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CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

DAOIST RITUAL MUSIC

TAKIMOTO YŪZŌ AND LIU HONG

DESCRIPTION

Ritual music as a genre can be defined as the formalization of language and sound with the aim of communicating with the divine. It is studied particularly in the discipline of ethnomusicology, and in the China field has most recently been the subject of an edited volume by Bell Yung, Evelyn Rawski and Rubie Watson (1996). That volume contains a thorough survey of recent studies (2-5) and a good description of different musical styles, such as patterns of loudness and timbre of sound, intonation and rhythmical patterns, tempo and pitch (17-26). The terminology used there for both musical instruments and forms of presentation will serve as the basis for the English terms used in this contribution.

Daoist music has been mostly studied by Chinese scholars from Hong Kong, Taiwan and the mainland, but the volume by Yung et al. contains an in-depth study by Judith Boltz on the music used in the *pudu* 普渡 ritual for *guhun* 孤魂 or desolate souls. She analyzes both its present form, as used in Taiwan, and its descriptions in historical sources (Boltz 1996). In addition, a major international conference on Daoist music was held in Hong Kong in the 1980s, and its proceedings were published a few years later (Tsao and Law 1989).

Daoist ritual music has its origins in shamanism. Its development was heavily influenced by court music, and to the present day it is closely linked with folklore and folk music. It divides today into two major types: music associated with the key Daoist schools of the monastic Complete Perfection (Quanzhen) and that of the lay Celestial Masters (Tianshi) or Orthodox Unity (Zhengyi).

The music is found in every province of mainland China wherever there are Daoist temples and Daoist rituals are performed. Complete Perfection styles appear more in the north, and Celestial Masters styles more in the

south. Both enjoy great popularity, but the latter have a closer relation to folk music. In Taiwan, the major Daoist school is the Celestial Masters, with a music style heavily influenced by local models, especially those of Fujian and indigenous Taiwan. As a result, Daoist music here is now quite distinct from that on the mainland. Daoist temples of Hong Kong, by contrast, for the most part are descended from the Sanyuan gong 三元宮 (Temple of the Three Primes) in Guangdong, and the music is Guangdong Daoist in style. Nevertheless, it also shows influences from Cantonese, Buddhist and regional folk musics, and has developed its own unique style.

As Daoist music developed in China, it also spread overseas to Chinese communities in Singapore, Malaysia, Canada, the United States, Australia, France and elsewhere. All of these countries have Daoist temples that have been developed by local people. To date they have remained smaller than those in China, and both their rituals and musical performances are more limited in scale. They have not yet developed independent styles.

When classifying Daoist music we can divide it, like all ritual music, into vocal and instrumental categories. Daoists, or those who are inside participants, call vocal music "chanting" (*yun* 韻, *yunqiang* 韻腔, *yunzi* 韻子) and instrumental music "tunes" (*qupai* 曲牌, *paizi* 牌子). Both are played in different forms depending on their intended audience. The main division is according to yin and yang. Among forms of vocal music there is *yinyun* and *yangyun*. The former is employed in rituals for the deceased or during memorial services, while the latter is performed in ceremonies addressed to the gods on behalf of the living (Takimoto and Liu 1997, 19).

In addition, vocal music is divided into four different styles of presentation. The first is a kind of song that is very musical with a defined melody, sounds like normal singing and is delivered with a smooth voice. It is comparable to an "aria" in Western music. Chinese terms expressing this form are *yun* 韻 (chant), *song* 頌 (extolling), *zan* 讚 (praise), *tan* 嘆 (lament) or *yin* 引 (aria). Songs written in this form that are commonly heard include the *Chengqing yun* 澄清韻 (Chant of Purity and Clarity), the *Tianshi song* 天師頌 (Extolling the Celestial Master), the *Zhongtang zan* 中堂讚 (Praise in the Central Hall), the *Xinglu tan* 行路嘆 (Wayfarer's Lament) or the *Xiao jiuku yin* 小救苦引 (Lesser Aria to Those Who Save from Suffering).

The second type of vocal music is a kind of chant in which the musical aspect is secondary to the vocal element. This music is commonly used in reports to superiors, to show respect to the gods or when receiving orders from the divine. Daoists call this *baogao* 寶誥 or "precious declaration;" a Western equivalent might be the recitative. Typical examples include reports addressed to the Goddess of the Dipper (Doumu 斗姆), to the Three

Bureaus (Sanguan 三官), to Mysterious Heaven (Xuantian 玄天) or to the Worthies Who Save from Suffering (Jiuku 救苦).

A third type of vocal music is a rhythmical presentation with a more subtle musical element. This is called *nianzhou qiang* 念咒腔 or "incantation." It is usually used in addressing the earth god (Tudi gong 土地公) or during offerings (*gongyang* 供養) and purification ceremonies (*jiezhai* 戒齋). The final type is a kind of recital that is spoken in a voice specially pitched low or high, resembling the speech used in Chinese opera. It appears in the vocal performances presented by one of the three key leaders of a ritual: the *dujiang* 都講 (cantor), the *biaobai* 表白 (presenter) or the *gaogong* 高功
(officiant). Most commonly the cantor leads the singing and the other two follow along with the congregation. Sometimes, however, the presenter leads, the officiant sings a solo, and the various ritual leaders generally take turns in singing the ritual.

Instrumental music also appears in several different forms. One distinction meade is between the *zhengqu* 正曲 or formal musical piece, and the *shuaqu* 耍曲 or informal music. The first is used for praising the gods or in any other formal ritual context, especially in the key religious moments of the rite. The second is played in more secular contexts and serves to lure the broader populace into joining in the festivities. It is not heard in the rituals themselves and its main function is to appeal to outsiders. It is sometimes played before the rituals begin or during intermissions.

There are two forms of formal instrumental music. One is purely instrumental without any vocal music. Like the informal music described above, this is played either before or between rituals. It can be played when Daoists move or dance without chanting, to assist in coordinating their movements, or to alleviate the transition between one set of rites and the next and indicate the continuity of different religious activities. The latter music is called *guochang* 過場. The other major form of instrumental music accompanies vocal performances. It highlights the use of ritual percussion instruments, such as the wooden fish, small gongs, cymbals and drums, to beat the rhythm of the chants. On occasion other instruments are also used, most notably strings and winds. A list of the most common instrument names in Chinese and English is provided in Table 1.

TABLE 1. INSTRUMENTS USED IN DAOIST MUSIC

Cha	cymbals	*Guan* 管	pipes, winds
Dang 鐺	small gong	*Di* 笛	transverse flute
Erhu 二胡	two-stringed fiddle	*Gu* 鼓	drum, percussion
Ling 鈴	handbell	*Muyu* 木魚	wooden fish
Pipa 枇琶	plucked lute	*Sanxian* 三弦	three-stringed lute
Sheng 笙	mouth organ	*Suona* 嗩吶	double-reed pipe
Yangqin 揚琴	zither	*Zhong* 鐘	bronze bell

History

Daoist music has a long history that goes back thousands of years. According to Chinese tradition, shamans sang and danced before the gods in order to bring joy, prosperity, health, and good fortune to the people. The shamans acted as liaisons between the people and the gods. Daoist music partly derives from these ancient practices, inheriting both song and dance as means of communicating with the gods.

The FORMATIVE period of the Daoist religion was the early middle Ages, from the Later Han through the Six Dynasties. During this time Daoism rose above its grassroots origins to secure a more prestigious place at the imperial court and became a fully organized religion. In the early fifth century the new Celestial Master Kou Qianzhi received a revealed scripture titled *Yunzhong yinsong xinke zhi jie* 雲中音誦新科之誡 (Precepts of the New Code to Be Chanted [to the Melody] 'In the Clouds'). This is the first recorded use of ritual music in Daoist chanting. Before this time it appears that scriptures were expressed orally in a form of chanting called *zhisong* 直誦 that was more like an oral recitation. Kou reformed the way in which scriptures were expressed, prescribing the use of music and even specific melodies (*yuesong* 樂誦).

Daoist music reached its peak in the TANG dynasty, and as the religion became more popular and influential so did its music. The music's most noteworthy characteristic at this time was its close relation to court music, and Daoist songs and tunes were often commissioned by emperors for ritual use at court. Emperor Xuanzong (r. 713-755) was an especially great connoisseur of Daoist music. He ordered court musicians to write Daoist pieces, invited musicians of different backgrounds to his palace and even composed ritual music himself. Some of the more famous works that he sponsored include Sima Chengzhen's 司馬承禎 *Xuanzhen daoqu* 玄真道曲 (Tune of Mysterious Perfection), Li Huiyuan's 李會元 *Daluotian qu* 大羅天曲 (Chant

Figure 1.

of the Heaven of Grand Veil), and He Zhizhang's 賀知章 *Ziqing daoqu* 紫清道曲 (Tune of Purple Clarity) and *Shangsheng daoqu* 上聖道曲 (Tune of the Highest Sages).

The SONG dynasty saw a transformation of Daoism in which the religion became even more popular and widespread, and imperial support of Daoist music continued unabated. The oldest surviving notation of a musical transcription dates from this time. It was compiled by the emperor himself in the context of the *Yuyin fashi* 玉音法事 (Jade Tune) Ritual. The work is divided into three volumes and contains a total of fifty pieces of music. It used winding lines to record melodies, a notational method that was then discontinued and is no longer understood; thus the pieces themselves are unintelligible (see Figure 1).

In the YUAN dynasty, Daoism divided into the two major schools of today: the monastic Complete Perfection and the popular Celestial Masters. Daoist ritual music has divided along the same lines, and the music of each faction is described below.

In the MING dynasty, the Yongle emperor (1402-24) wrote an anthology of Daoist music, entitled *Da Ming yuzhi xuanjiao yuezhang* 大明御制玄教樂章 (Musical Stanzas of the Mystery Teaching, Sponsored by the Great Ming). It uses the *gongche pu* 工尺譜 or word-based form of notation and includes fourteen pieces (see Figure 2).

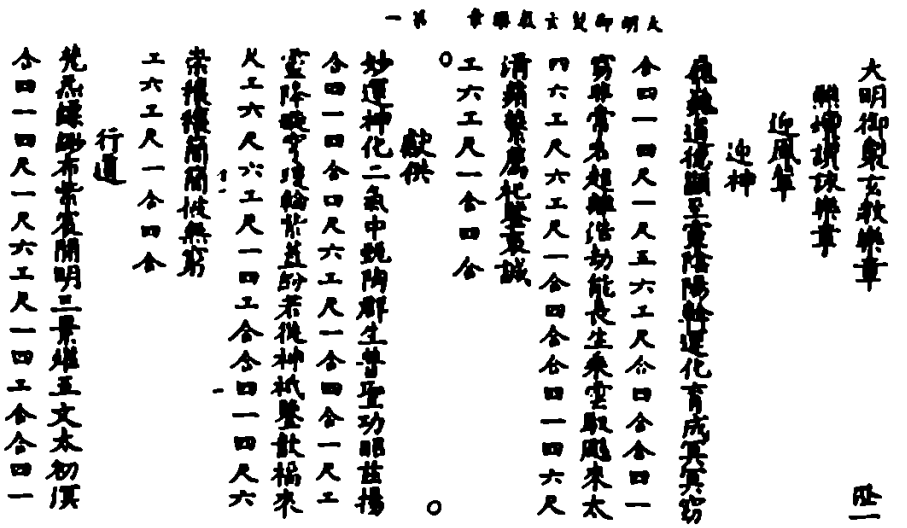
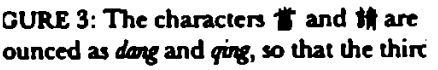


Figure 2.

It employs about ten different Chinese words, or phonetic symbols, with each representing one tone of the notation. The music can still be read today.

During the Ming, Daoism declined, particularly in terms of imperial support. Instead of occupying a prestigious position at court the religion now found more of a place among the grassroots traditions of popular culture. From this change in Daoism's overall status, Daoist music became linked more closely with Chinese folk music, and the two genres influenced each other.

In the QING dynasty the close relationship between Daoist and folk music continued as the Qing court supported the religion even less than the Ming. To the Manchu emperors Daoism was an unimportant creed lacking prestige. Nevertheless one important event occurred in regard to Daoist music under the Qing: in 1906, He Longxiang 賀龍驤 and Peng Hanran 彭瀚然 compiled the *Chongkan daozang jiyao* 重刊道藏輯要 (Edited Essentials of the Daoist Canon) in the Erxian an 二仙庵 (Two Immortals' Cloister) of Chengdu (Sichuan). It contained 56 pieces of Daoist music under the title *Quanzhen zhengyun* 全真正韻 (Proper Melodies of Complete Perfection), an unprecedented collection that was written down in the ritual percussion notation called *dangqing pu* 當請譜 after the sound of drums and cymbals (see Figure 3). The pieces in this collection continue to be heard in Complete Perfection rituals today.



GURE 3: The characters 當 and 請 are
ounced as *dang* and *qing*, so that the thirc

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SCHOOLS AND FUNC

ıd its music, falls into two major
and Celestial Masters.
ıas three different functions in the
ı) school. First, it embellishes th
nd evening (*zaowan ke* 早晚課) at

ries. Second, music is used to celebrate festivals or send memorials to the gods on special days. These include important birthdays such as those of the Jade Emperor on the ninth day of the first month of the lunar calendar, Qiu Changchun on the nineteenth of the first, and Lord Lao on the fifteenth of the second month, as well as the festivals of the Three Primes on the fifteenth of the first, seventh and tenth months. Finally, music is used to praise the gods on special occasions, such as when rain falls after a long drought, when an epidemic or natural disaster ends, or when someone dies and the gods are praised to ensure their successful sojourn in the otherworld.

Generally, in Complete Perfection music the voice is emphasized over other musical mediums. Instruments play a secondary role and are few in number and variety. Ritual percussion instruments, such as bronze bells, drums, wooden fish, handbells, small gongs, and cymbals, together with a group of monks or nuns chanting in unison, constitute the core of Daoist music at the daily monastic services and other rituals. Only on rare occasions do other traditional Chinese instruments make an appearance.

In rituals that praise the gods in festivals or memorials, the voice—both in chanting and singing—is again the most important medium. Sometimes the rituals also involve the performance of longer scenes represented in dance, or more extensive pieces of instrumental music. After this large percussion instruments are played, along with Chinese wind instruments such as double-reed pipes, mouth organs, or transverse flutes. In these rituals, vocal music may appear in a variety of different styles: as choirs singing in unison, soloists leading a group, different soloists taking turns singing individual lines, individual solo singing, or free recitation in the form of songs.

The most notable characteristic of Complete Perfection music is its high degree of uniformity; it applies the same melodies and styles throughout the country, even across provincial and regional boundaries. This is because all members of the school use the same musical model contained in its repertory, the *Quanzhen zhengyun* (Perfected Melodies of Complete Perfection). This is also used in the *Shifang conglin* 十方叢林 (Comprehensive Forest [of Melodies] of the Ten Directions), and so is known as the *Shifang yun* 十方韻. All music in this school is transmitted via oral instruction; there are no written scores in any of its temples or monasteries.

Despite this overall uniformity, there is a certain degree of local coloring within Complete Perfection music, and specific temples are affected by local culture and language. Music that is modified in this way is referred to as *difang yun* 地方韻 or "local melodies." Popular styles are highly effective in

spreading Daoist ideas and attracting wider segments of the population to the religion.

The CELESTIAL MASTERS (Zhengyi) school also uses music in its key rituals, but tends to employ music for the curing of diseases, the prevention of and recovery from natural disasters, the expulsion of harmful insects from fields and the offering of prayers for good fortune. Rituals of this nature are often called *dajiao* 打醮 or "offerings" and are carried out before harvests in the countryside.

Offerings can be divided into two kinds: pure offerings and dark offerings (*qing jiao* 清醮; *you jiao* 幽醮). Pure offerings and their prayers intended to improve people's lives, bringing them good harvests, good fortune, healthy children and the like. Dark offerings are celebrations to remember the deceased, to ward off evil and to protect the living from harm. The ritual music of the Celestial Masters coordinates both kinds of offerings. Similar to its Complete Perfection counterpart, it makes much use of the voice—in solos, with leaders beginning the song or chant while a choir follows, and with groups chanting in unison. Unlike Complete Perfection, however, the Celestial Masters' instrumentation is rich and varied. There are two reasons for this: one, its music incorporates many more instruments, especially strings and winds; two, it is sometimes purely instrumental. Additional instruments used include double-reed pipes, transverse flutes, two-stringed fiddles, plucked lutes, three-stringed lutes and zithers (see also Lee 1992).

Celestial Masters music has two other major characteristics. First, it is performed in an open manner, with anyone able to join in and participate. It is even performed by people who are not Daoists. If such people desire the celebration that accompanies a great offering, they can hire a Daoist troupe to come and perform, and may actively participate in the music and celebration. Second, the sponsors of such Daoist musical performances are usually local people, not monks or nuns. For this reason, Celestial Masters music is highly local and heavily incorporates local instruments, players, melodies, and styles.

Because of these two traits, Celestial Master Daoists are highly aware of their local environment, and much popular and folk music is absorbed into their musical styles and ritual performances. For example, the ritual music of Shanghai and Suzhou clearly exhibits the influences of local Jiangnan silk and bamboo music (*jiangnan sizhu* 江南丝竹). Certain melodies used in Suzhou's central temple, the Xuanmiao guan 玄妙觀 (Temple of Mystery and Wonder), derive from Sunan wind and percussion music. Typical tunes include the *Yifeng shu* 一封書 (A Letter), the *Qingjiang yin* 清江引 (Clear

River), the *Dakai men* 大開門 (Wide Open Gate) and the *Jinzi jing* 金字經 (Book of Golden Letters). Similarly, the Celestial Masters head temple on Mount Longhu uses a form of music that is heavily influenced by the style of local folksongs, known as *Yiyang qiang* 弋陽腔 (Jiangyi Local Folklore). These are examples of how Celestial Masters temples have actively incorporated local music into their ritual performances.

Consequently, this kind of Daoist music is highly idiosyncratic, varying from place to place. It thereby differs significantly from Complete Perfection music which, as we have seen, is extremely uniform throughout the country. For example, whereas one finds a very similar style of Complete Perfection music in both Shanghai and Suzhou, Celestial Masters music in the two cities is widely divergent—even though they are geographically close and the rituals performed in them are highly similar. In Shanghai, a Daoist would sing in *Shanghai qiang*; in Suzhou he would chant in *Suzhou qiang*. All the major centers of the Celestial Masters have their own style of music and chanting, even if the same rituals are performed and the same scriptures are used.

HUOJU 伙居, "community" or popular Daoists, are a third type of Daoist. They are not attached to monasteries or local temples but rather live with their families and lead ordinary, lay lives, usually as farmers or craftsmen. Although they follow the religion and are trained in both rituals and music, in their daily lives they appear as peasants and wear no special garb. They don their costumes only when asked to perform a rite on behalf of a local person. They become Daoists, that is, only when the occasion demands, moving back and forth between the lay and priestly life. Sometimes they invite local folk musicians to participate in the rituals which they organize. Their music, although it applies certain elements of monastic or temple styles, tends overall to be more in line with folk practice, using popular tunes to chant the scriptures.

Relations and Influences

COURT MUSIC. From its very beginning, Daoism has had a close relationship with the imperial court. Traditionally Daoists appeared at court to gain the support of the emperor, aristocrats, and officials, which they needed in order to survive and flourish. At the same time, because Daoism was the major indigenous religion of China, the court needed its support in order to maintain a strong hold on the people. Since Daoists reached out widely to the populace, the court was able to use them to spread ideas that

were politically supportive of its policies. As a result of this symbiotic relationship, Daoist music has always maintained close links to court music.

Although this interrelationship is clear from historical sources, it is difficult to demonstrate in any concrete cases. This is because traditional court music has all but vanished today; there are no audio recordings, and score transcriptions are scarce. Comparisons therefore must be made using historical documents, such as the above-mentioned "New Code" of Kou Qianzhi, which included a set of precepts to be chanted in an arrangement that imitated Han-dynasty court music (*jisi* 祭祀).

It was in the **Tang dynasty** that Daoist music reached its heyday at court, exerting a significant influence on the development of court music styles. Court music, too, thrived at this time, which contributed significantly to the rise of Daoist music. Indeed, it becomes difficult to distinguish one from the other. The most important form of music in all major Tang court ceremonies was *Yanyue* 燕樂, "Music of Yan." It was also applied during Daoist rites, and several key melodies followed its style, including the famous *Buxu sheng* 步虛聲 (Pacing the Void), the *Qixian* 祈仙 (Imploring the Immortals), the *Qiaoxian* 翹仙 (Soaring to Immortality), the *Jiuxian* 九仙 (Nine Immortals), the *Sanyuan* 三元 (Three Primes), the *Shouyue* 壽樂 (Longevity Song), the *Ziji* 紫極 (Purple Culmen), the *Chengtian yue* 承天樂 (Song of Obeying Heaven), and many others.

Some forms of this "Music of Yan" were also called *faqu* 法曲, or ritual music. These bore a close resemblance to Daoist tunes and themes. For example, certain *faqu* titles referred to clearly Daoist themes, such as *Wangying* 望瀛 (Yearning for Paradise), *Xianxian yin* 獻仙音 (Offering Immortals' Song), *Xiantian hua* 獻天花 (Offering Heavenly Flowers), or *Nishang yuyi* 霓裳羽衣 (Rainbow Cloak and Feather Robe). Moreover, the same instruments were used in this kind of music as in Daoist music, and both court officials and emperors (notably Xuanzong mentioned above) were actively engaged in the composing appropriate pieces. Furthermore, Daoist musicians were trained at court. Clearly then, under the Tang the relationship between Daoist and court music was close and multifaceted.

A similar situation was found under the **Ming dynasty**. The Ming court frequently held Daoist rituals, which were very popular. Both the Hongwu (1368-1398) and Yongle (1402-1424) emperors greatly enjoyed Daoist rituals and music; they supported a court institute, known as the Shenyue guan 神樂觀 that trained professionals to perform both court rituals and Daoist rites. Ritual performers known as *yuewu sheng* 樂舞生 (performers of music and dance) specialized in these court services,

and wore costumes identical to those of Complete Perfection masters. They were generally regarded more as Daoists than as court musicians.

Like the Tang emperor Xuanzong, Yongle also composed Daoist music and had it collected in the anthology *Da Ming yuzhi xuanjiao yuezhang* (see above). This collection is divided into three sections: (1) music used during offerings to the gods, including rites for their greetings and farewells; (2) music praising the god of mysterious heaven; and (3) music used during rites for the souls of the dead and memorial services. The second of these forms the core of the book because the emperor focused his religious concerns on the heavenly deity and believed himself to be his earthly manifestation. From the collection's notation it is quite evident that this Daoist music—which was used strictly within the confines of the court—was very close to court music in style and organization, so close in fact that it is sometimes hard to differentiate between the two.

FOLK MUSIC. Although Daoism is a religion and is thus composed of religious elements, it is also deeply ingrained in secular folk customs. As described earlier, Daoism was closely linked with the court in ancient times, but it has also always had an intimate relationship with popular culture. While Daoist music aims to express the wishes of and convey messages to the gods, it is also played by mortal people in a secular local settings. Thus it has two elements that make it unique: its religious character, which sets it apart from other forms of music; and its closeness to folk culture, which bonds it with real people in real places. We can therefore better understand Daoist music if we analyze its relationships to folksongs, story recitals, local drama, and popular instrumental music.

In mainland China, **folksongs** are passed from one generation to the next through an oral tradition. They are not transcribed or composed by individual musicians. Folksongs are closely linked with people's daily lives. When peasants work in the fields, they sing songs about their labor; when people marry, they and their friends sing songs about marriage; when people engage in story telling, they sing songs relating to the story. For this reason, folksongs play a vital role in Chinese daily life and popular culture, providing an environment in which Daoist music has thrived for centuries. Both forms of music have been closely connected with, and have reflected the realities of, people's lives, and they have thus influenced each other significantly.

Daoist music uses popular forms of music to attract people to the religion and spread its teachings. But it is also rooted among the people since many Daoists themselves come from the countryside. When a given Daoist moves from his village to the temple, he does not always shed his local

language and customs—although ideally he should give up all non-religious activities and ideas. He often finds it difficult to shed his native accent and customs, and thus maintains an element of local color in his religious activities. Thus, when Daoists sing religious songs, however much they may wish to comply to non-local standards, they unconsciously add local color to their chantings in their words, melodies, or instrumentation.

The common people often use religious songs in their customary activities, such as the rituals of *jisi*. Daoist music enters into these as a natural element, and in fact the successful performance of the practice may require its participation. To give an example, certain types of folksongs such as *Sidian ge* 祀典歌 (Song of Sacrifice) and *Fengsu ge* 風俗歌 (Song of Customs) are chanted in offerings made to the local gods. Daoist music everywhere has songs of this type, displaying highly similar melodies and tunes. In transcription the two look remarkably alike. Figure 4 (a-c) gives a comparative example, showing the Daoist melody above and the folk tune below.

Story recitals or *shuochang* 說唱 are another kind of folk music common in mainland China and contain a mixture of spoken and sung phrases. They have a long history in the country, varying greatly with locality. One form of this is called *daoqing* 道情 or "solo ballad" (see Sawada 1970; Boltz 1996, 209). Part of an active Daoist effort to raise funds for the religion, it goes back to a Tang-style of storytelling known as *sujiang* 俗講 or "colloquial telling." *Sujiang* was first used to spread Daoist ideas among the wider populace but soon became so popular that people were more interested in listening to stories than in doing their work. The Tang government was concerned about this development and, in an attempt to establish some control, limited its performance. Daoists reacted by changing their style of storytelling and instead of describing the scriptures they began to explain Daoist tales. This new form made use of a more poetic style and was soon linked with instrumental tunes.

Solo ballads as a composite art form developed fully only in the Song dynasty, when professional balladiers traveled throughout the country to spread the religion. In the Ming and Qing, ballads became widely popular throughout the country and came to be sung notably by Daoists but also by other people. Their content and form changed accordingly, and the music was strongly influenced by popular tunes. What emerged was the folk ballad. This in turn appears in two forms, the *yuequ ti* 樂曲體, a non-universal or irregular piece of music that forms part of the ballad, and the *qupai ti* 曲牌體, a systematic or regular form of music within the ballad. The former, widely popular and known to many people, was prevalent in the south, especially in the provinces of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, and Fujian; the

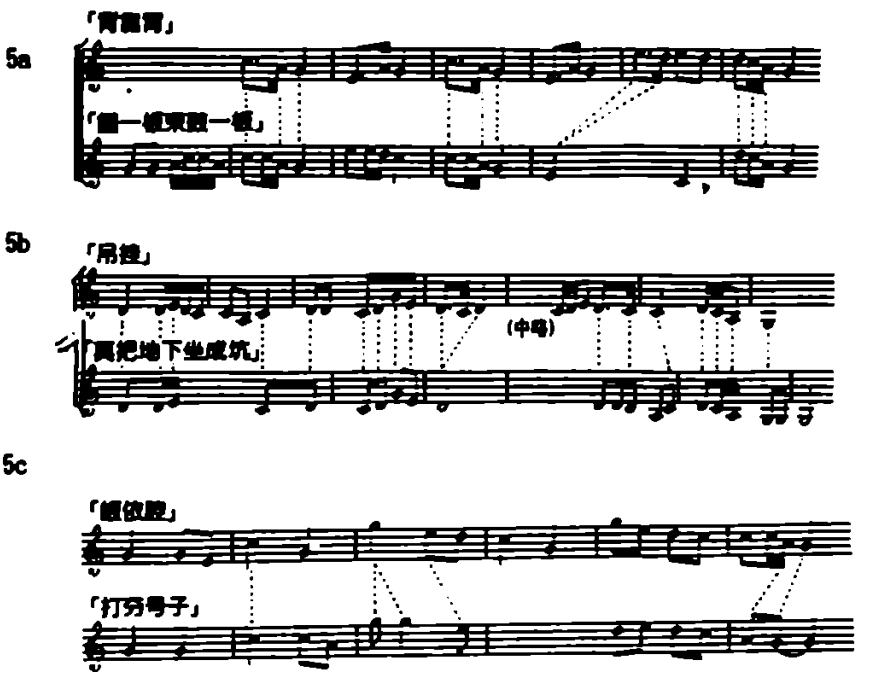

Figure 4

latter was more common in the north. Typical pieces include *Shua hai'er* 要孩兒 (Children Playing), *Zaolong pao* 皂龍袍 (Dragon Garb), *Qingjiang yin* 清江引 (Clear River), *Langtao sha* 浪淘沙 (Waving Sands), *Shanpo yang* 山坡羊 (Mountain Goats), and so on.

The ballad is very popular to the present day in the northern provinces of Shanxi, Gansu, Hebei, Henan and Shandong, maintaining the close relationship between Daoist music, story telling and other performances, and popular art forms.

The same pattern also holds true for popular **drama** (*xiqu* 戲曲), whose closeness to religious ritual has been noted before in a Buddhist context (see Johnson 1989). The dramatic aspect of Daoist ritual is immediately appar-

ent when one remembers that Daoists take on the roles of different gods, officials, and immortals in their rites. Again, local practices are tremendously diverse, so that some locations have an active tradition of Daoist drama, while others do not. To give some examples, there is *daoqing xi* 道情戲 (ballad drama) in Shanxi, *shidao xi* 師道戲 (masters drama) in Hunan and Guangxi, *tongzi xi* 童子戲 (apprentice drama) and *xianghuo xi* 香火戲 (incense burning drama) in Jiangsu and *dixi* 地戲 (earth drama) in Guizhou. All of these types of local drama combine Daoist ideas and ritual forms with local ways, so that they represent a form of ritual that is Daoist and yet, at the same time, part of the popular theater scene. These styles all share the same musical organization, within which we can distinguish two forms: *qupai lianzhui* 曲牌聯綴, which is a medley that strings together hundreds of individual pieces to express the complex emotions raised in the drama; and *banshi bianhua* 板式變化, which consists of a type of melody that is more uniform and yet changes rapidly in rhythm and tempo, again to match the changing feelings expressed on stage. Both of these forms are actively used in Daoist rituals, being applied at different stages and expressing different aspects of the sacred events (see also Boltz 1996).

In addition, both local drama and Daoist ritual music are characterized by a close integration of bodily movements, singing, and instrumental music. Both make use of a narrative form of music known as *yunbai* 韻白 (chanted speech). In this form, the pitch varies from high to low according to the feelings expressed by the person in the drama or ritual. Percussion instruments also play an important role in both. In Daoist rituals they punctuate the chanting of the scriptures, give rhythm to the ritual steps, and orchestrate the movements. In popular drama, they are essential in emphasizing the actors' movements and accompanying their singing and musical chanting.

It is difficult to decide whether Daoist music influenced drama more or drama had a greater impact on Daoist music, but a few historical observations can be made. First, Daoists traditionally took an active part in local drama and Daoist stories about gods and immortals formed an important part of local repertories. Second, Daoists made active use of dramatic performances to attract people to the religion and spread their teachings among the wider populace. They used dramatic music because it was already a popular medium and the people could easily relate to it. Some instrumental pieces are thus the same, both in melody and title, in both Daoist music and the music of drama—as, for example, we see in *Xiao kaimen* (The Open Door), *Shanpo yang* (Mountain Goats), and *Bangzhuang tai* 傍妝臺 (At the Vanity).

Another area of overlap is **folk instrumental music**, which has a long history in China. By the Zhou dynasty instruments were already classified according to the material from which they were made and divided into eight classes: metal, stone, clay, skins (of cows, pigs, or snakes), silk, wood, bowl-formed wood 匏 and bamboo. Instruments at that time included chimes, bells, lithophones, ocarinas, zithers and flutes. Over the centuries these became popular as folk instruments, and they have remained in use to the present day. Folk music is popular in all parts of China. Some of the more important regional variants include the percussion music of Shanxi, the winds of Hebei, and the pipes and drums of Jiangsu and Jiangnan.

In all these places Daoist music and folk music interact in multiple ways. Sometimes both contain identical pieces, whereas sometimes they share a basic melody but with varying interpretations. Then again, the style may be similar while the performance varies. The structure of the instrumental music used in both tends to be highly similar. A good example here is the instrumental music of the Baiyun guan in Shanghai, which is popular in both Shanghai and southern Jiangsu. Another example is the music of the Xuanmiao guan in Suzhou which is almost identical with the local winds and percussion music (see Liu 1999). Both have a drum solo that is played in three parts—fast, moderate, and slow—and overall their percussion music share the same structure, playing technique, and performance style. In fact, older Daoists testify that they learned their musical techniques from the local musical folklore organization.

In other areas of China, too, including Taiwan and Hong Kong, a similar relationship between Daoist and folk music is found. For example, the Daoist music of Hebei is very close to Hebei folk music (*chuida* 吹打) and the music of the Daoist City God Temple of Xi'an resembles the local percussion style. The ritual music of Guangdong and Hong Kong temples, moreover, is very close to the regional folk music, a situation also found in Taiwan (see Lü 1994). Although the close interrelation between the two kinds of music is documented in many areas of greater China, it is difficult to determine which was more seminal. Over the past fifty years, however, the tendency has been for folk music to influence Daoist styles rather than the other way around.