

## ABSTRACT

Title of Document: THE PERFORMANCE PRACTICE OF  
BUDDHIST *BAIQI* IN CONTEMPORARY  
TAIWAN

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The *baiqi* (Buddhist percussive instruments), also known as *faqi* (dharma instruments), are mentioned in the Chinese Buddhist scriptures under many different terms: *jianzhi*, *jiandi*, *jianzhui*, or *jianchi*. The original function of *baiqi* in earlier monastic life was to gather people or to call an assembly. With the completion of monasticism and monastic institutions, *baiqi* have become multifunctional in monasteries, and many *baiqi* instruments have been developed for different monastic applications. In contemporary Buddhist monasteries in Taiwan, *baiqi* are used, on the one hand, to mark the time throughout the day, signal the beginning and end of monastic daily activities, and regulate the monastic order; and on the other hand, *baiqi* are indispensable to the musical practices of all Buddhist rituals, where they are used to accompany *fanbai* (Buddhist liturgical chants) and to articulate the whole ritual process.

This study investigates multiple facets of Buddhist *baiqi* in their performance practice, function, application, notation, and transmission, exploring the interaction between *baiqi*

and *fanbai*, *baiqi* and the practitioner, *baiqi* and the monastic space, and *baiqi* and various Buddhist contexts. I draw upon ideas from performance theory as it concerns different disciplines, but I maintain a sharper focus on the musicological dimension of performance practice when analyzing, interpreting, and explaining the performance and music of *baiqi* in terms of the monastic lifestyle and its rituals. The study not only uncovers the musical system of *baiqi*, but also encapsulates various issues of performed identity, social interaction, performer/audience, associated behaviors, the musical construction of space, and transmission.

THE PERFORMANCE PRACTICE OF BUDDHIST *BAIQI*  
IN CONTEMPORARY TAIWAN

By

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## Dedication

This work is dedicated to my wonderful parents:  
Lu Ching-Ming and Yang Fang-Ying

## Acknowledgements

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# Chapter One

## Introduction

### I. Introduction to the Context

In contemporary Taiwan, *baiqi* 唄器 (collection of Buddhist percussive instruments)<sup>1</sup> plays an indispensable role in the daily life of the Buddhist monastery and in all Buddhist rituals and services. The importance of *baiqi* is well implied in a very famous and frequently used idiomatic phrase, *mugu chenzhong* 暮鼓晨鐘 (the evening drum and the morning bell). *Mugu chenzhong* depicts the typical image of Buddhist monastic culture, in which monks and nuns adhere to a uniform and strict daily routine. This term means that in the morning, a monk on duty chants the *chenzhongji* 晨鐘偈 (morning bell hymn) and plays the bell precedent to the drum. Then, in the evening, a monk on duty chants the *muzhongji* 暮鐘偈 (evening bell hymn) and plays the drum precedent to the bell. *Mugu chenzhong* designates the most important daily practice within the monastery (morning and evening services) and their strong connection with two *baiqi* instruments, the bell and the drum. In fact, almost all daily routines and practices have the corresponding *baiqi* and *fanbai* 梵唄 (Buddhist liturgical chant). Proficiency in practicing *baiqi* and *fanbai* for daily routines and practices is required for formal monks and nuns.

In addition to the daily routines and practices within the monastery, a variety of rituals and ceremonies are held regularly in the monastery. Regardless of the context of the rituals and ceremonies, *baiqi* and *fanbai* constitute its key components. *Fanbai*

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<sup>1</sup> The term *baiqi* used in this study refers to both the ensemble of instruments (*baiqi* are played here) and a single instrument (the wooden fish is a *baiqi*).

transmits the text of the main sutras and conveys Buddhist teachings, while *baiqi* monitors each step of the ritual procedure and guides each action. In the musical aspect, *fanbai* presents the melodic progression, while *baiqi* enriches the sound of *fanbai* with rhythmic patterns and controls the tempo to ensure the fluent manipulation of the performance. In a religious context, *baiqi* may not be viewed as equivalent to musical instruments; however, it does have a quasi-musical function.

This study investigates multiple facets of Buddhist *baiqi* in its performance practice, function, application, notation, and transmission, exploring the interaction between *baiqi* and *fanbai*, *baiqi* and the practitioner, *baiqi* and the monastic space, and *baiqi* and various Buddhist contexts. In the ethnomusicological literature, studies on ritual music often focus on the chant or the ritual itself. This study does not emphasize Buddhist chant or any single Buddhist ritual, service, or ceremony. Instead, it focuses on the musical system of *baiqi* itself, and its adaptation, symbolization, and implementation in the Buddhist circles of Taiwanese society. In addition, in studies on musical instruments used in a ritual context, ethnomusicologists are usually concerned about the power of the instrument and how it works on practitioners and in the ritual system. The spiritual power of the Buddhist *baiqi* is seen in the *baiqi*'s critical status as the threshold between alternate realms or as the channel through which all sentient beings communicate from different realms in Buddhist cosmology. This study also discusses the power of the *baiqi* in relation to the essence of Buddhist doctrine, the whole of Buddhist cosmology, and the efficacy of the ritual.

## II. Research Problems

Buddhist music in Taiwan began to draw the attention of researchers in 1977, when

Lu Bingchuan<sup>2</sup> conducted comparative research on the Buddhist chants of Taiwan and Japan.<sup>3</sup> Since then, Buddhist music research has continuously developed in Taiwan. Several topics in Buddhist music have been examined, ranging from the musical practices within the temple to the commercial Buddhist rock mantra, from the ritual of sacred context to the ritual of mundane context, and from the traditional chant to the contemporary composed Buddhist song. These contributions have sketched the basic manifestation of Buddhist music in Taiwan. However, two gaps remain in the knowledge of this field. First, when gathering research data, researchers have acquired more information from *haichaoyin* 海潮音, one style of Buddhist ritual music, than from *gushanyin* 鼓山音, another style of Buddhist ritual music. As a result, more knowledge has been gathered about *haichaoyin* than about *gushanyin*. Second, studies of Buddhist ritual music have paid more attention to the practice of *fanbai*, with the practice of *baiqi* having either been discussed in a complementary manner or ignored completely. These two problems may have been inadvertent results of Taiwan's historical transition and the unbalanced records of *fanbai* and *baiqi* in historical materials.

Buddhist ritual music in Taiwan has traditionally fallen into two categories: *gushanyin* 鼓山音 style and *haichaoyin* 海潮音 style. This division occurred against Taiwan's unique historical background. When the Nationalists lost the Chinese Civil War to the Communist Party and fled to Taiwan in 1949, many mainland monks of China,

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<sup>2</sup> Lu Bing Chuan 呂炳川, "Fojiao yinyue fanbai—Taiwan fanbai yu riben shengming zhi bijiao," 佛教音樂梵唄—台灣梵唄與日本聲明之比較 (Buddhist Fanbai—The Comparison between Fanbai of Taiwan and Shomyo of Japan), in *Lu Bing Chuan yinyue lunshu ji* 呂炳川音樂論述集 (Selected Papers of Lu Bing Chuan) (Taipei: Taiwan shibao wenhua chuban gongsi 台灣時報文化出版公司), 201-23.

<sup>3</sup> Lin Gu Fang 林谷芳, "Cong xingshi dao shizhide zhuanhua: Taiwan fojiao yinyue de fazhan yu jiantao." 從形式到實質的轉化: 台灣佛教音樂的發展與檢討 (From Formality to Substantial Transformation: The Development and Review of Buddhist Music in Taiwan), in *1998 nian foxue yanjiu lunwenji—fojiao yinyue* 1998年佛學研究論文集—佛教音樂 (The Collection of Essays on Buddhist Studies in 1998—Buddhist Music) (Taipei: Foguang Cultural Enterprise Co., Ltd. 佛光文化事業有限公司, 1999), 391.

primarily from Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces, followed the Nationalist government to Taiwan. The Nationalist government took over Taiwan from the Japanese and endeavored to build and restore a Nationalist version of mainland Chinese culture and identity on the island; at the same time, it eradicated Japanese culture and suppressed local culture in Taiwan. With the support of the Nationalist government, mainland refugee monks quickly established their system of mainland Chinese Buddhism as orthodox Buddhism in Taiwan.

The mainland style of monasteries was built successively to fill the need to practice and disseminate mainland Chinese Buddhism; it developed and grew in Taiwan very quickly. However, Buddhism had already been practiced in Taiwan for more than three hundred years. The characteristics of local Buddhism in Taiwan were inherited from the Buddhism of the Minnan culture (the southern Fujian province in China) and influenced by indigenous folk beliefs and Japanese Buddhism. It has developed in its own way and has maintained its characteristics through history. The musical practice of local Buddhism shows distinct differences from that of mainland Buddhism. These differences led to the formation of two styles of Buddhist ritual music in Taiwan: *gushanyin*, transmitted mainly by local monks and local lay ritual practitioners, and *haichaoyin*, transmitted mainly by mainland monks who arrived in Taiwan after 1949.

The mainland style of monasteries was supported by the Nationalist government, and thus it expanded its influence and gained control of the Buddhist environment in Taiwan. This historical background has led researchers to give greater authority and attention to the mainland style of Buddhism. In addition, while mainland China suffered under the Cultural Revolution during 1966–1976 and paid its consequences, Taiwan seemed to

become a place where the former mainland Chinese culture could be accessed.<sup>4</sup> Western scholars also came to Taiwan to study orthodox mainland Buddhism; consequently, studies of Buddhist ritual music concentrate more on the mainland practice of *haichaoyin*. Local practice of Buddhist ritual music in Taiwan was neglected by researchers for a long time because of these historical factors. Despite its disadvantaged position, the transmission of local *gushanyin* never disappeared, and it is still practiced today. The social conflicts between local and mainland identities still exist today in Taiwan, but these two identities have also interacted and assimilated with each other throughout the historical progression. In fact, through a long-term process of social integration, not only have local and mainland identities ceased to be sharply dichotomized, but in many cases, *gushanyin* and *haichaoyin* are also now practiced simultaneously in many monasteries and by many lay ritual practitioners. Researchers have treated *haichaoyin* as an important part of Buddhist ritual music in Taiwan for a long time, but *gushanyin* is equally important and deserves the same attention.

In addition to the problem of researchers' disproportionate attention to *haichaoyin*, despite both *baiqi* and *fanbai* being essential elements in Buddhist music, *fanbai* has always been of greater interest to researchers. This situation can be attributed to the relatively abundant historical records on *fanbai*. Many historical sources record how the earlier monks used *fanbai* for preaching after Buddhism was introduced to China.<sup>5</sup> Many

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<sup>4</sup> Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State, 1660-1990* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), xiv.

<sup>5</sup> Zanning 贊寧, *Song gaosengzhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song Version of the Biographies of Eminent Monks) [988, Northern Song Dynasty 北宋 (960-1127)], in *Taisho shinshu daizokyo* 大正新脩大藏經 (Tripitaka, new compilation in Taisho Era) (Tokyo: Issaikyō kankōkai 一切經刊行會, 1924-1934), T50, no.2061.

Daoxuan 道宣, *Xu gaosengzhuan* 續高僧傳 (Continuation of The Biographies of Eminent Monks). [596-667, Tang Dynasty 唐代 (618-907)], in *Taisho shinshu daizokyo* 大正新脩大藏經 (Tripitaka, new compilation in Taisho Era) (Tokyo: Issaikyō kankōkai 一切經刊行會, 1924-1934), T50, no.2060.

sutras indicate that using *fanbai* to praise Buddha or disseminate dharma has great merit.<sup>6</sup> Actually, except for the drum and the bell, other *baiqi* instruments used today are seldom found in historical records. Current researchers believe that in the earlier stage of Buddhism in China, monks practiced *fanbai* without *baiqi*, and the use of *baiqi* accompanying *fanbai* is the result of sinicized Buddhist practice.<sup>7</sup> The significance of *fanbai* is certainly recorded in many Buddhist classics and historical sources; thus, when Buddhist music became an area of research, *fanbai* caught the researchers' attention directly as a primary concern in their studies. Research on *fanbai* is still very popular today. In contrast to *fanbai*, scant research has been conducted specific on *baiqi*. How the practice of *baiqi* began, why the instruments were chosen as *baiqi*, how the *baiqi* is operated and effectuated in the ritual and monastic life, and the significance of *baiqi* in the monastery today require more in-depth investigation. Therefore, this study fills the two knowledge gaps not only by comprehensively examining the musical knowledge of *baiqi* itself from different aspects, but also by investigating the practices of both *gushanyin*-style and *haichaoyin*-style Buddhist ritual music in contemporary Taiwan.

### III. Theoretical Approach and Methodology

In 1964, Alan Merriam proposed a three-part paradigm in the study of ethnomusicology.<sup>8</sup> Since then, the discipline has been defined as the study of music in culture or the study of music as culture. Merriam's model has its significance in the

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<sup>6</sup> Jiumoluoshi (Kumārajīva) 鳩摩羅什, trans. *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (*Lotus Sutra; Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra*) [334-413, Sixteen States 五胡十六國 (304-439)], in *Taisho shinshu daizokyo* 大正新脩大藏經 (Tripitaka, new compilation in Taisho Era) (Tokyo: Issaikyō kankōkai 一切經刊行會, 1924-1934), T09, no. 262.

<sup>7</sup> Hu Yao 胡耀, "Woguo fojiao yinyue diaocha shuyao 我國佛教音樂調查述要," (Investigation of Buddhist Music in China), *Yinyue yanjiu* 音樂研究 (Musical Research), no.1 (1986): 104-10.

<sup>8</sup> Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 32.

framework of ethnomusicology. Moreover, it evoked the central problem in the discipline—how to give equal consideration to and a unitary interpretation of music itself and human behavior.<sup>9</sup> Later scholars, either applying Merriam’s model to their studies or creating their own models by using approaches drawn from other disciplines, have all attempted to solve this problem. In many cases, ethnomusicologists draw on multiple approaches and use an eclectic mix of theories to carry out their research. Consequently, the effective models in the literature of ethnomusicology show considerable differences. This study also relates to various approaches suitable to the study; the most relevant of these approaches utilized is Rice’s paradigm and performance theory.

The main framework of this study is inspired by Rice’s paradigm, the main idea of which is to investigate the formative processes of music. These formative processes can be explored in terms of historical construction, social maintenance, and individual creation and experience.<sup>10</sup> This idea is inspired by Geertz’s claim that “symbol systems...are historically constructed, socially maintained and individually applied.”<sup>11</sup> This paradigm provides the aspects in terms of which music can be discussed in or as culture. In keeping with the paradigm, the discussion of the two styles of Buddhist ritual music—*gushanyin* and *haichaoyin*—will examine its diachronic and synchronic processes, investigating how the distinction and characteristics of both styles have been formed through the development and evolution of Buddhism in Taiwan (Chapter 2), how these two styles are sustained, maintained, contrasted, and communicated through the current Buddhist ecology in the contemporary social system of Taiwan, and how the new Buddhist non-ritual music has emerged and been promoted through the modern impact on

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<sup>9</sup> Timothy Rice, “Toward the Remodeling of Ethnomusicology,” *Ethnomusicology* 31, no. 3 (1987): 469-88.

<sup>10</sup> Rice, “Toward the Remodeling of Ethnomusicology,” 469-88.

<sup>11</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 363-64.

musical ideas, the commercial marketing, and the censorship of religious recordings (Chapter 3).

As for the individual creation and experience in Rice's paradigm, this study does not apply the general approach to explore the uniqueness and creativity of any individual performer/musician under the social structure because of the nature of the topic in this study. The principle of playing *baiqi* instruments always emphasizes the harmony of teamwork, and thus, personal outstanding music-making is not encouraged in the performance. It is more rational to look at the diverseness and variability of performing *baiqi* across different monasteries rather than at the individuality in performance. Therefore, in the synchronic discussion of ritual performance and in the analysis of the musical system of *baiqi* instruments (Chapters 4 and 5), the performances by different monasteries and temples will be taken as examples for comparative purposes and to support the discussion.

In addition, I will draw some ideas from performance theory, but with a stronger focus on a musicological perspective, for analyzing, interpreting, and explaining the performance and music of *baiqi* in the monastic lifestyle and in the rituals. Scholars from different academic specialties have contributed to the formation of different perspectives of performance theory; thus, performance theory covers a wide range of approaches. Ruth Stone indicates that performance theory points to five different approaches:<sup>12</sup> 1) the traditional musicological concept of "performance practice" for studying music through literary and historical sources, focusing on the sound structure phenomena; 2) the folklorist's idea for explaining the emergence of verbal art in the social interaction

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<sup>12</sup> Ruth Stone, *Theory for Ethnomusicology* (New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2008), 136-38.

between performers and audiences;<sup>13</sup> 3) the anthropological idea of “cultural performance” for working with large-scale cultural festivals;<sup>14</sup> 4) the linguistic notion of “performativity” for explaining speech-act and everyday behavior,<sup>15</sup> later extended to be used in gender issues;<sup>16</sup> and 5) the theatrical perspective of performance theory for studying theater and exploring the relationships among theater, ritual, and everyday life.<sup>17</sup>

The “performance” in the performance theory is actually a composite idea of ordinary human behaviors and actions in everyday life. As such, all shared music, behaviors, actions, cognitive forms, values of a society, or social structures embedded in the “performance” are viewed as a totality to be analyzed. This extended concept of “performance” in performance theory is actually a synonymous concept of a performance studies-specific term, “occasion,” created by Herndon,<sup>18</sup> but the scholars from other disciplines contributing to the performance theory have generated more issues and analytical methods within it.

Among all the different approaches in performance theory, the musicological perspective of performance practice is widely taken in the study of ethnomusicology. Although ethnomusicologists have also found useful explanatory devices from other perspectives on performance theory in folklore, anthropology, and theater, the application of performance theory in ethnomusicology does not usually parallel the theoretical sophistication of the folklore, anthropology, and theater works, and is more eclectic and

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<sup>13</sup> Richard Bauman, *Story, Performance, and Event: Contextual Studies of Oral Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

<sup>14</sup> Milton Singer, *Traditional India: Structure and Change* (Philadelphia: American Folklife Society, 1959).

<sup>15</sup> J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).

<sup>16</sup> Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (London: Routledge, 1997).

<sup>17</sup> Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

\_\_\_\_\_, *Performance Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1988, reprint, 2005).

<sup>18</sup> Marcia Herndon, “The Cherokee Ballgame Cycle: An Ethnomusicologist’s View,” *Ethnomusicology* 15, no. 3 (1971): 339-52.

closer to the musicological approach of performance practice.<sup>19</sup> A certain portion of ethnomusicological studies of performance practice, despite encapsulating the music and its associated behavior, underlying concepts, and relevant contextual issues into the analysis, have a strong focus on the detailed analysis of the musical system and the explanation for nuances of performance (Qureshi, Widdess, Béhague).<sup>20</sup> In more recent years, some ethnomusicologists have attempted to analyze the deep structure of the performance as sophisticatedly as the scholars in folklorist, anthropology, and theater do. Examples of such ethnomusicologists include Wong, Kisliuk, and Matiure.<sup>21</sup>

My study of *baiqi* is closer to the approach shown in the collection *Performance Practice: Ethnomusicological Perspectives*,<sup>22</sup> in which the researchers took the ideas from performance theory as explicated by folklorists to discuss the musical performance, associated behaviors, and social interaction as a totality; however, they still strongly focus on musical analysis with a musicological perspective of performance practice. Therefore, in this study, for the performance practice of *baiqi*, I present detailed musical analysis of the performance practice of *baiqi* in emic terms and their meanings in the monastic lifestyle and in the rituals. In addition, I encapsulate the issues of performed identity, performer/audience, musical construction of space, and transmission into the discussion.

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<sup>19</sup> Ruth Stone, *Theory for Ethnomusicology*, 141.

<sup>20</sup> Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Richard Widdess, *The Ragas of Early Indian Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

Gerard Béhague, ed. *Performance Practice: Ethnomusicological Perspectives* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984).

<sup>21</sup> Deborah Wong, *Speak it Louder: Asian Americans Making Music* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

Michelle Kisliuk, *Seize the Dance! BaAka Musical Life and the Ethnography of Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Sheasby Matiure, "Performing Zimbabwean Music in North America: An Ethnography of Mbira and Marimba Performance Practice in the United States" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2008).

<sup>22</sup> Gerard Béhague, ed. *Performance Practice*.

Regarding the method for gathering information, in addition to searching textual resources, fieldwork is the primary and most important means of data collection for this study. Participant-observation is the main field technique. My fieldwork was conducted during two periods in Taiwan, from April to October in 2008, and from April 2009 to April 2010. Among different ways of working during fieldwork, there were three main actions taken for participant-observation:

- 1) I took *baiqi* lessons with Buddhist nuns in a small temple of southern Taiwan. The lessons contained a series of courses created for lay Buddhists and Buddhist postulants of that temple, teaching several *baiqi* instruments and application of those instruments in the rituals of dharma sharing sessions. Learning *baiqi* was my first step of the fieldwork. As a Taiwanese cultural insider but a Buddhist cultural outsider, I entered the field by taking the lessons in *baiqi* practices and gained the common knowledge of Buddhist etiquette through all activities experienced in that temple.
- 2) I participated in a variety of Buddhist rituals on different sacred and secular occasions. Because there are enormously diverse Buddhist rituals currently executed in Taiwan, it is impossible to participate in all of the different rituals. However, the rituals in which I selected to participate covered the rituals of all five Buddhist ritual types (Chapter 3), from the rituals that took only a few hours to the rituals that lasted for two weeks.
- 3) I lived in the temples. I actually visited and conducted research activities in numerous monasteries and temples selected from northern, middle, southern, and eastern Taiwan, including the monasteries and temples selected from both old and new dharma lineages in Taiwan (Chapter 2) and from the cities to the

remote villages and mountains. However, I only chose two temples in which to live for a long period, with one practicing *gushanyin*-style rituals and the other practicing *haichaoyin*-style rituals. Most of the useful and valuable information was gained through natural conversation with nuns and monastic members and through living experiences during my long stays in the temples.

In addition to the three main actions above, there are many other research activities practiced during the fieldwork, such as giving interviews, visiting folk temples, and participating in symposium.

#### IV. Literature Review

The literature reviewed for this study is based on sources in both Chinese and English. The useful sources are categorized as follows: Buddhist music in ethnomusicology (Chinese), Buddhist music in ethnomusicology (English), Buddhist music outside ethnomusicology, and Buddhism in Taiwan.

##### 1. Buddhist Music in Ethnomusicology (Chinese)

The academic works published in Taiwan about Buddhist music cover several issues, including the synchronic study of Buddhist music and society in Taiwan, the modern impact of Buddhist music in Taiwan, investigation of *fanbai*, cultural analysis of music in morning and evening services, Buddhist music and spiritual cultivation, and music and its meanings in a specific ritual. Whatever issues are addressed in the research, scholars often explore and discuss these issues through the performance practice of *fanbai*. In contrast, *baiqi* is not always a central concern in the study, and it is usually discussed

among texts, in a few paragraphs, in a section, or in a chapter (in a few cases), or is even ignored completely.

Of the scholars working on Buddhist music, Gao Yali 高雅俐 and Chen Biyan 陳碧燕 (Chen Pi-yan) are the most famous and the most active ethnomusicologists in Taiwan. Gao's two seminal papers, published in 2004 and 2006,<sup>23</sup> investigate and analyze *haichaoyin* and *gushanyin*, respectively, by presenting the ways in which these two styles or identities have been constructed and developed in the context of sociopolitical and economic factors in Taiwanese society. Other issues with which she is concerned in regard to Buddhist music in her works include the historical transformation of Buddhist music in Taiwan, which is a general historical study;<sup>24</sup> Buddhist music and spiritual cultivation, which studies the roles of music in rituals and the monks'/nuns' concept of musical sounds;<sup>25</sup> and music in the Water and Land Ritual, which studies how the

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<sup>23</sup> Gao Yali 高雅俐, "Yinyue, zhanyan, yu shenfen renting: zhanhou Taiwan diqu hanchuan fojiao yishi yinyue zhanyan jiqi chuancheng yu bianqian," 音樂, 展演與身份認同: 戰後台灣地區漢傳佛教儀式音樂展演及其傳承與變遷 (Music, Performance, and Identity: Transmission and Changes of the Performance of Chinese Buddhist Ritual Music in Postwar Taiwan), in *2004 Guoji zongjiao yinyue xueshu yantaohui lunwenji: zongjiao yinyue de chuantong yu bianqian* 2004 國際宗教音樂學術研討會論文集: 宗教音樂的傳統與變遷 (Collected Essays in the International Conference on Religious Musics in 2004: Tradition and Changes in Religious Musics), ed. Cai Zongde 蔡宗德 (Yilan: Guoli chuantong yishu zhongxin 國立傳統藝術中心, 2004), 297-321.

———, "Gushanyin de xiangxiang: zhanho Taiwan bentu fojiao yinyue wenhua yu qi sengzhong qunti yishi zhi jiangou." 鼓山音的想像: 戰後臺灣本土佛教音樂文化與其僧眾群體意識之建構 (Gu-Shan-Yin Imagined: Buddhist Musical Culture and Construction of the Monks' Community Consciousness in Post-War Taiwan), *Taiwan yinyue yanjiu* 臺灣音樂研究 (Formosan Journal of Music Research), no. 2 (April 2006): 1-31.

<sup>24</sup> Gao Yali 高雅俐, "Cong fojiao yinyue wenhua de zhuanbian lun fojiao yinyue zai Taiwan de fazhan." 從佛教音樂文化的轉變論佛教音樂在台灣的發展 (A Discussion on the Development of Buddhist Music in Taiwan from the Transformation of Buddhist Musical Culture) (Master Thesis, National Taiwan Normal University 國立台灣師範大學, 1990).

<sup>25</sup> Gao Yali 高雅俐, "Fojiao yinyue yu xiuxing: cong fojiao yishi yinyue shijian dao hongfa yinyuehui zhanyan de linglei sikao," 佛教音樂與修行: 從佛教儀式音樂實踐到弘法音樂會展演的另類思考 (Buddhist Music and Cultivation: Thinking from the Practice of Buddhist Ritual Music to the Buddhist Musical Staged Performance), in *2000 nian foxue yanjiu lunwenji: fojiao yinyue* 2000 年佛學研究論文集: 佛教音樂 (Collected Essays on the Research of Buddhism in 2000: Buddhist Music), ed. Caituan faren foguanshan wenjiao jijinhui 財團法人佛光山文教基金會 (Taipei: Foguanshan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi 佛光文化事業有限公司, 2001), 575-94.

musical performance bears the Buddhist cosmological, philosophical, and cultural elements in the Water and Land Ritual.<sup>26</sup>

The works of Chen Biyan have contributed to both Chinese and English scholarship (her English works are discussed in a later section). She has learned to chant *fanbai* and has conducted painstaking research into the practice of *fanbai*. Her works talking about *fanbai* deal with the conceptual transformation of the use of the term “*fanbai*” to the use of the term “Buddhist music” in modern time.<sup>27</sup> She also conducted researches about Buddhist music under the monastic administration<sup>28</sup> and explored the interaction and communication between modern Buddhist commercial music and the globalized hegemonic popular music.<sup>29</sup> In addition, Chen has supervised many master’s degree students in Taiwan, and her students have examined the musical practice of diverse Buddhist rituals and ceremonies. Each of her students selected one ritual or ceremony to study, and the master’s theses that have been published cover almost all large-scale

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<sup>26</sup> Gao Yali 高雅俐, “Cong “zhanyan” guandian lun yinsheng shijian zai Taiwan fojiao shuilu fahui yishi zhong suo banyan de jiaose,” 從“展演”觀點論音聲實踐在臺灣佛教水陸法會儀式中所扮演的角色 (A “Performative” Perspective on the Role of Musical Practice in Buddhist Rituals: A Case Study of Shui-lu Ritual in Taiwan), *Taiwan yinyue yanjiu* 臺灣音樂研究 (Formosan Journal of Music Research), no.1 (Oct. 2005): 1-28.

———, “Shuilu fahui yishi yinyue mianmianguan,” 水陸法會儀式音樂面面觀 (Music in Water and Land Ritual), *Chuantong yishu* 傳統藝術, no.33 (Aug. 2003): 23-7.

<sup>27</sup> Chen Biyan 陳碧燕, “Duocai duozi zhi fojiao changnian, foyue wenhua,” 多采多姿之佛教唱唸, 佛樂文化 (The Colorful Buddhist Chant, Culture of Buddhist Music), *Xinjing zongjiao jikan* 心鏡宗教季刊 (In Soul), no. 7 (Dec. 2005):14-18.

———, “Fanbai yu fojiao yinyue shang.” 梵唄與佛教音樂上 (Buddhist Chant and Buddhist Music 1). *Xiangguang zhuangyan* 香光莊嚴, no. 72 (Dec. 2002), 136-50.

———, “Fanbai yu fojiao yinyue xia.” 梵唄與佛教音樂下 (Buddhist Chant and Buddhist Music 2). *Xiangguang zhuangyan* 香光莊嚴, no. 73 (March 2003), 144-59.

<sup>28</sup> Chen Biyan 陳碧燕 “Shengfan zhi jie? Zhongguo fojiao siyuan zhidu zhi yinyue ji guanli zuzhi” 聖凡之界? 中國佛教寺院制度之音樂及管理組織 (The Boundary of Sacred and Secular? The Music in the Chinese Monastic Institution and the Organization of Administration), *Xiangguang zhuangyan* 香光莊嚴 63 (2000): 138-55.

<sup>29</sup> Chen Biyan 陳碧燕, “Shangpin fojiao yinyue yu wuqu dabeizhou,” 商品佛教音樂與舞曲大悲咒 (Commercial Buddhist Music and Dance Version of *Mahakarunakacitta-dharani*), *Pumen xuebao* 普門學報 (Universal Gate Buddhist Journal), no. 16 (July 2003): 77-97.

Buddhist rituals and ceremonies frequently held in Taiwan, such as Ho Lihua 何麗華 on the Feeding Searing Mouth Ritual (2000), Lin Jiawen 林嘉雯 on the Ullambana Ritual (2008), Wu Peishan 吳佩珊 on the Bath the Buddha Festival (2007), Lin Yijun 林怡君 on the Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva's Penance Ritual (2007), and Huang Shupeí 黃淑珮 on the Offering Rituals (2008). In addition to these studies focusing on a specific ritual, other of Chen's students' works also include studies about the melodies used in the recitation of Buddha's names by Ye Fuan 葉馥安 (2009)<sup>30</sup> and the study about the transformation of teaching *fanbai* in Taiwan by Chen Xinyi 陳欣宜 (2005).<sup>31</sup> One of Chen's students, Yang Yamei 楊雅媚, targeted *baiqi* in her research (2007).<sup>32</sup> This work is the only academic research in Taiwan that tries to investigate *baiqi*; it describes the use of *baiqi* by monks/nuns within some specific rituals held in the halls of the temple.

In addition to Gao's and Chen's works, Chen Huishan's 陳慧珊 works conduct comparative researches on Buddhist music between Taiwan and China. She investigated the historical relationship among the *fanbai* in the city of Fuzhou 福州 in China, the *fanbai* in the Minnan 閩南 area of China, and the *gushanyin* in Taiwan, attempting to trace how the *fanbai* in Fuzhou had been disseminated from Fuzhou to the Minnan area and to Taiwan.<sup>33</sup> She also attempted to trace the origin of *fanbai* used in the Foguangshan

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<sup>30</sup> Ye Fuan 葉馥安, "Hanchuan fojiao nianfo qudiao zhi yanjiu," 漢傳佛教唸佛曲調之研究 (Chinese Buddhist Recitation of the Buddha's Names) (Master Thesis, National Taiwan University of Arts 國立台灣藝術大學, 2009).

<sup>31</sup> Chen Xinyi 陳欣宜, "Taiwan fojiao fanbai jiaoxue zhi zhuanbian yu yingxiang" 臺灣佛教梵唄教學之轉變與影響 (The Contemporary Transformation of Chinese Buddhist Chanting Instruction in Taiwan) (Master's thesis, National Cheng Kung University 國立成功大學, 2005).

<sup>32</sup> Yang Yamei 楊雅媚, "Hanchuan fosi zhongyao diantang foshi zhi jianzhui faqi yunyong" 漢傳佛寺重要殿堂佛事之樁椎法器運用 (The Instrumental Application of Rituals in Major Chinese Buddhist Monastic Halls) (Master Thesis, National Taiwan University of Arts 國立台灣藝術大學, 2007).

<sup>33</sup> Chen Huishan 陳慧珊, "Fuzhou fojiao yinyue zai minnan diqu yiji Taiwan zhi liuxhuan," 福州佛教音樂在閩南地區以及台灣之流傳 (The Spread of Buddhist Music in Fuzhou City of China to Minnan Area of China and to Taiwan), in *2000 nian foxue yanjiu linwenji*, 489-507.

Monastery 佛光山, trying to connect the complicated historical relationship among the *fanbai* in Foguangshan, the Tianing *fanbai* 天寧梵唄 in Zhejiang 浙江 province of China, and the *fanbai* in Fuzhou.<sup>34</sup> Her research discusses only the practice of *fanbai*, without taking the practice of *baiqi* into consideration.

Cai Canhuang 蔡燦煌 also contributed to both Chinese and English scholarship. His research area extends more broadly, not focusing only on Buddhist music. He has only one article about Buddhist music published in Taiwan, which explores how the musical principle of Buddhist doctrine is presented through the identical musical characteristics between pre-existing melodies and non-existing melodies of *fanbai*.<sup>35</sup>

In addition to the academic works published in Taiwan, rich studies on Buddhist music have also been published in China. Research conducted in China is less relevant and is not directly useful to the study of the current practice of *baiqi* in Taiwan, but some works are still worthy of being mentioned here. The research on Buddhist music in China characterizes the large-scale compilation of Buddhist music collected, recorded, and notated from different provinces of China. In Chinese scholarship today, Tian Qing is the most important scholar. He has not only published numerous papers about Chinese Buddhist music,<sup>36</sup> but has also made a superior contribution to fieldwork, integrating

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<sup>34</sup> Chen Huishan 陳慧珊, “Foguangshan fanbai yuanliu yu zhongguo dalu fojiao fanbai zhi guanxi,” 佛光山梵唄源流與中國大陸佛教梵唄之關係 (The Origin of *Fanbai* in Foguangshan Monastery and Its Relationship with the Buddhist *Fanbai* in China), in *1998 nian foxue yanjiu linwenji: fojiao yinyue* 1998 年佛學研究論文集: 佛教音樂 (Collected Essays on the Research of Buddhism in 1998: Buddhist Music), ed. Caituan faren foguangshan wenjiao jijinhui 財團法人佛光山文教基金會 (Taipei: Foguang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi 佛光文化事業有限公司, 1999), 367-383.

<sup>35</sup> Cai Canhuang 蔡燦煌, “Fanyin hesheng shijianyin? Hanchuan fojiao richang kesong yinyue xingtai yu jieyou zhi wenhua fenxi,” 梵音何勝世間音? 漢傳佛教日常課誦音樂型態與結構之文化分析 (Sounding Mahayana? The Cultural Analysis of Chinese Han Buddhist Daily Service, its Music and Context), *Taiwan yinyue yanjiu* 臺灣音樂研究 (Formosan Journal of Music Research), no.8 (2009): 105-26.

<sup>36</sup> Tian Qing 田青, *Jingtu tianyin: tianqing yinyuexue yanjiu wenji* 淨土天音: 田青音樂學研究文集 (Celestial Sounds in Pure Land: Collected Essays of Musicological Studies by Tian Qing) (Jinan 濟南:

primitive materials, preserving extant practices, and publishing a collection of Buddhist music from different places in China. *Zhongguo foyue baodian* 中國佛樂寶典 (The Treasure of Chinese Buddhist Music) is an invaluable recording collection of distinctive Buddhist music practiced in different regions of mainland China.<sup>37</sup> In addition to Tian Qing, many scholars have published regional studies of Buddhist music, such as Yuan Jingfang on the Buddhist music of Beijing,<sup>38</sup> Han Jun on the Buddhist music of Wutai Mountain,<sup>39</sup> and Yang Minkang on the Theravada Buddhist music of Yunnan.<sup>40</sup>

## 2. Buddhist Music in Ethnomusicology (English)

English materials on Buddhist music cover studies in Tibetan, Japanese, and Chinese Buddhist music, among which the researches on Tibetan Buddhist music are most numerous. The researches on Japanese Buddhist music center on the subjects of Buddhist *shōmyō* 声明 (chant) and Buddhist music performed in the West or in the U.S. My study referred very little to these researches, so I will skip discussing these works. However, some Tibetan Buddhist musical studies inspire the perspectives of dealing with sacred instruments in a ritual context, so I will present some useful researches here. Taking advantage of the diverse instrumentation (including percussive and melody instruments) in Tibetan Buddhist music, unlike the studies on Japanese and Chinese Buddhist music,

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Shandong wenyi chubanshe 山東文藝出版社, 2002).

<sup>37</sup> Tian Qing, ed. *Zhongguo foyue baodian* 中國佛樂寶典 (The Treasure of Chinese Buddhist Music), Shanghai yinxing gongsi 上海音像公司, 2006, CD collections.

<sup>38</sup> Yuan Jingfang 袁靜芳, *Zhongguo hanchuan fojiao yinyue wenhua* 中國漢傳佛教音樂文化 (Musical Culture of Chinese Buddhism) (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu daxue chubanshe 中央民族大學出版社, 2003).

<sup>39</sup> Han Jun 韓軍, *Wutaishan fojiao yinyue* 五臺山佛教音樂 (The Buddhist Music of Wutai Mountains) (Shanghai: Shanghai Music Publishing House 上海音樂出版社, 2004).

<sup>40</sup> Yang Minkang 楊民康, *Beiye lizan: Daizu nanchuan fojiao jieqing yishi yinyue yanjiu* 貝葉禮讚: 傣族南傳佛教節慶儀式音樂研究 (Praise to *Pattra* Leaves: A study of the Theravada Buddhist Festival Ritual Performance and Music of Dai Ethnic Group in Yunnan) (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe 宗教文化出版社, 2003).

there are many researches of Tibetan Buddhist music focusing on instruments and instrumental music.

The representative research on Tibetan Buddhist music is Ellingson's comprehensive and extended work, *The Mandala of Sound: Concepts and Sound Structures in Tibetan Ritual Music* (1979), in which he examined the relationship between Tibetan and Indian Buddhist music and gave balanced analyses for both Buddhist chant and instruments.<sup>41</sup>

Two of his articles especially discuss the Buddhist instruments. One, for which Ellingson is co-author with Dorje, discusses how the small *damaru* drum is the microcosmic embodiment of the basic structure of the universe and of sentient life and how the entire scope of Buddhist philosophy and meditation are embedded in this small *damaru* drum.<sup>42</sup>

The other discusses the complex mathematical organization of the rhythmic structure of a kind of Tibetan Buddhist monastery ensemble.<sup>43</sup> In his later research, he extended the studies to issues of notation; he discusses the problems of the academic interest in the physical appearance of notation based on his comparison of Buddhist musical notation in Tibet, Nepal, and Japan.<sup>44</sup>

In addition to Ellingson, Vandor and Greene also contributed researches on Buddhist instruments. Vandor attempted to identify the physical construction of an ancient Buddhist instrument called *gandi* (Sanskrit: *ghaṇṭā*; Chinese transliteration: *jianzhi* 键稚) and discussed how this instrument typifies the religious musical activity in the Tibetan monastery.<sup>45</sup> Greene's research explores the *neku* buffalo horn, used by the Buddhist

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<sup>41</sup> Terry Jay Ellingson, "The Mandala of Sound: Concepts and Sound Structures in Tibetan Ritual Music" (PhD diss. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1979).

<sup>42</sup> Rinjing Dorje and Ter Ellingson, "Explanation of the Secret Gcod Damaru: An Exploration of Musical Instrument Symbolism," *Asian Music* 10, no. 2 (1979): 63-91.

<sup>43</sup> Ter Ellingson, "The Mathematics of Tibetan *Rol Mo*," *Ethnomusicology* 23, no. 2 (1979): 225-43.

<sup>44</sup> Ter Ellingson, "Buddhist Musical Notation," in *The Oral and the Literate in Music*, ed. Tokumaru Yosihiko and Yamaguti Osamu (Tokyo: Academia Music Ltd., 1986), 302-41.

<sup>45</sup> Ivan Vandor, "The *Gandi*: A Musical Instrument of Buddhist India Recently Identified in a Tibet

Manandher caste in Nepal, and discusses its communication with death, its benefits in transmigration, its merits in living, and how the Manandhars re-conceptualize their bodies and actualize Buddhist soteriological beliefs through the sounds of *neku* horns.<sup>46</sup>

The study of Chinese Buddhist music has a long history in Chinese scholarship, but this subject is still relatively new in English-language scholarship (not to mention the study of Buddhist instrumental music in Taiwan). For the Chinese Buddhist music in English scholarly literature, the researches by Chen Pi-Yen (Chen Biyan) and Tsai Tsan-Huang (Cai Canhuang) are the most important. Most of Chen's works center on the modern impact and changes of the Buddhist music, discussing the issues of the changes of meaning and function of Buddhist daily services through the commoditization of traditional chants and through the changes of social relationships in contemporary time. Other scholars who also deal with the Buddhist musical modernity include Zhou Yun<sup>47</sup> and Wei Li.<sup>48</sup> (Wei Li also has another work, which is the concise and very general introduction to the ideology, chant, and *baiqi* of Chinese Buddhist music.)<sup>49</sup>

Chen's representative work is the comprehensive study of Buddhist morning and evening services through its philosophy, its musical construction of the monastic community, and its conceptual transformation in the modern time.<sup>50</sup> In addition, two of her English articles, which study the globalized musical impact of Buddhist music and

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Monastery," *The World of Music* 17, no. 1 (1975): 24-27.

<sup>46</sup> Paul D. Greene, "Sounding the Body in Buddhist Nepal: *Neku* Horns, Himalayan Shamanism, and the Transmigration of the Disembodied Spirit," *The World of Music* 44, no. 2 (2002): 93-114.

<sup>47</sup> Zhou Yun, "The Secularization of Buddhist and Taoist music: Transmission and Development of Religious Music," In *Interpretation of the Traditional Chinese music: Chinese Scholars' Contributions* (Papers read at the 37th World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music held in Fuzhou, China) (Fuzhou, China: International Council for Traditional Music, 2004), 218-24.

<sup>48</sup> Wei Li, "The Duality of Sacred and the Secular in Chinese Buddhist Music: An Introduction," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 24 (1992): 81-90.

<sup>49</sup> Wei Li, "Religious Music in China: Buddhist," in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* 7 (New York: Routledge, 2001), 327-33.

<sup>50</sup> Chen Pi-Yen, "Morning and Evening Services: The Practice of Ritual, Music, and Doctrine in the Chinese Monastic Community" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1999).

the conceptual transformation of *fanbai*,<sup>51</sup> are actually the English version of her two Chinese papers (2002, 2003) published in Taiwan (see the description in the previous Chinese section). She also explores how the monastic cultivation of spirituality and communal integrity can be achieved through the use of musical practice of the Chinese Buddhist daily service (this paper is actually a revised version from a chapter of her dissertation in 1999).<sup>52</sup> She also investigates how the new order of economy and social relationships affect the monastic life and its practice of daily service, and how the liturgical function and monastic code of daily service has been changed in the commercial products of the daily service.<sup>53</sup>

Tsai Tsan-Huang's (Cai Canhuang) works also reflect his interest in issues of change, but he is concerned more with the fact that Buddhist music practiced in a non-Chinese culture leads to changes in and transformation of musical concepts, structures, and behaviors. Two of his four papers in English discuss this perspective of change in Buddhist ritual performance.<sup>54</sup> His other research interests in Buddhist music include the gender issues in the Buddhist ritual performance<sup>55</sup> and that how the music becomes the

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<sup>51</sup> Chen Pi-Yen, "Buddhist Chant, Devotional Song, and Commercial Popular Music: From Ritual to Rock Mantra," *Ethnomusicology* 49, no. 2 (2005): 266-86.

———, "The Chant of the Pure and the Music of the Popular: Conceptual Transformations in Contemporary Chinese Buddhist Chants," *Asian Music* 35, no. 2 (2004): 79-97.

<sup>52</sup> Chen Pi-yen, "Sound and Emptiness: Music, Philosophy, and the Monastic Practice of Buddhist Doctrine," *History of Religion* 41, no. 1 (2001): 24-48.

<sup>53</sup> Chen Pi-Yen, "The Contemporary Practice of the Chinese Buddhist Daily Service: Two Case Studies of the Traditional in the Post-traditional World," *Ethnomusicology* 46, no. 2 (2002): 226-49.

<sup>54</sup> Tsai Tsan-Huang, "Change to Ensure Continuity-The Extraordinary Ceremony Dabei Chan: Transformations of Chinese Buddhist Music in England," *Asian Musicology* 1 (2002): 91-102.  
———, "The Past in the Present: The Change with Continuity of Chinese Buddhist Ordinary Ceremony *Wutanggongke* in England," in the conference proceeding published by the International Musicological Society I (Budapest: Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, 2003), 31-42.

<sup>55</sup> Tsai Tsan-Huang, "Music inside the Temple: Change Threatening Continuity, the Extraordinary Ceremony *Shui Chan*, a Reconsideration of the Study of Gender and Music," in *Yinyue yu wenhua: yinyuexue niandu congshu* 音樂與文化: 音樂學年度叢書 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe 文化藝術出版社, 2001), 287-305.

mediator of the ambiguity between actual and conceptual practices of body movements and becomes the medium between profane space and sacred space.<sup>56</sup>

The work of Lee Fenghsiu, which focuses on the Buddhist services in the monastery of Taiwan, investigates the history of Chinese Buddhism, Chinese Buddhism in Taiwan, and the chant of the Amitabha sutra in the evening service.<sup>57</sup> Lee's work includes the investigation of the chant of the Amitabha sutra, but he does not discuss musical elements or issues; rather, religious issues are the subject of his examination. His work is less a musical study, and much more a religious study. Stephen Jones' work about folk rituals in China contains information about Buddhist *baiqi* in the monastic order, including the instruction of common *baiqi* instruments and the function of these instruments, but only in some passages of his book.<sup>58</sup> Buddhist music is not the main theme of this book; its main concern is to explore various instrumental ensembles (e.g., shawm-percussion ensembles and silk-bamboo ensembles) used in the folk traditions in rural contexts of China.

Finally, there are only two works that specifically discuss Chinese Buddhist instrumental music—the works by Szczepanski and Ho Li-Hua. Szczepanski studies the instrumental ensemble in the Buddhist music of Wutaishan Mountain in China, exploring the specific instrumentation of wind and percussive instruments used in Wutaishan.<sup>59</sup> Ho Li-Hua's work, which is most relevant to my study, investigates several Buddhist

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<sup>56</sup> Tsai Tsan-Huang, "Is the Wind, the Banner, or the Mind Moving? The Concept of Body in Chinese Han Buddhist Ritual Performance and Its Musical Practices," *The World of Music* 44, no. 2 (2002): 73-92.

<sup>57</sup> Lee Feng-Hsiu, "Chanting the Amitabha Sutra in Taiwan: Tracing the Origin and the Evolution of Chinese Buddhism Services in Monastic Communities" (PhD diss., Kent State University, 2002).

<sup>58</sup> Stephen Jones, *Folk Music of China: Living Instrumental Traditions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 26-32.

<sup>59</sup> Beth Marie Szczepanski, "Sheng Guan in the Past and Present: Tradition, Adaptation and Innovation in Wutai Shan's Buddhist Music" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2008).

percussive instruments used by the ordinary Chinese monastery and discusses the ambiguous boundary between musical dharma instruments and musical instruments.<sup>60</sup>

### 3. Buddhist Music Studies outside Ethnomusicology

In addition to the Buddhist musical studies contributing to the discipline of ethnomusicology or written by ethnomusicologists, many studies that are insightful are from other disciplines or are written by non-ethnomusicologists and are thus worthy of being mentioned. In Chinese scholarship, Lai Xinchuan, 賴信川, a scholar of Buddhist studies and Asian humanities, has conducted research on the historical spectrum of *fanbai* from its primitive form in India to its transition in China through Chinese history until the Qing dynasty (1644–1911).<sup>61</sup> This work gives insight into the connections between Buddhist thought, the development of *fanbai*, and corresponding historical events in China. Lai's works strongly focus on studying *fanbai* diachronically in Chinese history and lacks the synchronic study on the transmission of *fanbai* in contemporary times.

In English scholarship, Francesca Tarocco, a scholar in Buddhist studies, has contributed research on the modernity and modernization of Buddhism in China, in which she has offered insight into the emergence of the modern Buddhist soundscape.<sup>62</sup> Holmes Welch, an eminent Buddhist scholar, gave a comprehensive survey on the Buddhist practices containing the inner mechanism in the monastery and the individual practices in the book. In the appendix of this book, he attempted to record the detailed

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<sup>60</sup> Ho Li-Hua, "Dharma Instruments (Faqi) in Chinese Han Buddhist Rituals," *The Galpin Society Journal* 59 (2006): 217-28.

<sup>61</sup> Lai Xinchuan 賴信川, *Yilu nianfo dao zhongtu—fanbai shitan* 一路念佛到中土—梵唄史談 (Chanting Buddha to Central Land—the History of Buddhist Chant) (Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corp. 法鼓文化, 2001).

<sup>62</sup> Francesca Tarocco, *The Cultural Practices of Modern Chinese Buddhism: Attuning the Dharma* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

process of the retreat for intensive meditation inside the meditation hall,<sup>63</sup> in which he included the process of practicing *baiqi* in this ritual inside the meditation hall. This part is useful for referral.

#### 4. Buddhism in Taiwan

In Chinese scholarship, I mainly refer to two scholars' works: Jiang Canteng 江燦騰, dealing with a complete historical survey of how Buddhism developed in Taiwan,<sup>64</sup> and Kan Zhengzong 闕正宗, dealing with the Buddhism in post-war Taiwan.<sup>65</sup> In English scholarship, Charles Jones's work on the history of Buddhism in Taiwan is the most important.<sup>66</sup> This work is valuable and useful in understanding Western views on the transition and transformation of the Buddhist context in Taiwan.

#### V. Scope and Limitations

Firstly, for the historical inheritance from and cultural connection to China, Taiwan is always considered as bearing Chinese culture as its main cultural base. It is undoubted that Taiwanese culture today is rooted in Chinese culture, but it also cannot be denied that changes have occurred in both Taiwan and China, though about one century separates the historical progression and social changes. The separate historical progression and social

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<sup>63</sup> Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967).

<sup>64</sup> Jiang Canteng 江燦騰, *Taiwan fojiaoshi* 臺灣佛教史 (History of Buddhism in Taiwan. (Taipei: Wunan tushu chuban gufen youxian gongsi 五南圖書出版股份有限公司, 2009).

<sup>65</sup> Kan Zhengzong 闕正宗, *Chongdu Taiwan fojiao: zhanhou Taiwan fojiao zhengbian* 重讀台灣佛教: 戰後台灣佛教正編 (Re-reading Buddhism in Taiwan: Buddhism in Postwar Taiwan, the Main Volume) (Taipei: Daqian chubanshe 大千出版社, 2004).

———, *Taiwan fojiao yibainian* 臺灣佛教一百年 (Buddhism in Taiwan for One Hundred Year) (Taipei: Dongda tushu gufen youxian gongsi 東大圖書股份有限公司, 1999).

<sup>66</sup> Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State, 1660-1990* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

changes, under a pan-Chinese umbrella, have created the discrepancy of both sides in values, politics, cultures, habitus, and social structures. This discrepancy is also reflected in the Buddhist practices and Buddhist musical practices of both countries. On the one hand, Buddhism and its musical practices (either *gushanyin* or *haichaoyin*) in Taiwan all originated from China, so the practices in both countries must be in a similar framework and must have a strong relationship. On the other hand, Buddhism and its musical practices in Taiwan have been localized and developed in their own ways, and thus contain many different practices from China.

Therefore, despite the close relation to China, my study is a synchronic study of *baiqi* practices in the monasteries of Taiwan, and the scope of discussion is based only on what is the actual phenomenon in Taiwan, taking Taiwan as a single research entity, not under a pan-Chinese view. However, in the discussion relating to the historical context, I still make connections to China for a better understanding. I don't deal with any comparison for the similarities and differences between the practices in Taiwan and the practices in China, because to study with this approach deserves working on a completely separate research, just as Chen Huishan did in her researches.

Secondly, as a female researcher, I encountered fundamental limitations in conducting any face-to-face study with a monk, because of the strict gender regulation and differentiation in Buddhist doctrine and in the monastery. It is not even possible to communicate with a monk over the phone, because the monk is usually conscious to avoid talking privately with a female lay person. During my fieldwork, if the monastery or the temple I visited included both monk and nun residents, I was only allowed to have contact with the nuns. For other monasteries or temples in which either monks or nuns resided, I visited only nun monasteries and temples. Under this circumstance of doctrinal

gender limitation, I could not access information from monks for more complicated performing skills and knowledge of *baiqi* usually used in the large-scale rituals, because these complicated techniques in the large-scale rituals can only be learned by monks. All of my informants are nuns, and their musical skills and knowledge of performing *baiqi* in the rituals are not as comprehensive as the monks.

In addition, as a Buddhist cultural outsider, I confronted problems understanding how Buddhist cultural insiders conceptualize their musical practices. For Buddhists, the effect on the spiritual cultivation and spiritual fulfillment they experience from ritual musical practices are much more important than a rational and logical understanding of the music itself. I confronted a situation in which some informants (nuns or lay believers) could play music fluently through the ritual process but could not clearly recognize the implicit rules and inner structure of the musical components of the ritual.<sup>67</sup> During my inquiry on the inner structure of the music, they were unable to clearly explain the rules of music-making that I expected them to know. I also encountered the situation in which the informants not only played fluently but could also logically understand the inner structure of music making; however, when I asked for an explanation of how they constructed the music for the ritual, their answers usually focused on the spiritual aspects and emphasized how they transcend during the ritual process.

These situations show that the logical comprehension of musical structures in the rituals for Buddhist believers is not necessarily the first consideration in the conceptualization of their ritual musical practices. A Buddhist believer is said to enter his

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<sup>67</sup> Many nuns and lay believers (who live in the temple) naturally learn ritual musical practices through their daily monastic routine. They do not systematically learn the musical practices and are not specifically taught the inner structure or rules of the music itself. They usually learn by imitating senior nuns or preceptors during the daily rituals, and get proficient by rote through a long-term period of monastic life. Therefore, they may play music fluently in the ritual, but cannot clearly recognize the musical structure or the rules of the ritual.

religious life and conceptualizes his religious cultivation through a four-stage process of “faith-understandability-practice-prove” (*xin-jie-xing-zheng* 信-解-行-證) or “faith-practice-understandability-prove” (*xin-xing-jie-zheng* 信-行-解-證).<sup>68</sup> “Faith” is the prerequisite and basis for proceeding to the other stages. With faith, many different religious practices, phenomena, or experiences (including spiritual sensation) can be fundamentally conceptualized and are considered reasonable. However, as both a researcher and a Buddhist cultural outsider, my first consideration tends to be gaining a rational and logical understanding of what I practice. Because of a lack of faith, the spiritual perceptions and experiences that a Buddhist insider may claim to attain from his religious practices are occult and mysterious for me to sense. Without a rational and logical understanding, I am unable to intellectualize the information that I gained in the field and be reasonably convinced of all phenomena. Therefore, when learning Buddhist ritual musical practices, I always prefer to first clarify all of the rules, principles, and inner structure of music making to construct the logic of music itself. Using that, I am able to manage the musical practices in the ritual. In my situation, the four-stage process of conceptualizing the religious practices may be “understandability-practice-faith-prove” (*jie-xing-xin-zheng* 解-行-信-證), and “understandability” becomes the prerequisite and the basis for proceeding to other stages.

During fieldwork, this discrepancy in the conceptualization process between myself (outsider) and my informants (insider) brought a situation in which what I expected to know first in the ritual was not what the informants expected to show to me. I wanted to understand how the musical components were put together in the ritual, but my

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<sup>68</sup> See Ven. Jingkong’s 淨空 lecture about *Flower Adornment Sūtra* [online database; available at [http://www.amtb.tw/enlighttalk/enlighttalk.asp?web\\_choice=1&web\\_amtb\\_index=83](http://www.amtb.tw/enlighttalk/enlighttalk.asp?web_choice=1&web_amtb_index=83)]

informants considered this as relatively non-important compared with the spiritual experience in the ritual, the Buddhist deportment and attitude shown in the ritual, and the profound feeling of the solemn ambiance of the ritual. In many cases, I felt limitations in reaching an emic understanding of how the insiders perceive their ritual music. For example, many nuns and lay Buddhists stated that they were filled with dharma joy and bliss (*faxi chongman* 法喜充滿) during the ritual and expected me to sense the same thing received through the music of the ritual process. In this case, I might be able to point out what they regarded and gained in the ritual, but I could not actually explain it based on my own experience because, without the faith of the religion, I could not perceive the experience as they did.

Generally, most nuns and lay Buddhists tolerated my positions (as outsider and researcher) during the fieldwork, and attempted to satisfy all of my inquiries into an analytic explanation of musical structures. However, they tended to see me as a potential believer and expected me to convert (*guiyi* 皈依) to Buddhism (similar experiences are seen from Titon and Rasmussen).<sup>69</sup> Some nuns clearly indicated that, without being a devout Buddhist, I would not gain advanced perception or understand the meaning of the musical practices in the monastic life or in the rituals.

By the end of my fieldwork, I remained unconvinced about converting to Buddhism. Therefore, what I uncover in this study includes a major part the logic, principles, rules, and structures of music making and the music itself in diverse Buddhist rituals and monastic daily routines. These concepts may not be the first consideration for many nuns and devout lay Buddhists when perceiving ritual music, but they are comprehensible for

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<sup>69</sup> Jeff Todd Titon, *Powerhouse for God: Speech, Chant, and Song in an Appalachian Baptist Church* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988). Anne K. Rasmussen, "The Qur'an in Indonesian Daily Life: The Public Project of Musical Oratory," *Ethnomusicology* 45, no.1 (2001): 51.

all readers (including outsiders) to understanding how the *baiqi* is played and operated in monastic life. Intriguingly, some young nuns also told me that clarifying the structure of music actually helped them learn *baiqi* more efficiently. They indicated that an increasing number of young nuns today prefer a more efficient learning process instead of the traditional, time-consuming learning process; therefore, they welcomed the contributions of the researchers (Buddhists or potential Buddhists) to the analytical interpretation and clarification of their music and musical practices.

## VI. Orthography and Translation

This study contains many Chinese, Taiwanese,<sup>70</sup> and Japanese terms. I utilize the Pinyin system for the romanization of Chinese terms, but for some terms that are already widely well known in their non-Pinyin system, such as the city name Taipei (Pinyin: Taibei) and the religion name Taoism (Pinyin: Daoism), I keep their original romanization instead of using the Pinyin system. In addition, some Chinese characters used as Buddhist terms are not pronounced in their common ways, and sometimes, these Buddhist pronunciations cannot even be found in a dictionary. For example, 偈 is pronounced as *ji* (common: *jie*), 維那 as *weinuo* (common: *weina*), 般若 as *bore* (common: *banruo*), and 鈴子 as *kezi* (common: *hezi*). These unusual romanizations are specifically for Buddhist usages.

As for Taiwanese terms, I utilize the Taiwanese Romanization System 台灣閩南語羅馬字拼音方案, which is the integration of the POJ System 白話字 and the TLPA

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<sup>70</sup> “Chinese” refers to Mandarin Chinese, and “Taiwanese” refers to the Taiwanese Minnan language (which has combined different languages used in the Minnan area of China and absorbed a lot of Japanese vocabulary. Among all languages in the Minnan area, the Xianmen language 廈門話 is most similar to the Taiwanese Minnan language). Mandarin Chinese and Taiwanese are different languages and are not mutually intelligible.

System 台灣語言音標方案, and was officially issued by the Ministry of Education in 2006 in Taiwan. For the Japanese terms, I use the modified Hepburn Romanization System.

In the Chinese language, there are many different terms to respectfully refer to a monk/nun, such as *fashi* 法師, *heshan* 和尚, *zhanglao* 長老, *shifu* 師父, *daoshi* 導師, or *shangren* 上人. All of these terms are respectful appellations post-fixed to a monk's or a nun's dharma name. Different appellations imply subtle differences of seniority and of the relationship between the monk/nun and the person with whom the monk/nun speaks. However, it is hard to translate these subtle differences in English, so for all of these terms, I translate them as “venerable.” For example, if a monk's dharma name is Yixiu, no matter which respectful appellation people usually call him, I translate them all as Ven. Yixiu.

In addition, if a Chinese character is understood only in its single character, it has a common meaning for that character; however, when different characters are combined together as one term, the meaning for each character may change, or the term may imply many more meanings and ideas than the characters suggest. In this case, I don't translate the term character-by-character with the common meaning for each character, but rather, I tend to translate the whole idea of that term. For example, the term *sizhi sikai* 四止四開 refers to the principle of performing the *baiqi* instrument in the meditation hall. If translated character-by-character, it would be “four terminations and four beginnings,” but I translate it as “four times for beginning [the meditation sessions] and four times for terminating [the meditation sessions],” bracketing the additional information which is not suggested by the characters.

## Chapter Two

### Historical Development of Buddhism in Taiwan

Among Chinese historical sources from before the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), it is suspected that many records describe Taiwan, but no record explicitly refers to the island that is today's Taiwan. Scholars believe that the first reliable historical record concerning Taiwan appears in sources during the Ming dynasty, at which time the island started to be used as a landmark for navigation between China and Japan or Southeast Asia.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, its image was still vague until late in the Ming dynasty, when the island was still outside the Chinese Emperor's authority. The first significant political masters of Taiwan were the Dutch, followed by the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Chinese again; this succession began in 1624 and has extended to the present. Before 1624, the island was mainly inhabited by aborigines, a relatively isolated culture without much outside influence.<sup>2</sup>

The rule of different countries over Taiwan not only opened the island to the outside world, but also brought different cultures into it. Buddhism started to develop in Taiwan upon the inception of Chinese rule, but scholars usually discuss Buddhism in Taiwan as beginning either with Dutch rule (1624) or the first Chinese rule (1661).<sup>3</sup> In this chapter, my survey of the history of Buddhism in Taiwan will be divided into five periods: 1. The

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<sup>1</sup> Zhou Wanyao 周婉窈, "Shan zai yabo bilang zhong—zongxun mingren de Taiwan renshi," 山在瑤波碧浪中—總論明人的臺灣認識 (Ming Conceptions of Taiwan: From Silhouettes to Islands), *Taida lishi xuebao* 臺大歷史學報 (Bulletin of the Department of History of National Taiwan University), no. 40 (December 2007): 93-148.

<sup>2</sup> Yin Zhangyi 尹章義, "Taiwan fojiaoshi zhi zhankai (1661-1895 AD)," 臺灣佛教史之展開 (1661-1895 AD) (The Development of History of Buddhism in Taiwan), *Taipei wenxian* 臺北文獻 (Taipei Historical Documents Quarterly), no. 95 (March 1991): 2.

<sup>3</sup> Shi Huiyen 釋慧嚴, "Taiwan fojiaoshi qianqi," 台灣佛教史前期 (Early History of Buddhism in Taiwan), *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 中華佛學學報 (Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal), no. 8 (July 1995): 273-314.

Dutch period (1624-1661), 2. The Zheng period (1661-1683), 3. The Qing period (1683-1895) (the starting and ending date are different from the mainland), 4. The Japanese Colonial period (1895-1945), and 5. The Postwar period (1945-). Since the main subject of this dissertation is Buddhist music, the historical events of Buddhism in Taiwan will not be discussed in detail; rather, this chapter will provide general background to support understanding of the formative process of Taiwan's Buddhist music today.

#### I. The Dutch Period (1624-1661)

When the Dutch arrived at a port in southern Taiwan in 1624, the major inhabitants spread over the entire island were Austronesian aborigines. According to Dutch investigation reports, there were few Chinese fishermen, traders, pirates, and settlers scattered among the island aborigines at the time.<sup>4</sup> The Dutch East India Company used Taiwan as a base for the transshipping trade, exporting or importing Asian products. Sugar, deer skin, and deer meat were the main products exported from Taiwan. In order to be productive, the Dutch needed large numbers of peasants, laborers, and hunters to exploit the land. Therefore, starting in 1636, they began introducing more mainland Chinese to Taiwan for both cultivation and exploitation; the number of Chinese on the island reached eleven thousand by 1640, and twenty-five thousand by 1644.<sup>5</sup>

Taiwan's Dutch period corresponds to the late Ming dynasty in China. Buddhism there already had been developing for more than two thousand years, and its practice had penetrated into folk life. Therefore, it is possible that some of the early Chinese

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<sup>4</sup> Yin Zhangyi, "Taiwan fojiaoshi zhi zhankai," 2.

<sup>5</sup> Yin Zhangyi 尹章義, "Tainan fazhan shi," 臺南發展史 (History on the Development of Tainan City), *Hansheng zazhi* 漢聲雜誌 (Chinese Culture Monthly), no. 22 (June 1989): 104-16.

immigrants to Taiwan were Buddhists. According to *Taiwan xianzhi* (Gazetteer of Taiwan County), a temple for worshipping Dadaogong 大道公 (the god of medicine) was built in the village of Guangzhudong 廣諸東 during the Dutch period.<sup>6</sup> This is the only Chinese temple of the Dutch period that is recorded in Chinese sources, and is considered to be the oldest temple in Taiwan.<sup>7</sup> Although not a Buddhist temple, its existence may suggest that other temples existed around the same time, including Buddhist temples.<sup>8</sup> Based upon the clues, scholars speculate that there may have been Buddhist activities among the early Chinese immigrants, but exactly how Buddhism was practiced at the time is unknown.

In fact, currently known historical records include no information about Buddhism during the Dutch period. In these sources, which are Chinese or Dutch in origin, the descriptions of customs and people in Taiwan refer mostly to aborigines. Although there were already a certain number of Chinese immigrants during the Dutch period, the main culture and society of the island remained aboriginal. In addition, the Dutch followed a strict religious policy, allowing only Christianity and repressing all other religions and folk beliefs. They banished aboriginal priestesses to uninhabitable sections of the island and publicly whipped idolaters.<sup>9</sup> Under these circumstances, to whatever extent Buddhism existed during the Dutch period, it was not allowed to substantially develop.

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<sup>6</sup> Chen Wenda 陳文達, *Taiwan xianzhi* 臺灣縣志 (Gazetteer of Taiwan County) [1720, Qing Dynasty], in *Taiwan wenxian congkan* 臺灣文獻叢刊 (Taiwan Collectanea of Historical Records and Archives), no. 103 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi 臺灣銀行經濟研究室, 1961), 213.

<sup>7</sup> Lu Jiaying 盧嘉興, "Taiwan zuizaoxingjian de simiao," 臺灣最早興建的寺廟 (The Earliest Temple Built in Taiwan), in *Zhongguo fojiaoshi lunji* 中國佛教史論集: 臺灣佛教篇 (Collected Papers on History of Chinese Buddhism: Buddhism in Taiwan), ed. Zhang Mantao 張曼濤 (Taipei: Dasheng wenhua chubanshe 大乘文化出版社, 1978), 177.

<sup>8</sup> Xing Fuquan 邢福泉, *Taiwan de fojiao yu fosi* 臺灣的佛教與佛寺 (Buddhism and Buddhist Temples of Taiwan), 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Taipei: The Commercial Press, Ltd. 臺灣商務印書館, 2006), 4.

<sup>9</sup> Yu-Shan Han, "Formosa under Three Rules," *The Pacific Historical Review* 9, no. 4 (Nov. 1950): 397-407.

Buddhism might have already existed in Taiwan during the Dutch period, but scholars agree that the key year for Buddhist development in Taiwan is 1661,<sup>10</sup> the year of the first massive Chinese wave of immigration. This large scale movement occurred when Ming loyalist and General Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 retreated to Taiwan with his followers in order to resist the Manchu government in China (Qing dynasty).

## II. The Zheng Period (1661-1683)

In 1644, following the conquest of Beijing and the suicide of the last Ming emperor, Chongzhen 崇禎, the Manchu established the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) in China. The remaining Ming forces retreated to southern China and supported remnant Ming princes in order to establish several exile regimes in the South for a counteroffensive. Zheng Chenggong (also known as Koxinga [Guoxingye] 國姓爺), a Ming loyalist and general of the Ming troops on the maritime front, led Ming armies in the southeast coast to resist Manchu invaders. Following the Manchu advance on the Fujian province, Zheng retreated to Taiwan and intended to transform it into a strategic base from which to marshal his troops in hopes of regaining the territory of the Ming dynasty. However, because the Dutch had ruled Taiwan since 1624, Zheng initiated a war. Upon defeat, the Dutch were expelled from the island. By 1661, Zheng and his followers had stationed themselves in Taiwan, and were followed by several waves of Chinese immigrants from the Fujian and Guangdong provinces.<sup>11</sup>

Similar to the Dutch period, there remain few records concerning how Buddhism was practiced in the Zheng period. However, some accounts do indeed describe Buddhist

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<sup>10</sup> Yin Zhangyi, "Taiwan fojiaoshi zhi zhankai," 1-23.

<sup>11</sup> Shi Huiyen, "Taiwan fojiaoshi qianqi," 273-314.

monks and temples that existed during this period. In the shift to a new dynasty, Buddhism could be used both tactically and spiritually. On the one hand, it functioned as protection for the Ming loyalists' acts of resistance against the new dynasty; many Ming loyalists became monks to disguise their status and to avoid being captured by Qing authorities. For example, a remnant Ming official, Lin Ying 林英, became a monk in order to more easily move from the Yunnan province to Taiwan, so that he could report to Zheng Chenggong regarding the situation in the Southeast.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, Buddhism also functioned as a spiritual refuge in a time of social upheaval. Many remnant Ming officials became monks or Buddhists because they grieved for the downfall of the Ming dynasty and were frustrated by their inability to save it. They were tired of worldly affairs and, in order to escape from them, these officials lived as Buddhist monks once they realized that there was no hope of restoring the Ming dynasty.

In addition to those who became monks for the above reasons, there were also authentic monks who contributed to the early development of Buddhism in Taiwan. New Buddhist temples were built during this period, and monks were invited to serve as abbots to these temples. One example is Zheng Jing 鄭經, the son of Zheng Chenggong, who built a Buddhist temple called the Mituo temple 彌陀寺 in Donganfang 東安坊, and invited a monk to take charge of it.<sup>13</sup> Another example can be found from a military staff officer, Chen Yonghua 陳永華, who built the Longhuyen 龍湖巖 temple on the Chishan mountain 赤山, and invited the monk Ven. Canche 參徹法師 to serve as the

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<sup>12</sup> Jiang Risheng 江日昇, *Taiwan waiji* 臺灣外記 (Unofficial Records of Taiwan) [1704, Qing dynasty], in *Taiwan wenxian congkan* 臺灣文獻叢刊 (Taiwan Collectanea of Historical Records and Archives), no. 60 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi 臺灣銀行經濟研究室, 1960), 209.

<sup>13</sup> Lian Yatang 連雅堂, *Taiwan tongshi* 臺灣通史 (History of Taiwan) [1918], in *Taiwan wenxian congkan* 臺灣文獻叢刊 (Taiwan Collectanea of Historical Records and Archives), no. 128 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi 臺灣銀行經濟研究室, 1962), 576.

abbot.<sup>14</sup> Ven. Canche came from Fujian province and arrived in Taiwan in 1675. He strictly kept precepts and recited sutras day and night. Therefore, the neighboring villagers respected him and built a temple called Daxianyen 大仙巖 for him. Ven. Canche instructed his disciple, Ven. Heling 鶴齡法師, to take charge of it. Later, Ven. Chanche also built the Biyun temple 碧雲寺 on the same mountain, with Buddha enshrined at the rear and the tablet of Koxinga in the front.<sup>15</sup> These examples illustrate how the temples were built and how early authentic Buddhist monks appeared in Taiwan during this period. The earliest monastic Buddhist ritual practices in Taiwan, including musical practices, may have been introduced by these early authentic Buddhist monks, but at this time, all practices were not transmitted widely on the island.

According to Yang Huinan's research, Buddhism in the Zheng period was characterized by an important feature—Buddhism was connected to the intellectual class (*mingshi fojiao* 名士佛教).<sup>16</sup> Well-educated officials and intellectuals left behind numerous poems regarding the temples they built and their reflections about life given the social circumstances of the time. These poems are not simply literary resources; they are also valuable records allowing historians to understand the status of Buddhism during the Zheng period.

Most Buddhist temples during this period were established with the support of either Zheng officials (mostly Ming remnant courtiers) or exiled Ming intellectuals. One such

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<sup>14</sup> Li Tianchun and others 李添春等, ed., *Taiwansheg tongzhigao dijiuce: v.2, renminzhi zongjiaopian* 臺灣省通志稿第九冊: 卷二人民志宗教篇 (Draft for General Gazetteer of Taiwan Province, Fasc. 9: v.2, Annals of Folklife, Chapter of Religion) (Taipei: Taiwansheng wenxian weiyuanhui 臺灣省文獻委員會, 1956; reprint, Taipei: Jieyou chubanshe 捷幼出版社, 1999), 71.

<sup>15</sup> Li Tianchun and others, ed., *Taiwansheg tongzhigao*, 71.

<sup>16</sup> Yang Huinan 楊惠南, "Mingzheng shiqi Taiwan mingshi fojiao de tezhi fenxi," 明鄭時期台灣名士佛教的特質分析 (Analysis of the Characteristic of Buddhism Related to the Intellectual Class during Mingzheng Period in Taiwan), Taiwanese Buddhist Digital Database 臺灣佛教史料庫, accessed Jun. 16, 2011 [database online; available from <http://buddhistinformatcs.ddbc.edu.tw/taiwanbuddhism/tb/>].

temple is the Mituo temple mentioned above. Many temples were actually repurposed homes belonging to these officials and intellectuals. Oftentimes, they supported the founding of such temples not to further develop Buddhism or transmit Buddhist dharma, but to realize political and personal purposes. Zheng officials built temples in order to pray for blessings for the Zheng government in Taiwan. They wished to strengthen Zheng's regime through the religious power of the temple, which would become the regional belief center connecting people tightly. The exiled Ming intellectuals set up temples in order to worship family members who died in the war during the dynasty change. Alternatively, they established temples in order to provide for themselves after retirement, creating a calm life by escaping from the mundane world.

Regardless of the rationale, no intellectuals established temples with the purpose of developing Buddhism or transmitting the Buddha's teachings for religious and moral instruction. Despite the fact that officials and intellectuals invited authentic monks to serve as abbots for these temples, these monks were still very few in number. Their duties were usually just to watch the temples and chant sutras. Under these circumstances, Buddhism was not powerful enough to strongly influence or propel its development as a religion. In other words, Buddhism had no significant activities or practices in society during the Zheng period, or even later during the Qing period. While more Buddhist temples and monks existed during the Qing period, Buddhism still had not developed into a substantial system in Taiwan due to the political and social circumstances of the time.

### III. The Qing Period (1683-1895)

#### 1. Qing's Attitude toward Taiwan

In order to subdue the Ming loyalists in Taiwan, the Qing government waged war on the Zheng regime. Shi Lang 施琅 was appointed to be the Fujian naval commander in charge of the assault on Taiwan. Zheng Keshuang 鄭克塽 (the grandson of Zheng Chenggong) and his courtiers submitted to Qing in 1683.<sup>17</sup> For the Qing government, conquering Taiwan was not about capturing the island, but about vanquishing the rebels—the remaining Ming loyalists, the Zheng family, and their followers. Emperor Kangxi actually believed that Taiwan was just a small island and that it did not matter if it was captured or not because there was nothing to gain or lose.<sup>18</sup> He sought to ship all Chinese immigrants living on Taiwan back to the mainland, and then abandon the island. At the time, most courtiers agreed with this policy.

Nonetheless, Commander Shi Lang opposed it. He submitted an appeal to Emperor Kangxi, in which he laid out the pros and cons of retaining the island. He pointed out the strategic importance of Taiwan on the southeast coast and emphasized that the island was a natural shield for the Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, and Guangdong provinces.<sup>19</sup> He believed that the acquisition and control of the island and Taiwan Straits were necessary for the security of the southeast frontier. Among the courtiers, the debate over abandoning or retaining Taiwan lasted for a long time in the Qing court; finally, the Qing government

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<sup>17</sup> Yin Zhangyi, "Taiwan fojiaoshi zhi zhankai," 5.

<sup>18</sup> *Qing shengzu shilu shuanji* 清聖祖實錄選輯 (Selected Annals of Qing Emperor Shengzu) [Qing dynasty], in *Taiwan wenxian congkan* 臺灣文獻叢刊 (Taiwan Collectanea of Historical Records and Archives), no. 165 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi 臺灣銀行經濟研究室, 1963), 129.

<sup>19</sup> Shi Lang 施琅, *Jinghai jishi* 靖海紀事 (Records of Marquis Jinghai) [Qing dynasty], in *Taiwan wenxian congkan* 臺灣文獻叢刊 (Taiwan Collectanea of Historical Records and Archives), no. 13 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi 臺灣銀行經濟研究室, 1958), 59-62.

decided to subsume Taiwan into its territory in 1684.<sup>20</sup>

The Qing government was not aware of Taiwan's value. For the government, it was not an important place deserving of attention and concern, so the government was passive in developing this isolated insular domain. One reason for this apathy is that the Manchu were originally nomads coming from northeast inland China, so they lacked not only the knowledge of Taiwan, but also the experience of governing an island outside the mainland. In addition, rebels of Ming loyalists always presented trouble for the new Manchu regime. The Qing government was wary of an anti-Qing rebellion being resuscitated among the people of Taiwan; therefore, their policy for governing Taiwan focused on preventing the revival of any anti-Qing power (*wei fangtai er zhitai* 為防臺而治臺), not on developing Taiwan.<sup>21</sup> With political security concerns, the Qing government set up many limitations and prohibitions in order to strictly control the communication between people on the two sides of the Taiwan Straits. Under numerous limitations, various religions lacked the space to flourish. At that time, Taiwan, with its remote, overseas frontier location, was in even harder circumstances.<sup>22</sup>

## 2. The Policy and its Influence

The Qing government's religious policy reflected its core principles—to stabilize the empire and to maintain the power of the regime. On the one hand, the emperor intended to show his concern for people's beliefs, so the government allotted a portion of the

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<sup>20</sup> Xie Jikang 謝紀康, "Qingji duitai zhengce de tantao: cong haijin dao fangtai," 清季對臺政策的探討: 從海禁到防臺 (Exploring Qing Government's Policy to Taiwan: From Sea Ban to Defending against Taiwan), *Tainan nuyuan xuebao* 台南女院學報 (Journal of Woman's College of Arts and Technology), no.24 (Oct. 2005): 517.

<sup>21</sup> Xie Jikang, "Qingji duitai zhengce," 519.

<sup>22</sup> Jiang Canteng 江燦騰, *Taiwan fojiaoshi* 臺灣佛教史 (History of Buddhism in Taiwan. (Taipei: Wunan tushu chuban gufen youxian gongsi 五南圖書出版股份有限公司, 2009), 26-7.

budget to renovate famous temples, supported the establishment of new temples, and bestowed the officially printed Tripitaka and precious Buddhist utensils to the mainland temples. Qing officials in Taiwan also supported the renovation and establishment of temples, but no temple in Taiwan was granted the official printed Tripitaka from the Qing government.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, the government kept all monks under surveillance to catch political suspects who shaved their heads and hid in the temples. In order to prevent revolutionary secret societies from congregating around the temples, many restraints were used to control Buddhist monks and related activities.

During the Qing period, people could only travel between China and Taiwan through a few matching ferry ports (*duidu kauan* 對渡口岸). Passage to Taiwan was severely restricted. Mainlanders planning to go to Taiwan had to comply with many regulations, obtain documents from the domicile of origin for official scrutiny, and apply for an official license.<sup>24</sup> Mainland monks not only found it hard to travel to Taiwan but they also were not allowed to have public activities in Taiwan without official permission. There also existed many regulations for Taiwanese people who intended to become legitimate monks/nuns. Women were eligible to be ordained after the age of 40, but in 1764, Emperor Qianlong proscribed women's ordination because it happened that nuns and monks living together in temples caused disordered atmosphere and situation.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, there were very few nuns in Taiwan in the early Qing period, and none in the late Qing period.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 27.

<sup>24</sup> Li Zuji 李祖基, "Lun qingdai zhengfu de zhitai zhengce—yi shilang yu qingchu dalu yimin dutai weuli," 論清代政府的治臺政策—以施琅與清初大陸移民渡臺為例 (The Discussion of Qing's Policies to Rule Taiwan—the Case of Shi Lang and the Emigration from Mainland to Taiwan during early Qing dynasty), *Taiwan yanjiu* 臺灣研究 (Taiwan Studies), no.3 (2001): 89-96.

<sup>25</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 28.

<sup>26</sup> Charles Brewer Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State, 1660-1990* (Honolulu: University of

Men were eligible to be ordained when they were under the age of sixteen so long as they met certain requirements. A boy wishing to become a legitimate monk could not be a single child, and his family must already contain more than three male members over the age of 16-years-old. The official process of ordination was as follows: 1) Become a disciple under an ordaining master. A legitimate ordaining master can have only one disciple, and must be a fully ordained monk over the age of 40. 2) Shave the head and wear the sacerdotal robe in order to be fully ordained in the officially assigned temple. 3) Receive the official certificate of ordination from the government or from the officially assigned temple.<sup>27</sup> The whole process of full ordination initiation took nine days.

Before Taiwan became a province in 1885, Taiwan was under the jurisdiction of the Fujian province. People of Taiwan who intended to participate in full ordination had to travel to temples in the Fujian provinces, because there were no temples in Taiwan qualified to provide full ordination initiation. In addition, the disciples had to pay the ordination fee to the temple and travel at their own expense, which was not easily affordable; thus, very few were able to do so.<sup>28</sup> As a result of these regulations and limitations, legitimate and full-ordained monks in Taiwan were a minority of all monks during the Qing period. Almost all of these monks took the ordination in the Yongquan temple of the Gushan mountain 鼓山湧泉寺, and a few in the Changqing temple of the Yishan mountain 怡山長慶寺. Both of these temples are located in the Fujian province. The Yongquan Temple of Gushan Mountain was considered important in the origins of monastic Buddhism in Taiwan. Before 1949, the temples, monks (ordained or non-ordained), and the style of ritual and musical practices used by monks in Taiwan

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Hawai'i Press, 1999), 11.

<sup>27</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 28.

<sup>28</sup> Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 11.

were mostly directly or indirectly descendent from it.

Illegitimate monks represented the main body of Buddhist monks in Taiwan during the Qing period. Not only had most monks in Taiwan at the time not undergone full ordination, but also many poor, family-less, uneducated, and elderly men became monks and lived in the temple for ease.<sup>29</sup> These illegitimate monks were unable to understand and transmit Buddhist doctrine, and were incapable of developing religious functions and influencing society. They learned the musical and ritual practices in the temple and performed Buddhist rituals for folk occasions, such as weddings, funerals, birthdays, and various annual ceremonies to earn money. In other words, they lived and earned money by becoming ritual practitioners. Because their activities were close to folk life, the musical and ritual practices were always made to cater to the local population's taste and thus were capricious and affected by folk music. Since the local Buddhism in Taiwan were mainly descendent from the Yongquan Temple of Gushan Mountain, the local monastic musical practices were later labeled as *gushanyin* 鼓山音 by researchers, distinct from the new type of monastic musical practices, *haichaoyin* 海潮音, which were brought to Taiwan by the new mainland immigrant monks from Zhejiang and Jiangsu provinces after 1949. These two types of Buddhist music will be discussed in the next chapter.

When the Qing empire entered the stable period during the Yongzheng and Qianlong reigns, the government started to suppress the social status of Buddhist monks through a number of official documents.<sup>30</sup> After the reign of Jiaqing, the discipline of Buddhism became corrupt, and situations in which monks violated precepts became more and more

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<sup>29</sup> Masuda Fukutarō 増田福太郎, *Taiwan hontōjin no shūkyō* 台湾本島人の宗教 (Tokyo: Meiji shōtoku kinen gakkai 明治聖徳記念學會, 1937), 20-21.

<sup>30</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 26.

frequent.<sup>31</sup> It was very common for people to have a disdainful attitude toward Buddhist monks during this time period. Generally speaking, Buddhist monks in Taiwan during the Qing period were of low quality and carried little social status.

Despite the low quality of monks, the numbers of temples in Taiwan had continued to increase. There were up to hundreds of temples in western Taiwan in the late Qing period, but these temples were usually individual and small.<sup>32</sup> Unlike the monastic system on the mainland, the big monasteries usually had a headquarters and several branch temples. Temples in Taiwan had not developed a monastic system or single lineage, so the temples were usually individual and with no relationship to one another. The Qing authority renovated some temples based on the houses of Zheng officials who were all shipped back to the mainland after Qing took over Taiwan; others were built privately. Officially supported temples usually had abbots, who were invited by officials from the mainland, to manage the affairs and property of the temples, but they did not have decision-making power in the temple. Officials controlled and supervised all affairs and monks in the temples. The privately-built temples were usually managed by the trustee or *luzhu* 爐主 (the communal worship representative), only very few having abbots.

### 3. Buddhism's Social Function and Features Specific to Taiwan

Due to the government's strict limitations and the incompetence of monks in Taiwan, Buddhism was unable to develop its religious function during most of the Qing dynasty. Nonetheless, Buddhist temples performed special social functions which did not exist on the mainland, making them unique to the immigrant society of Taiwan. According to Yan

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<sup>31</sup> Li Tianchun and others, ed., *Taiwansheg tongzhigao*, 67.

<sup>32</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 11.

Zhangpao, the temples during the Qing period had three social functions specific in Taiwan.<sup>33</sup> First, the temple was the autonomic center for the community. On the mainland, the autonomic center in a community was usually set in the ancestral hall, because a community or a village tended to be dominated by the members of the same family (with the same surname).<sup>34</sup> Therefore, the ancestral hall became the place to hold meetings, to solve problems among community members, and to deal with community affairs. However, Taiwan was an immigrant society, and for a long time, Qing's policy forbade women and children to emigrate from the mainland to Taiwan, not allowing emigrants to bring their families. Due to the restrictions, the immigrants in Taiwan were nearly all bachelors. As a result, the community in Taiwan consisted of members from different families with varying surnames and places of origin on the mainland. The ancestral hall's influence on community members was limited due to this situation; instead, the temple became the center of community members' beliefs, replacing the ancestral hall to become the autonomic center of the community.

A secondary function of the temple was its use as a place in which the government issued proclamations and prohibitory edicts. According to Yan Zhangpao's research on temple inscriptions, these proclamations and edicts included four types: official adjudication for disputes among the people, interdicted orders for public security, edicts for proscribing when officials extorted people, and other general announcements for the public.<sup>35</sup> In other words, it was a common consensus between people and the

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<sup>33</sup> Yan Zhangpao 顏章炮, "Qingdai Taiwan simiao de teshu shehui gongyong—Taiwan qingdai simiao beiben yanjiu zhiyi," 清代台灣寺廟的特殊社會功用—台灣清代寺廟碑文研究之一 (The Special Social Function of the Temples in Taiwan of Qing Period—The Research on the Inscriptions of the temples in Taiwan of Qing Period I), *Xiamen daxue xuebao* 廈門大學學報 (Journal of Xiamen University, the Bimonthly for Studies in Arts and Social Sciences), no.1 (1996): 98-103.

<sup>34</sup> Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 8.

<sup>35</sup> Yan Zhangpao, "Qingdai Taiwan simiao," 98-103.

government that the temple possessed authoritative status to announce the government's policies and orders. Ironically, the important status of the temples was not due to their religious influence on people, but rather their function—the autonomic center of the community. If a temple was a Buddhist temple, the Buddhist monks or abbots neither had the right to guide announcements, nor the power to make connections between the government and the commoner. The important status of the temples was not in accordance with the social status of the monks.

The temple thirdly functioned as a temporary accommodation for soldiers stationed in Taiwan. All soldiers in Taiwan were selected from mainlanders of the Fujian province, because recruitment of Taiwanese people as soldiers was prohibited. In order to prevent government officials and soldiers in Taiwan from revolt, their tour of duty was a short three-year term.<sup>36</sup> Upon completion, they were transferred back to the mainland and replaced by new soldiers from the mainland. These soldiers also supported the establishment of temples in Taiwan in order to pray for their safety when they sailed across the Taiwan Straits during their tours of duty. The temples served as a temporary accommodation for these soldiers during the interim between the arrival at Taiwan and the start of their tenure, or between the end of the tenure and the date of returning to the mainland. Sometimes the temples also served as the soldiers' communication center.

In addition to performing these special social functions, Buddhism in Taiwan during this period was characterized by an important feature—non-distinction between gods and Buddha (*shenfo bufen* 神佛不分).<sup>37</sup> The objects enshrined in the temple embody the

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<sup>36</sup> Xie Jikang 謝紀康, "Qingchu duitai haifang zhengce de xingcheng yu yanbian," 清初對臺海防政策的形成與演變 (The Formation and Evolvement of Taiwan's Sea Defense Policy in Early Qing Dynasty), *Tainan keji daxue tongshi jiaoyu xuekan* 臺南科技大學通識教育學刊 (Journal of General Education, Tainan University of Technology), no.7 (April 2008): 167-92.

<sup>37</sup> Yang Huinan 楊惠南, "Mingqing shiqi Taiwan fojiao de shenfo bufen yu sanjiao tongyuan," 明清時期

unique traits of the ideology in Taiwan: a polytheism mixing Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and folk beliefs. Such temples enshrined a Buddha or bodhisattva alongside Taoist, Confucian, or folk gods/deities for worship. Similarly, Taoist, Confucian, or folk temples enshrined their gods/deities alongside Buddha/bodhisattva. Sometimes a temple might enshrine up to ten objects simultaneously.<sup>38</sup> In some cases, the same god was given multiple names in the different religions. For example, a famous historical figure, Guanyu 關羽, was apotheosized as *Wenheng Shengdi* 文衡聖帝 in Confucianism and folk beliefs, *Yihan Tianzun* 翊漢天尊 in Taoism, and *Gaitian Gufo* 蓋天古佛 in Buddhism.<sup>39</sup> This condition of mixing Buddha and gods of different religions is still very common today in the temples of Taiwan. Scholars tend to categorize a temple's religion based on its principal enshrined object, but sometimes the temple's primary religion remains ambiguous.

Additionally, it was common for rituals and ceremonies to be held for figures from different religions in the same temple. According to the wooden inscription in the Kaiyuan temple 開元寺, a famous official Buddhist temple in Taiwan, there were ceremonies held regularly to commemorate and celebrate the birthdays of Buddha and different gods. For example, in April every year, ceremonies were held for the birthdays of Śākyamuni Buddha, *Yinzhenren* 尹真人 (Taoist god), *Xiaogong* 蕭公 (folk belief's

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台灣佛教的神佛不分與三教同源 (The Undistinguished God/Deity and Buddha/Bodhisattva, and the Same Origin of Three Religions in Taiwan during Ming and Qing Period), *Taiwan wenxian* 臺灣文獻 (Taiwan Historica) 53, no.3 (Sep. 2002): 1-38.

<sup>38</sup> Huang Fucai and Li Yongle 黃福才; 李永樂, "Luelun Taiwan zongjiao xinyang de yimin tezheng," 略論台灣宗教信仰的移民特徵 (The Discussion on Immigrant Features of Religion in Taiwan), *Fujian luntan (wenshizhe ban)* 福建論壇 (文史哲版) (Fujian Tribune. A Literature, History and Philosophy Bimonthly), no.3 (2000): 93-7.

<sup>39</sup> Wu Yingtao 吳瀛濤, ed., *Taiwan minsu* 臺灣民俗 (Folk Customs in Taiwan) (Taipei: Jinxue 進學, 1969; reprint, Taipei: Zhongwen tushu gongsi 眾文圖書公司, 1990), 42.

god) and others in the Kaiyuan temple.<sup>40</sup> Other scenarios where religions mixed can be seen in the phenomenon of Buddhist monks serving as abbots in non-Buddhist temples; many monks lived in non-Buddhist temples. *Taiwan fuzhi* recorded that in 1684, Shi Lang and other officials supported the establishment a folk temple named Tianfeigong 天妃宮, in the rear of which there was a meditation hall constructed.<sup>41</sup> The abbot, a Buddhist monk, took charge of the worship in the meditation hall. During the Qing period, it was common for meditation halls and monks' dormitories to be constructed in non-Buddhist temples.

Taiwan's non-distinction between gods and Buddha can be traced back to the thought of *sanjiao tongyuan* 三教同源 (Three religions have the same origin) advocated by four celebrated Buddhist monks in the late Ming dynasty in China: Ven. Zhuhong 祿宏, Ven. Zhenke 真可, Ven. Deqing 德清, and Ven. Zhixu 智旭.<sup>42</sup> As a foreign religion in China, Buddhism had been assimilated into Chinese culture more thoroughly than any other foreign religions. One important factor for this situation is that, over time, Buddhism in the mainland incorporated indigenous Confucianism and Taoism into its ideology.<sup>43</sup> Since Buddhism was introduced into China, the theories of connecting three ideologies such as *sanjiao heyi* 三教合一 (Three religions combine as one), *sanjiao yili* 三教一理 (Three religions are one truth), and *sanjiao tongyuan* 三教同源 (Three religions have

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<sup>40</sup> Huang Dianquan 黃典權, ed., *Taiwan nanbu beiwen jicheng* 臺灣南部碑文集成 (The Collection of the Inscriptions in Southern Taiwan), in *Taiwan wenxian congkan* 臺灣文獻叢刊 (Taiwan Collectanea of Historical Records and Archives), no. 218 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi 臺灣銀行經濟研究室, 1966), 712.

<sup>41</sup> Gao Gongqian 高拱乾, ed., *Taiwan fuzhi* 臺灣府志 (Gazetteer of Taiwan Prefecture) [1696, Qing Dynasty], in *Taiwan wenxian congkan* 臺灣文獻叢刊 (Taiwan Collectanea of Historical Records and Archives) no. 65 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi 臺灣銀行經濟研究室, 1960), 219.

<sup>42</sup> Yang Huinan, "Mingqing shiqi Taiwan fojiao," 1-38.

<sup>43</sup> Li Xia 李霞, "Lun mingdai fojiao de sanjiao heyi shuo," 論明代佛教的三教合一說 (The Discussion on the Thought of Combining Three Religions as One in Buddhism of Ming Dynasty), *Anhui daxue xuebao* (*zhexue shehui kexueban*) 安徽大學學報 (哲學社會科學版) (Journal of Anhui University [Philosophy and Social Sciences]) 24, no.5 (2000): 54-62.

the same origin) have been proposed successively by scholars, Buddhist monks, and even Taoist priests for the purpose of linking and harmonizing three religions. This kind of integration peaked during the late Ming dynasty.<sup>44</sup> With a long process of development, the three ideologies have coexisted and established deep roots in the culture. People have become accustomed to accepting the concept of mixing three religions.

Still, the non-distinction between gods and Buddha was more widespread in Taiwan than in mainland China.<sup>45</sup> This unique feature probably results from the fact that Buddhism in Taiwan was in its infancy, and the newly-formed immigrant society there provided more freedom and possibility to absorb and mix different elements. This feature is also expressed in the local monastic Buddhist music, *gushanyin*, in Taiwan, in which musical elements were more miscellaneous and variable. In contrast, Buddhism and the monastery already had matured in China, so the system was already entrenched there and more or less had intrinsic power to maintain tradition. Generally speaking, Buddhism in Taiwan had not developed into a significant system in society during the Qing period, but another strain of Buddhism, known as *zhaijiao* 齋教 (religion of vegetarian diet) or *zaijia fojiao* 在家佛教 (lay Buddhism) took advantage of Taiwan's special social environment at the time, and quickly developed during the Qing period.

#### 4. Zhaijiao 齋教 (Religion of Vegetarian Diet)

*Zhaijiao* is the collective appellation for three independent folk sectarian religions, *xiantian* 先天 (Prior Heaven), *jinchuang* 金幢 (Gold Pennant), and *longhua* 龍華 (Dragon Flower), which were directly or indirectly descended from a folk religion *luojiao*

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<sup>44</sup> Li Xia, "Lun mingdai fojiao," 54-62.

<sup>45</sup> Yang Huinan, "Mingqing shiqi Taiwan fojiao," 1-38.

羅教 (Luo Teaching).<sup>46</sup> These three folk sectarian religions were imported to Taiwan in succession from mid-Qing dynasty.<sup>47</sup> After Japan took over Taiwan in 1895, in order to understand the customs and religions of Taiwan for enacting decrees, Japan's Taiwan Governor-General Office carried out an island-wide investigation in 1901.<sup>48</sup> The term *zhaijiao* was first delivered in the investigation reports to give a general name for these three folk sectarian religions. The doctrines and practices of the three folk sectarian religions were all related to Buddhism, but with strong lay characteristics. In the Japanese investigation reports of 1919, *zhaijiao* was viewed as *zaijia fojiao* 在家佛教 (lay Buddhism), and the three folk sectarian religions were considered three sects of *zhaijiao*.<sup>49</sup>

In the Qing dynasty of China, in addition to the officially acknowledged religions such as Buddhism and Taoism, different kinds of folk religions and religious organizations, such as *luojiao* 羅教 (Luo Teaching) and *bailianjiao* 白蓮教 (White Lotus religion), were vigorously developed. Many insurrectional incidents were launched in connection with these folk religions, and thus, they were always viewed as being secretive and heretical. The government, in response, regulated and suppressed them.

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<sup>46</sup> Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 15.

<sup>47</sup> Lin Meirong 林美容, *Taiwan de zhaitang yu yanzai: minjian fojiao de shijiao* 臺灣的齋堂與巖仔: 民間佛教的視角 (Taiwan's Zhaitang and Yanzai [different styles of the temple]: The Viewpoint on Folk Buddhism) (Taipei: Taiwan shufang 台灣書房, 2008), 50-2.

<sup>48</sup> Wang Jianchuan 王見川, "Luelun rizhi shiqi zhaijiao de quandaoxing zuzhi: Taiwan fojiao longhuahui," 略論日治時期齋教的全島性組織: 臺灣佛教龍華會 (The Discussion of Zhaijiao's Island-Wide Organization in Japanese Period: Longhua Society of Taiwan Buddhism), in *Taiwan zhaijiao de lishi guancha yu zhanwan: shojie Taiwan zhaijiaoxueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 臺灣齋教的歷史觀察與展望: 首屆臺灣齋教學術研討會論文集 (The Historical Observation and Prospect of Taiwan's Zhaijiao: Collected Essays of the First Symposium for Taiwan's Zhaijiao), ed. Jiang Canteng and Wang Jianchuan 江燦騰, 王見川 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng 新文豐, 1994), 149.

<sup>49</sup> Wang Jianchuan 王見川, *Taiwan de zhaijiao yu luantang* 臺灣的齋教與鸞堂 (Taiwan's zhaijiao [religion of vegetarian diet] and luantang [folk Confucian religion]) (Taipei: Nantian chubanshe 南天出版社, 1996).

*Zhaijiao*'s three sects also were categorized into this kind of secretive and heretical folk religion. All of their activities were considered illegal during the Qing period.

The three sects of *zhaijiao* have respective scriptures, doctrines, and practices, but many of their characteristics are the same. Their believers declared themselves to be a single strain of Buddhism. The most important and essential conduct for believers is adherence to a vegetarian diet because they consider that *jiesha* 戒殺 (not to kill) the root of all virtue.<sup>50</sup> Also, during the initiation ceremony, the believers vow to “take refuge in the Three Jewels of Buddhism (the Buddha, the teachings, and the monastic community), take the traditional Five Lay Precepts (*wujie* 五戒) (not to kill, steal, indulge in illicit sex, lie, and drink alcohol), and engage in the Ten Virtues (*shishan* 十善) (to refrain from killing, stealing, illicit sex, lying, double speech, malicious speech, salacious talk, greed, anger, and false views).”<sup>51</sup>

Believers adhere to a vegetarian diet and strictly observe these Buddhist precepts, but they are not ordained as Buddhist monks; instead, they live as common people.

*Taiwansheng tongzhi* describes:<sup>52</sup>

*Zhaijiao* means to adhere to a vegetarian diet and worship the Buddha within the householder's life. One does not leave human society, but while earning one's living in the city and village, adhere to the Buddhist precepts as a layperson (English translation by Dr. Charles Brewer Jones).<sup>53</sup>

In other words, *zhaijiao* is transmitted and maintained by laymen, different from the traditional monastic Buddhism, which centers on monks and the monastic community.

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<sup>50</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 52.

<sup>51</sup> Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 15.

<sup>52</sup> Zhang Bingnan and others 張炳楠等, ed., *Taiwansheng tongzhi: renminzhi zongjiaopian* 臺灣省通志: 人民志宗教篇 (General Gazetteer of Taiwan Province: Annals of Folklife, Chapter of Religion) (Taipei: Taiwansheng wenxian weiyuanhui 臺灣省文獻委員會, 1971; reprint, Taipei: Zhongwen Tushu Gongsi 眾文圖書公司, 1980), 73.

<sup>53</sup> Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 14.

The places of *zhaijiao*'s worship are called *zhaitang* 齋堂 (literally “vegetarian hall,” as *zhaijiao*'s temple), and the believers of *zhaijiao* are called *zhaiyou* 齋友 (literally “friend in vegetarianism”). Unlike Buddhist monks whose main responsibility is to transmit teachings, traditional lay Buddhists usually just observe precepts in their daily life, but do not transmit the teachings. However, during the Ming and Qing periods, Buddhist monks were notorious for their violation of precepts and corrupted behaviors, and people felt contempt for them. The disappointment of Buddhist monks caused lay Buddhists to wish to transmit the teachings by themselves, and further to set up new doctrines. The three sects of *zhaijiao* actually formed under the aversion and criticism of Buddhism due to the depraved phenomena at the time.<sup>54</sup> The traditional superior role of Buddhist monks was replaced by laity, and the believers of *zhaijiao* considered themselves to be enlightened laymen (*sujia de wudaozhe* 俗家的悟道者).<sup>55</sup> In contrast to the unqualified and unlearned Buddhist monks and their disorderly behavior in Taiwan, *zhaijiao*'s adherents strictly kept a vegetarian diet and observed Buddhist precepts and rules of conduct. Under these circumstances, *zhaijiao* was quickly accepted by common people, and despite its illegal status, it still developed in Taiwan during the Qing period.

Strictly speaking, *zhaijiao* cannot be considered a strain of Buddhism, because its doctrine and practices consist of elements not only from Buddhism, but also from Taoism, Confucianism, and folk beliefs. *Zhaijiao* reflected the most characteristic feature of religions in Taiwan: mixing the thoughts, doctrines, deities, and practices of different religions. The central doctrine of *zhaijiao*'s three sects is soteriology, that of the creator-god and creator-deity, known as the unborn parents (*Wuji Shenzu* 無極聖祖

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<sup>54</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 49.

<sup>55</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 49.

[Ultimate Holy Ancestor] and *Wusheng Laomu* 無生老母 [Unborn Venerable Mother]). According to this belief, the unborn parents will dispatch Maitreya Buddha to earthly world in the third time of three Dragon Flower Assemblies (*Longhua Sanhui* 龍華三會) in the future in order to save 200 million suffering people on the earth.<sup>56</sup> This central doctrine is actually a deviant folk version from the record of three Dragon Flower Assemblies in the Buddhist sutra.

In addition, these three sects mix philosophical elements of different religions in a respective way. For example, the origin of the thought in the scriptures of the Longhua sect contains elements of the following: Buddhism, such as the Sudden Enlightenment (*dunwu* 頓悟); Taoism, such as the way of nourishing life (*yangsheng zhi dao* 養生之道); Confucianism, such as the thought of ethics (*lunli* 倫理); and folk customs and teachings.<sup>57</sup> The Jinchuang sect features worship for the Lords of Three Spheres (*Sanguan Dadi* 三官大帝), which originates in the cosmology of both Taoism and folk beliefs.<sup>58</sup> The Xiantian sect's space arrangement in the worshipping hall implies the significance of cultivating inner alchemy (*xiulian jindan* 修煉金丹) and the concept of yin/yang and the five elements (*yinyang wuxing* 陰陽五行) of Taoism.<sup>59</sup> All three sects worship several Buddha, bodhisattva, gods, and deities from Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and folk beliefs.

The mixed elements of *zhaijiao* cover all popular religions practiced in Taiwan. Many essential elements are ingrained parts of the culture, and are connected to common

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<sup>56</sup> Wang Jianchuan, "Luelun rizhi shiqi zhajiao," 153-4.

<sup>57</sup> Zheng Zhiming 鄭志明, *Taiwan minjian zongjiao lunji* 台灣民間宗教論集 (Collected Essays on Folk Religion in Taiwan) (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju 台灣學生書局, 1984), 37.

<sup>58</sup> Zhang Kunzhen 張崑振, *Taiwan de laozhaitang* 台灣的老齋堂 (The Old *Zhaitang* [Vegetarian Hall] in Taiwan) (Taipei: Yuanzu wenhua 遠足文化, 2003), 37-9.

<sup>59</sup> Lin Wanchuan 林萬傳, "Taiwan zhajiao: xiantian dao yuanliu kao," 台灣齋教: 先天道源流考 (Zhaijiao of Taiwan: Textual Research on the Origin of Xiantian Doctrine), in Jiang Canteng and Wang Jianchuan, 121.

people's lives. The believers are also able to cultivate their spirits by adhering to the practice of *zhaijiao* without leaving human society. All factors made *zhaijiao* more easily acceptable for people. Because of the incompetence of Buddhist monks in Taiwan during the Qing period, many people actually first learned of Buddhist teachings from becoming the believers of *zhaijiao* and from the practice of *zhaijiao*. In addition, the Qing government prohibited women from receiving ordination as Buddhist nuns and disallowed women to get in and out Buddhist temples freely. As a result, many female Buddhists converted to *zhaijiao* in order to worship Buddha and have a religious life.<sup>60</sup> These conditions all promoted the development of *zhaijiao* during Qing period in Taiwan.

In the Japanese period, the Japanese government no longer viewed *zhaijiao* as a secretive and heretical religion. It was thus able to be propagated openly and freely, and many new *zhaitang* 齋堂 (as *zhaijiao*'s temple) were established.<sup>61</sup> Many *zhaitang* in Taiwan had gradually transformed to monastic Buddhist temples under Japan's religious policy. The situation of weak monastic Buddhism and incompetent Buddhist monks during the Qing period in Taiwan also changed during the Japanese period.

#### IV. Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945)

It is usually assumed that Taiwan was subsumed into the territory of the Japanese Empire through the Treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895. Through this treaty, the First Sino-Japanese War ended, and a defeated China ceded Taiwan and its surrounding islands to Japan.<sup>62</sup> Japanese troops began landing in Taiwan in May of the same year. At that

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<sup>60</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 12.

<sup>61</sup> Zhang Kunzhen, *Taiwan de laozhaitang*, 23.

<sup>62</sup> Shi Huiyan 釋慧嚴, *Taiwan fojiaoshi lunji* 台灣佛教史論集 (Collected Essays of the History of Buddhism in Taiwan) (Kaohsiung: Chunhui chubanshe 春暉出版社, 2003), 135.

time, Japanese troops were always accompanied by Buddhist monks and Buddhist missionaries who ministered to the soldiers' spiritual needs. Japanese Buddhism thus was first introduced to Taiwan through the landing of Japanese troops.<sup>63</sup> Japanese Buddhism is characterized by its systematic organizations and distinct differences in schools and sects. Along with the success of the Meiji Restoration in Japan, research on Japanese Buddhism has changed from traditional interpretations of sutras to the development of textual criticism via Western methodology.<sup>64</sup> This trend was also introduced to Taiwan, bringing it modern research methods for Buddhism studies. The Japanese established modern education to foster the creation of Buddhist scholars and monks in Taiwan, and propelled the establishment of different island-wide Buddhist organizations. As such, Buddhism in Taiwan was developed to a new level under Japanese rule.

Three strains of Buddhism coexisted in Taiwan's Japanese period: traditional monastic Buddhism, mainly descended from the Yongquan temple's system from the Gushan mountain in the Fujian province 福建鼓山湧泉寺; *zhaijiao* 齋教 (lay Buddhism); and Japanese Buddhism, of which eight schools and twelve sects were introduced to Taiwan. The development of Buddhism during the Japanese period can be divided into the early, middle, and late periods, based on the changes of Japanese religious policies according to the societal and environmental circumstances in Taiwan and Japan. Cai Jintang's research indicates that the demarcation between the early and the middle periods was the Xilai'an Incident (*Xilai'an Shijian* 西來庵事件, 1915). The

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<sup>63</sup> Zhang Bingnan and others 張炳楠等, ed., *Taiwansheng tongzhi: renminzhi zongjiaopian shang* 臺灣省通志: 人民志宗教篇上 (General Gazetteer of Taiwan Province: Annals of Folklife, Chapter of Religion I) (Taipei: Taiwansheng wenxian weiyuanhui 臺灣省文獻委員會, 1971; reprint, Taipei: Zhongwen tushu gongsi 眾文圖書公司, 1980), 53.

<sup>64</sup> Kan Zhengzong 關正宗, *Taiwan fojiao yibainian* 臺灣佛教一百年 (Buddhism in Taiwan for One Hundred Year) (Taipei: Dongda tushu gufen youxian gongsi 東大圖書股份有限公司, 1999), 209.

distinction between the middle and the late periods was formed by the Manchurian Incident (*Jiuyiba Shibian* 九一八事變, 1931).<sup>65</sup> The following sections provide a general survey for the development of Buddhism during these three periods.

### 1. The Early Period (1895-1914)

In the early Japanese period, the whole society was in turmoil. Several rebellious incidences and guerilla activities arose in various places on the island to resist Japanese rule. The first three Japanese governors, Kabayama Sukenori 樺山資紀, Katsura Tarō 桂太郎, and Nogi Maresuke 乃木希典, made many efforts to suppress and fight against these rebels. Although it suppressed anti-Japanese rebellions, Japan did not take advantage of its power to repress and disregard the local religions in Taiwan; instead, the governors could be sensitive to the significance of local religions to people's lives in Taiwan.

When Japanese troops and officials arrived in Taiwan, offices and dormitories had not yet been established, so many temples (Buddhist and non-Buddhist) were used temporarily for army camps, offices, hospitals, schools, and official dormitories.<sup>66</sup> The Japanese Buddhist missionaries also requested that the government grant them several Confucian temples in Taipei in order to establish their missionary stations. However, the Japanese prefectural governor of Taipei opposed the request. He indicated that current

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<sup>65</sup> Cai Jintang 蔡錦堂, "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan zhi zongjiao zhengce," 日治時期臺灣之宗教政策 (The Religious Policy in the Japanese Period of Taiwan), in *Lishi wenhua yu Taiwan: Taiwan yanjiu yantaohui 76-100 hui jilu* 4 歷史文化與臺灣: 台灣研究研討會 76-100 回記錄 4 (History, Culture and Taiwan: Records of 76-100 Rounds for the Symposium of Taiwan Studies 4), ed. Zhang Yanxian 張炎憲 (Taipei: Taiwan fengwu zazhishi 臺灣風物雜誌社, 1996), 135-6.

<sup>66</sup> Wen Guoliang 溫國良, "Rizhi chuqi riren zhanyong Taiwan simiao gaikuang," 日治初期日人佔用臺灣寺廟概況 (The General Situation of the Temples Occupied by Japanese during Early Japanese Period of Taiwan), *Taiwan fengwu* 臺灣風物 (The Taiwan Folkways) 4, no.2 (1999): 159.

Taiwanese people practiced Confucianism, so the Confucian temples should not be turned into Buddhist preaching stations. In addition, he stated that although many local temples were used temporarily as army camps or hospitals, the former appearance of the temples should be restored, and the decrees for preservation should be enacted.<sup>67</sup> This example reflects the Japanese government's attitude towards Taiwanese beliefs during the early period.

Gotō Shinpei 後藤新平, the chief civil administrator of Taiwan's Governor-General Office, started his term in 1898 during the period of the fourth governor, Kodama Gentarō 兒玉源太郎.<sup>68</sup> His policy significantly influenced the development of Buddhism in Taiwan. His principle for ruling Taiwan was not to import and apply Japanese laws and systems suddenly, but first to thoroughly and systematically understand the old customary systems of the island. Based upon this knowledge, he sought to govern according to the current conditions of the Taiwanese people. He established the Taiwan Customs Investigating Committee (*Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai* 臨時台灣旧慣調査会) in 1901, and led a large-scale investigation into the population, land and customs of Taiwan.<sup>69</sup> The investigation reports provided a foundation from which to set up legal systems for ruling Taiwan. In terms of the economy, he propelled the development of capitalism. For social aspects, he respected customary systems in Taiwan and adopted policies of “nonintervention” (*hōnin* 放任) and

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<sup>67</sup> Wen Guoliang 溫國良, “Riju chuqi rifo jiao qingjian Taipei qiguanmiao xiasi shimo,” 日據初期日佛教請建臺北七官廟下賜始末 (The Process of Seven Confucian Temples in Taipei Requested by Japanese Buddhist Missionaries for Establishing Preaching Stations in the Early Japanese Period), *Taipei wenxian* 台北文獻 (Taipei Historical Documents Committee), no.129 (1999): 45.

<sup>68</sup> Jiang Canteng, 2009, 123-5.

<sup>69</sup> Wang Zhiping 王志平 and Wu Minxia 吳敏霞, “Riju chuqi riben zai Taiwan de zongjiao diaocha ji qi zongjiao zhengce—yi fojiao diaocha wei zhongxin de kaocha,” 日據初期日本在台灣的宗教調查及其宗教政策—以佛教調查為中心的考察 (The Religious Investigation and Religious Policy during early Japanese Period of Taiwan—The Research on Buddhism), *Taiwan yanjiu jikan* 台灣研究集刊 (Taiwan Research Quarterly), no.3 (2005): 57.

“preservation” (*onzon* 溫存).<sup>70</sup> His principles for governing Taiwan were considered successful and set the foundation for his successors.

Although these policies were formed for political and governing purposes, the “nonintervention” and “preservation” provided space for Buddhism to develop vigorously in Taiwan. Japan did not prohibit communication between monks from China and Taiwan. Many mainland Chinese monks came to Taiwan to conduct religious activities. Not only did Japan not interfere but it also provided occasional courteous receptions<sup>71</sup> because Buddhism was the common religion of Japan, Taiwan, and China. Taiwan functioned as the agent, providing a strong platform for Buddhist communication between Japan, Taiwan, and China. On the one hand, Japan could develop a good relationship with China through different Buddhist activities; on the other hand, it could express regard for Taiwan’s traditional monastic Buddhism. In addition, under Japan’s tolerant policy, Taiwanese monks continued to travel to China in order to receive full ordination. Even after temples in Taiwan were capable of conferring full ordination in 1913, it was still common for monks to go to China for full ordination.<sup>72</sup>

Traditional monastic Buddhism in Taiwan came from a system known as Gushan system 鼓山系統, because Buddhism in Taiwan was primarily descended from the Yongquan temple of the Gushan mountain in Fujian province. However, unlike China’s large monastic and lineage system, temples in Taiwan during the former Qing period tended to be unconnected to one another; Buddhist monks usually preached individually. In the Japanese period, the four Buddhist temples in Taiwan gradually had become

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<sup>70</sup> Cai Jintang, “Rizhi shiqi Taiwan zhi zongjiao zhengce,” 136.

<sup>71</sup> Li Shiwei 李世偉, *Taiwan fojiao, rujiao yu minjian xinyang* 臺灣佛教, 儒教與民間信仰 (Buddhism, Confucianism, and Folk Beliefs in Taiwan) (Taipei: Boyang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi 博揚文化事業有限公司, 2008), 4.

<sup>72</sup> Li Shiwei, *Taiwan fojiao*, 5.

Buddhist centers, and formed the four dharma lineages (*sida famai* 四大法脈): the Lingquan temple of the Yuemei mountain in Keelung city 基隆月眉山靈泉寺; the Lingyun temple of the Guanyin mountain in New Taipei city 台北觀音山凌雲寺; the Fayun temple of Dahu township in Miaoli county 苗栗大湖法雲寺; and the Chaofeng temple of the Dagang mountain in Kaohsiung city 高雄大崗山超峰寺.<sup>73</sup> Some scholars also count the Kaiyuan temple in Tainan city 台南開元寺 as the fifth dharma lineage.<sup>74</sup>

From the reign of Taishō (1912-1926), these five temples started to have their own full ordination initiations successively. Women also began to be allowed to take full ordination, and the number of Buddhist nuns increased quickly. These five dharma lineages spread all over the island through disciples and temples. Today, the Gushan system is considered the more traditional and local Buddhism in Taiwan, distinct from other Chinese Buddhist systems introduced to Taiwan after 1949. The musical practice in the Gushan-system temples is known as *gushanyin* 鼓山音, which is one form of Buddhist music in Taiwan today.

As for Japanese Buddhism, missionaries also made great efforts at expanding their influence on the island, but the development of Japanese Buddhism in Taiwan was limited. Although Japanese Buddhist missionaries set up many missionary preaching stations and persuaded temples in Taiwan to join their school systems and sects, they encountered many difficulties for propagation. First, in Japan, State Shintō 国家神道 was considered to be the orthodox religion, because it deified the Japanese imperial family and represented the divinity of the imperial household. The propagation of State Shintō in Taiwan was officially supported by the government, but Japanese Buddhism

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<sup>73</sup> Kan Zhengzong, *Taiwan fojiao yibainian*, 246-51.

<sup>74</sup> Kan Zhengzong, *Taiwan fojiao yibainian*, 81.

was regulated by religious law.<sup>75</sup> Japanese Buddhist missionaries still needed to apply for official permission to have religious activities in Taiwan. Second, the practices of Japanese Buddhism were very different from those of traditional monastic Buddhism in Taiwan, leading to difficulties in acceptance by the Taiwanese people. Because of Japan's "nonintervention" and "preservation" policies, the government did not take sides or show undue favor to the activities of Japanese Buddhism when dealing with religious affairs in Taiwan. Third, language barriers and financial hardships obstructed the development of Japanese Buddhism. As a result, despite the introduction of eight schools and twelve sects of Japanese Buddhism, Taiwanese people devoted to Japanese Buddhism remained a minority. Most devotees of Japanese Buddhism were Japanese people in Taiwan. The rituals and musical practices of Japanese Buddhism might also not significantly influence the traditional monastic Buddhism in Taiwan.

*Zhaijiao* (lay Buddhism) developed quickly in the previous Qing period, and flourished to its peak during the Meiji reign (1895-1912) in Taiwan.<sup>76</sup> During this early Japanese period, many more people in Taiwan practiced *zhaijiao* than other strains of Buddhism. According to the religious investigation report in 1919, there were 77 Buddhist temples, but there were 172 *zhaitangs* (as *zhaijiao*'s temples) at the time; the number of Buddhist monks was 789, but the number of *zhaijiao*'s adherents was 8,663.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Jiang Canteng 江燦騰, "Ribei zaitai zhimin tongzhi chuqi de zongjiao zhengce yu fazhigua de quelu (shang)," 日本在臺殖民統治初期的宗教政策與法制化的確立 (上) (The Religious Policy and the Establishment of Legal System during Early Japanese Period of Taiwan I), *Taipei wenxian* 台北文獻 (Taipei Historical Documents Committee), no.134 (2000): 261-2.

<sup>76</sup> Yao Lixiang 姚麗香, "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan fojiao yu zhaijiao guanxi zhi tantao," 日據時期台灣佛教與齋教關係之探討 (The Relationship between Buddhism and Zhaijiao during Japanese Period of Taiwan), in *Taiwan fojiao xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 台灣佛教學術研討會論文集 (Collected Essays on the Symposium of Buddhism in Taiwan), ed. Yang Huinan 楊惠南 and Shi Hongyin 釋宏印 (Taipei: Caituan faren fojiao qingnian wenjiao jijinhui 財團法人佛教青年文教基金會, 1996), 73.

<sup>77</sup> Marui Keijirō 丸井圭治郎, *Taiwan shūkyō chōsa hōkokusho* 臺灣宗教調查報告書 (Investigation Report of the Religion in Taiwan) (Taipei: Taiwan Sōtokufu 台灣總督府, 1919; reprint, Taipei: Jieyou

This statistical data shows that *zhaijiao* was much more prevalent than monastic Buddhism during the early Japanese period. Some renowned Buddhist monks were originally devotees of *zhaijiao*, but later converted to monastic Buddhism, such as Ven. Shanhui 善慧 (1881-1945) from the Lingquan temple of the Yuemei mountain and Ven. Benyuan 本圓 (1883-1947) from the Lingyun temple of the Guanyin mountain.<sup>78</sup>

In 1912, the *zhaitangs* of all three *zhaijiao* sects in Tainan city jointed together to form The Vegetarian Mind Society (*Zhaixinshe* 齋心社), which was the first association of *zhaijiao* in Taiwan.<sup>79</sup> Following the anti-Japanese movement, the Xilai'an Incident in 1915, more and more Buddhist associations began to appear. The government's religious policies and the Buddhist environment changed. Traditional monastic Buddhism, *zhaijiao*, and Japanese Buddhism started to have deeper communication through the foundation of different Buddhist associations.

## 2. The Middle Period (1915-1930)

The Xilai'an Incident (*Seirai'an Jiken* [*Xilai'an Shijian*] 西來庵事件) in 1915 was a turning point for the development of Buddhism in Taiwan's Japanese period. It was the final and most large-scale anti-Japanese movement in the early Japanese period. The three leading conspirators, Yu Qingfang 余清芳, Luo Jun 羅俊, and Jiang Ding 江定, took advantage of their posts, as trustees of a *zhaitang* Xilai'an temple in Tainan city, in order to instigate revolt against Japanese rule amongst their *zhaijiao* believers. They sought to establish Taiwan as an independent nation. Although the uprising spread to the entire island, it was subsequently suppressed by Japan, and the Xilai'an temple was razed

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chubanshe 捷幼出版社, 1993), appendix 6, 33, and 50.

<sup>78</sup> Yao Lixiang, "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan fojiao," 73.

<sup>79</sup> Wang Jianchuan, "Luelun rizhi shiqi zhajiao," 150.

to the ground. 1,957 people involved were arrested, of whom 866 were condemned to death.<sup>80</sup>

Japanese authorities awakened to the dangerous reality that religion was used to communicate and to connect conspirators of the anti-Japanese movement. Therefore, the governor Andō Teibi 安東貞美 soon executed a three-year, large-scale, and island-wide religious investigation (1915-1918), with Marui Keijirō 丸井圭治郎 as the leader, in order to understand and command all religions and their conditions in Taiwan.<sup>81</sup> The religious policies were no longer “nonintervention” and “preservation;” they started to monitor all religious people, temples, and activities. Under these circumstances, the need to associate all temples and believers arose. Many island-wide Buddhist associations were set up during this period, either officially or unofficially, so Japanese authorities were able to oversee the temples and believers through the members of these Buddhist associations. Due to the disquiet after the Xilai’an Incident, the devotees of *zhaijiao* or Buddhism wanted to show their loyalty to Japan in order to receive official protection, so they tried to form associations dedicated to both religious and patriotic purposes, or put themselves under the control of a Japanese Buddhist lineage.<sup>82</sup>

Before the Xilai’an Incident, traditional monastic Buddhism, *zhaijiao*, and Japanese Buddhism basically developed respectively, but after the incident, the establishment of different associations promoted their contact and interaction. The intertwined situation of traditional monastic Buddhism, *zhaijiao*, and Japanese Buddhism in the middle Japanese period was unique in the history of Buddhism in Taiwan. Because those involved in the incident included a large number of *zhaijiao* believers, other members of the *zhaijiao*

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<sup>80</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 125.

<sup>81</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 125.

<sup>82</sup> Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 66.

circles feared implication. Therefore, the Vegetarian Mind Society and many other *zhaijiao* believers soon applied to join a Buddhist association belonging to the Sōtō School of Japanese Buddhism, the Patriotic Buddhist Association (*Aikoku Bukkyōkai* [Aiguo Fojiao Hui] 愛國佛教會). This was the first time that Japanese Buddhism intertwined with religion in Taiwan. Later, Taiwan's traditional monastic Buddhist circles also started to cooperate with *zhaijiao* circles and Japanese Buddhist circles to set up Buddhist associations. In 1916, the representatives from Lingquan temple lineage, Lingyun temple lineage, Xiantian sect of *zhaijiao*, and Sōtō School of Japanese Buddhism discussed and collaborated to found the Taiwan Buddhist Youth Association (*Taiwan Bukkyō Seinenkai* [Taiwan Fojiao Qingnian Hui] 台灣佛教青年會).<sup>83</sup> This event was not only the first time that traditional monastic Buddhism, *zhaijiao*, and Japanese Buddhism united, but in 1917, the association also set up the first formal Buddhist school in Taiwan, the Taiwan Buddhist Middle School (*Taiwan Bukkyō Chūgakulin* [Taiwan Fojiao Zhongxue Lin] 台灣佛教中學林).<sup>84</sup>

Other schools of Japanese Buddhism also intended to take this chance to have deeper interaction with the religion of Taiwan in order to promote their propagation. Also in 1916, the Rinzai School of Japanese Buddhism collaborated with *zhaijiao*, the Lingyun temple lineage and the Kaiyuan temple lineage to found an association called the Taiwan Friends of the Buddhist Way (*Taiwan Bukkyō Dōyūkai* [Taiwan Fojiao Daoyou Hui] 台灣佛教道友會). They also set up a middle school called Zhennan School 鎮南學校.<sup>85</sup> This Zhennan School was later merged into the Taiwan Buddhist Middle School in 1922, and the name of the school was changed to Sōtō School Taiwan Buddhist Middle School

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<sup>83</sup> Yao Lixiang, "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan fojiao," 75.

<sup>84</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 132.

<sup>85</sup> Yao Lixiang, "Rizhi shiqi Taiwan fojiao," 76.

(*Sōtōshū Taiwan Bukkyō Chūgakulin* [*Caodongzong Taiwan Fojiao Zhongxue Lin*] 曹洞宗台灣佛教中學林).<sup>86</sup> The initial objective of this school was to foster and educate Buddhist monks and *zhaijiao* believers in Taiwan. Before the Japanese period, Buddhist monks of Taiwan were always of low qualification, social standing, and education. This formal Taiwan Buddhist Middle School gradually changed the Buddhist ecology of Taiwan at the time. From 1917-1933, more than two hundred students graduated from the Buddhist Middle School and half of them continued their higher education in Japan.<sup>87</sup> Many of these students later became influential figures in the modernized development of Buddhism in Taiwan.

In 1921, one of the most successful and influential island-wide Buddhist organizations in the Japanese period, the South Seas Buddhist Association (*Nanei Bukkyōkai* [*Nanying Fojiao Hui*] 南瀛佛教會), was founded under the direction of Marui Keijirō.<sup>88</sup> Traditional monastic Buddhism, *zhaijiao*, and Japanese Buddhism had much further and deeper interaction in this association. The first president of the association was Marui Keijirō. Buddhist monks and *zhaijiao* believers had equal participation in the Board of Directors. The important activities of the association included providing short courses regularly and publishing a magazine called *The South Seas Buddhist Magazine* (*Nanei Bukkyō Kaihō* [*Nanying Fojiao Huibao*] 南瀛佛教會報), which became a very important historical source concerning Buddhism in the Japanese period of Taiwan.

In the earlier stage of the South Seas Buddhist Association, the lecturers invited to the short courses were mainly Japanese missionaries and some eminent Taiwan monks, but

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<sup>86</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 134.

<sup>87</sup> Shi Huiyan, *Taiwan fojiaoshi lunji*, 372.

<sup>88</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 128-9.

beginning in 1930, the lecturers were gradually replaced with Taiwanese intellectuals and monks who either graduated from the Buddhist Middle School or received their higher education in Japan, such as Li Tianchun 李添春, Zeng Jinglai 曾景來, and Lin Delin 林德林.<sup>89</sup> These new elite in Buddhist circles pushed forward the reformative movement of Buddhism in Taiwan, in which several issues were discussed, such as the education of monks and management of the monasteries. In fact, many of these new elite were originally *zhaijiao* devotees, and then converted to Buddhism; they finally were educated in Japan and accepted Japanese Buddhism.<sup>90</sup> In other words, many significant and influential figures at this time had the background with all of *zhaijiao*, traditional Buddhism, and Japanese Buddhism, and thus the thought, activities, and issues discussed naturally combined the three strains of Buddhism in Taiwan, strengthening the interaction of all the three. The operation of South Seas Buddhist Association had vigorously continued until the end of Japanese period.

In addition to all different Buddhist associations uniting three strains of Buddhism in Taiwan, there was an association specific for *zhaijiao* itself: the Taiwan Buddhist Longhua Association 台灣佛教龍華會, founded in 1920.<sup>91</sup> This association joined under the Rinzai School of Japanese Buddhism, and claimed to learn exclusively from Japanese Buddhism and cut off any relationship with China.<sup>92</sup> The rules of the association indicated that the two objectives of the association were as follows: 1) to enhance respect for the Japanese emperor and patriotism; to enlighten the islanders and popularize the [Japanese] custom and education based on the doctrine of Mahayana Buddhism; and to launch social public enterprise for promoting the essential principles of

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<sup>89</sup> Yao Lixiang, “Rizhi shiqi Taiwan fojiao,” 77.

<sup>90</sup> Yao Lixiang, “Rizhi shiqi Taiwan fojiao,” 77.

<sup>91</sup> Wang Jianchuan, “Luelun rizhi shiqi zhajiao,” 151.

<sup>92</sup> Wang Jianchuan, “Luelun rizhi shiqi zhajiao,” 154.

Buddhism; and 2) to gradually integrate the scriptures and rituals used in different *zhaitangs* of the island; and to establish the headquarters of *zhaijiao*, expecting the unification [of the three sects] of *zhaijiao* in the island.<sup>93</sup> On the one hand, *zhaijiao* circles positively connected themselves to Japan and Japanese Buddhism, upon which *zhaijiao* and its *zhaitang* received protection from Japan. On the other hand, the differences among the three sects of *zhaijiao* gradually diminished because of the association's integrated policy for the three sects.

Not only did the three sects of *zhaijiao* gradually integrate, but the distinction between *zhaijiao* and Buddhism also gradually blurred. In the founding process and the activities of different associations, *zhaijiao* believers were always positively active and participated in both Buddhist and *zhaijiao* associations. *Zhaijiao* was gradually assimilated to Buddhism (either traditional monastic Buddhism or Japanese Buddhism) and became “Buddhisminized” (*kongmenhua* 空門化),<sup>94</sup> because 1) *zhaijiao* and Buddhism had active communication and interaction in the activities of different associations, and 2) *zhaijiao* itself originally had strong Buddhist characteristics and elements in its doctrine and practice, but it lacked the complete ideological system of Buddhism. As a result, more and more *zhaijiao* believers took the full ordination to become real Buddhist monks. Also, greater numbers of *zhaitangs* (as *zhaijiao*'s temple) were transferred to Buddhist temples. Later, through the change of Japan's religious policy under the expansion of the war with China after 1931, and the advent of the second Chinese rule in Taiwan after 1949, the original tradition of *zhaijiao* gradually disappeared.

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<sup>93</sup> Wang Jianchuan, “Luelun rizhi shiqi zhaijiao,” 156.

<sup>94</sup> Zhang Kunzhen, *Taiwan de laozhaitang*, 22.

### 3. The Late Period (1931-1945)

In 1931, the Manchurian Incident (*Manshū Jihen* 滿州事變 [*Jiuyiba Shibian* 九一八事變], also known as Mukden Incident) broke out in Manchuria,<sup>95</sup> and a puppet regime Manchu State (*Manshūkoku* 滿州国 [*Manzhouguo* 滿州國], also known as Manchukuo) was propped up by Japan. The relationship between Japan and China began getting worse after this Incident. Following the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (*Lokōkyō Jiken* 盧溝橋事件 [*Lugouqiao Shibian* 盧溝橋事變]) in 1937, the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) started.<sup>96</sup> As one colony of Japan, Taiwan was used as a base to supply the resources for Japan's wartime requirements, including providing enough soldiers for military service on the front in the mainland of China. As war expanded and military personnel ran short, there was a need to enlist large numbers of the able-bodied men of Taiwan as civilian military personnel being sent to the front to fight against China for Japan. In order to ensure the Taiwanese soldiers' absolute loyalty to Japan, the Japanization Movement (*Kōminka Undō* [*Huangminhua Yundong*] 皇民化運動) was executed from 1937 to 1945 in Taiwan.<sup>97</sup>

The Japanization Movement was a series of reinforced assimilation movements, in which the policy aimed to “thoroughly implanting the spirit of [Japanese] imperial nationalism, promoting general education, encouraging learning of Japanese language and customs, and cultivating the character of loyal imperial subject [of Japan].”<sup>98</sup> The important measures of the Japanization Movement included the following: 1) to force Taiwan people to change Chinese names to Japanese names, 2) to reward the

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<sup>95</sup> Cai Jintang, “Rizhi shiqi Taiwan zhi zongjiao zhengce,” 136.

<sup>96</sup> Cai Jintang, “Rizhi shiqi Taiwan zhi zongjiao zhengce,” 137.

<sup>97</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 328.

<sup>98</sup> Qiu Xinyi 邱欣怡, “Cong Huangmin dao Zougou,” 從皇民到走狗 (From the Imperial Citizens to the Servile Followers), *Taiwan Wenxianguan Dianzibao* 台灣文獻館電子報 (Taiwan Historica E-Paper), no.40 (2009) [database online; available from <http://www.th.gov.tw/epaper/list1.php>].

Japanese-language households, 3) to restructure temples,<sup>99</sup> and 4) to change home altars to Japanese-style altars. In order to enforce the spiritual reform completely, Japan proposed to eradicate the traditional manners, lifestyle, and customs of Taiwan, especially by changing the belief system in Taiwan. The Japanese believed that the traditional culture in Taiwan centered on religious beliefs and temple practices, so these actions were necessary to transform their thoughts to Japanese beliefs and values. Therefore, the measures of “Temple Restructuring” (*jibyō seiri* [*simiao zhengli*] 寺廟整理) and “Home Altar Reformation” (*seichyō kaizen* [*zhengting gaishan*] 正廳改善) were enforced. These measures in the Japanization Movement had some impact on the traditional religious beliefs in Taiwan.

In Taiwan, the temples functioned as the autonomous centers of the community and the centers of social education for people’s daily lives and activities. The Japanese government intended to replace all social functions of the temples in Taiwan with the shrines of Japanese State Shintō (*jinja* 神社). Under this intention, new Japanese Shintō shrines were built, the temples of Taiwan were abolished or restructured into Japanese Shintō shrines, and the images in the temples were burned, compelling Taiwan’s people to worship the Japanese gods. The home altar suffered as well. Households in Taiwan usually had home altars which enshrined the ancestral tablet, Buddha/bodhisattva, or gods, but the Japanese government forced all households to install the paper amulet from the Ise Shrine (*jingū taima* 神宮大麻, symbolizing the Japanese divine imperial ancestors) in their homes, and to worship it regularly. All these measures were intended to implant and ingrain the Japanese spirits and values through Taiwanese people’s religious beliefs and practices.

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<sup>99</sup> Zhang Bingnan and others, ed., *Taiwansheng tongzhi*, 68.

Among all religions in Taiwan, the ones most affected by the measures “Temple Restructuring” and “Home Altar Reformation” were Taoist and folk beliefs. Because these two were the most prevalent beliefs in the folk life of Taiwan, they were targeted intensely by the Japanese government. Compared to Taoist and folk beliefs, the traditional monastic Buddhism and *zhaijiao* were affected relatively lightly, because the traditional monastic Buddhism and *zhaijiao* in Taiwan already had a tight connection and relationship with Japanese Buddhism due to the influence of the Xilai’an Incident. By then, all important Buddhist lineages of Taiwan, their temples, *zhaijiao* and many *zhaitangs* were already subordinate to either the Sōtō School or Rinzai School of Japanese Buddhism.<sup>100</sup> The traditional monastic Buddhism and *zhaijiao* gained their survival from the “Temple Restructuring” by subordinating to Japanese Buddhism, but still couldn’t avoid being required to Japanize in many aspects during this period.

For instance, the buildings of all Buddhist temples were reconstructed to Japanese-style Buddhist temples. Buddhist monks were required to speak Japanese, wear Japanese-style sacerdotal robes, use Japanese practices of the rituals, and chant in the Japanese language.<sup>101</sup> As for *zhaijiao*, it was not damaged as seriously as Taoist and folk beliefs; however, because of its Taoist and folk elements, many *zhaitangs* were still abolished, and the founder’s images of different sects of *zhaijiao* were burned. The Japanized measures did have an impact on religions in Taiwan, but the outcome of the Japanization Movement was not what the Japanese government expected. The following two tables show the change in the number of temples and *zhaitangs*<sup>102</sup> and how the

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<sup>100</sup> Zhang Bingnan and others, ed., *Taiwansheng tongzhi*, 68.

<sup>101</sup> Wu Minxia 吳敏霞, “Riju shiqi Taiwan fojiao luelun,” 日據時期台灣佛教略論 (Sketchy Discussion on Buddhism during Japanese period of Taiwan), *Renwen zazhi* 人文雜誌 (The Journal of Humanities), no.4 (2008): 65.

<sup>102</sup> Wang Jianchuan, “Luelun rizhi shiqi zhajiao,” 169.

temples and *zhaitangs* were restructured between 1936-1941 in Taiwan:<sup>103</sup>

years	Temples (Buddhist, Taoist, and Folk)	<i>Zhaitang</i> (as <i>zhaijiao</i> 's temples)
1936	3430	246
Restructured from 1937	1140	33
1941	2327	224

(Original sources from Miyamoto Nobuto 宮本延人)<sup>104</sup>

Table 1. The Change in the Number of Temples and *Zhaitangs* from 1936-1941

	Temples (Buddhist, Taoist, and Folk)	<i>Zhaitang</i> (as <i>zhaijiao</i> 's temples)
Abolished	361	9
Repurposed	819	29
Images Burned	13726 images from 1066 temples	153 images from 14 <i>zhaitangs</i>
Images Confiscated	4069 images from 1066 temples	202 images from 22 <i>zhaitangs</i>

(Original sources from Miyamoto Nobuto 宮本延人)<sup>105</sup>

Table 2. How the Temples and *Zhaitangs* were Restructured between 1936-1941

From the above tables, it can be seen that the damage to the Buddhist temples and *zhaitangs* during the period of Japanization Movement was not very consequential. It seems that more than one thousand temples had been restructured, but most of them were Taoist and folk temples, not Buddhist temples. The number of *zhaitangs* also diminished

<sup>103</sup> Cai Xianhui 蔡相輝, "Cong lishi beijing wei Taiwan miaoyu xun dingwei," 從歷史背景為台灣廟宇尋定位 (Searching the Position of Temples in Taiwan from the Historical Background), in *Simiao yu minjian wenhua yantaohui lunwenji shangce* 寺廟與民間文化研討會論文集上冊 (Proceedings of Conference on Temples and Popular Culture I), ed. *Hanxue yanjiu zhongxin* 漢學研究中心 (Taipei: Xingzhengyuan wenhua jianshe weiyuanhui 行政院文化建設委員會, 1995), 11.

<sup>104</sup> Miyamoto Nobuto 宮本延人, *Nihon tōchi jidai Taiwan ni okeru jibyō seiri mondai* 日本統治時代台灣における寺廟整理問題 (The Problem of Temple Restructuring in Taiwan during Japanese Period) (Tokyo: Tenrikyō Dōyūsha 天理教道友社, 1988), 87.

<sup>105</sup> Miyamoto Nobuto, *Nihon tōchi jidai Taiwan*, 99.

little. This unexpected result might be attributed to a number of factors, such as the disagreement of Japanese scholars and monks, the disquiet of Taiwanese people after the execution of Japanized measures, the condemnation from Western countries,<sup>106</sup> the prefectural governors' different standards when executing the measures, and the short time span of the movement. The Buddhist circles in Taiwan seemed to become Japanized externally, but the original tradition was still kept by Taiwanese monks.

Although not many *zhaitangs* were restructured, *zhaijiao* believers still gradually lost their tradition after the Japanization Movement. In the middle Japanese period, *zhaijiao* already had experienced the Xilai'an Incident and its influence. It was also gradually assimilated to Buddhism under the frequent interaction and communication with Buddhism in different associations. There were already more and more *zhaijiao* believers converting to either traditional or Japanese Buddhism. The "Temple Restructuring" measure of Japanization Movement was just one more factor in a series of events that had steadily eroded the foundations of *zhaijiao*. After the second Chinese regime brought the new system of Buddhism to Taiwan in 1949, *zhaijiao* faced the most difficult situation. Most *zhaijiao* believers became Buddhist monks/nuns, and the remaining *zhaitangs* were successively transformed to Buddhist temples after 1949. *Zhaijiao* believers remain a minority in Taiwan today.

Regarding the musical aspect, one may consider whether or not there is any mutual influence in the musical practices between the local monastic Buddhism and *zhaijiao*. In fact, from the contemporary musical practices between local monastic Buddhism and *zhaijiao*, some similar musical elements in both religions can be seen. These similarities might be caused by the strong connection and frequent interaction between two religions

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<sup>106</sup> Cai Xianhui, "Cong lishi beijing," 10-2.

throughout the intertwined historical transition. However, it is hard to further trace or compare the musical practices of these two today. First, Buddhism and *zhaijiao* are clearly different traditions; despite their strong connection and frequent interaction, the music, chants, and rituals used in the two religions are completely different systems. Second, the tradition of *zhaijiao* has almost disappeared today (but still exists) because of the reformative policies of Buddhism in the following Chinese rule (this will be discussed in the next section below). These situations all make the discovery of similarities and differences between musical practices in the two religions more difficult today. For further understanding, another independent comparative study may be required for dealing with this issue.

Similarly, in the situation between local monastic Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism, it is reasonable to presume that the local monastic Buddhist music in Taiwan might be influenced by Japanese Buddhist music, especially during the Japanization Movement. During this time, the local monastic ritual style was forced to change to the Japanese style. However, in the contemporary local monastic Buddhist music, it is hard to distinguish Japanese influence. Both local monastic Buddhism and Japanese Buddhism, especially the Rinzai School, do have some similarities in their musical practices, for example, the use of similar *baiqi* (Buddhist instruments) and their use in a similar way. However, these similarities are clearly the influence of Chinese Buddhism on both sides. In contemporary times, except for the Rinzai School, the musical styles of other Japanese Buddhist schools are all very different from that of local monastic Buddhism in Taiwan. In fact, Japanese Buddhism has never been popular in Taiwan. In addition, through a series of decolonized measures executed in the next Chinese rule in Taiwan from 1949 (to be discussed in the next section), all Japanese Buddhist influences on local Buddhism have been mostly

eradicated. No matter how Japanese Buddhist music influenced the local monastic Buddhist music during the Japanese period, based on the contemporary practices of both sides, there is little evidence to prove the clear influence between the two of them.

Regarding the whole scene of Buddhism in Taiwan, many scholars believe that the Japanese regime did not bring significant influence on the traditional monastic Buddhism in Taiwan,<sup>107</sup> and Japanese Buddhism also did not have extensive influence on the island. However, scholars should differentiate between the influence of Japanese Buddhism itself and of the Japanese government's religious policies.<sup>108</sup> Japanese Buddhism itself might not have impacted the ecology and basic tradition of the traditional monastic Buddhism, but Japan's religious policies influenced the development of Buddhism in Taiwan significantly. Under different religious policies, the proper environment to Buddhist circles was provided, propelling important progression of Buddhism on the island. The developments, such as the formation of five dharma lineages and their own full ordination initiation, the increasing number of Buddhist nuns, the systematic Buddhist education and schools, the educated and competent Buddhist monks and scholars, the depth of Buddhist research, and the gradual integration of Buddhism and *zhaijiao* were all brought under the influence of different religious policies. Therefore, Japanese rule played an extremely important role, contributing to one of significant factors which directed the evolution of Buddhism on the island to form the Buddhist tradition we know today.

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<sup>107</sup> Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 92.

<sup>108</sup> Zhang Xun 張珣, "Taiwan fojiaoshi yanjiu ji qi dangdaixing: jianping Charles Jones *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State, 1660-1990* yu Jiang Canteng Taiwan fojiaoshi," 臺灣佛教史研究及其當代性: 兼評 Charles Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State, 1660-1990* 與江燦騰臺灣佛教史 (The Research on the History of Buddhism in Taiwan and its Contemporary Character: Review of Charles Jones' *Buddhism in Taiwan: Religion and the State, 1660-1990* and Jiang Canteng's *History of Buddhism in Taiwan*), *Taiwanshi yanjiu* 臺灣史研究 (Taiwan Historical Research) 16, no.3 (2009): 169.

## V. Postwar Period (1945-)

At the end of World War II in 1945, a defeated Japan gave up its sovereignty over Taiwan in adherence with the terms of the Cairo Declaration<sup>109</sup> and the Potsdam Proclamation. Nationalist Chinese troops soon occupied Taiwan under Chiang Kai-shek's (Jiang Jieshi) command; upon the arrival of Nationalist Chinese troops, the second Chinese rule in Taiwan started. Meantime, a civil war in China, which started before World War II and continued afterwards, was fought on the mainland between Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist government and the Chinese Communist Party led by Mao Zedong.<sup>110</sup> Following the Nationalist government's defeat by the Communist Party, Chiang Kai-shek and his followers subsequently fled to Taiwan in 1949, with the hope of using Taiwan as a base for a counterattack.<sup>111</sup> Chiang's Nationalist government was re-established in Taiwan, and was followed by a massive wave of new Chinese mainland immigrants to Taiwan, including many mainland Buddhist monks, mostly from the Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces. In the name of the anti-communist struggle, the government of Taiwan imposed martial law from 1949 to 1987, the longest term of martial law in the world, with which it justified Chiang's dictatorship.<sup>112</sup>

During the martial law period, cultural development did not just “happen,” but was reshaped and “made” by the extraordinary success of the Nationalist government's cultural policy.<sup>113</sup> The Nationalist government consolidated not only the political

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<sup>109</sup> Marcus Bingenheimer, “Chinese Buddhism Unbound—Rebuilding and Redefining Chinese Buddhism on Taiwan,” In *Buddhism in Global Perspective*, ed. Kalpakam Sankarnarayan (Mumbai: Somaiya Publications, 2003), 126.

<sup>110</sup> Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, “Background note, Taiwan” (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of State, Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, 2006) [database online; available from <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35855.htm>]

<sup>111</sup> Richard Madsen, *Democracy's Dharma: Religious Renaissance and Political Development in Taiwan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 10.

<sup>112</sup> Madsen, 2007, 10

<sup>113</sup> Edwin A. Winckler, “Cultural Policy on Postwar Taiwan,” in *Cultural Change in Postwar Taiwan*, ed.

hegemony, but also the monopolistic status of mainland Chinese culture on the cultural scene of Taiwan. All the originally existing local cultural elements and activities of Taiwan were eradicated, suppressed, or discouraged. The Nationalist vision of mainland Chinese culture gradually took root as the mainstream in Taiwan; at the same time, the mainland style of monastic Buddhism also developed into orthodox Buddhism during this period. This mainland-style monastic Buddhism brought a mainland-style monastic Buddhist music into Taiwan, which has gradually become an important type of monastic Buddhist music in Taiwan.

Following the lifting of martial law in 1987, the polity of Taiwan gradually transitioned from authoritarianism to democracy, and the society of Taiwan was liberated from the ideological control of the Nationalist government. Local cultures and hidden cultural activities in Taiwan started to find ways to develop freely and became thriving and robust. This increased pluralism inspired a more open and free multicultural Taiwanese society. The development of Buddhism has also responded to this dynamic social transformation, entering a new stage which is more creative, inclusive, and accommodating.

Therefore, my survey of Buddhism in postwar Taiwan will be divided into two periods—during martial law and after martial law.

#### 1. Martial Law Period (1949-1987)

In the immediate aftermath of the Nationalist government's defeat in the Chinese Civil War and its retreat to Taiwan, more than 1.5 million mainland Chinese migrants

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Stevan Harrell and Huang Chün-chieh (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 22.

followed the Nationalist government in its flight to Taiwan.<sup>114</sup> Many mainland Buddhist monks, mainly from the Zhejiang and Jiangsu provinces, also followed this migration and took refuge in Taiwan. Because of the threat of the Chinese Communist Party, Chiang Kai-shek feared the collapse of his regime. Thus, he ruled Taiwan in a coercive way in order to quickly establish new foundations and mainland identification in Taiwan. During this period, Buddhism, on the one hand, was used by the Nationalist government as an instrument to eliminate local Taiwanese separatist sentiments; however, on the other hand, the relationship between Buddhism and the government went through a difficult phase.<sup>115</sup> Not only were local Taiwan monks suppressed, but also mainland refugee monks were victimized under the government's policies.

The government's policies during this period focused on three aspects: anti-communism, decolonization, and the establishment of mainland Chinese culture in Taiwan. Under the tension between the Nationalist government in Taiwan and the Communist Party in China, the Nationalist government was suspicious of all people and activities that might be possibly related to the Communists. In Buddhist circles, a local Taiwan monk, Gao Zhide 高執德 (Ven. Zhengguang 證光法師), the abbot of the Kaiyuan temple in Tainan city, was falsely accused of being a Communist emissary. He was arrested and condemned in 1955 solely because he gave accommodation to Ven. Juzan 巨贊法師, a mainland Chinese monk in 1948.<sup>116</sup> In addition, a mainland immigrant monk, Ven. Yinshun 印順法師, whose humanistic Buddhist theology (Buddhism for the Human Realm) influenced Buddhism in Taiwan significantly, was also

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<sup>114</sup> Steve Tsang, "Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang's Policy to Reconquer the Chinese Mainland, 1949-1958," in *In the Shadow of China: Political Developments in Taiwan since 1949*, ed. Steve Tsang (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1993), 51.

<sup>115</sup> André Laliberté, *The Politics of Buddhist Organization in Taiwan: 1989-2003: Safeguarding the Faith, Building a Pure Land, Helping the Poor* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004), 38.

<sup>116</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 331.

indicted as a fellow-traveler of the Communist Party in 1954 solely because one of his Buddhist articles was suspected of supporting Communism.<sup>117</sup> Many mainland immigrant monks who would later become prominent in Taiwan, such as Ven. Cihang 慈航法師 and Ven. Xingyun 星雲法師, were arrested for similar reasons.<sup>118</sup> During this White Terror period, Buddhism in Taiwan lacked the autonomy to develop in its own way and tended to make compromises in order to meet the government's agenda.

All Buddhist activities were regulated by an association called BAROC (The Buddhist Association of Republic of China, Zhongguo Fojiashui 中國佛教會), which is the official representative of Buddhism. The BAROC was established according to the corporatist principle in the sense that it was the only legal and national-level Buddhist association in Taiwan.<sup>119</sup> All Buddhist monks, temples, and organizations were required to be the members of BAROC and they were all under surveillance. On the one hand, in accordance with the government's anti-communist policy, the BAROC was responsible for detecting all communist elements in Buddhist circles and screening Buddhist activities for any potential opposition to Nationalist rule on the island. On the other hand, it also possessed the exclusive right to execute a series of measures under the government's order to achieve two main goals: 1) to decolonize Buddhism in Taiwan and 2) restore the new mainland Buddhist system in Taiwan. These two goals were achieved mainly by two means: 1) control over the ordination system and 2) the establishment of seminaries for Buddhist monks.<sup>120</sup>

First, the BAROC institutionalized the ordination system, stipulating that all Buddhist

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<sup>117</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 331.

<sup>118</sup> Laliberté, *The Politics of Buddhist Organization*, 112.

<sup>119</sup> Cheng-Tian Kuo, *Religion and Democracy in Taiwan* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2008), 19.

<sup>120</sup> Bingenheimer, "Chinese Buddhism Unbound," 128.

monks/nuns were required to take a formal ordination initiation. After their initiation, the monks/nuns were forced to learn mainland-style Buddhist practice and earn an official ordination certificate, which gave them legitimate status as monks/nuns. The reason for this was that when mainland monks arrived in Taiwan, they found that Buddhism in Taiwan was practiced very differently from mainland Buddhism in China. It was strongly characteristic of local Taiwan culture and was Japanized to a certain degree. In the language aspect, none of the monks spoke Mandarin Chinese as Buddhist monks spoke and chanted the sutra in either Japanese or Taiwanese (Taiwanese Minnan language, *Taiwan Minnanyu* 臺灣閩南語). Many Buddhist monks wore Japanese-style sacerdotal robes or merely wore secular dress. Buddhist theology and ecclesiology were also influenced by Japanese Buddhism. No clear distinction between the life of a Buddhist monk and a lay Buddhist was made because many Buddhist monks not only ate meat, but also were married. For mainland monks, these were all serious violations of mainland Chinese Buddhist precepts. Therefore, the BAROC instituted a strict process of formal ordination initiation through which novice monks/nuns were formally educated in Buddhist precepts, foundational knowledge, mainland-style monastic musical practices, and proper monastic behavior and life. The process of formal ordination initiation took thirty-two days to complete.

Second, following their ordination, monks/nuns received follow-up monastic education for at least five years.<sup>121</sup> Corresponding to this need, eighty-seven Buddhist seminaries for monks/nuns were founded from 1949 to 1987.<sup>122</sup> This formal monastic

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<sup>121</sup> Kan Zhengzong 闕正宗, *Chongdu Taiwan fojiao: zhanhou Taiwan fojiao zhengbian* 重讀台灣佛教: 戰後台灣佛教正編 (Re-reading Buddhism in Taiwan: Buddhism in Postwar Taiwan, the Main Volume) (Taipei: Daqian chubanshe 大千出版社, 2004), 369.

<sup>122</sup> Kan Zhengzong, *Chongdu Taiwan fojiao*, 296-9.

education for monks/nuns not only accelerated the process of eradicating Japanese influence, but also quickly reconstructed the system of mainland Buddhist practice through formal training. In addition, in response to the Cultural Revolution in mainland China, the Nationalist government inaugurated a Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement (Zhonghua Wenhua Fuxing Yundong 中華文化復興運動) in Taiwan, in 1967.<sup>123</sup> Contrary to the Cultural Revolution, which destroyed traditional Chinese values and culture, the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement aimed to restore Chinese traditions in Taiwan. These traditional Chinese values and culture were rooted in the society of Taiwan through different ways, such as education, arts and literature, promotion of research, and guidance of grassroots life. This widespread reformation in the culture of Taiwan was carried out for the intention of transforming Taiwan into a place representing traditional Chinese culture. Taking advantage of this social environment, mainland-style Chinese Buddhism was restored as the orthodox Buddhism in Taiwan, and as such has become mainstream, gradually replacing the practice of local traditional monastic Buddhism (known as the Gushan-system Buddhism).

With the BAROC's instruction and reformative policies, local well-educated Taiwan monks and Buddhist intellectuals were inevitably victimized under this historic transition. Because the Nationalist authorities prohibited the use of Taiwanese and Japanese and allowed only Mandarin Chinese in public communication, many well-educated local Taiwan monks and members of the Buddhist elite struggled against the language barrier and were unable to demonstrate their competence and contribute their knowledge to the development of Buddhism in Taiwan.<sup>124</sup> Furthermore, BAROC was mainly managed by

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<sup>123</sup> Laliberté, *The Politics of Buddhist Organization*, 40.

<sup>124</sup> Jiang Canteng, *Taiwan fojiaoshi*, 329.

mainland monks and had no seats for local monks on its Board of Directors.

In addition to the disadvantages local monks faced, the founders of the local traditional four (or five) dharma lineages (see the Qing period in the previous section) passed away successively during this period; consequently, these four (or five) dharma lineages gradually lost their significance in the outlook of Buddhism in Taiwan. Instead, new Buddhist groups, which transmitted newly-introduced mainland Chinese Buddhism, emerged and quickly expanded their branch temples over the whole island. As a result, the mainland-style monastic Buddhist music that was practiced in these newly established temples was widely disseminated. Researchers later labeled this mainland-style monastic Buddhist music as *haichaoyin* 海潮音, in contrast to the local practice of *gushanyin* 鼓山音 in Taiwan. Under the privileged status of mainland Chinese Buddhism, *haichaoyin* was considered the orthodox monastic Buddhist music to be used in rituals. During this martial law period, the practice of local traditional monastic Buddhism and *gushanyin* were suppressed and discouraged; however, they have still been transmitted until today.

*Haichaoyin* and *gushanyin* are both practiced today and are viewed as the two main types of academically acknowledged monastic Buddhist music in Taiwan. Generally speaking, *gushanyin* is mainly transmitted in the traditional four (or five) dharma lineages and their branch temples, and *haichaoyin* is mainly transmitted in the newly emerged Buddhist groups and their branch temples. A detailed discussion about these two types of monastic Buddhist music will be presented in the next chapter.

As for *zhaijiao* (lay Buddhism), it confronted the most terrible situation in its history under BAROC's policies. This is because BAROC only acknowledged monastic Buddhism as the real Buddhist religion, rejecting all other types of Buddhism being claimed as Buddhism. In addition, the practice of *zhaijiao* contained many elements from

other religions. The BAROC considered *zhaijiao* as heterodox Buddhism, criticized its mixture with other religious elements and its strong folk characteristics, attacked it rigidly, and intended to eliminate it.<sup>125</sup> The BAROC's vision of orthodox Buddhism emphasized no mixture between pure Buddhist elements and other religious elements. However, the special characteristic of Buddhist practice in Taiwan is that it has always contained mixed elements of different religions. Therefore, the series of measures by BAROC to reform Buddhism in Taiwan were actually an attempt to "purify" Buddhist practices and eliminate all non-Buddhist elements. *Zhaijiao* was neither monastic Buddhism, nor did it contain pure Buddhist elements in its practices; thus, it was greatly damaged under BAROC's "purification" process. In order to be acknowledged by BAROC, most *zhaitangs* (as *zhaijiao*'s temples) were forced to transform into Buddhist temples and most *zhaijiao* devotees underwent formal ordination and were converted into formal Buddhist monks. Because of this process, *zhaijiao* tradition has almost disappeared today and only a very few *zhaitangs* still remain.

Soon after the lifting of martial law in 1987, BAROC lost its representative and authoritative status and many different Buddhist groups, organizations, and associations quickly started competing with one another. Not only has monastic Buddhism (mainland and local) flourished, but also other kinds of folk Buddhism have been given the space to develop. The extant *zhaijiao* devotees also appealed to preserve the endangered *zhaijiao* tradition. In contemporary Taiwan, the most significant reformation of Buddhism is the development of Ven. Yinshun's humanistic theology of Buddhism (Buddhism for the Human Realm) as well as the growth of the newly-emerged four largest Buddhist

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<sup>125</sup> Zheng Zhiming 鄭志明, *Taiwan quanzhi: shehui zhi zongjiao yu shehui pian* 臺灣全志: 社會志宗教與社會篇 (Complete Gazetteer of Taiwan: Annals of Society, Chapter of Religion and Society) (Nantou: Taiwan wenxianguan 臺灣文獻館, 2006), 139.

organizations. The development of humanistic theology has also influenced the creativity and propagation of Buddhist music in Taiwan.

## 2. After the Martial Law Period (1987-)

From 1969 onwards, a degree of social pluralism started to emerge, Combined with the “Taiwan miracle” in economic development, the emerging middle classes pushed demands for democratization.<sup>126</sup> With the growth of modernization, people became richer and more educated; thus, they were more interested in their own rights, freedom, and interests. This climate created the formation of civil society, in which various social forces have found space for growth.<sup>127</sup> More general civil and social forces have begun to challenge the Nationalist autocracy, demanding more freedom and autonomy. This brought about political reform; as a result, the Nationalist government lifted martial law in 1987 in response to this trend.

The process of liberalization has been affirmed with the passing of the law on civic organizations (*renmin tuantifa* 人民團體法) in 1989.<sup>128</sup> Since then, all forms of religious gatherings no longer arouse the government’s suspicion and resulting suppression. A rich variety of new Buddhist groups, associations, and organizations has been born. The monopoly of BAROC was not only challenged by many new Buddhist associations, but also shattered by the four largest, newly-emerged Buddhist organizations, which established their own hierarchy from the local to the national level.<sup>129</sup> After the lifting of martial law, the devotees of these four Buddhist

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<sup>126</sup> Laliberté, *The Politics of Buddhist Organization*, 40.

<sup>127</sup> Kai-Ti Chou, *Contemporary Religious Movements in Taiwan: Rhetorics of Persuasion* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), 57.

<sup>128</sup> Laliberté, *The Politics of Buddhist Organization*, 42.

<sup>129</sup> Cheng-Tian Kuo, *Religion and Democracy*, 19-20.

organizations have grown very rapidly, and the four have formed four new dharma lineages in contemporary Taiwan. These four lineages are the Foguangshan Monastery 佛光山 founded by Ven. Xingyun 星雲法師 in south Taiwan, the Tzu Chi Foundation [Ciji Foundation] 慈濟功德會 founded by Ven. Zhengyan 證嚴法師 in east Taiwan, the Dharma Drum Mountain 法鼓山 founded by Ven. Shengyan 聖嚴法師 in north Taiwan, and the Chungtai Chan Monastery [Zhongtai Chan Monastery] 中台禪寺 founded by Ven. Weijue 惟覺法師 in middle Taiwan. Except for the Tzu Chi Foundation, all new dharma lineages practice mainland-style Buddhism.<sup>130</sup>

These four new Buddhist organizations represent the contemporary reformation of Buddhism in Taiwan—the development and propagation of Ven. Yinshun’s 印順法師 humanistic theology of Buddhism: Buddhism for the Human Realm (*renjian fojiao* 人間佛教). The four founders are all activists and renowned Buddhist figures in contemporary Taiwan, and their background and philosophy are all directly or indirectly influenced by Ven. Yinshun. The philosophy of “Buddhism for the Human Realm” was developed to oppose the traditional Buddhist practice, which excessively concentrates on the mystic aspect of spirits and the dead,<sup>131</sup> seeking salvation for oneself, and the way to a better afterlife. Contrastingly, “Buddhism for the Human Realm” emphasizes the affairs of the living more than those of the dead. Buddhists are urged to apply Buddhist teachings and

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<sup>130</sup> Unlike Foguangshan, Dharma Drum Mountain, and Chungtai Chan Monastery, Tzu Chi is managed different from the general Buddhist monasteries, and its organization and staffing are different. In Tzu Chi, the monastic group (ordained monks/nuns) is relatively small. All affairs in Tzu Chi are managed and executed by the lay devotees. Tzu Chi is more like a public interest or charitable organization, than like a traditional Buddhist monastery. In fact, categorizing Tzu Chi as mainland or local style is difficult; Tzu Chi seems to have invented a new type of Buddhist organization (Huang 2009). Some Buddhist scholars, such as Yang Huinan 楊惠南, still categorize Tzu Chi into mainland-style Buddhism (Yang 2002) because, like all other new mainland-style dharma lineages, Tzu Chi is also a newly developed Buddhist organization after 1949 and is strongly influenced by Ven. Yinshun’s humanistic theology of Buddhism, the Buddhist thought originally generated from mainland Buddhism in China.

<sup>131</sup> Jones, *Buddhism in Taiwan*, 134.

Bodhisattva principles in their daily lives, such as in engaging in social welfare,<sup>132</sup> focusing on involvement in society, and seeking to build a more peaceful and better secular world.

Involvement takes several forms. The four organizations frequently engage in education, medical services, philanthropy, disaster relief, environmentalism, and cultural enterprise.<sup>133</sup> The management of Foguangshan is the most multi-faceted, involving a variety of social and cultural affairs. Tzu Chi focuses primarily on medical services, disaster relief, and environmentalism. Dharma Drum Mountain stresses environmentalism of both the physical world and the individual heart.<sup>134</sup> Chungtai Chan Monastery's overall message is to reach out to others, to transcend the self, and to be concerned about and engage with others.<sup>135</sup>

In the musical aspect, the influence of Buddhism for the Human Realm has been on the creativity and popularization of Buddhist music. Foguangshan has made a significant contribution on the modification of the traditional monastic music of the rituals to a more secular and acceptable form. Ven. Xingyun promotes contemporary composed Buddhist devotional songs and encourages the secularization of the traditional monastic chant. He believes that appreciating art, including performing arts, makes the mind more receptive to the dharma,<sup>136</sup> and the modified and easier-acceptable monastic Buddhist music helps people become more conversant in dharma. He initiated the Buddhist chorus and ensemble, which is responsible for the performance of both newly-composed Buddhist

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<sup>132</sup> Wei-Yi Cheng, *Buddhist Nuns in Taiwan and Sri Lanka: A Critique of the Feminist Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 39.

<sup>133</sup> David C. Schak, "Community and the New Buddhism in Taiwan," *Minsu quyì* 民俗曲藝 (Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore) 163 (2009): 174.

<sup>134</sup> David C. Schak, "Community and the New Buddhism," 174.

<sup>135</sup> David C. Schak, "Community and the New Buddhism," 171.

<sup>136</sup> David C. Schak, "Community and the New Buddhism," 171.

music and modified traditional monastic music. In contrast to Foguangshan, the monastery in Dharma Drum Mountain (DDM) treats monastic Buddhist music in a more conservative way. The monks regard the “orthodox” practice of monastic Buddhist music as sacred and thus tend to keep and disseminate it in its traditional form. However, they still set up a department of Buddhist chorus and ensemble in the organization of the monastery to specifically perform the contemporary composed Buddhist devotional songs, although this department is managed by the lay adherents of the monastery.

With the flourishing of publishing companies, radio, television, and the Internet after the lifting of martial law, and with the contemporary development of the humanistic theology of Buddhism (Buddhism for the Human Realm), Buddhism in Taiwan has entered a multimedia age, and the propagation of Buddhism has become much more multifarious. This also promotes the vigorous marketing of commercial Buddhist music. The number of lay Buddhists has increased with economic growth, political liberalization, and the principle of humanistic theology, which encourages engagement in secular society and gives lay Buddhists a greater role in their organizations. The dissemination of Buddhism no longer relies only on the monastery, but also relies significantly on lay Buddhists. Dharma Drum Mountain even sets up an altar in the annual Water and Land Ritual (*Shuilu Fahui* 水陸法會) specifically for their lay volunteers.

In this contemporary period, there is no longer a cultural policy that suppresses, represses, or disregards any culture existing in Taiwan. The government’s policy attempts to accommodate any cultural element whether it is mainland, local, Japanese, aboriginal, western, or any others. Although mainland Buddhism and monasteries are more active in the scene of Buddhism today, local Buddhism and monasteries also continue to be stable in their own way. The current trend of humanistic theology also influences some larger

local Buddhist monasteries. The sharp dichotomization of mainland and local identities has gradually blurred. Today, most people do not practice Buddhism or go to temple based on the consideration of the mainland or local identities, but on their interests or convenience. All kinds of Buddhism—mainland, local, or folk—co-exist to develop; at the same time, they also inevitably interact and assimilate with one another. Similarly, in monastic Buddhist music, the conscious recognition on the demarcation of *gushanyin* and *haichaoyin* still exists among monks/nuns, but the content of these two reveals the traces of mutual influence. The following chapter will give a detailed discussion about these two styles, *guishanyin* and *haichaoyin*, and how they interact with each other in current Taiwanese society.

## Chapter Three

### Buddhist Music in Contemporary Taiwan

The musical soundscape in the traditional Buddhist monastic context is mainly *fanbai* 梵唄 (Buddhist liturgical chants) with the accompaniment of *baiqi* 唄器 (dharma instruments or Buddhist percussive instruments), and thus, the traditional and common recognition of Buddhist music is usually associated with the liturgical chant. However, the scope of Buddhist music is wider, with more variation in contemporary Taiwan. Through the modernity and modernization of the twentieth century, the Buddhist world has responded to the rapid sociocultural changes resulting from the profound impact of modern technology and Western ideologies. Technological and philosophical variations have created innovative musical ideas and generated diverse aesthetic imaginations. Under this modern transition, Buddhist music has retained its traditional components while expanding its musical expressive modes and its strategies of transmission. New phenomena have emerged in the modern Buddhist soundscape. The concept of Buddhist music is now loosely defined in Taiwan and is a vague and evolving term, denoting a variety of musical discourses, practices, and cultural productions.<sup>1</sup>

Many scholars have attempted to categorize modern Buddhist music in Taiwan. Chen Biyan organizes the Buddhist music into three types: monastic liturgical chants, modern

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<sup>1</sup> Chen Biyan 陳碧燕, "Chaoyue huntong: dangdai zhongguo fojiao yinyue leixing jiqi wenhua yu shequn zhi zhuanhua," 超越混同: 當代中國佛教音樂類型及其文化與社群之轉化 (Beyond the Mix: The Contemporary Types of Chinese Buddhist Music and Their Cultural-Communal Mediations), in *2004 Guoji zongjiao yinyue xueshu yantaohui lunwenji: zongjiao yinyue de chuantong yu bianqian* 2004 國際宗教音樂學術研討會論文集: 宗教音樂的傳統與變遷 (Collected Essays in the International Conference on Religious Musics in 2004: Tradition and Changes in Religious Musics), ed. Cai Zongde 蔡宗德 (Yilan: Guoli chuantong yishu zhongxin 國立傳統藝術中心, 2004), 325.

devotional songs, and commercial Buddhist music.<sup>2</sup> Lin Gufang separates the modern Buddhist music into two types. The first type includes music that is solely religious in nature, and the other type is contemporary music with Buddhism as its theme.<sup>3</sup> Gao Yali examines Buddhist music in terms of the function and the practitioner, categorizing it into two types: liturgical music (*yishi yinyue* 儀式音樂) and paraliturgical music (*gongyang yinyue* 供養音樂).<sup>4</sup> Finally, Ven. Miaole 妙樂法師 believes Buddhist music in Taiwan can be divided into traditional Buddhist chants (*chuantong fanbai yinyue* 傳統梵唄音樂) and composed Buddhist music (*chuangzuo fojiao yinyue* 創作佛教音樂).<sup>5</sup> By integrating these different scholars' perspectives, this chapter investigates Buddhist music in Taiwan through studying two facets: traditional ritual music and modern non-ritual music.

Thus, I will conduct my survey about Buddhist music in Taiwan according to the divisions of ritual music and non-ritual music. Buddhist ritual music falls into two styles—*gushanyin* 鼓山音 and *haichaoyin* 海潮音, and this chapter investigates their many aspects in detail. This chapter will also examine non-ritual Buddhist music, which includes modern composed devotional songs, staged Buddhist performance, and commercial Buddhist recordings. The following chart shows the main themes in this chapter:

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<sup>2</sup> Chen Biyan, "Chaoyue huntong," 326.

<sup>3</sup> Lin Gufang 林谷芳, "Daoyi bingcheng: Lin Gufang tan fojiao yinyue," 道藝並呈: 林谷芳談佛教音樂 (Truth and Arts: Lin Gufang Discusses Buddhist Music), *Guanghua* 光華 (Sinorama) 25, no.7 (2000): 100.

<sup>4</sup> Gao Yali 高雅俐, "Fojiao yinyue chuantong yu fojiao yinyue," 佛教音樂傳統與佛教音樂 (Buddhist Musical Tradition and Buddhist Music), in *1998 nian foxue yanjiu linwenji: fojiao yinyue* 1998年佛學研究論文集: 佛教音樂 (Collected Essays on the Research of Buddhism in 1998: Buddhist Music), ed. Caituan faren foguanshan wenjiao jijinhui 財團法人佛光山文教基金會 (Taipei: Foguang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi 佛光文化事業有限公司, 1999), 36.

<sup>5</sup> Miaole 妙樂, "Foguanshan fojiao yinyue shijian licheng zhi yanjiu I," 佛光山佛教音樂實踐歷程之研究上 (The Process of the Practice of Buddhist Music in Foguangshan Monastery I), *Pumen xuebao* 普門學報 (Universal Gate Buddhist Journal) 35 (2006): 18.

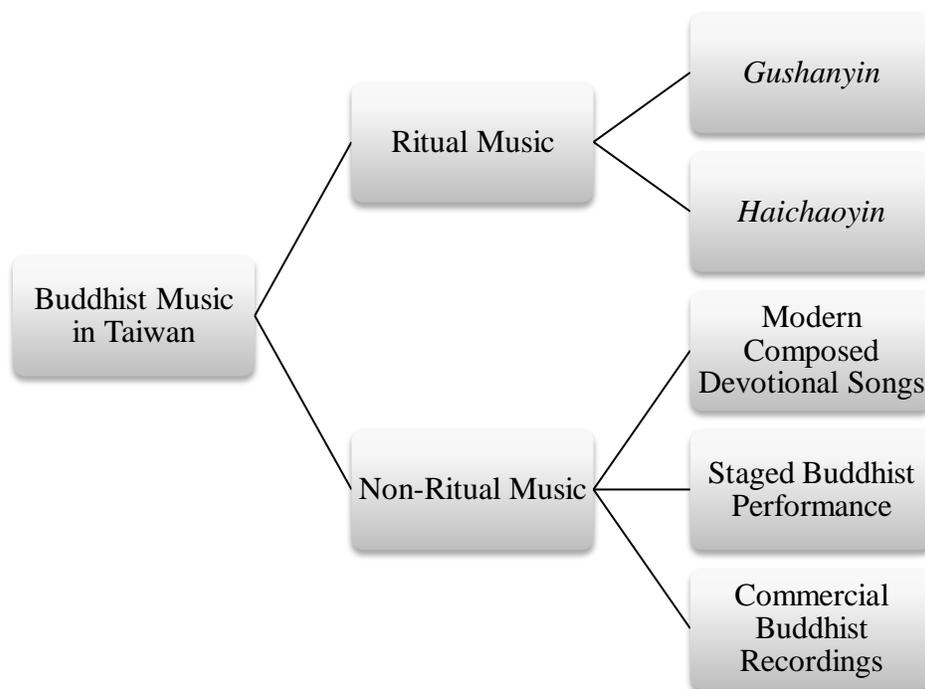


Chart 1. Buddhist Music in Taiwan

## I. Buddhist Ritual Music

One of the reasons that Buddha initiated Buddhism was to oppose the unnecessary and over-elaborate ritual formalities of Brahmanism. In fact, no ritual activities were practiced during Buddha's era. It is said that the earliest and simplest form of Buddhist ritual activities was the collective intoned recitation of Buddha's teachings, by which dharma was preserved and transmitted orally after the nirvana of Buddha.<sup>6</sup> The Chinese Buddhist sources also record that chanting during public sermons played an important role in the spread and popularization of Buddhism in China.<sup>7</sup> With the expansion of different Buddhist schools/sects, the development of the monastic system, and the

<sup>6</sup> Shi Shengyan 釋聖嚴, *Fojiao zhidu yu shenghuo* 佛教制度與生活 (Buddhist Institution and Life) (Taipei: Dongchu chubanshe 東初出版社, 1963; the fourth reprint, 1990), 153-62.

<sup>7</sup> Francesca Tarocco, *The Cultural Practices of Modern Chinese Buddhism: Attuning the Dharma* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 124.

application of different dharma practices (*famen* 法門), a variety of Buddhist rituals have been instituted correspondingly for the needs of monasticism and cultivation, and the formalities of rituals have become more complicated. Regarding the musical aspects, the original collective intoned recitation has evolved into the different methods of musical vocalization in order to harmonize with the various forms of ritual texts, and assorted percussive instruments have been added to enrich the soundscape and to punctuate the ritual process. The musical practices in the Buddhist ritual denote the audible aspects of both the vocal delivery (*fanbai* 梵唄, Buddhist liturgical chant) and the specific percussive instruments (*baiqi* 唄器, dharma instruments, will be discussed in detail in chapter 4), of which the rich gamut of soundscape completes the meaning and efficacy of the ritual.<sup>8</sup>

As explained in chapter 2, which described the development of Buddhism in Taiwan, *gushayin* 鼓山音 and *haichaoyin* 海潮音, the two styles of musical practice in Buddhist rituals, have formed along with the unique historical transitions in Taiwan. However, what the musical content is and how the music is delivered in these two styles relate to the condition of how the Buddhist ritual activities are presented and applied in Taiwanese society. Therefore, I will survey the Buddhist ritual music in the contemporary cultural scene of Taiwan through the inter-discourse among the musical practices in the rituals, the Buddhist ritual activities, and the situation of the current ritual context in Taiwan.

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<sup>8</sup> Cao Benye 曹本冶, “Daojiao keyi yinyue de ding yu huo: shanghai beiyunguan shishi keyi yinyue geanyanjiu,” 道教科儀音樂的定與活: 上海白雲觀施食科儀音樂個案研究 (Fixity and Variability in Taoist Ritual Music: Case Study of the Ritual of Salvation for the Dead at the Baiyun Temple in Shanghai), in Cai Zongde, 194.

1. What are *gushanyin* and *haichaoyin*?

The terms *gushanyin* 鼓山音 and *haichaoyin* 海潮音 were first revealed by Lu Bingchuan in his research on Buddhist music of Taiwan in 1979.<sup>9</sup> Since then, these two terms, which indicate the two styles of Buddhist ritual or monastic music in Taiwan, have been widely used in academia. According to what I have discovered through my fieldwork, I find that the separation of these two styles still exists in Taiwanese Buddhist circles today. Basically, the *gushanyin* is mainly transmitted in the “local-style temples,” which practice local-style Buddhism and have existed in Taiwan for more than three hundred years. The *haichaoyin* is transmitted in “mainland-style temples,” which practice mainland-style Buddhism and were first developed in Taiwan after 1949 by the mainland immigrant monks.<sup>10</sup> In some temples, the two styles are used in an interchangeable way according to different ritual contexts. The monks/nuns usually recognize which style they practice in their temples, but they give the two styles many different names. *Gushanyin* is sometimes called *bendidiao* 本地調 or *benshengyun* 本省韻 (local tune), and *haichaoyin* is also known as *waijiangdiao* 外江調 or *waishengyun* 外省韻 (mainland tune). In her research, Chen Xinyi explains that the *gushanyin* is usually chanted rapidly and variably with a lot of ornamentation, and the language used is mainly Taiwanese (Taiwanese Minnan language); in contrast, the *haichaoyin* is chanted slowly and stably with relatively simple melodies, and the language used is Mandarin.<sup>11</sup> In a few cases,

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<sup>9</sup> Lu Bingchuan 呂炳川, *Lu Bingchuan yinyue lunshu* 呂炳川音樂論述 (Musical Essays of Lu Bingchuan) (Taipei: Shibao wenhua 時報文化, 1979), 71.

<sup>10</sup> I use the term “local-style temple” and “mainland-style temple” simply for easier explanation in writing. In fact, people in Taiwan do not really recognize and dichotomize temples in this way; however, this differentiation in temple styles does exist in Taiwan, and the monks/nuns in the temples do recognize their identities as the local *gushanyin* practitioners or the mainland *haichaoyin* practitioners.

<sup>11</sup> Chen Xinyi 陳欣宜, “Taiwan fojiao fanbai jiaoxue zhi zhuanbian yu yingxiang” 臺灣佛教梵唄教學之轉變與影響 (The Contemporary Transformation of Chinese Buddhist Chanting Instruction in Taiwan) (Master’s thesis, National Cheng Kung University 國立成功大學, 2005), 24.

*gushanyin* is also chanted in the Hakka language in some Hakka villages. These differences between the two styles not only depict the different practices of the traditional local-style Buddhism and the mainland-style Buddhism in Taiwan, but they also imply the two mutually exclusive identities, local versus mainland.

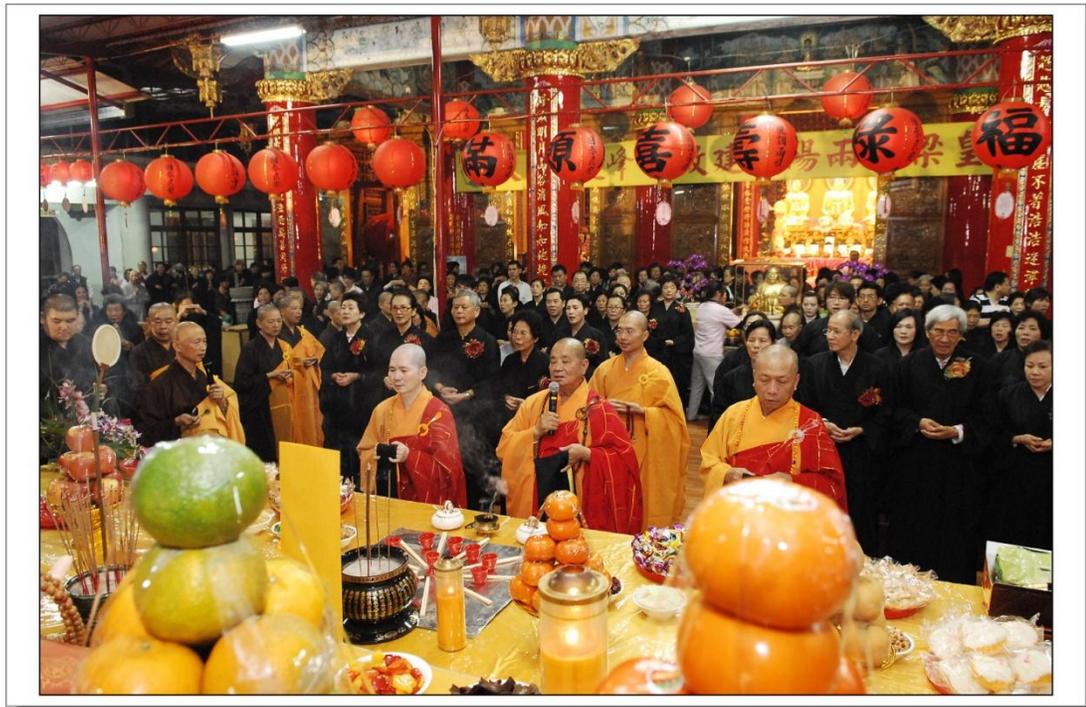
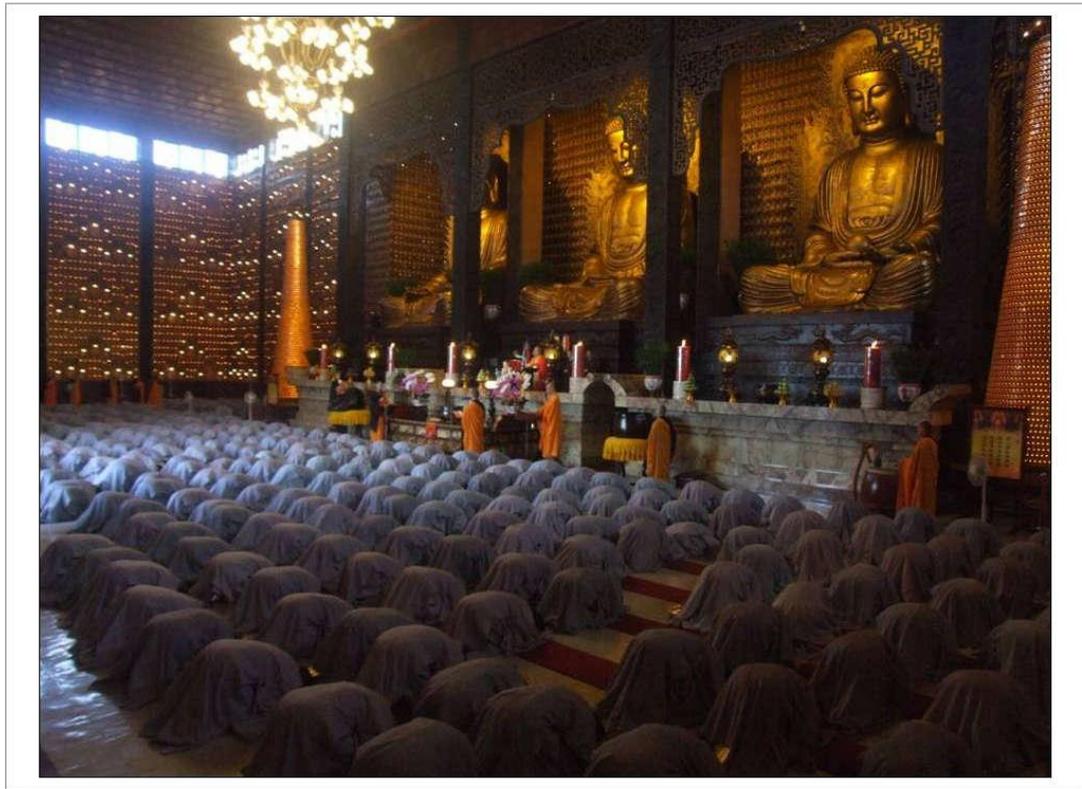


photo by Lu Wei-Yu

Photo 1. *Gushanyin*-style Ritual



*photo by Foguangshan*

Photo 2. *Haichaoyin*-style Ritual

*Gushanyin* literally means “the sound from the Gushan Mountain.” The term invokes the origin of the traditional local Buddhism in Taiwan, which descends from the Yongquan Temple of the Gushan Mountain in the Fujian province of China (see chapter 2). The chronicle of Ven. Xuyun 虛雲, *Xuyun laoheshan nianpu* 虛雲老和尚年譜, notes that in the past (Qing dynasty), the ritual activity in the Gushan area was flourishing. When the temple held rituals, monks and laymen always had fun participating in the rituals in which the sacred and secular music were usually practiced together.<sup>12</sup>

According to the description, the earlier ritual tradition in Gushan shows at least two

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<sup>12</sup> Cen Xuelu 岑學呂, comp., *Xuyun laoheshan nianpu* 虛雲老和尚年譜 (The Chronicle of Ven. Xuyun) (Taipei: Fojiao chubanshe 佛教出版社, 1978), 95-8.

features: 1) the ritual might include an entertainment function, and 2) secular music was acceptable and common in the rituals. The practice of *gushanyin* today in Taiwan can be traced to its inherited influences from these features. In many cases, the atmosphere of the *gushanyin* ritual is usually more bustling and festive, so the musical representation of *gushanyin* usually sounds polyphonic and multi-sonorous, and the secular instruments, such as silk and bamboo instruments, may be added to enrich the whole soundscape, if needed. Sometimes, one can even find a ritual practitioner using an electronic organ during the Buddhist funeral ritual in order to let the deceased enjoy their final entertainment.

In accordance with Gushan-system Buddhism in Taiwan, its ritual musical style *gushanyin* has also evolved in Taiwan for more than three hundred years, so its practices show evidence of having assimilated a lot of folk elements, and the practices now express more local characteristics and ideologies of Taiwan. In Taiwan, different kinds of temples and shrines can be spotted on the roadsides everywhere in cities, towns, or small villages, and a variety of temple cults, daily worship, community services, or massive festivals are held very frequently throughout each year. The vigorous ritual activity is a typical scene of folk culture in Taiwan. In addition, it is normal for the ritual activities to complement festivities, garden fetes, or different entertaining programs; in many cases, the ritual activity functions as a venue for promoting goodwill among community members. In this situation, the grassroots taste for the ritual practices usually prefers a more animated and joyful mood. Many *gushanyin* practitioners feel that the ambiance in the ritual context must be adequately vivacious and bustling (Taiwanese: *ailaujiat* 愛鬧熱). Not only should the ritual collect a large number of participants, but the musical performance

should be diversified and variable enough to support the atmosphere, as this is closer to the folk “*ailaujiat*” taste.<sup>13</sup>

Because *gushanyin* is more folk-oriented, it is considered a musical tradition that is closer to “populism.”<sup>14</sup> The *gushanyin* practitioners are also more amenable to modifications or variations in music to meet folk preferences, regional customs, or different conditions in each context. For this trait, the same musical excerpt in a ritual may display differences when it is practiced in different temples, places, or contexts. By looking at the musical excerpts in the rituals of monastic daily routine, one may still detect a similar melodic skeleton among different temples and practitioners, but in many larger event rituals, it is common for a musical excerpt to sound completely different across temples and practitioners. The musical representation in *gushanyin* is actually not standardized; one cannot expect to define it with a fixed melodic progression and standard instrumental application of a musical excerpt in *gushanyin* (the instrumental part will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4). The following two musical examples (Notations 1 and 2) are the same incense psalm, which is a ten-phrase psalm, practiced in *gushanyin* in two different temples. I display only the first three phrases of this psalm in these examples. This incense psalm is called “Hiunn Tsai Jiat” in Taiwanese (Mandarin: Xiang Cai Re 香纔爇) and is chanted in Taiwanese.

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<sup>13</sup> Gao Yali 高雅俐, “Yinyue, zhanyan, yu shenfen renting: zhanhou Taiwan diqu hanchuan fojiao yishi yinyue zhanyan jiqi chuancheng yu bianqian,” 音樂, 展演與身份認同: 戰後台灣地區漢傳佛教儀式音樂展演及其傳承與變遷 (Music, Performance, and Identity: Transmission and Changes of the Performance of Chinese Buddhist Ritual Music in Postwar Taiwan), in Cai Zongde, 312.

<sup>14</sup> Gao Yali 高雅俐, “Gushanyin de xiangxiang: zhanho Taiwan bentu fojiao yinyue wenhua yu qi sengzhong qunti yishi zhi jiango.” 鼓山音的想像: 戰後臺灣本土佛教音樂文化與其僧眾群體意識之建構 (Gu-Shan-Yin Imagined: Buddhist Musical Culture and Construction of the Monks’ Community Consciousness in Post-War Taiwan), *Taiwan yinyue yanjiu* 臺灣音樂研究 (Formosan Journal of Music Research), no. 2 (April 2006): 11-2.

**Incense Psalm**  
**香纒爇**  
**(Hiunn Tsai Jiat)**

Chaofeng Temple  
 transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

phrase 1. beginning ad lib section phrase 2.  
♩=100

香 纒 爇 爐 焚 寶  
 hiunn tsai jiat loo hun po

5 鼎 中

7 phrase 3. tiann tiong

梅 檀 沉 乳 真  
 tsian tan tim lu tsin

12 堪 供  
 kham kiong

Notation 1. Incense Psalm in *Gushanyin*, Chaofeng Temple 超峰寺

**Incense Psalm**  
香纜爇  
(Hiunn Tsai Jiat)

Dayunbixian Temple  
transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

phrase 1. beginning ad lib section phrase 2.  
♩=82

香 纜 爇 爐 焚  
hiunn tsai jiat loo hun

寶 鼎 中  
po tian tiong

phrase 3.  
7  
梅 檀 沉 乳 真  
tsian tan tim lu tsin

12  
堪 供  
kham kiong

Notation 2. Incense Psalm in *Gushanyin*, Dayunbixian Temple 大雲碧仙寺

While comparing the two *gushanyin* versions, one will notice many differences. First, the tonic note and tempo are different. The choice of tonic notes and tempo always depends on the precentor (*weinuo* 維那). Not only do the different precentors chant in different tonic notes and tempo, but the same precentor may choose different tonic notes and tempo in each new performance. Second, the beginning section is chanted in a different way from the rest of the piece. The start of a piece or a part in a ritual is usually the beginning ad lib section (*qiqiang* 起腔), which may contain one to three characters of the first phrase. For this psalm, the first phrase contains only three characters, so in this case, the beginning ad lib section covers the whole first phrase. The ad lib section is

never delivered in the same way among different practitioners. How long this beginning section extends also differs among practitioners. Third, the melodic progression differs between the two examples. It is clear that the text is chanted in the melismatic way, by which each syllable (each written character) is set to several or many notes of the melody. The practitioners can freely and flexibly vary the melodic progression between two characters. Fourth, the psalm has no discernible meter, as it is usually practiced in a freely mixed meter. According to these two versions, one character may last from four to sixteen beats (excluding the beginning *ad lib* section). How the duration of each character is presented is always different among practitioners, but the last one or two characters of a phrase usually have longer melismas.

Because there are no apparent patterns set for the music itself and no common rule in the musical practices, the tonic note, tempo, melodic progression, and meter are always executed differently among practitioners. However, if applying the Schenkerian approach to reduce the melodic linear progression of the two versions (the surface “foreground”)<sup>15</sup> to draw out the basic notes (usually notes matched with characters) of both versions, one will notice a similar layout of the basic notes (the fundamental “background”) in both versions. See the following comparison (Notation 3). This similar layout is the only common point between the two versions. In fact, the phenomena that different pieces from the repertory of a genre may be derived from the same tune (known as *qupai* 曲牌, literally “titled tune”) can be commonly discovered in many traditional Chinese musical genres (see Witzleben,<sup>16</sup> Wang,<sup>17</sup> and Jones<sup>18</sup>).

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<sup>15</sup> Jonathan Stock, “The Application of Schenkerian Analysis to Ethnomusicology: Problems and Possibilities,” *Music Analysis* 12, no.2 (1993), 215-40.

<sup>16</sup> J. Lawrence Witzleben, “*Silk and Bamboo*” *Music in Shanghai: The Jiangnan Sizhu Instrumental Ensemble Tradition* (Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1995).

<sup>17</sup> Wang Ying-fen, “Tune Identity and Compositional Process in Zhonbei Songs: A Semiotic Analysis of

Basic Notes of Incense Psalm  
Chaofeng Temple

transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu



A musical staff in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The melody consists of quarter notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, B3, A3, G3. Below the staff are the Chinese characters and their phonetic transcriptions: 香 (hiunn), 纒 (tsai), 蕪 (jiat), 爐 (loo), 焚 (hun), 寶 (po), 鼎 (tiann), 中 (tiong), 梅 (tsian), 檀 (tan), 沉 (tim), 乳 (lu), 真 (tsin), 堪 (kham), 供 (kiong).

Basic Notes of Incense Psalm  
Dayunbixian Temple

transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu



A musical staff in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The melody consists of quarter notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, B3, A3, G3. Below the staff are the Chinese characters and their phonetic transcriptions: 香 (hiunn), 纒 (tsai), 蕪 (jiat), 爐 (loo), 焚 (hun), 寶 (po), 鼎 (tiann), 中 (tiong), 梅 (tsian), 檀 (tan), 沉 (tim), 乳 (lu), 真 (tsin), 堪 (kham), 供 (kiong).

Notation 3. Basic Notes of Incense Psalm

In contrast to *gushanyin*, the same incense psalm practiced in *haichaoyin* includes more patterns and rules in the music itself. The following Notation 4 shows the same incense psalm chanted in the *haichaoyin* style. This *haichaoyin* version is chanted by Ven. Longgen 隆根長老 in Mandarin.

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Nanguan Vocal Music” (PhD diss. University of Pittsburg, 1992).

<sup>18</sup> Stephen Jones, *Folk Music of China: Living Instrumental Traditions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

**Incense Psalm**  
香纒爇  
(Xiang Cai Re)

chanted by Ven. Longgen  
transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

phrase 1. beginning ad lib section

香 纒 爇  
xiang cai re

phrase 2.

$\text{♩} = 40$

爐 焚 寶  
lu fen bao

鼎 中 梅  
ding zhong zhan

檀 沉 乳 真  
tan chen ru zhen

堪 供  
kan gong

Notation 4. Incense Psalm in *Haichaoyin*, by Ven. Longgen 隆根長老

Compared with the previous *gushanyin* versions, the musical representation of this *haichaoyin* version can be discerned by the following features. First, the tempo of the *haichaoyin* performance is much slower than the tempo of the *gushanyin* performance. The tempo of the previous two *gushanyin* versions are  $\text{♩} = 100$  and  $\text{♩} = 82$ , respectively, but this *haichaoyin* version is  $\text{♩} = 40$ . Generally speaking, the same musical excerpt practiced in *haichaoyin* usually takes longer than it does in *gushanyin*. Second, a similar melodic

pattern can be found in every phrase (excluding the beginning ad lib section). For example, it is evident that phrases 2 and 3 have similar melodic contours, and all the following phrases in this psalm share this same melodic contour. Third, the meter is regular throughout the whole psalm. If we exclude the beginning ad lib section, we will notice that the psalm is actually in the most common quadruple meter (4/4). The predominant pattern is that every character lasts for four beats, and the last character of each phrase lasts for eight beats. In fact, *haichaoyin* not only follows more patterns and rules in the music itself, but its musical representation also exhibits more consistency across the different temples and practitioners. These stable, regular, and standard features in *haichaoyin* may be attributed to social and doctrinal factors.

*Haichaoyin* 海潮音 was brought to Taiwan in accordance with the introduction of the mainland-style Buddhism to Taiwan after 1949 by monks, mainly from the Jiangzhe 江浙 area (the Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces in China). Because of the political environment during the martial law period in Taiwan (1949-1987, see chapter 2), the mainland-style Buddhism and its ritual musical style, *haichaoyin*, were supported by the official Buddhist institution BAROC as the “orthodox” style of Buddhism and Buddhist ritual music. The term *haichaoyin* was named according to a sentence from the *Lotus Sutra: fanyin haichaoyin shengbi shijianyin* 梵音海潮音勝彼世間音 (the voice of Buddha transcends the worldly sound), suggesting that *haichaoyin* is the authentic, orthodox, and pure voice of Buddha. Similar to the practices of mainland-style Buddhism, *haichaoyin* also stresses the “pure” Buddhist elements in its musical representation, which strictly conforms to the Buddhist doctrine and the records in Buddhist sutras. Because of its doctrinal-oriented feature and its official and orthodox status, *haichaoyin* is

considered a musical tradition that stems mostly from “elitism”<sup>19</sup> and is distinct from the “populism” of *gushanyin*.

According to Buddhist doctrine and sutra, the sound used in the ritual should function as an auxiliary means for assisting the training of the mind and the cultivation of meditative contemplation (*xiuchanguan* 修禪觀). The significance of Buddhist chanting is to help practitioners to cease all external entities, causes, and conditions (*waiyuan* 外緣) perceived through the five senses, and then to stop the flow of thought in order to enter the state of meditative equipoise and absorption (*dingjing* 定境).<sup>20</sup> The ritual participants should be able to clear their confused states of mind, conflicting emotions, and all afflictions through the sound in the ritual. Therefore, the musical representation in the ritual must be slow, stable, and regular enough to silence, stabilize, and rest the active mind. *Haichaoyin* practitioners strictly follow this rule and always make an effort to standardize the detail in the ritual process to ensure that they practice every step in a unified and orderly manner, giving the whole ritual a dignified and reverent mood.

In addition to the stable, regular, and standard characteristics in the musical representation itself, *haichaoyin* also has a more standardized practice across the different temples and practitioners. On the one hand, *haichaoyin* has long been in a privileged and advantaged status under the historical influence of BAROC (see chapter 2). Because *haichaoyin* practitioners view *haichaoyin* as the authentic and orthodox Buddhist tradition and believe it more solemn and superior to *gushanyin*, they tend to keep the original practice and remain conservative in response to any variances or modifications in

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<sup>19</sup> Gao Yali, “Yinyue, zhanyan, yu shenfen renting,” 314.

<sup>20</sup> Shi Fazang 釋法藏, “Fanbai luekao,” 梵唄略考 (Investigation of Buddhist Chant), *Sengqie* 僧伽 (Sangha Magazine) (October 1995) [database online; available from <http://www.sanghanet.net/wanfo-website/papers/07/papers-7-3.htm>].

the musical representation that might meet the secular taste. On the other hand, the practices of *haichaoyin* today in different mainland-style temples in Taiwan were developed mainly based on the same version, which was originally transmitted from Ven. Guangci 廣慈老和尚.<sup>21</sup> All of these factors, including the conservative attitude of the practitioners and the transmission from the same version, cause the musical practices of *haichaoyin* to sound more similar and standardized than the *gushanyin* practices of different temples and practitioners. The following *haichaoyin* musical examples (Notations 5 and 6) are the same hymn, called “Praise to Buddha Hymn” (Zan Fo Ji 讚佛偈), and are chanted in Mandarin by different Buddhist monasteries. This is a seven-character hymn in eight phrases. I include only the first two complete phrases in these examples. The two versions appear to be almost the same, with the only differences lying in the tonic note and among some other notes.

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<sup>21</sup> Through the interviews that I held during my fieldwork, several nuns from different mainland-style temples told to me that they originally learned their *haichaoyin* practices from Ven. Guangci. Chen Xinyi also mentioned a similar situation in her research (2005).

# Praise to Buddha Hymn

## 讚佛偈 (Zan Fo Ji)

Ziyun Temple  
transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

**phrase 1.**  $\text{♩} = 64$

阿 彌 陀 佛 身  
e mi tuo fo shen

6 **phrase 2.**

金 色 相 好  
jin se xiang hao

11

光 明 無 等 倫  
guang ming wu deng lun

16 **phrase 3.**

白 毫  
bai hao

Notation 5. "Praise to Buddha Hymn" in *Haichaoyin*, Ziyun Temple 紫雲寺

Praise to Buddha Hymn  
讚佛偈  
(Zan Fo Ji)

Hwazan Buddhist Foundation  
transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

phrase 1.

阿 彌 陀 佛 身  
e mi tuo fo shen

6

phrase 2.

金 色 相 好 光  
jin se xiang hao guang

12

phrase 3.

明 無 等 倫 白  
ming wu deng lun bai

18

毫  
hao

Notation 6. “Praise to Buddha Hymn” in *Haichaoyin*, Hwazan Buddhist Foundation

華藏佛教基金會

Not surprisingly, the *haichaoyin* practitioners have long criticized the local practice of *gushanyin*. They consider the folk influences, the use of secular instruments, the capricious musical representation, and the festive ritual mood in *gushanyin* to be a violation of dharma (*burufa* 不如法) and to be heterodox. These practitioners sometimes disdain *gushanyin* as the noisy, vulgar, or even dharma-degenerated sound. However, *gushanyin* practitioners are persistent and hold a strong conviction to sustaining and nourishing this local type of Buddhist ritual music tradition. They actually admit that the *haichaoyin*-style ritual has a more solemn and sublime mood and has a more stable music

that does assist in the cultivation of the mind. However, for them, *haichaoyin* is too slow and takes too much time to run in one ritual, especially a large-scale ritual. They consider the possibility that a monotonous and long ritual may also invite distraction; instead, the folk-oriented, variable, and bustling *gushanyin* continuously grabs the participants' attention and concentration during the ritual. An abbot of a local-style temple told me jokingly that the slow and endless *haichaoyin* would make her heart non-energetic.

*Gushanyin* practitioners also disagree that the *gushanyin* style is a violation of dharma. For them, acknowledging the folk taste or using a more secular way to serve people is the use of expedient means (*fangbian fa* 方便法) mentioned in Buddha's teaching, which encourages people to feel more receptive of dharma. Because the proper use of expedient means is part of Buddha's teaching, the *gushanyin* practitioners believe this secularized way of presenting rituals does not violate the Buddhist doctrine. In addition, although *haichaoyin* was officially promoted in Taiwan as the "orthodox" style after 1949, for the local *gushanyin* practitioners, *gushanyin* has existed and grown in Taiwan centuries before the mainland Nationalist government's martial occupation; therefore, it is actually a more traditional local style and represents an authentic Taiwanese Buddhist musical tradition.<sup>22</sup> In other words, *gushanyin* practitioners and *haichaoyin* practitioners hold different perspectives on "tradition". *Gushanyin* practitioners insist that their local style is the traditional Buddhist musical practice of Taiwan, while *haichaoyin* practitioners insist that their mainland style is the authentic Buddhist musical tradition. Today in Taiwan, one can still observe that the monks/nuns from the two identities (local and mainland) disagree with each other.

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<sup>22</sup> Gao Yali, "Yinyue, zhanyan, yu shenfen renting," 312.

The following table shows a basic comparison between *gushanyin* and *haichaoyin* practices.

	<i>Gushanyin</i> 鼓山音	<i>Haichaoyin</i> 海潮音
<b>Corresponding practice of Buddhism</b>	Local-style (Gushan-system) Buddhism	Mainland-style Buddhism from Jiangzhe 江浙 area
<b>Language used in the ritual</b>	Taiwanese, few in Hakka language	Mandarin
<b>Being transmitted mainly in</b>	Local-style temples	Mainland-style temples
<b>Has existed in Taiwan for</b>	More than 300 years	Around 60 years (after 1949)
<b>Features in the musical representation</b>	Fast, capricious, variable, and folk-oriented	Slow, regular, stable, and doctrinal-oriented
<b>Music among different temples and practitioners</b>	Higher variation	Stricter standards
<b>Attitude toward performance</b>	Adaptable to different contexts	Keeps the original practices
<b>Ritual mood</b>	More festive and bustling	More solemn and dignified
<b>Perspectives on tradition</b>	Real local Buddhist ritual musical tradition in Taiwan	Authentic Buddhist ritual musical tradition
<b>Identities</b>	Local	Mainland

Table 3. Basic Comparison between *Gushanyin* and *Haichaoyin*

Notwithstanding their contradictory identities, the two styles have still experienced the process of collision and merge while they were practiced and developed on the same island. Most of the *gushanyin* nuns I have contacted in Taiwan are capable of practicing both *gushanyin* and *haichaoyin*, because *haichaoyin* was officially enforced by BAROC and was used in the formal ordination initiation. Even though the BAROC no

longer held authoritative power after the enactment of the law on civic organization in 1989 (see chapter 2), *haichaoyin* remains the mainstream practice that is used in the formal ordination initiation today. Many *gushanyin* practitioners said that they learn and practice *haichaoyin* during the ordained period, but after they complete their ordination initiation and go back to their original temples, they return to practicing *gushanyin* in their daily routines. *Gushanyin* practitioners' attitudes toward ritual musical practices are always flexible and adaptable, so in many cases, they freely exchange *gushanyin* and *haichaoyin* in some event rituals. Similarly, the practice of *haichaoyin* inevitably and gradually localized and now more or less inclines toward the local taste when it is assimilated into the culture of Taiwan, in spite of the fact that *haichaoyin* practitioners are more conservative. For example, the nuns in Foguangshan Monastery identify themselves as *haichaoyin* practitioners, but they still use *gushanyin* in their large-scale rituals because of the local preference and the curtailment of the ritual time.

In contrast with the social conditions before 1987 (see chapter 2), the local and mainland identities are no longer locked in an antagonistic position; instead, the two identities gradually merged, and the sharp dichotomy between *gushanyin* and *haichaoyin* also gradually blurred. In an increasing number of rituals, *gushanyin* and *haichaoyin* are practiced in a seamless mixture. Both *gushanyin* and *haichaoyin* can be practiced in all Buddhist ritual types for both sacred and secular purposes. The Buddhist ritual practices in Taiwan involve any situation from pure Buddhist events to personal occasions. The following section will discuss how different types of Buddhist rituals are applied and connected to the different aspects of Taiwanese society, and how the musical contents in the rituals are influenced by the practitioners' application and connection.

## 2. Buddhist Ritual Practices in Contemporary Taiwan

The Buddhist ritual activities, usually known as *jingchan foshi* 經懺佛事 (sutra, penance, and Buddhist services), *fahui* 法會 (dharma assembly), or *fashi* 法事 (dharma services), are very vigorous and prevalent in the society of Taiwan. The Buddhist rituals are not only practiced for the monastic routine and calendar, but also applied in different local cultural events and in many aspects of grassroots life in Taiwan. In terms of their content, function, and purposes, the Buddhist rituals in Taiwan can be categorized into five basic types:<sup>23</sup> 1) Rites for cultivation (*xiuxing fashi* 修行法事). These rites include the rituals for monastic, sacred, and moral cultivation, covering most monastic daily activities and some regular events in the monasteries, such as morning/evening services (*zhaomu kesong* 朝暮課誦), rite of meal (*ershi linzhaiyi* 二時臨齋儀), different kinds of dharma sharing sessions (*gongxiu* 共修), and seven-day retreats (*daqi* 打七) for intensive meditation (*chanqi* 禪七) or intensive recitation of Buddha's name (*foqi* 佛七). 2) Rites for commemoration (*jinian fashi* 紀念法事). These celebrate birthdays, enlightenment, and the nirvana of different Buddha and Bodhisattva. The most prevalent one in Taiwan is the ceremony for Sakyamuni Buddha's birthday—Bath the Buddha Festival (*yufojie* 浴佛節, on April 8 of every lunar year). 3) Rites for universal salvation (*puji fashi* 普濟法事). These rites denote rituals for feeding, instructing, and delivering all beings, especially the beings in hell, the hungry ghosts, and the souls of the dead. The Ullambana Ritual (*yulanpen hui* 盂蘭盆會), the Water and Land Ritual (*shuilu fahui* 水陸法會), and the Feeding Searing Mouth Ritual (*yuqie yankou shishi* 瑜伽餓口施食儀,

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<sup>23</sup> Hu Yao 胡耀, "Woguo fojiao yinyue diaocha shuyao 我國佛教音樂調查述要," (Investigation of Buddhist Music in China), *Yinyue yanjiu* 音樂研究 (Musical Research), no.1 (1986): 104; Yuan Jingfang 袁靜芳, *Zhongguo hanchuan fojiao yinyue wenhua* 中國漢傳佛教音樂文化 (Musical Culture of Chinese Buddhism) (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu daxue chubanshe 中央民族大學出版社, 2003), 34-50.

known as “the release of searing mouth” *fangyankou* 放餒口), are all popular in Taiwan. 4) Rites of penance (*chanfa* 懺法). This is a unique ritual type in the world of Chinese Buddhism.<sup>24</sup> The practice of this type of ritual is called *baichan* 拜懺 or *lichen* 禮懺 (worship for repentance), by which one can introspect his fault, face it, correct it, and determine not to make it again, so that the bad karma caused by the fault can be erased. The Liang Emperor Penance Ritual (*lianghuang baochan* 梁皇寶懺), Water Penance Ritual (*shuichan* 水懺), Great Compassion Penance Ritual (*dabei chan* 大悲懺), Medicine Buddha’s Penance Ritual (*yaoshi chan* 藥師懺), and Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva’s Penance Ritual (*dizang chan* 地藏懺) are all common and popular in Taiwan. 5) Rites for averting calamity and praying for worldly prosperity (*xiaozai qifu fashi* 消災祈福法事). The Offering to Celestial Beings Ritual (*zhaitian* 齋天) and all other rituals of different sutras and Buddha/Bodhisattva are generally categorized into this type.

The first type, rites for cultivation, is the fundamental practice in all monasteries, but other diverse Buddhist rituals are practiced depending on the temple’s choice. Every temple or monastery has its own ritual schedule in its monasterial calendar. In addition to the existing rituals from the above five types, there are also many newly-organized rituals. Many temples in Taiwan have their own featured and unique rituals that are practiced only in their temples. The structure of all Buddhist rituals is mainly based on the three-part principle (*sanqifa* 三啟法),<sup>25</sup> which divides the procedure of the ritual into three sections with three openings (*jieduan sankai* 節段三開). The three sections of the

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<sup>24</sup> Xu Cuiyu 許翠谷, “Baichan: qiannian liuzhuan de cibeifamen,” 拜懺: 千年流轉的慈悲法門 (Worship for Repentance: The Compassion Dharma Practices for a Thousand Years), *Rensheng* 人生 (Humanity), no. 315 (2009): 12.

<sup>25</sup> Juexing 覺醒, *Zhongshan fengxing: fojiao liyiguan* 眾善奉行: 佛教禮儀觀 (Cultivate All Virtues: Buddhist View of Etiquette and Rite) (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe 宗教文化出版社, 2002; reprint, 2003), 36-7.

procedure open with the psalms (*zan* 讚) or hymns (*ji* 偈) for praising Buddha's virtues, then proceed with the recitation of the main sutra used in the ritual, and finally end with the return/transfer of merit to oneself /another (*huixian* 迴向). As long as he or she follows this three-part principle, a proficient ritual practitioner is capable of organizing a new Buddhist ritual with new elements or modifying the content of the existing rituals from the above five types. For example, the Worship Dipper with Liang Emperor Ritual (*lidou lianghuang fahui* 禮斗梁皇法會) is practiced only in the Dayunbixian temple 大雲碧仙寺 and is mixed with the Taoist Worship Dipper Rite (*baidou* 拜斗) and the Taoist *Big Dipper Sutra* (*Beidoujing* 北斗經). Therefore, the Buddhist rituals currently practiced in Taiwan are overwhelmingly numerous and manifold.

Sacredly, the monks/nuns and Buddhists undertake the rituals as the external acts for complementing inward contemplative exercises and embodying doctrinal practices; however, the rituals are also incorporated into the integral part of the local cultural landscape in Taiwan. In many cases, people participate in Buddhist rituals for cultural reasons rather than as a matter of belief. For example, the Buddhist Offering to Celestial Beings Ritual is incorporated into the folk tradition to worship the folk Lord of Heaven (Taiwanese: *paithinnkong* [*baitiangong*] 拜天公) for his birthday on January 9 of the lunar year. Also, the Buddhist Ullambana Ritual is usually connected with the Taoist Ghost Festival (*zhonhyuanjie* 中元節, on July 15 of the lunar year). The ritual is held to worship deceased families and to deliver all kinds of supernatural beings (Taiwanese: *tiogguan phootoo* [*zhongyuan pudu*] 中元普度). In addition, many temples hold the Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva's Ritual (*dizang fahui* 地藏法會), or different kinds of penance rituals in the traditional Clear and Bright Festival (*qingmingjie* 清明節, on April 5 of the solar year) and the Double Ninth Festival (*chongyangjie* 重陽節, on September 9 of the

lunar year) for people to memorize and deliver their deceased ancestors. In different solar terms, such as the start of spring (*lichun* 立春) or the winter solstice (*dongzhi* 冬至), many temples also hold different types of rituals for averting calamity and praying for worldly prosperity (the fifth ritual type).

In addition to the syncretism of Buddhist rituals into different cultural events, Buddhist rituals are also applied to many aspects and conditions in secular life, such as weddings, funerals, childbirth, birthdays, finding a job, moving to a new house, trade, construction, or the start of a business. I have even experienced a Buddhist ritual held in a temple in order to pray for the fortune of a student in his College Entrance Examination. This wide range of ritual applications provides a platform for the commercialization of ritual activities. Many monks accept the ritual order and take offers from lay people to host rituals for their personal needs and requests. Some temples even group the selected monks who are skilled in the ritual practices to be specifically responsible for the ritual requests from lay people,<sup>26</sup> because hosting rituals for the different secular cases can bring great revenue to the temple. The customers can choose to hold the ritual in the temple or in their homes. Usually, it is more expensive to hire a monk to make a house call than to hire him to host the ritual in the temple. However, if the ritual is held in the temple, one needs to pay the extra fee to the temple in addition to paying fees to each monk conducting the ritual. These monks who frequently host rituals for secular conditions make a living by hosting rituals that are known as *jingchansheng* 經懺僧 or *yingfuseng* 應付僧. For these monks, the Buddhist ritual activities (*jingchan foshi* 經懺佛事) are more like a type of business through which they can earn a profit.

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<sup>26</sup> Kan Zhengzong 闕正宗, *Taiwan jingchan foshi zonghengtan—yuanling fashi fangtanlu* 臺灣經懺佛事縱橫談—源靈法師訪談錄 (Buddhist Ritual Activities in Taiwan—Interview with Ven. Yuanling) (Taipei: Guoshiguan 國史館, 2006), 111.

In Taiwan, not only can monks earn money through hosting ritual activities, but also some laymen, who are familiar with the ritual performance and the ritual process, can undertake hosting ritual activities as their profession. Some of these lay ritual practitioners begin as odd-job workers hired by the temple, and they learn the ritual skills from monks in the temple.<sup>27</sup> Other lay ritual practitioners possess the ritual skills because their family business had long been hosting ritual activities, so the ritual skills have already been handed down for generations in the family.<sup>28</sup> These professional lay ritual practitioners are known as “fragrant-flower monks” (*xianghua heshang* 香花和尚), distinct from the ordained monk ritual practitioners, known as *conglin heshang* 叢林和尚. The origin of the term “fragrant-flower monks” requires more research, but this term can be seen in a historical source of the Japanese period in Taiwan. The *Miscellaneous Notes of Anping County* recorded that the monks in Taiwan can be divided into vegetarian monks (*chizhai* 持齋) and non-vegetarian monks (*buchizhai* 不持齋), and their ritual activities can also be separated into the monastic style rituals (*chanhe* 禪和) and the “fragrant-flower” style rituals (*xianghua* 香花).<sup>29</sup> In contemporary Taiwan, Ven. Yuanling 源靈法師 uses different terms to differentiate the rituals practiced by monk ritual practitioners and lay ritual practitioners. He uses *kongmen jingchan* 空門經懺 (monastic style rituals) to denote the rituals hosted by ordained monks, and *longhua*

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<sup>27</sup> Kan Zhengzong, *Taiwan jingchan foshi*, 109.

<sup>28</sup> Ever since the Qing period, Taiwan had always held the tradition that the illegitimate monks (they had tonsure and wore the sacerdotal robes, but they did not receive formal ordination and lived as the common people) held rituals for secular occasions and purposes to earn money (see chapter 2). Today’s ritual-practitioner families are probably descendents from the earlier illegitimate monks.

<sup>29</sup> *Anping xian zaji* 安平縣雜記 (Miscellaneous Notes of Anping County), Japanese period. *Taiwan wenxian congkan* 臺灣文獻叢刊, no. 52 (Taipei: Taiwan yinhang jingji yanjiushi 臺灣銀行經濟研究室, 1959), 21.

*jingchan* 龍華經懺 (dragon-flower rituals) to denote to the rituals hosted by lay ritual practitioners.<sup>30</sup>

There is, in fact, a fixed price for hiring ritual practitioners to host rituals. In northern Taiwan, one ordained monk usually charges 5000 NTD (about 170 USD) per ritual,<sup>31</sup> but in southern Taiwan, one ordained monk charges only 3000 NTD (about 102 USD) per ritual. In most cases, the price of hiring lay ritual practitioners is cheaper than hiring monk ritual practitioners. The rituals practiced in *haichaoyin* are also cheaper than those practiced in *gushanyin*, because *gushanyin* rituals usually need more practitioners to play the additional secular instruments. Sometimes, one practitioner may receive many ritual orders in a day, so the revenues are extraordinary. Because of the potential profit in these practices, some abbots act as the managers of ritual business in order to increase their temple's income, and many monks gradually neglect their doctrinal practices and cultivation to focus on ritual activities every day.<sup>32</sup> This situation does, indeed, deviate from the original purpose of the Buddhist rituals, which were to be held for improving oneself and benefiting other sentient beings (*zili lita* 自利利他). The ritual activities should be altruistic practices and should not be exchanged for worldly profits. Therefore, most large monasteries in Taiwan, especially the mainland-style monasteries, usually proscribe or discourage their monks from taking private ritual orders, but they allow the monks to host the rituals for free for their monasteries' adherents, if needed.

The following photos (Photos 3 and 4) are the rituals held for secular occasions. Photo 3 shows the ritual called the Fifth Seven Days after Death (*wuqi* 五七), hosted by the nuns for a family in a temple. This is the fifth ritual in a series of follow-up rituals

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<sup>30</sup> Kan Zhengzong, *Taiwan jingchan foshi*, 109.

<sup>31</sup> Kan Zhengzong, *Taiwan jingchan foshi*, 111.

<sup>32</sup> Shi Shengyan, *Fojiao zhidu*, 163.

after death, which is known as “Doing the Sevens” (*zuoqi* 做七). Photo 4 shows a farewell ceremony hosted by a lay sutra-chanting group for a family in that family’s home.



*photo by Lu Wei-Yu*

Photo 3. The Ritual of the Fifth Seven Days after Death, Hosted by the Nuns for a Family in a Temple



*photo by Liuliguang sutra-chanting group*

Photo 4. A Farewell Ceremony, Hosted by a Lay Sutra-Chanting Group

For the professional lay ritual practitioners, hosting the ritual activities is the best way to make a living and is totally profit-oriented. There are many sutra-chanting groups (*songjingtuan* 誦經團) in Taiwan set up by lay ritual practitioners to take ritual orders and to host rituals for different kinds of occasions and situations, among which the most popular are a series of rituals for the dead. Most professional lay ritual practitioners are *gushanyin* practitioners because this profession already existed in Taiwan long before *haichaoyin* was introduced to Taiwan; therefore, from the earlier generations, *gushanyin* has always been the main practice in the circles of the lay ritual practitioners. Because of the great profit and the market share of the ritual business, a sutra-chanting group needs

to compete not only with other sutra-chanting groups, but also with both the *gushanyin* and *haichaoyin* monk ritual practitioners. In order to gain a better position in the ritual business, the lay ritual practitioners always continue to learn and absorb different musical elements in order to enrich the musical contents of their rituals. A good lay ritual practitioner is capable of cutting out any musical excerpt from other kinds of music and then harmonizing it with the ritual texts. Sometimes, they even apply famous and popular songs to the ritual in order to attract customers and increase interest.

The following two musical examples show how a Mandarin popular song, “I Had a Period of Love” (*Woyou yiduan qing* 我有一段情), is incorporated in the Liang Emperor Penance Ritual (*Lianghuang baochan* 梁皇寶懺). Notation 7 is the pop song sung by the famous Taiwanese pop singer Cai Qin 蔡琴, and Notation 8 is how the practitioner applied the pop song to the ritual text. Actually, this pop song is not merely used in the chanting part of the ritual. I also heard the song being used in the instrumental part in the transition between sections of the ritual.

The Mandarin Pop Song  
I Had a Period of Love  
(woyou yiduan qing 我有一段情)

sung by Cai Qin  
transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

$\text{♩} = 70$

我 有 一 段 情 呀 說 給 誰 來 聽  
wo you yi duan qing ya shuo gei shei lai ting

5  
知 心 人 兒 呀 出 了 門 他 一 去 呀 沒 音 訊  
zhi xin ren er ya chu liao men ta yi qu ya mei yin xun

9  
我 的 有 情 人 呀 莫 非 變 了 心  
wo di you qing ren ya mo fei bian liao xin

13  
為 什 麼 呀 斷 了 信 我 等 待 呀 到 如  
wei she me ya duan liao xin wo deng dai ya dao ru

16  
今  
jin

Notation 7. The Mandarin Pop Song “I Had a Period of Love”

**An Excerpt from the Liang Emperor Penance Ritual**  
**(lianghuang baochan 梁皇寶懺)**  
**chanted in Taiwanese**

chanted by a lay sutra-chanting group  
 transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

♩=100

南 無 彌 勒 佛 南 無  
 lam bo mi lik hut lam bo

6  
 釋 迦 牟 尼 佛 南 無  
 sik khia boo ni hut lam bo

11  
 寶 海 佛 南 無 寶  
 po hai hut lam bo po

15  
 英 佛  
 ing hut

Notation 8. The Mandarin Pop Song Applied to the Liang Emperor Penance Ritual

Their ability to deftly and smoothly incorporate different kinds of music into the rituals is a basic skill for the professional lay ritual practitioners. Therefore, in current Taiwan, many lay ritual practitioners are usually familiar with not only both *gushanyin* and *haichaoyin*, but also the musical practices from Taoist or folk rituals. Although in the traditional sense, they are considered *gushanyin* practitioners, many of them are able to play any style in the ritual or even play a mixture of all styles according to the different requests and tastes of the customers. The flexible embodiment of different styles actually represents the special characteristics of religious practices in Taiwanese culture, which comprises a mixture of Buddhist, Taoist, Confucian, and folk elements (see chapter 2).

The contrast between *gushanyin* and *haichaoyin*, or “heterodox” and “orthodox,”<sup>33</sup> is not problematic for these professional lay ritual practitioners; instead, their proficiency of practicing different ritual styles, freely applying different kinds of music into the rituals, the rich musical contents in the rituals, as well as the variability of musical representations are what they consider full competency in a professional ritual practitioner. They consider that these abilities will make the practitioner skilled enough to compete with other practitioners in the same profession.

Undoubtedly, *haichaoyin* monks, who have always been considered “orthodox,” criticize the way the lay ritual practitioners run their rituals, not only for their mixed musical practices and miscellaneous musical contents, but also for their commercialized ritual activities and their goal of worldly profit. However, *gushanyin* monks view these lay ritual practitioners with an easier and more tolerant attitude, because the *gushanyin* practices traditionally feature flexibility and adaptability. The *gushanyin* monks believe that no matter how the ritual is processed, the significance of the ritual itself does not change. An abbot of a local-style temple posed the question, “Why do you hear only the pop melodies in the ritual, but do not hear Buddha’s names with the pop melodies?” Her rhetorical question implies that it is meaningless to argue over different ways or styles of musical representations; what the ritual means to the participants depends on personal interpretation and perception, not the external music.

In present-day Taiwan, despite the extant separation of local and mainland identities and the dichotomy of *gushanyin* and *haichaoyin* practitioners among the monks/nuns, the two ritual practices actually show a trend of gradually syncretizing in the temples. More and more *haichaoyin* monks no longer view the *gushanyin* practices with a contemptuous

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<sup>33</sup> This judgment is just the general recognition mainly by *haichaoyin* ritual practitioners.

and suspicious attitude, and some mainland-style monasteries arrange their rituals in both styles. The lay ritual practitioners also often combine styles when hosting rituals.

Therefore, to a certain extent, the terms *gushanyin* and *haichaoyin* have shifted to simply suggest the different ideologies, and they do not indicate the absolute differences or the complete division of musical representations in the ritual.

## II. Buddhist Non-Ritual Music

Buddhist non-ritual music is a modern cultural production developed in the twentieth century under the tremendous force of modernization, westernization, and manufacturing technologies. Corresponding to the cultural transformation and various social movements, Buddhist communities have experienced conceptual reformations in Buddhism and its musical practices. In Taiwan, the most significant revival of Buddhist practices corresponding to modernism is the development of “Buddhism for the Human Realm” (*renjian fojiao* 人間佛教; see Chapter 2). Different from the traditional monasticism that focused on self-cultivation and salvation to leave the world behind, the practice of “Buddhism for the Human Realm” features socialized activities; it emphasizes the connection to society and involvement in social issues.

The prevalence of the practice of “Buddhism for the Human Realm” has promoted Buddhist non-ritual music in society. “Buddhism for the Human Realm” seeks a more populist approach to incorporate dharma into the lay society. This philosophy has changed the traditional concept of musical preaching that is based on the Buddhist *Vinaya* scriptures, which prohibit all kinds of music except for the Buddhist liturgical chant (Buddhist ritual music). The monks from Foguangshan Monastery, a renowned monastery in Taiwan that practices “Buddhist for the Human Realm,” have addressed

their perspectives of the application of non-ritual music: Ven. Yongjun 永均法師 indicates, “Buddhist music can’t stick solely to traditional Amitabha chanting if a wider public is to be reached.”<sup>34</sup> In addition, Ven. Xinding 心定大和尚 believes “music is a most effective way to take ordinary people in...perhaps the more innovative, secular forms of music are not best for inspiring the profound religious sentiments, but as a means of entertainment, (secular) music can at least soften the forbidding impression that people usually have of Buddhism, and thus is a convenient way of guiding people toward salvation.”<sup>35</sup> In fact, traditional liturgical chants (Buddhist ritual music) usually appear alien to the common people,<sup>36</sup> whereas the more popular and modern non-ritual music helps win the consent of more people (both Buddhists and non-Buddhists) and advances the connection of Buddhist communities to lay society.

On the one hand, the shift in the musical concept and Buddhist practices in the monasteries has propelled the evolution of Buddhist non-ritual music; on the other hand, the transitional flow of Westernized ideologies and mass-mediated technology has influenced the concept of developing diverse musical styles and forms of communication. In modern Taiwan, in terms of its musical styles and forms of communication, Buddhist non-ritual music can be divided into three categories: modern composed devotional songs, staged Buddhist performance, and commercial Buddhist recordings. Each one has its own communicative mechanism and referential functions.

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<sup>34</sup> Cai Wenting 蔡文婷, “Yiyin shuofa—fojiao yinyue zoxiang shisu,” 一音說法—佛教音樂走向世俗 (Dharma Goes Pop! Buddhist Music Lightens Up), *Guanghua* 光華 (Sinorama) 25, no. 7 (2000): 94

<sup>35</sup> Cai Wenting 蔡文婷, “Yiyin shuofa”, 94.

<sup>36</sup> Pi-Yen Chen, “The Chant of the Pure and the Music of the Popular: Conceptual Transformations in Contemporary Chinese Buddhist Chants,” *Asian Music* 35, no. 2 (2004): 89.

## 1. Modern Buddhist Devotional Songs

The earliest repertory of modern devotional songs was composed within the monastic order in China in the early twentieth century and took root in Taiwan after 1949.<sup>37</sup> The key moments in its creative process were the composition and dissemination of two works—the “Song of the Three Buddhist Treasures” (*Sanbao Ge* 三寶歌) and the *Musical Anthology of Purity and Serenity* (*Qingliang Geji* 清涼歌集)—by an eminent Chinese monk, Ven. Hongyi (弘一大師, lay name Li Shutong 李叔同, 1880–1942) around the 1930s.<sup>38</sup> Ven. Hongyi was not only skilled in Chinese traditional arts, such as seal carving and calligraphy, but was also one of the earliest progressive intellectuals who went abroad (he studied in Japan) to learn Western fine arts, music, and theater, and he introduced these Western art forms to China. Before he was ordained a monk in 1918, Ven. Hongyi was already a remarkable music educator in the schools, adopting Western methods and curricula, and he was revered as a forerunner who used Western style to compose choral music and school songs (*xuetang yuege* 學堂樂歌).<sup>39</sup> After he became a monk, Ven. Hongyi composed some of the melodies and lyrics for the modern Buddhist devotional songs.

The “Song of the Three Buddhist Treasures” was composed by Ven. Hongyi in cooperation with Ven. Taixu (太虛大師, a pioneer of the philosophy of “Buddhism for the Human Realm”); the melody was written by Ven. Hongyi and the lyrics were written by Ven. Taixu. For the five songs in the *Musical Anthology of Purity and Serenity*, Ven.

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<sup>37</sup> Pi-Yen Chen, “Buddhist Chant, Devotional Song, and Commercial Popular Music: From Ritual to Rock Mantra,” *Ethnomusicology* 49, no. 2 (2005): 266–7.

<sup>38</sup> Francesca Tarocco, *The Cultural Practices of Modern Chinese Buddhism* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 97.

<sup>39</sup> Yang Heping 楊和平, “Lun Li Shutong de shengming gui ji yu yinyue gongxian,” 論李叔同的生命軌跡與音樂貢獻 (On Li Shutong’s Life Track and His Music Contribution), *Xinghai yinyue xueyuan xuebao* 星海音樂學院學報 (Journal of Xinghai Conservatory of Music), no. 4 (2004): 41.



In Taiwan, Buddhist devotional songs are mainly promoted by the large mainland-style Buddhist monasteries/institutions, especially those from the four new dharma lineages (see Chapter Two), such as Dharma Drum Mountain (DDM), Foguangshan Monastery, and Tzu Chi Foundation, all of which are renowned in their practices of “Buddhism for the Human Realm” and their correspondence to the trend of modernism. These large Buddhist monasteries/institutions usually assemble choir groups in their regional temples for their lay adherents in that region, and each choir has its own schedule to practice, rehearse, and perform regularly (see Photo 5). In contemporary Taiwan, most Buddhist devotional songs are arranged in the form of choral music (see Notation 10) and are primarily transmitted through choral performances. Intriguingly, many prominent monks/nuns promote Buddhist devotional songs through choral performances, but none actually participate personally in the choir (as this is actually designed for and practiced by lay adherents).

It is common for the Buddhist monasteries/institutions that own the publishing houses to publish their own anthologies of Buddhist devotional songs. Ven. Hongyi’s “Song of the Three Buddhist Treasures” is usually arranged in choral form and is included in many contemporary anthologies. If the anthology is published as the work of a specific monastery/institution, it usually circulates only within that monastery’s/institution’s congregation and is not widely distributed to the public (see Photo 6).



*photo by Foguangshan*

Photo 5. A Performance by a Regional Choir of the Foguangshan Monastery

# 智慧

(四部合唱)

聖嚴法師 詞  
王建勛 曲  
李文彬 編

以誠懇且勸世般的心情唱出

Soprano *mp* 請你用智慧的眼睛啊來看世

Alto *mp* 請你用智慧的眼睛啊來看世

Tenor *p* 啊 的眼睛來看世

Bass *p* 啊 的眼睛來看世

Piano *p* *pp*

5

S. *mf* 間 世間到處有光明 到處都有光

A. *mf* 間 世間到處都有光明 到處光

T. *mf* 間 世間到處有光明 到處有光

B. *mf* 間 世間到處都有光明 光

Pn. *mp*

Notation 10. A Buddhist Devotional Song—"Wisdom (Zhihui 智慧)"

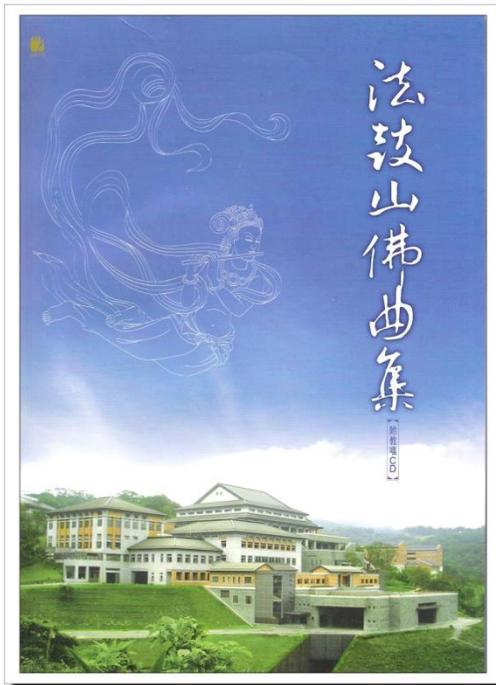


Photo 6. The Cover of DDM's Anthology of Buddhist Devotional Songs<sup>42</sup>

In addition to regular choral performances, many musical activities have been presented by the Buddhist monasteries/institutions to promote the spread of Buddhist devotional songs in Taiwan. The large Buddhist monasteries/institutions have not only invited many famous musicians to compose these Buddhist songs, but have also hosted projects or events such as competitions to attract young musicians, students, and others (Buddhists and non-Buddhists) who can contribute to and participate in the composition of more new devotional songs. For example, Foguangshan Monastery started to host a musical project named “Sound of the Human World” (*Renjian Yinyuan* 人間音緣) in 2003.<sup>43</sup> This project includes many annual activities, such as the songwriter competition,

<sup>42</sup> Li Junxian 李俊賢, *Fagushan Foquji*, 法鼓山佛曲集 (DDM's Anthology of Buddhist Devotional Songs) (Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corp., 2008).

<sup>43</sup> “Renjian yinyuan quanqiu duomeiti diantai: yinyue shiji,” 人間音緣全球多媒體電台：音樂事紀 (Sounds of the Human World Multimedia Radio Station: Major Events of FGS Buddhist Music), Caituan

in which melodies are set for Ven. Xingyun's poems and verses, and the singer competition, in which competitors sing the award-winning songs. Foguangshan has also selected and collected the award-winning songs of the competition throughout the years and has released multiple albums, in which all songs are sung by the famous pop singers invited by Foguangshan. In addition to Foguangshan, the Tzu Chi Foundation has occasionally hosted singing contests in which all contestants sing the songs selected from the collection of Tzu Chi Buddhist devotional songs.

Through all these related activities, not only have more young composers been discovered, but the dharma and specific monasteries'/institutions' philosophies have been more widely disseminated to the public. However, despite composers' increasing contributions to Buddhist devotional songs, no monks or nuns since Ven. Hongyi have attempted to compose Buddhist song melodies; instead, the ordained monks/nuns in contemporary Taiwan focus only on Buddhist song lyrics and leave the song melodies to the professional musicians (whether Buddhist or non-Buddhist). In fact, Ven. Hongyi composed only one song melody—the “Song of the Three Buddhist Treasures”—among all of his works;<sup>44</sup> all his other compositions are lyrics only. The contemporary monks/nuns focus more on lyrics than on the music itself. This is probably because, according to Buddhist tradition and many records from Buddhist sutras, to expound dharma through lecture or written text has always been regarded as an important duty of formally ordained monks/nuns, whereas secular music is traditionally restrained. Even though contemporary monks/nuns support and promote modernized musical preaching

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faren Foguangshan wenjiao jijinhui 財團法人佛光山文教基金會 (FGS Foundation for Buddhist Culture & Education, 2010), [http://song.fgs.org.tw/major\\_events.aspx?rnd=0.43857632810249925](http://song.fgs.org.tw/major_events.aspx?rnd=0.43857632810249925).

<sup>44</sup> Zhao Qin 趙琴, “Foyue jinxi, sisuo diandi,” 佛樂今昔, 思索點滴 (Thinking about the Present and Past of Buddhist Music), *Yuelan* 樂覽 (Music Browser), no.78 (2005) [database online; available from <http://www.ntso.gov.tw/magazine01.aspx?id=81>].

and propagation, they still tend to not personally work on the music itself.

Modern Buddhist song lyrics are usually either the pre-existing written works of the monks/nuns (modern poems or verses) about dharma or are newly penned lyrics written to expose dharma. In Taiwan, the current method of creating Buddhist devotional songs is one in which the monks/nuns inscribe the dharma and Buddhist imagery into the Buddhist song lyrics, and the musicians set the easier-to-accept, modern, and Western-style musical arrangements to the lyrics to more easily reach and attract a wider audience. The modern Buddhist devotional songs reflect a sense of active engagement with the public sphere and have become an important part of the Buddhist evangelical apparatus.<sup>45</sup>

## 2. Staged Buddhist Performance

Among a variety of newly emerged methods of musical preaching adopted by modern Buddhist monasteries, staged performance is also an important modern creation to promote Buddhist teachings in contemporary Taiwan. The notion of the performance here denotes the Euro-American tradition of theatrical concept, which conjures up the image of the division between relatively active performers and a relatively passive, but emotionally responsive, audience.<sup>46</sup> In terms of the content, the current Buddhist staged performances practiced in Taiwan can be divided into two categories: 1) performances, which are produced by adapting the Buddhist liturgical chants or traditional Buddhist monastic rituals to the stage; and 2) different forms of performances, such as choir, theatre, music, or dance, with Buddhism as the theme.

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<sup>45</sup> Pi-Yen Chen, "From Ritual to Rock Mantra," 277.

<sup>46</sup> Edward L. Schieffelin, "Problematizing Performance," in *Ritual, Performance, Media*, ed. Felicia Hughes-Freeland (New York: Routledge, 1998), 200.

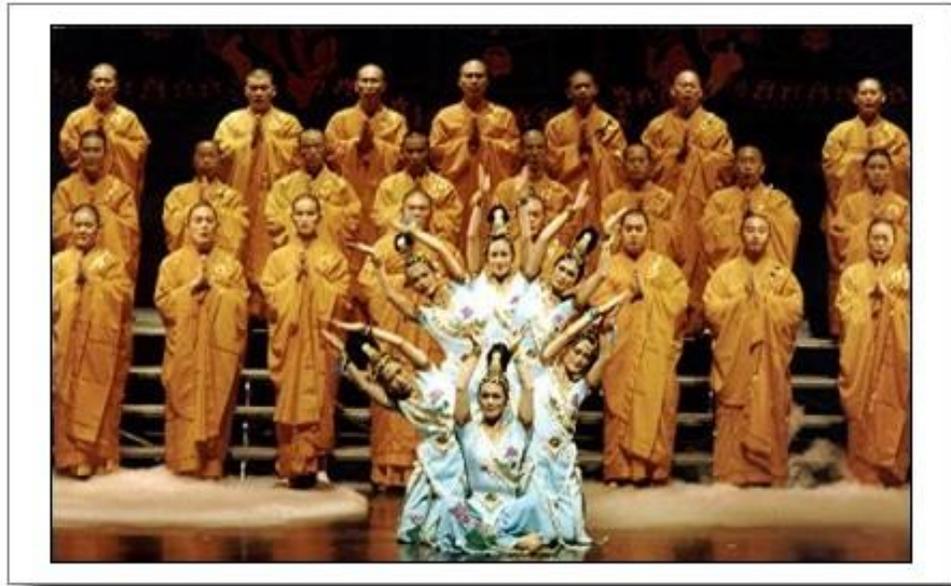
Foguangshan Monastery was the pioneer in presenting Buddhist monks/nuns onstage in Taiwan, chanting Buddhist liturgical songs. It first organized a choir consisting of monks/nuns, which was named the Foguangshan Buddhist Monastic Choir (Foguangshan Fanbai Zansongtuan 佛光山梵唄讚頌團), in 1979, and in the same year, it delivered its large performances at the National Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall (Guofu Jinianguan 國父紀念館) and National Concert Hall (Guojia Yinyueting 國家音樂廳) in Taipei.<sup>47</sup> The performances were featured in the *fanbai* 梵唄 (Buddhist liturgical chants) that were coordinated with Dunhuang-style dance (*Dunhuang yuewu* 敦煌樂舞), Chinese orchestra, Western symphony orchestra,<sup>48</sup> and modern multimedia technology, marking the first time Buddhist ritual practices and *fanbai* had ever been staged out of the ritual context and performed in any large public concert facility in Taiwan. As of 1997, the Foguangshan Buddhist Monastic Choir has toured internationally through Asia, Europe, America, and Australia, performing in over thirty countries.

The following photo (Photo 7) shows the monastic choir in performance along with the female dancers. Photo 8 is a scene in a 2001 performance named “Morning Bell and Evening Drum” (Chenzhong Mugu 晨鐘暮鼓), which attempts to present the daily life of monasteries onstage. The scene in this photo portrays a monk (in the right bottom corner) on duty who practices the evening drum at the end of a monastic day. The entire performance was achieved using onstage multimedia technology, including a stage projector and lighting, to create the background of different scenes on the backdrop.

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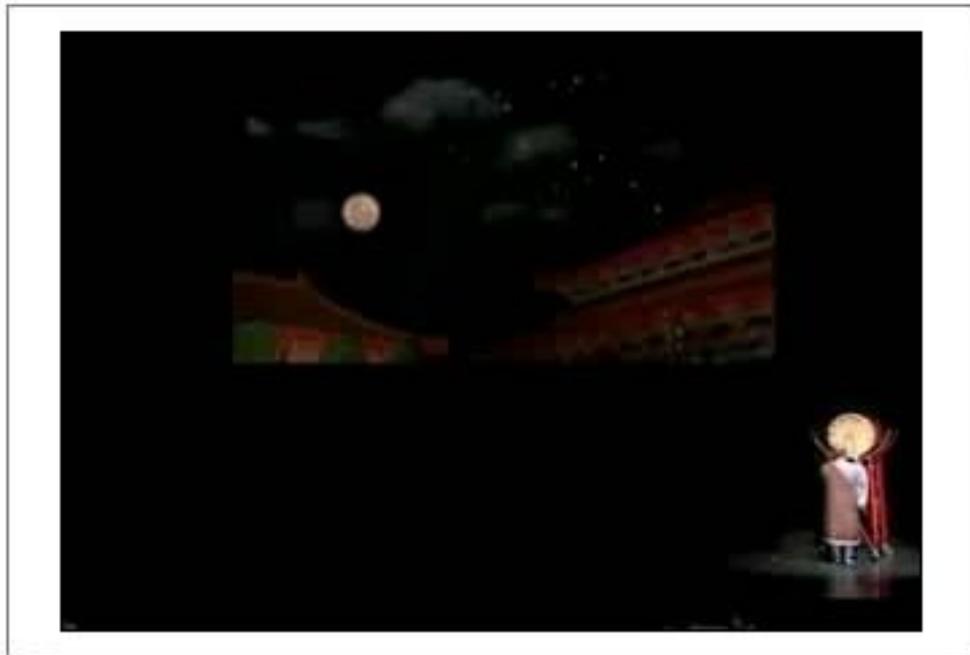
<sup>47</sup> Miaole, “Foguangshan,” 190.

<sup>48</sup> Ven. Hsing Yun, *Sounds of the Dharma: Buddhism and Music*, trans. Bell Corey and Ven. Miao His (Hacienda Heights: Buddha’s Light Publishing, 2006), 13.



*photo by Foguangshan*

Photo 7. The Performance by Foguangshan Buddhist Monastic Choir in 2004.



*photo by Foguangshan*

Photo 8. The Performance by Foguangshan Buddhist Monastic Choir in 2001.

Performance, according to Schieffelin, is often thought of as characterized by conscious intent.<sup>49</sup> All of Foguangshan's performances are achieved by following the prescribed deployment of consciously formulated strategies and are produced in collaboration with many stage experts in stagecraft, costume design, properties, set design, lighting design, and so forth. To adjust to the deployment and stage requirements, the ritualistic elements in the original Buddhist ritual are modified through the process of the deconstruction and reconstruction. For example, in Foguangshan's "Morning Bell and Evening Drum" performance, the daily rituals are sectioned, selected, and reorganized for time control in the way that best transmits specific images or meanings. Important excerpts are also selected from the liturgical chants and are rearranged to be easily harmonized with the Chinese orchestra or symphony orchestra. Not only is the chant itself rearranged, but the way it is performed is also changed to enhance the sound effects onstage. The key, speed, ornaments, rhythm, use of melisma, and even how taking a breath between phrases is timed are all unified according to the lay musicians' arrangement, and the monks/nuns (performers) are required to follow the orchestra director's instruction. In addition, the number of the *baiqi* (Buddhist percussive instruments) is increased for both visual and sound effects onstage. Although the original ritual may require only a few players for the *baiqi*, all the monks/nuns may stand in the front row playing the *baiqi* (a detailed discussion of the *baiqi* will be provided in the next chapter). The change in context and the modification of the ritualistic elements onstage results in the transformation of original meanings and functions.

Traditionally, ritual is assumed to be efficacious, in the sense that nothing more than

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<sup>49</sup> Edward L. Schieffelin, "Problematizing Performance," 196.

performing it brings about a desired transformation.<sup>50</sup> Under the sacred space shaped by the Buddhist ritual process, all of the participants, including monks, nuns, and laity, not only express the Buddhist teachings, perceive the mind training and spiritual enhancement, and benefit (get merit) from chanting the sacred texts, they also experience the religious sentiment and consolidate the interrelation among self, the community, and Buddhist tradition. In this process of practicing the ritual, there is no distinction between participants and practitioners (audience and performers); an individual in a ritual actually plays the role of both participant and practitioner (audience and performers). All participants formally and substantially share the same sets of rituals or liturgical actions and the same congregation, in which the cosmological order is affirmed.<sup>51</sup> However, the staged performance (theatre) comes into existence when a separation occurs between audience and performers.<sup>52</sup> The audiences of staged performance are just an ephemeral community in which the members are not a group of believers united by faith; rather, they are the spectators who watch and appreciate the performance without participating in the performance.

Because the staged performance is expected to be watched and appreciated, it can be viewed as a form of entertainment. Schechner claims that “the performance is a transformation of combat techniques into entertainment.”<sup>53</sup> With this concept, in the Buddhist staged performance, the ritual practice is essentially transformed from an efficacious event to entertainment. However, Foguangshan always makes efforts to

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<sup>50</sup> Caroline Humphrey and James Laidlaw, *The Archetypal Actions of Ritual: A Theory of Ritual Illustrated by the Jain Rite of Worship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994; reprint, 2004), 1.

<sup>51</sup> Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: PAJ Publications, 1982), 112.

<sup>52</sup> Richard Schechner, *Over Under and Around: Essays in Performance and Culture* (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2004), 246.

<sup>53</sup> Schechner, *Performance and Culture*, 226.

present the performances as more than mere entertainment, expecting a more positive effect on the audience. Ven. Xingyun indicated that “the goal of Foguangshan’s Buddhist performances is to make Buddhism accessible to everyone, and to ensure that Buddhism is not only for monastic life. We must let the Buddhist teachings spread to every corner of society, and become part of everyone’s daily life. Everyone can share the treasures of Buddhism, enjoy and appreciate the art and beauty of Buddhism.”<sup>54</sup> He actually expects the audiences to perceive a certain degree of Buddhist indoctrination or even some efficacy through appreciating the performances (enjoying the entertainment), just like one’s acquisition of the same from the preaching or actual rituals hosted by the monks. For this intent, although monks/nuns usually don’t participate personally in the various Buddhist non-ritual music activities, they perform in this ritual-modified or liturgical-chant-modified staged performance. The ordained monks and nuns actually give the performance with Buddhist authoritativeness, and they grant a certain degree of sacredness to it.

In addition to the staged performance modified from Buddhist ritual or liturgical chant, another type is the contemporary musical adaptation of Buddhist themes, such as the theatrical performance of the Buddhist story, stage plays depicting Buddhist teachings, or musicals of different Buddhist sutra. The choral performances of Buddhist devotional songs discussed in the previous section may also be classified as this type of staged performance. Monks/nuns don’t participate personally in this type of performance; instead, from backstage staff to front stage performers, lay professionals and volunteers manage and manipulate most of the details of the performance.

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<sup>54</sup> This talk was given by Ven. Xingyun immediately preceding the start of the performance “Morning Bell and Evening Drum” in 2001.

In 2000, the Tzu Chi Foundation first attempted to set the text of Buddhist scriptures to modern music<sup>55</sup> and performed it as a sign-language musical with a modernistic fusion of sign language, sutra storytelling, movement, and music. Since 2000, Tzu Chi has produced several sign-language musicals for different Buddhist sutras, among which the most famous are the musicals of the *Sutra of Profound Gratitude Towards Parents* (*Fumu Enzhong Nanbaojing* 父母恩重難報經) and the *Sutra of Innumerable Meanings* (*Wuliang Yijing* 無量義經). Photos 9 and 10 show scenes in Tzu Chi's sign-language musicals. The performers not only express the sutra text using sign language, but they also combine this with soft motion, dancing, and role acting. The proper plots are also set to fit the sutra. Simultaneously presented with the sign-language performance is the actual singing on or off the stage. Intriguingly, the sign-language musicals are not specifically performed and designed for deaf people; indeed, all performers and most audiences are hearing people. In addition to its practical function for expressing the sutra text for deaf people, the sign-language motions in the performance are also set to beautify the performers' actions onstage, complement the visual effect, and make the performance more enjoyable for hearing as well as deaf people. In Melak Diab's research on Baptist summer music schools, she also mentions how sign language is used for hearing people and what benefits it provides.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> "Ciji xuimo zhufu de lishi yange," 慈濟歲末祝福的歷史沿革 (The History of Tzu Chi Year-End Blessings Activities), Fojiao ciji cishan shiye jijinhui 佛教慈濟慈善事業基金會 (Tzu Chi Foundation), accessed May 7, 2011, <http://www.tzuchi.org.tw/html/thankful/history.pdf>.

<sup>56</sup> Melak Diab, "Children's Music in the Southern Baptist Convention: An Ethnographic Study of Four Churches in Maryland Examining the Effects of Doctrine and Local Church Autonomy on Children's Music" (PhD diss. University of Maryland, 2011).



*photo by Tzu Chi*

Photo 9. Sign-Language Musical for the *Sutra of Profound Gratitude Towards Parents*.



*photo by Tzu Chi*

Photo 10. Sign-Language Musical for the *Sutra of Innumerable Meanings*.

Among all large monasteries in Taiwan, Foguangshan and Tzu Chi are the most influential and significant with regard to refined Buddhist staged performances. Tzu Chi features its sign-language musical, which has become unique to the Tzu Chi Foundation through decadal development. Foguangshan also produced a musical (the only musical by Foguangshan) titled “The Biography of the Buddha: Prince Siddhartha” in 2008, but Foguangshan is more renowned for its ritual-modified or liturgical-chant-modified staged performances.

### 3. Commercial Buddhist Recordings

In the music market of Taiwan, Buddhist musical recordings hold a high market share among the commodities labeled as “religious music” or “spiritual music.” One might encounter Buddhist recordings in any generic music or audiovisual store, shops attached to monastic compounds, stalls set in large-scale rituals or ceremonies, and even in bookstores. Unlike Buddhist devotional songs and staged performances, commercial Buddhist recordings are not necessarily associated with Buddhist monasteries or institutions, and the music used does not necessarily emphasize evangelism. Rather, a large percentage of Buddhist recordings is produced by record labels and managed by people who may know little about monastic chant tradition.<sup>57</sup> These commercial Buddhist recordings may be considered part of the popular music industry, which is shaped by international influences and institutions, multinational capital and technology, and global pop norms and values, and whose popularity is determined by the critique of international entertainment.<sup>58</sup> They are essentially entertainment-oriented, profit-oriented,

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<sup>57</sup> Pi-Yen Chen, “From Ritual to Rock Mantra,” 277.

<sup>58</sup> Simon Frith, ed. *World Music, Politics and Social Changes: Papers from the International Association for the Study of Popular Music* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 2.

systematically mass-produced, and sold with effective marketing.

In today's age, improved communication through mass-mediated technology and globalized processes facilitates dialect between local music, global music, and international entertainment; the interlocking worlds of musical meaning; musical acculturation and hybridization; and the blurring of boundaries, genres, and styles (see Monson,<sup>59</sup> Slobin,<sup>60</sup> and Erlmann<sup>61</sup>). Buddhist commercial music in Taiwan is also an example that shows the global trend of intertwined musical styles and forms. The hybridity of musical styles and forms applied to commercial Buddhist music reflects the locally globalized process through the import of Western musical idioms, the impact of the global music industry, the recontextualization of newly imported musical elements, and, finally, the recreation of innovative Buddhist soundscapes. The newly emerged composite styles and cross-fertilized musicianship of Buddhist commercial music created new meanings and functions for the genre's listeners that were no longer limited to doctrinal or evangelical purposes. Chen Pi-Yen indicated that "the commercial Buddhist music, despite its expressly religious references, is now a vastly mixed musical category that does not necessarily reveal Buddhist communities or indicate their religious or cultural practices."<sup>62</sup>

In 2000, Taiwan's annual Golden Melody Award (Jinqujiang 金曲獎), the highest honor for commercial music in Taiwan, set a new category for the best album of religious music. This award actually encourages extending the creative scope of Buddhist music.

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<sup>59</sup> Ingrid Monson, "Riffs, Repetition, and Theories of Globalization," *Ethnomusicology* 43, no. 1 (1999): 31–65.

<sup>60</sup> Mark Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (Hanover, CT: University Wesleyan Press, 1993).

<sup>61</sup> Veit Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>62</sup> Pi-Yen Chen, "From Ritual to Rock Mantra," 279–80.

Since then, record labels have focused on innovation as the target, seeking a more fashionable variety of musical elements to create a more novel Buddhist soundscape in the marketplace. Among different religious albums, Buddhist recordings are prominent in this award category, consistently being either nominated or awarded due to the constantly innovated musical styles. For example, the best album of religious music in the 2000 Golden Melody Award was *The Great Compassion Mantra—Tibetan Mantra and Chants in New Age* (Nīlakaṇṭha Dhāraṇī [Dabei Zhou]—Zangzhou Jingxuan 大悲咒—藏咒精選), released by the PBC Music Company (Yuandongli Wenhua 原動力文化) in Taiwan. This album features the low-pitched, rough, and throaty chanting of Tibetan lamas with hypnotic and relaxed “new age” style music. PBC Music Company is actually famous for its attempts to combine different mantras into fashionable musical styles, such as rock music and pop dance music.

Another example is the winner of the best album of religious music in the 2002 Golden Melody Award, *Buddhist Requiem: Amitabha Sutra (Fojiao Niepanqu: Foshuo Amituojing 佛教涅槃曲：佛說阿彌陀經)*, which was released by Taipei Philharmonic Foundation for Culture and Education (Taipei Aiyue Wenjiao Jijinhui 台北愛樂文教基金會). Taking inspiration from the Western-composed requiem, the eminent contemporary composer Qian Nanzhang 錢南章 created this large-scale choral work based on the *Amitabha Sutra* and composed it by combining the settings and orchestration of Western requiem (large-scale chorus and symphony orchestra) with the structure of the Buddhist three-part principle (see the Buddhist ritual music section in this chapter). In the highly competitive market of Buddhist recordings, record labels have produced the kaleidoscopic styles and forms of Buddhist commercial music.

In addition to their role in producing modified, mixed-style, or fashionable Buddhist music in the market, the record labels are also commissioned by some Buddhist monasteries to release recordings of traditional Buddhist liturgical chants. The auxiliaries of many large Buddhist monasteries/institutions, such as Voice of Ganges Co., Ltd. (Rushi Wowen 如是我聞) of Foguangshan Monastery, Dharma Drum Publishing Corp. (Fagu Wenhua 法鼓文化) of Dharma Drum Mountain, and Poem Culture (Puyin Wenhua 普音文化) of Henan Monastery 和南寺,<sup>63</sup> also usually release the recordings of their own monastic liturgical chants. Two albums of traditional liturgical chants released by the Voice of Ganges Co., Ltd. of Foguangshan Monastery were awarded the Golden Melody Award in 2009 and 2010 as best album of religious music: *Compassionate Samadhi Water Repentance (Cibei Sanmei Shuichan 慈悲三昧水懺)* and *Emperor Liang Repentance Service (Lianghuang Baochan 梁皇寶懺)*. Both albums include the complete liturgical chants of the full ritual processes presented by the monks and nuns of Foguangshan.

However, due to concern about acoustic effects, most recordings of traditional liturgical chants are produced in a studio (see Photo 11), not as ethnographic or field recordings, which are live recordings in the realistic ritual context. The commercial studio recordings differ from live recordings in a number of basic ways, among which—most obviously—studio recordings represent a deliberate, self-conscious act.<sup>64</sup> The final work of ritual music presented in the recordings is achieved through a complex artificial process with the use of musical processing and editing equipment. The sound of

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<sup>63</sup> Lin Meijun 林美君, “Cong xiuxing dao xiaofei: Taiwan luyin fojiao yinyue zhi yanjiu,” 從修行到消費: 台灣錄音佛教音樂之研究 (From Cultivation to Consumption: Research on the Buddhist Commercial Music) (Master Thesis, National Cheng Kung University, 2002), 3.

<sup>64</sup> Caroline Bithell, “Polyphonic Voices: National Identity, World Music and the Recordings of Traditional Music in Corsica,” *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 5 (1996): 47.

the chant is usually created first in the studio, in which the monks and nuns chant, and the accompaniment of *baiqi* (Buddhist percussive instruments) is post-processed later into the vocal track. In many cases, the sound of *baiqi* is even produced by the synthesizer, not by an actual performance recorded in studio. Despite the fact that the musical content of these albums is the same as that of the realistic ritual context, the listener's perception and auditory experience are very different from what he or she experiences during an actual ritual, because the sound output through recordings is artificially accommodated, refined, and manipulated under controlled conditions by the recorder or producer for the desired acoustic effect.<sup>65</sup> In other words, the recorder or producer chooses the sound for the listener; unlike a performance in a realistic ritual space, the listeners perceive the sound differently because of the difference of the personal sensation. Although recordings of traditional liturgical chants present thorough ritual music in their actual context, they are essentially musical commodities to be appreciated and enjoyed and are not intended for profound religious practices. Their auditory experience does not function as a substitute for the auditory experience in realistic rituals.

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<sup>65</sup> Caroline Bithell, "Polyphonic Voices," 47.



*photo by Foguangshan*

Photo 11. The Nuns of Foguangshan Chant in a Recording Studio.

Essentially, the various forms of Buddhist non-ritual music—the Buddhist devotional songs, the Buddhist staged performances, and the diverse forms of commercial Buddhist music—are all developed to popularize Buddhism with the general public. The fashionable musical modifications may be attractive and help the propagation, but they do not help to popularize actual Buddhist practices in daily life. People may either enjoy the Buddhist non-ritual music as pop music or as a form of general music appreciation. Scholars have argued that non-ritual Buddhist music does not facilitate self-cultivation; in addition, some popular styles of non-ritual Buddhist music (such as rock), to some extent, may even be considered the vulgarization of Buddhist spirit.<sup>66</sup> Non-ritual Buddhist music

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<sup>66</sup> Gao Yali 高雅俐, “Fojiao yinyue yu xiuxing: cong fojiao yishi yinyue shijian dao hongfa yinyuehui zhanyan de linglei sikao,” 佛教音樂與修行: 從佛教儀式音樂實踐到弘法音樂會展演的另類思考

may more easily draw people in for their first contact with Buddhism, but it may not continue to motivate them to practice Buddhism as a way of life or to pursue ultimate salvation. In response to this consideration, Ven. Xindao 心道法師 indicated that secular non-ritual music and sacred ritual music complement each other to guide people to dharma. For people who have no concept of Buddhism, catchy non-ritual music eases their first contact with it, but once they proceed to a more profound practice, they need to resort to ritual music to train and cultivate their minds and spirituality at a higher level.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, both ritual and non-ritual Buddhist music are beneficial and have roles to play in cultivating Buddhist practice.<sup>68</sup>

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(Buddhist Music and Cultivation: Thinking from the Practice of Buddhist Ritual Music to the Buddhist Musical Staged Performance), in *2000 nian foxue yanjiu linwenji: fojiao yinyue* 2000 年佛學研究論文集: 佛教音樂 (Collected Essays on the Research of Buddhism in 2000: Buddhist Music), ed. Caituan faren foguangshan wenjiao jijinhui 財團法人佛光山文教基金會 (Taipei: Foguang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi 佛光文化事業有限公司, 2001), 587–93; Lin Gufang 林谷芳, “Cong xingshi dao shizhi de zhuanhua: Taiwan fojiao yinyue de fazhan yu jiantao,” 從形式到實質的轉化: 台灣佛教音樂的發展與檢討,” in *1998 nian foxue yanjiu linwenji: fojiao yinyue* 1998 年佛學研究論文集: 佛教音樂 (Collected Essays on the Research of Buddhism in 1998: Buddhist Music), ed. Caituan faren foguangshan wenjiao jijinhui 財團法人佛光山文教基金會 (Taipei: Foguang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi 佛光文化事業有限公司, 1999), 396–404.

<sup>67</sup> Cai Wenting, “Yiyin shuofa,” 99.

<sup>68</sup> Cai Wenting, “Yiyin shuofa,” 99.

## Chapter Four

### Performance Practice of *Baiqi* I

The *baiqi* 唄器 (Buddhist percussive instruments), also known as *faqī* 法器 (dharma instruments),<sup>1</sup> were recorded in the Chinese Buddhist scriptures in many different terms: *jianzhi* 犍椎, *jiandi* 犍地, *jianzhui* 犍椎, or *jianchi* 犍遲. These terms are all Chinese transliterations of the Sanskrit term *ghaṇṭā*, for an instrument originally made of wood and shaped like a board,<sup>2</sup> but in later development can be made of diverse materials. The Qing-Dynasty *Commentary on Baizhang's Pure Rules* indicates that materials such as earthenware, wood, copper, or iron that can be made to produce sounds for gathering people are called *jiandi*.<sup>3</sup> The *Manual of Buddhist Practices* (1024) also records that all resonant instruments used to call an assembly are *jianzhi*.<sup>4</sup>

According to these Buddhist historical sources, the original function of *baiqi* in the earlier monastic life was to gather people or to call an assembly. With the completion of monasticism and monastic institutions, *baiqi* has become multifunctional in the monastery, and a variety of *baiqi* instruments have also been developed for different monastic applications. In the contemporary Buddhist monastery in Taiwan, *baiqi* on the

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<sup>1</sup> For the ordinary usage of the term in Taiwan, *baiqi* is synonymous with *faqī*. However, *faqī* encompasses a broader concept, including not only Buddhist percussion instruments, but also Buddhist utensils or properties such as bowls, censers, or prayer beads. This study will use the term *baiqi* rather than the better-known term *faqī* because of its more specific reference to the Buddhist percussion instruments used to accompany *fanbai* 梵唄 (Buddhist liturgical chants) in Buddhist rituals and services.

<sup>2</sup> Quanfo bianji bu 全佛編輯部, ed., *Fojiao de faqi* 佛教的法器 (Buddhist Implements) (Taipei: Buddhahall Cultural Enterprise Co., Ltd. 全佛文化事業有限公司, 2000), 125.

<sup>3</sup> Yirun 儀潤, *Baizhang qinggui zhengyi ji* 百丈清規證義記 (Commentary on Baizhang's Pure Rules) [Qing Dynasty 清代 (1644-1911)], in *Shinsan dainihon zokuzokyō* 叢新纂大日本續藏經 (New Compiled Sequel for Tripitaka of Taisho Era) (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai 國書刊行會, 1975-1989), X63, no.1244, 516.

<sup>4</sup> Daocheng 道成, ed., *Shishi yaolan* 釋氏要覽 (Manual of Buddhist Practices) [1024, Northern Song Dynasty 北宋 (960-1127)], in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (Tripitaka, new compilation in Taisho Era) (Tokyo: Issaikyō kankōkai 一切經刊行會, 1924-1934), T54, no.2127, 304.

one hand is practiced to mark the time through a day, signal the monastic daily activities, and regulate the monastic order; on the other hand, it is indispensable in the musical practices of all Buddhist rituals to accompany *fanbai* (Buddhist liturgical chants) and to articulate the whole ritual process.

Traditionally, the *baiqi* instruments cannot be considered general musical instruments that would be played for performance, appreciation, or entertainment. Every *baiqi* instrument used in the monastic daily routine and in the production of Buddhist ritual music possesses its own religious meaning and sacredness. With their sacred status, *baiqi* cannot be played as freely as other musical instruments and are played subject to certain taboos.<sup>5</sup> In the Chinese Buddhist monastic tradition, the performance practice of *baiqi* has been developed into its own system, distinguishing it not only from the original Indian Buddhist tradition, but also from other traditional Chinese instrumental music.<sup>6</sup> Both this chapter and the next uncover this performance-practice system of *baiqi*, and this chapter will focus on how the soundscape of *baiqi* is created in the monastic daily life and routine, and how this soundscape defines the monastic space. In this chapter, I first discuss the *baiqi* instruments themselves and their applications, and then investigate how

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<sup>5</sup> Some *baiqi* instruments, such as the cymbal and the gong, are used in other folk musical genres, such as *nanguan* music or folk theatres in folk festivals. When these *baiqi* instruments are played in other musical genres for performance, appreciation, or entertainment, they are viewed as ordinary musical instruments and can be played freely without any restriction. However, when these instruments are used as Buddhist *baiqi* and are played for monastic purposes or in Buddhist rituals, they possess a sacred status and meanings and are subject to Buddhist restrictions and taboos.

<sup>6</sup> The musical system of *baiqi* is distinguished from other Han Chinese musical traditions in many aspects, such as its musical contents (structures, rhythmic patterns, tones, or styles), ways of music-making, meanings, and Buddhist-related applications, restrictions, and taboos. However, in traditional Chinese culture, the idea of creating rules or restrictions relating to musical instruments is not unusual. For example, *qin* zither is subject to many rules and restrictions about where, when, and how it can be played. In the Chinese dynastic era, musical instruments used in court music were also subject to many rules, restrictions, and taboos. Therefore, on the one hand, the restrictions or taboos of playing *baiqi* were formed under the Buddhist ideology, dharma, or precepts. On the other hand, this could be a Han Chinese tradition or custom attached to the application of *baiqi*.

the operation of *baiqi* practices for the monastic daily life and routine constructs the monastic meaning, time, and space.

## I. *Baiqi* Instruments

From ancient times in the Buddhist tradition, there has existed a Buddhist classification of instruments. According to the Pali commentary *Vamsatthappakasini*, the Buddhist classification of musical instruments, *pañcatūryanāda*, meaning “sounds of the five classes of instruments” or “fivefold musical sounds,” classifies the instruments into five categories:<sup>7</sup> *ātata*, drums played by hands; *vitata*, drums played with a stick; *ātatavitata*, drums played by hand and with a stick; *ghana*, the metallic instruments; and *śusira*, the wind instruments.<sup>8</sup> According to this classification, percussive instruments occupy four categories, and only one category is set for melodic instruments. Despite the fact that Buddhism in different places has developed different Buddhist musical cultures, the essential sacred instruments applied in the formal Buddhist rituals more or less have continued to follow this classification. For example, in both Theravada Buddhism of Sri Lanka and the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, the sacred instruments for worship include percussive instruments and wind instruments (in a relatively marginal role), but string instruments are totally absent.<sup>9</sup> The sacred instruments used in these two Buddhist traditions completely conform to the earlier Indian Buddhist classification of instruments. The relative absence of the melodic instruments in the Buddhist tradition is usually

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<sup>7</sup> Margaret J. Kartomi, *On Concepts and Classifications of Musical Instruments* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 68.

<sup>8</sup> Anuradha Seneviratna, “Pañcatrūya Nāda and Hewisi Puja,” *Ethnomusicology* 23, no.1 (January 1979), 51.

<sup>9</sup> Anne Sheeran, “Sri Lanka,” *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music V: South Asia--The Indian Subcontinent* (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 2000), 954-74.  
Terry Jay Ellingson, “The Mandala of Sound: Concepts and Sound Structures in Tibetan Ritual Music,” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1979).

explained by indicating that the sound of melodic instruments is considered to be too voluptuous for the Buddhist mind.<sup>10</sup>

In the case of the Buddhist tradition in Taiwan, unlike Theravada and Tibetan Buddhist traditions which still employ wind instruments at least to a limited extent, melodic instruments are totally absent among the essential *baiqi* instruments used in Buddhist ritual music in Taiwan. Although in some situations and for some occasions, melodic instruments may be employed by the *gushanyin*-style ritual practitioners in the ritual for enriching the sound effect (Chapter 3), these melodic instruments are not considered essential sacred or dharma instruments. Only certain percussive instruments which are thought to benefit in dignifying the monastery, to worship Buddha/Bodhisattva, and to positively improve cultivation can be regarded as the sacred *baiqi* or dharma instruments. Therefore, for the Buddhist tradition in Taiwan, the instruments which can be viewed as *baiqi* are all percussive. Both the *gushanyin*-style and *haichaoyin*-style ritual practitioners (see Chapter 3) recognize the same instruments as *baiqi*. In the following section, I will survey all essential *baiqi* instruments and discuss their practices in the monastic context of Taiwan.

### 1. *Zhong* 鐘 (Bell)

In Chinese culture, the bell-making traditions are of particularly long standing. From at least the ancient Warring States period (475-221BC), the sophisticated technology involved in designing and manufacturing bells had already been developed, and a variety of bell types such as chime-bells (*bianzhong* 編鐘) or *yongzhong* 鑪鐘 had already

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<sup>10</sup> Wolfgang Laade, "The Influence of Buddhism on the Singhalese Music of Sri Lanka," *Asian Music* 25 (1993): 51-68.

been in application.<sup>11</sup> From ancient times, the *zhong* had always been used by aristocracy to represent the ritual music in sacred occasions or were used in court music. After Buddhism was introduced to the Chinese culture, *zhong*, in respect for its sacred characteristics, was adopted by Buddhist monasticism for signaling the monastic daily activities and as the important *baiqi* in the Buddhist rituals and ceremonies.<sup>12</sup> In the contemporary monasteries in Taiwan, several bell types are in use: the great bell (*dazhong* 大鐘), the hall bell (*dianzhong* 殿鐘), the ground bell (*dizhong* 地鐘), the suspended bell (*diaozhong* 吊鐘), and the report bell (*baozhong* 報鐘).

The great bell (*dazhong* 大鐘), also known as the monastic bell (*fanzhong* 梵鐘), is the largest bell in the monastery, and is hung within the bell house (*zhonglou* 鐘樓), a pavilion-like construction outside the monastery buildings. Inside the bell house, a great bell and an external striking beam are suspended (see Photo 12 below). The bell house must be located in the west of the monastery (the same direction as the main Buddha statue), opposite the drum house located in the east. According to *The Revision of Baizhang's Pure Rules* (1340), the great bell signals the beginning of monastic orders (*conglin haoling* 叢林號令). The morning stroke of the great bell breaks the long night and awakens the sleep, and the evening stroke of the great bell stimulates the drowsy head and peeps up the lackadaisical mind at night.<sup>13</sup> When striking, the duty monk/nun should swing the striking beam slowly, to make the bell sound with far-reaching sonorousness.

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<sup>11</sup> Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music: Chime-Bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 12-19.

<sup>12</sup> Yang Weizhong, Chen Lichuan, Yang Ming, and Wu Zhou 楊維中, 陳利權, 楊明, 吳洲, ed., *Zhongguo fojiao baike congshu 6—yigui juan* 中國佛教百科叢書 6—儀軌卷 (Encyclopedia of Chinese Buddhism 6—The Volume of Ritual) (Taipei: Foguang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi 佛光文化事業有限公司, 2004), 281.

<sup>13</sup> Dehui 德輝, *Chixiu baizhang qinggui* 敕修百丈清規 (The Revision of Baizhang's Pure Rules) [1335-1340, Yuan dynasty (1206-1368)], in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, T48, no.2025, 1155.

Traditionally, the great bell is normally struck only two times a day, once at dawn and once at night. Each time contains 108 strokes, during which the duty monk chants the “striking-bell hymn” (*kouzhongji*) 叩鐘偈, including the morning-bell hymn and the evening-bell hymn) simultaneously. In some monasteries of Taiwan, the striking-bell hymn is chanted silently in the mind, leaving the pure sound of the great bell sent out alone. It is said that the 108 strokes correspond to the sum of twelve months, twenty-four solar terms, and seventy-two pentads (*hou 候*)<sup>14</sup> in a year. Or the 108 strokes may respond to the 108 afflictions in life, under the thought that the sound of the great bell helps expel humanity’s 108 afflictions, purify the mind, and lead to enlightenment.<sup>15</sup> In addition to being used in the morning and evening, the great bell is sometimes struck to express greetings and respect when an esteemed and eminent monk visits the monastery, or when it is used in significant large-scale ceremonies.<sup>16</sup>



photo by Yuandaoguan Yin Temple

Photo 12. Bell House



photo by Lu Wei-Yu

Photo 13. A Duty Nun Strikes the Great Bell at Dawn

<sup>14</sup> In Chinese tradition, lunar calendar is used to count the years, months, and days, but the solar calendar is used to divide the seasons: 4 seasons contain 24 solar terms (*jieqi 節氣*), each solar term contains 3 pentads (*候*), and each pentad contains 5 days.

<sup>15</sup> Wang Jianwei and Sun Li 王建偉, 孫麗, *Fojia faqi 佛家法器* (Buddhist Implements) (Tianjin: Tianjin People’s Publishing House 天津人民出版社, 2006), 56.

<sup>16</sup> Yang Weizhong, Chen Lichuan, Yang Ming, and Wu Zhou, ed, *Zhongguo fojiao baike*, 282.

At dawn and at night, the actual practice of the great bell should be connected with another two *baiqi* instruments: the great drum (*dagu* 大鼓) and the patrol board (*zhaoban* 照板). The order of playing these three *baiqi* in the morning is the patrol board to the great bell and then to the great drum; in the evening, the striking order is reversed. There is no intermission in between the practice of these three *baiqi* instruments. The sound of the three should be successive (how they connect to one another is discussed in the later section). In the city monasteries of Taiwan, the great bell in many cases is substituted by the hall bell (*dianzhong* 殿鐘). Because of the densely populated situation in cities, the resounding and far-reaching sound of the great bell may bother the neighbors when it is practiced at dawn and night. Therefore, the majority of city monasteries are not equipped with a great bell or a bell house.

The hall bell (*dianzhong* 殿鐘), also known as the half bell (*banzhong* 半鐘), is half the size of the great bell, and is usually set in the northwestern corner of the great shrine-hall in the monastery (see Photo 14), opposite the dharma drum (*fagu* 法鼓) set in the northeastern corner. The hall bell is traditionally used for announcing the start of Buddhist activities, rituals, and services; therefore, it is also called the “carry-out bell” (*xingshizhong* 行事鐘). In addition to its traditional usage, the hall bell is often used to replace the great bell, especially in city monasteries or in some small individual temples that are not equipped with a great bell and bell house.



photo by Lu Wei-Yu

Photo 14. Hall Bell/Half Bell



photo by Lu Wei-Yu

Photo 15. Ground Bell

The ground bell (*dizhong* 地鐘) is not a single instrument; it is a combination of a small suspended bell (*diaozhong* 吊鐘) and a small-sized wooden fish (*muyu* 木魚) (see Photo 15). The ground bell is always set on the ground, and the player should sit cross-legged on the ground to play. It is specifically applied to the rituals containing sections in which the participants should sit and chant, such as the seven-day retreats for the intensive recitation of Buddha's name (*foqi* 佛七) or the dharma sharing sessions for the recitation of Buddha's name (*nianfo gongxiu* 念佛共修). The ground bell provides the rhythmic accompaniment for the monotonic chanting of the long repetition of Buddha's name.

The suspended bell, in addition to combining with the small-sized wooden fish to serve as the ground bell, can also be teamed with the hall drum (*tangu* 堂鼓) as the bell-drum set (*baozhonggu* 寶鐘鼓). As for the report bell (*baozhong* 報鐘), it is usually coupled with a wooden bell-board (*zhongban* 鐘板) as the bell-board set. I will discuss

the bell-drum set and the bell-board set in detail in the later drum and board/chime sections.

## 2. *Gu* 鼓 (Drum)

A Buddhist scripture records that the reason for using the drum in Buddha's era was that the original wooden instrument used to gather people had too small a sound to cover the hubbub of the voices of the people; thus, it was hard to clearly transmit its sound to announce the sermon; therefore, Buddha indicated that a great drum (*dagu* 大鼓) should be used.<sup>17</sup> In the ancient Chinese culture, the drum was generally used in military, rituals and in court music and dance. By the time of the Tang Dynasty (618-907), the great drum (*dagu* 大鼓 or *taigu* 太鼓) was already widely used in Buddhist monasteries.<sup>18</sup> In the modern monasteries of Taiwan, there are many different types of drum used in the monastic practices: the great drum (*dagu* 大鼓), the dharma drum (*fagu* 法鼓), the bell-drum set (*baozhonggu* 寶鐘鼓), and the fan drum (*shangu* 扇鼓).

The great drum (*dagu* 大鼓 or *taigu* 太鼓)<sup>19</sup> is placed in the drum house located in the east of the monastery, and the dharma drum (*fagu* 法鼓) is hung in the northeastern eave corner of the great shrine-hall (see Photos 16, 17, and 18). The location of either the great drum/dharma drum or the drum house is always opposite the great bell/hall bell or the bell house. Similar to the function of the great bell, the great drum is also played at

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<sup>17</sup> Yijing 義淨, trans., *Genbenshuoyiqie youbu nituona mudejia* 根本說一切有部尼陀那目得迦 (Mūlasarvāstivāda Nidānamāṭṛkā) [635-713, Tang dynasty (618-907)], in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, T24, no.1452, 447.

<sup>18</sup> Quanfo bianji bu, ed., *Fojiao de faqi*, 113.

<sup>19</sup> In Chinese characters, *da* 大 and *tai* 太 could have the same meaning. For Buddhist *baiqi*, the two-character terms *dagu* 大鼓 and *taigu* 太鼓 indicate the same kind of drum—the great drum. However, in Japan, these two characters 大鼓 (*ōtsuzumi*) and 太鼓 (*taiko*) usually have different meanings. *Ōtsuzumi* 大鼓 refers to an hourglass-shaped Japanese drum, often used in Japanese theater or folk music, but *taiko* 太鼓 in general refers to the relative modern art of Japanese drum ensembles that include a vast array of shapes and sizes of *taiko* drums.

dawn and at night to start and end a monastic day. The drum and bell, among all *baiqi* instruments, are usually viewed as a pair and played cooperatively in the ritual practices, and their rhythmic patterns are usually operated in an interactive, responsive way. The widely known idiom “evening drum and morning bell” (*mugu chenzhong* 暮鼓晨鐘) not only implies the principal of practicing the drum and bell for monastic daily routine, but also portrays the typical monastic life.<sup>20</sup> Similar to the great bell often being replaced by the hall bell, the great drum in many cases is also substituted by the smaller dharma drum when the monasteries, especially the city monasteries or small temples, are not equipped with the great drum and the drum house.



photo by Chungtai Chan Monastery

Photo 16. Drum House



photo by Chungtai Chan Monastery

Photo 17. The Great Drum in the Drum House

<sup>20</sup> This idiom implies how drum and bell are practiced in the morning and evening: The bell was played precedent to the drum in the morning, while the drum was played precedent to the bell in the evening.



*photo by Lu Wei-Yu*

Photo 18. The Dharma Drum in the Great Shrine-Hall

The bell-drum set (*Baozhonggu* 寶鐘鼓), also known as *linggu* 鈴鼓, is the combination of a hall drum (*tanggu* 堂鼓) and a small suspended bell (*diaozhong* 吊鐘) (see Photo 19). This bell-drum set is designed to making the bell and the drum operate more conveniently in rituals, because the great drum/dharma drum and the great bell/hall bell are large in size and in fixed positions, so they are not easy to adjust to the different arrangements of ritual processes. Unlike the great bell/hall bell and the great drum/dharma drum which are mainly employed to signal the activities, announce the events, or mark the time in monastic daily life and routine, the bell-drum set mostly serves within the actual ritual practices. It is often played in the beginning of a ritual as a prelude, used in melodic excerpts such as psalms (*zan* 讚) or hymns (*ji* 偈), or applied in between different excerpts or verses as an interlude (its rhythmic pattern is discussed later).

The fan drum (*shangu* 扇鼓), also known as the hand drum (*shougu* 手鼓), is the smallest drum in the monastery. It is held in the hand to play. Because the fan drum is

portable and can be played while the user is walking, it is often used in the processional parts of rituals, providing a drumbeat during processions (Photo 20).



photo by Lu Wei-Yu

Photo 19. Bell-drum Set



photo by Lu Wei-Yu

Photo 20. The Fan Drum Played by a Monk in the Processional Part of a Ritual

### 3. *Qing* 磬 (Ritual Bowl)

The Chinese Buddhist monastic *qing* (*sengqing* 僧磬) has no relationship with the Chinese traditional musical *qing* (*yueqing* 樂器磬). These two *qing*, although written with the same character, are different in concept. The widely known musical *qing* is made of stone in an L-shaped slab and is usually designed in sets of chromatically tuned single stones, known as the stone chime set (*bianqing* 編磬).<sup>21</sup> However, the Buddhist monastic *qing* is made of copper in a bowl shape, and has derived from the Buddhist begging bowl (*bo* 鉢) in the Indian Buddhist tradition. In the contemporary monasteries of Taiwan, the most widely seen ritual bowls (*qing* 磬) are the round ritual bowl (*yuanqing* 圓磬) and the leading-ritual bowl (*yinqing* 引磬).

<sup>21</sup> Alan R. Thrasher, *Chinese Musical Instruments* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 14.

In the temple's great shrine-hall, the round ritual bowl (*yuanying* 圓磬) is usually positioned permanently at the left-hand side of Buddhist statues, opposite the right-hand-side wooden fish (*muyu* 木魚), and should not be moved freely.<sup>22</sup> For its application in the ritual, the round ritual bowl is often used to start or end tunes, to accompany the chant of Buddha's name, to signal a change of tunes, and to cue certain motions, such as the gesture of joining palms in front of the breast as an expression of reverence and then putting them down (*hezhang* 合掌 and *fangzhang* 放掌).<sup>23</sup> The round ritual bowl must be played by the precentor-monk (*weinuo* 維那), who is the head of musical practices in the ritual, leading the opening/ending, the chant, the transition, and the modification of the ritual (Photo 21). The large round ritual bowl is also known as the "great ritual bowl" (*daqing* 大磬). There is also a small round ritual bowl, which functions the same as the large round ritual bowl, but is handier and more convenient for playing throughout the long ritual process (Photo 22).



*photo by Lu Wei-Yu*

Photo 21. The Round Ritual Bowl Played by the Precentor in  
a Ritual



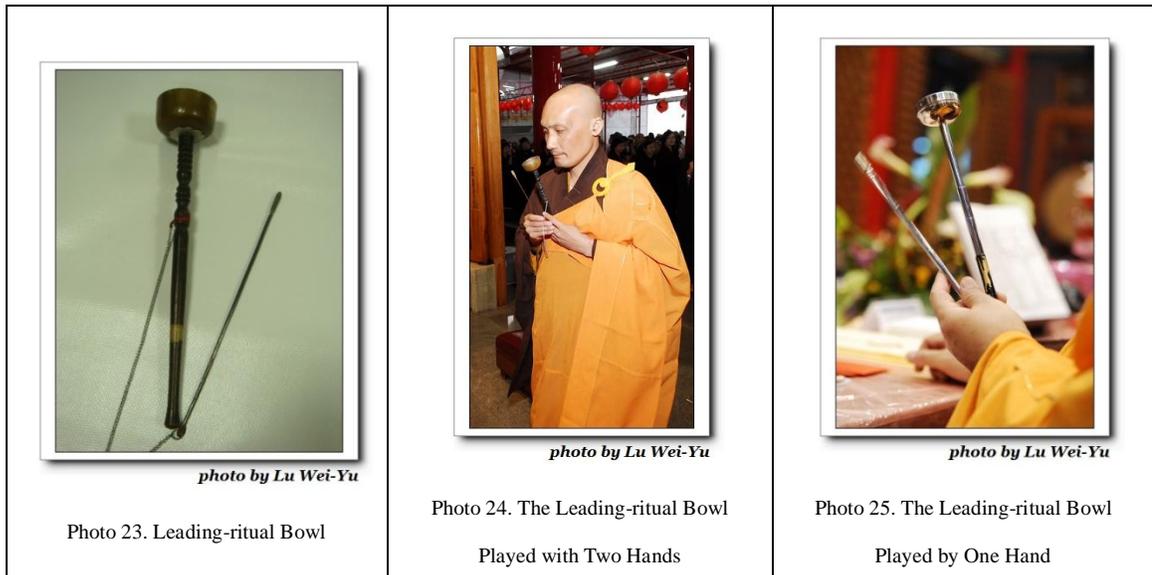
*photo by Lu Wei-Yu*

Photo 22. The Small Round Ritual Bowl Played by the Precentor  
in a Ritual

<sup>22</sup> Ho Li-Hua, "Dharma Instruments (Faqi) in Chinese Han Buddhist Rituals," *The Galpin Society Journal* 59 (2006): 222.

<sup>23</sup> Yang Yamei 楊雅媚, "Hanchuan fosi zhongyao diantang foshi zhi jianzhui faqi yunyong," 漢傳佛寺重要殿堂佛事之樞椎法器運用 (The Instrumental Application of Rituals in Major Chinese Buddhist Monastic Halls) (Master thesis, National Taiwan University of Arts, 2007), 16.

The leading-ritual bowl (*yingqing* 引磬) is called *liuim* 柳音 in Taiwanese by the *gushanyin*-style ritual practitioners. It is a portable and small, handy ritual bowl. According to the Buddhist scriptures, “its size is like a peach, with an aperture at the underside. The stem is made of a small bamboo rod. It is struck with a small iron beater. Due to its name, it can lead the masses” (English translation by Ho Li-Hua<sup>24</sup>; see Photo 23).<sup>25</sup> In actual practice, it is mainly used to lead the actions and mark the timing of the different movements in the ritual, such as salutation, turning the body, or bowing by prostrating the whole body to the ground for homage to Buddha. Almost all actions, motions, and movements in the ritual are guided by the leading-ritual bowl. Therefore, the leading-ritual bowl players have to play and do the motions simultaneously, harmonizing the two activities. The leading-ritual bowl can be held and played with two hands or by one hand (Photos 24 and 25).



<sup>24</sup> Ho Li-Hua, “Dharma Instruments,” 222.

<sup>25</sup> Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠, *Zenrin shōkisen* 禪林象器箋 (Notes of Buddhist Norms and Implements) [1909, published in Japan], in *Foguang dazangjing, chanzang, zajibu* 佛光大藏經, 禪藏, 雜集部 (Tripitaka, compiled by Foguangshan Monastery, the *Dhyāna* Canon, Miscellany Section) (Kaohsiung: Foguanshan zongwu weiyuanhui 高雄: 佛光山宗務委員會, from 1983), 1414.

#### 4. *Muyu* 木魚 (Wooden Fish)

The wooden fish (*muyu* 木魚), similar to the ritual bowl (*qing* 磬), also originated from Indian Buddhist tradition and is one of the representative dharma instruments in Buddhist monastic practices. A short conversation between a lay member and a monk in a Buddhist legend may explain why the wooden fish is used in the monastery:<sup>26</sup> A lay member asked an Indian monk, “Why is the wooden fish always hung in the monastic hall?” and the monk answered, “To make the monastic public vigilant.” Then, the lay person asked, “Why is the wooden fish carved in a fish shape?” The monk answered, “The fish’s eyes are always open—day and night—so the monks and nuns should cultivate themselves day and night as the fish’s eyes, until the salvation.” *The Revision of Baizhang’s Pure Rules* also records that “the fish is awake day and night, so carving the wood in a fish shape and striking it is to caution against sluggishness and indolence.”<sup>27</sup> According to these scriptures, the significant meaning of the wooden fish in the Buddhist monastery is to dispel slackness and to remind monks or nuns to keep diligent for cultivation all the time.

There are two types of wooden fish used in the contemporary Buddhist monastery in Taiwan: One is the ordinary wooden fish in different sizes (Photos 26, 27, and 28), and the other is the fish-shaped bar (*yubang* 魚梆). A large wooden fish must be set at the right-hand side of the Buddha’s statue in the great shrine-hall, opposite the left-hand side great ritual bowl (*daqing* 大磬) and should not be moved. The medium-sized wooden fish can be moved according to the ritual arrangement (Photo 27), and the small-sized

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<sup>26</sup> Caituanfaren fotuojiaoyu jijinhui 財團法人佛陀教育基金會, ed., *Fosho bada rejuejingshu, jiangzhu, jiangji* 佛說八大人覺經疏, 講註, 講記 (The Commentary, Annotation, and Notes of Sutra of the Eight Realizations of Great Beings) (Taipei: Caituanfaren fotuojiaoyu jijinhui 財團法人佛陀教育基金會, 1994), 76.

<sup>27</sup> Dehui, *Chixiu baizhang qinggui*, 1156.

wooden fish is frequently carried and played in the processional part of the ritual (Photo 28).



In the musical practices of the ritual, the wooden fish is crucial to controlling the speed of chanting. Generally, the large-sized wooden fish is applied in the melodic short excerpts such as a psalm (*zan* 讚) or hymn (*ji* 偈) in the ritual. In these short melodic excerpts, the wooden fish is played in the rhythm indicated in the notation. When the ritual proceeds to the longer excerpts such as the main sutra text (*jing* 經) or the mantra (*zhou* 咒), the player changes to the medium-sized wooden fish, because the beater of the large wooden fish is too heavy to hold through entire long excerpts (different ritual text forms are discussed in the next chapter). In the main sutra text or the mantra section, the wooden fish is commonly played in a pattern of “one stroke with one character” (*yizi yiqiao* 一字一敲), by which the wooden fish player controls the tempo of chanting. The small-sized wooden fish, with its handy and portable features, is often applied to the movement sections of the ritual such as circumambulating the Buddha statue (*raofo* 繞

佛), kneeling and bowing the head to worship Buddha (*baifo* 拜佛), or kneeling and bowing the head for universal vows (*baiyuan* 拜願).

The fish-shaped bar (*yubang* 魚梆) is usually hung in the right-hand side of the main entrance of the monastic refectory (Photo 29), opposite the left-hand-side cloud-shaped chime (*yunban* 雲版). In the contemporary monasteries in Taiwan, the fish-shaped bar is specifically used for transmitting the message to the monastic public that the mealtime is coming and that the monks/nuns should gather to the refectory (see Photo 30).



photo by Dharma Drum Mountain

Photo 29. Fish-shaped Bar



photo by Lu Wei-Yu

Photo 30. A Monk Plays Fish-shaped Bar before the Meal

## 5. *Ban* 板 and 版 (Board and Chime)

The Chinese written characters distinguish boards made of different materials by different written words. A wooden board is written as 板, but the metal board as 版, both of which are in the same pronunciation as “*ban*.” In the following discussion, I translate the metal board as “chime,” so the word “board” indicates only the wooden board. The *Three Thousand Regulations for Great Bhikṣus* (written between 25-220) records that the board and chime in the monastery should be employed at the following five moments: the

daily monastic schedules or the regular lecture-meeting for expounding scriptures (*changhui* 常會), the meal at dawn (*danshi* 旦食), the meal in the daytime (*zhoufan* 晝飯), the worship to Buddha in the evening (*mutoupan* 暮投磬), and all unexpected occurrences (*yiqie wuchang* 一切無常).<sup>28</sup> In the contemporary monasteries in Taiwan, the application of the board and chime was more or less inherited from these rules, and is mainly for marking the time of the monastic routine or announcing a variety of monastic occurrences. The following types of boards and chimes are frequently used in the monastery: the patrol board (*zhaoban* 照板), the wooden-bell-board (*zhongban* 鐘板), and the cloud-shaped chime (*yunban* 雲版).

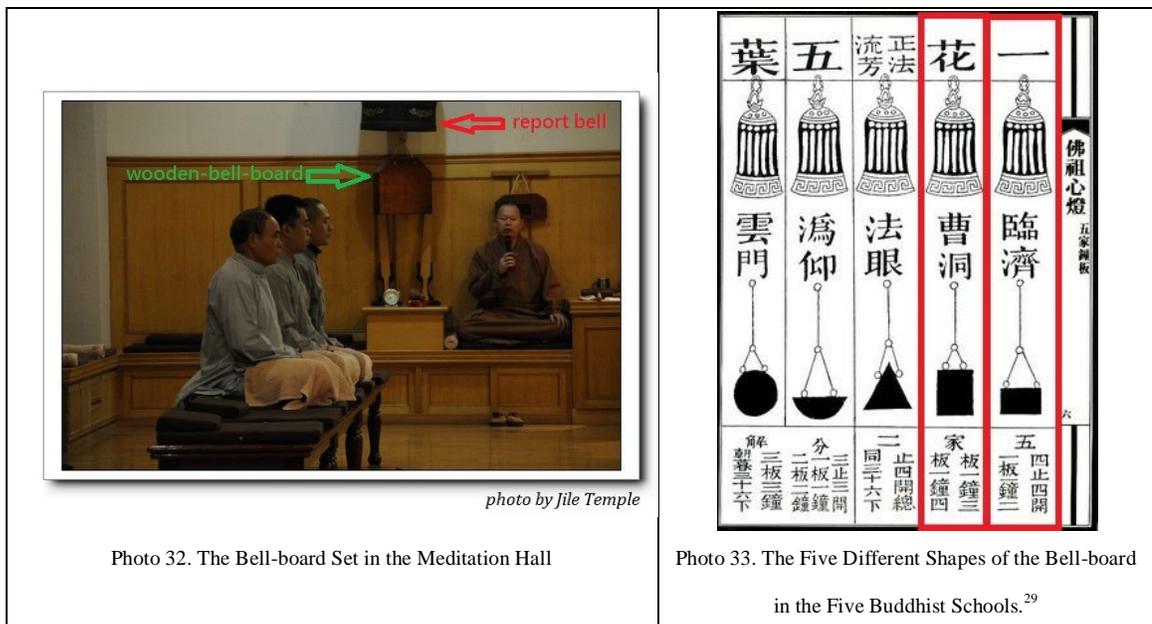


Similarly to the great drum and the great bell, the main function of the patrol board (*zhaoban* 照板) in the monastery is also to mark the time for starting and ending a monastic day (Photo 31). The patrol board is usually played two times a day: In the morning at dawn, it is struck precedent to the great bell and the

great drum for awakening the monastic public, and in the evening at night, it is struck after the great drum and the great bell for ending a monastic day. The patrol board, the great bell, and the great drum need to be practiced interactively in the morning and evening (see the bell section above; the detailed performance practices of these three *baiqi* are discussed in a later section).

<sup>28</sup> An Shigao 安世高, trans., *Dabiqiu Sanqian Weiyi* 大比丘三千威儀 (Three Thousand Regulations for Great Bhikṣus) [Eastern Han dynasty (25-220)], in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, T24, no.1470, 923.

As for the wooden-bell-board (*zhongban* 鐘板), it must be combined with the report bell (*baozhong* 報鐘) as the bell-board set and must be hung below the report bell in the meditation hall (Photo 32). The wooden-bell-board is shaped differently in different Buddhist schools. Photo 33 shows the five different shapes of the wooden-bell-board in five schools of Buddhism. In Taiwan, most temples and monasteries descend from the Linji 臨濟 or Caodong 曹洞 schools, so the Linji- or Caodong-shaped bell-boards are most frequently seen in Taiwan (note the red frame in the Photo 33). Not all temples or monasteries in Taiwan are equipped with the bell-board set, which is more often encountered in the larger temples or monasteries. Many small and individual local-style temples do not have the bell-board set and do not have a specific meditation hall in the temple.



<sup>29</sup> *Chanmen Risong* 禪門日誦 (Buddhist Daily Recitation Handbook) [1899, Qing dynasty (1644-1911)] (Putian, Fujian: Guanghua Temple 福建莆田廣化寺, unknown date), 340.

The bell-board set is mainly used inside the meditation hall for guiding all movements when practicing sitting meditation (*zuoxiang* 坐香) or the seven-day retreats for intensive meditation (*chanqi* 禪七). If a monastery is equipped with the bell-board set in the meditation hall, the practice of the bell-board set is not only applied to the activities within the meditation hall, but also always needs to interact with other *baiqi* played in the different places of the monastery (the principle is discussed in a later section). For example, before every mealtime, the bell-board set is practiced on the one hand to end the meditation in the meditation hall, and on the other hand to transmit the signal to the refectory; then when the duty monk in the refectory hears the signal, he will strike the fish-shaped bar (*yubang* 魚梆) to notify the monastic public to gather for the meal. In addition, in the morning/evening, the practice of the bell-board set is also connected to the practices of the patrol board, the great bell, and the great drum. In a later section, I discuss how the bell-board set is connected to other *baiqi* instruments in the monastery.

The cloud-shaped chime (*yunban* 雲版) is generally hung on the left-hand side of the main entrance of the refectory (see Photo 34), opposite the right-hand-side fish-shaped bar (*yubang* 魚梆). Similarly to the fish-shaped bar, it is also used before the two mealtimes in a monastic day. Traditionally, at mealtime, the fish-shaped bar is first played to gather the monastic public to the refectory, and then after everyone sits down in order, the cloud-shaped chime is played to signal being ready to start the meal ritual process (Photo 35). Then, connecting with the sound of the cloud-shaped chime, the duty monk inside the refectory plays the leading-ritual bowl (*yinqing* 弓|磬) to formally start the meal ritual. However, in Taiwan, not all temples or monasteries follow this mode.

According to my fieldwork, some temples practice the cloud-shaped chime precedent to the fish-shaped bar, and other temples use only the cloud-shaped chime before the meal.

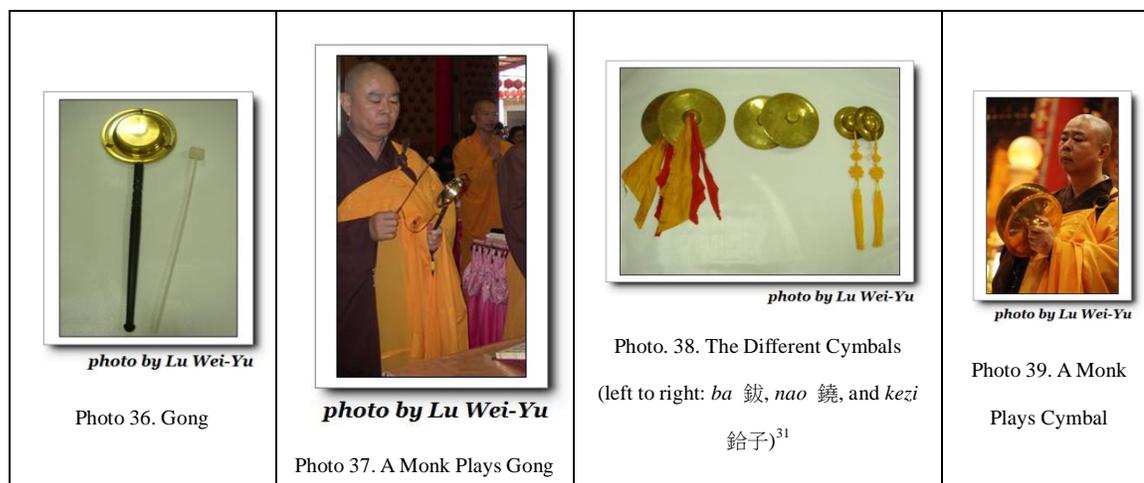


## 6. *Dangzi* 鐺子 and *Kezi* (or *hezi*)<sup>30</sup> 鈴子 (Gong and Cymbal)

The Buddhist small gong (*dangzi* 鐺子) is called *tsianlo* 剪鑼 in Taiwanese by the *gushanyin*-style ritual practitioners. The gong (*dangzi* 鐺子) and cymbal (*kezi* 鈴子) are often played interactively in the rituals, so that the rhythmic patterns of gong and cymbal do not overlap each other but are mutually complementary. In many cases, the gong's and cymbal's patterns correspond to the patterns of the bell-drum set (*baozhonggu* 寶鐘鼓), with the gong corresponding to the small suspended bell (*diaozhong* 吊鐘) and the cymbal corresponding to the hall drum (*tanggu* 堂鼓). Therefore, if the gong and cymbal are used in a ritual, the bell-drum set can be played simultaneously, played without the bell, or not played at all. Basically, the gong and cymbal are used in all rituals except for the “rites for cultivation” (the first ritual type, described in Chapter 3), such as morning and evening services. None of the mainland-style (*haichaoyin*) temples I have visited use

<sup>30</sup> Although the traditional pronunciation of 鈴子 is *hezi*, many nuns in Taiwan pronounce 鈴子 as *kezi*.

the gong and cymbal in their daily cultivation rituals, but some local-style (*gushanyin*) monasteries apply these two *baiqi* in their morning/evening services. The main function of the gong and cymbal is to provide rhythmic embellishments, especially for psalm or hymn excerpts in the ritual, and thus often will be used in large-scale rituals.



## 7. *Foling* 佛鈴 (Buddhist Hand Bell)



Ven. Shengyan 聖嚴 considered the application of gong, cymbal, Buddhist hand bell, and drum in the ritual to be inherited from the practices of Tantric Buddhism.<sup>32</sup> The Buddhist hand bell is called the diamond bell (or vajra bell, *jingangling* 金剛鈴) in

<sup>31</sup> Traditionally, the different cymbals have the different names, such as *ba* 鈸, *nao* 鐃, and *kezi* 鈴子, but in practical usage, the *ba* and *nao* are viewed as the same instrument, usually called together as *naoba* 鐃鈸. In the monastery, the different cymbals are usually not distinguished strictly by different names; more often, they are just called *kezi*. However, a nun explained to me that the *ba* usually has the tassels tied in its middle knot, but the *nao* does not (see Photo 38). Also, in a general sense, the size of *naoba* is larger than *kezi*.

<sup>32</sup> Shengyan 聖嚴, *Fagu Quianji: Diliuji* 法鼓全集 (The Complete Collection of Dharma Drums), vol. 6, *Guicheng* 歸程 (A Return Journey) (Taipei: Fagu wenhua 法鼓文化, 2006), 102. [database online; available from <http://ddc.shengyen.org/>]

Tantric Buddhism, and is usually used cooperatively with the diamond pounder (or vajra pounder, *jinggangchu* 金剛杵) in the Tantric ritual practices. In most Buddhism in Taiwan, the Buddhist hand bell is not applied in the daily ritual practices, but is specifically used in the “rites for universal salvation” (the third ritual type, see Chapter 3), especially in the Feeding Searing Mouth Ritual (*yuqie yankou shishiyi* 瑜伽噉口施食儀). The hand bell must be held and played by the person who is both the precenter-monk and leader-monk in the Feeding Searing Mouth Ritual (*vajra* master, *jingang shangshi* 金剛上師). It functions for exorcism, often used in the steps for introducing spiritual beings, worshipping the repentance, exorcizing evil spirits, and vanquishing demons during the ritual.

## II. *Baiqi*: Music or Non-Music?

The issue has been raised whether the purely percussive *baiqi* sounds are considered musical or non-musical in the context of monastic daily life or rituals. In some cases, the sound produced by *baiqi* is just a “sonic event,” such as only one stroke, scattered strokes, certain tones repeated monotonously, or the clamorous and disordered sound sequences (sometimes in the ritual)—all of which could be viewed as nothing more than a “sonic event” or even as noise. Can these kinds of “sonic event” be considered musical?

The common discussion for this “music and non-music” issue in ethnomusicology usually refers to the distinction of various perceptual systems of sounds in different cultures, from the point of the emic view and the aesthetic boundaries in the context of a culture or musical group. Ethnomusicologists believe that there exists the implication of a consensus about the nature of music in a culture. This consensus is embedded in shared aesthetic boundaries, and “the

aesthetic, viewed cross-culturally, is not simply a matter of discerning the good, the true, and the beautiful. Rather, the boundaries of the aesthetic of a musical group are coterminous with the limit of allowable innovation. If that limit is exceeded, the result is likely to be labeled non-music.”<sup>33</sup> In addition, Merriam indicated that “one of the most important of such concepts is the distinction, implied or real, made between music on the one hand, and noise, or non-music . . . one group accepts the sound of the wind in the trees as music and another does not . . . one group accepts the croaking of frogs and the other denies it as music.”<sup>34</sup>

Therefore, to define a certain “sonic event” as being musical or non-musical, ethnomusicologists attempt to understand the cultural-distinct aesthetic boundaries and limit from the inside and through the emic views and terms to know “what sounds . . . have chosen to call ‘musical.’”<sup>35</sup> This, in many cases, has been done by evaluating how a certain language in a culture defines and describes different sonic events (Zemp,<sup>36</sup> Baily<sup>37</sup>).

For the Buddhist-specific language and terms in the monastic context, there do exist specific terms used to define and describe sonic events and sonic instruments used in the monastery. The two terms, *fanbai* and *baiqi*, are fundamentally and conceptually differentiated from the Chinese term *yinyue* 音樂 (music) and *yueqi* 樂器 (musical instruments). From the Buddhist monastic emic view, *fanbai* and *baiqi* are considered important means of leading one to “physically and mentally purified condition . . . a way

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<sup>33</sup> Marcia Herndon, “Analysis: The Herding of Sacred Cows?” *Ethnomusicology* 18, no. 2 (1974): 247.

<sup>34</sup> Alan Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1964).

<sup>35</sup> John Blacking, *How Musical is Man?* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1974; sixth printing, 2000), 5.

<sup>36</sup> Hugo Zemp, “Are’are Classification of Musical Types and Instruments,” *Ethnomusicology* 22, no.1 (1978): 37-67.

<sup>37</sup> John Baily, “Using Tests of Sound Perception in Fieldwork,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 28 (1996): 147-73.

to Buddhist wisdom,<sup>38</sup> and are clearly distinguished from “music” and “musical instrument,” which are for pleasing listening experiences and entertainment. There is no doubt that for monks and nuns, both *fanbai* and *baiqi* are recognized as “non-musical” and are considered exceeding “musical” practices.<sup>39</sup>

However, Bell Yung discusses whether the “sonic event” is musical or non-musical by the meanings of the sound itself in context, not by the general aesthetic boundary or the emic view in a context. For example, he indicated that in a context of ritual, any sonic event, such as slamming a door, “may serve a specific function in the way that other kinds of sound do not.”<sup>40</sup> In many cases, the special meanings or messages are held in the sonic events in the ritual process, and this message-bearing characteristic give any form of sonic event a meaning beyond the cacophony of noise; thus, in his view, the sonic event conveying meanings should be viewed as musical elements in a ritual process.<sup>41</sup>

He stated that “any clear distinction between music and speech on the one hand and

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<sup>38</sup> Chen Pi-Yen, “The Chant of the Pure and the Music of the Popular: Conceptual Transformations in Contemporary Chinese Buddhist Chants,” *Asian Music* 35, no.2 (2004): 79-97.

<sup>39</sup> That “religious music” is not considered in the general sense of music and is often distinct from music is common. Rasmussen’s research (2001) on Islamic chanting discussed that the Qur’anic recitation is “central to its authority as the divine words of God,” and “must be kept distinct from music.” She also pointed out that “in the Arab context, Qur’anic recitation has never been confused with music.” However, in the case of Islamic chanting, a good Qur’anic reciter often possesses a certain degree of musical knowledge and ability because Qur’ân is recited based on Arab melodies or tunes. Qur’anic reciters are often proficient in the Arabic musical modal system or melodic modes (*mâqâmât*). The reciprocity between good Qur’anic recitation and good singing is also understood because “the vocal artistry of professional singers is enhanced when they study recitation” (Rasmussen, 2001). This connection between religious recitation and musical ability in Islamic chanting does not exist in the practice of Buddhist *fanbai* and *baiqi*. In the case of Buddhist tradition, a monk/nun does not need musical knowledge or ability to recite Buddhist scriptures or play Buddhist *baiqi*. A monk/nun could master the recitation without musical knowledge and ability; he/she could just learn it by imitating senior monks/nuns and by rote throughout his/her long-term monastic life. Unlike the situation that in the Arab world, various historic controversies exist between recitation and music or in the debates on the permissibility of music (because of the reciprocal connection between recitation and music), in Buddhist tradition, these kinds of controversies are hardly seen. Traditionally and doctrinally, Buddhist *fanbai* and *baiqi* have never been viewed as music, and music is definitely not permitted in monastic life.

<sup>40</sup> Bell Yung, “The Nature of Chinese Ritual Sound,” in *Harmony and Counterpoint: Ritual Music in Chinese Ritual Context*, ed. Bell Yung, Evelyn S. Rawski, and Rubie S. Watson (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 17.

<sup>41</sup> Yung, “The Nature of Chinese Ritual Sound,” 17.

music and noise [non-music] on the other is problematic; arbitrary dividing lines separating music from non-music serve only to hinder a comprehensive understanding of ‘music’ [sonic events] in ritual.”<sup>42</sup>

In the case of the pure percussive *baiqi* sounds in the monastic context, all sonic events produced by *baiqi* in the monastic daily life or in the ritual not only possess meanings and transmit messages in the context but also can be deconstructed to many musical elements, such as rhythmic patterns, meter, tempo, structure of time, timbre, or sound effects. Despite being recognized as non-musical by the monastic insiders, the practice of *baiqi* and the sounds *baiqi* produces, according to Yung, are considered musical.

As for the actual phenomena in the contemporary Taiwan, the term “Buddhist music” has gradually been accepted and used by the monastic members to denote a general concept of Buddhist music (including traditional ritual practices of *fanbai* and *baiqi* and newly emerged non-ritual music) because of the conceptual transformation in the music as Buddhist propaganda and because of the development of musical industry, record labels, and religious musical marketing (Chapter 3). Chen indicated that “the use of this new genre term [Buddhist music] immediately obscures early boundary regulated in monastic codes.”<sup>43</sup> The monastic members may admit that the practice of *fanbai* and *baiqi* is “music” yet still insist on a differentiation between their sacred musical practices (*fanbai* and *baiqi*) and outside secular musical practices. In the contemporary Buddhist circles, the traditional perspective of a clear distinction between non-musical or musical status of *fanbai* and *baiqi* has gradually blurred and has become ambiguous.

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<sup>42</sup> Yung, “The Nature of Chinese Ritual Sound,” 17.

<sup>43</sup> Chen Pi-Yen, “The Chant of the Pure,” 79-97.

In the following section, I discuss and analyze the performance practices of *baiqi* in the process of monastic daily life and routine, uncovering and deconstructing their musical structures and inner mechanisms during a monastic day.

### III. *Baiqi* in the Monastic Daily Life and Routine

It is a universal phenomenon that in whatever religious tradition, the performance practices of the sacred musical instruments hold significant religious meanings, bring a certain efficacy of spirituality, and deliver religious power. In the Buddhist tradition, the *baiqi*'s religious symbolic meanings are implied in the *baiqi* themselves, their spatial arrangements, and their practices in the monastic context. According to the description of each *baiqi*, above, there are two characteristic features:

First, when being played, one *baiqi* is often coordinated with another *baiqi*. For instance, the great bell/hall bell coordinates with the great drum/dharma drum, the ritual bowl with the wooden fish, the cloud-shaped board with the fish-shaped bar, and the gong with the cymbal.

Second, the two *baiqi* that mutually coordinate are always positioned opposite each other, such as the “left bell and right drum” (*zuozhong yougu* 左鐘右鼓), the “left ritual bowl and right wooden fish” (*zuoqing youyu* 左磬右魚), the “left gong and right cymbal” (*zuodang youke* 左鐃右鈸), and the “left cloud-shaped chime and right fish-shaped bar” (*zuoyunban youyubang* 左雲版右魚梆). These positions are fixed and unchangeable because the position of *baiqi* implies significant religious meanings. According to Buddhist tradition, the left symbolizes “wisdom” (*bore* 般若 [Sanskrit: *prajñā*]), and the right connotes “the dharma concerning skillful expedients”<sup>44</sup> (*shanquanfa* 善權法

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<sup>44</sup> This denotes to the approaches and means to reach the wisdom state.

[Sanskrit: *upāya*]). Whenever the monks or nuns practice the *baiqi* on the left and the right together, it is the combination of the left and the right that symbolizes the realization of the wisdom state (the embodiment of enlightenment).<sup>45</sup> One may discover a similar layout in the great shrine-hall of all Buddhist temples or monasteries (see Figure 1, Photos 41 and 42).

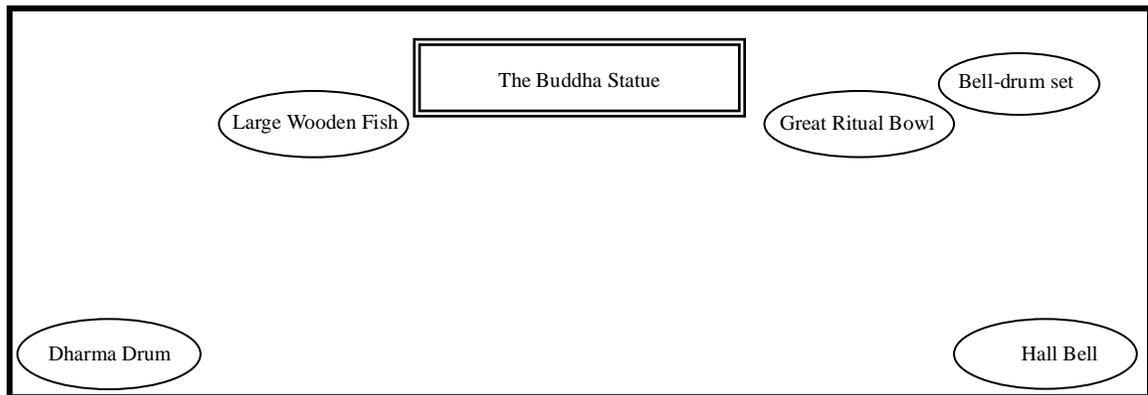


Figure 1. The General Layout in the Monastic Great Shrine-Hall

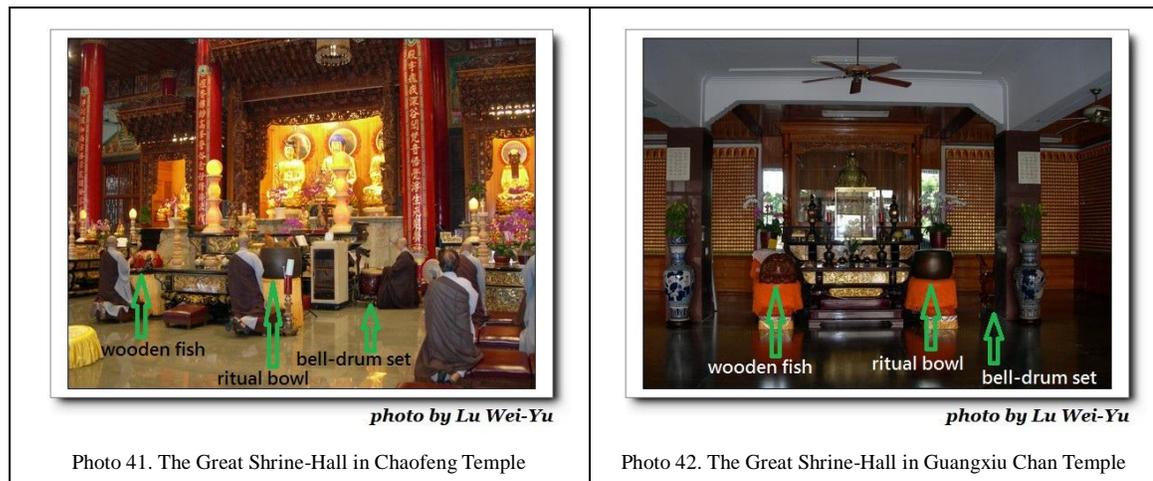


Photo 41. The Great Shrine-Hall in Chaofeng Temple

Photo 42. The Great Shrine-Hall in Guangxiu Chan Temple

<sup>45</sup> Gao Yali 高雅俐, “Fojiao yinyue chuantong yu fojiao yinyue” 佛教音樂傳統與佛教音樂 (Buddhist Musical Tradition and Buddhist Music), in *1998 nian foxue yanjiu linwenji: fojiao yinyue* 1998 年佛學研究論文集: 佛教音樂 (Collected Essays on the Research of Buddhism in 1998: Buddhist Music), ed. Caituan faren foguangshan wenjiao jijinhui 財團法人佛光山文教基金會 (Taipei: Foguang wenhua shiye youxian gongsi 佛光文化事業有限公司, 1999), 41.

In the Buddhist monastic life, all details from the monks' and nuns' every motion and action in the operation of all monastic events and affairs need to conform to prescribed rules. Therefore, when and how the *baiqi* is played also follows strict regulations. It is indispensable for monks and nuns to understand the meanings and characteristics of each *baiqi* instrument in order to play *baiqi* at the right time and in the right way. The use of *baiqi* in monasteries is mainly divided into two aspects: 1) the *baiqi* used in the monastic daily life and routine, and 2) the *baiqi* used within the diverse Buddhist rituals. In this chapter, I discuss and analyze only the first situation. The discussion and analysis of the second situation is presented in the next chapter.

Many people (whether Buddhists or non-Buddhists) usually have some typical images or impressions when thinking of Buddhism, such as ancient temples in remote mountains, ascetic tonsured monks and nuns, or the sound of temple bells tolling in the tranquil night. In Chinese classical literature and poems, descriptions of Buddhist temples are usually combined with depictions of the bell sounds. This can be seen in many classical poetic verses famous through the ages, such as “outside Gusu, Cold Mountain Temple stands upright; the sound of its bells reaches my boat at midnight” (姑蘇城外寒山寺, 夜半鐘聲到客船), “a thousand sounds are quieted, by the breathing of a temple bell” (萬籟此俱寂, 惟餘鐘磬音), or “a temple in the dark green bamboo forest, deep and serene the bell sounded evening” (蒼蒼竹林寺, 杳杳鐘聲晚). The bell tolling and delivering its far-reaching sound at night has become a typical portrayal or impression of a Buddhist temple. In fact, when I actually lived in the temple with nuns and experienced monastic life during my fieldwork, I learned that in addition to the bell, the monastery is full of a variety of *baiqi* sounds, heard successively and cooperatively through the monastic daily routine, resounding across the monastery during a monastic day.

A monastic day begins with the patrol board played by a patrolling monk (*xunzhaoshi* 巡照師) around 3 a.m. (the city monasteries may start at around 5 a.m.). The principle to practice this morning patrol board is “start with the three-stroke pattern [in three rounds], followed by the four-stroke pattern [in four rounds]” (*qisanban dasiban* 起三板打四板). The three-stroke pattern is practiced for awakening the duty monks from their sleep to prepare worship offerings, such as incense, water, flowers, fruit, or light before the morning services. After the worship offerings are nearly ready, the patrolling monk starts to play the four-stroke pattern to awaken all resident monks in the monastery, circumambulating the temple and playing the patrol board at the same time. The four-stroke pattern is sometimes practiced in more than four rounds, depending on how much time the patrolling monk spends circumambulating the temple.

All temples and monasteries share this same principle to practice the patrol board, but different monasteries may operate the three-stroke pattern and the four-stroke pattern in different rhythmic modes and tempos. The three-stroke patterns are usually run in either three equally long strokes, or one longer stroke and two shorter strokes, and the four-stroke patterns are usually in two longer strokes and two shorter strokes (see Figure 2).

	In Guangxiu Chan Temple	In Foguangshan Monastery
	The symbol ■ indicates one stroke on the patrol board.	
Three-stroke Pattern	■      ■ ■ X 3	■      ■      ■ X 3
Four-stroke Pattern	■    ■    ■ ■ X 4 or more	■      ■      ■ ■ X 4 or more

↓

Three-stroke Pattern	♪      ♪    ♪ X 3	♪      ♪      ♪ X 3
Four-stroke Pattern	♪    ♪    ♪ ♪ X 4 or more	♪      ♪      ♪ ♪ X 4 or more

Figure 2. The Three-stroke Pattern in Three Rounds and the Four-stroke Pattern in Four Rounds

After the patrolling monk circumambulates the temple and completes the three-stroke pattern and the four-stroke pattern, he returns to the starting position and plays the patrol board in the ending pattern (*shaban* 煞板). The principle of this ending pattern is “end with the four-stroke pattern [in four rounds], and then continue to end with the five-stroke pattern [in five rounds]” (*shasiban shawuban* 煞四板煞五板). Sometimes, the ending four-stroke pattern is practiced in only one round, not four rounds (see Figure 3).

	In Guangxiu Chan Temple	In Foguangshan Monastery
	The symbol ■ indicates one stroke on the patrol board.	
Ending Four-stroke Pattern	■ ■ ■ ■ X 4	■ ■ ■ ■ X 1
Ending Five-stroke Pattern	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ X 5	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ X 5



Ending Four-stroke Pattern	X 4	X 1
Ending Five-stroke Pattern	X 5	X 5

Figure 3. The Ending Four-stroke Pattern and the Ending Five-stroke Pattern

The ending five-stroke pattern immediately continues to a coda pattern. The method of operating this coda pattern is that the patrolling monk recites two verses silently in his mind, matching one stroke to each character of the two verses (Notation 11). The two verses function as the mnemonics for memorizing how many strokes the patrolling monk should play in the coda pattern. The underlying religious meaning of these two verses is that all things and phenomena are nothing but mind, so whenever the monks/nuns recite the two verses in their mind, they are reminded to be more vigilant and diligent in cultivating their minds (self-cultivation).<sup>46</sup> A special technique to play this coda pattern

<sup>46</sup> The two verses used in the coda pattern are the two stanzas quoted from a hymn for Bodhisattva Jielin (覺林菩薩偈) recorded in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvāipulya-sūtra* (*Flower Adornment Sūtra* 大方廣佛華嚴經). The two verses are the first two of the final four stanzas. The English translation of these final four stanzas is that “if the sentient beings wish to be awake to the Buddha’s nature of past, present and future, one should dwell on the right perception on the essential nature of the dharma realm—all the phenomena are created by one’s mind” (若人欲了知，三世一切佛；應觀法界性，一切惟心造).

is that on the fourth character of the first verse (see the red frame on Notation 11), the patrolling monk should slightly press the beater on the board to create a small sound, not striking normally. This way to practice the coda pattern is called “pressing the fourth and striking five” (*yasi dawu* 壓四打五). This coda pattern should be run in three rounds. All temples and monasteries I have visited play the coda pattern in the same way but varying widely in tempo. In fact, this coda pattern and its two corresponding mnemonic verses are also widely applied to other situations, such as the *baiqi* practices before a meal or the ending of a section in a ritual.

patrol board

若 人 欲 了 知 三 世 一 切 佛

rou ren yu liao zhi san shi yi qie fo

佛 佛 佛 佛 佛 佛

fo fo fo fo fo fo

transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

Notation 11. The Coda Pattern

By the end of the coda pattern of the patrol board, the bellman-monk (*zhongtou* 鐘頭) is already waiting in the bell house, ready to take over the duty from the patrolling monk to play the great bell when the coda pattern of the patrol board ends. Right after the coda pattern of the patrol board, the patrolling monk plays a “send-off pattern” (*songban* 送板), the function of which is to transfer the sound of the patrol board to the sound of the next *baiqi*—the great bell. There is no principle for the send-off pattern itself, so different monasteries usually practice it in different ways or different rhythmic modes. However, there is the principle of how the current *baiqi* player hands over the duty to the next *baiqi* player; that is, “three deliveries and three receivings” (*sanjiao sanjie* 三交三接). It means that immediately subsequent to the send-off pattern, the current *baiqi* and

the next *baiqi* should be practiced in the way of “call and response” three times, after which the next *baiqi* can formally begin its own patterns. Figure 4 shows how the practice of the patrol board is shifted to the practice of the great bell in the Guangxiu Chan Temple.

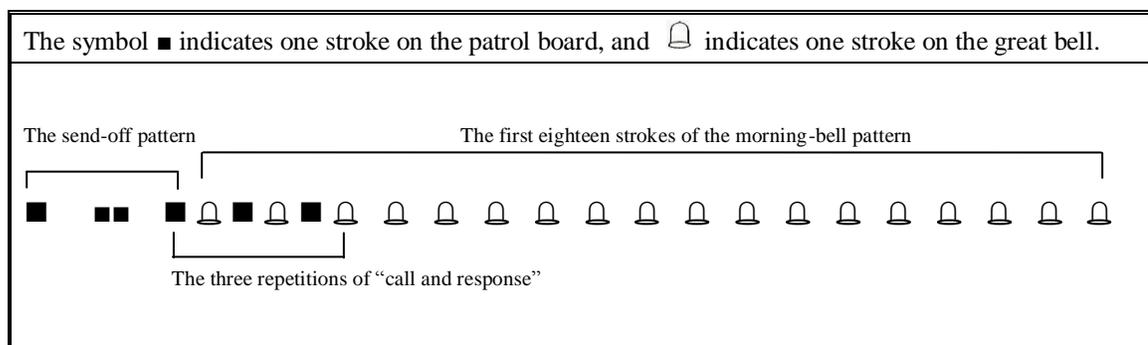


Figure 4. The Shift from the Practice of the Patrol Board to the Great Bell

When the bellman monk is waiting in the bell house, he first recites silently in his mind the morning-bell vowing verse (*chenzhong yuanwen* 晨鐘願文, see Table 4) and proceeds to practice the three repetitions of “call and response” with the patrolling monk to take over the duty from him, and then starts playing the formal morning-bell pattern. The morning-bell pattern contains 108 strokes on the great bell, symbolizing the removal of humanity’s 108 afflictions. These 108 strokes of the morning-bell pattern are practiced in three rounds of eighteen fast strokes and eighteen slow strokes  $[(18+18) \times 3=108]$ . The eighteen fast strokes correspond to the eighteen characters of the two verses (these two verses are actually a sutra’s name and a Bodhisattva’s name, see Table 5), with one stroke matching to one character. The bellman monk strikes the bell and recites the two verses silently in his mind simultaneously. As for the eighteen slow strokes, the bellman monk strikes the bell and chants the morning-bell hymn (*chenzhongji* 晨鐘偈) simultaneously,

and the morning-bell hymn can be either chanted out loudly or chanted silently in the mind. The eighteen slow strokes correspond to the eighteen phrases of the morning-bell hymn, and each stroke is practiced after each phrase. The Table 5 on the next page shows how the 108 strokes of the morning-bell pattern are operated in Guangxiu Chan Temple.

<b>The Morning-Bell Vowing Verse</b>
Recite Silently in the Mind Before the Formal Morning-Bell Pattern
聞鐘聲, 煩惱輕; 智慧長, 菩提增; 離地獄, 出火坑; 願成佛, 度眾生.

Table 4. The Morning-Bell Vowing Verse<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> The English translation of the morning-bell vowing verse is that “hearing the bell toll, by which affliction is alleviated; growing the wisdom, with which one reaches enlightenment; escaping from the hell, and getting away from the fiery pit; vowing to accomplish Buddhahood, in order to save sentient beings.” (聞鐘聲, 煩惱輕; 智慧長, 菩提增; 離地獄, 出火坑; 願成佛, 度眾生.)

## The Formal Morning-Bell Pattern

(The symbol  indicates one stroke on the great bell.)

<b>The Fast 18 Strokes</b>									
The Bellman Monk Recites the Two Verses Silently in the Mind									
(One Stroke Matching to One Character)									
Verse 1	南 	無 	大 	方 	廣 	佛 	華 	嚴 	經 
Verse 2	南 	無 	華 	嚴 	會 	上 	佛 	菩 	薩 



<b>The Slow 18 Strokes</b>	
The Bellman Monk Chants the Morning-Bell Hymn	
(One Stroke After Each Phrase)	
Phrase 1	妙湛總持不動尊 首楞嚴王世希有 
Phrase 2	銷我億劫顛倒想 不歷僧祇獲法身 
Phrase 3	願今得果成寶王 還度如是恆沙眾 
Phrase 4	將此深心奉塵刹 是則名為報佛恩 
Phrase 5	伏請世尊為證明 五濁惡世誓先入 
Phrase 6	如一眾生未成佛 終不於此取泥洹 
Phrase 7	大雄大力大慈悲 希更審除微細惑 
Phrase 8	令我早登無上覺 於十方界坐道場 
Phrase 9	舜若多性可銷亡 爍迦羅心無動轉 
Phrase 10	南無清淨法身毘盧遮那佛 
Phrase 11	南無圓滿報身盧舍那佛 
Phrase 12	南無千百億化身釋迦牟尼佛 
Phrase 13	南無當來下生彌勒尊佛 
Phrase 14	南無極樂世界阿彌陀佛 
Phrase 15	南無清涼山 金色世界 大智文殊師利菩薩 
Phrase 16	南無峨嵋山 銀色世界 大行普賢願王菩薩 
Phrase 17	南無普陀山 琉璃世界 大悲觀世音菩薩 
Phrase 18	南無九華山 幽冥世界 大願地藏王菩薩 

Table 5. The Morning-Bell Pattern

By the end of the morning-bell pattern, the drum-striker monk (*gutou* 鼓頭) is already waiting in the drum house, ready to play the great drum immediately succeeding the morning-bell pattern of the great bell. Similar to the connection between the patrol board and the great bell, the bellman monk also plays a “send-off pattern” after the morning-bell pattern to signal to the drum-striker monk the transition from the great bell to the great drum. Immediately subsequent to the send-off pattern of the great bell, the three repetitions of “call and response” between the great bell and the great drum are practiced, and then follows the formal morning-drum pattern played by the drum-striker monk. Figures 5 and 6 show the transition from the practice of the great bell to the great drum in Guangxiu Chan Temple and in Foguangshan Monastery. The Guangxiu Chan Temple and Foguangshan Monastery practice the transition in different ways, but they share the same principle.

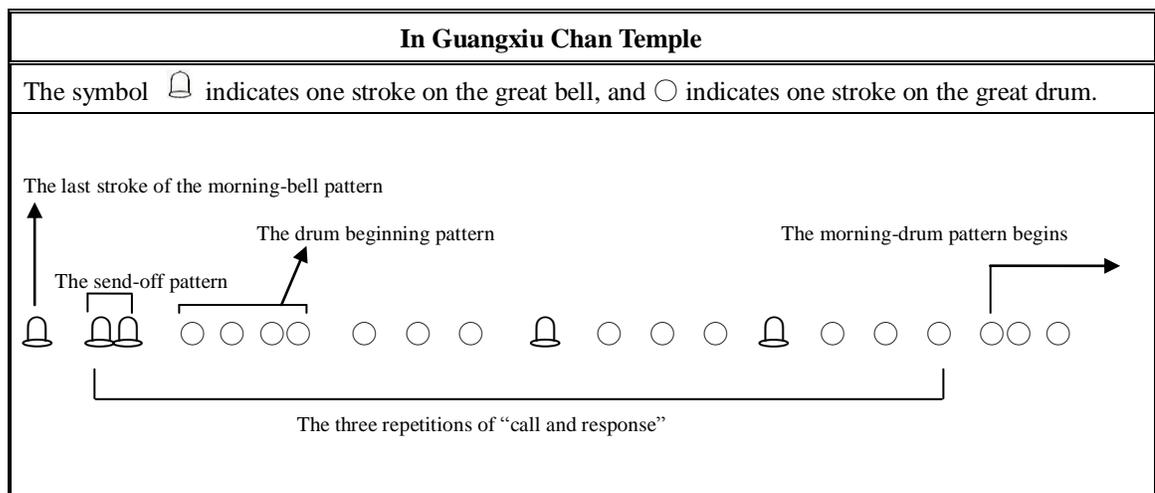


Figure 5. The Transition from the Practice of the Great Bell to the Great Drum

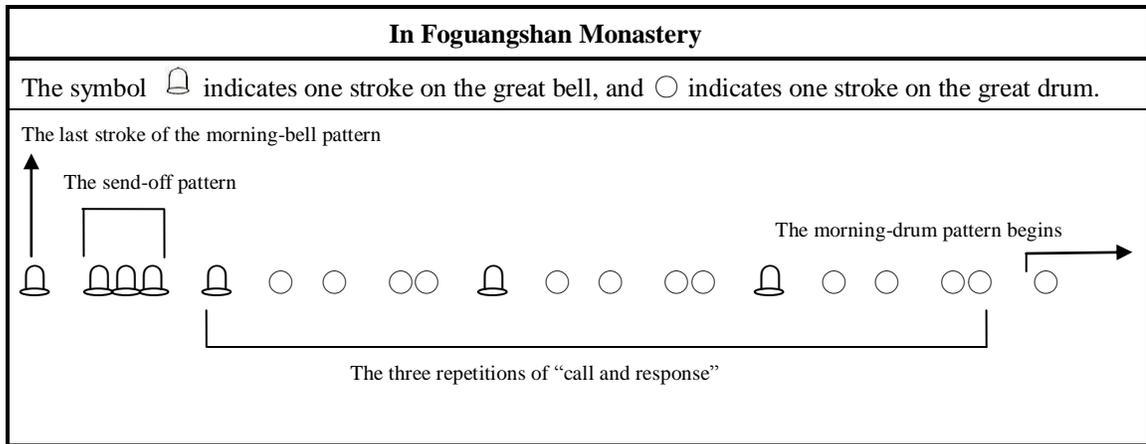


Figure 6. The Transition from the Practice of the Great Bell to the Great Drum



Photo 43 by Lu Wei-Yu

Before the first stroke on the great drum, the drum-striker monk usually plays a drum beginning pattern (see Figure 5). This drum beginning pattern is not played on the drum surface but rather on the rim of the surface (see Photo 43). There are a total of four strokes in the drum beginning pattern, operated in the 

rhythmic mode. Some temples or monasteries do not apply this beginning pattern to the morning practices of the great drum; the Foguangshan Monastery (see Figure 6) applies it in the evening, because in the evening, the great drum is the first *baiqi* instrument to be played for ending a monastic day (evening practices will be discussed later).

The morning-drum pattern is usually operated in three rounds, known as “three-round drum” (*santong gu* 三通鼓).<sup>48</sup> How the pattern is presented varies greatly among different temples and monasteries. However, according to my fieldwork, many different representations of the pattern in different temples and monasteries are derived from the same fundamental rhythmic mode (see Notation 12). Based on this fundamental rhythmic

<sup>48</sup> Gao Yali 高雅俐, “Cong fojiao yinyue wenhua de zhuanbian lun fojiao yinyue zai Taiwan de fazhan.” 從佛教音樂文化的轉變論佛教音樂在台灣的發展 (A Discussion on the Development of Buddhist Music in Taiwan from the Transformation of Buddhist Musical Culture) (Master Thesis, National Taiwan Normal University 國立台灣師範大學, 1990), 129.

mode, the drum-striker monks in different temples and monasteries make different modifications and variations, and thus present the different representations of the morning-drum pattern. Not only is the pattern presented differently, but the same drum-striker monk may also run the pattern differently when playing at different times. A drum-striker monk can freely make alterations to this pattern, adding or reducing strokes according to condition of his body and mind at that time. The timbre, tone, and manifestations of practicing the drum always reflect the practitioner’s state.



Notation 12. The Fundamental Rhythmic Mode for the Morning- and Evening-Drum Pattern

When the monks and nuns learn to play this pattern, they also use mnemonic texts to learn and memorize this fundamental rhythmic mode. According to my fieldwork, the local-style (*gushanyin*) temples and the mainland-style (*haichaoyin*) temples (see Chapter 3) use different mnemonic texts for this fundamental rhythmic mode. The mainland-style temples usually employ the name of Medicine Buddha as the mnemonic text. The translation of the text is, “Medicine Buddha! Medicine Buddha! The Medicine Buddha who erases calamity and prolongs life!” (see Notation 13). As for the local-style temples, the mnemonic texts are in Taiwanese and are different in the morning and evening practices. For the morning practices, the translation of the mnemonic text is, “Invite the public! Invite the public! Invite all monastic public to go to the great shrine-hall!” (see Notation 14). For the evening practices, the translation of the mnemonic text becomes, “Work on public affairs! Work on private affairs! After completing the public affairs, work on private affairs!” (see Notation 15).

transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

great drum 

mnemonic text 藥 師 佛 藥 師 佛 消 災 延 壽 藥 師 佛  
yao shi fo yao shi fo xiao zai yan shou yao shi fo

Notation 13 The Mnemonic Text for the Fundamental Rhythmic Mode of the Morning- and Evening-Drum Pattern in the Foguangshan Monastery

transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

great drum 

morning 大 眾 請 大 眾 請 請 大 眾 師 上 大 殿  
mnemonic text tai tsiong tshiann tai tsiong tshiann tshiann tai tsiong su siong tua tian

Notation 14 The Morning Mnemonic Text (in Taiwanese) for the Fundamental Rhythmic Mode of the Morning-Drum Pattern in the Guangxiu Chan Temple

transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

great drum 

evening 辦 公 事 辦 私 事 公 事 辦 了 辦 私 事  
mnemonic text pan kong su pan su su kong su pan liau pan su su

Notation 15 The Evening Mnemonic Text (in Taiwanese) for the Fundamental Rhythmic Mode of the Evening-Drum Pattern in the Guangxiu Chan Temple

When playing the great drum, there is a special technique used to imitate the sound of nature, expressing the sound of wind, rain, thunder, and lightning. The technique is the drum-striker monk lightly places the left drum beater evenly on the drum surface and slowly moves it back and forth on the surface and at the same time uses the right drum beater to play the drum pattern (see



*photo by Lu Wei-Yu*

Photo 44. The Drum Player Imitates the  
Sound of Nature

Photo 44). The monk controls his left hand to adjust different degrees of pressure put on the left beater and freely moves the beater back and forth on the drum surface. Using this method, the strokes by the right drum beater can create diverse drum timbres, tones, dynamics, and intensity of sound. Not all temples/monasteries apply this technique to their practices of the great drum. It is found more in mainland-style (*haichaiyin*) monasteries (see Chapter 3).

By the end of the morning-drum pattern, all resident monks or nuns have already gathered in the great shrine-hall, ready to perform the morning service. After the completion of the morning drum pattern, the drum-striker monk in the drum house and the duty monk playing the ritual bowl (either the round ritual bowl or leading-ritual bowl) in the great shrine-hall interact in the transitional process, following the same transitional principle described above to transfer the practice of the great drum to the practice of the morning service (the *baiqi* instruments used within the ritual itself will be discussed in the next chapter).

After the morning service, the monks or nuns prepare to assemble in the monastic refectory for the breakfast. The process of going to and gathering in the refectory is known as *guotang* 過堂. Two *baiqi* are played in the *guotang* process: the fish-shaped bar and the cloud-shaped chime. The pattern applied to these two *baiqi* instruments is the same as the coda pattern of the patrol board described above. Different temples and monasteries may play these two *baiqi* in different ways.

For example, in Foguangshan, the duty monk first plays the fish-shaped bar in three rounds of the coda pattern to announce the coming of the breakfast time, and then all the monks and nuns line up to enter the refectory. After the monks and nuns sit down in the refectory, the duty monk plays the cloud-shaped chime in three rounds of the coda pattern to signal the start of the meal ritual. Then, the monk playing the cloud-shaped chime outside the refectory and the monk playing the leading-ritual bowl inside the refectory operate three repetitions of “call and response” to transition from the *guotang* process to the formal meal ritual.



As for the operation in Dharma Drum Mountain, both the fish-shaped bar and the cloud-shaped chime are played after all monks and nuns sit down in the refectory. The playing order of these two *baiqi* is also different from Foguangshan. The duty monk first plays the cloud-shaped chime in three rounds of the coda pattern, and proceeds to three repetitions of “call and response” with the monk playing the fish-shaped bar to transition from the practices of the cloud-shaped chime to the fish-shaped bar. Immediately subsequent to the three rounds of the coda pattern by the fish-shaped bar, the monk inside the refectory plays the leading-ritual bowl to start the

formal meal ritual directly without operating the connecting process with the fish-shaped bar. Another example is in Guangxiu Chan Temple, where only the cloud-shaped chime is played before the meal ritual with only three strokes. In some large temples or monasteries, a special *baiqi* instrument called *jiaoxiang* 叫香 is played by a monk before both the fish-shaped bar and the cloud-shaped chime. *Jiaoxiang* is two split-wooden blocks and is played by banging together two wooden blocks to create the sound (see Photo 45 above).

After breakfast, all monks and nuns start their daily work. Every monk and nun is responsible for his or her own jobs, such as dealing with temple affairs, introducing visitors, teaching in the Buddhist schools, preparing activities, and so on. A large Buddhist monastery is like a large enterprise that includes different departments; the monks and nuns work in their departments as would ordinary office workers. In many small and remote temples, the monks or nuns have to perform manual labor (known as *chupo* 出坡) both for the necessities of daily living and for the purpose of spiritual training, such as farming, gardening, cooking, or cleaning. In the large monasteries, the manual labor is all done by the lay postulants or laborers. By noon, the fish-shaped bar and the cloud-shaped board are practiced again in the same way for the monastic lunch. After lunch, the monks and nuns continue their own work, and about the end of the afternoon, the evening service starts (*baiqi* instruments used within the ritual itself will be discussed in the next chapter).

The monastic evening service is followed by dinner; unlike breakfast and lunch, the fish-shaped bar and the cloud-shaped board are not played before dinner. Traditionally, the monks or nuns have only two meals (breakfast and lunch) in a monastic day with no dinner, but contemporary monasteries usually adjust the meal schedule to contemporary

daily habits and have three meals a day. However, dinner is not part of the traditional and formal monastic lifestyle, so it is not considered a meal to satiate hunger but is viewed as “medicine” (*yaoshi* 藥石) to remedy the decreased energy in the evening. With its non-traditional and informal status, the fish-shaped bar and the cloud-shaped chime are not played before this evening “medicinal meal.” Only the patrol board is played for three rounds, with four strokes in the first round, six strokes in the second round, and the coda pattern in the third round.

After the evening “medicine meal,” there is personal time for self-cultivation. Every monk and nun chooses his or her own approach to self-cultivation. This may include sitting meditation, chanting Buddha’s name, or studying the sutras. At about 8 or 9 p.m., the three *baiqi*—the great drum, the great bell, and the patrol board—are again practiced cooperatively to end the monastic day. The process of the three *baiqi* practices—from the patrol board, to the great bell, and to the great drum—in the morning are known as “breaking the great silence” (*dakaijing* 大開靜), in contrast with the same three instruments played in the evening, known as “the great silence” (*dazhijing* 大止靜).

The morning “breaking the great silence” starts a monastic day, and the evening “the great silence” ends it. Although the *baiqi* instruments used in both morning and evening processes are the same, the practicing order is reverse. In the evening, the great drum is played first, followed by the great bell, and finally the patrol board. Also, the patterns applied in the evening processes are practiced with some differences: For the great bell, the morning-bell pattern begins with the eighteen fast strokes and proceeds to the eighteen slow strokes, but the evening-bell pattern runs in the reverse, with the eighteen slow strokes first and eighteen fast strokes following. In addition, all the corresponding verses and hymns for the evening process are different. In the evening, the bellman monk

recites the evening-bell vowing verse (*muzhong yuanwen* 暮鐘願文) and chants the evening-bell hymn (*muzhongji* 暮鐘偈). For the patrol board, the patrolling monk plays only three rounds of the coda pattern in the evening, known as the “quietude board” (*anban* 安板).

The process of the *baiqi* practices from morning to evening through a monastic day described above is the fundamental operation for all temples and monasteries. In some cases, the *baiqi* used in other irregular events, activities, or rituals in different halls of the monastery also need to be played interactively within this fundamental *baiqi* structure. The most featured example is the bell-board set, the unique *baiqi* in the meditation hall, used during a retreat for intensive meditation. When the temples or monasteries hold such a retreat for intensive meditation, the practice of the bell-board set (the set combining a report bell and a wooden-bell-board) in the meditation hall is integrated into the all-day process of the fundamental *baiqi* practices for daily routine.

Figure 7 shows how the practice of the bell-board set inside the meditation hall is combined into the process of “breaking the great silence” and how it interacts with the practice of the patrol board, the great bell, the great drum, and the leading-ritual bowl outside the meditation hall during the routine from the start of a monastic day to the morning service. The principle for playing the bell-board set in a monastic day is “four times for beginning [the meditation sessions] and four times for terminating [the meditation sessions]” (*sizhi sikai* 四止四開). In each beginning of the meditation session, the report bell and the wooden-bell-board are struck in the following order: one stroke on the board and one stroke on the bell (*yiban yizhong* 一板一鐘), two strokes on the board and one stroke on the bell (*erban yizhong* 二板一鐘), and three strokes on the board and one stroke on the bell (*sanban yizhong* 三板一鐘), totaling nine strokes in each

beginning. This pattern is run four times a day, with a total of thirty-six strokes a day. The monasteries of other Buddhist schools might practice the bell-board set in different patterns, but the total of thirty-six strokes a day remains the same. This practicing pattern of the bell-board set is presented in red in Figure 7, which is an indication of how the bell-board set's pattern is connected to other patterns of different *baiqi* instruments in the process of monastic morning routine (Figure 7 is on the next page).



As described, one can imagine how the sound of *baiqi* is transmitted, connected, resounded, and echoed across different places in the monastery—from the patrol board played with circumambulating the monastery, passing to the bell-board set in the meditation hall, to the great bell in the bell house, to the great drum in the drum house, back to the bell-board set in the meditation hall again, to the morning service in the great shrine-hall, to the fish-shaped bar and the cloud-shaped chime in front of the refectory, and finally to the meal ritual inside the refectory. Each sound of *baiqi* and each step of *baiqi* practices transmits different messages by which the actions of monks and nuns are instructed and the monastic daily routine is structured. In certain aspects, the sound of *baiqi* substitutes for the function of language as the means of communication in the monastic lifestyle. In fact, a monk or nun could live in a monastery without saying or hearing a word.

In ethnomusicological scholarship, it is a commonplace that music is studied as a site for space construction. As Stokes indicated, “Amongst the countless ways in which we ‘relocate’ ourselves, music undoubtedly has a vital role to play. The musical event, from collective dances to the act of putting a cassette or CD into a machine, evokes and organises collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity.”<sup>49</sup> Ethnomusicologists view a musical performance or event as a social practice for place-making, and have explored different possibilities of how the musical performance or event constructs group consciousness, identities, places, and the relationship between selves and places.

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<sup>49</sup> Martin Stokes, “Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music,” in *Ethnicity, Identity and Music*, ed. Martin Stokes (New York: Berg Publishers, 1994; reprint, 1997), 3.

For example, Solomon took data from the musical performances of the indigenous people of highland Bolivia, investigating how musical sounds give physical presence to identity, embodying the community identity and “inscribing it on an earthly landscape as well as in the landscapes of the mind.”<sup>50</sup> Similarly, Lee’s research discussed how the use of loudspeaker, radio, and television in the Islamic call to prayer in Singapore creates the Islamic soundscape, which maintains Islamic collectivity and demonstrates the Islamic space.<sup>51</sup> Sterne’s research departed from the common ethnomusicological issues on the construction of place related to identity or ethnicity but explored the programmed music pervading the customer spaces of shopping malls, in which the circulation of different layers of soundtracks running in the mall keeps the commercial space and the mall alive.<sup>52</sup> Lu Xinchun studied the Burmese Chinese diaspora in Taiwan, investigating how their community constructs ethnicity-based soundscapes and how these soundscapes help shape ethnoscapescapes and politicoscapes.<sup>53</sup> All of the above examples are different possibilities that show how music constructs a space.

In the case of Buddhist *baiqi* instruments, the soundscape of *baiqi* is created through the interaction of different *baiqi* sounds, in which the monastic time and order are organized, the monk’s or nun’s actions and behavior are guided, the monastic identity and boundary are recognized, and the monastic space is constructed. If the practice of *baiqi*

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<sup>50</sup> Thomas Solomon, “Dueling Landscapes: Singing Places and Identities in Highland Bolivia,” *Ethnomusicology* 44, no.2 (2000): 257-80.

<sup>51</sup> Tong Soon Lee, “Technology and the Production of Islamic Space: The Call to Prayer in Singapore,” *Ethnomusicology* 43, no.1 (1999): 86-100.

<sup>52</sup> Jonathan Sterne, “Sounds like the Mall of America: Programmed Music and the Architectonics of Commercial Space,” *Ethnomusicology* 41, no.1 (1997): 22-50.

<sup>53</sup> Lu Xinchun 呂心純, “Yinyue zuowei yizhong lisan shehui kongjian: Taiwan zhonghe diqu miandian huaqiao de yinjing yu zuyi kongjian jiangou,” 音樂作為一種離散社會空間: 臺灣中和地區緬甸華僑的音景與族裔建構 (Music as Diasporic Social Space: Constructing Soundscapes and Ethnoscapescapes in a Burmese Chinese Community in Jhong-he, Taiwan), *Minsu quyi* 民俗曲藝 (Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre, and Folklore) 171 (2011): 11-64.

for monastic daily routine from morning to evening through a monastic day is viewed as longitudinal *baiqi* practices, then the practice of *baiqi* within the specific different rituals or events in different halls of the monastery can be viewed as latitudinal. The whole system of the monastic life style is actually executed through the interweaving of the longitudinal and latitudinal *baiqi* practices in the monastery. For Buddhist monks and nuns, one of the primary ways the monastic space is made sensible and defined as an entity from the surrounding space is through the diverse sounds of *baiqi* instruments.

The following chapter focuses on the latitudinal *baiqi* practices—the performance practice of *baiqi* within the rituals themselves, exploring the mechanism of *baiqi* soundscapes within ritual and how it constructs the ritual space.

## Chapter Five

### Performance Practice of *Baiqi* II

In the previous chapter, I presented a detailed discussion about the performance practice of *baiqi* (collection of Buddhist percussive instruments) in the monastic daily life and routine. This chapter continues to discuss the performance practice of *baiqi*, but emphasizes its operation within the Buddhist rituals. Unlike the practices of *baiqi* in the monastic daily life and routine, which has no written notation as the prescribed musical information, there is a kind of written notation for the practices of *baiqi* in the Buddhist rituals by monks and nuns for practicing or transmitting purposes. On the one hand, this notation serves as a guide for ritual performance elaboration; on the other hand, the implicit rules of playing *baiqi* in the ritual, the interplay between the *baiqi* and *fanbai* (Buddhist liturgical chant), and the manner of passing down *baiqi* musical knowledge and skills can also be discerned from the notation.

Therefore, in this chapter, I will first discuss the Buddhist ritual notation itself, analyzing its internal logic of design, and then link it to other musical and cultural discussion of *baiqi*, including the interrelationship among *baiqi*, *fanbai*, and ritual texts, the *baiqi*'s rhythmic patterns and styles, and the transmission of this knowledge within the monastery.

#### I. Buddhist Ritual Notation

Scholars discuss musical notation as being divided into two types of systems: written and unwritten. In a general sense, notation connotes a written system of representing

pitch, rhythm, and other features of music, usually for a prescriptive purpose.<sup>1</sup> This kind of written system for musical communication, according to Ian Bent, is viewed as a phenomenon of literate social classes. In contrast to the written system of notation, there is the unwritten system for representing music—oral “notation,” which comprises “systems of memorizing and teaching music with spoken syllables, words or phrases” and is considered the “natural musical communication system of non-literate societies.”<sup>2</sup> However, the division of “written system—literate society” and “oral system—non-literate society” is not absolute. In many musical cultures, the oral system of notation is also applied in literate society, such as the cases of Japanese *noh* theatre<sup>3</sup> and Buddhist ritual music in Taiwan.

This phenomenon can be seen in Bent’s classification of different notational systems. In his classification, he classifies only written notational systems in terms of the external written or graphic forms, but some notations in his classification are actually the written version of the oral instructional methods often used in the oral musical tradition. He actually takes the parameters of both written and oral musical communication into account to make the classification. His seven types of notational systems include:<sup>4</sup> 1) letters of the alphabet, such as pitch nomenclature, which distinguish twelve classes of Western tonal music by the letters of the alphabet; 2) syllables, such as the Japanese seven syllables from the forty-eight katakana for solmization and the ten Chinese characters (syllables) in *gongche* notation 工尺譜 representing the notes of the diatonic

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<sup>1</sup> Ter Ellingson, “Notation,” in *Ethnomusicology: Introduction*, ed. Helen Myers (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992), 153.

<sup>2</sup> Ian D. Bent, et al., “Notation,” in *Grove Music Online*. [database online; available from <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/public/>]

<sup>3</sup> Yasuo Nakamura, *Noh: The Classical Theater* (New York and Tokyo: Walker/Weatherhill, 1971). William P. Malm, *Traditional Japanese Music and Musical Instruments*, 2nd ed. (New York: Kodansha International, 2000), 286-90.

<sup>4</sup> Ian D. Bent, et al., “Notation,” in *Grove Music Online*.

scale; 3) syllables and vowel acoustics, such as the *hayashi* notation of Japanese *noh* theatre, in which the *nōkan* flute 能管 is presented in notation in Japanese vowel kana, and is taught by singing the successive vowel pairs as mnemonics,<sup>5</sup> because the intrinsic pitch ordering of vowels in Japanese pronunciation reflects the melodic direction; 4) words, such as Chinese *lülü* notation 律呂譜, in which the twelve Chinese terms used to name the fixed-pitch system of twelve *lü* 十二律 in an octave; 5) numbers, as in Japanese *koto* notation;<sup>6</sup> 6) graphic signs, as in Western staff notation; and 7) hybrid systems, such as the notation for the Korean *kōmun'go* zither. The usage of the notation on type 3 in the instruction is actually what he describes about oral notation, and the notation of type 3 is actually the “written” oral notation.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to Bent, Ellingson also discusses notation in written and unwritten systems, but he uses the terms “graphic” and “non-graphic.” Unlike Bent, whose approach is based on the notation’s external forms or formalist conceptions, Ellingson analyzes the different graphic musical notations based on the internal logic for designing the notational systems. He argues that the classification by formalist conceptions fails to reveal the underlying principles of the notational systems, and forces the researchers to “evaluate notational issues in terms of graphic similarities and differences.”<sup>8</sup> Therefore, his approach is not to create a classification, but to design the analytical criteria—a set of five parameters, each of which is given two conceptual contrasts. These five parameters

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<sup>5</sup> Malm, *Traditional Japanese Music*, 286-90.

<sup>6</sup> Malm, *Traditional Japanese Music*, 294-5.

<sup>7</sup> Bent’s classification for musical notations is actually not widely accepted by ethnomusicologists because it is mainly based on the external appearances of the notations without considering their meanings and their relationship to the performance. For example, *koto* notation (a tablature indicating the strings to be played) and cipher notation (*jianpu* 簡譜, a “movable do” system) are placed in the same category simply because they use numbers (Witzleben 2011, personal comments). This external-form-basis of classification seems inconsistent and is unsuitable for many Asian notational practices (Witzleben 2011, personal comments).

<sup>8</sup> Ellingson, “Notation,” 156.

and two contrasts of each are used for analyzing the principle of devising the notation and the internal logic of how a notational system is conceived and perceived in a musical genre of a musical culture. Any notational system can be analyzed in terms of these five parameters and their conceptual contrasts.

The five parameters and their conceptual contrasts are:<sup>9</sup> 1) function, with prescriptive/descriptive as contrast; 2) reference, with articulatory/acoustic as contrast; 3) symbolic mode, with iconic/abstract as contrast; 4) encoding form, with analog/digital as contrast; and 5) musical content, with cultural-specific/intercultural as contrast. Taking the Western staff notation as an example, for the function parameter, Western staff notation is generally “prescriptive” rather than “descriptive,” because it is made before the music is performed, not after. In common parlance in ethnomusicology, descriptive notation refers to transcription, which is made after the music is performed. For the reference parameter, “articulatory” indicates that the symbols in the notation refer to the articulation of sound or the actions of the player to make the sound, while “acoustic” symbols refer to the sound itself or the final effect of the playing actions. In this case, the fingering and bowing signs in Western staff notation are articulatory, because they denote how a player produces the sound, while the pitch and duration signs are acoustic, because they represent the sound itself.

For the symbolic mode parameter, “iconic” refers to the fact that the representation of the notation parallels the actual sense (visual, aural, or others) of the sound, so in Western staff notation, the pitch position in the higher or lower staff on notation is considered as “iconic,” because the higher or lower position on the staff parallels the actual higher or lower pitches. As for “abstract,” it indicates that the representation of notation is

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<sup>9</sup> Ter Ellingson, “Notation,” 157-61.

perceived in terms of the arbitrary logical consistency, not the parallel sense of iconicity. The half-step modifications indicated by accidental signs are abstract, because the staff positions of the notes with accidentals do not reflect the actual high or low pitch. For instance, the pitch of C<sub>b</sub> might be lower than the pitch of B<sub>#</sub> for a violinist, but on the staff notation, the position of C<sub>b</sub> is presented higher than the position of B<sub>#</sub>. In this case, the accidental signs on notation are perceived in terms of logical consistency rather than iconic consistency.

For the encoding form parameter, “analog” indicates that in the notation, the complex patterns of musical sound are presented by the symbols which conceptually and synthetically correspond to the sound effect, while “digital” refers to the complex patterns of musical sound being represented by a dense number of symbols which show all individual elements or all separate components in the patterns of the sound. In this case, the turn signs, trill signs, and mordent signs on Western staff notation are analog. However, if the turn sign or trill sign is written out with all its single pitches and all its notes, this representation becomes digital. For the musical content parameter, the “culture-specific” and “intercultural” indicates that a notational system may show the musical information specific only for that culture, but it may also include the information which shares the same principles with other musical cultures. The functional harmony presented in the Western staff notation is specific to Western musical culture, but the principle of organizing beats proportionally by means of the notation can be also found in other musical cultures.

According to Ellingson, a notational system tends to correlate either contrast from each parameter, but tends not to correlate both contrasts in the same parameter. However, according to the description above, Western staff notation is actually designed by taking

almost all conceptual contrasts of all parameters into account. The Western staff notation can be articulatory as well as acoustic, iconic as well as abstract, and analog as well as digital. In other words, the design of Western staff notation can be explained or interpreted in terms of all contrasts of the parameters. Thus it may be understood that the Western staff notational system prescribes the musical information of the performance as an approximation of what the actual musical performance conveys. This notation uses all means to visually represent the musical sounds and process in the performance. In this case, Western notation is a relatively “complete” system for its music. The more completely a notational system is designed, the more accurately the corresponding sound sequences of a musical performance can be perceived or imagined from the visual notation.

However, not all notational systems from different musical cultures are designed by incorporating all conceptual contrasts of all parameters into the system. For example, Chinese *qin* ideographic notation<sup>10</sup> is designed in terms of an “articulatory–abstract–digital” principle. The designing principle of *qin* notation is articulatory rather than acoustic, abstract rather than iconic, digital rather than analog. The result of this notation is detailed information for the playing fingerings and motions of both hands, but little musical information regarding the sound itself. Comparing to Western notation, it is harder to directly “read” and imagine the sound sequences of music from the visual representation of *qin* notation.

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<sup>10</sup> Robert Hans van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute: An Essay on the Ideology of Ch'in*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2011).  
Bell Yung, ed. *Celestial Airs of Antiquity: Music of the Seven-String Zither of China* (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1997).

The notation of Buddhist ritual music is in a similar situation as *qin* notation. Its designing principle also does not cover all conceptual contrasts of all parameters (Notation 16).

自○皈○依○法○當○願○眾○生○深○入○經○藏○智○慧○如○海○  
拜起

自○皈○依○佛○當○願○眾○生○體○解○大○道○發○無○上○心○  
拜起

國○基○鞏○固○治○道○遐○昌○佛○日○增○輝○法○輪○常○轉○

四○生○九○有○同○歸○淨○土○法○門○八○難○三○途○共○入○彌○陀○願○海○  
(每逢朔望日及佛誕日改念後四句)

薩○摩○訶○般○若○波○羅○蜜○

七○者○請○佛○住○世○八○者○常○隨○佛○學○九○者○恆○順○眾○生○  
 十○者○普○皆○回○向○十○方○三○世○一○切○佛○一○切○菩○薩○摩○訶○

南○無○清○淨○大○海○眾○菩○薩○

一○者○禮○敬○諸○佛○二○者○稱○讚○如○來○三○者○廣○修○供○養○  
 四○者○懺○悔○業○障○五○者○隨○喜○功○德○六○者○請○轉○法○輪○

光○中○化○佛○無○數○億○化○菩○薩○眾○亦○無○邊○  
 四○十○八○願○度○眾○生○九○品○咸○令○登○彼○岸○  
 南○無○西○方○極○樂○世○界○大○慈○大○悲○阿○彌○陀○佛○  
 南○無○阿○彌○陀○佛○  
(隨念數百或一千聲，再轉念四字佛，迨大眾歸位齊，收結佛號，跪念以下三菩薩名，各三稱，心存觀想。)  
 南○無○觀○世○音○菩○薩○  
 南○無○大○勢○至○菩○薩○

Notation 16. Notation for Buddhist Ritual Music

This notational system includes three main parts: 1) the ritual text, 2) the symbols showing the representation of different *baiqi* instruments, and 3) the small texts which provide additional descriptions or instruction for the practices of the ritual such as the repetition of phrases, reminders about some movements, or guidance about cultivation during specific ritual excerpts. The musical parts on the notation are the ritual texts and the symbols. Since all ritual texts are chanted, the ritual texts are equivalent to *fanbai* (Buddhist liturgical chant). However, the notation shows only chanting texts with no

musical information such as tonic, pitch, or melodic progression for the chant. All the pre-existing melodies for the texts and the way of chanting the texts are memorized in the ritual practitioners' mind and are transmitted orally. On the right side of the ritual texts, different symbols show how the different *baiqi* instruments are played and how the beat of the *baiqi* match the ritual texts. If a phrase needs to be chanted for three repetitions, the *baiqi* accompaniment to that phrase is usually played in the same way for the first two times, but played differently for the third repetition. In this case, the symbols for that third repetition are shown on the left side of the text (see the red frame on Notation 16).

A symbol could indicate only a single instrument or the combination of several instruments. Each symbol indicates one stroke on the corresponding instrument. Table 6 shows the symbols for the individual *baiqi* instruments, and Table 7 shows the symbols for combinations of different *baiqi* instruments.

The Symbol and Its Corresponding Single Instrument		
Symbols		Instruments
1	◎	Great ritual bowl 大磬 (the beater strikes the bowl as normal.)
2	◁	Great ritual bowl (the beater slightly touches and presses on the bowl. 壓大磬)
3	●	Leading-ritual bowl 引磬 (the beater strikes the bowl as normal.)
4	▷	Leading-ritual bowl (the beater slightly touches and presses on the bowl. 壓引磬)
5	—	Small suspended bell 吊鐘
6	🔔	The great bell 大鐘
7	○	The drum 鼓 (usually refers to hall drum.)

Table 6. The Symbol and Its Corresponding Single Instrument

The Symbol for the Combination of Different Instruments		
Symbols		Instruments
1		Play the small suspended bell and the hall drum together.
2		Play the great ritual bowl and the small suspended bell together.
3		Play the great ritual bowl and the hall drum together.
4		Play the great ritual bowl and the leading-ritual bowl together.
5		Play the great ritual bowl and the bell-drum set together.

Table 7. The Symbol for the Combination of Different Instruments

This version of symbols were standardized by BAROC (The Buddhist Association of Republic of China 中國佛教會) during the martial law period in Taiwan (1949–1987, see Chapter 2).<sup>11</sup> These symbols do not cover all *baiqi* instruments used in the ritual: there is no symbol for the wooden fish, gong, or cymbal. Generally, the wooden fish’s beat follows the symbol for the hall drum, the gong’s beat follows the symbol for the small suspended bell, and the cymbal’s beat also follows the symbol for the hall drum.<sup>12</sup> If the gong and cymbal are used together with the bell-drum set in the ritual, the small suspended bell in the bell-drum set can be omitted.

In addition to this version of symbols, some large and influential monasteries in Taiwan also instituted their own versions of symbols for *baiqi* instruments after the martial law period. These newly-invented symbols are basically used only in their own monasteries, not disseminated widely. The BAROC’s version of symbols is still the most popular version used in the monasteries of Taiwan today. Tables 8 and 9 show the versions of symbols by Dharma Drum Mountain. Some symbols in the DDM’s version

<sup>11</sup> Gao Yali 高雅俐, “Cong fojiao yinyue wenhua de zhuanbian lun fojiao yinyue zai Taiwan de fazhan,” 從佛教音樂文化的轉變論佛教音樂在台灣的發展 (A Discussion on the Development of Buddhist Music in Taiwan from the Transformation of Buddhist Musical Culture) (Master Thesis, National Taiwan Normal University 國立台灣師範大學, 1990), 142.

<sup>12</sup> *Fomen bibei kesongben* 佛門必備課誦本 (Required Buddhist Recitation Book) (Taipei: Baima Publishing House 白馬書局, 1999), 1.

are the same as those of BAROC's version, but many symbols are different. Unlike BAROC's version, the DDM's version contains symbols for the wooden fish, gong, and cymbal.

Dharma Drum Mountain's Version		
The Symbol and Its Corresponding Single Instrument		
Symbols		Instruments
1	◎	Great ritual bowl 大磬 (the beater strikes the bowl as normal.)
2	◁	Great ritual bowl (the beater slightly touches and presses on the bowl. 壓大磬)
3	●	Leading-ritual bowl 引磬 (the beater strikes the bowl as normal.)
4	◃	Leading-ritual bowl (the beater slightly touches and presses on the bowl. 壓引磬)
5	⊕	Small suspended bell 吊鐘
6	○	The drum 鼓 (usually refers to hall drum.)
7	🐟	The wooden fish 木魚
8	—	The gong 鐃子
9	⊕	The cymbal 鈴子

Table 8. The Symbol and Its Corresponding Single Instrument (Dharma Drum Mountain's Version)

Dharma Drum Mountain's Version		
The Symbol for the Combination of Different Instruments		
Symbols		Instruments
1	⊕	Play the small suspended bell and the hall drum together.
2	◎	Play the great ritual bowl and the hall drum together.
3	◎	Play the great ritual bowl and the leading-ritual bowl together.
4	⊕	Play the great ritual bowl and the bell-drum set together.
5	⊕	Play the drum and cymbal together.
6	🐟	Play the wooden fish, cymbal, and hall drum together.

Table 9. The Symbol for the Combination of Different Instruments (Dharma Drum Mountain's Version)



notation<sup>13</sup> (BAROC's version) to the Western notation. Only the first two phrases from the ritual notation (the red frame part) were transcribed, without the chant.

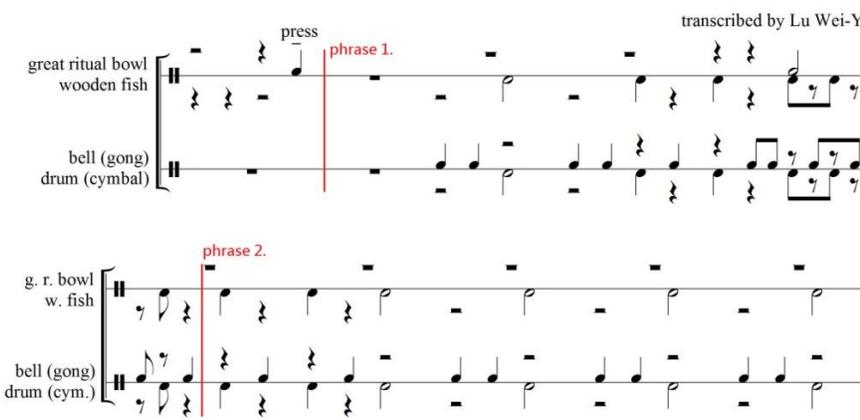
Buddhist Ritual Notation	Transcription (Western Notation)
<p>宮。天臺。清涼山。羅漢來受人間。供。供。養。香。纒。繞。爐。焚。寶。鼎。動。中。梅。檀。沉。乳。真。堪。供。十。方。諸。佛。下。天。宮。十。方。諸。佛。下。天。</p>	<p>transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu</p> 

Table 12. Transcription of *Baiqi* Rhythm from Buddhist Ritual Notation to Western Notation

The performance practice of *baiqi* (Buddhist percussive instruments) in the ritual includes a fundamental rhythmic style (*zhengban* 正板) and an ornamental rhythmic style (*huaban* 花板). *Baiqi* symbols in the ritual notation show only the fundamental rhythmic style; there is no notation for the ornamental rhythmic style. Basically, the fundamental rhythmic style is applied in the first type of rituals (the rites for cultivation) such as morning and evening services (Chapter 3). Generally, all daily rituals in the

<sup>13</sup> *Fomen bibei kesongben*, 123.

monastic daily life and routine are practiced in the fundamental rhythmic style. The performance practice of *baiqi* in other ritual types, such as rites of penance or rites for universal salvation, is often carried out in the ornamental rhythmic style. The ornamental rhythmic style is practiced based on the fundamental rhythmic style with improvisation, modification, or variation. In the case of ornamental style, the *baiqi* symbols on the ritual notation (which only shows the fundamental style) are just a skeleton formula or a conceptual basis for performance elaboration, not the written equivalence of the musical process.

Generally, the *haichaoyin*-style ritual practitioners basically follow the instruction of the ritual notation and play the *baiqi* as indicated on the notation (for the fundamental style), but for the *gushanyin*-style ritual practitioners, the *baiqi* is not always played exactly the same as its notation would indicate. The *gushanyin*-style ritual practitioners often freely prolong the melisma of the chant, so the *baiqi*'s beat value is correspondingly and proportionally prolonged. In addition, they sometimes freely make changes in rhythm, add more embellishments, or use more instruments in the actual performance by responding to their state of mind in the performance or to the current ritual situation or context.

Notation 17 is the same ritual excerpt as in Table 12, but is the transcription from the actual ritual performance carried out by the *gushanyin*-ritual practitioners. The *baiqi* in this performance is played in the fundamental rhythmic style. Both the *fanbai* and *baiqi* parts are included in the transcription. Comparing this transcription with Table 12, one can see the actual performance of the *baiqi*'s rhythmic progression has some differences from its notation (the red-frame parts show the points of difference). The *baiqi*'s beat value is also proportionally prolonged in this performance.

Dayunbixian Temple  
transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

phrase 1.

香 纒 爇 爐  
hiunn tsai jiat loo

g. ritual bowl  
wooden fish

bell (gong)  
drum (cym.)

with Buddhist bell ringing

4

焚 鼎  
hun po tian

g. r. b.  
w. f.

hit on the rim of the drum surface

b. (g.)  
dr. (c.)

7

phrase 2.

中 檜 檀  
tiong tsian tan

g. r. b.  
w. f.

b. (g.)  
dr. (c.)

10

沉 鼎 中 檜  
tim tsian tan tan

g. r. b.  
w. f.

b. (g.)  
dr. (c.)

14

供  
kiong

g. r. b.  
w. f.

b. (g.)  
dr. (c.)

Notation17. Transcription (Including *Fanbai* and *Baiqi*) from the Actual Ritual Performance

The Buddhist ritual notation, according to Bent's classification, uses a type of graphic signs, similar to Western staff notation. If analyzing the Buddhist ritual notation in terms of Ellingson's conceptual contrasts of parameters, this kind of notation is designed by the "prescriptive-articulatory-iconic-analog" principle: the notation is made before, rather than after, the music is performed (prescriptive); the symbols of *baiqi* refer to the *baiqi*'s arrangements and the player's causative actions for producing the sounds (articulatory) rather than to the result of sounds being heard (acoustic); the sizes of symbols for the beat value, the shapes of symbols for different *baiqi*, and the layout of matching the *baiqi*'s beat to the chant (ritual texts) are understood and conceived by instinctive sense (iconic) rather than learning logically (abstract); and the notation's forms of encoding conceptually and synthetically correspond to the sound sequences (analog), rather than to the complete and detailed musical components in the actual performance (digital).

One may figure out two things from the Buddhist ritual notation: the implicit rules between the performance practice of *fanbai* and *baiqi* in the ritual, and the main manner of transmission for the ritual performance. The Buddhist ritual notation is "iconic," meaning that it looks similar to the way the music sounds; the "iconic" symbol shapes and the "iconic" symbol sizes are placed in appropriate locations adjacent to the ritual texts. The correlation between different instruments, rhythmic patterns, and different ritual text forms is clearly shown in this "iconic" arrangement of all components (symbol shapes, symbol sizes, and ritual text forms) in the notation. This "iconic" representation of the ritual notation depicts the customary practice in the interaction between *fanbai* and *baiqi* in the ritual performance (the detail is discussed later).

In addition, the fact that the *baiqi* symbols prescribe only "articulatory" playing techniques, actions, and ways but do not prescribe any "acoustic" aspects of the music

itself may be explained by the acoustic aspects of music being difficult to define in the notation. In other words, the music itself, such as how the chanting melodies progress, how the *baiqi*'s rhythmic succession is presented, or other musical information for the performance practice, can be highly flexible and variable in the actual ritual performance. Because of little musical information being included in the notation, it can be assumed that the transmission of musical practices in the ritual cannot strongly rely on the written notation, in contrast to the learning of Western classical music. In this case, for passing down the performance practice of the *fanbai* and *baiqi*, the written ritual notation may play only a secondary role, while the oral/aural communication is the main method for teaching and learning. Therefore, "oral notation" has been developed and also has a role in the transmission of Buddhist ritual music (this is also discussed in the later section).

In the next section, I attempt to uncover the customary relationship and practice between the *fanbai* and the *baiqi* within the Buddhist rituals, and discuss the transmission of the *baiqi* in the monastery.

## II. *Baiqi* in the Diverse Buddhist Rituals

When I learned to play *baiqi* instruments during my fieldwork in Taiwan, the instructor-nuns always said that "if you know how to chant (*fanbai*), you would know how to play *baiqi*." While this claim is not necessarily true in the actual situation, it points out the close, interactive relationship between the *fanbai* and the *baiqi* in the ritual performance. Practically, the *baiqi* accompanies the *fanbai*, leads all actions, movements, and gestures in the ritual, indicates the start and the end of each chanting part, and connects all ritual sections. Religiously, the *fanbai* directly carries the meaningful ritual texts and transmits the Buddhist doctrinal messages, and the *baiqi* reinforces the doctrinal

messages through its different sequences of sound.<sup>14</sup> Musically, how the rhythmic progression of the *baiqi* is carried out to complement the *fanbai* relates to the different ritual text forms in the ritual.

### 1. *Fanbai* and *Baiqi*

In a Buddhist ritual, the complete ritual text comprises many different text forms, all of which are either chanted or recited. Each text form has its own musical representation. Not only are the musical forms of the *fanbai* the mirrors of the different structures of different ritual text forms, but also the performing patterns for the *baiqi* are carried out by corresponding to the change of different text forms through the ritual process. The ritual text forms affect how the *fanbai* and *baiqi* are presented in the ritual, and are the basis of the interaction between the *fanbai* and *baiqi*. Generally, a complete Buddhist ritual includes at least five kinds of text forms: psalm (*zan* 讚), hymn (*ji* 偈), main sutra text (*jing* 經), mantra (*zhou* 咒), and Buddha's or Bodhisattva's name (*fohao* 佛號). In the following discussion, I present how the *baiqi* and its rhythmic patterns are applied to the *fanbai* (chant) of each ritual text form in the fundamental rhythmic style (*zhengban* 正板).

#### 1-1. *Zan* 讚 (Psalm)

The psalm (*zan* 讚), in the Buddhist rituals, is usually presented in a kind of poetic form with irregular-length phrases (*changduanju* 長短句), in which each phrase contains

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<sup>14</sup> Chen Biyan 陳碧燕 “Shengfan zhi jie? Zhongguo fojiao siyuan zhidu zhi yinyue ji guanli zuzhi” 聖凡之界? 中國佛教寺院制度之音樂及管理組織 (The Boundary of Sacred and Secular? The Music in the Chinese Monastic Institution and the Organization of Administration), *Xiangguang zhuangyan* 香光莊嚴 63 (2000): 138-55.

a different number of characters. The psalms can be the five-phrase psalm, six-phrase psalm, eight-phrase psalm, or ten-phrase psalm...etc. Table 10 in the previous section shows an eight-phrase psalm, and Table 12 shows a ten-phrase psalm. In the ritual process, the most common usage for psalms is to put them in the first part of a ritual for invoking the presence of Buddha or a Bodhisattva at a ritual service. In a few cases, a psalm is also put at the end of a ritual, such as the Psalm of Weituo (a temple guardian deity) (Weituo Zan 韋馱讚) in the end of morning service and the Psalm of Temple (Qielan Zan 伽藍讚) in the end of evening service. Psalms usually express praise to Buddha, to dharma, to monastery, to sutra, or to a specific Buddhist ritual. The different psalms, in terms of their relevant subjects, can be chosen to be applied in the rituals according to the ritual function and purposes.

In the musical practices, a psalm is chanted in a kind of song form and has the pre-existing skeleton melody for it. The same melodic contour can be applied in the different psalms which have the same structure. For example, both the Burning-Incense Psalm (Luxiang Zan 爐香讚) and the Lotus-Pond Psalm (Lianchi Zan 蓮池讚) are six-phrase psalms with the same character numbers in each phrase (Table 13), so they can be chanted using the same melodic contour. Similarly, the psalms with the same structure can also share the same performing pattern of the *baiqi*.

Among the diverse Buddhist rituals, the most frequently used psalm is the six-phrase psalm, the structure of which is four, four, seven, five, four, and five characters in its six phrases, twenty-nine characters in total. Many Buddhist psalms take in this structure. Table 13 shows two different six-phrase psalms in their ritual notations (the red number indicates the phrases, and the text below the green line is not the psalm itself, but the connected three repetitions of a Bodhisattva's name). The two ritual notations in Table 13



### Performing Pattern of *Baiqi* in the Six-Phrase Psalm

transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

great ritual bowl  
wooden fish

bell (gong)  
drum (cymbal)

g. ritual bowl  
wooden fish

bell (gong)  
drum (cym.)

g. ritual bowl  
wooden fish

bell (gong)  
drum (cym.)

g. ritual bowl  
wooden fish

bell (gong)  
drum (cym.)

Notation 18. Transcription of *Baiqi* Performing Pattern in the Six-Phrase Psalm

When the *baiqi* is played as an accompaniment to the psalms in the fundamental rhythmic style (*zhengban* 正板), there are usually three kinds of rhythmic patterns used:

1) the three-star pattern (*sanxingban* 三星板, see the blue frame in Notation 18 and Table 13), in which there are three strokes on the instruments, also known as the *yiban sanyan* pattern 一板三眼, corresponding to the “strong-weak-weak-weak” quadruple

meter; 2) the seven-star pattern (*qixingban* 七星板, see the yellow frame in Notation 18 and Table 13), in which there are seven strokes on the instruments; and 3) the *yiban yiyan* pattern 一板一眼 (see the purple brackets on Notation 18), corresponding to the “strong-weak-strong-weak” duple meter.

The three-star pattern is the most basic pattern, which is run through the whole psalm, and a few seven-star patterns are inserted between the three-star patterns to prevent monotonous and repetitious rhythmic patterns through the whole psalm. The *yiban yiyan* pattern is usually immediately connected right before and after the seven-star pattern. In a psalm, the process of moving from the current three-star pattern to the next three-star pattern is practiced through the following order: three-star pattern, *yiban yiyan* pattern, seven-star pattern, *yiban yiyan* pattern, and three-star pattern. This process is known as “passage through the seven star” (*guoqixing* 過七星), which is a kind of pattern transition (*guoban* 過板). Usually, the great ritual bowl must be played on the first beat of the seven-star pattern to remind all ritual participants about the time of the pattern transition.

## 1-2. *Ji* 偈 (Hymn)

Similar to a psalm, a hymn (*ji* 偈), in the Buddhist rituals, is also a kind of poetic form, but with regular-length phrases, in which each phrase in the hymn has the same number of characters. A hymn may have four, six, eight, or more phrases, and each phrase usually contains four, five, seven, or eight characters. A hymn is often seen being arranged at the end of a ritual section or the end of the whole ritual. Its main function is to emphasize or summarize the key points of the section or the ritual. It is also sometimes put between two psalms or two sections of a ritual as the transition. The most common

purposes of the hymns are to praise Buddha, to arouse the vow, to do penance, to transfer merits, or to make the monastic audience vigilant about keeping cultivation.

In musical practice, the hymns are presented in the strophic song form, which is accomplished by the repetition of a single section of music in which each repeat has the same basic melodic and rhythmic character. The repeated cycle can be based on each phrase or on every few phrases. Most hymns also have the pre-existing skeleton melodies for chanting. In Table 14, example A is an eight-phrase hymn with seven characters in each phrase (*qiyan bajū ji* 七言八句偈), and its melody is repeated at every two phrases. Example C in Table 14 is a twelve-phrase hymn with four characters in each phrase (*siyan shierju ji* 四言十二句偈), and its melody is repeated at every four phrases.

This repetitious feature is also seen in the *baiqi*'s rhythmic progression. In the most common situation, the *baiqi*'s rhythmic repeated cycle is usually in every phrase (see example A and B in Table 14). There are basically four kinds of rhythmic patterns found in the hymns: 1) the *yiban sanyan* pattern 一板三眼, 2) the *yiban yiyān* pattern 一板一眼, 3) the flowing-water pattern (*liushuibān* 流水板), and 4) the nine-bell-fifteen-drum pattern (*jiuzhong shiwugu* 九鐘十五鼓). The most commonly seen rhythmic patterns of the *baiqi* in hymns are the *yiban sanyan* pattern 一板三眼 (strong-weak-weak-weak; see the blue frame in Table 14 and Notation 19) and the *yiban yiyān* pattern 一板一眼 (strong-weak-strong-weak; see the purple frame in Table 14 and Notation 19). In many hymns, these two patterns make up the *baiqi*'s repeated cycle, and are run through the whole hymn (see example A and B in Table 14).

As for the flowing-water pattern (*liushuibān* 流水板; see the green frame in Table 14 and Notation 19), it indicates that the *baiqi* is played in a regular mode through the whole hymn. For example, the pattern can be presented in the way that strike the *baiqi*

instrument on every beat, on every second beat, or on every fourth beat through the whole hymn. Or, it can also be practiced in such a way that the *baiqi* is struck on every character, on every second character, or on every fourth character through the whole hymn. All these playing modes can be viewed as the flowing-water pattern. This flowing-water pattern is usually carried out by the wooden fish (green frame on example A) or by the leading-ritual bowl (green frame on example C). This pattern can be combined with other rhythmic patterns in the hymns, or be applied on its own in the hymns.

Three Different Hymns		
A.	B.	C.
Praise to Buddha Hymn	Hymn of Transferring Merits	Hymn of Taking Refuge in the Three Treasures of Buddhism
<p>7. 四十八願度眾生 5. 光中化佛無數億 3. 白毫宛轉五須彌 1. 阿彌陀佛身金色</p> <p>8. 九品咸令登彼岸 6. 化菩薩眾亦無邊 4. 紺目澄清四大海 2. 相好光明無等倫</p>	<p>3. 花開見佛悟無生 1. 願生西方淨土中</p> <p>4. 不退菩薩為伴侶 2. 九品蓮花為父母</p>	<p>9. 皈依僧 10. 當願眾生 11. 統理大眾 12. 一切無礙</p> <p>5. 皈依法 6. 當願眾生 7. 深入經藏 8. 智慧如海</p> <p>1. 皈依佛 2. 當願眾生 3. 體解大道 4. 發無上心</p> <p>三皈依 接九鐘十五鼓</p> <p>請起立 問訊相對站 請起立 請起立 請起立 請拜下 請拜下 請拜下</p>

Table 14. The Ritual Notations of Three Different Hymns

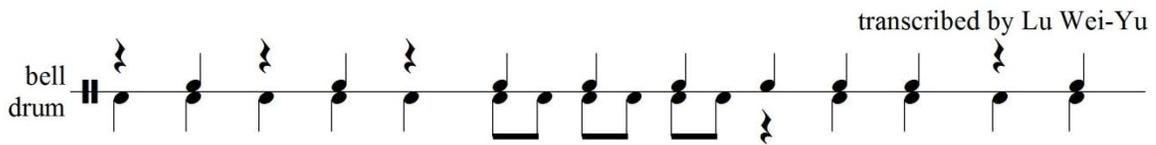
## Praise to Buddha Hymn

transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

The notation consists of three systems, each with two staves. The top staff of each system is for the 'great ritual bowl' and 'wooden fish', and the bottom staff is for the 'bell (gong)' and 'drum (cymbal)'. Measure numbers 1, 6, and 12 are indicated at the start of each system. A red vertical line marks the beginning of each system. Green boxes highlight specific measures in the top staff of each system. A blue box highlights measures 10-11 in the bottom staff of the second system. A pink box highlights measures 12-13 in the bottom staff of the third system.

Notation 19. Transcription of *Baiqi* in the Praise to Buddha Hymn (Example A of Table 14)

The nine-bell-fifteen-drum pattern (*jiuzhong shiwugu* 九鐘十五鼓; see the pink frame in example C of Table 14) is the pattern which is practiced in between phrases of hymns or psalms, or in between ritual sections, usually playing a “connecting” role. The most commonly seen usage of this pattern is its application in the Hymn of Taking Refuge in the Three Treasures of Buddhism (*Sanguiyi* 三皈依; see the pink frame in example C). This pattern is specifically for the bell-drum set, and its name, the nine-bell-fifteen-drum pattern, implies that there are nine strokes on the bell and fifteen strokes on the drum in this pattern. The principle for practicing this pattern is “bright bell and shaded drum” (*mingzhong angu* 明鐘暗鼓). This means that when the bell and drum are struck together, the bell sound must be clear and sonorous, but the drum sound should be indistinct. Notation 20 shows the transcription of this pattern.



Notation 20. Transcription of the Nine-Bell-Fifteen-Drum Pattern

### 1-3. *Jing* 經 (Main Sutra Text)

In the complete ritual process, the main sutra text (*jing* 經) is the main content and the main subject of the ritual. Depending on what sutra is being used in the ritual, one can recognize the nature and the main purposes of the ritual. Unlike the psalms and hymns, for which the texts have been composed by eminent monks throughout history, the main sutra text is comprised of the Buddha's words and the Buddha's original teachings. The sutra text is presented in the long prose form. In contrast to the psalms and hymns, which have pre-existing skeleton melodies, the main sutra text is carried out by free chanting without a clear melodic contour. Every participant in the ritual freely chants and improvises, usually based on four to five different pitches. No one chants in the same way, and thus this creates the rich sound effect in the section of the main sutra text. Chanting the main sutra text does not seek a pleasant melodic progression, but aims to be introspective or to reflect the self through the personal free chanting, and to encourage contemplation of the sutra text in the mind (*suiwen guanxinag* 隨文觀想).<sup>15</sup>

As for the *baiqi*, the large wooden fish and the great ritual bowl are often applied in the main sutra text section. The large wooden fish is played in the flowing-water pattern

<sup>15</sup> Xie Huiwen 謝惠文, "Taiwan mituo foqi zhi yishi yu yinyue yanjiu," 台灣彌陀佛七之儀式與音樂研究 (The Ritual and Music in the Seven-Day Retreat of the Intensive Recitation for Amitabha Buddha in Taiwan) (Master Thesis, Taiwan National University of the Arts, 2007), 93.

in the way that every single character is matched with one stroke (*yizi yiqiao* 一字一敲). This is for controlling the tempo of free chanting and makes everyone chant consistently during the long sutra text section. The great ritual bowl, on the one hand, is played by the precentor with the “press” technique to announce the beginning of the sutra section, and on the other, it is occasionally played on a few characters of the sutra text during the sutra section to remind all ritual participants of the chanting progression (see the red frame in Table 15). Table 15 shows two ritual notations of the Heart Sutra (*xinjing* 心經), one for the morning service, and another for the evening service. Actually, the ritual notation does not indicate the flowing-water pattern for the large wooden fish, but all temples and monasteries I have visited in Taiwan use the large wooden fish to play the flowing-water pattern in the main sutra text section.

The Ritual Notation of the Heart Sutra in Morning Service	The Ritual Notation of the Heart Sutra in Evening Service
<p>般若波羅蜜多心經</p> <p>觀自在菩薩。行深般若波羅蜜多時。照見五蘊皆空。度一切苦厄。舍利子。色不異空。空不異色。色即是空。空即是色。受想行識。亦復如是。舍利子。是諸法空相。不生不滅。不垢不淨。不增不減。是故空中無色。無受想行識。無眼耳鼻舌身意。無色聲香味觸法。無眼界。乃至無意識界。無無明。亦無無明盡。乃至無老死。亦無老死盡。無苦集滅道。無智亦無得。以無所得故。菩提薩埵。依般若波羅蜜多故。心無罣礙。無罣礙故。無有恐怖。遠離顛倒夢想。究竟涅槃。三世諸佛。依般若波羅蜜多故。得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。故知般若波羅蜜多。是大神咒。是大明咒。是無上咒。是無等等咒。能除一切苦。真實不虛。故說般若波羅蜜多咒。即說咒曰。揭諦揭諦。波羅揭諦。波羅揭諦。揭諦。菩薩婆訶。</p>	<p>般若波羅蜜多心經</p> <p>觀自在菩薩。行深般若波羅蜜多時。照見五蘊皆空。度一切苦厄。舍利子。色不異空。空不異色。色即是空。空即是色。受想行識。亦復如是。舍利子。是諸法空相。不生不滅。不垢不淨。不增不減。是故空中無色。無受想行識。無眼耳鼻舌身意。無色聲香味觸法。無眼界。乃至無意識界。無無明。亦無無明盡。乃至無老死。亦無老死盡。無苦集滅道。無智亦無得。以無所得故。菩提薩埵。依般若波羅蜜多故。心無罣礙。無罣礙故。無有恐怖。遠離顛倒夢想。究竟涅槃。三世諸佛。依般若波羅蜜多故。得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。故知般若波羅蜜多。是大神咒。是大明咒。是無上咒。是無等等咒。能除一切苦。真實不虛。故說般若波羅蜜多咒。即說咒曰。揭諦揭諦。波羅揭諦。波羅揭諦。揭諦。菩薩婆訶。</p>

Table 15. Two Ritual Notations of the Heart Sutra in Morning and Evening Services

#### 1-4. Zhou 咒 (Mantra)

The mantra (*zhou* 咒), also known as *zhenyan* 真言 or *tuoluoni* 陀羅尼 (Sanskrit: *dhāraṇī*) in Chinese Buddhist scriptures, is the mystical incantation and is the Buddha's or Bodhisattva's secret invocation of the occult power. The proper pronunciation of the sounds is deemed crucial and necessary for the mantra to be effective, and thus the Chinese characters with which the mantras are written are selected for their phonetic values, not their meanings, to transliterate the original pronunciation of the mantras chanted in the Indic language. In the Buddhist rituals, mantras have different lengths; some are very short, such as the Kṣitigarbha Bad Karma Extinguishing Mantra (*miedingye zhenyan* 滅定業真言, only 10 characters), and others are extremely long, such as the Shurangama Mantra (*lengyan zhou* 楞嚴咒, totaling 2,620 characters). Similar to the main sutra text, the mantra is also presented by free chanting without the clear melodic contour, and thus the sound effect of chanting in the mantra section is also similar to that of the main sutra text section.

The application of the *baiqi* in the mantra is also similar to that in the main sutra text. The main rhythmic pattern used in the mantra is the flowing-water pattern practiced using the large wooden fish (most common) or the leading-ritual bowl (in some cases) for controlling the tempo and the consistency of free chanting. The large wooden fish is usually struck on every character of the mantra (usually in the extremely long mantra, such as the Shurangama Mantra 楞嚴咒), while the leading-ritual bowl is often struck on every beat of the mantra (see the Palden Lhamo Mantra in Table 16). In addition, the great ritual bowl is played with the “press” technique to announce the start of the mantra, and it is also struck occasionally on a few characters of the mantra as a reminder of the chanting progression (the red frame in the Palden Lhamo Mantra in Table 16). In some

short mantras, it is usually the large wooden fish used to play the flowing-water pattern (this is not shown in the notation), and the leading-ritual bowl must be struck on the last character of the short mantra (see the red frames in the four short mantras in Table 16).

Four Short Mantras	Palden Lhamo Mantra 善女天咒
<p>唵。 唵。 唵。 唵。</p> <p>1. 滅定業真言 鉢囉末隣陀寧娑婆訶。 (第三遍向中間訊)</p> <p>2. 滅業障真言 阿嚕勒繼娑婆訶。</p> <p>3. 開咽喉真言 步步底哩伽哆哩。 怛哆譏哆耶。 (第三遍佛前問訊)</p> <p>4. 三昧耶戒真言 三昧耶。 薩埵鏗。</p>	<p>善女天咒 (大吉祥天女咒) (三遍)</p> <p>南無佛。 陀。 南無達。 摩。 南無僧。 伽。 南無室。 利。 摩。 訶。 提鼻耶。 怛。 你也。 他。 波。 利。 富樓那。 遮。 利。 三曼陀。 達舍尼。 摩。 訶。 毗。 訶羅伽帝。 三曼陀。 毗尼伽。 帝。 摩。 訶。 迦。 利。 野。 波。 禰。 波。 囉。 波。 禰。 薩。 利。 嚩。 栗。 他。 三。 曼陀。 修鉢犁。 帝。 富隸那。 阿。 利。 那。 達。 摩。 帝。 摩。 訶。 毗。 鼓。 畢。 帝。 摩。 訶。 彌。 勒。 帝。 婁。 籤。 僧。 祇。 帝。 醯。 帝。 徒。 僧。 祇。 醯。 帝。 三曼陀。 阿他阿娑婆羅尼。</p>

Table 16. The Ritual Notation in Different Mantras

1-5. *Fohao* 佛號 (Buddha's or Bodhisattva's Name)

In diverse Buddhist rituals, the Buddha's or Bodhisattva's name is usually chanted in the following forms: chanting a name in three repetitions (*sancheng fohao* 三稱佛號), chanting a name in limitless repetitions, and chanting diverse Buddhas' names in succession. The form of chanting a Buddha's or Bodhisattva's name in three repetitions appears in different sections of a ritual. It is usually connected to the end of each ritual section, and thus its chanting melody is usually consistent with the melody used in the

section to which it is attached. On the one hand, it functions as the division between ritual sections, by means of which the ritual participants can transfer their state of mind from the previous section to the next section. On the other hand, it represents the respect for the Buddha or Bodhisattva and helps all ritual participants deeply contemplate (*guanxiang* 觀想) the Buddha or Bodhisattva who blesses the ritual with his presence.

As for the form of chanting a Buddha's name in limitless repetitions or chanting diverse Buddhas' names in succession, these two practices themselves usually make up of a complete section in the ritual. Most rituals contain such a section for repeatedly chanting a Buddha's name or successively chanting different Buddhas' names. In most cases, chanting a Buddha's name in limitless repetitions is carried out by two ways: the "circumambulating chanting" (*raonian* 繞唸) and the "sitting chanting" (*zuonian* 坐唸). In the "circumambulating chanting," all ritual participants circumambulate the Buddha statue or just circumambulate inside the hall and at the same time chant the Buddha's or Bodhisattva's name with limitless repetitions. In the "sitting chanting," the ritual participants sit on the ground with legs crossed and at the same time chant the Buddha's or Bodhisattva's name with limitless repetitions. In Buddhist practices, the recitation of the Buddha's name is itself a method or dharma gate (*famen* 法門) which can earn merits, facilitates rebirth to a pure land, and accelerates the gain of salvation. For the ritual participants, the incessant chanting of the Buddha's name is an important practice for concentrating the attention (*shexin* 攝心) in the ritual, a way of training the mind for self-cultivation.

The melodies used in the section of repeatedly chanting a Buddha's name or successively chanting diverse Buddhas' names are more numerous and variable than the melodies used in other forms of ritual texts. Foguangshan Monastery has eleven different

melodies applied in the ritual section of chanting the Buddha’s name,<sup>16</sup> and Dharma Drum Mountain has seven melodies being used.<sup>17</sup> In addition, the *gushanyin*-style ritual practitioners even apply popular songs to the chanting of Buddha’s name. In the chanting-name parts of a ritual, the most commonly used *baiqi* instrument is the bell-drum set (Table 17). From the following two ritual notations in Table 17, one can observe that the main *baiqi* applied is the bell-drum set.

Chanting a Bodhisattva’s Name in Three Repetitions	Chanting Diverse Buddhas’ Names in Succession

Table 17. The Ritual Notations for Chanting Buddha’s or Bodhisattva’s Name

<sup>16</sup> Shi Yongfu 釋永富, “Tan foguangshan lianghuang fahui zhi yigui yu fanbai,” 談佛光山梁皇法會之儀軌與梵唄 (Discussion on the Liang Emperor Penance Ritual and its Chant in Foguangshan Monastery), in *Foxue yanjiu lunwenji: zongjiao yinyue* 佛學研究論文集: 宗教音樂 (Essays for Buddhist Studies: Religious Music) (Kaohsiung: Foguangshan wenjiao jijinhui 佛光山文教基金會, 2001), 141-5.

<sup>17</sup> Qiu Yujun 邱鈺鈞, “Cibei daochoang chanfa yishi yu yinyue de yanjiu,” 慈悲道場懺法儀式與音樂的研究 (Research on the Liang Emperor Penance Ritual and its Music) (Master Thesis: National Cheng Kung University, 2005), 77.

In the case of “circumambulating chanting,” the small wooden fish and the leading-ritual bowl are used for accompaniment, sometimes used together with a bell-drum set. Table 18 and Table 19 show the “circumambulating chanting” of a Buddha’s name in limitless repetitions. Table 18 is the chanting for the “six-character Buddha’s name in two phrases” (*liuzi eryin fohao* 六字二音佛號), and Table 19 is the chanting for the “six-character Buddha’s name in one phrase” (*liuzi yiyin fohao* 六字一音佛號). I put the ritual notations and their transcriptions abreast in the tables. The transcriptions are from the actual ritual performance in the Yuanguang Buddhist School (Table 18) and the Ziyun Temple (Table 19).

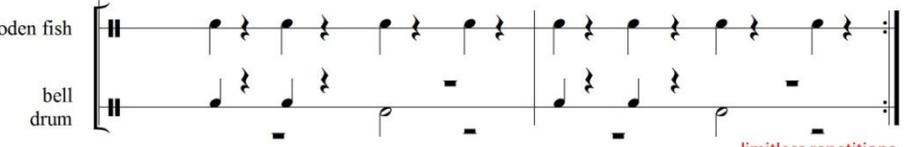
Ritual Notation	Six-Character Buddha’s Name in Two Phrases Transcription from the Actual Ritual Performance in the Yuanguang Buddhist School
<p style="text-align: center;">南 無 阿 彌 陀 佛</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Six-Character Buddha’s Name in Two Phrases 六字二音佛號</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Yuanguang Buddhist School transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu</p> <p>chanting</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">nan mo e mi tuo fo nan mo e mi tuo fo 南 無 阿 彌 陀 佛 南 無 阿 彌 陀 佛</p> <p>small wooden fish</p>  <p>bell drum</p> <p style="text-align: right;">limitless repetitions</p>

Table 18. The Ritual Notation and Transcription for the “Six-Character Buddha’s Name in Two Phrases”

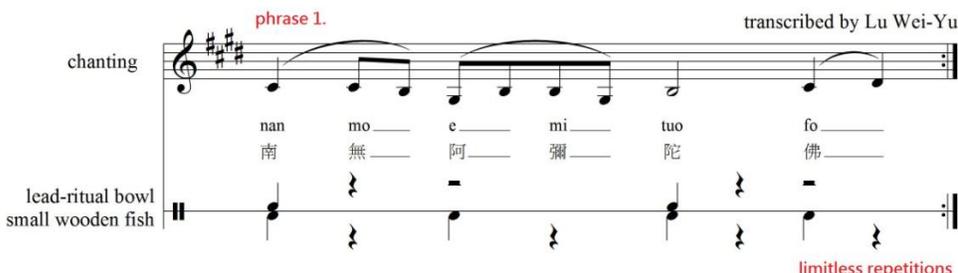
Ritual Notation	Six-Character Buddha's Name in One Phrase Transcription from the Actual Ritual Performance in the Ziyun Temple
	<p style="text-align: center;">Six-Character Buddha's Name in One Phrase 六字一音佛號</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Ziyun Temple transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu</p> 

Table 19. The Ritual Notation and Transcription for the “Six-Character Buddha’s Name in One Phrase”

In the case of the “sitting chanting,” the ground bell (the combination of a small suspended bell and a small wooden fish) must be used to accompany the chanting. It is used as the substitute for the bell-drum set. Table 20 shows the “sitting chanting” of a Buddha’s name with limitless repetitions. It is the chanting for the “four-character Buddha’s name in four phrases” (*sizi siyin fohao* 四字四音佛號).

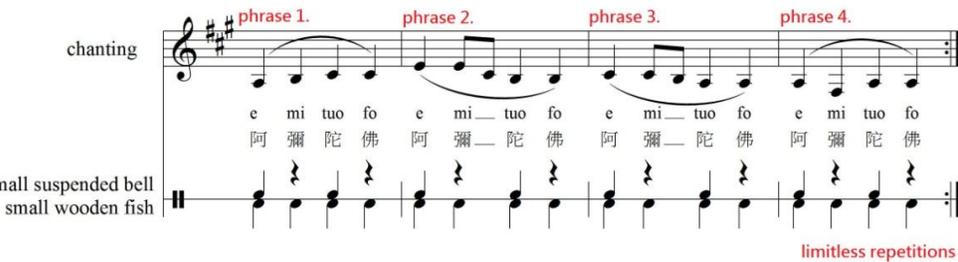
Ritual Notation	Four-Character Buddha's Name in Four Phrases Transcription from the Actual Ritual Performance in the Ziyun Temple
	<p style="text-align: center;">Four-Character Buddha's Name in Four Phrases 四字四音佛號</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Ziyun Temple transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu</p> 

Table 20. The Ritual Notation and Transcription for the “Four-Character Buddha’s Name in Four Phrases”

In the discussion above, I presented how the *baiqi* and *fanbai* interact with each other in the five kinds of ritual text forms in the fundamental rhythmic style (*zhengban* 正板). Although the ritual notation does not represent the musical information such as melodic or rhythmic progression, it still suggests some implicit rules in the *baiqi*'s rhythmic patterns and modes used in the *fanbai* of different text forms. In addition to the practice of fundamental rhythmic style shown in the ritual notation, the *baiqi* in many cases is played in the ornamental rhythmic style (*huaban* 花板), especially in the large-scale rituals for universal salvation. However, there is no notation for the *baiqi* played in ornamental rhythmic style. On the one hand, the ornamental style is practiced by making modification, variation, or improvisation based on the fundamental style. On the other hand, there are also some *baiqi* rhythmic patterns specifically used for the ornamental style.

The rhythmic patterns for the ornamental style are usually in connection with the gong and the cymbal, and are often applied to the psalms in the ritual. One of the characteristics in the ornamental rhythmic patterns is their syncopated rhythm (see the following notations). The basic and commonly used ornamental rhythmic patterns include: the *sanbanban* pattern 三板半 (Notation 21, Taiwanese: *sannliaupanpuann* pattern 三寮板半), the modified *sanbanban* pattern (Notation 22), the *qibanban* pattern 七板半 (Notation 23, Taiwanese: *tshitliaupanpuann* 七寮板半), and *tingban* pattern 停板 (Taiwanese: *tunban* 頓板).

These ornamental patterns for the gong and the cymbal are also applicable to the bell-drum set, with the bell played on the gong's beats and the drum played on the cymbal's beats. Basically, when the gong and the cymbal are used together with the bell-drum set in the ritual, the bell-drum set is usually played without the bell. Playing the



ornamental seven-star pattern (*qixingban* 七星板) (the seven-star pattern in the fundamental style is discussed in the psalm section above).

In fact, the usage of the rhythmic patterns in ornamental style is practiced differently across different monasteries and temples. In most of the monasteries and temples I contacted in the fieldwork, the nuns mentioned all the ornamental rhythmic patterns I described above, but they do not use all of them in their ritual performance. Some monasteries may use only the *sanbanban* pattern, and other monasteries practice both the *sanbanban* and *qibanban* patterns. In addition to the above basic ornamental patterns, there are still other ornamental patterns being used. Some monasteries use ornamental patterns that are completely different from the basic ornamental patterns. For example, Notation 25 is the ornamental rhythmic pattern which is most commonly used in the Yuanguang Buddhist School. Notation 26 is the ornamental seven-star pattern used in the Yuanguang Buddhist School, and it is also different from the ornamental seven-star pattern used in the Chaofeng Temple.

Burning-Incense Psalm  
(Luxiang Zan 爐香讚)

Chaofeng Temple  
transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

♩=78 **phrase 1.**

chanting  
爐 loo      香 hiunn      乍 tsann

gong  
cym.

5 **phrase 2.**

ch.  
8 爇 jiat      法 huat      界 kai

gong  
cym.

9

ch.  
8 蒙 bong      熏 hun

gong  
cym.

13 **phrase 3.**

ch.  
8 諸 tsu      佛 hut

gong  
cym.

17

ch.  
8 海 hai      會 hue      悉 sik      遙 iau

gong  
cym.

21

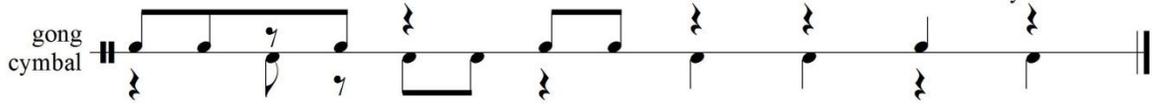
ch.  
8 聞 bun

gong  
cym.

Notation 24. The *Sanbanban* Pattern Applied in the Burning-Incense Psalm

### An Ornamental Rhythmic Pattern

Yuanguang Buddhist School  
transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

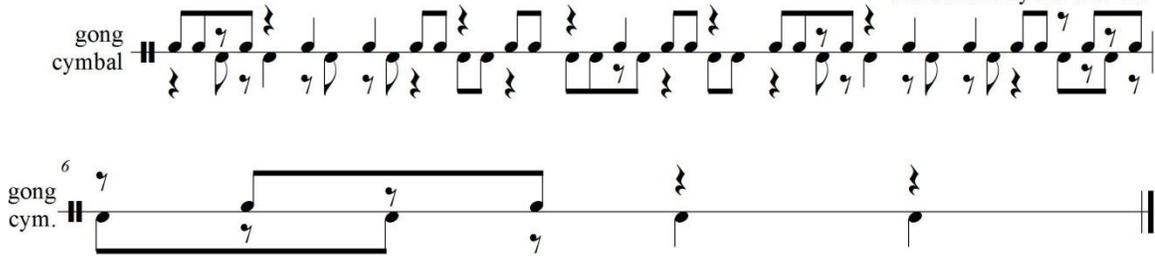


Notation 25. An Ornamental Rhythmic Pattern Used in the Yuanguang Buddhist School

### A Seven-Star Rhythmic Pattern in Ornamental Style

七星板 花板

Yuanguang Buddhist School  
transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu



Notation 26. The Ornamental Seven-Star Pattern Used in the Yuanguang Buddhist School

The performance practice of the *baiqi* is always carried out by corresponding to the structure of the *fanbai* in different ritual text forms. However, although there have the implicit rules and some stereotyped patterns to follow, the fundamental or ornamental patterns are not fixed or unchangeable in the actual ritual performance. In fact, as long as the *baiqi* can be played to match the structure of different ritual text forms and played in consistency with the chanting progression, the player is free to create variations on the original rhythmic patterns, include improvisations, or add more *baiqi* instruments in the performance. What the notation prescribes and the stereotyped patterns set for music-making in the ritual are just a kind of “musical formula,” which is the building block in the construction or re-construction of an entire actual performance.<sup>18</sup> Generally

<sup>18</sup> Janice E. Kleeman, “The Parameters of Musical Transmission,” *The Journal of Musicology* 4, no. 1 (1985-1986): 7.

speaking, *haichaoyin*-style ritual practitioners are more conservative regarding what the notation and the patterns prescribe when playing the *baiqi* in the fundamental rhythmic style, having a certain degree of flexible practices only in the ornamental rhythmic style. However, *gushanyin*-style ritual practitioners perform the patterns and execute the notations more freely and variably in both the fundamental and ornamental rhythmic styles.

The following section investigates how this highly flexible and variable performance practice of the *baiqi* is taught and learned, discussing the method, the aesthetics, and the taboo in transmission in the Buddhist monasteries of Taiwan.

## 2. Transmission

Music in oral transmission and music in written transmission have long been two different paradigms in the ethnomusicological literature. Traditionally, ethnomusicology is labeled as the study of music in the oral tradition, in which the music is handed down by word of mouth.<sup>19</sup> In the ethnomusicologists' point of view, the "oral" tradition may be better named as the "aural" tradition for understanding the processes of memory.<sup>20</sup> Despite the general recognition of this dichotomy between oral/aural tradition and written tradition, in many cases, how a musical tradition is passed down through history cannot be simply categorized as either oral/aural or written transmission. It can be observed that all written traditions are taught through word of mouth, and so have substantial oral components.<sup>21</sup> Also, "while oral traditions seem at some level freer and less fixed than

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<sup>19</sup> Bruno Nettl, "Recorded, Printed, Written, Oral: Traditions," in *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 291.

<sup>20</sup> Bruno Nettl, "Recorded, Printed, Written, Oral: Traditions," 291.

<sup>21</sup> Bruno Nettl, "Paradigms in the History of Ethnomusicology," *College Music Symposium* 19, no.1 (1979): 74.

written traditions, they are still characterized by a degree of stability and reference to tradition that reminds one of the apparent fixity of written traditions.”<sup>22</sup>

In addition to the confines of oral or written transmission, Rice pointed out a mode of transmission which is beyond oral or written tradition. He indicated that “all instrumental music traditions, while partaking variously of written and oral components, are visual, aural, and tactile or kinesthetic in nature. Both oral and written instrumental traditions are visual-aural-tactile or visual-aural-kinesthetic traditions, and in that sense possess more in common than the dichotomy between the oral and written suggests.”<sup>23</sup> In the case of Buddhist tradition, Buddhism and its musical culture are definitely in a written tradition, but despite the use of written notation, all monks/nuns tend to emphasize that they learn or teach the musical practices in Buddhist rituals orally/aurally, stressing the significance of “oral instruction and mental inspiration.”

#### 2-1. Oral Instruction and Mental Inspiration (*Kouchuan Xinshou* 口傳心授)

Unlike the Western method of music instruction in which literacy skills make up the important components, “oral instruction and mental inspiration” (*kouchuan xinshou* 口傳心授) is deemed as the orthodox practice for the transmission of Buddhist ritual music in the monasteries, in which the written prescriptions or notations for musical practices are usually disregarded and only used as a memory aid. Oral instruction indicates the physical means of handing down the ritual musical skills and knowledge from teacher to apprentice. In actual practice, it may be generalized to include some interrelated forms: cognitive and behavioral aspects of observation and imitation of teacher demonstration

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<sup>22</sup> Timothy Rice, “Understanding and Producing the Variability of Oral Tradition: Learning from a Bulgarian Bagpiper,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 108, no.429 (1995):275.

<sup>23</sup> Timothy Rice, “Understanding and Producing the Variability of Oral Tradition,” 275.

by apprentice,<sup>24</sup> mnemonic systems of pitch and rhythm, vocalization or recitation of pitches and rhythms, and memorization of phrases and formulaic passages.<sup>25</sup>

For the instruction of *baiqi* practices in the monasteries, a kind of “contour oral notation”<sup>26</sup> has been developed in teaching as the mnemonic systems and the vocalization or recitation of the *baiqi*’s rhythm. Most of the *baiqi*’s rhythmic patterns in the ritual are set for two *baiqi* instruments. The teacher-monks usually use different sung syllables to imitate the different *baiqi* instruments’ sounds to represent the rhythmic sequences. For example, in the Yuanguang Buddhist School in Taiwan, the teacher-monk uses the syllable “diang” to represent the sound of a gong, and the syllable “qi” for the sound of a cymbal. By reciting these two syllables in the rhythmic patterns, an ornamental rhythmic pattern can be represented as “diang diang qi diang qi qi diang diang qi qi diang qi” (Notation 27).

This kind of orally represented rhythmic pattern aurally depicts the picture of the rhythmic sequence in the pattern, and clearly distinguishes the different *baiqi* instruments’ parts through the rhythmic sequence. This is especially useful for memorizing the different ornamental rhythmic patterns. Because the ornamental patterns usually feature in the syncopation, when the pattern is run so quickly, it is actually difficult for a *baiqi* player to memorize only his own individual part in the pattern without considering another *baiqi* player’s part. By well-memorizing this contour oral notation, a *baiqi* player is able to become acquainted with both his own and another *baiqi* player’s rhythm parts

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<sup>24</sup> Timothy Rice, “The Ethnomusicology of Music Learning and Teaching,” *College Music Symposium* 43 (2003): 77.

<sup>25</sup> Patricia Shehan, “The Oral Transmission of Music in Selected Asian Cultures,” *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education*, no.92 (1987): 2.

<sup>26</sup> Ter Ellingson uses the term “contour notation” to describe the similar-looking vocal notation for Tibetan Buddhist music. I borrow and modify his term as “contour oral notation”. See Ter Ellingson, “Buddhist Musical Notation,” in *The Oral and the Literate in Music*, ed. Tokumaru Yosihiko and Yamaguti Osamu (Tokyo: Academia Music Ltd., 1986), 302.

in the pattern. This contour oral notation provides the perfect mnemonics for supporting the memorization of all different rhythmic patterns. In addition, the nuance of the intensity and tone in the *baiqi*'s sounds can also be subtly expressed orally when reciting this kind of syllable mnemonics.

Yuanguang Buddhist School  
transcribed by Lu Wei-Yu

gong  
cymbal

syllables    diang    diang    qi    diang    qi    qi    diang    diang    qi    qi    diang    qi

Notation 27. The Contour Oral Notation for a Rhythmic Pattern

As for the mental inspiration (*xinshou* 心授), it is the spiritual aspect of the oral transmission. On the one hand, it indicates the apprentice's personal perspicacity of what the teacher transmits about the physical skills through the oral/aural teaching and learning. Therefore, with different perceptions, different apprentices get different inspirations from the teacher and may represent what they learn in different ways. On the other hand, it corresponds to the apprentice's sensation of the profound message or the teacher's Buddhist cultivation which is naturally embedded in the teacher's practices or performances. In this case, music is not only its physical or discernable morphology, but also a means or channel through which the teacher and the apprentice spiritually communicate with each other.

The process of reaching an ideal learning effect through the "oral instruction and mental inspiration" requires a long-term experience in apprenticeship and a long and stable relationship between the teacher and the apprentice. This is based on the concept of "permeation" (*xunxi* 薰習, Sanskrit: *vāsanā*) in Buddhism, which is the most important

modus operandi in transmitting both Buddhist practices and ritual musical practices. During my fieldwork, all teacher-nuns kept reminding me of this term when I learned the *baiqi*. In Buddhism, the human's behavior, thought, and all experiences through the eye-, ear-, nose-, tongue-, body-, and ideation-consciousness are stored in the human's Eighth Consciousness (store-house consciousness, seed consciousness, *alaiyesi* 阿賴耶識, Sanskrit: *ālayavijñāna*) as the seeds of karmic formation, which is the aggregate administering and yielding the rebirth, and is the cause to form the humans' different habituated tendencies of their words and deeds (*xiqi* 習氣).

Therefore, when a human is stays in a certain circumstance for a long time, he must be imperceptibly influenced by what he constantly sees and hears, and thus shapes a certain kind of habituated tendency. This is what the term “permeation” signifies, and is the most important practice in the oral transmission of Buddhist ritual music. Through the long-term contact and trust between teacher and apprentice, the apprentice not only learns the “explicit knowledge” of musical skills, but also is influenced unobtrusively and imperceptibly (*qianyi mohua* 潛移默化) by the teacher's behavior, manner, values, moral character, culture, cultivation, and all other aspects, and gains the unwritten, unspoken, and internalized personal “tacit knowledge.”<sup>27</sup> This influence is engrained or embedded in the apprentice's musical representation, and this is how his aesthetic of the musical representation is cultivated.

In the transmission of musical practices of Buddhist rituals, the “oral instruction and mental inspiration” is actually carried out between teacher and apprentice by the combination of “taught by words” (*yanjiao* 言教), “taught by deeds” (*shenjiao* 身教),

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<sup>27</sup> Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 96.

and “taught by context” (*jingjiao* 境教). By this way, learning the *baiqi* and *fanbai* does not pursue brilliant or perfect musical skills, but pursue the balance between the skill and the personal cultivation.

## 2-2. Aesthetics



In 2008, I first took *baiqi* lessons in a small temple in southern Taiwan. These *baiqi* lessons are intended to train the Buddhist laity or postulants so that they can gain sufficient competence to play *baiqi* in the Buddhist rituals, because the nuns in the temple are not enough to serve all rituals (although I am neither a lay Buddhist nor a Buddhist postulant in the temple, I was allowed to learn there as a researcher). In the first class, I brought the small *baiqi* (small wooden fish and leading-ritual bowl) to the class and expected to learn some fundamental practices. However, when I attended the class, I saw that a lot of fruits were spread on the table and the ground, and all lay Buddhists in the room were concentrating on arraying the fruits properly on the fruit tray for the “fruit offering” (*gongguo* 供果) in front of the Buddha (Photo 46 above). The teacher-nun saw me and just said that I should “join them and practice,” and then a lay Buddhist passed a fruit tray and a lot of lemons to me, told me the rules of how to array the fruits, and left me to practice by myself. In the first class of the *baiqi* lessons, everyone dealt with only fruits without touching any *baiqi* instrument.

A few days later, the second class came. I also brought my *baiqi* instruments to attend the class. However, when I got there, everyone was busy sweeping the great shrine-hall.

The teacher-nun (who was mopping the floor) saw me and just said that I should “choose any work you want to do and go to help others.” Then, a lay Buddhist approached me and asked me if I preferred to mop or to wipe the window, and I said “wipe the window,” and then she gave me a cleaning rag and a detergent, and left me to work by myself. They called this the “cultivate virtuous behavior” class (*xiufuke* 修福課). Similarly, no one touched any *baiqi* instrument in the second *baiqi* class. I was confused at that time, so after the class, I asked the teacher-nun why the *baiqi* lessons included these things. The teacher-nun answered that “we need to calm the mind and learn to cooperate with other people first before the start of *baiqi* practices.”

In Buddhist rituals, it can be observed that any *baiqi* instrument is always carried out by interacting with other *baiqi* instruments, and each *baiqi* is usually connected with another *baiqi* as a pair, such as ritual bowl and wooden fish, bell and drum, or gong and cymbal. In other words, it is not important to demonstrate personal musical talent or show outstanding skills in any *baiqi* instrument, but it is more important to properly cooperate with other *baiqi* players, making all sounds of the ritual performance in a moderate balance. “Harmony” (*hexie* 和諧) is the central idea of the aesthetics in a ritual performance. On the one hand, each *baiqi* player needs to have a certain degree of personal cultivation, reaching the state of harmony among his own body, mind, and soul in order to produce the modest *baiqi* sounds; on the other, every *baiqi* player should play in harmony with other players to present a harmonized ritual performance. This “harmony” aesthetics is based on the Buddhist practice of the “six relevant harmonies” (*liuhejing* 六和敬).

The “six relevant harmonies” indicate that the Buddhist practitioners are mutually amiable and mutually respectful in the six ways,<sup>28</sup> and that the Buddhist monks/nuns live in harmony in the monasteries by mutual conformity in the six ways. These six ways are: to exhibit harmony in their deportment (*shehejing* 身和敬), in their speaking (*kouhejing* 口和敬), in their faith (*yihejing* 意和敬), in their views (*jianhejing* 見和敬), and in their benefits (*lihejing* 利和敬).<sup>29</sup> This concept of “harmony” is the significant discipline of conduct among Buddhist practitioners and monks/nuns, referring to the outward benevolence (*he* 和) and the inward modesty (*jing* 敬).<sup>30</sup> For the musical practices in the Buddhist rituals, “harmony” becomes the prerequisite cultivation for every players and the aesthetic principle underlying the performance.<sup>31</sup>

Therefore, in the first class of the *baiqi* lessons I attended, the “fruit offering” practice is a kind of personal cultivation, and is the inward training for the harmony of body, mind, and soul through monotonous and rote practices. One needs to concentrate to stack up the fruits in several layers without making the fruits fall from the tray. In the rote practices, one cultivates oneself to keep the state of mental calm without becoming annoyed, and finally reaches the harmony of the balanced mind and the hand movements. In the second class of the *baiqi* lessons, when all lay Buddhists in the class cooperated with each other to sweep the great shrine-hall, was training to be in harmony with other people. All

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<sup>28</sup> Foguangshan Foundation for Buddhist Culture and Education 佛光山文教基金會, “*liuhejing*” 六和敬 (Six Harmonies), in *Foguang dacidian* 佛光大辭典 (Foguangshan Buddhist Dictionary) [database online; available from [http://www.fgs.org.tw/fgs\\_book/fgs\\_drser.aspx](http://www.fgs.org.tw/fgs_book/fgs_drser.aspx)]

<sup>29</sup> Sanqing 善卿, *Zuting shiyuan* 祖庭事苑 (The Collection of Topics from the Garden of Zen Patriarch) [1088-1108, Northern Song Dynasty 北宋 (960-1127)], in *Shinsan dainihon zokuzokyō* 卅新纂大日本續藏經 (New Compiled Sequel for Tripitaka of Taisho Era) (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai 國書刊行會, 1975-1989), X64, no.1261, 379.

<sup>30</sup> Foguangshan Foundation for Buddhist Culture and Education, “*liuhejing*.”

<sup>31</sup> This “harmony” value attached to the performers and their interactions in the performance can also be seen in many other musical genres in different cultures, such as Jiangnan Sizhu 江南絲竹 (silk and bamboo music in Jiangnan area of China) and Javanese gamelan music.

people had their own cleaning tasks, but at the same time needed to be sensitive to help each other. In the third class of the *baiqi* lessons, we were able to touch the *baiqi* instrument for the first time. Actually, through the whole *baiqi* lessons, the “fruit offering,” the sweeping of the shrine-hall, and the *baiqi* practices was a cycle; we always had a *baiqi* class after two “cultivation” classes.

The “harmony” aesthetic is also used as a standard of assessment for an apprentice’s *baiqi* performance. Usually, an apprentice who is outstandingly talented in musical skills often holds self-awareness of his talent, and this may cause conceit that may be embedded in his music and may prevent him from playing in harmony with others. A nun told me that the best *baiqi* player in their monastery is not the most talented or skillful one, but the one who achieves balance between musical skills and spiritual fulfillment, and can be always modest in his performance or his role among all *baiqi* players in the ritual. The nun also said to me that this kind of apprentice usually also possesses good interpersonal relationships with others in the monastery. Generally speaking, a *baiqi* player who possesses the “harmony” character may imply that he also has a higher degree of spiritual cultivation or spiritual catharsis, and this is one of the important factors making the ritual efficacious, especially when that player is the host monk (*zhufa* 主法) or the precentor monk (*weinuo* 維那) in the Buddhist rituals.

### 2-3. Taboo

It is a universal phenomenon that the musical instruments in relation with rituals, religions, or beliefs always hold inscrutable power and play a crucial role to connect with the realm beyond this world, such as the wind and percussion ensemble for setting the

soul in traditional Taiwanese funerals,<sup>32</sup> the sacred instrument *qeej* for guiding the soul in traditional funeral rites of the Mong culture,<sup>33</sup> a spirit-resided instrument *dàn tình* used by the *Tày* shaman in Vietnam,<sup>34</sup> and the *neku* buffalo horn for transcending the boundaries of death and rebirth in Buddhist Nepal.<sup>35</sup> In the Buddhist tradition of Taiwan, the *baiqi* is deemed as “the ear and the eye of dharma-guardian dragons and gods” (*longtian ermu* 龍天耳目), and its sounds possess the spiritual and inductive power to produce a certain effect on the spirits. Whenever the *baiqi* is sounded, it can always induce certain responses by the passing virtuous spirits or evil spirits.

On account of its spiritual power, the *baiqi* itself is also one of indispensable factors to bring about the efficacy in the ritual. It is a medium capable of contacting the sentient beings in the six destinies (*liudao zhongsheng* 六道眾生),<sup>36</sup> making possible communication across the different transcendent realms in Buddhist cosmology. Therefore, in the Buddhist rituals, the *baiqi* is used for invoking the presence of the Buddha, Bodhisattva, and all guardian gods, and also used for conjuring all other beings such as demigods, spirits, and ghosts to participate in the ritual.<sup>37</sup> Its sound steps out of the mundane ordinary into the extraordinary reality, transforming the sense of being in

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<sup>32</sup> Ping-Hui Li, “Processional Music in Traditional Taiwanese Funerals,” in *Harmony and Counterpoint: Ritual Music in Chinese Context*, ed. Bell Yung, Evelyn S. Rawski, and Rubie S. Watson (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996), 130-49.

<sup>33</sup> Yer J. Thao, “Culture and Knowledge of the Sacred Instrument *Qeej* in the Mong-American Community,” *Asian Folklore Studies* 65, no.2 (2006): 249-67.

<sup>34</sup> Công Ý La, “*Dàn tình*: The Marvelous and Sacred Musical Instrument of the *Tày* People,” *Asian Ethnology* 67, no.2 (2008): 271-86.

<sup>35</sup> Paul D. Greene, “Sounding the Body in Buddhist Nepal: *Neku* Horns, Himalayan Shamanism, and the Transmigration of Disembodied Spirit,” *The World of Music* 44, no.2 (2002): 93-114.

<sup>36</sup> According to Buddhist cosmology, there are six cyclical existences as the six kinds of rebirth in *samsara* (transmigration) that are undergone by all sentient beings in accord with their good or evil actions carried out in their previous lifetime. These six cyclical existences are known as six destinies, including hell (*diyudao* 地獄道), hungry ghost (*eguidao* 餓鬼道), animal (*chushengdao* 畜生道), asura (demigod) (*xiuluodao* 修羅道), human (*renjiandao* 人間道), and god (*tiandao* 天道).

<sup>37</sup> A similar situation can be seen in gamelan music. The gong in gamelan is also well known as a symbol of power.

the secular state to the sacred state. It creates not only the ritual frame, but constitutes an opening between dimensions: a threshold, a channel between alternate realms.<sup>38</sup>

Therefore, it is believed that once the *baiqi* is sounded, its power and effect works, so playing *baiqi* cannot be free at any time, but is subject to some taboos. Whenever the apprentice needs to practice the *baiqi*, he is first required to recite a sentence that “the apprentice is just practicing *baiqi*, so all gods (including spirits and ghosts) are unnecessary to convene. All Buddha and Bodhisattva protect and bless” (弟子練習法器, 諸神免參, 諸佛菩薩護祐). This recitation is to inform all spiritual beings that the current site is not a formal ritual occasion, reminding them to ignore the *baiqi* sounds, because there may have many errors made in the practices. If the apprentice does not do this first, the *baiqi* sounds will induce the gathering of different spiritual beings.<sup>39</sup> Once they discover that it is not a ritual at all and hear a lot of musical errors, they will raise the negative emotions such as vexation, antipathy, malice, or even resentment. This situation is not only harmful to the apprentices, but also to the spiritual beings.<sup>40</sup>

To completely prevent such circumstances, the teacher-monk usually suggests that instead of using real *baiqi* instruments, apprentices employ other things such as a bowl, a bottle, or a bucket to substitute for the real *baiqi* to practice. Or, apprentices can use both

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<sup>38</sup> Deborah Wong and René T. A. Lysloff, “Threshold to the Sacred: The Overture in Thai and Javanese Ritual Performance,” *Ethnomusicology* 35, no. 3 (1991): 316.

<sup>39</sup> Buddha and Bodhisattva are not considered spiritual beings; they are a kind of being that transcends all beings in the six cyclical existences or six destinies of Buddhist cosmology. Spiritual beings here refer to all non-human beings in different cyclical existences.

<sup>40</sup> Because of the power of *baiqi* and its influences on spiritual beings, musical errors in the formal ritual context are disallowed. In principle, an apprentice who is able to play in formal rituals or ceremonies means that he has already experienced long-term learning and practices, and is expected to play *baiqi* with no mistakes in the formal ritual context. The *baiqi* players allowed to play in the formal context usually can well manage all musical details in the ritual and have a certain degree of spiritual cultivation. However, making musical errors or mistakes in the formal rituals is sometimes practically unavoidable, although only seldom. In my experience, these musical errors are just small mistakes and do not affect the musical process in the ritual. Generally, the spiritual cultivation of the players and the positive effect of the ritual itself are sufficient to counteract the negative influences on spiritual beings from these few musical errors and mistakes in the ritual.

hands to hit their thighs to practice.<sup>41</sup> In fact, the taboo and the alternative ways for practicing the *baiqi* are a way to convey reverence for the *baiqi*. Therefore, playing *baiqi* is not only subject to the taboos, but also requires the proper deportment or decorum (*weiyi* 威儀) in movements and gestures.

This chapter examines the underlying principles of how the Buddhist ritual notation has been designed and discusses how the correlation among the symbol shapes, the symbol sizes, and the ritual text forms can be understood from the notation. In addition, I explore the implicit rules of how the *baiqi* and *fanbai* relate to each other, and uncover the ways to apply different *baiqi*'s rhythmic patterns to the different ritual text forms. Finally, I discuss how the oral transmission of *baiqi* is executed in the monastery, exploring the ways, the philosophy, the aesthetics, and the taboo in the teaching and learning process of *baiqi*.

The next chapter concludes this study by summarizing what has been achieved, discussing the current problems in Buddhist circles in Taiwan, and suggesting areas for future research.

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<sup>41</sup> Chen Xinyi, "Taiwan fojiao fanbai," 65.

## Chapter Six

### Conclusion

#### I. Summary of the Study

This study is a preliminary attempt to uncover the basic musical system of *baiqi* in contemporary Taiwan, emphasizing its performance practice in the monastic daily life and within Buddhist rituals. Although the study of *baiqi* itself has long been neglected, no one can deny the significant roles of *baiqi* in the monastery. The roles of *baiqi* in the Buddhist monastic tradition are multi-faceted and multi-functional, and they can be summarized in five categories.

- 1) *Baiqi* is used for the instrumental accompaniment of a ritual. *Baiqi* provides a metrical background for different instrumentations and provides rhythmic patterns for *fanbai* of different ritual texts. It also frames and connects all ritual sections by creating pure percussive passages for the prelude, transitions between sections, and the coda at the end.
- 2) *Baiqi* is used as a guide to the movements in a ritual. Among all *baiqi* instruments, the great ritual bowl and the leading-ritual bowl, in addition to providing an accompaniment to *fanbai*, can also be used to mark the timing of the different gestures, movements, and actions in the ritual, such as offering incense or flowers, making a salutation to Buddha, turning the body, prostrating the whole body to the ground, or joining the palms together in front of the breast.
- 3) *Baiqi* is used as a site for the construction of monastic space. In the Buddhist monasteries, all daily routines and activities are directed by playing different

*baiqi*, interactively, at the appropriate times. Different sounds of *baiqi*, which may be played in different places of the monastery and may be interlaced with each other, mark the time of each routine and activity. Through the soundscape of *baiqi*, the monastic lifestyle and the monastic space are constructed and defined.

- 4) *Baiqi* forms a channel for communicating with different realms of different sentient beings. In Buddhist tradition, *baiqi* is the ear and eye of the Buddhist guardian dragons and gods; its sounds possess the occult power to connect to and communicate with Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and all sentient beings. This power also creates the sacred space of a ritual, distinguishing the sacred site of a ritual from ordinary reality.
- 5) *Baiqi* provides a means for improving self-cultivation. In some sections of the rituals, *baiqi* is played in a monotonous way, in a repetitious or regular manner. This method, in addition to controlling the beat, helps concentrate the mind and promote mental calm, which, in turn, helps ritual participants not only to achieve a more profound state of contemplation but also to improve their cultivation.

This study examines the musical components and contents that I consider most fundamental and comprehensive in the musical system of *baiqi*. However, the performance practice of *baiqi* in these fundamental and comprehensive applications can show the rhythmic patterns' and rhythmic progression's variability and diversification across some different Buddhist monasteries, temples, and groups. Because of this variance, it is difficult to answer specific questions, such as, "Is there a clearly prescribed definite contents for the monastic musical system?" Or, "What rhythmic rules, patterns,

or modes are broadly applicable to all Buddhist monasteries and groups in Taiwan?" The answers to these questions may be ambiguous. Different monasteries or groups seem to follow an established system for the performance practice of *baiqi*, using similar applications through a monastic day and similar uses of *baiqi*'s fundamental rhythmic patterns in rituals, but other Buddhist monasteries and groups actually practice their own systems. Many instances of exceptional and heterogeneous practice methods exist across different Buddhist monasteries and groups.

During my fieldwork, I have often felt frustrated by this variability of *baiqi* practices, especially as I have visited more and more monasteries and temples in Taiwan. This diverseness can be understood to be in two layers. The first layer comprises the differences between *gushanyin*-style monasteries and *haichaoyin*-style monasteries. The performance practices of *baiqi* in the *gushanyin*-style (local) monasteries and in the *haichaoyin*-style (mainland) monasteries have a fundamental distinction (see Chapter 3). The second layer involves diverseness among monasteries of the same style. Even in monasteries or groups of the same style, many differences still can be found in the performance practices of *baiqi*. Broadly speaking, the differences across the monasteries in *haichaoyin* style are less than the differences across the monasteries in *gushanyin* style. This discrepancy probably relates to certain phenomena in current Buddhist circles in contemporary Taiwan.

## II. Competitiveness and Noncooperation

In modern Taiwan, there are no authoritative Buddhist institutions or central Buddhist authorities to administer nationwide Buddhist monasteries, temples, and groups. Since the lifting of martial law in 1987 (see chapter 2), the BAROC has lost its official power,

and many new Buddhist organizations have sprung up, vigorously developed, and significantly expanded. Currently, in Taiwan, there are at least thirteen large Buddhist monastic systems (including four new dharma lineages and five old dharma lineages; see Chapter 2); five large Buddhist societies; other smaller monasteries, foundations, and organizations; and individual temples.<sup>1</sup> Buddhism in contemporary Taiwan has entered an unprecedentedly flourishing period. Without an authoritative Buddhist institution to direct or regulate it, however, the country's numerous Buddhist resources in different places are not well-integrated. Every monastery holds its own resources, practices within its own system, and develops in its own way. In order to win more resources and more adherents, the monasteries actually experience an underlying competitiveness with one another, which makes it difficult for them to cooperate.<sup>2</sup>

As long as their activities do not violate the law, all Buddhist monasteries and groups can carry out any form of Buddhist activities to disseminate their ideologies, re-interpret dharma, or even reconstruct traditional teachings in their own ways.<sup>3</sup> Scholars have criticized the contemporary monasteries and groups for their “mountainism” (*shantou zhuyi* 山頭主義),<sup>4</sup> competitiveness, and noncooperation in modern Taiwanese society.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> He Mianshan 何綿山, “Mintai fojiao famai luetan,” 閩台佛教法脈略探 (Preliminary Exploration of the Buddhist Dharma Lineages in Fujian Province and in Taiwan), *Xianggang fojiao* 香港佛教 (Buddhist in Hongkong) 533 (2004) [database online; available from [http://www.hkbuddhist.org/magazine/533/533\\_04.html](http://www.hkbuddhist.org/magazine/533/533_04.html)].

<sup>2</sup> Shi Chuandao 釋傳道, “Renjian fojiao—cishi, cidi, ciren de guanhuai yu jinghua,” 人間佛教—此時，此地，此人的關懷與淨化 (Buddhism for the Human Realm—Consideration and Purification for the Current Time, Current Land, and Current People), in *Miaoxin zazhi* 妙心雜誌 (Marvelous Mind Magazine), no. 64 (2001) [database online; available from <http://www.mst.org.tw/MiauCim-bak/magazine.htm>].

<sup>3</sup> Jiang Canteng 江燦騰, *Taiwan dangdai fojiao: fougangshan, ciji, fagushan, zhongtaishan* 台灣當代佛教: 佛光山, 慈濟, 法鼓山, 中台山 (Buddhism in Contemporary Taiwan: Fougangshan Monastery, Tzu Chi Foundation, Dharma Drum Mountain, Chungtai Shan Mountain) (Taipei: Nantian shuju youxian gongsi 南天書局有限公司, 1997), 183-4.

<sup>4</sup> In Buddhist circles, a “mountain” refers to the headquarters of a large Buddhist monastery. The term “mountainism” (*shantou zhuyi* 山頭主義) indicates that the average monastery in contemporary Taiwan cares about only its own benefits, shows concern only for its own development, and values only its own

The trend in which each monastery and group practices its own system and develops in its own way (*gezi weizheng* 各自為政) has brought about a system of heterogeneousness and diversification of Buddhist practices in Taiwan. This is reflected in the diverseness of monastic musical practices across different Buddhist monasteries and groups.

During my fieldwork, I experienced the Water and Land Ritual (*shuilu fahui* 水陸法會) held by two different large monasteries (both *haichaoyin*-style). These two monasteries carried out the ritual with different principles, in different forms, and in different ways. One monastery was creative in its ritual settings and procedures, employing multimedia technology as a substitute for the traditional settings and scene, but it insisted on conservative musical practices, using only the fundamental rhythmic style of *baiqi* and the pre-existing melodies for *fanbai*. The other monastery performed its ritual according to an opposite principle; it was creative in its musical practices, mixing some local musical elements and innovating new musical components for both *baiqi* and *fanbai*, but it used only conservative settings and procedures, carefully following what is indicated in the traditional ritual book.

When I visited the first monastery, the nuns expressed their conviction about reforming the ritual's stereotyped settings and procedures to keep pace with the modern times (*yushi jujin* 與時俱進), while still maintaining the most orthodox musical practices to give the ritual a dignified and solemn musical background. They also showed some disagreement on the mixed and innovative musical practices of the other monastery; they thought that kind of musical practice impaired the practitioners' solemn sentiments and

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leaders.

<sup>5</sup> Jiang Canteng 江燦騰, *Taiwan dangdai fojiao*, 184.

failed to rouse aspiration for enlightenment. During our conversation, I was more or less expected to respond positively to their methods.

When I visited the second monastery, the nuns were proud of their innovation and modification in the ritual's musical practices. They did not believe that their musical practices decreased the solemn ambiance of the ritual; rather, they thought, the new practices made people more receptive to the ritual. These nuns disagreed with the first monastery's use of multimedia technology, arguing that the orthodox ritual settings and procedures, as recorded in the ritual book, have been passed down through history and hence should be respectfully maintained. The rituals, the nuns noted, were instituted by historical eminent monks who reached a higher levels of cultivation and virtue. This means that the conventional ritual settings and procedures possess a certain power and efficaciousness and thus cannot be freely changed. Like the first nuns, the nuns of the second monastery wanted to know whether I approved of their ways or the first monastery's ways.

This case clearly shows the underlying competitive consciousness between two monasteries, and it illustrates the diverseness of their principles, rationales, and executive methods for conducting rituals and musical practices. Similar circumstances exist among many other monasteries and groups. Because of this underlying competitiveness and diversity, monasteries are usually reluctant to cooperate with one another in many aspects. I once asked a nun whether her monastery ever held a ritual cooperatively with nuns from another monastery, and, if so, how they worked together despite the differences of their musical practices, and how they found a way to compromise with each other.<sup>6</sup> The nun

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<sup>6</sup> It is actually common for a monastery or temple that lacks enough monks/nuns to hold a large-scale ritual to ask the monks/nuns of another monastery or temple to hold the ritual jointly. However, a monastery or a temple usually only cooperates with another monastery or temple that shares the same or a related dharma

answered that it is impossible for two monasteries to cooperate with each other unless both originate from the same dharma lineage or related lineages.<sup>7</sup>

Although scholars criticize the competitiveness and noncooperation among Buddhist monasteries and groups, and although they advise regulation and integration, the current situation remains; in Taiwan, Buddhist monasteries, organizations, societies, groups, and temples establish their own individual ways. Similarly, different monasteries and groups conduct and develop their ritual practices in their own ways. There is still no central musical system with definite components or any settled consensus in current Buddhist circles. Fundamentally, the universal practice of *baiqi* across all monasteries is what is indicated in the BAROC's version of ritual notation for the fundamental rhythmic style. As I indicated in the previous chapter, however, in many monasteries, the actual performance is often different from what is notated.

It is still unknown whether a central musical system, with definite musical contents for *baiqi* and *fanbai*, will evolve in the future. Currently, some monasteries and groups already display *gushanyin*-style practices and *haichaoyin*-style practices that are carried out interchangeably and mixed together, to a certain degree (see Chapter 3).

### III. Extended Research

This study, which is merely preliminary, seeks to uncover the performance practice of *baiqi* in the Buddhist circles of Taiwan; it leaves much room for improvement and

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lineage. Even though their musical practices are different, both sides are willing to compromise with each other because their differences are relatively minimal.

<sup>7</sup> Dharma lineages, in the discussion of contemporary influential monastic organizations in Taiwan, do not refer to the traditional sense of Buddhist dharma lineages (such as the Zen school, the Pure Land school, or different Buddhist sects); rather, they refer to the dharma lineages that have been created and evolved based on different influential monasteries in contemporary Taiwan. For example, the Dharma Drum Mountain created its own dharma lineage called “the Dharma Drum Sect of Chinese Zen” (*zhonghuachan faguzong* 中華禪法鼓宗).

extension. Firstly, this study could be continued to understand *baiqi* more completely, especially the practice of the ornamental rhythmic style and its application in large-scale rituals. In addition, the performance practice of Buddhist rituals, especially the *gushanyin*-style practices, could be investigated to discover many local and folk elements. Many local religions and folk beliefs also reveal Buddhist elements in their rituals. Therefore, this study could be extended to study the mutual influences on the performance practices of Buddhist rituals and other local and folk rituals, such as the rituals of *zhaijiao* 齋教 (Taiwanese: *tsiahtshaikau* 呷菜教, religion of the vegetarian diet), *shijiao* 釋教 (Taiwanese: *sikkau*, Śākyamuni sect),<sup>8</sup> or *qianwang gezhen* 牽亡歌陣 (Taiwanese: *khanbong kuatin*, retrieving a dead soul, a ritual that includes a kind of folk theater).

Secondly, in ethnomusicological literature, gender issues and feminist theory have become significant theoretical orientations that affect the analysis of performance and music (Koskoff,<sup>9</sup> Bernstein,<sup>10</sup> and Shepherd<sup>11</sup>). Gender issues are also an important research subject in Buddhist scholarship, because the Buddhist doctrine itself addresses a clear gender differentiation. This gender consciousness in Buddhism directly affects the performance practice of Buddhist rituals. Traditionally, Buddhist nuns are always subject to some initial rules when learning or hosting a Buddhist ritual. This gender

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<sup>8</sup> The term *shijiao* 釋教 has a different meaning in Taiwanese folk culture than in Chinese Buddhism. *Shijiaao*, in Chinese Buddhism, refers to the teaching or school of Śākyamuni, an equivalent to Buddhism; in Taiwanese folk culture, it refers to a kind of complicated folk ritual in which the gods, the scriptures, and the procedures mix Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, and multiple folk beliefs.

<sup>9</sup> Ellen Koskoff, ed., *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

<sup>10</sup> Jane A. Bernstein, ed., *Women's Voices across Musical World* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2003).

<sup>11</sup> John Shepherd, "Music and Male Hegemony," in *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception*, ed. Richard Leppert and Susan McClary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 151-72.

consciousness offers a promising area for future research, which could explore the restrictions on Buddhist nuns who endeavor to learn and host ritual performances, the nuns' struggles with the traditional gender discrimination in the monasteries of modern Taiwanese society, the contemporary monks' and nuns' reinterpretation of the gender consciousness in Buddhist doctrine, and the changes in the transmission of ritual performances for nuns and in the status of Buddhist nuns as host-nuns or preceptor-nuns in the Buddhist rituals.

Thirdly, one of the main sections in chapter 3 provides an overview of the Buddhist non-ritual music in contemporary Taiwan, but this section could be extended to explore more profoundly a postcolonial and globalization theoretical orientation. The study of music and its global complexities is also an important area in ethnomusicology (Monson,<sup>12</sup> Slobin,<sup>13</sup> Erlmann,<sup>14</sup> and Roseman<sup>15</sup>). In contemporary Taiwan, diverse forms of Buddhist non-ritual music have been developed under the global musical trend. Musical companies and record labels have issued many trendy Buddhist recordings, providing lay Buddhists new hearing experiences in their Buddhist lives. Clearly, many subjects could be discussed in extended future research: how current Buddhist non-ritual music is innovated and affected under the global pop musical trend, how the global musical trend is compromised or transformed to please the Buddhist mind and the local taste, what conflicts come between trendy Buddhist music and traditional Buddhist teachings and precepts, how Buddhist monks and nuns view the dissemination of

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<sup>12</sup> Ingrid Monson, "Riffs, Repetition, and Theories of Globalization," *Ethnomusicology* 43, no. 1 (1999): 31-65.

<sup>13</sup> Mark Slobin, "Micromusics of the West: A Comparative Approach," *Ethnomusicology* 36, no. 1 (1992): 1-87.

<sup>14</sup> Veit Erlmann, "The Aesthetics of the Global Imagination: Reflections on World Music in the 1990s," *Public Culture* 8, no. 3 (1996): 467-87.

<sup>15</sup> Marina Roseman, "Shifting Landscapes: Musical Mediations of Modernity in the Malaysian Rainforest," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 32 (2000): 31-65.

fashionable Buddhist music, and how they interpret the globalized phenomena of Buddhist practices and music.

# Glossary I

## Buddhist Musical Terms and Music-Related Terms

- Green color indicates Taiwanese terms, and red color indicates Japanese terms.

Romanization	Chinese Characters or Japanese Kanji	Translation
<i>anban</i>	安板	quietude board
<i>ba</i>	鈸	cymbal
<i>baiqi</i>	唄器	Buddhist percussive instruments
<i>ban</i>	板 or 版	board or chime
<i>banzhong</i>	半鐘	half bell
<i>baozhong</i>	報鐘	report bell
<i>baozhonggu</i>	寶鐘鼓	bell-drum set
<i>bendidiao</i>	本地調	local tune
<i>benshengyun</i>	本省韻	local tune
<i>bianqing</i>	編磬	stone chime set
<i>bianzhong</i>	編鐘	chime-bells
<i>chaban</i>	插板	freely insert additional drum beats into the rhythmic patterns
<i>changduanju</i>	長短句	irregular-length phrases
<i>chenzhongji</i>	晨鐘偈	morning bell hymn
<i>chenzhong yuanwen</i>	晨鐘願文	morning-bell vowing verse
<i>chuangzuo fojiao yinyue</i>	創作佛教音樂	composed Buddhist music
<i>chuantong fanbai yinyue</i>	傳統梵唄音樂	traditional Buddhist chants
<i>Cibei Sanmei Shuichan</i>	慈悲三昧水懺	<i>Compassionate Samadhi Water Repentance</i> , a Buddhist musical CD released by the Voice of Ganges Co., Ltd. of Foguangshan Monastery
<i>dagu</i>	大鼓	great drum
<i>dangzi</i>	鐃子	gong

<i>daqing</i>	大磬	great ritual bowl
<i>dazhong</i>	大鐘	great bell
<i>dianzhong</i>	殿鐘	hall bell
<i>diaozhong</i>	吊鐘	suspended bell
<i>dizhong</i>	地鐘	ground bell
<i>Dunhuang yuewu</i>	敦煌樂舞	Dunhuang-style dance
<i>erban yizhong</i>	二板一鐘	two strokes on the board and one stroke on the bell
<i>fagu</i>	法鼓	dharma drum
<i>fanbai</i>	梵唄	Buddhist liturgical chant
<i>fanzhong</i>	梵鐘	monastic bell
<i>faqi</i>	法器	dharma instruments
<i>fanyin haichaoyin shengbi shijianyin</i>	梵音海潮音勝彼世間音	the voice of Buddha transcends the worldly sound
Foguangshan Fanbai Zansongtuan	佛光山梵唄讚頌團	Foguangshan Buddhist Monastic Choir
<i>fohao</i>	佛號	Buddha's or Bodhisattva's name
<i>Fojiao Niepanqu: Foshuo Amituojing</i>	佛教涅槃曲: 佛說阿彌陀經	<i>Buddhist Requiem: Amitabha Sutra</i> , a Buddhist musical CD released by Taipei Philharmonic Foundation for Culture and Education
<i>foling</i>	佛鈴	Buddhist hand bell
<i>gongche notation</i>	工尺譜	a kind of Chinese musical notation
<i>gongyang yinyue</i>	供養音樂	paraliturgical music
<i>gu</i>	鼓	drum
<i>guoban</i>	過板	pattern transition
<i>guoqixing</i>	過七星	passage through the seven star, a kind of pattern transition
<i>gushanyin</i>	鼓山音	one style of Buddhist ritual music in Taiwan
<i>gutou</i>	鼓頭	drum-striker monk
<i>haichaoyin</i>	海潮音	one style of Buddhist ritual music in Taiwan

<i>hexie</i>	和諧	the state of harmony
<b>Hiunn Tsai Jiat</b> [Xiang Cai Re]	香纜蕪	an incense psalm
<i>huaban</i>	花板	ornamental rhythmic style
<i>huagu</i>	花鼓	playing the bell-drum set in the ornamental rhythmic style
<i>ji</i>	偈	hymn
<i>jianchi</i>	犍遲	Chinese transliteration of Sanskrit <i>ghaṇṭā</i> , an ancient Buddhist instrument
<i>jiandi</i>	犍地	Chinese transliteration of Sanskrit <i>ghaṇṭā</i> , an ancient Buddhist instrument
Jiangna Sizhu	江南絲竹	silk and bamboo music in Jiangnan area of China
<i>jianpu</i>	簡譜	cipher notation for Chinese music
<i>jianzhi</i>	犍椎	Chinese transliteration of Sanskrit <i>ghaṇṭā</i> , an ancient Buddhist instrument
<i>jianzhui</i>	犍椎	Chinese transliteration of Sanskrit <i>ghaṇṭā</i> , an ancient Buddhist instrument
<i>jiaoxiang</i>	叫香	a kind of instruments; it is two split-wooden blocks and is played by banging together two wooden blocks to create the sound
<i>jing</i>	經	main sutra text
<i>jinggangchu</i>	金剛杵	vajra pounder, diamond pounder
<i>jingangling</i>	金剛鈴	vajra bell, diamond bell
<i>jiuzhong shiwugu</i>	九鐘十五鼓	nine-bell-fifteen-drum pattern
<i>kezi</i>	鈴子	cymbal
<i>khanbong kuatin</i>	牽亡歌陣	retrieving a dead soul, a ritual that includes a kind of folk theater
<i>kouchuan xinshou</i>	口傳心授	oral instruction and mental inspiration
<i>kouzhongji</i>	叩鐘偈	striking-bell hymn
<i>Lianghuang Baochan</i>	梁皇寶懺	<i>Emperor Liang Repentance Service</i> , a Buddhist musical CD released by the Voice of Ganges Co., Ltd. of Foguangshan

		Monastery
Lianchi Zan	蓮池讚	Lotus-Pond Psalm
<i>linggu</i>	鈴鼓	bell-drum set
<i>liuim</i>	柳音	leading-ritual bowl
<i>liushuiban</i>	流水板	flowing-water pattern
<i>liuzi eryin fohao</i>	六字二音佛號	six-character Buddha's name in two phrases
<i>liuzi yiyin fohao</i>	六字一音佛號	six-character Buddha's name in one phrase
<i>longtian ermu</i>	龍天耳目	the ear and the eye of dharma-guardian dragons and gods
<i>lülü</i> notation	律呂譜	a kind of Chinese musical notation
Luxiang Zan	爐香讚	Burning-Incense Psalm
<i>mingzhong angu</i>	明鐘暗鼓	bright bell and shaded drum
<i>mugu chenzhong</i>	暮鼓晨鐘	the evening drum and the morning bell
<i>muyu</i>	木魚	wooden fish
<i>muzhongji</i>	暮鐘偈	evening bell hymn
<i>muzhong yuanwen</i>	暮鐘願文	evening-bell vowing verse
<i>nao</i>	鐃	cymbal
<i>nōkan</i>	能管	a kind of Japanese flute
Nīlakaṇṭha Dhāraṇī [Dabei Zhou]—Zangzhou Jingxuan	大悲咒—藏咒精選	<i>The Great Compassion Mantra—Tibetan Mantra and Chants in New Age</i> , a Buddhist musical CD released by the PBC Music Company
<i>qianwang gezhen</i>	牽亡歌陣	retrieving a dead soul, a ritual that includes a kind of folk theater
<i>qibanban</i>	七板半	a kind of ornamental rhythmic patterns
Qielan Zan	伽藍讚	Psalm of Temple
<i>qing</i>	磬	ritual bowl
<i>Qingliang Geji</i>	清涼歌集	<i>Musical Anthology of Purity and Serenity</i>
<i>qiqiang</i>	起腔	the beginning ad lib section in the start of a piece or a part in a ritual
<i>qisanban dasiban</i>	起三板打四板	start with the three-stroke pattern [in three rounds], followed by the four-stroke pattern [in four rounds]

<i>qixingban</i>	七星板	seven-star pattern
<i>qiyān bājū jī</i>	七言八句偈	an eight-phrase hymn with seven characters in each phrase
<i>qūpái</i>	曲牌	literally “titled tune”
<i>raonian</i>	繞念	circumambulating chanting
<i>Renjian Yinyuan</i>	人間音緣	Sound of the Human World, a musical project hosted by Foguangshan Monastery
<i>sanbanban</i>	三板半	a kind of ornamental rhythmic patterns
<i>sanban yizhong</i>	三板一鐘	three strokes on the board and one stroke on the bell
<i>sannliaupanpuann</i>	三寮板半	a kind of ornamental rhythmic patterns
<i>Sanbao Ge</i>	三寶歌	Song of the Three Buddhist Treasures
<i>sancheng fohao</i>	三稱佛號	chanting a Buddha’s or Bodhisattva’s name in three repetitions
<i>Sanguiyi</i>	三皈依	Hymn of Taking Refuge in the Three Treasures of Buddhism
<i>sanjiao sanjie</i>	三交三接	three deliveries and three receivings
<i>santong gu</i>	三通鼓	three-round drum
<i>sanxingban</i>	三星板	three-star pattern
<i>sengqing</i>	僧磬	Chinese Buddhist monastic ritual bowl
<i>shaban</i>	煞板	ending pattern
<i>shangu</i>	扇鼓	fan drum
<i>shasiban</i> <i>shawuban</i>	煞四板煞五板	end with the four-stroke pattern [in four rounds], and then continue to end with the five-stroke pattern [in five rounds]
<i>shōmyō</i>	声明	Japanese Buddhist chant
<i>shougu</i>	手鼓	hand drum
<i>siyan shierju jī</i>	四言十二句偈	a twelve-phrase hymn with four characters in each phrase
<i>sizhi sikai</i>	四止四開	four times for beginning [the meditation sessions] and four times for terminating [the meditation sessions]
<i>sizi siyin fohao</i>	四字四音佛號	four-character Buddha’s name in four phrases

<i>songban</i>	送板	send-off pattern
<i>songjingtuan</i>	誦經團	sutra-chanting groups
<i>taigu</i>	太鼓	great drum
<i>tanggu</i>	堂鼓	hall drum
Tianning <i>fanbai</i>	天寧梵唄	the Buddhist liturgical chant in Tianning Temple in Zhejiang province of China
<i>tingban</i>	停板	a kind of ornamental rhythmic patterns
<i>tshitliaupanpuann</i>	七寮板半	a kind of ornamental rhythmic patterns
<i>tsianlo</i>	剪鑼	gong
<i>tunban</i>	頓板	a kind of ornamental rhythmic patterns
<i>tuoluoni</i>	陀羅尼	mantra
<i>waijiangdiao</i>	外江調	mainland tune
<i>waishengyun</i>	外省韻	mainland tune
<i>weinuo</i>	維那	the precentor in the Buddhist ritual
Weituo Zan	韋馱讚	Psalm of Weituo (a temple guardian deity)
<i>Woyou yiduan qing</i>	我有一段情	I Had a Period of Love, a Mandarin popular song incorporated in the Liang Emperor Penance Ritual
<i>xingshizhong</i>	行事鐘	carry-out bell
<i>xunxi</i>	薰習	permeation, a way of learning Buddhist chant and instruments
<i>xunzhaoshi</i>	巡照師	patrolling monk
<i>yasi dawu</i>	壓四打五	pressing the fourth and striking five
<i>yiban sanyan</i>	一板三眼	“strong-weak-weak-weak” quadruple meter
<i>yiban yiyan</i>	一板一眼	“strong-weak-strong-weak” duple meter
<i>yiban yizhong</i>	一板一鐘	one stroke on the board and one stroke on the bell
<i>yingqing</i>	引磬	leading-ritual bowl
<i>yinyue</i>	音樂	music
<i>yishi yinyue</i>	儀式音樂	liturgical music
<i>yizi yiqiao</i>	一字一敲	one stroke with one character
<i>yongzhong</i>	鑪鐘	a kind of bell
<i>yuanqing</i>	圓磬	round ritual bowl

<i>yubang</i>	魚梆	fish-shaped bar
<i>yueqi</i>	樂器	musical instruments
<i>yueqiqing</i>	樂器磬	Chinese musical stone chime
<i>yunban</i>	雲版	cloud-shaped chime
<i>zan</i>	讚	psalm
Zan Fo Ji	讚佛偈	Praise to Buddha Hymn
Zhihui	智慧	Wisdom, a Buddhist Devotional Song
<i>zhaoban</i>	照板	patrol board
<i>zhengban</i>	正板	fundamental rhythmic style
<i>zhenyan</i>	真言	mantra
<i>zhong</i>	鐘	bell
<i>zhongban</i>	鐘板	wooden bell-board
<i>zhonglou</i>	鐘樓	bell house
<i>zhongtou</i>	鐘頭	bellman-monk
<i>zhou</i>	咒	mantra
<i>zhufa</i>	主法	the host monk in a ritual
<i>zuodang youke</i>	左鐺右鈴	left gong and right cymbal
<i>zuonian</i>	坐唸	sitting chanting
<i>zuoqing youyu</i>	左磬右魚	left ritual bowl and right wooden fish
<i>zuoyunban youyubang</i>	左雲版右魚梆	left cloud-shaped chime and right fish-shaped bar
<i>zuozhong yougu</i>	左鐘右鼓	left bell and right drum

## Glossary II

### General Buddhist Terms and Other Terms

- Green color indicates Taiwanese terms, and red color indicates Japanese terms.

Romanization	Chinese Characters or Japanese Kanji	Translation
<i>ailaujiat</i>	愛鬧熱	preference for vivacious and bustling ambiance
<i>alaiyeshi</i>	阿賴耶識	human's Eighth Consciousness
<i>baichan</i>	拜懺	worship for repentance
<i>baidou</i>	拜斗	Worship Dipper Rite
<i>baifo</i>	拜佛	worship Buddha
<i>bailianjiao</i>	白蓮教	White Lotus religion, a folk religion in China
<i>baiyuan</i>	拜願	kneeling and bowing the head for universal vows
<i>Beidoujing</i>	北斗經	<i>Big Dipper Sutra</i>
<i>bo</i>	鉢	Buddhist begging bowl
<i>bore</i>	般若	wisdom
<i>buchizhai</i>	不持齋	non-vegetarian
<i>burufa</i>	不如法	a violation of dharma
<i>chanfa</i>	懺法	rites of penance
Caodong	曹洞	a Buddhist school
<i>chanhe</i>	禪和	monastic style rituals
<i>changhui</i>	常會	regular lecture-meeting for expounding scriptures
<i>chanqi</i>	禪七	seven-day retreat for intensive meditation
<i>chizhai</i>	持齋	vegetarian
<i>chongyangjie</i>	重陽節	Double Ninth Festival
<i>chupo</i>	出坡	the monks or nuns perform manual labor both for the necessities of daily living and for the purpose of spiritual training, such as farming, gardening, cooking, or cleaning

<i>chushengdao</i>	畜生道	animal
<i>conglin haoling</i>	叢林號令	signal the beginning of monastic orders
<i>conglin heshang</i>	叢林和尚	ordained monk ritual practitioners
<i>dabei chan</i>	大悲懺	Great Compassion Penance Ritual
<i>dakaijing</i>	大開靜	breaking the great silence
<i>danshi</i>	旦食	meal at dawn
<i>daoshi</i>	導師	a respectful appellation post-fixed to a monk's or a nun's dharma name
<i>daqi</i>	打七	seven-day retreat
<i>dazhijing</i>	大止靜	the great silence
<i>dingjing</i>	定境	the state of meditative equipoise and absorption
<i>diyudao</i>	地獄道	hell
<i>dizang chan</i>	地藏懺	Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva's Penance Ritual
<i>dizang fahui</i>	地藏法會	Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva's Ritual
<i>dongzhi</i>	冬至	winter solstice
<i>duidu kauan</i>	對渡口岸	matching ferry ports between Taiwan and China
<i>dunwu</i>	頓悟	Sudden Enlightenment
<i>eguidao</i>	餓鬼道	hungry ghost
<i>ershi linzhaiyi</i>	二時臨齋儀	rite of meal in two times a day
<i>fahui</i>	法會	dharma assembly
<i>famen</i>	法門	dharma gate, dharma practices
<i>fangbian fa</i>	方便法	expedient means mentioned in Buddha's teaching
<i>fangyankou</i>	放燄口	the release of searing mouth
<i>fangzhang</i>	放掌	putting palms down
<i>fashi</i>	法事	dharma services
<i>fashi</i>	法師	a respectful appellation post-fixed to a monk's or a nun's dharma name
<i>faxi chongman</i>	法喜充滿	be filled with dharma joy and bliss
<i>foqi</i>	佛七	seven-day retreat for intensive recitation of Buddha's name
<i>Fumu Enzhong</i>	父母恩重難報經	<i>Sutra of Profound Gratitude Towards</i>

<i>Nanbaojing</i>		<i>Parents</i>
<i>Gaitian Gufo</i>	蓋天古佛	the divine appellation of Guanyu (a historical figure) in Buddhism
<i>gezi weizheng</i>	各自為政	the monastery or group practices its own system and develops in its own way
<i>gongguo</i>	供果	fruit offering
<i>gongxiu</i>	共修	dharma sharing sessions
<i>guanxiang</i>	觀想	contemplate
<i>guiyi</i>	皈依	to convert to Buddhism
<i>guotang</i>	過堂	the process of going to and gathering in the refectory in the monastic daily routine
<i>he</i>	和	outward benevolence
<i>heshan</i>	和尚	a respectful appellation post-fixed to a monk's or a nun's dharma name
<i>hezhang</i>	合掌	the gesture of joining palms in front of the breast
<i>hōnin</i>	放任	nonintervention
<i>hou</i>	候	pentad; each pentad contains 5 days
<i>huixian</i>	迴向	the return/transfer of merit to oneself /another
<i>jianhejing</i>	見和敬	harmony in the views
<i>jieduan sankai</i>	節段三開	divide the procedure of a Buddhist ritual into three sections with three openings
<i>jiesha</i>	戒殺	not to kill
<i>jinchuang</i>	金幢	Gold Pennant, a folk sectarian religion in the religion of vegetarian diet in Taiwan
<i>jing</i>	敬	inward modesty
<i>jingang shangshi</i>	金剛上師	<i>vajra</i> master, the person who is both the precenter-monk and leader-monk in the Feeding Searing Mouth Ritual
<i>jingchan foshi</i>	經懺佛事	sutra, penance, and Buddhist services
<i>jingchansheng</i>	經懺僧	the monks who frequently host rituals for secular conditions make a living by hosting rituals

<i>jingjiao</i>	境教	taught by context
<i>jingū taima</i>	神宮大麻	the paper amulet from the Ise Shrine, symbolizing the Japanese divine imperial ancestors
<i>jinian fashi</i>	紀念法事	rites for commemoration
<i>jinja</i>	神社	the shrines of Japanese State Shintō
Jinqujiang	金曲獎	Golden Melody Award
<i>kongmenhua</i>	空門化	become “Buddhisminized”
<i>kongmen jingchan</i>	空門經懺	monastic style rituals, the rituals hosted by ordained monks
<i>kouhejing</i>	口和敬	harmony in the speaking
<i>lengyan zhou</i>	楞嚴咒	Shurangama Mantra
<i>lianghuang baochan</i>	梁皇寶懺	Liang Emperor Penance Ritual
<i>lichen</i>	禮懺	worship for repentance
<i>lichun</i>	立春	the start of spring
<i>lidou lianghuang fahui</i>	禮斗梁皇法會	Worship Dipper with Liang Emperor Ritual
<i>lihejing</i>	利和敬	harmony in the benefits
Linji	臨濟	a Buddhist school
<i>liudao zhongsheng</i>	六道眾生	the sentient beings in the six destinies or the six cyclical existences of Buddhist cosmology
<i>liuhejing</i>	六和敬	the Buddhist practice of the “six relevant harmonies”
<i>longhua</i>	龍華	Dragon Flower, a folk sectarian religion in the religion of vegetarian diet in Taiwan
<i>longhua jingchan</i>	龍華經懺	dragon-flower rituals, the rituals hosted by lay ritual practitioners
<i>Longhua Sanhui</i>	龍華三會	the three Dragon Flower Assemblies hosted by Maitreya Buddha
<i>lunli</i>	倫理	the thought of ethics
<i>luojiao</i>	羅教	Luo Teaching, a folk religion in China
<i>miedingye</i>	滅定業真言	Kṣitigarbha Bad Karma Extinguishing

<i>zhenyan</i>		Mantra
<i>mingshi fojiao</i>	名士佛教	Buddhism connected to the intellectual class
<i>mutoupan</i>	暮投槃	worship to Buddha in the evening
<i>nianfo gongxiu</i>	念佛共修	dharma sharing sessions for the recitation of Buddha's name
<i>onzon</i>	溫存	preservation
<i>paithinnkong</i> [ <i>baitiangong</i> ]	拜天公	worship the folk Lord of Heaven
<i>puji fashi</i>	普濟法事	rites for universal salvation
<i>qianyi mohua</i>	潛移默化	be influenced unobtrusively and imperceptibly
<i>qingmingjie</i>	清明節	Clear and Bright Festival
<i>raofo</i>	繞佛	circumambulating the Buddha statue
<i>renjiandao</i>	人間道	human
<i>renjian fojiao</i>	人間佛教	Buddhism for the Human Realm
<i>renmin tuantifa</i>	人民團體法	the law on civic organizations (1989-) in Taiwan
<i>Sanguan Dadi</i>	三官大帝	the Lords of Three Spheres
<i>sanjiao heyi</i>	三教合一	three religions combine as one
<i>sanjiao tongyuan</i>	三教同源	three religions have the same origin
<i>sanjiao yili</i>	三教一理	three religions are one truth
<i>sanqifa</i>	三啟法	three-part principle to structure a Buddhist ritual
<i>shangren</i>	上人	a respectful appellation post-fixed to a monk's or a nun's dharma name
<i>shanquanfa</i>	善權法	the dharma concerning skillful expedients
<i>shantou zhuyi</i>	山頭主義	"mountainism"
<i>shenfo bufen</i>	神佛不分	non-distinction between gods and Buddha
<i>shehejing</i>	身和敬	harmony in the deportment
<i>shenjiao</i>	身教	taught by deeds
<i>shexin</i>	攝心	concentrating the attention, a way of training the mind for self-cultivation
<i>shifu</i>	師父	a respectful appellation post-fixed to a

		monk's or a nun's dharma name
<i>shijiao</i>	釋教	Śākyamuni sect
<b>Shintō</b>	神道	a religion in Japan
<i>shishan</i>	十善	the Ten Virtues (to refrain from killing, stealing, illicit sex, lying, double speech, malicious speech, salacious talk, greed, anger, and false views) in Buddhism
<i>Shuilu Fahui</i>	水陸法會	Water and Land Ritual
<i>sida famai</i>	四大法脈	four dharma lineages
<i>sikkau</i>	釋教	Śākyamuni sect
<i>suiwen guanxinag</i>	隨文觀想	contemplation of the sutra text in the mind
<i>suja de wudaozhe</i>	俗家的悟道者	enlightened laymen
<i>Taiwan Minnanyu</i>	臺灣閩南語	Taiwanese Minnan language
<i>tiandao</i>	天道	god
<i>tiongguan phootoo</i> [zhongyuan pudu]	中元普度	the ritual to worship deceased families and to deliver all kinds of supernatural beings
<i>tsiahtshaikau</i>	呷菜教	religion of the vegetarian diet
<i>waiyuan</i>	外緣	external entities, causes, and conditions perceived through the five senses
<i>wei fangtai er zhitai</i>	為防臺而治臺	the Qing government's policy for governing Taiwan focusing on preventing the revival of any anti-Qing power
<i>weiyi</i>	威儀	the proper deportment or decorum in movements and gestures
<i>Wenheng Shengdi</i>	文衡聖帝	the divine appellation of Guanyu (a historical figure) in Confucianism and folk beliefs
<i>Wuji Shenzu</i>	無極聖祖	Ultimate Holy Ancestor, the creator-god in the religion of vegetarian diet
<i>Wusheng Laomu</i>	無生老母	Unborn Venerable Mother, the creator-deity in the religion of vegetarian diet

<i>xiantian</i>	先天	Prior Heaven, a folk sectarian religion in the religion of vegetarian diet in Taiwan
<i>xianghua</i>	香花	“fragrant-flower” style rituals
<i>xianghua heshang</i>	香花和尚	literally “fragrant-flower monks”, the professional lay ritual practitioners
<i>Xiaogong</i>	蕭公	a folk belief’s god
<i>xiaozai qifu fashi</i>	消災祈福法事	rites for averting calamity and praying for worldly prosperity
<i>xin-jie-xing-zheng</i>	信-解-行-證	faith-practice-understandability-prove
<i>xinjing</i>	心經	Heart Sutra
<i>xiqi</i>	習氣	habituated tendencies
<i>xiuchanguan</i>	修禪觀	the cultivation of meditative contemplation
<i>xiufuke</i>	修福課	“cultivate virtuous behavior” class
<i>xiulian jindan</i>	修煉金丹	cultivating inner alchemy
<i>xiuluodao</i>	修羅道	asura (demigod)
<i>xiuxing fashi</i>	修行法事	rites for cultivation
<i>xuetang yuege</i>	學堂樂歌	school songs
<i>yangsheng zhi dao</i>	養生之道	the way of nourishing life
<i>yanjiao</i>	言教	taught by words
<i>yaoshi</i>	藥石	dinner meal in the monastic routine
<i>yaoshi chan</i>	藥師懺	Medicine Buddha’s Penance Ritual
<i>Yihan Tianzun</i>	翊漢天尊	the divine appellation of Guanyu (a historical figure) in Taoism
<i>yinyang wuxing</i>	陰陽五行	the concept of yin/yang and the five elements
<i>Yinzhenren</i>	尹真人	a Taoist god
<i>yiqie wuchang</i>	一切無常	all unexpected occurrences
<i>yufojie</i>	浴佛節	Bath the Buddha Festival
<i>yulanpen hui</i>	盂蘭盆會	Ullambana Ritual
<i>yuqie yankou shishi</i>	瑜伽餞口施食儀	Feeding Searing Mouth Ritual
<i>yushi jujin</i>	與時俱進	keep pace with the modern times
<i>zaijia fojiao</i>	在家佛教	lay Buddhism

<i>zhaijiao</i>	齋教	the religion of vegetarian diet in Taiwan
<i>zhaitang</i>	齋堂	literally “vegetarian hall,” as <i>zhaijiao</i> ’s temple
<i>zhaitian</i>	齋天	Offering to Celestial Beings Ritual
<i>zhaiyou</i>	齋友	literally “friend in vegetarianism”, the believers of <i>zhaijiao</i>
<i>zhanglao</i>	長老	a respectful appellation post-fixed to a monk’s or a nun’s dharma name
<i>zhaomu kesong</i>	朝暮課誦	Morning and evening services
<i>zhonghuachan faguzong</i>	中華禪法鼓宗	the Dharma Drum Sect of Chinese Zen
<i>zhonhyuanjie</i>	中元節	Ghost Festival
<i>zhoufan</i>	晝飯	meal in the daytime
<i>zili lita</i>	自利利他	both improving oneself and benefiting other sentient beings
<i>zuoqi</i>	做七	Doing the Sevens, the fifth ritual in a series of follow-up rituals after death
<i>zuoxiang</i>	坐香	sitting meditation

## Glossary III

### Names of Figures, Temples, Monasteries, Places, Companies, Schools, Societies, Institutions, and Historical Events

- Green color indicates Taiwanese terms, and red color indicates Japanese terms.

Romanization	Chinese Characters or Japanese Kanji	Translation
<i>Aikoku Bukkyōkai</i> [ <i>Aiguo Fojiao Hui</i> ]	愛國佛教會	Patriotic Buddhist Association in the Japanese period of Taiwan
<span style="color: red;">Andō Teibi</span>	安東貞美	the sixth Japanese governor in the Japanese period of Taiwan
Benyuan	本圓	a Buddhist monk in the Japanese period of Taiwan
Biyun temple	碧雲寺	a Buddhist temple in Taiwan
Cai Qin	蔡琴	a Taiwanese pop singer
Canche	參徹	a monk in the Zheng period of Taiwan
Changqing temple	長慶寺	a Buddhist temple in China
Chaofeng temple	超峰寺	a Buddhist temple in Taiwan
Chen Yonghua	陳永華	a military staff officer in the Zheng period of Taiwan
Chishan	赤山	a mountain in Taiwan
Chongzhen	崇禎	the last Ming emperor
Chungtai Chan Monastery [Zhongtai Chan Monastery]	中台禪寺	a Buddhist monastery in Taiwan
Cihang	慈航	a mainland Chinese monk (1893-1954) in Taiwan

Dagang mountain	大崗山	a mountain in Taiwan
Dahu	大湖	a township in Taiwan
Dadaogong Temple	大道公廟	the temple for worshipping the god of medicine in Taiwan
Daxianyen	大仙巖	a Buddhist temple in Taiwan
Dayunbixian Temple	大雲碧仙寺	a Buddhist temple in Taiwan
Deqing	德清	a monk in the late Ming dynasty in China
Donganfang	東安坊	a place in the Zheng period of Taiwan
Fagushan	法鼓山	Dharma Drum Mountain, a Buddhist monastery in Taiwan
Fagu Wenhua	法鼓文化	Dharma Drum Publishing Corp. of Dharma Drum Mountain
Fayun temple	法雲寺	a Buddhist temple in Taiwan
Foguangshan Monastery	佛光山	a Buddhist monastery in Taiwan
Fuzhou	福州	a city in China
Gao Zhide (Ven. Zhengguang)	高執德 (證光法師)	a Taiwanese monk (1896-1955)
Gotō Shinpei	後藤新平	a chief civil administrator of Taiwan's Governor-General Office in the Japanese period of Taiwan
Guangci	廣慈	a mainland Chinese monk in modern Taiwan
Guangxiu Chan Temple	禪寺	a Buddhist temple in Taiwan

Guangzhudong village	廣諸東里	a village in the Dutch period of Taiwan
Guanyin mountain	觀音山	a mountain in Taiwan
Guanyu	關羽	a famous Chinese historical figure
Guofu Jinianguan	國父紀念館	National Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall in Taiwan
Gushan	鼓山	a mountain in China
Heling	鶴齡	a monk in the Zheng period of Taiwan
Henan Monastery	和南寺	a Buddhist monastery in Taiwan
Hongyi	弘一	an eminent mainland Chinese monk (1880–1942), the pioneer of developing the modern Buddhist devotional songs
Hwazan Buddhist Foundation	華藏佛教基金會	a Buddhist foundation in Taiwan
Jiang Ding	江定	a conspirator of the anti-Japanese movement in the early Japanese period of Taiwan
Jiangzhe	江浙	the Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces in China
<i>jibyō seiri</i> [ <i>simiao zhengli</i> ]	寺廟整理	Temple Restructuring, a measure in the Japanization Movement in the Japanese period of Taiwan
<i>Jiuyiba Shibian</i>	九一八事變	Manchurian Incident (1931) in Chinese history
Juzan	巨贊	a mainland Chinese monk (1908-1984)

<b>Kabayama Sukenori</b>	樺山資紀	the first Japanese governor in the Japanese period of Taiwan
Kaiyuan temple	開元寺	a Buddhist temple in Taiwan
Kaohsiung	高雄	a city in Taiwan
<b>Katsura Tarō</b>	桂太郎	the second Japanese governor in the Japanese period of Taiwan
Keelung	基隆	a city in Taiwan
<b>Kodama Gentarō</b>	兒玉源太郎	the fourth Japanese governor in the Japanese period of Taiwan
<b><i>Kōminka Undō</i></b> [ <i>Huangminhua Yundong</i> ]	皇民化運動	the Japanization Movement (1937-45) in the Japanese period of Taiwan
Koxinga [Guoxingye]	國姓爺	a respectful appellation of Zheng Chenggong
Li Tianchun	李添春	a Taiwanese Buddhist intellectual in the Japanese period of Taiwan
Lin Delin	林德林	a Taiwanese Buddhist intellectual in the Japanese period of Taiwan
Lin Ying	林英	a Ming official
Lingquan temple	靈泉寺	a Buddhist temple in Taiwan
Lingyun temple	凌雲寺	a Buddhist temple in Taiwan
<b><i>Lokōkyō Jiken</i></b>	盧溝橋事件	Marco Polo Bridge Incident (1937) in Chinese history
Longgen	隆根	a mainland Chinese monk

		(1921-2011)
Longhuyen	龍湖巖	a Buddhist temple in Taiwan
<i>Lugouqiao Shibian</i>	盧溝橋事變	Marco Polo Bridge Incident (1937) in Chinese history
Luo Jun	羅俊	a conspirator of the anti-Japanese movement in the early Japanese period of Taiwan
<i>Manshūkoku</i>	滿州国	Manchu State in China (1932-45)
<i>Manzhouguo</i>	滿州國	Manchu State in China (1932-45)
<i>Manshū Jihen</i>	滿州事變	Manchurian Incident (1931) in Chinese history
Minnan	閩南	the southern area of Fujian province in China
Mituo temple	彌陀寺	a Buddhist temple in Taiwan
<i>Nanei Bukkyōkai</i> [Nanying Fojiao Hui]	南瀛佛教會	South Seas Buddhist Association in the Japanese period of Taiwan
<i>Nanei Bukkyō Kaihō</i> [Nanying Fojiao Huibao]	南瀛佛教會報	<i>The South Seas Buddhist Magazine</i> in the Japanese period of Taiwan
<i>Nogi Maresuke</i>	乃木希典	the third Japanese governors in the Japanese period of taiwan
Qian Nanzhang	錢南章	a musician (1948-) in contemporary Taiwan
Qian Renkang	錢仁康	a musician (1914-) in contemporary China
<i>Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan</i>	臨時台湾旧慣調査会	Taiwan Customs

<i>Chōsakai</i>		Investigating Committee in the Japanese period of Taiwan
Rushi Wowen	如是我聞	Voice of Ganges Co., Ltd. of Foguangshan Monastery
Shanhui	善慧	a Buddhist monk in the Japanese period of Taiwan
<i>seichyō kaizen</i> [ <i>zhengting gaishan</i> ]	正廳改善	Home Altar Reformation, a measure in the Japanization Movement in the Japanese period of Taiwan
Shengyan	聖嚴	a mainland Chinese monk (1931-2009) in Taiwan
Shi Lang	施琅	the Fujian naval commander in the Qing dynasty of China
<i>Sōtōshū Taiwan Bukkyō Chūgakulin</i> [ <i>Caodongzong Taiwan Fojiao Zhongxue Lin</i> ]	曹洞宗台灣佛教中學林	Sōtō School Taiwan Buddhist Middle School in the Japanese period of Taiwan
Tainan	台南	a city in Taiwan
Taipei Aiyue Wenjiao Jijinhui	台北愛樂文教基金會	Taipei Philharmonic Foundation for Culture and Education
<i>Taiwan Bukkyō Chūgakulin</i> [ <i>Taiwan Fojiao Zhongxue Lin</i> ]	台灣佛教中學林	Taiwan Buddhist Middle School in the Japanese period of Taiwan
<i>Taiwan Bukkyō Dōyūkai</i> [ <i>Taiwan Fojiao Daoyou Hui</i> ]	台灣佛教道友會	Taiwan Friends of the Buddhist Way in the Japanese period of Taiwan
<i>Taiwan Bukkyō Seinenkai</i> [ <i>Taiwan Fojiao Qingnian Hui</i> ]	台灣佛教青年會	Taiwan Buddhist Youth Association in the Japanese period of Taiwan
Taixu	太虛	a mainland Chinese monk

		(1890-1947), the pioneer of the philosophy of “Buddhism for the Human Realm”
Tianfeigong	天妃宮	a folk temple in Taiwan
Tzu Chi Foundation [Ciji Foundation]	慈濟功德會	a Buddhist foundation in Taiwan
Weijue	惟覺	a mainland Chinese monk (1928-) in Taiwan
<i>Xilai'an Shijian</i>	西來庵事件	Xilai'an Incident (1915) in Taiwanese history
Xindao	心道	a monk (1948-) in contemporary Taiwan
Xinding	心定	a monk (1944-) in contemporary Taiwan
Xingyun	星雲	a mainland Chinese monk (1927-) in Taiwan
Xuyun	虛雲	a mainland Chinese monk (1840-1959)
Yinshun	印順	a mainland Chinese monk (1906-2005) in Taiwan
Yishan	怡山	a mountain in China
Yongjun	永均	a monk in contemporary Taiwan
Yongquan temple	湧泉寺	a Buddhist temple in China
Yuangongli Wenhua	原動力文化	PBC Music Company
Yuanling	源靈	a mainland Chinese monk (1902-1988) in Taiwan
Yuemei mountain	月眉山	a mountain in Taiwan
Yu Qingfang	余清芳	a conspirator of the anti-Japanese movement in the early Japanese period of Taiwan
Zeng Jinglai	曾景來	a Taiwanese Buddhist

		intellectual in the Japanese period of Taiwan
<i>Zhaixinshe</i>	齋心社	The Vegetarian Mind Society in the Japanese period of Taiwan
Zhejiang	浙江	a province of China
Zheng Chenggong	鄭成功	a Ming loyalist and general
Zheng Jing	鄭經	the son of Zheng Chenggong
Zheng Keshuang	鄭克塽	the grandson of Zheng Chenggong
Zhengyan	證嚴	a monk (1937-) in contemporary Taiwan
Zhenke	真可	a Buddhist monk in the late Ming dynasty in China
Zhennan School	鎮南學校	a middle school in the Japanese period of Taiwan
Zhixu	智旭	a celebrated Buddhist monk in the late Ming dynasty in China
Zhongguo Fojiahui	中國佛教會	The Buddhist Association of Republic of China (BAROC) in Taiwan
Zhonghua Wenhua Fuxing Yundong	中華文化復興運動	Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement (1967-) in Taiwan
Zhuhong	株宏	a celebrated Buddhist monk in the late Ming dynasty in China
Ziyun Temple	紫雲寺	a Buddhist temple in Taiwan

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