者談心靈革命——新時代啓蒙運動微觀篇 [Modern Day Saints Discuss Spiritual Revolution: A Microscopic View of the New Age Enlightenment]” in *Xinling geming* 心靈革命 [*Spiritual Revolution*] (Taipei: Eurasian, 1991), 100.

² C.C. Wang, *Xinnei geming: mairu ai yu guang de xinshidai* 心內革命：邁入愛與光新時代 [*Revolution in the Heart: Stride Into the New Age of Light and Love*] (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1997), 209.

Image removed from digital thesis to
avoid copyright infringement

Figure 1: Terry Hu 胡因夢 (left), C.C. Wang 王季慶 (right) and Sun Chen-hwa 孫春華 in front of what appears to be the Great Temple of Isis, Egypt (n.d., likely late 1980s or early 1990s).

Without disclosing the exact location, Figure 1 was published in *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*] (December 1991) and *Shisui zazhi* 拾穗雜誌 [*Gleaners*] (May 1993), and also in Hu's autobiography *Siwang yu tongnü zhi wu* 死亡與童女之舞 [*Death and the Maiden*] (1999). Sun Chen-hwa was a film scriptwriter and television producer who collaborated with Wang and Hu in the early days of the New Age Series.

Preface

More than just a holiday happy snap from a trip to some grand ruins, this photo of C.C. Wang and Terry Hu is our entry into the history of New Age religion in Taiwan.

Egypt has long fascinated Western occultists. In the nineteenth century certain enthusiasts believed “that the Egyptians had possessed esoteric knowledge that had enabled them both to perform magic and to apprehend the divine.”³ This interest continued and by the early twenty-first century the global repertoire of perceived wisdom from Egypt and other places meant “many New Agers have a strong sentimental attachment to the past because of a romanticised understanding of ancient cultures and spiritualities.”⁴ Egypt remains a prominent origin of such an “ancient culture,” no better symbolised than in the form of a pyramid—often “seen as a supernatural source of energy or power.”⁵ As a result, and with international travel increasingly affordable, many pyramid enthusiasts—inspired by various (pseudo-) historical and religious writings—began visiting Egypt. Not long after Wang and Hu’s visit and when asked about ancient Egypt-loving New Agers, director of the pyramids Zahi Hawass responded “Ah yes, the Pyramidiots,” indicating the perjorative view held by some who had encountered these tourists.⁶

The interest in pyramids eventually spread to Taiwan, where, echoing the mystery of these and other ancient structures, a 1989 article on sacred archaeology in Greece and Egypt was entitled “Immortal Gods and Vanishing Monarchs: Greek and

³ Mark Bevir, “The West Turns Eastward: Madame Blavatsky and the Transformation of the Occult Tradition,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 62:3 (Autumn, 1994): 749.

⁴ Christopher Partridge, “Truth, Authority and Epistemological Individualism in New Age Thought” in Darren Kemp and James R. Lewis (eds), *Handbook of New Age* (Leiden, Brill: 2007), 246

⁵ Michael York, *Historical Dictionary of New Age Movements* (Oxford: The Scarecrow Press Inc., 2004), 149.

⁶ Luke Dittrich, “Pyramidiots,” *Blue Magazine*, June July 2000, 24.

Egyptian Shrines.”⁷ By this stage Wang and Hu were already deep in their practice of New Age religion, and, along with Sun Chen-hwa, were about to start publishing the New Age Series (*Xinshidai xilie* 新世代系列) in Taiwan through The Fine Press (*Fangzhi chubanshe* 方智出版社). Yet in 1989 Africa was already present in the imagination of Taiwan’s readers.

San Mao (三毛 1943-1991) was a popular author and role model for young women in Taiwan from the mid 1970s.⁸ Through her travel writing she found fame as “a model of the acquisitive and modern petit-bourgeois romantic.”⁹ San Mao’s journey to Africa’s Sahara, her “most ‘exotic’ travel experience, and the one that established her fame as a writer” was inspired by images she had seen in magazines.¹⁰ San Mao influenced Hu, who admired her for her bravery in wandering the Sahara and wished her to bring these qualities back to Taiwan where people (especially many of her friends) dreamt of wandering yet seemed overly controlled by Chinese traditions.¹¹

Increasingly internationally isolated during the 1970s, Taiwan was trying to realign itself diplomatically. Officially known as the Republic of China, in 1971 it withdrew from the United Nations after the People’s Republic of China (hereafter, China) was given a seat and in 1979 the USA switched its diplomatic recognition to

⁷ 黎大康 Li Dakang, “*Yongsheng de shenming yu huanmie de junquan: Xila yu Aiji shendian* 永生的神明與幻滅的君權：希臘與埃及神殿” [Immortal Gods and Vanishing Monarchs: Greek and Egyptian Shrines], *Dadi dili zazhi* 大地地理雜誌 [*The Earth: Chinese Geographic Monthly*], March 1989, 142.

⁸ Born Chen Maoping 陳懋平, San Mao’s writing about other continents, and especially the Sahara, were extremely popular in the 1970s and 1980s. See Miriam Lang, “San Mao Makes History”, *East Asian History* 19 (June 2000): 147-148.

⁹ Geremie R. Barmé, *In the Red: On Contemporary Chinese Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 110.

¹⁰ Miriam Lang, “San Mao Goes Shopping: Travel and Consumption in a Post-Colonial World”, *East Asian History* 10 (December 1995): 133.

¹¹ Terry Hu, *Hu yan meng yu* 胡言夢語 [*Talking Nonsense; Sleep Talking*] (Taipei: Four Seasons Publishing Co. Ltd., 1980), 169. This article was a reflection on the song *Ganlan shu* 橄欖樹 [Olive Tree] (1979), written by San Mao and performed by Qi Yu/Chyi Yu 齊豫, in particular the repeated phrase *liulang* 流浪, meaning “to wander” or “to lead a vagrant life.”

China. While some nations already recognised China instead of Taiwan, beginning in 1971 all but a few minnow states gradually shifted their diplomatic recognition to China.

San Mao gave her readers an example of a life where Taiwan's diplomatic inconveniences did not necessarily impinge on personal and cultural exploration. She wrote of a world in which cosmopolitan and glamorous women could travel, live and love. Taiwan's precarious diplomatic predicament could be transcended by enticingly modern, global lifestyles. It was in this world of international experience and experimentation that Wang and Hu spent their early adulthoods and where, when in the USA, they would ultimately encounter the New Age.

Before visiting Egypt, Wang and Hu had already lived in the USA on multiple occasions, with Wang residing there for over a decade. During her career as a popular actor, Hu had travelled widely around the world to film and promote her movies and participate in advertising campaigns. But their trip to Egypt appears to have been motivated by more esoteric concerns linked to their joint publishing project.

Launched in September 1989, The New Age Series was subtitled in English "You Create Your Own Reality," a cornerstone of the philosophy of Seth, a spiritual entity revealed by the American science fiction author, poet and medium Jane Roberts in a series of books that "are 'undisputed' classics of modern channeling."¹² By 1989 Wang had already translated three Seth books and Hu credited Seth with providing wisdom during her emotionally draining divorce proceedings. Hu's *Ancient Future* (*Gulao de weilai* 古老的未來, 1990) is listed as the first book in the New Age Series and was the first book published in Taiwan to explicitly address the topic of the 'New Age.' A fundamental aspect of the New Age that Wang and Hu were creating in Taiwan was the idea that there was an authentic essence only found in ancient civilisations,

¹² Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture: Esotericism in the Mirror of Secular Thought*. (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 37.

philosophies and religions, something that had either become corrupted or lost over the millennia: a revolutionary set of wisdoms that modern Taiwan needed. As noted above, for some time Egypt had been one fount of such knowledge, with its elaborate architecture, hieroglyphics and mythology providing inspiration to generations of spiritual seekers.¹³ Wang and Hu were among the latest to make the pilgrimage there.

This photograph shows Wang and Hu embodying the life of globally-informed spiritual transformation that they presented to their readers. Experiencing one of the very sources of ancient wisdom that they so valued, Wang and Hu were the epitome of New Age pilgrims. Their journey into the New Age—no better illustrated than this photo in Egypt—and, in Hu’s case, out of it, was life-long. Its revolutionary potential was the product of, and continued to shape, their multifaceted lives in Taiwan and abroad.

¹³ An early example of a Western spiritual figure using Egypt as a destination in a spiritual quest is Paul Brunton’s *A Search in Secret Egypt* (1936), discussed in Steven Sutcliffe, “The Origins of New Age Religion Between the Two World Wars” in *Handbook of the New Age*, eds. Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 64.

Forshang World Foundation 佛乘世界文教基金會, a new religious movement, adopted the pyramid shape for its “potential-inspiring pyramid.” Located at its temple in Tamsui 淡水 (north of Taipei), this pyramid is inscribed with various “Dharma totems”:
... to inspire from all beings the four positive energies of wisdom, health, wealth, and love. People stand before the pyramid will definitely experience the glorious and perfect development of body and mind.

See “The Ninth Seal” <http://www.forshang.org/023GeneticsII/e.htm>, accessed 14 December 2015.

Introduction

In a 2013 study of spiritual engagement in Taiwan, it was found that within that year 38.7% of people purchased ‘body, mind, spirit’ (BMS, *shen xin ling* 身心靈) products, with 19.9% purchasing a book or magazine.¹ While this segment is sometimes called ‘Mind, body and spirit’ in English, I have kept the Chinese arrangement of the words. BMS is the broad category into which New Age religion (along with other healing, dietary and energy cultivation practices) is now often classified in sinophone regions. Noted figures, including Hu, are marketed using the term. In 2013 general book sales in Taiwan alone amounted to around NT\$35.2 billion per annum (approximately AUD\$1.5 billion)² with 1831 new titles being published per million inhabitants per year (the equal second highest rate in the world).³ As BMS publications account for approximately one fifth of this figure, a significant market has developed. In order to understand how this publishing boom evolved, it is essential to examine the origins of New Age religion (*Xinshidai zongjiao* 新時代宗教) in Taiwan. As two of the earliest exponents and most prolific authors, C.C. Wang (Wang Jiqing 王季慶, 1941-) and Terry

¹ Chen Shu-chuan 陳淑娟, Chiu Hei-yuan 瞿海源 and Chen Hsin-chih 陳杏枝, “*Taiwan minzhong de lingxiu xingwei yu jingan* 台灣民眾的靈修行為與經驗 [Taiwanese Spiritual Engagement and Experiences]” in Chiu Hei-yuan (ed), *Zongjiao, shushu yu shehui bianqian* 宗教、術數與社會變遷 (三) [*Religion, numerology and social change 3*] (Kaoshiung: Chuliu Publisher, 2013), 264.

These findings were drawn from the 1,927 respondents in the Taiwan Social Change Survey 2009. See <http://www.thearda.com/Archive/Files/Descriptions/TSC09.asp>, accessed 3 October 2015.

² “Publishing sector points to Taiwan’s cultural prowess”, Ministry of Culture Media Release, 4 June 2014, <http://english.moc.gov.tw/video/index.php?sn=2078>, accessed 3 October 2015.

³ *International Publishers Association Annual Report*, October 2013 – October 2014. 17. <http://www.internationalpublishers.org/images/reports/2014/IPA-annual-report-2014.pdf>, accessed 22 November 2015.

Hu (Hu Yinmeng 胡因夢, 1953-) are central to this phenomenon. No two people did more in Taiwan to promote and support the ‘New Age.’

In this thesis I explore how Wang and Hu introduced New Age religion to Taiwan through analysis of their publicly available writings and translations. In chronologically examining their life experiences and the various ideologies that they gradually wove into their work, I demonstrate the agency of these two women as New Age innovators and show how they represented their own lives as evidence of the transformational efficacy of New Age religion for modern Taiwanese women.

Why Taiwan; Why Wang and Hu; Why Texts?

In the late twentieth century New Age religion became increasingly mainstream around the world, to the point that in “some western countries, inner-life ‘beliefs’ have almost certainly become more popular than beliefs in the theistic personal God of traditional Christianity.”⁴ While one monograph and a small number of very useful sociological papers have been written about the New Age in Taiwan, an extensive history of the phenomenon is yet to be attempted. Nor have the charismatic figures that propelled the New Age there been considered in detail. In considering the evolution of New Age religion in Taiwan as a transnational and modern phenomenon, my research will complement existing work on the globalisation of the New Age (especially with regard to North East Asia) and enrich the significant corpus of studies on religion in Taiwan.

I selected Wang and Hu for several reasons. Having considered the early figures of New Age religion in Taiwan, these two women stand apart not only for the volume of translations and other writings that they published: they were the two most prominent champions of a ‘New Age.’ Given the significant body of work that both women

⁴ Paul Heelas, *Spiritualities of Life: New Age Romanticism and Consumptive Capitalism* (Malden MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 5.

published in the 1960s and 1970s before they identified closely with the New Age, it becomes possible to consider both how New Age religion was one identifiable stage in their own spiritual development and how it can be considered in the context of broader cultural, religious and social evolutions in post-World War II Taiwan. Rather than view the New Age religion of Wang and Hu as a foreign import, I demonstrate how it allowed them to express aspects of the religious culture in which they grew up and were familiar with and, in doing so, demonstrate the transformational efficacy of the texts, especially to a middle class audience. Beyond pragmatic considerations of what materials are available in archives and bookstores, I chose to analyse their publicly available writings for two main reasons. First, globally, “publishing has effectively become the driving force and central organisation of the New Age and wider holistic spirituality movement” and this has yet to be fully considered in the example of Taiwan.⁵ Second, in the Chinese religious context (in which I argue Wang and Hu were firmly rooted) written texts can be imbued with sacred authority, such as the practice of cherishing written characters (*xizizhi* 惜字紙) where the power imbued in written characters led the literate to exercise care when writing.⁶ While this practice does not precisely match with their later New Age work, and I have no specific evidence they were influenced by it, the attention with which Wang and Hu translated texts and the value they put on this as a transformative practice suggests, that for them, writing was imbued with religious importance. Another example is found in morality books (*shanshu* 善書), texts that aim to “reform decadence and disorder by means of a popular

⁵ Elizabeth Puttick, “The Rise of Mind-Body-Spirit Publishing: Reflecting or Creating Spiritual Trends?”, *Journal of Alternative Spiritualities and New Age Studies* 1 (2005): 129.

⁶ Adam Yuet Chau, “Script Fundamentalism: The Practice of Cherishing Written Characters (Lettered Paper 惜字紙) in the Age of Literati Decline and Commercial Revolution” in Philip Clart (ed), *Chinese and European Perspectives on the Study of Chinese Popular Religions* (Taipei: Boyyong, 2012), 136.

Confucian program of moralism.”⁷ Similarly, the New Age writings of Wang and Hu also sought to engender individual internal reform and for these two women writing and translating became spiritual practices.

In my thesis I draw upon the books, articles and translations of Wang and Hu from when they began writing and being written about until 2000. I have done my best to access all extant writings of both women beginning with Wang in 1969 and Hu in 1977. I chose to focus on events prior to 2000 for a number of reasons. The Fine Press (*Fangzhi chubanshe* 方智出版社) also published the 100th volume in its New Age Series in 2000, Wang’s translation of *Friendship with God* by Neale Donald Walsch. In it she noted that while not all books in the series had been bestsellers, they still had an impact – individual change was precipitating global change.⁸ From the point of view of Marilyn Ferguson, author of the New Age classic *The Aquarian Conspiracy*, 2000 was imbued with a particular potency. That year signified the end of the Age of Pisces and the beginning of the Age of Aquarius.⁹ Having lauded *The Aquarian Conspiracy* as the most representative New Age book in 1990 and written the preface to its Chinese translation in July 1993, by 1999 Hu was disavowing the title ‘New Age,’ apparently due to difficulties in ‘creating her own reality’ when she suffered health issues, as well

⁷ Philip Clart, “Chinese Tradition and Taiwanese Modernity: Morality Books as Social Commentary and Critique” in Philip Clart and Charles B. Jones (eds), *Religion in Modern Taiwan: Tradition and Innovation in a Changing Society* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003), 86.

⁸ C.C. Wang, “*Shengming shi yongheng de, er women zhi shi yige ren* 生命是永恆的，而我們只是一個人 [Life is eternal and we are one]” in Neale Donald Walsch, *Friendship with God: An Uncommon Dialogue* (*Yu shen wei you* 與神為友), trans. C.C. Wang (Taipei: The Fine Press, 2000), n.p.

⁹ The exact dates for the beginning of the Aquarian Age vary, as do understandings of what exactly it entails, but generally it is understood to be “a metaphor for what is to be a collective shift in consciousness... the important notion behind the concept itself is that it symbolises a ‘golden age’ of individual, social and global integrity.” See Michael York, “The New Age Movement as an Astrological Minority Religion with Mainstream Appeal” in *Handbook of the New Age*, eds. Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 406-407.

as the influence of Ken Wilber, several of whose works she translated. She continues to write and translate as a BMS figure, which in the broad sense encapsulates the New Age. Wang, on the other hand, remains closely affiliated with the New Age, and her August 2012 autobiography was released with a band around it proclaiming her as “The Mother of the New Age” in Taiwan.¹⁰

It is important to note that Wang and Hu were not the sole proponents of the New Age in Taiwan. Nor were books the only means through which people encountered it. For instance, in the sections ‘Taiwan’s proto-New Age’ (Chapter 4) and ‘An Expanding Market’ (Chapter 6) I discuss some of the relevant works, authors and series published during the period considered in this thesis. I discuss certain contemporary figures in the postscript. In her study of participants in Taiwan’s New Age, Shu-Chuan Chen found that while books were an important channel for participants to make contact with the teachings, more than half of those she interviewed were introduced to the New Age through friends or family.¹¹ She also noted the role of formal organisations in spreading the New Age; the first organisation, the Chinese New Age Society 中華新時代協會 (registered in 2001 and emerging from Wang’s reading groups in the 1990s) is most prominent. However, she noted that such groups, including those focussed on Osho/Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh and reiki, “lack much formality or capacity to control what happens in the name of the New Age.”¹² Given this, I will argue in this thesis that Wang and Hu (and, to an extent, their publishers) shaped the form and content of Taiwan’s New Age.

¹⁰ The full band reads “*Xinshidai zhi mu Wang Jiqing de zhengqing gaobai yu xiyue fenxiang* 新時代之母王季慶的真情告白與喜悅分享 [The True Expression and Joyous Sharing of C.C. Wang, Mother of the New Age].”

¹¹ Shu-chuan Chen, *Contemporary New Age Transformation in Taiwan: A Sociological Study of a New Religious Movement* (New York: Edward Mellen Press, 2008), 138.

¹² *Ibid.*, 40.

Methodology

My primary sources for this thesis are the published writings of C.C. Wang and Terry Hu. In drawing on these, I seek to distinguish my approach from that of the existing body of work on the New Age in Taiwan. Going back beyond when Wang and Hu began identifying as New Age, and considering their less well-known publications once they did, a rich source of research material becomes available. Reading this work and analysing it so as to draw conclusions about how intimately involved Wang and Hu were in the evolution of New Age religion in Taiwan links my research to one of the tenets of microhistory – “solving small mysteries about a person’s life as a means to exploring the culture.”¹³ In adopting this approach, I do not propose that the examples of Wang and Hu are completely analogous with those of other writers, translators and teachers of their time. Aware that microhistories can be criticised for being too narrow or unimportant, I acknowledge the necessity of “placing the small unit of study in a broader context.”¹⁴ Therefore there will be much to be gained by inserting their stories in a broader history of religious women in Taiwan. In these circumstances, and following Carlo Ginzburg and his colleagues, I note that the heterogenous natures of Wang and Hu (we will see how their stories share similarities and differences) “constitutes both the greatest difficulty and the greatest potential benefit of microhistory.”¹⁵ Their specific agencies contrast with each other, as they do with those of other women, authors and religious figures (and especially with combinations of all three). Yet at the same time, a nuanced understanding of how Wang and Hu both embodied and created the New Age, focusing on their narratives in a historically

¹³ Jill Lepore, “Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography,” *The Journal of American History* 88:1 (2009), 141.

¹⁴ Sigurður G. Magnússon and István M. Sziójártó, *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2013), 148.

¹⁵ Carlo Ginzburg, John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi, “Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It,” *Critical Inquiry* 20:1 (1993), 33.

objective manner, will provide readers with rich examples of religious innovation in late twentieth century Taiwan, and of new permutations of the global New Age. Through this study of the lives and writings of two women who lived in Taiwan and the USA, a deeper sense of the connection between the local and the global emerges.

From each woman's oeuvre I develop a detailed understanding of their respective journeys of personal growth and how they chose to represent this as a social reality to their readers. In doing so I demonstrate how their status as New Age figures was actually one stage in a life-long process of investigation, practice and transmission. As cultural intermediaries, Wang and Hu each produced a number of texts where they introduced and explained aspects of foreign (generally American) culture. Their representations of their lived experiences—especially the language and religious imagery they employed in their writings—is a rich source through which it is possible to extract a meaningful conception of how they developed understandings of the New Age. I aim to capture the experiences of these two women to the fullest extent possible through their publications across various genres. That said, in orienting this as a cultural (micro-)history, I ground my research in the social and cultural conditions of late twentieth century Taiwan, contextualising their narratives as dependant on changes in a broader, complex society. In generating these narratives, as a cultural history, I seek to show “the ways in [Wang and Hu] make sense of their experience, their lives, their world.”¹⁶ Indeed, Matthew Wood argued that the risks of placing too great an emphasis on the religious at the expense of “people's wider life histories and experiences, and the social contexts in which these are situated”¹⁷ has led to scholars of the New Age in the USA and Europe misinterpreting these phenomena. I endeavour to avoid this trap.

¹⁶ Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2010), 123.

¹⁷ Wood, *Possession, Power and the New Age*, 176-177.

For this thesis I have read their work—drawn from different publications across 30 years—as two separate (though often interweaving) texts, in the sense of the text as a cumulative production that can span several works.¹⁸ Each work was written under particular historical conditions and framed by the genre conventions of its publication. Seeing each text as an effect of Taiwanese society at a point in time, “we see that society ‘records itself’ in the processes which generate documents.”¹⁹ In particular, I am concerned with how each writer represented religion (especially the New Age) and the foreign within the context of her own life; how through the written word Wang and Hu created the New Age as a meaningful concept for their readers. Using their status as commentators, they could:

... translate [their thoughts about the world] into language, make them ‘speak’, through the use of signs which stand for them – and thus talk, write, communicate about them to others.²⁰

Wang and Hu’s representations of their lives, New Age religion and the multiple intersections between these, aptly demonstrate their dual roles as consumers *and* producers of the New Age. In reading their work in this way, I remain aware of the “sharp and categorical boundary line between the actual world as a source of representation and the world represented in the work.”²¹ The agency of each writer is important, and as publicly available texts, can be best considered as not an objective

¹⁸ Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (Glasgow: Fontana, 1979), 157.

¹⁹ Adrian Wilson, “Foundations of an Integrated Historiography” in Adrian Wilson (ed), *Rethinking Social History: English Society 1570-1920 and Its Interpretation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 319.

²⁰ Stuart Hall, “The Work of Representation” in Stuart Hall (ed), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 1997), 62.

²¹ Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1981), 253.

truth but as subjective account. This represented material was read, interpreted and acted on by their readers. For each woman the sources used can be divided into the following four categories (nearly all of which are listed in the primary Chinese language sources section of the bibliography):

Magazine articles

Wang and Hu both wrote extensively in Taiwan women's magazines throughout the period considered in this thesis. As a movie star, Hu was also the subject of many articles. The topics covered in the articles and columns they wrote varied, often focussing on matters of love or the family, but both women used this forum to divulge personal information and, later, promote spiritual ideas.

Translations, essays and prefaces

In terms of sheer volume, translated works are most important in Wang's output; Hu translated fewer books in the years considered in my research. While at times I do consider the content of their translations, much of my material is found in the prefaces they wrote for their own translations and those of their colleagues. Unlike Wang and Hu, most other translators in the Fine Press's New Age Series did not write lengthy prefaces. Beyond Wang's standard introduction to the New Age, most translations did not include any preface, with the translated text presented without additional material that may have contextualised it. Wang and Hu also wrote a range of essays expounding the New Age published in the Fine Press's series, other Fine Press books and in magazines.

Books

Wang and Hu both wrote introductions to the New Age as well as autobiographies. In total, Wang wrote two books and one autobiography and Hu wrote three books and one autobiography (her first two books are mainly about celebrity life). While their autobiographies are rich sources of detail, both with respect to events in their lives and their emotional response to them, I have exercised a degree of caution in referring to them as many stories may have been included not so much for their historical accuracy, but to legitimise their authority as New Age figures. Hu's autobiography was published in 1999, after she had moved on from identifying with the New Age, and Wang's autobiography was published in 2012, long enough after the period being considered in this thesis that I need to differentiate between 'now' and 'then,' as her approach to the New Age had evolved.

Interviews

Wang and Hu have been interviewed at various times in their careers and these interviews offer an insight into their thinking at particular points in time. As a celebrity, Hu's 20s were particularly well documented. That said, such interviews need to be considered carefully as the words printed in a magazine may not be the same as those uttered by the interviewee, having likely been subjected to editorial intervention. I personally interviewed Wang (August 2012) and Hu (July 2012) for this research, and while these discussions were useful in providing context, neither woman offered the sort of historical detail available in their earlier writings. As this thesis is not a comparison of their memories and their written work, I do not draw strongly on these interviews.

It is necessary to note some limitations to my research. While I have focussed on Wang and Hu's writings in popular media and done my utmost to find all articles either by or featuring them, in all likelihood I missed some. The sources I did find and refer to are adequate for an extensive study such as this one. I also did not access any of Wang or Hu's personal correspondence. Apart from one article in *The Washington Post* and some short sections of *Asia Week* magazine, all primary sources relating to Wang and Hu in this thesis were published in Chinese; I translated all quotations and did my best to ensure that both the content and tone of the original was preserved in the translation.

Structure

This thesis contains seven chapters. In Chapter 1 I outline the history of the New Age as relevant to this project. I then focus on Taiwan, with particular emphasis on religion and modernity there. In Chapter 2 I discuss Wang's early life and writings, demonstrating how her spiritual curiosity was firmly grounded in her early life. I also outline Hu's early life up to her year-long sojourn in New York. Like Wang, the personality traits that drove Hu to explore New Age religion were evident long before she actually began doing so. In Chapter 3 I consider Wang's first experiences in the USA, her translation of *The Prophet* and her early magazine columns. In Chapter 4 I write about the life changing events during her second stint in the USA that propelled Wang into her exploration of New Age religion and how she transformed into a translator when back in Taiwan. As part of this I also survey Taiwan's proto-New Age publications. In Chapter 5 I look at Hu's time in the campus folk music scene and her film career, and show how her early secular books and translations can be considered as part of her New Age oeuvre. This narrative is fundamental to her transformation into a New Age figure. In Chapter 6 I discuss Hu's later experiences in New York and her discovery of the work of Jiddu Krishnamurti. I then discuss the New Age series,

spearheaded by Wang with the assistance of Hu (and others) that began in 1989. This chapter also discusses the growing enthusiasm of publishers and readers for New Age works. In Chapter 7 I analyse more key publications and consider Hu's exit from the New Age. Through this I will show how Wang and Hu created the New Age through their lifelong exposure to American culture, how reading and translation were spiritual practices and the extent to which the New Age in Taiwan was equated with Buddhism.

Chapter 1: Contextualising the New Age in Taiwan

For all her dissatisfaction with institutional religion, Wang drew on a religious vocabulary in her New Age translations. Not only did she use religious terms to translate various New Age ideas, she drew analogies with religious texts and concepts in order to contextualise New Age religion for her readers. Analysis of her most popular translations, *The Prophet* by Kahlil Gibran and the various Seth works channelled by Jane Roberts, demonstrates how thoroughly Wang imbued her New Age translations with religious vocabulary and symbolism common in Taiwan.

Like Wang, through the act of translating New Age texts Hu also experienced various degrees of spiritual transformation and development. She long associated writing with personal transformation, even when not directly addressing spiritual topics, as seen in her first book *Hu yan meng yu* 胡言夢語 [*Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking*] (1980). From then onwards, she made several references to how translating went beyond being a complement to her spiritual practices, to actually become a spiritual practice. Translation, and the transformation it affected, would become an important facet of her role as a New Age figure.

Books that would later be affiliated with the New Age had been translated into Chinese and published in Taiwan many years before the New Age Series started and before there was any widespread awareness or acceptance of the term ‘New Age’ (see my discussion on Taiwan’s proto-New Age in Chapter 4). However, it was the Fine Press—through translators such as Wang, Hu and their peers—that created the New Age in Taiwan. From an insider perspective, Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895-1986, the figure Hu promoted and closely aligned her own identity with) was, in Taiwan, a New Age figure. He was published in the New Age Series, marketed as a New Age figure and

consumed by readers as such. From an outsider perspective, one can argue that Krishnamurti was not New Age: he was stridently secular and distanced himself from the Theosophical Society, his nurturer of many years. But Krishnamurti died in 1986, three years before the New Age Series started. At this time only one of his books had been published in Taiwan and there was no reference to him as a New Age figure.¹ While Seth is argued to be one foundation of the New Age globally—and due to the efforts of Wang he became especially so in Taiwan—Krishnamurti became a New Age figure in Taiwan because that was how he was translated and represented there. Even though his translators and supporters, especially Hu, went to great lengths to tie him, as a man, to the historical Shakyamuni Buddha and his teachings to Buddhism, all this was done in the context of the New Age.

The New Age, as created in Taiwan by C.C. Wang and Terry Hu, is *a form* of religion. Not a religion, though, as it was too philosophically divergent and lacked the organisational centralisation some consider requisite of a religion. In writing this, I follow Benson Saler's proposal for the scholarly study of religion consisting

...of a pool of elements that scholars associate with religions. Not all will be found in all religions. Some will be more typical of what we mean by religion than others, both in terms of distributions and weightings. And many will be found outside of the purview of what scholars conventionally designate as religions. None by themselves are necessary for identifying religion, and none by themselves are sufficient for doing so.²

Such an approach allows for the New Age in late twentieth century Taiwan to be considered alongside other religious forms in Taiwan and, more broadly, religion

¹ Jiddu Krishnamurti, *Jiaoyu yu rensheng* 教育與人生 [*Education and the Significance of Life*, lit. *Education and Human Life*], trans. Chang Nan-hsing 張南星 (Taipei: Mutong chubanshe 牧童出版社 [Cowboy Publishing Co. Ltd.], 1976).

² Benson Saler, *Understanding Religion: Selected Essays* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 223.

globally. As will be discussed in a later section, it is suitable to consider the New Age in Taiwan as a form of religiosity. It connects with the local elements of religion as practiced in Taiwan, such as Buddhism, while avoiding the organisational structures of religions that have been alleged to distort the true meaning of particular teachings. The New Age in Taiwan was co-created by Wang and Hu as a way of reverting to the inherent wisdom of ancient teachings, and doing so in a way that was relevant to modern people, but without the authoritarianism that they felt existed in more conventional forms of religion. It was 'new' in that it was liberated from the strictures of religious authority. Freed of these apparent bonds, practitioners (that is, readers) were empowered to choose the particular discourse that was most suitable for them, at that point of their life. Perhaps this mode of exploration is no better embodied than in Wang and Hu: first as New Age practitioners and then as New Age leaders. Through the study of New Age religion, as written by Wang and Hu, we can develop a sense of how it *is* religious and thereby strengthen the understanding of religion in Taiwan and abroad.

Both women adopted various philosophies and ideologies throughout the period of this study. Wang was exposed to Catholicism in her childhood, discovered Kahlil Gibran's *The Prophet* in the USA and then later devoted herself to the Seth teachings. Once she had connected with the New Age, she expanded her reading more widely and, from this, curated an extensive list of translations to share with her readers in Taiwan. Hu also demonstrated an evolving interest in teachings and ideologies, beginning with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the American counterculture. Her enthusiasm for Krishnamurti was ongoing, publishing translations of his work from 1991 until 2010. In 1998 she published her first translation of Ken Wilber, echoing his teachings by using them to explain her own life, and then in later years she focused on translating the work of A.H. Almaas. Her most recent translation is *Meditations on the*

Tarot (2016) by one-time Anthroposophist Valentin Tomberg (1900-1973). Although since 1999 Hu has disavowed the 'New Age,' she has consistently encapsulated the freedom it provides practitioners to forge their own spiritual path, translating and promoting work that could, in another cultural context, be considered New Age.

Wang and Hu introduced New Age religion at an important time in Taiwan's history. The religious milieu in which Taiwan's New Age evolved was not purely a construct of late twentieth century globalisation. The years following Taiwan's liberation from martial law in 1987 were a time of great growth in religious practice. Many organisations and teachers took advantage of the reduced restrictions to propagate their teachings around the island. Exploring deeper, it is apparent that the broad range of religious activity flourishing in that era was historically grounded in cultural and theological structures and the modernised bureaucratic religious framework that had been imported to Taiwan by the Chinese Nationalist Party (Guomindang or Kuomintang, commonly known as the KMT, 國民黨) after its post-World War II retreat from China. The religious environment into which it settled included a combination of clerics and missionaries (such as Protestants and Catholics) who had fled the rising Communist power, and local Taiwanese, who after 50 years of Japanese colonial rule maintained a range of religious practices, including various indigenous traditions and local temple-based Chinese religion. With these historical precedents, the religious world of late twentieth century Taiwan was diverse and vibrant.

The New Age only came to be known and described as such during the 1970s but the ideas upon which it was founded had been mutating and occasionally flourishing in the centuries before, in America, Europe and Australia. East Asia was not exempt from these developments, with the Theosophical Society establishing several lodges in Chinese coastal cities after 1920.

The most famous Chinese theosophist was Wu Tingfang 伍廷芳 (1842-1942), a prominent lawyer, diplomat and politician. In addition to translating Annie Besant's *Elementary Lessons on Karma* (*Yingguo qianyi* 因果淺義) (1921), he wrote *Zhengdaoxue hui yaozhi* 證道學會要旨 [*An Outline of Theosophy*] (1921) and *Wu Tingfang zhengdaoxue shuo* 伍廷芳證道學說 [*Dr Wu's Dialogues on Theosophy*] (1923).³ Wu's investigations led him to believe that the soul is eternal.⁴ However, the Theosophical Society in China enjoyed no such longevity and it is no longer present there. Similarly, early twentieth century Japanese spiritual innovators drew upon American esotericism.⁵ While Wang and Hu did not translate any texts from Japan or claim to have any significant spiritual connection with Japanese religions, both did spend periods of time in Japan and were aware of the dynamic societal changes occurring there during its post-war period of growth.⁶

Considering the idea of a New Age

When analysing the New Age in Taiwan—its conceptual boundaries, content and contradictions—one must begin by examining the global New Age. The term 'New Age' came to prominence in the 1970s as the political, cultural and spiritual experimentation of the counter-culture evolved in various realms, fragmenting and then

³ The Indo-Pacific Federation of the Theosophical Society, "Dr. Wu Ting Fang and A History of The Theosophical Society in China," <http://www.ipf-ts.org/blog/dr-wu-ting-fang-and-history-theosophical-society-china>, accessed 22 November 2015.

⁴ Hu Hsueh-Chen, "*Wu Tingfang de tongshenxue yu lingxue shengya* 伍廷芳的通神學與靈學生涯 [Wu Ting-fang, Theosophy, and Spiritualism]," *Zhengda shicui* 政大史粹 [*Collectanea of History*] 22 (June 2012): 1-22.

⁵ Naoko Hirano (American Metaphysical Religion in Seishin Ryōhō and Reiki Ryōhō in 1920s-1930s) and Hidehiko Kurita (Breathing Methods as a Crossroad between the Localization of Western Ideas and the Acculturation of Japanese Tradition) examined this phenomenon on the panel 'Healing Practices and Modern Esoteric Currents between Japan and the U.S.' at the XXI Quinquennial World Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions in Erfurt (Germany) on 25 August 2015.

⁶ Wang holidayed in Japan with her husband Lee in 1969/1970, not long before Hu went there to meet the family of her one-time fiancé.

either flourishing or floundering. Due to the inspiration that Wang and Hu drew from them, I begin this section by introducing Jane Roberts and Seth, Jiddu Krishnamurti, Shirley MacLaine and Marilyn Ferguson; I do not propose that these figures are the most representative of the New Age internationally (Krishnamurti's New Age-ness can be debated) or that individually they are more important than other authors, channels or spirit entities. A fuller account of the global New Age would necessarily include far more primary sources. However, given the importance of the above figures in the narratives of Wang and Hu, I limit my historical exploration to them. In her monograph *New Religions and the Theological Imagination in America*, Mary Farrell Bednarowski commences her analysis of the New Age by noting the difficulty of adequately defining what is New Age (especially when many features of the New Age are evident in NRMs and other religious organisations). She does note that beyond sharing similarities with Theosophy and spiritualism (as I discuss below), an awareness of global issues (famine, peace, etc) is important.⁷ I will argue that, as women from Taiwan who had vital spiritual experiences when living in America, Wang and Hu read the New Age from a similar perspective.

The New Age, as it appeared in America (where Wang and Hu encountered it), was a long evolving amalgam of religious and (pseudo-) scientific thought. Notions of channeling and internal balance were expounded by European progenitors such as Emanuel Swedenborg (1668-1772) and Franz Anton Mesmer (1734-1815), respectively. Swedenborg's communication with angels and other spirits and out-of-body experiences "provided the initial contributions to the emerging spiritual idiom of the American metaphysical tradition," later potently realised in the channelings of the Fox sisters in

⁷ Mary Farrell Bednarowski, *New Religions and the Theological Imagination in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 15-18.

1848.⁸ Over a century later, this channeling lineage manifested in Jane Roberts's (1929-1984) Seth revelations.⁹

Seth and, critical to our awareness of him, the medium Jane Roberts, are essential figures in examining the American background of the New Age in Taiwan. Roberts had a difficult childhood, spending time in a Catholic orphanage, and her early marriage failed. She developed a career as a science fiction writer and poet and preferred for others to think of her in these terms.¹⁰ Roberts had her first psychic experience with Seth in September 1963 as she sat writing poetry. She recalled:

Suddenly my consciousness left my body, and my mind was barraged by ideas that were astonishing and new to me at the time. On return to my body, I discovered that my hands had produced an automatic script, explaining many of the concepts that I had been given. The notes were even titled – *The Physical Universe as Idea Construction*.¹¹

Roberts proceeded to regularly communicate with Seth and published *The Seth Material* in 1970. It and subsequent Seth books reached a large audience, selling more than a million copies.¹² Unlike earlier individuals who communicated with spirits, Roberts and her peers were considered 'channels' instead of 'mediums,' as such people had been labelled during the Spiritualist Movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This was possibly because the new term was unencumbered by the accusations of fraud directed at Spiritualists.¹³ Other notable channels who gained a popular following in the wake of Roberts included Sanaya Roman, J. Z. Knight and

⁸ York, *Historical Dictionary of New Age Movements*, 180 and 173.

⁹ Sarah M. Pike, *New Age and Neopagan Religions in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 56.

¹⁰ Wouter J. Hanegraaff, "Roberts, Dorothy Jane" in Wouter J. Hanegraaff (ed) *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 997.

¹¹ Jane Roberts, *Seth Speaks: The Eternal Validity of the Soul* (San Rafael, California: Amber Allen Publishing, 1994), vii.

¹² Pike, *New Age and Neopagan Religions in America*, 16.

¹³ York, *Historical Dictionary of New Age Movements*, 43-44.

Neale Donald Walsch (author of the series *Conversations with God*) among many others.¹⁴ In addition to the Seth books, Wang also translated books by Roman and Walsch.

The method through which Seth communicated changed after the first encounter. Roberts would go into a deep trance at which point Seth entered her body. Her voice dropped to a deeper tone and as Seth spoke through her, Roberts's husband would write down his utterances. Seth understood this channeling as a process of translation in that he did not verbally communicate with Roberts; he was consciously aware of her agency in articulating his message.¹⁵ At the core of Seth's philosophy "is the concept of the 'multi-dimensional personality'... The essence of this soul is conscious, creative energy seeking to express itself."¹⁶ Seth's ideas about a holographic reality are complex and Hanegraaff dryly noted that Roberts's eloquent rendering of this "radical metaphysics... reminds one at every page that the medium in question started her career as a science-fiction writer."¹⁷ Grainy black and white footage exists of Roberts channeling Seth, rocking on her chair and, in an unidentifiable accent, forcefully announcing the teachings of Seth.¹⁸ Beyond Seth, another influential spiritual figure was to underpin Taiwan's New Age.

Founded in New York in 1875, the Theosophical Society was at times home to noted spiritual figures such as Annie Besant (1847-1933), Charles W. Leadbeater

¹⁴ Wouter J. Hanegraaff. "Channeling" in Kocku von Stuckrad (ed), *The Brill Dictionary of Religion Volume 1 A-D* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 319-320. For further examples of this phenomenon see York, *Historical Dictionary of New Age Movements*, 44.

¹⁵ Catherine L. Albanese, "Historical Imagination and Channeled Theology: Or, Learning the Law of Attraction," in Cathy Gutierrez (ed) *Handbook of Spiritualism and Channeling* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 492.

¹⁶ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 214.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 215.

¹⁸ <http://youtu.be/AMRYkgBjCoA> accessed 28 March 2013. According to the information provided by the uploader, this video was recorded on 4 June 1974.

(1854-1934) and Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925), the latter who went on to develop Anthroposophy. Their efforts resonated with the public over the decades and not only do “the writings of theosophists appear as a constant backdrop to many of the alternative spiritual traditions of the twentieth century,”¹⁹ but “In many respects, [Theosophy] is the direct precursor of today’s New Age movement.”²⁰ Through the efforts of two of the society’s founders, Helena Blavatsky (1831-1891) and Henry Steel Olcott (1832-1907), Theosophy evolved to become “a spiritual tradition that combs the truths of the orient and incorporates them into a western system of thought”²¹ and one that “is an example of Comparative Religion on occultist premises, developed with the express intention of undermining established Christianity.”²² The excursions of Blavatsky and Olcott (and those of their successors) to India were integral to the future of Theosophy and, as will be discussed, the shaping of New Age thought in Taiwan.

In 1879 Blavatsky and Olcott arrived in India. Beyond just being a personal pilgrimage, their journey to India was important for the future of the Theosophical Society. Writing of the pair’s exploration, Robert S. Ellwood wrote of India as a destination ripe in sacred possibility that was, at the same time (and by virtue as its status as a British colony), accessible to travellers from the West.²³ In representing what she considered to be an ‘Ancient Wisdom,’ Blavatsky was accepting of general Asian religious traditions such as reincarnation, karma and the simultaneous existence of a body in different psychic planes.²⁴ After her death, the Theosophical Society endured a

¹⁹ Kevin Tingay, “Madame Blavatsky’s Children: Theosophy and Its Heirs” in *Beyond New Age: Exploring Alternative Spirituality*, Steven Sutcliffe and Marion Bowman, (eds) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 37.

²⁰ York, *Historical Dictionary of New Age Movements*, 185.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 443.

²³ Robert S. Ellwood, *Alternative Altars: Unconventional and Eastern Spirituality in America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979), 133.

²⁴ Tingay, “Madame Blavatsky’s Children: Theosophy and Its Heirs,” 37.

period of adjustment but thanks to her earlier efforts, maintained a strong base in India. It was there that Leadbeater discovered the young Jiddu Krishnamurti who, in time, would be anointed by the Theosophical Society leadership as Maitreya, generally considered in Buddhism to be a Buddha who will appear at some stage in the future.²⁵ The Theosophical conception of Maitreya appears to match what Jan Nattier defined as the “here/now” version of the Maitreya myth where, as opposed to an encounter in another life or realm, “the believer can expect to meet Maitreya on earth during his or her present lifetime.”²⁶ In Theosophy Maitreya is a position equated with Christ.²⁷

Living in India, Europe and the USA, Krishnamurti’s life can be viewed as a microcosm of transnational spiritual trends in the twentieth century.²⁸ Leadbeater came across him in Tamil Nadu and was attracted by the fourteen year old’s aura. The Theosophical Society took legal responsibility for Krishnamurti’s education (and that of his brother, Nitya) and in 1911 he was appointed head of the new Theosophy society: The Order of the Star in the East (OSE).²⁹ In her hagiography of Krishnamurti, Pupul Jayakar criticised the brothers’ entrance into the Theosophical Society and the ensuing process of learning English manners and language as acts whereby they “were stripped

²⁵ Thomas Oberlies, “Buddha” in *The Brill Dictionary of Religion*. Kocku von Stuckrad [ed]. Volume 1, 207.

²⁶ Jan Nattier, “The Meanings of the Maitreya Myth: A Typological Analysis” in *Maitreya, The Future Buddha*, Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre (eds)(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 30.

²⁷ J. Gordon Melton, “Beyond Millennialism: The New Age Transformed” in *Handbook of New Age Volume 1*, Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis (eds)(Brill: Leiden, 2007), 85.

²⁸ A panel at the XXI World Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions in 2015 called “J. Krishnamurti’s Apophatic Mysticism: its Implications for Religion, Creative Insight, Spirituality, and Individuality” indicated that more scholarly work on this topic will be published.

²⁹ Tingay, “Madame Blavatsky’s Children: Theosophy and Its Heirs,” 45.

of all Indianness.”³⁰ This cultural tension and ambiguity would remain part of Krishnamurti’s evolving identity.

Krishnamurti and Nitya were taken by the Theosophical Society to Europe and educated in England and France. In her biography of Krishnamurti, Mary Lutyens noted that his status as the Messiah and a lawsuit over his custody in India dissuaded any Oxford colleges accepting him for higher education. Lutyens sympathetically revealed the strained nature of Krishnamurti’s English education when she declared, “How bored Krishna must have been with the endless cramming in subjects for which he had no aptitude.”³¹ This disillusion was not limited to his schooling.

The pressure put on the young Krishnamurti by his role as Maitreya seemed to outweigh any satisfaction it may have brought him. For all the opportunities it offered—both immediately material and speculatively spiritual—it proved to be too much to bear. In 1929 Krishnamurti dissolved the OSE and struck out as an independent teacher, and travelled widely until his death “speaking an average of 175 times a year to crowds ranging from as few as fifty to several thousand people at a time.”³² Many lectures were transcribed and circulated as books and pamphlets, or as audio recordings. Importantly, with respect to the New Age, he “stressed personal spiritual responsibility for the individual and denied all restrictive mental and religious dogmas.”³³ In his re-envisioned role as an independent teacher, Krishnamurti “preached a message of non-violence, teaching that peace was not achievable by socio-political means, but only by a

³⁰ Pupul Jayakar, *Krishnamurti: A biography* (San Francisco: Harper and Row Publishers, 1986), 26.

³¹ Mary Lutyens, *The Life and Death of Krishnamurti* (London: Rider, 1990), 23.

³² Hilary Rodrigues, “An Instance of Dependent Origination: Are Krishnamurti’s Teachings Buddhadharma?”, *Pacific World (Third Series)*, 9 (2007), 86.

³³ York, *Historical Dictionary of New Age Movements*, 106.

transformation of the self, cultivating the virtues of goodness, love and compassion.”³⁴

An important element of Krishnamurti’s oeuvre is his dialogue with the noted physicist David Bohm (1917-1992).

Beginning in 1961, Bohm and Krishnamurti engaged in a series of discussions which were later published. It is important to note that an awareness of modern science is a significant component of the New Age.³⁵ For Krishnamurti, the exposure to new and scientific ways of exploring existence excited him concerning “the ending of time as well as the ending of thought.”³⁶ Similarly, his views on how the mind and thought might be reconstructed inspired Bohm who sought to repair the fragmentation he saw plaguing humanity by implementing a new way of thinking.³⁷ To his benefit, in Bohm Krishnamurti had found a highly regarded scientific interlocutor and through their exchange ignited a theme that would be strong in the New Age in Taiwan.

Krishnamurti’s post-Theosophical Society career was generally successful. He remained famous and his “thinking attracted the attention of a wider and more significant circle of people than did Theosophical teachings in any of their traditional

³⁴ George D. Chryssides, “Defining the New Age” in *Handbook of New Age Volume 1*, Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis, (eds) (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 7.

³⁵ David J. Hess, *Science in the New Age: The Paranormal, Its Defenders and Debunkers, and American Culture* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 4.

By the late twentieth century science seemingly was only just catching up with thousands of years of spiritual teachings and practices. This was evident to New Agers in 1984 when the editors of *New Age Journal* wrote:

it is heartening to realize that the new scientific worldview that emerged in the twentieth century agrees with what mystics and masters have been telling us for thousands of years. We are One.

See Rick Fields, et al, *Chop Wood Carry Water: A Guide to Finding Spiritual Fulfilment in Everyday Life* (New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher / Penguin, 1984), 203.

³⁶ Lutyens, *The Life and Death of Krishnamurti*, 141.

³⁷ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 143.

forms.”³⁸ However, even if Krishnamurti’s post-Theosophy career is considered as New Age, he still was not its most famous figure.

In 1983 Oscar-winning actor Shirley MacLaine published *Out on a Limb*. Broadcast as a television miniseries in 1987, *Out on a Limb* offered “an intimate yet powerful journey into her personal life and inner self.”³⁹ She was candid when recalling the drama in her life—in particular a romantic affair with a foreign politician and the vicissitudes of show business—and how her gradual immersion into astrology, crystals, astral travel, spirit mediums and other esoteric pursuits brought her a sense of peace. In her subsequent books such as *It’s All in the Playing* (1987), where she discussed the process of revisiting her earlier life when filming *Out on a Limb*, and *Going Within: A Guide to Inner Transformation* (1989) where she reflected on her nation-wide teaching tour, MacLaine projected different perspectives on her spiritual trajectory. Wouter J. Hanegraaff regarded her bestsellers as representative of the New Age subculture, and given her global celebrity, a part of what he termed (following David Spangler) “New Age glamour.” With this extraordinary popularity, her story “will be understandable and sympathetic to many who experienced a similar development during the 1980s.”⁴⁰ One such person was Wang, who enthused in her preface to the 1986 Chinese translation of *Out on a Limb* that the book was “an authentic and touching ‘book of enlightenment.’”⁴¹ MacLaine was not alone in connecting her New Age message with a broad audience.

³⁸ Tingay, “Madame Blavatsky's Children: Theosophy and Its Heirs”, 45.

³⁹ Shirley MacLaine, *Out on a Limb* (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1984), back cover. The 1987 TV miniseries is currently available on YouTube, see <https://youtu.be/gyxhj2fgLAI>. Accessed 7 October 2015.

⁴⁰ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 109.

⁴¹ C.C. Wang, ‘*Mingzuo jia Wang Jiqing de hua* 名作家王季慶的話 [Famous writer C.C. Wang speaks]’ in Shirley MacLaine, *Bianyuan Wai* 邊緣外 [*Out on a Limb*, lit. *Out on the Edge*], translated by Du Hengfen 杜恒芬, (Taipei: Shy Mau Publishing Company, 1986), np..

Marilyn Ferguson's influential *The Aquarian Conspiracy: Personal and Social Transformation in the 1980's* (first published in 1980) began with her understanding of the 'New Age' as a new historical epoch:

A leaderless but powerful network is working to bring about radical change in the United States. Its members have broken with certain key elements of Western thought, and they may have even broken continuity with history.⁴²

The radical modernity Ferguson dramatically announced encapsulated elements of the Western New Age as it has been understood in subsequent studies: a leaderless network, profound change, the decentering of Western thought. Her claim that "continuity with history" has been broken provides an opportunity to explore the evolution of ideas in the New Age, especially in Taiwan.⁴³ According to Hanegraaff, *The Aquarian Conspiracy* "can still be regarded as the most characteristic manifesto of the New Age *sensu lato*."⁴⁴ This stems from his bifurcation of the New Age into two parts – *sensu strictu* and *sensu lato*, which I discuss in a following paragraph. An enthusiastic reviewer in *Yoga Journal* praised Ferguson for her insight on the importance of individual change and how it can have positive, broader repercussions: "The sum of individual changes forms a culture, and when individual changes reach a 'critical mass', the culture re-forms itself,"⁴⁵ an evolutionary ideal that would later underpin Taiwan's New Age. For all their sales and influence, the works of Ferguson and MacLaine are but two examples of the myriad ideologies and experiences that constitute the New Age.

⁴² Marilyn Ferguson, *The Aquarian Conspiracy: Personal and Social Transformation in the 1980's* (St Albans, Great Britain: Paladin, 1983), 23.

⁴³ In the context of Ferguson's statement about the imminent Aquarian Age, the historian Jörn Rüsen neatly encapsulated the importance of history, writing "Without a relationship to the past we cannot develop any future perspective in our practical life." Ewa Domańska (ed.), *Encounters: Philosophy of History after Postmodernism* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1998), 145.

⁴⁴ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 106.

⁴⁵ Jeff Kane, "The Revolution is Now," *Yoga Journal*, May-June 1980, 67.

Globally and in Taiwan, the New Age remains difficult to define. In this respect it is important to adroitly navigate the differences between insider and outsider definitions.⁴⁶ As demonstrated in my thesis, this distinction is integral to understanding the New Age in Taiwan. By adopting the insider description of the New Age as it existed in the USA, proponents of this school of thought such as Wang, Hu and the Fine Press were able to gather up disparate ideas and practices that had been circulating in Taiwan and then create, I will argue, a New Age specific to Taiwan. The insider description of Taiwan's New Age is different to that of New Ages in other parts of the world and the tensions and innovations that underpin it are helpful when conceiving an outsider description. In developing the most appropriate outsider description of the New Age in Taiwan, I will not only show how the development of the New Age in the West is important, but, more crucially, how decades of religious innovation and modernisation in East Asia, especially in Taiwan, have shaped the nature of the New Age there.

Differences exist between disciplinary approaches as to how the boundaries of the 'New Age' are delineated, and how other typological issues are dealt with; the primacy given to texts and historical context; and the degree of emphasis on religious, global, social, individual or other dynamics, such as the extent to which it constitutes a 'movement', for example. The spectrum of disparate philosophies and activities fused together by publishing companies, teachers and New Age societies in Taiwan demonstrates elements of religion, science, secular thought, environmentalism and self-

⁴⁶ In the case of the New Age, insider (emic) descriptions are those found in the media and bookshops, or promulgated by groups, teachers and publishers. Outsider (etic) descriptions are those that have been generated in the academy through the rigorous study of groups, individuals and texts.

help.⁴⁷ It is this individuality (and related lack of organisational structures) and its Chinese religious foundation (especially Buddhism) that best typify the New Age in Taiwan. In his rigorous and extensive historical account of New Age thought, Hanegraaff worked “...from the perspective of the history of (religious) ideas” and argued:

There exists a marked lack of (1) in-depth analyses of the worldviews and theologies of alternative movements and (2) a historical perspective on their origins and cultural background.⁴⁸

Hanegraaff observed that it is not so much the core of what constitutes ‘New Age’ that is difficult to define, it is the ideas and beliefs found on the margins that pose this problem. Likewise, he considered the designations ‘New Age,’ ‘New Age religion’ and the ‘New Age Movement’ to be interchangeable.⁴⁹ Aware of the various religious and philosophical traditions that preceded the New Age, he identified the ‘New Age Movement’ as:

... a movement which emerged in the second half of the 1970s, came to full development in the 1980s and is still with us at the time of writing [1996].⁵⁰

⁴⁷ This holds certain similarities with Wallis’s definition of a world-affirming New Religious Movement (NRM), which “lacks most of the features traditionally associated with religion” (p20). Such groups find society to contain many positive elements and view humanity as possessing significant latent power waiting to be unleashed. Wallis considered Transcendental Meditation, Soka Gakkai and est as three notable examples of world-affirming NRMs. Given both the public image projected by these groups and the type of activity they engage in, Wallis questioned the utility of classifying them as religions, suggesting they are “quasi-religions.” This is because through the application of metaphysical techniques, world-affirming NRMs “lay little or no stress to the idea of God or transcendent spiritual entities, nor do they normally engage in worship.” See Roy Wallis, in *Cults and New Religious Movements: A Reader*, Lorne L. Dawson (ed) (Malden USA: Blackwell Publishing, 1984), 35.

⁴⁸ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 3.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

Hanegraaff based his study on English language New Age materials, which may have been translated into foreign languages, a process not often reciprocated. Many foreign language works remain unknown in the Anglosphere. Likewise, he excluded books that dealt with specific religious traditions from around the world, as well as folklore and mythology; by his definition while they may be popular with New Agers, they were not strictly ‘New Age.’⁵¹

Despite many apparent similarities, Hanegraaff argued that the New Age could not be comfortably conflated with New Religious Movements (NRMs), even though certain NRMs demonstrated attributes of the New Age. The New Age did not have the leadership, organisation, doctrine and common practices that are fundamental to NRMs.⁵² That said, he referred to Colin Campbell’s seminal NRM article “The Cult, the Cultic Milieu and Secularization” (1972) to find a suitable typology for the New Age.⁵³ Hanegraaff argued that its “vagueness and fluency” and the fact that it “clearly transcends the boundaries of a specific religious organization” means that “it is natural to conclude that the New Age is either synonymous with the cultic milieu or that it represents a specific historical stage in the development of it,” even though it lacked the organisational structures evident in many ‘cults.’ While Campbell’s argument that the cultic milieu is “the cultural underground of society... (and) includes all deviant belief-

⁵¹ Ibid., 14.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ David Palmer adopted Campbell’s cultic milieu in his study of *qigong* groups in 1980s and 1990s China. Palmer did not believe that the cultic milieu could be easily applied to the religious environment in China. That said, he maintained that the term is one of utility, describing the *qigong* milieu as “A nebula of networks and associations... a space of relative freedom... through which *qigong* discourse was elaborated, debated and diffused (See David A. Palmer, *Qigong Fever: Body, Science, and Utopia in China*, Columbia University Press, 2007: 14). Palmer aligned himself with Hubert Michael Seiwert, who in his history of Chinese sectarianism described a set of symbols and open networks where adherents could interact (*Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History*, Brill, 2003: 365-366).

systems and their associated practices,”⁵⁴ might have been apposite for early 1970s England, I suggest that, as a milieu (and despite its call for a ‘spiritual revolution’), New Age religion in Taiwan is too mainstream and socio-politically non-threatening for such a characterisation.

In assessing the sources that he considered to form the core of the religious element of the New Age, Hanegraaff observed five major trends. He categorised these as “1. Channeling; 2. Healing & Growth; 3. New Age Science; 4. Neopaganism; 5. New Age in a restricted and in a general sense.”⁵⁵ Hanegraaff’s fifth point is worth elaborating for this differentiation recurs throughout his work.

Hanegraaff suggested that the New Age in a restricted sense, or “New Age *sensu stricto*,” had a strong Theosophical and Anthroposophical background and originated in England.⁵⁶ He referred to intentional communities, such as Findhorn, that have replaced the belief in an immanent change or an apocalypse with a sense that the New Age has already arrived.⁵⁷ Drawing on knowledge of astrological cycles, many “New Age *sensu stricto*” followers believe that the past 2000 years of Christian dominated theology was The Age of Pisces, an era to be followed by The Age of Aquarius.⁵⁸ The “New Age *sensu stricto*” is, for Hanegraaff, one part of the New Age in a broader sense, or “New Age *sensu lato*.”

Hanegraaff suggested that the “New Age *sensu lato*” demonstrated a more American bent in that it was influenced by the Californian counterculture from the

⁵⁴ Colin Campbell, “The Cult, the Cultic Milieu and Secularization” in *A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain* (London, SCM Press, 1972), 122.

⁵⁵ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 19-20.

⁵⁶ Former Theosophist Rudolf Steiner created Anthroposophy in the early twentieth century “with the aim of investigating the spiritual world without the partial and limited approaches of either science or mysticism alone.” See Alexandra E. Ryan, “Anthroposophy” in Peter B. Clarke (ed.), *Encyclopedia of New Religious Movements* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2006), 30.

⁵⁷ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 96-97.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 102.

1950s onwards, which is how the New Age appeared in Taiwan through Wang and Hu. Once again drawing on Campbell's idea of the cultic milieu, he claimed:

... this wider New Age movement emerged when increasing numbers of people, by the later 1970s, began to perceive a broad similarity between a wide variety of "alternative" ideas and pursuits, and started to think of these as parts of one "movement."⁵⁹

It is this "movement" that came to define the New Age. Hanegraaff expertly isolated its many characteristics and for all the similarities with previous religious and philosophical movements, he regarded these as having developed within the New Age. For Hanegraaff, it was not simply a repetition of traditional phenomena; it was something altogether new.

Looking within the mixture of meanings that can be constituted as New Age, it is possible to identify certain unifying themes. Having considered a number of definitions and articulations of the New Age, Olav Hammer constructed a broad set of concepts and beliefs that are generally found in such phenomena: the cosmos is interconnected by some intangible force that human beings may connect with to generate new realities; humans, who are on lifelong experience-based spiritual journeys, consist of physical, mental and spiritual elements which must be tended to equally; humans gain knowledge by means other than just the intellect; ancient cultures and modern science both offer repositories of self-knowledge wisdom and through adopting these ideas individuals and societies can facilitate change.⁶⁰

The New Age religion characterised by Wang and Hu does not challenge this very broad, but workable, set of parameters. However, the social and cultural context in which they framed their work was particular to Taiwan, and therefore each of these

⁵⁹ Ibid., 97.

⁶⁰ Olav Hammer, "New Age" in Kocku von Stuckrad (ed), *The Brill Dictionary of Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1314-1315.

points resonated in specific ways for each woman. In addition, I suggest that an emphasis on individual agency, theological perennialism (all religions share a universal truth), a link to Chinese religious cultures and the lack of organisational structures typify New Age religion in Taiwan, as created by Wang and Hu. Noting that many of the most prominent New Age figures were women, David J. Hess generalised it to be “relatively feminine” as opposed to the practice of skepticism, which was more masculine.⁶¹ Of the participants in Chen’s study of the New Age in Taiwan, nearly two-thirds were female and she noted the importance of considering gender in future studies.⁶² Therefore as seekers and prominent New Age figures, it is necessary to be aware of how Wang and Hu did (and did not) imbue their New Age with gendered qualities. Given that they closely wrote their experiences as women into their spiritual journeys, this is a core aspect of my study. While it has been argued that it “makes good sense to think in terms of the New Age as a broad spiritual movement with a core of shared beliefs,”⁶³ as outlined above, I argue that by focusing on what about it is religious, a deeper analysis can be performed. While considering the New Age as a “movement” has produced important sociological discussions, in looking at how Wang and Hu engaged with the New Age over several decades, this framework is inadequate.

There are further ways in which any activity, belief, product or text may be regarded as ‘New Age.’ Unifying underlying currents can include the goal of improving the quality of life of the whole of society, criticism of dominant ideologies and ways of life, an experimental openness to new ideas, and the claim that nature is self-

⁶¹ Hess, *Science in the New Age*, 109-115.

⁶² Shu-chuan Chen, *Contemporary New Age Transformation in Taiwan: A Sociological Study of a New Religious Movement* (New York: Edward Mellen Press, 2008), 213.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

equilibrating, as allegedly demonstrated in ancient or traditional beliefs.⁶⁴ As a feature of modern neo-liberal societies, the New Age could be reflected in activities where there “is a discursive emphasis upon the self and that self-authority is paramount.”⁶⁵ This focus on the individual is reflected in much of the scholarship: many anthropological and sociological studies concern individual participants and the dynamics surrounding their activities. Yet for all the research it has inspired, the New Age remains an ambiguous category. And for many of the Western practitioners and adherents that might be considered New Age by outsiders, it is a largely pejorative one.⁶⁶

While the New Age in the USA only gained this label in the 1970s, by the late twentieth century approximately 12 million Americans participated in its activities (at the same time not necessarily rejecting other religions). Annual revenues of between \$10 and \$14 billion were extracted from associated publishing, workshops, consultations and health care.⁶⁷ In his historical ethnography of the Anglo-American New Age, Steven J. Sutcliffe categorised participants who pursued personal transformation via alternative spiritualities as ‘seekers’, a mode of personal experimentation that originated in the 1920s and 1930s.⁶⁸ I suggest that Wang and Hu could both be classified as seekers (indeed, Hu self-identified as one), indicating the

⁶⁴ Ellie Hedges and James A. Beckford, “Holism, Healing and the New Age” in *Beyond New Age: Exploring Alternative Spirituality*, Steven Sutcliffe and Marion Bowman, (eds) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 170-171

⁶⁵ Matthew Wood, *Possession, Power and the New Age* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007), 27

⁶⁶ Maria Tighe and Jenny Butler, “Holistic Health and New Age in Britain and the Republic of Ireland” in Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis (ed), *Handbook of New Age* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 431

⁶⁷ Michael Brown, *The Channeling Zone: American Spirituality in an Anxious Age*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 7, quoted in Sarah M. Pike, *New Age and Neopagan Religions in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 25.

⁶⁸ Steven J. Sutcliffe, *Children of the New Age: A History of Spiritual Practices* (London: Routledge, 2003), 37-38.

applicability of this model in an East Asian context. That said, being a ‘seeker’ does not preclude one from other forms of locally-specific religious classification. For all the global New Age’s modern trappings, it is a system with historical origins rooted deep in American society.

In the USA the ‘New’ in New Age is somewhat misleading and this phenomenon “is more adequately seen as the latest phase in occult/metaphysical religion, a persistent tradition that has been the constant companion of Christianity through the centuries.”⁶⁹ J. Gordon Melton recognised that various ancient traditions recuperated in late twentieth century USA were ‘New Age,’ but his claim that these traditions constituted a ‘movement’ was not correct, I would argue, given their multiple belief systems, practices and organisations. Foreign religious figures, particularly from Asia, began to establish organisations throughout the USA at this time and these often highly visible groups tended to attract middle class and educated followers. However, it was their popularity with young people that alarmed certain segments of society. At times renouncing the values of mainstream America and isolating themselves from friends and family, the confronting actions of these youths sparked a fear of ‘cults’ and its alleged attendant phenomenon ‘brainwashing.’

Considering the nature of ‘cults’ allows us to consider why the New Age is not necessarily a ‘movement’ and how this can inform the development (or removal) of typologies in religious studies. Initially used to describe a group of religious believers, ‘cult’ gained a pejorative meaning that academics and sympathetic observers attempted to combat by introducing the term ‘New Religious Movement’ (NRM).⁷⁰ As opposed to

⁶⁹ J. Gordon Melton, “A History of the New Age Movement” in *Not Necessarily the New Age: Critical Essays*, Robert Basil (ed) (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1988).

⁷⁰ According to the pioneering NRM scholar Eileen Barker, “while ‘cult’ is sometimes used in a purely technical sense, it has acquired negative connotations in everyday

phenomena associated with the New Age, a NRM will typically possess leadership, an organisational structure and set of rules or scriptures that adherents are, to an extent, bound by. However, NRMs are constantly shifting in their appearance and it is difficult to find two with exactly similar features, especially in a global context. While they may be popular, New Age leaders tend to be more symbolic in that they do not necessarily manage an organisation. They may publish books or lead workshops, yet their followers are not generally required to join an organisation, and are free to participate in any other activities as they wish. Broadly speaking, the New Age does have collective goals, such as to usher in a new era of humanity, but it is difficult to characterise these disparate philosophies as a ‘movement.’ This ambiguity means that New Age religion, as popular and widespread as it is, is often found on the periphery of academic studies of religion. This in turn means that the study of New Age practices, in all their diversity, have yet to inform the study of religion to its full extent. In examining the New Age in a non-Western setting, this dissertation is an attempt to help bridge this gap.

The editors of *New Age Spirituality: Rethinking Religion* (2013) not only sought to write New Age religion into mainstream religious studies, but also suggested that the study of New Age could potentially reconfigure religious studies more broadly. Noting that New Age beliefs and practices have been marginalised because of their perceived impurity when compared to more established religions, the editors observed that no religion is pure in and of itself, and that the hybrid nature of the New Age merely expresses a feature found in all religions.⁷¹ This was the case in Taiwan, where the content of New Age religion was unstable and constantly open to interpretation.

parlance.” *New Religious Movements: A Practical Introduction* (London: HSMO, 1989), 4-5.

⁷¹ Steven J. Sutcliffe and Ingvild Sælid Gilhus (eds), “Introduction” in *New Age Spirituality: Rethinking Religion* (Bristol: Acumen, 2013), 12.

Labeling a religion as deviant or marginal is heavily specific to social conditions. Thus James A. Beckford wrote:

The difference between “normal” and “abnormal” religious groups is not so much a matter of fixed categorical distinctions but more a matter of skirmishes along a shifting frontier... Moreover, the skirmishes that break out from time to time in connection with the objectionable practices of specific NRMs [and the New Age] are rarely conducted in isolation from other grievances.⁷²

With regard to New Age religion, Beckford’s definition of religion is useful. He sought to move beyond defining what exactly a religion is, preferring to “conceptualise religion as a cultural resource or form than as a social institution, characterized by a greater degree of flexibility and unpredictability.”⁷³ This is particularly useful when considering religious thought not found in an organised religion, as I do in this thesis. He is also aware of religious developments, especially involving what he calls the ‘New Age Movement’ (NAM) in Taiwan. Following Shu-chuan Chen, the development of the NAM in, and diffusion around and from, Taiwan is identified by Beckford as parallel glocalisation, where Taiwanese NAMs are “simultaneously refracting new age ideas from elsewhere in the world and, in turn, diffusing distinctively Taiwanese ideas in other countries” [emphasis in original].⁷⁴ While the extent to which Wang, Hu and their peers have influenced the spread of the New Age in other regions (such as China, South East Asia and even the USA) is beyond the scope of this study, it is a phenomenon future scholars should consider. In a globalised environment, claims of cultural

⁷² James A. Beckford, *Cult Controversies: Societal Responses to New Religious Movements* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1985), 30.

⁷³ James A. Beckford, *Religion and Advanced Industrial Society* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 171.

⁷⁴ James A. Beckford, “Foreword” in Shu-chuan Chen, *Contemporary New Age Transformation in Taiwan: A Sociological Study of a New Religious Movement* (New York: Edward Mellen Press, 2008), ii.

authenticity by purveyors of religious/spiritual ideas and technologies should always be interrogated.

In attempting to locate the significance of NRMs in contemporary societies, Lorne L. Dawson supported Beckford's suggestion that religion might be best considered as a cultural resource. He suggests this is necessary as "social-structural transformations wrought by the emergence of advanced industrial societies have undermined the communal, familial, and organizational bases of religion."⁷⁵ Considering religion as culture preserves the possibility of empirical examination, a feature that Dawson considers at risk when postmodern theory is used to explain contemporary religious phenomenon.

For Hanegraaff the 'religion' in New Age religion is a mix of ideas that belong in secular culture rather than any one particular religion and is a form of cultural criticism that attempts to transcend binaries with the aim of attaining holism. While his landmark 1996 study on New Age texts was entitled *New Age Religion and Western Culture: Esotericism in the Mirror of Secular Thought*, he admitted the difficulties attendant in classifying New Age practices and beliefs as "religion." In establishing the parameters of his study he wrote:

Terms such as "New Age Religion" will be used quite loosely and pragmatically (along with such terms as "New Age movement" or simply "New Age") as a recognition of the fact that New Age concerns obviously belong to a sphere widely regarded as "religious" according to common parlance (even though many New Agers would prefer the term "spirituality" over "religion").⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Lorne L. Dawson, *Comprehending Cults: The Sociology of New Religious Movements* (Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1998), 178.

⁷⁶ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 7 (Footnote 25).

In choosing this approach, Hanegraaff did not seek to challenge notions of how to define a religion. However, for the purposes of this study, he did allude to a Western-centric bias underpinning his research. In his definition of New Age religion Hanegraaff wrote that it "...is characterized by the fact that it expresses its criticism of *modern western culture* by presenting alternatives derived from a secularized esotericism" [emphasis added].⁷⁷ Wang and Hu had significant exposure to modern American culture and it was exactly this repertoire which gave them a framework through which to critique *modern Eastern culture*, as they experienced it in late twentieth century Taiwan. This is important as "The New Age belongs to modernity in that it is progressivistic (looking to the future) and constructivistic (rather than things have to be continually repeated, they can be changed)."⁷⁸ It provided Wang and Hu with a spiritual framework through which they could transform their own lives and, ideally, Taiwan. Perhaps mindful of the issue of cultural critique, Hanegraaff later elaborated on how the globalisation of New Age religion should be studied:

... if New Age is a movement of western culture criticism that is nevertheless deeply influenced by the very culture that it rejects, researchers should be extremely sensitive to the complex dynamics of ethnocentrism (and particularly krypto-ethnocentrism) in processes of New acculturation... [and] attention should be focused on the extent to which New Age spirituality takes on new forms under the influence of specific non-western cultural contexts, and systematic comparisons should be made in this respect between processes in different countries and on different continents.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 520.

⁷⁸ Paul Heelas, *The New Age Movement: The Celebration of the Self and the Sacralization of Modernity* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996), 169.

⁷⁹ Wouter J. Hanegraaff, "Prospects for the Globalization of New Age" in Mikael Rothstein, "New Age Religion and Globalization" (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2003), 26.

In light of Hanegraaff's call for a study of the cross-cultural dynamics of New Age religion, the works of Wang and Hu allow us to reconsider some of the recurring typological conundrums of the field. Sutcliffe challenged the idea of a 'New Age movement' and even a 'New Age,' suggesting the need to study how practitioners use it as an emblem. He wrote:

But to claim that 'New Age' is a term operationalised and interpreted within a series of social collectivities is a far cry from identifying a movement or even a coherent complex of ideas or Weltanschauung. What we find – to cite Foucault again – is more like an 'exteriority of accidents': a bricolage of more or less interchangeable practices and values given focus by an ambiguous eschatological emblem.⁸⁰

Whereas Sutcliffe failed to find individuals who identified as 'New Age' or many books that included the term, as did Matthew Wood,⁸¹ it has already been shown to be both a potent marketing tool—for example, the Fine Press's New Age Series—and a sign of identity explicitly referenced in Taiwan, including by Wang and Hu. Similarly, recognising that New Age religion differs from other religions in that experience-based choice rather than institutional dogma guides individual practices and manifests differently around the world, Christoph Bochinger wrote how in Germany 'New Age' is not used as a form of self-identification, rather existing as a term of academic reference.⁸² In considering the future study of the New Age, Sutcliffe proposed four possibilities, including

... more nuanced histories of the modern networks and enclaves of 'alternative spirituality' from which New Age beliefs and practices emerged, especially in the first

⁸⁰ Sutcliffe, *Children of the New Age*, 4.

⁸¹ Wood, *Possession, Power and the New Age*, 160-161.

⁸² Christoph Bochinger, "The Visible Inside the Invisible: Theoretical and methodological aspects of research on New Age and contemporary Esotericism," *Journal of Alternative Spiritualities and New Age Studies* 1 (2005): 65.

half of the twentieth century. A fuller set of social and cultural histories will also help to differentiate the historiography of religion in modernity.⁸³

This study proposes to do exactly this – in looking at the lives and networks of Wang and Hu, I seek to interrogate our understanding of religion and modernity (and the intersections between these) in late twentieth century Taiwan.

To this end, this thesis is a cultural history of New Age religion in Taiwan, based on the examples of Wang and Hu. It is ‘New Age’ not just because the phenomena that Wang and Hu practiced and wrote about have generally been considered New Age elsewhere, but because both women actively identified and promoted these activities as New Age. It is ‘religion’ because this is the most appropriate way of considering the nature of these transformative practices.

The New Age in Asia

Seeking to build on conceptions of the ‘New Age’ in the West, it is necessary to consider how these ideas were created, consumed and categorised in other East Asian contexts. While there has been much research on the reception of East Asian-derived New Age thought systems in non-Asian contexts, it is worth noting their existence in their home countries: we should consider how relevant teachings were adapted in an East Asian context at a similar time to the events in this thesis, and the theories and concepts that emerged in the study of these phenomena.

Like in the West, it is difficult to define what is ‘New Age’ in Japan. The common term used to denote this field in Japan is ‘spiritual world’ (*seishin sekkai* 精神世界). Books published in the spiritual world genre tend to be either translations of

⁸³ Steven J. Sutcliffe, “New Age” in George D. Chryssides and Benjamin E. Zeller (eds), *The Bloomsbury Companion to New Religious Movements* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 44.

popular New Age titles from the West (such as Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh/Osho, Krishnamurti and Carlos Castaneda) and works by Japanese authors exploring Shinto traditions and aspects of Buddhism, such as Zen.⁸⁴ In addition to buying books, participants can also purchase associated products such as trinkets and music, and attend workshops. Self-help seminars, designed to facilitate the birth of a ‘new self’ have been conducted in Japan since the mid-1970s, peaking in popularity at the height of the ‘bubble economy’ in the late 1980s.⁸⁵ A different form of seminar, where knowledge of cosmic order was linked to financial success, became popular in the mid-1990s.⁸⁶ Following events such as Aum Shinrikyō’s sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway (1995) and the terrorist attacks on New York’s World Trade Center (2001), the Japanese term ‘spirituality’ (*supirichuariti* スピリチュアリテイ) became popular, due to its lesser connection to religion and apparent weaker foreign connotations.⁸⁷ However, the framework of *supirichuariti* was not just used for foreign ideas, it also allowed people to re-evaluate Japanese religions, such as Shinto.⁸⁸

Shimazono Susumu articulated a further conception of New Age and related activities with his category of “new spirituality movements/culture” (NSMC). Including both the New Age in the West and the spiritual world in Japan, Shimazono’s NSMC designated:

⁸⁴ Inken Prohl, “The Spiritual World: Aspects of New Age in Japan” in Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis (ed), *Handbook of New Age* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 360-361.

⁸⁵ Haga Manabu, “Self-Development Seminars in Japan”, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 22:3/4 (1995): 284.

⁸⁶ Prohl, “The Spiritual World: Aspects of New Age in Japan,” 364-365.

⁸⁷ Norichika Horie, “Spirituality and the Spiritual in Japan: Translation and Transformation”, *Journal of Alternative Spiritualities and New Age Studies* 5 (2009): n.p.

⁸⁸ Norichika Horie, “Narrow New Age and Broad Spirituality: A Comprehensive Schema and a Comparative Analysis” in Steven J. Sutcliffe and Ingvild Sælid Gilhus (eds), *New Age Spirituality: Rethinking Religion* (Bristol: Acumen, 2013).

... the wide range of individualistic spiritual quests developing in many parts of the world, especially in advanced industrial societies... These new spirituality movements share many features in common and may be seen as representing one new global religious culture.⁸⁹

As an artifact of an “advanced industrial society,” Taiwan’s New Age religion could be included in this definition. Shimazono considered NSMC to be different to NRMs in that textual and charismatic authority and holy leaders are not considered so important.

He regarded NSMCs as displaying:

(1) an interest in levels of reality other than the one grasped by ordinary senses and consciousness; (2) pursuit of the transformation of mind and body through controlled breathing, meditation and body work as well as a strong interest in healing; (3) an approach to the sacred based on direct experience and transformation of both mind and body, rather than through learning doctrines and pursuing ethical conduct; (4) an optimism and hopefulness regarding the possibility of integrating scientific knowledge and spiritual experience.⁹⁰

At the same time as seeking commonalities among global examples of the New Age, Shimazono emphasised a key difference: while much of the New Age in the US challenged existing religious traditions, the spiritual world in Japan was more congruent with the established religious culture and “many of the ideas and attitudes of the new spirituality movements have already been assimilated by Japan’s cultural

⁸⁹ Susumu Shimazono, *From Salvation to Spirituality: Popular Religious Movements in Modern Japan* (Melbourne: Transpacific Press, 2004), 276.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 288-289.

establishment.”⁹¹ As will be shown in Chapter 7, in 1997 proponents of the New Age in Taiwan claimed the support of key political, business and cultural figures.

A similar lack of tension between New Age and society was found in South Korea. Many New Agers there maintain involvement, with no apparent conflict, with an established religion, and some New Age practices reaffirm Korean cultural traditions.⁹² The link between NSMC and Japan’s dominant religious ideas is important when considering the example of Taiwan, where the New Age coexists with a number of established traditions and NRMs.

In an important essay from 2005, Ian Reader—a major scholar of Japanese religions—critiqued eminent NRM scholars Eileen Barker, J. Gordon Melton and Thomas Robbins on how to best reconsider the study of NRMs. In doing so he demonstrated the risks of applying concepts derived in Western settings to activity in non-Western settings. Reader’s argument included several important points for considering the New Age in Taiwan. He noted:

... the “West” is a minority population in a much wider world; hence, one should not assume that the West is necessarily the most appropriate arena within which to formulate theoretical models to apply to the rest of the world.⁹³

While many NRMs in the West originated from other places, often in Asia, studies have been more focussed on these groups as they appear in the West. English language studies of Asian NRMs, as they appear in Asia, are unfortunately few. The same applies

⁹¹ Ibid., 291.

⁹² Hai-Ran Woo, “New Age in South Korea,” *Journal of Alternative Spiritualities and New Age Studies* 5 (2008): 23-24.

⁹³ Ian Reader, “Perspective Chronologies, Commonalities and Alternative Status in Japanese New Religious Movements: Defining NRMs outside the Western Cul-de-sac”, *Nova Religio* 9:2 (2005): 85.

for studies of New Age religion. Similarly, Kuan-hsing Chen 陳光興 proposed a way of decentering dominant Western intellectual paradigms, arguing that:

... using the idea of Asia as an imaginary anchoring point, societies in Asia can become each other's points of reference, so that the understanding of the self may be transformed, and subjectivity rebuilt.⁹⁴

In this thesis I attempt to use a similar approach, recentering the global experience of New Age religion around the example of Taiwan, while remaining cognisant of the deep influence of the USA. Robust empirical studies of New Age religion in Asian locations will enhance the global scholarship of religion and assert the voices of influential yet hitherto unrecognised figures. This thesis is one such attempt at reconsidering the New Age in general and closely considering the transnational circulation of ideas.

New Age religion in Taiwan

Two major scholarly works on New Age religion in Taiwan exist, both impressive in the sociological detail they provide about participants and groups in what the authors term the 'New Age movement.' Both Chen Chia-luen 陳家倫 and Chen Shu-chuan 陳淑娟 (for simplicity, C. Chen and S. Chen) wrote that the seeding stage of the New Age in Taiwan was in the early 1980s when a range of Taiwanese intellectuals returned from the United States and published translations of their favourite books.⁹⁵ To an extent, this is true. It was during this time that New Age translations started to appear in Taiwan, even though they were not marketed as, or even associated with *xinshidai*,

⁹⁴ Kuan-hsing Chen, *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 212.

⁹⁵ Chia-luen Chen, "The Development of the New Age Movement in Taiwan: A Sociological Analysis" (PhD diss., National Taiwan University, 2002). Abstract. And Shu-chuan Chen, *Contemporary New Age Transformation in Taiwan: A Sociological Study of a New Religious Movement* (New York: Edward Mellen Press, 2008), 81.

the most commonly used direct translation of New Age. However, this explanation does not give an adequate account of these New Age authors and translators, especially in relation to their earlier lives in Taiwan and what they did while in America. Seeking to address this issue has proved to be a fundamental problematic of my research. Given that C. Chen primarily researched New Age organisations and S. Chen mostly studied its participants, I suggest it is worth looking at the phenomena from a slightly different angle; I seek to emphasise the agency of Wang and Hu as translators and authors and consider how their experiences and understandings shaped Taiwan's New Age. By tightening the focus of research to two individuals and carefully exploring their lives (especially representations of personal crises and other major events) and how they used New Age religion to navigate these, I will be able to more clearly demonstrate the diverse origins of New Age religion in Taiwan.

Primarily informed by Western theorists, S. Chen's *Contemporary New Age Transformation in Taiwan: A Sociological Study of a New Religious Movement* (2008) examined the influence of globalisation on, and the role of emotional transformation in, a selection of Taiwan's New Age groups.⁹⁶ Her study of 40 participants was framed around the concepts of self-religion, reflexive modernisation, emotions and embodiment, and globalisation and glocalisation,⁹⁷ the last derived from the work of Roland Robertson. Containing many accounts of participant experiences and their understanding of these, S. Chen's study includes a brief account of the history and development of the New Age in Taiwan. She sketched the evolution of "the New Age

⁹⁶ In a later publication, S. Chen revisited this research to consider the importance of working with emotions as part of self-transformation in New Age religion, based on in-depth interviews with practitioners and participant-observation. See Shu-Chuan Chen, "Theorizing Emotions in New Age Practices: An Analysis of Feeling Rules in Self-Religion" in Steven J. Sutcliffe and Ingvid Sælid Gilhus (eds), *New Age Spirituality: Rethinking Religion* (Bristol: Acumen, 2013).

⁹⁷ S. Chen, *Contemporary New Age Transformation in Taiwan*, 48-84.

movement” from the late 1970s, highlighting key translations and the organisations that grew around them, implying that this field in Taiwan was solely reliant on foreign influences and no latent forces were ready for germination.⁹⁸ Instead of seeing the global diffusion of the New Age as Westernisation, she devised the term “parallel glocalisation” to describe:

... the fact that the refraction of global forces proceeds simultaneously in different places where it may appear that the New Age is spreading as a homogenous entity.⁹⁹

S. Chen found that imported ‘New Age’ ideas were modified to Taiwanese culture (a phenomenon I expand on), that spokesperson networks have aided the circulation of ideas through communities in the sinophone world, and that while the development of the New Age in these communities occurred at different rates, it was broadly similar and that the internet was essential to the spread of ideas.¹⁰⁰ In contrast, most of my research focuses on the era before widespread use of the internet.

S. Chen showed that by the early twenty-first century C.C. Wang was the key figure in Taiwan’s New Age religion. Of the 40 New Age participants she interviewed, 25 claimed that their first contact with the scene was through her translations.¹⁰¹ Wang formed a study group which led to the development of the Chinese New Age Society (*Zhonghua xinshidai xiehui* 中華新時代協會), an organisation still active in 2016.¹⁰² The Chinese New Age Society is one of several study groups that arose in the late 1980s and early 1990s around the teachings of particular authors. A small number of for-profit organisations were also established to meet the growing demands of the human

⁹⁸ Ibid., 81-84

⁹⁹ Ibid., 194

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 201

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 216

¹⁰² See <http://www.cnas.org.tw/>, accessed 2 August 2016.

potential movement.¹⁰³ S. Chen identified self transformation as one of the key features of New Age religion in Taiwan, and wrote:

Self-transformation was regarded as a process of self-reflexivity affected by self-awareness in the process of New Age practices, where the self reconstructs its self-identity, including the past, the present and the future.¹⁰⁴

She found that the self-awareness that practitioners generated in their study of New Age helped it become “a process of reconstructing their self-identity.”¹⁰⁵ When we consider how identity is understood, constructed and worked on in the broader New Age, then this influence in Wang and Hu becomes more apparent.

In addition to her doctoral thesis, to date C. Chen has published elements of her New Age research in at least four journal articles in Taiwan. Three of these articles almost completely focussed on aspects of New Age religion as found outside of Taiwan, and serve as a comprehensive introduction to the field for sinophone researchers.¹⁰⁶ In these articles, she refers to books by Wang and her student, Albert Chen 陳建志, not as

¹⁰³ S. Chen, *Contemporary New Age Transformation in Taiwan*, 82-83.

The human potential movement “originated in the 1960s as a counter-cultural rebellion against mainstream psychology and organized religion. It is not in itself a religion, but a broad umbrella of theories derived mainly from Abraham Maslow’s humanistic psychology.” Elizabeth Puttick, “Human Potential Movement” in Peter B. Clarke (ed), *Encyclopedia of New Religious Movements* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2006), 258.

¹⁰⁴ S. Chen, *Contemporary New Age Transformation in Taiwan*, 106.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 149.

¹⁰⁶ See Chen Chia-luen 陳家倫, “*Xinshidai yundong tanyuan yu dangdai fazhan qushi* 新時代運動探源與當代發展趨勢” [The Origins and Development of the New Age Movement], *Xiang yu yan* 思與言 [Thought and Words], 45:4 (December 2012), 95-138, Chen Chia-luen 陳家倫 “*Yu zhu shen gong wu: xinshidai yundong de neihan yu tezheng* 與諸神共舞：新時代運動的內涵與特徵 [The Content and Characteristics of the New Age Movement]”, *Hung Kuang Humanities and Sociology Report* 弘光人文社會學報, 3 (August 2005), 425-469 and Chen Chia-luen 陳家倫, “*Ziwo zongjiao de xingqi: yi xinshidai lingxingguan weili* 自我宗教的興起：以新時代靈性觀為例 [The Rise of Self Religion: The New Age Spirituality in Modern Society]”, *World Religions*, 3 (June 2004), 137-170.

primary New Age texts, but rather as authorities on certain innovations and the number of New Agers *in the USA*, overlooking the opportunity to consider these as valuable resources on the nature of the New Age *in Taiwan*. C. Chen's fourth article, "A Network Analysis of New Age Groups in Taiwan," offers her strongest contribution to the global study of New Age religion and while her dataset is now old—at least from a social scientific point of view—it remains useful. In this study she found that:

a) the networks of Taiwan's New Age groups are decentralized, poly-centered and multi-dimensional; b) only two kinds of New Age groups exhibit group ties that could be replaced by others [sic] kinds of ties, indicating the de-organization in Taiwan's New Age Movement; c) less overlapping found in other networks reveals an increase in external connecting effects; and d) cross-membership linkages typify the embedded characteristic in New Age groups and religious groups.¹⁰⁷

C. Chen reiterated that in Taiwan, New Age religion germinated during the 1980s and grew quickly during the 1990s becoming a "stable emergent spirituality movement."¹⁰⁸ She noted that some New Agers in Taiwan, such as Terry Hu, no longer identified with the category 'New Age' but for the purposes of the study she was including them under that heading.¹⁰⁹

Alison R. Marshall published a study related to Taiwan's New Age religion in 2003. She argued that the performances of spirit diviners (*lingji* 靈乩) demonstrated "the indirect impact of the Western New Age Movement and the popularisation of mediumship" as the spirit diviners "hold an optimistic world-view in which the

¹⁰⁷ Chen Chia-luen 陳家倫, "Taiwan xinshidai tuanti de wangluo jianjie 台灣新時代團體的網絡連結 [A Network Analysis of New Age Groups in Taiwan]", *Taiwan shehuixue kan* 臺灣社會學刊 [*Taiwanese Journal of Sociology*] 36 (June 2006): 111. [English translation in original]

¹⁰⁸ C. Chen, "A Network Analysis of New Age Groups in Taiwan," 117.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 125.

individual practitioner can both progress toward a better life, and improve the human condition.”¹¹⁰ This is important evidence as to how New Age ideas were adopted by other actors in Taiwan’s religious milieu.

Some Taiwanese scholars of NRMs have also researched aspects of the New Age. Cheng Chih-ming 鄭志明 explored elements of the Taiwan Ufology Society (*Taiwan feidie xuehui* 台灣飛碟學會), in particular the apocalyptic teachings of Chen Hengming 陳恆明. Cheng concluded that it was not Chen’s UFO organisation based on the syncretic blend of Western ideas of incarnation and Eastern ideas of supernatural powers that was strange, rather, it was strange that society knew so little about such groups.¹¹¹ In his research on religious responses to the SARS epidemic of 2003, Ting Jen-chieh 丁仁傑 critiqued the New Age view that altering one’s internal, subjective world was all that was necessary to change the objective world.¹¹²

Taiwan’s social, cultural and religious context

1987 is a critical date in contemporary Taiwanese history, especially with regard to religious matters. It was then that President Chiang Ching-kuo (蔣經國 1910-1988), after pressure from the US and recognising the political opportunities brought by decades of economic growth, lifted martial law.¹¹³ Initially implemented in May 1948

¹¹⁰ Alison R. Marshall, “Moving the spirit on Taiwan: new age *lingji* performance”, *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 31(2003): 96.

¹¹¹ Cheng Chih-ming 鄭志明, *Dangdai xinxing zongjiao xianxiang di yi juan* 當代新興宗教現象 第一卷 [*The Phenomenon of Contemporary New Religious Movements vol. 1*] (Taipei, Wen jin 文津, 2011), 207.

¹¹² Ting Jen-chieh 丁仁傑, *Dangdai hanren mingzhong zongjiao yanjiu: lunshu, renting yu shehui zaishengchan* 當代漢人民眾宗教研究：論述、認同與社會再生產 [*Research on the Religion of Contemporary Han People: Discourse, Identity and Social Reproduction*] (Taipei: Linking Publishing 聯經出版社, 2009), 473.

¹¹³ Yu-han Chu, “The Realignment of Business-Government Relations and Regime Transition in Taiwan” in Andrew J. MacIntyre (ed), *Business and government in industrialising Asia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), 205.

as an emergency measure to suppress the potential for communist rebellion,¹¹⁴ the long period of martial law entrenched the rule of his father Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石 1887-1975) and the KMT and prevented the development of an effective or legal opposition movement. The flourishing of civil society in the years following the end of martial law was reflected in new “associations representing every imaginable brand of social, cultural, religious, and political interest.”¹¹⁵ While religion was not banned during the time of martial law, it was regulated so as to protect the controlling interests of the KMT. The publishing industry, too, experienced a phase of remarkable growth, with newly published titles growing from 4,565 in 1980 to 16,156 in 1990 before ballooning to 34,533 in 2000.¹¹⁶ Notably, the two top sellers for 2010 on Taiwan’s book-selling website were translations of the self-help books *The Secret* (published by the Fine Press) and *Your Own Worst Enemy*.¹¹⁷ In my thesis I show that while 1987 remains a crucial date in Taiwan’s history for the subsequent flourishing of religious activity, the New Age was already developing well before then. In doing this, I frame my research using the “island history” approach pioneered by Ts’ao Yong-ho (曹永和 1920-2014).

Rather than conceptualise Taiwan’s history through its various political regimes, Tsao sought to emphasise the relationships with the ocean and external world. In such an approach, he argued, “the true face of Taiwan’s history is only visible after surveying the *long durée* after Taiwan established ocean-based external relationships and the

¹¹⁴ Peter Chen-main Wang, “A Bastion Created, a Regime Reformed, an Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970” in Murray Rubinstein (ed), *Taiwan: A New History* (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), 323

¹¹⁵ Richard Madsen, *Democracy’s Dharma: Religious Renaissance and Political Development in Taiwan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 11.

¹¹⁶ Rex How, “An Overview of Taiwan’s Book Publishing Industry”, *Publishing Research Quarterly* 26:3 (2010): 184.

¹¹⁷ Teri Tan, “Taiwan 2011: Books.com.tw: A Retail Powerhouse”, *Publishers Weekly*, 9 September 2011, accessed 24 February 2015,

<http://www.publishersweekly.com/pw/by-topic/international/international-book-news/article/48621-taiwan-2011-books-com-tw-a-retail-powerhouse.html>

position and character of international relations and global trends at different periods in its history.”¹¹⁸ While my research only considers a brief and relatively recent period in the island’s long history of international contact, I believe it is aided by trying to move beyond political structures and the key dates that frame them, and focus on how individuals in Taiwan interacted with, and were integrated into, the wider world. In doing so I stress that the growth of a New Age religion specific to Taiwan is also powerfully dependant on political and social change there, as well as on other global currents. At the same time, as ethnic *waishengren* (外省人, literally ‘people from out of the province’ often known as ‘mainlanders,’ referring to those who escaped to Taiwan from China during the civil war), the real or imagined Chineseness of the society and religious culture in which Wang and Hu grew up in must be considered. This is not a form of “bracketing,” where Taiwan is considered in the context of events in China,¹¹⁹ but a means to fully understand and articulate the complex local and international historical threads that coalesced in New Age religion in Taiwan. In examining a range of historical resources for this study, I confirm “conflicting memories and competing discourses in contemporary Taiwan are never artificial constructs but human products of

¹¹⁸ Ts’ao Yong-ho 曹永和 “*Taiwanshi de lingyi tujing – ‘Taiwan daoshi’ gainian* 台灣史研究的另一途徑—「台灣島史」概念 [Taiwan history’s other way – The ‘Taiwan Island History’ concept]”, *Studies of Early Taiwanese History: The Sequel* 臺灣早期歷史研究續集 (Taipei: Linking Publishing, 2000), 449.

¹¹⁹ Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang identified different modes of engagement historically adopted by foreign scholars in their study of Taiwan: Taiwan as the other China (due to the rise of communism in China), Taiwan as a surrogate China (due to restrictions in visiting China prior to its re-opening in the 1970s) and Taiwan as a case study (useful for comparing with other economies and societies). With these approaches generally superseded, she identified a newer problem of “bracketing” in literary studies, where: ... the scholar treats Taiwan nominally as “part of China” but, in fact, does not fully address the issue with historical contextualization, aside from acknowledging the legitimacy of this relation within its overall framework.

See Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang, “Representing Taiwan: Shifting Geo-political Frameworks” in David Der-wei Wang and Carlos Rojas (eds), *Writing Taiwan: A New Literary History* (Durham, USA: Duke University Press, 2007), 19.

the island's multiple colonial and ethnic experiences.”¹²⁰ That said, I share Mark Harrison's concern about “the legitimacy of the Western scholar to write about Taiwan in English” as a challenge in reconciling issues of objectivity when articulating narratives of Taiwan in academic discourse.¹²¹ As a Western male writing about, in this instance, women from Taiwan, in this dissertation the question of legitimacy could be interrogated further. As Harrison concludes, “to write on the discursive boundaries of Taiwanese identity is to embrace the responsibility that scholars have toward the object of their study”¹²² and I have endeavoured to critically and objectively analyse the work of Wang and Hu in a way that articulates the complex threads of history that connect Taiwan and its people, both within the island and to the wider world.

Religion in Taiwan

While my research is about Taiwan and not China, certain concepts are applicable to religious activity in both places. Never being subject to the direct rule of the Chinese Communist Party, religion in Taiwan has not been exposed to the rigorous, and at times brutal, methods of control applied in China. That said, both the Japanese and the KMT imposed restrictions on religious activity in Taiwan. Just as these historical differences set the recent religious experience in Taiwan and China apart, given the close geographical, linguistic and cultural proximity of the two neighbours we should expect certain similarities. Robert Ford Campany argued that even if Western intellectual categories and the Chinese religious world do not mesh satisfactorily, the

¹²⁰ Chang Lung-chih, “Re-imagining Community from different Shores: Nationalism, Post-colonialism and Colonial Modernity in Taiwanese Historiography” in Steffi Richter (ed), *Contested Views of a Common Past: Revisions of History in Contemporary East Asia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), 152.

¹²¹ Mark Harrison, *Legitimacy, Meaning and Knowledge in the Making of Taiwanese Identity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 201.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 205.

quest for more accurate terms and metaphors should continue.¹²³ My research of New Age religion in Taiwan endeavours to do this.

The neologism for religion, *zongjiao* 宗教, is now established as a bureaucratic, academic and popular term in Taiwan and China. The characters *zong* (principle or main line) and *jiao* (teaching) had been combined in various instances throughout Chinese history, and *zongjiao* “emerged over the course of a couple of generations of linguistic instability.”¹²⁴ This process was heightened when the Japanese understanding of *zongjiao* was introduced to China in 1901. This was part of a broader series of reforms where foreign intellectual categories (and other imports, such as educational and military systems) were introduced as leaders agitated for China to emerge from the perceived social and intellectual torpidity of dynastic rule.¹²⁵ Not only was *zongjiao* utilised by modernising reformers seeking to improve Chinese society, it was also “a powerful ideological tool that shaped and motivated a brutal policy of destruction and repression.”¹²⁶ Other categories such as superstition (*mixin* 迷信) and evil cult (*xiejiao* 邪教) have also been long present in discourses about Chinese religion and, having been used to frame religious regulation from the Republican era onwards, are still used today.

David A. Palmer and Vincent Goosseart wrote that at the time of China’s Xinhai Revolution in 1911:

¹²³ Robert Ford Campany, “On the Very Idea of Religions (In the Modern West and in Early Medieval China),” *History of Religions* 42:4 (May 2003): 319.

¹²⁴ Tim H. Barrett and Francesca Tarroco, “Terminology and Religious Identity: Buddhism and the Genealogy of the Term *zongjiao*” in Volkhard Krech and Marion Steinicke (eds), *Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asian and Europe: Encounters, Notions, and Comparative Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 319.

¹²⁵ The climate of social and educational reform advocated by elites, such as Kang Youwei 康有為, is discussed in detail by Jonathan D. Spence in *The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese and Their Revolution, 1895-1980* (London: Faber and Faber, 1982).

¹²⁶ Vincent Goosseart, “The Concept of Religion in China and the West,” *Diogenes* 52:1 (2005): 14.

Religion was understood in the Western postreformation sense of a system of doctrine organized as a church separated from society; the word was first equated with Christianity, and debate began (and continues one century later) regarding what, in the Chinese tradition, might be put under this category.¹²⁷

How to best consider such a vast array of ‘religious’ activity using terminology derived from church-centric European traditions remains troublesome. In attempting to liberate the study of Chinese religious activities from imposed categories and disentangle the threads surrounding what is religion/superstition or orthodox/heterodox, Mayfair Mei-hui Yang suggested replacing ‘religion’ with ‘religiosity.’¹²⁸ In this approach the (state-approved) church would no longer be privileged as the arbiter of religious practices. In applying the term ‘religiosity’ to activities in China’s religious sphere, Yang sought to engender a more inclusive and less loaded definition. I suggest that such an approach is relevant when studying the phenomena of New Age religion in Taiwan.

There is an indirect link between Taiwan’s New Age religion and the pre-existing religious landscape, especially in relation to spirit channeling. David K. Jordan and Daniel L. Overmyer’s study of phoenix worshipping sects (*pai-luan* 拜鸞) offers some perspective on the connection between the two. The range of practices found in these groups “involves the active and self-conscious manipulation of a vocabulary of traditionally defined Chinese cultural symbols to provide what are clearly vivid supernatural and moral experiences for participants.”¹²⁹ This is achieved through means such as chanting, text study or divination. Forms of divination vary, and include casting

¹²⁷ Vincent Goossaert and David A. Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 50.

¹²⁸ Mayfair Mei-hui Yang, “Introduction,” in Mayfair Mei-hui Yang (ed) *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

¹²⁹ David K. Jordan & Daniel L. Overmyer, *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 4.

divination blocks, reading revelation verses, dream revelation and spirit mediums (either male or female, or spirit writers). Jordan and Overmyer suggested that the connections between spirit writing, literature and upper class life mean those with traditional values hold it in higher esteem.¹³⁰ Importantly, as noted above, one of the earliest and most enduring ‘New Age’ sets of ideas introduced from the West were the teachings of Seth as channeled by Jane Roberts. *Pai-luan* groups are also typically comprised of individuals, rather than families. This is because like many New Age practices, *pai-luan* participation is considered to be an addition to one’s regular religious activities.¹³¹

During the KMT’s authoritarian rule between 1948 and 1987 there were restrictions on certain religious practices. Groups deemed potential risks to the state were controlled while Catholic and Protestant groups, due to connections with KMT supporters abroad, were granted more freedom.¹³² However, since 1987 people have been able to practice religion free from the risk of state suppression and, along with levels of education and income, religious practice has increased too.¹³³ After 1945, when Taiwan was ceded from Japan to the Republic of China, changes in government policy, wealth, education and mobility have been reflected in variations in religious practices, leading to a society where religion and its practice are ubiquitous.¹³⁴ As Philip Clart and Charles B. Jones stated in their introduction to *Religion in Modern Taiwan*:

If we take the proposition that religion is an ongoing dialectical process seriously, we should not expect any of the religious traditions on Taiwan to have stood still. In fact,

¹³⁰ Ibid., 86.

¹³¹ Ibid., 274.

¹³² Madsen, *Democracy’s Dharma*, 12.

¹³³ Paul R. Katz, “Religion and the State in Post-war Taiwan”, in Daniel L. Overmyer (ed), *Religion in China Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 89.

¹³⁴ David K. Jordan, “Changes in Postwar Taiwan and Their Impact on the Popular Practice of Religion” in Steven Harrell & Huang Chün-chieh (eds), *Cultural Change in Postwar Taiwan* (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc, 1994).

throughout its recorded history, the island of Taiwan has provided an environment highly conducive to accelerated change, probably more so than most other regions of East Asia. This makes the island a fascinating case example for students of religious life, who by the very nature of their object of study must always be students of religious change.¹³⁵

Following their call to research and by applying the previously mentioned ‘island history’ approach of Ts’ao Yong-ho, I attempt gain a sense of this accelerated change by building my analysis on how Wang and Hu interacted with the wider world. The evolution of New Age religion is an ideal example of such religious development in the context of the “accelerated change” of Taiwan’s ‘economic miracle’ of the 1970s and 1980s and the post-martial law era. One obvious feature of the New Age in Taiwan—and to some extent elsewhere—is the primacy of women, such as Wang and Hu. In Taiwanese religions more generally, female religious figures are far from absent. One of the most notable is Cheng Yen 證嚴 (Zheng Yan, 1937-), founder and leader of the Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Merit Society (*Fojiao ciji gongdehui* 佛教慈濟功德會, Tzu Chi).

Primarily attracting lay adherents, Tzu Chi provides a large range of social services, volunteer programs and a TV channel, and has developed an international profile partly because of its prompt and efficient disaster response efforts. According to Richard Madsen, in the 1970s the KMT encouraged groups such as Tzu Chi to provide social services.¹³⁶ Such activities, practical rather than reclusive, are considered to be part of a reorienting of religious practices to be of benefit to this world, as opposed to

¹³⁵ “Introduction” in Philip Clart and Charles B. Jones (eds), *Religion in Modern Taiwan: Tradition and Innovation in a Changing Society* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003), 4.

¹³⁶ Madsen, *Democracy’s Dharma*, 279.

worlds in the future, such as heavenly realms. Known as Buddhism for the human world (*renjian fojiao* 人間佛教), this modernised version of Buddhism allows practitioners to engage with the modern world while working towards individual purification, and provides a direction for Buddhism and the broader society based on “idealised conceptions of both Buddhism’s past and China’s broader cultural heritage.”¹³⁷ Cheng Yen exercises immense charismatic authority, partly derived from the story of her struggle to become a nun. Doctrinally innovative, “Cheng Yen’s religious pursuit runs counter to the traditional Confucian role of women in the family and resonates with the stories of many Goddesses in Chinese religion,” including Mazu 媽祖.¹³⁸ Mazu is popular in Taiwan and the combination of improved cross-Straits relations and expanded digital media has seen a revival of pilgrimages by Taiwan devotees across to her ancestral home in Fujian Province.¹³⁹ Likewise, Vietnam-born Supreme Master Suma Ching Hai (清海無上師, 1950-) established her religious organisation in Taiwan in 1986,¹⁴⁰ and Shanghai-born and Hong Kong-based Sister Kong (江端儀, 1923-1966) of the New Testament Church found a strong following in Taiwan when she visited the island in 1966.¹⁴¹ Evidently, there are structural and religious factors that help facilitate women as religious leaders in Taiwan. (Notably, as of 2014 the NRMs founded by

¹³⁷ Scott Pacey, “A Buddhism for the Human World: Interpretations of *Renjian Fojiao* in Contemporary Taiwan”, *Asian Studies Review* 29 (December 2005): 71.

¹³⁸ C. Julia Huang, *Charisma and Compassion: Cheng Yen and the Buddhist Tzu Chi Movement* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), 26.

¹³⁹ Mayfair Mei-hui Yang, “Goddess Across the Taiwan Strait: Matrifocal Ritual Space, Nation-State, and Satellite Television Footprints” Mayfair Mei-hui Yang (ed) *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

¹⁴⁰ Patricia M. Thornton, “Manufacturing Dissent in Transnational China” in Kevin J. O’Brien (ed), *Popular Protest in China* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 188-192.

¹⁴¹ Paul J. Farrelly, “The New Testament Church and Mount Zion in Taiwan” in *Flows of Faith: Religious Reach and Community in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Lenore Manderson, Wendy Smith and Matt Tomlinson (Dordrecht: Springer, 2012), 186.

Suma Ching Hai and Sister Kong were both classified in China as ‘evil cults’.¹⁴²) According to the sociologist Ting Jen-chieh 丁仁傑, the most important question when studying NRMs in contemporary Taiwan is, given high levels of individualism and mysticism and the choices available in traditional religions, how to best consider these phenomena within the context of Taiwan’s history and culture rather than just as a point of comparison with the West.¹⁴³ I have attempted to do this in this dissertation but, given the significant cultural and religious influence of America on Wang and Hu, it is necessary for me to carefully consider the intricacies of Taiwan-USA connexions as they experienced, embodied and represented these.

The New Age and Taiwan’s modernity

New Age religion in Taiwan as created through the writings of Wang and Hu was a constant interplay between old and new, or, in order to frame this discussion in the terms of a widespread binary – tradition and modernity. In this thesis, through an analysis of the figures of Wang and Hu as they appeared in printed media, I show how they represented alternative paradigms of modernity for women in late twentieth century Taiwan. The separate modernities of Wang and Hu were not associated with business or politics, at least explicitly, but with personal transformation that represented each woman as an individual actor with the agency to (re)create the universe in which she lived.

The notion of modernity has been used by scholars of China and Taiwan to explain emerging social and cultural patterns from the later years of the Qing Dynasty

¹⁴² Edward Irons, “The List of China’s Banned Religious Groups” (paper presented at the annual meeting of CESNUR, Daejin University, Pocheon City, South Korea, 7 July 2016).

¹⁴³ Ting Jen-chieh 丁仁傑, *Shehui fenhua yu zongjiao zhidu bianqian: dangdai Taiwan xinxing zongjiao xianxiang de shehuixue kaocha* 社會分化與宗教制度變遷: 當代台灣新興宗教現象的社會學考察 [*Changes in Social Differentiation and Religious Institutions: Sociological investigation of new religious movements in contemporary Taiwan*], (Taipei: Linking Publishing 聯經出版社, 2004), 351-352.

(1644-1911) into the Republican era in China, and the Japanese colonial era on Taiwan. This research provides the background for considering the type of modernity represented by Wang and Hu, growing up in a cultural and intellectual milieu influenced by these formations, as well as new streams of thought from the post-war West.

The primary medium through which Wang and Hu first articulated their own ideas of modernity was Taiwan women's magazines, primarily between 1969 and 1991. *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*] and *Shinü zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [*China Ladies Magazine*] sold an ideal image to the women of Taiwan: professional, efficient, empowered. Their writings, especially Hu's between 1988 and 1991, showed each woman as able to control the manner in which they engaged with society and even the universe. There are four key themes that demonstrate this and that reappear throughout this thesis.

The first aspect of modernity in the work and life of Hu and Wang that I will analyse is the English language (hereafter, 'English'). Both women were exposed to, and trained in, English from an early age, with the language becoming both a tool for them to connect with the world from Taiwan and, once in America, explore the possibilities for spiritual transformation available there. Of all the signifiers of modernity that Wang and Hu utilised and demonstrated, it is their command of English that was most integral to their careers as New Age translators and authors. It is this ability that enabled them to not only read a large volume of English language New Age literature, but also translate it into Chinese and articulate their own understandings of New Age religion to readers in Taiwan. Based on their recollections, the fathers of both women were integral in supporting their education in English skills. Besides noting the technical ability of Wang and Hu in reading and translating New Age texts, it is necessary to analyse how their leverage of English was a modern act.

The second aspect of modernity I analyse is the relationship that each had with the United States. Beginning long before they first went there, America was a strong presence in the cultural imaginaries of Wang and Hu. Of course they were not unique in this, given the close relationship between America and Taiwan in the latter half of the twentieth century. America, and the memories, interpretations and inspiration it brought, reappeared throughout their writings.

The third aspect I discuss is how New Age religion, as created by Wang and Hu, became a modern lifestyle option for women in Taiwan. The anti-authoritarianism, creativity, globality and respect for the deeply-rooted Chinese religious traditions found in Taiwan that appeared in their work is evidence of a unique cultural product, enabled by the conditions of modernity experienced by both women.

The fourth aspect of modernity inherent in the writings of Wang and Hu relates to their articulation of identity. Both were writing during an era where notions of 'Chineseness' in Taiwan were increasingly contested. Rather than be 'Chinese', 'Taiwanese' or even 'American,' the New Age religion of Wang and Hu allowed readers and practitioners to become 'global,' and transcend both the geo-political ambiguity of Taiwan and, more broadly, the preoccupation with nationalism and national borders during the late twentieth century.

To discuss the connection between New Age religion and modernity in late twentieth century Taiwan it is necessary to establish the parameters of modernity and what is modern, and also how these were applied in this particular time and place. The temporal (modernity) and the enacted (being modern) have been the subject of much scholarly debate. For instance, if an act or thought is not modern, then is it postmodern, late-modern or traditional? What is the relationship between modernity, (post-)colonialism and capitalism? And do modernity and being modern imply an

inherent Westernness? In this thesis I argue for the existence of more than one type of modernity. Stressing the importance of understanding based on the development of ideas and practices, Hanegraaff wrote: “the specific modernity of New Age religion can only be understood by situating the phenomenon in a historical framework.”¹⁴⁴ I have attempted to do this, placing the life stories and writings of Wang and Hu within the context of social and cultural change in late twentieth century Taiwan. Exploring the textures of Wang and Hu’s writings and their lived experiences (and how they understood and reconciled these experiences), I show how their New Age cosmology was a form of modernity grounded in the socio-cultural dynamics of late twentieth century Taiwan. In conceptualising modernity as it existed for Wang and Hu, the ideas introduced in the following paragraph emphasise what I believe are its most relevant aspects.

Modernity is a historical state of existence that evolved from the process of modernisation. The process of modernisation, which is typically coterminous with the formation of the nation state, implies integration into the global network of capitalism and the development of domestic structures such as education systems, national languages, legal frameworks and transport networks. This process has occurred across the world in various forms. At its most elementary, modernity can refer to a “period of radical change” whether this change is seen in attitude or in the composition of society.¹⁴⁵ Writing of a “global now,” Arjun Appadurai suggested that modernity is not just a single break between the past and the present, as it has often been represented in Western scholarship, but is “unevenly experienced... [and] surely does involve a

¹⁴⁴ Wouter J. Hanegraaff, “New Age Spiritualities as Secular Religion: a Historian’s Perspective” in *Social Compass*, 46:2 (1999). 154.

¹⁴⁵ Ian Buchanan, ‘Modernity’ in *A Dictionary of Critical Theory* (Oxford University Press, 2010). N.p., online resource.

general break with *all sorts* of pasts” [italics added].¹⁴⁶ This definition echoes Marilyn Ferguson’s understanding of the New Age as a break with history. Also challenging the notion of a single modernity—by considering the experiences of India and Japan in relation to capitalist and statist modernities—Dipesh Chakrabarty wrote of “a global process within which countries acquire their specific relationship to certain features of modernity as much as they introduce their particular twists and spins into the process.”¹⁴⁷ Such multiple modernities may vary as, according to Chakrabarty, “the modern, like any other historically evolved structure, is hybrid.”¹⁴⁸ Likewise, in his study of the New Age as an element of modernity, Paul Heelas wrote “the sheer complexity of modernity surely means that it is best regarded as a complex of various modes of self understanding, associated forms of ethical discourse, forms of life – and their interplay.”¹⁴⁹ In suggesting “that modernity is best understood as an attitude of questioning the present,” Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar reiterated Appadurai and Chakrabarty’s critique of a single modernity as “modernity today is global and multiple and no longer has a governing center or master-narratives to accompany it.”¹⁵⁰ What becomes evident through reading the works of Wang and Hu is how they constantly questioned the present (both in Taiwan and the USA). The multiple repertoires of culture and thought they drew on changed over time yet a certain constant emerged: how to reconcile an ancient, supposedly authentic past with their multiple social and

¹⁴⁶ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 3.

¹⁴⁷ Dipesh Chakrabarty, ‘Afterword: Revisiting the Tradition/Modernity Binary’ in Stephen Vlastos (ed), *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 288.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 292.

¹⁴⁹ Heelas, *The New Age Movement*, 170.

¹⁵⁰ Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, ‘On Alternative Modernities’ in *Alternative Modernities*, Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar (ed)(Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 13-14.

personal lived complexities. One of the types of modernity that is relevant to the discussion of Wang and Hu is found in the discussion of emergent religious forms.

In response to a series of articles in *Nova Religio* about how to best theorise NRMs, Ian Reader recognised that ‘newness’ is important when studying this phenomenon. He extended this idea by identifying the emergence of Japanese NRMs as part of the process of modernity and the formation of the nation-state, thereby regarding modernity as “a defining indicator of the ‘new’ in the context of Japanese NRMs.”¹⁵¹ Unlike Eileen Barker, who identified a NRM’s newness in terms of first generation membership, NRMs in Japan are new because they appeared in the modern era, as opposed to traditions established for 1,000 years or more. Such a conceptual framework may assist when considering what is ‘new’ about New Age religion in Taiwan, where its appearance is very much a function of Taiwan’s modernity. In the context of this thesis (where I demonstrate the extent to which the New Age was represented as proximate to Buddhism), it is important to note “Buddhism... is also an inescapable constituent of what can be imagined as modernity.”¹⁵² This is in the sense that Buddhism as found in Taiwan was neither timeless, static or ahistorical, it had been influenced by (and also influenced) the conditions of modernity. Likewise, the diversity and innovative qualities found in Taiwan’s NRMs are equally dependent on the ways in which local society and cultural expression is grounded in modernity. While it did not necessarily share the structural features of NRMs, I argue by extension the New Age of Wang and Hu also was inextricably woven into the cultural conditions of Taiwan’s late twentieth century modernity.

¹⁵¹ Reader, “Perspective Chronologies, Commonalities and Alternative Status in Japanese New Religious Movements,” 87.

¹⁵² Marilyn Ivy, “Modernity” in *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism*, Donald S. Lopez Jr. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 312.

Modernity in Late Qing and Early Republican China

In contemplating the nature of modernity in late twentieth century Taiwan, it is important to also reflect on the historical development of late Qing and Republican China. In doing so, I do not propose that the Republic of China *on* Taiwan (1945-) is a mere continuation of the Republic of China as it was *in* China (1911-1949). Rather, modernity in Taiwan is informed by Republican sensibilities, experiences and policies *and* by the island's experiences as a Japanese colony. The international influences that it embraced as a post-war globalised (yet diplomatically ambiguous) neo-liberal economy must be viewed in the context of these hybrid and blurred (though not chronologically so) modernities.

The last years of the Qing dynasty were witness to a series of concerted and, at times, iconoclastic reforms in Chinese society, something that had occurred throughout Chinese history at various intervals. Reformers such as Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873-1929), Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858-1927) and Sun Yat Sen 孫中山 (1866-1925) sought to liberate China from the institutional torpor of the Qing dynasty, often drawing on ideas from Japan and the West to augment, modify or destroy what they thought was moribund about China. However, it is not only the efforts of such luminaries that must be considered when conceptualising Taiwanese modernities.

In his study of foreign goods and consumption in late imperial China, Frank Dikötter asserted that “culture is not the affair of great minds, but the glue which enables relationships to be constructed between subjects and objects,” and from this, justified his own research on modernity not simply as a *theory* of elite thought, but the *practice* of everyday life among common people.¹⁵³ Despite their elite social status, Wang and Hu have never been accepted as great thinkers or innovators, either among

¹⁵³ Frank Dikötter, *Exotic Commodities: Modern Objects and Everyday Life in China*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 12.

Taiwan's religious sphere or the broader populace, and therefore with regard to the experience and practice of modernity they should both be considered as common people. In a way this defines the modernity of Wang and Hu's New Age religion insofar as it proposed (and demonstrated the efficacy of) a particular life mode, as "modernity is staged in the space of the everyday, in its myriad particular contexts, and modernity in many ways reproduces and reshapes the way the everyday is lived."¹⁵⁴ When considering how the New Age of Wang and Hu was modern, perhaps the most relevant dimension to do so with is time.

Leo Ou-fan Lee wrote extensively about modernity in Republican Shanghai. To Lee, modernity in China:

...was closely associated with a new linear consciousness of time and history which was itself derived from the Chinese reception of a Social Darwinian concept of evolution made popular by the translations of Yen Fu and Liang Qichao at the turn of the century. In this new temporal scheme, present (*jin*) and past (*gu*) became polarized as contrasting values, and a new emphasis was placed on the present moment "as the pivotal point marking a rupture with the past and forming a progressive continuum toward a glorious future."¹⁵⁵

A major part of this continuum was the adoption of "new" (*xin*) as an adjective. Among the various new things, such as "new people" and "new culture," was "new epoch," or *xinshidai* – the same term used by Wang and Hu to translate 'New Age' from English to

¹⁵⁴ Joshua Goldstein, 'Introduction' in Madeline Yue Dong and Joshua Goldstein (eds), *Everyday Modernity in China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 6.

¹⁵⁵ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999), 43-44. Including a quotation from Leo Ou-fan Lee, "In Search of Modernity: Reflections on a New Mode of Consciousness in Modern Chinese Literature and Thought", in Paul A. Cohen and Merle Goldman (eds), *Ideas Across Cultures: Essays in Honor of Benjamin Schwartz* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990), 110-111.

Chinese. First coming to popularity in the 1920s, *xinshidai* was based on a term borrowed from Japanese and “this sense of living in a new era, as advocated by May Fourth leaders such as Chen Duxiu [陳獨秀, 1879-1942], was what defined the ethos of modernity.”¹⁵⁶ Lee focused on the role of publishing and how books (and the ideas within) were circulated. He argued:

... from its beginning Chinese modernity was envisioned and produced as a cultural enterprise of enlightenment—*qimeng*, a term taken from the traditional educational practice in which a child received his first lesson from a teacher or tutor. That the term took on the new meaning of being “enlightened” with new knowledge in the national project of modernity should come as no surprise.¹⁵⁷

Appropriately, and as mentioned, *qimeng* is the same adjective Wang used to describe Shirley MacLaine’s *Out on a Limb*.

Modernity in Taiwan

The modern period in Taiwan can be argued to have begun either during the late Qing dynasty or in the period of Japanese colonialisation, beginning in 1895. Separated from China by a treacherous body of water, Taiwan was long considered by the Chinese state to be a marginal and potentially burdensome territory. Even when the western part of Taiwan was eventually subsumed into the Chinese sphere late in the Qing dynasty, it continued to be viewed as “poisonous miasmas, dangerous terrain that concealed hostile

¹⁵⁶ Leo Ou-fan Lee, *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999), 44. Also see Leo Ou-fan Lee, ‘Modernity in Urban Shanghai’ in Wen-shin Yeh (ed), *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 32.

¹⁵⁷ Lee, “Modernity in Urban Shanghai,” 35.

savages, and barren desolation that resisted cultivation.”¹⁵⁸ Later, during the Japanese colonial period, Taiwanese intellectuals yearned for “the constellation of modernity mediated through the bustling streets of Tokyo. In contrast, the villages in Taiwan can only represent an inescapable boredom and an incredibly monotonous life.”¹⁵⁹ China was considered to be less modern than Japan, possibly contributing to the later protracted difficulties when the KMT, its supporters and others escaped to Taiwan during the civil war.

Both Wang and Hu examined the condition of modernity as the historical phase in which they, and their readers, lived. They did not offer one definitive teaching – each had her favourite teachings but encouraged readers to read widely and choose the most appropriate teaching. Wang and Hu went beyond being consumers to become experts, guiding other less-informed consumers to achieve their own form of modernity. Such choice characterises what David Lyon considers to be typical of religion in the postmodern age: unstable, volatile and subject to the process of globalisation. Under these circumstances, he understands “Religion or, rather, spirituality, has become a consumer item.”¹⁶⁰ In recognising “new occult imaginary and alternative medicine”¹⁶¹ as one part of Taiwan’s postmodern condition, Liao Ping-hui wrote that Taiwan’s political marginality and debates over identity had “enabled [Taiwanese] to challenge the domestic authoritarian regime and to be strongly desirous of acquiring transnational

¹⁵⁸ Emma Jinhua Teng, *Taiwan’s Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, by arrangement with Harvard University Press, 2005), 81.

¹⁵⁹ Leo T.S. Ching, *Becoming “Japanese”: Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 28.

¹⁶⁰ David Lyon, *Jesus in Disneyland: Religion in Postmodern Times* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000), 136.

¹⁶¹ Ping-hui Liao, “Postmodern Literary Discourse and Contemporary Public Culture in Taiwan”, in Arif Dirlik and Xudong Zhang (eds), *Postmodernism & China* (Durham, USA: Duke University Press, 2000), 68.

codes and technologies.”¹⁶² The enthusiasm for the New Age is an appropriate example of this. Further examining religion and the postmodern, New Age religion can be seen to fit comfortably within its parameters. Three conditions of postmodernity relevant to how we may consider New Age religion are:

- 1) hyperpluralism and the resulting radical relativization of religious truth claims; 2) the increasing mediation of experience through synthetic images; and 3) ephemerality and the contraction of time.¹⁶³

However, even with such definitions offering compelling evidence of the New Age as postmodern, it is still necessary to be cautious. For instance, Paul Heelas noted that while the New Age certainly exhibits elements of postmodernity, its emphasis on self religiosity is part of a tradition that extends back to the premodern (he gives the examples of the Upanishads and millenarian movements of the Middle Ages) and the influence of the Romantic tradition locks the New Age into a trajectory of modernity.¹⁶⁴

In her study of New Age religion in Taiwan, Shu-chuan Chen interrogated Anthony Giddens’s theory of modernity. She represented Giddens’s modernity as everyday life transformed by reorganised time and space and the expansion of disembedding mechanisms.¹⁶⁵ She suggested that while his overall approach was suitable for considering late twentieth century societies, it would be strengthened by the addition of data from research on the New Age. With respect to life politics, she argued that, as a form of self-reflexivity, “the New Age can function as a source of guidance

¹⁶² Ibid., 81.

¹⁶³ Phillip Charles Lucas, “New Religious Movements and the ‘Acids’ of Postmodernity” in *Nova Religio* 8:2 (2004), 29.

¹⁶⁴ Paul Heelas, “The New Age in Cultural Context: the Premodern, the Modern and the Postmodern”, *Religion* 23 (1993): 110.

¹⁶⁵ Chen, *Contemporary New Age Transformation in Taiwan*, 59.

for my interviewees in many aspects of their lives.”¹⁶⁶ The New Age certainly became a means through which Wang and Hu attempted to understand their own lives.

Two features of modernity that underpin the careers of Wang and Hu are charisma and celebrity. As their earlier careers as an anonymous lifestyle columnist (Wang) and film star (Hu) transformed into careers focussed on the New Age, both women demonstrated evolving forms of charisma and celebrity which they (and their publishers) drew on in different ways. Closely associated with the development of this idea, Max Weber proposed that charismatic authority is a characteristic of religious leaders. He defined charisma as being of two types: it is either “a gift that inheres in an object or person simply by virtue of natural endowment” or “may be produced artificially in an object or person through some extraordinary means.”¹⁶⁷ From this foundation, it is necessary to reconsider charisma for Wang and Hu, especially in the context of Taiwan. In his study of how it might be redefined for the study of Chinese religion, Stephan Feuchtwang wrote that charisma was always “meant for the study of modernity.”¹⁶⁸ While not specifically referring to the New Age in Taiwan, he invoked the potential instability and interchangability of its leaders when he wrote “Good charisma is surely accountable charisma, in which followers have the ability to choose another leader, or to choose none at all.”¹⁶⁹ Given that Wang and Hu’s later New Age celebrity was primarily mediated through books (while they participated in reading groups and delivered lectures, I suggest these were not as important), their charisma was reliant on their differing degrees of celebrity.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 166.

¹⁶⁷ Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* (London: Meuthen, 1965), 2.

¹⁶⁸ Stephan Feuchtwang, “Suggestions for a Redefinition of Charisma” in *Nova Religio* 12:2 (2008): 90.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 104.

At times celebrity transcends relationships and generates other possibilities in the mundane world. While it can be seen as superficial or artificial and as an exploitative revenue source, celebrity consoles “those who consume their products as objects of belief, desire or aspiration.”¹⁷⁰ Hu’s celebrity was already established at the start of the Fine Press’s New Age Series project but Wang grew into hers over the years.¹⁷¹ Their status as famous authors and translators allows us to consider the intersection between fame and religion. Chris Rojek noted “Celebrity culture is no substitute for religion. Rather, it is the milieu in which religious belonging and recognition are now enacted.”¹⁷² In this sense, Wang and Hu (and their publishers) adroitly leveraged their charisma as celebrities to promote New Age books as a way for readers to explore new spiritual possibilities. The phenomenon of celebrity and religion in Taiwan is compelling and, given similar occurrences in East Asia, there is much potential for “further discussions of the heterogeneity of celebrity and its effects in contemporary China and comparative contexts.”¹⁷³ The examples of Wang and Hu, through Taiwan’s status as a sinophone society, offer new examples of the intersection of religion and celebrity—not just in that they became religious celebrities, but that they drew heavily from celebrity figures they encountered in the USA.

¹⁷⁰ Graeme Turner, *Understanding Celebrity* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2004), 6.

¹⁷¹ One of the more unusual pieces of evidence regarding Hu’s celebrity is a tribute book written and self-published by Lee Tan Long. It contains rough photo collages of Hu, using stock images and pictures from events, such as the 1983 Asia-Pacific Film Festival (which Hu hosted) and a number of poems and essays. Praising Hu’s beauty, Lee also noted her love of the arts and literature, as well as her ambition and spiritual inclinations. See Lee Tan Long 李丹郎, *Hu Yinmeng ji* 胡茵夢集 [*The Terry Hu Collection*] (Tainan: Lee Tan Long, 1986).

¹⁷² Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2001), 97.

¹⁷³ Elaine Jeffreys and Louise Edwards, “Celebrity/China” in Elaine Jeffreys and Louise Edwards (eds), *Celebrity in China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010), 20.

Chapter 2: Early lives (1930s-1971)

Introduction

In this chapter I introduce Wang and Hu. Beginning with their family circumstances, I explore their childhoods with an emphasis on how they recalled their personal spiritual development. I examine Wang and her writings in the years before she went with her husband and young family to the USA for a second time, in 1971. Her biographical information is drawn from a range of sources, primarily her 2012 autobiography *At One with God*.¹ Her brother Father Richard Wang SJ also covered the early years of the Wang family in his book *Ai de chensi* 愛的沈思 [*Love's Meditation*].² Further information was drawn from her books and chapters in the New Age Series, including a number of prefaces that she wrote. The final major source of biographical information comes from Wang's monthly columns in *The Woman*.

In exploring Wang's early history, I show how she has long explored the philosophical and spiritual aspects of life, especially through her exposure to Western religion and culture, and how this inquisitive nature can be traced to her early years in Taiwan as the youngest daughter in a *waishengren* family. She placed the residual trauma of her family's escape from China and adjustment to life in Taiwan as the source

¹ Reflecting on how she moved around during her life and her inability to closely identify with any one nation, Wang wrote of what might be interpreted as her possessing a cosmic origin or identity:

My whole family fled the Communist Party on the mainland to Taiwan. I have some memories of the mainland but no homesickness. When in America I had no homesickness for Taiwan. After settling back in Taiwan for many years I do not have any homesickness for America either. I have no feeling for any ethnic groups, nations, political parties or religious denominations... It is on a summer evening when I sit in the cool of my yard and gaze at the sky full of stars that I have that feeling of missing home!

See C.C. Wang 王季慶, *Yu shen tongxin* 與神同心 [*At One with God*] (Taipei: Shangzhou chuban, 2012), 13.

² Richard Wang 王敬弘, *Ai de chensi* 愛的沈思 [*Love's Meditation*] (Taipei: Tianzhujiào wenwuxianwu zhongxin, 1983).

of her struggles. Wang's personal problems continued during her marriage and lengthy residences in the USA. However, it was abroad where she discovered Kahlil Gibran's *The Prophet* and, later, Jane Roberts's Seth books, publications that were to have an ongoing and profound effect on her. Wang only became aware of the term 'New Age' in the 1980s but showed strong evidence of its influence in her earlier writings.

I also discuss Terry Hu's life up to when she attended university. Whereas Wang contributed to the development of New Age religion in Taiwan through her detailed knowledge of the various schools of thought and trends, especially Seth, and through sheer volume of publications, the high-profile Hu offered a glamorous but (safely) rebellious image onto which it could be projected. Up until her career change as a proponent of New Age religion, Hu's life was far from typical. Born to a KMT politician father, she experienced, by her own accounts, an unsatisfactory education before spending a year in New York City after dropping out of university.

Like Wang, Hu has produced a significant amount of written material. Much of this is from her years as a celebrity, where not only was she the subject of media reports, but she also produced her own columns and books. From 1988 Hu published columns promoting the New Age, mostly in women's magazines. The majority of material I have drawn on in developing a sense of her early life comes from her 1999 autobiography *Si yu tongnü zhi wu* 死與童女之舞 [*Death and the Maiden*].³ Where possible, I have tried to cross-reference dates with other sources, and there is little to suggest that Hu has manufactured aspects of her history. What is important, however, is to be sensitive to

³ In a 2000 article on psychology and literature in Taiwan, *Death and the Maiden* was described in the context of recent local literary examples of self-examination as being "... daring in how she examines herself. Even though it is somewhat ruthless, it does bring some comfort. Previously this was rarely seen in Chinese autobiography." See Wang Zhiwei 王浩威 "Xinli yu wenxue: geren yu jiade bahe 心理與文學——個人與家拔河 [Psychology and Literature: the tug-of-war between the individual and the family]" *Unitas* 聯合文學, January 2000: 121.

the emphasis she puts on certain events and how she explained them. *Death and the Maiden* is a revealing story of her life and served the purpose of establishing her spiritual credentials as an author and translator.

In Hu's story we see a distinct process of change and self-professed spiritual evolution. Her projection of her self in the public realm has differed at times, mixing both triumphs and pain, but she has never been reticent to share certain details of her own personal evolution with readers. In doing this, Hu portrayed herself as a powerful example of the transformational efficacy of New Age religion. Like Wang, through a close examination of Hu's early life we can see how she challenged social norms and pursued self-improvement. From her interviews and publications as a young adult onwards, a theme of spiritual exploration, often focussed on foreign religions and philosophies, emerges.

Wang's youth in China and Taiwan

In 2001 Wang received a piece of disconcerting news. Following a conference call held by her three elder siblings, by now spread between Taiwan and the United States, she received a follow-up call from her eldest brother, Richard. In addition to the latest family news, Richard shared some startling history with his sister.

C.C. Wang was born in Chongqing, China, in August 1941. At that time Chongqing was the wartime home to the government of the Republic of China, led by Chiang Kai Shek of the KMT.⁴ The Second Sino-Japanese War had been underway since July 1937 and Chongqing suffered under heavy Japanese bombing. Against this violent backdrop the young Wang family experienced trauma of its own.

Richard told his sister that sometime during the first month of her life their mother left the family home. Their father, Mr Wang, would generally be absent for

⁴ At the time, Chongqing, as it is Romanised using the Hanyu pinyin system, was generally rendered in English as 'Chungking'.

work during the week and only return to the family home on weekends. One day Richard, seven years C.C.'s senior, woke to discover their mother was absent. Rushing to the neighbours, he found that she had escaped to a friend's house (no explicit reason was given for this). Richard recalled that C.C. was a baby of fragile health, hovering between life and death. The wartime conditions had weakened Mrs Wang and she was frequently unable to breast-feed her newborn daughter. At this time C.C. subsisted on a diet of millet gruel and sweetened water.

According to Richard, weakened and suddenly motherless, C.C. cried so much that she passed out. He had to act swiftly to save his baby sister and did so by pressing down upon her philtrum, the small central indentation above the upper lip.⁵ This somehow revived her and C.C.'s inclusion of this anecdote suggests an emphasis on a seemingly miraculous extension of her precarious infancy. Mrs Wang returned home after two weeks and the fragile C.C. survived. Upon hearing this story 60 years later, she realised that amidst the trauma of war, her parents' relationship was over even before she was born.⁶

War and chaos in China

The early chronology of the Wang family (especially pre-Taiwan) was summarised by Richard in *Love's Meditation*, the book he dedicated as a 50th wedding anniversary present to his parents.⁷ In his short history a sense of the chaos experienced by the Wang family prior to their escape to Taiwan is evident. Wang Defang 王德芳 and

⁵ In Traditional Chinese Medicine, the large intestine meridian passes through the philtrum and Richard may have been applying a remedy based on this understanding.

⁶ The story of Wang's birth and her mother's disappearance was shared in Wang, *At One with God*, 33-35. Based on her final eight lectures, it was only in this book and after over 40 years of writing that Wang openly spoke about certain family matters.

⁷ Richard Wang, *Love's Meditation*, 1-4.

Wang Chen Mingren 王陳明仁 were married in 1933 and C.C. was their fourth child.⁸ She recalled that, following the order of children (*bo zhong shu ji* 伯仲叔季), she was named as the fourth child *Ji* 季 and after the city of her birth *qing* 慶, the second character in Chongqing.⁹ However, until her autobiography she never wrote in detail about her early childhood in China or her family's wartime experiences, choosing not to emphasise this aspect of her life.

After marriage, Mr Wang accepted a job on the Beiping-Hankou Railway and the family moved to Hankou where they enjoyed a comfortable life in the years before the Sino-Japanese War.¹⁰ Following the establishment of the puppet regime in Japan-controlled Manchuria in 1932, and before the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the Chinese government sought to reinforce domestic transport connections. With the risk of conflict growing this period experienced “one of the most intensive railway programmes in the history of Chinese railroading,” with Hankou also linked to Canton (Guangzhou) in the south.¹¹ As with many other cities in China, Hankou was developing into a modern metropolis and “was to develop into the Chicago of the East.”¹² Wang's elder brothers Richard and Jingtao 敬弢 were born in Hankou in June 1934 and December 1935, respectively. In the summer of 1937, Mrs Wang took Richard and Jingtao north to Beiping for the wedding of her sister. This celebration coincided with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of July 1937 when the Imperial Japanese Army clashed nearby with the

⁸ Chen 陳 was Mrs Wang's maiden name, with her husband's surname Wang 王, prepended after marriage, as was the custom at that time.

⁹ As recalled in Wang, *At One with God*, 33.

¹⁰ Recalling a meeting with a fellow university student, Wang noted that her father's family was originally from Hubei and moved to Sichuan in the mid eighteenth century. See Wang, *At One with God*, 160. Beiping was the name of Beijing between 1928 and 1943, when Nanjing was the capital of China.

¹¹ X. Xue, F. Schmid and R. A. Smith, ‘An introduction to China's rail transport part 1: History, present and future of China's railways’ in *Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers* 216:3 (2002): 156.

¹² Dikötter, *Things Modern*, 110.

Republic of China's National Revolutionary Army in what "can be considered the first battle of World War II."¹³ Seeking safety, Mrs Wang and her two sons escaped to Hankou on the last train.

In the summer of 1938 Mrs Wang was pregnant with her third child. Wary of the encroaching Japanese army, Mrs Wang escaped for Chengdu, where she gave birth to Shuyi 淑益 (named according to her position as the third child) in December 1938. By 1939 the Wang family was reunited and moved to Chongqing due to Mr Wang's work opportunities with the KMT, which had relocated the national capital there from Nanjing. From 1937 to 1945 the KMT was at war with Japan, as well as dealing with the threat posed by the growing Chinese Communist Party (CCP), a conflict that continued until 1949. The war was expensive for the KMT in terms of money, people and political power. Japan's air force was active and bombed Chongqing 268 times between 1939 and 1941.¹⁴ In the hours after C.C. was born in August 1941, Mrs Wang had to escape with her newborn daughter into an air raid shelter, as sirens warned of an impending Japanese strike.

The Wang family moved to Nanjing in April 1946 where Mr Wang worked in the foreign affairs department. The long hours of work took a toll on his health, and in October 1948 he broke down with high blood pressure. In early December 1948 the entire family fled to Taichung, a city on Taiwan's west coast. This was a chaotic time of mass escape to Taiwan as "More than thirty-one thousand refugees per week fled to Taiwan during November 1948."¹⁵ Depleted by the extended conflict with Japan, the

¹³ Jonathon D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (W.W. Norton & Company: New York, 1990), 445.

¹⁴ Peter Zarrow, *China in War and Revolution 1895-1945* (Routledge: Abingdon, 2005), 315

¹⁵ Steven Phillips, 'Between Assimilation and Independence: Taiwanese Political Aspirations Under Nationalist Chinese Rule, 1945-1948' in Murray A. Rubinstein, *Taiwan: A New History* (M.E. Sharpe: Armonk, New York, 1999), 299.

civil war with the CCP was proving too difficult for the KMT and the government, military, and various supporters, plus many random people caught up in the chaos, escaped to Taiwan.

A childhood in Taiwan

The retreat of the Nationalist government, army and its supporters to Taiwan had a profound effect on the island's society. Taiwan was a Japanese colony from 1895 to 1945 and following Japan's surrender in World War II, it was ceded to the Republic of China, as the current government of China. To many of the KMT supporters fleeing there, Taiwan felt like a different country, with languages, customs and weather that was often quite different to that of their homes in China. Initially the KMT intended to regroup on Taiwan and retake China from the CCP. Over the years this goal became less and less likely and *waishengren* gradually (and to varying degrees) adapted to life on Taiwan.

Essential to understanding this and later periods in Taiwan is the aftermath of events on 28 February 1947, often referred to as the 228 Incident (*Er er ba shijian* 二二八事件). Following Taiwan's incorporation into the Republic of China, a number of Chinese, including soldiers and bureaucrats, arrived on the island. However, relations between Taiwanese and Chinese were complicated. The growing strain came to a head on 27 February 1947 when a woman selling cigarettes on the street was beaten by government agents for breaching monopoly laws. This catalysed large numbers of Taiwanese, who were increasingly upset by perceived corruption and repression, and a series of riots occurred. The government responded by deploying soldiers from China and the brutal government crackdown is "one of the darkest moments in Taiwanese

history.”¹⁶ Between 27 February and 15 May of 1947 “perhaps as many as 8,000 Mainlanders and Taiwanese were killed.”¹⁷ The 228 Incident was followed by the “White Terror” phase of martial law where surveillance was increased and:

Fear of a Communist insurrection was all the justification needed to suppress freedom of thought, speech, publication, assembly and the press. Access to information was substantially curtailed, travel abroad was prohibited and association with foreigners was discouraged.¹⁸

It was in this context of repression and suspicion that the Wang family settled in Taiwan. The White Terror was predominantly during the 1950s but it was only with the end of martial law in 1987 that these events could be freely debated within the new space afforded to civil society. This ability to discuss and represent (especially through literature and film) the 228 Incident and White Terror grew yet, in 1993, “As the phantoms of the Incident are continually called upon and exorcised, they do not seem likely to go away.”¹⁹ Despite much debate and reconciliation since then, these incidents still loom darkly in Taiwanese society.

Once in Taiwan Mr Wang received accommodation assistance from a friend and he was able to recuperate in Taichung for a year, to the detriment of the family’s savings. In January 1950 the Wang family moved yet again, this time to Taipei, where Mr Wang was invited by Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (1888-1979) to open a branch of the

¹⁶ Ya-chung Chuang, *Democracy on Trial: Social Movements and Cultural Politics in Postauthoritarian Taiwan* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2013), 4.

¹⁷ Lai Tse-han, Ramon H. Myers and Wei Wou, *A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991), 9.

¹⁸ Tu Weiming, “Cultural Identity and the Politics of Recognition in Contemporary Taiwan,” *The China Quarterly* 148 (1996): 1122.

¹⁹ Liao Ping-hui, “Rewriting Taiwanese National History: The February 28 Incident as Spectacle,” *Public Culture* 5:2 (1993): 295.

Huaguo Press (*Huaguo chubanshe* 華國出版社).²⁰ The Wang family moved into a Japanese-style house in Taipei's central Da'an district. After more than a decade of relocation and hardship, they had found a place to settle.

Around six months after moving to Taipei, Richard and Jingtao began studying English with Benedictine nuns. The Catholic Church, along with other Christian denominations, was establishing itself on Taiwan at this time. In 1950 there were 12,000 Catholics in Taiwan with this number rapidly expanding to 181,571 by 1960. There was a similar rapid growth in the number of clergy and Catholic institutions, such as hospitals and schools.²¹ These English lessons were the Wang family's first contact with Catholicism and within five years the whole family had been baptised.

Richard graduated from university in March 1958 and began training as a priest in August that year. Beyond the instances mentioned in this thesis, I have not uncovered other references made by Wang to Richard; even though she moved away from Catholicism it is possible that she was influenced by her brother's spiritual revelations.²² Many Catholic clergy and missionaries had escaped to Taiwan following the civil war, where they were treated favourably by the KMT, being allowed to establish churches, hospitals and educational facilities, including universities. The missionary function of these churches (as well as various other Christian

²⁰ Wang Yunwu was a noted figure in Republican China and post-war Taiwan (being involved in the CCRM), and inventor of the Four Corner Chinese character input method. See "Introducing Mr Wang Yunwu", accessed 4 February 2014 <http://www.wangyun-wu.org.tw/introduction/index-2.htm>.

²¹ *China Yearbook 1960-1961* (Taipei: China Publishing Co., 1961), 87-89.

²² In 1972 Richard began participating in the charismatic movement (*shen'en fuxing yundong* 神恩復興運動). He developed his interest in spiritual healing and prayer when studying at Shalom House in Berkeley (California) in 1974 and in following years found it to be an effective practice. Over 10,000 copies of Richard's first book on this topic *Spiritual Healing* (1980) and over 8,000 copies of his second *Shengming de xin chuangzao* 生命的新創造 [*Life's New Creation*] were printed. See Richard Wang 王敬弘, *Xinling de zhiliao* 心靈的治療 [*Spiritual Healing*] (Taipei: Kuang Chi, 1997), 3-5.

denominations) also facilitated the importation of American food and clothing donations.²³ Despite being Catholic, Wang was educated in the public system.

Once in Taipei, Wang continued her primary education at what is now the National Taipei University of Education Affiliated Experimental Elementary School.²⁴ She claimed to have been a competitive student, and received good enough grades to be admitted to Taiwan Provincial Taipei First Girls' High School (*Taiwan sheng Taipei di yi nüzhong* 臺灣省立台北第一女中), a prestigious selective school near the Presidential Palace in central Taipei. Not only was admission there restricted to the top students, in 1953 (when Wang likely began high school) only 35.56% of students in Taiwan proceeded from elementary school to junior high school.²⁵ Of Wang's childhood experiences and education, it is perhaps the development of her English language skills and exposure to Western culture that aided her later in life as she developed into a translator and author of New Age texts. She would draw on these skills both as a magazine columnist and eventually as a translator.

The English language

Wang's ability and interest in English were integral to her work as a translator and author of New Age texts. This was made possible by the prominence given to English in education and popular media. The incorporation of English into the curriculum in the post-war decades was a politically informed act, given the various forms of support provided by the United States. In a continuation of Republican

²³ Madsen, *Democracy's Dharma*, 12.

²⁴ National Taipei University of Education Affiliated Experimental Elementary School has undergone several name changes during its history, and from 1945 was known as Taipei Normal School Affiliated Elementary School, its name during Wang's years there. "School History", accessed 19 September 2013, <http://www.ntueees.tp.edu.tw/english/eng.htm#School%20History>

²⁵ See Theodore Hsi-en Chen, 'The Educational System' in James C. Hsiung and others (eds), *The Taiwan Experience 1950-1980* (Praeger Publishers: New York, 1981), 79.

education policies from China to Taiwan, English was the main foreign language taught after middle school and from 1968, coinciding with the introduction of nine years of compulsory education, was made obligatory for middle school students.²⁶

Wang's enthusiasm for English seems to have begun at an early age. Her mother was taught in English by nuns in Beijing and at one stage in Taipei helped establish a kindergarten for foreign children. Mr Wang was an avid reader of the English edition of *Reader's Digest*, and would read stories from it aloud to his daughters. Wang enjoyed English and got on well with her English teacher in junior middle school.²⁷ However, she claimed that due to her stutter, her senior high school English teacher did not like her. While she enjoyed studying the humanities and might have considered studying foreign languages at university, several factors influenced her to take the science section of the college entrance exam: discomfort from stuttering, lack of encouragement from her teacher and, as a result, the fear of not getting into the top academic cohort. Wang wrote how as a child she loved to read, especially famous authors and mythology, and that she read comparatively more Western than Chinese books.²⁸

At this time Wang was also exposed to Western entertainment. In addition to listening to popular music on the radio, Wang's siblings introduced her to Western classical music, which she developed a fascination for. Because of her father's Western-centric listening habits, Wang reflected how she did not have the opportunity to listen to or appreciate Peking Opera.²⁹ Appearing in a column written during the *Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yundong* 中華文化復興運動 [Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement,

²⁶ Suchiao Chen and Yachin Tsai, "Research on English teaching and learning: Taiwan (2004–2009)" in *Language Learning* 45:2 (2012): 182.

²⁷ During Wang's time as a high school student, the curriculum expected high school students to know 6,000 English words, which had been reduced from 7,000 English words. See *China Handbook 1954-1955* (Taipei: China Publishing Co., 1955), 314.

²⁸ Wang, *At One with God*, 154.

²⁹ The Woman in the Tower, "Ba guoju dai gei ertong 把國劇帶給兒童 [Give children Peking Opera!]," *The Woman*, May 1980, 12.

CCRM], this was an admission that despite being ethnically and culturally Chinese, her understanding of Chinese culture was still under-developed.

The CCRM, which began in November 1966, was a government initiative with several goals. Following on from a series of social programs conducted since retreating to Taiwan and broadly conceived as a counter to the Cultural Revolution being waged by the CCP in China, the CCRM was designed to strengthen the political legitimacy of the KMT in Taiwan and demonstrate globally that it was the rightful ruler of China. At the core of this was the intention to make Taiwan, and its people, Chinese. In the context of ongoing martial law, this is indicative of tensions in the culture of the island and “the fact that the government felt compelled to orchestrate social sentiment through mass movements suggests that culture was hardly something that could be taken for granted.”³⁰ Despite the state’s intentions, the cultural consumption of the Wang family in Taipei appears to have been dominated by Western material. This firmly grounded Wang in a trans-Pacific cultural discourse and established the curiosity that she would later develop through reading English publications and travelling abroad.

Unsettled family dynamics

Wang wrote how the childhood atmosphere in her family had a lasting effect on her emotional state. Before she had finally reached a level of spiritual contentment in her later years, all she had to do was think of her childhood and she would cry.³¹ At the apex of this unsettled dynamic was Mr Wang. Wang wrote of him:

Because my father was not home much during my childhood, I do not have a strong impression of him, nor do I have many memories... the atmosphere in my childhood

³⁰ Allen Chun, “Fuck Chineseness: On the ambiguities of ethnicity as culture as identity” in *boundary 2* 23:2 (1996): 117.

³¹ Wang, *At One with God*, 189.

home was very strange. In my childhood photos my face had the appearance of early maturity. Even though I was a small baby, I did not have a smiling expression.³²

According to Wang, her father was unfair in the extreme. While he was a good judge of others, Wang felt he was not able to see his own shortcomings and created an intense environment in the household. She wrote:

My father was very serious and solemn. But thinking about it later, he was actually very gentle. He never hit us, he just appeared very serious and solemn. He did not love me so I feared him and never dared to throw a tantrum. His friends especially liked him and all said he was a saint. Not just an ordinary good guy—but a saint—because he would take other peoples' issues and make them his own. He was always reaching out to others and frequently helped out. However when he had to face his own issues he had no way of doing so, refusing help and being even more uncompromising... The reason that later I was always looking for answers was probably that he seemed like someone from ancient China, a modest man of noble character. His demands of himself were very high, so his demands on us were also very high.³³

The discrepancy between how Wang saw her father and how others saw him is complicated by Richard's recollection. In the book he wrote for his parents as a 50th wedding anniversary gift, he reflected on the importance of parents' love for their children, as understood by psychologists. He continued:

My earliest experience of love was that which my parents had for me. Of course, in this congratulatory message and speech of thanks I have no way to describe all the love my parents gave me... What mother and father gave me was plentiful; moreover it can be considered a very deep experience of being loved. However, in love I have had an even

³² Ibid., 34.

³³ Ibid, 40-41.

deeper experience. After being ordained, God has awarded me all different types of experiences of being loved.³⁴

Here Richard implied that while the love he received from his parents was adequate, it was far less than the love he was able to find elsewhere, which in his case was from God and in the Catholic Church. This tension around Mr Wang's character (especially his 'saintliness' and the love he showed for others, both in and out of his family) appears to have influenced the dynamics in the Wang family. Likewise, Mrs Wang, who again left the family home for an unspecified period when Wang was 10, is well regarded in this passage. Perhaps Richard was able to forgive his parents' shortcomings to see through to a deeper parental love, or maybe he was just being polite in their anniversary gift. Wang's admission that her inability to understand her father led her to be "always looking for answers" also suggests—and Wang certainly seems to have emphasised this—she was propelled on her spiritual journey as a way of reconciling the conflicting emotions of her childhood.

Having spent several decades closely reading psychology books and magazines Wang was moved to interpret her childhood experiences of love from a psychological point of view.³⁵ In her memoirs she wrote:

Why live for so long without being happy? My birth was not anticipated. When parents conceive a child and while waiting for its arrival, they have love and space in their hearts to give it. They give the child basic and warm shelter. Regardless if during the

³⁴ Richard Wang, *Love's Meditation*, 5-6.

³⁵ In her copy of Jed Diamond's *Looking for Love in All the Wrong Places: Overcoming Romantic and Sexual Addictions* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1988), Wang highlighted several passages that seem to have informed her connection between childhood security and love later in life: "we never give up trying to get our parents to take care [or 'love', as annotated by Wang] of us. We continually re-create the same abusive situations we grew up in so we can try again and again to get the love we couldn't get while growing up." (p130).

period of prenatal influence or in the first three years of infancy, such care is always the most important thing. It is fundamental that a child must have a comparatively strong connection with an adult, to say the least. This is an important factor in turning into a normal human being. I never received this, which is why I am so strange.³⁶

Here Wang claimed the emotional deficiency that appeared throughout her life as being established while she was *in utero*. The chaos of wartime China that her pregnant mother had to endure, their subsequent relocation around China and Taiwan, her mother's two disappearances and her father's health and emotional issues appear to be have been used by Wang to justify her perceived psychological defects. She wrote how her childhood feeling of emptiness, exacerbated by her mother's absences, was expressed in the opening lines of Du Fu's 杜甫 (712-770) poem 'Dreaming of Li Bai' 夢李白:

Were we parted by death, I might swallow my grief,
But to be parted in life is pain unending;³⁷

While she may not have suffered physically (at least in the long term) from the Chinese Civil War or from her parents' dysfunctional relationship, Wang's emphasis on the psychological legacy of her parents' personalities and actions firmly grounds her understanding of her subsequent spiritual exploration in the events of this time.

Catholicism and a developing spirituality

In Wang's various recollections of childhood she wrote of an unhappy time during which she began her spiritual exploration. The emotions that she felt and sought

³⁶ Wang, *At One with God*, 14.

³⁷ From 'Dreaming of Li Bai' in *Poetry and Prose of the Tang and Song*, trans. Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang (Beijing: Chinese Literature, 1984), 50.

to navigate were present from an early age. Her representation of this progression appears most succinctly in her preface to the New Age Series:

Since the age of nine I have seriously pondered: Who am I? Where did I come from? Where am I going? This gave rise to my great personal dilemma: these questions remained concealed in my consciousness, frequently puzzling me. During this half of my life I have walked alone in the landscape of ‘human life’; I have lived earnestly, not willing to let any scenes slip by. I entered the desert, ate the wind-blown sand, stepped across the thorns and brambles and leisurely admired various kinds of beauty: artistic, scientific, perceivable, intellectual... My spirit has come into contact with their beauty—the natural world makes you jump for joy in elation—but I had not yet resolved the question of ‘ultimate concern’ [in English and in Chinese]. This caused me to be forever unsettled, afraid and sad. The beauty of many blooming flowers merely influenced the horror movie of ‘the maiden and the flowers will both be dead.’ Really, how can this be endured?³⁸

After her family converted to Catholicism, Wang began exploring its scriptures and holy figures. This legacy is evident in the passage above where she used the biblical imagery of wandering in the desert. At one stage she even considered becoming a nun but was deterred by the vow of obedience, something she was not willing to submit to. Nevertheless, Catholicism had a strong impact on Wang and she wrote:

³⁸ C.C. Wang, ‘New Age Series General Preface’ 《新世代系列》總序 in Ken Keyes Jr., *Three Prescriptions for Happiness Kuaile de mifang* 快樂的祕方 [lit. *The Secret Recipe for Happiness*], trans. Bao Daiying 包黛瑩 (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1989), 1.

The reference to “the maiden and the flowers will both be dead” is from the classic eighteenth century Chinese novel *The Story of the Stone* 紅樓夢 (often translated into English as *Dream of the Red Chamber*). The last two lines of the final stanza in a poem read by Lin Daiyu 林黛玉 are:

One day, when spring has gone and youth has fled,
The Maiden and the flowers will both be dead.

From Cao Xueqin, vol.2 of *The Story of the Stone*, trans. David Hawkes (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 39.

Up until lower middle school I believed in Catholicism and embraced an addiction to seeking perfection. While I put great effort into studying the creeds, analysis of the forms of these teachings had no way of fully satisfying me. Furthermore, the paths of saints gave rise to the admirable emotion in me of “He who exerts himself will also become such as he was,” however they also added even more self-blame and guilty conscience. On the other hand, original sin, God's judgement, heaven and hell, all made me feel on tenterhooks and nearly took the form of a morbid obsession with cleanliness and obsessive-compulsive disorder. In the end, the more I did, the further away I went.³⁹

For all her fascination with Catholic saints, Wang appeared to have ultimately been intimidated by their standards and the authority of God to judge one's behaviour. During middle school Wang moved away from Catholic texts and claimed to have gone through a phase of reading nihilist texts. Later in senior high she read existentialist texts, as was popular at the time.⁴⁰ In neither instance did Wang list examples of her reading. Her recollection of this early enthusiasm for exploring spiritual and philosophical ideas reflects the opportunities available to her at home and in school. Wang's later-career emphasis on her early reading habits and experiences appears an attempt to reinforce her credentials as a credible and well-informed spiritual figure.

³⁹ C.C. Wang, *Saisi rang ni chengwei mingyun de chuangzaozhe* 賽斯讓你成為命運的創造者 [*Seth Lets You Become the Creator of Your Destiny*] (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1999), 10.

The line Wang quotes in this passage comes from *Mengzi*, or *The Works of Mencius*. For the translation of see James Legge, *Mengzi*, online at <http://ctext.org/mengzi/teng-wen-gong-I>, accessed 9 September 2014.

⁴⁰ Wang, *At One with God*, 189.

Taiwan's 1960s existentialism trend is mentioned in Gary Marvin Davison and Barbara E. Reed, *Culture and Customs of Taiwan* (Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998), 36.

Studying at National Cheng Kung University

Wang studied architecture at National Cheng Kung University (*Guoli chenggong daxue* 國立成功大學, NCKU) in Tainan, the former capital in southern Taiwan.⁴¹ In 1960, around when Wang would have commenced tertiary education, there were seven universities in Taiwan; in 1965 only 3.1% of the total labour force had a college or university education.⁴² The competition involved in progressing this far academically meant “those showing too much independence of mind or insufficient ability to attend diligently to their studies are often rigorously excluded from entrance into the college population.”⁴³ In 1964, only 28% of students enrolled at prestigious universities (such as NCKU) were female.⁴⁴ Therefore, to proceed to university at this time was rare for women. As a child, Wang recalled she was very capable at tracing and copying images and could also write calligraphy well. Her teachers praised her work and, despite doubts experienced during the admission exams, Wang had the self-belief to pursue architecture at university.

Once at NCKU Wang discovered that studying architecture was more difficult than she expected. Not only did her ability to copy well not necessarily mean that she had the requisite creativity for architecture, she also had trouble rendering three-dimensional images on to paper. This difficulty caused Wang emotional pain and she lost self-confidence, an adversity compounded by her ongoing stutter. At the time she

⁴¹ Wang’s education at NCKU has long been advertised in the author description on the inside cover of her books and translations. The earliest instance I can find is in her 1994 translation of Jane Robert’s *The Individual and the Nature of Mass Events*.

⁴² Walter Galenson, ‘The Labor Force, Wages, and Living Standards’ in Walter Galenson (ed) *Economic Growth and Structural Change in Taiwan: The Postwar Experience of the Republic of China* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 396.

⁴³ Sheldon Appleton, ‘The Political Socialization of Taiwan’s College Students’ in *Asian Survey*, 10:10 (1970): 911.

⁴⁴ Sheldon Appleton, ‘Sex, Values, and Change on Taiwan’ in James C. Hsiung and others (eds), *The Taiwan Experience 1950-1980* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981), 263.

experienced hardship and humiliation.⁴⁵ Despite this, her student days were not completely unsatisfactory, as it was at NCKU where Wang met her future husband.

Wang claimed to have attracted the interest of several young men. Their overtures were left unreciprocated, either intentionally or out of shyness, or their personality did not suit her. Notably, Wang was pursued by C.Y. Lee 李祖原 (1938-), a fellow *waishengren* architecture student two years her senior. Wang does not mention C.Y. Lee by name in any of her New Age books, but he did write about her in 1971, which I discuss later. Lee has found significant success as an architect and among his oeuvre Taipei 101 (the one-time tallest building in the world) is most notable.⁴⁶

Lee helped Wang with her studies and, as their relationship blossomed, she began to imagine their future together. Wang was attracted to Lee's talents and fair-mindedness, and that he came from a poor background. With their relationship steadying, Wang decided that she wanted to marry him.⁴⁷ Placing Wang's relationship in the context of a 1986 survey of couples married between 1960 and 1964, 13% of

⁴⁵ C.C. Wang, *At One with God*, 50-51.

⁴⁶ For an early interview with Lee where he discussed his influences and philosophy of architecture, see Li Tienan 李鐵男 and Wang Zengrong 王增榮, "Yuanxiang de xing yu yi 原相的形與意 [The Form and Meaning of Original Appearance: C.Y. Lee discusses C.Y. Lee]" in *Yaqi yuekan* 雅砌月刊 [*Arch Monthly*], January 1990, 14-29.

A review of Lee's work and that of his firm, C.Y. Lee & Partners, includes his "core architectural concepts," which demonstrate the cultural importance in his work:

Architecture is the Language of a Culture

A culture without its own aesthetic is doomed to extinction.

Architecture is an important facet of cultural aesthetics, thus the development of architectural aesthetics is in fact the development of a society's own aesthetics.

This is the most important goal in architectural design at C.Y. Lee.

See Mandy Herbet (ed), *C.Y. Lee & Partners Architects & Planners: Selected & Current Works* (Mulgrave, Australia: Images Publishing, 2013), 22. Emphasis in original.

⁴⁷ Wang, *At One with God*, 161.

couples decided to get married (without parental influence), only 2% met their partner at school and 91% had not dated anyone else prior to marriage.⁴⁸

In 1961 Lee graduated from NCKU and wanted to go abroad to study. He failed Taiwan's exchange student exam and was required to work as a teaching assistant for two years, doing so at Tunghai University in Taichung. Wang graduated one year later, having to wait out the final year of Lee's teaching assistant experience so that they could depart together. Despite Princeton University's reservations about his English language ability, Lee was accepted to study there and he and Wang left Taiwan for North America. Returning after four years, they did not form part of Taiwan's so-called 'brain drain', when between 1960 and 1968 only 4.5 per cent of students from Taiwan returned after advanced study abroad.⁴⁹ While Wang had already embarked on an international journey that would be pivotal in shaping her later career as a translator of New Age texts, Terry Hu was still in elementary school.

Hu's early years

An only child, Terry Hu was born on 23 April 1953 in Taichung. Her father Hu Gengnian 胡慶年 (1905-1989), was born in Liaoyang, Liaoning Province and her mother Qu Shifang 璩詩方 (ca.1909-1993), was born in Tongcheng, Anhui Province.⁵⁰ After her mother convinced her father that leaving China was imperative to their future safety, they escaped to Taiwan in the spring of 1949, during the tumult of the Communists' rise.

As a young child, Hu's given name was Yinyin 囡囡, chosen by her mother. Beginning in primary school, she was known as Yinzi 因子, a name chosen by her father.

⁴⁸ Arland Thornton, Jui-Shan Chang and Hui-Sheng Lin, 'From Arranged Marriage toward Love Match' in Arland Thornton and Hui-Sheng Lin (eds) *Social Change and the Family in Taiwan* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 152.

⁴⁹ Charles H.C. Kao, "Taiwan's Brain Drain" in *Contemporary Republic of China: The Taiwan Experience 1950-1980*, James C. Hsiung and others (eds) (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981), 111.

⁵⁰ This date is an approximation, based on Hu's remark that her mother was 44 at the time of giving birth.

As a young adult, this name was described as being too plain for her burgeoning life of glamour and apparently her new name Yingmeng 茵夢 reflected the translated name of *Immensee* by Theodor Storm: Yinmenghu 茵夢湖.⁵¹ According to a different source, the director of her first movie, Shu Chin-liang 徐進良 (1944-), claimed he suggested that she change her name as Yinzi “seemed too Japanese.”⁵² In 1989 Hu then made a slight change to Yinmeng 因夢, in the early stages of her career as a New Age author and translator. Phonetically this name is the same as her movie star name, the only difference being the absence of the radical *cao* 艹, indicating grass, from the *yin* character in her revised name. In a 1992 profile, Hu claimed that she liked this final version as it had more of a religious flavour.⁵³ Hu’s English name Terry appears to be an abbreviation of Teresa, though it is unclear who gave her this name.

Mr Hu was a legislator in the Republic of China’s Legislative Yuan, newly established in Taipei having relocated from Nanjing.⁵⁴ He graduated with a degree in economics from the National Central University (now known as Nanjing University) and also studied at Waseda University in Japan for four years. In addition to academic posts at the National Central University, Peking University and Northeastern University, Mr Hu held a number of administrative positions around China and was the chairman of the Shenyang Central Daily News.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Huang Se 黃瑟, “*Mingren. Renming: Qu Cao Chengyin Yuan shi Meng* 名人. 人名. 去艸成因原是夢”, *Lianhe Wanbao* 聯合晚報, 18 June 1995.

⁵² Ni Youchun 倪有純, ‘Shu Chin-liang 徐進良’ in *Taiwan Cinema* 臺灣電影網, 5 June 2008. http://www.taiwancinema.com/ct_56967_350. Accessed 10 February 2014.

⁵³ Anonymous, “胡因夢不斷追求「心靈革命」*Hu Yinmeng buduan zhuiqiu ‘xinling geming’* [Terry Hu’s unceasing search for ‘spiritual revolution’],” *亞洲週刊 Yazhouzhoukan [AsiaWeek]*, 26 February 1992: 47.

⁵⁴ At the time, Nanjing (meaning ‘Southern Capital’) was commonly Romanised as Nanking.

⁵⁵ *The Republic of China Personnel Records* 中華民國人事錄 (Taipei: China Science Company, 1953), 181.

Having escaped to central Taiwan, the Hu family lived for a time in an old Japanese house in an area known as New North Village 新北里, an area of Taichung reserved for government officials. The family home seemed comfortable and Hu described its lush garden and modest timber furniture in detail.⁵⁶ For Hu's parents, a Japanese-style house, not unusual in 1950s Taiwan, may have seemed very foreign. But for her, a Japanese-style house would have been all she had known, with only the opinions of the older generation to influence her otherwise. Her lodgings were but one of the many transnational cultural influences to which the young Hu was exposed.

Hu has claimed her mother took her to watch foreign movies from a very young age. She suggested her fascination with movies was pivotal in pursuing a career as an actor two decades later.⁵⁷ Her writings contain many references to movies and stars, almost all of them from Hollywood. Like Wang, Hu wrote of a childhood seemingly immersed in Western culture. She used films to represent markers in life, and would often write of her emotional response to them.⁵⁸ Through this, Hu's life began to use the imagery of Hollywood as a way of understanding and interpreting her everyday life in Taiwan. Her strict 5th grade maths teacher resembled Marlon Brando and her first boyfriend, an American, looked like a young Al Pacino. The first movie Hu saw at the cinema was *The Yearling* (1946), and as a four year-old it was sad enough to make her

⁵⁶ Terry Hu, *Death and the Maiden* (Yuan-Shen Press: Taipei, 1999), 24-25.

⁵⁷ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 46.

⁵⁸ In addition to her autobiography, movies appear in the following publications: *Talking Nonsense; Sleep Talking* (1980) has references to Vanessa Redgrave, Stephen Spielberg's *Close Encounters of a Third Kind*, Meryl Streep, Francis Ford Coppola, George Lucas and Martin Scorsese. *Immensee* (1982) has references to *Ryan's Daughter* and the works of Alfred Hitchcock, such as *The Birds*, *Psycho* and *Marnie*, all of which Hu claimed to have viewed as a pre-teen. *Ancient Future* (1990) includes another reference to Meryl Streep and some thoughts on *When Harry Met Sally*. The most notable film reference in this book is to Shirley MacLaine, the entertainer and New Age proponent who Hu wrote of positively. In *Death and the Maiden* there are also photos of Hu with Hollywood stars Charlton Heston and Brooke Shields. She did not always praise Hollywood movies, however, and in her 1986 interview with *The Washington Post* dismissed the Rambo action movies as "terrible."

cry. She was a fan of Hollywood stars such as Elizabeth Taylor and Sean Connery and the director Alfred Hitchcock. A seemingly precocious connoisseur of film, and apparently not restrained by her parents when it came to viewing material appropriate for a child, Hu saw Hitchcock's *Psycho* aged 7 and *The Birds* aged 10.⁵⁹ She would also visit the cinema on her own, and as a pre-teen would even watch adult fare such as *World by Night*, a proto-exploitation film that local censors regarded titillating enough to partly censor. This fondness for foreign cinema and the artistic qualities demonstrated within would later be expressed with regard to scathing assessments of Taiwan's film industry. It also reflects the availability of American movies: between 1946 and 1970 American productions were dominant among foreign films shown in Taiwan as, due to protectionist quotas and diplomatic relations, they were given preference.⁶⁰ Hu claimed that ever since her childhood she had primarily watched foreign movies and that the only local movie she was influenced by was *The Love Eterne* 梁山伯與祝英台, a popular 1963 Hong Kong musical based on the legend of the Butterfly Lovers.⁶¹ In his discussion of the Oscar-winning Taiwan-born director Ang Lee (李安 1954-), who listed *The Love Eterne* as his favourite film, Leo Lee Ou-fan noted the fondness for this "singsong tearjerker" indicates a:

sentimental trait [that] is also characteristic of the mental makeup of his generation of Chinese youths growing up in Taiwan in the 1950s and early 1960s under Chiang Kai-shek's repressive regime—a "structure of feeling" (to use Raymond Williams's famous term) that shaped the political culture of that time.⁶²

⁵⁹ Terry Hu 胡茵夢, Yinmeng hu 茵夢胡 [*Immensee*] (Taipei: Mongkok Press, 1999), 146.

⁶⁰ Shujen Wang, *Framing Piracy: Globalization and Film Distribution in Greater China* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 108.

⁶¹ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 92.

⁶² Leo Lee Ou-fan, 'Ang Lee's *Lust, Caution* and Its Reception', *Boundary 2*, 35:3 (2008): 234.

Hu recalled that the atmosphere in New North Village, populated primarily by *waishengren* was discriminatory against Taiwan's people, environment and languages. While the *waishengren* spoke Mandarin and other regional dialects from across China, Taiwanese people spoke Japanese (as a legacy of 50 years of Japanese colonisation) and other local dialects such as Hokkein and Hakka, or aboriginal languages. Having studied in Japan for four years, Hu's father was able to play the board game Go with the locals and converse with them in Japanese, unlike the majority of *waishengren*.⁶³ This anecdote appears to place Hu—through her father—as being closer to the local Taiwanese, in spite of her elite *waishengren* pedigree. Unlike Mr Hu, many *waishengren* were soldiers and lacked his cultural capital, social connections and relative wealth. After long years of struggle in China, with recent wars against the Japanese and the communists, the dislocated *waishengren* in Taiwan had a range of personal and familial issues to resolve. The Hu family was no exception.

Ongoing family problems

The Hu family dynamics were complicated and her parents separated when she was 15. While Hu wrote of getting along well with her father, her relationship with her mother was difficult at times. In her early writings, she often candidly shared her opinions yet she did not generally divulge details about the problems in her family, other than occasional fragments. Only after her mother and father had passed away did Hu extensively open up on the nature of her relationship with them.⁶⁴

⁶³ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 31.

⁶⁴ In May 1993 Hu mentioned how her mother had recently passed away and some brief details of her grieving process (See 陳玲芳 Chen Lingfang, “*Laoshi xiuxing, rushi miandui* [Practising frankly, confronting realistically]”, *Gleaners*, May 1993: 12-13.) and half a year later was able to go into more details about their relationship (See 吳家玲 Wu Jialing, “*Cong xiechuwuzhuang dao bore zhi lü* [From Dropping arms to Prajñic Journey]”, *The Woman*, January 1994: 118-124.). Hu was even more open about her mother in *Death and the Maiden* (1999).

As a legislator, Mr Hu spent much time in Taipei and away from the family home. During Hu's primary school years, his visits became more rare, until he was permanently located in Taipei. Mr Hu would later remarry. Divorce rates in Taiwan remained stable between the end of World War II and 1970, whereas by 1990 the divorce rate had tripled.⁶⁵ Hu recalled how her father once scathingly assessed her mother as someone who only cares about wealth: "In her heart it is always money first, her second and other people third."⁶⁶ Living just with her mother, Hu began what would become a decades-long tumultuous living arrangement.⁶⁷

Hu deemed that her relationship with her mother had long been strained. Describing her mother as possessing a "crisis mentality," she felt from a very young age that her mother did not accept her.⁶⁸ She long opposed her mother's fondness for playing mahjong and her financial miserliness. That said, the two of them participated in activities together, most notably going to the movies, and Hu felt that aside from some traumatic memories her childhood was generally good.⁶⁹ The ongoing tension between the two ultimately led Hu to request that she move to Taipei for her studies, where her father was living. Acquiescing to the daughter he doted on, Mr Hu found a place for her in a Taipei boarding school and thus began the next stage of her life.

Boarding school in Taipei

Hu began boarding at the Wesley Girls High School (*Sili weili nüzi gaoji zhongxue* 私立衛理女子高級中學). The school was established in 1961 by Taipei

⁶⁵ Mei-lin Lee, Arland Thornton and Hui-Sheng Lin 'Trends in Marital Dissolution' in Arland Thornton and Hui-Sheng Lin (eds) *Social Change and the Family in Taiwan* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 256.

⁶⁶ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 36.

⁶⁷ The Hu family was initially assisted by Old Li, a maid, who died after a bout of dysentery when Hu was in the fifth grade.

⁶⁸ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 28.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

Methodists, alumni of Shanghai's McTyeire School for Girls of the Christian Methodist Church and the Missionary division from the United Methodist Church of America, with support from Madame Chiang Kai Shek (Soong Mei Ling 宋美齡 1898-2003) and the National Women's League of the Republic of China.⁷⁰ Situated on the edge of Yangming Shan, a dormant volcano on Taipei's northern periphery, Wesley Girls High School is adjacent to the National Palace Museum (which re-opened in Taiwan in 1965).

In a September 1976 magazine profile, high school classmate Hu Wei-mei reflected on Hu's personality, depicting her as enigmatic. She wrote that Hu was a quiet student who would retreat to the library and did not interact easily with other students. As an only child, she spent the holidays in her own company, feeling bored once she had completed the homework assigned for the break.⁷¹ Like Wang, one of the subjects in which Hu excelled was English.

Mr Hu encouraged her studies, especially in English, and told her "foreign languages are a window into another world."⁷² A keen student of English, Hu found popular English language songs to be her favourite study material. One teacher at the Wesley Girls High School, Mr Anderson, used Beatles songs to help his students learn English and Hu wrote how in one exercise in his class, students were asked to draw a picture expressing their subconscious divinity. She responded by drawing a picture of two mountains, linked by a bridge. When asked to explain this picture in front of the class, she said that she wanted to become a bridge linking the nations of people and the nations of spirits. In recalling this episode in her autobiography, Hu marveled how such

⁷⁰ "About Wesley", accessed 24 March 2014.

http://www.wlgsh.tp.edu.tw/wesley_en/main.php?mid=A&id=89&dwid=A

⁷¹ Hu Wei-mei 胡為美, "Xiang feng de nüren – Hu Yinmeng 像風的女人—胡茵夢 [A Woman Like the Wind: Terry Hu]", *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 *The Woman*, September 1976, 95.

⁷² Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 60.

a yearning was in her as a schoolgirl yet it took more than 20 years to bear fruit.⁷³ Her recollection of this story suggests that she was trying to reinforce the link in her life between the English language and spiritual exploration and the image of a bridge reappears throughout her narrative. English lessons at school were not the only channel through which Hu practiced her precocious English.

Early religious influences

In Taichung the Hu family lived near a Christian church, where Hu claimed to have developed an affinity for Christianity and joined the choir. This exposure continued at Wesley Girls High School, where religious activities formed part of the curriculum. While Hu stated she did not participate in the nightly prayer service, she did say grace with the other students before meals. Lonely in Taichung, Hu's mother moved to Taipei to be with her husband. However, the relationship between them did not improve, and Hu's father ultimately moved out. During a fierce argument between her parents, Hu recalled that she retreated to her bedroom to read her bible. When her mother discovered her, she chastised her for resembling Yingchun, a weak-willed character in *The Story of the Stone*.⁷⁴ This period of family turmoil coincided with the triggering of a spiritual energy within Hu.

⁷³Ibid., 73. Hu's opinion of mountains was not always so positive throughout her life. In a January 1984 interview she claimed:

All my life I've loathed climbing mountains and thought those who like climbing mountains are rather crazy in going to places with no water or electricity. Furthermore, while studying at Fujen two classmates climbed Yilai Mountain but never returned. This gave me a horrible impression of mountains.

“*Hu Yimeng deng Xueshan?* 胡茵夢登雪山? [Terry Hu climbs Xueshan?]”, 世界電影 *World Screen*, January 1984, 91.)

⁷⁴ Despite being one of *The Story of the Stone*'s “Twelve Beauties”, Jia Yingchun 賈迎春 is a tragic figure who dies at the hand of her husband to whom she was married as payment for her father's debt. Her father was unconcerned with her marital situation. Yingchun was “nicknamed Miss Doddy-Block by the servants” [Louise P. Edwards, *Men and Women in Qing China: Gender in The Red Chamber Dream* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 135].

Hu claimed in *Death and the Maiden* that during her teens she experienced a series of parapsychological phenomena (*teyi xianxiang* 特異現象). Elsewhere, she mentioned other similar personally profound spiritual experiences that occurred throughout her life, such as developing familiarity with *kundalini* energy and certain dreams, which I will discuss later. The recollection or depiction of such profound experiences during youth is an established trope in Chinese religious biography. In demonstrating supernatural powers, “the later august position that the subject reaches can be seen as having been prefigured, if not preordained.”⁷⁵ The examples of these inserted by Hu into her life story appear to serve the same purpose. While somewhat mundane, Hu’s supernatural experiences are important as they indicate how she sought to emphasise she long possessed such abilities.

One day while walking with friends in Ximen Ding, a popular entertainment district in central Taipei, Hu suddenly entered a state of deep forgetfulness and was unable to recall who she was, where she came from or what she was doing. Another time while riding pillion on a friend’s motorbike, Hu again felt confusion about her identity. Seeing her own face in the mirror, she experienced a feeling of unfamiliarity. The third event Hu recalled of this time was once again in Ximen Ding. On a trip to the cinema with her mother, she had a premonition that an advertising billboard that was being erected could fall down. It did, and slightly injured her mother. Hu claimed that the two experiences where she momentarily lost her identity were integral in propelling her towards later efforts of self-exploration.⁷⁶ Her spiritual experiences at this time also occurred in institutional settings.

⁷⁵ Benjamin Penny, *The Religion of Falun Gong* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press: 2012), 81.

⁷⁶ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 68-69.

For a period during her high school years, Hu was a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, informally known as the Mormon Church. Her pragmatic reason for joining the Church was to be near the young ‘Elders’, missionaries from abroad (primarily the USA) and to practice English.⁷⁷ The Mormons were under surveillance during martial law due to their pacifist ideals.⁷⁸ Hu left a strong impression on her fellow local Mormons, with the sister of one recalling her vivacious entrance to the church:

Back in first year [university] I was discussing Terry Hu with another female and she mentioned how Hu attended the Mormon Church. She said “My elder brother is also a believer in the Mormon Church. One day he asked me if our school has a girl called Terry Hu. He said the first time Terry Hu came to the church no one knew whom she was, nor did she know anyone there. Not only did she lack any of the nerves of the newcomer, she even initiated conversation with some of the foreign believers (The Mormon Church is a type of new religion energetically practiced by foreigners in China), frequently laughing to her heart’s content and seeming extremely pleased with herself.” Her brother said “I felt foolish as I had never seen a Chinese girl so confident, natural and relaxed with foreigners. Furthermore, in dealing with so many people she was not flustered in the least, handling each person well. This girl was really remarkable.”⁷⁹

Written at the time of her emergence as a public figure and years before her outward turn towards matters spiritual, this anecdote concisely articulates Hu’s image as an expert in English and interested in the world outside of Taiwan. Yet to have lived in the

⁷⁷ Ibid., 71.

⁷⁸ Andre Laliberté, “The Regulation of Religious Affairs in Taiwan: From State Control to Laisser-faire?,” *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 38:2 (2009): 62-63.

⁷⁹ Hu Wei-mei 胡為美, “*Xiangfeng de nüren – Hu Yinmeng* 像風的女人－胡茵夢 [A Woman Like the Wind: Terry Hu]”, 婦女雜誌, *The Woman*, September 1976, 95.

USA or another English-speaking territory, she was confident enough in her language ability to converse with the Mormon missionaries. More importantly, Hu was exploring the American religious opportunities available in Taipei. This can be seen as part of her trajectory towards New Age religion. Hu's dalliance with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was just part of the cultural and spiritual experimentation of her latter high school years.

Hu read widely during high school, developing her burgeoning interest in foreign culture. Claiming to have read the works of authors such as Leo Tolstoy, Ivan Turgenev, Lu Xun 鲁迅, Aldous Huxley and Rabindranath Tagore, Hu accompanied her literary exploration by reading popular foreign magazines such as *Time*, *Life*, *National Geographic*, *Newsweek* and *Vogue*. The reports in these magazines kept her informed of events overseas. One development particularly enthralled Hu: the counterculture.

Hu sensed a bond with the hippie movement, popular in the USA and other developed nations in the late 1960s.⁸⁰ Feeling a connection with the lyrics of Paul McCartney and John Lennon of the Beatles and watching movies such as *Woodstock* (1970),⁸¹ she developed a kindred feeling with the hippies and wanted to join them and “destroy the attitude of lethargy and the illusion of isolation.”⁸² No longer was Hu isolated – she felt connected with a global movement, albeit one that was only

⁸⁰ In an early article in Taiwan about the counterculture in the USA, Yu Hsu discussed the hippies' fondness for psychoactive substances, particularly LSD, and the cultural and revolutionary parallels between LSD and 'cold-food powder' (五石散 or 寒食散), an entheogen developed during the Wei-Jin period (220-420). Yu concluded that while he was not willing to experiment with LSD or cold-food powder, the phenomena of psychoactive substances required more research by sociologists and psychologists. See Yu Hsu 徐訖, 'HIPPIES 的陶醉藥與魏晉的五石散' in *Literature Monthly* 純文學, March (1968): 24-40.

⁸¹ In a discussion in November 2013, Father Jerry Martinson SJ 丁松筠 recalled that *Woodstock* was not given a mainstream release in Taiwan in 1970 and was only screened in a US military social club. He and some novitiates had to sneak out of their cloisters and catch a cross-town bus to watch it.

⁸² Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 74-75.

marginally present in Taiwan. Where Wang wrote of her early connection with hippie culture as peripheral, Hu identified much more closely with it and at an earlier age.⁸³ Given her familiarity with American culture through film, language and the Mormon church, her interest in the counterculture might have been an extension of her already established interest in the various dimensions of American culture. As will be shown, Hu's participation in the counterculture, both in Taiwan and the USA, would deepen and she would later attempt to enshrine Taiwan's New Age with countercultural origins. For Hu, these years of experimentation were to continue after high school graduation during her short candidature at Fu Jen Catholic University.

Conclusion

The early years of Wang and Hu demonstrate similarities in structural factors and in how they chose to represent certain experiences and emotions. Both were raised in *waishengren* families that, despite apparent prosperity and relative stability, were still later represented as dysfunctional. The broader turmoil of Taiwan's transition to KMT rule, seen most acutely in the events of the 228 Incident and the ensuing White Terror, do not appear to have directly affected Wang or Hu. Nor, for the most part, do they write of personally experiencing difficulties particular to *waishengren*. Most tellingly, it is the immersion of Wang and Hu in Western culture, as available in Taiwan, and their enthusiasm and skill in studying English, as well as their early exposure to Western religion that stand out here. Both women were closely involved with forms of foreign religion and Western culture that, regardless of what the *real* impact might have been, they chose to repeat in later writings and interviews, therefore emphasising how important these early cultural contacts were to them.

⁸³Later, and in the aftermath of her marriage to Li Ao, rumours of Hu living "the hippie life" in the USA were mentioned in a magazine profile. See 'Trials of a Literary Lion', *AsiaWeek*, 12 September 1980: 19.

Chapter 3: Wang's first trip to the USA and *The Prophet* (1964-1971)

In this chapter I discuss Wang's experiences on her first trip to the United States and her ensuing years in Taipei. Central to this chapter is Wang's encounter with, and subsequent translation of, Kahlil Gibran's *The Prophet*. Her writings on this book are an essential part of the history of New Age religion in Taiwan. Wang's columns in *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*] from 1969 to 1971 are a valuable source that demonstrate how her spiritual worldview was developing.

Not born in the USA: Taiwanese immigration

Wang and Lee arrived in the USA in 1964 and lived in New Jersey, Philadelphia and Boston before returning to Taiwan in 1968.¹ The Cold War hostilities with China were ongoing and Taiwan still maintained diplomatic relations—and the ensuing military, political and social connections—with the United States. There was also a strong financial dimension to the relationship and from 1951, when the U.S. Military Assistance and Advisory Group in Taiwan was set up, until 1964, “the United States offered \$1.5 billion in non-military aid to Taiwan, about U.S.\$100 million per year.”² Reflecting on Taiwan's dependence on the USA since North Korea invaded South Korea in June 1950, it has been noted that “Taiwan has become a continuous foreign policy protectorate of the United States.”³ This diplomatic and military bond also had implications for where Taiwanese went abroad to work and study.

Immigration to the United States was restricted on a racial basis in the years following World War II. The Immigration Act of 1965 opened up the possibility for

¹ <http://www.cylee.com/>, accessed 30 March 2013.

² Peter Chen-main Wang, “A Bastion Created, a Regime Reformed, an Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970,” 325.

³ Thomas W. Robinson, “America in Taiwan's Post Cold-War Foreign Relations,” *The China Quarterly* 148 (1996): 1340.

Asians to immigrate to the USA and an annual quota of 20,000 Chinese were allowed to enter, be they from Taiwan or China. Of Taiwan's 7,118 university graduates in 1965, 2,339 went abroad but only 120 returned.⁴ This trend continued in the 1970s and early 1980s and there was a "middle-class exodus" as people left Taiwan over the uncertainty about its international status.⁵ After the USA commenced diplomatic ties with China in 1979, the number of Chinese migrants began to increase annually while Taiwanese immigration remained relatively stable. In 1982 a separate quota of 20,000 was implemented for Taiwan.⁶ Unlike Chinese migrants, Taiwanese were more likely to find professional work. But unlike Wang and Hu, only "a minority of the migrants from Taiwan in this era were actually mainlanders or descendants of mainlanders."⁷ The exact number of Taiwanese migrants and their families is difficult to calculate, but the decades of sustained migration in the late twentieth century mean that by the early years of the new millennium, of the several hundred thousand Taiwanese living abroad, the majority were in the USA.⁸ As a destination for study and work, the USA was prominent in the Taiwanese imagination of the post-war decades. Wang's sister and one brother were living there by the time she and Lee were ready to leave Taiwan.

Both Wang and Lee applied to study at Princeton but Lee was rejected as his English was not good enough. Wang wrote a letter for him emphasising his ability to

⁴ Sun Chen, "Investment in Education and Human Resource Development in Postwar Taiwan", in Steven Harrell & Huang Chün-chieh (eds), *Cultural Change in Postwar Taiwan* (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc, 1994), 103.

⁵ Zhou Min, *Contemporary Chinese America: Immigration, Ethnicity, and Community Transformation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009).

⁶ Him Mark Lai, "The United States" in *The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas*, Lyn Pan (ed), (Singapore: China Heritage Centre, 2006), 266-267.

⁷ Jack F. Williams, "Who Are the Taiwanese? Taiwan in the Chinese Diaspora" in Laurence J. C. Ma and Carolyn Cartier (eds), *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility, and Identity*, (Boston: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), 178.

⁸ Williams, "Who Are the Taiwanese? Taiwan in the Chinese Diaspora," 176.

Image removed from digital thesis to
avoid copyright infringement

Figure 2: C.C. Wang in San Francisco (n.d.). 李祖原 C.Y. Lee, “難以對付的王季慶 *Nanyi dui fu de Wang Jiqing* [The difficult-to-deal-with C.C. Wang]”, 純文學 *Literature Monthly* 49 (9:1) January 1971: 107.

improve, the decision was reversed and he received a scholarship. However, she was denied a visa as the US government feared that once in the USA she would not return to Taiwan. Ultimately Wang moved to Vancouver to study postgraduate architecture at the University of British Columbia. After a lonely time there, she cut her studies short and went to America, without status, where she and Lee married. Then, as Wang liked children, she decided to start a family early in the hope that she could later enjoy a relatively early return to study or work.⁹

Reading *The Prophet*

It was during her time in the USA that Wang discovered *The Prophet* (1923), an internationally popular poetic philosophical dialogue written by Kahlil Gibran, a “‘Christian’ Arab of a humanistic anarchist persuasion.”¹⁰ The particular type of Middle Eastern mysticism so alluringly represented in *The Prophet* became popular in the USA during the late 1960s as part of a wider cultural trend.

The American public’s growing curiosity about Middle Eastern music, philosophy and culture manifested in several ways. California’s Renaissance Pleasure Faire (a popular and long-running celebration of Elizabethan culture through creative anachronism) featured Middle Eastern musicians and was instrumental in introducing this style of music into 1960s USA.¹¹ The house band of the Feenjon café in Greenwich Village, a favourite hangout of Terry Hu during her first stay in the USA (see the following chapter), also released a series of Israeli folk albums in the mid 1960s. Another act, Rosko with The John Berberian Ensemble, released *Music And Gibran - A Contemporary Interpretation Of The Author Of “The Prophet”* in 1968. In it, the deep-

⁹ Wang, *At One with God*, 162-165.

¹⁰ Paul Heelas, *Spiritualities of Life* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 232.

¹¹ Rachel Lee Rubin, *Well Met: Renaissance Faires and the American Counter Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 140.

voiced Rosco Lee Browne read a selection of passages from *The Prophet* accompanied by Middle Eastern musical compositions.¹²

For all the growing accessibility of this version of Middle Eastern culture, Wang did not appear to engage deeply with it. Writing of her observations at the height of the counterculture, Wang summarised how certain sections of the youth (that is, hippies) opposed the dominant social standards.¹³ She created the impression that the hippie lifestyle was something that she was acutely aware of but did not personally partake in. In 2012 she still admitted to feeling flickering repercussions from that era, albeit as an “‘underground’ hippie.”¹⁴ When in the USA Wang knew of the popularity of *The Prophet* among college students and bought a copy. However, due to constraints on her time she did not read it until returning to Taiwan.¹⁵

Wang and Lee returned to Taiwan in 1968. Not long after, during a time of physical and mental exhaustion, Wang remembered that she was still to read *The Prophet*. Eventually she read the whole book in one sitting: even though she did not understand all of the vocabulary or some of the more obscure passages, she could still feel the beauty of the text.¹⁶ In 1981 Wang expanded on this event in a revised preface, writing that in addition to feeling the book’s beauty, she could also feel its “... power. On one hand it is very warm and deep. On the other hand it is very clear and peaceful.”¹⁷ This revised preface was also reprinted¹⁷ in the 1996 version. In 1969 Wang

¹² A selection of tracks from this album are on YouTube: “At the door of the temple” by Rosko and The John Berberian Ensemble, 1967, <http://youtu.be/7-C9rGCAoWA>, accessed 12 May 2013.

¹³ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 21.

¹⁴ Wang, *At One with God*, 5.

¹⁵ C.C. Wang, “代序：《先知》與紀伯倫 [Preface: *The Prophet* and Gibran]” in Kahlil Gibran, *The Prophet*, trans. C.C. Wang (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1996), 18.

¹⁶ C.C. Wang, “Yihouji 譯後記 [Translator’s Postscript]”, *Literature Monthly* 34 (純文學) (6:4) October 1969: 65

¹⁷ Wang, “Preface: *The Prophet* and Gibran,” 12. This was the 6th reprinting of the 1970 translation.

wrote of her powerful religious experience when reading the section from *The Prophet* on children – to her it was like the Zen experience of being hit with a stick: “my heart was suddenly enlightened and I could see a new frontier!”¹⁸ Later that year she wrote on this theme of revelation-through-reading in greater detail:

I read [*The Prophet*] in one breath. Although I did not understand some words, as well as some of the more abstruse sections, in my inner heart I could ‘feel’ the book’s beauty. My heart was filled with happiness. I felt that heaven, earth and the whole cosmos were inside my heart, where I allowed His heart to silently agree with mine. The Him I write of is not a certain designated God that is inferior to the supposed ‘*dao*.’ It embodies all virtue, beauty and truth. Reading this was a type of ‘ecstasy.’ I could not but be infected by the author’s compassion and consideration. In a split second the world became beautiful. In a split second people became likeable. The dust in my heart was cleansed. I felt like my whole body was emitting light and warmth.

From that point on I would frequently recommend this book and everyone who read it had the same response as me.¹⁹

Two important aspects of Wang’s New Age are apparent in this passage: the possibility of transformation through reading and her enthusiasm for sharing her own breakthroughs with others. In using the personal pronoun for God, *Ta* 祂, Wang immediately attempted to explain this incident using her Catholic-informed perspective, as opposed to the Zen analogy she used earlier. At the same time, Wang appeared to have experienced instantaneous physical and mental transformations that stayed with her for a time after reading the book. In suggesting that others had similar reading experiences to her, Wang excitedly imbued *The Prophet* with mystical properties.

¹⁸ Ji Qing, “*Ni de haizi bing bushi ni de* 你的孩子並不是你的 [Your child really isn’t yours],” *Funü zazhi* [*The Woman*], May 1969: 8.

¹⁹ Wang, “Translator’s Postscript,” 65.

In her 1981 account of this event, Wang still wrote of her ecstasy at embodying the cosmos, yet was more circumspect about the details. The description of her split-second transformation, cleansed heart and bodily generation of light and warmth was deleted.²⁰ This omission is intriguing and it is not clear who made the decision: did Wang think it was too embarrassing and exaggerated or did the publisher think that readers might not welcome such a passage? Nevertheless, and using the same words as in 1969, Wang still enthused that those to whom she recommended *The Prophet* still had the same response as she did. Additionally, in the 1981 version, Wang thanked her parents as their “love and nurturing allowed me to appreciate the beauty of this type of work of art.”²¹ Compared to how Wang later reflected on her parents’ role in her emotional development, this is a much more rote and filial appreciation.

Wang also thanked Wang Wen-hsing 王文興 (1939-) and Hsia Tao-ping 夏道平 (1907-1995) for their encouragement and comments, and Lin Hai-yin 林海音 (1918-2001) for her enthusiastic guidance and help. Wang Wen-hsing was a key figure in Taiwan’s modernist literature movement who in his novel *Family Catastrophe* (1973) enacted “an unflinching critique of the culture and language of China.”²² Hsia, a “liberal thinker and democratic pioneer,”²³ also published *Free China Monthly* (*Ziyou Zhongguo yuekan* 自由中國月刊), a magazine that “advocated that Taiwan implement democracy to fight against the communists.”²⁴ It was shut down in September 1960 after publishing for 11 years. Lin was the editor of *Literature Monthly* (*Chun wenxue* 純文學, literally *Pure Literature*), where Wang’s first translations appeared, and was

²⁰ Wang, “Preface: *The Prophet* and Gibran,” 18.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

²² Christopher Lupke, “Wang Wenxing and the ‘Loss’ of China”, *boundary 2*, 25:3 (1998): 124.

²³ Ho Yi, “Chou Yu turns to tea”, *Taipei Times*, 20 May 2007, 18.

²⁴ Lee Chin-chuan, “*Dangwai* magazines (Taiwan)” in John Downing (ed), *Encyclopedia of Social Movement Media* (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 2011), 158.

famous for her autobiographical stories set in 1920s Beijing. In addition to publishing older Taiwanese writers who were overlooked during the early years of KMT rule on Taiwan, Lin also discovered a number of young writers.²⁵ As the editor of the *United Daily News fukan* 聯合報副刊 (literary supplement, where many influential authors published their work) between 1953 and 1962 and in her later editing positions, “Lin was in a privileged position to disseminate her own artistic views, but she was also actively engaged in shaping and nurturing a viable Mainstream aesthetic position within the confines of official ideology.”²⁶ Wang’s literary career burgeoned under these circumstances.

Seemingly unaware of an earlier Hong Kong translation, initially Wang had no plans to translate *The Prophet*.²⁷ However after unsuccessfully recommending the English version to a friend and her brother, Richard, both of whom had English ability and an interest in the topic, Wang decided to translate it and spent three years working part-time on *The Prophet*. At one stage Lee spent eight consecutive months in Japan supervising an architecture project and she took this opportunity to translate at night while her two young children slept.²⁸

Wang’s Chinese version was published in January 1970. It can be inferred that her initial motivation in translating might not have been fame or wealth, but simply to share with her friends and family a text that had moved her. Although she would not be

²⁵ Michelle Yeh, “Chinese literature from 1937 to the present” in Kang-i Sun Chang and Stephen Owen, *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 624.

²⁶ Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang, *Literary Culture in Taiwan: Martial Law to Market Law* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 86-87.

²⁷ Wang was not the first to translate *The Prophet* into Chinese. According to the National Central Library catalogue in Taipei, the Youlian 友聯 company in Hong Kong published a translation by Qiu Xiangshan 丘向山 in 1958. Since Wang, other translators have produced Chinese versions (See Zhang, *Research Bibliography of Western Literature in Taiwan 1946-2000*, Taipei: National Science Committee, 2000, 1624-1629).

²⁸ Wang *At One with God*, 57.

aware of the term ‘New Age’ for many years yet, Wang later acknowledged that this was the first time that she connected with New Age thought.²⁹ In saying this, Wang created *The Prophet* as a fundamental part of the New Age in Taiwan (her translation would later be republished in the Fine Press’ New Age Series) and established herself as a local pioneer of New Age religion. Interestingly, Kahlil Gibran and *The Prophet* do not generally form part of New Age studies; the book did not even warrant a listing in J. Gordon Melton’s 36-page list of New Age publications.³⁰ While Wang is not the only one to translate *The Prophet* into Chinese, her version has been reprinted several times.³¹

The publication of Wang’s translation of *The Prophet* was preceded by excerpts in *Literature Monthly* in October and December 1969. Accompanying the October excerpt was a brief introduction to Gibran and the translator’s postscript, both written by Wang.³²

Wang’s postscript began with translated praise from the *Chicago Tribune* saying how if the reader is not moved by Gibran’s philosophy then with regard to life and truth they must already be dead. It continued with Wang emphasising the book’s success and relevance. Reprinted 80 times and with two million copies sold in the United States, Wang also linked Gibran to his new audience in Taiwan. Importantly, Wang believed that every reader would be able to find a part that they would treasure.³³ Writing that Gibran was living tranquilly without seeking fame or wealth and in possession of a

²⁹ Ibid., 73 and Wang, “Translator’s Postscript,” 247.

³⁰ J. Gordon Melton, Jerome Clark and Aidan A. Kelly, *New Age Almanac* (Detroit: Visible Ink Press, 1991), 443-479. This cover of this book claims it is “The one fact book you need for New Age understanding!”

³¹ By 1981 her *Literature* edition of *The Prophet* had been reprinted six times. The Fine Press published a bilingual version as part of the Fine Press’s New Age Series in 1996 which by 1999 had been reprinted 14 times. As of 10 June 2015, this version was still available for purchase online, see <http://www.books.com.tw/products/0010013845>.

³² Wang, “Translator’s Postscript,” 64-65.

³³ Ibid., 64.

tolerant and fraternal temperament, she remarked that, due to his Lebanese heritage, Gibran was also an Easterner. This is the first example of Wang emphasising the cultural proximity of the foreign material to her audience, a trope she would repeat in later works. After discussing the process of translating *The Prophet*, which I will explore in greater detail later in this chapter, she gave a sense of the emotional vulnerability that drove her spiritual exploration.

Wang expressed regret at not having chosen to study foreign languages at university. However, suggesting an early understanding of translation as a spiritual practice, she noted that when translating:

... my heart ascends to a sweet and refreshing realm. I had no choice but to do as best I could to translate it. To the best of my ability the translated text uses colloquial speech. In some places the semantics of the original text have double meanings and even though I had found the other meaning, I thought that literally translating the original text would allow readers to ponder it themselves, preserving the implicit beauty. Although my translation skills are awkward, I still hope that readers with heart are able to see the divine light of the original text flashing between the lines.³⁴

Wang's close reading of Gibran's text allowed her to see different levels of meaning in his words and, so that the reader may experience a similar joy of determining this meaning for his or herself, she maintained that the translation should be as literal as possible. As will be shown, she maintained this approach in later projects.

In shifting from architecture to writing and translation, Wang appeared to have been attempting to forge a career based on her own interests, rather than a supposed need to fulfil obligations to her family or society. This change would have been made easier by the financial support provided by Lee's burgeoning architecture career. Even

³⁴ Ibid., 65.

with these apparently conducive circumstances, Wang still had to juggle roles as a wife and mother, something that appeared in her later writings as an ongoing challenge. *The Prophet* and her short articles supporting it signalled the commencement of her career as a translator and author.

Wang's translation of *The Prophet* is important for establishing how she represented key terms and what these would mean for the later developments of New Age religion in Taiwan. My analysis is drawn from the 1981 edition, which is the 6th reprint of the 1970 original. *Literature* reprinted Wang's translation in 1971, 1972, 1973 and 1980, and then later in 1988 and 1992.³⁵ Unlike the 1981 edition, the 1996 Fine Press edition included a new afterword and Gibran's original artwork, and the original English text and Chinese translation were printed side by side.

The Prophet is based on the dialogue between a wise man, Almustafa, and the town folk of Orphalese, prior to his imminent voyage from the city and comprises chapters devoted to 26 different topics. As Almustafa made his way through the city to the harbour he was entreated by a range of people to share his wisdom. When the seeress, Almitra, approached him and requested that he "tell us all that has been shown you of that which is between birth and death", the prophet began to share his wisdom in a wide-ranging discussion with the citizens of Orphalese.³⁶

When asked about religion, Almustafa answered it was embodied in daily life, ever-present and ongoing. He suggested that all the topics he has spoken of were religion and that "Is not religion all deeds and all reflection?"³⁷ The view of religion as mundane and un-institutional was reemphasised on the following page when Almustafa

³⁵ Zhang Jing'er, *Research Bibliography of Western Literature in Taiwan 1946-2000* (Taipei: National Science Committee, 2000), 1624.

³⁶ Kahlil Gibran, *The Prophet*, trans. C.C. Wang (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1996), 34-36.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 208.

stated “Your daily life is your temple and your religion.”³⁸ Gibran depicted God as manifest in nature, a presence that is given human form in the movements and shapes visible in flowers, trees, lightning and rain.³⁹ Wang’s translation of God as *shen* 神 appears to circumvent the bifurcation between translations of God in Catholicism (*tianzhu* 天主) and Protestant Christianity (*shangdi* 上帝) in China.⁴⁰

Like much of *The Prophet*, the chapter on religion is short. But in its two pages, it is possible to detect Gibran’s understanding of religion, his problems with it and how he suggests it best be reconceptualised. This is important in Wang’s translation. When Almustafa asked “Who can separate his faith from his actions, or his belief from his occupations?”, Wang adopted a near literal translation of Gibran’s text and translated faith as *xinxin* 信心 and belief as *xinyang* 信仰. In doing this, she simultaneously introduced the Western religious concepts of faith and belief. In Christianity and Islam, faith is the conviction one holds in the primacy of that religion and is part of being a member of that religion.⁴¹

It is worth noting here that Gibran wrote of ‘religion,’ rather than that which is ‘religious.’ This difference is not insignificant. It appears that to Gibran, as expressed in Almustafa’s response to the question of religion, the common conception of religion is the organised form found in churches, mosques and synagogues. The activities of religion are delineated by the physical walls of the place of worship or the time reserved specifically for prayer, contemplation and other designated activities. As seen in the

³⁸ Ibid., 209.

³⁹ Ibid., 210-211.

⁴⁰ In the 1840s there were debates about how to translate ‘God’ into Chinese, but Wang was unlikely to be aware of these. For more on the translation of ‘God’ into Chinese, see John Y.H. Yieh, “The Bible in China: Interpretations and Consequences” in R.G. Tiedemann (ed), *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume 2: 1800 to the Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 892-893.

⁴¹ Karin Schneider, “Profession of Faith” in Kocku von Stuckrad (ed), *The Brill Dictionary of Religion Volume 1 A-D* (Leiden, Brill: 2006), 1510.

passages quoted above, Gibran took a much broader understanding of what constitutes religion. His description of religion as something that lived in the details of everyday life, no matter how mundane or commonplace, is more what could be considered religious. He adopted a similar expansive approach to prayer.

When asked by a priestess to “Speak to us of Prayer,” Almustafa offered a typically lyrical response. Just as his explication of religion provided the reader with a concept beyond the boundaries of how religion is commonly conceived, so too did he seek to expand the reader’s understanding of prayer. Almustafa announced:

For what is prayer but the expansion of yourself into the living ether?

And if it is for your comfort to pour your darkness into space, it is also for your delight to pour forth the dawning of your heart.

And if you cannot but weep when your soul summons you to prayer, she should spur you again and yet again, though weeping, until you shall come laughing.

When you pray you rise to meet in the air those who are praying at that very hour, and who save in prayer yor (sic) may not meet.⁴²

Wang translated this passage, which I have re-translated into English, as:

Because what is prayer? Is it not the extension of yourself into heaven?

If you pour out your heart’s darkness into the sky you obtain consolation, then pouring out your heart will be the dawning of your happiness

If when your soul beckons you to prayer you cannot help but weep, she must repeatedly inspire you until your tears become laughter.

When you pray your mind ascends and at that time you meet with others who are praying. Only in prayer can you meet them.⁴³

⁴² Gibran, *The Prophet*, 184.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 185.

Here prayer is regarded not as a mere dialogue between a person and his or her god, but the process of expanding one's sadness and joys into the voidness of space. In Wang's translation prayer is an act where the soul (*shenhun* 神魂), rather than the individual, meets with others. In this respect her translation is less extravagant than the original. Through this shared act, those praying come into contact, even if it is only in some metaphorical heavenly realm.

In Wang's reading of Gibran, prayer is not the act of talking to God: it is the process of personal transformation through psychic connexions with others. Almustafa clarified this by saying "God listens not to your words save when He Himself utters them through your lips."⁴⁴ Wang closely translated this as "God does not listen to your speech unless it is when he talks through your lips."⁴⁵ Gibran's depiction of prayer as being the moment when one is animated by God, acting as a vessel for divine expression hints at Wang's later enthusiasm for Jane Roberts's Seth transmissions. The reciprocal relationship between humans and God is further elaborated when Almustafa concluded:

We cannot ask thee for aught, for thou knowest our needs before they are born in us:

Thou art our need; and in giving us more of thyself thou givest us all.⁴⁶

Wang's translation maintains Gibran's intention, and she translated "Thou art" in the same way as done in Chinese bibles. These lines encapsulate how Gibran envisaged God's influence on humans. At some time before one's birth, God is already aware of human requirements. To ask more of him is unnecessary. God gives of Himself through

⁴⁴ Ibid., 186.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 187.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 186-187.

humans, and in doing so inculcates humans with His holy presence. This is the paramount gift.

There are several other references in *The Prophet* that contain concepts relevant to religion. These passages are found in chapters that are not as explicitly titled, such as ‘religion’ or ‘prayer,’ but are important nonetheless when viewing Wang’s attempt to reconstruct Gibran’s words in the religious context of martial law-era Taiwan. One such pertinent example is in the sequential chapters ‘On Teaching’ and ‘On Friendship.’

Wang’s translation of ‘mind’ demonstrates the flexibility that this term holds in a Chinese religious context. When speaking of the characteristics of a teacher, Mustafa said, “If he is indeed wise he does not bid you enter the house of his wisdom, but rather leads you to the threshold of your own mind.”⁴⁷ Gibran conceived an effective teacher as one who guides the student, rather than drags him. But rather than intellectual or academic learning, Gibran here viewed the teacher as one that “leads you to the threshold of your own mind.”⁴⁸ Here Wang rendered ‘mind’ as *xinzhi* 心智, a compound found in Buddhist traditions. *Xinzhi* can be translated as wisdom or intelligence, but in the Buddhist context it means “cognition of the mind [in the sense of] mind being the organ.”⁴⁹ This is another example of Wang (not necessarily knowingly) imbuing her translation with a particular religious flavour

Wang did not restrict herself to *xinzhi* when translating ‘mind.’ The passage from ‘On Friendship’ introduced two new translations within the space of one line: “When your friend speaks his mind you fear not the ‘nay’ in your own mind, nor do you withhold the ‘ay’.”⁵⁰ Wang translated the mind of the friend (*xindi* 心底) as different to

⁴⁷ Ibid., 152-153.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 152.

⁴⁹ 心智, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*. Updated 8 May 2010, accessed 6 July 2015, <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=心智>

⁵⁰ Gibran, *The Prophet*, 158-159.

the mind of the befriended (*xinzhong* 心中). *Xindi* might indicate that the words spoken by the friend came from the bottom of her heart, while *xinzhong* could represent a more measured response. Having encountered a philosophical approach that resonated with her and subsequently establishing a mode of translation, *The Prophet* provided Wang with a foundation for her New Age translation projects and is indicative of the style of text that appealed to her.

Beating the drum: Wang's early columns

Wang began writing magazine columns not long before her translation of *The Prophet* was published. Unlike *The Prophet*, these were published under a series of pseudonyms, none of which are immediately traceable to her.⁵¹ Having impressed the publisher of *The Woman* with her writing, Wang was invited to submit some draft articles. Her first set of columns were printed between May 1969 and June 1971 under the pseudonym Jiqing 擊磬. Wang's choice of name here is not only a homophone for her own name, but is, she claimed, inspired by Chinese philosophy. The two characters *ji* and *qing* appear together in Confucius' *Analects*. Translated as to beat a percussion instrument or musical stone, in her autobiography Wang recalled the line from which these two characters were drawn as expressing her intention to encourage the broader population.⁵² While in her articles Wang gave readers an insight into her emotions, ambitions and frustrations, these confessionals are not the only means to gauge her character at that time.

⁵¹ Wang recalled these pseudonyms and the magazines in which she published in *At One with God*, 169-170. To the best of my knowledge, she used her real name throughout her later New Age career.

⁵² In quoting the passage where she found 'Jiqing', Wang might have made a slight error. While she wrote “有心乎擊磬哉”, the *Analects* actually read “有心哉擊磬乎”. The interchanged final particles do not detract from the meaning, translated as “His heart is full who so beats the musical stone.” See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics, volume 1*, (1861) <http://ctext.org/analects/xian-wen>, accessed 5 July 2015.

As part of a *Literature Monthly* series where authors' partners shared their impression of their spouse, C.Y. Lee wrote a short article about Wang. He was frank in his assessment of his wife's emotional state, describing a young woman who oscillated between disparate feelings but, above all, was a lover of books and reading. He wrote:

My wife — C.C. Wang (Jiqing) — is a person of great contradictions. Sometimes she is hot like a ball of fire, emotions bold and unrestrained; and then sometimes she is so cold she is like a monk in a trance, thinking of nothing. The first time I saw her I thought she was vivacious, restless and extremely audacious. But old friends all know that she is sentimental, with a depressed and gloomy side. Sometimes her heart is so big it can hold the universe; and then sometimes it is unable to hold the tiniest residue. She is an idealist of aesthetics and a calculating realist. When she is in high spirits she has love for everyone on earth; in times of loneliness she can hate herself beyond the point of endurance. One moment she laughs to her heart's content, the next she looks extremely worried. Her manner of speech is subjective, her essays impressive. She loves dreams and fantasy but is unable to write a novel. When she is feeling a hatred against that which is unreasonable, her pen arouses acceptance. When her temperament is urgent, she remains tolerant towards children: calm, gentle and soft out of fear that the children will become stained by her temper. Sometimes she seems like an old person experienced in the ways of the world and then sometimes she is like a small child seeking love.

For one so changeable, it is only her love of books that remains constant. No matter the time or place, when she has a book to read everything else can be forgotten. Regardless of how messy the environment around her is, she will remain unmoved. Occasionally when I consider her lack of love for organising things, she will silently protest and read her book. The extent of her ability to concentrate and wonderful self-cultivation has really taught me to admire her. How do I deal with such a changeable wife each day? The fortunate thing is she encountered an unchanging old fogey such as

me. I cope with a constantly changing situation by sticking to a fixed principle! The world is at peace.⁵³

Lee's account of Wang is important for his view of her character and the insights it provides into their marriage. When placed in opposition to his self-professed fixed disposition, her dramatic mood variations seem to have been a source of tension in the family. She was depicted as being obsessed with books and reading, to the extent that her domestic obligations were overlooked. Lee placed himself as the axis around which his family revolved, punctuated by Wang's apparently erratic moods and stubbornness. The extent to which Wang invested herself in raising her two sons is evident in her first series of magazine columns.

Launched in 1969, *The Woman* was intended for the emerging class of female consumers in Taiwan and pitched itself, in English, as "The best Chinese-language monthly magazine for the fair sex in Asia." Magazines with the same title had been previously published in Shanghai from January 1915 until December 1931 and in Beijing from September 1940 until July 1945.⁵⁴ The Taiwan incarnation of *The Woman* included a range of articles designed to appeal to the island's Mandarin-speaking urban female readership. Among these were a range of instructional pieces on topics such as how to wrap a Christmas present, how to sew a *qipao*, how to swim, how to purchase electrical appliances and an 11 month-long series on how to drive, with new tips each

⁵³ 李祖原 C.Y. Lee, "難以對付的王季慶 *Nanyi dui fu de Wang Jiqing* [The difficult-to-deal-with C.C. Wang]", 純文學 *Literature Monthly* 49 (9:1) January 1971: 107

⁵⁴ Introduction to *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*] directory database, The Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, May 2005, accessed 5 February 2014 http://www.mh.sinica.edu.tw/PGDigitalDB_Detail.aspx?htmContentID=7 and the National Library of Australia catalogue, accessed 5 February 2014 <http://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/3079799?lookfor=婦女雜誌&offset=1&max=12>

month on the variety of conditions that road users might encounter.⁵⁵ Articles in *The Woman* provide a fascinating glimpse into how the rapid economic changes underway in Taiwan, still under martial law and experiencing the CCRM, were influencing modernity and shaping the everyday lives of women. More importantly, they illustrate how Wang was exploring new ways of improving her life, a process that would be amplified later when she became a New Age enthusiast.

Wang published her first column in *The Woman* in May 1969, beginning a series subtitled “What one has learned on child raising while living in America.” This demonstrates that from her very first piece published in a popular magazine for women, Wang was presented as a conduit for American knowledge and progress into Taiwan. Wang introduced herself to readers in such a manner:

Married and bearing children in America, I did not have the older generation to call on for guidance. I could only rely on myself, on one hand studying childrearing methods, on the other hand learning through experience. I am willing to give what I learned of child rearing to my fellow women for reference. In America I had the opportunity to read many significant books on the topic. The environment and social habits are different and I studied some areas that I am afraid will not be similar to the traditional methods here.⁵⁶

In this quotation Wang depicted herself as a pioneer, drawing on her own strength and wits to raise her children in a foreign environment. Even though she was publishing under a pseudonym and therefore not developing a public profile tied to her real name, as an individual actor Wang was evolving in her role as a conduit between Taiwan and

⁵⁵ *The Woman* was published by the *Zhonghua caise yinshua gufen youxian gongsi* 中華彩色印刷股份有限公司 [The Epoch Publishing Company]. In March 1969 it retailed for NTD \$15.

⁵⁶ Ji Qing, “Your child really isn’t yours,” 8.

the United States that began with *The Prophet*. These articles demonstrated her independence, inventiveness and intelligence in coping as a culturally isolated mother in the USA.

Titled ‘Your child really isn’t yours,’ her first column began with the excerpt ‘On Children’ from Wang’s then upcoming translation of *The Prophet*. Acknowledging the confrontational and potentially radical idea in the title, Wang assured readers that she did not wish to overthrow the existing ethical, moral and intimate relationship between parents and children. Rather, this relationship was the basis for reflection and reform. Parents that genuinely loved their children will remember at all times to assist them, encourage them and teach them. Parents should respect the freedom, opinions and youth of children. According to Wang overprotection of children was a problem and they need to be seen as people: “Only when you can extricate your self-imposed shackles can you truly love your children.”⁵⁷ Wang’s reading of *The Prophet*, as revealed in this article, demonstrates a close adherence to Gibran’s text. In doing this, she challenged the practice of filial piety, the Confucian notion that parents should exercise control over their children who in turn should respect their parents and their ancestors. According to the views of Wang and Gibran, the relationship between parents and children should be much less stringent and afford the children a degree of freedom that parents in Taiwan may have been reticent to give. As will be discussed later, Wang envisioned her role in bringing the New Age to Taiwan as a role similar to that of a mother nurturing a young child. Children and the family remained the staple topic of her early magazine columns.

Wang’s first six articles in *The Woman* covered a range of topics related to young children with advice based on her experiences in the United States. Between May

⁵⁷ Ibid.

1969 and June 1971 she wrote about topics such as the growth of children's intelligence, babysitting and second child syndrome, all with the recurring theme of the bond between parents and child (a bond that she had difficulty feeling with her own parents). Wang formed part of the magazine's appeal to young mothers: frequently her columns would have advertisements for powdered milk placed alongside.⁵⁸ Other innovations designed to make life easier for mothers were advertised, including gas kitchen cookers and an electric foot pedestal that promised to be "the liberator of sufferers of chronic illness!"⁵⁹ Wang's presence in *The Woman* at this time was not limited to her column.

She was advertised as speaking at a seminar on 'The Handbook of Tending Children,' which was also the subject of her June 1970 column. Wang even wrote a letter to the editor in August 1970 (published under her real name) praising the convenience of prepackaged stewed food and requesting an expert provide instructions to the magazine's readers, wishing that such food stuffs were as easily available for busy housewives in the USA as they were in Taiwan.⁶⁰ Evidently America did not trump Taiwan in all aspects of modern convenience. Yet not all of Wang's columns in *The Woman* were directly related to issues of children and their care.

During her first stint at *The Woman* Wang began to address the complications faced by women in Taiwan. She began this discussion in July 1970 with 'The views of the youth of China and America on love, sex and marriage,' of which she wrote there were many differences. The article was prompted by conversations she had with an

⁵⁸ Between 1951 and 1965 (when US aid to Taiwan officially ceased), American capital goods and surplus agricultural materials (such as powdered milk) accounted for the majority of Taiwan's imports. See Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *Maritime Taiwan: Historical Encounters with the East and the West* (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2009), 183.

⁵⁹ Ji Qing 擊磬, "Kan hairen shoukan 看孩人手冊 [The Handbook of caring for children]," *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], June 1970: 61.

⁶⁰ C.C. Wang 王季慶, "Duzhe laixin 讀者來信 [Readers' mail]," *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], August 1970: 5.

English friend who stayed with her in Taiwan while in transit home from the USA. According to Wang, whereas Americans see life as a competition and love as something to be subjugated, Chinese traditionally see existence as being underpinned by the theory of humanity being a part of nature (*tianren heyi* 天人合一). According to this, humanity and nature are not the same, but can have a “possible union and interdependence rather than... difference and opposition.”⁶¹ She would later describe *tianren heyi* as part of the New Age approach to environment protection and suggested that various indigenous groups also draw on this idea.⁶² Having catalogued the differences that she had noted between America and China (or, Taiwan as China), Wang drew an important conclusion: “We can only learn more from others’ experiences and seek our own path of happiness.”⁶³ Here Wang was asserting the ability of individuals to make choices about their own inner wellbeing and not be beholden to cultural norms, as she embodied in her decision to pursue translation and writing over architecture.

In addition to her own experiences in the USA and shaping her opinion on the role of commitment, Wang looked to the works of others. She referred to psychoanalyst and philosopher Erich Fromm’s *The Art of Loving* (1956) in her article, in particular his comments about excessive individualism and the concept of the self, which were impediments for young Americans in successful love.⁶⁴ She also mentioned the Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton film *The Only Game in Town* (1970) as a “vivid” portrayal of the American male psyche and that Chinese people would find such a

⁶¹ Wang Keping, “Appreciating nature in view of practical aesthetics”, *Frontiers of Philosophy in China*, 2:1 2007: 146.

⁶² Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 145.

⁶³ Ji Qing 擊磬, “Zhong, Mei qingnian dui ai, xingyuhunyun de kanfa 中、美青年對愛、性與婚姻的看法 [The views of Chinese and American youth on love, sex and marriage],” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], July 1970: 15.

⁶⁴ Ji Qing, “The views of Chinese and American youth on love, sex and marriage,” 14. Wang also read Fromm’s *Escape from Freedom*, with her annotated copy dated December 1966.

dysfunctional relationship to be “absurd.”⁶⁵ Wang was critical of the American approach to love, noting that while women want to be adored by men (who are not compassionate enough) they also want equality and this leads to conflict.⁶⁶ Evident here was her discerning view of the United States and American culture; she had a deep interest in its otherness yet was not afraid to critique it. Through such popular psychological discourse, Wang was forming her understanding of the individual and love, and developing a foundation for discussing these ideas in her later New Age work.

Wang’s August 1970 column was titled ‘How do women view men?’ She began by noting that ever since the Zhou Dynasty (1045-221 BCE) women in Chinese society had occupied a place lower than men, as happened in Arabic and Egyptian societies and in many established religions. Wang proceeded to discuss the various facets of the male condition before, once again, concluding with a provocative statement. Admitting that it was out of the scope of the article, when discussing the benefits of the welfare state (such as the status of men decreasing) Wang warned “Because the state controls everything, citizens have no way of enjoying true democratic freedom and this can develop into a disguised form of totalitarianism.”⁶⁷ The statement tantalises, as Wang did not elaborate on this apparently libertarian sentiment. Tacitly criticising the welfare state was a bold statement for Wang to make and indicates not only her possible dissatisfaction with the ruling KMT regime, but also suggests discontent with the authority held by governments in general. This urge to enjoy “true democratic freedom” indicates how she might have found the self-empowerment of the New Age appropriate for her needs.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 15.

⁶⁷ Ji Qing 擊磬, “*Nüren zeyang kan nanren?* 女人怎樣看男人? [Is this how women view men?],” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], August 1970: 29.

Wang's columns from September and October 1970 drew on her experiences travelling in Japan with an English-speaking tour group in 1969. In the first article 'Japan's half generation gap' Wang explored the social change occurring in Japan. Exploring the streets of Japan's cities, Wang mistook some "coarse haired" youth for Westerners and found their appearance to be even more disgusting than the hippies she had seen in the West.⁶⁸ Whether this was Wang's own view or that of her editor, it is at odds with, or suggests a significant evolution to, her later identification as an "underground hippie."⁶⁹ Taking her analysis further, Wang posited that in Japan not only was there a generation gap, but also a gap within a generation as there was a significant difference between those either side of 25 years of age. Unlike their elders whose culture could be traced back to ancient China, younger Japanese were blindly copying the West at the expense of the culture they were entrusted with. Wang noted that despite the inter and intra-generational gaps in Japan, the older generation had accepted the youth's fashions without interrupting social harmony. As mentioned earlier, this was the period of the CCRM in Taiwan, where Chinese culture was promoted by the state. Wang appeared to be struggling to reconcile 'tradition' and 'modernity,' especially in relation to the influence of the USA. In her second article on Japanese society, Wang explored the "unfortunate" status of women there and suggested reforming ideas were required to improve their lives.⁷⁰ She continued to explore the status of women in her final articles published in *The Woman*.

Wang's February 1971 column was titled 'Who is the Master of the House?'. In it, she compared domestic life in the United States and in Taiwan, and looked at some

⁶⁸ Ji Qing 擊磬, "Ribei de bandai gou 日本的半代溝 [Japan's half-generation gap]," *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], September 1970: 30.

⁶⁹ Wang, *At One with God*, 5.

⁷⁰ Ji Qing 擊磬, "Dongying de jiahua he yehua 東瀛的家花和野花 [Japan's homeflowers and harlots]," *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], October 1970: 18-19.

of the distinguishing features of each, especially as experienced by women. She touched on aspects such as supermarkets (“not ideal”),⁷¹ washing (washing machines in Taiwan are “too small”) and, most importantly to Wang, domestic servants.

In this column Wang drew on her own experience to outline the conditions for domestic servants in Taiwan. She expressed frustration with the scope of masters to control the servants in areas such as shopping and disciplining children, with servants liable to disobey their master. Wang appeared anguished by her experiences with her family’s domestic servant and lamented:

Thus for a woman to be an expert housewife, external matters are decided by the husband and internal matters are decided by the servant. You are like trash: without use and without authority. If you are uneasy about giving your children to the servant or to a nursery, you can only stay in the house and be annoyed. This is bad for both the spirit and the body. However if you accept the limits of your physical and practical needs, the servant is indispensable. There is no other than his way, you can only wait until the children have grown up and then reclaim your lost ‘authority’ and become master of the house.⁷²

This paragraph offers a palpable sense of the emotional trauma enveloping Wang’s domestic life. It also hints at the differing opinions on cleaning that Lee discussed in his profile of Wang. It is important to note that the pain she felt was in her body *and* her spirit. Trapped between the authority of her husband and the needs of her children, Wang appeared to yearn for the day when they have grown up and she can restore her own “authority” in life – even the servant had more authority than she did. It would

⁷¹ The following month *The Woman* published an introduction to the supermarkets of Taipei.

⁷² Ji Qing 擊磬, “*Shei shi yijia zhi wang?* 誰是一家之主? [Who is the Master of the house?],” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], February 1971: 17.

seem that this wish was fulfilled in her later turn to promoting the New Age. However, to afford domestic help indicates that her family was financially stable and the extra time this help afforded her might have been used for reading and writing, thus helping establish her future career. Wang elaborated on her feelings of subjugation in her next column.

In her March 1971 column ‘Born a Woman,’ Wang began with an introduction to Simone de Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex*. Having found it on a friend’s bookshelf, she was initially intrigued by the title, which did not make sense to her, and asserted that “I believe no man could have written this book because they are unable to deal with women’s comprehension and understanding so deeply.”⁷³ Wang looked at some of the differences between genders, noting that in antiquity both Chinese and foreign cultures portrayed women as evil. Wang quoted Confucius “Of all people, girls and servants are the most difficult to behave to. If you are familiar with them, they lose their humility. If you maintain a reserve towards them, they are discontented” as proof of why men do not understand women.⁷⁴ Given that the government promoted Confucius as part of the CCRM, this indicates her willingness to articulate views contrary to the dominant paradigm. Wang also shared her understanding of God as being fair and “It is up to you to use what God gives you. Only a paltry number of people are happy with their lot. Through correct practice and moral conduct it becomes even easier to enjoy lasting happiness.”⁷⁵ In light of her preceding list of ways in which men and engrained social norms control women, Wang’s emphasis on the need for a woman to assume control of her emotional wellbeing is evident here. This suggests that she had a pre-existing

⁷³ Ji Qing 擊磬, “*Shengwei nüren* 生為女人 [Born a woman],” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], March 1971: 10.

⁷⁴ Ji Qing, “Born a woman,” 11. This translation is from Confucius, *The Analects* (trans. James Legge)(New York: Courier Dover Publications, 2013), 330.

⁷⁵ Ji Qing, “Born a woman,” *The Woman*, 14.

inclination for the type of control offered by Seth's maxim of "You Create Your Own Reality", which she made the cornerstone of Taiwan's New Age.

Wang's next column 'The Difficulty of Being a Mother' marked the return to the topic with which she had originally begun her career as an author – mothers and their children. In this article Wang struggled with the love a mother feels for her child and how this can be influenced by social and familial dynamics. She fretted:

You need to constantly pay attention and cherish your child. However you cannot become over-anxious and doting. A mother needs to help the child stand on his own feet and supply him with what is needed for body and mind. But you do not want the child to be aware of the effort you expend. Unless you are a saint it is completely impossible to do so.⁷⁶

Wang appeared conflicted here. On one hand she wanted to furnish her child with the love and care he required but on the other hand, she strove for the type of detachment that, as she wrote, could only be obtained by saints. As a teen Wang read many biographies of saints and aspired to their virtue but was restricted by feelings of her own inferiority.⁷⁷ Likewise, she felt her own father's reputation among his peers as a saint did not accord with his relationship with his family. The inspirational examples of saints from the bible and the example of her father's supposed saintliness appear to have loomed large in Wang's thinking, providing her with a difficult model on which to base her everyday life.

Wang's final column in *The Woman* was a discussion of the 1970 film *Ryan's Daughter* and included a social critique of the authority exercised by the state in

⁷⁶ Ji Qing 擊磬, "Nanwei muqin 難為母親 [The difficulty of motherhood]," 婦女雜誌 *Funü zazhi* [*The Woman*], May 1971: 11. Wang uses the male pronoun 他 *tā* to describe the child, hence my translation of 'he' and not 'she.'

⁷⁷ Wang, *At One With God*, 43.

Taiwan.⁷⁸ Impressed by the movie, Wang experienced feelings of both beauty and sadness. She was surprised that a three-hour movie would be so well received in Taipei and screen for so long. Moving on from her discussion of the themes of *Ryan's Daughter*, Wang used the film as an opportunity to critique censorship in Taiwan. Likening sex in movies to the Great Flood of Chinese mythology, Wang thought that just as the legendary ruler Yu the Great found it better to clear channels than build up walls, modern day censors should treat sex in non-pornographic movies more sensibly.⁷⁹ Instead of opening it to everyone and excising the offending scenes from the film, as was often the case, the full film should only be limited to mature audiences. Once again, Wang appears to suggest that such decision-making should be in the hands of individuals rather than the state. Throughout these early articles it becomes apparent that Wang had already begun to critique gender relations in Taiwanese society. She articulated a lack of control over material and emotional dimensions of her life yet at the same time she was curious about finding solutions to her situation.

Conclusion

This chapter establishes the pattern of Wang being a conduit for American culture, something that she would develop in her later New Age career. Likewise, her love of reading, family tensions and a sense of seeking are apparent at this early stage. Wang's enthusiasm for Gibran's *The Prophet* was amplified by the transcendence she felt

⁷⁸ Ji Qing 擊磬, "Laofu shaoqin hui xingfu ma? 老夫少妻會幸福嗎? [Can an old man with a young wife be happy?]," *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], June 1971: 62-63.

Ryan's Daughter was popular with Taipei audiences and was the ninth largest grossing movie in the city in 1971. See 'Kuashiji Taiwan dianying shilu 1898-2000 跨世紀台灣電影實錄 1898-2000 精選 (1972 年 1 月), January 1972,' Chinese Taipei Film Archive, accessed 11 March 2014, <http://epaper.ctfa2.org.tw/epaper100625we/history.htm>

⁷⁹ The legendary Chinese ruler Yu the Great was believed to have dealt with the threat of floods by diverting and dredging the water, rather than blocking it with dams. This story has become "a mythic prototype for all those who carried out hydrologic works in the service of the political order". See Mark Edward Lewis, *The Flood Myths of Early China* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2006), 42-43.

through translating it. Examining the textuality of her prefaces in different editions of the book, the extent of her joy is apparent as is her willingness to share this with friends.

In Wang's columns in *The Woman* we can see the origin of key themes and sentiments that would reappear in her later New Age writings. At their core is a feeling of unease; whether it is her parenting skills, relationships or status as a woman, she appeared somewhat uncomfortable. However, this does not come across as complacency or even despondency. Rather, Wang was constantly searching for new ideas and techniques that would not only help her in the routines of everyday life, but that she could share with readers. In particular, it was her engagement with foreign cultures (primarily drawn from her experiences in the United States) that she shared with the readers of *The Woman*. While not as pronounced as her nurturing nature or musings on domestic life, Wang's resistance to authority is also apparent in these early articles. She objected to censors compromising the quality of a film because they deem the sex scenes inappropriate for the audience in Taiwan, and, more generally, the potential for an authoritarian government (as found in Taiwan at that time) to regress into totalitarianism.

Chapter 4: Wang encounters Seth (1971-1987)

In this chapter I explore Wang's later magazine columns and other writings as she made the transition to being a translator of New Age texts. In this period she was strongly influenced by challenges experienced during her second stay in the USA. In discussing her early writings and Seth translations, I also introduce what I term Taiwan's proto-New Age: books that fit within the New Age milieu yet were published in Taiwan before there was widespread awareness or systematic promotion of a 'New Age.' Beyond her pioneering Seth translations, it was through her interview in the book *San Mao Cuts Through Time and Space* and preface to the translation of Shirley MacLaine's *Out on a Limb* that Wang established herself as the vanguard of Taiwan's New Age religion and I consider her evolving New Age views as expressed in these works.

Back in the USA

After returning from the USA in 1968, Wang and her family originally intended to stay in Taiwan for only six months. Lee kept extending this period through accepting local work offers. In 1971, and under pressure to protect their Green Cards, the family returned to the USA where they lived until 1978. During this time Wang was a housewife and Lee continued working as an architect, now for William L. Pereira & Associates.¹ It was during their years in Los Angeles that she experienced the emotional crisis and spiritual breakthrough that propelled her into her career as a translator of New Age texts.

¹ 'C.Y. Lee' <http://www.cylee.com/>, accessed 30 March 2013. Through his architectural projects, William L. Pereira, "As much as any other one man... was responsible for the artistic topography of [Los Angeles]." See *San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 November 1985: 58.

Wang's two extended periods in the USA must be considered in the context of the interest in religious innovation at that time. This period (a "religious earthquake"² when "hundreds of NRMs... emerged"³) is commonly regarded as an efflorescence of spirituality, particularly among urban and middleclass youth. This inclination to experiment with new modes of thought and spirituality was "a marked characteristic of [American] postwar youth culture since the days of the beatniks."⁴ Linked to this phenomenon, a number of foreign religions began appearing in the USA. While the counterculture's enthusiasm for Eastern mysticism was pronounced, the relaxation of immigration rules was particularly influential in the trend.⁵ Indeed, it was this legislative amendment that helped allow Wang and her family to spend so long in the USA. In the spiritual experimentation of the time channeling began to reappear and Jane Roberts "emerged as perhaps the most influential channel of the 1970s."⁶

In 1976 Wang read Jane Roberts's Seth books for the first time. When recalling her trajectory in the New Age she has referred to this year and her personal circumstances at the time on several instances.⁷ While lacking certain key details that

² Dereck Daschke and W. Michael Ashcraft, "Introduction" in Dereck Daschke and W. Michael Ashcraft, *New Religious Movements: A Documentary Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 7.

³ J. Gordon Melton, "The Fate of NRMs and their Detractors" in Phillip Charles Lucas and Thomas Robbins (eds), *New Religious Movements in the 21st Century: Legal, Political, and Social Challenges in Global Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 232.

⁴ Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition* (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), 125.

⁵ The introduction of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 and repeal of the Asian Exclusion Act in the USA removed a longstanding preference for 'white' immigrants.

⁶ Hugh Urban, "'The Medium is the Message in the Spacious Present': Channeling, Television, and the New Age" in Cathy Gutierrez (ed), *Handbook of Spiritualism and Channeling* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 322.

⁷ In *At One with God* Wang made multiple references to 1976 (pp 25, 73), as she did later in *Revolution in the Heart* (pp ii, 3, 7). In the collection of interviews with notable Taiwanese women published in China *Taiwan nüren* 台湾女人 [*Taiwan's Women*] (2001), she again referred to the events of 1976.

she only recently made public, it was in 1997 that Wang gave her most extensive account of her encounter with Seth's book:

In 1976 I was living in the USA when I discovered a completely dejecting and depressing matter. I didn't have the courage to keep living.

Some people say that suffering can purify the spirit and therefore it has value. But I think at that moment when suffering approaches you must endure that suffering and learn something from it – only then is there some value. Suffering in and of itself has no value, you do not need to create something from nothing and pursue hardship.

While suffering I wasn't allowed even one second to endure it and was forced to find other things to divert the pain. My two children were still small and once a fortnight I would take them to the public library. As they freely browsed books in the reading room I would also borrow some books to read. My psychological state at that time led me to borrow psychology books and those with metaphysical content.

Among these books was a particularly thick one. I would always pass it over because the name "Seth Material" did not make any sense at all to me. Finally I realised because I had read all the other books and it was the only one left, I had no option but to take it home. There is no way to describe the type of joy I felt after reading it, it was as if all the years I had spent seeking had finally been condensed.⁸

Later that year Wang elaborated on this chance encounter, emphasising how reading could engender an altered perception of reality:

Since my childhood I have been interested in psychology and subscribed to *Psychology Today*. Yet psychology could not satisfy my curiosity and was unable to solve my problems. As a result I started to borrow books about parapsychology and metaphysics.

Of these books I discovered some were fake and some were genuine. It was like a

⁸ C.C. Wang, "Open the Door to the Mind and Discover Truth" in Lin Qingxuan et al, *The Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life* (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), 3-4. Wang's translation of *Seth Material* was published in November 1982 as *News from the Spiritual World* (*Lingjie de xunxi* 靈界的訊息).

fantasy novel or *wuxia* novel: it caused one to temporarily forget reality. Thereafter every time I returned I borrowed these books and entered the wonderful world of soul studies.⁹

To fully understand Wang's encounter with Seth there are two important details to add. First, according to Wang, Lee was not enjoying the USA. Prior to leaving the USA in 1968 it was clear to her that he did not like America, Americans or the English language. Lee dismissed Americans as artless, simple and candid compared to Chinese, whom he favoured as stealthy and furtive.¹⁰ When mentioning this remark it is notable that Wang recalled Lee referring to Chinese (中國人 *Zhongguo ren*) and not to Taiwanese (台灣人 *Taiwan ren*). This was common among authors from Taiwan at the time and Wang referred to her readers as 'Chinese' for many years, despite her primary audience living in Taiwan. This relates to the long-evolving discourse of identity in Taiwan, particularly with regard to how *waishengren* such as Wang and Lee understood the island in the context of their own histories.

Second, there is the source of Wang's suffering. In her autobiography Wang revealed that she had maintained a year-long love affair with a male Taiwanese colleague of Lee's who, in addition to being beautiful and lonely, was 'gay' (Wang used this English word in her text). The strained emotions the affair generated led Wang to consider suicide, a drastic solution she dismissed out of a duty to her young children, at that time in the 3rd and 4th grades.¹¹ Despite having written about this "completely dejecting and depressing matter" since at least 1997, apart from alluding to it in 1980, it

⁹ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 3-4. In this passage Wang included the English words 'Psychology Today', 'parapsychology' and 'metaphysics'. *Wuxia* refers to stories of knight-errants, a popular theme in novels, comics and films.

¹⁰ Wang, *At One with God*, 56.

¹¹ Wang, *At One with God*, 54.

was only in 2012 that Wang revealed these events to have been caused by a romantic affair.

The transformative potential in books is central in Wang's recollection of the events of 1976. Tormented by emotions stemming from her affair and trying to manage her family in the foreign environs of Los Angeles, it was the guidance and solace provided by the public library's books on which she relied. Of these, Seth was the most important and Wang's understanding of his philosophy will be discussed later. Chance encounters, and we see these in the examples of Wang and Hu, are not uncommon in religious biography. According to Robert S. Ellwood,

The history of emergent spirituality is replete with obscure and seemingly happenstance events which have been the conduits through which one cycle of its expression has merged into another.¹²

Wang's chance encounter with the Seth material in a public library echoes Shirley MacLaine's experience in a New Age bookshop. As recounted in her memoir *Out on a Limb* (1983), a friend took MacLaine to the Bodhi Tree bookshop where she purchased a number of books. She wrote: "Looking back, I can say that making that simple, lazy-afternoon decision to visit an unusual bookstore was one of the most important decisions of my life."¹³ In Taiwan Wang was an early enthusiast of MacLaine's metaphysical exploration and it is possible that this is one instance where the Hollywood star served as a template for framing her own transformative experience¹⁴.

¹² Ellwood, *Alternative Altars*, 104.

¹³ MacLaine, *Out on a Limb*, 46.

¹⁴ MacLaine was not the first New Age figure to write of this library/encounter trope, with Steven Sutcliffe quoting British counselor and esoteric exponent Mary Swainson (1908-2008):

I was browsing in a public library. Somehow my hand seemed led to touch an unknown book (many seekers have had this experience). It turned out to be the first publication of an esoteric group which, at long last, 'felt right' for me.

In autumn 1978 Wang and her family returned to Taiwan. Once there, Lee and his partners founded the eponymous architectural firm in which, as of 2016, he remained the Principal Architect. Wang has also since remained in Taiwan and at some stage she and Lee separated (she did not specify the date of her separation in any of her writing). However, returning to Taiwan did not herald the end of her connection with the USA. Wang continued to visit there, for both family reasons (her parents had migrated, suggesting a certain idealisation of the USA in her family) and to maintain her Green Card. It was on these annual trips that Wang would peruse bookstores for New Age material.¹⁵ Having returned to Taiwan, Wang recommenced writing magazine articles.

An Ordinary Mind for *China Ladies*

Wang's second set of columns were published in *Shinü zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [*China Ladies Magazine*] from October 1979 to July 1980 under the pseudonym Pingchangxin 平常心, a Buddhist term best translated as 'Ordinary Mind.' Reflecting on this choice, Wang felt that as a name, 'Ordinary Mind' did not appear so aggrieved when compared to her other pseudonyms.¹⁶

Mary Swainson, *The Spirit of Counsel* (Sudbury, Suffolk: Neville Spearman, 1977), 204. Quoted in Steven Sutcliffe, "'Wandering Stars': Seekers and Gurus in the Modern World." In *Beyond New Age: Exploring Alternative Spirituality*, edited by Steven Sutcliffe and Marion Bowman (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 24.

¹⁵ C.C. Wang, 'New Age Series preface' in Keyes Jr., *Three Prescriptions for Happiness*, 2.

¹⁶ Wang, *At One with God*, 170. 'Ordinary mind' 平常心 *pingchanxin* is defined in the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* as "The mind lacking artifice and mistaken discrimination, the natural condition of sentient beings." Updated 11 May 2008, accessed 5 February 2014, <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=平常心>. 'Balanced mind' is a potential alternative translation.

In her first column in the magazine she was introduced as “a person seeking to be free, [Ordinary Mind] symbolises the Zen master’s realm of great freedom.”¹⁷

Following this introduction was a brief version of the ‘ordinary mind’ *ko’an*:

Monk: What is ordinary mind?

Master Zhaoxian: If you want to sleep, sleep. If you want to sit, sit.

Monk: I do not understand.

Master: When hot, enjoy the cool. When cold, warm oneself by a fire.¹⁸

While this rendering of the *ko’an* (either by Wang or an editor) appears to differ from standard versions, it does reflect Wang’s motivation in adopting the name Ordinary Mind and what she wanted to achieve in these columns. She appeared to be moving towards simpler, spiritual solutions to the dilemmas of life that were, ultimately, what she considered to be common sense.

Wang began her first article by recalling a conversation with Lee. She was encouraged when he remarked how her talents were being wasted sitting around the house all day. Wang then wrote how an astrologer predicted she must become a leader in a special industry.¹⁹ This comment, one that Wang thought she misunderstood at the time, may have played on her mind. Her development as a translator of New Age texts over the following decade and eventual elevation as one of the pioneers and leading figures in the Taiwan scene surprisingly bears witness to this prediction, even though in 1979 she could not have foreseen that outcome. It becomes apparent that Wang was increasingly seeking to transcend her position as a mother and housewife.

¹⁷ Pingchangxin 平常心, “*Haoge wangfuyizi de jiating zhufu* 好個旺夫益子的家庭主婦 [The housewife of a prosperous husband],” *Shinü Zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [*China Ladies Magazine*], October 1979: 46.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

Having returned to Taipei and approaching the age of 40, Wang wrote of how she felt inferior to her former classmates who had already achieved success and status in various fields. However, she acknowledged there was one area in which she could make a contribution. Having lived in the West for so long and learnt so much about self-development, Wang believed that she should work in this field.²⁰ Yet as her children were still relatively young, this was something that she decided to put off until they had grown up. This suggests Wang had long conceived her role in the Fine Press' New Age Series and her editorship was not just a coincidence. While continuing to write columns about domestic matters such as illness and divorce, she also offered glimpses into her post-affair, post-USA emotional state.

In her January 1980 column "Fate? Luck?" Wang expanded on her attitude towards astrology. She wrote that two or three years earlier, Lee had gone to Taiwan for business and had an astrological reading. The astrologer asked him if his wife had been seriously ill the year before. When Lee returned to the United States and told Wang this she was shocked: the previous year she had what she termed a "great calamity," an apparent reference to her extramarital affair.²¹ This accurate astrological reading prompted Wang to become more interested in astrology and she investigated the methods of Purple Star Astrology (*Ziwei doushu* 紫微斗數), a method "which uses one's birthday to predict one's fortune."²²

A sense of domestic discomfort was present in many of Wang's columns. In November 1979 she lamented how Lee was spending too much time away from home

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Pingchangxin 平常心, "Minghu? Yunhu? 命乎? 運乎? [Fate? Luck?]," *Shinü Zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [*China Ladies Magazine*], January 1980: 35.

²² Paichi Pat Shein, Yuh-yuh Li and Tai-chu Huang, "Relationship between scientific knowledge and fortune-telling", *Public Understanding of Science* 23:7 (2014): 4.

working long hours, a problem they experienced both in Taiwan and in the USA. This frustration prompted Wang to delve into philosophical issues concerning women:

When women do not have enough self-belief they become filled with suspicions and trouble themselves. Of course, this type of self-belief is not blind self-belief. When falling in love you must make the right decision. First you must “know the enemy” and then you will have continuous enrichment. When engaging in introspection you will “know yourself.” My husband has recently been intensively reading Sunzi’s *The Art of War* and sighing that he regrets not having done so earlier. How couldn’t he know that his wife long ago transcended “Know one’s self and know one’s enemy and be forever victorious” and “know one’s self and know the enemy and win without a fight.” Sunzi said “A psychological offensive is the best tactic,” something every little girl knows!

I have always resisted ‘the art of the horse-carriage driver’ because I am a person with *dao* and without *shu*. “As virtue rises one foot, vice rises ten,” how can his vice surpass my virtue?

If by any chance his intent is seditious, I can apply the Zen technique of striking him firmly with a stick!²³

Here Wang bowdlerised passages from *The Art of War* to demonstrate how the strategic thinking of Sunzi is socially constructed in her, as a woman. That said, she suggested she is less strategic (*shu*) and more spiritual, or on the path (*dao*). Wang’s conclusion indicates, once again, friction between her and Lee. She suggests, in a comic reworking of the Zen that inspired her pseudonym, that she could whack him if he erred.

Interpersonal relations, not just with Lee, were important to Wang. She claimed that females responded well to her as she posed no menace to them and was not physically beautiful. It was her own (self-described) moderate physical appearance that

²³ Pingchangxin 平常心, “*Yufu wushu* 御夫無術 [The worst technique for disciplining one’s husband],” *Shinü Zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [*China Ladies Magazine*], November 1979: 35.

attracted her to beauty and, regardless if they were male or female, Wang felt no envy towards beautiful people. Men liked her because she was not as “fair as a flower and the moon.”²⁴ Lee was often complimented on the quality of his wife. Normally intimidated by female beauty, men did not face this obstacle with Wang.

One of the struggles faced by Wang on her return to Taipei was the dirty urban environment. Beyond the difficulties of the sub-tropical climate, there were a litany of issues that Wang took issue with. As any Taipei housewife would say, failing to clean for a day would see a layer of grime over the house, the ongoing construction of buildings testament to the island’s status as a developing economy. Transportation, road conditions, garbage and sewerage all raised Wang’s ire. Her way of dealing with this was avoidance; rather than go out on the street and be disappointed she would stay at home and engage in spiritual practices.²⁵ Wang’s response to the modern city was to retreat and engage in introspection. It was towards the end of her time writing for *China Ladies Magazine* that Wang began writing her third series of articles.

The Woman in the Tower

Just as Wang’s time at *China Ladies* was coming to an end, she returned to *The Woman*. Once again Wang adopted a pseudonym, this time Talidenüren 塔裡的女人, or ‘The Woman in the Tower.’ And just as her previous articles had drawn strongly on matters domestic and pertaining to the child with occasional diversions, Wang continued to adhere to these topics. While she did not directly address the concept of ‘New Age,’ she revealed intriguing aspects of her life and offered a vital insight into the evolution of her spiritual perspective. This batch of articles is notable for Wang’s introduction of ideas linked to her recent explorations of Seth.

²⁴ Pingchangxin 平常心, “Yahui de jijie 宴會的季節 [Dinner party season],” *Shinü Zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [*China Ladies Magazine*], March 1980: 31.

²⁵ Pingchangxin 平常心, “Ma yijie 罵一街 [Scolding the street],” *Shinü Zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [*China Ladies Magazine*], April 1980: page unmarked.

Stating that her original column in *The Woman* was centred around children and child-rearing, Wang considered the changes of the intervening decade. Acknowledging that raising her children involved considerable toil, she was content that the joy she received from spending time together with her boys was worth it.²⁶ The process of her sons adjusting to Taiwan's education system, after beginning their schooling in the USA, also provoked some interesting comments from Wang. Having witnessed the education system in both countries, she was confident enough to write, "To tell you the truth, I think that generally speaking Chinese are more intelligent than foreigners... Overseas Chinese children have a higher IQ than American children. This is a fact."²⁷ Such a bold statement (and one that seems to draw from questionable racial discourses of intelligence) is indicative of the ongoing tension in Wang as she tried to balance her experiences in Taiwan and America.

Wang's time abroad gave her the opportunity to appreciate aspects of Chinese culture in a way she had not when living in Taiwan. In America, Wang became aware of a trend for people to explore their ancestral culture, possibly referring to an interest in folk music or folk art. On her first return, during the early years of the CCRM, she was happy to see that a similar sentiment had taken hold there, with people singing Chinese songs, dancing Chinese dances, writing about Chinese emotions and painting Chinese scenes.²⁸ Of the many Chinese cultural forms, she enjoyed Peking Opera the most and reflected that China's traditions were richer than that of any other country.²⁹ Wang's ability to make sense of her own experiences in Taiwan and America was developing

²⁶ Talidenüren 塔裡的女人, "Hanyi yuzi 含飴育子 [Spending time with and educating children]", 婦女雜誌 *Funü zazhi* [*The Woman*], April 1981: 12.

²⁷ Pingchangxin 平常心, "Shuo lan 說懶 [Talking of laziness]," *China Ladies*, June 1981: 126. Published in *China Ladies* 11 months after her last article in that magazine, this article links with Wang's work in *The Woman*.

²⁸ Talidenüren, "Give children Peking Opera!" 12.

²⁹ Ibid.

In her first column back at *The Woman* in 1980, Wang shared her thoughts on humanity, society and love. While she primarily discussed matters of wealth and charity, she concluded her column with an expression of her own growing consciousness of human bonds and reality, obviously influenced by her readings abroad, especially of Seth and his understanding of karma:

Our present day society is basically peaceful and abundant. However the competition of existence and the prospering of the economy bring about greed, detachment and apathy. Youth growing up in a greenhouse are apt to gravitate towards luxury, comfort and nothingness. I believe all people are from the same source and are closely linked. Furthermore, those people we come into contact with during this limited life share a mysterious ‘karmic affinity’ with us. That we render love is a natural need. The more we give, the more abundance we feel.³⁰

Here Wang emphasised the value of love over the material benefits on offer in modern economies. Not necessarily a radical idea, it is given further context in the second half of the paragraph. In suggesting that all people are of the same origin and share close bonds, Wang showed her burgeoning New Age influences. In his discussion of how in New Age philosophy reality is derived from an ‘Ultimate Source’, Hanegraaff wrote:

The great diversity of phenomena found in the world of manifestation must, at some deep level, be linked together by virtue of a common Origin. This One Source of all being thus guarantees the ultimate wholeness of reality.³¹ [Capitalisation in original]

Hanegraaff argued that this source or origin is clearly expressed by Seth as God, or to use Seth’s term, “All That Is.” Wang’s reference to karmic affinity also demonstrates a

³⁰ Talidenüren 塔裡的女人, “*Chang’aili zhi shi, quguaili zhi qi* 長愛力之勢, 去乖戾之氣 [The strength of lasting love, to the energy of disagreement],” 婦女雜誌 *Funü zazhi* [*The Woman*], June 1980: 106.

³¹ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 120.

New Age understanding of the term. Her understanding of the need for love and the benefits of giving indicate a creative relationship and one that is mutually beneficial. Hanegraaff summarised Seth's understanding of karma as "Karma is the universal law of cause and effect, operating in an interconnected universe which has an inbuilt tendency towards moral balance."³² This is similar to an orthodox Buddhist understanding of karma where, beyond more abstruse ideas of birth and rebirth, one has the ability to freely make moral decisions from which one reaps benefit.³³ In adopting Seth's articulation of karma, Wang does not appear to have had to deeply reconsider the Buddhist notion of karma that she would have been exposed to growing up in Taiwanese society.

In February 1981 Wang again proffered New Age views to the readers of *The Woman*. At one point she wrote how she spends time with "young and beautiful women" and rather than stand in line with them and be jealous of their appearance, she takes a step back and admires them.³⁴ Here Wang is most likely referring to Hu, 12 years her junior and by 1981 a well-known celebrity in Taiwan. Hu recalled how around this time and during the difficult legal proceedings related to her divorce, her "good friend" Wang gave her a copy of *Seth Speaks: The Eternal Validity of the Soul* and "this impelled me to begin my journey of inward self knowledge."³⁵ While Wang was still yet to take a prominent role advocating the New Age, she was sharing her discoveries with friends, something she had begun with *The Prophet*. One breakthrough Wang experienced was in her assessment of happiness and other people. She wrote:

One day I suddenly realised: my existence has value. Only I can be satisfied with my

³² Ibid., 286.

³³ Damien Keown, 'Karma' in *Dictionary of Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 137-138.

³⁴ Talidenüren 塔裡的女人, "Huanhuan shuzhan de huabao 緩緩舒展的花苞 [Buds unfolding one by one]," 婦女雜誌 *Funü zazhi* [*The Woman*], February 1981: 86.

³⁵ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 171.

spirit. Only I can affirm the meaning of my existence. I don't need to nervously display to the best of my ability and compete for other peoples' approval and admiration.

... When all is said and done, we all come from the same source and are closely linked. In my heart I regard all friends with sincere and calm consideration. I don't seek them to regard me with any importance or concern ... Everyone chooses their own way of life and I hope that the inner being of each is peaceful and happy.³⁶

These paragraphs indicate not just how Wang's personal philosophy was evolving, but also how she understood and articulated her own personal changes. As she wrote in June 1980, Wang claimed humans are all of the one origin and are closely related. That said, she was now able to step outside the realm of others' judgments and opinions and generate her own happiness and sense of worth. Her concluding statement—that people chose their own way of life—is strongly reminiscent of Seth's key idea: you create your own reality.

After her second stint at *The Woman* Wang ceased writing regular magazine columns. She read Lung Ying-tai's (龍應台 1952-) *Yehuo ji* 野火集 [*The Wildfire*] (Serialised in 1984 and published as a book in 1985), a seminal series of social criticism essays, but disagreed with its style of "aimless criticism,"³⁷ deciding to stop writing the style of article which she had done for over a decade.³⁸ In essays such as 'Chinese people, why aren't you angry?' and 'Anger, is it useless?', Lung vehemently criticised Taiwanese society and bemoaned its peoples' lack of civilisation. She eventually became a leading public intellectual and was the Minister of Culture in the Republic of

³⁶ Talidenüren, "Buds unfolding one by one," 86.

³⁷ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 9.

³⁸ Connie Ling, "Asia's New Leaders: The Cultural Crusader --- Fighting Asia's Culture Wars", *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, 12 March 2001, N7.

China, Taiwan, from May 2012 to November 2014.³⁹ While Wang was also a social critic, her future publications show how she adopted a less confrontational tone than that of Lung. However, Wang was not the only local author to write about matters that might be considered ‘New Age.’

Taiwan’s proto-New Age

A number of books with New Age connexions were translated in Taiwan during in the 1970s and 1980s. As discussed previously, possibly the earliest proto-New Age translation in Taiwan was Wang’s 1970 version of Kahlil Gibran’s *The Prophet*.⁴⁰ This signalled the beginning of an increasing (though slow) systematic introduction of New Age concepts through books and magazines during the remaining years of martial law in Taiwan. I refer to these works as proto-New Age as they neither included strong references to the idea of a ‘New Age’ nor were they marketed as ‘New Age.’ However, these are books that could be—or even later were—marketed under the category of New Age by publishers in Taiwan and abroad. In this section I will chronologically survey some of the more notable efforts and show how while she was on the vanguard of translating New Age texts into Mandarin, Wang was not alone.

In her 2002 doctoral thesis *The Development of the New Age Movement in Taiwan: A Sociological Analysis* Chen Chia-luen 陳家倫 introduced several of the proto-New Age translations published in Taiwan. Acknowledging that American popular culture had been introduced to Taiwan, Chen considered the major categories related to what would become the New Age as positive thought, parapsychology and holistic health. This typology was in reference to the 1976 translation of Norman Vincent

³⁹ Lung Ying-tai 龍應台, *Yehuoji 野火集 [The Wildfire]* (Taipei: Yuan-shen Publishing Co., 1985).

⁴⁰ This claim is based on my search of the National Central Library’s catalogue and other research conducted for this project to find early examples of New Age or related texts.

Peale's *The Amazing Results of Positive Thinking*, the parapsychology groups that developed around the same time, and the subsequent *qigong* and supernatural ability experiments held by National Taiwan University engineering professor Lee Si-chen 李嗣涔.⁴¹ Chen also discussed early holistic health books of Dr Chiu-nan Lai 雷久南, who was the first to use the concept of body, mind, spirit (BMS, *shenxinling* 身心靈) in Taiwan.⁴²

Noting that the early translations were produced by a small number of enthusiasts who had spent time in the USA, Chen introduced the translators, their works and then summarised their qualities. The six qualities that Chen suggested these translators possessed were:

1. Excellent skills in reading English and writing in Mandarin;
2. They were born in the 1940s and 1950s;
3. Prior to encountering the New Age, they had experienced some degree of traditional religion;
4. Even though they had different views on religion, they all found it to possess shortfalls and to be incapable of dealing with their spiritual issues;
- 6 [sic]. The New Age helped them resolve some personal issues; and
7. They all had the characteristic of “the pursuit of ultimate care and love.”⁴³

I agree with Chen that Wang and Hu satisfy this typology. Among the books mentioned by Chen were the Osho/Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh translations of Qiandana 謙達那, (the

⁴¹ Chen, “*The Development of the New Age Movement in Taiwan*,” 81-82.

⁴² As a teenager, Dr Lai migrated with her family to the USA and ultimately obtained a PhD in chemistry. Living in Colorado, she explored a range of healthy living methods and began publishing in Chinese in 1981. Since then, her organisation Lapis Lazuli 琉璃光養生世界 has published a number of translations, as well as her own books, and many CDs of her lectures. Based on my research, her 1992 book *Shen xin ling zhengti jiankang* 身心靈整體健康 [*Body, Mind and Spirit Holistic Health*] is the earliest instance in Taiwan of the three characters *shen* 身, *xin* 心 and *ling* 靈 being used in this context.

⁴³ Chen, “*The Development of the New Age Movement in Taiwan*,” 88.

pseudonym of Lin Guoyang 林國陽); the Gurdjieff translations of Yang Feihua 楊斐華; and Du Hengfen's 杜恆芬 translations of *A Course in Light, Out on a Limb* by Shirley MacLaine, *Chop Wood, Carry Water* and *The Dragon Doesn't Live Here Anymore* by Alan Cohen.⁴⁴ Chen's analysis of these books placed them in the context of the nascent reading groups that developed around them, forming the unit from which social contact and networks started in Taiwan's New Age. Beyond the works mentioned by Chen, there are a large number of other proto-New Age publications that must be considered in the origins of New Age religion in Taiwan.

Predating the New Age Series by 13 years, Jiddu Krishnamurti's *Education and the Significance of Life* was translated by Chang Nan-hsing 張南星 in 1976.⁴⁵ Bereft of significant explanatory material (bar a brief biography), Chang's translation is most notable for its title and how Krishnamurti's name was rendered in Chinese. Unlike the characters later adopted by Hu, Kelixinamuti 克里希那穆提, Chang rendered his name as Kusinandi 庫斯南第, suggesting that Hu and her publishers might have wanted to 'rebrand' him for the Taiwan market. Chang translated the title as *Jiaoyu yu rensheng* 教育與人生, literally *Education and Human Life*. His translation was eventually reprinted as part of the Fine Press' New Age Series in April 1995 with the revised title of *Rensheng. Jiaoyu. Xuexi* 人生·教育·學習, literally *Human Life. Education. Study*. Also published in 1976 was a translation of a version of *The Spiritual Diary of Emanuel Swedenborg (1747-1765)* (*Lingjie jiyou* 靈界紀遊). In his preface, the translator Li Hong

⁴⁴ Du Heng-fen's Chinese translation of *Chop Wood Carry Water* was published in October 1989 and is different to the original version (published in 1984 by the editors of America's *New Age Journal*) in several ways. The most immediate distinction is the title – *Rulian de xiyue* 如蓮的喜悅 [*Joy of the Lotus*]. Not only are the contents arranged in a different order, *Joy of the Lotus* includes more material than the original, such as David Spangler's essay 'New Age Energies and New Age Laws' reprinted in *Visions Findhorn Anthology* (Forres, Scotland: Findhorn Foundation, 1978), 34-39.

⁴⁵ Jiddu Krishnamurti, *Education and the Significance of Life*, trans. Chang Nan-hsing 張南星 (Taipei: Mutong chubanshe 牧童出版社 [Cowboy Publishing Co. Ltd.], 1976).

李鴻 mentioned how during the process of translation he began to experience the world as it was described by Swedenborg, an experience that he wanted to share with readers.⁴⁶ This text-based transformative experience and the willingness to share it echoes Wang's experience with *The Prophet*, and indicates a nascent enthusiasm for Western esotericism in martial law-era Taiwan.

Chu Wen-Kuang 朱文光 (1934/5-1984) is an early example of an author from Taiwan bridging Chinese thought and Western esotericism. He received a PhD in soil science from the University of California, Berkeley, and sought to integrate modern science with “the wisdom of the ancients” as it would “lead to the perception of other dimensions and promote the development of a new human reality.”⁴⁷ Chu was a student of the popular spiritual teacher Nan Huai-Chin 南懷瑾 (1918-2012) who, through his writings on religion and culture, reached a wide audience, “blurring the lines between the academic, political, spiritual, and ideological repertoires.”⁴⁸ First published in 1978, Chu's *Western Mysticism* 西方神秘學⁴⁹ complicates Hu and the Fine Press' claim that her *Ancient Future* was the first point of the New Age in Taiwan.⁵⁰ Predating *Ancient Future* by more than a decade, *Western Mysticism* does not use terms such as ‘New Age’ or ‘Aquarian’ but its content is very much of the New Age milieu. I am not sure if Wang or Hu ever read Chu's work. Beginning with a survey of various mystic groups in Europe and America and continuing with a history of esotericism in the West, Chu also covered topics such as Egyptian pyramids, the power of moonlight, astrology, and reincarnation (as found in the Bible).

⁴⁶ Emanuel Swedenborg, *The Spiritual Diary of Emanuel Swedenborg*, trans. Li Hong 李鴻 (Taipei: Juren chubanshe 巨人出版社, 1976), 2.

⁴⁷ Huai-Chin Nan 南懷瑾, *Tao & Longevity*, trans. Wen-Kuang Chu PhD 朱文光 (York Beach, USA: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1984), np.

⁴⁸ Goossaert and Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China*, 277.

⁴⁹ , *Xifang shenmixue* 西方神秘學 [*Western Mysticism*] (Taipei: Laoku Publishing Co, 1984).

⁵⁰ Terry Hu, *Ancient Future* (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1990), 6.

In 1979 Chu gave readers in Taiwan a hybrid translation of an important book in the New Age canon: Annie Besant and C.W. Leadbeater's *Thought-forms* (1901, translated as *Shengming de shengguang* 生命的神光, literally *The Life of God's Light*, with the added English title *Aura and Thought Form*). *The Life of God's Light* was ostensibly a translation, however Chu creatively adapted the ordering and content, as his translation does not accurately correlate with the original.⁵¹ He translated the sections on the various types of thought forms that represent emotions, meditative forms and music (including the iconic colourful illustrations from Besant and Leadbeater's original), following this material with his own musings on auras, magnetism and related scientific research. Chu did not refer to Besant, Leadbeater or the Theosophical Society in his translation and the book's publication details also neglect to mention the origin of much of the text and images (despite asserting copyright!). Chu's amended version of *Thought-forms* was not the only classic New Age text published in Taiwan in 1979.

Fritjof Capra's *The Tao of Physics* (1975) was translated relatively quickly in Taiwan, appearing in 1979 under exactly the same name (*Wuli zhi dao* 物理之道).⁵² A physicist with an interest in Eastern philosophy, Capra's attempt to compare "the circus, psychedelic wonders of Eastern thought and of modern physics" was well received by readers worldwide, and Hanegraaff regards the methodology in this work as a paragon of what he terms "'parallelism', which claims that there are significant parallels between modern physics... and oriental mysticism."⁵³ Among Capra's other work to be translated in Taiwan was his 1985 book *Green Politics*, co-authored with Charlene

⁵¹ Chu Wen-kuang 朱文光, *Shengming de shengguang* 生命的神光 [*The Life of God's Light: Aura and Thought Form*] (Laoku Publishing Co.: Taipei, 1979).

⁵² Fritjof Capra, *The Tao of Physics*, trans. Pan Jiayin 潘家寅, (Taipei: Chung Hwa Book Company, Ltd.: 1979).

⁵³ A. Dull, review of *The Tao of Physics: An Exploration of the Parallels between Modern Physics and Eastern Mysticism*, by Fritjof Capra. *Philosophy East and West*, 28:3 (1978): 387. Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 69.

Spretnak. The Chinese translation appeared in 1986, translated as *Green Protest* and co-translated by TC Yang 楊祖珺, a friend of Hu's from her campus folk music days (to be discussed in Chapter 5) and later an activist and politician.⁵⁴

A further sense of the burgeoning interest in spiritual matters and esotericism in the years around the end of martial law is evident in *Shenmi zazhi* 神秘雜誌 [*Mysterious*], a magazine published in Taiwan from 1985 until c.1992. Its content was eclectic, with material on local religion in Taiwan, supernatural occurrences in the West and the latest in paranormal research from Japan.⁵⁵ *Mysterious* also advertised a range of machines designed to assist practitioners gauge spiritual phenomena, in addition to crystals, telescopes and a number of books. These included *Mysterious's* own publications, such as *Dangdai guaijie – Chen Yikui* 當代怪傑 – 陳怡魁 [*Contemporary Eccentric Celebrity – Chen Yikui*] (1987), a collection of musings by the *feng shui* exponent on topics such as marriage, education and management.⁵⁶ The magazine ultimately ceased publication as its content became predictable and advertising income was insufficient.⁵⁷

Alternative modes of eating and healthy diets are often associated with New Age religion and these modes of transformative consumption form part of a longer discourse

⁵⁴ Fritjof Capra and Charlene Spretnak, *Juese de kangyi* 綠色的抗議 [*Green Protest*], trans. TC Yang 楊祖珺 and Cai Shiyuan 蔡式淵 (Taipei: Qian Jin Publishing, 1986).

⁵⁵ An example of the range of material found in *Mysterious* is exemplified in the July 1987 edition. The section 'Waixing disilei jiechu 外星第四類接觸 [Outer Space Close Encounters of the Fourth Kind]', included an extensive interview with Raël, the French Canadian race car driver, UFO group leader and cloning impresario.

⁵⁶ Hu Bugui 胡不歸, *Dangdai Guaijie – Chen Yigui* 當代怪傑 – 陳怡魁 [*Contemporary Eccentric Celebrity – Chen Yikui*] (Taipei: Mysterious Magazine Society, 1987).

⁵⁷ Wu Zhangyu 吳彰裕, "Dangqian dazhong zhuanmei de lingyi jiemu yu zongjiao jiaoyu yanjiu 當前大眾傳媒的靈異節目與宗教教育研究 [Contemporary Mass Media Occult Programs and Religious Education Research]." In *Fuda zongjiao xuexi* 輔大宗教學系 [Fu-jen Catholic University Department of Religious Studies](editor), *Zongjiao jiaoyu: lilun, xiankuang yu qianzhan* 宗教教育——理論、現況與前瞻 [*Religious Education: In Theory and Practice, Now and in the Future*] (Taipei: Wunan Book Inc., 2002), 355.

in Taiwan.⁵⁸ Dietary regimes, in particular vegetarianism, had long been part of religious activity in Taiwan. For instance, Zhaijiao 齋教 was a common form of Buddhism during the Qing and Japanese colonial periods and was distinguished by the vegetarian diet of adherents.⁵⁹ In the late twentieth century, along with the texts mentioned above, work on new dietary regimes also circulated in Taiwan. Of the Taiwan authors, Dr Chiu-nan Lai was the most prolific and enduring, with her publishing house Lapis Lazuli Light (*Liuliguang yangsheng shijie zazhishe* 琉璃光養生世界雜誌社) printing her own work, as well as a magazine and translations of other holistic health authors, primarily from America. Predating Lai and Lapis Lazuli Light was the Jeng Yi Publishing Co. (Zhengyi Chubanshe 正義出版社). In April 1987 it published a 15-volume series of translated Japanese texts on the health benefits of minerals such as vitamins A and B, calcium and pollen.⁶⁰ Qingchun Publishing Company (Qingchun Chubanshe 青春出版社), which began in 1975, also published a series of translations and books about healthy diet and vitamins.⁶¹ Among these was the translation from Japanese of Fukano Kazuyuki's 深野一幸 *Yuzhou nengliang tuidong wenming geming* 宇宙能量推動文明革命 [*Cosmic Energy Pushes for a Revolution of Civilisation*] (1996), a discussion of the Indian guru Sai Baba's ability to influence matter through manipulating energy.

⁵⁸ Drawing on a survey of 400 participants at London's Festival of the Mind, Body and Spirit, Hamilton et al (1995) concluded that "alternative dietary practices are to some extent associated with a world view of which ecological concerns, holistic orientations and perhaps seekership are a prominent part. They do seem to go beyond a concern simply with physical health in a narrow sense." See Malcolm Hamilton, Peter A.J. Waddington, Susan Gregory and Ann Walker, "Eat, Drink and Be Saved: The Spiritual Significance of Alternative Diets", *Social Compass* 42:4 (1995): 508.

⁵⁹ Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State 1660-1990* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 15.

⁶⁰ The details of these books can be found in Muto Yasushi Satoshi 武藤泰敏 維他命 A 健康法 [*Vitamin A Health Methods*], trans. Zheng Jianyuan 鄭建元 (Taipei: Jian Yi Publishing Co., 1987).

⁶¹ "Guanyu Qingchun 關於青春 [Regarding Qingchun]", accessed 29 May 2014, <http://www.hfabook.com.tw/aboutme.asp>.

The growing interest in Taiwan for Indian philosophy and teachers was not limited to Qiandana's translations of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh (posthumously generally known as Osho 奧修 *Aoxiu*, literally 'mysterious cultivation'), which began in 1987.⁶² In October 1989 The New Age Series published Osho's *Tantra, Spirituality & Sex* (*Wu jushu de ai* 無拘束的愛, literally *Unrestricted Love*)⁶³ and Wang wrote favourably of Osho's suggestion that people must find the method of spiritual practice most suitable for them.⁶⁴ The Ananda Marga organisation began publishing books in 1980 and has maintained a presence on the island ever since.⁶⁵ Local teachers and organisations also began offering yoga classes around this time. Hu's one-time yoga teacher Hua Shujun 華淑君 published an introductory book in 1983 and yoga classes were advertised in woman's magazines from the early 1980s.⁶⁶ Evidently during the last two decades of martial law an expanding range of alternative spiritual theories from around the globe were available to readers in Taiwan, indicating that in this liberalising political climate there was both a commercial benefit in producing politically-safe translations and that readers were interested and wealthy enough to purchase such books and magazines.

It is important to note that as proto-New Age thought began filtering into Taiwan during the 1980s, *qigong* 氣功 enjoyed a revival. Gaining popularity in China

⁶² As of 2002, the publisher of Osho's translated teachings and texts estimated that 13,000 copies were sold annually in Taiwan (Chen, 2008: 214).

⁶³ While the translator listed on the book is Shan Zhishi 單知識, an Osho website in Taiwan suggests that Terry Hu translated this book. See <http://www.osho.tw/ebook/Love.htm>, accessed 6 August 2016.

⁶⁴ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 82.

⁶⁵ See *Tantra. Meditation. Yoga* 密宗·靜坐·瑜伽, trans. Li Kuangzheng 李匡正 (Original English title *Tantra, Yoga & Sadhana*)(Taipei: Zhongguo Yujia Chubanshe, 1980).

⁶⁶ Hua Shujun 華淑君, *Jintian yujia jiangyi* 今天瑜伽講義 [*Commentaries on Yoga Today*] (Taipei: Huashi Jintian Biekan, 1983). This is an imprint of the Chinese Television System 中華電視公司 (CTS), a public broadcaster in Taiwan. Adjacent to a June 1983 profile of Hu in *Family Monthly* (*Jianting yuekan* 家庭月刊) was an advertisement recruiting students for yoga and aerobics classes taught by Guo Meizhou 郭美洲 with the promise of "improving your looks and losing weight" (pg. 85). Guo was the host of an aerobics program on CTS.

during the 1980s due to, among other things, its supposed scientific veracity, *qigong* is a set of practices designed to cultivate and circulate energy through the body.⁶⁷ As a holistic set of practices, it demonstrated a certain (though not exclusive) appeal to urban elites and New Age audiences in Taiwan and the West. While it had been practiced in Taiwan's Han Chinese society since the eighteenth century, many new books on *qigong* were published and there were even articles in women's magazines introducing the concepts to readers.⁶⁸ Wang would later write how the New Age emphasised that everyone has access to 'spiritual ability' (*xinling nengli* 心靈能力) and that *qigong* practices formed part of this.⁶⁹ During her divorce Hu found benefit from *qigong* training.⁷⁰

Of the range of work I have categorised as proto-New Age, it seems that Wang and Hu connected most strongly with bodily cultivation practices such as *qigong* and yoga. Both would generally maintain an open attitude to the various strands of thought within the New Age, with their main criticism directed at Taiwan-based NRMs (see Chapter 7). With this above evidence of the expanding interest in Taiwan for new modes of diet, exercise and thought, Wang's Seth translations profoundly shaped what would become the New Age.

⁶⁷ For an analysis of the historical origins of *qigong* as a Communist-approved form of bodily cultivation in 1950s China see Utiraruto Otehode (Wuqi Riletu), "The Creation and Emergence of Qigong" in *Making Religion Making the State*, edited by Yoshiko Ashiwa and David L. Wank (California: Stanford University Press, 2009), for an account of *qigong*'s popularity in 1980s China see David A. Palmer, *Qigong Fever* (New York: University of Columbia Press, 2007) and for an exploration of the religious dimensions of Falun Gong, one of the largest and most controversial groups see Benjamin Penny, *The Religion of Falun Gong* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).

⁶⁸ Two articles in *China Ladies* 仕女 magazine in 1989 illustrate this: "Jiekai qigong de shenmi miansha 揭開氣功的神秘面紗 [Unveiling *qigong*'s mysterious veil]" (June, pp. 192-193) and "*Qigong meirong you xiao ma?* 氣功美容有效嗎? [Is *qigong* beauty therapy effective?]" (November, pp. 118-119).

⁶⁹ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 129-141.

⁷⁰ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 180.

Translating Seth

During the final years of martial law Wang recommenced her career as a translator. She translated and published three Seth books: *The Seth Material* (published as 靈界的訊息：賽斯資料, lit. *Messages from the Spirit World: Seth Material*, November 1982), *Seth Speaks: The Eternal Validity of the Soul* (published as 靈魂永生：賽斯如是說 November 1984, lit. *The Eternal Life of the Soul: Seth Speaks*) and *The Nature of the Psyche* (published as 心靈的本質：附體靈魂賽斯談人的心智活動 February 1987, lit. *The Nature of the Soul: Seth Possesses the Soul and Discusses Humans' Psychological Knowledge*). All published by the China Times Publishing Company (*Shibao wenhua chuban qiye gufen youxian gongsi* 時報文化出版企業股份有限公司), the Seth books were part of its *Shenghu congshu* 生活叢書 [Lifestyle Collection], listed alongside a variety of titles that ranged from *feng shui* and divination to child rearing and sexual relations. At this early stage, it seems that beyond the fact there were not many other New Age books being published, it was easiest for publishers to lump the Seth books in with “lifestyle” publications. The Seth books might not have been considered religious enough (or Wang might have objected to this idea) for them to be published in a religion series. The covers of the Seth translations, designed by Weng Weng 翁翁, were a colourful Dadaist juxtaposition of natural images (fish, flowers and humans), shapes and wavy lines.

Upon her return to Taiwan in 1978 Wang began translating *Seth Speaks* in a special room in her house — painted completely black. In her autobiography she wrote that the “black hole,” as she termed it, was a comfortable and tranquil place where she could retreat to read, translate and heal herself.⁷¹ This was an important step in her return to translation, and being able to devote a whole room to the practice indicates she had Lee’s support. This seems to be a space where she could transcend her domestic roles as a mother and wife. Beyond just producing Chinese versions of Seth, Wang

⁷¹ Wang, *At One with God*, 57, 169.

retrospectively imbued these translations with facilitating personal change and creating the “black hole” was evidence of her devotion to this work.

Wang’s June 1980 article ‘The Valuable Art of Self-Imprisonment’ included her thoughts on the challenges of retreat, prompted by Hsieh Tehching’s 謝德慶 (1950-) year-long performance art retreats. Hsieh, from Taiwan and an illegal alien living in New York, secluded himself in his apartment for a year, all the while documenting this period of isolation. He undertook such a rigorous project as he was “frustrated and depressed” due to loneliness and evading the government.⁷² Whereas Hsieh was marginalised in the USA due to his unofficial residency and poor English skills, Wang was both fluent in English and the holder of a Green Card. Yet her curiosity was sparked by Hsieh’s practice: she reflected that just as she did, many other housewives must feel “self-imprisoned.”⁷³

In addition to Hsieh’s avant-garde art, Wang’s “black hole” was influenced by the astronomical phenomenon whereby a star dies and subsumes matter around it. Wang believed that just as there is a black hole, so too could there be a “white hole” from which a “beautiful new world” could appear.⁷⁴ Beyond the symbolism of creating her own black hole and retreating there to work, Wang was also struggling with the isolation she felt as a housebound housewife. This loneliness was leavened, to an extent, by her books and music, but real delight came from when she could retreat to her darkened room. It was during this time that Wang translated her early Seth books, developing her craft and philosophy of translation. Beyond Roberts’s introductions, Wang’s early Seth translations did not include any of her own explanatory material.

⁷² Hsieh Tehching, quoted in Frazer Ward, ‘Alien Duration: Tehching Hsieh, 1978-99’, *Art Journal* (65:3), 2000: 9.

⁷³ Ordinary Mind, “*You Jiazhide Ziqiu Yishu* 有價值的自囚藝術 [The Valuable Art of Self-imprisonment]”, *China Ladies*, June 1980. 111.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Despite the effort required to translate such substantial books (*The Seth Material* was 390 pages and *Seth Speaks: The Eternal Validity of the Soul* was 630 pages, in Chinese), she still wrote other, less spiritually-oriented, essays.

Wang published two chapters on public health issues in January 1984. Looking at issues of family planning, her tone in these chapters was more in line with her parenting advice columns than with her burgeoning career as a translator of New Age texts.⁷⁵

San Mao Cuts Across Time and Space

One of Wang's earliest elucidations of the Seth teachings was in the book *San Mao Cuts Across Time and Space*. Published in September 1984, just before her second Seth translation *Seth Speaks*, Wang was interviewed by Dong Xiaoling 董小玲 in a chapter called 'Who can contact ghosts? Discussing parapsychology with C.C. Wang.'⁷⁶ As mentioned in the preface, San Mao 三毛 (1943-1991) was a popular *waishengren* author who through her accounts of travelling around the world became "one of the first mass-culture 'celebrities' of the Chinese-speaking world."⁷⁷ This book did not feature any of San Mao's work and the title is derived from the first chapter, where San Mao shared some of her paranormal experiences. As a promotional tactic, adding her name to the title imbues the book with a sense of exploration or wandering. While Wang did not use the term 'New Age' in this interview, she did talk at length about Seth and his philosophy. Importantly, Wang gave an account of an intensely spiritual hypnogic

⁷⁵ C.C. Wang '狄波! 狄波' and 'How much do we know about gynaecological diagnosis and treatment' in *Consumers Report Magazine Society (ed), Medical Treatment and Consumers 醫療與消費者* (Taipei: Consumers Report Magazine Society, 1984), 50-53 and 108-114.

⁷⁶ Dong Xiaoling "Who can contact ghosts? Discussing parapsychology with C.C. Wang" in Dong Xiaoling (ed.), *San Mao Chuanyue Shikong 三毛穿越時空 [San Mao Cuts Across Time and Space]* (Taipei: Crown, 1984).

⁷⁷ Miriam Lang, 'San Mao Goes Shopping: Travel and Consumption in a Post-Colonial World' in *East Asian History* (10) 2005: 127.

Image removed from digital thesis to avoid
copyright infringement

Figure 3: C.C. Wang in *San Mao Cuts Across Space and Time*, 112.

experience (later to be revealed as occurring in 1976) and recalled:

I went through a period where I would often spread out in the corpse pose on my bed. This involves lying horizontally with all four limbs spread out like the character ‘大’. The whole body relaxes, the mind is free of thought and it is easy to fall asleep.

Often mysterious phenomena would appear when I was not quite asleep, with my consciousness half awake and half asleep. One time it was like I was sitting on top of a very fast car. Not only was the car lightening fast, it was also turning a big bend at high speed. I was scared to death and feared that the car would overturn.

Because I was definitely not asleep I was able to later think how during out-of-body experiences the spirit moves terrifically fast. This was probably an out-of-body experience! Subsequently I no longer had fear in my heart.

Finally I saw a light. But this was no man-made light or other form. I could only think how bright this light was and how such a light was not of the human world, rather it was a feeling of illumination. Furthermore, it was not in the least bit irritating. My heart was very clear and I immediately felt very happy. I said to myself “This is it. This is God.” Immediately after my heart was filled with happiness and I had a feeling of safety.⁷⁸

As she mentioned, Wang’s dissociative experience correlates with the phenomenon of out-of-body experiences (OBE). OBEs are a “waking form of ecstasy related to sleep, altered states of consciousness and sensory deprivation in which a person perceives the physical environment from a vantage incommensurate with the tangible location of his or her body.”⁷⁹ Wang’s enthusiasm for this experience suggests an endorsement of her own New Age credentials. In a survey of “New Age women” in southern England, 83% claimed to have experienced at least one sort of paranormal phenomena (compared to

⁷⁸ Dong Xiaoling ‘Who can contact ghosts? Discussing parapsychology with C.C. Wang,’ 118-119. This story also appears in Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 7-8.

⁷⁹ York, *Historical Dictionary of New Age Movements*, 140.

78% in the USA). Of these experiences, telepathy rated the highest (54%) while OBEs were the lowest (5%).⁸⁰ This suggests that, as a comparatively rare phenomenon, Wang may have been aware of the importance for her New Age credentials of having gone through an OBE.

Wang's sighting of a bright light and equating this with God also emphasises an idea found in a number of New Age philosophies – the power of light. One of the earliest representations of this light was in Theosophist Alice Bailey's 'The Great Invocation,' a thirteen-line hymn first published in 1945 "which is both a concise statement of beliefs and values, and a prayer, comparable perhaps to the Christian Nicene Creed"⁸¹ and was "frequently heard in New Age gatherings."⁸² Wang's experience echoes the first stanza of 'The Great Invocation':

From the point of Light within the Mind of God

Let light stream forth into the hearts of men.

Let light descend on earth.⁸³

This passage reveals several aspects of Wang's spiritual progression and her growing affinity with the New Age. She had begun to articulate her own spiritual experiences in a New Age framework, combining different philosophies and bodily discourses. Wang most likely learnt the corpse pose (the position she was lying in) through yoga practice, a book or from a friend. This pose and her liminal awareness allowed her to enter an extraordinary state that she identified as an OBE. Wang used this experience as another

⁸⁰ Stuart Rose, "New Age Women: Spearheading the Movement", *Women's Studies* (30:3), 2001, 341.

⁸¹ Elizabeth Puttick, 'The Lucis Trust' in Peter B. Clarke (ed), *Encyclopedia of New Religious Movements* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2006), 342.

⁸² Melton, "A History of the New Age Movement," 48.

⁸³ Alice Bailey, 'The Great Invocation', reprinted in Ruth Prince and David Riches, *The New Age in Glastonbury: The Construction of Religious Movements* (New York: Berghahn Book, 2000), 185.

stage in her own narrative of awakening. It is important to note that her new state—feeling happy and safe after finding God—appears to be closely grounded in her childhood religious experiences as a Catholic. Wang’s “feeling of illumination” during her OBE provides a powerful insight into her understanding of revelation and transformation: it can be rapid and unexpected, and is grounded in one’s own pre-existing theology. Her understanding of God as light, and not an anthropomorphic being or other substance, indicates that, in 1984, her Catholic childhood continued to influence her concept of divine influences. But as Wang read further, her realm of influences increased, reflecting trends in American popular culture.

Out on a Limb with Shirley MacLaine

Perhaps the most identifiable New Age celebrity, Shirley MacLaine’s global influence stretched to Taiwan. She was an Oscar-winning Hollywood star whose New Age publications, often autobiographical, exemplify what the New Age teacher and author David Spangler labelled “New Age glamour,” one of four types of practice, where:

individuals and groups are living out their own fantasies of adventure and power, usually of an occult or millenarian form ... The principal characteristic of this level is attachment to a private world of ego fulfilment and a consequent (though not always apparent) withdrawal from the world.⁸⁴

Years later, Wang would discuss Spangler’s New Age typology and where she thought the Taiwan’s experience fitted in (see Chapter 7). MacLaine was one of the most influential proponents of the New Age, especially channeling, in the USA. Depicting her journey into the New Age (complete with a pilgrimage to view UFOs in the Andes

⁸⁴ David Spangler, *The Rebirth of the Sacred* (London: Gateway Books, 1984), 77-78, quoted in Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 358-359.

and a semi-fictional affair with a British MP), her memoir *Out on a Limb* (1983) was popular (90,000 copies over 7 printings in 1983 alone). Her publisher suggested that MacLaine's celebrity was decisive in making a book dealing with such material so popular.⁸⁵ *Out on a Limb* was broadcast as a telemovie (1987) and ensured that MacLaine was “the first to really bring the phenomenon of channeling—along with astral projections, UFOs, and other New Age ideas—to a major primetime channel and so millions of ordinary viewers.”⁸⁶

A translation of *Out on a Limb* was published in Taiwan in 1986 and Wang wrote the preface. Having already translated two Seth books, in addition to *The Prophet*, Wang was by then Taiwan's leading New Age translator. During a trip to the USA in the summer of 1985, Wang found MacLaine's books on the shelves of many stores and watched her interview on the current affairs show *60 Minutes*. In her preface Wang wrote in admiration of MacLaine's conviction in the face of ridicule and endorsed her idea that we are all actors in the drama of human life.⁸⁷ She found the text persuasive, describing it as “an authentic and touching ‘book of enlightenment.’”⁸⁸ MacLaine's glamorous depiction of the New Age—global, passionate and open-minded—proved to be a template for Wang's own career disseminating the New Age in Taiwan. Like Wang, MacLaine also had a transformative experience with books—in West Hollywood's Bodhi Tree Bookstore. Well-established as one of the preeminent figures in the New Age and having written about it in *Out on a Limb*, in the telemovie of the same name MacLaine reflected “There are few times in your life when you can point to a simple act

⁸⁵ Edwin McDowell, ‘About Books and Authors’, *The New York Times*, 31 July 1983, accessed 12 July 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/1983/07/31/books/about-books-and-authors.html>.

⁸⁶ Urban, “The Medium is the Message in the Spacious Present” 333.

⁸⁷ Wang, “Famous writer C.C. Wang talks,” np.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

and say it changed everything... it was meant to be... it felt almost guided.”⁸⁹ While Wang did not use such strong language, her own ‘conversion’ experience in the public library and her OBE suggest a similar emphasis on the circumstantial encounters as MacLaine did. Wang wrote “in the world there are no real ‘accidents,’ everything comes from our unconscious choices and agreement and has a latent meaning and goal.”⁹⁰

Wang’s preface also reinforced her religious pluralism and showed her willingness to accept different truths. Her inclusivity of spiritual practices was evident in this passage:

I am the same as all living things, we are all closely linked and go through thick and thin together. The so-called ‘God’ is inside everyone one of us and you can also say Buddhism’s ‘Buddha Nature’ and Confucianism’s ‘innate knowing’ is too. There is only one *dao* and each finds it on a different road according to their own temperament and karma.⁹¹

Within one paragraph Wang encapsulated her understanding of an ontological truth being evident within the religious systems with which she seemed most familiar: Catholicism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism. Her evolving New Age framework demonstrated the common New Age belief that “there are essential recognisable truths to be found in all religions beneath the language of cultural specificity.”⁹² Relevant to this perennialist framework, Wang wrote “Science has its use and limits, however it is

⁸⁹ *Out on a Limb*, telemovie (1987; Los Angeles: ABC Circle Films and the Stan Marguiles Company, 2010). Accessed on 4 April 2013
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p2j2XFY6ZZs>

⁹⁰ Wang, “Famous writer C.C. Wang talks,” np.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Dominic Corrywright, *Theoretical and Empirical Investigations into New Age Spiritualities* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2003), 42.

unable to completely cover the universe and humanity.”⁹³ Her scepticism reflects the idea that “although much New Age thinking is characterized by a lack of faith in science, it would not be an exaggeration to say that in the New Age science has become a sacred symbol.”⁹⁴ Wang’s caveat (for science’s occasional utility), suggests that she was also influenced by the New Age practice of selectively drawing on science to legitimise beliefs.⁹⁵

Wang’s preface also includes early evidence of how she thought English New Age texts should be translated into Chinese. She did not entirely agree with Du’s translation technique of paraphrasing and abridging the original text even though this allowed the work to reach a larger audience.⁹⁶ Wang later elaborated on her reasoning, and explained why her Seth translations maintained the style of Robert’s original channeling. When Hsu Tien-sheng (許添盛, 1969-) assisted her translate Jane Roberts’s *The Nature of Personal Reality* (1991), he suggested that Wang translate using Chinese grammar. Wang objected because the original English text, even though full of complex and long sentences, “had the true colours” of Seth. Arguing that translation was not annotation or rendering freely, Wang emphasised how she respected the original work.⁹⁷ As with her translation of *The Prophet*, this is indicative of Wang asserting primacy to the grammatic structure of the original text. Even though she acknowledged Roberts’s admission that language of the text does vary from what she experienced during channeling, the styles inherent in the English language rendering of Seth had to be

⁹³ Wang, “Famous writer C.C. Wang talks,” np.

⁹⁴ Hess, *Science in the New Age*, 4.

⁹⁵ James R. Lewis, “Science and the New Age” in Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis (ed), *Handbook of New Age* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 220.

⁹⁶ Wang, “Famous writer C.C. Wang talks,” np.

⁹⁷ C.C. Wang, “Translator’s Preface” in Jane Roberts, *The Nature of Personal Reality* 個人實相的本質—賽斯書 〈上〉, translated by C.C. Wang and Wang Yu-sheng 王育盛, (Taipei: Fine Press, 1991), 27.

protected in its translated form. For Wang, working on the Seth books had become a calling: translation, as she later noted, was “a job permeating with love.”⁹⁸

Conclusion

Through examining the first 45 years of Wang’s life, a distinct inclination towards the spiritual becomes apparent. The distress experienced by her family during the end of the Republican era in China was substantial. Closely linked to the movements of the KMT, the Wang family was caught up in the chaos of the Sino-Japanese war. Their escape to Taiwan and subsequent resettlement on the island does not appear to have resolved the existing tension within the family, with the relationship between Mr and Mrs Wang remaining strained and Wang’s own emotional connection to her father being tenuous.

On one hand driven to succeed in academia (as an architect) and socially (as a wife and mother) and on the other hand compelled to delve into the world of popular spirituality that was available to her as a proficient reader of English, Wang took advantage of the opportunities available in the USA. While there she read broadly on philosophical and metaphysical topics, ultimately leading her to Jane Roberts’s Seth teaching. This seemingly chance encounter proved to be pivotal, not only in terms of Wang’s personal wellbeing, but in terms of the direction that New Age religion in Taiwan would ultimately head.

This chapter reinforces the centrality of books and reading to Wang’s life and how these influenced the way she dealt with emotional issues. As seen here, she continued to understand her spiritual breakthroughs within a New Age context. Still experiencing feelings of isolation, her writing practiced evolved from social criticism to

⁹⁸ C.C. Wang, “Translator’s preface” in Pat Rodegast, *Yuzhou Xiaoyao You* 宇宙逍遙遊 [Emmanuel’s Book, lit. *Travelling Free and Unfettered in the Universe*], translated by C.C. Wang, (Taipei: Life Potential Publications, 2002), 9.

New Age advocacy. In this, Wang's Seth translations were just one part of an evidently growing field of publishing in Taiwan.

Chapter 5: Terry Hu, travel and fame (1971-1987)

This chapter focuses on Terry Hu, covering key events in her adult life up to when she dedicated herself to the New Age. Beginning with her university studies in Taipei and participation in the Campus Folk Music Movement, where Hu connected with several figures who would later form part of Taiwan's elite, she had an active role in disseminating American culture in Taiwan. After taking part in the Bohemian life of New York's Greenwich Village for part of a year, she returned to Taiwan and became a film star. Later, as she struggled to deal with the emotional difficulties of her brief marriage to Li Ao, Hu began to explore New Age thought more deeply. Her interest in spiritual matters is evident in her first two books. Just before retiring from film, Hu began translating, soon becoming completely immersed in the New Age.

Fu Jen Catholic University

Hu studied German for two years at Fu Jen Catholic University (*Furen daxue* 輔仁大學). Founded in Beijing in 1925 and re-opened in Taipei in 1961, the university had not been operating for long before Hu enrolled in approximately 1971.¹ Moving from a single sex high school to a coeducational university required some adjustment for Hu, particularly with regard to fashion and dealing with young men and their chauvinistic attitudes. Her choice of German as a major was somewhat pragmatic. She claimed to have faced a lifelong struggle studying mathematics, and as a result her graduating grade was supposedly insufficient to be admitted to the French program. As such, she had to settle for German. As a student Hu had difficulties with German culture and

¹ "Historical Sketch", accessed 24 March 2014, <http://dimes.lins.fju.edu.tw/ucsiv/fju-intro/history.htm>

language. While she claimed to have the best pronunciation in her class, her grammar was the worst and she dropped out of Fu Jen after two years in order to, as she later declared, “enter the university of society.”² While Hu’s German studies did not figure strongly in her later careers, her extra curricular activities at Fu Jen were fruitful and more directly relevant to her future.

Hu continued to read widely while at university. Her interest expanded to include diverse topics such as existentialism, Zen and astrology, as well as the works of the controversial and prolific essayist, and her future husband, Li Ao 李敖 (1935-). Hu also developed her interest in folk music. Her fellow German student Franz Chen 陳立恆 (1951-) was a keen folk musician and would later manage Taipei’s seminal folk music venue Idea House.³ At Fu Jen she met the American Jesuit Fr Jerry Martinson SJ 丁松筠 (1942-2017), a keen musician who encouraged students to play music. Still in training for the priesthood, Fr Martinson left a profound impression on Hu. His openness to Eastern philosophy and religious practice led Hu to regard him as “a brother on the path, someone who will reach the same goal but by a different route.”⁴ After dropping out of university Hu’s own path would take several remarkable turns.

Singing your own song

While she did not find the academic environment of Fu Jen suitable to her way of learning, she revelled in the social opportunities that it opened for her. Not only did she develop her interest in music, as mentioned earlier and probably more for her later

² Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 89. While Hu only studied at university for two years, this fact continues to be included in her biographic details, with recent publications still mentioning her time at Fu Jen, such as her translation of A.H. Almaas’ *Luminous Night’s Journey: an autobiographical fragment* (Taipei: Psygarden, 2013).

³ Franz Chen 陳立恆, *Wanmei Fanlanci 玩美法藍瓷 [I am Franz]* (Taipei: Business Weekly Publications, Inc., 2011), 38. Chen also went on to a career as a successful entrepreneur in various industries.

⁴ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 79. On 5 August 2016, Fr Martinson participated in a discussion at the launch of Hu’s translation of Valentin Tomberg’s *Meditations on the Tarot*.

celebrity than for her musical talent, she became one of the notable names of the Campus Folk Music Movement (*xiaoyuan minge yundong* 校園民歌運動).⁵ Typified by the ideal of ‘singing your own song’ (*chang ziji de ge* 唱自己的歌), the Campus Folk Music Movement was known for helping foster an interest in singing songs in vernacular languages (especially Mandarin), as opposed to the then popular English-language songs performed in cafes such as Cafe Colombia and Idea House. This was an important phase of Hu’s life as she claimed that rather than her years of spiritual and social experimentation in the USA or earlier exposure to American culture and religion, it was actually in Taipei’s folk music cafes where the New Age began to take shape.

Recalling this time she wrote how her friends—key figures in the Campus Folk Music Movement—were infatuated with the revolutionary ideals of the Western counterculture, particularly as manifested in folk music:

At first we got together at Cafe Colombia on Chongshan (Zhongshan) North Road and later on at Idea House. At that time there was no karaoke. If young people wanted to express themselves through music they had to at least be able to sing and strum a guitar. Wu Chuchu, TC Yang, Stan Lai, the late Lee Shuang-tse and many artists and poets were customers there⁶

At Cafe Colombia (a venue and export centre affiliated with the Colombian Embassy) and Idea House (operated by Hu’s classmate in Fu Jen’s German department, Franz Chen) some of those with whom Hu was fraternising became figures of cultural renown in Taiwan. Wu Chuchu (吳楚楚 1947-) and Lee Shuang-tse (李雙澤 1949-1977) are

⁵ The experiences of Hu and her peers, and the religious and cultural dimensions of the campus folk movement, are discussed in detail in Paul J. Farrelly “Singing your own song? Terry Hu and the influence of campus folk music cafes on Taiwan’s New Age religion” in Chang Hsun and Benjamin Penny (eds), *Religion in Taiwan and China: Locality and Transmission* (Taipei: Academia Sinica Institute of Ethnology, forthcoming).

⁶ Hu, *Ancient Future*, 25.

seminal in the history of modern Taiwanese folk. Stan Lai (賴聲川 1954-) became an influential theatre and film director and married the actor and translator of Tibetan Buddhist books (and Hu's friend and former co-star) Ding Nai-chu (丁乃竺 1953-). TC Yang (楊祖珺 1955-)⁷ achieved fame as a folk singer and was a political activist in the 1980s. Hu continued:

At that time many Westerners came to the East seeking answers to life's questions and wanting different experiences. They liked to be known as drifters. They held the vague idea that modernised mechanical civilisation sought nothing but profit. It forced humanity to be completely cut off from nature and for the self's spiritual nature to vanish. They thought that in the yoga and Zen of the East, as well as the works of Han Shan and Laozi, they could find a lost ancient wisdom. These people naturally merged into our group. For the first time we young Easterners could 'transcend boundaries' and experience how 'all people belong to one family'. Those days were truly harmonious and inspiring.

Unfortunately good times don't last long. Vague ideas are not enough to completely change humanity's disposition. That trend [of naïve idealism] was quickly replaced by the experience and practice of reality. (Having undergone 20 years of evolution it has transformed into the mighty torrent of today's New Age movement).⁸

Having reconstructed her accounts, it appears that Hu attended these two cafes between her university years of 1971 to 1973 and, after returning to Taipei, until 1979, when Idea House shut. After its closure, she wrote that the type of emotion she found in Idea

⁷ Yang Zujun 楊祖珺 Romanises her name as TC Yang. See her album *Guanbuzhu de gesheng: Yang Zujun luyin xuanju* 關不住的歌聲: 楊祖珺錄音選輯 [A Voice That Could Not Be Silenced: The TC Yang Collection 1977-2003] (Taipei: Trees Music & Art, 2008).

⁸ Hu, *Ancient Future*, 25-26. Hu used the English word 'drifter'.

House surpassed the physical existence of the place.⁹ While she was still yet to encounter the New Age, this indicates that she was already mythologising her experiences in the Campus Folk Music Movement as its beginning in Taiwan.

Hu's claim that the New Age in Taiwan actually began in the Campus Folk Music Movement is important for two reasons. First, as mentioned, scholars such as S. Chen and C. Chen have proposed that it was translations of texts brought back by intellectuals from the USA that heralded the origins of the New Age in Taiwan.¹⁰ While Hu had already spent a year in the USA and claimed to have experimented with counterculture there, she had not written about any early direct connection with New Age writings *per se*. Second, the Campus Folk Music Movement was more concerned with political and social issues pertaining to life on Taiwan, and was outwardly secular. For Hu to suggest that this was the origin of the New Age in Taiwan, as it existed in 1990, is unorthodox. This account completely omits Wang's experiences, in particular her translation of *The Prophet*, not to mention that of any of the other less well-known translators in the proto-New Age. That said, the experimental and cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Campus Folk movement, as found in Cafe Colombia and Idea House, is an early example of Hu participating in a local movement that drew heavily on Western (especially American) popular culture. Her time at Cafe Colombia and Idea House appears to have amplified her inclination for Western culture and the creative life.¹¹

⁹ Hu, *Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking*, 88-89.

¹⁰ C. Chen, "The Development of the New Age Movement in Taiwan", abstract. S. Chen, *Contemporary New Age Transformation in Taiwan*, 81.

¹¹ Farrelly, "Singing your own song? Terry Hu and the influence of campus folk music cafés on Taiwan's New Age religion."

Hu's first sojourn in New York

Having dropped out of university and starring in one movie (which will be discussed later), Hu first went to the USA in 1973 to be with Sahō 沙荒, the only son of a Japanese shipping magnate, who her parents and godfather thought might be a suitable husband. Hu had recently broken up with her first boyfriend, an American English teacher called Don who she met at Cafe Colombia. Prior to moving to New Jersey, she spent some time with Sahō's family in Japan where they arranged for her to have blepharoplasty, surgically adjusting her eyelids for a rounder appearance. Hu gladly acquiesced, as she was not happy with how her eyes appeared in *The Life God* 雲深不知處 (1974), filmed between her breakup with Don and introduction to Sahō, and released when she was in America.¹² She was unable to accept Sahō's insistent control over her, especially when she was increasingly captivated by the possibilities of life in the USA. Living together in New Jersey, their tentative relationship soon ended and Hu was on her own. After an aborted attempt at studying at Seton Hall, she was able to satisfy immigration requirements by enrolling as a student at the Barbizon Modelling Academy. Free of her apparently stifling domestic arrangements in New Jersey and away from the conservative beliefs and highly protective behaviour of her mother, Hu plunged into the new world of experiences available in New York's Greenwich Village.

The 20 year-old Hu's time in bohemian Greenwich Village appears to have been eye-opening. In addition to the parties she attended through her modelling connections, she also struck up a friendship with the Taiwanese expatriate artist Marlene Tseng Yu (曾富美 1937-), who like Hu, sought inspiration from both her old home and her new one.¹³ Hu also experienced the more Bacchanalian aspects of life in the Village,

¹² Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 97-98, 126.

¹³ Marlene Tseng Yu arrived in the USA in 1963 where she continued her studies in fine arts. In a statement from 1968, reprinted on her website, Yu declared "With the traditional Chinese and Western art training, together with my own experiments, I have

claiming to have experimented with marijuana and the open sexual climate. She became a regular at the Café Feenjon, a venue with a Middle Eastern atmosphere and a popular house band.¹⁴ Somewhat more mundanely, Hu shared accommodation with migrants from Taiwan—first with the Ling family and then with some graduates from National Taiwan University. After one year of social, sensual and psychotropic experimentation, the 21 year-old Hu decided to return to Taiwan to, as she put it, “face reality.”¹⁵ However, she noted, two months after returning from New York she was miserable and depressed.¹⁶ Despite this being the time when her movie career was starting to develop, her post-New York malaise suggests that beneath the fame and glamour, she harbored a deeper dissatisfaction with life.

Becoming a film star

Once back in Taipei, Hu’s acting career developed quickly and she soon became a celebrity. Directed by Hsu Chin-liang (徐進良 1944-) and filmed before she went to the USA, *The Life God* was a costume drama that not only introduced Hu to the Taiwan public, but also featured future acclaimed director Hou Hsiao-hsien (侯孝賢 1947-) as an assistant director.¹⁷ Hu’s acting career started well; *The Life God* was a runner up in the

sought to create techniques that can fully express my ideas and feelings.” Her abstract art is informed by a strong pro-environment ideology (<http://www.marlenetsengyu.com/bio.html>, accessed 28 March 2013).

¹⁴ This advertisement for a live album by the Feenjon Group gives a sense of the music and atmosphere in the Café Feenjon, http://youtu.be/p8P_Ba2p9aE, accessed 26 September 2014.

¹⁵ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 116.

¹⁶ Hu, *Talking Nonsense; Sleep Talking*, 1.

¹⁷ Lin Hsin-ching, “From Master to Rookie--Veteran Filmmaker Hsu Chin-liang”, *Taiwan Panorama*, October 2010, accessed 10 January 2014, http://www.taiwan-panorama.com/en/show_issue.php?id=2010109910098e.txt&table=2&cur_page=3&distype.

1975 Golden Horse Awards for best feature film and also claimed awards for best supporting actor and best non-Western musical.¹⁸

The Life God signaled the beginning of a defining part of Hu's life. Not only did she lack acting experience, she also had little interest in Chinese-language movies, later claiming that the 1963 Hong Kong musical *The Love Eterne* was the only such film that had impressed her.¹⁹ Hsu discovered Hu at his art gallery and, recognising her potential, cast her in the film.²⁰ Furthermore, and as mentioned earlier, he suggested she change her Chinese name from Hu Yinzi to Hu Yimmeng, as Yinzi sounded too Japanese.²¹ With new eyes, a new name and new American experiences, Hu had become a star.

Hu's movie career lasted over a decade and she had retired from the industry by 1988. During her career she claimed to have starred in around 40 films.²² Apart from the 1982 Australia-Japan war movie coproduction *The Highest Honor* (also known as *Southern Cross*), Hu's movies were mainly Taiwan and Hong Kong productions. During these years Hu developed a public persona that transcended film. She worked as a journalist, featured in make-up advertisements, recorded an album and, reflecting her high profile, became a magazine cover girl.²³

¹⁸ The Golden Horse Film Festival is Taiwan's premier film competition and one of the leading Chinese-language festivals.

"Taipei Golden Horse Film Festival", accessed 14 January 2014, http://www.goldenhorse.org.tw/ui/index.php?class=ghac&func=archive&search_regist_year=1975&nwlist_type=award

¹⁹ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 93.

²⁰ The 19 year-old Hu, attending an exhibition of landscape painting, apparently captivated Hsu with her "classic Chinese features and a river of long, dark hair flowing down her back". See Victoria Dawson, "Terry Hu? The Actress & Writer, Bridging East & West in Taiwan's New Cinema", *The Washington Post*, 12 September 1986, F4.

²¹ "Hsu Chin-liang – Taiwan Cinema", accessed 14 February 2014, http://www.taiwancinema.com/ct_56967_350

²² In her Chinese language material, Hu generally claims to have starred in 40 films, while in *The Washington Post* article of 1986 this list had grown to 50 films.

²³ For instance, see Hu's interview with the model and actress Debbie Chou 周丹薇 in the May 1979 launch issue of *China Ladies Magazine*, her advertisements for Kanebo cosmetics 佳美寶 in the early 1980s, covers on *China Ladies Magazine*, *The Woman* and

Independent in mind and action

Hu's brief marriage to Li Ao 李敖 (1935-) captured the public's attention. After first meeting on 15 September 1979, the couple married on 6 May 1980 and divorced on 28 August 1980.²⁴ Li Ao emerged as a key dissident during Taiwan's period of martial law, writing essays and books on a wide range of topics, and "wanted China to use the modern scientific and democratic approaches of the West instead of the traditional reactionary approaches of the conservatives."²⁵ Jailed twice, the "Unashamedly egotistical and almost unbelievably prolific"²⁶ writer had a strong admirer in Hu, the movie star nearly 20 years his junior. She even published an essay in praise of his talents, lauding him as "independent in mind and action."²⁷ Their fathers had known each other as they had lived nearby in Taichung. Li Ao claimed that at the time he confided in a friend that the marriage would not last a year due to the couple's competitive personalities. Preferring scientific rationality, he did not approve of Hu's devotion to the popular spiritual figure Thomas Lin Yun (林雲 1932-2010), whom he derided as a goblin.²⁸ Lin was the founder and leader of the Black Sect Tantric Buddhism group and had a career in the USA as a *feng shui* master.²⁹ Hu first met Lin when she was at Fu Jen studying German and he read her palm, foreseeing an

Family Magazine between 1976 and 1988. Hu claimed that she recorded her album *A Woman's First Love* 初戀女 "purely for fun" (See *The Washington Post*). Apparently released in 1979, the bossanova-tinged track 'Midnight Kiss 午夜香吻' is available on YouTube (<http://youtu.be/bKfUP548k6M>, accessed 25 September 2014).

²⁴ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 147. Li Ao 李敖, *Li Ao huiyilu* 李敖回憶錄 [*Li Ao's Memoirs*] (Banqiao: Li Ao Publishing, 2007), 316-320.

²⁵ Warren Tozer, "Taiwan's Cultural Renaissance: A Preliminary View", in *The China Quarterly* (43), 1970, 90.

²⁶ Geremie Barmé and Linda Jaivin, *New Ghosts, Old Dreams* (Times Books: New York, 1992), 202.

²⁷ Hu, *Talking Nonsense; Sleep Talking*, 103-106.

²⁸ Li Ao, *Li Ao's Memoirs*, 320.

²⁹ "His Holiness Grandmaster Professor Lin Yun 1932-2010", accessed 15 February 2014, <http://www.yunlintemple.org/introduction/hhgly>

exceptional future that would involve foreign lovers, an anecdote she included to perhaps indicate that even her romantic life was somewhat predestined.³⁰

Writing of her relationship with Li Ao 20 years later, Hu was frank. Noting that his kissing ability was sub-par and that their sex was forgettable, Hu painted him as an emotionally and sexually dysfunctional spouse, something of a “Don Juan” who decorated his apartment walls with Playboy centrefolds.³¹ Her perception of Li Ao as her literary hero was shaken by the realities of sharing an apartment and a life with him.

Hu and Li’s divorce provided much fodder for Taiwan’s media. The nature of their attraction was also a source of speculation, with an anonymous acquaintance quoted at the time as saying “All they have in common is their rebellious personalities.”³² The settlement was made more complicated by mutual lawsuits lodged by Hu and Li over a real estate issue. While Hu claimed her spirits were still good during the trial, the stress resulted in her losing weight.

For all of the trauma it generated during and afterwards, Hu’s marriage to Li Ao had a profound and, ultimately, transformative effect on her. During the divorce proceedings she had several important spiritual experiences and this appears to be the time when her exploration of the New Age and related practices accelerated. This included a perplexing instance of clairaudience, the supranormal “ability to hear voices - particularly of spirits... [It] may be another source of information retrieval for New Age channeling.”³³ She wrote:

Late one night I was doing spiritual practice in my room ... when my left ear suddenly felt the presence of a female voice. The voice was extremely mature and easy-going and had a type of beauty beyond the realm of worldly things. She seemed like she was both

³⁰ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 194.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 149-156.

³² ‘Trials of a Literary Lion’, *Asia Week*, 12 September 1980, Hong Kong, 19.

³³ York, *Historical Dictionary of New Age Movements*, 52.

next to my ear and in a different space. It was a bit like *qianli chuangyin* [a technique translated as ‘sending sound over a vast distance] in martial arts novels. Talking to me in English she said over and over: “I want you to change... I want you to change... I want you to change.” Her voice went from loud to soft, from near to far, gradually fading away. From my liminal sleep status I completely regained consciousness feeling serene and without any terror, but the left side of my body was a little bit cool. I was very curious about what just happened and had no way to rationally explain it. Who was she? Was she a spirit guide as is found in parapsychology? Or was it my subconscious hoping I can expand? Why did she use English? Furthermore, why was it such pleasant and standard American English? In the following week every night at 3am I would punctually wake up, turn my head to the alarm clock just as the minute hand and hour hand were both on the number 3. At this time my room would fill with a white gas, engulfing everything. Because everyday was like this I knew it was not an illusion. Even though I was not afraid, I felt I was not yet prepared to enter this unknown dimension. I did not seem very confident in my sense organs. One part of my intellect started to repress my sensory experiences and I stopped practicing.³⁴

For years Hu was unclear about the meaning of this clairaudience. Then, when reading Pupul Jayakar’s biography of Krishnamurti, she resonated with Jayakar’s similar experience:

On my return to Bombay I underwent a very deep and inexplicable experience. My senses, torn from their routine, had exploded. One night as I lay down to sleep I felt the pervading touch of a presence, waiting. I was received and enveloped in a dense embryonic fluid. I was drowning, for I felt my consciousness fading. My body rebelled; it struggled, unable to accept this encompassing embrace, this sense of death. Then the silent presence disappeared. This happened for three nights running. Each time, my

³⁴ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 168-169. The repeated lines “I want you to change...” were published in English without translation into Chinese.

body struggled; it resisted this encounter, unable to face this touch of death, which passed as swiftly as it had come, never to return. There was no fear. I told Krishnaji about it at our next meeting, and he told me to let it be, neither to hold it or resist it.³⁵

Hu later found further explanation for her clairaudience in the work of Ken Wilber. He explained his concept of ‘transpersonal bands’ as being “the most mysterious, unexplored, misunderstood, fear-inducing, and generally puzzling” stage in his ‘spectrum of consciousness.’³⁶ Claiming that this is where OBEs and clairaudience occur, Wilber drew on Carl Gustav Jung’s work to equate mystical experience with the experience of archetypes.³⁷ Based on this, Hu reconciled her own clairaudience as possibly being the experience of such an archetype.³⁸ In a Jungian New Age sense, archetypes are “universal psychological categories which are not limited to the precise form in which they appear in our mind.”³⁹ In drawing on Jung for an explanation, Hu not only connected herself to Jung’s collective unconsciousness, she also connected herself to the global community of adherents to such beliefs.

During the divorce proceedings Hu practiced yoga and, as mentioned, received a copy of *Seth Speaks: The Eternal Validity of the Soul* from Wang.⁴⁰ This exchange is the earliest mention of Wang and Hu’s friendship where they are identified by name. These two women, and maybe their friends, had formed a support network where New Age texts were important sources of wisdom. As Wang’s *Seth Speaks* translation was

³⁵ Jayakar, *Krishnamurti: A Biography*, 131. Hu’s translation of this passage preserves the form and content of Jayakar’s original.

³⁶ Ken Wilber, *The Spectrum of Consciousness* (Wheaton, USA: Quest Books, 1993), 254.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 258-259.

³⁸ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 170.

³⁹ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 228.

⁴⁰ Chen, “Practising frankly, confronting realistically,” 11. Hu enjoyed the corpse pose (*savasana*) as a form of relaxation which, as mentioned earlier, Wang was lying in during her OBE.

not published until 1985, this gift was likely the English version. In 1999, Hu felt that the teachings of Seth did not give her the feeling of “finding it” but that the book was valuable nonetheless.⁴¹ Nine years earlier in *Ancient Future* she was more effusive when praising the teachings of Seth. Hu felt that Seth addressed the universal questions asked by humanity so well that it could be considered the representative parapsychology work of the New Age Movement.⁴² She shared the two passages from *Seth Speaks* that gave her a taste of awakening (using Wang’s favoured metaphor of the urgency of being hit over the head with a stick, in the Zen sense).⁴³ Retranslating Hu’s version back into English (which was different to Wang’s translation but almost the same as the original), I isolated the passages in Jane Roberts’s original:

If your turn of mind is highly intense and you think in vivid mental emotional images, these will be swiftly formed into physical events. If you are also of a highly pessimistic nature, given to thoughts and feelings of potential disaster, then these thoughts will be quite faithfully reproduced in experience.⁴⁴

....

Consider yourself present as an actor in a play; hardly a new analogy, but a suitable one. The scene is set in the twentieth century. You create the props, the settings, the themes; in fact you write, produce, and act in the entire production – you and every other individual who takes part.

You are so focused on your roles, however; so intrigued by the reality you have created, so entranced by the problems, challenges, hopes and sorrows of your particular roles that you have forgotten they are of your own creation.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 172.

⁴² Hu, *Ancient Future*, 28.

⁴³ Hu, *Ancient Future*, 28.

⁴⁴ Jane Roberts, *Seth Speaks* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1972), 79.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 53-54.

Having worked as an actor for much of her adult life, it is not surprising that Seth's analogy of life as a play made sense to Hu. However, this was not a play where she was at the whim of a director or producer: it was one in which Hu seemingly had full creative control, irrespective of her social status or relationship dramas. Seth empowered Hu to gain control over her life after the turmoil of her time with Li Ao. Despite the brevity of their marriage, their union remains a topic of public interest, especially in China.⁴⁶

Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking

Hu's first book, *Huyan mengyu* 胡言夢語 [literally *Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking*] (see Figure 4), was published in October 1980, just months after her marriage ended. It was a collected edition of her articles published in the *Commercial Times* (*Gongshang Shibao* 工商時報) from December 1978 to February 1980, along with some longer essays and a 1980 article reprinted from the *United Daily News* (*Lianhebao* 聯合報). The Chinese title is a wordplay involving her name. The first and third characters, *hu* and *meng*, are the same as the first and third characters in her name. The second character in her name, *yin*, is substituted by *yan*, indicating language or speech, and a fourth character, *yu*, also pertaining to language, was added. The title could also be read

⁴⁶ In a 2006 appearance on the popular Chinese talk show *A Date with Lu Yu* 魯豫有約, Hu spent several over 20 minutes (in a 46 minute program) discussing details of her relationship with Li Ao. See http://www.tudou.com/programs/view/_5vLDe5gSAA, accessed 26 September 2014. This was possibly in light of Li Ao's appearance on the show in 2005 and his burgeoning celebrity in China. Hu's translation work and endorsement of Krishnamurti were only mentioned in passing, with the interview primarily concerned with her public life, such as her movie career and role as a single mother. Li Ao responded to some of Hu's claims and anecdotes with a rebuttal on his own show, *Li Ao Has Something to Say*. See <http://phtv.ifeng.com/phoenixtv/74608461014368256/20060915/887936.shtml> and http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IM_HuPiFmRE, accessed 26 September 2014. Both *A Date with Lu Yu* and *Li Ao Has Something to Say* were broadcast on the private station Phoenix Television, and it has been alleged that it sponsored Li's 2005 visit to China. See Yu Yongyue, "A Case Study of Public Relations on Phoenix TV by Chinese Cultural Trip: Li Ao's happy return" in *Canadian Social Science* (3:1), 2007. 69-73.

as *Terry Hu Speaks*, indicating her emergence as a writer. Hu appears on the front cover, posing in front of a well-stocked bookshelf in a floral smock while cradling a cat.⁴⁷

Feeling melancholy after returning from New York, Hu began writing down her experiences there. She did this following a conversation with a friend, Chang Shi-kuo (張系國 1944-), a fellow exchange student, noted science fiction writer and future university professor. Their reminiscences of life in New York moved her to tears. After she began writing for the *Commercial Times* in late 1978, Hu began to notice an inner change. She wrote:

I gradually realised that writing a column was not some sort of pleasure; it was a type of ‘psychological healing.’ In the past I had used tears to dispel the thoughts in my mind; now I started to study how reflecting with reason could turn emotions into words on the page.⁴⁸

This is possibly the earliest example of Hu reflecting on the role of writing in assuaging her psychological discomfort. Even though in this book she was often merely depicting her life as a globetrotting starlet, it set the tone for her future ruminations on writing and translating.

Hu immediately addressed the spectre of Li Ao. Her admission that even her friends thought he ghost-wrote the book indicates how she was keen to deal with the perception that her written work was not actually her own. Hu claimed to have been inspired by Chang Shi-kuo’s novel *The Anger of Yesterday* (*Zuori zhi nu* 昨日之怒, 1978) to begin writing about her experiences in New York. She was then invited by the editor of the *Commercial Times* to write a regular column on Sundays. During this time she

⁴⁷ Hu is fond of cats and they have appeared in both her writings and photo shoots.

⁴⁸ Hu, *Talking Nonsense; Sleep Talking*, 2.

Image removed from digital thesis to
avoid copyright infringement

Figure 4: Terry Hu 胡茵夢. *Hu yan meng yu* 胡言夢語 [*Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking*].
Taipei: Four Seasons Publishing Co. Ltd., 1980.

claimed to have begun studying reason and emotional transformation, themes that emerge in a number of chapters in the book.

Essentially *Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking* is a collection of the musings of a young Taiwanese female actor. Even though the aspects of Hu's life revealed inside are more material than spiritual (and at times mundane), it provided readers with valuable insights as to how she began creating her literary identity. Much of the content is drawn from her career as a star. She mused on acting, modeling and the various places her work has taken her, such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Milan and Taiwan's Wang An Island.⁴⁹ Hu's love of music is apparent with a chapter describing her time in Taiwan's Campus Folk Music Movement and another wholeheartedly endorsing the physical and mental benefits of disco dancing. In this book, Hu depicted herself as an ideal of the modern Taiwan woman. Well educated and aware of Chinese culture, she was cosmopolitan and blessed with a self-reflective and exploratory nature. With this in mind, three chapters are apt for generating a sense of Hu's burgeoning interest in spiritual matters in 1980.

Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking included a chapter on spiritual questions and established the tension she felt between religious traditions in Taiwan and her connection with the USA. Claiming that in the twentieth century Eastern countries had been affected negatively by Western materialism and science, spiritual problems had gradually become worse.⁵⁰ Immediately after, she introduced Carl Gustav Jung as an important author for those interested in psychoanalysis and that his one translation available in Taiwan, *Xunqiu linghun de xiandai ren* 尋求靈魂的現代人 [*Modern Man in*

⁴⁹ In 1998 Hu wrote a preface to Han Lianglu's 韓良露 book *Aiqing quan zhangxing* 愛情全占星 [*The Astrology of Romantic Love*]. In it she recalled how at the age of 25, she met the 19 year-old Han on Wang An Island (where they were both working on a film) and they enjoyed discussing a range of spiritual issues. (Taipei: Fine Press, 1998), I.

⁵⁰ Hu, *Talking Nonsense; Sleep Talking*, 92.

Search of Soul] (1971), was a valuable book to read. Hu lauded Jung's approach to studying Eastern religion and philosophy as he "was not limited by Western rationalism, he was truly full of wisdom."⁵¹ As local psychologists did not necessarily know Jungian methods, she exhorted those with "open spirits and curious minds" to read authors like Jung as their work would help with self-understanding.⁵² This chapter established the approach that would underpin Hu's later New Age advocacy: global religious traditions investigated with psychology-informed methods, with the reader empowered to choose appropriate authors. At the same time, in using a Western theorist to critique the negative influence of the West she also demonstrated the uneasy relationship between East and West that she was trying to bridge.

In her chapter '*Bufang chongyang* 不妨崇洋 [Might as well revere the West]', the tension Hu felt in trying to straddle Taiwan and the USA became more apparent. Beginning with the example of the US ambassador to Singapore demonstrating his lack of geographical knowledge (apparently he did not know that Korea was divided or the names of several global leaders), Hu criticised the education system in the USA.⁵³ Clearly unimpressed by arrogance and ignorance she had encountered in Europe and America but also sensitive to criticism received at home, Hu stated:

I am really not fond of worshipping the West. With adjectives such as fawning on foreigners, if someone has sufficient confidence and pride in their own culture and nation, will they know that some foreign things are not better? Only when one lacks confidence can they arbitrarily assert that others' 'desire for knowledge' is an act of worshipping the West.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 94.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 219-220.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 221.

This is a strong articulation of Hu's desire for others to take seriously her own interest in, and thorough investigation of, Western culture. She argued that her interest was not just simple-minded lapping up of foreign culture; it was only those who were insecure about culture in Taiwan that criticised her. Here she advocated an open and inquisitive approach to understanding the world, something that she thought even Western countries did not necessarily do well.

Slightly longer and appearing to be written specifically for *Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking*, the chapter 'Kaifang de chengshou 開放的成熟 [The Blooming of Maturity]' is based on Hu's reflections on Nena and George O'Neill's popular psychology book *Shifting Gears: Finding Security in a Changing World* (1974).⁵⁵ Hu found the O'Neill's belief that it was difficult to exist in fast-paced American society resonated with the situation in Taiwan. Feeling that she was not as stubborn as she had been at age 20, she was now promoting the idea of self-healing—by recognising the causes and conditions of unhappiness and changing these, happiness can be obtained. Importantly, in this chapter Hu lamented how she felt unable to demonstrate a positive influence through her films and enthused how she wanted to share her own spiritual transformation with a wider audience. In the context of her development as a translator of New Age texts, this is an important moment. While *Shifting Gears* is a popular psychology book (that is, not strictly New Age), reading it appears to have empowered Hu to reassess her life. From it she went beyond her often-unfulfilling movie career and deepened her interest in spiritual books. Hu wrote how meeting new friends and reading new books allowed her to make changes in her life, moving away from the

⁵⁵ Ibid., 239-244. *Shifting Gears* appears to have been translated into Chinese as *The Blooming of Maturity*, the same name as Hu's chapter. The O'Neills also wrote the best selling *Open Marriage* (1972).

psychological crises that were plaguing her, suggesting Wang's gift of *Seth Speaks* was part of this.⁵⁶ This personal evolution was even more evident in her second book.

Immensee

Hu published her second book *Yinmenghu* 茵夢湖 [*Immensee*] in 1982.⁵⁷ Like *Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking*, the Chinese title for *Immensee* was a homonym-based word play derived from her name. Taking the three sounds in her name – *hu*, *yin* and *meng* – she rearranged them to be *Yinmenghu*. This appears to have been a conscious acknowledgment of Theodor Storm's 1849 novella *Immensee*, translated into Chinese as early as 1955 using the three same characters as in Hu's title.⁵⁸ To this end, I will refer to Hu's work as *Immensee*. In his preface, Chang Shi-kuo compared Hu's work favourably with Storm's *Immensee* (which he read slowly with a dictionary) and the lake Immensee in Switzerland (which he had visited) as “similarly full of changes.”⁵⁹

Hu was forthright in declaring *Immensee* to be part of her personal evolution. In her preface she wrote:

If *Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking* was a collection of essays that could be easily grasped, then *Immensee* should be considered a comparatively difficult and deliberated second volume. From both the content and from the cover design, both readers and friends can sense these changes.

The change has been the greatest in this last year and a half, in both my personal circumstances and frame of mind.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 241.

⁵⁷ *Immensee* was reprinted by at least two different publishers. The 1982 version was published by Bugle Horn 號角出版社, with a third edition published in 1986. The Mongkok Publishing Company reprinted it in 1999. Barring different covers, both versions have the same text.

⁵⁸ Coincidentally, there is a cafe named Immensee in Hu's film *Warmth in Autumn* 溫暖在秋天 (1976).

⁵⁹ Shi-Kuo Chang 張系國, “*Ouzhi Yinmenghu* 偶值茵夢湖” in Terry Hu, *Immensee* (Taipei: Mongkok Publishing Company, 1999), 7.

The unexpected change in my first marriage healed more than 20 years of depression. It made me suddenly realise how my response to facing challenges was strong. Life's fundamental approach was joyous. The dreams and doubts of *Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking* had changed into the action and confidence of *Immensee*.

Just as is said in *The Blooming of Maturity*, “every change can become the turning point of maturity, every misfortune can become the origin of benefits.”

Nowadays in the era of *Immensee*'s maturity, I still affirm the value of love and human nature's magnificence. At the same time using the method of non-confrontation, I can accomplish this life's search for the 'self.'⁶⁰

The contents of *Immensee* were not dissimilar to those of *Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking*. Once again Hu surveyed life from her position as a celebrity. Among her discussions of life in Paris, cinema, folk music and beauty, two notable themes emerged that are most relevant to her imminent career change as a translator and New Age authority. The first was reference to a friend known as “C.C.” This, we can assume, is C.C. Wang. In *Immensee* Hu wrote of how she and C.C. enjoyed various intellectual activities together, such as discussing Han and Manchu ethnicity and attending flamenco guitar performances.⁶¹ Wang also referred to another of her future collaborators in The Fine Press' New Age Series – Tsao Yu-fang (曹又方 1942-2009) whom she also referred to as a friend in *Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking*.⁶² The second, and perhaps more important, theme is Hu's broadening spiritual exploration and her willingness to share details of this with her readers.

Hu's burgeoning interest in spiritual experimentation is obvious in *Immensee*. She wrote of encounters with a Hong Kong astrologer, Jungian dream symbolism and

⁶⁰ Hu, *Immensee*, 11-12.

⁶¹ Hu, *Immensee*, 110, 63.

⁶² Hu, *Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking*, 13. Hu, *Immensee*, 74.

reincarnation. Also evident is the development of her cosmology: Hu can be seen to be adopting and expressing certain concepts familiar to New Age religion. She wrote how people of all colours are equal and how national borders were not necessary.⁶³ While she did suggest it was too simple to believe that she has been reborn countless times in various different ethnicities, given contemporary ethnic tensions it was worth considering the possibility that one had previously lived as a member of various ethnic groups.⁶⁴ Like in *Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking*, the penultimate chapter offers the starkest evidence of her spiritual development.

In the chapter ‘*Ruguo—wo de xia yi beizi* 如果 — 我的下一輩子 [If... My Next Life]’ Hu mused on the creative possibilities offered by reincarnation. Having many plans for her future lives, Hu thought being an archeologist working at China’s Dunhuang caves, famous for their impressive collection of Buddhist figures and paintings, would be ideal. If her reincarnation was not limited to countries or solar systems, she harbored the utopian dream of being an alien devoted to bringing about universal harmony.⁶⁵ This ability to not only be reincarnated, but to have some say in the form in which one is reincarnated is strongly reminiscent of the notion of self-directed reincarnation found in the teachings of Seth. Likewise, and along with UFOs, “beings from other planets” appear in the New Age as part of a discourse on evolution and the future of humanity.⁶⁶ *Immensee* is evidence of Hu’s growing interest in the New Age and establishes the context for her later writings that would be published after her film career ended.

⁶³ Hu, *Immensee*, 90.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 63-64.

⁶⁵ Hu, *Immensee*, 192.

⁶⁶ Mikael Rothstein, “The Myth of the UFO in Global Perspective” in Mikael Rothstein (ed), *New Age Religion and Globalization* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2003), 135.

Final films

Of her many films, Hu regarded Edward Yang's (楊德昌 1947-2007) *That Day, on the Beach* 海灘的一天 (1983) as the only one that could be considered a work of art.⁶⁷ *That Day* was one of the early films in the movement that came to be known as New Taiwan Cinema. Yang, along with Hou Hsiao-hsien, was one of the most celebrated directors in this movement, which broadly speaking “abandoned the simplistic black-and-white storytelling methods of the past in favor of a more subtle and complex mode that was closer to real life experience.”⁶⁸ Yang's oeuvre is closely associated with New Taiwan Cinema and *That Day* was his first full-length feature film.⁶⁹

Starring Sylvia Chang (張艾嘉 1953-), with whom Hu costarred in the propaganda film *Victory* 梅花 (1975) and the romance *Warmth in Autumn* 溫暖在秋天 (1976), *That Day* was nominated for best feature film, best director and best original screenplay at the 1983 Golden Horse Awards. Over 2.5 hours long, *That Day* was “the complex, but rather cold” exploration of a long-term female friendship, tested by the tragic death of Chang's husband.⁷⁰ Hu played the role of Tan Weiqing, a famous pianist, and was required to draw on her German language skills acquired at Fu Jen for some of the dialogue. Playing an expert in European languages was a common role for Hu: in a scene in *Warmth in Autumn* she tutored English and in *Far Away from Home* 人在天涯 (1977) her character was fluent in Italian. She (as an individual) and her characters (roles she performed) frequently depicted women comfortable with the local and the

⁶⁷ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 133.

⁶⁸ Feiyi Lu and Chris Berry, *Island on the Edge: Taiwan New Cinema and After* (Hong Kong, University of Hong Kong Press: 2005), 6.

⁶⁹ Of all the words dedicated to Edward Yang after his passing in 2007, Stan Lai's 賴聲川 summation of the “standard marks” of a Yang film seem most poignant: “epic scale with intimate detail; dark dilemmas of the soul searching for light.” See Stan Lai, “Luminosity in the Darkness: Remembering Edward Yang”, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 9:1 (2008): 5.

⁷⁰ Emily Yueh-yu Yeh and Darrell Davis, *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*, (New York: Columbia University Press: 2005), 74

foreign; Hu increasingly demonstrated intertextual transnational sensibilities. In a sense, Tan shared similarities with Hu as a paragon of refined female modernity. Trained in Vienna, the coffee-drinking and cigarette-smoking Tan left Taiwan haunted by the trauma of a failed relationship. Plagued by her own hypocrisy, she appears to search for some kind of contentment in life. As a young adult Weiqing's relationship had been foiled by the strictures of her boyfriends' parents and after pursuing her musical career she "has become world famous (we assume) as a direct result of her rejection as a suitable match for marriage. Her artistry, presumably, was also born of that trauma."⁷¹ As discussed, marriage and trauma loomed large in Hu's off-screen life and this is another example of the enmeshment of Hu's public representations in film and her accounts of her private difficulties. She would continue this symbiosis to the end of her film career.

Women dou shi zheyang zhangda de 我們都是這樣長大的 [*Reunion*] (1986) was one of Hu's final films. She starred as a television current affairs journalist, and the film reflected on the lives of her and her old school chums at various intervals, focusing on their adult efforts to help the mentally disabled. Lacking the narrative complexity and refined cinematography of *That Day*, *Reunion* was a vehicle for Hu and her co-star (and friend) Ding Nai-chu to depict fictionalised versions of themselves that, in turn, helped generate idealised versions of their burgeoning real identities as spiritual and globally aware young women. In this, *Reunion* can be viewed as an attempt to invigorate Taiwan cinema with a social consciousness. Beyond its melodramatic story, *Reunion* is notable for two features: the depiction of attitudes towards handicapped people and the cinematic beatification of Hu and Ding. Hu's frustrations with the shallowness of Taiwan's movie industry were strong by 1986 and, with Ding, *Reunion* appears as an

⁷¹ John Anderson, *Edward Yang* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 28.

attempt to remedy this, through Ding and Hu's characters struggling to improve the lot of disabled people in Taiwan.

Like Hu, Ding studied in the USA and returned to Taiwan to act. She married Stan Lai, the noted theatre director and, with Hu, a figure in the campus folk music movement of the 1970s. In 1989 Ding hosted a TV show called *Xinling zhi lü* 心靈之旅 [*Journey of the Spirit*] and became a proponent of Tibetan Buddhism, translating books such as *Advice On Dying: And Living a Better Life* by the Dalai Lama and hosting Tibetan Buddhist dignitaries when they passed through Taiwan.⁷² One such person was Gyatrul Rinpoche of the Nyingmapa lineage, who was an influential figure for Hu. She first met Gyatrul Rinpoche in Hong Kong in 1984 and again a year later at Ding's Taipei home. Hu would then meet with him on his return visits to Taiwan.⁷³ In March 1986, when studying with some "eminent monks and lamas" Hu had a breakthrough in understanding how "after unifying the internal universe, a steady flow of energy is possible."⁷⁴ In addition to her expanding and diverse network of spiritual influences, Hu began expanding her literary output.

⁷² Dalai Lama, *Advice on Dying: And Living a Better Life* 達賴生死書, translated by Ding Nai-chu (lit. *The Dalai Lama's Book on Life and Death*)(Taipei: Commonwealth Magazine, 2003). For details on Ding's Tibetan Buddhist-informed religious perspective see Ding Nai-chu 'Guanyin yu Dumu 觀音與度母' [Guanyin and Tara] in *Mingjia Tan Ai* 名家談愛 [*Famous Authors Discuss Love*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1989), 10-12 and (with regard to her views on granting children freedom and individual spiritual pursuits) Wu Jialing 'Le Zai Xinzhong 樂在心中' [Happiness in the Heart], *The Woman*, May 1991, 153-153.

⁷³ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 195-196.

⁷⁴ "Xiuxing yu tuibian. Chaoyue yu yuanrong. Gao Xinjia duitan Hu Yinmeng 修行與蛻變·超越與圓融, 高信譚對談胡茵夢 [Spiritual practice and transformation; transcendent and easy-going. Gao Xintan and Terry Hu face-to-face]", 錢 Qian [Money], April 1987, 18.

Respect for the Art of Acting

Hu's first translation was *Respect for Acting* by Uta Hagen (co-authored with Haskel Frankel).⁷⁵ Hagen's original was published in 1973 and Hu's translation was published in 1987 with the title translated as *Respect for the Art of Acting (Zunzhong biaoyan yishu 尊重表演藝術)*, emphasising Hagen's belief that, like painting or music, acting is also an art requiring practice and discipline.

Uta Hagen (1919-2004) was a “formidable and wide-ranging stage actress” and drama teacher at the HB Studio in New York.⁷⁶ *Respect for Acting* is a guide divided into 31 chapters that cover various facets of the craft in order to develop a “higher level of performing than the one which has resulted from the hit-or-miss customs of the past.”⁷⁷ Drawing on Hagen's considerable experience in the theatre, the book expressed her teaching methodology at the HB Studio. She imbued the HB Studio with qualities that appear to go beyond acting, writing that:

The only place where I have now have a degree of fulfilment is at the HB Studio, where I am both a teacher and learn from others.

I am lucky to have found this place where I can put a degree of my struggle for growth, my search for the miracle of reality in acting into practice.⁷⁸

This mode of thought is not dissimilar to the process of personal development that Hu had entered. She studied at the HB Studio in 1986.⁷⁹ This was nearing the twilight of

⁷⁵ Hu's growing cache as an authority on 'love', coupled with her expertise in English, led to her image being (seemingly unwillingly) coopted by the Dehua Publishing Company 德華出版社. In 1978 Dehua published what appears to be a translation of W.W. Broadbent's *How to be Loved*, translated by Hu Yimeng. This, of course, is Terry Hu's Chinese name. However, Dehua did not credit her as 胡茵夢 (how she wrote her name at the time), but rather as 胡因夢 (how she would write her name a decade later).

⁷⁶ Mel Gussow, 'Uta Hagen, Tony-Winning Broadway Star and Teacher of Actors, Dies at 84', *New York Times*, 15 January 2004. A31.

⁷⁷ Uta Hagen (with Haskel Frankel), *Respect for Acting* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1973), 4.

⁷⁸ Hagen, *Respect for Acting*, 9.

her career, as Hu had retired from acting by the age of 35 and does not appear to have acted in any movies since 1986. In her preface to *Respect for the Art of Acting* she revealed how her career on the screen had led her to this point. Dismissing her early film roles in Taiwan as “so-called acting” she documented her feelings in the aftermath of Yang’s *That Day*:

Only in 1983 after *That Day*, *On the Beach* had finished filming did 10 years of frustration have a slight release. I started being aware of how Taiwan’s New Wave Cinema was gradually germinating and how the theatrical concepts and filming techniques of the old way were not on the right track.⁸⁰

Here Hu implied that Taiwan cinema can only improve through the injection of foreign techniques. For local productions to reach their potential, it was necessary to incorporate the successful (and supposedly high-brow) methods found in foreign cinema. She would soon apply a similar approach in her dissemination of the New Age.

Not only did Hu act, she also interviewed foreign celebrities for popular media in Taiwan. Some were well-known, such as Brooke Shields, while others, like Dana Wynter, were veteran stars toiling on TV series. Wynter, star of the 1956 movies *D-Day the Sixth of June* and *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, proved to be a fortuitous interview subject for Hu, introducing her to Hagen’s acting methods and suggesting she study at the HB Studio. Some weeks later Hu obtained a copy of *Respect for Acting* and claimed that by the time she had read Hagen’s preface she was already convinced of her methodology, deciding to translate it for her fellow actors in Taiwan.⁸¹ To Hu, Hagen’s

⁷⁹ It was reported that she spent a year doing so (See article in *The Washington Post*).

⁸⁰ Terry Hu, ‘Translator’s Preface’, in Uta Hagen, *Respect for the Art of Acting*, trans. Terry Hu (Taipei: Hanguang, 1987), 3.

⁸¹ Hu, “Translator’s Preface” [*Respect for the Art of Acting*], 4.

method symbolised a break from the past, where in respecting the art of acting, a deeper level of performance became possible.

Hu believed that acting held great potential for personal feeling. Recalling a conversation she had with Stan Lai about Tibetan Buddhism and meditative contemplation, Hu expressed the extent of her faith in acting. She wrote that “art’s highest expression of ‘eternity’ is close to religious,” suggesting the possibility of spiritual transcendence through performance.⁸² This conviction coupled with her frustrations from old-fashioned movie making in Taiwan drove her to translate Hagen’s text for readers of Chinese. However Hu was not just limiting her contributions to Taiwan, she also wished to have a presence in the USA. In her 1986 interview with *The Washington Post* she said “I hope that I can be a bridge: I always wanted to bring something good to Taiwan from here [the USA], and bring something good here from Taiwan.”⁸³ Recalling the image she drew in her high school English class, it can be seen how this notion of her as a conduit between the East and West, or more specifically, Taiwan and the USA, was becoming a life-long role for Hu. She envisioned the connection between the USA and Taiwan as reciprocal in that both had things worth sharing (and worth avoiding). Primarily promoting the American Film Institute’s month-long festival of new films from Taiwan, which Hu was in Washington to support, the article also gave a potted history of Hu’s life. Her childhood devotion to foreign movies and enthusiasm for folk music were both mentioned, while her father’s political career and her marriage to Li Ao were not. When asking Hu to reflect on her early career, by which it is implied everything pre-*That Day*, the journalist remarked “Hu’s

⁸² Ibid., 7.

⁸³ Victoria Dawson, “Terry Hu? The Actress & Writer, Bridging East & West In Taiwan’s New Cinema”, *The Washington Post*, 12 September 1986, F4.

exclamation is halfway between laughter and disgust: ‘Ewwww, my God!’⁸⁴ Hu’s depiction of her life as a process of transformation is clearly evident in the interview. She implied that the spontaneity and naivety of her early film career had been tempered by the theory she had learned later in life, such as Hagen’s acting methods.

Translating *Respect for Acting* allowed Hu to further develop a new form of spiritual practice. Balancing translation with her other work, such as acting, she found the process to be slow. However, at the end of her preface she noted:

... the whole process was like a purification ritual in which, from another perspective, I could see my own strengths and weaknesses. I was also able to thoroughly self-analyse. Could I go so far as to say this book helped me? It was like a Buddhist ritual of my dreams!⁸⁵

Recalling this time in her autobiography, Hu added that while translating *Respect for Acting* she was also practicing meditation and read *Jingzuo xiudao yu changsheng bu lao* 靜坐修道與長生不老 [*Tao and Longevity*] by the prominent spiritual author Nan Huai-chin, from which she realised that her health issues (seemingly caused by a deficiency of *yin*) were due to blocked *qi* meridians. Indicative of her experimental nature and global views, Hu practiced yoga and began to experience the physiological changes that ultimately led to awakening her *kundalini* energy, “the coiled and dormant ‘feminine’ energy, or psychic energy contained within us all.”⁸⁶ In an interview published just after *Respect for Acting* was translated, Hu claimed she had found a suitable spiritual path,

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Hu, “Translator’s preface” [*Respect for the Art of Acting*], 8.

⁸⁶ Simon Blackburn, “Kundalini” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy* (2 rev. ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). For Hu’s kundalini awakening, see Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 183-185 and Lin Qingxuan (ed), *Xinling Geming* 心靈革命 [*Spiritual Revolution*] (Eurasian Press: Taipei, 1991), 93. Wang also noted her own kundalini experience, writing in *Revolution* how her first taste of kundalini came from Gopi Krishna’s book on the subject and she had been able to help people discover their own kundalini (139).

reading classic texts and meditating, suggesting to the public that spiritual exploration had become an important part of her life.⁸⁷ In this interview, Hu also praised the Song Dynasty poet Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1037-1101), whom she read about in Lin Yutang's 林語堂 (1895-1976) biography, as being an idol for his spirituality, creativity and manner of dealing with people.⁸⁸ Such a claim, when coupled with her emphasis on spiritual development, indicates that Hu was also stressing the importance of literature, especially Chinese literature, in her life. The next major translation project Hu undertook was the works of Krishnamurti.⁸⁹

Conclusion

Hu's abiding fascination with America and growing interest in spiritual matters is evident in this chapter. While her time with the Campus Folk Music Movement did not result in her becoming a successful musician, she framed her understanding of it in terms of America's counterculture (and its revolutionary tenor) and it was her time in Taipei's folk music cafes that propelled her to spend time in America. While she seemingly had a good time in New York, experimenting with the new lifestyle opportunities available, upon her return to Taipei she had trouble reconciling these experiences. In addition to reading Seth, writing became a way for Hu to experience spiritual transformation. Beyond the insight they provide into the life of a glamorous movie star, her early books showed that while Hu was exploring a range of different spiritual and psychological ideas, her strong enthusiasm for the USA was critically

⁸⁷ "Spiritual practice and transformation; transcendent and easy-going. Gao Xintan and Terry Hu face-to-face," 21.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁸⁹ As mentioned earlier, Hu had intended to translate Marilyn Ferguson's *The Aquarian Conspiracy* but handed this job to Liao Shide 廖世德. In his preface he noted his own translation experience "was a kind of utopia" before joking that the only person in Taiwan who will likely read the whole book is the translator! See Liao Shide, "Translator's preface" in Marilyn Ferguson, *Baoping tongmou* 寶瓶同謀 [*The Aquarian Conspiracy*], trans. Liao Shide, (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1993).

informed. With her enthusiasm for acting dwindling, Hu's amplification of her literary ambition was evident in her first translation. Despite being an acting manual, Hu introduced the book to readers as a personal transformation tool. Her own personal transformation was aided through the act of translation, a practice that would be heightened in the years to come.

Chapter 6: Encountering Krishnamurti and writing *Ancient Future* (1987-1996)

After encountering Jiddu Krishnamurti's work while on retreat in New York, Hu translated a selection of his texts and this was decisive in her development: beyond introducing his work to readers in Taiwan and establishing herself as a translator, she experienced a number of changes in her own body and spirit. She returned to Taiwan and with Wang (and other colleagues) began the Fine Press' New Age Series in 1989. The first non-translation in the series was Hu's *Ancient Future*, strongly informed by her long inquiry into spiritual matters and her recent enthusiasm for the New Age. In the following years other publishers in Taiwan began producing New Age works, indicating a growing demand. Wang was also very active at this time, translating books and writing magazine articles. The most notable innovation of the period considered in this chapter was Hu's representation of Krishnamurti as New Age *and* Buddhist.

Through her writings and the public persona she cultivated (and had cultivated for her by producers and publishers), Hu's varied and colourful early life can be seen as a process of searching and transformation. The celebrity she generated during her film career established her as a prominent figure in Taiwan's cultural milieu, something reinforced by her brief marriage to Li Ao. In addition to acting and a fledgling alternative career as an author and translator, it was Hu's post-marriage "search for truth" that typified much of her life in the 1980s. This appears throughout her written work, as she crafted the image of herself as a sincere and adventurous seeker, exploring the various spiritual systems available. At the same time, she demonstrated alienation both from Taiwan society and her acting career. Connecting with the anti-authoritarian freedom espoused in the New Age teachings she read, especially those of Seth and Krishnamurti, it was her drive to share translated versions of these with readers in

Taiwan that propelled her, along with Wang, to begin the New Age Series. This chapter includes analysis of key New Age publications from the early 1990s.

Back in New York and travelling in the USA

When examining Hu's collected writings, her 1988 sojourn in New York appears as one of the most defining periods of her life.¹ Hu returned to New York in 1986 to study at the HB Studio and purchased a one-bedroom warehouse apartment in SoHo.² Recalling her reconnection with the city, she felt that she was fulfilling her dream from 15 years earlier during her first stay in New York.³ While Hu described New York as a place where she could relax and feel free, she also felt her energy was not so strong there and had to take vitamin supplements.⁴ Hu's trips to New York coincided with the massive increase in popularity of the New Age, helped by Shirley MacLaine's popular books and television mini-series. By 1988 the New Age was a "religious phenomenon... [that had] grown from a fervently supported countercultural underground."⁵ Around this time the ideas and techniques of the New Age were recognised as having financial potential and "the increasing commercialisation of the

¹ Nearly 20 years later Hu was still publicly reminiscing about the freedom she experienced while living in New York. See Zhou Qianyi 周倩漪, "Dangyishi jielu, fengjing zizaier liaokuo [When consciousness is unmasked the landscape is unrestrained and vast]", *Taipei Pictorial* (461), June 2006. In December 1997 Hu noted how at that time (aged 35, as mentioned in Chapter 5), she began experiencing the rising of *kundalini* 拙火 energy. This was facilitated by her friend Sun Chen-hwa 孫春華 (who we saw with Hu in Egypt at the start of the thesis). See Terry Hu, "Yuechao linghun anye [Cutting through the dark night of the soul]," *Teacher Zhang Monthly* 張老師月刊, December 1997, 87.

² Hu wrote that the apartment was 20 *ping* in size, *ping* being the standard unit of measurement of floor space in Taiwan. 20 *ping* is approximately 66.12 square metres. See Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 136.

³ Hu, *Ancient Future*, 39.

⁴ "Spiritual practice and transformation; transcendent and easy-going. Gao Xintan and Terry Hu face-to-face," 19-20.

⁵ Basil, "Introduction," 9.

movement began to erode its original potential as a counter-cultural force.”⁶ In 1988, in the USA, “National support for the New Age vision [was] estimated to number in the hundreds of thousands of individuals.”⁷

While Hu had been exploring various spiritual approaches and philosophies, it was only during her stay in New York in 1988 when she undertook an individual retreat (from April to September) that she went deep into her practice. During this retreat she did not answer the phone or meet people, only occasionally visiting East West Books in Greenwich Village.⁸ Hu was effusive in her praise for New York and saw the city’s diversity as an environment suitable for fostering all sorts of pursuits:

New York is a Mother Earth with particularly good digestion. Regardless if it is an exotic delicacy or junk food, neither will damage her sturdy stomach. She tolerates all creations of humanity – high-spirited and vigorous, independent in mind and action, aloof from worldly affairs, completely renounced. Individuals can complete the practice of one’s own life.⁹

In a sense, Hu’s choice of New York as a place of retreat subverts common impressions of both New York and the practice of retreat. As one of the preeminent global metropolises, New York is densely populated, noisy and, seemingly, full of distraction and temptation. At the same time, New York is far removed from Taipei. While on

⁶ Wouter J. Hanegraaff, “The New Age Movement and Western Esotericism” in Darren Kemp and James R. Lewis (eds), *Handbook of New Age* (Leiden, Brill: 2007), 29.

⁷ Melton, “A History of the New Age Movement,” 50.

⁸ Terry Hu, “Translator’s Preface” in Jiddu Krishnamurti, *The Second Penguin Reader* 人類的當務之急, translated by Terry Hu [lit. *Huamamity’s Vital Matter of Immediate Emergency*](Taipei: The Fine Press, 1992), np.

Described as a “one of New York City’s most relaxing bookstores ... [and a] haven of inspiration, solace and catharsis,” East West Books shut on 30 June 2010. See “East West Bookstore closed its doors on Fifth Avenue in NYC”, accessed 22 July 2015, <http://www.examiner.com/article/east-west-bookstore-closed-its-doors-on-fifth-avenue-nyc>.

⁹ Hu, *Ancient Future*, 39-40.

retreat in New York Hu was not escaping the modern world, she was escaping the modern world as she knew it in Taiwan and returning to New York to explore a new realm of possibilities. This subversion of conventional discourses of America is fundamental to Hu's New Age; the USA was not just somewhere for Taiwanese (or Chinese from Taiwan) to study or do business, she recreated it as a place replete with spiritual possibility.

It was while wandering the avenues of New York that Hu first encountered the work of Jiddu Krishnamurti (1896-1985). In her autobiography, she enthusiastically recalled the pronounced feeling she had on first seeing Krishnamurti's visage:

One day I was strolling down the road near Bloomingdales department store in New York and saw a small bookstore in front of me. It was the Quest Bookstore, a place I had long wanted to explore. I was filled with excitement as I pushed the door open. This bookstore was also the Theosophical Society's office. I aimlessly browsed the stores shelves, filled with books of all types of religion, philosophy and metaphysics. At that time I was not wearing my glasses and couldn't see long distance objects very clearly, but I was indescribably attracted to one distant photograph. Squinting, I walked forward to discover that the person in the photo was a feminine-looking Indian boy and the book's title was *Krishnamurti: The Years of Awakening*.

At that time I had no idea who he was other than a weighty character, evident from the revolving bookshelf full of his writings. Every book on that shelf had his face on the cover and showed an astonishing transformation from youth to old age. It appeared that at each stage of his life he was a different person, especially on Pupul Jayakar's biography *Krishnamurti: A Biography*. In that picture he was about 50 years old: I believe without any doubt whatsoever that is the most beautiful face I have seen. He seemed to be looking into another world. Normally this type of gaze is dreamlike but his was of awakening and knowing. I must say that I was captivated by this face and bought all the books on the shelf. Upon returning to my SoHo apartment I read them

one-by-one. Krishnamurti's books do not have any of the nonsense that appeals to vulgar taste as the nucleus of every sentence hits the nail on the head. In a few words he lays bare humanity's self deception and ignorance. His insight had already explored the depths of humanity's consciousness, and I was just like countless people around the world who had been inspired by his teachings. I knew that my journey to the 53 wise teachers had ended. I had found it!¹⁰

Hu's glowing account of this first encounter with Krishnamurti reveals much about her connection with the New Age in the USA. As explained earlier, the Theosophical Society was a primary influence on the New Age in the USA and the variety of books available in their store is testament to this status.¹¹ The account begins with a contrast of the cosmopolitan and the mundane: Hu is walking the world famous streets of Manhattan and yet does not have her glasses, rendering Krishnamurti's face unclear. Like Wang's pivotal experience with discovering Jane Roberts's *Seth Material*, Hu was in a book repository when she found Krishnamurti's work (instead of in a public library, she was in a bookstore). But where Wang initially borrowed Seth out of necessity (it being the last unread book on the shelf) and was attracted to his philosophy only once

¹⁰ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 205-206. This story was also mentioned, though in far less detail, in Hu's preface to Krishnamurti's *The Second Penguin Reader* (1992) and her interview with Chen "Practising frankly, confronting realistically," 11.

Her mention of the "53 teachers" refers to the final chapter in the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* 華嚴經 – the Gandavyūha. This chapter "depicts the journey of a youth named Sudhana as he visits one teacher after another, eventually seeing a total of 53. Each teacher deepens his awareness, and the group represents every level of being, from the prostitute Vasumitrā to the greatest Bodhisattva Samantabhadra." See Damien Keown, *A Dictionary of Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2003), 26.

¹¹ "Serving the spiritual needs of New Yorkers of all religions and creeds for well over a century," the Theosophical Society office opened on East 53rd St in 1952. See "About Us", accessed 22 July 2015, http://www.questbookshop.com/home/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1:about-us&catid=1:about-us&Itemid=17 and Lily Koppel, "A New Age Approach With Very Old Origins", *New York Times*, 15 February 2009, A34.

she started reading, Hu developed an immediate connection with Krishnamurti based purely on her response to his attractive and mysterious face.

Buying a copy of each of his books in the store appears slightly compulsive (and expensive), but indicates the extent to which Hu was immediately enamoured with Krishnamurti. Her reference to his aesthetically pleasing face is revealing. Having spent many years in the glamour of movies and modelling, Hu had likely developed a keen sense of what was visually appealing in a face. However, not only did Hu see a physical beauty in Krishnamurti's facial features, she also sensed a deeper meaning, evident from the image on his biography and not the images on other books. Being able to detect his wisdom and awakening simply from a photo on the cover of his book could be read as superficial. However, in China physiognomy techniques were first recorded in the Han Dynasty (206 BCE - 220 CE) and "one can identify a unified tradition of physiognomy from the early Song to the present day, a tradition which is still alive in Taiwan and Japan."¹² In crediting herself with the ability to perceive Krishnamurti's qualities simply from his gaze, but without explicitly referencing any typologies or ideals (beyond Krishnamurti's gaze), Hu reasserted her spiritual awareness and intuition. Unsurprisingly, her 1994 translation of Jayakar's biography has the same photo on the cover, even though most books in the Fine Press's New Age Series did not have cover pictures.¹³

Prior to discovering Krishnamurti, Hu's New Age experiences in the USA were mixed. Hu found the life of a "seeker" in New York to be a cheerful one and read voraciously upon returning there, noting New Age classics such as Lee Sanella's *Kundalini Experience* (1976), Ken Wilber's *The Spectrum of Consciousness* (1977), the

¹² Livia Kohn, "'Mirror of Auras': Chen Tuan on Physiognomy", *Asian Folklore Studies* 47:2 (1998): 216.

¹³ Pupul Jayakar, *Kelixinamuti zhuan* 克里希那穆提傳 [*Krishnamurti: A Biography*], trans. Terry Hu, (Taipei: Fine Press, 1994).

works of the Theosophist Alice Bailey and *The Aquarian Conspiracy* (1980) by Marilyn Ferguson.¹⁴ These books, in particular *The Aquarian Conspiracy*, resonated with Hu. In 1989 she went so far as to say that among the many New Age books, *The Aquarian Conspiracy* was the most representative work.¹⁵ Her statement reflects the late 1980s consensus that Ferguson's book "remains the most commonly accepted statement of the movement's ideals and goals."¹⁶ Reflecting on this time and the books she was reading, Hu wrote:

This barely audible summoning from the bottom of my heart started to become like thunder piercing my ear. Yes, promoting the Aquarian generation's spiritual liberation was an ancient beckoning buried deep within my DNA.¹⁷

Hu's curiosity took her out of New York and to the Light Institute in New Mexico for past-life regression therapy. This technique involves the "use of psychotherapeutic hypnosis to treat psychological disorders believed to stem from earlier lives."¹⁸ Light Institute founder Chris Griscom came to fame after Shirley MacLaine wrote about her past-life regression treatment with her.¹⁹ Hu was led there having read Griscom's *Time is an Illusion* (1988) and, reflecting her massive influence, MacLaine's *Dancing in the Light* (1986) and *It's All in the Playing* (1987).²⁰ Despite having a good impression of Griscom, Hu described a combination of frustration and success and felt cheated by some of the Light Institute's staff during acupuncture and past life regression sessions. She was not happy with how her relationship with her father in past lives was discussed

¹⁴ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 199.

¹⁵ Hu, *Ancient Future*, 147.

¹⁶ Melton, "A History of the New Age Movement," 44.

¹⁷ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 199.

¹⁸ York, *Historical Dictionary of New Age Movements*, 187.

¹⁹ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 60.

²⁰ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 200.

and claimed to have received a refund.²¹ Hu's journey to the Light Institute, and even to New York, can be viewed as a type of pilgrimage. As a self-confessed "seeker," her spiritually-inclined travels resonate with broader trends in the USA, where she could be considered part of the "gradually increasing shift ... towards a significant market in so-called New Age travel, transitioning 'Boomer hippies' from the 1960s into a logical extension of their consumer life cycle."²² Drawing on her financial and cultural capital and acting on her own in the USA, Hu was able to sample the aspects of the New Age she desired, purchasing a bespoke spiritual repertoire.

Hu returned from New York to Taiwan in late 1988 to be with her ailing father. Remarking that Taiwanese people lacked consciousness and were unaware, Hu decided to begin translating the works of Krishnamurti.²³ Along with publishing *Ancient Future*, translating his books was integral in creating her reputation as a pioneer of New Age religion in Taiwan. This was when her career as a translator and author of New Age books began in earnest, especially in her collaboration with Wang and others on the Fine Press' New Age Series.

The Advent of Taiwan's New Age?

Following her return to Taiwan, Hu began publishing magazine articles about New Age religion. The first of these was the one-page 'The Advent of the New Age' in the May 1988 edition of *China Ladies*.²⁴ Hu began the article by reflecting how until recently her life was infused with regular emotional turmoil. Having read *Seth Speaks* at the time of her divorce from Li Ao, it was only in 1986 that Hu felt that she had gained a sense of contentment, at least in how she considered contentment in a Buddhist sense.

²¹ Ibid., 204.

²² Shelley A. Attix, "New Age-Oriented Special Interest Travel: An Exploratory Study", *Tourism Recreation Research* 27:2 (2002): 51.

²³ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 216.

²⁴ Terry Hu, "Xinshidai de lailin 新時代的來臨 [The Advent of the New Age]", *Shiniu zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [*China Ladies*], May 1988, 26. For the translation see Appendix 4.

Importantly, it was in this article that she first articulated her understanding of the New Age. Hu described the New Age understanding of life as inherently stable and emotional states as outward projections of individual choices. Each of her seven points empowered readers to exercise agency over their individual emotions, harking to Seth's message "you create your own reality."

Hu's next article extolling the New Age was published in the January 1989 edition of *The Woman*.²⁵ Its title refers to a "New Era" 新世紀 (*xinshiji*) while the term used in the text is "New Age" 新時代 (*xinshidai*), hinting the accepted translation was still yet to be finalised. An edited transcript of a lecture she gave on 3 December 1988, this long article allowed Hu to articulate the difficulties inherent in modern life, using her own biography as a case study, and in doing so, share with readers her understanding of what she referred to as the "New Age Movement" (*xinshidai yundong* 新時代運動), tracing its beginning to 1944 (likely Alice Bailey's *Discipleship in the New Age*, published that year). This allowed Hu to provide a more nuanced articulation of the New Age than in her May 1988 article, clearly establishing a number of the ideas that would underpin her later work.

Hu framed her understanding of the New Age in terms of Buddhism. Taking this approach, she argued that the New Age offered a more easily understandable means of conveying the truths in Buddhism. Hu wrote how three years earlier she had discovered the quintessential idea of Buddhism: all phenomena are created by the mind alone, cognition appears through arising of mind (*wanfa wei xinzaos, jing you xin sheng* 萬法唯心造, 境由心生).²⁶ This sentence does not appear in Buddhist classics as referred to by Hu. Rather, it is a compound created by her adding two lines together. A similar

²⁵ Terry Hu, "Liubai, yingjie xinshiji de lailin 留白, 迎接新世紀的來臨 [Leaving a message to welcome the arrival of the New Age]", *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], January 1989, 104-109.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 106.

rendering of this is *yiqie wei xinzaos* (一切唯心造), where “all phenomena” is replaced by “all things.”²⁷ This sentence (with “all things”) is found in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* 華嚴經, the Mahayana sutra that formed the basis of China’s Huayan school. The second line, cognition appears through arising of mind, appears in the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* 圓覺經, a scripture likely originating in eighth century China.²⁸ Despite her efforts in studying Buddhist sutras, she found that the classical language in which they were written was simultaneously too advanced *and* too simple for the needs of modern readers. To Hu, the problems of material society and humanity’s unbalanced relationship with nature could be remedied through the internal awakening offered by the New Age. Such an approach had become part of American culture, therefore allowing the New Age to transcend religion. As such, it was appropriate for those who were not religious.²⁹ Hu ended the article by mentioning that she was hoping to open a society to publish New Age material and hold workshops. This enthusiasm carried over into her next project, which started two months later, and from that to the Fine Press’s New Age Series.

Between March 1989 and September 1990 Hu published a monthly column in *The Woman* called ‘Dropping Arms’ (*xiechu wuzhuang* 卸除武裝) where she shared her breakthroughs in spiritual practice (*xiuxing* 修行).³⁰ Ten of these articles were ultimately published in *Ancient Future* in March 1990. Of the remaining eight articles, only one

²⁷ “一切唯心造”, last modified 9 December 2007, <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=一切唯心造>

²⁸ Damien Keown, *A Dictionary of Buddhism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2003), 26.

²⁹ Hu, “Leaving a message to welcome the arrival of the New Age,” 109.

³⁰ Each column in the series was prefaced with this paragraph:

From my spiritual practice,
I have felt just a slight release from worldly cares,
Because I am a busybody,
I haven’t waited for a great release from worldly cares,
I just wanted to urgently share this sentiment with others,
Thus Dropping Arms was born.

seems to have reappeared elsewhere, with Hu including material from her March 1990 column ‘*Ershi shiji de roushen pusa* 二十世紀的肉身菩薩 [Twentieth Century Bodhisattva]’ in her preface to Ye Wenke’s 葉文可 June 1990 translation of Krishnamurti’s *Think on These Things*.³¹

Of her early articles that were not reprinted in *Ancient Future*, the most notable was her May 1989 dialogue with Meng Xiangsen 孟祥森 (also known as Meng Dongli 孟東籬 1937-2009) titled ‘*Nianliu* 念流 [Flowing Mind],’ possibly named after Meng’s diary of the same name published in 1988. A noted translator and author, Meng’s oeuvre included D.T. Suzuki and Erich Fromm’s *Zen Buddhism and Psychoanalysis* 禪與心理分析 (1971), a translation Hu claimed to have read in the mid-1980s.³² Later, after Wang translated the first volume of Neale Donald Walsch’s *Conversations with God* (1998), Meng translated the second and third volumes. In ‘Flowing Mind’, Hu and Meng discussed in detail, among other things, Krishnamurti, Seth and reincarnation.³³

Hu and Meng’s discussion provides an essential insight into her struggles introducing the New Age to Taiwan. Raised a Catholic and experienced with Buddhist thought, Meng was sympathetic to Hu’s position, yet remained skeptical. For instance, he was doubtful about Krishnamurti’s views on sex as in this area Krishnamurti “had no real experience.”³⁴ While aware of Buddhist views on reincarnation, Meng did not believe in it (at that time, at least), thus making Hu’s Seth-informed arguments appear

³¹ Terry Hu, ‘Xu 序 [Preface]’ in Jiddu Krishnamurti, *Think on These Things Renshengzhong Bukebuxiangde Shi* 人生中不可不想的事 [Lit. *The Things in Life You Cannot but Think About*], translated by Ye Wenke 葉文可, (Taipei: Fine Press, 1990), 1-8.

³² Terry Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 198.

³³ Terry Hu, “*Nianliu* 念流 [Floating Mind]”, *The Woman*, May 1989, 22-28.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 23. In a 1961 lecture, Krishnamurti discussed the ability of sexual desire to exert control over actions but that “Without love you will never find out what truth is.” See “The Mirror of Relationship: Love, Sex and Chastity.” Accessed 6 August 2016 <http://www.jkrishnamurti.org/krishnamurti-teachings/view-text.php?tid=694&chid=5013>

less convincing than she might have otherwise intended. However, she gave him a section of Seth's readings called 'unceasing soul' (likely from Wang's translation of *Seth Speaks: The Eternal Validity of the Soul*). Meng shared his feelings on Seth in a postscript to the interview:

Although I am still only just reading the first part, it feels unusually brilliant and 'unimaginable.' In the realm of philosophy, it seems like the traditional physics of the theory of relativity. In my personal experience, it is like a child who only has one piece of stained glass but then, suddenly, has the multiple universes of a kaleidoscope.

My radio antenna was originally only aimed in one direction, now it is has started to be omnidirectional, receiving even more information.

I believe a multi-perspective worldview is forming in my mind.

Where Hu was unable to completely convince Meng of the brilliance and relevance of the New Age, the shared words of Seth (presumably as translated by Wang), were. Meng's metaphors of a kaleidoscope and, in particular, him as a radio antenna, suggest his understanding of Seth as something modern and suitable for Taiwan's hi-tech society.³⁵

History of the Fine Press

The Fine Press (*Fangzhi chubanshe* 方智出版社) was started by Tsao Yu-fang 曹又方 and Chien Chih-chung (簡志忠 1955-). Born in Shanghai, Tsao escaped with her family to Taiwan in the Chinese Civil War where she later became a publishing identity. She also spent some time in the USA which was the setting for her novel *The American Moon* (*Meiguo yueliang* 美國月亮, 1986). This book was an exploration of love,

³⁵ The use of mechanical metaphors in modern spirituality is not uncommon and some "seekers direct the psychospiritual quest through the image of the machine, using the mechanism, as it were, to trigger its own wake-up alarm." See Erik Davis, *TechGnosis: Myth, Magic & Mysticism in the Age of Information* (Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2015), 136.

friendship (and “the miseries of working-class Chinese in New York City”³⁶), as experienced by two young women from Taiwan. Writing in Chinese of her life in the USA, Tsao discussed “issues of interracial love involving white women and Chinese men, and relations with other minorities, among others.”³⁷ She built her career on these themes, publishing many books and articles on love and relationships. Importantly, she had been friends with Hu since the late 1970s.³⁸

An imprint of The Eurasian Publishing Group (*Yuanshen chuban shiye jigou* 圓神出版事業機構), The Fine Press printed a number of different series of which the New Age Series is integral to this study.³⁹ The Chinese name of the Fine Press is based on characters in their initials: the first character in its Chinese name is *fang* 方, drawn from the last character in Tsao’s name; the second character in the Chinese name is *zhi* 智, meaning wisdom or resourcefulness and a homonym for the middle character in Chien’s name.⁴⁰

³⁶ Benson Tong, *The Chinese Americans* (revised edition) (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2003), 218.

³⁷ See Anne Chao, “Moving In, Moving Up, and Moving Around: Literary Perspectives on the History of Chinese-American Immigration” in *World History: Global and Local Interactions*, Patrick Manning (ed) (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005), 117.

³⁸ Terry Hu, *Talking Nonsense, Sleep Talking*, 13. Also, Hu appears throughout Tsao’s autobiography *Lingyu Ciqing* 靈慾刺青 [*Tattoo of Spiritual Desire*] (Taipei: Eurasian, 2005).

³⁹ The two characters in Eurasian’s name (*yuan shen* 圓神) are drawn from the Qing dynasty historian Zhang Xuecheng’s 章學誠 *On Literature and History* (1836). Eurasian started in 1985 and found early success with Lung Ying-tai’s *The Wildfire*. See <https://www.booklife.com.tw/品牌故事/action-story.htm> accessed 24 September 2015. The 100th book in the New Age Series, Neale Donald Walsche’s *Friendship with God* 與神為友, translated by C.C. Wang, was published in October 2000. As of December 2016, the Fine Press continues to publish the New Age Series.

⁴⁰ Tsao, “*Tattoo of Spiritual Desire*,” 143.

The New Age Series creates its own reality

In a discussion with Chien about the negative tone and stories that dominated the news, Wang wondered why the media did not “let people see the light and experience love?”. This prompted to him to offer her the opportunity to collaborate—thus began the New Age Series.⁴¹ Its first book was published in September 1989, *Three Prescriptions for Happiness* by Ken Keyes Jr., which was actually listed as number two in the series. As listed on its back cover Wang was the planner and her advisors were Hu, Tsao, Sun Chen-hwa 孫春華 and Cong Su 叢甦 (See Figure 5).⁴² Pictured earlier with Wang and Hu in Egypt, Sun was a longtime friend of Hu’s who had written screenplays for movies such as *The Golden Age* 閃光的日子 (1977) and *True Love* 真真的愛 (1977), starring Hu, and supported her during her divorce from Li Ao.⁴³ Also an accomplished yogi, Sun influenced Hu’s spiritual development, helping trigger her kundalini energy. In 1989 Sun was also a producer of the program *Xinling zhi Lü* 心靈之旅 [*Journey of the Spirit*], hosted by Hu’s friend Ding Nai-chu.⁴⁴

From its beginning the New Age Series was consciously marketed and identifiable as New Age. Hu’s *Ancient Future*, listed as number one in the series, was actually published in March 1990, retrospectively assuming the number one position, even though six translations had already been published. Hu claimed *Ancient Future*’s retrospective insertion at the top of the New Age series was not the only inconsistency in numbering.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 9-10.

⁴² Hu was still credited as 胡茵夢 in September 1989, with the grass radical *cao* 艹 above the second character in her name, *Yin* 茵. This is the last instance I can find before she published using the name *Yin* 因. Keyes Jr., *Three Prescriptions for Happiness*, 4.

⁴³ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 180.

⁴⁴ Zhou Xiaochun 周曉春, “*Dimu de xin* 地母的心 [Mother Earth’s Heart]”, *The Woman*, May 1989, 18.

⁴⁵ See Appendix 1 for a list of the New Age Series. Many books were not published according to the sequence of their numbers.

Image removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Figure 5: Meng Dongli 孟東籬, Tsao Yu-fang 曹又方, Terry Hu 胡因夢, C.C. Wang 王季慶 and Ning Mingjie 寧明杰. See Tsao Yu-fang 曹又方. *Lingyu Ciqing* 靈慾刺青 [*Tattoo of Spiritual Desire*] (Taipei: Eurasian, 2005). np. Undated, those in the photo were all involved with the Eurasian Publishing Group.

In addition to *Three Prescriptions for Happiness*, there was another number two. In August 1994, the Fine Press reprinted Wang's translation of *The Seth Material* 靈界的訊息 as number two.⁴⁶ By August 1994 the New Age series included 30 books, so installing *The Seth Material* at number two can be seen as a way to both assert Wang's place at the top of Taiwan's New Age scene and reassert the importance of Seth.

Several features distinguished the early translations in the New Age Series. Apart from *Ancient Future*, each book in the early New Age Series adhered to a simple standard graphic design format. The majority of the cover was white, with a coloured vertical bar in the upper central section encasing the book's title. This colour varied from text to text. There was also a blurb, drawing the reader to the book's key message

⁴⁶ As mentioned earlier, *The Seth Material* (translated in Taiwan as *News from the Spiritual World*) was Wang's first Seth translation, initially published in November 1982.

and occasionally an image too, such as a lotus or Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh's face. The back cover included a coloured bar with the book's title and names of the author and translator, and sometimes the editors too. The back cover also included further details on the book's contents.⁴⁷

The early editions of the New Age Series included advertisements for preceding books in the series and other titles published by the Fine Press that readers may be interested in. In lieu of an organisation or society that generated social bonds between it and readers, the publishers appear to have been attempting to retain their readership through targeted advertising. As a result, and beyond any extant reading groups, at this time the Fine Press was essentially the largest visible New Age organisation in Taiwan. At various stages throughout the series, advertising took the form of pamphlets inserted inside, or bands wrapped around, the books.⁴⁸ The early translations in the New Age Series also included two important sections that introduced the New Age. The first was an essay by Wang.

Around 1,700 Chinese characters in length, Wang's essay introducing the New Age Series was fundamental in establishing the philosophical tone for the series and, more broadly, establishing for readers in Taiwan exactly what the New Age was.⁴⁹ In it she continued her tendency to detail her own personal evolution, now framed in the context of New Age transformation. Wang wrote how she had dealt with existential issues ("Who am I? Where did I come from? Where am I going?") since the age of 9.

⁴⁷ The graphic designer credited for this layout was Xie Shuhua 謝淑華.

⁴⁸ Of the pamphlets I have found, the most relevant was "*Xinshidai Kelixinamuti* 新時代克裡希那穆提 [New Age Krishnamurti]," inserted in one of his November 1996 publications. See Figure 7.

⁴⁹ A translation of Wang's introduction to the New Age Series is at Appendix 5. Wang's introduction appeared in all the early books in the New Age Series (apart from Hu's *Ancient Future*) until March 1991, after which point it was occasionally published. The last instance I found of it is in the December 1995 translation of Robert A. Monroe's *Far Journeys* [*Linghun Chuti* 靈魂出體 lit. *The Soul Out of the Body*], translated by Xiang Ling 翔翎.

Her search for matters of “Ultimate Concern” (Wang wrote these two words in English, as well as the Chinese translation) had continued through some very difficult periods in her life. Having translated Gibran’s *The Prophet* and read Seth’s work, later in the USA Wang encountered the Bantam New Age Books series and was moved by what she read. Wang’s introduction to the New Age was closely linked to the teachings of Seth (as she would be, personally, throughout her career) but she also mentioned the Aquarian Age, suggesting the influence of Marilyn Ferguson’s seminal New Age text, *The Aquarian Conspiracy* (a favourite of Hu’s). She then introduced seven of “the most powerful ideas”:

1. We are all part of the ‘spirit’ 我們皆為「神」的一部分
2. You create your own reality 你創造你自己的實相
3. Affirm human consciousness 肯定人生的意識
4. The internally existing nature of morality 道德的內在性
5. Physical and mental health is the natural state 心身健康是自然狀態
6. Environmental protection 環境保護
7. Unconditional love 無條件的愛

Wang’s conclusion indicated the personal energy that she was investing in this ambitious project. Along with Hu and Sun and the organisational support of Tsao and Chien, she wanted to give the love and joy of the New Age to willing readers. In the closing sentences Wang’s maternal instincts were strongly represented. Writing that she was once a panic-stricken and troubled child who has now awoken to the realisation that “Life=Light=Love” (once again, written by Wang in English and Chinese), Wang yearned to help other terrified children. In noting how just as the mind can create a hell, so too can it create a heaven, Wang emphasised how each person has the agency to

influence his or her own happiness. This demonstrates the Seth-centric core of Wang's New Age views as seen in her second point: You create your own reality.

The second section repeated on the last page of the early New Age Series was an exhortation to readers to consider environmental issues.⁵⁰ Drawing readers' attention to the imminent millennium, the editors emphasised this as a crucial time for the environment. With the wellbeing and ongoing existence of humanity so closely aligned with the health of the planet, the editors argued that pollution and degradation of natural resources had reached the point where urgent action was required. Readers were encouraged to engage with environmental groups and "rise up with spirit" to consider the legacy of a ruined environment for future generations. A list of environmental groups was included at the bottom of the page.

Wang contributed the majority of translations in the early days of the New Age Series. Of the first seven books, published between September 1989 and November 1989, she translated three: Swami Muktananda's *Kundalini: The Secret of Life*, Sanaya Roman's *Living with Joy: Keys to Personal Power & Spiritual Transformation* and Pat Rodegast's *Emmanuel's Book: A Manual for Living Comfortably in the Cosmos*. This work undoubtedly accounts for her time since her third Seth translation was published in February 1987. Apart from Hu's *Ancient Future*, the New Age Series was bereft of original works by local authors until the January 1997 collection *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*], which included chapters by Wang, Hu, Meng and Tsao, and was the 60th title in the series. Reflecting on the choice of translations in the early years of the New Age Series, Wang acknowledged that some of the New Age books published in America were "dross" but

⁵⁰ The last translation to feature this section was Frank Townsend's *Earth*, translated by Hu Yingyin 胡英音 with the literal title 大地 in July 1990. Ironically, *Earth* was the only translation in the series to this point that explicitly dealt with environmental issues.

by cautiously providing readers in Taiwan with a broad range of translations, the editors hoped to aid readers' self understanding and maturity.⁵¹

When looking at the first 101 books in the New Age Series (published up to October 2000) distinct patterns emerge.⁵² The majority of books were translations. Only nine were written by authors from Taiwan, of which three were either written by, or included chapters from, Wang.⁵³ Her influence also spread to the prominence of Seth in the New Age Series. Including explanatory and introductory works, there were 15 Seth books in the New Age Series during this period. Krishnamurti was even more strongly represented, with 24 translations either by or about him – nearly a quarter of the entire catalogue. However, Hu only translated five books, the last in November 1996. Nine books dealt with Native American shamanic practices and wisdom, as found in the works of Carlos Castaneda and Lynn V. Andrews, eight of which were translated by Lu Mi 魯密. While *Conversations with God* is one of the New Age Series' biggest sellers, works by Neale Donald Walsch only account for four of the first 101 books.⁵⁴ The

⁵¹ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 30.

⁵² I say 101 books because two books were published as #2. Also *Krishnamurti's Journal* was released twice: in March 1994 as #28 and then 9 months later as #24.

⁵³ While it is beyond the scope of this study to thoroughly investigate all the original New Age books written by Taiwan authors, they are worthy of further research. Albert Chen 陳建志, a keen member of Wang's Seth reading group, wrote *Perform Your Past Lives* 演好你的前世今生 (1997) and *52 Gifts From the Angels* 天使的 52 個禮物 (1999). Chen Liyu 陳麗宇 discussed her experiences with the Osho group in *The Heavenly Paradise of Mind, Body and Spirit* 身心靈天堂樂園 (1998), as did Wang Jingrong 王靜蓉 in *Osho's Meditation Journey* 奧修靜心之旅 (1999). Liao Yuepeng 廖閱鵬, a former member of the NRM Modern Chan 現代禪, discussed his spiritual journey, paying particular attention to the teachings of G.I. Gurdjieff and P.D. Ouspensky, in *Journey of Transforming the Soul* 靈魂煉金之旅 (1998). Lan Ruofei 蘭若非, Chen Meiling 陳玫玲 and Qiu Liwen 邱麗文, members of Wang's New Age reading group, self-published *Shei jiao ni yao ting hua* 誰教你要聽話? [*Who taught you to listen?*] in approximately 1999, a discussion on ideas related to the New Age.

⁵⁴ In 2012 I met with a representative from The Fine Press but she was unwilling to divulge sales figures. However, the company did share some sales figures with Chen Shu-chuan – by 2004 The Fine Press had sold 30,000 copies of *Conversations with God* [See S. Chen, *Contemporary New Age Transformation in Taiwan*, 218]. In November 2015 *Conversations with God* was in its 85th printing.

longevity of the New Age Series indicates that for all the initial good intentions of the publishers to “let people see the light and experience love,”⁵⁵ ultimately it was commercially viable. Tsao acknowledged the series’ readers as faithful and dedicated to understanding the books’ contents.⁵⁶

Translation and retreat as spiritual practice

Of the translators employed by the Fine Press, Wang and Hu elaborated in greatest detail in their prefaces, sharing insights on the task of translation and how it also served as a practice of personal transformation. In this context, it is also worthwhile considering how Wang and Hu utilised retreats as places in which to translate. The translation and retreat experiences of Wang and Hu can be considered in the much longer context of translation and retreat in Chinese religious history.

Retreat has long been an important part of the various religious traditions in China. Retreats (sometimes secular) were undertaken generally by well-educated men who sought to disengage from the world; through withdrawal, “he strove to maintain his personal integrity, autonomy and self-reliance.”⁵⁷ Unlike in the West where hermits have been regarded as having to physically isolate themselves, often in a distant or inhospitable environment,

in China the idea of physical isolation was not fundamental to eremitism, though hermits might seek to varying degrees to separate themselves from society. What was fundamental was the idea of cutting oneself off from public life, putting distance between oneself and those concerns of the world which might deflect one from one’s

⁵⁵ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 9-10.

⁵⁶ Tsao, *Tattoo of Spiritual Desire*, 153.

⁵⁷ Alan J. Berkowitz, “The Moral Hero: A Pattern of Reclusion in Traditional China”, *Monumenta Serica* 40 (1992): 1-2 and ref 8.

moral or political purpose. This was something which could be achieved while living among the common people, in poverty and anonymity.⁵⁸

While for Hu and Wang examples of such recluses and hermits would have formed part of their educational corpus, it would have been the cultural world of post-war Taiwan that more deeply influenced their own motivation to seek the quiescence of retreat. Spending time separate from society reappears among accounts of NRM founders in Taiwan. For instance, Cheng Yen (founder of Tzu Chi) spent a period wandering itinerantly in Taiwan and Sheng Yen (聖嚴, 1930-2009, founder of Dharma Drum Mountain, *Fagu shan* 法鼓山) wrote of a six-year retreat at a monastery in southern Taiwan and even claimed to have spent a period homeless on the streets of New York City.⁵⁹ Elijah Hong (紅以利亞, 1927-), the current leader of the New Testament Church, a Christian NRM based at Mount Zion in southern Taiwan, received directions from God to settle on the mountain during a period of wandering.⁶⁰ In addition to prayer and reflection, retreat has been used as an opportunity to study and translate religious texts.

One of the earliest examples of translation of religious texts in China is found in the history of Buddhism. The massive project of translating Buddhist texts from Sanskrit into Chinese took the millennia until the end of the Tang Dynasty, during which many monks, both Chinese and foreign, collaborated to reproduce the texts, and

⁵⁸ Aat Vervoorn, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of the Chinese Eremitic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1990), 8.

⁵⁹ Madsen, *Democracy's Dharma*, 27, 92; C. Julia Huang, *Charisma and Compassion: Cheng Yen and the Buddhist Tzu Chi Movement* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), 20-21; Sheng Yen, *Footprints in the Snow: The Autobiography of a Chinese Buddhist Monk* (New York: Doubleday, 2008), 116-131 and 167-174; and Yu-Shuang Yao, *Taiwan's Tzu Chi as Engaged Buddhism: Origins, Organization, Appeal and Social Impact* (Lieden: Global Oriental, 2012), 62-64.

⁶⁰ See Paul J. Farrelly, "The New Testament Church and Mount Zion in Taiwan" in *Flows of Faith: Religious Reach and Community in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Lenore Manderson, Wendy Smith and Matt Tomlinson (Dordrecht: Springer, 2012), 186.

in doing so, advanced the art of translation considerably. Key individuals have been recognised for their translation efforts, most notably the seventh century monk Xuanzang 玄奘, but there was also the coordinated efforts of translation teams. Foreign monks, generally Indian, were integral to the translation process at various times throughout history, aiding Chinese monks in producing what was considered to be the best possible translation.⁶¹ During the nineteenth century China witnessed another considerable translation project, this time of Christian Bibles. Like many of the earlier Buddhist translations, Bible translations were also collaborations, with foreign missionaries supported by Chinese assistants in rendering it into the new language.⁶² As were Christianity and Buddhism, the New Age was foreign to China, and in this case Taiwan, and would need the combined efforts of many translators and the commercial nous of a successful publisher to reach a broad readership.

The translation of New Age texts is fundamental to the true global circulation of New Age religion, in the sense that it is not a phenomenon restricted to the Anglosphere. The apparent dominance of English language New Age material can certainly be investigated from examples in Taiwan, Japan and Korea. Indeed, while there are a number of studies of New Age activity around the world, including in East Asia, “the New Age is usually understood as presenting a mostly uniform appearance in different countries where internationally-popular books are translated into regional languages and internationally-popular healing modalities are practised in the same way in every country.”⁶³ Suggestions such as “The *lingua franca* of New Age is English also outside English-speaking countries, a fact so natural that it is no longer even commented upon

⁶¹ Kenneth K.S. Chen, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1964), 365-372.

⁶² Patrick Hanan, “The Bible as Chinese Literature: Medhursts, Wang Tao, and the Delegates’ Version”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 63:1 (2003): 197.

⁶³ Darren Kemp and James R. Lewis, “Global Aspects of New Age” in Darren Kemp and James R. Lewis (eds), *Handbook of New Age* (Leiden, Brill: 2007), 289.

in information pamphlets on New Age-related lectures and courses”⁶⁴ indicate an urgent need to reconsider how non-Anglophone countries produce, circulate and use New Age texts. Likewise, a suggestion such as “Falun Gong is much the same in China as in the west” (made in the context of the transnational reception, or consumption, of spiritual ideas)⁶⁵ clearly articulates the trap of overlooking the nuanced ways in which translated materials can be imbued with significantly different (or even new) meanings when consumed in new social and political conditions. To suggest that Falun Gong—proscribed by the CCP as an ‘evil cult’—exists in the same way in China as it does in Australia, Taiwan or anywhere else, disregards the multiple ways in which ideas can be recreated in new contexts and mobilised to suit different objectives. Translators of the New Age (and, to varying extents, their publishers) can exert considerable influence in how a text is represented, and therefore received, in a new language.

While there have been studies of important New Age figures, the lives and experiences of translators have not been considered. In the case of Wang and Hu this is especially important as not only were they translators, they were also authors *and* practitioners. In considering the process of translation, the way in which the author understood a certain text (in this instance, in English) and how they chose to recreate it (in Mandarin), we see that not only was a new text produced, but that the translators affected some sort of transformation of her self. While the experiences of teachers and adherents of New Age religion have been well documented around the world, the role of translator is yet to receive the same treatment. Annie Besant, the onetime leader of the Theosophical Society translated the Hindu text *The Bhagavad Gita* (1896) and it “became a central text of Theosophy and through its intercession ... could reach a

⁶⁴ Liselotte Frisk, “Globalization or Westernization?’ in Mikael Rothstein (ed), *New Age Religion and Globalization* (Aarhus, Aarhus University Press: 2003), 39.

⁶⁵ Heelas, *Spiritualities of Life*, 106.

transnational, transcultural audience, acquiring new, spectacularly effective, forms and meanings in the West as well as in India.”⁶⁶ Wang and Hu do not (yet) share Besant’s profile, but their translation efforts in Taiwan are equally important for the dissemination of the New Age there.

New Age books were not the only foreign texts to be translated in Taiwan *en masse*. Many popular genres have found an audience there and a substantial body of translators exists to support this industry, with some translators, such as Wang and Hu, developing a professional profile. As two of the highest profile translators of New Age texts in Taiwan (and, in Wang’s case, the longest serving), it is worth considering their positions. Writing about fantasy translators in Taiwan, Yu-ling Chung wrote:

a ‘visible’ or ‘recognized’ translator can be defined by the stakes and interest she possesses, namely the capital she has. Capital has different forms; if applied to a translation field, veteran and typically isolated translators tend to hold more cultural capital and symbolic capital, with limited economic and social capital.⁶⁷

To the cultural capital and symbolic capital accrued by Wang and Hu, may be added the ‘spiritual capital’—the number of revelations and ongoing growth each experienced through the act of translating—which has been essential to their professional longevity as translators and personal satisfaction as humans.

⁶⁶ Mishka Sinha, ‘The Transnational Gita’ in Shruti Kapila, Faisal Devji (eds), *Political Thought in Action: The Bhagavad Gita and Modern India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 43.

⁶⁷ Yu-ling Chung, *Translation and Fantasy Literature in Taiwan: Translators as Cultural Brokers and Social Networkers* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 2.

Ancient Future

Ancient Future encapsulates Hu's vision of New Age religion in 1990 (see Figure 6).⁶⁸ Unlike the other early books in the New Age Series, *Ancient Future* has a distinctive cover. Hu is sitting cross-legged and in loose-fitting clothes, her head at a slight angle as she gazes deeply at the camera. Just above her head is a copy of Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper, illuminated by a downlight.⁶⁹ On the right of the picture is a potted plant and on the left a large geode. This setting was later used in a magazine shoot.⁷⁰ In contrast to the relatively drab designs of the other books in the series, the design of *Ancient Future* gave readers an immediate visual cue. Hu appears comfortable and at peace, in a private space, curated to demonstrate spiritual open mindedness. Under her is a line assuring readers that all royalties will be donated to the World Earth Day Magazine Society. At the back of the book there is an advertisement for the upcoming World Earth Day on 22 April 1990 and a membership application form for the society. *Ancient Future* is a rich text that has, so far, yet to be considered in the context of Taiwan's religious history, let alone in studies of the New Age. In this chapter I will examine it primarily as a religious biography, strong in confessional and transformative passages, that offers insights about life as a modern woman in late twentieth century Taiwan.

Like Wang did in her New Age preface, Hu began her book with biographical anecdotes. Hu's preface harks back to recurring themes in her writing and life. Beginning with apocalyptic scenes of famine and environmental destruction from

⁶⁸ *Ancient Future* was the third book that Hu wrote, and the first with her name rendered in Chinese characters as 因 and not 茵. By November 1991 it had been reprinted five times but in 2016, unlike some of the other early books in the New Age Series, was out of print and difficult to find in second hand bookstores.

⁶⁹ Hu wrote how she saw Leonardo da Vinci's iconic painting on a trip to Italy organised by the prominent architect (and Wang's then-husband), C.Y. Lee 李祖原. See Hu, *Ancient Future*, 56.

⁷⁰ Wu Jialing 吳家玲, "Hu Yinmeng youhua yao shuo 胡因夢有話要說 [Terry Hu has something to say]" *The Woman*, December 1991: 47.

Image removed from digital thesis to
avoid copyright infringement

Figure 6: Terry Hu 胡因夢. *Gulao de weilai* 古老的未來 [*Ancient Future*] (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1990).

around the world, she worried that in 20 years there may not be any natural environment left. She sensed a change in mentality that drew on ancient wisdom and began in the USA 30 years prior. Speaking of spiritual developments in America and Europe, Hu enthused in *Ancient Future*:

While this vanguard follows the archaic, it is by no means scheming to return humanity to the windmill era. Rather it wants to use ancient wisdom to fundamentally find out the cause of disease and make human society capable of even more exquisiteness, and use creativity to genuinely attain a world of mutual love and harmony. Europeans and Americans call this revolution of fundamentally changing human consciousness ‘The New Age Movement.’⁷¹

Hu aimed for the book to allow readers to integrate spiritual practice into their daily lives, incorporating ancient wisdom and modern science, and do so in a way free from the authority of “artificial organisations or religious groups.”⁷² She proceeded to enthuse how Westerners have successfully incorporated Eastern religious ideas and medical practices into their daily lives. She also praised Shirley MacLaine, whose books and movie of her own spiritual development broke several taboos.⁷³ For Hu, the New Age was not an abstract concept at all.

Hu wrote herself into *Ancient Future* as the conduit for the New Age in Taiwan. In suggesting that Chinese people should open themselves to the “nutrients” of the New Age Movement, she gave herself the mission of becoming a rainbow (arched) bridge from the West, “allowing people’s spirits to exchange on the bridge, to reflect on the

⁷¹ Hu, *Ancient Future*, 2-3.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 3.

⁷³ On 24 July 2012 I asked Hu about Shirley MacLaine and the New Age. She said (in English) as people they are “Very different, she’s into psychic phenomenon... Shirley MacLaine is really romantic, I’m not. (I’m) down to earth.”

rainbow.”⁷⁴ As mentioned earlier, Hu used this metaphor in her 1986 interview with the *Washington Post* and recalled drawing a picture representing such an image when at school. Ever since she first came into the public eye in the early 1970s, Hu had depicted herself as an authority on the West, in particular the USA. Transforming into the bridge that would introduce New Age teachings to Taiwan was the result of not just her time spent exploring spiritual alternatives in the USA, but a much longer process of exposure to American culture that went right back to her childhood.

The first chapter of *Ancient Future* explores the concept of “I am” (*Benwo ji shi* 本我即是).⁷⁵ In exploring her understanding of the religious elements of this idea, both East and West, Hu once again draws on her own experiences to demonstrate the veracity of the concept. The first time she saw the four characters for ‘I am’ she said “my mind was like it was hit by a flash of lightning in the middle of summer, a stirring that is impossible to describe and I can go so far as to say it was a vibration.”⁷⁶ Describing the revelation as a vibration suggests that Hu was not merely intellectually understanding or feeling it, but actually embodying this new awareness.

The title of the second chapter of *Ancient Future*, ‘You Create Your Own Reality’ is the same as the Seth-derived slogan for the New Age Series. This chapter is strongly autobiographical; Hu plotted her own life experiences in the context of her

⁷⁴ Hu, *Ancient Future*, 6. It should be noted that the image of a rainbow bridge appears in indigenous Taiwanese cultures. For instance, deceased members of the Atayal group must cross a rainbow bridge to link with the souls of their ancestors.

⁷⁵ The extent to which Hu was exposed to the teachings and activities of the ‘I AM’ religious activity is unclear. The ‘I AM’ teachings were revealed by Guy and Edna Ballard and developed the ideas of Ascended Masters from the Theosophical Society. The ‘I AM Presence’, as taught by the Ballards, was “the energy supporting all the manifested world” [Massimo Introvigne, “Saint Germain Foundation” in Peter B. Clarke (ed), *Encyclopedia of New Religious Movements* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 498]. While many of the ideas espoused by the Ballards were adopted by New Age authors, their organisation grew to have 300 centres throughout the USA in 1988, at which time Hu was in the USA [J. Gordon Melton et al, *New Age Almanac* (Detroit: Visible Ink Press, 1991), 13.].

⁷⁶ Hu, *Ancient Future*, 13.

recently discovered New Age wisdom. She began by recounting the turning point she experienced at the age of 27, the year after her marriage and divorce to Li Ao. Hu does not reference him or their relationship here, but this would have been common knowledge among her fans at the time, and probably among her wider readership in Taiwan. After a well-documented youth full of plentiful experiences, Hu felt like she still did not know who she was.

Hu wrote of the events and emotions that developed into her spiritual hagiography. She regarded her parents' unsteady marriage, the emotional tension with her mother, her years at boarding school, her talent for creative work and struggles with mathematics and science as influences. Likewise, Hu shared her feelings of emancipation generated from the folk music she enjoyed while studying at Fu Jen University and hanging out at Cafe Columbia and Idea House.⁷⁷

Hu then detailed how she encountered the teachings of Seth and the importance of this encounter. As mentioned earlier, after her divorce, Wang gave Hu a copy of *Seth Speaks: The Eternal Validity of the Soul*. For Hu reading this book was a turning point. *Seth Speaks* became her "bible," helping her remove self-doubt and experience a feeling of awakening and the way in which Seth empowered readers to be the director of his or her own life was a revelation to Hu.⁷⁸ She also wrote how some years later, late one night, she had the realisation that Seth's maxim 'You Create Your Own Reality' is the same as Buddhism's 'All phenomena are nothing but consciousness.'⁷⁹ This was not the only way in which Seth can be seen to have influenced Hu's inclination to reshape New Age theologies in a Buddhist form.

⁷⁷ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 81.

⁷⁸ Hu, *Ancient Future*, 28.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

Hu starred in her last film in 1986. Her decision to quit the movie business was the result of studying Seth and Buddhist classics (it may have also have been brought on by a downturn in Taiwan's film industry and a subsequent scarcity of roles). Through participating in classes and discussions she was able to "lift the veil of ignorance" which had prevented her from being true to herself.⁸⁰ She also proposed what she called a simple solution to emotional problems:

In reality, the way of resolving this is very simple. The first step is to humbly acknowledge that the ultimate essence of things is single-handedly created by you. If this self-edited, self-directed and self-performed soap opera appears to have deviated from the script, then the first action we must adopt is "self revolution" and change passive acceptance into the initiative to improve. When our own karmic rewards and moral character are not enough to makes things well for oneself, we only need to patiently give. From giving we practice concern and love for ourself and concern and love for others. Accumulated over a long time, the universe's fixed law of karma naturally gives us the deserved repayment.

For those friends still in deep suffering, I say to you "congratulations." My personal experience has told me that the next step after suffering is endless creativity. But as a prerequisite you must intuitively perceive that "you create your own reality." When you stand naked and face yourself free of excuses, you are able to discover the answer has long been waiting in your heart.⁸¹

This understanding of life as a performance that is broadcast for the world indicates the extent to which her life-long interest in movies shaped her understanding of reality. For Hu the revelations available in the New Age were simple and intuitive ways to access

⁸⁰ Ibid., 34.

⁸¹ Ibid., 37-38.

answers that you already possessed. The wisdom of the New Age was inherent in people; they just needed to have the interest and guidance to access it.

The rest of *Ancient Future* contains a range of topics through which an understanding of Hu's New Age becomes visible. In addition to her musings on the link between New Age religion and other more established or familiar religions and philosophies, Hu talked at length about the environment, as well as discussing matters of eco-feminism, parenting, psychology and New Age music.⁸²

Ancient Future included five chapters that explicitly dealt with environmental issues. In her autobiography Hu wrote how on Earth Day in 1990, just one month after *Ancient Future* was published, she was protesting at a nuclear power station in the southern city of Kaohsiung.⁸³ For Hu, the New Age had a strong element of environmental protection and she alerted readers in Taiwan to how they should be concerned. Hu noted following the Chernobyl nuclear power plant incident in 1986 the USA, USSR and several other European countries began reducing their reliance on nuclear power. However, she was disappointed that Taiwan continued to pursue developing nuclear power options. Beyond the immediate economic, safety and

⁸² Hu's chapter on New Age music is likely one of the earliest Chinese language introductions to the topic. Her appreciation of 1960s style protest folk music has already been established, but she also enjoyed listening to a range of musical styles, such as Indian, Middle Eastern and flamenco. Hu first heard New Age music while studying at a Blavatsky centre in New York in 1984 or 1985. Hu then offered a summary of what differentiates New Age musicians from ordinary musicians. According to Hu, New Age musicians have three special qualities. They have practiced Zen, integrated body, mind and spirit and they open themselves to self knowledge and universal knowledge. Predicting that New Age music will become more and more popular, Hu suggested readers first obtain a sampler CD before deciding which albums to purchase. New Age music can create an environment suitable for spiritual practice, something necessary as lives become more complicated and anxious. For Hu, music was lacking in her life after the 1960s protest folk scene. Her discovery of New Age music changed this and these songs "make her feel as if she is dancing in the air". See Hu, *Ancient Future*, 52. For a translation of this chapter, see <http://www.thechinastory.org/2014/09/new-age-music-新世代音樂/>, accessed 1 February 2015.

⁸³ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 222.

pollution risks, Hu worried that nuclear power jeopardised the opportunities for future generations.⁸⁴

In her chapter on the risks of animal extinction, Hu argued that people must become global citizens. Recognising that Chinese people have long held the fear of hunger, she worried what will happen once economic circumstances in China improve – their fondness for certain animals will certainly put these species at risk.⁸⁵ When writing *Ancient Future*, Hu could not have expected many in China would read it, at least at that time. Links with Taiwan were only just reopening and publishing opportunities there were still limited. Yet she referred to her readership in Taiwan as Chinese. So while here she was probably directly addressing Taiwan’s contemporary economic miracle as one of the ‘Four Asian Tigers,’ she was also considering the economic boom gathering pace in China.⁸⁶ Hu also wrote of the ozone hole, an issue that attracted global attention in the late 1980s.⁸⁷ She recounted the global efforts to counter the deterioration of the ozone layer and how Taiwan’s contribution could be regarded. Hu’s chapter on World Earth Day also draws on the global efforts to bring attention to solving environmental problems, while at the same time focusing on local degradation.⁸⁸ She wrote of how the pollution of a stream in Kaohsiung had severe problems for the 100,000 people who relied on it for water.

⁸⁴ Hu, *Ancient Future*, 84-85.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁸⁶ Along with Singapore, Hong Kong and South Korea, Taiwan was regarded as one of the four ‘Asian Tigers.’ The export-led and state-guided growth in these four economies from the 1960s until the mid 1990s is referred to as the ‘Asian Miracle.’

⁸⁷ The prominence of environmental issues and the human response to them can be seen in the edition of *Time* on 2 January 1989. Instead of lauding a “man of the year”, as per usual, the editors declared that for 1988 “Endangered Earth” was “Planet of the Year.” This edition, which Hu referred to on the opening page of *Ancient Future*, examined a number of environmental issues, including nuclear power and the risks of chlorofluorocarbons.

⁸⁸ Hu, *Ancient Future*, 103-110.

Hu's chapter on ecofeminism outlined her views on humanity's need to change in the urgent context of impending environmental catastrophe.⁸⁹ The chapter is a discussion between Hu and Lin Junyi 林俊義, a professor of zoology. Beginning with Lin's view that environmental degradation is a product of the patriarchy, in that men exploit the environment in the way that they exploit women, their conversation covered broad territory. Hu expressed her admiration for how San Mao 三毛 was able to inspire readers in Taiwan and China to rebel. Here Hu suggested that her own rebellious nature arose from the criticism she received from her mother. Rather than being rebellious for the sake of it, Hu feels that she rebelled because she "has the courage to pursue the truth."⁹⁰ Her personal problems and her solutions to these were driving her to facilitate others to engender widespread social change.

Hu made little reference to Krishnamurti in *Ancient Future*. This is surprising as it was written not long after her time in New York when she claimed to have discovered his books in the Theosophy bookstore and she had already mentioned him in her discussion with Meng. Hu wrote favourably and briefly of Krishnamurti, claiming that, like Zen, his teachings eradicate dualistic thinking.⁹¹ This is one of her earliest instances of equating him with Buddhism, something that the staunchly secular Krishnamurti did not lay claim to. Yet, instead of promoting Krishnamurti, Hu devoted a chapter of *Ancient Future* to Marilyn Ferguson's *Aquarian Conspiracy*, describing it as the most representative New Age book.⁹²

Ancient Future concludes with a list of other books in the New Age Series that interested readers can purchase. In addition to the aforementioned translation of Ken

⁸⁹ Ibid., 111-132.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 116.

⁹¹ Ibid., 135.

⁹² Ibid., 147.

Keyes Jr. and Wang's translations of Sanaya Roman and Pat Rodegast, there were works by Og Mandino, Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh and Swami Muktananda.

Writing the New Age as religion

Throughout *Ancient Future* Hu referred to various religious and philosophical concepts as she sought to explain the idea of New Age. She wrote that the New Age's:

...inner essence is just like this book's title—*Ancient Future*—combining history's most archaic wisdom and the most advanced forms of science, medicine and literature. In the future this spiritual practice will be implemented into our daily lives and we will no longer be controlled by organisations and religious groups.⁹³

Here Hu grounded her New Age in the polarities of a vaguely-defined archaic past and the hi-tech present of the late 1980s. She felt that humanity was entering a new era. For her, the “spiritual practice” of the New Age was a profoundly individual practice that was beyond the authority exercised by organised religions. Hu contrasted the role of art (her previous career) with that of religion (her newly adopted career): art has the duty of reflecting humanity; religion has the responsibility of elevating humanity.⁹⁴ She also wrote how the practices associated with New Age religion shared the original intention of Buddhism – striving for enlightenment.⁹⁵ In order to do so, Hu argued that one needed to be familiar with the idea of ‘I am’ and that this was “the most pressing task of the New Age.”⁹⁶ Hu directly equated this ‘I’ with God (*shangdi* 上帝), affirming that all humans possess perfect divinity and that all living creatures are equal.⁹⁷ To clarify for her readers how the New Age could emancipate them, she later wrote, “In the hearts’ of

⁹³ Ibid., 3.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 9.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 11.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 12.

⁹⁷ Ibid. Hu reaffirmed the notion of humans' innate perfection later in the book in her dialogue on eco-feminism with Lin Junyi 林俊義 (p. 128).

New Agers 'Freedom' does not mean just doing whatever you want; it is what religion terms 'uncovering enlightenment.'"⁹⁸

An important dimension of Hu's articulation of New Age religion was how it empowered women. Hu viewed the world (and the human soul) as fundamentally informed by the interplay between the twin modalities of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽, and that violent instances of excessive *yang* (such as the June 1989 massacre in Beijing) could be tempered by the innate *yin* qualities of females. Asserting that because of their greater sensitivity, intuition and emotional richness, women were more evolved than men (who did not lack these qualities, they were just yet to fully develop them) and therefore integral in ushering in the Aquarian Age (which itself was underpinned by the unity of *yin* and *yang*). Women needed to assert themselves so that they were on the same platform as men, as only once this happened could humanity's problems be solved.⁹⁹ Hu also saw the demands of feminism as essential to the New Age and that the inherent mutuality of male and female as a manifestation of *yin* and *yang*. Rather than a woman struggling against her subservient position, as Hu wrote, Wang later suggested the need for a harmonious "win-win" situation.¹⁰⁰ Religious discrimination, such as the inability of women to enter certain Christian priesthoods or attain Buddhahood (at least until they had first been reborn as a man), was something Hu opposed. Given the "tendency within New Age spirituality to accord women a higher status than is the norm in most mainstream traditions"¹⁰¹ and that two of her strongest influences at this time were Shirley MacLaine and Marilyn Ferguson, Hu's placing of feminism near the centre

⁹⁸ Terry Hu "From Gorbachev to an Idealistic World View: A Macroscopic View of the New Age Enlightenment" in *Xinling Geming* 心靈革命 [*Spiritual Revolution*] (Taipei: Eurasian, 1991). 87. The translation of 'uncovering enlightenment' *kaiwu* 開悟 is from "開悟", last modified 13 April 2013, accessed 28 June 2014, <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=開悟>.

⁹⁹ Hu, *Ancient Future*, 140-146.

¹⁰⁰ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 72.

¹⁰¹ York, *Historical Dictionary of New Age Movements*, 71.

of her New Age is not surprising. After 1987 feminism became more established in Taiwanese society, and was no longer visible merely as a political tool of the KMT.¹⁰² Important to note in this regard “there were certain incipient developments in the early 1980s that contributed to the emergence of non-governmental organisations after 1987.”¹⁰³ Hu’s promotion of the New Age as a feminist tool of empowerment is significant in this climate of growing awareness of, and political engagement with, women’s rights. For instance, she wrote that women had certain traits that made them more emotionally sensitive and they represented the strongest force for social reform.¹⁰⁴ She would address this topic in the coming years.

Hu retreats again

In November 1990, Hu embarked on a 10 month retreat at the suggestion of Gyatrul Rinpoche (1924-), an exiled Tibetan Buddhist teacher she first encountered in Hong Kong in 1984 and with whom she had met a number of times since. Crossing paths in San Francisco, Gyatrul Rinpoche apparently recognised fatigue in Hu and suggested that she go on retreat. During those 10 months at her place on Siwei Rd in the central Da’an district, she translated and engaged in self-cultivation practices. One of her discoveries during this retreat was that Krishnamurti, along with Nan Huai-chin, spoke of *chan* (zen).¹⁰⁵ This suggests her increasing predilection for framing her spiritual knowledge in terms of Buddhism.

¹⁰² Ya-chen Chen, “The Struggles of Taiwanese Feminism” in *Women in Taiwan: Sociocultural Perspectives*, edited by Ya-chen Chen (Indianapolis: University of Indianapolis Press, 2009), 21.

¹⁰³ Doris T. Chang, *Women’s Movements in Twentieth-Century Taiwan* (Urbana, USA: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 118.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix 6.

¹⁰⁵ Wu, “From Dropping arms to Prajñic Journey,” 118.

In this retreat Hu was accompanied by an assistant, a nurse named Cuiying 翠英.¹⁰⁶ In the first month she settled on the pattern of a silent retreat, mixing her day with meditation, reading, translation and walking in the hills of Maokong, in Taipei's south. Over these months Hu translated Krishnamurti's *Explorations into Insight* (published April 1991) and decided to translate *The Ending of Time* (published August 1991), a conversation between Krishnamurti and the physicist David Bohm.¹⁰⁷ In translating *Explorations* and editing her manuscript, Hu claimed to have "understood the distinct flavour of liberation."¹⁰⁸ The sheer volume of Krishnamurti's text that Hu translated seemed to have caused her to experience physical change. By January 1997, she claimed to have translated more than 5 million characters of Krishnamurti's work, and this had "seemingly transformed the blood inside my body."¹⁰⁹ A 2001 magazine profile of Hu emphasised her proficiency and suitability as a translator, given the breadth of her reading and her extensive spiritual practice. Hu would carefully examine translated

¹⁰⁶ The work of translating and living in close proximity to another person prompted Hu to have some vivid dreams. She recalled:

In the first dream Krishnamurti was wearing a white robe and held my hand as we walked up a mountain. His face had the appearance of the photo taken when he was 50. Our relationship was like that of an experienced person leading someone who was still learning, together walking uphill. Nearing the summit, a crossroad with a grove of shrubs appeared on the left. Behind the grove was a group of women whispering. I could hear their voices but not see any sign of human presence. Krishnamurti signalled for me to face the crossroad then without looking back walked to the summit and in an instant disappeared. In the second dream, Krishnamurti, Pupul [Jayakar, Krishnamurti's biographer] and I were sitting in a living room, the three of us seriously discussing questions arising from some teachings. I can't remember the other details clearly but the general appearance is very clear. At that time there was only one other person in the room - Cuiying. Her thoughts seemingly were in my palms. I wrote her an eight-page letter analysing her psychological state to help her conquer the trouble and fear in her heart. After reading the letter she had tears running down her face. After this my defence mechanisms lightened considerably. (Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 247).

¹⁰⁷ Bohm's work on quantum mechanics was recognised by his peers in physics, however his later association with Krishnamurti and interest in "New Age science" led to his marginalization from mainstream physics. See Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 70-71.

¹⁰⁸ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 250.

¹⁰⁹ Terry Hu, "The Complexity of Human Life Completely Spread Out" in Lin Qingxuan et al, *The Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life* (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997). 22.

manuscripts so as to preserve the essence of the original author and provide the reader with the most appropriate path for spiritual practice, suggesting a similar approach to that of Wang.¹¹⁰

After *Ancient Future*, Wang and Hu produced a number of articles and chapters where they further articulated their vision of the New Age. These are worth noting for how they either consolidated the ideas that Wang introduced in the New Age Series preface and Hu did in *Ancient Future*, and other ideas that had begun to influence them. From what I could find, Wang's writing was mainly confined to prefaces in the New Age Series but Hu published further afield. Both women published essays in the magazine *Qianneng jikan* 潛能季刊 [*Hidden Potential Quarterly*].

Wang as relaxed, free and joyous

Wang's first translation specifically for the New Age Series was Sanaya Roman's *Living with Joy: Keys to Personal Power & Spiritual Transformation*, published in November 1989.¹¹¹ Over a decade later and reflecting on her initial feelings on reading it in English in the summer of the year that she and her friends decided to introduce the "New Age Movement" to Taiwan (1988, most likely), Wang wrote how "in my chest I felt a warm current surging, and could honestly feel an emotion that was relaxed, free and joyous."¹¹² Based on this feeling, Wang intuitively decided to translate *Living with Joy* for the New Age Series. Of importance here is how

¹¹⁰ Chen Fuxiang 陳富香, "Rensheng buke xi: Hu Yinmeng qinggui 'Xinling gongfan' 人生不可戲: 胡因夢情歸「心靈工坊」 [Life Cannot Trick: Terry Hu's Sweet Home 'Psygarden']," *Soho Magazine* 甦活, October 2001, 76-77.

¹¹¹ Wang's preface (titled "Follow Your Bliss" 追隨你的至樂, following Joseph Campbell's iconic and oft-misinterpreted exhortation) was published in Life Publications' 2002 reprint.

¹¹² C.C. Wang, "Follow Your Bliss" in Sanaya Roman, *Xiyue zhi dao* 喜悅之道 [*Living with Joy: Keys to Personal Power & Spiritual Transformation*, Lit. *The Path of Joy*]. Translated by C.C. Wang (Taipei: Life Potential Publications, 2002), 1.

Wang experienced the benefits of Roman's book: it was not through meditation or prayer but simply through the act of reading.

Wang gave one of her most intimate explications of the transformative nature of translating New Age texts in her translator's preface to Pat Rodegast's *Emmanuel's Book*. First published in November 1989, the same time as *Living with Joy*, it was in its fifth printing in April 2011. In this later edition, in addition to Wang's general introduction to the New Age, was her translator's preface. Admitting that translation can be a thankless task, Wang continued:

To be honest, it is a job permeating with love. During the process of translation I repeatedly sensed the love that Emmanuel transmits to us and was endlessly and elatedly grateful. I felt I was called to put down arms. No, I should say I was completely convinced to surrender and unable to resist opening my heart, letting all the love flow in and no longer mistakenly believe that I was unworthy. In life I also experienced a change. Joyously and to the best of my ability, I brought that comfortable feeling in and no longer persisted in being over-critical of myself and of others. Furthermore, other people gave me complete concern and love. I quietly cherished this heart of gratitude and accepted it without question. I discovered I am truly rich, truly blessed. At the same time I also gave out this love, unafraid and unbothered. Love is the only thing that grows the more you give.

Because nearly every word was exquisitely phrased, when translating this book a resonance arose in my heart of hearts. Unable to stop this feeling, I considered it carefully. When he spoke of peoples' loneliness and fear and how when in their hearts they thirst for 'unity,' I could not help but close the book and cry. Stimulating compassion; tears of joy. I finally confirmed that the deep 'homesickness' I had felt since my youth could be traced to a source. It was not to do with my native place [in China] or an earthly 'homesickness.' Instead it was a faint ache in my heart that I had no idea where it had come from. Furthermore, regarding the pain of one's bitterest

sorrows and all the body and mind pain of longing for love and unity, it all arises from the body's condition of separation and estrangement.¹¹³

In translating *Emmanuel's Book*, Wang experienced a personal transformation that might not have been possible had she merely read it. Through the thoroughgoing detail required to produce a Chinese version, Wang opened herself up to the book's message. In doing so, the emotional shifts and breakthroughs she experienced seem revelatory, but also closely grounded in her own personal experience, especially her long-held emotional frailty and sense of dislocation (which may also have indicated the disconnection felt by some *waishengren* in Taiwan or Taiwanese living in the USA).

Wang on Seth as a religion

In her Seth translations, Wang shaped Seth's teachings as a credible religious alternative while avoiding the perceived restrictions of organised religion. She did this through a series of analogies and in carefully selecting Chinese terms to translate the original English.¹¹⁴ Buddhism served the purpose of being the most convenient religious system from which she could orient New Age religion for her readers, and one that she seemed very sympathetic with. In the 1994 New Age Series reprint of her translation of *The Seth Material*, Wang endorsed Seth by writing "Some people call Seth a modern Buddhist classic... a Bible for troubled times."¹¹⁵ Here Wang, or at least the anonymous

¹¹³ C.C. Wang, "Translator's preface" in Pat Rodegast, *Yuzhou xiaoyao you* 宇宙逍遙遊 [*Emmanuel's Book* lit. *Travelling Free and Unfettered in the Universe*], translated by C.C. Wang, (Taipei: Life Potential Publications, 2002), 9-10.

¹¹⁴ Wang, *At One with God*, 83.

Reflecting on translating the term *faxi* 法喜 (the joy of hearing or tasting dharma), Wang later realised that she should have written is as *xiyue* 喜悅 (being filled with joy), to better reflect the English term. In saying this, Wang claimed that she always translated Seth using plain text so as to avoid any religious phraseology and preserve the non-religious nature of the original text.

¹¹⁵ C.C. Wang "If a man in the morning hears the right way, he may die in the evening without regret"—Translator's Preface" in Jane Roberts, *The Seth Material* 靈界的訊息,

“people” that she quoted, located the Seth teachings within the volumes of Buddhist scriptures, many of which had long been available in Chinese. In regarding the Seth teachings as a “Bible,” Wang both drew upon the authoritative Catholic text of her youth and imbued Seth with theological clout. This placed Seth’s messages, as translated by Wang, at the centre of the New Age in Taiwan. Given Hu’s earlier endorsement of Seth, it is difficult to place any other teacher or entity as more integral in Taiwan during the early years of the New Age Series. Wang would later elaborate on the Buddhist nature of Seth in *New Perfect Wisdom* (1997), which will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Other publications that helped define Taiwan’s New Age in the early to mid-1990s

Having established the New Age Series, Wang and Hu published a number of essays that further articulated their understanding of the New Age.

Spiritual Revolution

Published by Eurasian (the owners of The Fine Press, the publishers of the New Age Series) in January 1991, *Xinling geming* 心靈革命 [*Spiritual Revolution*] was based on a series of lectures and contained two essays by Hu where she outlined her views on the New Age. In addition to Hu and Tsao Yu-fang, the other authors were Lin Qingxuan (1953-), Meng Dongli (both of who would reappear in 1997’s *Perfect Wisdom*), Ceng Zhaoxu 曾昭旭 and the poet (and Hu’s friend) Jiang Xun 蔣勳. Expanding New Age thought into a non-New Age series appears as an attempt for Eurasian and the Fine Press to cross-promote its new product. In Tsao Yu-fang’s preface she emphasised Hu’s credentials in this new and relatively unknown field of ideas, introducing her as “the

translated by C.C. Wang, (Taipei: Fine Press, 2008), 3. The title of Wang’s preface is a line from Confucius’ *Analects*, trans. James Legge, <http://ctext.org/analects/li-ren>, accessed 28 July 2015.

first domestic leader of the New Age.”¹¹⁶ She also shared her own view of the New Age, emphasising how it was now established in the USA, before offering a model that emphasised “Eastern” and “Chinese” influences:

Looking at the main spirit of the New Age movement, we see that it is opening up the self’s latent ability, it is discovering the higher self. It is that individual daily life and transcending worldly realms are combined together. And it is rejecting all external authority and seeking intrinsic leadership, so as to experience genuine learning in the soul and spirit.

The New Age Movement transcends religion and is without doctrine and organisations. It is also more in accordance with the modern mind and spirit. It synthesises ideas both ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign, East and West. It emphasises the unity between world religions and culture and rebalances the relationship between people and nature.

At the core of “New Agers” is the search for the lost spirit of the twentieth century and spiritual contentment. Apart from self-development, they help others. Improving interpersonal relationships and enhancing family emotions are important in life. Moreover, safeguarding health, paying attention to developments in nutrition and renouncing war and weapons, opposing nuclear technology and emphasising environmental protection are essential. So much so that even business management has now adopted such new ideas. In short, from the body to the mind and spirit, a whole new field of vision has opened up.¹¹⁷

In calling attention to the issues of late twentieth century Taiwan, Tsao’s definition supports Chen Shu-chuan’s finding that:

¹¹⁶ Tsao Yu-fang, “Preface” in *Xinling geming* 心靈革命 [*Spiritual Revolution*] (Taipei: Eurasian, 1991), v.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, v-vi.

...there are many similarities between Taiwanese and Western forms of the New Age ... [and] the relatively distinctive features of the NAM in Taiwan are its partial compatibility and continuity with traditional forms of spirituality and religions, its positivistic approach to life, and its emphasis on transformation of the self and society.¹¹⁸

Economic development in Taiwan had proceeded at the perceived expense of the environment, with military and diplomatic tensions with China continuing. In referencing the twentieth century as a time of loss, Tsao's readers could identify this as their own century, where the early part was a period of revolution and war in China and Japanese colonisation in Taiwan, before the ensuing decades of diplomatic uncertainty and restricted liberty under martial law. Hu's chapters contained a more nuanced rendering of the New Age.

Hu's section in *Spiritual Revolution* began with a glamorous photo and a blurb emphasising her cinematic and literary credentials, and her current roles as an environmentalist and promoter of the "New Age Movement." In her first chapter, 'From Gorbachev to an Idealistic World View: A Macroscopic View of the New Age Enlightenment,' Hu considered the "paradigm shift" of New Age thought underway in places such as the USSR. She began this chapter with a definition of the New Age from *Encyclopædia Britannica*, suggesting that the various changes over the past 30 years in Europe and America were evidence of this shift.¹¹⁹ She shifted her focus to Taiwan, where too many intellectuals held on to the pragmatism of the May Fourth

¹¹⁸ S. Chen, *Contemporary New Age Transformation in Taiwan*, 106-107.

¹¹⁹ Hu "From Gorbachev to an Idealistic World View: A Macroscopic View of the New Age Enlightenment," 82.

Generation.¹²⁰ Unlike them, Hu believed that “all living creatures are one,” using the example of Gary Zukav’s *The Dancing Wu-Li Masters* (1979) to propose how modern science and Buddhism actually share the same understanding of reality. The title was drawn from Hu’s reading of Fritjof Capra, who suggested that the fall of Communism in the USSR was a “paradigm shift” of the sort heralded by Marilyn Ferguson in *The Aquarian Conspiracy*.¹²¹ In her second chapter Hu continued to elaborate on the recent New Age books she had read.

Hu’s second chapter ‘Modern Day Saints Discuss Spiritual Revolution: A Microscopic View of the New Age Enlightenment’ is the first instance of her enthusing about Krishnamurti in great detail.¹²² Having purchased more than 30 of Krishnamurti’s books while in the USA, she was emboldened to describe him as “a saint (*shengren* 聖人)” and an “awakened one (*juezhe* 覺者)” who was responsible for the New Age in Europe and America.¹²³ Orienting Krishnamurti as central to the New Age in the West puts Hu at odds with existing New Age historiography, where he is generally regarded as a feature of Annie Besant’s Theosophical Society or one of the many exponents of Eastern mysticism that later became popular in the West, but not a New Age figure.

¹²⁰ A major event in twentieth century China and named after the student protests in Beijing on 4 May 1919 (following the loss of Chinese territory in the Treaty of Versailles), the May Fourth Movement comprised intellectuals who, out of fear for the future of China, began to study every kind of political and organizational theory, examine the nature of their own social fabric, debate the values of new forms of education and language, and explore the possibilities for progress that seemed to lie at the heart of Western science.

See Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 271-272.

¹²¹ Hu, “From Gorbachev to an Idealistic World View: A Macroscopic View of the New Age Enlightenment,” 84.

¹²² *Exploration into Insight*, Hu’s first Krishnamurti translation was published in April 1991. Shortly after, on 2 May 1991, Hu published a profile of Krishnamurti in the *Liberty Times*. This profile shared much content with her preface in *Exploration*. See Terry Hu, *Bore zhi Lü: Lingxing daoshi Jidu Kelixinamuti de aoyi* 般若之旅：靈性導師基督·克里希那穆提的奧義 [Prajñic Journey: The Profound Meaning of Spiritual Teacher Jiddu Krishnamurti], *Ziyou Shibao* 自由時報 [*Liberty Times*], 2 May 1991.

¹²³ Hu, “Modern Day Saints Discuss Spiritual Revolution: A Microscopic View of the New Age Enlightenment,” 91.

Through the platform afforded her by the Eurasian and the Fine Press, Hu had begun to create Krishnamurti as a pillar of the New Age in Taiwan.

The Aquarian Conspiracy

Hu's next important New Age article was her preface to Liao Shide's 廖世德 translation of Marilyn Ferguson's *The Aquarian Conspiracy* (1993). She discussed this book in *Ancient Future* and initially planned to translate it but ultimately offered the job to Liao, allegedly because he "wanted to translate a more challenging and representative book."¹²⁴ *The Aquarian Conspiracy* is dense, with over 450 pages heavy with stories, anecdotes and theories about the period of social and scientific change being ushered in to the USA. Given that it is based on events and approaches of the 1960s and 1970s, and even though it is closely associated with the New Age, *The Aquarian Conspiracy* "must be regarded as an important statement about a particular historical phase of the New Age movement, not as a comprehensive guide to understanding the complete movement."¹²⁵ Although claiming an unfamiliarity with astrology, Ferguson said she:

was drawn to the title of the symbolic power of the pervasive dream in our popular culture: that after a dark, violent age, the Piscean, we are entering a millennium of love and light – in the words of the popular song, The Age of Aquarius, the time of 'the mind's true liberation'.¹²⁶

Ferguson's extensive research was persuasive enough for Hu to declare:

This is the must-read 'New Age Handbook' for people who study consciousness change from any rational or scientific point of view. Marilyn Ferguson's spiritual research is exactly the type of awakening Taiwan needs. This spirit is able to help us destroy

¹²⁴ Terry Hu, "Preface" in Marilyn Ferguson, *The Aquarian Conspiracy* 寶瓶同謀, translated by Liao Shide, (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1993), 16.

¹²⁵ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 107.

¹²⁶ Ferguson, *The Aquarian Conspiracy*, 19.

common superstitions, the worship of authority, dogmatism, the burden of tradition and all types of distorted ideas. In becoming a New Age person, we must undergo this baptism of reason. Only then can we bring about the benevolence and humanistic ethics of lucidity.¹²⁷

Ferguson wrote of a paradigm change—resulting from the cumulative transformation in consciousness of many individuals—that would be the next step in human evolution. The collective nature of this transformation led Hanegraaff to consider *The Aquarian Conspiracy* as the work most representative of the New Age movement after 1975.¹²⁸ Liao's translation was the 24th book in the New Age Series, and just as that series had begun to establish itself, so too did other publishers begin to recognise the burgeoning interest in Taiwan for New Age religion and alternative, individual practice-led and text-based spiritual ideologies and practices.

Hidden Potential Quarterly

In addition to the New Age Series and other Fine Press publications, Wang and Hu also wrote magazine articles. Both women featured in two “classic editions” of *Qianneng jikan* 潛能季刊 [*Hidden Potential Quarterly*, *HPQ*] in 1994.¹²⁹ With over 20 pages in a section titled “New Age Movement,” and other sections called “*Qianneng changji* 潛能場記 [Hidden Potential Log]” and “*Xinling hangcheng* 心靈航程 [Spiritual Voyage],” the magazine was directly appealing to a readership similar to that of the New Age Series. In addition to being an advisor to the publishers, Hu was ubiquitous in the magazine, appearing in articles and advertisements.

¹²⁷ Hu, “Preface” in *The Aquarian Conspiracy*, 16.

¹²⁸ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 17.

¹²⁹ While the first edition of *Hidden Potential Quarterly* was published on 25 April 1992, I was not able to locate any copies other than the two “classic editions”, published in January and April 1994.

From the front cover, where her article “*Neixin de yiyu* 內心的異域 [The Alien Land in Your Heart]” was listed, Hu appeared throughout the January 1994 *HPQ*. One interesting example is an advertisement for the radio program she co-hosted with Xu Yiming 許宜銘 and Liu Qiufeng 劉秋鳳: *Xinshidai de xunxi* 新時代的訊息 [New Age News]. Broadcast for half an hour every Saturday at 9:30am on the Broadcasting Corporation of China (AM1062), the program was advertised with a poem:

Just like the flow of the endless stream of life,
converges
The experience of New Age spirit and life studies,
Woven into a unique and pure net of energy,
Every encounter integrates the thorough understanding of the truth of the natural world,
Hoping to work in concert with friends in the air above¹³⁰

The poem’s lyrical imagery conjures an image of mutual growth in not only matters New Age but also “life studies,” a prosaic term that is perhaps more easily grasped than “New Age.” I am unsure for how long this radio program was produced.

In addition to New Age News, Hu and Liu Qiufeng advertised a set of video cassettes they had recorded called *Siwang wu ju* 死亡無懼 [*Death Without Fear*]. Also published by *HPQ*, this set was marketed using Hu’s image and her reputation as an authority on the New Age. Covering topics such as religious materialism, relationships between the two sexes, reincarnation and the desire realm, and loneliness, Hu was pitched as an expert who “shares her post-practice intuitive perceptions on religion and spiritual practices and, possessing a clear and incisive analysis, investigates the essence

¹³⁰ Advertisement, “New Age News,” *Hidden Potential Quarterly*, 5 January 1994, 57. The last line of this poem evokes the final sentence in Hu’s chapter from *Ancient Future* on New Age music, where she wrote “It is like metaphysics; faithfully accompanying my life and letting me dance as if floating in the air.” (p.52)

of life and spiritual emotions.”¹³¹ The centre of HPQ included advertisements for a series of workshops, some convened by HPQ figures such as Hu and Liu, and others by foreigners such as Tony Key, who was lecturing on Gestalt Therapy.¹³² The cassettes featured in Hu’s column of that issue.

Hu began “The Alien Land in Your Heart” by introducing a friend of hers who she had been counselling. Worldly-wise, sweet tempered, soft of speech and kind hearted, her friend had studied with Tibetan Lamas and “If you were not careful you would conclude: a complete woman.”¹³³ This friend, possibly hypothetical, can be read as Hu’s target market. She is of a pleasing disposition and works hard, yet despite her efforts practicing in religious systems, she remains unfulfilled. Importantly, she has a connection with Hu. Her friend had listened to the videotapes but was still perplexed. Hu took this opportunity to explain the purpose of the tapes: the focal point was not the two hosts, it was “exploring the truth of psychological activity” and through the shared experiences of the hosts to “specify the insights of New Age prophets and progressively point out traditional ways of spiritual practice and questions of ideology.”¹³⁴ This explanation indicates a possible tension arising from Hu’s growing status as a spiritual figure. While her celebrity seemed to attract readers and, now with the videotapes, attract viewers, she still had to emphasise the importance of her experience over her personality. To separate the two is difficult given how closely, and over a long time, Hu had articulated her spiritual development (through the platform available to her as a celebrity) as a successful, sophisticated and spiritually-seeking woman.

¹³¹ Advertisement, “*Siwang wu ju* 死亡無懼 [Death Without Fear],” *Hidden Potential Quarterly*, 5 January 1994, 113.

¹³² It is not clear from the advertisement exactly who Tony Key was, but a ‘Tony Key’ is listed as one of the authors of the Gestalt text *Risking Being Alive: The Wisdom of Now* (Bundoora, Victoria: Preston Institute of Technology Press, 1978).

¹³³ Terry Hu, “*Neixin de yiyu* 內心的異域 [The Alien Land in Your Heart]” in *Qianneng jikan* 潛能季刊 [*Human Potential Quarterly*], May 1994, 26.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

This article included an important section on how Hu pitched her New Age. Building on the example of her friend, she explicitly addressed the difficulty faced by females seeking spiritual satisfaction in Taiwan. Hu wrote:

The awakening of female nature is the awakening of human nature. We also need to soberly examine how female nature has become accustomed to a patriarchal society, how much real self has vanished and how much spontaneity and uprightness has been repressed.¹³⁵

Here Hu reinforced the negative influence of patriarchy on the human condition. However, in linking female awakening to the awakening of human nature, she empowered her readers to recognise the broader, society-wide, benefits to their spiritual practice. This idea also appeared in Wang's column.

In "Is Doomsday Imminent?" Wang reiterated the New Age trope that individual change generates group evolution and reemphasised individual agency in choosing one's fate.¹³⁶ Importantly, she did this to deal with many of the misconceptions arising around the New Age Movement. These include whether it was a religion, what connection it had with Western astrology and its suitability for common people (that is, not just intellectuals).¹³⁷ Rather than indicate the imminent twenty-first century, Wang clarified the New Age as indicating "a new age that possessed new spirit, new concepts and a new field of vision" and that it was not a NRM intent on attacking society.¹³⁸ She repeated this defence in the next edition of *HPQ*, writing that Seth was not about

¹³⁵ Ibid., 28.

¹³⁶ C.C. Wang "Shijie mori po zai meiji 世界末日迫在眉睫? [Is Doomsday Imminent?]" in *Qianneng Jikan* 潜能季刊 [*Human Potential Quarterly*], May 1994, 46-47.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 46.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 47.

creating a new religion or sect: he opposed authority, systems and doctrines.¹³⁹ In Chapter 7 I discuss how in light of NRM controversies in Taiwan in 1997, both Wang and Hu would further articulate their difference to these publicly vilified groups.

An expanding market

Following in the burgeoning success of the New Age Series, and in addition to HPQ, a number of other publishers recognised the growing market for New Age translations. New Agers in Taiwan were suddenly able to access a broad range of translations from Europe, America and Japan, in addition to works by local authors. The Yuan-Liou Publishing Company (Yuanliu 遠流) launched its New Spirituality (*Xin xinling* 新心靈) series in November 1995 (subtitled in English “A New Vision of Mind & Spirit”) with a translation of James Redfield’s novel *The Celestine Prophecy* (1993).¹⁴⁰ The publisher Wang Rongwen 王榮文 appeared to share similar goals to the publishers of the New Age Series and noted in his preface to *The Celestine Prophecy*:

Becoming a reader for a moment, it is possible that you are a science hobbyist and it is also possible that you refuse religious doctrine. But you are by no means antagonistic to your spiritual concerns and do yearn for wisdom. We have published this series on the basis of our regard for humanity’s capacity as the wisest of all creatures. Letting us value, letting us understand how to properly develop our high level spiritual ability and letting all living things bring about humanity’s wisdom and glory. Please accept our

¹³⁹ C.C. Wang “*Saisi shi shei?* 賽斯是誰? [Who is Seth?]” in *Qianneng jikan* 潛能季刊 [*Human Potential Quarterly*], May 1994, 47.

¹⁴⁰ Like the New Age Series, the New Spirituality Series proved to be an ongoing concern, continuing to publish translations and original works by Taiwan authors up until 2012. *The Celestine Prophecy* was originally self-published in the USA before a reprint became a best seller. In it, Redfield “laid out his perception that a growing (if unspecified) number of people are engaging in a new spiritual awakening that is permeating the population.” See J. Gordon Melton, “Beyond Millennialism: The New Age Transformed” in *Handbook of the New Age*, eds. Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 95.

invitation to investigate this multi-variant, transforming and boundless spiritual universe with one another.¹⁴¹

Wang Rongwen's target audience was intelligent and spiritually adventurous, but not beholden to religious authority. He did not mention 'New Age' in his preface but clearly refers to the same phenomena, especially given *The Celestine Prophecy's* status as a New Age book.¹⁴² As such, his preface emphasised the shared nature of New Age practice and the rich opportunities it offers. Given that reading a book is generally an individual practice, such a claim is worthy of note. Wang Rongwen implied that through reading *The Celestine Prophecy* or other books in the New Spirituality series that readers would join a community of likeminded individuals. In reading group settings, such as that which C.C. Wang established for Seth enthusiasts, this takes a physical manifestation. However, more important is the implied notion of a community; while physically isolated, a reader of the book maintains a spiritual bond with fellow readers. The Fine Press and Yuan-Liou were not the only publishers to reach out to Taiwan's New Agers and potential New Agers, with a number of books published and series launched around that time.¹⁴³ The Making Life Buddhist New Age Centre 佛化人

¹⁴¹ Wang Rongwen "Publishing Origins – A New Spiritual Field of Vision" in James Redfield, *The Celestine Prophecy* 聖境預言書：邁向生命新境界的起點, translated by Li Yongping, (Taipei: Yuan-Liou Publishing Co., Ltd., 1995), n.p.

¹⁴² In a later online history of Yuan-Liou, it was noted that the New Spirit Spirituality series was a response to the impact of the "New Age Movement" in the West. See "4. 1996-1999: Putting digital publishing into practice", last modified 2011, accessed 18 June 2014, <http://www.ylib.com/club/yuanliou-4.ASP>

¹⁴³ For instance, in 1994 The Yih Chyun Book Store 益群書店股份有限公司 started published a series of translations from Japanese as part of its Spiritual Dew Collection 心靈甘露集, such as the famous actor Tetsurō Tamba's 丹波哲郎 *The Truth about Life in the Spiritual World* 靈界生活之真相, an account of his theories on the afterlife. In May 1995 Lin Yu Cultural Enterprise Co., Ltd. 林鬱文化事業有限公司 published *Yoga: Qigong and Meditation* 瑜伽：氣功與冥想, an introductory book for "Chinese people" that considered the relationship between yoga and *qigong*. Along similar lines, *Crystals and Precious Stones in This World* 陽宅與水晶、寶石 (1995) examined the relationship

生新時代中心 (simplified as 佛化人生 or Making Life Buddhist) encapsulates how central books are to New Age religion in Taiwan. A workshop venue, it is best known as a bookstore crammed full of titles. Searching through the stacks can be akin to a modest archaeological excavation, with strata of books seemingly deposited since the centre's opening in 1984. Opposite the monolithic brick-clad Taipower Building and a short walk from National Taiwan University, Making Life Buddhist is on the 6th floor of a grubbily inconspicuous downtown Taipei apartment building.

While a visitor might immediately be struck by the seeming chaos of Making Life Buddhist, there is an order to the way books are arranged which reflects the diversity and character of New Age religion in Taiwan. On entering, new releases are stacked to the left. Turn right and you will walk past several metres of shelves lined with Buddhist books. The range is eclectic, including classics, works by Taiwan's contemporary Buddhist masters and many relating to Tibetan Buddhism. Moving on, the visitor will pass by shelves devoted to local publishers such as The Fine Press and Psygarden 心靈工場, as well as shelves sorted by topic, devoted to subjects such as aliens and UFOs, Seth and *A Course in Miracles*. There appears no obvious consideration of a theological discrepancy. Beyond this extensive array of books, Making Life Buddhist also sells incense, Aura Soma oils, tarot cards, crystals, Buddhist *thangkas*, New Age music (including many Asian artists distributed by Taiwan's Wind Music 風潮音樂) and pyramids, and also has a small teaching space.¹⁴⁴ Soothing music is

between crystals and *qigong*. The New Rain Publishing Company 新雨出版社 launched its Spiritual Healing Series 心靈治療系列 in July 1995 with a translation of Dr Vernon Coleman's *Mind Power* (1986). In 1998 Witch Yanshi 艷世巫婆 published *New Age Divination* 新世紀占卜法, a guide to the use of the Nordic divination system of runes.

¹⁴⁴ Seminars advertised on their website for early 2012 include tarot card reading, the 'touch drawing' of Deborah Koff-Chapin and the teachings of Osho, the former Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh.

piped through the audio system, the co-owner A-Ben offers all customers a cup of tea and purchases are accompanied with a gift of rice crackers.

Cramped yet comfortable, Making Life Buddhist is a place where local New Agers can buy nearly whatever they want. In the post-script to the translation of K. Sri Dhammananda's *How to live without fear and worry* (undated), a customer reflected how as a novice reader of Wang's Seth translations, she not only was able to find further books here, but was actually given Wang's phone number so as to join her reading group.¹⁴⁵ In contemporary Taipei, even with digital media and online shopping well established, Making Life Buddhist remains a popular and influential means of circulating New Age ideas and culture.

Krishnamurti: A (Buddhist) New Age Guide

Of all her efforts promoting New Age religion in Taiwan, Hu's greatest devotion and enthusiasm was for Krishnamurti. As discussed earlier, Hu first encountered the teachings of Krishnamurti while in New York in the summer of 1988. The first two Krishnamurti translations in the New Age Series, *Think on These Things* and *Freedom from the Known*, were published in June and July 1990, respectively, although neither were translated by Hu.¹⁴⁶

In *Revolution of the Spirit* (1991), Hu wrote a short essay introducing Krishnamurti. In it she claimed that Krishnamurti caused the New Age in Europe and

¹⁴⁵ Xing Ya, "Good people, good place", post-script to *Ruhe wurao wuju guo shenghuo* 如何無憂無懼過生活 [*How to live without fear and worry*], by K. Sri Dhammananda (Taipei: Making Life Buddhist, date unknown). This was part of Making Life Buddhist's attempt at publishing translations. Xing's post-script is dated October 1999.

¹⁴⁶ Jo-shui 若水 translated *Freedom from the Known* (*Cong yizhi zhong jietuo* 從已知中解脫) and a number of New Age and related books in the 1980s and 1990s, including work by Ken Wilber and Og Mandino. A former newspaper journalist, Ye Wenke 葉文可 (1952-) translated *Think on These Things* (*Rensheng zhong bukebu xiang de shi* 人生中不可不想的事 lit. *The Things in Human Life You Cannot But Think About*) and went on to translate books about Tibetan Buddhism, including the work of the Dalai Lama and *Cave in the Snow* about Tenzin Palmo, a Western Buddhist nun on retreat.

America and shared how she had recently purchased 30 of Krishnamurti's books while in the USA.¹⁴⁷ She wrote how his meditation techniques accorded with Buddhism's *prajña* and the focus on penetration found in *chan*.¹⁴⁸ Having introduced Krishnamurti and his role in the New Age (as she understood it), Hu wrote how Taiwanese society was experiencing a range of problems (in politics, religion, gender and between generations) and that the individual and internal spiritual revolution of the New Age was necessary.¹⁴⁹ Quickly re-orienting her post-*Ancient Future* New Age to be focused around Krishnamurti, her first Krishnamurti translation was published just three months later in April 1991, the result of her 10 month retreat.

A year earlier in *Ancient Future* Hu devoted relatively scant space to Krishnamurti, given his supposed transformative effect on her in New York, only describing him as "my favourite Indian sage" and, in an indication of her future translating ideology, "His teachings completely use *chan* to destroy dualistic thinking and bring people into the realm of no-self."¹⁵⁰ As Krishnamurti's prominence grew, Hu increasingly translated his teachings to appear them appear Buddhist in nature.

Despite Krishnamurti's avowed secularism, in her translations and explanatory articles Hu represented his teachings with Buddhist language and imagery. This tendency was most evident in her 1991 translation of *Exploration into Insight* (1979, hereafter *Exploration*). In *Exploration* Krishnamurti and a series of interlocutors discussed topics such as self knowledge, kundalini and aspects of science.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Hu, "Modern Day Saints Discuss Spiritual Revolution," 91.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 100-101.

¹⁵⁰ Hu, *Ancient Future*, 135.

¹⁵¹ See Jiddu Krishnamurti, *Exploration Into Insight* (London, Victor Gollancz Ltd: 1979). In an article where he compared Krishnamurti favourably with Buddha, Dinesh Chandra Mathur wrote of Krishnamurti's books: "Though he has condemned repetitive thinking, his basic thoughts appear time and again in all these writings. Yet the approach to the various problems is always fresh and original." See "J. Krishnamurti On

In the preface to her translation, Hu praised Krishnamurti for his unrivalled ability to express profound ideas in clear language and wrote that his later teachings, in which *Exploration* belongs, vividly displayed the essence of *chan*, despite the term not appearing in his original text. She wrote:

Before 1978 he was completely concerned with changing the universe. At this time his teachings were already out-and-out *chan*. Genuine *chan* is not just keywords, *gong'ans* [*ko'ans*] or facing the wall in meditation, it includes the 'two entrances to enlightenment' and 'four practices.' It also must include understanding the teachings of both Hinyana and Mahayana Buddhism. Only then are you in the realm of unconditioned silence. Only this type of 'entry by principle' has the essence of *chan*. Krishnamurti's '*chan*' can be said to have already have given complete and uninhibited free-reign to this type of spirit.¹⁵²

Hu adopted an explicitly Buddhist tone for *Exploration* as she wanted her translation to appeal to Taiwan's Buddhists. It was reprinted twice within 12 months and later published in simplified Chinese characters for readers in China. In her biography she claimed that, as of 1999, it remained the Fine Press' largest selling Krishnamurti translation.¹⁵³

Despite her public affiliation with Krishnamurti, Hu was not the main translator of his work. The Fine Press employed several translators for this task, the most prolific being Liao Shide (seven translations) and Luo Ruoping 羅若蘋 (six translations). Compared with Hu, Liao was less starry-eyed in his assessment of Krishnamurti's merit, but still endorsed his teachings and suspected him as being similar to the original

Choiceless Awareness, Creative Emptiness and Ultimate Freedom" in *Diogenes* 32:126 (1984): 93.

¹⁵² Hu, 'Translator's preface' in *Exploration into Insight*, 4.

¹⁵³ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 245.

Buddha. Using Buddhism as a comparison, he felt that Krishnamurti's approach was more effective in "directly pointing to people's minds" than conventional *chan*.¹⁵⁴

Against this lionising of Krishnamurti's Buddhist qualities, his status as a New Age figure was both obvious, and understated. Obvious in that he was appearing regularly in the Fine Press' New Age Series, books that were systematically promulgating the editors' conception of a New Age in Taiwan. Understated in that compared to her exaltations of him as a great Buddhist master, Hu made relatively few statements directly linking him to the New Age after her chapter in *Spiritual Revolution*. In her translation of *The Second Penguin Reader* (translated into Chinese as *The Human Imperative*), published in April 1992 (and reprinted one month later), Hu wrote:

For me personally, through the process of visiting teachers and the 53 masters, I already clearly know that Krishnamurti definitely deserves to be called a 'New Age' guide, even though he only admits to be the friend of everybody.¹⁵⁵

Hu's depiction of Krishnamurti as a Buddhist figure remains striking. Doing so was in contrast to both Krishnamurti's personal religious history and how he represented himself and his teachings. Therefore any discussion of the history of New Age religion in Taiwan, regardless of the presence of Hu, should include analysis of how Krishnamurti was represented. Of the first 101 books in the New Age Series, 23 were Krishnamurti translations and one was the translation of Pupul Jayakar's 1986 hagiography. Along with Seth, Krishnamurti was one of the two foundational figures upon which the Fine Press established the New Age Series.

¹⁵⁴ Liao Shide, 'Translator's preface' in Jiddu Krishnamurti, *Xinling ziyou zhi lu* 心靈自由之路 [*Flight of the Eagle*, Lit. *The Path of Spiritual Freedom*] trans. Liao Shide (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1994), 2.

¹⁵⁵ Terry Hu, 'Translator's preface' in Jiddu Krishnamurti, *Renlei de dangwuwuzhijiji* 人類的當務之急 [*The Second Penguin Reader*, Lit. *Humanity's Most Pressing Task*], trans. Terry Hu (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1992) no page.

Krishnamurti was simultaneously portrayed by Hu and the Fine Press as both a New Age figure *and* a Buddhist figure. This is despite the fact that Krishnamurti, who passed away in 1986 three years before the New Age series started, did not identify as either of these, and in his post-Theosophical Society life “dismissed any attempts to compare his teachings with those of the Buddha and Buddhism.”¹⁵⁶ He looked beyond the religious and secular to the importance of “self-knowledge”, saying:

No system, religious or secular, can bring happiness, peace, and order out of this conflict and confusion and misery, for you have created it, you and I have created it through our envy, ill will, and stupidity. In self-knowledge alone is there hope for man and not in any system or leader.¹⁵⁷

Beyond his contempt for systems and leaders, Krishnamurti also had strong opinions on the idea of a God. When asked if God exists, he answered:

We have invented God. Thought has invented God, that is we, out of misery, despair, loneliness, anxiety, have invented that thing called God. God has not made us in his image – I wish he had. Personally I have no belief in anything... If you are free from fear, from sorrow, there is no need for a god.¹⁵⁸

Of course during his life Krishnamurti could be identified differently: a Brahmin (by birth), the future Maitreya (by the Theosophical Society), an Indian (by nationality), a philosopher (by profession) and so on. For the Fine Press he was something of a *tabula*

¹⁵⁶ Hillary Rodrigues, “An Instance of Dependent Origination: Are Krishnamurti’s Teachings Buddhadharma?”, *Pacific World (Third Series)*, 9 (2009), 96.

¹⁵⁷ Jiddu Krishnamurti, *Reflections on the Self, Eleventh Talk in Madras*. 28 December 1947.

Accessed 17 October 2014 <http://www.jkrishnamurti.org/krishnamurti-teachings/view-text.php?tid=257&chid=4589&w=secular&s=Text>

¹⁵⁸ J. Krishnamurti, *The Flame of Attention* (Holland, Mirananda: 1983), quoted in Luytens, *The Life and Death of Krishnamurti*, 174.

rasa, having only had one translation published in Taiwan (in 1976) so they were able to recreate him as a figure attractive to a potential audience in Taiwan. He was presented as a means through which Taiwan's Buddhists could enter the New Age: not only could one be both Buddhist and New Age, but in the New Age and free from the repressive structures found in conventional Buddhism one could obtain even more, developing new understandings of *chan*. Perhaps the most striking and succinct example of this confluence was a pamphlet inserted in the seven Krishnamurti translations published in November 1996 (see Figure 7).

The pamphlet advertised Krishnamurti and his translated works. Beyond the photo of Krishnamurti's lengthy comb-over wafting in a gust of wind, the pamphlet is notable for several features. It reads:

New Age
Krishnamurti
1 billion people around the world have been touched
by his prajñā
J. Krishnamurti¹⁵⁹

While *zhìhuì* 智慧 is commonly translated as wisdom, here it is best translated as *prajñā*, given the preference of Hu and the Fine Press to depict Krishnamurti as a Buddhist. *Prajñā* implies a discriminating perception and “is the faculty which apprehends the truth of Buddhist teachings.”¹⁶⁰ Even more striking is the line at the top: New Age. In this image Krishnamurti is being shown to be explicitly New Age and implicitly Buddhist, a sign for readers in Taiwan (who were likely familiar with Buddhist

¹⁵⁹ “New Age Krishnamurti.” Pamphlet. (Taipei: The Fine Press. c.1996). The last line, ‘J. Krishnamurti’, was written in English.

¹⁶⁰ Damien Keown, ‘*Prajñā*’ in *Dictionary of Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). 218.

terminology) to decode. The pamphlet included a brief introduction to Krishnamurti, two longer endorsements from Hu and Charles Fu (drawn from their contributions to the soon-to-be-published *Perfect Wisdom*) and a catalogue of his translations (and Jayakar's hagiography) published by the Fine Press.¹⁶¹

The introduction depicted the “natural reality” of Krishnamurti, a self-proclaimed common man, in contrast to the blind worship and sickness of material society. He was described as an “awakened one” and “a guide” who had been translated into 47 languages and had influenced spiritual intellectuals around the world. Krishnamurti's religious credentials were affirmed:

Buddhists affirm he was a guide of ‘the middle path,’ Hindus believe he is a thoroughly ‘awakened one,’ students of the mind regard him as a genuine ‘*chan* master’...
However, he is only willing to admit that he is the friend of everyone!¹⁶²

The last page of the pamphlet divided Krishnamurti's work into several categories that readers could engage with depending on the nature of their issues: his background, life and thought; introduction to his world; dialogues with great masters and the audience; exploration of human life; and spiritual exploration.

¹⁶¹ In *Perfect Wisdom* Fu detailed Krishnamurti's Buddhist qualities. He compared Krishnamurti favourably to Dōgen 道元 and Nagajuna 龍樹 (and the Daoist Laozi 老子) in that they all provided people with a way to transcend worldly religious wisdom (28). Fu wrote that Krishnamurti's “unchanging spirit” (where the spirit transforms into emptiness) is the same type of limitless openness as found in Mahayana Buddhism and *chan* (29). See Charles Fu Wei Hsu, “Truth is Without Nationality” in Lin Qingxuan et al, *The Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life* (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997). 27-29.

¹⁶² “New Age Krishnamurti,” c.1996.

Image removed from digital thesis to
avoid copyright infringement

Figure 7: The Krishnamurti pamphlet inserted with Fine Press Publications in 1996.

While this was not the first example of the Fine Press depicting Krishnamurti as a Buddhist, it is among the most accessible, due to its format as a pamphlet distributed with his books. When looking at the other Fine Press publications, in particular the prefaces to Krishnamurti books and Hu's various writings, it becomes clear just how much he was promoted as both Buddhist and New Age. Sometimes simultaneously, as just discussed, and sometimes with one category emphasised at the expense of the other. The main actor in this process was Terry Hu.

This pamphlet concisely shows how early representations of Krishnamurti had inextricable elements of Buddhism and New Age, some overt and some less so. Along with some of her Fine Press colleagues, Hu managed to depict Krishnamurti as a figure of Buddhist authority who was an integral part of the New Age. In doing so, he was given a new image particular to Taiwan. His teachings were presented as fresh and revitalising, yet safely Buddhist. In making him a New Age Buddhist, Hu had helped recreate Krishnamurti in a unique way. While her enthusiasm for describing him as New Age waned over the years, her early efforts and his eminence in the Fine Press's New Age series ensure that he remains an essential element in the history of New Age religion in Taiwan.

While Hu continued her devotion to Krishnamurti, her last translation of his work for the New Age Series was published in November 1996.¹⁶³ In Hu's essays in *Perfect Wisdom* (1997), discussed in the following chapter, a more complete picture of her understanding of Krishnamurti and how the Fine Press was marketing him became apparent.

¹⁶³ The Psygarden Publishing Company 心靈工坊出版事業股份有限公司 later published Hu's translations of Krishnamurti's *The Book of Life: Daily Meditations with Krishnamurti* (2005, with the literal translation 生命之書: 365 日的靜心冥想) and *Commentaries on Living (the first series)* (2010, 關於活著: 這件事, literally *Concerning Living: This Event*).

In June 1993, *Chinese Buddhist Monthly* 中國佛教 published an article called “*Fojiaotu yan zhong de xinshidai yundong* 佛教徒眼中的新時代運動 [The New Age Movement as seen by Buddhists].” The author interviewed New Age figures such as Hu and Making Life Buddhist co-owner Zheng Fuchang 鄭福長 to learn about this growing phenomenon. Both stressed the relevance of the New Age to Taiwan’s Buddhists and affirmed Krishnamurti’s Buddhist credentials. The author concluded that Buddhists should remain open to the New Age as it may help more people understand the human condition and, ultimately, become satisfied Buddhists.¹⁶⁴ Given the popularity of Buddhism at this time (see the following chapter), the manner in which this article articulates a mutually beneficial relationship with the New Age shows the growing extent to which the latter was being contextualized in the former.

Conclusion

As the first non-translation in the New Age Series and first book to explicitly address the concept of a ‘New Age,’ *Ancient Future* is integral to the study of New Age religion in Taiwan. Even more so, it introduces Hu’s understanding of the New Age. While not serving as an autobiography in the way that her 1999 book *Death and the Maiden* does, she revealed enough personal details in *Ancient Future* for readers to view it as a guide to personal transformation. When considered in the context of her career change and New York retreat, this becomes even clearer. Hu did not explicitly prescribe spiritual exercises for eager readers. Instead, she grounded her own story in the philosophical and religious ideas that she was exposed to throughout her life. The unhappy marriage of her parents in conservative post-World War II Taiwan was the background for her well-documented journey of personal discovery. In reading *Ancient*

¹⁶⁴ Zhu Jizhong 朱紀忠, “*Fojiaotu yan zhong de xinshidai yundong* 佛教徒眼中的新時代運動 [The New Age Movement as seen by Buddhists].” *Chinese Buddhist Monthly* 中國佛教 37:6 (June 1993), 10-12.

Future, it is possible to interpret Hu as having reached the end of her spiritual journey (of course, as we will see, this was not the case). Her enthusiasm for the liberation granted to her by exploring New Age religion and desire to see others benefit from this accessible knowledge is palpable. In *Ancient Future*, Hu depicted herself as not so much a convert to the New Age, but someone who had found a way of articulating and even accelerating the type of spiritual exploration that she had long been involved in. In doing this, she recreated Krishnamurti in a manner that she thought would appeal to readers in Taiwan. Through reading and then representing his teachings as *chan*, she recreated him as a Buddhist. Given Krishnamurti's prominence in the New Age Series, which is also discussed in the following chapter, his importance in Taiwan must be emphasised.

The other books and magazines published in Taiwan at this time indicate a growing demand for New Age material and the willingness of publishers to profit from this. Hu's other writings demonstrate her enthusiasm for a "spiritual revolution," suggesting that, despite the freedom available in Taiwan's burgeoning civil society, she found post-martial law Taiwan to be in need of reform. As seen in the texts discussed in the next chapter, Wang and Hu continued to attempt to orient the New Age to be relevant in a society where Buddhism and various NRMs had become popular.

Chapter 7: Solidifying the New Age (1996-2000)

In this chapter I discuss two key publications in the New Age Series, both published in 1997. The first, *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*, hereafter *Perfect Wisdom*], is an edited collection of essays and speeches drawn from a Fine Press promotional event. While notable for including the opinions of a number of local authors and publishers on the New Age, it is the repeated emphasis of Krishnamurti's Buddhist qualities that is most pertinent. The second, Wang's *Xinnei geming: mairu ai yu guang de xinshidai* 心內革命：邁入愛與光的新時代 [*Revolution in the Heart: Stride into the New Age of Light and Love*, hereafter *Revolution*], is her detailed survey of the global New Age. Having established the way in which key actors represented the New Age in Taiwan, I explore its religiosity within the context of religion in late 1990s Taiwan. Finally, I consider Hu's turn away from the New Age.

The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life

After *Ancient Future* and eight years of translations, it was not until the 60th book was published in the New Age Series in January 1997 that another original work by Taiwan authors was available. *Perfect Wisdom* has a colourful cover, with the title and authors' names brightly contrasted against a blue spectrum background. Most notable about the cover are two words rendered in cursive English at the bottom: "New Age." The short paragraph at the top of the cover entreated readers to discover "six famous authors who have spread the New Age Movement and offer the most advanced life wisdom. They allow us to launch the most thorough spiritual revolution." The blurb on the back cover implored readers not to miss the opportunity to "awaken to the New Age" and that "one billion people worldwide are currently opening up to this spiritual

revolution.” The wisdom shared by the six authors would allow the reader to “complete the self, while at the same time benefit the world.”¹ This was an immediate call to action by the publishers, inviting readers to participate in a worldwide “spiritual revolution” with an almost impossibly large number of fellow humans.

The authors included Hu, Wang, Tsao Yu-fang and Meng Xiangsen (appearing under his pen name, Meng Dongli 孟東籬), as well as Lin Qingxuan 林清玄 and Charles Fu Wei-Hsun 傅偉勳 (1933-1996), who passed away before the book was published. Lin was a high-profile author of popular Buddhist books, many of which were published by Eurasian Press and the Fine Press. Fu was a professor of philosophy at the Buddhist Fo Guang University and had previously studied at National Taiwan University, UC Berkeley, the University of Hawaii and the University of Illinois, and worked at Temple University for 25 years.² The material in *Perfect Wisdom* was drawn from a forum featuring the six authors (and two others, who included short chapters) in Taiwan on 6 January 1996 called ‘*Kanjian xinshidai-changkai ni rensheng de damen* 看見新時代—敞開你人生的大門 [Looking at the New Age: Open Wide the Gate to Your Life].’³

Importantly, in all the research I have seen on the New Age in Taiwan there are no references to *Perfect Wisdom*.⁴ I suggest this book is integral to understanding precisely how the New Age was created and marketed in Taiwan at this early stage. As already mentioned, it was only the second original work to appear in the New Age Series, therefore offering a rare example of multiple local voices attempting to articulate,

¹ Lin Qingxuan et al, *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), cover.

² “Welcome to the Charles Wei-Hsun Fu Foundation”, accessed 12 March 2014, <http://www.charleswei-hsunfufoundation.org/about.html>

³ A collection of eleven photos from the event, as recorded by *The China Times* are online at the Taiwan Digital Archives. A group photo can be seen at <http://catalog.digitalarchives.tw/item/00/5c/1a/e7.html>, accessed 18 June 2014.

⁴ In conversations in July and August 2012, both Chen Chia-luen and Terry Hu regarded this book as unimportant.

not necessarily consistently, what they considered the New Age in Taiwan to be. These chapters vividly depicted the difficulty in encapsulating just what this was, and how it could not be easily reduced to an imitation or import of a global (especially American) set of ideas. Hu was not the only writer in this book to shape Krishnamurti as a Buddhist figure: Meng, Fu and Lin did too. It is possible that various factors influenced such pronouncements, for instance the authors may have genuinely believed Krishnamurti was some type of Buddha, they may have been acquiescing to Hu's approach or they might have felt pressure from The Fine Press to help market Krishnamurti to Taiwan readers. In this instance, it is also important to recognise Lin's status as a popular—and ostensibly secular—proponent of Buddhism. His connection with the book may have influenced other authors to adopt a Buddhist tone when explaining their understanding of the New Age.

Tsao Yu-fang wrote the short preface to *Perfect Wisdom*. While she was responsible for launching the imprint in which the New Age Series was published and was a prolific author, she did not contribute any translations or original works to the series. In addition to her earlier essay in *Spiritual Revolution*, *Perfect Wisdom* remains her enduring print contribution to Taiwan's New Age.

In her preface Tsao gave readers an insight into the range of people that formed part of the burgeoning New Age milieu in Taiwan. Beyond those directly involved with the New Age Series, her list included several notable figures in Taiwanese society, including Wang's architect husband C.Y. Lee and Hu's theatre and music friends (and well-known Buddhists) Ding Nai-chu and Stan Lai, KMT politician and one-time Premier of the Republic of China John Chiang 章孝嚴, KMT politician Diane Lee Ching-an 李慶安 and David Sun 孫大衛, one of the founders of Kingston Technology

Corporation, a large producer of computer memory products.⁵ This collection of political, artistic and commercial figures indicates that the Fine Press was offering New Age religion as something for the elite, or at least those who had elite aspirations. Interestingly, politicians and businessmen could be seen as being responsible for creating the society that the authors believed required reform. However, they also represent a successful and educated social class, and their names imbue the book with a certain legitimacy, albeit one closely aligned with the *waishengren* elite.

The status of this elite, enhanced by Mandarin and, often, English language proficiency, as well as a generally higher degree of comfort with the Chinese culture promulgated by the KMT (for instance, the CCRM mentioned in Chapter 1), placed them in opposition to local Taiwanese who spoke various dialects and indigenous languages and for whom such practices were more foreign.⁶ The reaction to the state-imposed Chinese culture manifested in various ways, such as the *bentuhua* 本土化 (indigenisation) trend in various artistic practices. As a result, it has been argued that:

Since the 1970s, in the cultural domain, the general idea that the uniqueness of Taiwanese society/culture/history must be appreciated and interpreted from the viewpoint of the Taiwanese people per se has been increasingly adopted as a paradigmatic principle for knowledge construction and cultural representation.⁷

This general cultural trend of *bentuhua* led to a gradual partial marginalisation, or decentering, of *waishengren* cultural influence. In this context, that the foundation of

⁵ Tsao Yu-fang, "Preface" in Lin Qingxuan et al, *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), 3-4.

⁶ Mau-kuei Chang, "One the Origins and Transformation of Taiwanese National Identity" in Paul R. Katz and Murray A. Rubenstein (eds), *Religion and the Formation of Taiwanese Identities* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 47-48.

⁷ A-chin Hsiau, "Epilogue" in John Makeham and A-chin Hsiau (eds), *Cultural, Ethnic, and Political Nationalism in Contemporary Taiwan* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 262-263.

the New Age in Taiwan (as articulated by the Fine Press) is *waishengren* readings and translations of American spiritual texts is notable. As shown throughout this thesis, this New Age was anti-authoritarian but not in a way that threatened the state. Rather, it used Taiwan's cultural repository (one that for *waishengren* exhibited strong elements of 'Chineseness') to import a set of foreign spiritual concepts that generally sought to transcend notions of nation or ethnicity. In doing this, these writers and publishers went beyond the KMT's vision of Taiwan-as-China and the inward-looking perspectives of the emergent *bentu* Taiwan, to reorient the island using the transnational vitality offered by the New Age (as found in the USA).

The first speaker in the seminar was Luo Shen 駱紳, director of *The China Times* Life Centre. Luo pointedly asked the rhetorical question, "What actually is the New Age?" To this he answered cryptically (and evoking the opening line of the Daoist *Daode Jing* 道德經): "It is normal like air and can not be written down. Nor can you smell it. So how do you describe it?" Having pondered this conundrum, Luo concluded that the New Age was a state of complete liberation where anything could be discussed.⁸ In Taiwan's post-martial law environment of press freedom Luo's optimism indicated the potential for the plethora of ideas contained within the global New Age to be translated and circulated throughout Taiwan.

The second speaker, Chien Chih-chung, co-founder of the Fine Press with Tsao, also began his description of the New Age with an enigmatic line. To Chien, "the New Age is like a pure spring my friend found near Kaohsiung, like the sun on a January

⁸ Luo Shen, "Looking at the New Age" in Lin Qingxuan et al, *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), 16.

afternoon, it is a natural and soft breeze. It is difficult to explain, you need to feel it.”⁹ Chien recalled how eight years prior he had encountered some problems in life when, in a predestined situation (from a karmic point of view), he had the opportunity to chat with Wang. Impressed by her wisdom, he discovered that she had learnt it from the New Age. As a result, Chien decided to publish the New Age Series. While his sentiment may have been sincere, it can also be read as an attempt to assuage cynicism on the part of readers, who could see the Fine Press’s promotion of the New Age as a blatant commercial exercise. Mocked by Hu for being “Old Age,” Chien read her translation of Krishnamurti’s *Think on These Things*. He was so moved by a passage that he thought Krishnamurti was writing just for him.¹⁰ Rather than just an opportunity to accrue profit, such realisations were (he claimed) his number one reason for promoting the New Age Series.

Chien concluded with the sort of pragmatism necessary in a publisher. He estimated that in Taiwan there were only approximately 20,000 readers of the New Age Series. Given that the island had a population of 21,000,000, this was considered small and something he hoped to remedy.¹¹ No doubt aware of the success of New Age publications in the USA during the 1980s (and the “one billion people worldwide” who had encountered it), Chien would have wanted a similar commercial impact with the New Age Series. With the New Age Series still being published in 2016 and BMS publications (the category into which New Age books are often placed) now accounting for approximately 1/5 of books sold in Taiwan (as mentioned in the preface), his commercial instincts were accurate.

⁹ Chien Chih-chung, “Looking at the New Age” in Lin Qingxuan et al, *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), 16.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

The third speaker, Tsao Yu-fang, began by asserting that while the New Age sounds imaginary, it was already mainstream in the USA and Europe. These points are similar to her contribution to *Spiritual Revolution* (1991). Tsao offered listeners and readers a broad critique of Taiwanese society, criticising the “money-grubbing” value system, an education system that was like a prison, the “bureaucratic dinosaur” of a government and the difficulties of love.¹² This is the same education system that produced her high profile translators and authors, and the educated readers she hoped to attract. She was convinced by two basic elements of the New Age: “Breaking free from authority, this is something I have wanted to do since childhood... [and the idea that] every organised system has drawbacks, when people rely on an organised system it is very easy for them to lose the ability to judge correctly.”¹³

Tsao neatly encapsulated the benefits of the New Age from the Fine Press’s point of view—through purchasing, reading and contemplating these books, readers could access a spiritual source no less valid than existing religions, but do so in a way where they maintained control to form and enact their own understanding and behaviour. She shared how she was moved by the New Age metaphor of the caterpillar and the butterfly, and how human life is like a beautiful butterfly that emerges from a self-constructed and restrictive cocoon.¹⁴ The “ascendant metempsychosis” in this image is a common trope in New Age thought and can be traced back to eighteenth century Europe.¹⁵ As a glamorous and worldly popular author, Tsao’s passage appears as a glowing endorsement of the New Age’s transformative potential.

¹² Tsao Yu-fang, “Redefining Your Own Values” in Lin Qingxuan et al, *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), 19-20.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 18.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

¹⁵ Antoine Faivre, *Eckartshausen et la theosophie Chretienne* (Klincksieck: Paris, 1969), 542 quoted in Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 474. In this context,

Hu was the fourth speaker and claimed to be emerging from her enthrallment with Krishnamurti. She was not as close to him as she had been the year before—she “had matured.”¹⁶ This is another example of Hu publicly proclaiming her ongoing process of maturity, something she was doing as early as *Talking Nonsense*. Here she attempted to establish with the audience that no longer was she a mere actor, but someone who had developed spiritually through closely reading Krishnamurti and now shared qualities with him, such as being unsuitable for higher education (both did not complete university), reinforcing her anti-authoritarianism and intellect.¹⁷ As mentioned earlier, here she claimed translating Krishnamurti had “seemingly changed my lifeblood,” implying that this spiritual practice of translation had made her more closely resemble him.¹⁸ Hu asserted that “many Indian Buddhist academics think that Krishnamurti could be the twentieth century reincarnation of Nagarjuna,” a major early Buddhist philosopher.¹⁹ In this short speech she unequivocally emphasised her understanding of Krishnamurti as Buddhist and, in doing so, again linked herself to him, as she endured physical difficulty to translate his work for the benefit of others:

Krishnamurti and Buddha are the same. Both came to awaken all sentient beings and draw their attention to performing the most thorough liberation. And not only the spiritual practice of self-consolation, but to reach some type of spiritual comfort. He wanted all sentient beings to achieve the most thorough liberation and experience the realm of non-self.²⁰

it is hard to ignore the seminal Daoist story where Zhuangzi is unsure if he is dreaming that he is a butterfly, or if the butterfly is dreaming that he is Zhuangzi.

¹⁶ Terry Hu, “The Complexity of Human Life Completely Spread Out” in Lin Qingxuan et al, *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), 21.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 23.

The fifth speaker was Charles Wei-Hsun Fu, who continued Hu's discussion of Krishnamurti in Buddhist terms, comparing him favourably with the Caodong school of *chan*, a precursor of Japan's Sōtō Zen, as he was an outstanding explorer of the Buddhist concept of "ultimate truth."²¹ As a philosophy professor Fu had read thousands of books but none were as good as Krishnamurti's *On Living and Dying* (translated by Liao Shide and published in the New Age Series in November 1995).²² Fu supplemented Hu's praise of Krishnamurti as a Buddhist with his academic expertise, imbuing Hu's claim with scholarly authority. The 'revolution of the mind' proposed by Krishnamurti was the same as the awakening found in *chan*.²³ Fu believed that in addition to the Japanese Buddhist figure Dōgen, he shared religious wisdom with Laozi, Mahayana Buddhists and Nagajuna.²⁴ In addition to this perennialist nature, Fu also noted later in the book that when talking of enlightenment, Krishnamurti used the same language as found in *chan*.²⁵ Fu claimed his last gift to his students before leaving the USA was to suggest that they read the works of Krishnamurti.²⁶

C.C. Wang, the sixth speaker, recalled how her childhood existential questions could not be solved through art or science and that her personal crisis and thoughts of suicide in 1976 led to her fortuitous discovery of Seth. These events had become part of her hagiography and she argued that if one is to discuss the New Age, one cannot but

²¹ Charles Fu Wei Hsun, "Truth is Without Nationality" in Lin Qingxuan et al, *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), 26.

²² *Ibid.*, 27.

²³ Charles Fu Wei Hsun, "Walking a Linear Spiritual Revolution" in Lin Qingxuan et al, *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), 138.

²⁴ Fu, "Truth is Without Nationality," 28.

²⁵ Fu, "Walking a Linear Spiritual Revolution," 138.

²⁶ Fu, "Truth is Without Nationality," 29.

discuss Seth, for his works are classics of the field.²⁷ Like Hu with Krishnamurti, Wang linked Seth closely with Buddhism, saying:

Seth's teaching method is just what Buddhism calls "directly pointing to people's minds, to see one's own nature and directly accomplish Buddhahood." Furthermore, he explains the factors and background of how to see Buddha nature and how to become a Buddha with complete clarity.²⁸

Wang's framing of Seth in the context of Buddhism allowed her to present him as an alternative way of understanding the more well-established, though often abstruse or impenetrable, teachings of Buddhism. According to Wang, everyone possesses Buddha nature and the failure to recognise this leads us to feel emotions such as loneliness and fear, which can be overcome through applying the teachings of Seth.²⁹ Her approach can be read two ways: an attempt to make Seth appear approachable to Taiwan's Buddhists and a way for her to articulate her own understanding of his teachings. Both are creative means of embedding Seth, and by extension the New Age, in the cultural and religious conditions of Taiwan.

Wang concluded that according to Seth, our emotions come from our thoughts and physical illness comes from mental problems.³⁰ Given that Hu had already been sick for a year with what would ultimately be diagnosed as an ovarian tumor, this is a pointed comment and one that hints at a growing philosophical divide between the two (Hu's illness is discussed later in this chapter). While I never found any written

²⁷ C.C. Wang, "Studying Going Beyond Space and Time" in Lin Qingxuan et al., , *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), 31.

²⁸ Ibid., 32. For translations of "directly pointing to peoples' minds" see "直指人心", <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=直指人心> and "to see one's own nature and directly accomplish Buddhahood" "見性成佛", <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=見性成佛>, both accessed 31 July 2015.

²⁹ Wang, "Studying Going Beyond Space and Time," 32-33.

³⁰ Ibid., 35.

evidence of a split between Wang and Hu, they ultimately proceeded in different directions, as indicated by clues such as that above.

The seventh speaker was Meng Xiangsen/Dongli, a figure already well established on the margins of the New Age milieu in Taiwan and introduced in Chapter 6. In *Perfect Wisdom* Meng enthused about the New Age, particularly as it existed in Wang and Hu's articulations. To him, Krishnamurti resembled Buddha and Jesus, he was a good example to follow; Seth was like a friend—you could listen to his words unperturbed but also argue with and criticise him.³¹ This attitude represented to Meng what made the New Age special. Unlike the 'Old Age,' the New Age opposed authority and mechanisation, was not autocratic and did not occupy a commanding position. Importantly, it allowed people to find their own truth.³² He was circumspect in his praise of Krishnamurti, who was like Sakyamuni Buddha and Jesus in that all three were rebels full of vitality whose teachings must be tested individually.³³

The eighth and final speaker was Lin Qingxuan. While Lin did not publish any of his many books in the New Age Series, he did publish extensively in other Fine Press series and was a long-time friend of Tsao and Hu.³⁴ He was a popular author during the 1980s and early 1990s, and was profiled as one of "Formosas [sic] 10 Great Savants" and "the spokesperson of a generation."³⁵ Along with San Mao and Li Ao, he was one of several Taiwanese essayists to find success in China in the 1980s, where they were

³¹ Meng Dongli, "Personally Validate Your Own Understanding of the Truth" in Lin Qingxuan et al, *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), 37.

³² *Ibid.*, 26-39.

³³ *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁴ Tsao reflected on her friendship with Lin and his success as an author in *Tattoo of Spiritual Desire* (2004), pp. 152-153. In his autobiography (2007), Li Ao reprinted an interview that Lin gave around the time of Li Ao and Hu's divorce, where Lin recounted his conversations with Hu (pp. 313-315).

³⁵ BoBo, "Special Report: Formosas [sic] 10 Great Savants", *Ladies*, July 1994: 29. Among the other "savants" profiled was the future President, Ma Ying-jeou 馬英九.

“extremely popular.”³⁶ He developed a profile writing in Taiwan’s *fukan* (newspaper literary supplements), which were important for contributing to “a more complete commercialization of the cultural sphere” in the decade or so prior to 1987.³⁷ In this time, *fukan* moved away from publishing material unlikely to offend the government to—reflecting the levels of education, wealth and experience of Taiwanese—focus on “culture and communication as organized from afar by the transnational symbolic capital and its network.”³⁸ As an author who through the spiritual world created in his best-selling books became a religious figure, it had been argued that Lin had forsaken any status as an “ordinary person” and, as a person, he should be judged accordingly.³⁹ That is, he should be judged as a religious figure.

Lin began his speech by negating the chronological aspect implied by ‘New’ in the New Age. To him, the good aspects of life cannot be demarcated by time.⁴⁰ Lin’s talk was infused with Buddhist concepts and he emphasised the importance of living in the moment and observing emotional fluctuation. He too claimed the New Age as a form of Buddhism:

I think the New Age can be considered Western *chan*. Because as long as a person’s heart is moving towards purity and can improve, then it is moving towards *chan*.

³⁶ Michelle Yeh, “Chinese literature from 1937 to the present” in Kang-i Sun Chang and Stephen Owen, *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 668.

³⁷ Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang, *Literary Culture in Taiwan: Martial Law to Market Law* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 148.

³⁸ Ping-hui Liao, “The Case of the Emergent Cultural Criticism Columns in Taiwan’s Newspaper Literary Supplements: Global/Local Dialectics in Contemporary Taiwanese Public Culture” in Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake (eds), *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1996), 338.

³⁹ Cheng Chih-ming 鄭志明, *Dangdai Xinxing zongjiao xianxiang di er juan* 當代新興宗教現象 第二卷 [*The Phenomenon of Contemporary New Religious Movements vol. 2*] (Taipei, Wen jin 文津, 2011), 414-415.

⁴⁰ Lin Qingxuan, “Heading towards the new state of awakening” in Lin Qingxuan et al, *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), 39.

Krishnamurti is also a *chan* master. He consistently goes through many opportunities to guide and awaken us. With new thought and introspection about our lives, he allows us to head towards a more free, more open and more hopeful life brimming with love. This is extremely useful for those who believe in religion and even those who do not believe in any religion.⁴¹

That a popular Buddhist expert such as Lin directly equated the New Age with *chan* is indicative of how Taiwan's New Age of 1997 should be understood. By then Buddhism was a revitalised and modern form of a religious practice which had become more common in Taiwan, where "The Buddhist population grew from 800,000 in 1983 to 4.9 million in 1995... [and] the number of registered Buddhist temples rose from 1,157 to 4,020."⁴² In this context of increasing enthusiasm for Buddhism, an example of *chan*'s prominence is the 1995 construction of Dharma Drum Mountain, a 120-acre site near Taipei costing around US\$30 million.⁴³ Similarly, in 2001 the giant Chung Tai Chan Temple (*Zhongtai chan si* 中台禪寺) opened in central Taiwan, where architect (and Wang's ex-husband) C.Y. Lee "pursued the modernization of Chinese architecture, creating a form that directly communicates with the traditional Buddhist space."⁴⁴ Lin's popularity must be considered within this Buddhist 'boom'.

Lin believed the New Age to offer two important (and secular) life choices—living a free life and possessing love in your life—and love was the reason he read New

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁴² Barbara E. Reed, "Guanyin Narratives—Wartime and Postwar" in Philip Clart and Charles B. Jones (eds), *Religion in Modern Taiwan: Tradition and Innovation in a Changing Society* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 186.

⁴³ Madsen, *Democracy's Dharma*, 95.

⁴⁴ Ming Shih Chih and Kao Hsiao Chen, "A study of the development of contemporary monasteries in Taiwan" in *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* (12:3), 2011, 407.

Age books.⁴⁵ In *Perfect Wisdom*, after these short introductory essays each speaker then proceeded to offer a longer account of their own philosophy and experience.

Hu's longer chapter is remarkable for her scant use of the term 'New Age.'⁴⁶ She declared that she thought Buddhism to hold the most open ideas on humanity's internal truth.⁴⁷ Given that *Perfect Wisdom*, published in the New Age Series and featuring the English words 'New Age' on the cover, was a blatant attempt by the Fine Press to attract readers to New Age thought and establish a successful publishing enterprise, this omission must be considered. Hu demonstrated her growing inclination to move beyond the New Age, or willingness to brand it as something seemingly more substantial. Not only was Krishnamurti Buddhist, the whole New Age promoted a type of Buddhism:

In New Age books that explore the spirit, a whole new way is put forward. For our spiritual activity is a most precise form of observation which is also the 'middleway.'

The so-called 'contemplation of the middleway' is an extremely open type of observation without any type of label, ideology or bias whatsoever. It is a state of emptiness and in this state of emptiness; it uses an extremely unchanging and curious state of mind to observe the self and those around you.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Lin, "Heading towards the new state of awakening," 43.

⁴⁶ Hu's longer chapter in *Perfect Wisdom* was named 人生中不可不想的事, the title of the Chinese translation of Krishnamurti's *Think on These Things* (1990).

⁴⁷ Terry Hu "Think on These Things" in Lin Qingxuan et al, *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), 97.

⁴⁸ In the second line, Hu included the English "middleway" after the Chinese 中觀之道. Terry Hu, "The Things in Life You Cannot but Think About" in Lin Qingxuan et al, *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), 100.

In linking the New Age to Buddhism's middleway and then saying that it is an approach that transcends any type of label, Hu reinforced the perennialist ideas regarded as common in the New Age.

It is important to note that alongside Hu's apparent reluctance to promote the New Age, she was experiencing significant health problems.⁴⁹ After she gave birth to her daughter by caesarean section in 1993 she immediately experienced health problems that lasted for several years. Doctors eventually discovered a 7kg ovarian tumor and she had this operated on in October 1997. Given this background of health problems, Hu's possible apathy towards the New Age and its promise that "you create your own reality" must be considered. Hu was also undergoing a period of extensive exploration into various alternative healing methods which I will discuss later.

The question and answer section at the end of Hu's chapter revealed how she regarded the impact of the New Age on her everyday life. She was asked her views on caesarean sections, education, being a single mother, migrating to Vancouver, relationship issues and a range of spiritual questions, such as how to choose a practice.⁵⁰ To this Hu replied that following a particular teacher may mean losing your ability to make choices. People should choose the most appropriate method and, regardless of this choice, the ultimate desire is to relax your mind.⁵¹ This suggested an ongoing wariness of groups or leaders, and an orientation towards text-based transformation.

The diverse specialities and high profiles of the authors of *Peaceful Wisdom* suggest that it was a concerted effort by the Fine Press to market New Age religion to a

⁴⁹ Hu discussed her health issues and her wide-ranging search for appropriate health treatment in Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 314-332.

⁵⁰ Based on a comment in her preface to her translation of Pema Chödrön's *When things fall apart: heart advice for difficult times* (2001), Hu lived in Vancouver in approximately 1997 (pg 9).

⁵¹ Hu, "Think on These Things," 114-123.

new potential readership. Wang used this opportunity to reinforce the relevance of Seth to Buddhists, or readers who were more familiar with concepts in Buddhism. She wrote:

If you are going to talk about the New Age you cannot but speak of Seth because it is the classic of the New Age. A friend told how he had read the Buddhist classics but did not understand them. After reading Seth, not only was he very happy – he even then understood the Buddhist classics. This is because Seth is so close to our lives.⁵²

In reasserting Seth as the preeminent figure and text in the New Age, Wang emphasised the importance of her translations. The relevance of Seth, and her role in bringing the Seth books to Taiwan, was amplified in her anecdote about the benefits it brought her friend. Not only did her friend enjoy Seth, he was also able to finally make a meaningful connection with Buddhist scriptures, a set of texts more closely entwined with culture and religion in Taiwan. In recalling this, Wang demonstrated that for the Buddhists of Taiwan, New Age religion (and in particular Seth) was not a threat to their culture or religious practice. Rather, it was a means by which they could clarify and enhance their pre-existing religious practice. Given the contemporary enthusiasm for Buddhism, this appears an adroit and non-threatening means of inserting the New Age into the dominant religious discourse. Wang and the other authors of *Peaceful Wisdom* depicted the New Age as not only something in harmony with Buddhism, but a form of Buddhism that arose abroad. However, this New Age as Buddhism was only recognised as such by Taiwan's New Age vanguard.

Wang proceeded to compare Seth favourably with the *chan* school of Buddhism. She used lines from *chan* to describe how Seth's teachings allowed the possibility of enlightenment and Buddhahood through understanding one's own mind.⁵³ Wang's use

⁵² Wang, "Studying Going Beyond Space and Time," 31-32.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 32.

of *chan* terms such as “directly pointing to people’s minds” and “to see one’s own nature and (directly) accomplish Buddhahood” demonstrates her concerted effort to closely orient Seth to the Buddhist concepts readers would have been more familiar with. Earlier, in her preface to her translation of *The Individual and the Nature of Mass Events* (first published in 1994), Wang elaborated on how reading the work of Seth can engender personal development and realisation. She wrote:

Seth books are for those interested in psychology and wisdom and who are prepared to put aside distorted and decayed old ideas to open a new frontier. These books point out the prejudices in society and culture of how we get-used-to-what-is-wrong-and-regard-it-as-right or how something is apparently-wrong-but-actually-right. They push aside the layers of mist from our vision and give us a new mind for penetrating the truth of matters.

Because the content includes psychology, physics, medicine, consciousness and so on, the original has extremely abstruse ideas. Furthermore, ideas from other people and written language are both linear and have difficulty bearing the multi-variant appearance of truth. Therefore, when reading Seth books we are called on to not only rely on the reason of logic. The fact is the true awakening of moving our heart of hearts causes us to echo, causes us to gush out an indescribable sense of being in touch and understanding.

However, those who like to thoroughly investigate everything, when starting with the Seth books they probably happily lap up information without digesting it or feel that they have already obtained *samadhi*. Let me offer some advice to thinking people: restrain your temper, ruminate a little and it gradually becomes your flesh and blood. Finally it turns into the supporting beam of the bridge that leads you to the spirit of your ‘true self.’

The Seth Material’s wide-ranging and profound nature can be summarised in this antithetical couplet:

The Dao fills the universe without having shape;

My thoughts enter wind and clouds and become a mirage.⁵⁴

To Wang, the Seth books were imbued with a special quality, one that could not merely be obtained through conventional reading. By abandoning logic and the desire to read the whole book, Wang suggested readers should read it slowly and thoughtfully. As a result they would incorporate Seth's teachings into their body and gain a level of understanding. In this manner, it is not through the intervention of a figure of religious authority that New Age religion is transmitted; it is through the individualised and intimate act of reading. Given the high level of literacy and growing disposable income in Taiwan, coupled with the increased availability of books (especially the New Age Series), Wang was offering the New Age's transformative experiences to a mass audience. To Wang, the New Age combined the best of China and from abroad, and sharing this was her life mission.⁵⁵ *Perfect Wisdom* heralded the beginning of a short period where the Fine Press published the works of several Taiwanese authors.

⁵⁴ C.C. Wang, "Translator's Preface" in Jane Roberts, *Geren yu qunti shijian de benzhi* 個人與群體事件的本質 [*The Individual and the Nature of Mass Events*, lit. *The Essence of Individual and Group Events*], translated by C.C. Wang, (Taipei: Fine Press, 2007), np. The poem Wang quoted at the end of this passage is almost the same as the poem *Chance Creation on an Autumn Day* 秋日偶成 by Cheng Hao 程顥, an important Song Dynasty (960-1279) Neo-Confucian philosopher. The only difference is one character in the final line. Rather than the original's *tai* 態, meaning form, Wang writes *huan* 幻, meaning mirage. With this slight variation in mind, the lines above are a modification of John Thompson's translation, see <http://www.silkqin.com/02qnpu/23wyqp/wy08jgy.htm>, accessed 18 July 2014.

⁵⁵ C.C. Wang, "Open the heart's door and discover truth" in Lin Qingxuan et al, *Andun shengming de xinzhahui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997), 206.

Revolution in the Heart

Wang was busy in 1997: *Revolution* was published in August. She published translations of *The Nature of the Psyche, Its Human Expression*, a Seth book, in June and *Emmanuel's Book II: What is an Angel Doing Here* in August.⁵⁶ Also, in March Wang's student and confidante Albert Chen 陳建志 published the first of his two New Age books, the introductory text *Perform Your Past Lives*.⁵⁷

Extensive in its scope, *Revolution* was a practical and theoretical guide to the New Age (see Figure 8). Wang's broad reading and practice was evident, demonstrating her strong understanding of the intellectual and religious frameworks in which the New Age evolved. She shared her conceptual and theological understanding of New Age religion, drew links with Buddhism and provided a considered critique on the differences between Chinese and Western philosophy. Each chapter ended with suggested further reading, including works in English. While there were many references to Seth and Wang's other translations, these lists did not mention Hu's *Ancient Future* or Du Hengfen's translation of Shirley MacLaine's *Out on a Limb* (the English version was suggested instead). Wang's exclusion of *Ancient Future* suggests that by 1997 she was attempting to reorient Taiwan's New Age away from Hu and to place Seth (and by extension, herself) at the centre.

⁵⁶ Jane Roberts, *Xinling de benzhi* 心靈的本質 [*The Nature of the Psyche, Its Human Expression*, lit. *Nature of the Spirit*], trans. C.C. Wang (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997). Pat Rodegast and Judith Stanton, *Ni jiushi renjian tianshi* 你就是人間天使 (*Emmanuel's Book II: What is an Angel Doing Here?*, lit. *You are Angels of the Human World*), trans. C.C. Wang (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997).

⁵⁷ Albert Chen 陳建志, *Yanhao ni de qianshi jinsheng* 演好你的前世今生 [*Perform Your Past Lives*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997).

Image removed from digital thesis to avoid
copyright infringement

Figure 8: C.C. Wang 王季慶. *Xinnei geming: mairu ai yu guang de xinshidai* 心內革命：邁入愛與光的新時代 [*Revolution in the Heart: Stride into the New Age of Light and Love*]. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1997.

Designed by Liu Fenggang 劉鳳剛, the cover depicted the Parthenon, an iconic ancient temple in Greece, looming above a pile of boulders, beams of light streaming through the pillars down the hill. This is an immediate suggestion of the New Age's origins as being ancient, Western and illuminating. "Revolution in the Heart" was printed in bold characters and the first character *xin* 心, representing heart/mind, in red, before it fades to white in the character below (the third and fourth characters were white).⁵⁸ Under Wang's name, in yellow, read the glowing endorsement: "The mother of the domestic New Age—C.C. Wang—offers you the opportunity to transform your mind."⁵⁹ This indicates how the Fine Press had begun to identify the New Age with Wang rather than Hu.

Revolution began with the same preface that appeared in the early editions of the New Age Series. In it Wang reaffirmed aspects of her story that would by now be familiar to her established readers: how she had been seeking since the age of nine (later in the book she revealed this was caused by a profound realisation of her fear of death—she recalled lying on a tatami mat and crying⁶⁰); translating *The Prophet* as a young adult; the philosophy of Seth destroying her preconceived ideas; and working as a translator to share her breakthroughs and emphasising finding New Age material before she actually discovered the term 'New Age' (through the Bantam New Age book series in the USA). Wang asserted that the New Age was ascendant in the USA and Europe

⁵⁸ Mark Elvin wrote the *xin* 心 "heart-mind... can be interpreted as the psychological field of force that is attempting to control the body." As there is no precise means of translating *xin* into English, in this thesis I use heart *or* mind, choosing the one I feel best reflects the author's original intention in each particular instance. See Mark Elvin, "Tales of Shen and Xin: Body-Person and Heart-Mind in China during the Last 150 Years" in Michael Feher with Ramona Naddaff and Nadia Tazi (eds), *Fragments for a History of the Human Body Part Two* (New York: Zone, 1989), 267.

⁵⁹ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, cover.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 117.

and that she will only introduce the best and most useful aspects.⁶¹ This is important to note. To the extent that she could, as planner of the preeminent series of New Age texts in Taiwan, she shaped the New Age in Taiwan according to her wishes. Through her expertise as a reader and translator—with the exception of Hu she was surely the most well-read New Ager in Taiwan—Wang could influence what was published in the Fine Press' New Age Series. This extended to *Revolution*, where she was free to include material, and then comment on it, as she wished. Other publishers in Taiwan were then able to translate New Age work that Wang did not like, was unaware of or had not yet translated.

Wang began her introductory remarks to *Revolution* with her recollection of a dream from 1994 or 1995, a time when the New Age Series restarted publishing greater volumes of translations.⁶² She wrote:

Walking into a yard, I see in the distance in front of me something discarded in cloth. Getting closer, it appears to be a white jade annulus; the two concentric holes at the centre are filled with a rippling azure colour; the liquid is hard and makes me think of Westerners' blue eyes, matchlessly clear, transparent, deep and mystical. As I gaze it suddenly changes into a small child, soft and weak. I take pity as I cuddle her and she unexpectedly lies on my breast...

Originally my mother, elder sister and I had wanted to go to the opera but now this seems unimportant. (I wonder, "is this really my family?"). I embrace the child and go out for a walk in what seems to be the corridor of a Muslim palace. There are people sitting casually in the courtyard. I remember wearing a new fine white gown and the front of it feels a little bit moist. Fearing it is the child's urine, I hurriedly take her to the yard (I suddenly discover 'she' is now a boy, how is this so?). Carelessly this splashes

⁶¹ Ibid., iii.

⁶² After publishing 22 books in the New Age Series between 1989 and 1991, only four books were published in 1992 and 1993. Seven were published in 1994 and then 11 in 1995. See Appendix 1 and Appendix 2.

on a foreign man. But he is not angry, and instead moves in a little closer. I hastily apologise, and as I speak to him pick up the infant.

Afterwards we enter a room and it appears to be kept in reserve for the infant ... On the bed is the first male child I picked up who looks two years old and is very strong. I am very happy; my heart wonders how I could be lucky like this, picking up a boy and a girl. The small boy all of a sudden starts walking, the girl sticks to my right armpit and back. I face the right to lie down (How can I put her down?) and am like a mother chicken incubating her chick. I am still thinking of going to buy some milk, a feeding bottle and an entire set of products to raise her. She is well behaved as she clings to my back. After she seems hungry and pecks my mouth like a small bird waiting to be fed, so cute! She does not cry or scream at all...⁶³

In sharing this vivid dream Wang made a statement about her role in Taiwan's New Age and, in doing so, emphasised her practical New Age credentials. In the New Age, psychic dream experiences, such as this one, provide an opportunity for "the conscious reflection and interpretation of one's dream experience to gain a more complete understanding of one's waking reality."⁶⁴ Dream interpretation has also formed part of Chinese religious traditions and practices at various times. An immediate observation is how her maternal instincts in caring for the two children resonated with her stated goal for the New Age Series of "hoping to pacify ever-terrified children."⁶⁵ As a believer in dream symbolism, Wang interpreted the dream for her readers. She expanded on this dream and her supposed role in *Perfect Wisdom*, interpreting the jade as representing all the good aspects of Chinese culture and its inner filling and blue eyes representing the good aspects of Western culture: the annulus therefore representing the encounter and

⁶³ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 1-2.

⁶⁴ York, *Historical Dictionary of New Age Movements*, 146.

⁶⁵ See Wang's preface to the New Age Series (1989) in Appendix 3.

fusion of East and West. The shape-shifting baby represented New Age thought, as newly introduced to “China,” and her white gown symbolised purity and simplicity, as well as being a ceremonial robe for a celebration.⁶⁶ In sharing a shorter version of the dream in *Perfect Wisdom*, Wang wrote how her baby—the New Age—is something she is giving everyone, a job now her lifelong mission.⁶⁷

Wang then immediately shared another dream from some years before. In it, she was sitting by an old-fashioned window with two shutters, the bottom one open. Suddenly a rainbow-coloured ball flew in and she instinctively caught it in her hand. In analysing this “brief but distinctly exceptional” dream, Wang acknowledged the prominence of rainbows in the New Age and hypothetically asked if it symbolised her continuing the work of the New Age.⁶⁸ Later, and echoing the image used at least three times by Hu to represent her connection with the USA, Wang considered her work in importing New Age thought to Taiwan as “being like the rainbow bridge fondly spoken of in the New Age.”⁶⁹ These two dreams serve as evidence of a deep calling for Wang to undertake her New Age work; it was not necessarily a rational decision but one informed by mysteries of her subconscious, or at least that is how she presented it.

Wang continued in her introductory marks to discuss her personal crisis in America in 1976. While she omitted the details of what precipitated the crisis (her affair with her husband’s work colleague), she did not skimp in detailing the emotional trauma that this caused her and how her discovery of Seth changed her life. However it was only after many years of experience that she felt comfortable writing an

⁶⁶ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 2.

⁶⁷ Wang “Open the Door to the Mind and Discover Truth,” 205-206.

⁶⁸ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 2-3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 215.

introduction to the topic.⁷⁰ It should be noted that I did not find any details on the time or nature of Wang and Lee's divorce.

In the following chapter 'Entering into Light and Love' Wang discussed the hypnagogic out-of-body experience (OBE) she mentioned in her 1985 interview, now specifying it to have occurred in 1976. The general details remained the same: lying in the yogic corpse pose (*savasana*), Wang was flat on her back, completely relaxed and half asleep, half awake. Instead of a being in a car, now she felt like she was "on a roller coaster heading towards a hurricane."⁷¹ Not long after, a ball appeared, brighter than the sun but not at all irritating—now she specified the ball as being white. Wang's heart felt open and clear and she said, in English, "This is it." In 1985, after "This is it", she also said "This is God."⁷² Instead, in 1997 Wang wrote how she came into contact with the origin of everything: light, love and life itself.⁷³ Reflecting on this experience 20 years after it happened, Wang felt it verified the equation that life is love and she appeared to be using this construct to explain her OBE, rather than God. This is another example of Wang developing her own New Age narrative; reframing earlier experiences with new language and concepts as she became more expert. Another revelation came when first reading Seth, when Wang felt "as if she was enlightened, wild with joy it was as if I drank dew from heaven."⁷⁴

Wang considered that even though books in the New Age Series were different, their message was the same. That is, after reading one does not have an unfamiliar feeling or that of having received new wisdom. Rather, one has the feeling of having

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid., 7.

⁷² Dong Xiaoling, "Who can contact ghosts? Discussing parapsychology with C.C. Wang," 119.

⁷³ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 8.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

encountered this before, it is something known in one's mind.⁷⁵ To Wang, the ideas of the New Age were not actually new, they are ancient and, she appeared to be suggesting, inherent in Eastern culture. In writing that the New Age Movement resulted from the meeting of Eastern religion and Western psychology, she appeared to imply that readers in Taiwan might have a predisposition to it.⁷⁶ Being from Taiwan did not preclude one from being open to the New Age as they too had this wisdom lying dormant in them and only needed the right reading materials in order to trigger it.

Wang shared with her readers a concise survey of the New Age. She sketched the historical origins of what became the New Age, beginning with Emmanuel Swedenborg, the Theosophical Society and séances, and then covered groups such as the Findhorn society in Scotland and teachers like Edgar Cayce in the USA. Wang then attempted to identify the nature of the New Age in Taiwan.

In conceptualising the New Age Movement in Taiwan, Wang drew heavily on foreign expertise. David Spangler (1945-) was a prominent figure of New Age thought and a onetime resident of Scotland's Findhorn, a farm and retreat centre which since beginning in 1962 has become "the most enduring and influential expression" of New Age culture.⁷⁷ Quoting from his book *Emergence: Rebirth of the Sacred* (1984), Wang wrote that there are four levels of the New Age:

1. Commercial;
2. Glamour;
3. Transformation, as seen in *The Aquarian Conspiracy's* paradigm shift in science, politics, education, sex and so on; and
4. The sacralisation of the world.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 11.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 37.

⁷⁷ Steven J. Sutcliffe, "Findhorn Community", Peter B. Clarke (ed), *Encyclopedia of New Religious Movements* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 190.

With respect to the New Age in Taiwan, Wang understood the most important of these points to be three and four as individual change would lead to social change.⁷⁸ Her proposition can be challenged. Undoubtedly the process of transformation and the meaning of sacred are important to the New Age in Taiwan.⁷⁹ Indeed, Durkheim understood the difference between sacred and profane to be absolutely fundamental in society, declaring “In the history of human thought, there is no other example of two categories of things as profoundly differentiated or as radically opposed to one another.”⁸⁰ Throughout Wang’s writings the sacred and profane were not necessarily easily separated. Her early magazine columns demonstrated how her everyday life stimulated her exploration of metaphysical thought and even her breakthrough spiritual events (encountering Seth in the library and her OBE) occurred in mundane settings.

Wang’s omission of Spangler’s commercial and glamour aspects is important. The primary vehicle through which the New Age was introduced into Taiwan is the New Age Series, a commercial undertaking by the Fine Press. As a business, the Fine Press would not have engaged in all the convolutions of publishing (acquiring rights, arranging translators, marketing and so forth) if there was no commercial benefit. Likewise, titles would be picked on the basis of their marketability, with overseas popularity undoubtedly a consideration.

⁷⁸ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 28.

⁷⁹ Durkheim categorised the sacred as:

Beliefs, myths, dogmas, and legends... the virtues and powers attributed to them, their history, and their relationship with one another as well as with profane things... A rock, a tree, a spring, a pebble, a piece of wood, a house, in a word anything, can be sacred. A rite can have sacredness; indeed there is no rite that does not have it to some degree. There are words, phrases, and formulas that can be said only by consecrated personages; there are gestures and movements that cannot be executed by just anyone.

Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (New York: Free Press, 1995, 34-35)

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 36.

As shown throughout this thesis, glamour was important in the New Age in Taiwan, most strongly evident in the early influence of Shirley MacLaine. Hu, in particular, possessed a trendy and desirable image. While in her new role as a New Age translator and author she toned down the flamboyance of her previous celebrity appearance, she still projected a restrained and spiritual allure. Indeed, her image was one of the only faces to appear regularly in the New Age Series books. In his discussion of this typology, Hanegraaff noted that Spangler would have been considered New Age glamour in the early part of his career.⁸¹ Tsao Yu-fang also presented herself as very glamorous and in her author photo for *Revolution* Wang wore heavy makeup. While Wang might not have wanted to emphasise the glamour aspect of Taiwan's New Age, perhaps for risk of appearing superficial or materialistic, it was certainly an important dimension that must be considered if Spangler's typology is used.

Wang was quite broad in her definition of the New Age although she always remained close to the teachings of Seth. She included new thought and the human potential movement, American shamanism, higher self, aliens, spiritualism, science, psychology, astrology and crystals as New Age.⁸² This is important to note. As the arbiter of what was published in the New Age Series, Wang was effectively determining if a book was New Age or not. She wrote the "New Age Series is based on our judgment as we think its content has the New Age spirit and can help people with self-understanding and self-growth. It is not blindly following or relying on authority of others."⁸³ Essentially, if a book was translated into Chinese and published in the Fine Press' New Age Series then it was part of the New Age in Taiwan. Therefore, through the New Age Series we can more clearly define what in Taiwan was New Age.

⁸¹ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 58.

⁸² Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 29-30.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 30.

The New Age Series contained several authors who died before the term ‘New Age’ became common.⁸⁴ G.I. Gurdjieff (c.1866-1949), P.D. Ouspensky (1878-1947) and C.W. Leadbeater (1854-1934) are all associated with the New Age but never had the opportunity to define themselves as such. Likewise, the New Age-ness of Indian figures such as Osho (Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh), Swami Muktananda, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and, most certainly, Jiddu Krishnamurti, is not clear-cut; some could be considered religious figures or even NRM leaders. But with Krishnamurti’s publications and his biography accounting for nearly a quarter of the first 101 books in the New Age, it is difficult to argue how he was not a New Age figure in Taiwan. It is important to remember when defining the New Age in Taiwan, this is not just simply a matter of how a foreign (largely American) New Age was transplanted and accepted there: the choice of people like Wang and Hu as to who to translate (and how they recreated them) and the Fine Press’ decision on who to include in the series were paramount.

Having introduced the New Age broadly, Wang proceeded to devote chapters to particular topics. She covered holism, healing, the relationship between love and fear, meditation, kundalini and light energy; hypnosis and past life regression; OBEs and dreams; death; psychic powers; environmental protection; channeling; groups and masters; the New Age and Eastern philosophy and the New Age’s prospects. An important section was her attempt to define ‘New Agers.’

Wang saw New Agers as belonging to a spectrum.⁸⁵ To the left were “purists” (Wang supplied the English translation), such as Krishnamurti, who emphasised detachment from the material world so to experience the inner world. To the right were

⁸⁴ See Appendix 1.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 160-161.

commercially minded groups such as est,⁸⁶ which taught techniques to realise personal potential and improve business management. Most New Agers were to be found between these two polarities. Those in the middle ground emphasised the importance of paying attention to inner spiritual matters and sought to find a sense of unity with the universe and holistic wellbeing. Again, Wang stated that the internal reform of individuals would result in a collective social transformation.⁸⁷ This broad definition of New Agers was inclusive and, despite her constant promotion of Seth, hints that Wang did not want to be seen as dogmatic.

For Wang, the New Age was an utterly transformative experience. After encountering it she loved her children, family and humanity more. Because of these changes Wang wanted to share her tranquility and joy with her readers.⁸⁸ Yet she also advised her readers to be careful when choosing a spiritual practice.⁸⁹ Among her various experiences, she regarded a 1981 transpersonal psychology workshop at National Taiwan University as a failure. This example showed how she critically engaged with the New Age, not simply lapping it all up, and suggested to readers not to worry if they had an unsatisfactory experience as there was likely to be something else suitable.

Wang wrote why she chose to translate New Age into Chinese as *xinshidai* 新時代.⁹⁰ She argued that as the New Age did not start in the twentieth century and was not

⁸⁶ est (Erhard Seminar Training), “one of the most successful manifestations of the human potential movement (HPM), was founded in the 1960s by Werner Erhard ... in San Francisco.” Elizabeth Puttick, “Landmark Forum (est)” in *New Religions: A Guide*, Christopher Partridge (ed)(New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 406-407.

⁸⁷ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 160-161.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 219.

⁸⁹ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 88-89.

⁹⁰ In this translation *xin* 新 means ‘new’ and *shidai* 時代 means age, but can also mean times, era, epoch or period.

limited to a period of 100 years, it should not be called *xinshiji* 新世紀, or new century.⁹¹ Establishing *xinshidai* as the standard translation of New Age was not immediate. As mentioned earlier, a 1989 Terry Hu article included *xinshiji* in the title. The October 1989 translation of *Chop Wood, Carry Water* (a guidebook written by associates of *New Age Journal*), also translated New Age as *xinshiji*.⁹² In reaffirming this choice of translation, Wang drew on her reading and personal experience to provide what was, certainly in 1997, the most wide-ranging and considered description and analysis of New Age religion available in Chinese. Regardless of the values one holds, Wang asserted that the New Age was about being *in* the world and not escaping it, suggesting some commonality with the popular “Buddhism for the Human World” (*renjian fojiao*).⁹³

Throughout *Revolution* Wang shared her understanding of Buddhism and in doing so, showed her readers how it and the New Age were congruent. While Wang claimed not to practice meditation or visualisation, she admitted to thinking that all things arise from external circumstances, using the Buddhist terminology “to accord with conditions” (*suiyuan* 隨緣).⁹⁴ She wrote that in addition to possessing a divine nature (*shenxing* 神性), in the New Age it is believed that everyone possesses Buddha nature (*Foxing* 佛性).⁹⁵ She also wrote that all New Age teachings, including Seth, acknowledge the Buddhist concept of reincarnation (*zhuanshi* 轉世) but do not necessarily go so far as to agree with the concept of transmigration through the six kinds of rebirth (*liudao lunhui* 六道輪迴). Instead, she argued that in New Age thought all

⁹¹ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 12.

⁹² Rick Fields et al, *Chop Wood, Carry Water: A Guide to Finding Spiritual Fulfillment in Everyday Life*, trans. Du Hengfen 杜恆芬 (Taipei: China Times Publishing Co., 1989).

⁹³ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 192.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 138. See “隨緣” <http://www.buddhism-dict.net/cgi-bin/xpr-ddb.pl?q=隨緣>, accessed 5 August 2015.

⁹⁵ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 159.

phenomena are nothing but mind, and through subjective faith and perception empathy is possible. In writing that heaven and hell existed concurrently in one's heart, Wang depicted her New Age as transcending dualism.⁹⁶

Wang also drew on Buddhism to articulate the New Age notion of the subconscious mind. Drawing on Hui Neng 惠能 (638-713), the Sixth Patriarch and important figure in the history of *chan*, Wang quoted from the Platform Sutra. While she only quoted the last two lines, I included the first two lines here in brackets for context:

(The body is the Bodhi tree,
The mind is like a clear mirror.)
At all times we must strive to polish it,
And must not let the dust collect.⁹⁷

She used this verse to argue that in the New Age everyone's deepest origin is a spiritual body purified of defiling illusion (*qingjing* 清淨) and undefiled (*wuran* 無染).⁹⁸ She also wrote how the idea that the phenomenal world is merely a projection of our internal world, as discussed in the Diamond Sutra, and this is concordant with the teachings found in *A Course in Miracles* and the works of Seth.⁹⁹

In *Revolution* Wang discussed the differences between Eastern and Western philosophy. Drawing on the university philosophy classes of Mou Zongsan 牟宗三 (1909-1995) that she audited in the early to mid 1980s, she explained how she understood elements of Western philosophy, especially Seth, with reference to ideas

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁹⁷ "The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch", trans. Philip B. Yampolsky in Philip B. Yampolsky *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch: The Text of the Tun-huang Manuscript with Translation, Introduction, and Notes*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 130.

⁹⁸ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 114.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 167.

grounded in Chinese philosophical traditions. Given Mou's renown as an eminent Confucian philosopher and the importance of Confucianism in Taiwan's post-war education system, it is not surprising that Wang's own framework relied heavily upon noted Neo-Confucian thinkers, such as Lu Xiangshan 陸象山 (1139-1192), Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085, who she referred to as Cheng Mingdao 程明道) and Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1077, who she referred to as Zheng Hengqu 張橫渠). Wang also mentioned her favourite Buddhist texts, including the Diamond Sutra, of which after listing how it shared qualities with the Seth Materials such as possibility, synchronicity and 'you create your own reality,' she offered the rhetorical praise "No wonder so many Buddhists think that after reading the Seth Materials it is a modern Buddhist sutra."¹⁰⁰

The New Age as 'rich in religious mood'?

Beyond just being a set of theories and philosophies that Wang and Hu introduced to Taiwan, New Age religion was something that they actually employed in their everyday lives. For both women the act of translation and the often-concordant process of retreat were integral to their own personal transformation and they wrote accounts of these into their texts. Through exploring the meanings they imbued these practices with and placing them in the context of Chinese religious traditions, a new dimension of New Age religion becomes apparent. To do this, it is necessary to examine how Wang and Hu viewed religion in Taiwan.

Wang and Hu were critical of NRMs in their work. This appeared to be a strategy to assert that they were not part of a NRM, an important issue given that various NRM controversies in 1997 alarmed the public to such an extent that it was called "the year of religious disorder."¹⁰¹ This fear shares certain similarities with the

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 204.

¹⁰¹ Laura Li, 'Taiwan's New Age Cults' in *Taiwan Panorama*, 6 September 2000. Accessed 30 November 2011,

suspicion of ‘cults’ that developed in the West in the 1960s and has, to varying extents, remained an ongoing issue. In considering this phenomenon, James Beckford noted the very small number of people negatively effected by NRMs and that NRMs (and their opponents) reflect social conditions: “‘Cult controversies’ are very revealing about taken-for-granted notions of normality.”¹⁰² ‘Cult controversies’ are not limited to Western societies. For instance, Japanese society experienced media and political debates during the post-war ‘Rush Hour of the Gods’, when NRMs grew rapidly, and again in the aftermath of Aum Shinrikyō’s 1995 sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway.¹⁰³ Taiwan’s post-martial law enthusiasm for innovative religious practices caught the attention of the government and the media.

In this atmosphere, both Wang and Hu noted the example of the controversial NRM leader Sung Chi-li 宋七力 (1948-). As part of his Buddhism-derived teachings, Sung published photographs supposedly demonstrating his supernatural powers, such as emitting light (*fangguang* 放光) and dividing the body (*fenshen* 分身).¹⁰⁴ He was

http://www.taiwan-panorama.com/en/show_issue.php?id=200098909006e.txt&table=2&h1=About%20Taiwan&h2=Religion#

¹⁰² Beckford, *Cult Controversies*, 282.

¹⁰³ For more on the intersection of media, celebrity and NRMs in post-war Japan, see Benjamin Dorman, *Celebrity Gods: New Religions, Media, and Authority in Occupied Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2012). The Aum Shinrikyō attack led to media and police adopting a stricter view on NRMS, see Horie, ‘Spirituality and the Spiritual in Japan’, n.p. The Aum tragedy had wide implications for the study of NRMs, particularly as two prominent American scholars earlier vouched for Aum’s innocence. In his discussion of the challenge of maintaining academic objectivity and integrity when studying NRMs, particularly given the suspicion cast on academics post-Aum, Ian Reader wrote “This undermines any assumptions that scholars can be necessarily trusted to report more accurately about new religions than can journalists... [and] An important lesson that should be learned from the Aum affair is that scholarly examinations of NRMs must be more thorough.” See Ian Reader, ‘Scholarship, Aum Shinrikyō, and Academic Integrity’, *Nova Religio* 3:2 (2000): 377.

¹⁰⁴ For a detailed discussion of Sung Chi-li’s philosophy, see ‘Seeker of Radiance: A study of Song Chi-li’ 光明的追尋者: 宋七力研究 by Yang Huinan 楊惠南 in *Belief, Ritual and Society*, Mei-rong Lin (ed) (Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 2003), 427-508.

accused of defrauding followers of US\$7 million through sales of these photographs, which resulted in his incarceration.¹⁰⁵ In addition to Sung, Ting Jen-chieh referred to the Taiwan Ufology Society (*Taiwan feidie xuehui* 台灣飛碟學會) and Chen Hengming 陳恆明 to note how at that time NRMs were considered to be one cause of social instability, with the government even introducing an operation to ‘eliminate shady religions’ (*zongjiao saohai* 宗教掃黑).¹⁰⁶ While the term ‘new religious movement’ was introduced by Western scholars to neutralise the pejorative term ‘cult’, based on my conversations, in Taiwan the academic equivalent term ‘emergent religion’ (*xinxing zongjiao* 新興宗教) still seems burdened with similar negative connotations.

To Hu, the Sung Chi-li incident reflected how religious authority and blind faith could strip adherents of their ability for independent thought.¹⁰⁷ Later, noting that despite the many changes apparent in post-martial law Taiwan, it was still an “island of troubles” and she criticised “the deluded religions that bring about the madness of NRMs.”¹⁰⁸ Wang suggested that events such as the Sung Chi-li incident were manifestations of a long-present “strange phenomena” in society.¹⁰⁹ Seeking to distance herself from such activity, Wang asserted that the New Age was completely different to the NRMs that were making prophecies about the end of the millennium.¹¹⁰ Given that the New Age of Wang and Hu did not have the doctrinal or organisational structures of a religion, it cannot be considered an NRM, yet it was *religious* in that the ideas and

¹⁰⁵ Along with Sung’s alleged fraud, other controversial NRM events in 1996 included the mass ordination of young retreat participants at Chung Tai Chan Monastery 中台禪寺 and the accusation that Master Miao Tien 妙天禪師 sold suspect health products and illegal storage units for cremated remains. See Ken Chiu, ‘Scholars link decline of Confucian ideals to rise of cult rivalry’ in *The Free China Journal*, 22 November 1996.

7.

¹⁰⁶ Ting, *Changes in Social Differentiation and Religious Institutions*, 134.

¹⁰⁷ Hu, “Think on These Things,” 95.

¹⁰⁸ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 358.

¹⁰⁹ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 141.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

practices could be used as either substitutes for (or supplements to) religious practices, and as a new way of understanding Buddhism.

While anti-NRM, Wang and Hu located their New Age in the same realm as religion in Taiwan. In doing this they often used religious concepts and vocabulary to introduce readers to New Age ideas. This process was not always consistent, but demonstrates that while Wang and Hu objected to the authority wielded by religious organisations, they firmly believed in the relevance of the foundation teachings and texts of these groups. Both were not so much opposed to things ‘religious,’ such as philosophy and meditation, but the organisational structures of ‘religion’ within which such things were controlled. While there were variations and slight inconsistencies over time, this thread remained consistent. The opinion of each woman appears to be primarily based on, though not limited to, her own experiences with other religions; Wang with Catholicism, Hu with Buddhism. With regard to the later, it is possible that the environment at the Fine Press (exemplified in the popular works of Lin Qingxuan) and the post-martial law enthusiasm for Buddhism influenced this choice of vocabulary.

Wang was particularly vehement in arguing why the New Age was religious but not a religion. Her introductory essay to the Fine Press’ New Age Series established her position through a series of examples and comparisons. Establishing that in conventional religion she had not been able to “grasp what I thirst for,” Wang went on to draw on a series of concepts from Chinese religion and culture. In declaring that in the New Age we are all part of God, Wang clarified that this was not the traditional external and all-powerful God. Rather, it is like the intrinsic essence expressed in the Buddhist Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra, possessing “an unextinguishable spirit body, amorphous and without appearance.”¹¹¹ In this essay she regarded the Western God as

¹¹¹ Wang, “New Age Series preface,” 4.

yang, in concurrent opposition and harmony with the Holy Spirit's *yin*. Wang chose Mencius and his expression of righteousness and benevolence to explain the innate and transcendent nature of morality was God, as opposed to an external authority. Importantly, and showing her Catholic upbringing, Wang asserted in the New Age "There is no original sin and there is no fear of eternal punishment."¹¹² Influenced by Western occultism *and* Eastern philosophies and religions, the New Age had already provided nourishment and clarity to people in the West and, through the New Age Series, readers in Taiwan were able to benefit too. According to Wang, no religion was excluded from the New Age, but, in being so inclusive, the New Age was not a religion itself. This is in the sense that there was no external authority influencing participants, rather than a lack of religious qualities. Wang would later elaborate on this idea. Her most succinct articulation of New Age as a religion was published in *Revolution*:

The New Age is not really religion because it lacks a unified creed and is without dogma, commandments or a stratified organisation. But the subjects in which it is interested extend to the universe, nature, the human world, life and death and human relations, all issues that religion is deeply concerned with. It can be said to be very rich in 'religious mood'. Furthermore it opposes authority and avoids fossilised forms but often echoes 'structuralism'. It firmly believes that all living things originate from 'All that is'. But 'All that is' is not really a personified god, it is not really a force a million-fold bigger than us. Gathering together all our ideal qualities into one body is to manage and reward and punish our judge. All this is no more than our imagination and an external projection. When we observe the development of the idea of 'God', we can actually see the development of how people regard 'oneself'.¹¹³

¹¹² Ibid., 5.

¹¹³ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 26.

It can be seen in this passage how Wang once again emphasised the decentralised, anti-authoritarian and non-institutionalised nature of New Age religion. For her the common image of God was anthropomorphic. This was not a revelation for Wang as she had expressed this idea early in her career, writing of her spiritual response to reading Gibran's *The Prophet* in the late 1960s.¹¹⁴ In 1985 Wang drew on a similar vocabulary to explain her OBE, as discussed earlier. In the experience she was clearly aware that the bright light she was experiencing was God, something that made her feel happy and safe.¹¹⁵

While Wang argued strongly that the New Age was not a religion, she acknowledged that, in so far as it is a means of engaging with the facets of life that religion deals with, it is religious. In this sense, Wang was writing of the New Age as an idealised form of religion, free from the social structures that prevent common religion from truly connecting with people. To use the term discussed in the introduction, it was a form of religiosity.

Both Wang and Hu frequently tied concepts in their translations and books to religious terms that their readers would be more familiar with, either by using terms from Buddhism and Daoism to translate words from English or giving examples from these and other religions to verify the truth of ideas from the New Age.¹¹⁶ In doing this, both Wang and Hu overtly identified the New Age as being free from any sort of dogma

¹¹⁴ Wang, "Translator's Postscript," 65.

¹¹⁵ Dong, "Who can contact ghosts? Discussing parapsychology with C.C. Wang," 118-119. This story also appears on page 8 of Wang's *Revolution* (1997).

¹¹⁶ Wang and Hu were not the only authors in Taiwan to draw comparisons between existing religious concepts and those being introduced as New Age. In his preface to Gary Zukav's *The Seat of the Soul* 新靈魂觀 (lit. *New Views of the Spirit*)[(Taipei: Fine Press, 1996) 6.], Liao Shide noted how Zukav uses Newtown's Third Law of Motion to discuss karma and prove that human relationships are the interplay of energy. Albert Chen described the conversation between a Buddhist and an angel, who assured the Buddhist that angels are Bodhisattvas. See *Tianshi de 52 ge liwu* 天使的 52 個禮物 [*The 52 Gifts of Angels*] (Taipei: Fine Press, 1999), 2.

or authority that was found in more established religious institutions. The extent to which they did so changed over time, as seen when Wang cast aspersions about those who sought to deify Krishnamurti or make him an object of worship. While Wang did not discuss Krishnamurti in her contribution to *Perfect Wisdom*, seven months later in *Revolution* she criticised his apparent deification. In a chapter where she discussed various New Age groups and teachers, Wang noted:

The pity is, not only do [Krishnamurti's] followers wittingly or unwittingly deify and canonise him, they also push many Buddhist titles onto his head, such as 'guide of the middle way,' 'teachings of complete interpenetration' and so on.¹¹⁷

She made this comment after noting how Krishnamurti's disregard for external authorities was consistent with the New Age. In acknowledging that Krishnamurti is a part of New Age religion in Taiwan, Wang's admission that she was not comfortable with how he was represented is telling. Despite Krishnamurti's aversion to religious authority, Wang seemed concerned that he was being recreated in Taiwan as one. While this indicates that the editorial direction of the New Age Series may not have been settled, more importantly it affirms the inherent instability in defining a figure of philosophy as 'New Age,' a typology made even less certain given Krishnamurti's evolving and debatable spiritual identity.

The centrality of Seth in Wang's construction of the New Age as a religion was visible in how she introduced *Conversations with God* (hereafter *Conversations*). Written by Neale Donald Walsch, *Conversations* is a series of transcribed conversations between Walsch and the Christian God, and a film version was released in 2006. Following its publication in 1996, *Conversations* found a large audience and was on

¹¹⁷ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 180.

The New York Times hardcover non-fiction bestseller list for 139 weeks.¹¹⁸ It was also a strong seller for the Fine Press, with Wang's translation of Walsch's first book, first published in May 1998, reprinted for the 85th time in November 2015. The other two *Conversations* books and a number of other Walsch publications were later translated and published (with many subsequent reprints) in the New Age Series.

To Wang, *Conversations* and Seth shared many similarities such as ideas about time and existence, the shared materiality of God and the soul, and the lack of hell and original sin.¹¹⁹ Wang offered readers an explanation on the unifying theology between Seth and *Conversations*, and as a result, New Age religion as a whole. Writing of her own process of gradual spiritual understanding, Wang wrote:

Many years later I experienced my own enlightenment: the ultimate confidence that one should have in "All that is" is that "becoming a Buddha (God) is inevitable."

Conversations with God also expresses the same opinion.¹²⁰

In this sentence, Wang neatly (in her mind) encapsulated how Buddhism (Buddha) and Christianity and Catholicism (God) are but different explanations of the underlying reality of existence as expressed in the New Age and Seth (All that is). Wang had earlier expressed this perennialist idea in *Revolution*, where she employed 'All that is' to both encapsulate the essence of the New Age, describe God and justify environmental protection. Wang equated St Francis's personal revelations with understanding 'All that

¹¹⁸ Motoko Rich, "'Conversations With God' Author Accused of Plagiarism", last modified 6 January 2009, Arts Beat: The Culture at Large, *The New York Times*, accessed 21 July 2014, http://artsbeat.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/01/06/conversations-with-god-author-accused-of-plagiarism/?_php=true&_type=blogs&_r=0

¹¹⁹ Wang, "Translator's Preface" in *Conversations with God*, np.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

is' and even suggested that the prayer of St Francis represented the spirit of the New Age.¹²¹

Hu leaves the New Age

Within 10 years Terry Hu transformed from being the most recognisable advocate of New Age religion in Taiwan to a critic. For readers, this event and her arguments crystallise elements of her New Age and also demonstrate the instability of the term. She closed her 1999 autobiography *Death and the Maiden* with a rebuttal of the New Age and its key slogan in Taiwan, 'you create your own reality.' This strong switch in belief is closely linked to two important events in Hu's life: her reading and subsequent translation of the works of Ken Wilber (1949-) and the three-year-long health crisis that began just after the birth of her daughter. It may also reflect the 1990s "crisis" of the New Age in America where commercialisation and millenarian ambiguity led to a drop in popularity.¹²²

Ken Wilber is an American philosopher of consciousness and psychology whose work has been widely read within the New Age Movement. Hanegraaff dealt with Wilber's work and ideas in detail, and introduced him as being

... regarded as the foremost theoretician in the transpersonal movement. All his publications are characterized by a brilliant ability to combine information from a wide variety of sources into an at times stunningly elegant synthesis.¹²³

¹²¹ Wang, *Revolution in the Heart*, 16-17. In August 2012, a translated calligraphy of The Prayer of St Francis was hanging on the wall near Wang's office in The Chinese New Age Society's centre in Taipei.

¹²² Massimo Introvigne, "After the New Age: Is there a Next Age?" in Mikael Rothstein, *New Age Religion and Globalization* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2003), 59-60.

¹²³ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, 58.

As will be discussed, Wilber recognised that while the New Age Movement did express some profound ideas, he was critical of it, colourfully decrying it as “A yuppified postmodern version of Christian Science.”¹²⁴

After Krishnamurti, Wilber was the next figure that Hu devoted her energy to translating and, through this work, tied her identity to his. She claimed to have first encountered Wilber’s work in 1988, reading his *Spectrum of Consciousness* (1977), among several other texts, while living in New York.¹²⁵ In the early spring of 1992, Hu and an American friend (later identified as her then-boyfriend Robert) were visiting Ojai in California, as part of “spiritual research” related to Krishnamurti. During this trip they visited Shambhala Booksellers in Berkeley, where Robert bought her a copy of Wilber’s *Grace and Grit* (1991).¹²⁶ Her daughter Jiesheng 潔生 was born in late November 1994 and Hu became ill just two days later, beginning a three year period of illness and healing. Notably, she did not disclose the identity of her daughter’s father.

Hu was ultimately diagnosed with a 7kg ovarian tumor and underwent surgery in October 1997 to remove it. These three years of illness prompted her to investigate a number of different healing techniques. Hu explored a range of diets, exercises and treatments as she sought relief and health: power walking, breathing, two hour lying down exercises, *gua sha* (a skin-scraping technique believed to stimulate healing), Taiwanese herbs, Chinese medicine, hot massage, hot food, fasting and 20 days of treatment with the Chinese *qigong* master Zhang Baosheng 張寶勝 (1958-). Among the most novel of treatments Hu had was with Alex Orbito (1940-), a ‘psychic surgeon’ from the Philippines. She first became aware of Orbito through the writings of Shirley

¹²⁴ Ken Wilber, *Grace and Grit: Spirituality and Healing in the Life and Death of Treya Killam Wilber* (Massachusetts: Shambhala Publications, Inc., 2000), 46.

¹²⁵ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 199.

¹²⁶ Terry Hu, “It is also Self-healing: Translator’s Preface” in Ken Wilber, *Enchong yu yongqi* 恩寵與勇氣 [*Grace and Grit*, lit. *Grace and Courage*], translated by Terry Hu (Taipei: Living Psychology Publishers, 2011), 9.

MacLaine.¹²⁷ Payment was by donation, and he suggested she could donate more to fund a pyramid he intended to build. Upon her return to Taiwan Hu discovered that despite Orbito's treatment, her tumor had actually grown in size. Having exhausted the possibilities held by alternative medicine, Hu opted for conventional surgery.¹²⁸ Ten days before undergoing surgery, she picked a book "randomly" from her shelf. Her choice: *Grace and Grit* by Ken Wilber.¹²⁹

Grace and Grit is Wilber's account of his wife's struggle over several years with terminal cancer. For the Wilbers, cancer forced them to confront the numerous ideas on health and healing that they had been exploring for decades. Wilber recounted how an article he wrote on his wife's illness, published in *New Age* magazine, prompted some unsympathetic responses and even severe chastising. In suggesting that disease arises on four levels—physical, emotional, mental or spiritual—Wilber wrote that treatment must be appropriate to the particular level, or mixture of levels. There is little point in treating a *physical* problem, he gave the example of a broken leg, with a *mental* solution, such as visualisation. For Wilber, this proposal was part of his critique of the notion of 'you create your own reality,' an ideal he condemned as having "its basis in narcissistic and borderline pathology," illustrated in mail they received that suggested Wilber's wife brought on cancer through her own thoughts.¹³⁰ This chapter had a profound effect on Hu.

In the late 1990s the influence of Wilber plus her illness and search for a cure prompted Hu to reassess her position regarding a key New Age concept. Her translation

¹²⁷ Shirley MacLaine enthusiastically introduced Orbito and his healing techniques in *Going Within* (New York: Bantam Books, 1989), 215-239.

Earlier Hu praised MacLaine and her efforts as a New Age pioneer for having "destroyed taboos as well as bravely and frankly exploring this new atmosphere of 'the unknown.'" See *Ancient Future*, 5.

¹²⁸ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 309-332.

¹²⁹ Hu, "It is also Self-healing: Translator's Preface," 10.

¹³⁰ Wilber, *Grace and Grit*, 266.

of *Grace and Grit* was published in November 1998 and her autobiography followed in July 1999. In it, she urged “New Age friends” to read chapter 15 of *Grace and Grit* where Wilber provided an “incisive examination” of the concept of ‘you create your own reality.’¹³¹ As discussed throughout this thesis, ‘you create your own reality’ was proposed by C.C. Wang as one of the core elements of the New Age and also was printed—in English—on the logo of The Fine Press’ New Age Series, with decreasing frequency, up until 1998.¹³² In Hu’s writings it appears that her illness and the searching it prompted were the catalysts in her discarding the label ‘New Age.’ Of course, these are not necessarily the only reasons; Hu’s involvement with the New Age Series had been lessening for some time. After *Ancient Future* in March 1990, she produced four Krishnamurti translations between April 1991 and January 1994, with a fifth being published nearly three years later in November 1996. Her final appearance in the series (until 2007) was in January 1997, in *Perfect Wisdom*. In dismissing the title ‘New Age,’ Hu did not necessarily move away from the subject material she had promoted. She continued to expound the wisdom of Krishnamurti, and even returned to the New Age Series in 2007 for her translation of Krishnamurti’s *You Are The World*. In her autobiography she did not shrink away from her time promoting the New Age, although she was more circumspect in singing its praises than she had been earlier.¹³³ While Hu had left the New Age in name, she remained firmly embedded in its content, as I discuss in the postscript.

¹³¹ Hu, *Death and the Maiden*, 358.

¹³² As of November 2013, ‘You Create Your Own Reality’ was painted in English on the roller door at the front of The Chinese New Age Society.

¹³³ In June 2012 I approached Hu at a book launch she was hosting at National Taiwan University. Speaking in Mandarin, I told of her my intended research on the history of New Age religion in Taiwan. Replying in English, she said “Then you’ll need to talk to me!”

Hu's friendship with Wang also must be considered in regard to her movement away from matters 'New Age.' In the writings of both women there is no overt references to a falling out or other calamity between the two. Their friendship appears to have formed in the world of women's magazines and publishing in late 1970s Taiwan. As Hu wrote, Wang supported Hu during her divorce and introduced her to the *Seth Material*, a source of solace for Hu during her legal troubles with Li Ao and an undeniable spiritual influence on her. The two of them travelled to Egypt and collaborated on the Fine Press' New Age Series. While Wang translated far more books than Hu and was still lauded in 2012 as 'The Mother of the New Age in Taiwan,' initially Hu was *the* public face. Possessing a high public profile in Taiwan, she was leveraged by the Fine Press and other commercial interests to connect their products with consumers. Wang and Hu were not alone, with several colleagues helping them edit and translate the New Age Series over the years, but it was the impetus and vision of Wang and Hu which not only established New Age publishing in Taiwan, but defined the early years of New Age religion there.¹³⁴

Conclusion

Perfect Wisdom and *Revolution* were published at an important time in Taiwan's religious history. In the post-martial law era Buddhism was growing in popularity and various NRMs were attracting adherents (and controversy). In this climate, it appears that in 1997 the Fine Press attempted to solidify the New Age in Taiwan through a series of books published by local authors. *Perfect Wisdom* is notable for the variety of authors who offered their understanding of the New Age. Beyond bringing together writers of diverse backgrounds, this book's importance stems from the manner in which they use local religions, especially Buddhism, to frame the New Age. Wang's

¹³⁴ As of September 2016, the New Age Series continues to be published by the Fine Press.

Revolution was the most sophisticated introductory book for Taiwan's burgeoning New Age readership. While she synthesised many concepts she had read about, the most striking parts include her equation of Seth with various religious traditions and her references to Neo-Confucian thought. In doing this, Wang might have actually reinforced these existing cultural norms, rather than provide something 'new.' Hu's departure from the New Age was gradual and appears as the result of her exposure to Ken Wilber's philosophy and how she applied this to her own health issues. Regardless, Hu and Wang both remain critical to Taiwan's New Age as it is now practiced.

Postscript

In 2017 both Wang and Hu remain eminent in Taiwan's New Age and BMS milieu. In the first fifteen years of the new millennium (and fifteen years on from the period considered in this thesis) Taiwan has continued to experience major social and political change: the KMT was in political opposition between 2000 and 2008, the internet grew to become a major communication channel and, after the KMT returned to power in 2009, links with China grew rapidly. Set against this, recent work from both women demonstrates how they are still propelled by their earlier ideals; they continue to be central to the legitimacy and dissemination of New Age and related work in Taiwan.

Wang has over 4,500 fans on her Facebook page and a post on 29 June 2016 caught their attention. Titled '*Wo you yige meng* 我有一個夢 [I have a dream]' it attracted 988 'likes' and had been shared 45 times, indicating wide circulation.¹ Referencing American civil rights activist Martin Luther King's iconic speech, Wang wrote that she too had a dream, one of love and peace. Quoting Seth and the pre-modern Confucian philosopher Mencius, she wrote of Taiwan's precarious diplomatic position between China and the USA, where "This beautiful island squeezed between two great powers merely exists as a shield, simple cannon fodder."² She claimed Taiwan has:

... glorious landscapes, nimble creativity, and the people are happy and warm.

Those that harm others without pity, we can offer physical recuperation and spiritual relaxation.³

¹<https://www.facebook.com/485166051510800/photos/a.529796737047731.133884.485166051510800/1302822276411836/?type=3> accessed 23 August 2016.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Wang wrote that Taiwan's many assets, including being a place to spiritually recharge, were the source of foreign envy. This appears to be a reference to China's ongoing threats to 'retake' the island. Her solution was for Taiwan to be like Switzerland: adopt a position of diplomatic neutrality and not wage wars, something she entreated her readers to join with her and dream of achieving. This passage is an example of Wang attempting to instigate social change through individual transformation. From a rationalist international relations point of view, her goal of diplomatic neutrality for Taiwan seems naïve. However, her post obviously resonated with fans in Taiwan who agreed with her revolutionary proposal.

In 2016 Wang continued to promote the work of upcoming New Age figures. For instance, in the same year, the medium Asha published a work of young adult fiction called *Xiaoqi de qihuan zhi lü* 小奇的奇幻之旅 [*Xiaoqi's Visionary Journey*]. It tells the story of Xiaoqi, a teenage girl who slips into a coma and meets Bai Changlao 白長老, a spirit guide who claims to be the consciousness of Jesus.⁴ Bai Changlao leads Xiaoqi on a journey of awareness where she is able to enter the consciousness of various humans and animals, experiencing reality from their points of view and accumulating spiritual knowledge. Importantly, Bai Changlao is not a fictional narrator, having channelled this novel (and an earlier one) through Asha. While Wang praised *Xiaoqi's Visionary Journey* for bringing New Age concepts to a high school audience,⁵ it is perhaps her own role in making Taiwanese aware of New Age-style channeling that is more important. That local authors are now delivering popular fiction revealed by a Christian-informed spirit entity indicates the degree to which New Age concepts have become embedded in Taiwanese society and publishing.

⁴ Asha, *Xiaoqi de qihuan zhi lü* 小奇的奇幻之旅 [*Xiaoqi's Visionary Journey*] (Taipei: Shangzhou chuban, 2016), 14.

⁵ *Ibid.*, back cover.

In June 2016 the Chinese translation of Valentin Tomberg's (1900-1973) *Meditations on the Tarot* was published. When I met Hu in 2012 she said she was translating this book and now she is listed as the executive editor, with Hou Wangyi 侯王怡 credited as the translator. This lengthy book (the Chinese version is just under 950 pages) would have taken significant effort to translate (Hu also thanked her yoga-teaching life-partner Jimmy 柳金銘 for his assistance), and indicates a development in Hu's career that is new, yet familiar.

Born in Saint Petersburg, Tomberg was a senior Anthroposophist before converting to Catholicism after World War II. He lived in a number of European countries including England, where after retiring from the BBC he wrote *Meditations on the Tarot* in French; it was first published in German in 1972. The book is:

... a compendium of modern Western esotericism and a stimulating critique of some of its aspects, containing many profound thoughts and beautiful poetic passages. In terms of contents and reception it has to be positioned among the foremost books in Western esotericism published in the 20th century⁶

Echoing her pivotal New York encounter with the works of Krishnamurti, in 2008 Hu discovered Tomberg's book by chance in the Page One bookstore in Taipei 101 (the skyscraper designed by Wang's ex-husband C.Y. Lee). Like Krishnamurti, she placed Tomberg as an inheritor of the Theosophical Society's legacy that, along with Rudolf Steiner's Anthroposophical Society, was a precursor to the New Age. Intriguingly, in her preface Hu rendered 'New Age' as *xinshiji* (新世紀) instead of *xinshidai* (新時代).

The last time I am aware that Hu translated New Age as *xinshiji* was in January 1989

⁶ Antoine Faivre, "Theosophy, Christian→Christian Theosophy; Tomberg, Valentin; 26.2.1900 Saint Petersburg, 20.2.1973 Majorca," in Wouter J. Hanegraaff, in collaboration with Antoine Faivre, Roelof van den Broek and Jean-Pierre Brach (eds), *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism* (Boston, US: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005), 1124.

and she consistently used *xinshidai* afterwards. However, with *xinshidai* now so closely associated with Wang, Seth and the New Age Series, it is possible that Hu was attempting to reorient Taiwan's New Age, and her role in it, into a realm where she had more authority. Of the four years it took to translate, Hu concluded:

I was deeply aware of the glorious eight years of refuge I had at my missionary high school and university: I had hidden away an unexplainable predestined relationship with Jesus.⁷

This passage indicates a new degree of reflectiveness by Hu. Whereas in the past she wrote of her unsuitability for conventional education, here it seems her missionary schooling imbued her with a latent power and sympathy for Christian traditions that she only could fully realise later in life.

Following the pattern in English-speaking nations where 'New Age' was gradually replaced throughout the 1980s and 1990s with 'Mind, Body, Spirit,'⁸ a similar trend occurred in Taiwan. Rather than New Age, readers are now much more likely to come across authors or teachers who identify as BMS (following the Chinese translation *shenxinling* 身心靈, or body, mind, spirit). For instance in 2013 Hu was promoted as a "BMS healing teacher,"⁹ but by 2016 she had been upgraded to "the most important domestic promoter of spiritual thought." In contrast, in 2012 Wang was described on

⁷ Terry Hu, "*Shenxiuzhe xu* 審修者序 [Executive editor's preface]" in Anonymous [Valentin Tomberg], *Meditations on the Tarot (Talu mingxiang 塔羅冥想)*, trans. Hou Wangyi (Taipei: Psygarden, 2016), 13.

⁸ Malcolm Hamilton, "An Analysis of the Festival for Mind-Body-Spirit, London", in Steven Sutcliffe and Marion Bowman (eds), *Beyond New Age: Exploring Alternative Spirituality* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 188.

⁹ That is, *shenxinling liaoyu daoshi* 身心靈療癒導師. See the band attached to Lin Qunhua's 林群華 translation of A.H. Almaas' *Luminous Night's Journey: an autobiographical fragment* (Taipei: Psygarden, 2013).

the band wrapped around her autobiography as “The Mother of the New Age” in Taiwan, firmly placing her at the centre of this set of practices.¹⁰

Prominent in the BMS milieu is the Taiwan-born, Beijing-based author, teacher and translator (and former television journalist) Tiffany Chang 張德芬 (1962-). Her translation of Eckhart Tolle’s *The Power of Now* sold over half a million copies in China and her novel *Yujian weizhi de ziji* 遇見未知的自己 [*Encountering Your Unknown Self*] (2007) was even more successful there, selling one million copies.¹¹ By February 2012 the Taiwan edition had been reprinted 85 times by the Fine Press. In it, a young professional woman Ruo Ling 若菱 goes on a spiritual journey around Taipei in order to solve her personal and professional crises. She is guided by a wise old lady who lives on the nearby Yangming shan (who Ruo Ling met one rainy night, when her car broke down on the mountain near the old lady’s hut). Becoming a mentor to Ruo Ling, the old lady sends her to visit her various students and learn from them. This narrative of incremental transformation is similar to that of Asha’s *Xiaoqi’s Visionary Journey*. One person Ruo Ling visits is a former movie star who, after an unsuccessful marriage and period of retreat, “radiantly reappeared.”¹² To readers in Taiwan, this character would most certainly appear to be based on Hu. With a character in Chang’s popular novel based on her as evidence of her significant influence and appeal, Hu had become a spiritual meta-teacher: guiding readers in reality *and* in fiction. Beyond Chang’s popular fiction, Taiwan’s BMS has evolved in other directions.

Wang’s former student Hsu Tien-sheng developed a clinically-based hybrid of Seth’s philosophy and modern medicine. With centres in the USA, he has found a

¹⁰ Wang, *At One with God*, promotional band wrapped around cover.

¹¹ Zhang Lei, “Mumbo jumbo on the mainland: Chinese increasingly turn to “gurus” to fill spiritual vacuum”, *Global Times*, 20 September 2011.

¹² Tiffany Chang 張德芬, *Yujian weizhi de ziji* 遇見未知的自己 [*Encountering Your Unknown Self*] (Taipei: The Fine Press, 2007/2012), 169.

following there and throughout Asia, and even led a teaching tour to Australia in late 2015. I attended an event held at the Tzu Chi centre in Sydney and, apart from Hsu's entourage, the attendees were nearly all members of the Australian Chinese and Taiwanese communities (one woman had even flown in from Los Angeles for Hsu's Australian talks). In her recommendation article for Hsu's *A Journey of Searching the Inner Self* (2007), Wang wrote how important Seth was to Dr Hsu's BMS system.¹³

Huan-ting zen (HTZ, 黃庭單) also draws heavily upon Western medical discourses (in this case psychology) and mixes these with elements of the New Age and Chinese thought. With innovative use of digital media and the ability to pitch itself as both scientific and "Chinese" (from a cultural perspective), HTZ has developed in China too, finding a receptive middle class audience.¹⁴ Notably, in her novel *Huochu quanxin de zji: huanxing, liaoyu yu chuangzao* 活出全新的自 :喚醒、療癒與創造 [*Living Out an All New You: Awakening, Healing and Creativity*] (2009/2012), Tiffany Chang once again inserted a real-life entity into her fiction. This time, instead of meeting Hu, her protagonist participated in an eye-opening retreat at HTZ's centre in the mountains south of Taipei, thereby introducing readers to the group's innovative teaching methods.¹⁵ Hybrid practices that draw on Taiwanese indigenous culture are also developing¹⁶ and there is an underground interest in Amazonian-derived entheogenic shamanism.

¹³ See C.C. Wang 專文推薦 *Zhuanwen tuijian* ["Special article recommendation"] in Hsu Tien-sheng 許添盛 *Wo bu zhi shi wo: maixiang neizai de chaosheng zhi lü* 我不只是我: 邁向內在的朝聖之旅 [*A Journey of Searching the Inner Self*] (Taipei: Seth Culture, 2007), 9.

¹⁴ Paul J. Farrelly "Huan-ting zen: media and emotional transformation" in Stefania Travagnin (ed), *Religion and the Media in China* (Routledge, 2016).

¹⁵ Tiffany Chang 張德芬, *Huochu quanxin de zji: huanxing, liaoyu yu chuangzao* 活出全新的自 :喚醒、療癒與創造 [*Living Out an All New You: Awakening, Healing and Creativity*] (Taipei: The Fine Press, 2009/2012), ch.36-40.

¹⁶ Aude Fluckiger, *The Case Study of an Urban Indigenous Healer in Taiwan* (MA thesis, National Chengchi University, 2012).

The extent to which any one of these teachers or systems draws on the earlier New Age writings of Wang and Hu, or builds on their represented identities (as mediated through texts), varies. What is more certain is that each of this new generation of BMS teachers would have been exposed to the New Age works of Wang and Hu (and more broadly the New Age Series and similar collections) in the systemised manner made possible in Taiwan's post-martial law neo-liberal society. During the six years I have spent researching this thesis, BMS activity in Taiwan appears to have continued growing. New foreign ideas continue to be translated and locals continue to innovate, blending global and local practices and theories. How BMS and other forms of individual-based, text-informed spiritual practices fare in the future, especially with regard to the use of emerging technologies, innovative syncreticism and their expansion into China and throughout Asia and the world, will be fascinating to observe.

Conclusion

My research focuses on two essential yet largely overlooked figures in Taiwan's religious sphere. Beyond the impact C.C. Wang and Terry Hu had in establishing New Age religion there, they also embodied and reflected the social and cultural evolutions of the second half of twentieth century Taiwan. In emphasising how they, as individuals, sought to negotiate this period of time through spiritual practices, a new female-centric spiritual perspective on this era emerges. In this thesis, I interrogate our understanding of religion, gender and modernity in an East Asian location very much integrated into transnational systems of cultural production and consumption. I have recentered the global experience of New Age religion around two women (and their peers) in Taiwan, while remaining cognisant of the abiding influences of the USA.

As discussed in the introduction, there is no completely satisfactory way to reconcile the intellectual category 'religion', as it is understood in the West, with similar phenomena in non-Western settings. In his seminal study of religion in China, C.K. Yang identified pre-modern religion as being diffuse in that it combined "itself with the major social institutions instead of being an independent organized institution with separate functions and structure."¹ While this structural pattern changed due to periods of iconoclasm and state intervention in the modern period, to varying extents the diffused nature of religion in Taiwan and China remains today. This problem of categorisation is compounded when considering the New Age – even in the West there is an ongoing debate as to how suitable it is to classify it as a religion. I have persisted in regarding the New Age in Taiwan as a religion for the following reason: it can be

¹ C.K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society: The First Comprehensive Sociological Analysis of Chinese Religious Behavior* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 211.

found to address concerns of transformation and the afterlife as found in so-called conventional religions. There is no authoritative body in Taiwan that arbitrates what is orthodox New Age or imbues people with authority. In her study of practitioners of A Course in Light and Divine Will in Taiwan, and following Paul Heelas and his idea of ‘self-religion’, Shu-chuan Chen found these groups to offer people emotion management and expression techniques.² While I have no evidence of Wang or Hu being directly involved with either of these groups, I believe their writings generally confirm Chen’s findings. And, as did the editors of *New Age Religion: Rethinking Spirituality*, I do not view the New Age as a religion in the strictest sense of the word, but rather as a set of phenomena—religiosity appears the most suitable term—through which we may develop a more nuanced understanding of religions more broadly, be they in Taiwan or elsewhere.

Neither woman has a widespread reputation as a spiritual figure (notwithstanding Hu’s celebrity), especially when compared to the charismatic (and at times controversial) figures of Taiwan’s major and minor NRMs. In this sense, both Wang and Hu remain on the margins of popular and academic understandings of religion in Taiwan. This, I suggest, is not due to any lack of importance, but rather a possible tendency among academics of New Age religion in Taiwan to overlook local identities and focus on the circulation and adoption of foreign concepts and practices. That said, among New Agers in Taiwan and other locals with knowledge of BMS activities, both Wang and Hu are well known. Given the volume of translations each woman produced (especially Wang), the pivotal introductory texts that they wrote and the New Age Series they co-published, as pioneers of New Age religion in Taiwan they offer an alternative means through which to study this phenomenon. As shown in the

² Chen, “Theorizing Emotions in New Age Practices: An Analysis of Feeling Rules in Self-Religion”, 231.

postscript, not only do Wang and Hu continue to be prominent in Taiwan's New Age and BMS milieu, they have influenced later generations of teachers and authors. In particular, they established the New Age as a viable and vibrant field of spiritual experimentation that was relevant and accessible to women in Taiwan. While their New Age could certainly be considered 'New Age glamour' (as discussed by Spangler, Hanegraaff and Wang), I do not consider this to be an inherently perjorative term. Rather, it is indicative of the cultural milieu in which they were publishing and being marketed by the Fine Press. Despite not being granted access to the full sales figures of the New Age Series, it is likely that their incomes would be likely less than what they received as an actor (Hu) or an architect (Wang's potential career). In this regard, their 'New Age glamour' was more a marketing ploy and less an indication of any superficiality or self-centeredness in their work. The extent to which other religions and NRMs in Taiwan have adopted New Age ideas and practices is beyond the scope of this thesis, but would be an important addition to our understanding of the fluidity between, and shifting borders of, religious practices.

As a cultural history of New Age religion in Taiwan, this thesis demonstrates that C.C. Wang and Terry Hu were committed New Agers and were instrumental in the establishment of the New Age there. In doing this, important points about Taiwanese society, gender, religion and modernity have been revealed. This thesis reorients the study of New Age religion in Taiwan by shifting the object of study from practitioners and groups to authors and texts. The text is integral to New Age religion and its absence from scholarship in Taiwan—as a means of investigating both the personal history of key figures and the nature of what 'New Age' and related terms mean—is something I have rectified. In looking at texts, I have not limited myself to specifically New Age work. As shown, both Wang and Hu expressed the influence of the New Age on their

thought and behaviour in their early work. Their texts are important not just because they were the earliest to talk of a 'New Age', but because of the manner in which they did so: they demonstrated its veracity (through anecdotes about transformative English language material they read) and made it accessible (through translating these ideas for readers in Taiwan).

In this thesis I have attempted to develop two narratives, one for Wang and one for Hu. I seek to illustrate the moments when their lives came together (and when they grew apart) and thereby show the similarities and differences in how they experienced the New Age and created it in Taiwan. Not only is this the first time that Wang and Hu have been considered in this way, it is a new approach to studying the New Age in Taiwan (and, for that matter, outside of Europe and the USA). While both women have written autobiographies that emphasise their New Age credentials, these works did not emphasise their extensive pre-New Age writing. Through reading the collected materials of each author over several decades as single and continuous texts, the manner in which they reframed earlier experiences with new language and concepts as their New Age expertise evolved becomes apparent. Like Jane Roberts's channeling of Seth, Wang and Hu served as vessels that introduced New Age religion to Taiwan from the USA. They did this enthusiastically and to share their own joy and breakthroughs with others. That said, in their earlier roles as conduits of American and other foreign cultures (writing in magazines and books, and occasionally through Hu's films), they demonstrated a similar curiosity and search for new modes of everyday life to that which informed their New Age journeys. In developing skills and reputations for explaining aspects of American culture, both women were well prepared for their later work. As shown, they demonstrated the influence of American culture from early in their lives, and the New Age was a later iteration of this process, giving them an

ontological framework in which they could contextualise and represent their life experiences. This indicates how they felt Taiwan could be improved by the injection of new ideas. These changed depending on their circumstances, but America was a source of new methods of parenting and acting, for example, before it offered them new spiritual modalities. That said, neither Wang nor Hu was completely credulous in their engagement with the USA and the New Age, with both offering considered criticisms throughout their writing careers and demonstrating a certain tension in attempting to straddle these two contrasting societies.

In writing these narratives, I have emphasised the agency of Wang and Hu as translators and authors. Within the various social and genre contexts in which they and their work was situated, they exercised decision-making ability in how they experienced the New Age, such as selecting books, incorporating particular teachings into their everyday lives, negotiating trauma and nurturing transformation. To this end, I have considered how their representations of these experiences were integral in shaping Taiwan's New Age. The writings of Wang and Hu are intertextual, in that both women wrote about their lives and spiritual experiences as an individual spiritual practice and as a means of encouraging their readers. As New Agers, they became clear evidence of the New Age's transformational efficacy.

Looking at the collected writings of Wang and Hu allowed me to consider the importance of 1987 in Taiwanese religious history. The end of martial law is certainly one of the most significant events in Taiwan's post-World War II history. That religion then flourished in Taiwan's reinvigorated social society is true and the different belief systems that evolved in these years offer vital insights into both Taiwanese society and the ability of religious systems to allow people to create meaning. Beyond the broader

cultural influences that shaped their approach to spirituality, both women were engaged with the New Age in Taiwan before 1987.

While Wang traced her New Age origins to Kahlil Gibran's *The Prophet* and Hu looked to cafes in the Campus Folk Music Movement, neither of which can be clearly defined as 'New Age,' close investigation of their lives and writings show the cultural interactions that propelled them in this direction to have been present from their childhoods. The dislocation experienced by *waishengren* families, the cultural influence of America, the presence of Catholic and Christian missionaries, and the possibilities enabled through English, all impelled Wang and Hu towards the New Age long before they went to the USA and prior to the end of martial law. Despite its 'otherness' compared to ethnic groups longer established on Taiwan, *waishengren* denotes a particular group of Taiwanese, an ethnic classifier (with sometimes ambiguous borders) only made possible by the turmoil of the Chinese Civil War. As *waishengren* growing up in the immediate post-War decades and then with opportunities to spend time abroad thanks to their social status, Wang and Hu were part of a select social class that had to relocate itself in a post-martial law Taiwan where *bentuhua* cultures had become more influential.

The work of Wang and Hu provides scholars of religion with several points of note. First, between 1988 and 1999, both women (although Hu gradually less so), strongly identified as 'New Age.' This is seen in their vocal promotion of the New Age, especially through the Fine Press's New Age Series, which both women closely worked with. Yet the New Age was not conceived as mutually exclusive with other religious practices. Most notably, a practitioner could comfortably be New Age *and* Buddhist, with the New Age presented as a means of deepening Buddhist practice and understanding. The religiosity of the New Age was evident in the way that it became a

supplement to (or substitute for) concepts, practices and beliefs found in other religions. Purchasing books published by profit-driven enterprises was an important way to engage with the New Age and confirms its commercial dimension in Taiwan.

One of Wang and Hu's greatest contributions to New Age religion was through their translations. This can be viewed in two ways: the process of translation (the language they used) and translation as a spiritual practice (the inner transformation this engendered). Both women used religious terminology and symbolism common in Taiwan to render the New Age in Chinese. As a result, the New Age they helped develop is contextualised using Taiwan's religious vocabulary. Wang's emphasis on the primacy of the English text suggests that she asserted the original language as superior and that her Chinese version only contained superficial differences. In translating so many books, both women developed spiritual capital that they could parlay into other projects, such as writing introductory works and biographies and publishing even more translations.

Both Wang and Hu described translation as an act that affected profound inner change. As New Agers, they had already gained some benefit from the books they read, implementing the teachings in their lives. However, as translators they came to more fully embody these works, and by interpreting the multiple concepts for readers in Taiwan they attained a level of spiritual authority that mere readers could not reach so easily. This attainment was not mere psychometry, rather, they achieved it through physically channeling the English language into Chinese. They were not experts just because they could translate, rather, translation made them into experts. Yet transcendence through translation was not a solely New Age phenomenon as both women experienced this in their works published before they identified as New Age, suggesting a predisposition to a type of liberation enabled through literature. In this

sense the New Age was a framework in which they could contextualise their ongoing personal struggles and breakthroughs. It provided them with the tools through which they could articulate practices and understandings that they had previously experienced.

Reading was also a spiritual practice for Wang and Hu. Even the times they encountered books, such as Seth in the California public library and Krishnamurti in the New York Theosophy Society bookstore, were recounted as profound turning points in their personal lives (and, by extension, their professional careers). Both women wrote how they experienced deep realisations and levels of awareness when reading. These examples empowered their readers in Taiwan to seek a similar text-induced transformation. Wang and Hu suggested to their readers that just by reading the right book they too could experience deep change in their lives.

Through the books that they chose to translate and the manner in which they promoted them, both Wang and Hu imbued New Age religion in Taiwan with a unique texture. Wang retrospectively made Kahlil Gibran part of Taiwan's New Age, in that she acknowledged reading *The Prophet* as her first encounter with the movement and then later included a reprint of it in the New Age Series. The manner in which Hu recreated Krishnamurti as New Age is also integral to this process. However, in her vision he was not purely New Age, he was also Buddhist. Her co-authors in *Perfect Wisdom* reiterated this and described the New Age as a form of Western Buddhism. Wang also wrote about Seth as a Buddhist figure. In doing this, Wang, Hu and the New Age series attempted to make key parts of the New Age more relevant (and maybe less threatening) to their potential readership in Taiwan. At the same time, they may have reinforced more established philosophical traditions found in Taiwan (such as Neo-Confucianism, in Wang's case) by using them as a means of explaining the New Age.

This thesis makes several contributions to the understanding of modernity in Taiwan. Throughout their writing careers both women wrote how they were searching for new ideas and techniques. This search often took place in America, where they were able to access new techniques in fields as diverse as parenting and acting, before seeking more expressly spiritual topics. In drawing on their English skills, they were able to access certain modern lifestyle options both in the USA and in Taiwan. For instance, while Wang purchased *The Prophet* in the USA, she read it in Taiwan. Likewise, Hu read *The Art of Acting* while in Taiwan. So while notable events such as their encounters with the books of Seth and Krishnamurti took place in the USA, other experiences relating to the USA (or other foreign cultures) happened in Taiwan, especially their earlier religious experiences at churches and in school. Through Wang and Hu, we can see how American cultural influences in Taiwan were embodied by two women: America offered them a vast repository of things ‘new.’ While their New Age was partly a break with the past, it also drew on cultural concepts embedded in Taiwanese society.

When they were in the USA, it became a place of retreat replete with the possibility of transformation. Initially drawn to the USA due to the professional requirements of their spouses, both were able to find new methods of transcending their growing dissatisfaction. Wang’s suburban domesticity is juxtaposed against Hu’s metropolitan glitz. In doing this, they depicted the USA as possessing a new set of possibilities beyond raising a family, educational achievement or business success: it was a place where the practice of spiritual transformation could be realised. For instance, Hu’s retreat in New York subverts one conventional understanding of the city. In her Soho apartment (the purchase of which indicates she possessed significant financial capital) she was able to use books she had purchased in the city to go beyond the

mundane world (of which New York might be seen as a more exciting emanation) and explore the possibilities of emotional transformation offered in New Age thought. On the other hand, Wang's suburban isolation as a mother granted her a different sort of retreat space. Her seemingly desperate situation and open approach to new spiritual systems helped facilitate her liberating experiences, such as discovering Seth, translating and her out-of-body experience. These personal transformations represented each woman as an individual actor with the agency to (re)create the universe in which she lived.

They returned to Taiwan and ultimately attempted to facilitate a 'New Age,' a revolution to free individuals from social and religious authoritarian restrictions and in sympathy with the broader patterns of the New Age as they had seen it in the USA. The spiritual revolution implied in Wang and Hu's New Age challenged patriarchy (especially marriage), attempted to redefine Taiwan's marginal international status and heal China and Taiwan's unstable twentieth centuries, reinvigorate their own professional careers and go beyond the restrictions of organised religion. Their New Age promoted the role of women, offering them a leading role in both transforming their inner lives and, potentially, Taiwanese society. Hu sought to elevate the status of women to be equal with men, suggesting the open female *yin* as necessary to counter the destructive male *yang*. Wang's approach was slightly different: she adopted the nurturing role of a mother, guiding and supporting Taiwanese readers to the relief available through the New Age.

Through examining the political and environmental crises facing humanity, Wang and Hu seem to identify as global rather than with a particular nationality: their New Age transcended adherence to a simple Chinese, Taiwanese or American identity. On the surface, neither Wang nor Hu used their New Age writings as a vehicle to make

overt statements about identity, either their own or that of their readers, who in the 1980s and 1990s would have primarily been living in a Taiwan which was only beginning to open up to China after around forty years of standoff and suspicion, and after a complicated longer domestic history of multiple incursions by foreign colonisers. This requires a careful reading of their work where the few explicit statements are augmented by the less overt comments. Wang and Hu use “Chinese” as the departure point for their excursions into a malleable identity, something that they shape to suit their position at any time and float between, at times holding and embodying multiple identities that may even appear to be in conflict. While their New Age was grounded in Taiwan’s elite *waishengren* culture, they did not overtly cling to this identity, rather they sought to transcend Taiwan’s growing identity consciousness movements and engage with the global community of New Agers.

On one level, the spiritual revolution that Wang and Hu sought to usher in was similar to that envisioned by the global New Age – individual change inspired by Western esotericism and Eastern philosophy would precipitate societal transformation. That the Fine Press and many other New Age and BMS publishers are still financially viable in Taiwan, and that there are numerous workshops and online activities that facilitate the spread of these ideas, confirms that their spiritual revolution was successful on a different level. Taiwan remains diplomatically marginalised and while its relationship with China has changed (and continues to do so, depending on which party is in power in Taiwan and how assertive or belligerent China’s government is at any point in time), a permanent arrangement about its sovereignty remains unattainable. While Hu participated in environmental protests and the anti-nuclear movement, neither she nor Wang engaged in activities that challenged the authority of the state.

Rather than the unilinear time that Leo Lee argued underpinned the *xinshidai* of the 1919 May Fourth Movement, I suggest the New Age of Wang and Hu existed in a forward-oriented multi-temporal present. For them, the teachings of ancient cultures co-existed with the latest breakthroughs in hi-tech science. Wang and Hu repeatedly evoked the philosophical traditions of China, especially Buddhism, and contrasted their New Age with the authoritarian Confucianism and rigid Christianity in which they were raised. The Buddhist ideas which they used to recreate foreign figures, such as Krishnamurti, for Taiwan readers were based more on an idealised and scriptural interpretation of the Dharma rather than the actual practice of it in contemporary Taiwan, which they perceived to be at times ostentatious and manipulative. Through the practice of New Age religion, Wang and Hu proposed a state where readers could embody an idealised version of a global and pure ancient wisdom that was simultaneously informed by cutting edge scientific experimentation. Readers could use this embodied temporal state to create a revolution of the spirit in order to negotiate the vicissitudes of daily life in modern Taiwan and establish a better future.

The New Age of Wang and Hu was not a radical break from a seemingly regressive and repressive present. It was a way of living in that present while also being liberated from it. Their forward-oriented multi-temporal present was a pragmatic way of orienting their inward desires for peace and contentment with a global community of like-minded individuals. In doing this, they appear to challenge the unilinear notion of time that Lee found in the May Fourth Movement. The radical break they sought was an internal one, an inner revolution, and this offered an alternative temporal state for readers in Taiwan.

Both Wang and Hu closely aligned themselves with the teachings of their favoured New Age figures. For Wang it was Seth, as channelled by Jane Roberts, and

for Hu it was Krishnamurti. Having the liberty to read, translate and publish their favoured authors allowed them, in the eyes of their readers, to become closely aligned with the figures that they translated. The Fine Press contributed to this, including information about Wang and Hu in their translations, and emphasising their affinity with, and expertise on, these figures. By being so closely connected with a figure that was not in any way from Taiwan or China, this became a new way for the women to create their own personal identities. In turn, the Fine Press published translations of their favoured figures, such as Seth and Krishnamurti. Thus, not only were these authors/entities prominent in Taiwan's New Age, but the way in which Wang and Hu embodied their teachings imbued them with an authority deeper than what other books might possess. Likewise, through their endorsements of Shirley MacLaine and Ken Wilber these authors also became templates by which Wang and Hu could contextualise and explain their own experiences and assert spiritual authority.

This thesis covers a period of major change in Taiwanese society. While neither Wang nor Hu were there at the time, it was a Japanese colony for 50 years until 1945. Their families arrived in the chaos of the Chinese civil war, and had to establish new lives in Taiwan under martial law. During the 1950s and 1960s the USA exerted a strong political, military, economic and cultural influence. Wang and Hu were both strongly exposed to this in their religious experiences, development of English skills and awareness of American culture. Their own social status as well-educated *waishengren* and Taiwan's inclination towards the USA meant that they spent significant periods there: it was formative in shaping their cosmologies and the development of their spiritual practices. America was something they experienced in America *and* in Taiwan. Nonetheless, they also expressed aspects of the religious

culture in which they grew up and were familiar with and, in doing so, demonstrated the transformational efficacy of the texts they read and translated.

In a historical sense, the New Age in Taiwan was broadly similar to global New Ages. However, there are features that distinguish it: the prominence of peripheral New Age figures such as Krishnamurti and Kahlil Gibran, its representation as a form of Buddhism, the possibilities of revolution through reading and transformation through translation, its evolution from earlier American cultural influences and the resonances of Chinese religion and culture. This research methodology—a close reading of texts and careful contextualisation of the life experiences of translators and teachers, especially the personal changes enabled by reading and translation—could be applied to further non-Western scenarios. Future studies that decentre Euro-American New Ages and precisely investigate the transnational flow and reception of ideas will generate a multi-layered conceptualisation of the global New Age and, potentially, religions more broadly.

This thesis interrogates the multiple spiritual revolutions of the New Age in Taiwan. That Wang and Hu experienced individual spiritual revolutions is apparent; their extensive accounts of their immersion into the New Age and inner transformations prove this. That the New Age revolutionised the spiritual possibilities for Taiwanese society is also evident; Wang and Hu's long careers, the vast number of translations and growing number of teachers, authors and participants (some of whom may have experienced their own spiritual revolutions) demonstrate the extent to which it is now embedded there. However, Taiwan remains diplomatically marginalised and global environmental and political crises are entrenched; the Aquarian optimism of the New Age's spiritual revolution generating a "new society, nation and world" may yet take some time to be realised.

Appendices

1. List of books published in the *Xinshidai xilie* 新時代系列 [New Age Series] between 1989 and 2000

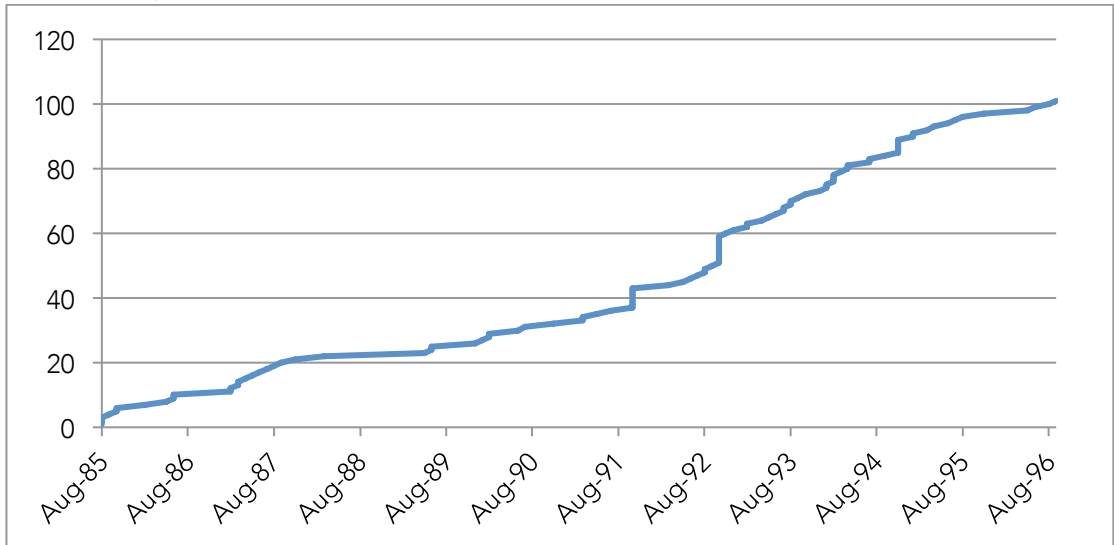
| # | Date | Chinese title | Translator (or Chinese author) | English title | Original author |
|----|--------|----------------|--------------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| 1 | Mar-90 | 古老的未來 | 胡因夢 | <i>Ancient Future</i> (trans.) | Terry Hu (author) |
| 2 | Sep-89 | 快樂的秘方 | 包黛瑩 | <i>Discovering the Secrets of Happiness</i> | Ken Keyes Jr. |
| 2 | Aug-94 | 靈界的訊息 | 王季慶 | <i>The Seth Material</i> | Jane Roberts |
| 3 | Sep-89 | 世上最偉大的奇蹟 | 若水 | <i>The Greatest Miracle in the World</i> | Og Mandino |
| 4 | Sep-89 | 拙火—生命的秘密 | 王季慶 | <i>Kundalini: The Secret of Life</i> | Swami Muktananda |
| 5 | Oct-89 | 無拘束的愛 | 單知識 | <i>Tantra, Spirituality & Sex</i> | Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh |
| 6 | Nov-89 | 喜悅之道 | 王季慶 | <i>Creative Visualisation?</i> | Sanaya Roman |
| 7 | Nov-89 | 宇宙逍遙遊 | 王季慶 | <i>Emmanuel's Book – A Manual for Living Comfortably in the Cosmos</i> | Pat Rodegast |
| 8 | Jun-90 | 人生中不可不想的事 | 葉文可 | <i>Think On These Things</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 9 | Jul-90 | 從已知中解脫 | 若水 | <i>Freedom from the Known</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 10 | Jul-90 | 大地 | 胡英音 | <i>Earth</i> | Frank Townsend |
| 11 | Mar-91 | 靈界的生活 | 徐進夫 | <i>Fate and Fatalism</i> | C.W. Leadbeater |
| 12 | Mar-91 | 為自己出征 | 王石珍 | <i>The Knight in Rusty Armour</i> | Robert Fisher |
| 13 | Apr-91 | 般若之旅 | 胡因夢 | <i>Exploration into Insight</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 14 | Apr-91 | 來生 | 賈長安 | <i>Life After Life</i> | Raymond A. Moody Jr. MD |
| 15 | May-91 | 領導之道 | 戴瑞嬌 | <i>Tao of Leadership</i> | John Heider |
| 16 | Jun-91 | 前世 | 賈長安 | <i>Life Before Life</i> | Raymond A. Moody Jr. MD |
| 17 | Dec-91 | 物理之舞 | 廖世德 | <i>The Dancing Wuli Masters</i> | Gary Zukav |
| 18 | 1991 | 幻想飛行 | 王石珍 | <i>Illusions</i> | Richard Bach |
| 19 | Aug-91 | 超越時空 | 胡因夢 | <i>The Ending of Time</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 20 | Sep-91 | 個人實相的本質 (上, 下) | 王季慶, 王育盛 | <i>The Nature of Personal Reality</i> | Jane Roberts |
| 21 | Oct-91 | 愛情之道 | 陳蒼多 | <i>The Tao of Relationships</i> | Ray Grigg |
| 22 | Apr-92 | 人類的黨務之急 | 胡因夢 | <i>The Second Penguin Reader</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 23 | Jun-93 | 回到你心中 | 陳建志 | <i>The Spiritual Teachings of Ramana Maharishi</i> | Ramana Maharishi |
| 24 | Jul-93 | 寶瓶同謀 | 廖世德 | <i>The Aquarian Conspiracy</i> | Marilyn Ferguson |
| 24 | Mar-94 | 心靈日記 | 陳蒼多 | <i>Krishnamurti's Journal</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 25 | Jul-93 | 靈魂出體 | 翔翎 | <i>Far Journeys</i> | Robert A. Monroe |
| 26 | Jan-94 | 克里希那穆提傳 | 胡因夢 | <i>Krishnamurti: A Biography</i> | Pupul Jayakar |
| 27 | Feb-94 | 心靈自由之路 | 廖世德 | <i>Flight of the Eagle</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 28 | Mar-94 | 心靈日記 | 陳蒼多 | <i>Krishnamurti's Journal</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |

| # | Date | Chinese title | Translator (or Chinese author) | English title | Original author |
|----|--------|------------------|--------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| 29 | Mar-94 | 個人與群體事件的本質 | 王季慶 | <i>The Individual and the Nature of Mass Events</i> | Jane Roberts |
| 30 | Jul-94 | 心靈探險／賽斯修煉法 | 王季慶 | <i>A Seth Workbook: Create Your Own Reality</i> | Nancy Ashley |
| 31 | Dec-94 | 未知的實相 (上, 下) | 王季慶 | <i>The "Unknown" Reality</i> | Jane Roberts |
| 32 | Apr-95 | 超越恐懼選擇愛 | 王石珍 | <i>Emmanuel's Book II: The Choice for Love</i> | Pat Rodegast, Judith Stanton |
| 33 | Aug-95 | 做夢的藝術 | 魯密 | <i>The Art of Dreaming</i> | Carlos Castaneda |
| 34 | Apr-95 | 人生。教育。學習 | 張南星 | <i>Education and the Significance of Life</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 35 | Jun-95 | 靈魂永生：賽斯書 | 王季慶 | <i>Seth Speaks: The Eternal Validity of the Soul</i> | Jane Roberts |
| 36 | Nov-95 | 論自由 | 廖世德 | <i>On Freedom</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 37 | Nov-95 | 論關係 | 廖世德 | <i>On Relationships</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 38 | Nov-95 | 論上帝 | 廖世德 | <i>On God</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 39 | Nov-95 | 生與死 | 廖世德 | <i>On Living and Dying</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 40 | Nov-95 | 謀生之道 | 廖世德 | <i>On Right Livelihood</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 41 | Nov-95 | 自然與生態 | 廖世德 | <i>On Nature and the Environment</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 42 | Nov-95 | 離婚無濟於事－如何調整與挽救婚姻 | 王石珍 | <i>Divorce is not the answer: A Change of Heart Will Save Your Marriage</i> | George S. Pransky |
| 43 | Apr-96 | 人生的轉機－癌症的身心自療法 | 王季慶, 許添盛 | <i>Cancer As a Turning Point: A Handbook for People With Cancer, Their Families and Health Professionals</i> | Lawrence LeShan |
| 44 | Nov-96 | 死亡。奇蹟。預言 | 羅若蘋 | <i>Saved by the Light: The True Story of a Man Who Died Twice and the Profound Revelations He Received</i> | Dannion Brinkley |
| 45 | Jun-96 | 死亡之光：生命的另一個開始 | 林佳蓉 | <i>Transformed by the Light: The Powerful Effect of Near-Death Experiences of Peoples' Lives</i> | Melvin Morse, Paul Perry |
| 46 | Aug-96 | 簡易靈魂出體法 | 林明秀 | <i>Out of Body Adventures: 30 Days to the Most Exciting Experience of Your Life</i> | Rick Stack |
| 47 | Jul-96 | 先知 | 王季慶 | <i>The Prophet</i> | Kahlil Gibran |
| 48 | Sep-96 | 寂靜的知識 | 魯密 | <i>The Power of Silence: Further Lessons of Don Juan</i> | Carlos Castaneda |
| 49 | Sep-96 | 力量的傳寄 | 魯密 | <i>Tales of Power</i> | Carlos Castaneda |
| 50 | Oct-96 | 新靈魂觀 | 廖世德 | <i>The Seat of the Soul</i> | Gary Zukav |
| 51 | Nov-96 | 夢、進化與價值完成 | 王季慶 | <i>Dream, 'Evolution', and Value Fulfilment</i> | Jane Roberts |
| 52 | Nov-96 | 自由。愛。行動 | 胡因夢 | <i>Freedom, Love, and Action</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 53 | Dec-96 | 心靈體操 | 羅若蘋 | <i>Listening to the body: The Psychophysical Way to Health and Awareness</i> | Robert Masters, Jean Houston |
| 54 | Nov-96 | 論真理 | 羅若蘋 | <i>On Truth</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |

| # | Date | Chinese title | Translator (or Chinese author) | English title | Original author |
|----|--------|---------------------|--------------------------------|--|---|
| 55 | Nov-96 | 論恐懼 | 羅若蘋 | <i>On Fear</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 56 | Nov-96 | 論衝突 | 羅若蘋 | <i>On Conflict</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 57 | Nov-96 | 愛與寂寞 | 羅若蘋 | <i>On Love and Loneliness</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 58 | Nov-96 | 心靈與思想 | 羅若蘋 | <i>On Mood and Thought</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 59 | Nov-96 | 學習與知識 | 羅若蘋 | <i>On Learning and Knowledge</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 60 | Jan-97 | 安頓生命的智慧 演好你的前世今生 | 林清玄, 胡因夢, 傅偉勳, 孟東籬, 王季慶, 曹又方 | <i>The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life (Trans.)</i> | Lin Qingxuan, Terry Hu, Charles Fu Wei Hsun, Meng Dongli, C.C. Wang, Tsao Yu-fang (authors) |
| 61 | Mar-97 | 發現真愛 | 陳建志 | <i>Perform Your Past Lives (Trans.)</i> | Albert Chen (author) |
| 62 | Mar-97 | 巫士的傳承—唐望故事 | 羅若蘋 | <i>A Return to Love</i> | Marianne Williamson |
| 63 | May-97 | 心靈的本質 | 魯密 | <i>The Second Ring of Power</i> | Carlos Castaneda |
| 64 | Jun-97 | 開悟的神祕與趣味 | 王季慶 | <i>The Nature of Psyche, Its Personal Expression</i> | Jane Roberts |
| 65 | Jul-97 | 心靈革命:邁入愛與光的新時代 | 魯密 | <i>Zen in the Art of Archery / The Method of Zen</i> | Eugen Herrigel |
| 66 | Aug-97 | 你就是人間天使 | 王季慶 | <i>Revolution of the Heart: Stride into the New Age of Love and Light (Trans.)</i> | C.C. Wang (author) |
| 67 | Aug-97 | 過靈性而風俗富裕的生活 | 王季慶 | <i>Emmanuel's Book II: What is an Angel Doing Here?</i> | Pat Rodegast and Judith Stanton |
| 68 | Sep-97 | 老鷹的贈予: 唐望故事 | 吳榮福 | <i>The Path of Transformation: How Healing Ourselves Can Change The World</i> | Shakti Gawain |
| 69 | Sep-97 | 內在的火焰: 唐望故事 | 魯密 | <i>The Eagle's Call</i> | Carlos Castaneda |
| 70 | Oct-97 | 拉瑪的領悟 | 魯密 | <i>The Fire from Within</i> | Carlos Castaneda |
| 71 | Nov-97 | 質疑克里希那穆提 | 鄭淳紋 | <i>Ramar: The Rabbit with Rainbow Wings</i> | Darrell T. Hare |
| 72 | Jan-98 | 夢與意識投射 | 繆妙坊 | <i>Questioning Krishnamurti</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 73 | Feb-98 | 天使占卜卡 | 王季慶 | <i>Seth, Dreams, And Projection of Consciousness</i> | Jane Roberts |
| 74 | Feb-98 | 身心靈的天堂樂園 | 廖閱鵬 | <i>Angel Journey Cards: 55 Cards and Companion Guidebook</i> | Terry Lyn Taylor, Mary Beth Crain |
| 75 | Apr-98 | 漫遊前世今生 | 陳麗宇 | <i>The Heavenly Paradise of Mind, Body and Spirit (Trans.)</i> | Chen Liyu (author) |
| 76 | Mar-98 | 穿梭幻相實相 | 廖世德 | <i>The Education of Oversoul Seven</i> | Jane Roberts |
| 77 | Mar-98 | 時間預言 | 廖世德 | <i>The Further Education of Oversoul Seven</i> | Jane Roberts |
| 78 | Mar-98 | 靈魂煉金之旅 | 廖世德 | <i>Oversoul Seven and the Museum of Time</i> | Jane Roberts |
| 79 | May-98 | 與神對話 | 廖閱鵬 | <i>Journey of Transforming the Soul (Trans.)</i> | Liao Yuepeng (author) |
| 80 | May-98 | 超覺靜坐 | 王季慶 | <i>Conversations with God: An Uncommon Dialogue</i> | Neale Donald Walsch |
| 81 | Aug-98 | 超覺靜坐的奧祕 | 沈慈雲 | <i>Science of Being and Art of Living: Transcendental Meditation</i> | Maharishi Mahesh Yogi |
| 82 | Aug-98 | | 李錦芬 | <i>Maharishi Mahesh Yogi's Transcendental Meditation</i> | Robert Roth |

| # | Date | Chinese title | Translator (or Chinese author) | English title | Original author |
|-----|--------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| 83 | Oct-98 | 拙火經驗 | 梅心 | <i>The Kundalini Experience</i> | Lee Sannella |
| 84 | Dec-98 | 與神對話 II | 孟祥森 | <i>Conversations with God (Book II): An Uncommon Dialogue</i> | Neale Donald Walsch |
| 85 | Dec-98 | 藥女 | 魯密 | <i>Medicine Woman</i> | Lynn V. Andrews |
| 86 | Dec-98 | 月女 | 劉蘊芳 | <i>Flight of the Seventh Moon: The Teaching of the Shields</i> | Lynn V. Andrews |
| 87 | Dec-98 | 豹女 | 劉蘊芳 | <i>Jaguar Woman and the Wisdom of the Butterfly Tree</i> | Lynn V. Andrews |
| 88 | Dec-98 | 神奇之道 | 王季慶 | <i>The Magical Approach</i> | Jane Roberts |
| 89 | Feb-99 | 奧修靜心之旅 | 王靜蓉 | <i>Osho's Meditation Journey (Trans.)</i> | Wang Jingrong (author) |
| 90 | Feb-99 | 賽斯讓你成為命運的創造者 | 王季慶 | <i>Seth Lets You Become the Creator of Your Destiny (Trans.)</i> | C.C. Wang (author) |
| 91 | Apr-99 | 天使的 52 個禮物 | 陳建志 | <i>The 52 Gifts of Angels (Trans.)</i> | Albert Chen (author) |
| 92 | Jul-99 | 探索奇蹟 | 黃承晃 | <i>In Search of the Miraculous</i> | P.D. Ouspensky |
| 93 | May-99 | 神奇的第二視覺 | 廖世德 | <i>Second Sight</i> | Judith Orloff |
| 94 | Aug-99 | 與神對話 III | 孟祥森 | <i>Conversations with God (Book III): An Uncommon Dialogue</i> | Neale Donald Walsch |
| 95 | Sep-99 | 改變人生的神奇力量 | 吳皓 | <i>The Magic Story</i> | John McDonald |
| 96 | Dec-99 | 迎向生命 | 徐美琅 | <i>Life Ahead</i> | Jiddu Krishnamurti |
| 97 | Jun-00 | 與奇人相遇：第四道大師葛吉夫的靈修之路 | 劉蘊芳 | <i>Meetings With Remarkable Men</i> | G.I. Gurdjieff |
| 98 | Jul-00 | 來自真實世界的聲音 | 黃承晃 | <i>Views from the Real World</i> | G.I. Gurdjieff |
| 99 | Sep-00 | 小孩子艾米爾生命之旅 | 假芝雲 | <i>Emir's Education in the Proper Use of Magical Powers</i> | Jane Roberts |
| 100 | Oct-00 | 與神為友 | 王季慶 | <i>Friendship with God</i> | Neale Donald Walsch |

2. Graph of books published in the *Xinshidai xilie* 新時代系列 [New Age Series] between 1989 and 2000



The first 100 books published in the Fine Press' New Age Series.

3. Preface to *Out on a Limb* (1986)

C.C. Wang 王季慶, “*Ming zuojia Wang Jiqing de hua* 名作家王季慶的話 [Famous author C.C. Wang talks]” in Shirley MacLaine, *Out on a Limb* 邊緣外, translated by 杜恆芬 Du Heng-fen, (Taipei: 世茂出版社 Shy Mau Publishing Company, 1986), unmarked pages.

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

4. The Advent of the New Age (1988)

Terry Hu 胡茵夢, “*Xinshidai de lailin* 新時代的來臨 [The Advent of the New Age]” in *Shinü Zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [*China Ladies Magazine*], May 1988, 26.

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

5. Preface to the New Age Series (1989)

C.C. Wang 王季慶, “*Xinshidai xilie zongxu – Wang Jiqing* 〈新時代系列〉總序——王季慶 [New Age Series introduction – C.C. Wang]. First published in Ken Keyes Jr., *Kuaile de mifang* 快樂的祕方 [*Three Prescriptions for Happiness*, lit. *The Secret Recipe for Happiness*], trans. Bao Daiying 包黛螢 (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1989).

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

6. The Combination of Yin and Yang (1990)

Terry Hu 胡因夢, *Yin yang de jiehe* 陰陽的結合 [The Combination of Yin and Yang] from *Gulao de weilai* 古老的未來 [*Ancient Future*] (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1990).

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

7. Preface to *The Aquarian Conspiracy* (1993)

Terry Hu 胡因夢, “Hu Yinmeng Xu 胡因夢序 [Terry Hu’s Preface]” in Marilyn Ferguson, *Baoping tongmou* 寶瓶同謀 [*The Aquarian Conspiracy*], translated by Liao Shide 廖世德, (Taipei: The Fine Press, 1993).

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Translation removed from digital thesis to avoid copyright infringement

Bibliography

Primary Chinese language sources

“*Baodao shi da caizi xuanba jiexiao* 寶島十大才子選拔揭曉 [Special Report: Formosas [sic] 10 Great Savants]”, *Shinü zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [*Ladies*], July 1994: 29.

Bo Zhongyan, Zhang Huilan 柏忠言, 張惠蘭. *Yujia: qigong yu mingxiang* 瑜伽: 氣功與冥想 [*Yoga: Qigong and Meditation*]. Lin Yu Cultural Enterprise Co., Ltd., 1995.

Broadbent, W.W. *Ai yu beiai de xinli tantao* 愛與被愛的心理探討 [*How to be loved*]. Translated by Hu Yinmeng 胡因夢. Tainan: Dehua Publishing Company, 1978.

Caituan faren Taibeishi Yunwu Tushuguan jijinhui 財團法人台北市雲五圖書館基金會. “Wang Yunwu xiansheng jieshao 王雲五先生介紹 [Introducing Mr Wang Yunwu].” Accessed 4 February 2014. <http://www.wangyun-wu.org.tw/introduction/index-2.htm>.

Capra, Fritjof. *Wuli zhi dao* 物理之道 *The Tao of Physics*, trans. Pan Jiayin 潘家寅, (Taipei: Chung Hwa Book Company, Ltd.: 1979).

Capra, Fritjof and Spretnak, Charlene. *Juese de kangyi* 綠色的抗議 [*Green Protest*]. Translated by TC Yang 楊祖珺 and Cai Shiyuan 蔡式淵. Taipei: Qian Jin Publishing, 1986.

Chang, Shi-Kuo 張系國. “*Ouzhi Yinmenghu* 偶值茵夢湖 [Immensee by chance]” in Terry Hu, *Immensee*. Taipei: Mongkok Publishing Company, 1982/1999.

Chang, Tiffany 張德芬. *Yujian weizhi de ziji* 遇見未知的自己 [*Encountering Your Unknown Self*]. Taipei: The Fine Press, 2007/2012.

Chang, Tiffany. 張德芬. *Huochu quanxin de ziji: huanxing, liaoyu yu chuangzao* 活出全新的自己: 喚醒、療癒與創造 [*Living Out an All New You: Awakening, Healing and Creativity*]. Taipei: The Fine Press, 2009/2012.

Chen, Albert 陳建志. *Yanhao ni de qianshi jinsheng* 演好你的前世今生 [*Perform Your Past Lives*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997.

Chen, Albert 陳建志. *Tianshi de 52 ge liwu* 天使的52個禮物 [*The 52 Gifts of Angels*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1999.

Chen, Franz 陳立恆. *Wanmei Fanlanqi* 玩美法藍瓷 [*I am Franz*]. Taipei: Business Weekly Publications, Inc., 2011).

Chen Fuxiang 陳富香. “*Rensheng buke xi: Hu Yinmeng qinggui ‘Xinling gongfan’* 人生不可戲: 胡因夢情歸「心靈工場」 [Life Cannot Trick: Terry Hu’s Sweet Home ‘Psy garden’].” *Suhuo* 甦活 [*Soho Magazine*], October 2001.

Chen Lingfang 陳玲芳. “*Laoshi xiuxing, rushi miandui* 老實修行, 如實面對 [Practicing frankly, confronting realistically].” 拾穗 *Shisui* [*Gleaners*], May 1993.

Chen Liyu 陳麗宇. *Shenxinling tiantang leyuan* 身心靈天堂樂園 [*The Heavenly Paradise of Mind, Body and Spirit*]. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1998.

Chu Wen-kuang 朱文光. *Shengming de shengguang* 生命的神光 [*The Life of God's Light: Aura and Thought Form*]. Laoku Publishing Co.: Taipei, 1979.

Chu Wen-kuang 朱文光. *Xifang shenmixue* 西方神秘學 [*Western Mysticism*]. Taipei: Laoku Publishing Co, 1984.

Dalai Lama. *Dalai shengsi shu* 達賴生死書, [*Advice on Dying: And Living a Better Life*, lit. *The Dalai Lama's Book on Life and Death*]. Translated by Ding Nai-chu 丁乃竺. Taipei: Commonwealth Magazine, 2003.

Ding Nai-chu 丁乃竺. “*Guanyin yu Dumu* 觀音與度母’ [Guanyin and Tara].” In *Mingjia tan ai* 名家談愛 [*Famous Authors Discuss Love*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1989.

Dong Xiaoling 董小玲. “Who can contact ghosts? Discussing parapsychology with C.C. Wang” in *San Mao chuanyuele shikong* 三毛穿越了時空 [*San Mao Cuts Across Time and Space*], edited by Dong Xiaoling. Taipei: Crown, 1984.

Fields, Rick et al, *Rulian de xiyue* 如蓮的喜悅 [*Chop Wood, Carry Water: A Guide to Finding Spiritual Fulfillment in Everyday Life, literally Joy of the Lotus*]. Translated by Du Hengfen 杜恆芬. Taipei: China Times Publishing Co., 1989.

Fu Wei Hsun, Charles 傅偉勳. “*Zhenli shi meiyou tujing de guotu* 真理是沒有途徑的國土 [Truth is Without Nationality].” In *Andun shengming de xinzhahui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997: 26-30.

Fu Wei Hsun, Charles 傅偉勳. “*Dapo xinshi de juxian* 打破心智的局限 [Smash the limits of wisdom].” In *Andun shengming de xinzhahui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997: 125-153.

Hu Bugui 胡不歸. *Dangdai guaijie – Chen Yigui* 當代怪傑 – 陳怡魁 [*Contemporary Eccentric Celebrity – Chen Yikui*]. Taipei: Mysterious Magazine Society, 1987.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. “*Hu Yinmeng fang Zhou Danwei* 胡茵夢訪周丹薇 [Terry Hu interviews Debbie Chou]”, *Shinü zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [*China Ladies Magazine*], May 1979.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. *Hu yan meng yu* 胡言夢語 [*Talking Nonsense; Sleep Talking*]. Taipei: Four Seasons Publishing Co. Ltd., 1980.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. *Yin meng hu* 茵夢胡 [*Immensee*]. Taipei: Mongkok Publishing Company, 1982/1999.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. “Translator’s preface” in Uta Hagen, *Zunzhong biaoyan yishu* 尊重表演藝術 [*Respect for Acting*, Lit. *Respect for the Art of Acting*]. Translated by Terry Hu. Taipei: Hanguang, 1987.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. “*Xinshidai de lailin* 新時代的來臨 [The Advent of the New Age]”, *Shinü zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [*China Ladies*], May 1988.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. “*Liubai, yingjie xinshiji de lailin* 留白，迎接新世紀的來臨 [Leaving a message to welcome the arrival of the New Age].” 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], January 1989.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. “*Nianliu* 念流 [Floating Mind]”, *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], May 1989.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. *Gulao de weilai* 古老的未來 [*Ancient Future*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1990.
My translation of her chapter “*Xinshidai yinyue* 新時代音樂 [New Age Music]” is at <http://www.thechinastory.org/2014/09/new-age-music-新世代音樂/>, accessed 1 February 2015.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. “*Xu* 序 [Preface]” in Jiddu Krishnamurti, *Rensheng zhong buke buxiang de shi* 人生中不可不想的事 [*Think on These Things*, lit. *The Things in Life You Cannot but Think About*]. Translated by Ye Wenke 葉文可. Taipei: Fine Press, 1990.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. “*Dangdai shengzhe tan xinling geming-xinshidai de qimeng yundong weiguan pian* 當代聖者談心靈革命——新時代啓蒙運動微觀篇 [Modern Day Saints Discuss Spiritual Revolution: A Microscopic View of the New Age Enlightenment]” in *Xinling geming* 心靈革命 [*Spiritual Revolution*]. Taipei: Eurasian, 1991.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. “From Gorbachev to an Idealistic World View: A Macroscopic View of the New Age Enlightenment” in *Xinling Geming* 心靈革命 [*Spiritual Revolution*]. Taipei: Eurasian, 1991.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. “Translator’s preface” in Jiddu Krishnamurti, *Bore zhi lü* 般若之旅 [*Exploration into Insight*, lit. *Prajñic Journey*]. Translated by Terry Hu. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1991.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. *Bore zhi Lü: Lingxing daoshi Jidu Kelixinamuti de aoyi* 般若之旅：靈性導師基督·克里希那穆提的奧義 [Prajñic Journey: The Profound Meaning of Spiritual Teacher Jiddu Krishnamurti], *Ziyou Shibao* 自由時報 [*Liberty Times*], 2 May 1991.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. “Translator’s preface” in Jiddu Krishnamurti, *Renlei de dangwu zhi ji* 人類的當務之急 [*The Second Penguin Reader*, lit. *Humanity’s Most Pressing Task*]. Translated by Terry Hu. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1992.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. “Preface.” In Marilyn Ferguson, *Baoping Tongmou* 寶瓶同謀 [*The Aquarian Conspiracy*]. Translated by Liao Shide. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1993.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. “*Neixin de yiyu* 內心的異域 [The Alien Land in Your Heart].” *Qianneng jikan* 潛能季刊 [*Human Potential Quarterly*]. May 1994.

Hu, Terry 胡茵夢. “*Jiang rensheng de kunhuo quan tankai lai* 將人生的困惑全攤開來 [The Complexity of Human Life Completely Spread Out].” In *Andun shengming de xinzhahui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997: 21-26.

- Hu, Terry 胡因夢. “*Rensheng zhong bukebu xiang de shi* 人生中不可不想的事 [Think on These Things].” In *Andun shengming de xinzhahui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997: 91-123.
- Hu, Terry 胡因夢. “*Yuechao linghun anye* 超越靈魂暗夜 [Cutting through the dark night of the soul],” *Zhang laoshi yuekan* 張老師月刊 [*Teacher Zhang Monthly*], December 1997.
- Hu, Terry 胡因夢. “Preface” in Han Lianglu 韓良露 *Aiqing quan zhangxing* 愛情全占星 [*The Astrology of Romantic Love*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1998.
- Hu, Terry 胡因夢. *Siwang yu tongnü* 死亡與童女 [*Death and The Maiden*]. Taipei: Yuan-Shen Press, 1999.
- Hu, Terry 胡因夢. “Preface”. In *Dang shengming xianluo shi: yu nijing gongchu de zhihui* 當生命陷落時：與逆境共處的智慧 [*When things fall apart: heart advice for difficult times*] by Pema Chödrön. Translated by Terry Hu. Taipei: Psygarden Publishing Company, 2001.
- Hu, Terry 胡因夢. “It is also Self-healing: Translator’s Preface.” In Ken Wilber, *Grace and Grit* [*Enchong yu yongqi* 恩寵與勇氣, lit. *Grace and Courage*]. Translated by Terry Hu. Taipei: Living Psychology Publishers, 2011.
- Hu, Terry 胡因夢. “*Shenxiuzhe xu* 審修者序 [Executive editor’s preface]” in Anonymous [Valentin Tomberg], *Meditations on the Tarot (Talu mingxiang 塔羅冥想)*. Translated by Hou Wangyi 侯王怡. Taipei: Psygarden Publishing Company, 2016.
- Hu Weimei 胡為美. “*Xiangfeng de Nüren – Hu Yinmeng* 像風的女人—胡茵夢 [A Woman Like the Wind: Terry Hu]”, *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], September 1976.
- “*Hu Yinmeng deng Xueshan?* 胡茵夢登雪山 [Terry Hu climbs Xueshan?]”, *Shijie dianying* 世界電影 *World Screen*, January 1984.
- “*Hu Yinmeng buduan zhuiqiu ‘xinling geming’* 胡因夢不斷追求「心靈革命」 [Terry Hu’s unceasing search for ‘spiritual revolution’],” *Yazhou zhoukan* 亞洲週刊 [*AsiaWeek*], 26 February 1992.
- Hua Shujun 華淑君. *Jintian yujia jiangyi* 今天瑜伽講義 [*Commentaries on Yoga Today*]. Taipei: Huashi Jintian Biekan, 1983.
- Huang Se 黃瑟. “*Mingren. Renming: Qu Cao Chengyin Yuan shi Meng* 名人. 人名. 去艸成因原是夢 [Fame, names and removing grass to fulfill the dream]”, *Lianhe Wanbao* 聯合晚報 [*United Evening News*], 18 June 1995.
- Jayakar, Pupil. *Kelixinamuti zhuan*. 克里希那穆提傳 [*Krishnamurti: A Biography*]. Translated by Terry Hu. Taipei: Fine Press, 1994.
- Ji Qing 擊磬 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Nide haizi bing bushi nide* 你的孩子並不是你的 [Your child really isn’t yours],” *The Woman*, May 1969:

Ji Qing 擊磬 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Kan hairen shoukan* 看孩人手冊 [The Handbook of caring for children],” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], June 1970: 61.

Ji Qing 擊磬 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Zhong, mei qingnian dui ai, xingyuhunyin de kanfa* 中、美青年對愛、性與婚姻的看法 [The views of Chinese and American youth on love, sex and marriage],” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], July 1970.

Ji Qing 擊磬 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Nǚren zeyang kan nanren?* 女人怎樣看男人? [Is this how women view men?],” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], August 1970.

Ji Qing 擊磬 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Riben de bandaigou* 日本的半代溝 [Japan’s half-generation gap],” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], September 1970.

Ji Qing 擊磬 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Dongying de jiahua ye hehua* 東瀛的家花和野花 [Japan’s homeflowers and harlots],” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], October 1970.

Ji Qing 擊磬 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Shei shi yijia zhi wang?* 誰是一家之主? [Who is the Master of the house?],” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], February 1971.

Ji Qing 擊磬 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Shengwei nüren* 生為女人 [Born a woman],” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], March 1971.

Ji Qing 擊磬 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Nanwei muqin* 難為母親 [The difficulty of motherhood],” 婦女雜誌 *Funü zazhi* [*The Woman*], May 1971.

Ji Qing 擊磬 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Laofu shaoqin hui xingfu ma?* 老夫少妻會幸福嗎? [Can an old man with a young wife be happy?],” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], June 1971.

Jiang Jianxian 姜健賢 (editor). *Yangzhai yu shuijin, baoshi: jianglun shuijing lingli* 陽宅與水晶、寶石: 兼論水晶靈力 [*Crystals and Precious Stones in This World: Discussing Crystal Power*]. Taipei: Yuanjin, 1995.

“*Jiekai qigong de shenmi miansha* 揭開氣功的神秘面紗 [Unveiling qigong’s mysterious veil].” *Shinü zazhi* 仕女 [*China Ladies*], June 1989.

Krishnamurti, Jiddu. *Jiaoyu yu rensheng* 教育與人生 [*Education and the Significance of Life*, lit. *Education and Human Life*] Translated by Chang Nan-hsing 張南星. Taipei: Cowboy Publishing Co. Ltd., 1976.

Krishnamurti, Jiddu. *Shengming zhi shu: 365 ri de jingxin mingxiang* 生命之書: 365 日的靜心冥想 [*The Book of Life: Daily Meditations with Krishnamurti*]. Taipei: Psygarden Publishing Company: 2005.

Krishnamurti, Jiddu. *Guanyu huozhe: zhe jian shi* 關於活著: 這件事 [*Commentaries on Living (the first series)*] lit. *Concerning Living: This Event*). Taipei: Psygarden Publishing Company, 2010.

“*Kuashiji Taiwan dianying shilu 1898-2000 跨世紀台灣電影實錄 1898-2000 精選* (1972年1月), January 1972.” Chinese Taipei Film Archive. Accessed 11 March 2014.
<http://epaper.ctfa2.org.tw/epaper100625we/history.htm>

Lan Ruofei 蘭若非, Chen Meiling 陳玫玲 and Qiu Liwen 邱麗文. *Shei jiao ni yao ting hua 誰教你要聽話? 心靈的對話 1* [*Who taught you to listen? Subtitled in English: Mental and Spiritual Conversations with Lanrofei, Book 1*]. Self-published. c.1999.

Lee, C.Y. 李祖原 “*Nanyi duifu de Wang Jiqing 難以對付的王季慶* [The difficult-to-deal-with C.C. Wang]”, *Chun Wenxue 純文學* [*Literature Monthly*] 49 (9:1) January 1971.

Lee Tan Long 李丹郎, *Hu Yinmeng ji 胡茵夢集* [*The Terry Hu Collection*]. Tainan: Lee Tan Long, 1986.

Li Ao 李敖, *Li Ao huiyi lu 李敖回憶錄* [*Li Ao's Memoirs*]. Banqiao: Li Ao Publishing, 2007.

Li Ao you hua shuo 李敖有话说 [*Li Ao Has Something to Say*]. Accessed 26 September 2014. <http://phtv.ifeng.com/phoenixtv/74608461014368256/20060915/887936.shtml>

Li Ao you hua shuo 李敖有话说 [*Li Ao Has Something to Say*]. Accessed 26 September 2014. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IM_HuPiFmRE.

Li Dakang 黎大康. “*Yongsheng de shenming yu huanmie de junquan: Xila yu Aiji shendian 永生的神明與幻滅的君權：希臘與埃及神殿*” [Immortal Gods and Vanishing Monarchs: Greek and Egyptian Shrines], *Dadi dili zazhi 大地地理雜誌* [*The Earth: Chinese Geographic Monthly*], March 1989.

Li Tienan 李鐵男 and Wang Zengrong 王增榮. “*Yuanxiang de xing yu yi 原相的形與意* [The Form and Meaning of Original Appearance: C.Y. Lee discusses C.Y. Lee].” *Yaqi yuekan 雅砌月刊* [*Arch Monthly*], January 1990.

Liao Shide 廖世德. “Translator’s preface” in Marilyn Ferguson, *Baoping Tongmou 寶瓶同謀* [*The Aquarian Conspiracy*]. Translated by Liao Shide. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1993.

Liao Shide 廖世德. “Translator’s preface” in Jiddu Krishnamurti. *Xinling ziyou zhi lu 心靈自由之路* [*Flight of the Eagle, lit. The Path of Spiritual Freedom*]. Translated by Liao Shide. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1994.

Liao Shide 廖世德. “Preface.” Zukav, Gary. *Xin linghun guan 新靈魂觀* [*The Seat of the Soul lit. New Views of the Spirit*]. Translated by Liao Shide Taipei: Fine Press, 1996.

Liao Yuepeng 廖閱鵬. *Linghun lianjin zhi lü 靈魂煉金之旅* [*Journey of Transforming the Soul*]. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1998.

Lin Qingxuan 林清玄, “*Zuoxiang juewu de shengming jingjie 走向覺悟的生命境界* [Heading towards the new state of awakening].” In *Andun shengming de xin zhihui 安頓生命的新智慧* [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997: 39-44.

Lin Qingxuan 林清玄, “Zui qianwei de fofa 最前衛的佛法 [The Most Advanced Buddhist Doctrine].” In *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997: 45-89.

Luyu youyue 魯豫有約 [A Date with Lu Yu], accessed 26 September 2014.
http://www.tudou.com/programs/view/_5vLDe5gSAA.

Lung Ying-tai 龍應台, *Yehuoji* 野火集 [The Wildfire]. Taipei: Yuan-shen Publishing Co., 1985.

Luo Shen 駱紳. “Looking at the New Age” 看見新時代 [Looking at the New Age].” In *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997: 15-16.

Mizong. *Jingzuo. Yujia* 密宗·靜坐·瑜伽, [Tantra. Meditation. Yoga. Original title. *Tantra, Yoga & Sadhana*]. Translated by Li Kuangzheng 李匡正. Taipei: Zhonguo Yujia Chubanshe, 1980).

Muto Yasushi Satoshi 武藤泰敏. *Weitameng A jiankang fa* 維他命 A 健康法 [Vitamin A Health Methods]. Translated by Zheng Jianyuan 鄭建元. Taipei: Jian Yi Publishing Co., 1987.

Meng Dongli 孟東籬. “Qinzi yanzheng ziji linghuidao de zhenli 親自驗證自己領會到的真理 [Personally Verify Your Own Understanding of the Truth]”. In *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997: 35-39.

Monroe, Robert A. *Linghun Chuti* 靈魂出體 [Far Journeys, lit. *The Soul Out of the Body*]. Translated by Xiang Ling 翔翎. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1993.

Ni Youchun 倪有純, ‘Shu Chin-liang 徐進良’ in *Taiwan dianying wang* 臺灣電影網 [Taiwan Cinema], 5 June 2008. Accessed 10 February 2014.
http://www.taiwancinema.com/ct_56967_350.

Pingchangxin 平常心 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “Haoge wangfuyizi de jiating zhufu 好個旺夫益子的家庭主婦 [The housewife of a prosperous husband].” *Shinü zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [China Ladies Magazine], October 1979.

Pingchangxin 平常心 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “Yufwushu 御夫無術 [The worst technique for disciplining one’s husband].” *Shinü Zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [China Ladies Magazine], November 1979.

Pingchangxin 平常心 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “Minghu? Yunhu? 命乎? 運乎? [Fate? Luck?].” *Shinü Zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [China Ladies Magazine], January 1980.

Pingchangxin 平常心 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “Yahu ide jijie 宴會的季节 [Dinner party season].” *Shinü Zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [China Ladies Magazine], March 1980.

Pingchangxin 平常心 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “Mayijie 罵一街 [Scolding the street].” *Shinü Zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [China Ladies Magazine], April 1980.

Pingchangxin 平常心 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*You jiazhi de ziqiu yishu* 有價值的自囚藝術 [The Valuable Art of Self-imprisonment]”, *Shinü Zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [*China Ladies Magazine*], June 1980.

Pingchangxin 平常心 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Shuo lan* 說懶 [Talking of laziness],” *Shinü Zazhi* 仕女雜誌 [*China Ladies Magazine*], June 1981: 126.

“*Qigong meirong you xiao ma?* 氣功美容有效嗎? [Is qigong beauty therapy effective?]” *Shinü zazhi* 仕女 [*China Ladies*], November 1989.

Qingchun Online 青春 Online. “*Guanyu Qingchun* 關於青春 [Regarding Qingchun].” Accessed 29 May 2014, <http://www.hfabook.com.tw/aboutme.asp>.

Roberts, Jane. *Xinling de benzhi* 心靈的本質 [*The Nature of the Psyche, Its Human Expression*, lit. *Nature of the Spirit*], trans. C.C. Wang (Taipei: Fine Press, 1997).

Roberts, Jane. *Lingjie de xunxi* 靈界的訊息 [*The Seth Material*, lit. *News from the Spirit World*]. Translated by C.C. Wang, (Taipei: Fine Press, 2008).

Rodegast, Pat and Stanton, Judith. *Emmanuel's Book II: What is an Angel Doing Here? Ni jiushi Renjian Tianshi* 你就是人間天使 (lit. *You are Angels of the Human World*). Translated by C.C. Wang. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997.

Sun Haiyan 孫海燕. *Taiwan Nüren* 台灣女人 [*Taiwan Women*]. Beijing: Jingji ribao chubanshe, 2002.

Swedenborg, Emanuel. *The Spiritual Diary of Emanuel Swedenborg*. Translated by Li Hong 李鴻. Taipei: Juren chubanshe 巨人出版社, 1976.

Taipei Golden Horse Film Festival Executive Committee. “Taipei Golden Horse Film Festival”, Accessed 14 January 2014, http://www.goldenhorse.org.tw/ui/index.php?class=ghac&func=archive&search_regist_year=1975&nwlist_type=award

Taiwan Dianying 台灣電影 [Taiwan Cinema]. “徐進良 [Hsu Chin-liang].” Accessed 14 February 2014, http://www.taiwancinema.com/ct_56967_350

Talidenüren 塔裡的女人 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Hanyiyuzi* 含飴育子 [Spending time with and educating children]”, 婦女雜誌 *Funü zazhi* [*The Woman*], April 1981: 12.

Talidenüren 塔裡的女人 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Ba guoju daigei ertong* 把國劇帶給兒童 [Give children Peking Opera!],” 婦女雜誌 *Funü zazhi* [*The Woman*], May 1980.

Talidenüren 塔裡的女人 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Changaili zhi shi, quguaili zhi qi* 長愛力之勢，去乖戾之氣 [The strength of lasting love, to the energy of disagreement],” 婦女雜誌 *Funü zazhi* [*The Woman*], June 1980.

Talidenüren 塔裡的女人 [C.C. Wang 王季慶]. “*Huanhuan shuzhan de huabao* 緩緩舒展的花苞 [Buds unfolding one by one],” 婦女雜誌 *Funü zazhi* [*The Woman*], February 1981.

Tetsurō Tamba 丹波哲郎. *Lingjie shenghuo zhi zhenxiang* 靈界生活之真相 [*The Truth about Life in the Spiritual World*]. Taipei: The Yih Chyun Book Store, 1994.

Tsao Yu-fang 曹又方. "Preface." In *Xinling Geming* 心靈革命 [*Spiritual Revolution*]. Taipei: Eurasian, 1991.

Tsao Yu-fang 曹又方. "Xu 序 [Preface]." In *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997: 1-5.

Tsao Yu-fang 曹又方. "Zhongxin queding ziji de jiazhi guan 重心確定自己的價值觀 [Redefining Your Own Values]." In *Andun shengming de xin zhihui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997: 18-21.

Tsao Yu-fang 曹又方. *Lingyu ciqing* 靈慾刺青 [*Tattoo of Spiritual Desire*]. Taipei: Eurasian, 2005.

Waixing disilei jiechu 外星第四類接觸 [Outer Space Close Encounters of the Fourth Kind]. In *Shenmi zazhi* 神秘雜誌 [*Mysterious*], July 1987.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. "Yihouji 譯後記 [Translator's Postscript]," *Chun wenxue* 純文學 [*Literature*], 34 (6:4) October 1969.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶, "Duzhe laixin 讀者來信 [Readers' mail]," *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], August 1970.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. "Daixu: 'Xianzhi' yu Jibolun 代序: 「先知」與紀伯倫 [Preface: *The Prophet* and Gibran]" in Khalil Gibran, *The Prophet*. Translated by C.C. Wang. Taipei: Literature Collection, 1981,

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. "Dibo! Dibo! 狄波! 狄波." In *Yiliao yu xiaofeizhe* 醫療與消費者 [*Medical Treatment and Consumers*]. Taipei: Consumers Report Magazine Society, 1984.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. "[How much do we know about gynaecological diagnosis and treatment]." In *Yiliao yu xiaofeizhe* 醫療與消費者 [*Medical Treatment and Consumers*]. Taipei: Consumers Report Magazine Society, 1984.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. "Ming zuojia Wang Jiqing de hua 名作家王季慶的話 [Famous writer C.C. Wang speaks]" in Shirley MacLaine, *Bianyuan wai* 邊緣外 [*Out on a Limb*, lit. *Out on the Edge*], translated by Du Hengfen 杜恆芬. Taipei: Shy Mau Publishing Company, 1986.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. "Xinshidai xilie zongxu 新時代系列總序 [New Age Series preface]" in Ken Keyes Jr., *Kuaile de Mifang* 快樂的祕方 [*Three Prescriptions for Happiness*, lit. *The Secret Recipe for Happiness*]. Translated by Bao Daiying 包黛螢. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1989.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. “Translator’s Preface” in Jane Roberts, *Geren shixiang de benzhi – Saisi shu (shang)* 個人實相的本質—賽斯書 〈上〉 [*The Nature of Personal Reality v1*]. Translated by C.C. Wang and Wang Yu-sheng 王育盛. Taipei: Fine Press, 1991.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. “*Shijie mori pozai meiji* 世界末日迫在眉睫? [Is Doomsday Imminent?]” in *Qianneng jikan* 潛能季刊 [*Human Potential Quarterly*]. May 1994.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. “*Saisi shi shei?* 賽斯是誰? [Who is Seth?]” *Qianneng Jikan* 潛能季刊 [*Human Potential Quarterly*]. May 1994.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. “*Daixu: ‘Xianzhi’ yu Jibolun* 代序: 《先知》與紀伯倫 [Preface: *The Prophet* and Gibran]” in Khalil Gibran, *Xianzhi* 先知 [*The Prophet*]. Translated by C.C. Wang. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1996.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. “*Chaoyue shikong de xuexi* 超越時空的學習 [Studying Going Beyond Space and Time].” In *Andun shengming de xinzhahui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997: 30-35.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. “*Dakai xinmen faxian zhenli* 打開心門發現真理 [Open the Door to the Mind and Discover Truth].” In *Andun shengming de xinzhahui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997: 197-207.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. *Xinnei geming: mairu ai yu guang de xinshidai* 心內革命: 邁入愛與光新時代 [*Revolution in the Heart: Stride Into the New Age of Light and Love*]. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1997.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. *Saisi rang ni chengwei mingyun de chuangzaozhe* 賽斯讓你成為命運的創造者 [*Seth Lets You Become the Creator of Your Destiny*]. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1999.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. “*Shengming shi yongheng de, er women zhi shi yige ren* 生命是永恆的, 而我們只是一個人” [Life is eternal and we are one] in Neale Donald Walsch, *Yu shen wei you* 與神為友 [*Friendship with God: An Uncommon Dialogue*]. Translated by C.C. Wang. Taipei: The Fine Press, 2000.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. “Translator’s preface” in Pat Rodegast, *Yuzhou xiaoyao You* 宇宙逍遙遊 [*Emmanuel’s Book, lit. Travelling Free and Unfettered in the Universe*], translated by C.C. Wang. Taipei: Life Potential Publications, 2002.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. “Follow Your Bliss” in Sanaya Roman, *Xiyue zhi dao* 喜悅之道 [*Living with Joy: Keys to Personal Power & Spiritual Transformation, lit. The Path of Joy*]. Translated by C.C. Wang. Taipei: Life Potential Publications, 2002.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. “*Zhuanwen tuijian* 專文推薦 [Special article recommendation]” in Hsu Tien-sheng 許添盛, *Wo bu zhi shi wo: maixiang neizai de chaosheng zhi lü* 我不只是我: 邁向內在的朝聖之旅 [*A Journey of Searching the Inner Self*]. Taipei: Seth Culture, 2007.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. “Translator’s Preface.” In Jane Roberts, *Geren yu qunti shijian de benzhi* 個人與群體事件的本質 [*The Individual and the Nature of Mass Events*, lit. *The Essence of Individual and Group Events*]. Translated by C.C. Wang. Taipei: Fine Press, 2007.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. *Yu shen tongxin* 與神同心 [*At One with God*]. Taipei: Shangzhou chuban, 2012.

Wang, C.C. 王季慶. “Translator’s Preface” in Neale Donald Walsch, *Yu shen duihua* 與神對話 [*Conversations with God*]. Translated by C.C. Wang. Taipei: Fine Press, 2012.

Wang Jingrong 王靜蓉. *Aoxiu jingxin zhi lü* 奧修靜心之旅 [*Osho’s Meditation Journey*]. Taipei: The Fine Press, 1999.

Wang, Richard 王敬弘. *Ai de chensi* 愛的沈思 [*Love’s Meditation*]. Taipei: Tianzhujiào wenwuxianwu zhongxin, 1983.

Wang, Richard 王敬弘. *Xinling de zhiliao* 心靈的治療 [*Spiritual Healing*]. Taipei: Kuang Chi, 1997.

Wang Rongwen 王榮文. “Publishing Origins – A New Spiritual Field of Vision” in James Redfield, *Shen jing yuyan shu: maixiang shengming jingjie de qidian* 聖境預言書：邁向生命新境界的起點 [*The Celestine Prophecy*]. Translated by Li Yongping 李永平. Taipei: Yuan-Liou Publishing Co., Ltd., 1995.

Wang Zhiwei 王浩威. “Xinli yu wenxue: geren yu jiade bahe 心理與文學——個人與家拔河 [Psychology and Literature: the tug-of-war between the individual and the family],” *Lianhe Wenxue* 聯合文學 [*Unitas*], January 2000.

Witch Yanshi 艷世巫婆. *Xinshidai zhangbu fa* 新世紀占卜法 [*New Age Divination*]. Taipei: Shangzhe wenhua chuban, 1998.

Wu Jialing 吳家玲. “Le zai xinzhong 樂在心中 [Happiness in the Heart].” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], May 1991.

Wu Jialing 吳家玲. “Hu Yinmeng you hua yao shuo 胡因夢有話要說 [Terry Hu has something to say].” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], December 1991.

Wu Jialing 吳家玲. “Cong xiechu wuzhuang dao bore zhi lü 從卸除武裝到般若之旅 [From Dropping Arms to Prajnic Journey: An Interview].” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [*The Woman*], January 1994.

Xing Ya, “Good people, good place”, post-script to *Ruhe wurao wuju guo shenghuo* 如何無憂無懼過生活 [*How to live without fear and worry*], by K. Sri Dhammananda (Taipei: Making Life Buddhist, date unknown).

“*Xinshidai Kelixinamuti* 新時代克里希那穆提 [*New Age Krishnamurti*].” Pamphlet. Taipei: The Fine Press. c.1996.

“*Xiuxing yu tuibian. Chaoyue yu yuanrong. Gao Xinja duitan Hu Yinmeng* 修行與蛻變·超越與圓融，高信譚對談胡茵夢 [Spiritual practice and transformation; transcendent and easy-going. Gao Xintan and Terry Hu face-to-face]”, 錢 *Qian* [Money], April 1987.

Yuan Liu Publishing Co. Ltd. 遠流出版公司. “(Si) 1996-1999 *Shuwei chuban de shi shijian* (四) 1996~1999 數位出版的實踐 [4. 1996-1999: Putting digital publishing into practice].” Last modified 2011, accessed 18 June 2014, <http://www.ylib.com/club/yuanliou-4.ASP>.

Yu Hsu 徐訐. “HIPPIES *de taozui yao yu Wei Jin de wushisan*, HIPPIES 的陶醉藥與魏晉的五石散 [HIPPIES Intoxicants and Cold Food Powder of the Wei-Jin]” in 純文學 [Literature Monthly], March 1968.

Zangdian Taiwan 藏典台灣 [Digital Taiwan]. *Shijian biaoti: ‘Kan xinshidai-changkai ni rensheng de damen’ zuotan hui* 事件標題:「看見新時代—敞開你人生的大門」座談會 [Event title: Looking at the New Age – Open the Gate to Your Life. Symposium] (B-014-6401). Accessed 18 June 2014, <http://catalog.digitalarchives.tw/item/00/5c/1a/e7.html>

Zhonghua Minguo renshi lu 中華民國人事錄 [The Republic of China Personnel Records]. Taipei: China Science Company, 1953.

Zhonghua xinshidai xiehui 中華新時代協會 Chinese New Age Society. <http://www.cnas.org.tw/>, accessed 8 October 2015.

Zhou Qianyi 周倩漪, “*Dangyishi jieli, fengjing zizai er liaokuo* 當意識揭露，風景自在而遼闊 [When consciousness is unmasked the landscape is unrestrained and vast]”, *Taipei huakan* 台北畫刊 [Taipei Pictorial] (461), 2006.

Zhou Xiaochun 周曉春. “*Dimu de xin* 地母的心 [Mother Earth’s Heart].” *Funü zazhi* 婦女雜誌 [The Woman], May 1989.

Zhu Jizhong 朱紀忠, “*Fojiaotu yan zhong de xinshidai yundong* 佛教徒眼中的新時代運動 [The New Age Movement as seen by Buddhists].” *Chinese Buddhist Monthly* 中國佛教 37:6 (June 1993), 10-12.

Secondary Chinese language sources

Chen, Chia-luen 陳家倫. “*Xinshidai yundong zai Taiwan fazhan de shehuixue fenxi* 新時代運動在台灣發展的社會學分析 [The Development of the New Age Movement in Taiwan: A Sociological Analysis].” PhD diss., National Taiwan University, 2002.

Chen Chia-luen 陳家倫, “*Ziwo zongjiao de xingqi: yi xinshidai lingxingguan weili* 自我宗教的興起：以新時代靈性觀為例 [The Rise of Self Religion: The New Age Spirituality in Modern Society]”, 世界宗教學刊 [Journal of World Religions], 3 (June 2004): 137-170.

Chen Chia-luen 陳家倫 “*Yu zhu shen gong wu: xinshidai yundong de neihan yu tezheng* 與諸神共舞：新時代運動的內涵與特徵 [The Content and Characteristics of the New Age Movement]”, *Hung Kuang Humanities and Sociology Report* 弘光人文社會學報, 3 (August 2005): 425-469.

Chen Chia-luen 陳家倫, “*Taiwan xinshidai tuanti de wangluo jianjie* 台灣新時代團體的網絡連結 [A Network Analysis of New Age Groups in Taiwan]”, *Taiwan shehuixue kan* 臺灣社會學刊 [*Taiwanese Journal of Sociology*] 36 (June 2006): 111.

Chen Chia-luen 陳家倫, “*Xinshidai yundong tanyuan yu dangdai fazhan qushi* 新時代運動探源與當代發展趨勢” [The Origins and Development of the New Age Movement], *Xiang yu yan* 思與言 [*Thought and Words*], 45:4 (December 2012): 95-138.

Chen Shu-chuan 陳淑娟, Chiu Hei-yuan 瞿海源 and Chen Hsin-chih 陳杏枝, “*Taiwan minzhong de lingxiu xingwei yu jingan* 台灣民眾的靈修行為與經驗” [*Taiwanese Spiritual Engagement and Experiences*]. In “*Zongjiao, shushu yu shehui bianqian* 宗教、術數與社會變遷 (三)” [*Religion, numerology and social change 3*] edited by Chiu Hei-yuan. Kaoshiung: Chuliu Publisher, 2013.

Cheng Chih-ming 鄭志明, *Dangdai Xinxing zongjiao xianxiang di yi juan* 當代新興宗教現象 第一卷 [*The Phenomenon of Contemporary New Religious Movements vol. 1*]. Taipei, Wen jin, 2011.

Cheng Chih-ming 鄭志明. *Dangdai xinxing zongjiao xianxiang di er juan* 當代新興宗教現象 第二卷 [*The Phenomenon of Contemporary New Religious Movements vol. 2*]. Taipei, Wen jin, 2011.

Chien Chih-chung 簡志忠. “*Kanjian xinshidai* 看見新時代 [Looking at the New Age].” In *Andun shengming de xinzhahui* 安頓生命的新智慧 [*The New Perfect Wisdom of a Peaceful Life*]. Taipei: Fine Press, 1997: 16-18.

Hu Hsueh-Chen 胡學丞. “*Wu Tingfang de tongshenxue yu lingxue shengya* 伍廷芳的通神學與靈學生涯 [Wu Ting-fang, Theosophy, and Spiritualism].” *Zhengda shicui* 政大史粹 [*Collectanea of History*] 22 (June 2012): 1-22.

Introduction to 婦女雜誌 *Funü zazhi* [*The Woman*] directory database, The Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, May 2005, accessed 5 February 2014
http://www.mh.sinica.edu.tw/PGDigitalDB_Detail.aspx?htmContentID=7

Ting Jen-chieh 丁仁傑, *Shehui fenhua yu zongjiao zhidu bianqian: dangdai Taiwan xinxing zongjiao xianxiang de shehuixue kaocha* 社會分化與宗教制度變遷: 當代台灣新興宗教現象的社會學考察 [*Changes in Social Differentiation and Religious Institutions: Sociological investigation of new religious movements in contemporary Taiwan*]. Taipei: Linking Publishing 聯經出版社, 2004.

Ting Jen-chieh 丁仁傑, *Dangdai hanren mingzhong zongjiao yanjiu: lunshu, rentong yu shehui zaishengchan* 當代漢人民眾宗教研究: 論述、認同與社會再生產 [*Research on the Religion of Contemporary Han People: Discourse, Identity and Social Reproduction*]. Taipei: Linking Publishing 聯經出版社, 2009.

Ts'ao Yong-ho 曹永和. “*Taiwanshi de lingyi tujing – ‘Taiwan daoshi’ gainian* 台灣史研究的另一途徑—「台灣島史」概念 [Taiwan history's other way – The ‘Taiwan Island History’ concept].” *Studies of Early Taiwanese History: The Sequel* 臺灣早期歷史研究續集. Taipei: Linking Publishing, 2000.

Wu Zhangyu 吳彰裕, “*Dangqian dazhong zhuanmei de lingyi jiemu yu zongjiao jiaoyu yanjiu* 當前大眾傳媒的靈異節目與宗教教育研究 [Contemporary Mass Media Occult Programs and Religious Education Research].” In *Fuda zongjiao xuexi* 輔大宗教學系 [Fu-jen Catholic University Department of Religious Studies](editor), *Zongjiao jiaoyu: lilun, xiankuang yu qianzhan* 宗教教育——理論、現況與前瞻 [*Religious Education: In Theory and Practice, Now and in the Future*] Taipei: Wunan Book Inc., 2002.

Yang Huinan 楊惠南. “*Guangming de zhuixunzhe: Song Qili yanjiu* 光明的追尋者: 宋七力研究 [Seeker of Radiance: A study of Sung Chi-li]” in *Xinyang, yishi yu shehui* 信仰、儀式與社會 [*Belief, Ritual and Society*], edited by Mei-rong Lin 林美容. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 2003.

Primary English language sources

Bailey, Alice. “The Great Invocation.” Reprinted in Ruth Prince and David Riches, *The New Age in Glastonbury: The Construction of Religious Movements*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2000.

Cao Xueqin. *The Story of the Stone (Vol. 2)*. Translated by David Hawkes. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979.

Charles Wei-Hsun Fu Foundation. “Welcome to the Charles Wei-Hsun Fu Foundation”, accessed 12 March 2014, <http://www.charleswei-hsunfufoundation.org/about.html>

China Handbook 1954-1955. Taipei: China Publishing Co., 1955.

China Yearbook 1960-1961. Taipei: China Publishing Co., 1961.

Chiu, Ken. “Scholars link decline of Confucian ideals to rise of cult rivalry,” *The Free China Journal*, 22 November 1996.

Confucius. *Analects*. Translated by James Legge. Accessed 28 July 2015
<http://ctext.org/analects/li-ren>.

C.Y. Lee & Partners. Accessed 30 March 2013. <http://www.cylee.com/>.

Dawson, Victoria. “Terry Hu? The Actress & Writer, Bridging East & West In Taiwan’s New Cinema.” *The Washington Post*, 12 September 1986.

Diamond, Jed. *Looking for Love in All the Wrong Places: Overcoming Romantic and Sexual Addictions*. New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1988.

Dianzi Fojiao cidian 電子佛教辭典 [*Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*].
<http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>

Dittrich, Luke. “Pyramidiots.” *Blue Magazine*, June July 2000.

Du Fu. “Dreaming of Li Bai.” In *Poetry and Prose of the Tang and Song*. Translated by Yang Xianyi and Gladys Yang. Beijing: Chinese Literature, 1984.

“East West Bookstore closed its doors on Fifth Avenue in NYC.” Accessed 22 July 2015, <http://www.examiner.com/article/east-west-bookstore-closed-its-doors-on-fifth-avenue-nyc>.

Feenjon Commercial. Accessed 26 September 2014. http://youtu.be/p8P_Ba2p9aE.

Ferguson, Marilyn. *The Aquarian Conspiracy: Personal and Social Transformation in the 1980's*. Granada Publishing Limited, St Albans: 1983.

Fields, Rick, et al. *Chop Wood Carry Water: A Guide to Finding Spiritual Fulfilment in Everyday Life*. New York: Jeremy P. Tarcher / Penguin, 1984.

Forshang Buddhism World Center. “The Ninth Seal.” Accessed 14 December 2015, <http://www.forshang.org/023GeneticsII/e.htm>.

Fu Jen Catholic University. “Historical Sketch.” Accessed 24 March 2014, <http://dimes.lins.fju.edu.tw/ucsiv/fju-intro/history.htm>

Gussow, Mel. “Uta Hagen, Tony-Winning Broadway Star and Teacher of Actors, Dies at 84”, *New York Times*, 15 January 2004.

Hagen, Uta (with Haskel Frankel). *Respect for Acting*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1973.

Herbet, Mandy (editor). *C.Y. Lee & Partners Architects & Planners: Selected & Current Works*. Mulgrave, Australia: Images Publishing, 2013.

Ho Yi. “Chou Yu turns to tea”, *Taipei Times*, 20 May 2007.

International Publishers Association Annual Report, October 2013 – October 2014. 17. Accessed 22 November 2015, <http://www.internationalpublishers.org/images/reports/2014/IPA-annual-report-2014.pdf>.

“Jane Roberts – The Seth Video – Part 1/3”. Accessed 28 March 2013, <http://youtu.be/AMRYkgBjCoA>.

Jayakar, Pupul. *Krishnamurti: A Biography*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986.

Kane, Jeff. “The Revolution is Now,” *Yoga Journal*, May-June 1980.

Krishnamurti, Jiddu. *Reflections on the Self, Eleventh Talk in Madras*. 28 December 1947. Accessed 17 October 2014.

<http://www.jkrishnamurti.org/krishnamurti-teachings/view-text.php?tid=257&chid=4589&w=secular&s=Text>

Krishnamurti, Jiddu. *Exploration Into Insight*. London, Victor Gollancz Ltd: 1979.

Krishnamurti, Jiddu. *The Flame of Attention*. Holland, Mirananda: 1983. Quoted in Mary Luytens. *The Life and Death of Krishnamurti*. London, Rider: 1991, 174.

Lai, Stan. "Luminosity in the Darkness: Remembering Edward Yang." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 9:1 (2008): 3-6.

Legge, James. *The Chinese Classics, volume 1* (1861). Accessed 5 July 2015.
<http://ctext.org/analects/xian-wen>

Legge, James. *Mengzi*. Accessed 9 September 2014. <http://ctext.org/mengzi/teng-wen-gong-I>.

Li, Laura. "Taiwan's New Age Cults," *Taiwan Panorama*, 6 September 2000. Accessed 30 November 2011.
http://www.taiwan-panorama.com/en/show_issue.php?id=200098909006e.txt&table=2&h1=About%20Taiwan&h2=Religion#

Lin Hsin-ching. "From Master to Rookie--Veteran Filmmaker Hsu Chin-liang." *Taiwan Panorama*, October 2010. Accessed 10 January 2014.
http://www.taiwan-panorama.com/en/show_issue.php?id=2010109910098e.txt&table=2&cur_page=3&distype.

Ling, Connie. "Asia's New Leaders: The Cultural Crusader --- Fighting Asia's Culture Wars", *The Asian Wall Street Journal*, 12 March 2001.

Lutyens, Mary. *The Life and Death of Krishnamurti*. London: Rider, 1990.

MacLaine, Shirley. *Out on a Limb*. New York: Bantam, 1984.

MacLaine, Shirley. *Going Within*. New York: Bantam Books, 1989.

"Marlene Tseng Yu." accessed 28 March 2013,
<http://www.marlenetsengyu.com/bio.html>.

McDowell, Edwin. "About Books and Authors." *The New York Times*, 31 July 1983. Accessed 12 July 2015.
<http://www.nytimes.com/1983/07/31/books/about-books-and-authors.html>

Nan Huai-Chin 南懷瑾. *Tao & Longevity*. Translated by Wen-Kuang Chu PhD 朱文光. York Beach, USA: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1984.

National Taipei University of Education Experimental Elementary School. "School History." Accessed 19 September 2013,
<http://www.ntueees.tp.edu.tw/english/eng.htm#School%20History>

"Obituary: William L. Pereira." *San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 November 1985.

Out on a Limb, telemovie (1987; Los Angeles: ABC Circle Films and the Stan Marguiles Company, 2010). Accessed 7 October 2015.
<https://youtu.be/gyxhj2fgLAI>.

“Publishing sector points to Taiwan’s cultural prowess”, Ministry of Culture Media Release, 4 June 2014, <http://english.moc.gov.tw/video/index.php?sn=2078>, accessed 3 October 2015.

Quest Bookshop. “About Us.” Accessed 22 July 2015,
http://www.questbookshop.com/home/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1:about-us&catid=1:about-us&Itemid=17

Rich, Motoko. “‘Conversations With God’ Author Accused of Plagiarism.” *The New York Times*, 6 January 2009. Accessed 21 July 2014.
http://artsbeat.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/01/06/conversations-with-god-author-accused-of-plagiarism/?_php=true&_type=blogs&_r=0

Roberts, Jane. *Seth Speaks: The Eternal Validity of the Soul*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1972.

Roberts, Jane. *Seth Speaks: The Eternal Validity of the Soul*. San Rafael, California: Amber Allen Publishing, 1994.

Rosko and The John Berberian Ensemble. “At the door of the temple” (1967). Accessed 12 May 2013. <http://youtu.be/7-C9rGCAoWA>.

Sheng Yen. *Footprints in the Snow: The Autobiography of a Chinese Buddhist Monk*. New York: Doubleday, 2008.

Spangler, David. *The Rebirth of the Sacred* (London: Gateway Books, 1984), quoted in Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture: Esotericism in the Mirror of Secular Thought*. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Tan, Teri. “Taiwan 2011: Books.com.tw: A Retail Powerhouse”, *Publishers Weekly*, 9 September 2011. Accessed 24 February 2015.
<http://www.publishersweekly.com/pw/by-topic/international/international-book-news/article/48621-taiwan-2011-books-com-tw-a-retail-powerhouse.html>

The Association of Religion Data Archives. *Taiwan Social Change Survey 2009*. Accessed 3 October 2015,
<http://www.thearda.com/Archive/Files/Descriptions/TSC09.asp>.

The Indo-Pacific Federation of the Theosophical Society. “Dr. Wu Ting Fang and A History of The Theosophical Society in China.” Accessed 22 November 2015,
<http://www.ipf-ts.org/blog/dr-wu-ting-fang-and-history-theosophical-society-china>.

“Trials of a Literary Lion”, *Asia Week*, 12 September 1980, Hong Kong.

Wesley Girls High School. “About Wesley.” Accessed 24 March 2014,
http://www.wlgsh.tp.edu.tw/wesley_en/main.php?mid=A&id=89&dwid=A

Wilber, Ken. *The Spectrum of Consciousness*. Wheaton, USA: Quest Books, 1993.

Wilber, Ken. *Grace and Grit: Spirituality and Healing in the Life and Death of Treya Killam Wilber*. Massachusetts: Shambhala Publications, Inc., 2000.

“The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch”, trans. Philip B. Yampolsky in Philip B. Yampolsky *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch: The Text of the Tun-huang Manuscript with Translation, Introduction, and Notes*/ New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.

Yun Lin Temple. “His Holiness Grandmaster Professor Lin Yun 1932-2010.” Accessed 15 February 2014,
<http://www.yunlintemple.org/introduction/hhgly>

Zhang, Jinger. *Research Bibliography of Western Literature in Taiwan 1946-2000*. Taipei: National Science Committee, 2000.

Zhang Lei. “Mumbo jumbo on the mainland: Chinese increasingly turn to “gurus” to fill spiritual vacuum.” *Global Times*, 20 September 2011.

Secondary English language sources

Albanese, Catherine L. “Historical Imagination and Channeled Theology: Or, Learning the Law of Attraction.” In *Handbook of Spiritualism and Channeling* edited by Cathy Gutierrez. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Anderson, John. *Edward Yang*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Appleton, Sheldon. “The Political Socialization of Taiwan's College Students.” *Asian Survey*, 10:10 (1970): 910-923.

Appleton, Sheldon. “Sex, Values, and Change on Taiwan.” In *The Taiwan Experience 1950-1980* edited by James C. Hsiung et al. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981.

Attix, Shelley A. “New Age-Oriented Special Interest Travel: An Exploratory Study.” *Tourism Recreation Research* 27:2 (2002): 281-296.

Bainbridge, William Sims and Stark, Rodney. “Cult Formation: Three Compatible Models.” In *Cults and New Religious Movements: A Reader* edited by Lorne L. Dawson. Malden USA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.

Bakhtin, Mikhail M. *Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1981.

Barker, Eileen. *New Religious Movements: A Practical Introduction* (London: HSMO, 1989).

Barmé, Geremie R. and Jaivin, Linda. *New Ghosts, Old Dreams*. Times Books: New York, 1992.

Barmé, Geremie R. *In the Red: On Contemporary Chinese Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Barrett, Tim H. and Tarroco, Francesca. "Terminology and Religious Identity: Buddhism and the Genealogy of the Term *zongjiao*." In *Dynamics in the History of Religions between Asian and Europe: Encounters, Notions, and Comparative Perspectives*. Edited by Volkhard Krech and Marion Steinicke. Leiden: Brill, 2012, 319.

Barthes, Roland. *Image-Music-Text*. Translated by Stephen Heath. Glasgow: Fontana, 1979.

Basil, Robert. "Introduction" in *Not Necessarily New Age: Critical Essays* edited by Robert Basil. Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1988.

Beckford, James A. *Cult Controversies: Societal Responses to New Religious Movements*. London: Tavistock Publications, 1985.

Beckford, James A. *Religion and Advanced Industrial Society*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.

Beckford, James A. "Foreword" in Shu-chuan Chen. *Contemporary New Age Transformation in Taiwan: A Sociological Study of a New Religious Movement*. New York: Edward Mellen Press, 2008.

Berkowtiz, Alan J. "The Moral Hero: A Pattern of Reclusion in Traditional China", *Monumenta Serica* 40 (1992): 1-32.

Bevir, Mark. "The West Turns Eastward: Madame Blavatsky and the Transformation of the Occult Tradition." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 62:3 (Autumn, 1994): 744-767.

Blackburn, Simon. "Kundalini." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy* (2 rev. ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Brown, Michael. *The Channeling Zone: American Spirituality in an Anxious Age*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997). Quoted in Sarah M. Pike, *New Age and Neopagan Religions in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

Bochinger, Christoph. "The Visible Inside the Invisible: Theoretical and methodological aspects of research on New Age and contemporary Esotericism." *Journal of Alternative Spiritualities and New Age Studies* 1 (2005): 59-73.

Buchanan, Ian. "Modernity" in *A Dictionary of Critical Theory*. Oxford University Press, 2010. N.p., online resource.

Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2010.

Campbell, Colin. "The Cult, the Cultic Milieu and Secularization." In *A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain*. London, SCM Press, 1972.

Campany, Robert Ford. "On the Very Idea of Religions (In the Modern West and in Early Medieval China)." *History of Religions* 42:4 (May 2003): 287-319.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. "Afterword: Revisiting the Tradition/Modernity Binary." In *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* edited by Stephen Vlastos. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Chandra Mathur, Dinesh. "J. Krishnamurti On Choiceless Awareness, Creative Emptiness and Ultimate Freedom." *Diogenes* 32:126 (1984): 91-103.

Chang, Doris T. *Women's Movements in Twentieth-Century Taiwan*. Urbana, USA: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Chang Lung-chih, "Re-imagining Community from different Shores: Nationalism, Post-colonialism and Colonial Modernity in Taiwanese Historiography." In *Contested Views of a Common Past: Revisions of History in Contemporary East Asia* edited by Steffi Richter. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Chang, Mau-kuei. "One the Origins and Transformation of Taiwanese National Identity." In *Religion and the Formation of Taiwanese Identities* edited by Paul R. Katz and Murray A. Rubenstein. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Chang, Sung-sheng Yvonne *Literary Culture in Taiwan: Martial Law to Market Law*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Chang, Sung-sheng Yvonne. "Representing Taiwan: Shifting Geo-political Frameworks." In *Writing Taiwan: A New Literary History* edited by David Der-wei Wang and Carlos Rojas. Durham, USA: Duke University Press, 2007.

Chao, Anne. "Moving In, Moving Up, and Moving Around: Literary Perspectives on the History of Chinese-American Immigration." In *World History: Global and Local Interactions* edited by Patrick Manning. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005.

Chau, Adam Yuet. "Script Fundamentalism: The Practice of Cherishing Written Characters (Lettered Paper 惜字紙) in the Age of Literati Decline and Commercial Revolution." In *Chinese and European Perspectives on the Study of Chinese Popular Religions* edited by Philip Clart. Taipei: Boyyong, 2012.

Chen, Kenneth K.S. *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*. Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1964.

Chen, Kuan-hsing. *Asia as Method: Toward Deimperialization*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.

Chen, Shu-chuan. *Contemporary New Age Transformation in Taiwan: A Sociological Study of a New Religious Movement*. New York: Edward Mellen Press, 2008.

Chen, Shu-chuan. "Theorizing Emotions in New Age Practices: An Analysis of Feeling Rules in Self-Religion." In *New Age Spirituality: Rethinking Religion* edited by Steven J. Sutcliffe and Ingvild Sælid Gilhus. Bristol: Acumen, 2013.

Chen, Suchiao and Tsai, Yachin. "Research on English teaching and learning: Taiwan (2004–2009)." *Language Learning* 45:2 (2012): 180-201.

Chen, Sun. "Investment in Education and Human Resource Development in Postwar Taiwan." In *Cultural Change in Postwar Taiwan* edited by Steven Harrell & Huang Chün-chieh. Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc, 1994.

Chen, Theodore Hsi-en. "The Educational System." In *The Taiwan Experience 1950-1980* edited by James C. Hsiung et al. Praeger Publishers: New York, 1981.

Chen, Ya-chen. "The Struggles of Taiwanese Feminism." In *Women in Taiwan: Sociocultural Perspectives*, edited by Ya-chen Chen. Indianapolis: University of Indianapolis Press, 2009.

Ching, Leo T.S. *Becoming "Japanese": Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Chu, Yu-han. "The Realignment of Business-Government Relations and Regime Transition in Taiwan." In *Business and government in industrialising Asia* edited by Andrew J. MacIntyre. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Chuang, Ya-chung. *Democracy on Trial: Social Movements and Cultural Politics in Postauthoritarian Taiwan*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2013.

Chun, Allen. "Fuck Chineseness: On the ambiguities of ethnicity as culture as identity." *boundary 2* 23:2 (1996): 111-138.

Chung, Yu-ling. *Translation and Fantasy Literature in Taiwan: Translators as Cultural Brokers and Social Networkers*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Chrystides, George D. "Defining the New Age." In *Handbook of New Age* edited by Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Clart, Philip and Jones, Charles B. "Introduction." In *Religion in Modern Taiwan: Tradition and Innovation in a Changing Society* edited by Philip Clart and Charles B. Jones. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003.

Clart, Philip. "Chinese Tradition and Taiwanese Modernity: Morality Books as Social Commentary and Critique." In *Religion in Modern Taiwan: Tradition and Innovation in a Changing Society* edited by Philip Clart and Charles B. Jones. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003.

Corrywright, Dominic. *Theoretical and Empirical Investigations into New Age Spiritualities*. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2003.

- Daschke, Dereck and Ashcraft, W. Michael. "Introduction" in *New Religious Movements: A Documentary Reader* edited by Dereck Daschke and W. Michael Ashcraft. New York: New York University Press, 2005.
- Davis, Erik. *TechGnosis: Myth, Magic & Mysticism in the Age of Information*. Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, 2015.
- Davison, Gary Marvin and Reed, Barbara E. *Culture and Customs of Taiwan*. Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998.
- Dawson, Lorne L. "The Cultural Significance of New Religious Movements and Globalization: A Theoretical Prolegomenon", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37:4 (1998): 580-595.
- Dawson, Lorne L. *Comprehending Cults: The Sociology of New Religious Movements*. Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Dikötter, Frank. *Things Modern: Material Culture and Everyday Life in China*. Hurst & Company: London, 2007.
- Domańska, Ewa. *Encounters: Philosophy of History after Postmodernism*. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1998.
- Dorman, Benjamin. *Celebrity Gods: New Religions, Media, and Authority in Occupied Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012.
- Dull, A. "Review of *The Tao of Physics: An Exploration of the Parallels between Modern Physics and Eastern Mysticism*", by Fritjof Capra. *Philosophy East and West*, 28:3 (1978): 387-390.
- Durkheim, Emile. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: Free Press, 1995.
- Edwards, Louise P. *Men and Women in Qing China: Gender in The Red Chamber Dream*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994.
- Ellwood, Robert S. *Alternative Altars: Unconventional and Eastern Spirituality in America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979.
- Elvin, Mark. "Tales of Shen and Xin: Body-Person and Heart-Mind in China during the Last 150 Years." In *Fragments for a History of the Human Body Part Two* edited by Michael Feher with Ramona Naddaff and Nadia Tazi. New York: Zone, 1989.
- Faivre, Antoine. *Eckartshausen et la theosophie Chretienne*. Klincksieck: Paris, 1969: 542. Quoted in Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture: Esotericism in the Mirror of Secular Thought*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1996.
- Faivre, Antoine. "Theosophy, Christian→Christian Theosophy; Tomberg, Valentin; 26.2.1900 Saint Petersburg, 20.2.1973 Majorca." In *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism* edited by Wouter J. Hanegraaff, in collaboration with Antoine Faivre,

- Roelof van den Broek and Jean-Pierre Brach.. Boston, US: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005.
- Farrell Bednarowski, Mary. *New Religions and the Theological Imagination in America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- Farrelly, Paul J. "The New Testament Church and Mount Zion in Taiwan." In *Flows of Faith: Religious Reach and Community in Asia and the Pacific* edited by Lenore Manderson, Wendy Smith and Matt Tomlinson (Dordrecht: Springer, 2012).
- Farrelly, Paul J. "Huan-ting zen: media and emotional transformation" in *Religion and Media in China: Insights and Case Studies from the Mainland, Taiwan and Hong Kong* edited by Stefania Travagnin. Routledge, 2016.
- Farrelly, Paul J. "Singing your own song? Terry Hu and the influence of campus folk music cafes on Taiwan's New Age religion" in *Religion in Taiwan and China: Locality and Transmission* edited by Benjamin Penny and Chang Hsun. Taipei: Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, 2017.
- Feuchtwang, Stephan. "Suggestions for a Redefinition of Charisma." *Nova Religio* 12:2 (2008): 90-105.
- Fluckiger, Aude. "The Case Study of an Urban Indigenous Healer in Taiwan" (MA diss., National Chengchi University, 2012).
- Frisk, Liselotte. "Globalization or Westernization?" in *New Age Religion and Globalization* edited by Mikael Rothstein. Aarhus, Aarhus University Press: 2003.
- Galenson, Walter. "The Labor Force, Wages, and Living Standards." In *Economic Growth and Structural Change in Taiwan: The Postwar Experience of the Republic of China* edited by Walter Galenson. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979.
- Gaonkar, Dilip Parameshwar. "On Alternative Modernities." In *Alternative Modernities* edited by Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Ginzburg, Carlo, Tedeschi, John and Tedeschi, Anne C. "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It." *Critical Inquiry* 20:1 (1993), 10-35.
- Goldstein, Joshua. "Introduction." In *Everyday Modernity in China* edited by Madeline Yue Dong and Joshua Goldstein. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006.
- Goosseart, Vincent. "The Concept of Religion in China and the West," *Diogenes* 52:1 (2005): 13-20.
- Goossaert, Vincent and Palmer, David A. *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
- Haga Manabu, "Self-Development Seminars in Japan", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 22:3/4 (1995): 283-289.

- Hall, Stuart. "The Work of Representation." In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* Stuart Hall. London: Sage Publications Ltd., 1997.
- Hamilton, Malcolm; Waddington, Peter A.J.; Gregory, Susan and Walker, Ann. "Eat, Drink and Be Saved: The Spiritual Significance of Alternative Diets", *Social Compass* 42:4 (1995): 497-511.
- Hamilton, Malcolm. "An Analysis of the Festival for Mind-Body-Spirit, London." In *Beyond New Age: Exploring Alternative Spirituality*, edited by Steven Sutcliffe and Marion Bowman. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000.
- Hammer, Olav. "New Age." In *The Brill Dictionary of Religion Volume 1 A-D* edited by Kocku von Stuckrad. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. *New Age Religion and Western Culture: Esotericism in the Mirror of Secular Thought*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1996.
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. "New Age Spiritualities as Secular Religion: a Historian's Perspective." *Social Compass*, 46:2 (1999): 145-160.
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. "Prospects for the Globalization of New Age." In *New Age Religion and Globalization* edited by Mikael Rothstein. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2003.
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. "Channeling" in *The Brill Dictionary of Religion Volume 1 A-D* edited by Kocku von Stuckrad. Leiden, Brill: 2006.
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. "Roberts, Dorothy Jane." In *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism* edited by Wouter J. Hanegraaff. Leiden, Brill, 2006.
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. "The New Age Movement and Western Esotericism." In *Handbook of New Age* edited by Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis. Leiden, Brill: 2007.
- Hanan, Patrick. "The Bible as Chinese Literature: Medhurst, Wang Tao, and the Delegates' Version", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 63:1 (2003): 197-239.
- Harrison, Mark. *Legitimacy, Meaning and Knowledge in the Making of Taiwanese Identity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Hedges, Ellie and Beckford, James A. "Holism, Healing and the New Age." In *Beyond New Age: Exploring Alternative Spirituality* edited by Steven Sutcliffe and Marion Bowman. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000.
- Heelas, Paul. "The New Age in Cultural Context: the Premodern, the Modern and the Postmodern." *Religion* 23 (1993): 103-116.
- Heelas, Paul. *The New Age Movement: The Celebration of the Self and the Sacralization of Modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996.

- Heelas, Paul. *Spiritualities of Life*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008.
- Hess, David J. *Science in the New Age: The Paranormal, Its Defenders and Debunkers, and American Culture*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1993.
- Hirano, Naoko. "American Metaphysical Religion in Seishin Ryōhō and Reiki Ryōhō in 1920s-1930s." Paper presented at the XXI Quinquennial World Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions in Erfurt (Germany), 25 August 2015.
- Horie, Norichika. "Spirituality and the Spiritual in Japan: Translation and Transformation", *Journal of Alternative Spiritualities and New Age Studies* 5 (2009).
- Horie, Norichika. "Narrow New Age and Broad Spirituality: A Comprehensive Schema and a Comparative Analysis." In *New Age Spirituality: Rethinking Religion* edited by Steven J. Sutcliffe and Ingvild Sælid Gilhus. Bristol: Acumen, 2013.
- How, Rex. "An Overview of Taiwan's Book Publishing Industry", *Publishing Research Quarterly* 26:3 (2010): 183-186.
- Hsiao, A-chin. "Epilogue." In *Cultural, Ethnic, and Political Nationalism in Contemporary Taiwan* edited by in John Makeham and A-chin Hsiao. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, 262-263.
- Huang, C. Julia. *Charisma and Compassion: Cheng Yen and the Buddhist Tzu Chi Movement*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Introvigne, Massimo. "After the New Age: Is there a Next Age?" In *New Age Religion and Globalization*, edited by Mikael Rothstein. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2003.
- Introvigne, Massimo. "Saint Germain Foundation" in *Encyclopedia of New Religious Movements* edited by Peter B. Clarke. Abingdon: Routledge, 2006.
- Irons, Edward. "The List of China's Banned Religious Groups." Paper presented at the annual meeting of CESNUR, Daejin University, Pocheon City, South Korea, 7 July 2016.
- Ivy, Marilyn. "Modernity" in *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism* edited by Donald S. Lopez Jr. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Jeffreys, Elaine and Edwards, Louise. "Celebrity/China." In *Celebrity in China* edited by Elaine Jeffreys and Louise Edwards. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010.
- Jones, Charles Brewer. *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State 1660-1990*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.
- Jordan, David K. "Changes in Postwar Taiwan and Their Impact on the Popular Practice of Religion." In *Cultural Change in Postwar Taiwan* edited by Steven Harrell & Huang Chün-chieh. Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc, 1994.

- Kao, Charles H.C. "Taiwan's Brain Drain." In *Contemporary Republic of China: The Taiwan Experience 1950-1980* edited by James C. Hsiung and others. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981.
- Katz, Paul R. "Religion and the State in Post-war Taiwan." In *Religion in China Today* edited by Daniel L. Overmyer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Koppel, Lily. "A New Age Approach With Very Old Origins." *New York Times*, 15 February 2009.
- Kemp, Daren and Lewis, James R. "Global Aspects of New Age" in *Handbook of New Age* edited by Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis. Leiden, Brill: 2007.
- Keown, Damien. "Prajñā." *Dictionary of Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Kohn, Livia. "'Mirror of Auras': Chen Tuan on Physiognomy." *Asian Folklore Studies* 47:2 (1998): 215-256.
- Kurita, Hidehiko. "Breathing Methods as a Crossroad between the Localization of Western Ideas and the Acculturation of Japanese Tradition." Paper presented at the XXI Quinquennial World Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions in Erfurt (Germany), 25 August 2015.
- Laliberté, Andre. "The Regulation of Religious Affairs in Taiwan: From State Control to Laissez-faire?," *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 38:2 (2009): 53-83.
- Lai, Him Mark. "The United States" in *The Encyclopedia of the Chinese Overseas* edited by Lyn Pan. Singapore: China Heritage Centre, 2006.
- Lai, Tse-han; Myers, Ramon H. and Wei Wou. *A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991.
- Lang, Miriam. "San Mao Makes History." *East Asian History* 19 (June 2000): 145-180.
- Lang, Miriam. "San Mao Goes Shopping: Travel and Consumption in a Post-Colonial World." *East Asian History* (10) 2005: 127-164.
- Lee, Chin-chuan. "Dangwai magazines (Taiwan)" in *Encyclopedia of Social Movement Media* edited by John Downing. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 2011.
- Lee, Leo Ou-fan. "In Search of Modernity: Reflections on a New Mode of Consciousness in Modern Chinese Literature and Thought." In *Ideas Across Cultures: Essays in Honor of Benjamin Schwartz* edited by Paul A. Cohen and Merle Goldman. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Lee, Leo Ou-fan. *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999.

- Lee, Leo Ou-fan. "Modernity in Urban Shanghai." in *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond* edited by Wen-shin Yeh. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Lee, Leo Ou-fan. "Ang Lee's *Lust, Caution* and Its Reception", *Boundary 2*, 35:3 (2008): 223-238.
- Lee, Mei-lin; Thornton, Arland and Lin, Hui-Sheng. "Trends in Marital Dissolution." In *Social Change and the Family in Taiwan* edited by Arland Thornton and Hui-Sheng Lin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Lepore, Jill. "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography," *The Journal of American History* 88:1 (2009): 129-144.
- Lewis, Mark Edward. *The Flood Myths of Early China*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2006.
- Lewis, James R. "Science and the New Age." In *Handbook of New Age* edited by Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Liao, Ping-hui. "Rewriting Taiwanese National History: The February 28 Incident as Spectacle." *Public Culture* 5:2 (1993): 281-296.
- Liao, Ping-hui. "The Case of the Emergent Cultural Criticism Columns in Taiwan's Newspaper Literary Supplements: Global/Local Dialectics in Contemporary Taiwanese Public Culture." In *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary* edited by Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake. Durham, Duke University Press, 1996.
- Liao, Ping-hui "Postmodern Literary Discourse and Contemporary Public Culture in Taiwan." In *Postmodernism & China* edited by Arif Dirlik and Xudong Zhang. Durham, USA: Duke University Press, 2000.
- Lu, Feiyi and Berry, Chris. *Island on the Edge: Taiwan New Cinema and After*. Hong Kong, University of Hong Kong Press: 2005.
- Lucas, Phillip Charles. "New Religious Movements and the 'Acids' of Postmodernity." *Nova Religio* 8:2 (2004), 28-47.
- Lupke, Christopher. "Wang Wenxing and the 'Loss' of China", *boundary 2*, 25:3 (1998): 97-128.
- Lyon, David. *Jesus in Disneyland: Religion in Postmodern Times*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000.
- Madsen, Richard. *Democracy's Dharma: Religious Renaissance and Political Development in Taiwan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
- Magnússon, Sigurður G. and Szijártó, István M. *What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2013.

Marshall, Alison R. "Moving the spirit on Taiwan: new age *lingji* performance", *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 31(2003): 81-99.

Melton, J. Gordon. "A History of the New Age Movement" in *Not Necessarily New Age: Critical Essays* edited by Robert Basil. Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1988.

Melton, J. Gordon; Clark, Jerome and Kelly, Aidan A. *New Age Alamac*. Detroit: Visible Ink Press, 1991.

Melton, J. Gordon. "The Fate of NRMs and their Detractors" in *New Religious Movements in the 21st Century: Legal, Political, and Social Challenges in Global Perspective* edited by Phillip Charles Lucas and Thomas Robbins. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Melton, J. Gordon. "Beyond Millennialism: The New Age Transformed" in *Handbook of New Age Volume 1* edited by Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis. Brill, Leiden, 2007.

Ming Shih Chih and Kao Hsiao Chen. "A study of the development of contemporary monasteries in Taiwan." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* (12:3), 2011: 401-409.

Nattier, Jan. "The Meanings of the Maitreya Myth: A Typological Analysis." In *Maitreya, The Future Buddha* edited by Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Oberlies, Thomas. "Buddha." In *The Brill Dictionary of Religion Volume 1 A-D* edited by Kocku von Stuckrad. Leiden, Brill: 2006.

Jordan, David K. and Overmyer, Daniel L. *The Flying Phoenix: Aspects of Chinese Sectarianism in Taiwan*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Pacey, Scott. "A Buddhism for the Human World: Interpretations of *Renjian Fojiao* in Contemporary Taiwan." *Asian Studies Review* 29 (December 2005): 61-77.

Palmer, David A. *Qigong Fever*. New York: University of Columbia Press, 2007.

Partridge, Christopher. "Truth, Authority and Epistemological Individualism in New Age Thought." In *Handbook of New Age* edited by Darren Kemp and James R. Lewis. Leiden, Brill: 2007.

Penny, Benjamin. *The Religion of Falun Gong*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Phillips, Steven. "Between Assimilation and Independence: Taiwanese Political Aspirations Under Nationalist Chinese Rule, 1945-1948." In *Taiwan: A New History* edited by Murray A. Rubinstein. M.E. Sharpe: Armonk, New York, 1999.

Pike, Sarah M. *New Age and Neopagan Religions in America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Prohl, Inken. "The Spiritual World: Aspects of New Age in Japan." In *Handbook of New Age* edited by Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Puttick, Elizabeth. "Landmark Forum (est)" in *New Religions: A Guide*. Edited by Christopher Partridge. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Puttick, Elizabeth. "The Rise of Mind-Body-Spirit Publishing: Reflecting or Creating Spiritual Trends?" *Journal of Alternative Spiritualities and New Age Studies* 1 (2005): 129-149.

Puttick, Elizabeth. "The Lucis Trust." In *Encyclopedia of New Religious Movements* edited by Peter B. Clarke. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2006.

Puttick, Elizabeth. "Human Potential Movement." In *Encyclopedia of New Religious Movements* edited by Peter B. Clarke. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2006.

Reader, Ian. "Scholarship, Aum Shinrikyô, and Academic Integrity," *Nova Religio* 3:2 (2000): 368-382

Reader, Ian. "Perspective Chronologies, Commonalities and Alternative Status in Japanese New Religious Movements Defining NRMs outside the Western Cul-de-sac," *Nova Religio* 9:2 (2005): 84-96.

Reed, Barbara E. "Guanyin Narratives—Wartime and Postwar." In *Religion in Modern Taiwan: Tradition and Innovation in a Changing Society* edited by Philip Clart and Charles B. Jones. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003.

Robinson, Thomas W. "America in Taiwan's Post Cold-War Foreign Relations," *The China Quarterly* 148 (1996): 1340-1361.

Rodrigues, Hillary. "An Instance of Dependent Origination: Are Krishnamurti's Teachings Buddhadharma?," *Pacific World (Third Series)*, 9 (2009): 85-102.

Rojek, Chris. *Celebrity*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2001.

Rose, Stuart. "New Age Women: Spearheading the Movement." *Women's Studies* (30:3), 2001, 329-350.

Roszak, Theodore. *The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition*. London: Faber and Faber, 1969.

Rothstein, Mikael. "The Myth of the UFO in Global Perspective." In *New Age Religion and Globalization* edited by Mikael Rothstein. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2003).

Rubin, Rachel Lee. *Well Met: Renaissance Faires and the American Counter Culture*. New York: New York University Press, 2012.

Ryan, Alexandra E. "Anthroposophy." In *Encyclopedia of New Religious Movements* edited by Peter B. Clarke. Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2006.

- Saler, Benson. *Understanding Religion: Selected Essays*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.
- Schneider, Karin. "Profession of Faith." In *The Brill Dictionary of Religion Volume 1 A-D* edited by Kocku von Stuckrad. Leiden, Brill: 2006.
- Sinha, Mishka. "The Transnational Gita." In *Political Thought in Action: The Bhagavad Gita and Modern India* edited by Shruti Kapila, Faisal Devji. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Shein, Paichi Pat; Li, Yuh-yuh and Huang, Tai-chu. "Relationship between scientific knowledge and fortune-telling." *Public Understanding of Science* 23:7 (2014): 780-796.
- Shimazono, Susumu. *From Salvation to Spirituality: Popular Religious Movements in Modern Japan*. Melbourne: Transpacific Press, 2004.
- Seiwert, Hubert Michael. *Popular Religious Movements and Heterodox Sects in Chinese History*, Brill, 2003.
- Spence, Jonathan D. *The Search for Modern China*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990.
- Sutcliffe, Steven. "'Wandering Stars': Seekers and Gurus in the Modern World." In *Beyond New Age: Exploring Alternative Spirituality* edited by Steven Sutcliffe and Marion Bowman. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000.
- Sutcliffe, Steven J. *Children of the New Age: A History of Spiritual Practices*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Sutcliffe, Steven J. "Findhorn Community." In *Encyclopedia of New Religious Movements* edited by Peter B. Clarke. Abingdon: Routledge, 2006.
- Sutcliffe, Steven. "The Origins of New Age Religion Between the Two World Wars." In *Handbook of the New Age* edited by Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Sutcliffe, Steven J. and Gilhus, Ingvild Sælid. "Introduction." In *New Age Spirituality: Rethinking Religion* edited by Steven J. Sutcliffe and Ingvild Sælid Gilhus. Bristol: Acumen, 2013.
- Sutcliffe, Steven J. "New Age." In *The Bloomsbury Companion to New Religious Movements* edited by Chrystides, George D. and Zeller, Benjamin E. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Teng, Emma Jinhua. *Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writing and Pictures, 1683-1895*. Taipei: SMC Publishing, by arrangement with Harvard University Press, 2005.

Thornton, Arland; Chang, Jui-Shan and Lin, Hui-Sheng. "From Arranged Marriage toward Love Match." In *Social Change and the Family in Taiwan* edited by Arland Thornton and Hui-Sheng Lin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Thornton, Patricia M. "Manufacturing Dissent in Transnational China" in *Popular Protest in China* edited by Kevin J. O'Brien. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Tighe, Maria and Butler, Jenny. "Holistic Health and New Age in Britain and the Republic of Ireland." In *Handbook of New Age* Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Tingay, Kevin. "Madame Blavatsky's Children: Theosophy and Its Heirs." In *Beyond New Age: Exploring Alternative Spirituality* edited by Steven Sutcliffe and Marion Bowman. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000.

Tolman, Edward C. *George Malcolm Stratton 1865-1957: A Biographical Memoir*. Washington D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1961.

Tong, Benson. *The Chinese Americans* (revised edition). Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2003.

Tozer, Warren. "Taiwan's Cultural Renaissance: A Preliminary View", in *The China Quarterly* (43), 1970: 81-99.

Tsai, Shih-shan Henry. *Maritime Taiwan: Historical Encounters with the East and the West* Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2009.

Turner, Graeme. *Understanding Celebrity*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2004.

Urban, Hugh. "'The Medium is the Message in the Spacious Present': Channeling, Television, and the New Age" in *Handbook of Spiritualism and Channeling* edited by Cathy Guttierrez. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Utiraruto Otehode (Wuqi Riletu). "The Creation and Emergence of Qigong." In *Making Religion Making the State* edited by Yoshiko Ashiwa and David L. Wank. California: Stanford University Press, 2009.

Vervoorn, Aat. *Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of the Chinese Eremitic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1990.

Wallis, Roy. "Three Types of New Religious Movement." In *Cults and New Religious Movements: A Reader* edited by Lorne L. Dawson. Malden USA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.

Wang, Keping. "Appreciating nature in view of practical aesthetics", *Frontiers of Philosophy in China*, 2:1 2007: 140-149.

- Wang, Peter Chen-main. "A Bastion Created, a Regime Reformed, an Economy Reengineered, 1949-1970" in *Taiwan: A New History* edited by Murray Rubinstein. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1999.
- Wang, Shujen. *Framing Piracy: Globalization and Film Distribution in Greater China*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.
- Ward, Frazer. "Alien Duration: Taching Hsieh, 1978-99", *Art Journal* (65:3), 2000: 6-19.
- Weber, Max. *The Sociology of Religion*. London: Meuthen, 1965.
- Wenlin 文林, Wenlin Institute, 2007.
- Williams, Jack F. "Who Are the Taiwanese? Taiwan in the Chinese Diaspora." In *The Chinese Diaspora: Space, Place, Mobility, and Identity* edited by Laurence J. C. Ma and Carolyn Cartier. Boston: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.
- Wilson, Adrian. "Foundations of an Integrated Historiography." In *Rethinking Social History: English Society 1570-1920 and Its Interpretation* edited by Adrian Wilson. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993.
- Woo, Hai-Ran. "New Age in South Korea," *Journal of Alternative Spiritualities and New Age Studies* 5 (2008): 1-32.
- Wood, Matthew. *Possession, Power and the New Age: Ambiguities of Authority in Neoliberal Societies*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007.
- Xue, X.; Schmid, F. and Smith, R. A. "An introduction to China's rail transport part 1: History, present and future of China's railways" in *Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers* 216:3 (2002): 153-163.
- Yang, C.K. *Religion in Chinese Society: The First Comprehensive Sociological Analysis of Chinese Religious Behavior*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.
- Yang, Mayfair Mei-hui. "Introduction." In *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation* edited by Mayfair Mei-hui Yang. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- Yang, Mayfair Mei-hui. "Goddess Across the Taiwan Strait: Matrifocal Ritual Space, Nation-State, and Satellite Television Footprints." In *Chinese Religiosities: Afflictions of Modernity and State Formation* Mayfair Mei-hui Yang. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- Yao, Yu-Shuang. *Taiwan's Tzu Chi as Engaged Buddhism: Origins, Organization, Appeal and Social Impact*. Lieden: Global Oriental, 2012.
- Yeh, Emily Yueh-yu and Davis, Darrell. *Taiwan Film Directors: A Treasure Island*. New York: Columbia University Press: 2005.

Yeh, Michelle. "Chinese literature from 1937 to the present." In *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature* edited by Kang-i Sun Chang and Stephen Owen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Yieh, John Y.H. "The Bible in China: Interpretations and Consequences." In *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume 2: 1800 to the Present* edited by R.G. Tiedemann. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

York, Michael. *Historical Dictionary of New Age Movements*. Oxford: The Scarecrow Press Inc., 2004.

York, Michael. "The New Age Movement as an Astrological Minority Religion with Mainstream Appeal." In *Handbook of the New Age* edited by Daren Kemp and James R. Lewis. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Yu, Yongyue. "A Case Study of Public Relations on Phoenix TV by Chinese Cultural Trip: Li Ao's happy return." In *Canadian Social Science* (3:1), 2007. 69-73.

Zarrow, Peter. *China in War and Revolution 1895-1945*. Routledge: Abingdon, 2005.

Zhou, Min. *Contemporary Chinese America: Immigration, Ethnicity, and Community Transformation*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2009.