We Define Music, Music Defines Us: Making Daoist Music beyond State Borders

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There is a general skepticism in Chinese society that Daoism does not exist as a religion and therefore, the existence of Daoist music is even more skeptical. However, people of Fung Ying Seen Koon, a Daoist temple in Hong Kong, PRC, make great efforts to establish Daoism as a more institutionally-recognised religion and to promote Daoism to the public. Their efforts have made Daoism recognized as a distinct religion. One of their efforts is the establishment of Daoist music, which is institutionalised and formalized. It makes Daoism "a religion". In other words, Daoist music exists and therefore, Daoism exists as a religion.

Explanations of music are based on understanding. Understanding music does not merely mean "knowing music" in terms of the neuro-sensory experience of music including listening to, feeling and recalling music. It also means "knowing about music" such as knowing the title, the composer, the musicians, the historical background and even the genre of music.

Knowledge of music helps people define music for themselves. At

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the same time, music that is defined in a certain way also defines the group of people who appropriate and define that particular music. In this article, music defined as Daoist music acts as a symbol of Daoism to define its appropriators as Daoist.

Key Words : Daoism, Chinese Religion, Religious Identity

1. Introduction: Daoist music from the temple to the people

This article is about any other than a particular group of people who are trying to differentiate their religion from popular religion and superstition. The scrutinizing lens focused on them closely follows their activities, especially their making of Daoist music. They have performed Daoist music as part of ritualistic ceremonies since their temple was built. Recently, however, they have removed their music from the confines of their temple and have made it available to the common people in the form of performing arts. By making music, they say that they are promoting Daoism. More significantly, by making music, they are forging their own identity as musicians and as Daoists.

This article does not focus on the general and fundamental features of Daoism that distinguish it from other religions including popular religion. This article is based on the assumption that identity does not arise from the primordial essence but is rather constructed in a certain time and space. In this respect, identity construction has become a common research topic in Musicology and Ethnomusicology. Scholars such as Curtis (2008), Johnson (2004), Tuohy (2001) and many others have conducted research on the construction of identity through the

creation of music. Likewise, in this article, creating music is examined in terms of identity construction.

2. Daoism as a Chinese religion

According to Maurice Freedman, belief in Chinese religion means a belief in the forms of its representation such as "magic, sacrifice, worship, witchcraft, ritual and myth" (Baker and Feuchtwang 1991,157). However, as Stephan Feuchtwang points out, Freedman assumes "a single Chinese religion" (ibid 140). When Feuchtwang captures Freedman's assumption in the phrase, "a Chinese religion exists" (ibid 140), he also reveals his own doubt about Freedman's assumption of a *single* Chinese religion. He suggests moving the research focus onto "the variety of representational surface" (ibid 158) of 'Chinese religion' and studies religious phenomena of Chinese society.

However, neither Freedman nor Feuchtwang regard 'Chinese religion(s)' as religions in the conventional sense, in which scholars in other disciplines such as Sinology use the term 'Chinese religions'. Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism are commonly known as the three traditional Chinese religions. Apart from those three religions, Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism are also practiced in contemporary China[1]. Nevertheless, in their research, 'Chinese

1) Julian Pas argues "In China, there are four religions which occupy an eminent position: Buddhism, Islam, Catholicism and Protestantism." (Pas 1989,11). Pas' statement demonstrates the vulnerable position of Daoism as an institutionalised

religion(s)' do not exist as specific kinds of religions: Freedman studies Chinese religion under the title of ancestral worship (Freedman 1958; 1974); Feuchtwang's research is about 'popular religion' (Feuchtwang 1974; 2001). Even though the names Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism appear in their research, it is still unclear how Freedman and Feuchtwang understand Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism as three separate religions. In fact, it is not a major research goal for them to demonstrate an understanding of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism in their studies of 'Chinese religion.' They aim at analyzing Chinese society through religious phenomena and thus the specific names of particular religions are not important.

Since Freedman, it has become a common research goal for anthropologists who study Chinese culture to study diverse religious phenomena such as "magic, sacrifice, worship, witchcraft, ritual and myth" without paying serious attention to the relationship between the major Chinese religions and the religious phenomena they observe. Steven Sangren (Sangren 1987) describes the magical power of Taiwanese "folk religion" while Feuchtwang looks at Confucianism in terms of "communal worship" (Feuchtwang 1974) and "popular religion" (Feuchtwang 1992; 2001). The same mindset about Chinese religions also applies to research on Hong Kong's religion(s). Jack Potter (Potter 1978) examines "Cantonese shamanism" in a village in Hong Kong, Faure (Faure 1989) observes "folk religion" in Hong

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religion in Chinese society. Although Daoism has its liturgical texts, and rituals, a professional liturgy, and institutions such as temples and Daoist Associations in both provincial and national levels, Daoism is often regarded as "belief" or "folk religion" rather than "religion"

Kong, and Tanaka (Tanaka 1989) studies "the religious *jiao* festival" in Hong Kong without mentioning what kind of religion it is and why the festival is "religious." Although anthropologists have studied Chinese religion from various points of view, they are likely to avoid using the term, 'religion.' Consequently, anthropological studies of Chinese religions such as Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism are relatively limited in number and scope.

Academics, including anthropologists, commonly believe that it is difficult to apply the Western term 'religion' to its Chinese counterpart. Also, since J. J. M. Groot (1912) suggested the syncretism between Buddhism and Daoism, his idea has been largely accepted by scholars in Chinese Studies. Kristofer Schipper stresses that the term 'religion' is not appropriate for "the Chinese popular religion and its highest expression, Taoism" (Schipper 1993, 3). Lai Chi-Tim expresses the difficulty of defining the boundaries of Daoism in his recent work, "Daoism in China Today 1980-2002". He shares his view of Daoism with Schipper and writes: "Daoism was never a purely monastic religion, nor did it depend on any definite form of temple existence, but is supported by a variety of religious rituals and festivals in the lives of local society" (Lai 2003, 426). Therefore, it is difficult for an anthropologist to identify her religious experience during fieldwork with a particular religion unless the religious experience comes from Islam or Judeo-Christianity. The terms 'popular religion', 'folk religion', 'worship', 'belief', 'ritual' and so on are less problematic than the term 'religion'. But these terms do a disservice to the religious aspects of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism.

In addition to academics, lay people have less interest in the identification of particular Chinese religious institution, professionals, and activities. Liu Tik-sang describes this phenomenon in Hong Kong and Macau as follows:

> In Hong Kong and Macau, people regularly organize temple festivals to celebrate the birthdays of their patron deities. People also regularly visit temples seeking the deities' blessings. A temple visit may be to ask for assistance when believers are facing difficulties or when they have health problems. Often people visit various patron deities, returning frequently until the problems are resolved. In order to communicate with the supernatural beings, people perform their own private rituals in temples, at ritual sites or in front of their own domestic altars. Interestingly, however, there is no agreed-upon name for these religious activities; some would even argue that they have no religious beliefs. Many people refer to their religious practices as "worshipping deities" (拜神 *baishen*) or "superstition" (迷信 *mixin*). Although people are aware of the negative implication of the word "superstition", they claim that it is the only known term to describe their religious practices. Some name their religious activities Buddhism or Daoism, as similar elements can be found in formal Buddhist and Daoist rituals. Professional Daoist priests or Buddhist monks and nuns are always hired to perform life cycle and communal rituals. To ordinary people, there is no clear boundary between Buddhism, Daoism and local religious practices. (Lai 2003, 373)

However, Chinese religions certainly exist and Daoism is one of them. The reason is simple: there are groups of people who claim

that they are nothing but Daoists. They refuse to be called believers of popular religion. They think it is ridiculous to be misidentified as Buddhists, who are completely different—even in their physical appearance (such as their ways of greeting, their garments, Buddhist monks' and nuns' shaved hair, and Daoist priests' hats and so on). Buddhists are likely to feel equally unhappy when they are misidentified as Daoists.

Apart from academics and lay people who are not willing to accept Daoism as a distinct religion, there is a group of religious professionals who claim that Daoism is a distinct religion. They have no doubt that their religion is Daoism and they are Daoists. They do not believe in popular religion or superstition but they do believe in Daoism. They want to be called Daoists. However, they are also aware of the common belief that Daoism does not exist as a religion in Chinese society. Academics and lay people, even the regular temple-goers, have little interest in the religious identity of people who identify themselves as Daoist. Imagine how this group of people feel. What might their reaction be to 'this conspiracy' of ignoring their religious identity as Daoists?

This is the starting point of this article. I do not participate in the debate over the existence of a single Chinese religion, the inappropriateness of the use of the term religion in Chinese context and the definition of Chinese religion(s) and so on. I focus instead on those who have no doubt of the existence of their religion in Chinese society. Daoist priests and their participation in Daoist music are the topic of this article because, as Schipper strongly argues[2], their identity as Daoists is put into serious doubt more often than that of the representatives of any other religion; therefore

their reaction is found to be more significant than any other case.

Among religions in Chinese society, Daoism and Buddhism are particularly controversial in terms of their identification as religions. In spite of the widespread idea of identity-deficiency in both religions, Daoist priests, Buddhist monks and nuns are conscious of their identity as Daoists and Buddhists. They are also fully aware of the fact that their religions are not distinct enough for scholars to recognize them as independent religions. Although they are Daoists or Buddhists, and they identify themselves with these religions respectively, lay people and academics do not always identify them as either Daoists or Buddhists. Since lay people and academics are not interested in the identity of Daoist or Buddhist religious professionals, Daoist priests and Buddhist monks and nuns, who are

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2) According to Schipper, "in everyday life, religious activity had no particular name or status, since-as the French sinologist Marcel Granet was fond of pointing out-in China, religion was formerly not distinguished from social activity in general. Even its most distinguished representatives, the Taoist masters, were generally integrated in lay society and enjoyed no special status. In modern times and in imitation of Western culture and its concept of religion as something setting humanity apart from nature, the authorities have applied themselves to the task of classifying and dividing the people, trying in vain to convince the ordinary peasant that he was either a Confucian, a Buddhist, a Taoist, or, more recently still-in keeping with the party line-simply "superstitious." In fact, none of this really applies and certainly no ordinary person would call himself a Taoist, since this designation always implies an institution into the Mysteries, and consequently is even now reserved for the masters, the local sages. Traditionally, no special term existed to express religious activity. In order to translate our word *religion*, modern Chinese usage has coined the term *tsung-chiao*, literally "sectarian doctrine." This may be correct for Islam or Catholicism, but when this term is used for the Chinese popular religion and its highest expression, Taoism-that is to say, a religion which considers itself to be the true bond among all beings without any doctrinal creed, profession of faith, or dogmatism-it can only create misunderstandings." (Schipper 1993, 3)

conscious of their religious identity, feel the pressure to make their religions more recognizable.

Since Buddhist monks and nuns and Daoist priests believe that their beliefs are distinct religions with the particular names Buddhism and Daoism, they never categorise their religions as 'popular religions'. The term 'popular religion' is suggestive of superstition. It is understood as pejorative or even insulting to be identified with a 'popular religious' movement. The more they are aware of the tendency for their religions to be misunderstood as superstition or 'folk religion', the more efforts they make to elaborately distinguish their religious practices from folk religion, organize their institutions and promote their religions to the public. These various efforts aim at making their religion appear more institutionalized and less like 'folk religions' or superstition.

The gap between the lack of religious identity and Daoist and Buddhist religious professionals' desire to be recognized as legitimate is more obvious in Daoism than in Buddhism because the identity of Buddhism is less challenged than Daoism's. Buddhism, which originated in India, is designated as a major world religion whereas Daoism, whose origin is China, is localized and likely to be limited by the boundaries of Chinese society. Although the identity of Buddhist monks and nuns and their temples in the Chinese context may be challenged in their everyday lives, the identity of Buddhism as a religion is still intact globally, for example, in other countries such as Thailand and Korea. However, Daoist priests' religious identity is fragile because Daoism as a distinct religion is still being debated. As a consequence, Daoist religious professionals' sense that their religious identity is being threatened is more

dramatic than Buddhist monks' and nuns'. Daoist priests' efforts to make their religion more institutionalized are more serious than those of Buddhist monks and nuns.

For further discussion, I focus on a Daoist temple called Fung Ying Seen Koon in Hong Kong[3]. In the process of making Daoism a legitimately recognized religion, music plays a major role. The members of the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple claim that they are Daoists. They make great efforts to construct Daoism as an institutionalized religion. They provide research funds and scholarships for scholars of Daoism from the Chinese University of Hong Kong. They have established the only Daoist orchestra in Hong Kong, that is, the Hong Kong Daoist Orchestra, and they offer full support for the orchestra. They believe that these efforts help their religion become more institutionalized and more legitimately acknowledged as a distinct religion by the public.

3. Research of Daoist music in Chinese Ethnomusicology

In Chinese ethnomusicology, Daoist music means ritual music, or, in other words, liturgical music performed by Daoist priests in Daoist rituals. Since the number of scholars specializing in Daoist music is relatively small, studies of Daoist music are limited in quantity. However, this is not because Daoist music is less important than other subjects in Chinese ethnomusicology such as Chinese

3) The address is 66, Pak Wo Road, Fanling, New Territories, Hong Kong.

opera and folk songs. This is mainly because the People's Republic of China is a communist country based on Marxist philosophy, which is fundamentally against any religious ideology and research of religious music is not encouraged.

Significantly, during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), many Daoist temples were destroyed or closed and Daoist priests had to leave their temples (Lai 2003.413; MacInnis 1989.213). Therefore, Daoist music in China is not easy for ethnomusicologists to study. Another reason that research is limited may arise from the difficulty of defining Daoism, and, therefore, its music.

Zhongguo minzu minjian qiyuequ jicheng (*The Compilation of Chinese Folk Instrumental Music* 中國民族民間器樂曲集成)[4] is a compilation of research on Chinese instrumental music and each volume is titled after the name of a Province. The volume that covers the Hubei Province (1994) concentrates on the music of the Daoist temples in the Wudang Mountain area, which is famous for Daoism. The volume about the Hebei Province (1997) focuses on Daoist music in the Julu area of the Hebei Province. Apart from the research series, literature about Daoist music is also found in the form of books and articles (Boltz 1996; Liu 1999; Pu 1993, 2000; Takimoto and Liu 2000; Tsao 1989, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002; Tsao et al. 1996;Wang et al. 1999; Zhou et al. 1994).

4) Since it is difficult to identify the author of each volume and article, the bibliographic information is listed under the name, Li Ling, the chief editor of the national editorial board for *Zhongguo minzu minjian qiyuequ jicheng*.

4. The temple and the temple music

Daoism is a religion that originated in ancient China and is still widely practiced among Chinese societies in the world. Daoists pursue a mental and physical state of well-being and wish to become gods after their death. Laozi (老子) is often acknowledged and worshiped as the founder of Daoism. However, his historical existence is controversial. Moreover, Daoism is a combination of many different traditions such as the worship of heaven, the idea of the immortal saints, Chinese medicine, a martial art called *qigong* in Mandarin Chinese, and the philosophies of Laozi, Zhuangzi (莊子) and others.

The Fung Ying Seen Koon temple is a temple of the *Quanzhen* Sect[5] (全眞教) of Daoism. The temple was founded in 1929. As a major member of the Hong Kong Taoist[6] Association, Fung Ying Seen Koon plays a crucial role in Hong Kong's Daoist community. The temple is famous for Daoist ritual performances. The Hong Kong Daoist Orchestra, which is the only Daoist orchestra in Hong Kong, resides in this temple. The temple is also famous for its restaurant, which serves a type of vegetarian food that is called *jai* in Cantonese[7].

Two forms of music exist in the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple. One is ritual music, which is used in religious rituals such as

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5) The *Quanzhen* Sect is one of the largest sects of Daoism and *Quanzhen* is often translated as complete perfection. The word '*quan*' literally means 'complete' and '*zhen*' means 'perfection'.

6) "Taoism" is the same as "Daoist". This is the official title of association.

7) Mandarin pronunciation is *zhai*. The Chinese character is the same as 齋.

offerings, gods' birthdays and funerals. The other is orchestral music, performed in concerts and festivals. Daoist priests perform the ritual music, whereas the members of the Hong Kong Daoist Orchestra, a majority of whom are non-Daoist, play the orchestral music. The former is vocal and the latter is instrumental. However, both are categorized as Chinese music.

Daoist music is the vessel of the Dao, the ultimate truth of Daoism for the Master[8] and the Daoist priests of the choral group called *gengsang* (經生). Daoist music performed in ritual is regarded as the means by which Daoists' prayers to gods are reported and the Daoist belief of the performers (Daoist priests themselves) is confirmed; it conveys Daoism to the ritual participants. Daoist music performed outside ritual focuses on promoting Daoism to the public. In Fung Ying Seen Koon, the Master called *gogong* (高功), meaning the master of Daoist ritual, teaches and supervises the Daoist priests of the choral group who perform Daoist music in the proper way to do its function.

As mentioned, the Master believes that Daoist music is the vessel of 'the Dao' or 'the ultimate truth of Daoism'. According to him, Daoist music is the method rather than the goal. He has two important positions in terms of Daoist music. He is in charge of ritual music. He also makes the final decision of all the activities of the Hong Kong Daoist Orchestra. His official position relates to his role of making Daoist music in Fung Ying Seen Koon. In both positions, he exercises his power to make Daoist music function

8) 'The Master' beginning with the capital letter 'M' refers to the particular person The Master in his late fifties supervises all the activities including rituals and the orchestra's performances in the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple.

properly as the method of conveying Daoism.

Based on the idea that Daoist music contains Daoist philosophy, he employs Daoist music as a useful method to promote Daoism to the public, including non-Daoists. Although he agrees with the Conductor[9] of the Hong Kong Daoist Orchestra who argues that Daoist music is an art form with artistic value, his first concern is promoting Daoism through music.

The Master plays a pivotal role in the promotion of Daoism by the Daoists of Fung Ying Seen Koon by creating, transmitting, and performing music. The Daoist priests of the choral group called *gengsang* are those who internalize the Master's idea of Daoist music as the vessel of the Dao and realize it by performing what they learn from the Master in Daoist ritual. Because not all the priests can sing in the ritual in the temple, *gengsang*, or priests that have been specially trained to sing canonical texts in ritual, perform the ritual music.

One of the easiest ways to describe the procedure of a Daoist ritual from the beginning to the end is by following the order of the music. In fact, this method is largely used by the ritual master in teaching the procedures of ritual to the priests in the temple as well as to researchers writing about it. Simply speaking, performing a ritual is singing a canonical text from cover to cover. The ritual is composed of three parts: the opening ritual (入壇 man[10], *rutan*; can. *yap tyun*; enter the altar), the main part of ritual, and the closing

9) 'The Conductor' beginning with the capital letter 'C' refers to the conductor of the Hong Kong Daoist Orchestra.

10) 'man' is the abbreviation for Mandarin Chinese and 'can' is the abbreviation for Cantonese Chinese.

ritual (回向 man. *huixiang*; can. *heuiheung*; return). The main part consists of the singing of the canonical text.

The opening ritual begins with the loud sound of rhythmic instruments while priests enter the ritual hall. After the priests position themselves, the *mokyu* (木魚 man.*muyu*) is played twice. Next, the *hing* (磬 man. *qing*) is played nine times. Then, *mokyu* is played again nine times. The Daoist priests bow three times and then the *mokyu* and *hing* are played three times one after the other.

Bowing consists of one action of *gwai* (can.) and three of *kau* (can). *Gwai* is the action of kneeling down, sitting on the heels, stretching the arms in the front, positioning the hands on the floor palm down, bending the back and moving the forehead close to the floor. *Kau* means the action of bending the head. It is done in the position of *gwai*. Therefore, the forehead is almost touching the floor.

When they are not taking a particular action, the Daoist priests put their hands together in front of their body at a level between the waistline and the chest. Between the hands and the body, there is some space, through which a fist may pass. In this position, the shape of the hands holding each other stands for *taigeuk* (太極 man. *taiji*), which is the symbol of the Dao and Daoism. Therefore, this position is called *saupou taigeuk* (man. *shoubaotaiji*). This position of the hands is also used in combination with a nod for the conventional Chinese greeting. *Seungheung* (上香 man. *shangxiang*), or 'offering the incense' is also done several times throughout the ritual. For a single offering of incense, three sticks of incense are used.

After the priests bow to the accompaniment of the *mokyu* and the

hing, they stand up and sing Boheuijan (步虛讚 man. *Buxuzan*) together. This is the most important and indispensable hymn in the ritual. The melody line of the hymn is one of the frequently used patterns for *cheunggeng* (唱經 man. changjing) or the singing of the canonical text.

When Daoist priests sing the hymns and read the canonical texts in the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple, the pronunciation of the words is based on Cantonese. However, the pronunciation of some particular words is Mandarin. Therefore, Daoist priests singing in ritual (經生 can. *gengsang*) have to be taught by the ritual master (高功 can. *gogong*) not only the melody and the rhythm but also how to pronounce each word correctly.

In the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple, the concept of key does not play an active role in the singing of the canonical text. In almost every ritual, the keys used are different. In fact, it is not possible to determine the original key of a piece of music in the tradition of Daoist ritual music because it is not clear who the composers were and what the pieces of music were like originally. The *yisau* (二手 man. *ershou*), or the second leader of the ritual, decides the composition as well as the pattern of the melody line for the singing of the canonical text. Even the same priest acting as *yisau* constantly changes keys each time the ritual is performed. When ritual music is taught, the written score is not used. The priests who are learning how to sing depend on their ears. They follow the Master's lead in singing.

After the Boheuijan, the Jengseuijan (淨水讚 man. *Jingshuizan*) is sung. Then, *jyufo* (主科 man. *zhuke*), the leader (man. *zhu*; can. *jyu*) of the ritual (man. *ke*; can. *fo*) sings. Then, the priests sing the

Jengtindeijau (man. *Jingtiandizhou*) and *Yengsinjan* (迎神讚 man. *Yingshenzan*).

The main canonical text for ritual comes next. The hymns, from the Boheuijan to the Yengsinjan, are for the purpose of the Daoists preparing themselves for ritual. By singing these hymns, Daoists in ritual purify themselves and invite the gods. In terms of ritual, the leader is *jyufo*. However, in terms of music, *yisau* (man. *ershou*) plays the leading role. After the opening hymns, the canonical text is sung.

In the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple, rituals are held mostly on Sundays because most visitors come to the temple on Sundays to give offerings to their dead family members and ancestors. There is an annual cycle of ritual in the lunar calendar. Each ritual mentioned in the calendar has its significance. Some rituals, such as Laozi's birthday, are dedicated to the gods. Others celebrate the New Year and other auspicious days such as Jongyangjit (重陽節 man. *Zhongyangjie*). Jongyangjit is the 9th day in the 9th month of the Lunar calendar when the energy of *yang* (the positive side of *yin-yang*, which is believed to be the principle forming the cosmos in Chinese thought) culminates. Odd numbers usually signify *yang* whereas even numbers signify *yin* (the negative side in *yin yang*). Nine is the number signifying the strongest *yang*. Therefore, the ninth day on the ninth month is the day when *yang* is extremely strong.

In Daoism, hundreds of thousands of canonical texts exist. Among them, the *Quanzhen* Sect of Daoism selected a limited number of texts to use for its special and daily rituals. As a temple in *Quanzhen* Sect of Daoism, Fung Ying Seen Koon shares those

canonical texts with other temples in the same sect.

In fact, only two canonical texts are sung in most of the rituals held at Fung Ying Seen Koon no matter what the ritual is. Moreover, it is not the purpose or the title of the ritual but the venue of the ritual that decides which of the two texts will be sung. In short, when the ritual is held in the Main Hall, the canonical text, *Loijo mogek bocham* (呂祖無極寶懺 man. *Luzu wuqi baochan*) is sung. When it is in Good Wishes Hall, the text, *Chingmeilaidaufo* (清微禮斗科 man. qingweilidouke) is sung. However, it is not clear why only these two canonical texts are commonly used.

One approach to understanding ritual is analyzing the music, including its score and the words. In other words, if the music is examined, the ritual becomes understandable to a large extent. At the very least, the whole structure of the actual practice of ritual and the meanings of the prayers offered becomes much clearer.

Loijo mogek bocham provides the most comprehensible and basic illustration of ritual in Fung Ying Seen Koon. It is not only because it is one of the most commonly used canonical texts for ritual but also because the melodic lines of the canonical text are applied to various other canonical texts.

Notation for the melody does not exist. The priests learn the melody by repeating exactly what the Master sings. Therefore, the learning of the melody cannot be separated from the learning of the canonical texts. When the Master teaches other priests how to read canonical texts, he also has to teach them how to sing them word for word. Melody not only helps the clear delivery of the different voices of the priests, but also enables priests to continue reading a canonical text for over an hour without loosing concentration.

Gengsang refers to the group of priests who lead a ritual by singing the canonical text. Special training is needed for leading a ritual. Therefore, not all the priests in the temple are educated to be *gengsang*. At Fung Ying Seen Koon, the Master organized a group of priests and educated them five years ago. These newly educated priests now play a major role in leading rituals as the *gengsang* of Fung Ying Seen Koon.

The *gogong* is the title of ritual expert. The *gogong* is in a position to educate priests in ritual performance. Therefore, the *gogong* also teaches priests how to sing the canonical texts. The melody lines and the proper pronunciation of each word are carefully taught. The *gogong* in each temple decides on the singing style of the temple. Therefore, the position of *gogong* in a particular temple is often unchangeable. A priest who masters all the tunes of Daoist music by herself/himself cannot become a *gogong* unless she/he is a legitimate heir of the *gogong* of the former generation. If a temple has a famous *gogong*, who is believed to have inherited an authentic and legitimate traditional role in singing, the temple also becomes famous for Daoist rituals. The Master of Fung Ying Seen Koon is one of the famous *gogong* in Hong Kong Daoism and, therefore, Fung Ying Seen Koon is famous for Daoist ritual and music.

The Hong Kong Daoist Orchestra (香港道樂團 can. *Heunggong dongoktyun*) resides in the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple. It was established in July 1996. The members of the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple run the orchestra, including employing a professional conductor of Chinese music full-time. The members of the Fung Ying Seen Koon Committee, which make decisions regarding the

events in the temple also approve the orchestra's activities and provide financial support and labor support for the members of the orchestra. People of the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple have played the role of the main organizers of the Daoist music gala concerts since the first concert in Hong Kong in 2001. The Conductor of the orchestra has played a key role in establishing the format of the concert as it is now.

Ironically, most members of the orchestra, including the Conductor, are not Daoists. They explicitly claim that they are not Daoist at all. The Conductor does not have any particular religion. He says that he simply works as a conductor here in Fung Ying Seen Koon. He is an expert in Daoist music. His Ph.D dissertation is about Daoist music in Suzhou, China. However, he is not a believer of Daoism. Among over thirty members of the orchestra, only one is a Daoist[11].

Religious commitment is not an issue among the orchestra members even though they perform music within an organization that is called a "Daoist orchestra". They are not forced to participate in any rituals or religious practices. Apart from the Conductor, who is a full-time employee of the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple, the members of the orchestra are pure music lovers. They come to the temple to learn and play music.

However, often, all of the members except the Conductor are costumed like Daoist priests. They all appear to be Daoist priests who belong to a temple. When music is located in the "right" Daoist

11) The only person who claims to be Daoist is the *dasanxian* (large-sized *sanxian*) player.

context, musicians are identified as Daoists and their music is also identified as Daoist. Thus, there are groups of people who create the 'right' contexts for music to act as the symbol called Daoist music. The reason for contextualizing this music lies in the need to construct Daoist identity as a religion distinct from folk religion and superstition and furthermore, to 'promote Daoism to the public'.

The musical instruments of the Hong Kong Daoist Orchestra are as follows: *bangdi* (梆笛 transverse flute), *qudi* (曲笛 transverse flute) *suona* (嗩吶 shawm), *sheng* (笙 free-reed mouth organ), *guan* (管 double-reed pipe), *yangqin* (揚琴 dulcimer), *guzheng* (古箏 twenty-one stringed zither), *pipa* (琵琶 plucked lute), *liuqin* (柳琴 smaller sized plucked lute), *zhongruan* (中阮 medium sized plucked lute), *daruan* (大阮 bigger sized plucked lute), *sanxian* (三弦 plucked lute), *erhu* (二胡 bowed lute), *zhonghu* (中胡 medium sized bowed lute—the string is thicker than the string of the *erhu*), cello (man. datiqin), *yunluo* (云锣 a set of gongs, each of which has a different note) and *faqi* (法器 rhythmic instruments such as drums, gongs, cymbals, bells and slit drums)[12].

Although the explicit hierarchy may not exist, the members of the orchestra are not equal. A member's position within the orchestra is decided depending on what instrument they play. The *erhu* players are regarded as playing a pivotal role in each performance. Members playing *pipa*, *guzheng* and *yangqing* and members playing *dizi* come next. The percussion part is regarded as the bottom of the order.

12) The names of the instruments and music are written in *pinyin* system of Mandarin Chinese.

Still, percussion is crucial. Thus, the instructor of the orchestra, who is a professional musician plays percussion. However, except him, other percussion players are often considered to be less significant and they themselves want to move up to other parts.

In terms of performance of music, the two forms of Daoist music in Fung Ying Seen Koon are different because one is a form of ritual while the other is a form of art; one is music designed for delivering words while the other is pure instrumental music. Ritual music is performed for Daoists participating in a Daoist ritual. The whole procedure of ritual can be transcribed in terms of music because ritual music is designed for the performance of a ritual. A ritual is performed by priests reading a canonical text. Thus, the reading of a canonical text is ritual music. Reading a long text from cover to cover is tiring. Moreover, a group of people reading it together need certain guidelines. These guidelines are the melody lines and rhythmic patterns. To make the task easier, the leader called *yisau* guides the singing. Orchestral music is performed for general audiences, who may or may not be Daoists. Orchestral music as an art form is based on music, whose notation system is numerical as it is widely used in Chinese music.

What makes ritual music Daoist is its words rather than the melody lines and the rhythmic patterns. Canonical texts create the Daoist aura of music. Even without various instruments producing majestic sounds, the priests' chants alone delivering Daoist philosophy are enough for that music to be recognized as Daoist. However, most of the orchestra's repertoires are instrumental and the musical style of the orchestra is similar to that of other Chinese orchestras.

In spite of the differences between ritual music and orchestral music, musicians and others in the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple construct 'Fung Ying Seen Koon's Daoist music' In short, the process of making Daoist contexts for the music being performed is the process of constructing a single unified 'Daoist Music'.

History plays the major role in providing Daoist contexts for music, especially orchestral music. The Hong Kong Daoist Orchestra's repertoire is not much different from other Chinese orchestras' repertoire in terms of the forms of music, musical instruments and techniques. The distinctive features of the Hong Kong Daoist Orchestra's repertoire appear in the titles and the program notes. The explained history of Daoist music expressed in program notes also helps the audience to appreciate the repertoire in the Daoist context.

The language explaining Daoist music comes from the past and it creates a Daoist context for the music. In other words, history plays two crucial roles in constructing knowledge about Daoist music and therefore the identity of Daoist music based on this knowledge. The first role of history is providing the language of the past for the music. Many words and expressions used for commentary on the repertoire of the Hong Kong Daoist Orchestra are archaic. They are often found in classical Chinese literature. The second role of history is providing knowledge about the past. The history of Daoist music consists largely of knowledge about Daoist music.

Language from history creates the Daoist context of music and guides the audience to appreciate music as Daoist music. Music performed in rituals does not need titles. Titles are used for the

orchestral music played in extra-ritual context, i.e. the concert hall. To make the music Daoist, titles come from Daoist canonical texts. For example, *Taijiyun* (太極韻) means the song of taiji. The term *taiji*, the origin of the universe is one of the basic concepts of Daoist philosophy. In *Xianjiale* (仙家樂), meaning the joy of Daoists, *xian* represents the ideal state of Daoism. A white crane (白鶴 man. *baihe*) in *Baihefei* (白鶴飛) is one of the symbols of the Daoist paradise. *Tianzunyun* (天尊韻) is music for the Daoist gods (天尊 man. *tianzun*) and the title *Dazanyun* (大贊韻) implies the homage (贊 man. *zan*) to the Daoist sages. The cloud (雲 man. *yun*) in *Yunlege* (雲樂歌 also symbolizes the Daoist paradise. *Chengqingyun* (澄清韻) is music for purification before rituals.

This use of titles for Daoist music is a new invention as a result of the growth of performing Daoist music outside rituals. The titles strongly reflect Daoist philosophy. Musical terms used to explain Daoist music in concert programs are also a mixture of the philosophical terms of Daoism and the terms used to make critical remarks on Chinese classical poems in the past centuries. Both kinds of terms provide a historical aura for Daoist music.

5. Constructing religious identity through music

Daoist music as a form of performing arts

All functions of the orchestra are held to promote Daoism. The orchestra performs music for many occasions. Daoist Music Gala Concert is the largest activity that Fung Ying Seen Koon and the

Hong Kong Daoist Orchestra organize annually. The gala concert is the highlight of the Hong Kong Daoist Orchestra's performing season. It is not only the biggest performance for the orchestra but also the most significant event for the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple as its sponsor in promoting Daoism and the temple. While the temple is well-known as a promoter of Daoism and its music, Fung Ying Seen Koon is not the first Daoist temple to have a Daoist music orchestra. The Bai Yun Guan temple in Beijing established its orchestra on August 22nd, 1988 and other temples such as Suzhou Xuanmiaogong and Maoshan Daoyuan began their orchestras around that time. Although Fung Ying Seen Koon started its orchestra rather late in comparison, in July 1996, it was Fung Ying Seen Koon that launched the annual gala concert for Daoist music. Since the first one was held in Hong Kong in 2001, the gala concert has annually offered audiences from all over the world a unique and special occasion for listening to Daoist music.

Daoist Music Gala Concert is the place in which an international Daoist network is formed and Fung Ying Seen Koon is in its center. The First Daoist Music Gala Concert was held in Hong Kong in 2001. The concerts were performed in two different venues with very little difference in the programs. The first concert was at the Hong Kong Polytechnic University on 18 November and the second was at the Chinese University of Hong Kong on 20 November. The organizers were members of the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple, the Hong Kong Daoist Orchestra, and the departments of Religion and Music at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In fact, the members of the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple did most of the technical work. Five orchestras participated: *Beijing baiyunguan*

daojiao jingyuetuan (PRC), *Gaoxiongshi wenhuayuan guoyuetuan* (Taiwan), *Jiucaiba chenghuangmiao daoyuetuan* (Singapore), *Hebei daojiao yinyuetuan* (PRC) and *Hong Kong daoyuetuan* (Hong Kong).

Min Zhiting, chairman of the Chinese Daoist Association, is the key figure who demonstrates the authenticity and legitimacy of today's Daoist music. He is believed to be the composer of 'the common form of ritual music used in the *Quanzhen* Sect of Daoism' based on what he learned from his mentor who was a member of the former generation. As ethnomusicological research of different Daoist temples in different regions over China demonstrates, 'the common form' or even 'the common ground' of Daoist music does not exists even within the boundary of the *Quanzhen* Sect of Daoism. However, ritual music, which is different among regions and temples, is believed to be an entity under his name. This is why the concert program of the First Daoist Music Gala Concert begins with a greeting by Min Zhiting, who is the legitimate heir of Daoist music.

Since the first Gala Concert, it has been held annually in different countries such as Taiwan, Mainland China and Singapore. The Daoist Music Gala Concert demonstrates the most general premise of Daoist music. Firstly, Daoist music has become an important part of Chinese traditional music throughout its long history in the same manner that Daoism has become an important part of Chinese culture. In other words, Daoist music is not only part of Daoists' cultural heritage, but also a part of the national heritage of all Chinese people. In this context, China, to which 'Chinese traditional music' and 'Chinese culture' belong, is an "imagined community" (Anderson 1991), in which all the differences in time,

space and peoples are ignored. Secondly, Daoist music is ritual music for Daoist rituals. Therefore, Daoist music has to be understood in terms of Daoism.

Oral transmission from country to country

The members of Fung Ying Seen Koon construct an overseas network by learning and teaching ritual music at the international level. Fung Ying Seen Koon's ritual music clearly demonstrates the process of oral transmission of ritual music today. Oral transmission is the method by which the ritual music of Daoism is passed down and spread. Written transmission has never played an actual role in teaching and learning ritual music in Daoism. Fung Ying Seen Koon's ritual music is said to have been be transmitted from Southern China, especially the Guangdong Province. This transmission was completed in the past and it became a part of history. However, the oral transmission of Fung Ying Seen Koon's ritual music to another temple is an ongoing process. Music from Mainland China to Fung Ying Seen Koon in Hong Kong is now in the process of transmission to a temple called Hiang Tong Keng[13] in Singapore.

Fung Ying Seen Koon has developed an overseas network with many other Daoist temples in order to promote Daoism. Hiang Tong Keng is one of the temples in this network. In terms of Daoist music, Hiang Tong Keng has a special relationship with Fung Ying

13) This is as it appears in most writings of the temple and it comes from one of the Chinese dialects. However, the name of the temple is also called Yin Dong Gong, in Cantonese and Xien Dang Gong in Mandarin. The address is 784 Tamlines Road, Singapore.

Seen Koon: Fung Ying Seen Koon transmits its music to this temple.

All the ritual music used in Hiang Tong Keng comes from Fung Ying Seen Koon. The Master of Fung Ying Seen Koon trains the ritual leader of Hiang Tong Keng and the ritual leader teaches other priests of the temple. The Master of Fung Ying Seen Koon often visits Hiang Tong Keng in order to teach the priests how to perform rituals, including chanting. Whenever significant events come up in a certain Daoist temple in Singapore, he is invited to the ceremony. During his stay, he gives lessons to the priests. Not only do the priests of Fung Ying Seen Koon visit Singapore. The priests of Hiang Tong Keng also visit Hong Kong to participate in rituals. Significantly, they learn how to carry out rituals properly through their visits to Fung Ying Seen Koon.

The main venue of the ritual in the Hiang Tong Keng temple is the main altar where the statues of the three gods (三清 man. *Sanqing)* are located. The three gods called *Sanqing* are the same as those three i.e. *Taiseung dojo* (太上道祖 man. *Taishang daozu*), *Seunyeung josi* (純陽道祖 man. *Chunyang zushi*) and *Cheungchun josi* (長春道祖 man. *Changchun zushi*) in the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple. The ritual usually starts with the sound of a gong. When the priests stand in their positions, they begin to sing *Boheujan* three times. *Loijo mogek bocham*, the most commonly used canonical text in Fung Ying Seen Koon is also used as the canonical text. All the procedures are just like that of Fung Ying Seen Koon except the marching after the main ritual to the main altar. After reading *Loijo mogek bocham* exactly from cover to cover, the priests line up and march around to every god in the temple and chant briefly at each one.

In the context of Chinese vocal music, oral transmission is significant because Chinese is based on a written form of language which has many different versions of pronunciation. Although regional dialects of the Chinese language are similar to one another in many ways such as characters, they are often regarded as different languages in terms of grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. In terms of the transmission of music, written scores with words, if there is any, are not sufficient to produce identical music. Even if the musical score is identical and the written words are the same, the performance of vocal music may not be identical in different regions of China because of the different pronunciation.

The diversity of the Chinese language makes the oral transmission of Fung Ying Seen Koon's ritual music to Hiang Tong Keng different from that of ritual music from Guangdong Province to Hong Kong in the past and the present education of ritual music inside Fung Ying Seen Koon. In short, because the majority of the Daoist priests in Hiang Tong Keng are not native Cantonese speakers, they also have to learn the Cantonese pronunciation of the each Chinese character in the canonical texts.

Members of Hiang Tong Keng follow Fung Ying Seen Koon's way of worship because they regard Fung Ying Seen Koon as one of the most orthodox of the *Quanzhen* Sect of Daoism. Compared with Fung Ying Seen Koon, the Hiang Tong Keng temple is small—the building is small, the number of regular visitors is small, and the wealth and range of other activities apart from religious services is not as large as Fung Ying Seen Koon's. Members of Fung Ying Seen Koon are willing to share their ways with other Daoists in other societies. Promoting Daoism is the most frequently heard

slogan in Fung Ying Seen Koon. Therefore, members of Fung Ying Seen Koon come to visit Hiang Tong Keng on behalf of Hiang Tong Keng.

Fung Ying Seen Koon plays the role of patron and Hiang Tong Keng becomes a client in the Daoist world. Through the exchange of teaching and learning music, Fung Ying Seen Koon obtains a good reputation as a worldwide promoter of the *Quanzhen* Sect of Daoism and Hiang Tong Keng establishes itself as an orthodox Daoist temple among the member temples of Singaporian Daoist Association.

Music is the most obvious and powerful symbol for Hiang Tong Keng to demonstrate its link to Fung Ying Seen Koon; and therefore the *Quanzhen* Sect of Daoism. Members of Hiang Tong Keng sing the canonical texts in Fung Ying Seen Koon's way. Wherever they go to participate in Daoist rituals, their way of chanting is the style of Fung Ying Seen Koon. This identifies their identity as Daoists of the *Quanzhen* Sect anywhere in the Daoist world.

From the members of Fung Ying Seen Koon's point of view, music is the most efficient way of promoting their temple and Daoism. Fung Ying Seen Koon has the power to control its client temple through music transmission. Through the relationship with the client temple, Fung Ying Seen Koon expands its network. At the same time, the Daoist world becomes visible on a global scale and Fung Ying Seen Koon takes its core place.

One of the members of Hiang Tong Keng expresses his desire to be independent of Fung Ying Seen Koon's control. However, he knows that it is not sensible to cut off the link to Fung Ying Seen Koon. In fact, he is aware of the necessity of Fung Ying Seen

Koon's protection. This becomes obvious when he explains Hiang Tong Keng's competition with other Daoist temples over the symbolic power that gives legitimacy to orthodox Daoist temples.

In short, the process of constructing a Daoist network is also the process of music positioned within Daoist contexts. The members of the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple employ both ritual music and orchestral music in constructing their Daoist network on community, national and international levels. When music is performed, the members of the Fung Ying Seen Koon temple confirm their relationship with other Daoist temples, particularly their power over Daoist communities to which they belong. Furthermore, with music, they promote Daoism to the public in an efficient and effective way. When music is performed for the specific purpose of constructing a Daoist network, the identity of the music itself is confirmed as Daoist music once again.

6. Conclusion: defining the object, defining the self

As mentioned, there is a general skepticism in Chinese society that Daoism does not exist as a religion and therefore, the existence of Daoist music is even more skeptical. However, people of Fung Ying Seen Koon make great efforts to establish Daoism as a more institutionally-recognized religion and to promote Daoism to the public. Their efforts have made Daoism recognized as a distinct religion. One of their efforts is the establishment of Daoist music, which is institutionalized and formalized. It makes Daoism a

religion. In other words, Daoist music exists; and therefore, Daoism exists as a religion.

Explanations of music are based on understanding. Understanding music does not merely mean 'knowing music' in terms of the neuro-sensory experience of music including listening to, feeling and recalling music. It also means 'knowing about music' such as knowing the title, the composer, the musicians, the historical background and even the genre of music. Knowledge of music helps people define music for themselves. At the same time, music that is defined in a certain way also defines the group of people who appropriate and define that particular music. In this article, music defined as Daoist music acts as a symbol of Daoism to define its appropriators as Daoist.

Fung Ying Seen Koon confirms its appropriation of Daoist music. Music is one of the important mediums in Fung Ying Seen Koon's networking with other Daoist temples beyond state borders. Through networking, people in Fung Ying Seen Koon employ music for the purpose of constructing the imagined community of the Daoist world on the international level and, more importantly, positioning their temple in the center of the global scale community. As the organizer of the annual Daoist Music Gala Concert and as mentors of ritual music, people in Fung Ying Seen Koon confirm Fung Ying Seen Koon's unique position in defining what Daoist music has to be and, moreover, its appropriation of 'Daoist music' according to their own definition.

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국 문 요 약

음악을 통한 정체성 만들기 – 도교음악을 중심으로

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본 연구는 국가의 경계를 넘어 종교적 정체성을 만들어 가는 사람들에 관한 연구이다. 중국 종교 가운데 도교는 종종 민간 종교 혹은 미신으로 간주되기도 한다. 본 연구는 이러한 현실 인식 하에 자신들이 믿는 종교를 좀더 형식화되고 제도화된 종교로 만들어, 자신의 종교를 미신이나 민간 종교로부터 구별하려 노력하는 홍콩의 한 도관 사람들에 초점을 맞추었다. 홍콩에 위치한 봉영선관(Fung Ying Seen Koon)은 음악을 통하여 홍콩 뿐 아니라 중국 본토, 싱가포르의 여러 도관들과 교류하며 네트워크를 형성하고 그 네트워크의 중심이 되고자 노력하고 있다. 이들의 음악이 도교 음악으로서의 정체성을 담보하는 근거는 바로 도관으로서의 봉영선관의 정체성이다. 이들은 이들의 음악을 통해서 미신, 민간 종교와 구별되는 제도화되고 형식화된 도교로서의 정체성을 공고하게 하고자 한다.

주제어: 도교, 중국 종교, 종교적 정체성, 초국가적 정체성, 도교 음악