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Tradition in Motion

The Status and Identity of Amateur *Beiguan*
Opera and Music Communities [*Zidi*] in
Modern Taiwanese Society

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Abstract

Traditional *beiguan* opera (and its music) has been performed for over three hundred years in Taiwanese society. It is still performed to this day. During this time, the music's character and its eco-system have been in constant change, due to its multi-cultural and hybrid nature. Its development has also been influenced over time by environmental effects. The identities of *beiguan* communities have altered under the influences of shifting social and governmental pressures. Several questions are apparent: how can traditional modes of performance sustain their original values and identities while society moves into modernity? How can the *beiguan* subculture remain relevant, by finding new niches within the shifting cultural landscape?

This thesis examines the formation of *beiguan* culture long before 1960 and compares it with *beiguan's* contemporary situation in order to investigate changes in performance and community identities. Comparison will be presented in the form of fieldwork and theoretical analyses. We will focus on several *beiguan* communities selected from folk groups (both professional troupes and amateur clubs) and their related government organisations (such as the education system), in order to trace the trajectories of phenomena connected with these changes. Possibilities for culture conservation in the future will also be suggested.

The approach outlined in this thesis may be used to survey the development of traditional *beiguan* music. What kind of changes could be accepted by people within the process of transition, from emphasising the authentic and traditional to a more innovative outlook? How do people position themselves on the dynamic continuum between tradition and innovation? In what position do we find traditional music after it has been affected by globalisation? Answering these questions will help us explore and discover different potential methods for maintaining *beiguan's* cultural heritage. By reviewing policymaking and cross-disciplinary collaboration, a new range of values may present itself, as well as a new sense of belonging, to enhance the development of the identity of the *beiguan* community.

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Notes on Orthographies, *Beiguan's* Terminology, Abbreviations and Dynasties

Orthographies

Regarding Romanisation, the Hanyu pinyin system is generally used for Chinese terms, places, music genres, groups and proper nouns. Different local operas will follow the pronunciation of mandarin Chinese translated to the pinyin system. For the order of Chinese names, I follow Chinese practice, that is, surname then first name (e.g. Yeh Meijing). If a person has published his or her name in English, I will be following their individual preference, then, I will use the Hanyu pinyin system for Chinese.

Beiguan's Terminology

The *beiguan* terminology which is mainly used by community members will be presented in the Taiwan Romanisation Phonetic Alphabet (according to the version of Ministry of Education). To distinguish special terms, I will name the term in pinyin and Chinese characters, with a brief explanation in English. For example, *Hi-Khek* (*xiqu* 戲曲, *beiguan* formal opera); *khak-á-hiân* (*kezixian* 殼仔絃, two-stringed fiddle).

Abbreviations

Abbreviations will be used for the government bureaus, political parties, organisations and anything else that requires abbreviation.

CCA [文建會]: Council for Cultural Affairs

DPP [民進黨]: Democratic Progressive Party

ICH: Intangible Cultural Heritage

KMT [國民黨]: the nationalist party Kuomintang

NCTA [傳藝中心]: National Centre for Traditional Arts

PRC: People's Republic of China

ROC: Republic of China

TNUA [國立台北藝術大學]: Taipei National University of the Arts

Shifting Between Different Regimes in Taiwan¹

	(1271-1368: Yuan Dynasty)
Ming Dynasty	1368-1644
Dutch colonial period	1624-1662
Spanish colonial period	1626-1642
Zheng period, the Kingdom of Formosa [鄭氏王朝] or the Kingdom of Tungning [東寧王朝]	1661-1683
Qing Dynasty	1644-1911
Japanese colonial period	1895-1945
KMT regime	1945-1949
ROC on Taiwan	1949-present
	(1911-1949: Republic of China)
	(1949-present: People's Republic of China)

¹ Reference: Rees, 2000: xv.

Introduction

Under a dark sky, an amateur *beiguan* opera club (Xizhi *Leyinshe beiguan* club/ 汐止樂音社²) and other parading folk art clubs³ start to prepare for their departure from the main temple. They are preparing to visit several associated temples for a two-day tour from the north to central and southern Taiwan.⁴ Their final destination is a joint celebration of the birthday ceremony for the deity ‘Lord of the Western Qin’ [西秦王爺]. Preparation takes an hour, including the ritual of inviting the deity [請神] to get on the palanquin, the performances constituting the leaving announcement, and the loading of every club’s instruments onto the big truck (Figure 1, middle). When everyone gets on their club bus, it is still very early in the morning.



Figure 1. Xizhi *Leyinshe beiguan* club [汐止樂音社]: preparation Tour schedule; preparation of *beiguan* temple parade, loading instruments into the truck; get ready for a deity procession (photograph by author)

The motorcade stops after one and a half hours of the journey. It still has a long way to go before it reaches the temple. Every club member brings their instruments

² Xizhi *Leyinshe beiguan* club [汐止樂音社] is a typical Taiwanese amateur *beiguan* club. It broke away from its parent *beiguan* club *Lechingxuan* [樂清軒] and was founded in 1912.

³ For example, ‘deity’s palanquin bearer associations’ [轎班會]: extra size costumes of holy spirits troupe [神像班], martial arts clubs [武館]. They can be divided into different types by religion, music, dances, costumes, martial art, and others.

⁴ This fieldwork was conducted on 12th to 13th of May, 2012 including eleven temples. The far right picture of Figure 1, shows the schedule for this tour.

for the deity procession (carrying the deities around to patrol their territory or to a certain temple) towards their destination (Figure 1, far left one). The procession is very slow and stately, following the route planned by local temples around the geographical communal worship sphere.⁵

Beiguan luogu (gong and drum percussion/鑼鼓) and *suona* (double-reed instrument/嗩吶) ensembles play near-deafening music as notification of their arrival. Devotees place offerings of worship in front of their door to welcome the approaching deity processions. A banner, which is embroidered with the name of the club, leads the music club onward, telling people where the temple is and representing their village or locality (Figure 2). Drum sets and stands, huge brass gongs and frames, demonstrate the well-financed circumstances of the music club. More equipment, such as banners, flags, frames with delicate decorations and carving also indicate the importance of this activity as an opportunity for *giving face* [面子] ‘by going out of one’s way to show respect for the wealth or power of a potential benefactor’ (Stockman, 2000: 74).⁶ They are tacitly competing with other clubs in order to vie for the attention and enhance ‘*the club’s face*’ (enhance the club’s reputation) by ostentatiously presenting the fancy equipment, plays and their skills.



Figure 2. Xizhi *Leyinshu* beiguan club [汐止樂音社]: *Beiguan* temple parade
From the bus to the temple, the banner and flags (photograph by author)

The drummer, leading other percussion instruments, beats the *enthusiastic and bustling* [熱鬧] *gushi* rhythm [鼓詩] (easily memorised percussion patterns), followed by the *suona* players who play the *pâi-tsí* (*paizi*/牌子, the kind of percussion and

⁵ The deity’s processions [繞境] and the association with the ritual spheres (*jisijuan*/祭祀圈) are demonstrations of the belief system in Taiwanese society.

⁶ These hidden social agenda will be described in chapter 2.1 (the concept of *zidi* and associated ‘changes in society’ thereafter).

wind ensemble movements). A line of troops march through the streets, the deity inspects the local area, listens to people's prayers, blesses well-being upon the local population and expels the evil spirit from his precinct. This kind of activity always comforts and provides salvation to the public, no matter how Taiwanese society may change. It offers the ideal of a stable society to people, rather than carnival or political meanings.

In the evening, this journey had already visited five different local temples and finally came to the host temple for a stopover. The deity's birthday celebration is a big festival, there are six different activities taking place simultaneously in the outdoor square (as Figure 3, number 1 to 6). Audiences watch their favourite show. The purpose of the show is to attract people to this temple festival; both traditional and modern shows are popular. This soundscape provides a unique ambience and a strong impression. All kinds of loud and bustling plays link to the very particular temple festival culture in Taiwan. Two amazing, huge lorries (as Figure 3, no. 1 and 5) decorated in a contemporary stage style with neon lights, sound system equipment and stage special effects, are carrying popular singing and talk shows alongside each other on both sides of the square (sometimes they are even show pole dancing to attract people). Two outdoor project screens are playing open-air cinemas (no. 2 and 3). A traditional singing and dancing show (*zhentou*/車鼓陣, no. 6) plays a frisky and teasing story by a funny male clown (*Chou*/丑) and a flirtatious female (*Dan*/旦). The way they amuse and play with the audience is quite similar to Morris dancers and their 'fools' in the UK.

At the same time, Xizhi *Leyinshe beiguan* club is separated from other groups, facing towards the deity (as Figure 3, no. 4 and the Figure 17). They play a non-theatrical *beiguan* performance (concert gala, *paichang*/排場) of ritual opera (*Banxian*/扮仙戲) in the hall of the temple (sometimes, in the atrium). Each singer represents different deities, sometimes playing a percussion instrument as well (sacred music, the meaning of music is similar to *cantata da chiesa*). They sing *beiguan* opera's recitations and arias, which means delivering an auspicious symbolic blessing to their devotees. All the members sit in a circle, observing the changes of the drummer's hand indications and percussion patterns. They use *gushi* rhythm [鼓詩] to play their musical parts. The role of *beiguan* performance in this setting is to serve and entertain the deity in the traditional way.



Figure 3. Temple festival performances

There are six different activities at the same time for the celebration of the temple festival. The middle picture shows the crowd in the outdoor square. No. 1 is the popular singing and talk show. No. 2 and 3 is playing outdoor films. No. 4 is the *beiguan* performance in the main temple building. No. 5 (on the stage) is another singing and talk show. No. 6 is a folk art club who does the traditional singing and dancing *zhentou*. (photograph by author, 2012)

After the ritual-opera, the *beiguan* performance starts to entertain the public. The outdoor stage is occupied by the open-air cinemas, as no. 2 and 3 on Figure 3 this evening (traditionally, the outdoor stage is for theatre performance, for example, *beiguan* epic opera/theatre, late-night opera/drama⁷ or Taiwanese opera⁸). The audience follows the familiar historical characters and storylines which represent punishing evil, advocating goodness and emphasising the traditional Confucian concepts of loyalty, filial piety, chastity and righteousness [忠孝節義]. Through these performances, social norms and appropriate behaviour are passed down to the public.

Later, the epic theatre actors play late-night drama (*mingweixi*/暝尾戲; Taiwanese: *mê-bóe-xi*), also called high-art opera (*xiqu*/細曲; Taiwanese: *yiū-khek*). This kind of drama is typically romantic: joys and sorrows of love stories; actors displaying verbal buffoonery with slang words and exaggerated movements to amuse the audience. By amusing their audience in this way, the audience will ask for more plays that ensure the actors' financial reward and success. Sometimes, actors need to take turns for the purpose of saving their energy, since they often play until two to three o'clock in the morning. The phrase 'actors want to finish the show, but the audiences could not leave' [*Tsò-hì-ê-beh-suah, khuànn-hì-ê-~~n~~-suah*/作戲的欲煞, 看戲的毋煞]⁹ is one of the idiomatic expressions used to describe this situation.

However, in this two-day trip, Xizhi *Leyinshe* amateur *beiguan* club had no chance to play the epic theatre or late-night drama, due to the interest of the audiences lying in other activities. This illustrates a situation that is becoming a common dilemma encountered by the traditional performing music club. Facing these multiple entertainment forms, each group has to compete with others for an audience, in order to gain reputation and opportunity. Thus, *beiguan* music troops play the *Pâi-ts* (*paizi*/牌子) music (percussion and wind ensemble) to setup an enthusiastic and bustling [熱鬧] soundscape during the daytime; and the non-theatrical performance of ritual opera [*Banxian*/扮仙戲] is arranged to play in the temple hall at night. In other words, the *beiguan* epic theatre and late-night drama have been replaced by other styles of entertainment, whether modern popular singing and talk shows, outdoor films such as

⁷ According to the *beiguan* idiomatic expressions in the Taiwanese language, the terms 'epic theatre' and 'mid-night drama' refer to different certain types of *beiguan* opera (see also Table 2 and chapter 2).

⁸ Taiwanese opera (pinyin: *gezixi*; POJ: *koa-á-hì*, 歌仔戲) plays in a Taiwanese dialect, which is regarded as comedy (cf. opera buffa) in early Taiwanese society, see as footnote 99.

⁹ This is the Taiwanese proverb which used to describe the play as too good, the audience longing for more. Source from: Ministry of Education, http://twblg.dict.edu.tw/holodict_new/default.jsp [accessed March. 26. 2015].

Figure 3, no. 1, 5, 2, 3, or by other traditional forms of entertainment such as folk art singing and dancing club performance (*zhentou*, as Figure 3, no. 5).

In this social context, it is interesting to consider that music is a 'focus', or a 'social life' (Turino, 2008: XV), especially when the music gets involved deeply in ordinary people's systems of belief. There are other different activities in the outdoor square at the same time. The temple hires some groups to attract people to join the temple activities; the believers hire others to show their gratefulness and worship for the deity. The big lorry and pole dancing performances reveal the path of changes from the traditional eco-system. It is hard to say whether or not it will become a new tradition. The answer depends upon the whim of audiences, because the professional performers who need to make a living from it will adjust their programmes to meet the audiences' interests.

Apart from diminishing interest from audiences forcing change from tradition, industrial and commercial activities similarly are replacing the traditional industries of agriculture. These are also the factors that are directly causing the social structure to change as a result. The reason this two-day field journey of Xizhi *Leyinshui* described above is to show the way tradition is carrying on, especially when it has to face newer and more popular forms of performance. At the temple festival event, all kinds of activities present a characteristic of hybridity, as conflicts but also as coexistence between tradition and modernity, and shaping the environment of the immigrant society and its maritime culture all along (Figure 4).

In order to adjust to the changes in the contemporary social environment, 'how the amateur *beiguan* opera and music communities find their niche' will be an interesting core question that will be examined, from the basic surviving issue to the spiritual level of group ideology and identity issues of the *beiguan* communities and their members. Furthermore, it is also necessary to move beyond the debates on whether conservation or innovation is the best method to revive tradition (see chapter 7.4)¹⁰. Therefore, the main concerns of this thesis will focus on the discussion of re-shaping the coherence of the *beiguan* community's identity (e.g. by enhancing the

¹⁰ Participants of the 'maintenance of Taiwanese traditional culture' debate argue for preservation or for innovation. The debate has been going on for the last two decades, some groups claiming that tradition should not be changed and that culture has to keep to its original style with only minor refinement; while others suggest creating a new style or collaborating with different disciplines to enhance audience interest and acceptance.

participation of club members by creating more opportunities to perform), and how to build a new value to connect with audiences (e.g. by moving away from the stereotypical traditional performance and increasing interaction with the audience).

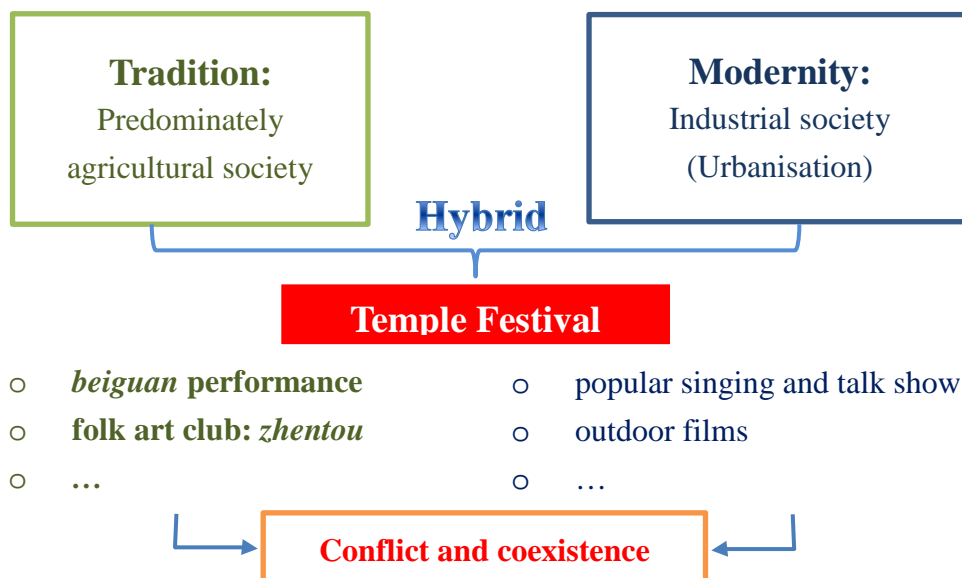


Figure 4. Activities of traditional and new style in the contemporary temple festival

I.1 Introduction to the Field of *Beiguan* and Its Communities

Beiguan amateur communities undergo the shock of those changes, driving the community to re-orient and to move into modern society. Many traditional music clubs confront the issue of fading out by assimilation or fusion with other groups. This mostly occurs in urban areas when the amateur clubs gradually lose their practice rooms and club members (see 4.3).

The activities of temple festivals are not only the way to present the traditional affairs of folk groups, but also the way to bring up profound cultural contexts and open dialogue between musical behaviour and social structures. Discussing the nature of music, which is associated with society and human activities, will bring with it further understanding about the various roles of music and the way it interlaces with society. As Blacking observed on Venda society: ‘When I lived with the Venda, I began to understand how music can become an intricate part of the development of mind, body, and harmonious social relationships’ (1973: x-xi). Similarly, in Taiwanese society, the *beiguan* community provides a broad platform connected with social and cultural affairs (e.g. religion, social class). Thus, *beiguan* develops its own

community identities and shapes its cultural sphere that initially developed during the agricultural society period (before 1960).

Here, the idea of community comes from Anderson's 'imagined communities', in which he explains the ideology of nationalism and defines it as 'an imagined political community' (1991: 224). His concept came from political power. In *beiguan*'s case, the community formed from a religious bond rather than from 'liberalism' or 'fascism' (5). Hield discusses the usage of 'community' in her thesis: '[...] to describe a feeling of belonging with a group, and occasionally to describe a group within which this feeling is widely felt', which is associated with the subject of 'English folk singing and the construction of communities' (2010: 12). It also provides a similar perspective to *beiguan* community consciousness, development and values and works since the change of the social structure of the traditional agricultural society. This is another major cause of the identity crisis in *beiguan* communities. The Chinese diaspora is not so separated from its original culture as klezmer, however, the sense of belonging from which European klezmer community shaped their cultural context also provides the same comfort to Han Chinese immigrants. As Slobin states: '[...] their music reflected and even helped foster the strong integration of Ashkenazic culture across all sorts of internal fault lines. Especially in the nineteenth century, the eastern Ashkenazim split into ideological camps over issues of modernization, assimilation, and types of religious affiliation, but they shared a certain aesthetic outlook when it came to music-making (Slobin, 2000: 7).

Beiguan communities can be distinguished into several different groups according to each group's feature as well as by their sponsors (some groups are however entirely self-supported). Despite the major differences between the *beiguan* communities, they all originated from folk groups.¹¹ Mostly, they were composed of amateur temple-based clubs, with a few from professional troupes, rarely linked to the education system and government funded supporting groups¹² as in Figure 5. Some overlap occurred between different types of groups when the government became involved and gave financial assistance. The cultural bureaus preferred to choose the

¹¹ Traditional culture was paid much attention by the government since cultural policy focused on Taiwanisation from the 1990s onward. For example, the first department of traditional music brought into the education system – Taipei National University of the Arts was founded in 1995.

¹² The folk clubs who received financial support from the government gradually developed into 'the governmental supporting group' and represent different cultural policies (see also 7.1).

most influential or famous groups rather than the local amateur groups (see also chapter 6 and 7) to demonstrate the performance of their administration. However, this cultural policy has been in question since the government began putting more emphasis on the development of local cultural affairs (e.g. community empowerment project).

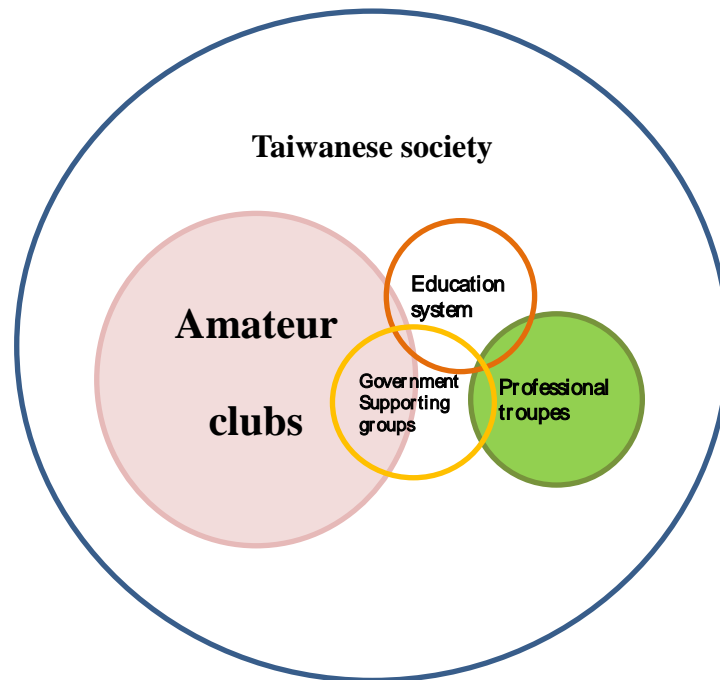


Figure 5. Different kinds of *beiguan* communities in Taiwan

The education system also causes some overlap with three other groups, since they are studying and collecting different art forms from various *beiguan* factions, musical materials (e.g. manuscripts, recordings, photos and so on) and also seeking *beiguan* mentors from to teach. Whereas each group interacts with each other, amateur clubs and professional troupes have always kept a distance from one another as their long history. The amateur *beiguan* club is different from the professional troupe in Taiwanese society; they have different social status and training methods. The amateur club members receive a higher social status, while professional actors, musicians and dancers were considered as occupying the lowest social status [*xiajiuliu* 下九流]. This was true up to around seventy years ago (see also Chapter 2.1 *zidi*¹³ and 2.2 professional troupe). This situation continued until the end of the

¹³ The amateur performers and club members have a special term in Taiwanese society called *zidi* [子弟], similar to the term *piaoyou* [票友] in China (e.g. *Beijing opera*).

Japanese colonial period (Fuzan Do, 1901: 23; Iwao, 1921: 198).¹⁴ This thesis focus mainly on discussion of amateur clubs, however, professional troupes and government support groups will be used as comparison case studies to help the understanding of *beiguan* culture in Taiwanese society.

Moreover, the case study of Xizhi *Leyinshe beiguan* club presents a typical amateur *beiguan* club which is trying to sustain its ordinary activities, despite rapidly evolving changes in their social context over time. It is based in the Taipei suburb New Taipei City. This club provides a proper case study to learn of a traditional amateur *beiguan* club which has been undergoing continual changes. They are still able to sustain their club and participate in social activities; keep their membership numbers around the fifties; participate in various temple events and apply for funding from the government (not only relying on self-funding as is the usual way). Through those different events is presented an overview of contemporary *beiguan*'s eco-system across Taiwanese society (see also chapter 1.2).

1.2 Research Questions, Aims and Participants

How to distinguish social function and status between amateur (temple-based) clubs and other groups becomes a fundamental and significant question, especially because amateur music communities have a profound relationship within Taiwanese society and form a specific 'Taiwanese *beiguan* cultural circle'. The late *beiguan* musician Wang Yangyi [王洋一] (1935-2008) was a former club leader who came from a temple-based club – Banqiao *Xikun Wudangshe* [板橋溪崑武當社] in New Taipei City. He was very proud of being a *beiguanren* (*beiguan* community member). He always tried to teach me about what the *beiguan* culture was supposed to be (as it was during his childhood) and outline his vision for reviving *beiguan* to its former glory. His wild enthusiasm for *beiguan* inspired me to devote myself to *beiguan* study from the middle of Oct 2000. He became one of my *beiguan* mentors and fieldwork informants who always told me everything he knew without reservation.

I normally drove to his house on a Sunday morning and learned Yü-khek opera (high-art opera/細曲) and Pâi-tsn (*paizi*/牌子) music pieces (*kóo-tshue*, *guchui*/鼓吹,

¹⁴ These two groups rarely communicate with each other due to there being very few professional troupes left nowadays.

percussion and *suona* ensemble) from him. He played a female role¹⁵ when he was young; I had heard other informants told me how good he was. However, he had a stroke when he was the fifties; he only could play several skeletal notes on the Chinese fiddle when I struggled on the tune. Sometimes, I brought another late *beiguan* mentor Yeh Meijing [葉美景] (1905-2002)¹⁶ to his house. There, they chatted to each other about *beiguan*'s issues, histories, manuscripts, discussing the problems which I encountered. They discussed how to correct my technique, since I was trained in the Western music system (piano) rather than the oral tradition. They never charged me a penny for this learning process. After three to four hours learning, we would have lunch together; Wang always paid for the meal in advance because it was the way that he showed his respect to Yeh (who was 30 years elder than him) and his care for me as his pupil. People used to look at us suspiciously (different generations in our nineties, sixties and twenties) when we enjoyed our time talking about *beiguan* history, sometimes singing *beiguan* opera out loud in the restaurant. They set a great example for me with their attitude on *beiguan*, the spirit of *beiguanren* [*beiguan* people/北管人] and their eagerness to pass this culture down to the next generation. They opened a door and led me into their *beiguan* world. This private training lasted for one year until Yeh passed away, and Wang was officially hired as a *beiguan* teacher in the university I attended.

Based on this learning experience, some questions gradually came to mind: who could become a '*beiguanren*' [*beiguan* people/北管人] – performers, audiences, patrons or anyone who was close to or joined in with *beiguan* activities¹⁷? What is the *beiguanren jingshen* [spirit of *beiguan* people /北管人精神], or *beiguan* cultural

¹⁵ Males play the female role, also called the male Dan (qiandan/乾旦), in China due to the taboos of the traditional society: Women were not allowed to show their faces in public. After the late Qing Dynasty, this taboo gradually began to break (Source from: Ministry of Education, R.O.C. <http://dict.revised.moe.edu.tw/cgi-bin/cbdic/gswweb.cgi?o=dcdbdic&searchid=Z00000100989> [accessed July. 23. 2015]).

¹⁶ Yeh Meijing [葉美景] (1905-2002) was regarded as a 'national treasure' [國寶藝人]. According to the online database of Taiwanese musicians: 'Yeh Meijing was born in Taichung in 1905. He is a *beiguan* master and artisan. He studied *beiguan* with Wang Jin-Kun at the age of 12. After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in the late 1930s, he was sent to serve as a soldier for the Japanese in China. After retiring from the army, he continued to work as a *beiguan* teacher. Yeh moved to Taipei after turning 50, and subsisted by running a small business until he was in his 70s, when he started participating in *beiguan* activities again. He was given the nickname "demon teacher" because of his strict teaching style. Yeh was awarded the Ministry of Education's National Art Education Award for *beiguan*. He endured brain damage after falling down and died in 2002.' (Source from: <http://musiciantw.ncfta.gov.tw/list.aspx?p=M047&c=&hall=1&t=1> [accessed July. 23. 2015])

¹⁷ Thanks to Professor Harris who reminded me to clarify the boundaries of different types of *beiguan* clubs and bring the focus down to the study of amateur temple-based clubs for more precise analysis of the change from traditional to modern (especially in respect of individual identity issues).

circle that Wang and Yeh concerned and presented to me? How could the spirit of *beiguanren* shape and form the community identity? Both were faithful to the *beiguan* deities as other amateur members were. Is there another kind of support for the operation of the *beiguan* community and what are the other motivations that bond these community members together through social changes? What kind of factors strengthen the religious community members due to those changes?

Those questions will be discussed in the following chapters (1 and 2). The various ideas behind the *beiguan* cultural formation will be outlined, by illustrating the historical basis and *beiguan's* developing progress. The most common questions people tend to ask are about what kind of music styles represent traditional *beiguan* these days. Indeed, there are some specific features and instruments marking *beiguan* as different from other styles. We can recognise the special sound of the ensemble from *suona*, gongs and drums, or we can distinguish immediately the two categories of *beiguan* opera by the sound of the ensemble leading instruments, such as *tiàu-kuí-á* [吊鬼子: same as *Beijing* opera's ensemble leading instrument, *jinghu* 京胡] for *Xinlu* opera or *khak-á-hiân* [殼仔絃] for *Fulu* opera. However, in some circumstances, *beiguan* communities become tense when differences exist. For instance, not only is there a diversity of music styles, but *Fulu* and *Xinlu* opera clubs also worship different trade gods. This situation sometimes becomes a severe competition, for example, the temple festival shows their local and club identity to demonstrate they are the best in the areas (the competition culture, see also 2.4). In addition, people from inside and outside the *beiguan* society will have diverse reasons for participation.

As I become further involved in *beiguan* affairs, more discriminations became apparent in my fieldwork, where some of the most crucial aspects of identity around which each *beiguan* community forms are found.¹⁸ This subject frequently recurred amongst different amateur *beiguan* clubs during my interviews, each of them was excited to emphasise 'the orthodox tradition' as they understood or represented it (similar to Wang's vision of *beiguan* revival but in a various way). In contrast, the notion of orthodoxy seems to act as a 'form of self-defence' against other groups who no longer represent those aspects of '*beiguan* tradition'. Several questions are coming up with the idea of 'the orthodox tradition': what is it really? Does the nature of tradition change? If so, could it still be a 'tradition'? What is 'authenticity'? Is it

¹⁸ I received my BA (*beiguan* opera performance degree) in 2005 and had continuous part-time jobs as a research assistant for governmental investigation programmes of *nanguan* and *beiguan* music during the period of my MA and PhD studies.

important for *beiguan* clubs to emphasise their authenticity and promote themselves as the 'real tradition'? What is it that makes people performing the same opera genre form factions and claim their music is better than that of other clubs?

These are questions which I must constantly reconsider since I started fieldwork interviews and joining activities of *beiguan* communities from southern to northern Taiwan in 2001. Most club members claim that 'they present the orthodoxy', or that 'they are the tradition'! Meanwhile, several disputes occur in cases where people praise themselves as the master of *beiguan* opera, while others think that they just play *Beijing* opera. As a result, in this thesis, *beiguan* amateur clubs and their community members (*zid*) will be the main observation objects for studying the parts and their relationship followed by the different developmental stages of society. Furthermore, this fieldwork is divided into two sections; one is related to *beiguan* amateur clubs and the other concerns governmental and other official organisations, which have a broad range of different aims and motives for playing *beiguan* music. One of the principle objectives of this project will be to find and suggest new methods for the preservation and maintenance of this 'living tradition'. To do this, I will chronologically trace the development of folk communities and compare them with groups that have benefitted from governmental, heritage preservation policies. These groups have exerted considerable influence on the performance styles of *beiguan* amateur communities.

1.3 The Discussion of Tradition

The importance of *beiguan* music to Taiwan stems from its traditional and grassroots nature. However, the society has undergone processes of modernisation which have transformed *beiguan* community identities away from their former traditional values and ritual functions. The local fields have developed inevitably into a globalised space, as the aesthetic of music has taken on new, post-colonial roles influenced by powerful cultural hegemony. *Beiguan* is a sub-culture which merits preservation and categorisation as one of the World's Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereafter referred to ICH) music styles, since its funding and support from the temple system is rapidly subsiding in an urbanised and increasingly secular society. On the other hand, governmental cultural policies and heritage initiatives can offer alternative opportunities for support and these can maintain the continued activity of urban *beiguan* communities.

At the outset, it is important to clarify the concepts of tradition and how it can

continue, change and be reinterpreted. According to the definition of tradition by Shils:

Tradition means many things [...] it is anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present [...] that handed down—includes material objects, beliefs about all sorts of things, images of persons and events, practices and institutions (1981: 12).

He argues that tradition must involve a historical process or transmission through at least three different generations. Tradition is the endurance of past objects and practices, therefore, the main part of his discussion centres on the notation of ‘changes’.

It is generally accepted that habits, customs and practices are constantly changing due to our environment and circumstances. Tradition is from the past yet it continues in the present. As Shils points out, there must be a continuum of past cultures through to the present to sustain a tradition, though society may choose to resist, assimilate, absorb or synthesise changes in society and traditional concepts. There is no way to avoid such changes; ‘if there is anything really stable in the music of the world it is the constant existence of change’ says Bruno Nettl (2005: 275). In the field of ethnomusicology, ethnomusicologists must accept that ‘changes’ are a part of our musical tradition. According to Rice:

‘Why do musical traditions change? A fundamental tenet of ethnomusicology holds that they change because culture changes. [...] ethnomusicologists want to know what in music changes and how it changes when culture changes’ (1994: 169).

Traditional music always follows environmental change; therefore, Nettl’s four types of change offer a template to review the tradition. Nettl categorises four types (or levels) of changes based on the different degrees of reform which have occurred in the music: ‘To summarize: We distinguish the substitution of one system of music for another; radical change of a system; gradual, normal change; and allowable variation’ (Ibid. 279). Informed by these concepts, it is possible to analyse the development of *beiguan* music by these degrees.

The first kind of change (the substitution of one system of music for another)¹⁹

¹⁹ ‘First, for the case of the most complete kind of change, a population that shares and maintains one

does not fit the *beiguan* music model well. The music of *beiguan* opera was never reformed, rather it was transmitted from the Chinese diaspora culture and taken up by Taiwanese local opera. The second type of change, a radical change of a system,²⁰ could reflect the way the performances, costumes, stages and the musical techniques of the *beiguan* tradition have been radically changed, but the music itself has not changed in the same way. Those changes were influenced considerably by China's *Beijing opera* and other kinds of local troupes who had invited touring groups to the newly developed theatres (Japanese indoor stage) during the colonial period (Lu Sushang, 1961; Chiu Kunliang, 1992). In fact, during the final decade of Japanese rule, *beiguan* opera adopted different types of instruments to avoid the policy which had banned traditional Han music. For example, the horned fiddle (see also 1.2.c); many researchers believe it became popular because of colonial circumstances. Because this instrument is made of metal, the timbre is suitable for accompanying sad tunes and conveying emotions such as misery, bitterness and suffering. This sound mirrors the depression under the yoke of Japanese domination (Chengia Tsai, 2013).²¹ The indoor stage performance style is still undergoing changes, but the instrument is gradually disappearing from performances.

The third type of change (gradual, normal change)²² is more applicable to Taiwanese *beiguan* music and its community members. Regarding contemporary, urban Western music society: 'composers are valued if they depart from the norm very considerably, staying, of course, within certain, though often very liberal, limits that define the music system, or departing from these only in very exceptional case' (2005: 278-279). It means change should be based on a standard, a model or pattern regarded as typical, which is the most appropriate type to explain the changing rules of *beiguan* situation. In *beiguan* opera, audiences often cannot understand the linguistic differences between Mandarin and Taiwanese dialects, (*Lanqign guanhua* 藍青官話; see also 1.4)²³, however, it is still unacceptable to the *beiguan*

musical system abandons it for another' (Nettl, 2005: 278).

²⁰ 'Second, radical change in a system of music whose new form can definitively still be traced in some way to the old... There is not only a constant population but also at least some stable element of the music to establish the continuity' (Ibid.).

²¹ Chengia Tsai, A platform for transdisciplinary conversation website, <http://shs.ntu.edu.tw/shs/?p=15829> [accessed Feb. 10. 2014]

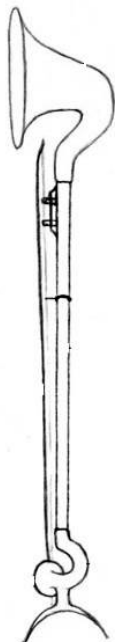
²² 'Third, while the juxtaposition of "continuity" and "change" is still around, it is clear that any musical system is likely to contain, or require, a certain amount of change as part of its essential character' (Nettl, 2005: 278).

²³ *Beiguan* opera uses 'official language' (*guanhua*/官話) to make a distinction from other dialect operas or plays, for example, Taiwanese opera.

communities if someone changes to a Taiwanese dialect or Mandarin.

Table 1. The horned fiddle and normal traditional fiddle

[The form of Taiwanese horn fiddle]



Source from: Chengia Tsai,
<http://shs.ntu.edu.tw/shs/?p=15829> [accessed Feb. 10, 2014]



Source from:
<http://shs.ntu.edu.tw/shs/?p=15829> [accessed Feb. 10, 2014]

[Traditional fiddle]



Photographs by author

[Stroh violin]



Source from:
http://s1069.photobucket.com/user/antiquemusique/media/StrohViolin1_zps1c9ea01f.jpg.html [accessed Feb. 27, 2014]

For instance, when a *beiguan* troupe plays in a Taiwanese dialect, the audience may regard it as Taiwanese opera (pinyin: *gezixi*; POJ: *koa-á-hi*, 歌仔戲), and the troupe will not receive the full payment because *beiguan* opera display was expected in the temple festival. This is one of the fundamental ways in which we can distinguish *beiguan* opera from others, even though people are often not able to understand the *beiguan* pronunciation. In this context, we can see that although some changes can be made, fundamental things such as language cannot change, unless after several decades, people no longer require that language. In addition, a change can be acceptable when there is a technological innovation (not in the music, but the method of performance). For example, most of organisers or hosts will now project lyrics onto the screen for their audience to help them to understand and follow the storyline of the play.

Moreover, sometimes, musicians must change subtle details such as performance style, musical technique or introduce improvisations while playing, which meet Nettl's fourth type of change: allowable variation.²⁴ This refers to a musician's natural or acquired talent. Audiences expect to see a slightly different performance each time, even of the same tune or play. This type precisely illustrates the changes of *beiguan* music which require the use of *beiguan* musical styles, for example, musicians are not allowed to put any kind of popular music phrases or patterns into the performance, it must be *beiguan* tunes.

From my review of the changes to *beiguan*, we must admit that change happened for numerous reasons, for example, sustaining, improving and preserving cultural heritage. Those changes will be discussed in the following chapters, by association with the changes to society, the changes of governmental attitude (by reviewing the cultural policies) and by exploring the *beiguan* people's understanding of recent changes rather than reporting the phenomenon of *beiguan*'s activities.

1.4 Research Procedure, Methods, Literature Review and the Relevance of Theories

In the first instance, I collected historical material and studied it to provide a basis on which to structure these conceptual frameworks. Secondly, I examined and analysed previous research and literature to understand the pre-existing research in this area and to fill in any gaps. By conducting interviews with *beiguan* masters and senior *beiguan* community members and through observation and participation in the clubs, I noticed that there was very little literature in this area. I sought clarification of people's personal understanding of the meanings of *beiguan* in the context of the changes to community identities over time. Finally, analysing all the materials which illustrate the multiple contexts of traditional music performance, could provide new perspectives for development of heritage preservation policies. I have outlined some focal points and targets for each step of the research methods and processes below.

²⁴ 'Fourth, for musical artifacts such as songs, or in song types, groups, repertoires, a certain amount of allowable individual variation may not even be perceived a s change' (Ibid. 279).

Step 1: Collection, Study of Historical Materials and the Structure of the Thesis' Framework

The purpose of this step was to focus on collecting fruitful historical references, the first-hand manuscripts of music and plays from fieldworks, previous research and related social theories, facilitating a comprehensive and broad understanding of this issue. Based on the research methods in the field of ethnomusicology, this research combined the 're-constructing of a multiple ideology' and 'multicultural background' to re-shape the 'imagination of *beiguan* community' and 're-building the concept of the *beiguan* culture circle', so I framed a timeline dating back 70 years²⁵. The research dimension will embrace the philosophy of religion, class-consciousness, the 'brotherhood' relationship and competitive cultural characteristics to explore the identity of *beiguan* community and its core elements and function. As time goes by, *beiguan* opera has been continually changing and connecting to various issues, such as modernisation, urbanisation and globalisation, localisation, glocalisation, political intervention and post-colonialism. This leads to the re-evaluation of traditional music. This will be beneficial for concrete comparison between the traditional paradigm and the current development of *beiguan* community.

Step 2: Previous Research and Literature Review

I reviewed existing literature in order to enhance and strengthen the scope of my research. I used the 'participant observation method', as a qualitative approach of observation method to compensate for the deficiency of historical references and to further clarify the philosophical aspects of *beiguan* opera and the identity of *beiguan* culture. These historic references were categorised, examined, criticised and paralleled to underpin the research framework and subsequent discourse analysis.

Studies of *beiguan* music are mostly either related to pieces of music or are based on analyses of theatrical performances and traditional productions. Research themes were arranged in several sections according to their subject areas. The first section covers musical research which regards *beiguan* as a music genre, rather than as a purely theatrical form. The research works were written down by Taiwanese researchers as studies of musical manuscripts, lyrics and tune structures, musical

²⁵ Han people contain many ethnicities and come from many different parts of the mainland, and each of them present a different ideology and characteristic which can also cause long term complicated racial conflicts and contradictions in Taiwanese society.

styles, music sources, performance and ensemble. For example, Lu Chuikuan has published a series of *beiguan* plays and *gongche* notations in all genres of *beiguan* music as *Hi-khek* [戲曲] (2004), *Yiu-khek* [細曲] (1999c, 2001a, 2001b), *Pâi-tsú* [牌子] (1999a), and *Hîân-á-phóo* [絃仔譜] (1999b). There are some monographs on musical style or biography on individual musicians, for example Fan Yangkun researched and published the recordings, introducing and illustrating the performance styles of two *beiguan* musicians: Lin Achun [林阿春] and Lai Musong [賴木松] (1999). Similarly to Chiu Huorong [邱火榮], who is considered a national treasure musician, his *beiguan* music recordings and notations are published by Chiu Ting *The Beiguan Music of Chiu Huorong* (album, 1997), *Beiguan Pâi-tsú Music Album* (2000), *The Teaching Material of Beiguan Hi-khek Vocal Music* (DVD and transcription, 2002). Some MA theses record and collect the musician's plays or analyse the style of their performance, for example, Chou YiChien's [周以謙] *A Study on the Life of Beiguan Musician Chuang Chin-Tsai* (2008), Chen Yinghsien [陳滢仙]: *The Beiguan Drama Arts of Chia-Miao Cheng* (2012) and Wu Hueichen's [吳慧甄]: *The Collection and Study of Fu-Lu Gong and Drum Music of Taiwan Pei-Kuan* (1999).

The study of *beiguan* has gradually become more popular since 1990, many researchers using it as the subject of their MA thesis or journal papers. In the area of musical structure and analysis, there are Li Wenzheng [李文政]: *A Study of Taiwan Beiguan Fulu Opera* (1988), Lin Yiru's [林倚如]: *A String of Melodized Singing Voice: A Study of the Music of Taiwan Yi-dan in Japanese Colonial Period* (2008), Su Yuching [蘇鈺淨]: *A Study of 'Man Zhong Jin': a Melodic Pattern Used in the Old Style of Beiguan Theatre Music* (2003), Kao Chi [高琪]: *The Study of Fan-diao Singing Styles of Beiguan Opera-Survey and Observation Plan of the Beiguan Ensemble in I-lan Area Mainly* (2003), Jiang Yuezhao [江月照]: *A Study of Beiguan Operetta 'Leishendong'* (2001), Tsai Yaling [蔡雅玲]: *A Study in structure of Beiguan Music: In The Case of Bann-Sehn-Xi 'Tien-Guan-Sh-fu'* (2005), Lin Shihlian [林世連]: *The Comparison Between the New Style of Peikuan Theater Music and the Pi-Huang Singing Pattern A Case Study of 'The Third Time Enter a Palace'* (三進宮) (2007), Liaw Jingting [廖晉霆]: *Rhythm Complexity Analysis and Application: Using the Examples of Bei Guan and Peking Opera* (2012) and Hsu Hsuehchuan [徐雪娟]: *A Study of the Antique System of Pei-kuan Theater Music: Song Ching Niang* (2011).

There are some research results showing the musical performance and instrumentation, such as Pan Jutuan [潘汝端]: *The Study of So-na Music and Its*

Technique in Peiguan (2001), Shih Yingpin [施穎彬]: *The Preliminary Study on Instrumental Practice of Ke-ze-xian and Its Conception of Performance in Taiwanese Bei-guan Music* (2008), Liu Mei-Chi [劉美枝]: *A Study of Chiang-Diau in Taiwan Luan-Tan-Shi* (2011), Yang Husiwen [楊秀汶]: *A Study of Beiguan Instrumental making and Its Performance* (2006) and Liu Chenmao [劉正懋]: *Research on Chuei Chang Music from Miao-Li Chen Family Pei-Kuan Pa-Yin Group* (2012).

Additionally, clubs, communities, and performance areas are varieties of research fields comprising different aspects of music, theatre or both. Moreover, it is important to focus on social contexts for deconstruction of the bonding agencies of *beiguan* music in social activities. The research field which associates with the discussion of relationship between the community and their local area are Ko Meng-Chieh [柯孟潔]: *The Study of Pei-kuan and the Community in Taichung* (2006), Tsai Chifang [蔡季芳]: *A Study on Beiguan Group: Take Ching Her Shiuen in Chia-yi County* (2010), Weng Weihong [翁瑋鴻]: *A Study of Beiguan Ensemble in Tamsui* (2010) and Chen Xiaoci [陳孝慈]: *The Study of beiguan community: Leichunyuan* (2000).

Similarly, theatrical and literary research are also frequently discussed in *beiguan* research, for example the structure of script analysis, studies of rhetorical and linguistic devices when comparing certain libretti from a number of *beiguan* operatic works, studies of lyrics and tune structures (labelled patterns), analyses of theatrical performance, such as Su Lingyao [蘇玲瑤]: *Play, Locus, Zidi Theatre: Viewing the Performance and Its Contexts as An Alay* (1996), Lin Hsiaoying [林曉英]: *The Study of the scripts of Taiwan Luan-Tan Opera* (2009), Lin Qianhui's [林千惠]: *A Study Between 'Theatre' and 'Music' of Beiguan Banxianxi* (2000), Cho Yiu-Tsai [卓宥采]: *A Study of a Melodic Pattern Used of Beiguan: The Domain of The Historic Theatre of Chao Kuang-Yin* (2007), Lu Daipei [呂岱蓓]: *Changhua County Cultural Affairs Bureau -a Study of Beiguan Music and Theatre of Chip Lok lan* [集樂軒] (102) and Zhuang Yaru [莊雅如]: *At the beginning research of iukiek(classic song) from Taiwan beiguan artist: a study on the restoration of text and quzhong comparison* (2003).

There is also a small body of literature describing *beiguan* theatre and activities in the theatrical field. Chiu Kunliang's book *Old Drama and New Drama (1895-1945): A Study of Drama in Taiwan during and Period of Japanese Rule* (1992) and Hsu, Yahsiang's research *Drama Information on the press During the Japanese Colonial* (2006) provides abundant club, theatre activities, social and historical

information from the Japanese colonial period. Jian, Hsiu-Jen focuses her attention on the different *beiguan* clubs in the Yilan area in her book *Environment, performances, and aesthetics: performing activities from the Qin dynasty to the 1960s in Lanyang area* (2005).

Further, some examples of musical heritage preservation are also included for further discussion and critique of methods for the maintenance and preservation of traditional music. The government put much effort into the local club investigation projects to meet their localisation policy. For example, Lin Meirong [林美容] charged the investigation of music clubs and martial arts clubs in Changhua County (1998). Lee Zilian did the oral history for opera survey in Changhua County (1998). Hsu Yahsiang [徐亞湘] investigated the local operas and music groups in Taoyuan County (1995), and the project *The Silly Zidi in Zhuqian* was preserved in video recordings for the activities of *beiguan zidi* in Hsinchu City (2002). Various other *beiguan* opera surveys and observation plans (which include the studies of transmission and preservation) are Chen Yueling [陳月玲]: *The study of Beiguan impartation: a case of Changhua County Museum of Traditional Music and Theatre of Nanguan and Beiguan* (2008), Lu PeiJu [呂珮儒]: *Teaching and Practicing the string and wind instruments of Beiguan musical in seniors citizen* (2013), Huang Cyonghuei [黃瓊慧]: *A Study of People's Motivation and Satisfaction of Participate in Local Cultural Museums: With Example of Changhua County Museum of Traditional Nai – Bei Music and Theatre* (2012), Wu Yente [吳彥德]: *Development and Transmission of Taiwanese Traditional Musical Groupes for the Procession: the Case Study on Troupes of Beiguan Shiyin* (2011), Wu Boxun [吳柏勳]: *A Study of Conservation and Inheritance Strategies for Peikuan in Taiwan* (2010), Huang Juicheng [黃瑞誠]: *A Study on the Performance and Educational Activities of Hsinchu Beiguan Art Troupe* (2010) and Lin Wenshair [林文霞]: *A study of the Development Jun-Tian Beiguan Group in Taoyuan* (2008). There is also some discussion about how *beiguan* opera and music becomes the teaching material in the school system such as, Huang YiChun [黃伊春]: *Research of Pak-koán Baiing blending into the native music instruction-Nan-Ho elementary school Pak-koán Baiing band as an example* (2005).

Recently, there are more different disciplines which use *beiguan* as their subject of observation. For example, Chiu Huiling [邱慧玲] uses anthropological methods and introspection to analyse the *beiguan* experience for her MA thesis *Voices of Beiguan: Heteroglossia and the Native Anthropologist* (2008). Moreover, Wang Sungshan [王嵩山] employs anthropological methodology, analysing the development and preservation of ritual opera (which deconstructs the theatrical

environment) and its social coding of the relationship between the ritual opera (*banxianxi*) and theatre performance (1988). Chen Chihnan [陳其南] engages with cultural studies and policy, which provides many useful perspectives to review the development of *beiguan* and its implementation of cultural policies (1986; 2004; 2006).

Yen Lipmo [嚴立模] employs the concept of diglossia to discuss the ideology between high variety (as *beiguan*'s official language) and low variety (as local dialect) in his thesis *The Pakkoan Mandarin of Bu-hong-hian in S'nkang, Chia'i, Taiwan: a phonological study* (1998). Lee Wenlong [李文隆] uses the methodology of linguistics to analyse the *beiguan* pronunciation of Pan Yu-chiao on his MA thesis, *The Phonetic Study of Beiguan Opera Play: A Case Study of the National Treasure Actress Pan Yuejiao* (2004), trying to find its regulation or the specification between *beiguan*'s pronunciation and Mandarin.

However, there is still a lack of research on the social contexts, the changes of the *beiguan* eco-system or discussion of community from cultural studies and sociological perspectives. I present cross-disciplinary study, drawing on fields such as cultural studies, religious studies, linguistics, political history, sociology and anthropology to re-examine and question the diversity of arguments in the *beiguan* field, since those related and important issues are seldom analysed in this way. Therefore, the literature review had to extend to another kind of Taiwanese music and opera studies (e.g. *nanguan*, Taiwanese opera, *Peking* opera²⁶), and other local operas in China (e.g. Huju, *Beijing* opera and *Kunju*). *Peking* opera is from the same root as *Beijing* opera, but has developed differently in Taiwan (from 1949), since the 'radical experiments of the Cultural Revolution' as model revolutionary opera (Guy, 2005: 135). Guy sums up the six different Mandarin names in the last hundred year of *Peking* opera: *pihuang* [皮黃], *jingxi* [京戲], *pingju* [平劇], *jingju* [京劇], *guoju* [國劇] and *Peking* opera (1995: 86). Similarly, *Chorus Culture in Taiwan: Music Value and Community Identity* provides an ideology of political and Cultural perspective on the community identity issues (Hong Sangxia, 2006).

²⁶ According to Guy: 'The Chinese term for Peking opera has itself changed many times over the last one hundred years. Since the 1950s in Taiwan, it has been known officially as *pingju* (opera of *Beiping*), *guoju* (national opera), and most recently, *jingju* (opera of *Beijing*) [...] I use the term [Peking opera] somewhat ahistorically (and as apolitically as possible) to stand for most of the changing Chinese names assigned to the art over its more than century-long history on Taiwan' (2005: xiv). In addition, the reason I agree with Guy is I also believe this term preserves the Taiwanese experience on the development of *Beijing* opera for the last seven decades.

Basing a methodology on ethnomusicological studies and methods could fill some gaps in *beiguan* research and perhaps endow *beiguan* research with some features which differ from those previously applied and help to further its cultural and social analytical benefit. Jonathan Stock's writings provide many valuable references for research methodology and Chinese opera terminology in English. For example, the book of *Huju: Traditional Opera in Modern Shanghai* presents a very clear historical line on each specific issue with his critical analysis. The usage of Chinese terms is precise and provides a model for the writing reference.

Wang Yingfen studies *nanguan* music and concerns over government policymaking. Her works provide the primary research framework considering *nanguan* and *beiguan* music sharing the same proportion of governmental resources when the cultural policies were referred and hold the same position in the Taiwanese musical environment. For example, she divided the state intervention into four periods (1980-1984, 1985-1989, 1990-1994, 1995-2003), which were 'marked by the beginning of new modes of state intervention in *nanguan* and traditional arts' (2003: 115). This *nanguan* framework can also apply to the government intervention on *beiguan* music and be updated to the present for the fifth period (see Appendix B).

The methodology of ethnomusicology is still seldom applied to *beiguan* studies. The Ph.D. thesis of Li Pinghui, *The dynamics of a musical tradition: contextual adaptations in the music of Taiwanese Beiguan wind and percussion ensemble*, is the first thesis using the term *beiguan* in English. It describes the details of *beiguan* drummer's gestures and indicates the relation of accompaniment between *luogu* and *suona* with the clearly musical score. She divides her research into two categories, by using 'the context of situation' to compare the variance of *beiguan* ensemble in four different circumstances of performance; and using 'the context of music itself' to present the rules of *beiguan* music (1991) which provides an overview of the *beiguan* performance. In the Ph.D. thesis of Chinghui Lee, *Roots and Routes: A Comparison of Beiguan in Taiwan and Shingaku in Japan*. Is a discussion of diasporas and cultural phenomena when the music is spread by different ethnic groups (2007). She uses the Fujian province as the original musical source to compare the situation of music development in Taiwan and Japan. She mainly focuses on the amateur clubs; the professional troupes, community identity, ideology, taste and attitude toward music are rarely mentioned.

Stokes explains the role of music and how the music is manipulated by the state, when they control the media systems, as 'Musical styles can be made emblematic of

national identities'. The state in this way presents the ideology and operation of the state apparatus (1994: 13). Grant, following the approaches of the applied ethnomusicology, reviews the ICH on the protection and promotion issues of Vietnamese vocal chamber music genre *ca tru*. She points out four problems related to safeguarding efforts: ecological problem; the problem of purism; intervention and inefficacy'. She claims these problems as 'ambivalences and misgivings of linguists about whether and how to undertake language maintenance efforts, and position these concerns in relation to music' (2012: 33). There are apparent similarities with the Taiwanese *beiguan* research which began with the Chinese Language and Literature field, continued to theatre and music, finally ending in the cross-disciplines of today (for more discussion of the intangible cultural heritage issue, see also 5.3 and 6.3). Reviewing the case studies of UNESCO, who spread their effort across various areas, for example see the book of *UNESCO on the Ground* (Foster and Gilman: 2015), also helps our understanding of local perspectives on the implementation of cultural policy associated with the promotion and preservation of *beiguan* opera.

Step 3: Conducting Fieldwork, Interviews and Recording Various Activities

Fieldwork is the primary research method for the fields of ethnomusicology, anthropology and sociology, and directly grasps on-site information and traditional rites from research subjects. In this research project, the fieldwork will cover three facets: exploration of the urban *beiguan* network and cultural activities; in-depth interviews with *beiguan* members; and the longitudinal tracking of an individual community. This will be conducive to analysing and interpreting the different approaches to performance styles and learning behaviours; from the manuscripts and different uses of musical instruments to understanding the situation of music adapting. Fieldwork also allows us to explore the transformation of music structure, functions and aesthetic perspectives, which contrasts with the records of traditional albums and manuscripts.

As a performer with a background in *beiguan*, I received my BA (performance degree) in the traditional music department of Taipei National University of the Arts. During the *beiguan* learning process, I sensed some conflicts between academia and the fieldwork areas, which motivated me to find a teacher out of the school system and seek a return to the traditional apprenticeship learning system. Studying with both school (4 days per week) and mentor (3 days per week), I gained different perspectives and understandings of both theories and practices. I also realised and had to accept that westernisation and globalisation has affected the education and

traditional music eco-system in Taiwanese society profoundly (in many aspects, e.g. teaching methods and learning process). After four years undergraduate training, I still conducted *beiguan* fieldwork research and had continuous employment as a research assistant for governmental investigation programmes during the three years of my MA study and my PhD. Therefore, my personal experiences and musical skills put me at an advantage when I am doing fieldwork; I can play with *beiguan* musicians and thereby collect more information from my interviewees.

As an insider to the *beiguan* community, I have the ability to observe the influences between different teachers, local areas, periods, even different political parties and the impacts of their policies, and to distinguish the difference between urban and rural areas. Nettl provides a precise description of this kind of fieldwork—Ethnomusicology ‘At Home’—this description accurately describes my experience:

[...] as the twentieth century wound its way onward, and as the world’s population became more urban, and as urban culture increasingly penetrated the rural venues, the proportion of fieldwork done in villages and nomadic camps decreased, and research in urban venues rose. And increasingly, that venue might be a city in one’s own culture. There developed, somewhat in tandem with the growth of “urban anthropology,” a field that might be called—though the name never seriously took hold—urban ethnomusicology.

[...] Although the notion of doing ethnomusicology “at home” is not necessarily related to that of urban ethnomusicology, I suggest that the tendency, in the period after 1985, for ethnomusicologists to look increasingly at their own musical culture has to do with the study of urban culture. Working in your own rural hinterland, that’s an old custom, as already described; but the fieldworker, even though a compatriot, is usually an outsider. The notion of “at home” suggests looking literally in one’s own backyard, investigating, as an ethnomusicologist, one’s own culture (2005: 185-186).

The reason for studying the *beiguan* community is that I am always impressed by the *beiguan* spirit (community identity), which bonds the *beiguan zidi* and provides a sense of belonging to a big friendly family.

Step 4: Synthesis of the Result of the Research and the Theoretical Perspective

The last step was to synthesise the results of the research as a basis for the discourse of each chapter. Therefore, I used certain theoretical positions associated with cultural studies to analyse these processes from modernism to postmodernism. I covered concepts such as alienation (Wood, 2004), consumer culture (Featherstone,

2007), state apparatus (Althusser, 1984) and the hyperreal (Baudrillard, 1994; 1998). From 1960, modern capitalism in Taiwan gradually created an atmosphere emphasising rationalisation and standardisation, quantification, specialisation of the economy and management that had made a powerful impact to the *beiguan* eco-system (i.e. losing the community members from the urban areas, changing the learning process by seeking an efficient way instead of the oral tradition; see also chapter 4 and 5). According to Marxism the alienation phenomena (caused by commodity fetishism²⁷ in a capitalist society) will help to explain the changes of society 'values'. The values of people's ordinary lives have often progressively been 'quantified' according to these 'commodification' standards, which are presented in the book of *Karl Marx: Second edition*.

The 'alienation of productive activity' consists in the fact that in labor the worker 'does not affirm himself but denies himself, feels not well off but unhappy, develops no free physical and spiritual energy but mortifies his *physis* and ruins his spirit'. Thus Marx's apparent claim is that wage labor's unpleasant and unfulfilling nature is what *explains* the fact that the worker's product belongs to someone else. Likewise, the unappealing nature of labor is what causes this product to dominate the worker in the form of capital (Wood 2004:6).

My intention is not to use Marxism to explain the changes of Taiwanese society; rather I wish to make use of his concepts of 'commodity fetishism' and 'alienation' to explicate the discussion of modern and postmodern society (see chapter 4). In the past few decades, people have criticised Marxism as overly simplistic because it does not address other factors in society such as gender or race. It instead focuses on economic determinism and emphasises the concept of class. Karl Popper has disputed historical materialism on the grounds that you cannot examine it over a short space of time (2002: 49). In contrast, capitalism is very flexible and can adapt to different environments.

²⁷ 'This I call the Fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour, insofar as they are produced as commodities, and which is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities [...] A commodity is therefore a mysterious thing, simply because in it the social character of men's labour appears to them as an objective character stamped upon the product of that labour; because the relation of the producers to the sum total of their own labour is presented to them as a social relation, existing not between themselves, but between the products of their labour. This is the reason why the products of labour become commodities, social things whose qualities are at the same time perceptible and imperceptible by the sense [...] It is only a definite social relation between men that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things' (Marx, 1974:76-77).

However, the ideas of ‘social alienation’ and ‘commodity fetishism’ give us excellent insights into certain social phenomena. This is discussed by scholars such as Lukacs, Althusser, Marcuse and Baudrillard. Wood states: ‘One important function of Marx’s law of value is to call attention to this fetishism, to penetrate the social illusions it imposes on us and to motivate us to free ourselves from the domination of social relations by abolishing the commodity form of what we produce’ (2004:239). Through these analyses, we can evaluate the alienation phenomena and the changes in Taiwanese society of this period (see 4.1).

On the subject of changes in society, I track the development of agricultural, modern and postmodern society. The part on postmodern is based on Featherstone’s book, *consumer culture and postmodernism*, which discusses the changes of lifestyles, social structure, economic activities, the cultural values and aestheticisation of everyday life (2007). As the result, based on this trend of ideology (from 1990), the Taiwanese awareness was brought to the attention of the public, as the same time as the *beiguan* music, which was regarded by the Taiwanese local culture as a nativisation movement. Jameson points out that postmodernism is a ‘more fully human world than the older one’ and gives a further explanation associating the concept of changing modernism into postmodernism:

[...] in postmodern culture, ‘culture’ has become a product in its own right; the market has become a substitute for itself and fully as much a commodity as any of the items it includes within itself: modernism was still minimally and tendentially the critique of the commodity and the effort to make it transcend itself. Postmodernism is the consumption of sheer commodification as a process. The ‘life-style’ of the super state therefore stands in relationship to Marx’s ‘fetishism’ of commodities as the most advanced monotheisms to primitive animisms or the most rudimentary idol worship; indeed, any sophisticated theory of the postmodern ought to bear something of the same relationship to Horkheimer and Adorno’s old ‘Culture Industry’ concept as MTV or fractal ads bear to fifties television series (1999: xv).

Baudrillard, who was a French philosopher and sociologist, published numerous articles on postmodernism and post-structuralism. He discussed three orders of simulacra according to the different guiding values of three historical periods, which help us to reconsider the issue of authenticity and the cultural creative industry (see also 6.1: what is authenticity?). He first examines the Renaissance during the onset of the Industrial Revolution, during which people advocated the ‘metaphysics of being’, with the simulacrum operating ‘on the natural laws of value’ by making ‘counterfeit’ stuff. During this period, the meaning of ‘sign’ was fixed and equivalent to the

referent. The second order is in the Industrial era, 'production is the dominant schema'; people were considered as simulations that produced many copies. The simulacrum operated 'on the market law of value', the meaning of 'sign' has also been changed by the referent. The third order is 'the current code-governed phase', 'simulation is the dominant schema', and the simulacrum operates 'on the structural law of value'. Nowadays, under these binary oppositions' thoughts and fantasy creations are grounded in some elements of truth; as with Disneyland, in which an excessively real, or 'hyperreal', world is evoked (1976: 50-86). This situation reflects traditional music's revival. Some people try to shape the image of the great culture and its long history to strengthen the national identity, while others try to demonstrate their authenticity and show their 'orthodox' classic status. This led to the re-creation tradition, and attempts to persuade people to believe its real state as it was used to be (see 6.1 and 7.3 for further illustration and examples).

Moreover, because mass media dominated ideology with its cultural hegemony, it also caused changes to people's recreational habits and the cultural ecology. Baudrillard published an article "*The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*" in 1991, which gave a critique of how the facts were manipulated by mass media. Through the lens, the war seemed less like a real war and more like a fiction-based film. It therefore met Baudrillard's concept of the hyperreal: 'the real is not only what can be reproduced, but that which is already reproduced, the hyperreal' (1983: 146). In the film of *Avatar*, one of the most important settings is the planet *Pandora*, basically created by CGI technique blurring distinctions between the real and hyperreal worlds by a fusion of representation and simulacra, offering a new audio-visual experience to the audience (Zizek 2009:394-395). From this discussion arises concerns of authenticity; for example when the set of chimes from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng (around 400 B.C.) was excavated in 1978. The series of revival activities (e.g. musical scales, repertoires and the style of performance) seem innovative when based on a 'real' but 'lost' tradition (see also 6.1).

1.5 Restrictions of My Research

My research was limited in three ways: access to the research data, examining those data and interpretation of the data. First, there are restrictions on access to the research data because it is necessary to break down certain social barriers in order to get the opportunity for in-depth interviews with community members. Therefore, because of ethical considerations, the interviewer has to win the trust of the interviewees and conduct efficient and well-organised interviews, instead of only

making passive observations.

Second, there are restrictions in regards to examining research data due to the fact that this research mainly adopted qualitative interviews and analysis of historical documents and literature. Therefore, when examining issues of authenticity and objectivity, I could only rely on my own experiences and relate them to the literature in order to get a more reliable result.

Third, the interpretation of data is based on historical contexts and the paradigm of ethnomusicology according to the researcher's experience, historical records and literature. However, the interpretation of those data may include subjective understanding of objective facts. Subjective understanding stems from the informant's life experience and the researcher's academic experience; objective facts involve the development of Taiwanese policies and the historical development of *beiguan* opera.

1.6 Research Outcomes

The thesis focuses on the eco-system of amateur temple-based clubs and discusses identity issues and the formation of the clubs' cultural circle. The main concerns and outcomes of this thesis attempt to present and analyse the changes in the character of *beiguan* amateur communities that have been caused or influenced by shifting trends in governmental policy, social phenomena, religious and cultural factors. In much the same way, the musical structure has also been influenced strongly by westernisation and globalisation. Should those implications be explored based on the literature, music or dramatic works as fine arts investigations in contemporary society, or should they follow the trend from humanities, social environment, and aesthetic attitude of the changes which affect the music? It is important to re-illustrate the values and acceptance of tradition by the modern society, especially in the field of *beiguan*, which is rarely discussed by the subject areas of cultural studies, religious aspects and ethnomusicology in contemporary research.

In addition, the reasons and methods for *beiguan* preservation and innovation by *beiguan* amateur communities and government agencies will be discussed in this research. What kind of traditional music could be accepted by contemporaries of the last century? How do we keep to traditional character when we try to innovate with a new performance method? By making a comparison with some different methods of conservation of traditional music (i.e. the successful experiences of other countries), we could develop valuable ideas about trans-disciplinary co-operation and the

promotion of traditional music. This thesis will make a new contribution to the *beiguan* field of knowledge (the relationship with people and its social context); instead of to the study of music itself (i.e. musical transcriptions; the structure of script analysis, studies of rhetorical and linguistic devices; musical performance and instrumentation; musical structure and analysis).

It could also straighten out and draw public attention to the process of this changing tradition. For example, discussion of the impact of music styles and transmission ways could be traced via the different national treasures who won awards of ‘Folk Art Heritage Award’ [薪傳獎] or ‘Important Traditional Artists’ [重要民族藝師]. The trajectory of the changes and constants of cultural transmission could be seen from the previous video data and artefacts that are preserved by NCTA (National Centre for Traditional Arts/傳藝中心); the promoting activities of ICH by CCA (Council for Cultural Affairs/文建會); or the investigation reports by the NCAF (National Culture and Arts Foundation/國藝會) and the CHR (The Centre For Humanities Research of the National Science Council/國科會).

Further contribution to these issues will provide an introspective point of view to re-think the methods of promoting traditional music: Why is western classic music regarded as the most elite culture and more popular than traditional music in general (according to annual statistics on the number of concerts and musical festivals, there were 80% of western musical performances and only 20% for others)? As the main representative of Taiwanese traditional music, why is *beiguan* music never played at the state banquet? Are we still dominated by the western cultural hegemony since the modernisation movement of 1919 (The May Fourth Movement, 五四運動²⁸)? What kind of musical styles could be accepted by contemporary society? When we conduct musical innovation, how could we keep the traditional elements from being destroyed? To answer all these questions, this thesis will explore the different possibilities and look for the balance between tradition and modernity.

1.7 Chapter Synopses

Chapter one begins with a description of the cultural hybridity of *beiguan* music in Taiwan, following a diachronic descriptive method which illustrates the different

²⁸ The May Fourth Movement (*Wusi yundong*, 五四運動) is the series demonstrations of anti-imperial which launched by the students in Beijing on May 4, 1919.

stages of *beiguan* development. The development of *beiguan* can be divided and attributed to three different governing authority systems and regimes—Ming and Qing Dynasties (before 1895), the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945) and after WWII (1945-1960). We can use the historical records: journals, newspapers, official local chronicles, and literature help us to restructure earlier immigrant society; newspapers, oral history and interviews help us to structure the Japanese colonial period; and literature reviews to examine different perspectives on the KMT regime. In chapter two, according to historical development, we can analyse their different policies and how those influenced the development of *beiguan* opera to provide a conceptual framework for reconstructing the earlier *beiguan* amateur communities and cultural circles as they were constituted prior to 1960. Different perspectives from religion, issues of class, peer group affiliation and contest culture have all contributed to a deeper understanding of how pre-1960 *beiguan* amateur communities constructed and maintained their group identities.

The approach of chapter three has provided a clear historical trajectory for the origin, development and reformation from ‘four main local characteristic operas’ [*shida shengqiang* 四大聲腔] into the Taiwanese *beiguan* opera form. Two concepts of *qupai* [曲牌] and *banqing* [板腔] reveal the methods to apply to Chinese music composure. Four categories explain the formation of *beiguan* opera and its musical forms which are present in contemporary Taiwanese society.

Chapter four describes various social changes in modern society, including changes in economic structures, community constitutions and social values. Those changes and new values directly or indirectly influence the status of traditional music, and the *beiguan* amateur communities must make some modifications to fit in with the new rules and trends as community members adapt to life in today’s multi-cultural society, saturated with competing sensory stimuli. Some evidence can be revealed through examination of transcription texts and musical instrument usages.

Chapter five continues the analysis of changes in social structure and compares today’s scene with the music’s origins. The approach of this chapter will explain how Taiwanisation (localisation) became a shared goal of different political parties; both operating on their governmental policies to meet the globalising trend. Moreover, the *beiguan* community identity issues are gradually emerging and becoming increasingly apparent due to various changes in musical elements and the fading away of *beiguan*’s traditional community functions etc. Therefore, the ways the community organises their repertoire and how these communities promote their music events and

clubs on the website are related to how they express their community identities. To go through these ideologies, the achievement is a more in-depth understanding of the changes in community thinking (as well as the perception of identity issues, which premised by community members). I will explore how these ideas are articulated in *beiguan* musical performance practices and will choose several versions of typical tunes to trace the changes.

Then, in chapter six, the concept meets the issue of cultural preservation related to tradition, and authenticity will be referenced to the vanishing boundaries between tradition and modernity. The *beiguan* music community's conceptions of traditional presentation will be illustrated, for example, from the musical style of the musicians who have won a prize from the Cultural Affairs Commission, and could see the changes of heritage. Then follows feedback of community members on those policies and on current debates involving *beiguan* performance, music styles, learning behaviour. Their feelings about those changes (either voluntary or forced) will be discussed. Discussion of the trend of ICH and the development of cultural policies will help to understand the government's attitude and the reasons why they try to intervene in traditional affairs. I will try to explain why both the KMT and DPP parties, who have very different political standings to each other, attempt to strengthen the Taiwanese awareness and to shape the sense of national identity as 'maintaining tradition'.

In the final chapter, I will focus on *beiguan* cultural policy making to review the influence of government intervention, examine the motivations, and study a mechanism of social control for the investigation of the consequences, in order to continue the discussion of tradition and innovation studies. Then, by scrutinising some case studies associated with the development and innovation of *beiguan* opera, I will try to understand and illustrate how this traditional culture can survive in contemporary society either refining or engaging in multi-disciplinary collaboration. There are seldom outsider audiences to participate in and appreciate *beiguan* music. Social relations of musical production will be evaluated, using some musical context. From the transcriptions, I will to analyse different presentational and aesthetic attitudes. Changes or replacement of language, vocabulary and pronunciation will be noted, and comparison of the text with the music will allow interpretation of the phenomenon of localisation. This results in the dilemma of the performer, choosing between a style of performance which is traditional or innovatory.

Part I

Hybrid Culture

Multi-ideology Cultural Contexts

Beiguan, as a representative of grass-roots culture has been suppressed, promoted or even forbidden by different authorities during its history. This begs the question how did *beiguan* develop its cultural heritage which represents Taiwanese tradition? The answer to this question takes place in a complex social context which is reflected in musical practices and applications.

Taiwan is a multicultural society comprising to a small degree indigenous people (2%), but primarily ethnically Han Chinese immigrants²⁹ (approximately 98%). Archaeological evidence indicates that indigenous Malayo-Polynesian communities lived in Taiwan from 12,000 to 15,000 years ago and shared Austronesian linguistic heritage with other Pacific settlements. Nowadays, there are 14 identifiable indigenous groups in Taiwan. The majority population is Han Chinese, with different regions of Han Chinese immigrants speaking their own dialects.

There were three main types of Han immigrants; *Holo* (*heluoren* 河洛人), *Hakka* (*kejiaren* 客家人) and mainlanders (*wai sheng ren* 外省人). These are distinguished by their dialects or the era of immigration.³⁰ The early wave of immigration began when the Han ancestors crossed the Taiwan Strait and settled around 1620-1683. They were recruited from the Southeastern provinces of China by the Zheng family (see 1.1).

²⁹ See footnote 25.

³⁰ These three terms are commonly used in Taiwanese society.

Early arrivals included the *Holo* people (southern Fujian, Minnan region, 70% population) and the *Hakka* people (eastern Guangdong, 15% population). During the Qing dynasty (1644-1912), mainly individual merchants and workers moved to Taiwan, sometimes marrying (or taking concubines from) the indigenous population, their child being regarded as Han offspring. This tradition contributed to the deeply rooted patriarchy society. The second large Chinese diaspora happened in 1949, when the nationalist ROC government retreated to Taiwan. There were approximately 1.2 million mainlanders, who came from all over the country, following the army's relocation to Taiwan (The Republic of China Yearbook³¹ 2013, 2014: 17-21).



Figure 6. Taiwan map

Source from: <http://mapsof.net/> & <http://missiology-and-taiwan.blogspot.co.uk> [accessed May. 12. 2014].

As well as the many divergent ethnic backgrounds constituting Taiwan's multicultural character, Taiwan also has experienced several colonisations, coming under outside rule during the Dutch (1624-1662), Spanish (1626-1642), Manchu people (Qing, 1683-1895), Japanese (1895-1945) and mainlander's nationalist (1945-1978) periods. Those foreign governments gradually shaped Taiwan towards an individual ideology and identity separating from China. Nowadays, the official language is Mandarin due to the policy of the nationalist KMT party. The further historical causes and effects will be explained separately following discussion of *beiguan*'s development.

³¹ The Republic of China Yearbook 2013, the Office of Information Services, Executive Yuan, <http://yearbook.multimedia.ey.gov.tw/enebook/web/index.html> [accessed May. 12. 2014].

Chapter 1

Historical Background and *Beiguan* Musical Genre

The *Holo* people (heluoren/河洛人) are the largest ethnic group in Taiwan. As part of the *Holo* cultural heritage, *beiguan* opera and its music was widespread in people's everyday life and was combined with their religious faith. It also formed a hybrid of cultural and social norms, which developed the Taiwanese-inspired *beiguan* opera over three hundred years. According to the report of Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Changhua *Lichunyuan beiguan* music club [彰化梨春園] has 305 years of history, being set up around 1811 (Jiaqing sixteen years/嘉慶十六年).³² *Beiguan* appears in major life events, such as celebrations of birth, weddings, funerals and other big ceremonies (like moving house, getting a promotion and so forth). It can be the accompanying music for other local dramas, theatres, for instance, or puppet drama (*budaixi*/布袋戲). It provides a form of recreation and entertainment to ordinary people and helps teach children how to read as they memorise the story of the plays they learn at school. It also provides a specific soundscape for scenarios in Taiwanese society. Generating from Han culture, *beiguan* operas often have large audiences who participate in music clubs or *beiguan* activities themselves. They appreciate the music because it allows them to relive nostalgia. In the golden age of *beiguan* communities, there were more than 1,000 clubs in Taiwan, throughout nearly all the villages and towns (Lu, Chuikuan, 2010a: 21).

In the early years of immigration to Taiwan, divergent concepts, language and

³² Source from: http://www.boch.gov.tw/boch/frontsite/cultureassets/caseBasicInfoAction.do?method=do_ViewCaseBasicInfo&caseId=NA09602001458&version=1&assetsClassifyId=1.2 [accessed Nov. 11. 2015].

identities between different regions of Han immigrants caused competition for careers or goods which resulted in conflicts, fights and even uprisings. This chapter will cover the historical links associated with *beiguan* culture from the earlier immigrants in the *Ming* and *Qing* Dynasties (1620-1895).

The first period dates to Zheng Zilong [鄭芝龍], who brought people to develop the south-central area of Taiwan, from the end of the Ming dynasty until the Qing dynasty ceded Taiwan to Japan. In the second period, the Japanese rulers had different attitudes towards *beiguan* music during their colonisation. They used a moderate policy at first and then gradually began to restrict and prohibit its performance, since *beiguan* represented Han cultural heritage. These policies of the Japanese government were an attempt to desinicize the population and instil Japanese values in the Taiwanese people.

The final period involves the second large Han immigration wave, when the nationalist (KMT party) carried the whole government, soldiers and their followers to Taiwan and took the regime from the Japanese. They focused on finding a way to re-take mainland China, from before 1975 until the son of dictator Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo, came to power.³³ Therefore, the Taiwanese culture (e.g. *Holo* and *Hakka* cultures) was suppressed by the ‘superior’ mainland culture and dominated by the Mandarin language. During our discussion of these different governments, we will see how these different waves of immigration helped *beiguan* culture evolve into its current form.

1.1 Ming, Qing Dynasties Period (Before 1895)

The first immigration wave began with the pirate leaders Zheng Zhilong [鄭芝龍] and Pedro China [顏思齊], who brought the Han people such as the *Holo* and *Hakka* to Taiwan and reclaimed Beigang town (北港, south central). This allowed them to avoid the restrictive trade law around the maritime region of Penghu [澎湖] by the late Ming dynasty in 1620. Zheng Zhilong (鄭芝龍, 1604-1661) was a merchant in Fujian, a province on the southeast coast of mainland China, as well as a privateer and a legitimate admiral appointed by late Ming’s emperor (Andrade, 2011: 30). When he served in Ming’s coastal defence force (1628), he suggested to the imperial court that

³³ The situation where KMT changed their policy to manage Taiwan and attitude to ‘recover’ mainland china is also described as ‘settler state’ by Roland Weitzer, which will discuss in the chapter 1.3.

because of Fujian's severe drought at the time, it should be encouraged that Fujian residents migrate to Taiwan, by offering three taels of silver per person, or for three people to share one cow. Under this initiative, twenty to thirty thousand people moved to Taiwan.

Zheng's son, Zheng Chenggong [鄭成功] (1624-1662) expelled the Dutch East India Company in 1662. The army landed at Anping port [安平港] in Tainan, where there were 45,000 people including the army's family members. It was these people that started the development of Taiwan. The regime was taken over in 1683 by the Qing dynasty when Zheng Chenggong's grandson (Zheng Keshuang, 鄭克塽, 1670-1707) was defeated by the Qing navy.

This period is called the Zheng period, the Kingdom of Formosa [鄭氏王朝] or the Kingdom of Tungning [東寧王朝] and was established by the Zheng family.³⁴ The Dutch had colonised Taiwan during 1624-1662, and the Spanish from 1626 to 1642, both powers using Taiwan as a stop-off point for transporting their goods. Taiwan provided an equipment supply depot on their trade network from Indonesia, Southeast Asia to China and Japan. The Dutch particularly needed Taiwanese merchants and their ships in order to trade with China. Their interests were in the levies and cash crops and not the cultural affairs or management of Taiwan (with the exception of the church). However, Taiwanese historians speculate that this Zheng period is the time in which *beiguan* music was brought into Taiwan. Lu Sushang studies the opera troupe's documentary records, assuming it was *beiguan* since it was popular in the coast of Minnan area (閩南/southern Fujian). On the other hand, Lu Chuiquan uses a more conservative assumption to trace the established year of 'Lichunyuan' *beiguan* club (2010a: 21). According to Lu Sushang, 'the opera troupes came to Taiwan successively, mainly from the Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces [江浙], Fujian Quanzhou [福建泉州] and Guangdong Chaozhou [廣東潮州]. Shen Guangwen [沈光文], a military counsellor of Zheng Chenggong, recruited them from the south of China to distract the new immigrants from the bad habit of gambling' (1961: 164).

According to the documents of 1621 – 1683 studied in *Taiwan Outer History* [台

³⁴ The monarchs of Taiwan during this period were Zheng Chenggong (1661-1662), Zheng Jing (1662-1681) and Zheng Keshuang (1681-1683), for 22 years mainly in the south-west of Taiwan.

灣外記]³⁵ by Jiang Risheng [江日昇], there were festival performances such as the festive lantern show, fireworks, singing and dancing during the Chinese New Year (the night of the 15th of the first lunar month /元宵夜). Rich merchants lived lavishly, in a large and grand building and had big gardens with an opera stage. They often sought the opera costumes and trucks, and even children from poor families (parents signed a contract to the opera troupe for their living fees) from China:

A middleman³⁶, He Bin [何斌], his annual income was several ten thousands taels of silver [...] he built two opera stages in his house and sent emissaries who were able to sing the official language opera [*guanyin*/官音] to China to buy two child opera troupes, and also to purchase some opera costumes and props. He often prepared feasts with a Chinese opera play or folk song and there was singing and dancing for entertainment when his friends visited him (1704: 195) (translated from the original Chinese).³⁷

The term ‘official language opera’ (*guanhua*/官話)³⁸ has caused debate over which genre of opera this paragraph refers to, since the official language used in the Qing dynasty (from 1644) renders the phrase too broad to identify and difficult to say for certain that it is *beiguan* or *Beijing opera* (both used the official language of this time in Taiwan; the term of *beiguan guanhua* see also 1.4). However, this is the first piece of literature which shows the opera had been played in the Ming dynasty and that *beiguan* probably mingled with, or was based on, those troupes later on when *luan* opera (亂彈, the other name of *beiguan* opera) was spread across the Taiwan strait.

In general, Chinese opera gradually became popular with ordinary people from the middle of the 17th century. According to Jiang Yuying [蔣毓英], in the section on ‘annual festivals’ in volume six of *the Taiwan Prefecture Gazetteer* [台灣府志]: ‘on the 2nd or 16th of the second lunar month, each family donated to temples [to hold a

³⁵ A Lithographic Fiction ‘five brave generals suppress the enemy’ [*Xiu xiang wu hu jian sao ping hai fen ji*/繡像五虎將掃平海氛記] is attached behind Jiang Risheng’s work. The size of the story is almost the same as Jiang’s piece; the figures and stories tend to be genuine accounts from history, but additional, fictional material is added to provide some fascinating drama (Li Bingqian, 2003: 64-65; <http://www.cqvip.com/Read/Read.aspx?id=8349596>) [accessed: July. 10. 2014].

³⁶ The Dutch designated a Han person, a so-called interpreter [通事], to manage local affairs and collect the levy in their ‘Social Pact’ System [贖社], especially with aborigines, so they had to be familiar with aboriginal languages. The Zheng period and Qing dynasty used this system to deal with aboriginal affairs as well.

³⁷ Original source of quotation: ‘這何斌每年亦有數萬兩銀入手[...] 家中造下二座戲臺,又差使人入於內地,買二班官音戲童及戲箱戲服,若遇朋友到家,即備酒席看戲或小唱觀玩’.

³⁸ The term ‘official language opera’ (*guanhua*/官話) is also called *gaunyin* [官音].

festival together], the customs including animal sacrifices, Chinese opera plays for the local gods, named: joint blessing [*hefu* 合福] (Jiang Yuying, 1688; 1993:88). This record was updated by Gao Gongqian [高拱乾] in ‘the Han customs’ section, volume seven, stating that ‘the Taiwanese believe in supernatural beings, devout Buddhists/Taoists, love Chinese opera plays, like gambling’ (1695; 1993: 97).³⁹ Moreover, when Zhou Yuanwen [周元文] wrote an updated version twenty years later, the *Revised Gazetteer of Taiwan Prefecture* [重修臺灣府志], he mentioned that:

Some Taiwanese people indulged in luxurious living, they used to give people venison or pork (if they lived near-by mountains), or fish and soft-shelled turtles (if they lived near the coast) as a gift. [...] During the annual festival from the 1st to 15th of the first lunar month [Chinese New Year], some young people wore costumes such as red-crowned cranes, wore lion or horse masks, sang and danced between each house with a loud percussion ensemble to get some rewards, this was called ‘abustle and astir the hall/living room’ [*naoting* 鬧廳, which also means to bring joy, jubilation and propitious to the house].

The 2nd of the second lunar month, [... same as Jiang’s version]. The Mid-autumn festival [moon festival], is the date to worship the local spirits, the ritual is the same as the 2nd of the second lunar month; both of them are called spring blessing and autumn reporting [to local spirits]. In the evening, there was a feast, people watched the glorious full moon and ate moon cake [...] from the mountain to the wilderness, the singing and wind instrumental music was played loud, named village/tribe opera [*shexi* 社戲] (1718: 238-239; translated from the original Chinese).

In his description of Han customs, he recorded the annual festival and folk activities, which were always accompanied by music or opera. Surprisingly, those activities are still practiced in some peoples’ ordinary lives after three hundred years. For example, the description of young people who wore red-crowned crane costumes, lion or horse masks, and sung and danced exactly mirrors the same performance styles as modern martial arts clubs (*wuguan* 武館) who are named red-crowned cranes troupe (*baihe zhentou* 白鶴陣), the golden lion troupe (*jinshi zhentou* 金獅陣) and the buffalo troupe (*niuli zhentou* 牛犁陣) (Figure 7).

Naoting [鬧廳] (also called *naotang* 鬧堂) is not popular now, instead those

³⁹ Original source of quotation: ‘間或侈靡成風 [...] 與夫信鬼神,惑浮屠,好戲劇,競賭,為世道人心之玷,所宜亟變者亦有之’. Source from: <http://www.guoxue123.com/tw/02/065/017.htm> [accessed: July, 11, 2015].

clubs attempt to play in the temple square to attract a larger audience. A loud percussion ensemble uses drums and gongs and plays some *beiguan* tunes or drum patterns⁴⁰ to create an enthusiastic and bustling scene. However, the soundscape of *naoting* [鬧廳] has become an important auspicious metaphor and cultural symbol for different occasions, such as a religious ritual, the activities of the spring festival, moving into a new house, a wedding ceremony, even the ceremony of being admitted to the university, or getting a promotion.



The performance of red-crowned cranes troupe (*baihe zhentou* /白鶴陣)



The golden lion troupe (*jinshi zhentou*/金獅陣)



The buffalo troupe (*niuli zhentou* /牛犁陣)



The drums and gongs ensemble

Figure 7. Various festival parading procession performances (*zhentou*/陣頭). Photograph by author on May 12, 2006, during the pilgrimage of Tainan Xigang incense [台南西港刈香] for the Qingan temple festival [慶安宮].

To review the *beiguan* music genre: it contains a lot of different kinds of local

⁴⁰ Since the year 2000 up until now, attending hundreds of temple festivals as fieldwork, I can now identify most of the tunes and *luogu* patterns [鑼鼓經] which are related to *beiguan* music.

operas, folk music which comes from China such as *Kunqu* opera [崑曲], *bangziqiang* [梆子腔], *qinqiang* [秦腔], *Spingqiang* [四平腔], *taipingqiang* [太平腔] and *Yihuangqiang* [宜黃腔] etc., except *nanguan* music.⁴¹ Because of this range of influences, *beiguan* opera can be seen as a hybrid; however, the unclear sources increase the difficulty of tracing it back to its original roots and obscure the way it spread during this period. The lack of literature is probably due to *beiguan* not being regarded as a significant or high art, since it is deeply associated with religion and it represents grass-roots culture. Those documents reveal that the Chinese opera spread across the strait, becoming a popular entertainment, associated with temple and annual festival, deity worship, finance and deity processions. It must though be emphasised that the literature we have read is vague and does not clarify the terminology of *beiguan* opera.

Nevertheless, according to Lu Chuikuan, *beiguan* was brought to Taiwan around 1735-1796 (2000: 38). The *beiguan* record is dated at 1811, the oldest *beiguan* club being *Lichunyuan* [梨春園] in Changhua County, which was founded by *beiguan* musician Yang Yingqiu [楊應求]. Famous *beiguan* master Liu Yonglai [劉永賴] taught in this club. There is no doubt that the Chinese opera was already deeply rooted among people in this period, and the Taiwanese *beiguan* was shaped since this concrete evidence came to light. This club still runs very successfully.

Around 1843, the Taiwanese population reached 2.5 million (Haung Huiwen 2011: 35). The performances were not separated into ritual or recreation; they played an important role for consolidation and settlement of the villages and of tribes. Society depended on social and moral discipline to maintain its stability, and its ethics came from various activities in ordinary life, such as, religion, opera plays, family, Chinese old-style private school or teachers and so on.

1.2 Japanese Colonial Period (1895-1945)

The people of Taiwan were jittery during the first two decades of the Japanese

⁴¹ *Nanguan* music is also called *Nanyin* (南音), *Nanyue* (南樂), *Xianguan* (絃管), *Nanqu* (南曲), *Langjunyue* (郎君樂) which combines some distinguishing characteristics of folk music. It still keeps many elements of the suite form *daqu* (大曲, the grand music of the Tang Dynasty around 8th AD) and *Yayue* (雅樂, court music of the Song Dynasty around 12th AD), therefore, *Nanguan* is known as a 'living tradition'. Some *nanguan* communities still obey the traditional specifications that maintain the original unsophisticated and elegant musical style in Taiwan (the cultural border of China).

take-over of the regime (1895-1915). The colonial government was committed to eliminating gangsters and improving the education system, environmental hygiene, infrastructure construction, and developing the economic value of Taiwan. However, the development of *beiguan* opera is also related to the colony's political and social environment. According to Chiu Kunliang (1992), these years can be divided into three periods of Japanese policy: these being the basic administration period (*minzheng shiqi*/民政時期, 1895-1918)⁴², the Doka period (*tonghua zhuyi*/同化主義, assimilation, 1919-1936) and the Kominka period (*huangminhua yundong* 皇民化運動, Japanisation movement, 1937-1945).

- a. The Basic Administration Period (*minzheng shiqi*/民政時期, 1895-1918):
beiguan was formed as a full-scale (*daxi*/大戲) Taiwanese opera

In this basic administration period, the colonial administration used a tolerant attitude towards Taiwanese people. They focused on economic and military strategies. This was because the Japanese faced key domestic issues, such as rice and sugar supplies and excess population. They recognised the different nature of Taiwanese society, varying their policies (earlier Special Governance policy) and laws from mainland Japan to address the needs of the Taiwanese. They engaged in several investigations of Taiwanese traditional customs to help them effectively implement their policy, and restored the severe penalties system from the Qing dynasty as the 'neighbourhood administrative system' (*baojia zhidu*/保甲制度) to keep criminals away. This laid the foundations for financial independence in the administration period.

The temple was the centre of ordinary life and belief. Fortunately, the Japanese government did not force the residents to change their belief or suppress the temple festival at first. The folklore subsisted on tradition and associated ceremonies, and these activities remained popular throughout Taiwan. Meanwhile, the government committed to the construction of public facilities, established specific departments to manage social public affairs and did all kinds of surveys on the natural resources. Therefore, economic development had a good foundation, it came to a positive result and social interactions became more active. The public had more support and strength

⁴² Some scholars separate this period into 1895-1905 and 1905-1915, the 1915 was based on the Tapani Incident [噶吧嘍事件] (nationalist uprising) for the policy changing point. These periods are divided according to the changes of cultural policies.

to maintain Han traditional culture and their lifestyle because of the stable social environment which the Japanese provided, compared with the Qing administration (Chiu Kunliang, 1992: 26-31).

In this period Chinese opera performances, folk music and dances were played for the temple festivals and annual celebrations, official ceremonies and the meeting of squires. *The Miscellaneous Records of Anping County* [安平縣雜記] provides details of social life and customs between the late Qing dynasty and the early Japanese colonial period. The *beiguan* opera is also well-known as ‘official language troupe’ (*guanyinban*/官音班) and *Fulu* opera club [福路班] which is mentioned below:

The deity processions contain clubs such as *shihuan* [十歡], *baguan* [八管, eight pipes], *sipingjun* [四平軍], *taipingge* [太平歌], *langjun* tunes [郎君曲], *qingluogu* [青鑼鼓] and little children’s drum music [*xiaoer leguyue*/小兒樂鼓樂]. The joyous occasion [喜慶] contains *bayin* [*santonggu chuibayin*] 三通鼓吹八音, drum and *suona* ensemble]. The funeral procession has *lanbo* drumming [藍鈸鼓] all the way to the grave yard, then, they play drum music [*manshan naoguanhou songguyue* 滿山鬧棺後送鼓樂]. The performance of ‘thanks, rewards and god’s blessing’ includes string puppetry [*leikuiban*/傀儡班] for the annual celebration and ghost month festival [*pu du* 普渡].

[... There were different kinds of performance troupes playing different music or opera] such as official language troupe [*guanyinban*] 官音班], *siping* opera [四平班], *Fulu* opera [福路班], seven-children troupe [*qiziban*] 七仔班], puppet drama troupe [*zhangzhongban*] 掌中班], old opera [*laoxi*] 老戲], leather-silhouette drama [*yingxi*] 影戲], singing and dancing drama [*cheguxi*] 車鼓戲], *caicha* singing [採茶唱, *Hakka* tea-picking opera], and *Geisha* singing [*yidan changxi*] 藝姐唱戲] (1983: 34) (translated from the original Chinese).

This document records different purposes, customs and genres of performance in Tainan County. This description is more precise in the way it defines different music styles and genres. Nevertheless, the Japanese government tried to show their enthusiasm for a diversity of culture by sending people to travel and study in Japan. One such case is seen in the ‘Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpo’ newspaper (台灣日日新報, 1898-1944):

Title: ‘The *Shilinxuan* [士林軒] *Zidi* (amateur Club) Performed in Mainland Japan’

The Taiwanese Governor-General's Office [台灣總督府]⁴³ introduced the *Shilinxuan* [士林軒] amateur music club to the Tokyo *Pinghe* exhibition [東京平和博覽會]⁴⁴, in the Taiwanese section. They took the *Penglaiwan* [蓬萊丸] ship to Tokyo, Osaka and Kobe on October 21st. They performed the *zidi* opera [*beiguan* opera] and introduced Taiwanese music to the mainland. There were about 40 club members and it was very popular wherever they went. (01/11/1927, no. 9884)

The Japanese tended to use the term 'mainland Japan' to propagandise their Mainland Extension Policy [內地延長主義]. The reason they sent amateur *beiguan* clubs to Japan was not purely to show that they considered the Taiwanese as their citizens, but also to build the Japanese empire and make colonial people feel honoured to be one of their members. The above account reveals the popularity of the *beiguan zidi* club at this time.

During the colonial period, some commercial theatres had started to emerge in the new developing urban areas. The temple festival used to provide the stage of opera performance; normally there was the fixed opera stage in front of the temple square, or the temporary bamboo structural theatre. However, in the modern urban area, the population contained a different characteristic; the public was no longer satisfied with the outdoor stage opera performance. Taiwanese opera faced the challenge of overcoming the social and cultural changes which were taking place during modernisation. As a result, commercial theatre was gradually gaining popularity. The Japanese built the *Danshui* opera house [淡水戲館] in *Dadaocheng* wharf [大稻埕] which provided a new kind of indoor stage for the opera performance in 1909. On the other hand, it was not only for entertainment that the Japanese brought this new theatre into Taiwanese society; it was also for spreading propaganda and promoting their political achievements, since they introduced the western and Japanese style of theatre, which addressed some educational and political issues in the plays.

Regardless of the intentions of the Japanese governor, the new kind of theatre brought a new choice for professional opera troupes. The first record of a professional *Beijing opera* troupe being hired from China was by the governor Liu Mingchuan [劉銘傳] for the celebration of his mother's birthday. Following this, there were several

⁴³ It is the Presidential Office nowadays.

⁴⁴ This might refer to the 'New Japanese colonialism exhibition [新日本殖產博覽會] (Chen Langu, 2002: 224).

professional *Beijing opera* troupes invited to Taiwan during 1880 to 1917. According to the research of Chiu and Lu, the first *beiguan* professional troupe on the Japanese official record was *Gonglexian* [共樂軒] in Yilan, founded by Chen Huoshun [陳火順] and his fellows in 1923. This may have been a result of the popularity of *Beijing opera* troupes in Taiwan. Thereafter, there were 11 professional troupes founded in 12 years (1923-1935). To sum up, there were 63 amateur *beiguan* clubs and around 30 professional troupes mentioned in the ‘Tainan-Simpo’ (台南新報, 1904-1945) and the ‘Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpo’ (台灣日日新報, 1898-1944) newspapers throughout Taiwan (Lu Sushang, 1961: 170; Chiu Kunliang, 1992: 246). If there were so many clubs on the Japanese record, there were surely a great deal of clubs in the general population. Their numbers can only be investigated by oral history or tracing the records back to the temples or clubs. Almost all the professional *beiguan* troupes (*luan* troupes/亂彈班, see also 2.1) played 200 to 300 days annually (Hsu Yahsiang, 2001: 24).

Until the beginning of WWII, more and more *Beijing opera* troupes came to Taiwan to play the indoor stages with their fascinating gestures and movements, neat and uniform acrobats skills, magnificent costumes, stage effects and their whole set plays (*lianbanxi*/連本戲). They had a deep influence on *beiguan* performance, especially the professional troupes. A piece of research (1901-1907) by the Japanese official organisation conducted various conventions, activities and investigations in order to better understand the culture and customs of the Taiwanese and improve their policymaking. This research was published in a book named the *Investigation of Traditional Customs* (Taiwan *guanxi jishi*/臺灣慣習記事). In the section on performances and plays, the author gives a sketch of *beiguan* opera during this time:

The types of operas are *luanming* [亂鳴, also called *luan*] and *siping* [四評] opera, both of them belong to the *beiguan* opera genre. The style of *luanming* opera is slow and sad with long pieces; *siping* is faster with tight structure. Fujian people prefer *luanming* while the Cantonese are fond of *siping* [...] There are two kinds of string puppetry [*kuileiban*/傀儡班]; playing with *beiguan* tunes is called puppet drama [*budaxi*/布袋戲], playing with *nanguan* tunes is called *cheguxi* drama [車鼓戲] [...]

The trade god of *beiguan* is ‘Lord of the Western *Qin*’ [*xiqin wangye*/西秦王爺], also called ‘Old Lord’ [*laowangye*/老王爺], *nanguan* is *Xianggongye* [相公爺, Marshal Tian Du, 田都元帥]. The *beiguan* tunes include *xipi* [西皮], *erhuang* [二黃], *daozi* [刀子], *manban* [慢板], *jinban* [緊板] and *kuban* [哭板], called *Xilu* opera [西路], the main instrument is *guangzixian* [廣仔絃]. The *nanguan* tunes [misused, should be regarded as the old style of *beiguan*, named *Fulu*] include *liushui* [流水], *erfan* [二凡],

pingban [平板], *jinzhongman* [緊中慢], *manzhongjin* [慢中緊], called *Fulu* opera [福路], the main instrument is the fiddle [*tixian* 提絃]. However, both the *Fulu* and *Xilu* factions are deadly rivals [...] they always have intense competition and fighting in Yilan area [...] (Fuzan Do, 1901: 23-26)

In this investigation, the description of *beiguan* opera was more precise and contained details from previous records, which helped to outline and shape the genre of *beiguan* opera, although it still has some misused terminologies or ideas. For example, the *luanming* [亂鳴] actually refers to *luantan* opera, the *siping* [四評] opera, which unfortunately disappeared from this era, thus the *beiguan* opera only is referred to as *luantan* opera nowadays. Then, the *nanguan* is mentioned as *Xilu* [西路] opera which refers to the Mid-Western Chinese music style compared with the Fulu system. It is normally called *Xinlu* opera these days to distinguish the new music style (comparing with old music style, *Fulu* opera) rather than the Western area.

In addition, the leading instrument must be of a high pitch, like *jinghu* (京胡; Taiwanese: *tiàu-kúi-á* 吊鬼子).⁴⁵ For the *Xilu* opera (*Xinlu*) system, the *guangzixian* [廣仔絃] would not be appropriate, as it is a lower pitched instrument (the leading string instrument should sound like a violin rather than a Viola). *Nanguan* refers to another music system in Taiwan: according to this report, all the evidence indicates the *beiguan Fulu* musical System, such as the trade god, music style and tunes, these music genres and instruments are irrelevant to *nanguan* music. Notwithstanding those misunderstandings, this document is still regarded as a valuable material source which provides an overview to profile *beiguan* opera in the early 20th century. This report also gives useful information about the intense competition and ‘deadly rivals’ which will help to get a better understanding of the ideology of the *beiguan* community and what kind of common interests could tie them together (see 2.3).

Previous research mostly recorded observations such as official reports, local chronicles, personal journeys or notes and poems, which all use very vague terms to refer to opera and musical activities. Those reports also seldom mentioned musical genre or specific tunes. Therefore, this report provides some precious and useful details which help researchers to piece together *beiguan* culture with each detail gathered from various sources. It is also a reliable source compared with other

⁴⁵ The Taiwanese term of *tiàu-kúi-á* refers to the strident timbre (shrill creaking noise) such as child’s high pitch normally was described like a ghost shouting in the traditional Taiwanese society (Lu Chuikuan, 2007: 14).

recordings, literatures and the *beiguan* practice nowadays. On this basis, it may be inferred that the methodology has changed since the Japanese governmental intervention.

The Japanese used a systematic approach in studying Taiwanese culture, such as folklore, theatre and music. They also tended to appoint experts from different respective fields and used western scientific methods, academic concepts and new technology such as recording and photography. Some researchers left crucial information for constructing music behaviour and further research evidence in this era. In the musical field, those experts came from folklore, anthropology, and philosophy backgrounds (Sato Bunichi/佐藤文一; Kotaoka Iwao/片岡巖; Suzuki Seiichiro/鈴木清一郎), the music background (Kurosawa Takatomo/黑澤隆朝; Tanabe Hisao/田邊尚雄) and the music teachers (Zhang Fuxing/張福興; Ichijo Shinzaburo/一條慎三郎; Shigeo Takenaka/竹中重雄) who will be mentioned in the following paragraphs (Lu Yushiu, 2003: 19-23).

The investigations into Taiwanese music over time shifted gradually from official reports to individual scholars' research after around 1920. Tanabe Hisao [田邊尚雄] was the first musicologist who did fieldwork and recorded musical presentations for several aboriginal tribes between 1921-1922 and published his observations of Taiwanese musical life including Han, aboriginal and Japanese musical activities after WWII (1968). Kurosawa Takatomo [黑澤隆朝] arrived in Taiwan and organised a Taiwanese folk music research team in 1943. He used the previous research as his database, conducting a wide investigation throughout the island with a great deal fieldwork and recordings (Wang Yingfen, 2008: 6-8).

Over time there were more and more details being brought forward by these investigations into *beiguan* opera. There is a lot of evidence for researchers to identify the music genre, plays, performance, even the relationship between communities. For example, Kotaoka Iwao [片岡巖] gave a definition of *beiguan* music in his book named *Taiwan Customs Records* [台灣風俗誌] in 1921.

Beiguan music is popular in the north of China in order to distinguish *nanguan* [in Taiwan]. The lyric is used to sing in the official language, however, the music is not much more elegant than *nanguan*. Their performances take place, mostly, in outdoor stages, restaurants, brothels; all the *geishas* always learn *beiguan* music [...] It could be divided into *daqu* [大曲] and *xiaoqu* [小曲] music piece: *daqu* [大曲] plays are from historical stories, normally, extracting a section from opera; *xiaoqu* [小曲] refers to the short story structure from novel, farce or love songs. In

addition, the tunes include *Xipi*, *Fulu* and *Bangzi* [梆子] (244).

From Kotaoka Iwao's point of view, his Japanese identity might restrict and limit his research. This shows in the content of his report, by his writing tone and the judgemental statements. For instance, the *geishas* were not always singing *beiguan* music; they tended to learn the most popular music to entertain their customers such as *nanguan* and popular folk song as well. *Beiguan* music included many genres of local operas and styles of music which cannot compare with *nanguan* music, although *beiguan* was more popular at a grass roots level in this period. Moreover, he regarded *beiguan* as music rather than opera or theatre, which is not the only definition of 'beiguan music', but he also associated *beiguan* music with different theatre genres in his Taiwanese theatre section⁴⁶, such as:

Adult theatre [大人戲]: when the members reach 20 years old in the amateur club, they become independent actors and play characters in the theatre, accompanied by *beiguan* music [...]

Zidi opera [amateur club, 子弟戲]: this is formatted by ordinary people; they were not playing for money, instead their interest was based on their enthusiasm for entertainment. They constituted the amateur troupe when they had finished the rehearsal routines. People invite them to play throughout their local region; in addition, they normally pay for their expenses (e.g. traffic fee, costumes) themselves during the performance. This kind of troupe has special, luxury and beautiful costumes, for example, the *Pinleshe* club [平樂社] in Taipei and *eyunxuan* club [遏雲軒] in Tainan today (1921: 167).

These documents reveal a significant phenomenon during this period: *beiguan* was formed as a full-scale Taiwanese opera (*daxi*/大戲, major type of opera). *Beiguan* opera became more and more important in ordinary life since it eventually evolved into a *daxi* [大戲] from a mixture of traditional folk songs, theatre and dances, including several types of local operas, playlets (*xiaoxi*/小戲, small skit) and folk music. The development process might be hard to trace back; before the greater renditions, it was the playlets (*xiaoxi*/小戲) which used a simple plot consisting of a male clown and a female role who played various local songs and danced. By this stage, *beiguan* certainly qualified as 'grand theatre' (full-scale Chinese opera), and

⁴⁶ This section includes the troupes, troupe leader, teacher and pupils, performers, roles, costumes, props, stages, theatre terminology (by language), movement, backstage, theatre genre, play's name, plot, the theatre of life-cycle ceremony, the procedure of play, audience and the future of Taiwanese theatre (159-177).

according to Lee Chinghui's definition was 'well-developed with a whole scale of roles, complicated plots, and performing styles integrated with literature, music, dance and acting' (2007: 114).

Traditional opera plays were very popular during this time, the medicine salesmen even had their own troupe (*maiyaotuan*/賣藥團) for gathering people and selling their products. The Japanese government also wanted to promote their policy through the opera performance, for example, a Taiwanese opera (*gezixi*/歌仔戲) advocated the policy of 'a prohibition on sugarcane stealing' [禁止偷採甘蔗] in the Yanshui [鹽水] area and 'the explanation of the rule of elections' [選舉投票說明] in the Yilan [宜蘭] region. From the playlets to a full-scaled opera and all different genres of operas, *beiguan* always had a special position as the most popular opera. This is manifested in an old Taiwanese saying: 'the most delicious part of meat is the streaky pork, the most interesting opera is *luantan*' [吃肉吃三層，看戲看亂彈].

b. The Doka Period (*tonghua zhuyi*/同化主義, assimilation, 1919-1936)

In the Doka period (cultural assimilation, 1919-1936), WWI had ended. The Japanese realised the necessity to restructure their colonial policies and change their attitude to Taiwan. In this time, they emphasised issues of assimilation and tried to apply the Mainland Extension Policy [內地延長主義]. According to Chen Chaoju, the Japanese government 'emphasised differences, extending the mainland referred to the implementation of assimilation policies and institution of systems that were the same as those in Japan, in order to facilitate the consolidation of the empire' (2011)⁴⁷.

They sought assimilation by legalising marriage between the Japanese and Taiwanese, then they improved the Taiwanese educational environment, increased the number of schools and allowed Japanese and Taiwanese children to attend the same school. The temple ceremonies and traditional affairs helped the Chinese opera development, but they were also reprimanded by intellectuals, particularly between 1920-1930. Those intellectuals were against Japanese rule on the grounds that those costly religious ceremonies were being used by the Japanese to fool people by encouraging superstitious customs, seen by the intellectuals as no longer necessary because Taiwan was no longer an unstable immigrant society (Chiu Kunliang, 1992:

⁴⁷ Mainland Extension Policy, source from: <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/en/content?ID=3712> [accessed July. 12. 2014].

32-34).

Furthermore, some Western-trained musicians who were educated in Japan introduced Western classical music to Taiwan in 1920. This trend also affected a small amount of *beiguan* amateur clubs' performances; some of the *beiguan* clubs setting up a new Western music sector as part of their club. For example, *Zonglan* club [總蘭社] is recognised as the oldest *beiguan* club which associates with the *Wenchang* temple [文昌宮] in the Yilan area. It was founded by Li Feng [李逢] and taught by the famous *beiguan* mentor Lin Wendeng [林文登] in 1845. In its golden age, the membership reached one hundred people, and the club divided into several sectors: the *Han* music of *beiguan* sector [北管漢樂部], the western music sector [西樂部], the parade sector of guardian deities (*shenjianghui*/神將會), stilts sector (*gaoqiaozen*/高蹺陣), *beiguan zidi* opera sector [子弟戲] etc.⁴⁸ This is similar to the Chinese ensembles attached to *beiguan* clubs nowadays.

- c. The Kominka Period (*huangminhua yundong*/皇民化運動, Japanisation movement, 1937-1945)

The final colonial period is the Kominka movement (Japanisation movement, 1937-1945). Japan was over-zealous in its militarism during this time. The Japanese claimed that every Taiwanese person was to be regarded as Japanese and have the same civil rights. The policy wanted to change the identity of Taiwanese and make them Japanese; they wanted to reform the Taiwanese ideology and behaviour. However, the intellectuals were against this, their argument was that by 'becoming Japanese' that Taiwanese were actually becoming secondary Japanese citizens. Taiwanese people would never achieve the same freedoms as Japanese people because they were being forced to give up their culture. The government prohibited all manifestations of Han culture, customs and religion included. Suddenly, the Taiwanese people's most important support systems were banned. People had to learn to be Japanese who also could be allegiant to the Japan Imperial.

They used the 'one main street block (village), one Japanese Shinto shrine' [一街庄一社] policy to try to convert Taiwanese from Taoism, they also combined the

⁴⁸ Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Source from: <http://www.boch.gov.tw/boch/frontsite/cultureassets/caseBasicInfoAction.do?method=doViewCaseBasicInfo&caseId=GE09802000005&version=1&assetsClassifyId=4.1&menuId=310> [accessed Jan. 31. 2015].

ceremonies together [聯合祭典] to reduce the waste of money. There was a report in the ‘Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpo’ [台灣日日新報] newspaper:

There are many temple ceremonies in Xizhi street, Shichisei district [七星郡汐止街]. This is also the first ceremony for the first Japanese Shinto shrine in Xizhi. Every temple’s ceremonies must combine with the Japanese Shinto shrine’s ceremony, in order to meet the life improvement policy of the Kominka movement. For example, all the ceremonies must change their date to June 10th, when the *Baoyidaifu* [保儀大夫], *Mazu* [媽祖], *Qingshuiuzushi* [清水祖師] temple was taking place on the 15th of the fourth lunar month or the *Chenghuang* [城隍] ceremony was on 14th of the ninth lunar month (1938, May 9).

In Figure 8, there are several gongs, *suonas* in the front of parade which look similar to the deity procession of the Han culture. However, the people are dressed up as Japanese, in white colour as a symbol of purity (which actually is the opposite of the Han culture’s symbolic system: white for death, red for celebration). Figure 9 shows a music club attached to the Xizhi Japanese Shinto shrine. The piano in the middle reveals that the Japanese were determined to change the habits of the Han culture, since the music policy called *Jingyuyue* (禁鼓樂, banning of traditional drum music) forbidding all the Han Chinese traditional music, except the religious music.



Figure 8. The parade of Japanese Shinto shrine

Figure 9. the music club of Xizhi Shinto shrine

Photos from Xizhi *Zhongshun* Temple: http://zhongshun.tw/01_01.html [accessed: July. 12. 2014]

The Japanese government intended to eliminate the Taiwanese identity through the implementation of this policy. Wang Yingfen summarises the reasons for the Han music prohibition policy in the following statements:

The reason of this [*Jingyuyue*] policy was mainly due to the Sino-Japanese War, the Japanese started being repulsed by Chinese music and culture. However, the other reason for the prohibition of *beiguan*, *caicha* [採茶, *Hakka* tea-picking singing], *chegu* [車鼓, singing and dancing troupe] was that the Japanese authorities considered it a disturbance and obstruction of

the peace of society and customs.

In addition, the Japanese also changed the rituals and music of the Confucian temple into the ritual of the Japanese Shinto shrine. According to Kurosawa Takatomo [黑澤隆朝]: ‘The traditional Taiwanese music cannot be played without permission to practice or perform. Briefly, except for Japanese music and Western music, folk music had been banned in order to suppress national consciousness. I should not have any comment about it although this approach has its problems’ [...] The Japanese authority had to meet the Kominka policy and the slogan of the Great Asia Co-prosperity Circle [大東亞共榮圈] to justify their behaviour’ (2004:11; the quotation of Kurosawa Takatomo translated from the original Japanese to Chinese).

Despite all this, people still needed some form of recreation. On official occasions, the public watched the *Xinju* (新劇, new style of western theatre), or so-called Kominka theatre (*huangminxi*/皇民戲). This theatre genre was regarded as propaganda for educating and delivering the message of Japanese imperialism and its militarism. In fact, the Han people still preferred the traditional culture, and were reluctant to engage with this new form of theatre. Therefore, some performers put Western suits or Japanese costumes on the traditional puppets, in order to deceive the Japanese officials (see also I.3).

For example, the puppet drama had been forced to change storyline, from the Chinese historical story to the Japanese *Momotaro* story [桃太郎]. Some performers prepared two sets of stories: normally they would play the Han story, but with non-Han costumes. When the official came to watch, they pretended that they played the non-Han theatre (interview with the late *beiguan* mentor Yeh Meijing [葉美景] and Wang Yangyi [王洋一], November, 2001). A documentary ‘The Puppet master’ (*ximeng rensheng* 戲夢人生), was directed by Hou Hsiaohsien [侯孝賢] to honour puppet master Lee Tianlu [李天祿]. In this film there is a scene about the soldiers who were killed on the battlefield. At the end of the performance, those dead soldiers suddenly got up, saluted and shouted ‘long live the Mikado!’ (the emperor of Japan).

The other significant example is the Taiwanese ‘horned fiddle’ (Figure 10), a combination of the gramophone and traditional two-stringed fiddle parts, which were widely used in Han’s musical ensemble as *beiguan* and Taiwanese opera (*gezixi*/歌仔戲; Taiwanese: *koa-á-hi*). According to late musician Chen Guanhua [陳冠華] (1912-2002, formerly known as Chen Shuiliu [陳水柳]), this Taiwanese horn fiddle

was invented by Su Tong [蘇桐], Chen Qiulin [陳秋霖] and him. Some researchers presumed this instrument was inspired by the Stroh horn-violin.⁴⁹ When they came to record the traditional Han music and saw it in Japan (Tsai Chengia [蔡振家] *Ibid.*; Lai Takuei [賴達達] 2004:51; Shih Shuqing [施叔青] 1985: 29-47), they found that the body was made of metal instead of wood, a large amplifying metal horn on the top imitating a form of western musical instrument. This design avoided penalisation by the Japanese authorities.

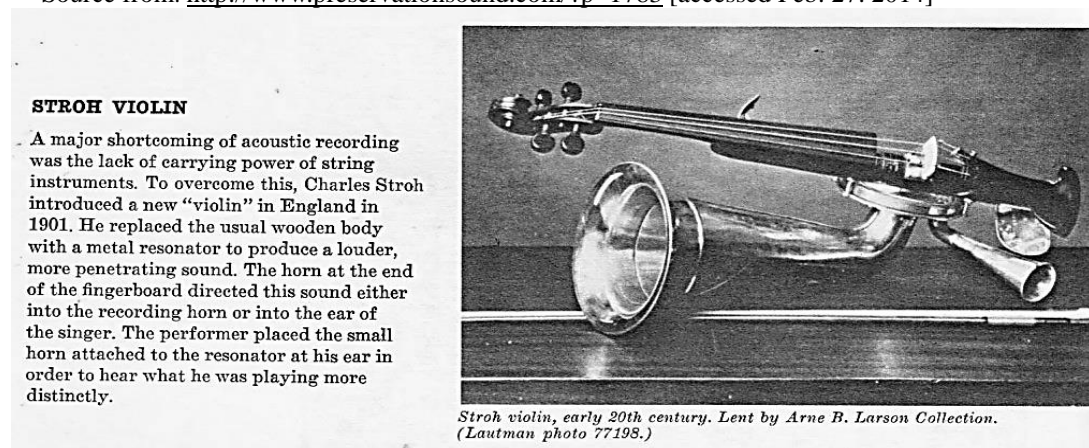


Figure 10. The two-stringed instrument with trumpet-like appearance: *Labaxian* [喇叭絃]

Source from: <http://kn.ncfta.gov.tw/NCFTA/npk/more.jsp?pageNo=3&id=2.2.1.2&rid=2&fileType=all#> [accessed Nov. 12. 2012]

According to the research of Wang Yingfen, although the music policies of the Japanese colonial government banned Han music, they used the radio station called ‘the Secondary Broadcast’ [第二放送] to send out Taiwanese musical programmes to

⁴⁹ Source from: <http://www.preservationsound.com/?p=1783> [accessed Feb. 27. 2014]



STROH VIOLIN

A major shortcoming of acoustic recording was the lack of carrying power of string instruments. To overcome this, Charles Stroh introduced a new “violin” in England in 1901. He replaced the usual wooden body with a metal resonator to produce a louder, more penetrating sound. The horn at the end of the fingerboard directed this sound either into the recording horn or into the ear of the singer. The performer placed the small horn attached to the resonator at his ear in order to hear what he was playing more distinctly.

Stroh violin, early 20th century. Lent by Arne B. Larson Collection. (Lautman photo 77198.)

console people and control the Han musical ideology by selecting appropriate items. Moreover, the ‘new Taiwanese music movement’ was a project which used Taiwanese/Han instruments to play Japanese or new musical pieces, led by the teacher Kiyono Ken [清野健] of Tainan Normal School [台南師範學校] and Miyaka Massao [三宅正雄] of Taiwan Drama Association [臺灣演劇協會] (2004: 11).

1.3 Postwar: After World War II (1945-1960)

During wartime, the Taiwanese had no choice over their allegiance with the Japanese, and were sent to war as their soldiers. After Japan failed in their attempts to conquer China in 1945, the nationalist party (Kuomintang, hereafter referred to KMT) took over the regime in Taiwan. The governance of the KMT was a great disappointment to the native Taiwanese (*benshengren*/本省人, the first-wave of immigrants and aborigines). The Taiwanese were looking forward to being free of colonialism and wanted self-governance. Instead, the mainlanders treated the Taiwanese as inferior citizens, as if they were enslaved to the Japanese and traitors to the Han. Therefore, the first policy of this new government was to try and erase Japanese influence. Significantly, the Han culture was brought back to Taiwanese society after ten years underground. This allowed traditional music to become popular again.

There were several reasons for *beiguan* clubs prevailing in Taiwanese society. First, its status as a ‘full-scale Taiwanese opera’ gave *beiguan* a significant meaning to Taiwanese people. Second, it provided a good entertaining atmosphere for the temple festival; people could express their various emotions and perceptions, such as happiness, sorrow or discontentment with the regime and with class inequality. Third, the usage of the official language made *beiguan* opera stand out as more essential than other musical and opera genres in the temple festival. Fourth, *Beiguan banxian* opera (扮仙戲, ritual opera) is regarded as the most serious opera (cf. opera seria, since it plays religious drama) compared to the Taiwanese opera (*gezixi*/歌仔戲), which is regarded as comedy (cf. opera buffa, since the drama is more presenting the ordinary life or love story) in Taiwanese society.

Fifth, *beiguan* opera played an educational function in Taiwanese society. Through historical opera, performers and audiences were taught about morality and social norms from the storyline, and through this they built a tacit social order and learned about the sacredness of life (Jian Hsiujen, 2005: 43-98). Finally, probably the most important reason is that *beiguan* ritual plays involve a metaphor for blessing

God. In this first revival of *beiguan* opera (1950), there were four famous *beiguan* mentors in northern Taiwan: Lu Muchu [呂木村], Lin Chaocheng [林朝成], Lin Chingsan [林清山] and Chen Sitian [陳思田] (interview with Zhan Wenzan [詹文讚], 12 Feb 2013).

However, when the Taiwanese celebrated the recovery of the Han regime, skirmishes between the Taiwanese and mainlanders happened frequently, leading to stress and turbulence in society. Unfortunately, this stress culminated in the February 28th Incident (Massacre), the biggest conflict after a year and four months (1947) under the KMT government. The mainland leader Chen Yi [陳儀] violently suppressed the conflict, tried to report it as a Taiwanese (anti-Nationalist) rebellion and requested military support from mainland China. The corruption, crime and bribery of the KMT government left a bad impression on the Taiwanese people (Kerr, 1947: 224-226; Rawnsley and Rawnsley, 2001: 77-106).

In 1949, the KMT government, led by Chiang Kai-shek, retreated to Taiwan with 1.2 million mainland immigrant when the Chinese communist party won the civil war (1927-1950).⁵⁰ Those mainlanders moved and mingled with the Taiwanese population of seven million. They brought their local culture, local operas and customs from every region of China. This caused a big cultural shock to Taiwanese society because the first Han immigrants came mainly from the coastal regions. Sinocentric cultural policy dominated the regime, education system and even influenced social values. Multiple identities (of Taiwanese) gradually assimilated into a standard and uniformed group under Confucianism. Dreyer has drawn attention to this fact:

[...] Chiang chose to re-define the concept of shared destiny to include the mainland. Streets were re-named; major thoroughfares in Taipei received names associated with the traditional Confucian virtues. The avenue passing in front of the foreign ministry en route to the presidential palace was named chieh-shou (long life), in Chiang's honor. Students were required to learn Mandarin and speak it exclusively; those who disobeyed and spoke Taiwanese, *Hakka*, or aboriginal tongues could be fined, slapped, or subjected to other disciplinary actions (2003: 4).

The KMT administration took away Taiwanese autonomy, which caused

⁵⁰ The Republic of China Yearbook 2013, the Office of Information Services, Executive Yuan, <http://yearbook.multimedia.ey.gov.tw/enebook/web/index.html> [accessed May. 12. 2014]

inequality and antagonism between new immigrants and native Taiwanese. Moreover, the dictatorship of Chiang and the KMT monopoly government claimed to be democratic while at the same time announcing ‘the Period of Communist Rebellion’ (*dongyuan kanluan shiqi*/動員戡亂時期). This new constitution announced the so-called ‘revolutionary base’ of communists in Taiwan. As a result, the elected Congress (National Assembly) and the President could indefinitely prolong their terms. The government also promulgated Martial Law, anyone who advocated and spread liberalism being labelled as a criminal *gongfei* (共匪, communist bandits), covering up communist activities (*zhifei bubao*/知匪不報) or promoting communism (*weifei xuanchuan*/為匪宣傳). This Martial Law period is well-known as the White Terror Period (*baise kongbu*/白色恐怖), during this period more than 8,000 intellectuals were executed or imprisoned. For example, the members of *China Democracy Party* (*Zhongguo minzhudang*/中國民主黨), the members of *Free China* magazine (*ziyou Zhongguo zazhi*/自由中國雜誌)⁵¹ and the famous case of Lei Chen [雷震案]⁵².

Furthermore, the wealth gap gradually expanded and society developed toward a pyramidal structure with many mainland immigrants occupying the top (officials, intellectuals, businessmen) and bottom (retired soldiers who could only live off government benefits). An examination of admission rates reveals the reason that mainlanders kept their higher social position: in 1970, the Civil Service Examination (who controlled the governmental powers) still divided people into mainlander and Taiwanese sections. The admission rates were about 186:1 hence there were more seats for representatives from mainland China than Taiwan (Taiwan is only one province of China)⁵³. This unique regime system tended to pay all their attention to Chinese affairs, ignoring the local Taiwanese culture. The KMT party claimed that they still owned China, holding a deep belief that Taiwan was a part of China and they would ‘retake the mainland’ and liberate the people, one day. The KMT still has this ‘one China principle’ [一個中國], although now, through the education system, a lot of trouble is caused by the fact that Taiwanese people are confused by their

⁵¹ Free China magazine published the issues of identity and liberalism.

⁵² Lei Chen was a mainlander intellectual and had an important position in Chiang’s regime system. He published the *Free China* Magazine, promoting liberal ideology, which irritated the government.

⁵³ Until 1986, the full text of 25 articles of Civil Service Examinations Act promulgated by Presidential Order, Article 1: ‘The employment of civil service personnel shall be undertaken in accordance with the provisions of this Act by means of examinations to determine qualifications’. Source from: Ministry of Examination http://www.moex.gov.tw/english/content/wfrmContent.aspx?menu_id=407 [accessed Nov. 12. 2013]

identity, roots, belonging and nationality. Therefore, during this Martial Law period, the administrators and civil servants were mostly mainlanders, especially in the higher-ranking positions. For instance in 1970, only three police stations out of 64 in Taipei city were led by native Taiwanese (*benshengren*/本省人). Taiwanese society became the ‘settler state’. Roland Weitzer explains further:

Settler societies are founded by migrant groups who assume a superordinate position vis-à-vis native inhabitants and build self-sustaining states that are de jure or de facto independent from the mother country and organized around the settler’s political domination over the indigenous population [...] In some cases (Rhodesia, South Africa, Liberia), economic interests (exploitation of natives and prosperity of settlers) provide a key rationale for political domination; in others (Northern Ireland, Israel, Taiwan), economic considerations have been secondary to other imperatives: maintaining a specific religious or cultural order (Northern Ireland, Israel), a refuge or homeland (Taiwan, Israel)’ (1990: 25-26).

It is hard to critique whether Taiwan fits Weitzer’s conception of this type of settler state: it is a contentious question to ask if it provided mainlanders with a ‘revolutionary base’ or a refuge because of the complicated historical background of interweaving power structures. However, the main policy of mainlanders was to copy the whole government and pattern of governance from China to Taiwan. The KMT government maintained their legitimacy by continuously using Chinese culture as a standard, anti-communist political position (e.g. against the Cultural Revolution). By doing this, they could also ensure they had a strong international position.

Moreover, the Chinese entertainment, such as local opera performance, was a great platform for providing comfort and nostalgia for those mainlanders (see 5.1). For example, *Beijing opera*, *Kunqu* [崑曲], *Mingju* [閩劇], *Jianghuaixi* [江淮戲], *Chuju* [楚劇], *Hanju* [漢劇], *Henanbangzi* [河南梆子] and *Qinqiang* [秦腔]; those operas still had a certain audience in 1985 (Lu Yuxiu, 2004: xvii). On the other hand, cultural policy also focused on Western culture, since it followed the elite culture and modernisation/Westernisation. From the point of view of KMT nationalists, Taiwan had to be cultivated and rid of the Japanese influence, to be rebuilt under the Sino-centric cultural policy since Taiwan was only an appendage of China. During 1950 to 1960, Taiwan had a mission to re-take the Mainland; the patriotic songs were used as a new type of propaganda throughout each corner of Taiwan’s society.

Under these circumstances, traditional opera activities were relatively restrained and uncommon, although ritual ceremonies were still taking place. Because Taiwan’s international status was challenged by the communists PRC party, the temple festival

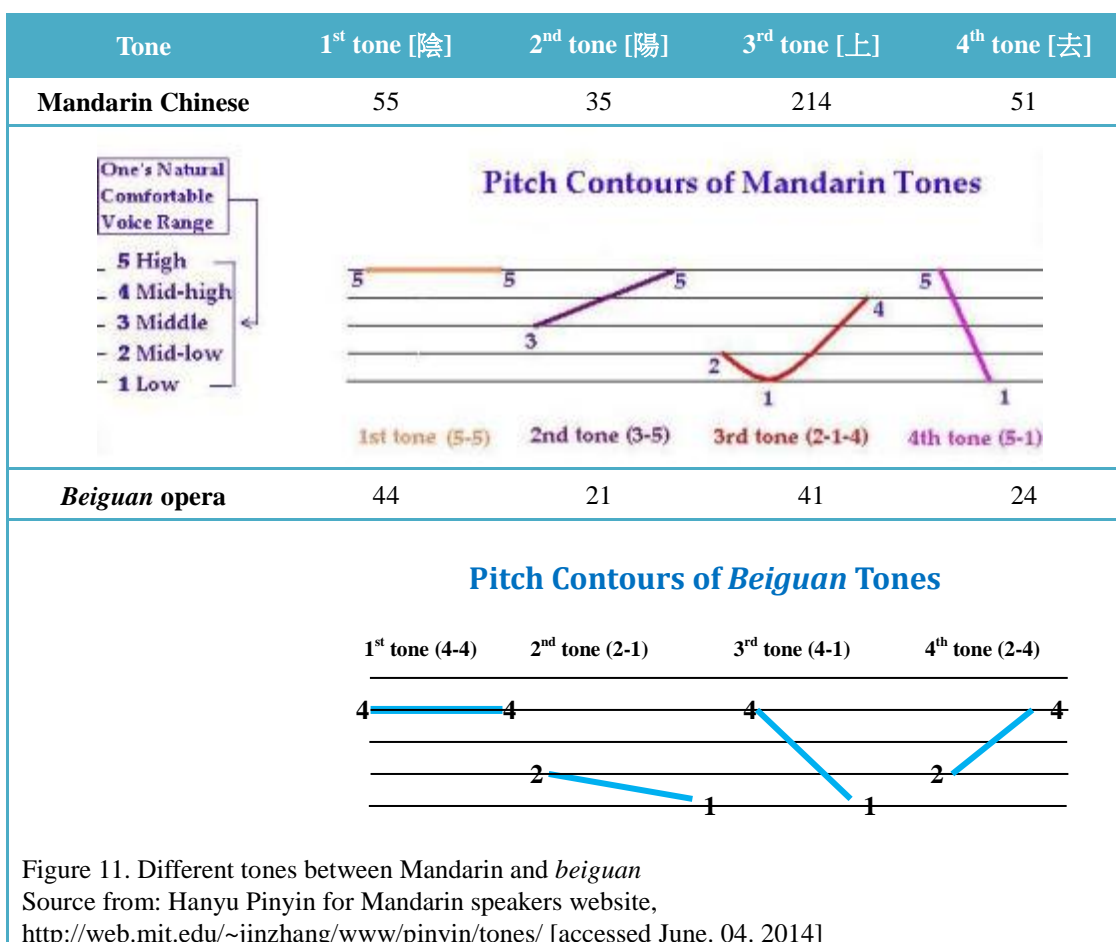
was cancelled several times since it was an opportunity for the masses to gather. The government was afraid that the communists would take any opportunity to spread their ideology to the public, while also preventing economically wasteful customs. As a result, the unified ceremony (*tongyi jidian* 統一祭典) was held almost a year after the ‘February 28th Incident’ (1947), and from 1949 to 1951, 1970 and 1981 during the Martial Law period. Consequently, the attitude of the authorities in cultural policy issues concerned the Western fine arts and Chinese traditional culture. For example, for the four decades, the nationalist authoritarian rule selected *Peking* opera (*jingju* 京劇) to support its hegemony, and was given the honourable title ‘the national opera’ to ‘safeguard China’s cultural heritage’ (Guy, 2005: 4). From 1960 onwards the Taiwanese localisation movement and traditional cultural practices such as *beiguan* opera gradually declined in modern society. I will discuss this decline further in chapter four: ‘the changes of Taiwan society’.

1.4 *Beiguan*: A hybrid of Han Cultural Heritage

Taiwanese *beiguan* opera is derived from several different local operas, mostly between the north of Yangtze River (*Changjiang* 長江) and south of Yellow River (*huanghe* 黃河) in China. It passed through the Fujian and Guangdong regions to Taiwan without using *Holo* or *Hakka* dialects in their plays (Tsai Chen-Gia, 1997:9). It uses ‘official language’ (*guanhua* 官話, northern mandarin) to distinguish it from operas of other dialects, or plays which are from different social levels. This kind of official language has a special terminology – *Lanqing guanhua* [藍青官話] – which indicates Mandarin spoken with a provincial accent by the officer who was appointed to negotiate local affairs with the central authority in the 18th and 19th centuries. Literally, *Lanqing* is the colour of official costume, so, it could be inferred as a non-standard Mandarin officer with a heavily regional accent, for example, *Tianjin* Mandarin [天津官話], *Shandong* Mandarin [山東官話], *Nanjing* Mandarin [南京官話], *Shaoxing* Mandarin [紹興官話] and *Guangdong* Mandarin [廣東官話] (Wang Li-chi, 1999: 22-25).

In Taiwan, the *Holo* dialect lacks the retroflex consonants such as *jhih* [ㄐ], *chih* [ㄑ] and *shih* [ㄒ], instead, it will be pronounced as *zih* [ㄗ], *cih* [ㄘ] and *sih* [ㄘ]. Thus, in Mandarin pronunciation (Taiwan *guanhua* 台灣官話, as in the Taiwanese Mandarin), the numbers one-two-three-four, is supposed to be pronounced

yī-èr-sihan-sìh, in *beiguan* opera it becomes ‘yī-lú-sìhan-sìh’.⁵⁴ It is not only a problem omitting the retroflex consonants, but the tones are also different.⁵⁵ Yen, Lip-mo (1998: 120)⁵⁶ compared Mandarin and *beiguan*’s tone system in the following table:



Therefore, the use of the official language could imply that the central authority is higher than the local one. In the folk belief system, the distinction between the level of the deity and human beings is very important. It is symbolic of the linguistic approach, since it supports the social values and its ideology. As a result, *beiguan* performance was more popular (or arguably more necessary) than Taiwanese opera

⁵⁴ In *beiguan*’s language system, the second and fourth tones are usually reversed. For example, ‘two’ in mandarin is pronounced ‘èr’ presenting as a fourth tone, in *beiguan* opera it is pronounced as a second tone ‘lú’.

⁵⁵ Mandarin uses four tones to clarify the meanings of words, while Taiwanese uses seven tones.

⁵⁶ The *Pakkoan* Mandarin of *Bu-hong-hian* in Sinkang, Chiayi, Taiwan: a phonological study [台灣嘉義新港舞鳳軒北管官話的音韻], MA thesis, National Taiwan university, the department of Chinese literature.

(*gezixi*/歌仔戲) or other theatres in the early days (before 1960).

Theatre, literature and music are the three main studies associated with Taiwanese *beiguan* opera; each of them utilising different ways of analysing *beiguan* opera. Different academic disciplines have different focuses for their observations. Understanding how different disciplines classify *beiguan* will ensure the discussion includes different opinions on the conception and social context underlying the *beiguan* cultural circle. From the 80s and 90s, theatre researchers tended to call it *beiguan* theatre. Theatre study researchers analysed the plays and the movement of the stage, the different styles of performing or representing by each performers, the oral history collections and fieldwork participations and musical elements (see also Chiu Kunliang, 1992; Hsu Yahsian, 2000, 2006; Jian Hsiujen, 2005). Literature researchers were inclined to name it *beiguan* script or *beiguan* theatre studies (*juben yanjiu*/劇本研究). They analysed the contexts, structures and rhyme (see also Yan Limo, 1998; Lee Diankui), while music research preferred to separate the music from theatre plays and set the music in concert halls instead of outdoor stages as a theatrical performance (Lu Chuikuan, 2009; Lu Yuxiu, 2003; Wang Yingfen, 2003; Zheng Rongxing, 1997).

Nowadays, each discipline is conscious of *beiguan* opera as a whole: without music *beiguan* plays are the same as other mainland local operas, since the storylines of the plays are same from the historical material or classic literature. They lack stage movements, and the *luogu* (鑼鼓, gongs and drums ensemble) sounds formulaic, routine and standard. The concept of collaboration becomes more and more important. In both broad and narrow senses, however, is provided the explanation and custom for a comprehensive of social contextual perspective. In general, the *beiguan* opera *Hi-khek* (*xiqu*/戲曲) has essentially three different styles or functions of the performance: *banxian* opera (扮仙戲, ritual opera), *Fulu* opera (福路戲, an old musical style of *beiguan* opera), and *Xinlu* opera (新路戲, a new musical style of *beiguan* opera). It could also be categorised into vocal and instrumental music, as presented in the following table:

Table 2. Four basic categories of *beiguan* music/opera

Vocal music			
1. Opera	<i>Banxian</i>	A prelude before the formal opera (three different stories to join as a set)	
<i>Hi-khek</i>	opera	<i>Banxian</i> opera (扮仙戲, ritual	1 st : the deities' arriving with their
(<i>xiqu</i> /戲	[扮仙戲]	opera)	blessing
曲)		Auspicious opera [吉慶戲]	2 nd : conferring of fortune, land or title

	3 rd : a family's reunion
Historical and epic opera [戲曲]	A formal opera (two types of different musical style) <i>Fulu</i> opera (an old musical style of <i>beiguan</i> opera/福路戲) <i>Xinlu</i> opera (a new musical style of <i>beiguan</i> opera/新路戲)
2. <i>Yiu-khek</i> [細曲]	The high-art opera performance, so-called late night drama (<i>mingweixi</i> /暝尾戲)
Instrumental music	
3. <i>Pâi-tsú</i> (<i>paizi</i> /牌子)	Percussion (gong, cymbals and drums) and wind (double-reed <i>suona</i>) ensemble, normally, it could be part of the deity processions, performed as individual repertoire, or put in the opera as the prelude and interlude music.
4. <i>Hiân-á-phóo</i> (<i>xianzipu</i> /絃仔譜)	Could be performed separately or put in the opera as the interlude music.

Traditionally, a typical theatre programme would feature *Banxian* opera [扮仙戲], *Hi-khek* (*xiqu*戲曲), followed by *yi-khek* (*xiqu*細曲). *Banxian* opera [扮仙戲] is performed in honour of deities, the music emphasises sacredness and purity. *Hi-khek* (*xiqu*戲曲) usually depicts historical stories; thus it fulfils an educational function, and promotes such virtues as loyalty, chastity, filial piety and justice. Late-night drama is more purely a form of entertainment, featuring gigs and comedy routines; the storyline generally centring on themes of love, obsession, misfortune, jealousy and triumph. Both *Pâi-tsú* (*paizi*牌子) and *Hiân-á-phóo* (*xianzipu*絃仔譜) styles are performed according to the demands of the plot.

Conclusions

In general, *beiguan* was initially brought to Taiwan by the Han immigrants during the Ming and Qing dynasties. *Beiguan* has gradually become more popular in Taiwanese society because of its association with the Taoist belief and the power of religion; this formed a deep cultural structure. In the Japanese colonial period, *beiguan* was developed as a full-scale opera and developed into its grass-root cultural characteristic. In 1921, many professional *Beijing opera* troupes came to Taiwan and were highly influential on the development of *beiguan* performance, particularly in terms of movement, costume and acrobatic skills.

However, *beiguan* was not always promoted by successive governments since it represented the Han culture. It has been suppressed twice, first when the music policy of *Jingyue* (禁鼓樂, banning of traditional drum music) in the Kominka period was implemented, and second during the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement

(*Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yundong* 中華文化復興運動) by KMT's 'One China Principle' policy (*yige Zhongguo* 一個中國). After this discussion of historical context, the next chapter will focus on the formation of *beiguan* culture with its social behaviours and its community identity.

Chapter 2

The Formation of *Beiguan* Culture

Music is not a ‘focus’, instead, it is a ‘social life’ which provides community members with a platform to extend their social network and associate with other club members, other clubs, local chiefs, and temple members. *Beiguan* originated from a grass roots social context in the early days of Taiwan. It has risen and declined due to the policies of different regimes, from the feudal society of the Ming and Qing dynasties, the colonialism during Japanese rule from 1895 to 1945, and the nationalist, mainland governance after 1945. Each period reformed the Taiwanese identity and added some new elements into Taiwanese tradition; *beiguan* opera became the indispensable performance in the temple affairs.

The outdoor-stage performance was the most popular style before 1960. Those outdoor-stage opera performances were closely associated with religion, traditional Chinese annual festivals, life-cycle rituals or ceremonies. As Stephen Jones points out, there are three kinds of ritual-related musical ensembles performed in northern China:

Wind-and-percussion music throughout China is typically performed in conjunction with ritual. We can identify three major types of ritual, all of which may require instrumental music: 1. *Calendrical* rituals—birthdays of gods, temple fairs, the new year, the Ghost Festival during the seventh moon, and so on. 2. *Life-cycle* rituals, especially weddings and funerals. Traditional observances tend to be maintained more in funerals than in other life-cycle rituals. 3. *Occasional* rituals—exorcisms, prayers for rain, the blessing of a new house, and so on (2001: 200).

Taiwan adopted and thrived on this ritual tradition. Wind-and-percussion music, in *beiguan*'s musical genre, named *Pâi-tsú* (*paizi*/牌子), the percussion refers to gong, cymbals and drums and wind indicates double-reed *suona*, it (is normally served) the deity's daytime processions. *Beiguan* opera plays afterwards when the procession

comes back to the temple.⁵⁷ However, the function of traditional opera is usually not only recreation but also as part of religious ritual, especially for Taoists. *Beiguan* opera is considered as an integrated genre, according to the music and the source of *Shengqiang* [聲腔] (a system of tunes with certain musical style), it includes four kinds of opera types. A typical theatre programme features *banxian* opera [扮仙戲], *Fulu* [福路] or *Xinlu* [新路] opera, followed by a late-night drama (*mingweixi* [暝尾戲]), also called a high-art opera *yiukhek* (*xiqu* [細曲]) as the temple journey, presented at the beginning of the introduction (see page 1 to 4).

In this chapter, the *beiguan* amateur community – *zidi* and the professional troupes – will be examined in detail. The distinction of their social meanings and social status will be analysed, in order to get a full understanding of *beiguan* culture, *zidi* spirit, the relationship with temples and member's identity. This will help us with our later discussion on changes in society.

2.1 *Beiguan Zidi* (子弟, Amateur Clubs) and Its Learning Behaviour

In general, amateur performers receive a special title in Taiwanese society – *zidi* [子弟], known in China as *piaoyou* [票友] (e.g. *Beijing opera* [京劇]). In the earlier immigrant society, amateur *beiguan* and other clubs, for example the martial club *Songjiang* battle formation troupe (*Songjiangzhen* [宋江陣]), wanted their troupe to be formed by volunteers who were from the same village or kinships. By doing this the residents formed associations in order to protect themselves from the bandits' attacks and fought with the aborigines over the agricultural land issues in the overwhelmingly Han inhabited areas. They performed music and martial arts for temple festivals, ceremonies such as births, weddings and funerals; providing entertainment to bring everybody together due to their shared faith. Based on the noble cause of protecting the homeland, people referred to these clubs as *zidi* (lit. sons and brothers), and especially to the *beiguan* community members as the 'sons of decent families' (*liangjia zidi* [良家子弟]). This also represented their noble social status and allowed them to participate in society activities with their musical knowledge and enthusiasm.

Most of those *zidi* were also considered rich children from wealthy families, since they did not need to work or fight for their life. They had more spare time and

⁵⁷ It describes the performing circumstance in the amateur club; the professional troupe has another routine.

money to get involved in music rehearsals and activities. Here, the *beiguan* community performed the social function of providing normal life entertainment, transmission of traditional culture, enhancing interpersonal relationships and participating in local affairs. Each of the clubs presented their local community and shaped a strong local identity. The club leader (*guan zhu* 館主, Taiwanese: *kóan-chú*) (whom some clubs also called *she zhang* 社長, Taiwanese: *siā-tiúthē*), was normally selected from the local chiefs (*de fan tou ren* 地方頭人, Taiwanese: *tē-hng thâu-lâng*) who were enthusiastic and had understanding of local affairs.

The club members (*guan yuan* 館員, Taiwanese: *kóan-ôan*) were divided into musicians and normal members, each of them did not always have to learn music; instead the purpose of being a member was only to appreciate the music and enjoy the gathering. Thus, musicians took charge of the music, while the other members dealt with club affairs and prepared for the temple festival performance. Their performance was not for money. This kind of spirit came from Chinese culture, for example, *shengguan* ensembles (笙管樂, amateur clubs) in Hebei and Shanxi provinces are in a similar situation:

Some *shengguan* ensembles, such as the music associations in Hebei Province, are strictly amateur, performing solely within and on behalf of a village, as a religious or social duty [...] *Shengguan* music inhabits a world of religious devotion, appealing to the gods for assistance (Jones, 2001: 200).

During the temple affair, *beiguan* amateur clubs often bought the costumes themselves and paid extra fees to show their worship to the deities, as did the amateur performers of *shengguan* ensemble. The performance was often for the temple festival and the rite of passage (life-cycle ceremonies).

In the case of *beiguan*, there was usually an opening ritual for the four months of training, named *kaiguan* (開館, Taiwanese: *khai-kuán*). This term also referred to the special terminology for the club's training event. The club hired a *beiguan* teacher for a new opera play or several musical pieces or a suite, which they had never learnt. If the club had the financial support and ability to play the theatre performance, then there was also a specific performance teacher for actors.

A *beiguan* teacher, called the operatic mentor (*qu xian* 曲仙, Taiwanese: *khiau – sian*), had to be an all-round musician who could teach both opera and musical instruments. The popular term in Taiwanese for this ability is *Bā-jhīh-gau-yī-tse-tòu-tòu* (lit. sit all of/over eight chairs, *ba zhi jiao yi zuo tou tou* 八

隻交椅坐透透, eight instrument position). Eight is a general number used by many for expressing praise and admiration of a teacher's skills. Those operatic teachers normally had a high reputation of proficiency in written Chinese.

Each club member was assigned different roles under the guidance of a teacher, learning how to pronounce each syllable, the melody pattern of phrase then became a sentence. After they had learnt the vocal melody, they would be accompanied by musical instruments, then a percussion rhythm would be added into the ensemble, and finally they would learn movements and begin to practice the whole set if there was a theatre play performance coming up.

The script mainly shows plot and some parts of *gongche* notation for pointing out the melody as prelude, bridge or epilogue, named *zonggang* or *zongjiang* (總綱/總江, Taiwanese: *cháng-kang*). *Gongche* notation (similar to western sol-fa) is one kind of traditional Chinese character notation from 13th century. The origin of *gongche* notation is unclear, due to its long history. However, according to the Dictionary of Chinese Music (*Zhongguo yinyue cidian*/中国音乐词典), there are some manuscripts known, the *daqu* (the grand music of the Tang Dynasty/唐大曲), found in the Dunhuang Mogao Grottoes (Caves of the Thousand Buddhas/敦煌千佛洞), date to 933 AD. These manuscripts used the court music called half character notation [半字譜]. This notation became the *suzipu* (popular notation/俗字譜) in the Song Dynasty (e.g. the notation used in the *Songs of the Whitestone Taoist*) and developed into the *gongche* notation which was commonly used in the Ming and Qing dynasties (1984:119). *Gongche* notation was a popular written method for traditional music, such as Chinese opera and Chinese instrumental music *Jiangnan Sizhu* [江南絲竹]. *Beiguan* opera still uses this old notation system today. The way that a teacher taught *beiguan* music was based on the oral tradition, the student had to memorise their part since the *gongche* notation was only for reminding people of the melody, not for sight-reading, and literacy was still quite low.

Club members received intensive courses during this four-month term. This *kaiguan* (開館, Taiwanese: *khai-kuán*) event became part of *beiguan's* culture because the temple festival also functioned as the field for competition between clubs. Each club was competing with other clubs to enhance 'the club's face' (*mianzi*/面子, the club's reputation) by ostentatiously using fancy equipment, plays and showing off their skills. The club also represented the local community and had a strong identity associated with their region. Thus, it was not only about 'saving face' for the club (see also page 2), but also 'winning face' for their locality.

In addition to the temple festival, the rite of passage performances also generated the specific affiliation which happened between the members of the community. There is a common saying to describe those amateur *beiguan* club members as ‘silly *zidi*’ (*hanzidi*/憨子弟, Taiwanese: gōng-chú-tē), because the *beiguan zidi* have a well-known persistence and enthusiasm for *beiguan* musical learning and the transmission of the music. I had heard a wife who complained to her husband about this enthusiasm for *beiguan* when we went touring with Xizhi *Leyinshe beiguan* club [汐止樂音社] in the south of Taiwan:

Wife: My husband is a typical *beiguan* ‘silly *zidi*’ (*hanzidi*/憨子弟; Taiwanese: gōng-chú-tē). He always puts *beiguan* affair first, no matter whether his job allows him to make an absence or not, ever since I met him. The temple affair normally takes two to four days [depends the distance of the trip], and he is not able to earn any money from it. On the contrary, he needs to spend on traveling sometimes. He did not go to work already and we still need to pay ourselves! His excuse is that he is the drummer who leads other percussion instruments of the *beiguan* ensemble, it is a very important role. He does not want to fail other members’ expectation. Do you not think it is quite a silly behaviour?

[The husband joined the conversation when he heard his wife’s voice.]

Husband: You just like to judge my behaviour, do you not. I am not silly at all. It is the so-called spirit of *beiguan*! You women could not understand the tacit relationship between my fellows and me.

[Then, he faces to me, and ‘teach’ me about his intentions, since he thinks that I am a *zidi* too, I have to know this *beiguan* spirit and carry on it.]

Husband: We are a big family. We are not only doing the *beiguan* stuff together, but we are also doing the social network with others. There are many opportunities to make money. However, the affiliation between men is hard to build. We have to support each other without any condition; also, it is not about individual business. We do this for our religious belief, for our deities, and then, we will receive blessing for a fruitful and happy life. You cannot just ask for the deities without any devotion, right (Mr. and Mrs. Haung, interview in 15 May 2011)?

From the conversation, it reveals that they selflessly commit themselves to the *beiguan* community, serving the deity and participating in temple festivals, even making an absence request from their work to prepare and join the temple festival activities. Their passion and loyalty gains them a good reputation with others. On the other hand, this dedication consumes too much energy and time; outsiders cannot understand their enthusiasm and view them as a bit stubborn and silly (even, the member’s wife who went the tour with us, and joined the club for couple of years

after she retired). However, it shows the *beiguan* spirit, as a steadfast big family, members helping each other and playing together, who bond with a strong community identity and supported their faith (Chiu, Kunliang, 1992: 25-55).

A *beiguan* community consists of three key parts: kinship, geographical relationships and trade associations, in which geographical development was the most significant relationship between the community members. The club members shared the same neighbourhood, creating numerous social networks. Members found it easier to gather for practice, and by taking part in the same local affairs their relationships became closer, sometimes, their relationships becoming like that of siblings and generating a relationship of 'brotherhood'. As Sugarman (1997) has illustrated in his book of Prespa social life (Albanian), they have a similar concept of 'individual households being extremely reliant on each other'. For example, they help each other with farm chores, allocate irrigation water, and other tasks (133-134).

Moreover, this relationship of brotherhood also forms through the deity worship associations [神明會]. A gathering '*kau-pôê* (*jiaopei*/交陪) normally takes place at a certain time of year. This type of deity worship associations usually stretched across areas and formed a communal worship sphere (*jisijuan*/祭祀圈)⁵⁸ which could cover just one village, across cities or from the north to the south of Taiwan. For example, in June and December of the Chinese lunar calendar, ever since the colonial period, the Xizhi *Leyinshe beiguan* club [汐止樂音社] has held semi-annual gatherings of the deity worship association 'chiáh- hōe' (*chihui*/吃會). The gathering joins ten *beiguan* clubs from around the northern districts of New Taipei City (Xizhi, Keelung and Nuannuan area; the author visited and interviewed the gathering in June 2012, Xizhi).

2.2 Professional *Beiguan* Troupes and Their Social Class

In general, the social status of professional *beiguan* troupes (*luan* troupes/亂彈班) was not as high as the musicians perceive nowadays. The social rank of

⁵⁸ According to Lin Mei-rung, 'In Taiwanese Han society, ritual spheres possess leadership strength. In the Japanese Colonial Period, the Japanese scholar Okada Yuzuru investigated the society of Shilin [士林] village, and found that sacrifice circles were closely linked to market groups, and groups linked by marriage. After the Second World War, such investigation was repeated by European and American scholars in their research into local Taiwanese society, such as the American scholar Steven Sangren's research into regional territorial cults (*jidian zuzhi*/祭典組織): Sangren found that public sacrifices in Daxi [大溪], Taoyuan [桃園], served to systematize local and social culture' (2010). Source from: <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/en/content?ID=1797> [accessed Oct. 28 2012]

musicians was discussed in Merriam's chapter 'social behaviour—the musician':

As a musician, he plays a specific role and may hold a specific status within his society, and his role and status are determined by the consensus of society as to what should be proper behaviour for the musician. Musicians may form a special class or caste, they may or may not be regarded as high or low or a combination of both (1964, 123).

In the case of *Beiguan* music, the amateur club members often have a higher social status than professional performers. There is a case which reveals a similar situation between the amateur clubs and the professional troupes who get paid for their performances in Hebei and Shanxi provinces:

The musicians of *shawm* bands have traditionally been—and still are—of low social status. *Shawm* bands play outside the gate of a house or temple, whereas the more prestigious *shengguan* ensemble occupies the central space of a ritual arena. *Shawm* bands are hired to perform. Ritual specialists, with their *shengguan* music, are also usually paid (Jones, 2001: 200).

This situation may appear unusual in some cultures. Professionals tend to refer to people who adopt similar professional behaviour, attitudes and methods. The general public are often willing to pay more money to professionals such as musicians, actors or dancers since they can offer their 'product' and expertise. In this way, they can fully engage in new techniques and further refine or develop their musical skills. Thus, experts with professional skills can usually obtain higher remuneration and enhanced social status. The professional musicians normally are supported by the rich people and tour commercially. This kind of professionalisation is addressed by Scott's survey on the discussion of music and class in Victorian London:

In the second half of the nineteenth century, features of musical life associated with a capitalist economy and the consolidation of power of a wealthy industrial bourgeoisie became firmly established. Prominent among such features were the commercialization and professionalization of music, new markets for cultural goods, the bourgeoisie's struggle for cultural domination and a growing rift between art and entertainment (2001: 544).

On the contrary, in Chinese cultural circles, rich merchants like to hire the professional opera troupes for their high-art presentation and give money for their performance, but this does not mean that the professional troupe will obtain a higher social status. This may be due to one of the concepts of Confucianism, which retains a great deal of influence in old Taiwanese society: 'To be an intellectual is to be the top of the society' [*wan ban jie xia pin, wei you du shu gao* 萬般皆下品，唯有讀書高]

(Wang Zhu, 1100 A.D.).⁵⁹ This maxim emphasizes that once a candidate passes the imperial examinations, he can then gain a government job (as an officer; e.g. mayor or higher rank) and thus enhance forever his family reputation. This assumption has indeed occupied people's minds for over two thousand years up to the beginning of the twentieth century. The social hierarchy consisted of intellectuals, farmers, workers and businessmen, no matter how much they earned.

Actors, musicians and dancers were considered as humble professionals with the lowest social status (*xiajiuliu* 下九流). Actors were regarded as lowly 'beggars', because they used to sleep under the stage, under wagons and even in the street when they moved around during their tours. There is a description of an actor's life in the document *The Investigation of Traditional Customs* (*Taiwan guanxi jishi* 台灣慣習記事) by an institution named Taiwan Kanshu Kenkyukai (*Taiwan guanxi yanjiuhui* 台灣慣習研究會), which investigated Taiwanese traditional customs and manners: 'Wherever they [actors] have been, they just spread a straw mat on the ground, no quilts to cover up, if there is, it might be only a blanket. A lot of them are addicted to opium; their earnings are almost all spent on it. In Taiwan, the social status of an actor is usually the lowest one' (Fuzan Do, 1901: 23; translated from the Chinese).

The general public often felt ashamed to have any conversation, contact or relations with these long perceived social outcasts. In the *Yuan* period (1271-1368 A.D.) the government enforced strict rules of social hierarchy, since they were of the Mongolian regime and regarded as a rule of 'foreign tribes', Han people were unhappy at submitting to them. The ruler even had certain types of clothes for actors (The original version in 1323 A.D., Guo, 2000: 137).⁶⁰ Furthermore, the children of actors were forbidden to take the highly competitive imperial state examinations (*keju kaoshi* 科舉考試) during the *Yuan*, *Ming* and *Qing* dynasties (1271-1911). This meant that they could not receive a basic education. In addition, the Qing regime (1865) was afraid that their feudal officials were addicted to opera performance, there was even a law to ban feudal officials from playing *Yangko* opera (*yangge* 秧歌,

⁵⁹ Gao zhan[高霽], Wang Zhu Poetry Collections [shen tong shi xuan 神童詩選], 1991.

⁶⁰ The relatives of prostitutes and actors must wear a cyan colour of scarf, women should wear purple socks as well... they are not allowed to wear a straw hat [笠子] or golden colour clothes, or ride horses. If anyone reports the offenses to a government official, he or she could get the horse as a reward. [娼妓之家長親屬裹青頭巾，婦女紫襪子，俱要個個常穿戴。仍不得戴笠子，穿金衣服，騎坐馬匹，諸人捉拿到官，將馬給付告人充賞] Source from the Yuan "Legislative articles from the Comprehensive Regulations" vol. 9, clothes, [大元通制條格.卷九.衣服] (The original version in 1323 2000: 137; translated from the original Chinese).

popular rural folk music, dance and theatre) in Shanxi, as the tablet in Figure 12 shows.



Figure 12. The tablet forbids feudal officials from playing *Yangko* opera [清代山西的禁戲碑] in Shanxi, Qin dynasty (1865). Source from: Chinese theatre website [中國戲曲藝術網] <http://hk.chiculture.net/0519/html/d06/0519d06.html#>

Due to their low social status, actors were even expelled from the family, their name could not be listed on their genealogy and their body could not be buried in the family graveyard. For example, Cheng Changgeng [程長庚] (1811-1884), the most important of the three leaders of Chinese *Beijing opera*, still carried this traditional stigma despite his outstanding performances. Therefore, he chose to send his son to study abroad in order to restore the family's reputation and social standing.⁶¹ This kind of long-term social discrimination gradually disappeared due to several social revolutions and modernity in the early 20th century.

According to Kataoka Iwao [片岡岩], who investigated, recorded and reported in the book *Taiwan Customs Records* [台灣風俗誌]: 'they [professional actors] lived in squalor, going to the market or a stall next to the temple, asking for five or six cent food when they are hungry and maintaining low living standards' (1921: 198; translated from the Chinese). Professional actors therefore occupied the lowest strata of society, although they could acquire regular wages, and engage in less physical

⁶¹ Chinese theatre website [中國戲曲藝術網] <http://hk.chiculture.net/0519/html/d06/0519d06.html#> [accessed: Oct. 28. 2013].

work compared with labourers or farmers. Their life was relatively more financially secure and comfortable, and they tended to enjoy a longer career path.

A professional *beiguan* troupe consisted of the owner, called the head of troupe (*bantou*班頭), along with several musicians and actors. They usually played at the temple festival, seldom to private ceremonies. Outdoor stage performances were split into day-time and night-time dramas. Regardless of their low status, there were poor families willing to sign a three or five year contract (*puqi* 贖契, Taiwanese: *bak-khe*)⁶² with a theatre troupe in exchange for a living wage for their child. One source of troupe actors was these children. They received a regime of strict training from the operatic mentor (*banxi xiansheng* 搬戲先生). The income from the various performances was collected and kept by the troupe owner (Translated in Chinese by Chen Jintian⁶³, 1990: 160-161).

Nevertheless, people had different standards and attitudes towards professional performers compared with amateurs. There are completely opposite points of view on their performances. According to the late *beiguan* musician Lin Shuichin (林水金, 1918-2013):

Audiences enjoyed these sophisticated performances. The music could not be separated between amateur and professional, since they learnt from each other quite frequently. Amateur performers often learnt from professional players in secrecy, because the professional always could make more exciting movements, stage fights, special martial arts, outstanding singing and musical skills. On the other hand, professional troupes used to steal (learn in secret) plays from amateur clubs, because they normally preserved rare or precious plays due to more financial support to hire the *beiguan* teachers (interview in Jan 2004).

This interview unveils a contradictory relationship between amateur and professional groups. *Beiguan zidi* are proud of their cultural spirit (e.g. their pure purpose: devotion to God and not money), but they also admire the professional's technique. This reminds me of the learning experience that my *beiguan* teacher –

⁶² *Pu* (贖; Taiwanese: *Bak*) implies a contract or mutual agreement. It began with the colonial government (1924-1662) of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) who used a bidding system called 'pacht' to admit a trade permit with aboriginal village in Taiwan (Tsong-min Wu, 2009:3).

⁶³ *The temporary Investigation of Taiwan Customs* [臨時台灣舊慣習調查] was a Japanese literature, translated (in Chinese) by Chen Jintian [陳金田] in 1990.

Zhan Wenzan [詹文讚] taught me. He is the instrumental mentor of the Xizhi amateur *Leyinshe beiguan* club [汐止樂音社]. When he was young, he used to play the drum (*bangu*/板鼓, Taiwanese: *pán-kóo*), which is the leading instruments of the *beiguan* ensemble. He has been attending *beiguan* festivals since he was 11 or 12 years old. His memory of tunes and playing skills are very good. He said that:

I used to watch the performances of other clubs or professional troupes. Basically, I paid attention to the musical skills and the ornamentations when I heard a nice melody or playing, especially to the professional troupe [...]

My fingers would move, following the notes which I heard from the player, and I practiced thereafter. I normally could easily pick up others' playing and as adapt it to my own version, and I am very proud of this talent [...]

It is one of the reasons that I always ask my students to play music with their ears, not with their eyes. It means that you cannot only play music according to the notation; you have to play it with experience and always train your improvisation skills in the field [participating in festivals]. This is the most valuable treasure in *beiguan* music (interview in Sep. 2009).

The improvisation skill is difficult to teach (see also 4.2.d: Oral tradition; Figure 20, Figure 22, Figure 23 and Figure 24). However, this method is a sincere suggestion from a 65 year old teacher who has almost played *beiguan* music for his whole lifetime.

2.3 Beliefs Providing Foci for *Beiguan* Amateur Communities

In the early days⁶⁴, *beiguan* was almost always tied to religious service. Each temple supported, or was constituted by, the deity worship association (*shenminghui*/神明會). Han immigrants often used to develop commercial land in Taiwan and exploit the import-export trade between Taiwan and mainland China. According to their business types, those businessmen established different kinds of guilds, so-called guild merchants (*jiaoshang*/郊商). They also helped deity worship associations (along the harbour cities where their businesses were) get involved in local affairs, religious rituals and public services. By doing this they could build their reputation and create business opportunities (Lin Meirong, 1993: 38-40). The other big temple supporting groups, usually in rural areas, would be named in one of the following ways: [place

⁶⁴ This period is dated from the early wave of immigration around 1620-1683 to the 1960s (postwar, 1945-1960).

name] community (*tongxianghui*/同鄉會, or hometown association), or [surname] family community (*zongqinhui*/宗親會), for example, the ‘Shandong association’, or ‘Shih family community’. Sometimes, these two communities could be associated with one village. Those communities would inherit the language, customs, and habits from their hometown and then adopt the same ritual to worship their ancestors and deities as a hybrid popular religion, which mingled with Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism.

In general, Han immigrants sought comfort in religion because of their tough lives. As a consequence, they suffered from fears which may have formed from anxiety over their unknown future and bandit pillaging. Different communities or associations had different types of clubs for their temple parade, for example, amateur music clubs (*quguan*/曲館), the deity’s palanquin bearer associations (*jiabanhui*/轎班會), and martial arts associations/clubs (*wuguan*/武館). Normally, each temple had several clubs; how many depended on the wealth of their deity worship association. Temples offered practice space, musical instrument storage and pieces of equipment to their subsidiary clubs. In return, subsidiary clubs were obliged to present their specialities in the temple festival, for instance playing music for deities at processions (*raojing*/繞境) or in the temple square or court yard. This belief system provided those immigrants with a local identity, a sense of belonging and coherence with each other in a collective consciousness.

In addition, the series of documents *the Taiwan Prefecture Gazetteer* [台灣府志] and its revisions emphasised that the Taiwanese indulged in luxurious living, and that the Taiwanese were superstitious in earlier immigration society (see 1.1). Folklore tells us, ‘ten go, six died, three stayed and one returned’ (*shiqu liusi sanliu yihuitou* 十去六死三留一回頭), ‘six people died’ describes how difficult and risky it was for the people to cross the black water trench (*heishuigou* 黑水溝, Taiwan strait), only one-third could survive. Thus, their belief system played a more and more important role in supporting them when they arrived and lived in Taiwan. People were willing to donate to the temple for the ritual and ceremonies. The first county chronicle, *Zhuluo County Gazetteer* [諸羅縣志]⁶⁵, gives some details about the Taiwanese ceremonies:

⁶⁵ ‘After Taiwan came under Qing rule, the first county history, Zhuluo County Gazetteer (諸羅縣志) was finished in 1717 (56th year of Kangxi [康熙] Emperor). With Zhuluo’s zhixian (諸羅知縣, County magistrate) Zhou Zhongxuan (周鍾瑄) and Chen Menglin (陳夢林) compiling the history, it became the earliest record to be compiled in Taiwan. It was a reliable book with eleven maps of the landscape,

On a deities' birthday, there must be Chinese opera performances for celebration, taking place on the 2nd of the second lunar month and the Mid-Autumn Festival, people pray and celebrate for good harvest, through different kinds of 'folk religious events' such as an offering ceremony [*jianjiad* 建醮, large religious service]⁶⁶ to honour the local deities with a sacrifice. After the ritual, there would be Chinese operas, which means a perfect ending for the ceremony [*yajiaowei* 壓醮尾]. The level of ceremony is almost the same as annual Ullambana ceremony⁶⁷ in the middle of ghost month [*zhongyun yulanhui* 中元盂蘭會]; each ceremony costs hundreds of strings of coins [*baiyumini* 百餘緡] for the luxurious staging. After the ceremony or affairs, troupes also play Chinese operas for entertainment [...]

Chinese opera performances are also given when a good thing has happened to a family, a regular village meeting, or a policy announcement; it is a custom and people love it. Sometimes, if the housewives were fond of the play, although they were usually very thrifty, they would empty their purse to support the opera play. [...] Chinese opera plays take place both by day and by night, the women (three to five in number) would dress in their finery, and would travel together by coach or buffalo cart to watch the play, even if it were many kilometres away (Chen Menglin, 1717: 143-145; translated from the original Chinese).

The document indicates several things. First, following the ritual and annual festival ceremony, there were always Chinese opera performances to honour the deities. Second, those ritual expenses were costly and ceremonies were very frequent. Finally, Chinese opera performance was very popular and became an important recreation in ordinary life; even the policy announcement needed opera performance to gather the crowd. These festivals were organised through a complex social network, including the role of the local chiefs (*toujia*, 頭家/頭人) in this deity worship association, merchant supports, temple organisers, music clubs, singing and dancing clubs and all kind of parade clubs joined together. These were referred to by Chen Wenda [陳文達] in his Taiwan County Annals (*Taiwan xianzhi* 台灣縣志) (1720: 57) and Liu Liangbi [劉良璧] in his Revised Gazetteer of Fujian Taiwan Prefecture (*Chongxiu Fujian Taiwan fuzhi*, 重修福建臺灣府志): 'an old Taiwanese saying, the deity worship association includes several local chiefs (*toujia*, 頭家/頭人) who

one map of schools, and ten maps of aboriginal territories' (Chang Suping, 2011). Source from: <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/en/content?ID=3687> [accessed: July. 12. 2014]

⁶⁶ 'Normal ceremonies usually last three or five days. The entire event or daily ritual observances and sequences are known as "offering affairs (醮事)." Regardless of the type of offering ritual, its main purpose is to use a religious ritual to entreat the presence of a divinity' (Zheng Rongxing, 2011). Source from: <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/en/content?ID=1934> [accessed: July. 12. 2014]

⁶⁷ Annual Ullambana ceremony: in Chinese Buddhist area, people hold a salvation ceremony for their ancestors (when they assume their ancestors are suffering in hell) in the lunar calendar, July 15.

collect the funding of plays, door by door, in order to celebrate the deities' birthday' (1741: 94-96)⁶⁸.

Local chiefs were selected from rich merchants, intellectuals, highly respected person or elders. Their job normally involved assisting the official to manage local affairs and maintain social order. They also led the general and financial affairs during the temple festival and chose one of the chiefs as the chairman (incense heads, *luzhu* 爐主) to supervise the details and response for sacrifices. The local chiefs had to collect donations for the communal worship from each family. Each family charges full price to male members (*ding* 丁), half price to married female (*kou* 口) and none to unmarried ladies, named *dingkou* money [丁口錢].⁶⁹ Until 1772, hiring the opera troupe was more frequent, as the coast defence officer (*haifang tongzhi* 海防同知) Zhu Jingying [朱景英] describes: 'the music sections (troupes) were not less than several tens, [...] there was no Chinese opera performance during the deity processions, but the drum music made noise and excitement crossing through the streets and lanes' (1773: 46; translated from the original Chinese).

There are many kinds of opera performances which related to the temple festival and social customs. The festival organiser always requires club members to play *Banxian* (ritual) opera at first in order to honour their deities. The ritual (spiritual) soundscape emphasises sacredness, holiness and purity. In Taiwan, the most popular religion is Taoism. Taoists believe in supernatural powers and all kinds of deities similar with shamanism and ancestor worship, or to be more precise, the concept of Durkheim's *animism*.

The other has spiritual beings as its object, spirits, souls, geniuses, demons, divinities properly so-called, animated and conscious agents like man, but distinguished from him, nevertheless, by the nature of their powers and especially by the peculiar characteristic that they do not affect the senses in the same way: ordinarily they are not visible to human eyes. This religion of spirits is called *animism* (Durkheim, 1964: 49).

The deities' society has the similar social order as the human society. There is a heavenly bureaucracy [天庭] as the secular administrations of ancient Imperial China. The highest-ranking god in heaven is called Great Jade Emperor [玉皇大帝], he

⁶⁸ Original source of a quotation: '所傳王誕之辰，必推頭家數人，沿門釀資演戲展祭'.

⁶⁹ Lin Meirong states that 'the woman was a "half social personhood" and unmarried girl was without any position and participation in the social affairs' (1993: 38).

manages all the holy spirits, immortals and saints in the heavenly pantheon. Taoists venerate gods, a common saying is: ‘someone [deity] up there is watching’ (*ju tou san chi you shen ming* 舉頭三尺有神明), this is the best way to describe that spirits are omnipresent. It constructs the moral order as the social order in the early Taiwanese immigrant society.

As a consequence, this ritual opera has a profound connection to the supernatural and symbolic connotations which were used to expel evil spirits and bring happiness and health to everyone. It could be classified as a typical form of religious drama to connect the Holy Spirit and the human world. It also has a symbolic meaning; through the performer’s acting, a person visiting the temple might ask for good luck or a blessing to give them a new start in life. This kind of ritual opera is called *Banxian* opera. Literally, *ban* [扮] refers to ‘dress up’, and *xian* [仙] indicates gods, deities or immortal. *Banxian* means that actors assuming the role of deities pass their blessing to audiences. Some famous plays are considered as classic pieces, such as ‘The Blessing from Heavenly Officers’ (angels, holy spirits, gods, deities) [天官賜福] (Figure 13), ‘Three Deities’ Blessing’ [三仙會], ‘Eight Drunken Immortals’ [醉八仙] (Figure 14).



Figure 13. *The Blessing From Heavenly Officers* [天官賜福] *beiguan* performance



Figure 14. *Drunken Eight Immortals* [醉八仙] *beiguan* performance

The Eight Immortals are a group of hagiology, each character has a different symbolic instrument to transfer their power and help people, for example, the far left figure holds a Chinese pipe is *Lan Caihe* [藍采禾], the further right is *Iron-Crutch Li* [鐵拐李]. Source from: *Han Yang Beiguan Opera Troupe* [漢陽北管劇團] <https://www.facebook.com/pages/%E6%BC%A2%E9%99%BD%E5%8C%97%E7%AE%A1%E5%8A%87%E5%9C%98/393475427342892?fref=ts>

[accessed June. 04. 2014]

Performers wear costumes similar to the court official who comes from the heavenly bureaucracy. There are three different types of stories which form a set of ritual opera and present different types of auspiciousness and mercy. A fieldwork interview reveals this conception of the *Banxian* as a significant procedure in *beiguan* performance, which was involved in religious practices. The *beiguan* musician Chiu Huorong [邱火榮] told me that:

The *Banxian* is a very important part of *beiguan* performance [...] you could get paid without playing a formal opera [正戲] as long as you had performed the *Banxian* (interview in July 2004).

It is hard to believe that this genre of serious opera, which uses religious subjects, can capture the attention of audiences⁷⁰. However, *Banxian* opera fulfils a range of social roles; it provides a connection between the religious practices of ordinary people and their social activities. It also makes the important sections of the ritual performance reasonable and understandable. *Banxian* opera is not only used in *beiguan*. Almost all kinds of operas in Taiwan use *beiguan Banxian* opera as their opening opera when they perform for the temple festival, *Chaozhou* Opera [潮州戲] being one major exception.

Another necessary convention, called a purification rite (*jingtai*/淨台), is presented by an actor or musician before all performances (Wang Sungshan, 1988: 53). A club member burns and waves a piece of joss paper⁷¹ in his hand when he is muttering incantations and walking around every corner on the stage. This movement drew my attention because of a performance in which I played the character of an emperor, in a play called *Jinyang Palace* [晉陽宮] in 2005. It was a project for students playing the theatrical *beiguan* performance in the traditional music department of Taipei National University of the Arts. From the very beginning of our rehearsal, the teacher Chiu Huorong [邱火榮], who is considered a national treasure musician (see Appendix B)⁷², told me about this custom, although these days most

⁷⁰ A similar description in a documentary 'opera and life' [戲曲人生-扮仙] <http://tavis.tw/files/883-1000-10000841.php> [accessed June. 04. 2014].

⁷¹ Money for the other worlds, there are divided into two kinds of joss paper, one for deities, the other for ghosts' world.

⁷² The position of 'national treasure' [國寶藝人] refers to a person who won the award of 'Folk Art Heritage Award' [薪傳獎] or 'Important Traditional Artists' [重要民族藝師].

students have no awareness of religious customs.

Based on our conversation, it seems that if no one goes on stage for this convention, it will be considered that the performer does not show his or her respect to the spirit in the other world who might share the same space (based on Taoism's *animism*). The purpose of this ritual is not only to burn money (joss paper), but it also introduces the club members and explains to the supernatural beings the purpose of the days' activity, the club's background, the story of performance, and to welcome their presence too. The club member has also to plead for blessings and ask forgiveness for disturbing the space. When this action is executed, although they show their respect, there is an underlying implication to dispel the hostile disturbing influence by chanting the spells as well. Chiu Kunliang concludes this process and its terminology in Chinese culture as following:

Before the performance, each kind of opera has their different ceremonies, such as the tread/stamp the stage ritual [踏棚], purification ceremony [淨台], cleaning the stage ritual [洗台] and the tiger bustling the stage ritual [鬧虎]. Those ceremonies all aim to purify the place of performance as an altar for gods coming and casting the blessing (1992: 264).

As a folk music teacher in the university, Chiu Huorong [邱火榮] hands down his knowledge to the next generation. When he describes the whole meaning of this convention he also passes on his philosophy on life and his understanding of the relationship between the secular and sacred world. This may sound superstitious to our generation, however, because we are far removed from the unstable immigrant life we do not have to rely on those beliefs as they did in the past.⁷³ Although the purpose of the ritual behaviour might be dissimilar to different generations, the philosophy of life will be deeply rooted in the mind and transferred to the next through its metaphors, mysticism, symbolism or taboos (Wang Songshan, 1997: 77-78).

⁷³ I come from a very traditional Buddhist family; it is inevitable to be raised up with Buddhist Canon and philosophy. As my education improved, the only way to help me re-thinking my belief was by reading books, which discussed and argued the origins or functions of religions. Only after reading could I convince my parents to leave me alone and not force me to engage in religious behaviours, like memorising sutras, prostrating myself and worshipping at a Buddhist monastery.

2.4 The Competitive Culture in *Beiguan* Communities

In the investigatory report by Kurosawa Takatomo (during 1943, 26th Jan to 5th March), there were some descriptions of the competitive situation between *beiguan* communities:

‘The *beiguan* music (as I mentioned earlier) evokes a soundscape, an enthusiastic and bustling mood enough to wake the dead. This kind of community provides religious music for rituals, but it often involves some social events such as fighting, bleeding, weapons and competing’. The music is divided into two conflicting categories/groups. One is *Xipi* [西皮], a northern system, the other is *Fulu* [福路], a southern system. Those communities even had the amazing ability to support some fighters. Those situations and the rituals of temples are forbidden now (Wang Yingfen, 2004: 10; translated from the original Japanese to Chinese).⁷⁴

This documents reveal a significant phenomenon: the competitive culture (*pinguan wenhui*/拼館文化) proved to be very intense between amateur clubs. Amateur clubs had a very strong local sense they should defend their homeland from intruders; therefore, the outcomes of inter-group *beiguan* competitions became a major social order issue during the Japanese colonial period.

The *beiguan* community had a lot of reasons to bring members together. Besides *beiguan* practices they shared the same religion, sometimes they also helped each other to do farm work like cultivation and harvesting. Although they learnt music when they were young, they gradually built up comradeship as if they were real brothers. When they got together to present their music in the temple festival, their relationship of brotherhood tied in with their localism to win ‘*the club’s face*’ with a successful and outstanding performance. The competition between different clubs included everything: musical skills, the plays, the costumes, even the equipment for the parade. All their efforts showed that they held the festival host in great esteem and were *giving face*. There was also a tacit agreement between groups that the performances were in fact contests. Teams would compete by using fancy and delicate decorations to show that they were a well-financed music club (see also page 2), so clubs would purchase luxury outfits for their parade. There is a Taiwanese

⁷⁴ Original source of a quotation: “先提到北管是震耳欲聾,令人熱血沸騰的音樂,並提到北管團體作為廟的祭典的奉納音樂,經常有流血事件,分類械鬥,拼館等”。音樂上分為北方系的西皮和南方系的福路互相對峙,這些集團甚至有能力養俠客,真是驚人.上述這類狀況及至廟的祭典都被禁止了’.

saying ‘although the personal skill is not so excellent, it must never lose the *club’s face*’ (*Su láng m su tīn, su tīn pháinn khuànn bīn*/輸人不輸陣，輸陣歹看面, Pinyin: *shu ren bu shu zhen, shu zhen dai kan mian*). This shows how important the club’s reputation was: they had to perform their best and attract larger audiences with their performance, since there was always more than one group playing at the same time. Moreover, a temple with two opera stages was quite common in Chinese culture.

In addition, *beiguan* includes two different genres of opera: *Fulu* and *Xinlu* (新路, also same music genre of *Xilu* 西路).⁷⁵ These two genres worship different opera trade gods. The *Xinlu* opera trade god is the ‘Marshal Tian Du’ (*tiandu yuanshuai*/田都元帥, Marshal of Celestial Capital) while the *Fulu*’s trade god is the ‘Lord of the Western Qin’ (*xiqin wangye*/西秦王爺). The *Fulu beiguan* community used to name their club as ‘*she*’ [社] or ‘*yuan*’ [園] (the certain type of club’s title); *Xinlu* used to name ‘*xuan*’ [軒] or ‘*tang*’ [堂]. In the north of Taiwan, especially, Taipei [台北], Keelung [基隆] and Yilan [宜蘭] county, there were severe competitions and conflicts between *Fulu* (*she* 社) and *Xinlu* (*xuan* 軒 or *tang* 堂) opera clubs. However, the clubs in the middle of Taiwan, including ‘*yuan*’ [園] and ‘*xuan*’ [軒], tended to learn both *Fulu* and *Xinlu* opera (Table 3).

Table 3. A summarised of *Fulu* and *Xinlu* opera

	<i>Fulu</i> opera		<i>Xinlu</i> (<i>Xilu</i>) opera	
chronological order (to Taiwan)	First		Second	
	Also called ‘old opera style’		Also called ‘new opera style’	
<i>shengqiang</i> system	<i>bangzi</i> [梆子]		<i>pihuang</i> [皮黃]	
opera trade gods	‘Lord of the Western <i>Qin</i> ’ (<i>xiqin wangye</i> /西秦王爺)		‘Marshal Tian Du’ (<i>tiandu yuanshuai</i> /田都元帥, Marshal of Celestial Capital)	
different club genres	North	‘ <i>she</i> ’ [社]	North	‘ <i>tang</i> ’ [堂]
	Middle/south	‘ <i>yuan</i> ’ [園]	Middle/south	‘ <i>xuan</i> ’ [軒]

When two different opera clubs met on the street there was often conflict, especially in the north of Taiwan. Clubs were often involved in factional struggles. For example, before 1945, the biggest fight happened in Keelung [基隆] between the

⁷⁵ Some people called *Xilu* [西路] opera which refers to the Mid-Western Chinese music style compared with the *Fulu* system. It is normally called *Xinlu* opera these days, in order to distinguish the new music style (comparing with old music style, *Fulu* opera) than the Western style (see 1.1).

Juyushe club [聚樂社] and the *Deyitang* club [得意堂]. Other examples include the following: in the *Ruifang* [瑞芳] area between the *Ruiyushe* club [瑞樂社] and *Deyitang* club [得意堂], and in the *Shuangxi* [雙溪] region between the *Juyueshe* club [聚樂社] and the *Pingyitang* club [平義堂]. However, there were still a few clubs which remained neutral such as the *Lingyijun* club [靈義郡] and *Ciyun* temple [慈雲寺] (Huang Wangcheng, 1957:37).

The competitions did not always go smoothly; in some places, a stronger localism generated serious hostility. Yilan County was a typical case of the Han immigrants' fighting over land reclamation. In Luodong [羅東], Chen Huihuang [陳輝煌] was the pioneer and leader of the *Fulan* club [福蘭社]. He caused serious conflicts between the *Fulu* faction and the *Xinlu* (*Xinlu*) faction, which was led by Huang Zanzu [黃讚緒] when they met each other in the temple festivals (Chiu, 1992: 2-7, 242-245; Jian, 2005: 9-13). The intense struggles between these two factions developed into big, armed conflicts. The *Fulu* and *Xinlu* conflicts ended only 45 years ago. The 63 year old *beiguan zidi*, Haibai [海伯] who comes from the Xizhi *Leyinshe* club [汐止樂音社], recalls the days of those conflicts:

The *Xinlu* and *Fulu* fought quite frequently, the two clubs already detesting each other. There was no reason, we just did not like them [*Leyinshe beiguan* club belongs to the *Fulu* faction]. We had tried our best to avoid each other on the street in ordinary life. Even nowadays, I must admit it, it is still a bit strange to talk to them [...] In the temple festival, we use our music to compete with them, not like old times [...]

I remember once, the Songshan *Fuleshe* club [松山福樂社, *Fulu*] had a big conflict with the *Yonglexuan* club [永樂軒, *Xinlu*] when both were invited to perform for a temple festival. There were two outdoor stages, the *Fuleshe* club received bigger donations from the audiences and they made a big red poster that stated 'thanks from the local chief's for the 200 dollar donation'. This made the *Yonglexuan* club feel they were *losing their face* since they did not have as large a donation. Therefore, the *Yonglexuan* club instructed its members to beat any member of the *Fuleshe* club if they met in private, because they thought *Fuleshe* might have cheated them from the prize [...] they just could not admit their failure, though. Huh!]

Zhan Wenzan [詹文讚] and I even asked for protection from the hooligans' when we went to the Songshan area 45 years ago, because our club and *Fuleshe* club are in the same deity worship association and we helped each other on the performance quite a lot. Therefore, we were tagged as the helper of *Fuleshe* even though we belonged to Xizhi *Leyinshe* club [03 July 2012].

Haibai [海伯] is a typical *beiguan zidi*, he has been in the *Leyinshe* club since he

was 11 years old. He said that he is not good at music; he joined the club because he has a lot of fun with other community members. The *Leyinshe* club belongs to the *Fulu* opera genre, their (Zhan and his) grandfathers' generation broke away from their neighbourhood *beiguan* club *Lechingxuan* [樂清軒] and founded the *Leyinshe* club in 1912. They did this for a very special reason: they all loved *beiguan* music.

The *Beiguan* club used to be attached to the temple, however, in this case this is reversed; they had a club before they founded a temple. At first, they considered worshipping the *beiguan* trade god: the 'Lord of the Western Qin' (*xiqin wangye* 西秦王爺), but they thought the trade god might not be popular with everyone. Thus, they decided to venerate the most well-known deity *Guan Sheng Dijun* [關聖帝君] as the main temple deity. Therefore, the 'Lord of the Western Qin' (*xiqin wangye* 西秦王爺) became the secondary deity. The temple manager is the same as a member of the *beiguan* club, in other words, they have more freedom to choose the temple festival themselves, without having to meet the temple's requirements. This is a unique case compared to other clubs which always must follow instruction from their main temple.

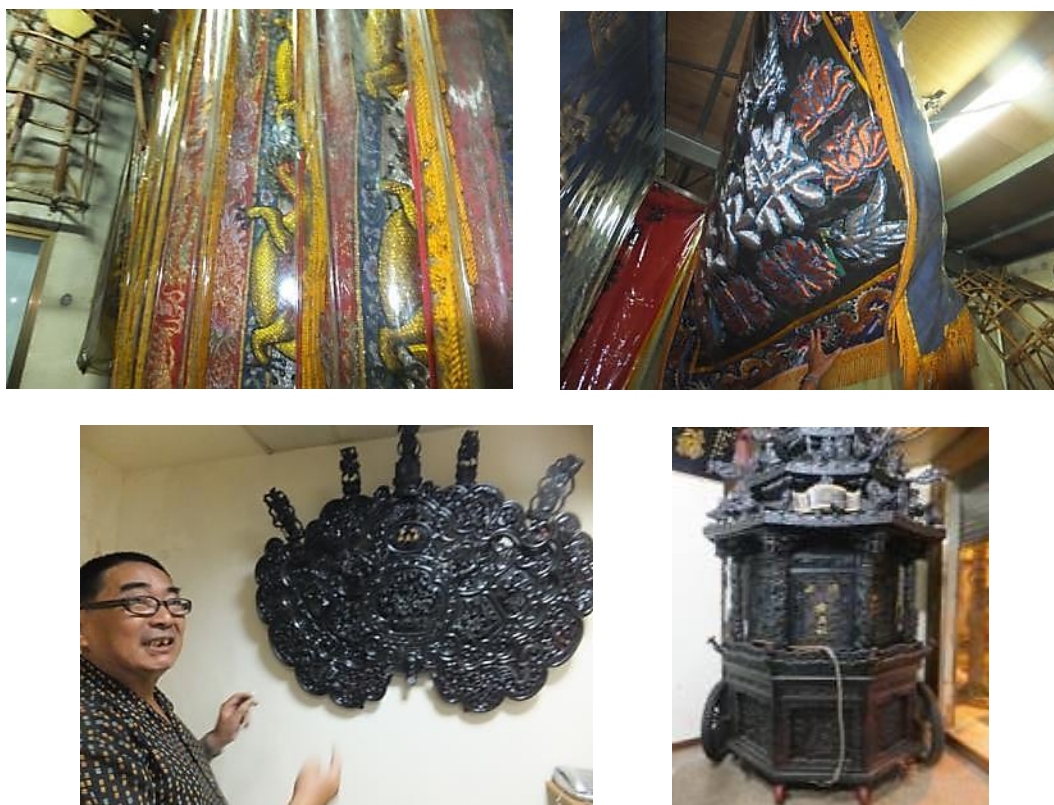


Figure 15. Xizhi *Leyinshe* *beiguan* club [汐止樂音社]

The delicate decorations of the banners, flags, plaque and drum frame (photograph by author)

Haibai said 'I learn *beiguan* for fun; I do not need to take it too seriously'. From

his point of view, it is a lifetime job to be a *beiguan zidi* which combines ordinary entertainment with socialising (after the regular practice, there is always a gathering for chatting, eating, drinking Chinese tea and exchanging thoughts on the practice) and religious belief. The *beiguan* community members are all friendly and show kindness by helping each other. The brotherly relationships and competitions with other clubs are forces which unite each member, draw them close to one another and form their strong community identity.

Conclusions: the Sense of *Beiguan* Identity

The *biguan* community developed a special connection between member's desires to win the *club's face* in the competition. Furthermore, there was no proper education system to support the public in the early society, and the *zidi* learnt *beiguan* opera as a way to learn how to read. Throughout the opera plays, the traditional Confucian thoughts and historical events were indirectly forming the basic social justice and moral ideology of the *beiguan* culture.

The *fulu* and *xinlu* opera are not only two different kinds of musical styles, but are also dedicated to two different deities: 'Lord of the Western *Qin*' (*xiqin wangye* 西秦王爺) and 'Marshal Tian Du' (*tiandu yuanshuai*/田都元帥, Marshal of Celestial Capital). They also have different club genres to distinguish each other. The *fulu* system uses *she* [社] (the certain type of club's title) to present their music genre while the *Xinlu* system uses *xuan* [軒] or *tang* [堂]. The reason fighting broke out was due to clashes of identity between diverse villages, which were common in the early immigrant society.

Beiguan music played a major role in forming local identity, however, the music brought the people closer together and linked people with their new habitat and condition. *Beiguan* culture still survives and represents traditional Taiwanese culture nowadays. Discovering the causes and effects related to those issues will help us to comprehend that *beiguan* opera not only represents a musical activity, but it also has a deep cultural heritage and links to social practice. *Beiguan* not only presented the opera itself (music styles and plays), but through the practicing of *beiguan* opera, it reformed and localised the *beiguan* culture into a set of social contexts which related to religion.

Chapter 3

Beiguan Musical Structure

Before 1960, *beiguan* music was constructed from a hybrid of cultures; combining with the immigration of Han ethnic diversity and different types of multiple local operas. Several types of musical clubs presented varied styles of music. Although they looked complicated, there were still some basic formulæ to the musical forms. The *banqiangti* template (板腔體, metrical variation/tempo variant) is popular as it provides local operas a chance to use their dialects. It provides an efficient way to fit lyrics into the musical according to the specific methodology of opera composition.

Banqiangti contains four development methods: basic form, compression (diminution), expansion (augmentation), and free improvisation (An Luxing, 1982: 5-6). It is more likely to use all kinds of variations, for example by developing skeletal notes (*guganyin*/骨幹音), but it does not have as much freedom of improvisation as an Indian raga (approximately 10% skeletal notes and 90% improvisation). In the *banqiang* system, there is a basic formula associated with lyrics and syllables for developing different musical versions. These depend on the context of libretto, the dynamic stress of languages, the number of lyrics, the type of metre, the character of the play and the tune's character of the musical mode (*gongdiao* *secail*/宮調色彩) to enrich the content of play.

This chapter will focus on musical structures and how they developed into *beiguan* opera and a music genre which differs from the previous historiographical descriptions in chapter one.

3.1 *Beiguan* Vocal Music: *Hi-khek* Opera (*Banxian*, *Fulu*, *Xinlu*) and *Yiu-khek* (High-Art Opera or Ming and Qing's Folksong)

a. (*Xiqu*/戲曲, *Beiguan* Formal Opera): *Banxian* (扮仙戲, Ritual Opera)

In general, three sections (plays) constitute a set of *banxian* operas: the deity's blessing (*jiangshen cifu* 降神賜福), the gift (*fengzeng* 封贈) and the family reunion (*tuanyuan* 團圓) (Chiu Kunliang, 1992: 267). It must be enacted in the order of the ritual ceremony; as a result, each play depicts different metaphors. The first kind of story signifies the deities' arriving with their blessing, the *Blessing From Heavenly Officers* (*tianguan cifu* 天官賜福) play is an example. According to the play (Figure 16), this version shows the wealth deity (*fuxian* 福仙) bringing riches from heaven to the human world: 'I am the wealth deity, today is the birthday of a kind host. I have prepared a precious treasure for him' (*wunail* 吾乃, *cifu tianguan shiyed* 賜福天官是也, *zhiyin fuzhuren qianqiu huadan* 只因福主人千秋華誕, *woyi zhunbei qizhen fabad* 我已準備奇珍法寶, *qianqu zhushou* 前去祝壽).

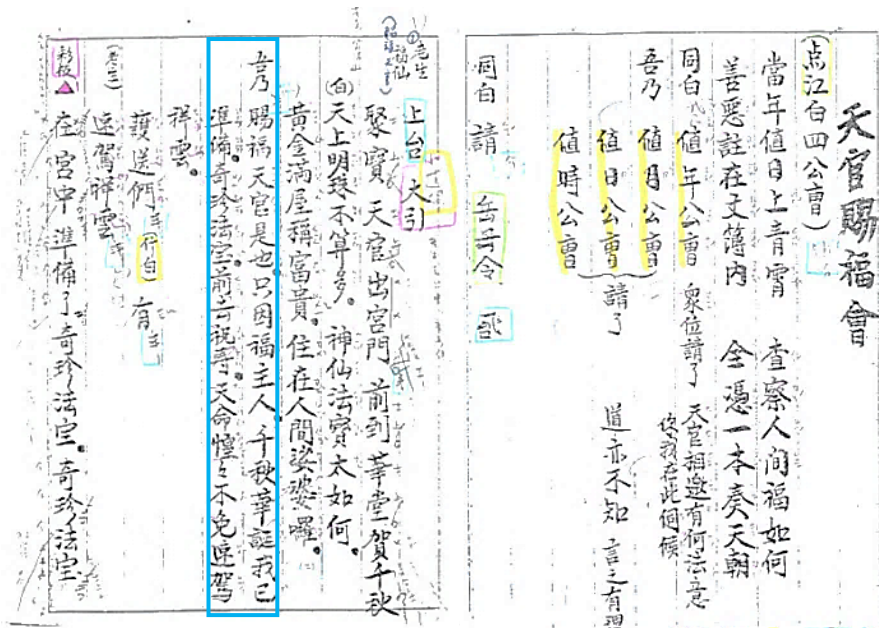


Figure 16. *The Blessing From Heavenly Officers* [天官賜福]: Zhan Wenzan's script

The second kind of story implies the conferring of fortune, land or title, for instance, *Acquiring the Throne* (*fengwang* 封王), *Feudatory* (*fengxiang* 封相). The third kind of story shows a successful applicant in the imperial examination system bringing honour and prosperity to his family (patriarchal society), for example, 'Successful applicant in the imperial examination system and reunion to the family'

(*jintang tuanyuan*/金榜團圓, Table 2).

Being a successful applicant in the imperial examination system was a very important achievement, some people even spending a lifetime trying to achieve it. In ancient China, a successful application also meant a guarantee from the sovereign for a wealthy and powerful life, by appointment to an official position in the government. As a result, an entire family could hope to escape from poverty.⁷⁶ This traditional ideology is still embedded in ordinary people's mind, to manage the negative feelings that motivate getting rid of social inequality and a desire to break away from lower social status. Thus, this kind of ritual opera plays a significant role in the temple festival with its auspicious metaphors and symbolism.

These three scenarios could be regarded as a single element, characteristically designed to provide religious comfort and manage people's expectations. It indicates the wholeness of traditional accomplishment; from humbly requesting for God's blessing (*qifu*祈福) to bestowing (*shoufeng*受封) to bringing glory to the family (*guangzong yaozu*光宗耀祖). This reflects an outlook on life which was common in China and its diaspora society. As Chiu Kunliang comments, 'Actors, through the transition between sacred and secular, impersonate the deities and perform blessings for the populace, or exorcise an evil spirit. The place of performance [however simple and crude] has been chosen for the purification ceremony [it will be regarded as the nature of the shrine]' (1992: 266)⁷⁷.

The main musical genre is derived from *kunqiang* (崑山腔, *kunshan* melody) and *bangziqiang* (梆子腔), which were popular in the Ming dynasty and well-known as two of the 'four great local characteristic music styles' (*sida shengqiang*四大聲腔)⁷⁸. This style also adopted some melodies and structure from the *beiguan fulu* opera, for example, *fulu* 'Three Deities' Blessing' (*sanxianhui*三仙會) (Zheng

⁷⁶ 'The examination system existed for approximately 1300 years and finally ended just before the collapse of the Qing (Ch'ing) Dynasty in 1911 [...] Therefore, it was very common for Chinese parents to acquire charms in the belief that they could assist in having their son, or sons, meet with success in the examinations'. Source from: <http://primaltrek.com/auspicious.html>. [accessed June. 04. 2014]

⁷⁷ The original text: '演員通過神與人之間的過渡, 扮演神仙, 執行為民眾賜福, 驅邪的法事. 而其所表演的場所, 不論其如何簡陋, 在歷經一番淨棚儀式之後, 帶有聖壇的性質'.

⁷⁸ There are *haiyanqiang* [海鹽腔], *yuyaoqiang* [餘姚腔], *kunqiang* [崑腔] and *iyangqiang* [弋陽腔 or *Gaoqiang* 高腔]. Hsu Wei (1559) described the areal distribution for these four kinds of musical genre in his book [南詞敘錄] (theoretical writings of southern opera: '今唱家稱弋陽腔, 則出於江西, 兩京, 湖南, 閩, 廣用之; 稱余姚腔者, 出於會稽, 常, 潤, 池, 太, 揚, 徐用之; 稱海鹽腔者, 嘉, 湖, 溫, 台用之; 惟崑山腔止行於吳中, 流麗悠遠, 出乎三腔之上, 聽之最足蕩人').

Rongxing, 1997:43-46). The leading melodic instrument is the small *suona* (嗩吶, double-reed instrument, wooden pipe and flared metal end), known in Taiwanese as *tát-á* (*dazi*/嗩子). Only the *fulu* musical genre uses the Taiwanese *khak-á-hiân* (*kezixian*/殼仔絃, two-stringed fiddle, small size, a piece of wood board covered with the coconut resonator).

b. *Hi-khek* (*Xiqu*/戲曲) : *Fulu* Opera [福路]

Briefly, different types of metrical variations gradually formed the basic *shengqiang* structure (a system of tunes with certain musical style which formed a local opera) which contoured the *fulu* system with its main melodic style: *banqiang* (a metrical variation tune form). Each *banqiang* delivers different approaches and requirements to various plots in different plays. It encompasses eight primary categories of both regular beats (similar to aria style) and non-regular beats (no bars, similar to recitative style).

The non-regular beat sections have no fixed length of beats, the tunes are *tsai* tune [彩板] (*daoban* tune [倒板], a half of *daoban* tune [*bandaoban*/半倒板]), *jinzhongman* tune [緊中慢], *manzhongjun* tune [慢中緊], *jinban* tune [緊板]. The regular beat parts are *pingban* tune [平板]⁷⁹, *shierzhang* tune [十二丈], *liushui* tune [流水], *yuanyang* tune [鴛鴦板] (Table 4). There are still some other *banqiang* tune developments, made by the storyline, to represent a character's theme or to form a question-and-answer, or make a specific atmosphere such as *pengtou* tune [碰頭板], *sikong* tune [四空門], one-beat tune [疊板], *shuhaier* tune [耍孩兒] and *zhanguadian* tune [斬瓜點] etc. (for more details of tunes, also see Lu Chuikuan, 2004, 2011; Lee Chinghuei, 2007; Zhen Rongxing, 1997)

Table 4. *Fulu* opera tunes

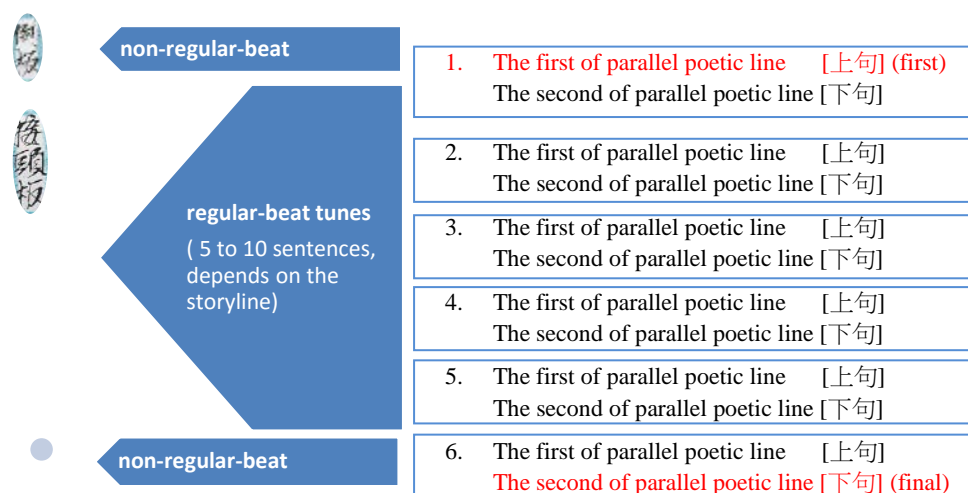
Beats	<i>banqiang</i> tunes
The non-regular-beats part (similar to recitative style)	has no fixed length of bar
	(opening tune) <i>tsai</i> tune [彩板]
	including <i>daoban</i> tune [倒板]
	a half of <i>daoban</i> tune [半倒板]
	<i>jinzhongman</i> tune [緊中慢]
	<i>manzhongjun</i> tune [慢中緊]
	<i>jinban</i> tune [緊板]

⁷⁹ The study of Lu Chuikuan [呂鍾寬] found that the *pingban* tune [平板] has two types, one is common type, the other is overlapping type (2004: 92-98).

The regular-beats part (similar to aria style)	(commonly used)	4/4: <i>pingban</i> tune [平板]
		4/4: <i>liushui</i> tune [流水]
		4/4: <i>shierzhang</i> tune [十二丈]
Responsorial type		<i>yuanyang</i> tune [鴛鴦板]
		spoken: asking questions (the first of parallel sentences [上句])
		4/4 (<i>pingban</i> tune): answer the question (the second one [下句])

The *pingban* [平板] and *liushui* tune [流水] are commonly used in *Fulu* opera. The *tsai* tune [彩板] is used at the very beginning of the singing section to introduce the character's background (*zibao jiamen* 自報家門), tell the audience where he or she is from and their reason for being here. It contains a strong emotional rendering to impress the audience at the start, although this tune is only employed at the first of the parallel poetic line (*shanggou* 上句). As for the narrative form: the rest of the storylines⁸⁰ use the regular beat tunes smoothly, giving the audience information and leading them through the dramatic plot. In the professional troupes, the final poetic line of this introductory section tends to reach the first climax by changing into the next tune, in order to evoke an emotional response with the actor's next action. This is part of their operatic formula (routine), for example getting on a horse and fighting the enemy (e.g. *Kunhedong* 困河東), or getting into a cave to rescue the girl who is kidnapped (e.g. *Leishendon* 雷神洞). Therefore, the non-regular beat tune, such as the *jinzhongman* tune [緊中慢], *manzhongjun* tune [慢中緊] or *jinban* tune [緊板], will be applied here (Table 5) and in the following section.

Table 5. The first musical structure: introduction section



⁸⁰ From the second of parallel poetic line (*xiagou* 下句) which joint the *tsai* tune [彩板] to other five to ten sets of couplet distiches parallel poetic lines.

This opera routine seems simple, but it includes various alterations to make different characteristic sections in a play, and each different play could also develop its own special melodic elaboration and variation. For example: the *shuahaier* tune [耍孩兒] only plays in the *Xishu* opera piece [戲叔] which tells of a woman teasing her brother-in-law when her husband is working. The *zhanguadian* tune [斬瓜點] is used in *zhangua* play [斬瓜] for its special theme of melon-ghost hunting (*guajing* 瓜精).

As in the example of Table 6, a *pingban* [平板] is an example of an aria tune in the *Fulu* system. It provides a template for arranging the lyrics into the melodic lines. For instance, in the first sentence of the seven-word example the basic form could be four plus three words (4+3). The ‘four word part’ could be divided into two-two (2+2) or two-one-one (2+1+1); the ‘three word part’ could be divided into two-one (2+1). The bridge inserts after the words break apart, so the melodic line will become two-one-bridge-two-one-one-bridge-one-bridge structure (看將+軍+bridge+不飲+頭+杯+bridge+酒+ bridge. The first word *kan* [看] is an auxiliary word, and could be regarded as ornamentation).

The function of the bridge is not only to offer the singer a break to change their breathing, take a rest and think about the lines, but also allows the silk and bamboo ensemble to change the sound texture during the performance. It is also a way to make a challenge between ensemble and singers. When I interviewed some *beiguan* musicians, they were quite proud to mention how they use the ‘bridge’ to tease each other. An ensemble leader Zhan Wenzan talked about the way they make fun on the stage: ‘I like to tease the singer by playing different versions of the bridge or changing it to a short passage instead of a long one, to test their improvisation skills and ability to respond’ (interview in June 2006).

It is a difficult skill for a musician or scholar to arrange or adapt the different tunes (*banqiang*) into a play. The challenge comes not only from planning the dynamic music pattern or dramatic plot, but also when a *qupai* tune is conflated with a *banqiang* tune. The *qupai* tune does not need to follow the rule of regular seven-word or ten-word couplet distiches (parallel poetic lines) as the *banqiang* tune. Retaining the original libretti and fitting the irregular sentences into the regular sentences is a difficult task. It normally requires the scholar’s support to rewrite the script. However, a clever and sophisticated musician is always able to overcome this complication. *Luhuang* [蘆花蕩] is one of the examples.

Table 6. The *pingban* aria [平板]: couplets of seven or ten-word poem structure of *Beiguan Fulu* opera

Template 1: a couplet distich of seven-word poem structure						
		(lyrics)	Kan jiang jun bu yin	tou bei	jiu	
First	OOOO	OOO ,	看將軍不飲	頭杯	酒， ⁸¹	
(上句)	3	+ 4				
	(2+1)	(2+2)				
		2+(1+1)				
	(cipher notation)		5 6 1	2—(過門)	5 3 2	1 2
	(gongche notation)		合土上	× (過門)	合工	× 上 × 上合 (過門) × (過門)
		(lyrics)	Ni bu yan	lai	wu zhi	qing
Second	OOOO	OOO °	你不言	來	我知	情
(下句)	4	+ 3				
	[2+ 2 or (11)]	(2+1)				
	(3+1)					
	(cipher notation)		1 1	5. 3	2 3 2 (過門)	6 1 3
	(gongche notation)		上上	六工	× 工 × (過門)	土上工 × 上土合(過門) 上 × 工 × (過門) 上
Template 2: a couplet distich of Ten-word poem structure						
		(lyrics)	Guan ci shi	bu you ren	xin zhong	fa nu,
First	OOO	OOO OOOO ,	觀此事	不由人	心中	發怒，
	3	+ 3 + 4				
	(2+1)	(1+2) (2+2)				
	(cipher notation)		6. 5	3 5 (過門) 2	6 6 5	6 5 3 5
	(gongche notation)		五	六工六	× 五五六	五六工六 六工 × 工六 ×
		(lyrics)	Jin ye wan huan	Diao Chuan	wen ge	duan xiang.
Second	OOO	OOO OOOO °	今夜晚喚	貂蟬	問個	端詳。
	3	+ 3 + 4				
	(1+2) (1+2)	(3+1) or (2+2)				
	(cipher notation)		1	1 1	5 2 3 2 (過門)	6 3 5-
	(gongche notation)		上	上上六	× 工 × (過門)	五 工六 (過門) 上六 × 合土上上

⁸¹ This sentence has eight words because of the auxiliary word *kan* [看].

Luhuadang [蘆花蕩] is a historical story from a section of the classic novel *Romance of Three Kingdoms* (*sanguo yanyi*/三國演義) based in wartime (ca. 184 - 266 A.D.). It had also been filmed in the Cantonese opera ‘*How Hung (Kong) Ming Thrice Defeated Zhou Yu*’ (*Kongming sanqi Zhouyu*孔明三氣周瑜) by the Hong Kong movie company in 1956. The storyline is based on two military counsellors, Kong Ming (also named Zhuge Liang/諸葛亮, the kingdom of *Shu*) and Zhou Yu (周瑜, the kingdom of *Wu*). It tells how they outfoxed and outmanoeuvred their rivals. Table 7 shows the outline of a plot structure for the sequence of tunes and lines in *beiguan Fulu* opera.

This script reveals several essential elements, such as roles, plot structure, melodic arrangement and the operatic formula, which are the significant traits of opera playing. First, in the melodic arrangement part, Pan Ruduan [潘汝端] gives an expression about the method to get over on the unequal sentences. There are two ways, one is to repeat the similar pattern of *pingban* tune [平板] to place those extra phrases until the final seven or ten words, then fitting this final sentence into the second, parallel *pingban* tune [平板]. The other is an overlapping type, which is inserted as an extra tune, for example, *jüchádǎn* (*jiechadian*/借茶點), *tiēbǎn* (*dieban*/疊板), *xikāngbēn* (*sikongmen*/四空門), *lóuékōu* [*luozike*鑼仔科], adopting a similar melody (2004, 182-218).

Table 7. *Beiguan Fulu* opera: *Luhuadang* [蘆花蕩]

<i>Beiguan Fulu</i> opera: <i>Luhuadang</i> [蘆花蕩] ⁸²		
Characters	Zhang Fei [張飛]	<i>Dahua</i> [大花]: a martial character
	Zhou Yu [周瑜]	<i>Sheng</i> [小生]: young man’s role
	Long tao [龍套] ⁸³	Walk-on actors [什]
Tune type	<i>Banqiangti</i> [板腔體]: A metrical variation tune form	
Introducing of the character’s background [自報家門]	<i>Dahua</i> : Opening poetry lines [上台引] A massive leopard-like head, a pair of big fury eyes, the unparalleled warrior in the world; wearing a pair of straw sandals looks superb. Riding a fleet-footed, piebald horse, holding an Eight-foot Serpent Halberd, could no one compete with me?	

⁸² This reorganised version is from Tasi Chengia. Other references are from Chen Xiufang’s *the beiguan scripts in Taiwan* and Yeh Meijing’s manuscripts of ‘*Lu haudang*’ play.

⁸³ It describes the actor as playing a walk-on part.

	Character introduction [自報家門]
Narrative music [敘事唱段]	Singing: <i>tsai</i> tune [彩板] <i>Luhua</i> tune [蘆花點]: the kind of variation of <i>pingban</i> tune [平板]
Blocked Chow Yu [攔周瑜]	Walk-on actors: my lord, Zhou Yu counsellor is here. <i>Dahua</i> : Carrying my halberd, to meet my son Zhou. (laughing gesture) <i>Sheng</i> : bah, Zhang Fei! You do not have general permission, how dare you stop in front of me!
Chow Yu is captured three times [三擒周瑜]	<i>Dahua</i> (singing): <i>Luhua</i> tune [蘆花點] 1 st section <i>Dahua</i> (singing): <i>Luhua</i> tune [蘆花點] 2 nd section <i>Dahua</i> (singing): <i>Luhua</i> tune [蘆花點] 3 rd section
Classical line of Zhou Yu	<i>Sheng</i> : Why? God, oh my holy God! Zhou Yu has already been born, so why was Zhuge Liang ever born? Three times he had been captured, it is... killing... me! [既生瑜何生亮, 好不痛, 殺, 我也!]
Turning back to the battalion [回營繳令]	Singing: <i>Beiweisheng</i> tune [北尾聲] (Ending/煞尾) It is all because of Kong Ming who contributed most to the success of the Red Cliff battle. Spoken: Otherwise, I would never keep his life, if I do not have to obey the order by the commanding general.

The type of roles (also the singing method) are basically classified into two main categories: *tshoo-kháu* (*cukou*粗口) and *iù-kháu* (*xikou*細口) by gender (according to masculinity or femininity of the vocal, not gender). This category depends on the quality of voice and its vocalisation techniques, each type is divided into several subdivisions as well. The *tshoo-kháu* (*cukou*粗口) means the original voice, known as *dasang* [大嗓] or *bensang* [本嗓] (modal, nature, talking, unmodified voice) in Mandarin, which uses the throat to make the unrestrained, rugged vocal style (comparing with the feminine falsetto style). It is basically for a masculine role: an older male (*laosheng*老生) or military general (*hongsheng*紅生 or painted face/花臉). Sometimes, an elder woman (*laodan*老旦) or a married woman (*dan*旦) would use this singing style, too.

The other one — *iù-kháu* (*xikou*細口), is similar to the falsetto voice (where the vocal register is above the modal voice, not referring to the falsetto singing method, e.g. *bel canto*). It is suitable for a feminine role such as a younger female (*xiaodan*小旦) or a younger male (*xiaosheng*小生). Besides the singing style, extra vocables

such as vowel ‘i’ [伊] and ‘a’ [啊] are used to prolong the tune (these extra vocables are basically connecting to the final vowel phonemes part), and these are employed in two mainly categories; ‘i’ for the feminine role as iù-kháu [細口] style (see Table 8, shown as the blue words) and ‘a’ for the masculine role as tshoo-kháu [粗口] style (see Table 8, shown as the blue words).

Beiguan was influenced by Chinese local opera (especially *Beijing opera*) during the Japanese colonial period (ca. 1908). According to Hsu Yahsiang [徐亞湘], the first *Beijing opera* troupe was named *Shanghai official language male and female troupe* (*Shanghai guanyin nannu ban* 上海官音男女班) and they toured from 1908. Until 1936, at least fifty troupes visited Taiwan (2000: 35). Taiwanese people would go to the temple festival or the teahouse to watch the performance, this situation changing when the Japanese government introduced the Westernised theatre and built the indoor stage to show different kinds of theatre, opera, or even Western movies. The Tamshui Opera Theatre was established in 1909, with two stories for 918 people. The stage configurations adopted the proscenium style instead of the traditional stage which was surrounded on three sides by audiences (similar to the trust stage style), and used the lighting system on stage (2004:51-53). Those new trends had also caused some changes in *beiguan*'s performance styles: *Beijing opera* performance presented a more delicate and high art form through its movements, gestures, costumes, props and acrobat skills. It was seen as a refined opera, more attractive to audiences compared to outdoor *beiguan* performance (see also 1.2).

In that period, the role types of *beiguan* opera were not as artistically systematised and standardised as *Beijing opera*. *Beijing opera* had already divided the roles into four categories: *sheng* (male role/生), *dan* (female role/旦), *jing* (painted faces/淨), and *chou* (male clowns/丑). Furthermore, based on these four types, it also developed numerous subtypes: *sheng* (including the elder male role // *aosheng* 老生 and a martial role // *wusheng* 武生), *dan* (including the elder women // *aodan* 老旦, martial women // *wudan* 武旦, young female warrior // *daomadani* 刀馬旦, elite women // *qingyi* 青衣 and unmarried women // *huadan* 花旦), *jing* type (including the darkish painted face // 銅錘花臉, secondary painted face // *jiazi* 架子花臉, martial arts painted face // *wuerhau* 武二花), and *chou* (including the civilian role, *wenchou* 文丑 and minor military role, *wuchou* 武丑). Different types of characters have their own conventional performances.

In *beiguan*, the two-initial categories were developed as much as the professional troupe who had learned from *Beijing opera*. As a result, the role types were all

blended with *Beijing opera* as much as they could be. One of the examples is the singing method of the young male's role (*xiaosheng*); it presents a mixture of timbres as half natural and half falsetto voice to demonstrate the role's identity (akin to yodelling in the rapid alternating between the falsetto and natural voice). In addition, the Chinese traditional opera used to choose the sound quality (timbre) for the role without consideration of sex, because women were forbidden from the stage (since the Chinese Revolution of 1911 the ban had been gradually lifted).⁸⁴ In Taiwan, two clubs, Jiayi *Yule* club [嘉義娛樂園] and Taoyuan *Yongle* club [桃園永樂社], established the first female *Beijing opera* club around 1915 (Hsu Yahsiang, 2006: 397).⁸⁵

Characters in *beiguan*'s term are called tsáp-tuā-thiāu (*shidazhu*/十大柱) which refers ten main characters, including tíng-lák-thiāu (*dingliuzhu*/頂六柱) and ē-sì-thiāu (*xiasizhu*/下四柱). Tíng-lák-thiāu (*dingliuzhu*/頂六柱) is a collective term for six important characters: *laosheng* (老生, elder male role), *hongsheng* (紅生, military general or painted face), *xiaosheng* (小生, young male role), *dan* (旦, female role), *xiaodan* (小旦, young female role) and *chou* (丑, clown). Ē-sì-thiāu (*xiasizhu*/下四柱) is a collective term for another four secondary characters: *kongmo* (公末, subordinate role), *erhua* (二花, secondary painted face), *laodan* (老旦, elder female role) and *chadan* (搽旦, female clown), the similarities to *Beijing opera* and its characteristics are shown in the following table:

Table 8. Characters in *beiguan* opera

Role types	tshoo-kháu [粗口]	iù-kháu [細口]
	masculinity	femininity
The extra vocables for prolongation of tune	vowel 'a' [啊]	vowel 'i' [伊]
Tsáp-tuā-thiāu [十大柱] (ten mainly characters)	tíng-lák-thiāu (<i>dingliuzhu</i> /頂六柱) (six important characters): <i>laosheng</i> (老生, elder male role), <i>hongsheng</i> (紅生, military general or painted face), and <i>chou</i> (丑, clown).	<i>xiaosheng</i> (小生, young male role), <i>dan</i> (旦, female role), <i>xiaodan</i> (小旦, young female role)

⁸⁴ Different regions had different processes for lifting the ban on female actors. See 'Female roles and the rise of actresses' (Stock, 2003: 59-96).

⁸⁵ 369 tabloid newspaper [三六九小報] Jan.9.1931.

ē-sì-thiāu (xiasizhu/下四柱)	<i>laodan</i> (老旦, elder female role)
(four secondary characters):	and <i>chadan</i> (搽旦, female clown)
<i>kongmo</i> (公末, subordinate role),	
<i>erhua</i> (二花, secondary painted face)	

The other special phenomenon is about the sound register: once it has been chosen, an actor will spend their lives developing that character. According to Chiu Ting [邱婷], her grandmother Qiu Haimei [邱海妹] (1911-1993) was a famous *beiguan* actress, and people used to call her female *laosheng* (女老生, elder male role) during the Japanese colonial period. After she retired from stage performance, she became the first female *beiguan* teacher. The Keelung *Deyitang* club [基隆得意堂], Taipei *Delexuan* club [台北德樂軒] and Banqiao *Chaoheshe* club [板橋潮和社] hired her to teach performance, and her husband was in charge of the music (2009)⁸⁶.

In terms of the repertoire chosen, most clubs will select the single refined section (*zhezi*/折子) instead of presenting the complete set of a play (*quanbenxi*/全本戲). It is different to the *banxianxi* (the ritual opera which is mentioned 3.1.a). This kind of auspicious opera (ritual opera) had to follow Chinese philosophy; the opera had to be whole, a complete set from beginning to end, which refers to an auspicious symbol of successful completion. The ritual opera plays for the deities, prays for good luck, blesses deities and asks for longevity, so the happy ending is the most important part. However, as the formal opera is playing for the secular world, to entertain human beings; it must be fascinating and attract an audience. Therefore, the club extracts the most exciting section from the whole play.

In *beiguan* opera performance, it could do both theatrical and non-theatrical performances based on the club's traditions and their financial supports (see also 1.1; 7.3.c). The non-theatrical *beiguan* performance is now likely to be a type of concert gala, namely *pâi-tiûnn* (*paichang* 排場) in Taiwanese (Figure 17). The theatrical performance is called *tsiûnn-pênn* (*shangpeng* 上棚, which means 'on stage') or *fenmodenchang* (粉墨登場, which means 'putting on makeup, dressing up the

⁸⁶ Chiu Ting is a journalist, a writer on *beiguan* culture and traditional operas. She comes from a *beiguan* opera family. Her grandparents are a famous *beiguan* musician and an actress. Her father is Chiu Huorong [邱火榮] and her mother is Pan Yujiao [潘玉嬌]. Both of them won the national awards for musician and actress (Appendix B) in 1989 and 1990. Chiu Ting's blog: <http://operachiu.pixnet.net/blog> [accessed: June. 04. 2014].

costume and playing on the stage’) as shown on Figure 18.



Figure 17. Non-theatrical *beiguan* performance

Xizhi *Leyinshe beiguan* club [汐止樂音社] (photograph by author)

In general, the musical ensemble *āu-tiûnn* (*houchang* 後場, back stage) is traditionally hidden to the side or behind the stage. It has two genres, each of them indicating their different functions. *Szhu* (絲竹, silk and bamboo ensemble) provides the melodic line while the *lô-kóo* (*luogu* 鑼鼓, gongs and drums ensemble, sometimes including *suona*) offers the dramatic musical pattern. In the terms of *beiguan*, the silk and bamboo ensemble is also called *wenchang* (文場, civil division)—they play static and soft music to distinguish it from *wuchang* (武場, military division)—loud and dramatic *lô-kóo* (*luogu* 鑼鼓) music. The ensemble leader is *thâu-tshiú* (*toushou* 頭手).

In *Fulu* opera, the lead instrument of *wenchang* [文場] is *khak-á-hiân* (*kezixian* 殼仔絃, a small two-stringed fiddle made of wood board and covered with a coconut resonator), also called *thâu-tshiú-hiân* (*toushouxian* 頭手絃). The other ensemble instruments, which belong to the silk genre (because of their silk strings) are *hô-hiân* (*hexian* 和絃, a two-stringed fiddle, with bigger resonator than *khak-á-hiân*), *iâng-khîm* (*yangqin* 洋琴, Chinese hammered dulcimer) and *sam-hiân* (*sanxian* 三絃, the three-stringed lute). Other instruments include the *pî-pê* (*pipa* 琵琶, four-stringed plucked lute), *siang-tshing* (*shuangqing* 雙清, a three to five strings type of lute, depending on different regions) and the *jiàu-tsing* (抓箏, 16-stringed zither). There are optional instruments, dependent on the club’s financial situation and organisation. The bamboo genre basically refers to the *dizi* (笛子, Chinese flute, played horizontally).

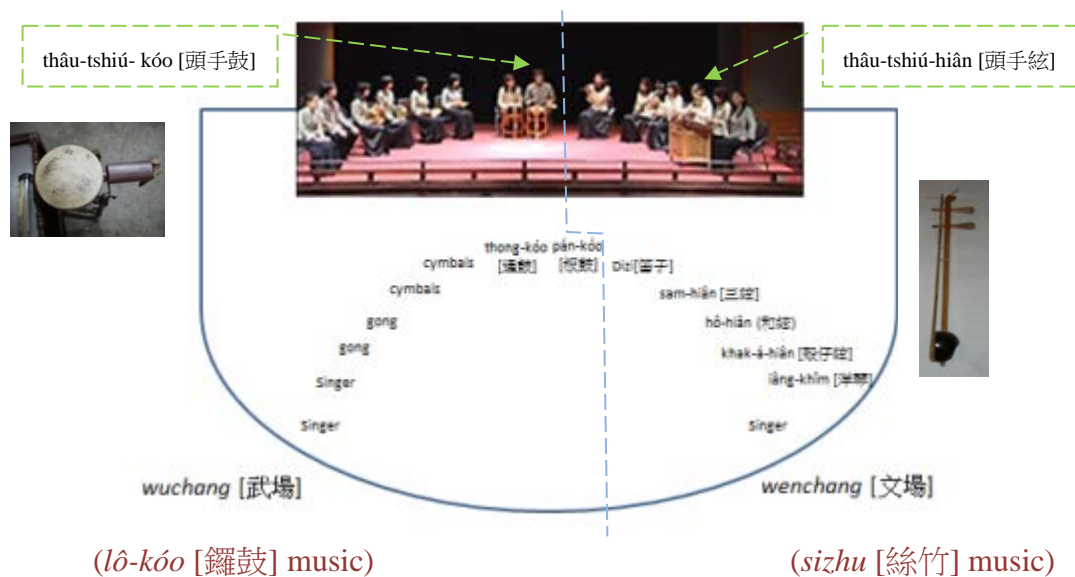


Figure 18. The arrangement of *beiguan* opera ensemble (photograph by TNUA, 2005)⁸⁷
 The top picture shows the non-theatrical performances and the position of each instrument.
 The bottom pictures are the staged performances (the ensemble is on the right).

The music's texture is based on the heterophonic form. Peter Cook defines and describes this term:

In modern times the term [heterophony] is frequently used, particularly in ethnomusicology, to describe simultaneous variation, accidental or deliberate, of what is identified as the same melody.

[...] The term 'heterophony' is also used in discussion of much accompanied vocal music of the Middle East and East Asia, where the instrument provides an embellished version of the vocal part (2016).⁸⁸


In a *beiguan* ensemble, each instrument follows the melodic skeleton, diverging to their specific instrumental ornamentations to create the different melodies.

⁸⁷ The traditional music department, it was the annual touring performance by the student in 2005.

⁸⁸ Peter Cooke. "Heterophony." Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed February 9, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12945>.

Sometimes they play together, sometimes they play their own lines. When the leading fiddler performs an accompaniment to the vocal, they must play as the secondary in order to keep melodic fluency and avoid too much ornamentation. This ensures that the melodic line will not override the singer's presentation, called *tuojiang* [托腔]. The leading fiddler also always must listen to the vocals, giving notes in advance of the sentence as an anticipation note, reminding the singer or actor of the accurate pitch, called *baodiao* [保調]. Chinese music widely uses this kind of heterophonic form ' *tuojiang baodiao* ' [托腔保調] to provide its ensemble in a certain rule (see also 4.2.c).


For example, Table 9 is an instrument ensemble spectrogram—a prelude of a *shierzhang* tune [十二丈], *Zhao Kuangyin* (the first emperor of Song dynasty) *Was Stuck in The River East* (*Kunhadong* 困河東), the recording is from the *Luantanchiao* *Beiguan* Opera Troupe [亂彈嬌北管團] (2002). The spectrogram shows the heterophonic form of the *beiguan* ensemble. The leading fiddle, marked as number 1,


played a trill  in anticipation. The other kind of fiddle, *hō-hiân* (*hexian* 和絃), provides the lower voice⁸⁹ because of its bigger resonator, but with less ornamentation than the lead fiddle to avoid conflicts when improvising.

Dizi (笛子, flute) normally plays for the prelude and bridge parts because of its volume and high frequency which would easily drown out the vocal, if the lead fiddler could not handle the dynamic. Therefore, it does not play the entire melodic line. The Chinese hammered dulcimer (*yangqin* 洋琴) and the three-stringed *sam-hiân* (*sanxian* 三絃) provides rhythmic, staccato sound effects. The difference is the Chinese hammered dulcimer plays more harmonic chords as



a rhythm pattern while *Sam-hiân* (*sanxian* 三絃)

plucks like the 'guitar position'. In the ensemble, it is more 

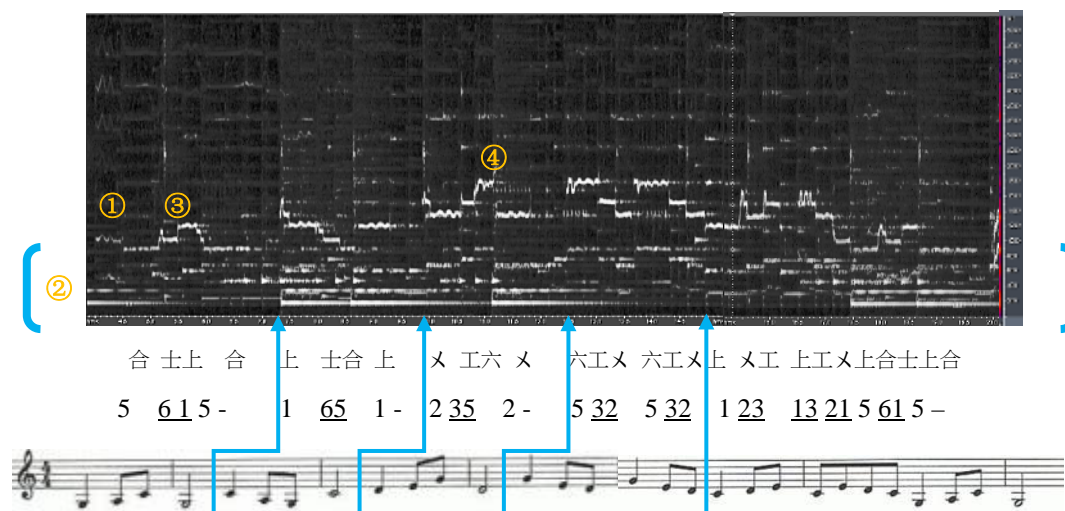
a rhythm pattern, and plays an octave-change  or fifth

⁸⁹ As we are known, Chinese traditional music ensemble is lacking bass part, thus, this instrument is not as low as bass (i.e. cello), the sound frequency range is more like a viola.

interval (i.e.  or ) for the strong, rich and various tones.

Table 9. *Fulu* opera *shierzhang* tune [十二丈] prelude

Instrument ensemble spectrogram, Zhao Kuangyin (Song emperor) was stuck in the river east, sample from *Luan-Tan-Chiao Beiguan* Opera Troupe, 8000HZ (Chiu, Huorong, 2002).



In Table 9, the block marked number 3, there are two lines (546HZ and 1109HZ), sometimes following the same direction, sometimes playing the opposite as the fiddles and plucked instruments' fifth interval heterophony. The bottom, marked as number 2, is the percussion section, the long linear section is the gong (156HZ), the others were cymbals and small gongs. The trill, marked as number 4, is a commonly ornamental skill used by fiddles and flute through the whole prelude.

The lead instrument of *wuchang* [武場] is (*bangu* 板鼓, Taiwanese: *pán-kóo*), also called *thâu-tshiú-kóo* (*toushougu* 頭手鼓); sometimes the *suona* will play the specific tune. The other instruments are the drums, gongs and cymbals. There is another collective term called *ē-tshiú* (*xiashou* 下手) to indicate all the instruments except the leading fiddle or drum. A qualified *beiguan* teacher has the ability to play for all kinds of instruments. An old *beiguan* proverb goes, *Bā-jhīh-gau-yī-tse-tòu-tòu* (lit. *sit all of/over eight chairs*, 八隻交椅坐透透), this refers to the *beiguan* mentor who is able to play each instrument on the stage.

The positions of *wenchang* [文場] and *wuchang* [武場] normally occupy each side of the stage; the lead drum is placed in the middle of the stage (as Figure 18). It is easy for each musician to see the hand gestures when the conductor's drum leads the

ensemble to do different tunes or associate with actor's movements, in order to generate the different dramatic phenomena and control the whole theatre rhythm. The *beiguan* community has no regular stage position for each instrument and a restrained style of performance; however, because of the recent influence of the Western theatre style the performers will usually avoid having their back toward the audience.

c. *Hi-khek* (*Xiqu*/戲曲) : *Xinlu* Opera [新路]

The main musical styles of *Xinlu* opera are *xipi* [西皮] and *erhuang* [二黃] which are derived from the *pihuang* [皮黃] musical styles. They share the same root as *Beijing opera* but followed a different path of development. *Xinlu* opera was the new musical *shengqiang*, while *Fulu* opera referred to an old musical style. The lead instrument of *wenchang* [文場] is *jinghu* (京胡, two-stringed fiddle, small in size and covered with the water-snake's skin). The style mainly follows two *Banqiangti* (a metrical variation) system—*xipi* [西皮] and *erhuang* [二黃]. *Xipi* highlights vivid, bright and high-pitched sounds. For example, if *jinghu* [京胡] is tuned to the key of C (*Do, shang* 上=C), then the *la* (*shi*/士) and *mi* (*gong*/工) used as the open string, the pitch range could be A3 to D5. On the other hand, if *erhuang* is tuned to the same key as C (*Do, shang* 上=C), but used *sol* (*he*/合) and *re* (*che*/叉) as the open string, the pitch range could be G3 to A4, which means the music is more gentle and mild.

Table 10. The movable-do tuning system and the relative position in *beiguan* opera (1=C key)

<i>Gongche</i> notation	合	士	乙	上	叉	工	凡	六	五	乙	仕	伋	仁
Tonic sol-fa	<i>sol</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>fa</i>	<i>sol</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>me</i>
The relative positions	G3	A3	B3	C4	D4	E4	F4	G4	A4	B4	C5	D5	E5



Xipi [西皮]

Erhuang [二黃]



Beiguan opera is based on the movable *do* tuning system, thus, according to the *do* position on the string, to tune to the relative note is the preferred method for concert hall performance since the prevalence of the tuner machine in the past few decades. In amateur clubs and professional troupes, the pipe is normally used to unify the pitch of the ensemble and to correspond with the singer. The ensemble can adjust their key to fit the singer's vocals when he or she is not very well.

The *Xipi*'s music style comes from the high and loud characteristic of *Qinqiang* opera (in north-western china). It has an excited, agitated and indignant expression. For example, the story of *Jinyang Palace* [晉陽宮] is about the Lee Yun (唐李淵, 566-635 A.D.), whose army overthrew the Sui dynasty (emperor Yang Guang, 隋煬帝楊廣, 569-618 A.D.) and became the new emperor Gaozu of Tang. The lyric of *laosheng* (Lee Yun's character) demonstrates the dramatic plot in the beginning: 'I feel unreal and drunk because of the banquet which I was invited to by the wives of emperor Yang Guang; the shouting and high pitch voices are rousing me from a fond dream' [the original script: 適才花亭飲酒宴, 好一似楊柳醉東風; 耳邊聽得高聲喧嘩, 唐李淵驚醒南柯夢中].

Table 11. *Xipi* operatic piece: *Jinyang Palace*

Jinyang Palace [晉陽宮]

Beiguan Xinlu operatic piece

Libretto by Qiu Huorong (邱火榮傳譜)
Shih Yingpin transcription (施穎彬打譜)

Lyric 適才啊 - 花亭那啊 飲酒宴那啊-
Shi ci a hua ting na a yin jiu yan na a

lô-kóo pattern (一鑼) (二鑼) (一鑼)

(bridge) 好一似啊 - 楊柳那啊-
Hao yi shi a yang liu na a

醉 東 風.
Zui dong feng

Erhuang music, conversely, is commonly used in the smooth, fluent, emotional arias to show grief, distress and sorrow. The *erhuang* melody has no large jumps between successive notes and is smooth in rhythm, while *xipi* shows more dynamism in terms of sudden breaks or changes on the melodic line. Therefore, the *erhuang* is used more in the sad, tragic plays or as part of the narrative of certain events. For example, in the play of *Madam Dou Missing Her Warrior Son* (*Wangerlou* 望兒樓), the first line is 'Madam *Dou* stays in the *zhaoyang* palace, thinking and worrying

about her son (*Lee Shimin*) [竇太真,坐昭陽,思前想後,世民兒]⁹⁰.

Table 12. *Erhuang* operatic piece: *Wangerlou*

Wangerlou [望兒樓]
Madam Dou Missing Her Warrior Son

Libretto by Qiu Huorong (邱火榮傳譜)
Shih Yingpin transcription (施穎彬打譜)

Beiguan Xinlu operatic piece (erhuang 二黃)

Lyric 竇 啞 太 真 啞 (bridge)
Dou yi tai jin yi

Lyric 坐 昭 陽 啞, (bridge) 思 前
Zuo zhao yang yi, si qian

Lyric 想 後 啞, (bridge)
siang hou yi,

Lyric 哎 啞 世 民 兒 啞 (bridge)
Ai yi Shi min lu yi.

d. *Yiu-Khek* Opera (*xiqu*/細曲): High-Art Opera or Ming and Qin Folksongs

Beiguan's formal opera *Hi-khek* (*xiqu*戲曲), like *Fulu* and *Xinlu*, usually portrays historical and epic stories. Depending on the focus of the performance, it can include singing, fighting and acrobatics. Those plays usually contain educational and social messages and have themes of loyalty, filial piety, obedience and justice, and promote the moral and ethical restraints to the youth who are taught *beiguan* opera (Zheng Rongxing, 1997: 61-67). On the contrary, the *Yiu-khek* opera (high-art opera/

⁹⁰ Lee Shimi [李世民] (598-649 A.D.) is the son of Lee Yun, who was the founder of the Tang dynasty.

細曲) provides more entertainment and social intercourse when the plays are more comedy routines and romance legends.

Moreover, the words ‘*Yü-khek*’ translate literally as an ‘elegant/elaborate piece or a refined song’ in Taiwanese. It refers to the folk songs or the wonderfully melodic extracts of the *Kunqu* opera [崑曲] which was popular during the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368-1840)⁹¹. Thus, some musicians name it ‘large and small *qupai*’ (*daxiaopai*/大小牌, a set of tunes and a piece of song) since its melodic form is a labelled tune form (*qupaiti*/曲牌體). Some name it *Kunqiang* [崑腔]⁹². The melody tends to be more tuneful and pleasing than the high-pitched formal opera. The lyrics are more about the character’s emotional state of mind; the tension between forbidden loves or betrayal attracts audiences. Comedies can also amuse the audience and generate extra tips (if the play could arouse the interest and compassion of the audience). These Chinese opera plays are performed after the *banxian* and formal opera, normally around midnight and are called late-night drama (*mingweixi*/暝尾戲, Taiwanese: *mê-bóe-xi*). In the early days, when transportation was more primitive, people spent a long time traveling around for religious purposes, and when they had to stay overnight somewhere, the opera was an ideal way of killing time.

However, this type of opera is not very popular in the amateur *beiguan* club, and largely remains in only some old clubs. Also, it is seldom acted out, most clubs show non-theatrical *beiguan* performances such as the *pâi-tiûnn* (*paichang* 排場, concert gala). Nowadays, for instance, only clubs such as the Monga *Jiyinge* club [艋舺集音閣] (1932-1994)⁹³, Changhua *Lichunyuan* club [彰化梨春園] and several late musicians (Wang Songlai/王宋來, Yeh Meijing/葉美景, Lai Musong/賴木松 and Lin shuichin [林水金]) have the scripts. Lu Chuikuan compares it with the western music style and classifies it as high-art operatic singing (2001a: 2).

⁹¹ Ming and Qing dynasties usually indicate the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and before the opium war of the Qing dynasty (1616-1840), feudalism gradually decayed.

⁹² It derives from the *Kunqu* opera of the *shengqiang* [聲腔] system .

⁹³ The Monga *Jiyinge* club [艋舺集音閣] was found by Wang Songlai in 1932 when senior members of *Yasong* club [雅頌閣] passed away. After 62 years, the same reason caused Monga *Jiyinge* club [艋舺集音閣] to be dismissed as well.

3.2 *Beiguan* Instrumental Music: *Pâi-tsú* (Paizi/牌子) and *Hiân-á-phóo* (Xianzipu/絃仔譜)

a. *Pâi-tsú* (Paizi/牌子): *kóo-tshue* (guchui/鼓吹, percussion and *suona*) ensemble

Both the *Pâi-tsú* (*paizi*/牌子) and *Hiân-á-phóo* (*xianzipu*/絃仔譜) styles are performed with the development of plot since they present the instrumental music genre. *Pâi-tsú* (*paizi*/牌子) is the only musical type without the silk and bamboo ensemble. It is the most popular musical genre in *beiguan* clubs, because the *kóo-tshue* (*guchui*/鼓吹, percussion and *suona*) ensemble parade offer a kind of bustling, jovial, lively and exciting atmosphere for the temple festival, celebration ceremony or even a funeral parade. As a result, it could be regarded as the most common traditional music style on the street. The set of fixed tunes known as *qupaiti* provide this *suona* and percussion ensemble with a suite structure (*santiaogong*/三條宮, three tunes regarded as a set of suite) which also is divided into *Fulu* and *Xinlu* musical styles, like the opera system.

When the band accompanies the opera, the percussion plays specific sets of gong and drum patterns known as *lô-kóo-tiám* rhythm (*luogudian*/鑼鼓點, also called *gushi*/鼓詩 rhythm, for easily memorised percussion patterns), while the *suona* plays the main melodic line. This combination is used for opening and ending, or for creating a special scenario, such as dispatching troops, fighting and battles. The opening percussion session is called opening *lô-kóo* (*kaitai luogu*/開台鑼鼓) or bustling stage *lô-kóo* (*naotai luogu*/鬧台鑼鼓) to announce the beginning of the show in as loud and ostentatious a way as the *beiguan* club can. This type of ensemble is an easier subject for *beiguan* beginners, closer to ordinary life in practical support of religious activities. The ensemble size is very flexible for the participation of club members. Sometimes, in order to create a raucous atmosphere, twenty to thirty *suona* players play at the same time.

b. *Hiân-á-phóo* (Xianzipu/絃仔譜) : Silk and Bamboo Ensemble

Hiân-á-phóo (*xianzipu*/絃仔譜) is the silk and bamboo ensemble (sometimes with light percussion) which is used during the opera performance to play incidental music, including overtures (such as the opening music to the *Yü-khek* opera), intermezzo (the plot of changing clothes, pouring wine, walking around, banquets) and background music. Bamboo and silk refer to the materials of the instruments. 'Bamboo' indicates the flute instruments; 'silk' refers to the strings of the fiddles, and

lutes. It is also called *tshuàn-á* (*chuanzi*/串子), a ‘string’ of tunes in Taiwanese, which means that the tunes not only include individual tunes, but also the suite. This kind of music can thus express different thoughts and emotions and bring an aura of dramatic expression.

The tunes were adopted from folk songs; therefore, the music structure does not belong to *qupai* or *banqiang* forms as the opera system does. The suite (*liantaoqu*/聯套曲) is usually compiled of several tunes from the same or a related key. For instance, ‘four seasons’ (*Sijing*/四景) depicts the different sceneries of the four seasons. It is comprised of four folk songs, with the title ‘spring scenery’ (*Chunjing*/春景), ‘summer scenery’ (*Xiajing*/夏景), ‘autumn scenery’ (*Qiuqing*/秋景) and ‘winter scenery’ (*Dongjing*/冬景). The original song is now unfortunately untraceable.

Beiguan music includes almost all the different types of local operas and folk songs (except *nanguan* music) that arrived with immigrants in the early days of Taiwan. As time passed, all the different genres of music were synchronised and developed into the *beiguan* music of today. The order of *beiguan* performances in Table 13 indicates their function and application in the temple festival. However, *beiguan* is also widely used in Taiwan for other types of operas, music clubs and parades, for example, *beiguan* puppet drama [北管布袋戲], *Hakka* opera [客家戲], Taoism ritual music [道教後場] and drum parades [大鼓陣].

Table 13. The order of *beiguan* performance in the temple festival

Different styles of <i>Beiguan</i> performances: <i>peizi</i> , opera, late-night drama and <i>Hiân-á-phóo</i>		
1. <i>Pâi-tsú</i> (percussion and wind instrument ensemble, <i>paizi</i> /牌子): the deity processions (during the daytime)		
2. <i>Hi-khek</i> (Opera)	<i>Banxian</i> opera [扮仙戲]	Purification rite (<i>jingtai</i> /淨台): burn a piece of joss paper
		A prelude opera (three different stories to join as a set)
		1 st : the deities’ arriving with their blessing [賜福]
		2 nd : conferring of fortune, land or title [賜封/受祿]
	3 rd : family reunion [金榜團圓]	
The historical or epic opera	A formal opera	<i>Fulu</i> opera [福路] or <i>Xinlu</i> opera 新路
3. Late-night drama <i>Yiu-khek</i> opera or operatic music performance		
* <i>Hiân-á-phóo</i> (<i>xianzipu</i> /絃仔譜) could be performed separately or put in the opera as the interlude music.		

Conclusions

Each different opera, so-called *juzhong* [劇種]⁹⁴, absorbed local music and mingled with various *shengqiang* (a system of tunes with certain musical style which formed a local opera) systems. In this case, *beiguan* is one of the localised *juzhong* [劇種] in Taiwan; it adopted a few *shengqiang* systems depending on local market favourites that shaped the *Fulu* and *Xinlu* operas at different times. *Fulu* opera refers to an old musical style (it is the first genre of *beiguan* opera brought to Taiwan by immigrants), comparable with *Xinlu* opera, both were distributed over a wide expanse of Taiwan. Therefore, Taiwanese called these old (*gu* 古) and new (*xin* 新) to distinguish them.

Beiguan opera consists of vocal and instrumental music. The vocal part can be divided into *Hi-khek* (ritual and formal opera, 戲曲) and *Yiu-khek* opera (high-art opera, *xiqu* 細曲). The instrumental music includes *Pâi-tsu* (*paizi*/牌子, percussion and wind instrument ensemble) and *Hiân-á-phóo* (*xianzipu*/絃仔譜, silk and bamboo ensemble). Due to the diversity of music characteristics, *beiguan* music is rooted in the folk tradition; its artistry contains popular and elite culture that made it particularly popular and appealing to amateur clubs. The next chapter will follow *beiguan*'s historical development into modern society and discuss the changes of the tradition after 1960.

⁹⁴ According to Yung, *juzhong* 'refers to types of drama that differ from one another mainly in dialect, often sharing plots, styles of costume, and styles of acting' (2001: 277).

Part II

Changing Tradition

This part mainly discusses the changes in *beiguan* opera from 1960 to 1990. These changes run in tandem with a sequence of social changes which influenced the structure of communities. After 1961, the social structure of Taiwan underwent a transition from being a predominately agricultural society into a more industrial one. Widespread urbanisation saw large numbers of people moving out of the countryside into the cities. Many agricultural labourers migrated into urban areas to earn their livings, which resulted in a huge shift in the nature and schedules of their day-to-day work and leisure activities. Moreover, future changes in social structure may also lead some of the next generation to convert from traditional Taiwanese Taoism to atheism, focusing on the individual utilitarian approaches than others concerns such as community affairs or the environment.

Changes in society also causes a profound influence on *beiguan* customs, some *beiguan* community members began to change their attitude. The focus of *beiguan* no longer only on religion, it gradually became another form of leisure entertainment, like attending a normal music session or lesson. People, especially those who lived or worked in the urban areas, were no longer solely devoting themselves to ritual activities and worship of the opera trade gods of the past (Marshal of the Celestial Capital, 田都元帥 and Lord of Western Qin, 西秦王爺, see also 3.4). *Beiguan* music was still serving some religious ceremonies, but some clubs were turning the music into a form of amusement for individual audiences in concert halls, just like other kinds of art forms. Some *beiguan* clubs began to notate melody lines using the modern stave notation or the cypher notation as a substitute for the traditional

gongche notation for setting pitch. They standardised the performances and enhanced the learning process, also explaining musical details such as tempo and dynamics by using Western musical theories.

In addition, the women's rights movement over many years gradually emerged and caught the attention of Taiwanese society. The changing structure of social labour and improvements in education influenced women to get jobs which had traditionally been for men only. The traditional role of woman had changed: the concept of gender equality and equal pay for equal work meant that women could also provide an income for their families. According to official Taiwanese government reports, female employment rose from 38.8% in the 1980s to 44.9% in 1993 and 50.46% in 2013 (the male workforce was 66.83%). As a result, women's social identities shifted. These women had altered their social status through independent economic power. The gender gap in old traditional affairs also broke down, for example, being a *beiguan* community member. Females could now play as *beiguan* members without any restrictions. Although the first female opera club was established around 1915 (see also footnote 85), the professional opera performers (actors and musicians) were regarded as being of the lowest social status (see also 2.2: professional *beiguan* troupes and their social class) and most families would not allow their female members to play in public.

Social modernisation has changed the identity, functions and traditional values of *beiguan* amateur communities. In part II, my intention is to engage in some observations of the actual operation of those *beiguan* clubs and their activities in contemporary Taiwanese society, and to discover the meanings behind their social formations and behaviours since the 1960s. I will discuss and argue the reasons for the Taiwanese government's cultural policy, not designed to support traditional music and to maintain the operation of those *beiguan* amateur communities between 1949 to 1990. It suggests that the *beiguan* opera thus needs preservation as a piece of Intangible Cultural Heritage, as the younger generation no longer has an in-depth knowledge of *beiguan* and the support of its original temple system is rapidly subsiding in urbanised society.

Some case studies will be used to unveil the impact of social change on *beiguan* activities, and the processes and effects associated with urbanisation, globalisation, 'glocalisation' and post-colonialism. This will provide a framework for further analysis and investigations. I will focus on the changes in different *beiguan* amateur communities' performances, singing methods and musical instruments in chapter 4

and demonstrate the effects of these processes on the communities' identities in chapter 5. Then, to review the progress of *beiguan's* development perspective on preservation and innovation in the further chapters.

This will enable development of a deeper awareness of *beiguan's* changing forms and their variations from its original traditional forms. Comparison of results from actual *beiguan* musical and social activities will provide concrete examples to illustrate these processes.

Chapter 4

Changes in Society (1960-1990)

In the earlier chapters, I discussed cultural affairs and the effects that policies of different regimes had on the historical development and formation of *beiguan* culture before 1960. The KMT government was leading Taiwan toward modernisation using the standards of economic freedom, focusing on the Sinocentric cultural policy of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement [中華文化復興運動] against China's Cultural Revolution. As a result, the development of *beiguan* was suppressed by elitist pursuits such as the 'high arts' of Western and Chinese styles.

Since 1950, Taiwanese society has undergone significant changes. Economic reforms, statecraft and policy adjustments have all taken place. Taiwan had a lot of aid from the US from 1948 on, due to its valuable military location during the Cold War. The KMT government set up the joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction in 1948, joined the Economic Stabilisation Board in 1951, and signed the Mutual Security Treaty in 1954. During 1951 to 1965, financial support accumulated to US\$1.5 billion. This helped to smooth commodity prices, enhance infrastructure construction and promote economic development. The labour market tended to supply the small-scale processing service for industries to meet the 'import substitution' policy (1952-1963) for expanding the import business.

In 1960, the KMT government enacted the Investment Incentive Act to encourage foreign and overseas Chinese investment. Taiwanese labour was low cost; they had a strong work ethic and were reasonably well educated. Export processing harbours were set up as enterprise zones to attract foreign investments and tax breaks were given in return. This accelerated the changes from an agricultural to industrial society. The amount of industrial production first overtook agricultural production in 1963; therefore, 1963-1973 was marked as the period of export expansion. According

to Qu Zongxian and Wang Jinli, a rapid modification of Taiwanese society took place, from an agrarian model which depended on imports to a heavy industrial mode of production after 1963 (2009:77).

These transformational processes not only related to aspects of the economic base, but also influenced the daily lives of ordinary people. For example, rural people began to work in factories which were built by government supported industries, such as the Formosa plastics group [台塑企業], Tatung Co. [大同企業] and the CPC Cooperation [中油]. Industrialisation accelerated the progress of urbanisation. People started to converge in urban areas, especially the main cities of Taipei and Kaohsiung.

In the 1970s, the export business and industrial development gradually expanded and some local merchants and foreign investors started to set up factories. Labourers began transferring from rural locations to the enterprise zones and manufacturing districts, which caused urbanisation. Taiwan started to export to the international market. However, the diplomatic environment began to be challenged by the PRC, which made the nationalist government rethink their strategies of development in Taiwan. They lost their seat in the UN in 1971, ended diplomatic relations with the US in 1978, and revoked the US-ROC defence treaty of 1954 in 1980. The new leader of KMT, Premier Chiang Chingkuo [蔣經國], recognised that the party was 'a sitting duck'. After losing a number of positive diplomatic relations with developed countries because of the PRC, they had to change their attitude and realise that Taiwan could no longer be the 'revolutionary base'. Therefore, there was some significant infrastructure construction built during 1973-1982.

Some different opinions (e.g. Taiwanese awareness) started to emerge amongst the public, for example, the *Dangwai* movements (fringe party movements, 黨外運動) were based on the *Intellectual magazine* (*Daxue* 大學雜誌) which published their ideas and gave advice. Moreover, under this period of social disturbances during 1970-1980, some people were disgruntled by the manipulated election results by KMT members. Many magazines were published to address the concerns of liberalism, state autonomy, international status and reaction to issues with China. Examples of these magazines include *Taiwan political review* [台灣政論], *The Eighties* [八十年代] and *Formosa* [美麗島]. Those magazines and the third wave of democracy activated Taiwanese consciousness and localisation (Huntington, 1991: 23-27). Especially, the 'Formosa Incident' imposed Taiwanese democracy. The social climate, which supported individual thinking, caused the snowballing of the 'Taiwanisation' movement (moreover, rethinking the process of Westernisation,

especially from the spread of literature to other disciplines) in the late 1970s (Lin Chingfen, 2001: 260-263; Hsiao A-Chin, 2003: 197-200; Li Xiaofeng, Dai Baocun: 2005-2006).

In the 1980s, Taiwan entered the era of industrial upgrading. The Hsinchu Science Park [新竹科學工業園區] was established by the government in 1980 to demonstrate the new economic environment. The government promoted innovation, scientific and technological industries such as electronics, biotechnology, photonics, and computer industries. Rapid change in social structure brought improved education levels. The old labour-intensive economic style was no longer applicable to the Taiwanese society. This period (1982-1990) was characterised by a shift from a closed insular economy to a free market system.

Briefly speaking, in these three decades, the government tried to learn and copy the ‘successful’ Western experience to create their idea of a perfect modern society. Modernisation usually links, historically, to Westernisation and industrialisation. The measures they used to implant the ideology of modernity were designed to persuade the public to embrace the new government and their policies. For example, governmental bodies disseminated ideas of the modern life as ‘high-class, civilised and cultivated.’ Western and Chinese high art forms represented this kind of elite culture, whereas Taiwanese traditional culture is for the lower class. Most of this propaganda was spread via the education systems to families. The government attempted to encourage people to pursue this idealised conception of modern life, using more efficient and standardised methods to improve the quality of ordinary people’s lives. The policy was successful, society went crazy on Western arts, music and culture because it was the trend in mainstream culture (Xie Dongshan, 2005: 103). The public regarded modernisation and its methodology as the efficient way over tradition; for example, automated manufacture was seen as better than traditional hand making. Modernity was saving time and commodity production was more economical than traditional handwork. Taiwanese society’s advance into modernity has been fulfilled by an acceptance of a spirit of industrialism.

Moreover, recreational habits were changed by new technologies and global media; in the 1970s the traditional club no longer attracted the young generation and *beiguan* was struggling to survive. In addition, the professional troupes lost their audiences, in 1977, there was only one professional troupe *Xinmeiyuan* [新美園], left when the other troupes, such as *Letianshe* [樂天社], could not earn enough to keep running in Caotun township [草屯] of Nantou County.

Fortunately, the amateur *beiguan* clubs could still depend on some senior members to sustain their operations, although membership numbers were declining rapidly, especially in urban areas. However, those senior members were getting old, some academic surveys found the generation gap a problem, and several small-scale revival activities were initiated by the scholars from the folklore, music and theatrical fields. For example, the theatre professor at Chinese Culture University [文化大學], Chiu Kunliang [邱坤良], took his students to learn and participate in *beiguan* opera performances in Taipei *Linganshe* club [靈安社] during 1974 to 1982.

In this chapter, the social phenomena which impacts on *beiguan* amateur communities will be raised as several issues for discussion: changes in social values, changes in learning behaviour (modernisation/westernisation), the conversion of performance from festival to concert hall (urbanisation) and the conversion from religious to secular roles.

4.1 Changes in Social Values

The infiltration of Taiwanese society by modern capitalism and its policies presents a picture of economic rationalisation, quantification, division of labour and specialisation. Commodification became an important influence across the whole of Taiwanese society, even changing people's aesthetic values, especially in urban areas. The role of labour has been (re)branded as a kind of 'product' and is judged by its 'competitiveness' and 'productivity'. Therefore, the concept of labour force, in this case, was usually interpreted as a kind of 'commodity', and the value of human life was gradually quantified as a commodity (such as occupation, income, social status). This is described in Marxist discourse (see also Introduction: 4.4).

For example, enterprises are evaluated for their 'competitiveness' and 'productivity' to enhance their commercial, social and productive values. Popular training centres such as the Dale Carnegie Training programme in Taiwan conduct training drills with their members how to 'restructure their competitiveness' and 'enhance their productivity'. This reveals that people are regarding part of themselves as reified commodities, and they seek to increase their various abilities to conform to the market values. This kind of pragmatic spirit seems to be replacing the traditional values of Confucianism and pushing people to consider self-benefit before social moral value. Traditional philosophy tends to emphasize the value of collectiveness and concern for the welfare of family members, friends, colleagues and other people.

In general, from these changes in social values, we can begin to see why it became difficult to sustain an amateur *beiguan* club, especially in urban areas. For example, the traditional *beiguan* club members used to rehearse almost every day, and this gradually reduced to two hours per week rehearsal. However, people are still seeking a faster method for learning *beiguan* music. They regarded that learning *beiguan* is no different to learning any other art form or language. People must put time and effort into learning; they normally expect to see the results of their hard work after a certain length of time. Annual performances were thus a kind of examination for *beiguan* music clubs, as they showed that the club provided a good learning environment and methodology for their members. Therefore, the annual concerts began to emerge. For example, the ‘Changhua County Beiguan Experimental Orchestra’ [彰化縣北管實驗樂團] found by the ‘Changhua County Cultural Affairs Bureau’ [彰化縣文化局]. For promoting and transmitting *beiguan* music, their missions gather every week for two hours’ rehearsal, for the annual concert and to tour around the schools.⁹⁵

New modernist ideology embraces the idea of self-preservation as individualism. People try to engage in all kinds of commercial activities to meet their own needs and satisfy their desires. In the pursuit of maximising their own utility, they often put themselves in front of everyone else. It is perhaps easy to see how such people fall into Lukacs’ model – dominated by ‘commodity fetishism’. Commodity prices are rapidly and senselessly inflated when something gets popular and fashionable. Harrison gives a thorough interpretation of this situation, clarifying Marx's concept of commodity fetishism:

We live in a world in which it exists. We are under its sway. It influences our perceptions and hinders thinking in ways other than those dictated by it. There are two sides to commodity fetishism. Marx calls the first *mystification*. This describes the effect of commodity production on people’s perceptions of its workings. People are mystified about the economic activities in which they participate. They do not comprehend them fully.

The other side to commodity fetishism is *domination*. People are dominated by inanimate objects which stand between, or *mediate*, their social relations. Marx put it as follows: ‘their own social action takes the form of the action

⁹⁵ Source from: *Nanguan and beiguan* centre [南北管戲曲館] of Changhua County Cultural Affairs Bureau [彰化縣文化局], http://www.bocach.gov.tw/subject/drama/01a_history.asp [accessed July. 24. 2015].

of objects, which rule the producers instead of being ruled by them'. People are dominated by money and commodities (1978:77).

Reification of the commodity informs the mindset of the entire consumer society. Every country has its own way to reach this consumer formation, 'the universality of the commodity form is responsible both objectively and subjectively for the abstraction of human labour incorporated in commodities' (Lukacs, 1971:87). Before 1970, most Taiwanese people were still quite poor. In this period, people's consumption was based only to their basic needs. Under the better economic circumstances of the 1980s, Taiwanese lifestyles began to move more towards consumer culture.

Therefore, the majority of people (within the main Taiwanese social milieu) tended to pursue lives which were contrary to the original immigrant ideals. People now are in pursuit of expediency and financial gains (e.g. making quick money on the stock market), in order to create a proper modern life and engage in a profit-driven economy. This fetishism of the commodity has tended to dominate some parts of people in various intangible and concrete ways. The new modern life has tended to encourage people building their identities in a fetishized relationship with consumer brands and commodities, rather than on mutual understandings amongst human relationships, and the high value of real friendship. This new value system has also led to a sense of emptiness in people's ordinary lives, as Marx predicted in his conception of an alienated society. Through these analyses, we can evaluate the alienation phenomena and the changes in Taiwanese society of in this period.

Baudrillard also had a unique insight into the phenomena of societal alienation. He wrote a story to elucidate the metaphor of the reality of consumer society in his publication *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* with an example of 1930s silent film, named *The Student of Prague*, which is a significant example of the processes of alienation.⁹⁶ He interprets the circumstance of 'image in the mirror', which is sold to the devil as a commodity mode. It is a trading activity, a deal when people fall into this commodity pattern, it also could be regarded as a process of

⁹⁶ The story is about a poor student who exchanges his reflection with the devil for a pile of gold and a prosperous life. At first, he does not bother that he cannot see his image when he passes the mirror. As time flies, he gradually loses himself in the pursuit of fame and fortune. One day, he is surprised to see his image in the mirror again. In fact, the reflection is a duplication by the devil. The devil makes that reflection get involved in the student's real life, even substituting the identity of the student himself and making trouble everywhere.

alienation. As he said, ‘How human beings are controlled by commodities when social labour power once sold, returns, through the whole social cycle of the commodity, to dispossess us of the meaning of labour itself’. In the film, the reflection disturbs his real world and replaces him. The student became ‘the other’, lost and alienated. Death is the only way out, because ‘Alienation cannot be overcome: it is the very structure of the bargain with the Devil. It is the very structure of market society’ (1970: 187-191). *The Student of Prague* is a remarkable illustration of the processes of alienation, that is to say: ‘of the generalised pattern of individual and social life governed by commodity logic’.

This also gives a good understanding of the process of gradual development from previous agricultural to capital society. After WWII, Taiwan began increasingly to accept support from the USA and advocated westernisation of society. Western classical art forms were considered the elite fine art. It also converted the social values in this progression of modernisation and westernisation. Mainstream culture worshipped the elite Western art forms. Therefore, the western classical musician always has the advantage in the fields of performance or education.

Moreover, the traditional relationship of brotherhood between *beiguan* members no longer became a reason to join the club. The old spiritual bonds within the *beiguan* community were gradually fading out. Community identity still existed in those urban members, but the meanings were completely changed. External forces and government manipulation were also affecting the *beiguan* community: Western music and Chinese ‘high-arts’ dominated the cultural scene in urban areas, most parents were now sending their children to learn Western instruments instead of Chinese or Taiwanese music. During 1960-1990, the development of traditional music was significantly suppressed by the second wave of Han immigrants, since they were only familiar with their hometown opera. Most of them controlled government resources and tended to promote Chinese culture rather than Taiwanese (see also 1.3 and 6.5).

Mainstream culture and art forms were often linked to government propaganda and ideology. One notable example is the popular art form of Chinese orchestra (*guoyue* 國樂), which is based on the structure of the Western orchestra but playing Chinese instruments. In 1966, Taiwan’s government promoted the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement [中華文化復興運動] in opposition to the Cultural Revolution [文革] of the PRC. Three categories of art forms were promoted: national opera (*Beijing opera*, *guoju* 國劇), national music (traditional Chinese orchestra, *guoyue* 國樂) and national painting (traditional Chinese brush painting, *guohua* 國畫).

These three categories of art forms were regarded as the ‘national’ high arts that showed the Chinese traditional identity and thus needed to be preserved. In this period, these three kinds of traditional Chinese arts were considered to embody the traditional Chinese spirit. The KMT government utilised those art forms as representing the hegemonic orthodoxy in opposition to the PRC’s Cultural Revolution while the communists insisted on removing the capitalist and traditional culture from their society. For example, the destruction of the ‘Four Olds’: old thoughts, culture, customs and habits, and ‘smashing the old orders’ (Wang Nianyi, 1988: 67).

Because of its obvious political agenda, this cultural movement was widely criticised. According to Guy’s studies of *Peking (Beijing) opera*:

For the first four decades or so on Nationalist Taiwan, Peking opera was put to work in support of hegemony. Expecting that the perpetuation of this symbolically important art would strengthen its authority and legitimacy, the Nationalist regime established institutions to train and employ professional Peking opera performers (2005: 4).

On the other hand, cultural policies were obstacles to progression and, accordingly, to promotion of the newer, modernising political agenda, until the “Council for Cultural Affairs” was established by the government in 1980. Taiwanese traditional arts had been largely suppressed until the Taiwanese localisation movement began to become officially recognised around the beginning of the 1990s [台灣本土化運動] (see 6.5). Cultural policy usually follows different commitments within the trend of the times and changes its position in people’s mind. New ideologies such as Taiwanisation followed postmodernism, reflecting the attitude and embracing the multi-cultural and glocalisation prospect. It also allowed for a greater focus on local Taiwanese musical traditions, especially *beiguan*, which will be discussed in chapter 5.

In short, these changes meant that the traditional arts in Taiwan were now in a vulnerable situation. How did the *beiguan* community face the impact of Western culture, how did they reflect the intervention of those unequal policies? In the following paragraph, I will give a brief account of the changes of traditional learning experiences in the modern society, especially when it encountered the Western education system in schools.

4.2 Changes in Learning Behaviour: Modernisation (Westernisation)

Modernisation not only influenced the values of Taiwanese society, it also had a

profound effect on the education system. As I revealed in the previous discussion, there have been two periods of modernising movements in Taiwan. The first occurred during the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945) and the other was during the KMT nationalist government (1945-1978). Japanese colonialism steered the Taiwanese infrastructure towards modernisation. Compared with the Japanese, the KMT authorities used an ideological hegemony to promote Chinese cultural nationalism until 1987, when the Martial Law and Sinocentrism began to be criticised and protested by promoters of localisation.

The KMT government purged China's education system of Western ideas; they introduced Confucianism into the curriculum and embraced the concept of 'encouragement of learning' from Chang Chih-tung [張之洞] in 1898. He advocated a theory 'based on traditional Chinese values (as the fundamental principles) but assisted by modern Western methodology (as the practical uses)', which is called *zhong xue wei ti, xi xue wei yong* [中學為體，西學為用], in order to reconcile the contradictions between the conservative ruling class and reformers led by officials in the late Qing dynasty. Although they had different political and ideological reasons for establishing Chinese society (the KMT wanted to retake the regime of mainland China), both of them prized the elite culture of Western classical art forms, above traditional Taiwanese arts. In particular, the KMT extended their elite cultural policy from the central government into more remote social settings within Taiwan, embodying opposition to the ideology of the PRC's Cultural Revolution as explained in section 4.1 (Su 2001: 56). The KMT authorities dispatched representatives of fine art groups to the rural areas to promote a fine arts ethos, reflecting a unified, one-dimensional and officially sanctioned cultural strategy to replace the spirit of the traditional local arts.

a. Education System

Against this background, education came under the control of the KMT state. Moreover, military and political classes [軍政課] were added to the regular courses (from junior high school) in order to control the ideology of Kuomintang's three principles of the people (*san min zhu yi*/三民主義). Textbooks, exams, degrees and educational instructors were all controlled by the state, as were all universities (Draguhn, Goodman, 2002: 39). Althusser describes the relationship between education and ideology as:

[...] the educational apparatus in fact the dominant ideological State apparatus in capitalist social formations, [...] All ideological State

apparatuses, whatever they are, contribute to the same result: the reproduction of relations of production, i.e. of capitalist relations of exploitation.

[...] The communications apparatus by cramming every ‘citizen’ with daily doses of nationalism, chauvinism, liberalism, moralism, etc, by means of the press, the radio and television. The same goes for the cultural apparatus (the role of sport in chauvinism is of the first importance), etc. [...] one ideological State apparatus certainly has the dominant role, although hardly anyone lends an ear to its music: it is so silent! This is the School (1984: 28-29).

The school plays a key role in ideological manipulation and provides the authorities a noble reason: for cultivation sake. Thus, the different music associated with different social classes was passing through the education system to each family. Western classical arts were preferred and were prevalent in the upper classes while traditional Chinese culture was a political tool for propaganda purposes, both of them were embraced by the elite. In contrast, Taiwanese traditional music was regarded as lower class, the preserve of temple fairs and subcultures. Prior to the ascendancy of the ‘Taiwanisation’ movement, traditional forms had been regarded as low class, unrefined fare within both popular and official discourses of Taiwanese national artistic identity. Parents, following the fashion for Western music, were more willing to send their children to learn instruments such as the piano, violin, and flute rather than Chinese instruments, such as the *pipa* [琵琶], *erhu* [二胡], and *dizi* [笛子]. During this period, only a minority of parents wanted their children to learn Taiwanese traditional music, such as *beiguan* or *nanguan*, traditional music being much more unpopular in urban areas than in the countryside. The elite generally went to concert halls for music. The music groups who could play in the concert hall were deemed to reflect a high artistic value. Therefore, traditional musicians tried to move their stages from outdoors to concert halls and theatres. This is the second reform and change in traditional *beiguan* opera since it was influenced by the *Beijing opera* in 1920 (see 1.2).

Tracing back, we find that the cultural attributes of western hegemony replaced the traditional learning experience. Music education textbooks, which were controlled by the government bureau ‘National Institute for Compilation and Translation relinquished’ [台灣編譯館] for the publication and editing of school textbooks during 1949-1992, emphasised western classical music as the officially favoured elite culture in each school level. This approach aims to teach students to appreciate classical music, to read musical stave notation and learn western music melodies, without reminding them of any *gongche* notation (Chinese character notation) or introducing

any traditional music as *beiguan* or *nanguan*. These educational values promoted significant differences between local ethnic traditions and western aesthetic values. This difference has been diminished following the Ministry of Education's establishment of the teaching module 'Native Teaching Material Arts' [鄉土教學活動] in elementary schools in 1997 (Wu Chun-Hsien 2009: 6-9).⁹⁷

As local culture was becoming more and more westernised, the lack of learning of traditional music became a matter of concern. Indeed, within this atmosphere of modernisation, westernised education affected traditional teaching methods and changed large parts of the learning experience. The influence of modernity represented the strive for efficiency and convenience while at work, while oral traditions were regarded as a waste of time, an inefficient method and unfit for a scientific approach to musical training. The traditional conception of training, which involved learning by ear for three years and four months, was unacceptable to this modernising scheme.

b. *Beiguan* Learning Behaviour

Beiguan musician Zhan Wenzan [詹文讚] describes his teaching experience as follows:

There is a difficulty in teaching students through oral transmission, without combining some western music theory. They barely understand what you teach. You must use some western musical notation to explain to them. It provides an interface to bring your student into the world of traditional music.

[...] Our traditional notation, *gongchepu*, only gives us the basic tempo, the skeletal notes, but it lacks in details, for example, the dotted note. You only learn it by performance.

[...] In the university system, for example, the department of traditional music in the TNUA, they allotted us [folk musicians] to teach their students only with *gongche* notation. However, I cannot see how we could teach in the traditional way alone. Most curriculums contain the western music form, history, musical analysis, and theories.

⁹⁷ This module encourages junior high school students to participate in 'Local Arts Activities' [鄉土藝術活動] in their communities, and in 2001 adopted local teaching materials into the ordinary school curriculum (Wu Chun-Hsien 2009: 6-9).

[...] So, if I do not use the methodology which students are more familiar with, how can they really engage with the music in this short time [referring to a semester, 18 weeks for a new opera play]? (Several interviews, during Oct 2002 to Jun 2005)

According to Zhan, *gongche* notation provides, for memory, notes (very few notes as skeletal notes, see) on the traditional oral training process. Pupils learn improvisatory skills when they follow a teacher singing or playing music. Oral training forces a pupil to follow their teacher's instruction word for word. However, most students do not sing and they often misunderstand the notation. They often take the characters which show on the notation, and think those notes represent the entirety of the melodic elements. In fact, they may represent only a small part of the overall melody without any improvisatory or ornamental skills.

The example illustrated here is a bamboo and silk instrument ensemble *Hiân-á-phóo* (*xianzipu* 絃仔譜) musical piece named 'Flowers' [*Baihua Chuan*, 百花串]. *Chuan* [串] has two meanings in *beiguan* opera. One is 'bamboo and silk instrument ensemble' [絲竹樂]. Light percussion instruments are often used, as they tend to be quieter and similar to chamber music. The other meaning of *Chuan* [串] is an interval: as a prelude, an interlude, or a bridge. It can be played as background music when an actor makes movements and gestures without singing, such as thinking, wandering, walking and pointing. The original notation was written by *beiguan* master Yeh Meijing [葉美景] (1905-2002), as Figure 19.

The most recognisable characteristic of *gongche* notation is a vertical Chinese character notation with a parallel meter line in the right side as '。' and '、'. The sign of



'。' is the first beat

called *ban* [板], which refers to the first beat of

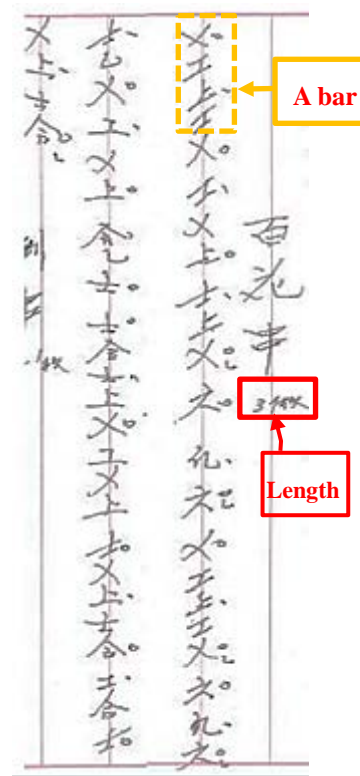
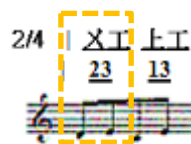


Figure 19. *gongche* notation *Baihua Chuan* [百花串]
Handwriting by *beiguan* master Yeh Meijing [葉美景]. (2000.09 fieldwork)



each bar. The sign of ‘\`’ denotes the rest of the beats or *yan* [眼]. It can be single (2 beats per bar) or treble (4 beats per bar) in each bar. In folk music, there is no absolute rule for it. Some transcriptions only show ‘◦’ and omit ‘\`’; some use ‘\`’ instead of ‘◦’. Those scripts display how the system can be free and flexible in folk music: it depends on who teaches the opera and what kind of methods the pupils are able to memorise. Under the title of the song, there are usually notes containing a number of *ban* [板], indicating the length of the song.

Baihua Chuan [百花串]

bamboo and silk instrument ensemble
Hian-a-phoo (xianzipu/絃仔譜)

Original notation written by Yeh Meijing (葉美景傳譜)
Shih Yingpin transcription (施穎彬打譜)



Figure 20. *Baihua Chuan* [百花串] transcription: original notation written by Yeh Meijing [葉美景傳譜] (2000.09 fieldwork)

This example shows 37 *ban*. A symbol of ‘◦’ followed by another ‘\`’, in western notation means that there are 37 bars, each bar having two beats. However, in Yeh’s version, he wrote the tempo as 37 *ban* which did not follow the common practice. His cognition counts every quarter note as a ‘*ban*’ instead of each bar (when I counted each as ‘◦’ and ‘\`’ that he had written done). For the bar length, the time signature can be considered as 2/4 time or 2/2 time, thus, the transcription can be translated as

shown in Figure 20.

In Figure 21, the top line of horizontal Chinese characters is what Zhen referred to as ‘combining the western methods’. He uses the characters of *gongche* notation to show the pitches, and combines western tempo marks to indicate the rhythm patterns, since the traditional *gongche* notation does not show clearly the details as dotted notes, or pauses. Also, as the length between bars is not regularly spaced, players can be very easily confused regarding the tempo when they sight read.

2/4 | ㄨ工 上工 | ㄨ 工ㄨ | 上 上上 | ㄨ - |
 | 23 13 | 2 32 | 1 61 | 2 - |



Figure 21. *Baihua Chuan* [百花串]

Transcription 1st phrase as original *gongche* notation into horizontal *gongchepu*, cypher notation and stave.

This approach raises an interesting question regarding learning behaviour between tradition and modernity: to what extent do *beiguan* musicians pay close attention to the training of sight-singing and sight-reading? According to *beiguan* musicians, before their training pupils should intently listen to music for a long time, normally three years and four months. Under the oral tradition, this helps build their knowledge of *beiguan* music, familiarity with each musical piece, and helps them acquire an understanding of its aesthetics. The training process is thus made easier and more efficient. A traditional training regime comprises of extensive training in every instrument and singing style.

In the current TNUA university system, however, students have to face final examination pressures, needing to learn several suites during a semester. Unfortunately, some of the lecturers have no idea how to teach and pass down the completely traditional ideology and its methodology. Sometimes they choose a simpler alternative method by western classical learning behaviour: play what you see on the notation (although they still use *gongche* notation).

To illustrate this contradiction, for example, if a lecturer taught with sight-singing and sight-reading while the student learnt from the traditional method, then there is a conflict. Does the melody change by following the teacher? In this case, the melody will become more flat and fixed by the score when pupils are no longer

singing from oral tradition. Will this tendency reflect to a return to *beiguan* musical environment, e.g. to the amateur club traditions? Folk musicians may have already used or adapted western methods into their learning behaviours. These learning behaviours definitely caused musical changes when the modern taught students became *beiguan* teachers. In order to further investigate these changes, it is necessary to discuss the concepts and methodologies of the traditional learning system, in particular, the oral training methods based on traditional apprenticeship.

c. Traditional Apprenticeship

There is a progression from apprenticeships to the conservatory system. Apprenticeship is a ‘survival of the fittest’, in a talent and musical sense, while the conservatory system includes a form of symbolic ‘industrial spirit’. In other words, the conservatory system trains a performer like a product from a factory, as a way to guarantee quality. The characteristics of folk arts contain a synthesis of orality, collectivity and variability. This is reflected in a popular saying—three years are an initial success, and in nine years one could reach a great achievement [三年小成, 九年大成]. This means in a three-year apprenticeship an instructor or mentor teaches the technique and music skills, whereas in a nine-year apprenticeship, a mentor will teach musical culture, including principles and ideology with methodology.

Learning processes and music styles are highly diverse between localities and personal backgrounds of individual mentors. In *beiguan* music communities, there are not only different approaches of the music learning missions, but also different focuses on the learning contents and procedures between amateur clubs and professional troupes. For example, the managers of professional troupes preferred to sign a 5 year contract [bák-khè/贖契] with parents who had a child between 7 to 14 years old, called ‘tying down the freedom of the childhood to the *beiguan* troupe’ [綁戲]. In order to maximize the marginal effects and save time on the training process, the manager usually preferred to train his troupe member as an actor rather than a musician. They gave a new member a small role first [跑龍套], such as soldier, eunuch, maid or servant. The operatic master [搬戲先生] considered the quality of each pupil’s voice and the potential of further development to teach the chosen character. The training then focused on the four essential techniques: singing, reciting, acting and gestures, including some Chinese kung-fu and acrobat skills [唱念做打的功夫].

The function of most amateur clubs was providing music to service the local

temple festivals. Only if the club had enough financial support and members would they be able to put on a stage performance. Thus, the new members usually learnt the simple percussion instruments, such as chime or gong, as a beginner's training procedure. Then, they could select the instrument that they were most interested in. The operatic master considered the musical talent of each pupil to learn different skills. A common Taiwanese saying was mentioned in the previous chapter: 'sit all over eight chairs' [八隻交椅坐透透], which means based on this training, a person could be cultivated the skilful techniques on every kind of *beiguan* instrument; and has the ability to sit in a different position for every instrument on the stage. It reveals the different learning behaviours between amateur club and professional troupe. The amateur's training is more comprehensive than the professional troupe's, as professionals have different goals for the music learning and presentation (Fan Yangkun, 1996: 102-106; Lu, Chui-Kuan, 2000a: 9-42).

d. Oral Tradition

The fiddle player, who is the leader of the ensemble, not only learns the skill, but follows the operatic master in reciting the play word for word [唸戲齣]. They use *gongche* notation, not for sight-singing, but to remind them of the pitch and tempo. Therefore, in plays, *gongche* notations appear only on the bridge, interlude, or the prelude part in the musical transcriptions. As traditional music is based on the oral tradition, it is better for the instrumental player to know the relationship between lyrics and melody, and where the singer is going to change their breath. With that knowledge, the leader has the ability to follow the singer instead of covering the singing with his or her musical skills in a solo performance. Since this ensemble is based on the heterophonic form, the instrumental ensemble is usually louder than the singers. Therefore, sometimes, the instrumental leader needs to make the harmonic accompaniment to other instruments to develop the melody line (*tuoqiang*/托腔). Sometimes they must return to the main melody to help the singer to keep in tune (*baodiao*/保調; see also 3.1.b).

'Imitation' and 'repetition' are two main factors in the oral training method, which would have to be learnt by rote. Pupils ingrain melodic pattern in their memory by reciting repeatedly with their mentor. When they repeat phrases, they also imitate the accents on the notations and lyrics. In the *beiguan* ensemble, new members usually are not given any notations or plays until they are familiar with the whole concept of *beiguan* music, by following other senior members singing and reciting the lyrics, *gongche* notation and *luogu* rhythm. Oral tradition plays an important role in

general learning behaviour in Chinese culture. According to the ‘Considerations and Mistakes in Singing’ (*Guwulu*, 顧誤錄, 1851), it pointed out several problems if pupils do not follow oral tradition:

One of the problems of the clever guy is playing music while sight-reading according to the *gongche* notation. And though it is the smart way to learn music, because of the little referrals to pitch and tempo on the *gongche* notation, they sometimes refuse to follow the teacher. When they read by themselves, no one could lead them, showing them the subtle ornamentations [passing tones, anticipations, suspensions], how to develop the melody, or explaining the rhyme part.

Although they could play on tune, they can never play the music exquisitely. They will never know they are at the wrong pitch or mistaking the pronunciation, lacking or miswriting on the *gongche* notation, not to mention their lack of understanding the tonality of the tune, meanings of the lyrics, how to deal with the tempo and phrasing, analysing of melodic contour. If all this is missed, the music is meaningless (Wang Dehui, 2002: 62; translated from the original Chinese).

It appears that the traditional oral process of apprenticeship is the necessary key for opera performance. If anyone, despite following a mentor, uses their own musical ability (as taught by modern methodology) and tries to play as best they can, then those mistakes described by Wang and Xu are easily made. This leaves the most important part of traditional music, the ‘rhyme’ (*yun*韻), behind.

In addition, ‘rhyme’ is not only the key in the lyric or the notation; it also proves to be the most attractive part of the music. ‘Rhyme’ could be considered as the dainty lingering charm, the highlight of the music piece where you could enhance melodic lines, ending words and master vocal skills which present the aesthetic of Chinese music. There is no way to learn it but follow the mentor word for word. Because of this, when *beiguan* musicians deal with this *Baihua Chuan* tune [百花串] as Figure 19, they should have the ability to find the skeletal note using their oral training experience, which can be seen in Figure 22.

If we look at this skeletal notation, the duration of the quarter note has more space for the ornaments than the quaver note. Moreover, the experience of reciting the *gongche* notation with a mentor allows the player to learn the dynamics, marking as *forte* or *piano* the melodic rhyme (*yun*韻), expression marks, and even the tone colour. In this case, how the musician sings will be influenced by the way the instruments are played, thus the different embellishments, such as the trill, inverted turn, suspension passing tone, neighbouring tone, anticipation, appoggiatura,

retardation come out with the singer's experience. Moreover, when managing the technique of skeletal note playing is no longer a problem; the music can still sound dry. Therefore, the next step is to learn the ability to improvise, using some ornamental notes to enrich the melody line as the well-known Chinese ensemble style: heterophonic form (see also 3.1.b).

2/4		×	上		×	工		上	士		×	—		
			2	1		2	3		1	6		2	—	




Figure 22. *Baihua Chuan* [百花串]: skeletal notes of *gongchepu*

transcription 1st phrase as skeletal notes of *gongche* notation (diminution) into horizontal *gongche* notation, cypher notation and staff.

If the musician is experienced in playing with singing, then they would not add the wrong ornamentations or use inappropriate musical skills, changing the musical style by accident. The skeletal notation, Figure 21, seems to simplify the notation by diminution, where actually, the purpose is the opposite. This is due to no restriction of the interval between eighth notes (which only allow adding notes above or below the notes). In contrast, when playing based on the quarter note there is more space for heterophonic ornamentation. The way the skeletal melody is found is most important, in order to uphold the musical context. Once, the musicians removed the ornamental notes as they thought they could judge any correction by singing it, depending on the tune, whether to keep the same musical style as the original.

Another key role of ornamentation is helping the singer to build the melody. For example, giving a hint of pitch before the lyric, serving as a foil to the singer's melody pattern with a good musical sense '*tuojiang baodiao*' [托腔保调]; every small change (for the instrumentalist improvising) in response to each of the singer's phrases. Based on this development of the skeletal notation, each individual musician can make a variation on the same tune. Both transcriptions Figure 23 and Figure 24 show the first phrase of *Baihua Chuan* [百花串], using the augmentation to fill the gaps between notes on the same tune. Comparing the relative simplicity of the skeletal notes in Figure 22, there is a greater degree of intricate ornamentations presented by my *beiguan* teacher and me.

2 43 1⁵43 32 3432 1. 1 6561 532—



Figure 23. *Baihua Chuan* [百花串]: presented by Shih Yingpin [施穎彬]

Transcription 1st phrase as oral training (augmentation) into cypher notation and stave.

| ³²2 23 11^w3 | ^w2.3 2 5 | 1.7 6 61 | ³²2.3 2 5 |



Figure 24. *Baihua Chuan* [百花串]: presented by Zhan Wenzan [詹文讚]

Transcription 1st phrase as oral training (augmentation) into cypher notation and stave.

Both of us use a different way to interpret the skeletal notes, although I tried my best to copy his version when we played together. When I played on my own, the ornamentation just went back to my own version. I tried to use the ‘notation-taking’, writing down each skill that he used on the tune for each piece. Zhan laughed at me and said:

No one put so much effort into learning this way; you should be like the traditional pupils, listening and watching with your heart and eyes to memorise, not using your hand to write.

[...] There are thousands musicians who all play in their own way. Are you trying to copy each of them? Or, you could just accept our traditional learning behaviour and accumulate each good presentation into your learning process (interview, in June 2006).

Indeed, no matter what your background is, as long as you copy the melodic lines which you have received during practice until becoming familiar with the tune, when you hear a different way to play it, your imitation mechanism will be activated, and you will grasp it to the extent your musical ability allows. I was thinking that I could use my training experience in the western music field, for example taking notes for what I had heard and sight-reading with what I had written. Using this method, the traditional music should not cause a big problem on my learning process. This was in

fact a big mistake, and as other students who are trained in western classical music might, I missed the improvisation skills, rather than the melody line that you could play easily by learning. In the traditional learning process, the important question is how could you play the same tune with different ornamentations, without changing the style of tune, but also giving a different experience to your audience? This is a difficult task. It needs experience and time. This is a very modern argument: westernized musicians believe it inefficient and would rather take a short cut, which remains a good question for further study.

The professional *beiguan* actress Liu Yuying also told me about her experience of dealing with occasional accidents during the performance. She feels that when she performs, she is not always good at memorising all of her lines. Her way to manage this is to remember the story line and how many sentences are in the melody section (*banqiang*). Then, she will think of some meaningful words to fit into the lines. Sometimes, she might need more time to think, in that moment, the leader of ensemble plays a crucial role by keeping the melody going. The leader does this through repetition and improvisation in the bridge; other members will follow the leader's change and accompanying with heterophonic notes on each of their instruments (Interview in Jan 2004).

In traditional *beiguan*, there are several plays for the beginner, known as introduction plays [入門戲]. The beginner will learn this whole set of plays. According to Wang Jilie [王季烈] (1925), with other kinds of local opera, such as *kunqu*, by using several tunes (*qupai*) for the beginners instead of a complete play, 'the method of learning is focused on one tune, repeated until the student is familiar with it, then the learning moves on to another tune' (1971:57). Whatever the pros and cons of this method, it is very common to find this combination, and adoption of both traditional and western teaching methods within *beiguan* clubs with a modern ideology. 'Change' is one of the phenomena that traditional performances could perpetuate; syncretism happens regularly when the original culture conflicts with external influences. Because of the different attitudes and positions of passing on and learning knowledge and skill, there are varying degrees of recognition by the learner. It may in fact be impossible to return completely to traditional oral apprenticeship training since the influence of western teaching has entered the education system. Finding a balance that maintains the original characteristics of our traditional music is one of the challenges of the current cultural preservation study.

4.3 The Conversion of Performance from Festival to Concert Hall:

Urbanisation

Changes in the external environment inevitably cause change in traditional social structure. Since 1970, Taiwan has engaged in ten major infrastructural construction development projects, and Taiwanese society has transformed from the relative homogeneity of a primarily agricultural economy into a more heterogeneous industrially based society. In the process of modernisation, social change transformed traditionally conservative, temple based *beiguan* clubs into a self-supporting and community based setting, closely resembling a hobbyist grouping in urban areas. As processes of urbanisation continue, rural areas increasingly lack a continuity of heritage because younger generations of rural people need, or prefer, to seek work in urban areas. In contrast, urban areas are short of places for the rehearsal and performance of *beiguan* music. These factors have adjusted *beiguan*'s performance structures.

Furthermore, indoor stage based settings impose on *beiguan* performances a presentational concert form which differs significantly from its traditional outdoor performance forms. These indoor presentations highlight and emphasise distinctions between performers and their audiences, distancing the audience from their traditional, more interactive, performance methods. They also illustrate changes of identities, roles and relationships between *beiguan* amateur communities. Local cultural change is also highlighted, owing to changes in the functions and meanings of performances as performance for temples and local people increasingly staging performances to elite audiences in indoor concert halls. Such processes of urbanisation generated a range of crises in *beiguan* tradition, relating to rehearsal and performance spaces/places, rural and/or urban locations and space of agencies (For further discussion of music and space issues, see Yang Chienchang [楊建章] and Lu Hsinchun [呂心純], 2010: 17-18). During 2006 to 2007, I assisted Taipei Cultural Affairs in carrying out the 'Taipei Traditional Performing Arts Resources Project'. From conversations with the informants, it became apparent that they were aware of some phenomena connected with urbanisation that were causing increasingly serious concerns for the survival of *beiguan* amateur communities.

First, the space available for rehearsal and performance has been decreased due to urban expansion. *Beiguan* clubs now find themselves mingled in amongst the many inhabitants of the city. Rehearsals are sometimes regarded by neighbours as noise pollution, particularly the loud volume of the *kóo-tshue* (*guchui*/鼓吹, percussion and *suona*) instruments. The shortage of members in urban areas can also lead to

inadequate frequency of rehearsals, as the demands of urban daily life are quite different from those encountered in rural areas. In rural areas, due to the general similarity of their daily schedules, compared with urban areas, people could arrange to rehearse more frequently and enjoy a relatively greater degree of mutual understanding during the preparation for temple festivals, which takes a minimum period of two months. This is similar to traditional *beiguan* practise.

Thirdly, funding is also a problem in urban districts: the high cost of city living has tended to mean that urban *beiguan* amateur communities could not meet the expenses entailed by full-size temple organisations. In response to this, some temples have moved to suburban areas or have been obliged to cut down on extra expenditure to deal with their financial problems. Thus, some *beiguan* clubs attached to temples, who were the first target for downsizing, have been forced to disband or to become self-funding, hobbyist, associations. Those temples which have reduced the presence of their organisations in urban areas will now hire professional *beiguan* troupes as required when they need to celebrate festivals, rather than supporting their own communities of *beiguan* musicians. On the other hand, *beiguan* musicians who have no funding from temple organisations will tend to develop their *beiguan* activities, previously a religious duty, into a subsidiary to their regular day job.

Finally, as well as the above problems, is the decrease in audience attendance. This is also a damaging result of urbanisation. The performance group faces a fight to survive. Without support from the temple, they face difficulty in appealing to the general public, who are also attracted to western opera, orchestra, and theatre, as well as movies, pop concerts and other modern entertainment. The traditional performers started to convert their outdoor performance style into the concert hall or theatre, and tried to find a way to break into mainstream culture. Only the traditional *beiguan* clubs that were attached to large temple organisations were able to survive with their roles and values relatively unchanged.

During a survey in 2006 of the *beiguan* club activities situation in Taipei, I had the honour to interview Yeh Jinfu [葉金福], the leader of *Yuejing beiguan* club [樂靜社] and the manager of the temple (Figure 25). He illustrated the prevalence of the situation outlined above, with the loss of rehearsal, assembly and performing spaces in the city. The *Yuejing beiguan* club is located at Jinxi Street [錦西街], attached to the *Yongjing* temple [泳靜廟]. It has approximately fifteen members. The *Yuejing* club has performed some of the *beiguan* repertoires such as opera (*Xiqu* 戲曲): *Dabaxian* [大八仙], *Dabaishou* [大拜壽], *Sanxianhui* [三仙會], instrumentals

Pâi-tsú (*paizi*/牌子): *Yijiangfeng* [一江風], *Dabanzhu* [大班祝], *Fengrusong* [風入松], *Dajianzhou* [大鑑州] *etc.* Formerly, they often played in temple ceremonies and weddings. Sometimes they could also play for funerals as their sponsors required (see also local chief, see 2.1).⁹⁸



Figure 25. Informant: Yeh Jinfu



Figure 26. The office of *Yongjing* temple



Figure 27. The trappings of *beiguan* accoutrements



Figure 28. The trappings of *beiguan* instruments frame



Figure 29. the certificate of *zhento* [陣頭]

(photographs by author)

They were confronted by two difficulties: financial problems and the ‘heritage gap’, which has arisen as the older generation has passed away, the younger generation tending increasingly to have no interest in *beiguan* tradition. Furthermore, the shortage of space in urban areas meant they could not practice frequently in their club buildings, due to the traditional *beiguan* instruments creating high noise levels and causing annoyance to their neighbours. Yeh also suggested that the government should pay more attention to folk groups, and should provide such groups with sources of financial support, such as tax-policy measures to support their business activities and traditional folk arts (interview, 28 Feb 2006).

According to Yeh, under such unfavourable conditions they had no other chance but to suspend most of their *beiguan* activities, and to concentrate specifically

⁹⁸ Those sponsors could be the club members, their relatives, the members of temple or those who gave them money for buying instruments or facilities.

on developing their repertoire for a festival parading procession called *beiguan zhentou* [陣頭] (Figure 29). Because *zhentou* music uses *Pâi-tsú* (*paizi*/牌子) music (percussion ensemble), which is relatively easy to learn, the club does not need to gather members and rehearse all the time as other types of *beiguan* opera do. In 2008, Yeh established a *zhentou* union in Taipei city, recruiting many of the *zhentou* clubs in response to the crisis of decreasing *beiguan* music. This new union held a grand ceremony for the birthday of their patron deity: *Fuyoudijun* [孚佑帝君] in 2009. This event featured performances by several *beiguan zhentou* clubs, demonstrating their willingness, and ability, to compromise to the requirements of contemporary trends (Figure 30).

A further impact of the on-going processes of urbanisation has been that the public has been encouraged to adopt elite Western classical art and culture, with the result that traditional Taiwanese art forms came to be regarded as being of lower social status and therefore less desirable. While western classical art was respected as the elite culture, traditional Chinese art was used as a tool for political advocacy (see 4.1). The three Chinese art forms National opera (*Beijing opera*, *guoju*/國劇), national music (traditional Chinese orchestra, *guoyue*/國樂) and national painting (traditional Chinese brush painting, *guohua*/國畫), were regarded as above the Taiwanese traditional *beiguan*, *nanguan*, Taiwanese opera (*gezixi*/歌仔戲)⁹⁹ and puppet drama. These forms could represent Taiwanese traditional culture, but had seen a sharp decline in their audience numbers. In addition, up until 1990, people usually assumed that the concert hall was the proper and appropriate setting for musical performance. Those groups who performed in concert halls were admired for the artistic value of their outstanding traditional musical presentations. This transition from rural outdoor performance to urban indoor staged presentation undoubtedly marked a significant change for *beiguan* opera's roles and functions.

The instruments of *beiguan* opera, like those of other traditional Chinese music, tend to lack strong bass frequencies. The music strongly features *sorna* and percussion to extend the range and conduction of musical resonance in open spaces. In short, the high volume and treble frequencies of traditional *beiguan* instrumentation render the concert hall an inappropriate setting for *beiguan* performance. Moreover, the various kinds of *beiguan* music are inseparable from their theatrical structures and

⁹⁹ According to Chang 'Taiwanese opera is widely recognized as a "theatre of Taiwaneseeness"; and is considered as the embodiment of Taiwanese history and tradition because the political identity crisis of Taiwan shaped its development' (1997: 111-112).

traditional instrumental repertoire: *Hi-khek* (*xiqu* 戲曲) opera. They are sometimes presented in a purely musical concert form, excluding play-acting, in some clubs, but the lack of dramatisation can sometimes render the meanings behind the music somewhat unclear. Learning to overcome those problems that occur in modern concert settings, without losing the meanings and functions of their traditional styles will be an important task for *beiguan* amateur communities as they struggle to maintain their existence as meaningful artistic entities within modern Taiwanese society.



Figure 30. A grand ceremony for the birthday of the *Yongjing* temple's Lord God *Fuyoudijun* [孚佑帝君] in May, 08, 2009, pictures from:

<http://tw.myblog.yahoo.com/aken1117-1065/archive?l=f&id=30> [accessed Jan. 01, 2010].

4.4 The Conversion from Religious to Secular Roles

If it can be said that music is borne by human emotion and life events, then it follows that different forms and styles of music reflect different social forms and functions, such as music for religious services or for secular public events. When people convert from traditional modes of belief to more individual and modern approaches to contemporary urban life, the values of traditional music also embody significant distinctions according to the belief systems reflected in the musical structures (Feld, 1990: 5-9).

In the past, traditional music and religious ceremony could not meaningfully be

separated. One could not be performed without the other. Under such a scheme, the celebration also provided a platform for sustaining and maintaining both musical and social harmonies. According to Reily, through musical performance, religious discourse and aesthetic experience become inextricably intertwined, inducing participants to experience the ritual space as an encounter with the moral order of the sacred. In such an enchanted world, participants construct and simultaneously experience the harmonious order that could reign in their society, if only their natural laws were not being systematically violated (2002: 17).

Due to commonly held beliefs, former adversaries became co-operators and collaborate in ceremonial preparation, as a team of local chiefs, to worship and show respect to their god. *Beiguan* activities provided a means of creating and sustaining networks, a 'ritual sphere' [祭祀圈] of mutual support within hostile environments as mentioned in chapter two (see 2.1). However, modern people do not emphasise faith and participation in their belief systems as much as was previously the case. Over time, social activities and religious events have gradually become separated, while formerly there were many more musical activities surrounding religion and customs. Featherstone describes the relationship between religion and society as follows:

The progressive demise of the influences of religion in social life, which can be related to the processes of industrialization, rationalization, urbanization and social differentiation, has been held by some to have provoked a peculiarly modern crisis of meaning or crisis in the effectiveness of the social bond, which could only be adequately allayed through the creation or emergence of some new meaning complex or *morale*

[...] for some the dissipation of religion into numerous quasi-religious and non-religious meaning complexes which supply individuals with the knowledge to help them cope with the intractable existential questions of ultimate meaning, the sacred, birth, death, sexuality and so on has merely rendered religion invisible (Featherstone 2007: 110).

Nowadays, social activities are dominated by a wide range of issues, such as personal entertainment, education, political activities, etc., Religious activities are considered as simply one option amongst this range of activities. Traditional music finds itself relatively diminished in importance due to the restriction of its available fields of performance. This is due to the relative lack of such religious ceremonies in modern Taiwanese urban settings.

As a result, the performance of traditional music is not only impacted by modernisation and urbanisation, but also by the reduced numbers of participants. As

religious faith becomes a markedly less potent social force, many turn to another form of faith to involve themselves in society, for example civil religion (Wallace, 1977: 287-390). The ideology of nationalism was introduced into ordinary routine life by the KMT government, creating national heroes such as Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yat-sen. For example, each classroom or administrative office had to hang Sun Yat-sen's picture on the front wall and Chiang Kai-shek in the back. The national anthem was also sung every morning and at every special occasion, even in the cinema. According to Lindaman and Ward: '[creating national heroes] encouraged a veritable state religion, worshiping the flag and multiplying the national holidays and commemorative monuments [...] A patriotic ideology was created' (2004: 150). According to the policy, the other purpose of music was serving those celebrations as patriotic songs, to build authority as a totalitarian State during the period of Martial Law (1949-1987).

Beiguan's sanctified tradition was changing in urban areas. During this period, some policies, for example unified religious ceremony (see 2.3), have also caused some of the formerly regular rites to be cancelled. This includes the regular galas, which marked every 1th and 15th days of the lunar month. Only the major celebrations remain, such as the patron deity's birthday, or the annual ritual ceremonies. A field of performance deficient in sacred space gradually transformed *beiguan's* sanctified tradition into simply an aspect of popular culture as it sought to adapt itself to modernity. In addition, these processes have resulted in changes in both performance practises and repertoire content. Ceremonial *beiguan* music is now widely used, for example *Pâi-tsí* (*paizil* 牌子) and *Hîân-á-phóo* (*xianzipu* 絃仔譜) material in *zhentou* [陣頭] as the deity parade and the ritual music as *Taoism*. As stated previously, *beiguan* has gradually undergone processes of professionalisation in urban areas.

In the *beiguan* cultural circle, there is a strong emphasis on respect and admiration for their patron deities: 'Marshal Tian Du' (Marshal of Celestial Capital, 田都元帥, Figure 31) and 'Lord of the Western *Qin*' (西秦王爺, Figure 32). Along with the shift from religious uses of *beiguan* to the more pragmatic and secular roles, attitudes and settings adopted by urban clubs which have de-emphasised their ceremonial functions, this secularisation has also brought about changes in the identities of *beiguan* amateur communities. The connection between *beiguan* amateur communities will reduce the interaction between groups while lacks identity with the same ritual sphere.



Figure 31. 'Marshal Tian Du' [田都元帥]
Source: <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw>[accessed Jan. 05. 2010]



Figure 32. 'Lord of the Western *Qin*' [西秦王爺]
Source: <http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw>[accessed Jan. 05. 2010]

Conclusions

Around 1921, the *beiguan* opera performance had been through the first reformation under the stimulus of mainland China's professional *Beijing opera* troupe. During 1960-1990, many changes happened to the entirely *beiguan* culture on its supporting system, political purpose, education, technology development, new types of entertainment industry. Furthermore, society's behaviour changed, due to the modernisation which changed the whole social structure. Those changes shook the important status of *beiguan* clubs into a recreational business. Moreover, *beiguan* opera became a hidden subculture, found only in folk clubs and regarded as inelegant, non-elite music and activity.

Western education and modernisation became the founding principles; thus traditional Chinese arts served to promote political opposition to the PRC's Cultural Revolution. Taiwanese authorities positioned themselves internationally as keepers of Chinese tradition, revealing cultural policy as 'pay attention to Chinese traditional culture, pass over local culture, bound up in refined (elite) culture, and neglect the popular culture' [重中原, 輕本土, 重精緻, 輕常民] until 1993 (Su 2001: 64). For this reason, it seemed to make a distinction between upper and middle class, and between western classical and traditional arts.

The changes of society caused a lot of changes to traditional art forms and clubs.

The education system is under the influence of westernisation; urban development compresses the music practice space; the move towards concert hall performance changes the performing style and the music is separated from the opera, becoming an entity in and of itself.

When the identity was changed by reducing in ritual activity, the *beiguan* amateur communities reduced their interaction with each other, as the bond of previous brotherhood was lessened due to communities' disconnection with each other. In contemporary Taiwan, *beiguan* amateur communities have tended to lose some of their former cohesiveness, due not only to the increased social alienation brought about by urbanisation, but also because of the decreasing distances between rural and urban areas, brought about by urban spread and the availability of transport options. In particular, due to the shortfall in support from temple organisations, *beiguan* amateur communities have adapted to survive by adopting various forms of club models, often lacking the formerly powerful social and personal bonds, as society's time is increasingly occupied by their busy urban daily lives.

Chapter 5

Community Identity Crisis? (1990-Present)

In the 1990s the Taiwanese economy moved from light industry to high-tech enterprise, embracing international business and creative industries. There is a common saying that describes the changes of Taiwan's economic structure during those decades: 'cheap toy to high tech'. From 1999 onwards, Taiwan is notable for expanding globalisation. According to Wang and Yu, Taiwanese society moved towards forming a new economy, known as the post-industrial era: 'manufacturing, industrial society turned into a sort of services-producing and information industrial society [...] wage increases and job opportunities in the services-producing industry generated far more than manufacturing industry' (2009: 302-303, 307-308). Each of these changes took place within a dynamic relationship, official social policy in its own manner changing the entire social structure.

On the other side, students started to join demonstrations in the street. More and more people wanted freedoms, such as the lifting of the Martial Law, the abolition of unreasonable laws¹⁰⁰ and the end of National Assembly seats (as protection for the Period of Communist Rebellion Law, where the elected Congress members occupied the seats from 1947 to 1991). As a result, more different ethnic backgrounds had the right to make their statements; Taiwanese society began moving toward democratisation and freedom. The Taiwan *bentuhua* movements (localisation, nativisation, Taiwanisation) started to be considered in policy making followed by

¹⁰⁰ For example: intended rebellion (*yi tu pan luan*/意圖叛亂) and the Termination of the Period of Communist Rebellion (*zhong zhi dong yuan kan luan shi qi*/終止動員戡亂時期).

several big events: constitutional revision, and Taiwan Governor and mayors (Direct-controlled municipality, Taipei and Kaohsiung in 1994, 台北高雄直轄市) were elected, the direct election for the President in 1966 (Lee Teng-hui) and the organisational reform as ‘Reinventing Taiwan Provincial Government’ [精省制度] in 1998 (Li Xiaofeng, Dai Baocun: 2005-2006). Taiwan finally was regarded as a democratic country by the Freedom House:

Taiwan’s transition to democracy began in 1987, when the KMT ended 38 years of martial law. In 1988, Lee Teng-hui became the first Taiwanese-born president, breaking the mainland émigrés’ stranglehold on politics. The media were liberalized and opposition political parties legalized in 1989. Lee oversaw Taiwan’s first full multiparty legislative elections in 1991–92 and won the first direct presidential election in 1996 (2012)¹⁰¹.

As stated in the previous chapter, the generation gap in *beiguan*’s community is still a big issue, although social awareness and government policy addressed the Taiwanese *bentuhua* movement in this era. Senior members are getting old or passing away, which causes a big loss of the tradition’s transmission. Moreover, *beiguan* community identity issues are gradually becoming increasingly apparent due to various changes in musical elements, such as the fading out of *beiguan*’s traditional community functions. When we deal with this issue, we have to ask whether those changes present opportunities or a crisis with regard to the sustaining of Taiwanese traditional music. The identity crisis is engendered in a combination of social effects, including the diminishing importance of religious faith, a loss of community cohesion and sense of belonging, which has meant that traditional music is no longer generally regarded as having the same status as it held previously.

I will engage in observing the actual operation of contemporary *beiguan* music and attempt to discover the meanings behind the communities. This is to gain a deeper awareness of the musical forms which could be attained, in addition to gaining a deeper understanding of the ways in which they are different to more purely traditional forms. By comparing results from actual *beiguan* music activities, those aspects will be of value in locating the social position setting for *beiguan* community. The identity crisis is due to reductions in the strength of the sense of belonging between community members and their clubs. This chapter continues to look at the

¹⁰¹ Freedom house organisation, 2012 report: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2012/taiwan#.U8wAaPldWSp> [accessed May. 12. 2014]

changes of social structure after 1990. Those changes and new values directly or indirectly influence the status of traditional music; *beiguan* amateur communities have to make some modifications in order to fit in with the new rules or trends. Community members adapt to life in today's multi-cultural society, with its abundance of competing sensory stimuli. The characteristics of these changes will be discussed in the following paragraphs and more details about different kinds of changes which are happening in the *beiguan* culture will be provided.

5.1 Identity Crisis in Taiwanese Society: Taiwanisation or De-sinification?

After 1990, Taiwanese society started to advocate localisation. President Lee Tenghui [李登輝] succeeded Chiang Ching-kuo's KMT regime from 1988 to 1996 after Chiang's death in 1988. He also won the first legitimate public presidential election (1996-2000) rather than being elected by the members of the National Assembly [國大代表] (who had never been replaced from 1947-1991).

Lee made several constitution amendments and tried to localise the KMT party when he was in office. He also faced the reality of Taiwan's isolated status on the international scene using a special state-to-state relationship [兩國論]. He made statements and promoted Taiwanisation to put forward the image of an independent country with a new regime, economy and political status which was different to China. His actions caused a huge tension on Taiwan's relationship with China. Some people called him the 'father of Taiwan's democracy', while some called him the traitor of KMT and Taiwan, because they disagreed with his statements on independence. No matter what people thought of his efforts, Taiwan finally began to consider her own history and values; society was finally becoming aware of cultural differences, ethnic equality and their independent position.

The localisation movement was launched in various ways (such as, education system, policymaking and social activities). In 2000, Taiwan went through a peaceful transfer of power from the KMT party to the Democratic Progressive Party (hereafter referred to DPP), which was founded in 1986 as an opposition party who emphasised the importance of Taiwan identity, Taiwanese independence and equal rights.¹⁰² In order to keep the democratic system, in 2004, there was an 'UN for TAIWAN, Peace

¹⁰² Meanwhile, the KMT still held the 'One China Policy' with their 'One China Two Systems' statement as ROC governmental regime.

Forever’ social movement. This took place throughout Taiwan as 2.3 million people walked hand-in-hand in protest of China’s threat of force with weapons.

More and more opposition parties were established following an amendment to the Assembly and Parade Law [集會遊行法]. Each political party held different views on Taiwanese national identity and insisted on different fundamental principles regarding the independence and sovereignty of Taiwan. The KMT recognises the ROC regime which contains mainland China, while the DPP advocates independence and forming a democratic country. These two main political parties hold different concepts of the nation of Taiwan (until now). This diversion causes disorder and confusion on the issue of Taiwanese identities and national ideologies (Chen Kuan-hsing, 2006: 55).

a. Ambiguous National Identity

The early regime of the Qing dynasty and their imperial system had estranged people from their country. From 1895 to 1945, the state was controlled by the Japanese colonists, the relationship between the state and people being that of the oppressor and oppressed. Although Taiwan came back to the Han regime after 1945, the relationship was still one of managers and subordinates under the national dictatorship. Thus, in Taiwan, the KMT government played the role of ‘ruler’ rather than using a democratic notion of the ‘social contract’. Due to these different governing experiences, however, Taiwan has its independent political system, a population of 23 million, its own individual currency, and is essentially an independent nation (Li Xiaofeng, Dai Baocun: 2005-2006). Taiwanese people still suffer from the identity issue and repeated threats from China (e.g. the name ‘Taiwan’ cannot be used in international events, the name ‘China Taipei’ has to be used instead). Besides, there is still a big internal identity problem caused by different political parties (the textbook started to put Taiwanese history material into the formal history course in 2006).

The lecturer Dai Baocun, says that he used to ask his first year undergraduates several questions when he first lectured them. For example, he asks ‘where is the capital of ROC’ and, surprisingly, he often got five completely different answers: some people answered Beijing, Peking (formerly known as capital of the ROC), Nanjing (the capital was moved to Nanjing during the anti-Japanese war), Taipei or the answer ‘not sure’. Then, continuing to ask about the population, he says the results can range from numbers like 23 million to 1.3 billion. This reflects the fact that, due

to political factors, the education system still does not provide a coherent or unified picture of Taiwanese society. To be honest, I myself was at a loss on this issue until I came to the UK and had the opportunity to research and think about my own identity and sense of belonging. The more I participated in the different lectures, I started to realise that I am not Chinese. We are different from each other, although my education was all about Chinese culture. It is a shame that I am more familiar with Chinese culture, history, geography than I am with Taiwan, because the education policy, the ideology and mainstream culture formed this societal outlook. Taiwan experienced a variety of regimes and none of them gave Taiwan its own identity. The Japanese colonial government taught Japan's history and language; the mainland nationalist taught China's (until 2006). They all used their external regime (and their nationalism) to intervene in the education system which made the Taiwanese people act as 'being Japanese or Chinese'. Therefore, the subject of Taiwan is always ignored in the education system, national identity has also tended to be biased as a result, students confused about their nationality and belonging.

b. Taiwanisation Movement and Cultural Policymaking

Against this history, rebuilding a sense of hybrid identity and creating the new collective memory becomes the new subject, and in my opinion, the Taiwanese should focus on their multiculturalism. They might do this by using different perspectives and attitudes to deal with the divergences, for example, tracing back family history is one of many ways to think about this; since the society is based on patriarchy, the mother's native culture is easy to ignore, especially now that there are more and more global marriages. The government has now started to pay attention to these affairs, which could represent the Taiwanese culture.

De-sinification is the first thing that the DPP government (2000) put their effort into, they wanted the elimination of Chinese influence and emphasised the Taiwanese independence, sovereignty and local identity. Therefore, some advocates of Taiwanisation initiated the activities of de-sinification such as: the removal of the influence of Chiang's family (De-Chiang-ization or De-Chiang Kai-shek, 去蔣化), diminishing Chinese nationalism [去除中國民族主義], de-party-state system [去黨國化], the Name Rectification Campaign [臺灣正名運動] and Taiwanese independence movement [台獨運動] etc.,. Meanwhile the KMT promoted indigenisation (localisation). Although both of them tended to endorse Taiwanisation, the KMT use of terms is more tactful and indirect than the DPP's emboldened and radical language. Those attitudes affected policy making, especially cultural policy.

According to Chang Biyu:

Hence, a broadly-defined ‘cultural policy’ is not limited to cultural events, arts funding, arts education or cultural schemes, but also includes language policy, education policy, cultural movements and social policy that can create, as outcomes of such policy, cultural meaning [...] For example, policies that: change national holidays, street and town names, add the word ‘Taiwan’ to passport covers, change how the census is recorded (2004: 2, 13).

Cultural policymaking complied with Taiwanisation by promoting Taiwanese traditional matters, art forms, activities and all kind of cultural affairs. These will be discussed with more details in the section on Culture Policy (see 6.4).

5.2 Taiwanisation: Changes in *Beiguan* Cultural Ecology

The ecology of *beiguan* may be directly changed by government intervention in the traditional ecology. The *Beiguan* Experimental Orchestra [北管實驗樂團]¹⁰³, founded by the Changhua County Cultural Affairs Bureau [彰化縣文化局], is a new form of *beiguan* community (see also Figure 5. Different kinds of *beiguan* communities in Taiwan). The character of this *beiguan* orchestra is different from the traditional amateur club (although some of the members are recruited from the amateur clubs). Their purpose is promoting the dying culture of *beiguan* through government agency. Compared with the traditional amateur club, they perform at temple festivals for their supported temple. When this new kind of state-supported orchestra is set up due to the ‘good’ intentions of government (in the preservation aspect), it also involves a certain purpose to serve for the governmental policy (see also 6.2). However, when the government tries to preserve endangered traditions, it is important to question what kind of changes will happen to the traditional music ecology. Will the music again become a kind of tool of the state machine while the ideology of Taiwanisation emphasises the new national identity? For a tradition to be preserved it will require endorsement from a local cultural bureau in this modern society.

The *beiguan* ecology may also be indirectly changed by policy implementation, for example, national awards such as the ‘Heritage Award’ [薪傳獎] and ‘Important

¹⁰³ See also footnote 95.

Traditional Artists Transmission Projects' [重要民族藝師], these represent a standardised version of *beiguan* which are then transmitted to the nation. In fact, the changing tradition happens to those selected artists who are unarguably teaching their own regional musical styles rather than presenting a generalised customary interpretation of *beiguan*. This causes the *beiguan* ecology to be standardised since they are asked to teach nationwide, for example, a *beiguan* musician Chiu Huorong [邱火榮] won the 'Heritage Award' in 1989, since then, he has been asked to deliver *beiguan* lessons throughout Taiwan. At first, some amateur club members disagreed with his music style, though it was close to the *Beijing opera*'s style when I did my field work during 2001 to 2003. In *beiguan* terms, they used to say it sounds *guākang* (*waijiang*/外江) style.

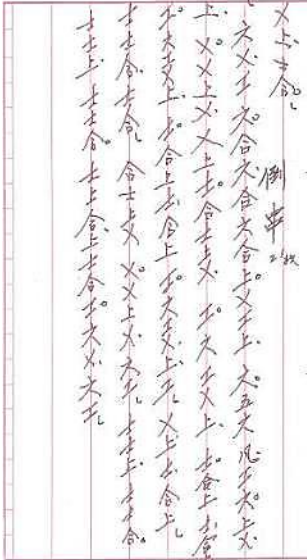


It is the embellishments in *beiguan* and related musical styles that are most effective in separating and creating the differences between those styles. For example, *Beijing opera* widely uses portamento as its ornamentation (Table 16). In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001), Stowell defines Portamento as follows: 'a specific strings effect, and is achieved by keeping the string depressed against the fingerboard while sliding up the string'.¹⁰⁴ The skill is similar to the description, although there is no fingerboard on the *jinghu* (京胡) instrument. In contrast, the most popular skill in playing the grace notes in traditional *beiguan opera* involves rapidly breaking the passing notes (Table 17) rather than 'carrying the sound from note to note smoothly and without any break' (Harris, 2001)¹⁰⁵.

However, the situation seems to have changed; since 2006, I have always heard quite similar music styles and ornamentation skills from south to north in the national galas, especially Chiu's version (according to him, he was quite busy during those few years). Those government agencies can offer useful learning models to other *beiguan* amateur communities through their support of *beiguan* workshops or sessions, publication of *beiguan* manuscripts, reference books, *beiguan* mentor's biographies, and scholarly surveys. Those changes are leading to a new outlook on the traditional *beiguan* art form.

¹⁰⁴ Source from: New Grove Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/public/:jsessionid_=DF1CF626E288A4E42ABC73D4BE8C3614 [accessed: July. 21.2015].

¹⁰⁵ Source from: Ibid.

Table 14. Different method of embellishments of *Zhaochuan* [棹串] *Hian-a-phoo* (*Xianzipu*/絃仔譜) tune (2000.11 fieldwork)

<p><i>Zhaochuan</i> [棹串] manuscript</p> 	<p>Portamento</p> 	<p>Rapidly breaking the passing notes</p> 
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Source from: Yeh Meijing

Source from: the teaching material from TNUA

Table 15. *Zhaochuan* [棹串]: Original manuscript

Zhaochuan [棹串]

Beiguan *Hian-a-phoo* (*Xianzipu*/絃仔譜) Piece
Silk and Bamboo Ensemblepiece

Libretto by Yeh Meijing (葉美景 傳譜)
Shih Yingpin transcription (施穎彬 打譜)



[Omit the rest of piece...]

Table 16. *Zhaochuan* [棹串]: Portamento

Zhaochuan [棹串]

Beiguan Hian-a-phoo (Xianzipu/絃仔譜) Piece
Silk and Bamboo Ensemblepiece

Zhan Wenzan (詹文讚 傳譜)
Shih Yingpin transcription (施穎彬 打譜)

[Omit the rest of piece...]

Table 17 *Zhaochuan* [棹串]: Rapidly breaking the passing notes

Zhaochuan [棹串]

Beiguan Hian-a-phoo (Xianzipu/絃仔譜) Piece
Silk and Bamboo Ensemblepiece

Zhan Wenzan (詹文讚 傳譜)
Shih Yingpin transcription (施穎彬 打譜)

[Omit the rest of piece...]

Moreover, due to the lack of practice spaces in densely populated urban areas, government agencies organise the music clubs into cultural centres or district office buildings. They then employ their chosen outstanding artists to teach their state funded and approved versions of traditional *beiguan* music. These new types of music clubs generally charge lower registration fees than other music courses. Members will

have no interaction except for their two-hour music lessons. I conducted my fieldwork of this kind of club in Taipei Zhongshan Hall [中山堂]. The *beiguan* musician Zhan Wenzan [詹文讚] is in charge of *beiguan* transmission session at the group since 1998 (see also 7.2; Figure 41).

According to him, there are some members from the professional *beiguan zhentou* [陣頭] who attend temple festivals to make money, since some temples are not able to afford the fees or the expense of a whole *beiguan* club nowadays, especially in urban areas. They tend to hire the professional *zhentou* [陣頭] for their festival parading processions. In fact, it was a taboo to a *beiguan* teacher to teach the *beiguan* music to a professional musician, because of its violation of the *zidi* spirit. Each *zidi* has their own club and bonding temple. They could help their clubs for the temple festivals called *kau-pôe* (*jiaopeil* 交陪), but they were not allowed to betray their club to learn from others (see also 2.1). Some of members learn *beiguan* because they want to find a new recreational habit in their ordinary life. Few of them had heard about this music when they were young, and they want to learn this tradition (interviews in July 2008, May 2011 and August 2015).

Without the meaningful religious bonds (e.g. membership of a troupe for parade in temple festivals), these new music clubs seem unable to incarnate the traditional *beiguan* spirit. In the modern world, the process of ‘learning’ (with increasing standardisation and efficient methodologies) is usually simplified, as music teachers who teach from written transcriptions replace the oral transmission methods.

In the past, club members always stuck together after their work and listened to the music ensembles until they were familiar with them, before learning their own instrumental part. According to the national treasure (*guobaoyiren*/國寶藝人), who won the award of ‘Folk Art Heritage Award’ [薪傳獎], Yeh Meijing [葉美景] (1905-2002): ‘Before teachers started to teach the instruments, pupils needed to listen for several years (2-3 years) to the entire repertoire which their *beiguan* community played. During this time, they could only play simple percussion instruments, such as gongs or cymbals, until they were sufficiently familiar with the melodies’ (interview: October 31 2001). This process is similar to those reported amongst Venda, Ibo, Ewe, Sierra Leone, Cochiti and Inuit musicians, who accumulate songs by ear and by a process of imitation, a pair of good ears are very important (Merriam, 1964: 149-150).

At present, *beiguan* music is no longer a major part of ordinary life; it has become entertainment, a leisure activity occupying only a small proportion of

members' time each week. Those changes happened throughout *beiguan* ecology and raised some questions: does this kind of *beiguan* club present the music's original features? Traditional *beiguan* community members are proud to be categorised into the ' *beiguan* people' group (*beiguanren*, see also 2.1); does the same sense of belonging and pride also apply on these new types of music club members? If they do have this sense of pride, what kinds of different identities can be discerned between them and the traditional *beiguan* community members? There is no certain answer for those questions or the issue of whether or not these changes should be resisted, after all, the tradition continuously changes.

However, those changes which happened in Taiwanese society were not simply due to political intervention, there were complex influences in play. Globalisation caused people to gradually develop different ways of thinking and reflecting on social changes. This section discusses the internal factors of the Taiwanese identity crisis; the next section will stretch the view into the global perspective and review the external environment which may cause shifts in Taiwanese identity.

5.3 The Development of Globalisation to Glocalisation

Development of technology promotes mass media and cultural communication; and also changes social practice, in various aspects, away from tradition. Previously, folk theatre and music was disseminated by the theatrical troupes touring the country. Advances in technology have improved our lives, mass media spreading popular culture across the world. When we trace the route of popular culture dissemination, from folk music's oral traditions to the period of Taiwanese opera on radio and the television enactments of Taiwanese puppet drama and popular music, mass media plays a crucially important role in changing our way of sharing different cultures. The report of the 'project Sustainable Futures for Music Cultures' from Queensland Conservatorium Research Centre reveals the impacts of the globalisation as:

With the developments in migration, travel, and technology over the past fifty years, musical diversity has simultaneously come to our ears and under threat. Almost anywhere in the world, music from myriad backgrounds is accessible live or through recordings.

But at the same time, many 'small musics' are in danger. We live in an era when much music—in the words of the leading ethnomusicologist Tony Seeger—is actively 'being disappeared' with globalisation. These changes go well beyond the dynamics of musical styles and genres emerging and disappearing organically as a result of changes in society. This phenomenon is now causing a substantial reduction in the diversity of music across the

world.¹⁰⁶

Popular media transmits identical information to the city and to rural areas, which diverts public attention from traditional affairs. Public education policy also increases literacy rates, lessening the differential between urban and rural areas. For traditional cultures such as *beiguan* amateur clubs or Taiwanese opera troupes, consideration must be given to their market-orientation. This is important to sustain these clubs in present society, unless they have self-funding support for maintenance.

Sometimes, traditional activities are also mixed into political activities to serve local strategies. Giving attention in domestic events to global issues distracts people from the traditional concerns of life (Shils, 1981: 244-248). Mass media plays a dominant role in globalisation. The cultural hegemony of the mass media also made a tremendous impact on culture and identity. Globalisation brought popular culture and an abundance of productions from western cultures, such as pop music and Hollywood films. These gradually become the main recreational habits in people's ordinary lives. Traditional activities, for example *beiguan* clubs, were much less commonplace; globalisation changed local beliefs and cultural values. Concerts replaced the traditional *beiguan* gala. Young people celebrated the big western events (e.g. count down to the New Year, Christmas party or Valentine's Day) instead of the annual religious ceremonies in Taiwan. This cannot be blamed entirely on Hollywood, although it had made a significantly influence to people's behaviour. Giddens points out the impact of globalisation:

Globalization is not the same as the development of a 'world system', and it is not just 'out there' — to do with very large-scale influences. It is also an 'in here' phenomenon, directly bound up with the circumstances of local life (1994: 80-81).

On the other hand, while our borders and boundaries are dictated less and less by geographical constraints; cultural shifts and differences still exist. Appadurai uses the concept of 'deterritorialization' to illustrate this situation: 'loosening of the holds between people, wealth, and territories fundamentally alters the basis of cultural reproduction' (1991b: 49). It is very common to see the effort that traditional clubs put into new thing into their programmes (by the new thing, it means they might

¹⁰⁶ Source from International Music Council website, Sustainable Futures for Music Cultures programme, <http://www.imc-cim.org/programme/development-and-music/120-uncategorised/296-sustainable-futures-for-music-cultures.html> [accessed: Mar. 10 2014].

combine or transfer something from another culture's form). For example, *beiguan* opera used to be played in a temple square or the courtyard. Nowadays, they prefer to play in an indoor theatre with fancy spotlights, amplified sound, spectacular stage set and fantastic props similar to the concept of western theatre (Figure 33).



Figure 33. *Hanyang beiguan* theatre troupe [漢陽北管劇團]

played *beiguan* opera in the Dadaocheng theatre, Taipei (2012/08/18 and 19)

Source from: <http://cloud.culture.tw/frontsite/guide/autListSearchAction.do?method=viewAutDetail&iscancel=true&columnId=2&subMenuId=302&siteId=101> [accessed: 05/07/2015].

Time-space compression means people spend less time on the traveling around the world; new technologies for communication make global synchronisation possible. However, according to Harvey, this increased convenience may cause some problems: ‘Time-space compression is a sign of the intensity of forces at work at this nexus of contradiction and it may well be that crises of over accumulation as well as crises in cultural and political forms are powerfully connected to such forces’ (1990: 258). In fact, geographical boundaries were fading out due to multiculturalism, which not only stimulated the economic outlook, it also gave rise to disputes on the issues of ethnic groups, religious activities, cultural matters and political forms etc. The homogenising tendency of globalisation shaped the world towards the ‘particularisation of the universal’ (Robertson, 1992: 177).

In general, the main problem of globalisation, according to Appadurai, is the tension between homogenisation and heterogenisation. Indeed, if globalisation brings homogenization around the world, the issue of displaying local character and spirit will become more and more important. It is also the main reason which made Taiwanese people rethink their own culture and look back to the *beiguan* tradition.

Heterogenisation is the way to develop each local characteristic and present diverse culture to postmodern society. Under the postmodern perspective of

glocalisation, people pay more attention to multicultural development. If globalisation refers to ‘particularisation of the universal’, then, glocalisation is more like ‘universalisation of the particular’ (Robertson, 1998: 28). To describe ‘the twofold process of the particularisation of the universal and the universalisation of the particular’ (1992: 177-78), Robertson uses the example of the global market:

To considerable extent micromarketing – or, in the more comprehensive phrase, glocalisation – involves the construction of increasingly differentiated consumers, the “invention” of “consumer traditions” of which tourism, arguable the biggest “industry” of the contemporary world is undoubtedly the most clear-cut example (1995: 29).

Robertson proceeds to an extensive discussion and application in practice after introducing the concept of glocalisation, then also provides another option between globalisation and glocalisation. In addition, Giddens provides another reflection on the effects of globalisation; his concern is that modernisation raised the globalisation and equalised the process of ‘reverse colonialism’ from the economic perspective, especially regarding culture.

This refers to the non-western culture effect on the west, for example, ‘the Latinising of Los Angeles, the emergence of a globally-oriented high-tech sector in India, or the selling of Brazilian TV programmes to Portugal’ (2000: 34-35). This modernisation caused people to rethink influences on globalisation. In order to recognise this completely new world, there are many perspectives generated such as refashioning modernism and reconstruction of post-colonialism. Some consider that postmodernism was a response to modernism as they are based on the same movement.

5.4 Social Changes in the Structure of *Beiguan* Community: Postmodernism

Traditionally, *beiguan* community members carried the responsibility and duty for performing the traditional religious services. This is in contrast with the present situation, in which some of them tend to regard themselves as no different from members of clubs concerned with other kinds of musical activities. This scenario presents two quite dissimilar ideologies and identities regarding club cohesion: religious functions and secular recreational functions. Stokes provides further elaboration:

In our own technologised and industrialised existence, the ritual forms of music have become peripheralised, and the rest, social dances, bar sessions,

concert attendance, listening to a new CD at home in the evening or the radio during the day fit into gaps created by work, or at least, the working day (1994: 2-3).

Relationships amongst *beiguan* community members are often felt to be as close as brotherhood, creating a lifelong friendship. This kind of loyalty to their group and peer affiliation means that community members both help and rely on each other. Ritual and musical events also reinforce the cohesion of the community, so that community members help each other in the busy farming season, at weddings, funerals, and even in contests with other clubs. When the community identity is changed by removing those rituals, the *beiguan* amateur communities reduce their interaction with each other.

Looking at the cultural context reveals the different developments and shaping of the new identity form. For example, the attitude to learning in the *zidi* (amateur musician) in urban areas has changed; from entertaining gods and the public to making money as a commercial enterprise nowadays. The repertoires which they use for their performances are almost always the easier suites, such as *Fengrusong* [風入松], *Yijiangfeng* [壹江風], *Zhaotianzi* [朝天子], *Putianle* [普天樂], *Fanzhuma* [番竹馬] and *Dabanzhu* [大班祝], regardless of the occasion. For example, the piece *Fengrusong* [風入松] is usually used for war scenes, it is not auspicious at all, but today, no matter whether it is for a deity parade or funeral ceremony, this tune is always played by the commercial groups (interview with Wang Yangyi, February 2006).

This seems to present a common worldwide phenomenon: Stokes' example is taken from his own musical experience, presenting music as a part of modern life in a remote Anglican choir school in Herefordshire. Stokes illustrates how ceremony in modern society is gradually becoming increasingly marginalised:

Music often seems to do little more than fill a silence left by something else. And yet the social and cultural worlds that have been shaped by modernity (that is to say, the industrial-capitalist order, the nation-state, and secular rationalism) would be hard to imagine without music (1994: 3).

When the ritual meaning is removed, becomes hidden, or disappears from the music itself, the meanings of the music are recreated and reformed along new contours. This situation is similar to that of the urban, or newly formed, *beiguan* communities; they are no longer so closely involved with local events and ceremonies, and thus the core, functional, identities of *beiguan* amateur communities have

changed significantly after 1960.

However, regarding post-1970s generations in Taiwanese society, most young people did not pay full attention to work or making money, as their parents were. They tended to put more care into their living standards and enhancing their quality of life instead. These changes in values may suggest society gradually moved into postmodernism. Taiwanese society was influenced strongly by this postmodern atmosphere after 1987; society was more open and information was far less restricted after the lifting of Martial Law. Jameson places the onset of this period in the third stage of capitalism, which was dominated by cultural hegemony, or logic involving mass media, to form the complex structures including 'late consumer', or 'multinational'. This led to the transformation of aesthetic standards and identities in contemporary society (1984:125).

Beiguan music thus provides a perfect paradigm to illustrate these social processes. This is because it was previously unacceptable to mainstream culture, having been considered as a manifestation of popular folk culture and therefore representing a non-elite way of life. Reviewing Featherstone's statement on postmodernism, it helps us to understand the reason society changes as 'a break or rupture with the modern which is defined in counter distinction to it [...] more strongly based on a negation of the modern, a perceived abandonment, break with or shift away' (2007: 3). The idea of postmodernism refers to a movement away from the concept of modernity (see also Introduction: 4.4). Baldick describes the spirit of this era thus:

Postmodernity is said to be a culture of fragmentary sensations, eclectic nostalgia, disposable simulacra, and promiscuous superficiality, in which the traditionally valued qualities of depth, coherence, meaning, originality, and authenticity are evacuated or dissolved amid the random swirl of empty signals (2001: 201).

Based on this concept, culture in the postmodern period would change as rapidly as the fickle finger of facetious fashion, which represents superficial culture and a temporary preference. As a result, the boundaries between art and ordinary life are gradually dispelled. For example, a breaking down of distinctions between elite cultures and popular cultures effectively represents a split within the hierarchy and offers equal respect to a variety of opinions and lifestyles, regardless of any previously perceived differences. Featherstone summarises the characteristics of modernity, which he presents as the consumer culture perspective: First, the 'hierarchical distinction between high and mass/popular culture' is gradually falling

away; second, people indulge in the ‘eclecticism’ and the ‘mixing of codes’ as ‘a stylistic promiscuity’; third, people celebrate ‘the surface “depthlessness” of culture’ which makes popular ‘the parody, pastiche, irony, playfulness’ work; fourth, the character of original creativity is reduction; fifth, ‘the assumption that art can only be repetition’ (2007:7).

Hence, ‘culture’ plays a crucial role in postmodernism, the ‘depthlessness of culture’ highlights the importance of popular culture. Jameson summarises this view: ‘everything in social life can be said to have become cultural’ (1984: 87). Under postmodernism, culture derives a different extension of meaning from the previous concept. The use of ‘cultural’ activities, for example the cultural and creative industries illustrate the versatile nature of a wide range of businesses. Here, the cultural industries refer to the concept of producing a large number of homogenised, superficial, popular commodities to meet fashion and popular taste. The products (entitled with culture) provide a conspicuous consumption, which are manipulated by the culture industry. Thus, this lack of personal subjectivity and individual creative production dominates culture. No matter how the development of postmodernism progresses, it offers a new way of lifestyle to deal with the differences, which have led many young people to oppose the traditional conceptions of ‘real estate, real wealth’ [有土斯有財]. From this perspective, it leads us to reconsider the identity issue: how do modern Taiwanese people define and value their leisure time, how do they differentiate their work and leisure times, what kind of attitudes reflect their true beliefs regarding *beiguan* music activities. Several of these questions will be clarified in the following paragraphs.

The new generation has changed their ways of thinking, focussing on achievements in their careers and on creating a life for themselves, which emphasises values beyond the necessities of earning money for mere survival. People have increasingly recognised that the need for human dignity is just as important as their life quality and have developed a sense of spirituality to inform a meaningful and fulfilling life. From elite culture to popular culture, the boundaries of culture and leisure not only extend to existing recreational forms, but are also developing some significant changes, especially centring attention on specific lifestyles and individual style. This kind of focus on fashion and personal appearance manifested a process of individualisation and provoked nostalgia for past times to achieve that individuality.

Young people regard their leisure highly: because of this, leisure desires also meet the fundamental spirit of postmodernism, as ‘leisure is not merely an activity

engaged in during free time, but rather a way of being, a philosophy about living, and above all a particular state of mind' (Cordes 2013: 6). When people are seeking spiritual satisfaction, these leisure activities help people to cultivate their creativity and self-determination, to expand their relationships between other people and between different areas of life, to enhance their physical and mental health, as well as promoting the development of some habits. Those activities not only satisfy the psychological needs of human beings, satisfying the aesthetic senses, but also bring the process of creation into our lives, beautifying our environment and enriching our life experiences.¹⁰⁷

According to Wang Zhenhuan and Qu Haiyuan, there are different focuses and purposes in leisure activities (their textbook is widely used at sociology department in Taiwanese university). In Chinese culture, leisure activities are associated with the promotion of good physical and mental health, for example the importance of a healthily balanced diet in the form of Chinese cuisine, meditation and Tai-Chi. In contrast, the leisure requirement of most Westerners is to thoroughly liberate themselves from their work routine, in pursuit of happiness and spiritual freedom (2009: 306).

Differing preferences result in differing choices of activity. In postmodern society, the public would like to open their mind and embrace these differences. Multiculturalism brings a new option: *beiguan* opera, and its music, as one of society's traditional affairs, is seeing a resurgence. However, the constitution of modern society is different to the immigrant or colonial period, and *beiguan* culture must change identity to adapt to continuing change.

As long as leisure is a pervasive concept across society, it is also deeply relevant to different cultures. Piper states 'Culture depends for its very existence on leisure and in its turn is not possible unless it has a durable and consequently living link with culture, with divine worship' (1964: xix). As he explains, leisure is a freedom choice, which coexists with people's ordinary lives. For example, as *beiguan* opera presents a part of Taiwanese culture and spirit, it has a deep association with religion. It still survives in folk clubs, although it was suppressed in the past few decades. These new trends (e.g. postmodernism), and new cultural policy, such as Taiwanisation, may

¹⁰⁷ 'Leisure is a phenomenon that is peculiar to humans and that can be viewed as residual time, as particular activities, or as a state of mind. Recreation is an active/participative way to experience leisure' (Cordes 2013:11).

bring people back to tradition and rebuild a new relationship with *beiguan* clubs.

As mentioned earlier, when *beiguan* music is separated from its theatre performance it becomes a new style of music club. It is possible it might develop into a new modern urban music style of club, with members spending two hours per week at the club. It may still carry on the traditional *beiguan* cultural spirit, as a big family. Those changes will also shape the new community identity to their members, in both new and old club styles, and might modify their understanding of community with the previous 'old *beiguan* cultural spirit'. The *beiguan* amateur community went through a difficult time after WWII, from an endangered culture, to being the main traditional art form. In the next chapter I will continue the discussion of preservation and development issues, and discover the relationship between tradition and innovation for the new perspective and development.

Conclusions

From 1960 onwards, social development went through different stages of policymaking and culture trends, away from tradition and embracing western and Chinese culture. However, there was a new wave of Taiwanese awareness from top to bottom. The government diminished Chinese nationalism (de-sinification) and encouraged the *bentuhua* movement (Taiwanisation) to enhance the Taiwanese image. It is therefore important to trace back the traditional roots of its localisation and identity. This chapter continues the discussion on the changes in society from 1990 and shows an identity shift from the previous society.

To be proud of a *beiguan zidi* (member of *beiguan* community), this kind of *zidi* spirit is gradually lost in the urban music clubs. Associating globalisation with 'deterritorialisation' and glocalisation with 'reterritorialisation' (see 5.3), the sense of *beiguan* identity is increasing since the changes of social structure and functions have begun. It became the main concern of both government and the *beiguan* community to help both the traditional and new style clubs to relocate their position to fit into modern society.

Part III

Preservation and Innovation Issues

The discussion of how *beiguan* opera formed and developed in the first part of this thesis and the social changes that took place in the second part, reveals the nature of *beiguan*'s hybridity since it took root in Taiwan. The concepts of tradition and authenticity (which I discussed in Introduction: 3) help to clarify the position and lay down guidelines for preservation and innovation issues. The first lesson of ethnomusicology conducts a series of discussions about why we should study different people's music. Is music performance our main research focus? If the music itself is not the focus, what kind of subject should we pay attention to, what is the core value, and why? The discussion ultimately ends with a debate on multiculturalism, which advocates equal respect for diversity as the spirit of postmodernism. The importance of culture is that 'shapes the specific cultural identity' of certain people who share the same heritage. Traditional music can be seen as a tool of culture with its characteristics of cultural inheritance and performance. Therefore, different ethnic groups generate different types of music according to their unique cultural character. Those differences are important in shaping identity. Those differences also allow individuals, under the influence of groups, to generate their own sense of belonging and common identity.

Under this conception, it is interesting to observe the circumstances of *beiguan* amateur communities who have always been proud to announce their 'orthodox tradition' and 'traditional transmission' in order to keep their reputation and maintain activities in public (see 1.2). The subject of authenticity is not only crucial for understanding what the real *beiguan* spirit is (see 2.1), but it will also help my

analysis of traditional and cultural carriers. By looking at cultural contexts, we can understand the ordinary life of a society. For example, sad tunes such as *Longing for Spring Breeze* [望春風], *Waiting for Your Earlier Return* [望你早歸] and *crying tunes* in Taiwanese Opera (*gezixi kutiao* 歌仔戲哭調) were very popular during the Japanese colonial era up to the early stage of KMT government rule, when people were looking for a bright future and expressing their gloominess at being considered inferior citizens (Lin, 2000: 157-160). Music allows people to express those emotions, specific values and cultural spirit through times of suffering. Without studies of cultural context, the study of the music is like deskwork, the notes which make a song lack a link between the identity of their audience, musicians and community members.

Therefore, the main concern of this third part will focus on the practical issues of transmission and the maintenance of tradition in order to further develop the issues that have been discussed thus far. Reviewing the cultural preservation policies and how these policies were implemented, can show us the profound implications, substantial benefits and heritage transmission issues that the *beiguan* amateur communities faced. In the context of globalisation, it is important to rebuild and maintain identities through this local, traditional music form on the international stage. By observing all kinds of traditional or innovative *beiguan* opera and other musical activities it becomes necessary to consider the ways of sustaining traditional music in the contemporary society. Another aspect concerns how to influence this process by promoting this tradition in Taiwanese business (e.g. cultural and creative industries). For example, we can consider the impact of the film 'Cape No. 7' [海角七號] which presented traditional music to the public through the character old Mao [茂伯]. This stimulated local tourism by depicting local scenes and introducing *beiguan* music to younger generations when old Mao became popular (Tsai, 2008).¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Source from: Tsai, Chengia wordpress blog, <https://cgtsai.wordpress.com/2008/10/10/國慶大典中茂伯的出場曲/> [accessed: May. 10 2015].

Chapter 6

Maintaining Tradition

This chapter centres upon discovering and considering the way people transmit their traditional music from generation to generation, and the way external impacts such as political issues forced adjustments to traditional paths. The dilemma of cultural development lies in the identity issues in contemporary Taiwan. Because of political interventions in traditional culture, the KMT government integrated the Taiwanese culture into the Chinese culture and ignored their different cultural characteristics. As a result, it caused confusion around the concept of identity. Therefore, Chen Chinan suggests that using the same historical memory and sense of identity which is based on Taiwanese culture diminishes the opposition between different ethnic groups and political status (2006: 30-33, 47).

The government should regard the public as a priority in cultural policymaking and advocate the concept of 'cultural citizenship', which concerns equality and differences. According to Rosaldo: 'Cultural citizenship refers to the right to be different and to belong in a participatory democratic sense' (1994: 402). Participation in different kinds of art forms in the public area can build a respect for differences and help create an inclusive multicultural society (Chen Chinan, 2006: 38).

6.1 What is Authenticity?

Authenticity is a way for a community to distinguish and make claims about their traditions, which they insist are the 'real' or inventive traditions. My intention here is not to debate what constitutes 'real' or non-real tradition. Rather, it is designed to help other researchers who may wish to make an in-depth study of the different perspectives on culture, or understand events beyond the club, ethnic group or society communities who claim a particular tradition. They may wish to study, for example,

the identity and social position of a club, community cohesion, what makes certain clubs different to others, or the way people can use the power of manipulation to gain political standing. This then is the problem of ‘authenticity’: a club normally claims their authenticity by referring to their tradition, but how can we make sense of the ‘authenticity’ discussion if traditions are always changing? This is a meaningful matter for every traditional *beiguan* club because they tend to emphasise their ‘authenticity’.

An example of when we might need to manage all different interpretations of ‘authenticity’ is in a museum. The social function of museums is to exhibit and display their arrangements to deliver a certain cultural image and ideology. Museums present simulated situations to impress their visitors and to bring them into imaginary historical scenarios. Essentially, it is similar to traditional music in that it needs to present a ‘sense of authenticity’ to the audience; it brings people into imagined contact with an ancient yet civilised atmosphere through its special musical heritage (the most important aim is to make the audience feel it is real). Stokes points out:

We should see ‘authenticity’ as a discursive trope of great persuasive power. It focuses a way of talking about music, a way of saying to outsiders and insiders alike ‘this is what is really significant about this music’ [...] ‘this is the music that makes us different from other people’ (1994:7).

The aim of providing different experiential aspects of authenticity to both audiences and performers leads them to experience an ‘ambience of authenticity’. There is an interesting case about a set of ancient instruments which happened in China; some musicians have tried to use them when playing ancient music pieces. This set of chimes from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng [曾侯乙編鐘] (around 400 B.C., the Warring States period of ancient China, as Figure 34), was excavated in Suixian [隨縣], Hubei Province [湖北省] in 1978. It is a complete set of 65 chimes, including 195 components, within eight groups, arranged according to size and pitch. The pitch range is from C (64.8 Hz) to d4 (2329.1 Hz), presenting a heptachord, (Wang Zichu, 2003: 193-206). Although not much evidence for music scores or performance guidelines exists for this instrument, this absence has not prevented people from attempting to rediscover their ancient sound.

The question is now raised; what kind of attitude should an audience hold to appreciate this ‘reappearing’ ancient music which is being played with some modern techniques and aesthetics interpretations? This situation is as though we hold several fragments of a past authenticity (rather than a full set of music theory and

instrumental system), however, due to the lack of certain important references we cannot reproduce this lost music or ancient methods. Because of this, the only way to represent the ancient soundscape is to compare the uncovered elements with consistent data from ancient books and archaeological literature or discoveries (Figure 35).

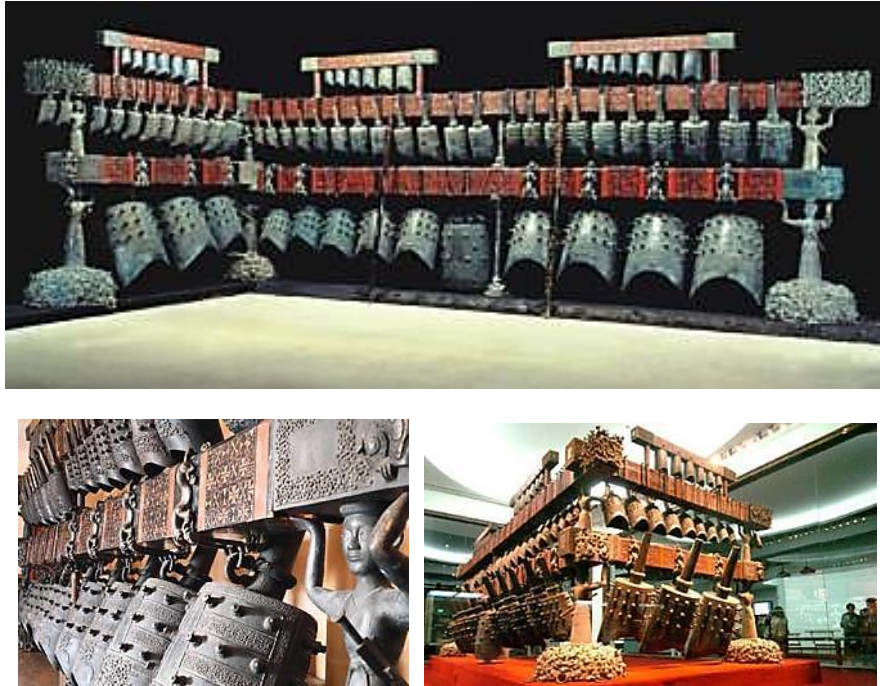


Figure 34. The set of chimes from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng [曾侯乙編鐘]
Source from: <http://www.hbww.org/service.jsp?classid=50> [accessed: 05/06/2013].



Figure 35. New representation of the ancient musical soundscape
Source from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n-AXFstmSBU> [accessed: 05/06/2013].

Some further questions arise: what evidence is there to support the tonality that musicians choose to play in? There is an abundance of ancient music theories for research; how many pitches were originally played on the chimes? According to

musicology research, it could be played with twelve semitones of the chromatic scale, and each bell could produce two accurate tones¹⁰⁹ (Figure 36). In the case of this set of ancient musical instruments; there are two to four performances each day, which depends on seasonal demands in the present time (at the Hubei Provincial museum).

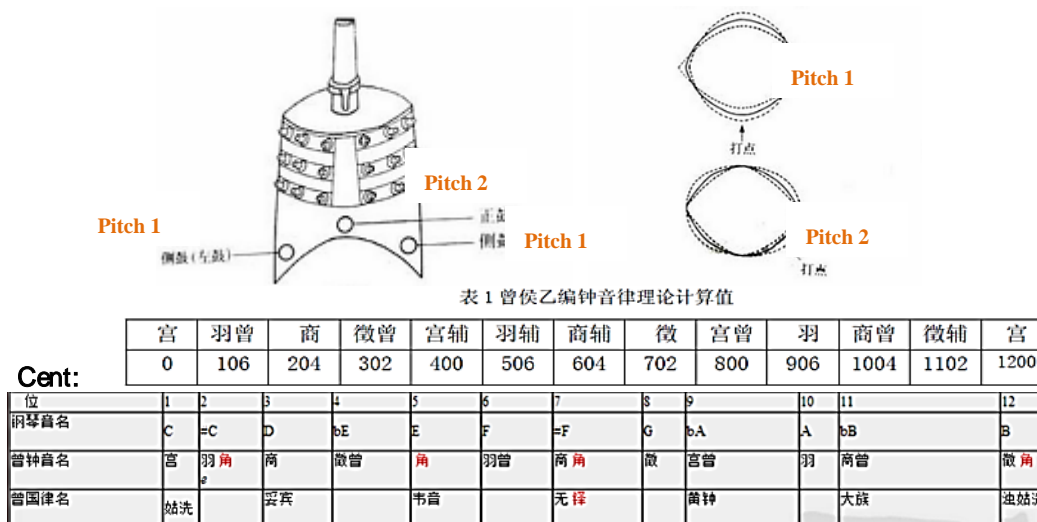


Figure 36. The tonality of the set of chimes from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng [曾侯乙編鐘] Sourcefrom: <http://www.hbww.org/wwwdetail.jsp> [accessed: 05/06/2013].

All these questions point to one crucial and fundamental issue: what level of authenticity do the audience expect to see and how do the performers attempt to deliver their ideology? However, the Taiwanese ‘National Centre for Traditional Arts’ [國立傳統藝術中心], through the ‘Council for Cultural Affairs’ [文化建設委員會], bought a set of ‘duplicates’ as well as the original set from Hubei Provincial Museum in 1997. Later on, in 2011, the Taipei Chinese Orchestra [台北市立國樂團] organised a performance training programme for the set of chimes from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng, in an attempt to transmit this ancient simulacra to the next generation (Figure 37).¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ ‘It is found through acoustical tests that such a system of two tones is due to it’s the form of combination of bells. While the front side of a bell is knocked, the amplitude of vibration of the back side is zero; and while the back side is knocked, the amplitude of the front side is zero. In this way, two tones can exist in one body without disturbance to each other.’ (Source from: <http://www.hbww.org> [accessed: 07/06/2013])

¹¹⁰ Source from: Taipei Chinese Orchestra website <http://www.tco.taipei.gov.tw> [accessed: 05/06/2013].



Figure 37. A performance training programme organised by Taipei Chinese Orchestra
 Source from: <http://www.tco.taipei.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=160204&ctNode=16884&mp=119041>
 [accessed: 05/06/2013].

To explore ‘authenticity’ in this regard it is useful to mention Baudrillard’s postmodern discourse: simulacra and simulation for further explanation. Baudrillard posits the simulacra as a kind of representative reality surrounding our ordinary life, which is replaced by the mode of reproduction making a ‘super real’, rather than an actual event, called the hyperreal. He took the concept of a “map” to explain this process. Logically speaking, a map should refer to the actual geographical territory that it depicts or to which it refers. Assuming the real territory no longer exists, we could only use historical knowledge to ‘reconstruct’ a map referring to that former territory. Then, ‘Simulation is no longer that of a territory, a referential being, or a substance. It is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal [...] It is no longer a question of imitation, nor duplication, nor even parody. It is a question of substituting the signs of the real for the real’ (Baudrillard 1994:1-2).

Using the example of these ancient instruments, the process of reconstruction from the archaeological discoveries (including the restructuring of the instruments and the purchase of the reproduction sets) was required to run the training programme. The aim of the program was to pick up the lost tradition through various specific purposes and subjects. As we do not fully understand the original model, a new form has been created from the traditional one, this is similar to Baudrillard’s conception of the hyperreal, his Disneyland world example (see also Introduction: 4.4). Is it appropriate to discuss authenticity in examples such as this where people have tried very hard to present the audience with an imagined historical scenario, even though it is partially based on genuine evidence, which lends the hyperreal a more realistic basis.

Similarly to the situation that occurs in *beiguan* eco-system nowadays, when

each club emphasises its specific 'authenticity' as 'real *beiguan* tradition', at the same time, they may try to persuade their audience to enjoy in the, so-called, 'traditional world' with them. This kind of experience also allows people to share the same identity and the ideology of traditional culture.

6.2 The Vanishing Boundary between Tradition and Modernity

The discussion above reminds the commentators or musicians that they should be very careful when they consider a tradition and its authenticity. A new invention coated in traditional imagery may help us understand the meaning behind the whole structure, its cultural context and its identity. Newly invented traditions could be presented and transmitted as reality for hundreds of years. For example, consider Trevor-Roper's discussion of the Scottish kilt as a symbol of invented tradition and its focal role as an identifying element of the Highland Tradition of Scotland during the eighteenth century (Hobsbawm 2000:15-41). Hobsbawm expresses a variety of different views regarding this invented tradition: 'Traditions which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented' and Hobsbawm uses the term, 'invention of tradition', the main factor of which is 'factitious':

'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past (1983: 1-2).

The invented tradition reminds us that it is necessary to verify traditional culture, whether or not it is formed under political pressure. We must also consider community's identity when commentators or musicians discuss traditional issues and their cultural context. It is also important to deal with subsequent developments and their intention and purpose, since traditional music tends to be influenced by its immediate environment. Many ethnomusicologists have already given up on trying to divide the 'tradition' and 'modern' binary assumptions in order to accurately perceive our world. According to Rice: 'they have, instead, become completely engaged with the mixing, hybridisation, and syncretism of musical forms [which] has reached unprecedented proportions with the capitalist penetration of world and local markets, and the commodification of labor and social relationships' (2014: 99).

In the case of *beiguan* music, there is a musical reconstructive programme initiated by the 'Changhua County Cultural Affairs Bureau' [彰化縣文化局]. They investigated the operation of other traditional *beiguan* clubs and referenced relevant

information for promoting and transmitting *beiguan* music to support their ‘*Beiguan* Experimental Orchestra’ [北管實驗樂團] plan in 1996 (see also 5.2).¹¹¹

This kind of orchestra has a traceable source. It is a new type of *beiguan* community under modern management, it has seen changes to its original ecology such as function, intention as religious service, and providing entertainment to people, and it is made in the spirit of the postmodern era. However, this case is unlike the example of the Taipei Chinese Orchestra: the ‘Marquis Yi of Zeng chime sets performance training programme’ builds on an imaginary source, without an original module. By inventing a missing tradition, it is consistent with Baudrillard’s simulacra.

Nevertheless, *beiguan* orchestra is a different case: it still has a ‘new tradition’ form; with traditional music mixed with the Western style of training method (e.g. music theory explanation). This includes setting their stage both outdoors and indoors, reporting half-yearly on their activities and their achievements and holding a semi-annual performance. Despite this, they assert that they have adopted the ‘traditional way’ (fieldwork interview with Wang Yangyi, April 2005).

In short, change is a part of musical tradition. If changes are inevitable then our main goal should be to see through the meaning behind its cultural context and the community operations. In this context, any change to a traditional music genre can become a crucial issue when it is reconceptualised to represent the music. To illustrate this; *beiguan* was originally intended to serve religion, but now it is primarily a form of recreation, therefore it has been reconceptualised and the meaning and performance style have changed around urban and some rural areas. Because of these interlinked, complex effects, the discourse on the changes of tradition, the authenticity of tradition, or the acceptance of invented tradition will never be straight forward or simple.

In the next section, I will emphasize the cultural preservation to the policymaking aspect in order to evaluate the impact on the *beiguan* community and its eco-system.

¹¹¹ Source from: Changhua County Cultural Affairs Bureau website, <http://www.bocach.gov.tw/subject/drama/welcome.asp> [accessed: Sep.18.2015].

6.3 The Reason for Cultural Preservation

The awareness of preservation issues in traditional music has become an increasingly important issue in Taiwan since the ‘folksong collection movement’ [民歌採集運動] in the 1966. The ‘folksong collection movement’ was organised by two musicology professors, Hsu Changhui and Shi Weilian, who studied in Europe and inspired to reconstruct Chinese music and theory from researching Chinese/Taiwanese music by Bartock and Wang Guangqi, during 1966 to 1978. At the same time, Chiu Kunliang [邱坤良] encouraged the university’s students to participate in the playing of traditional opera from 1974 to the 1980s. The Taiwanese traditional music department¹¹² was established in 1995 by Lu Chuikuan [呂鍾寬]. These activities were mostly organised by scholars who had the sense of Taiwanese awareness or by official authorities that supported the survey of endangered cultures.

The main reasons that *beiguan* amateur communities and government attempted to preserve this traditional music are best summarised as follows: first, the new global cultures have tended to narrow down the market for traditional music as the public are often distracted by new trends and fashions. Therefore, it is rare to see people in their thirties to fifties in the *beiguan* amateur communities nowadays, since there was a considerable gap between the 1970s to the 1990s (according to Chiu, this gap began with 1950s, however, there was a *beiguan* revival since the KMT took over the power from Japanese government in 1960s). This generation tends to have less enthusiasm to join and learn *beiguan* music.

There is also a gap as many musicians and actors are getting older. In fact, there

¹¹² ‘The Department of Traditional Music was founded in 1995 to serve the needs of heritage, scholarship, development and education of traditional music in Taiwan. The Department offers undergraduate and graduate (M.A. and M.F.A.) programs. The undergraduate studies have a four-year curriculum in which students may choose to major in Chhin (Qin), Phi-pha (Pipa), Lâm-koán (Nanguan), Pak-koán (*Beiguan*) or Music Theory... The programs of the Department of Traditional Music aim to breed the spirit of versatility associated with traditional musicians while simultaneously coordinating this with modern and professional musical educational training. Students learn those instrumental techniques associated with their majors as well as theories and other related instruments or styles. In order to cultivate artists who have a profound understanding, significant skills of traditional music culture and have a broad vision, all students are required to study history and theory of traditional music, western music and Asian music. Founded in 2007, the Traditional Music Master’s Program focuses on the major traditional music cultures of Taiwan and integrates ideology of internationalization and modernization. It aims to deepen and strengthen skills and knowledge for traditional music and research in order to nurture qualified performers, researchers and educators for traditional music.’ Source from: TNUA School of Music Department of Traditional Music’s website, <http://trd-music.tnua.edu.tw/en/about/a.html> [accessed Mar.10.2014]

were concerns that *beiguan* opera might die out when the older performers passed away. Therefore, there has been concern for the future growth of *beiguan*. For example, the youngest teacher, who taught us *beiguan* music, was in his 70s when I studied at university; the oldest was 98 years old.¹¹³ During my four years of undergraduate and three years of graduate studies (2001.09-2008.06), there were five teachers who passed away and there were still many plays which we did not have the chance to learn from them by that time.

Second, the *beiguan zidi* [子弟] spirit¹¹⁴ and community identity in the traditional amateur clubs is slowly becoming a less significant part of people's lives. The enthusiasm for *beiguan* activities is gradually becoming replaced by other social activities. The change of social structure is also transforming *beiguan* opera from its previous religious function into a new set of values (e.g. changing outdoor stage performance into concert styles as a recreational event, and separating the music from its religious origins). This also means that *beiguan* performers are losing their original audiences and need to face the new challenges and compete with other kinds of art forms such as *Beijing opera*, Taiwanese opera, western orchestras, opera and any other types of theatre or dance (see also 5.4).

Furthermore, the current economic situation has resulted in many *beiguan* amateur communities losing their members. People tend not to attend *beiguan* activities as a religious duty, instead they often participate for financial gain, especially in urban settings. For example, temples cannot afford to spend money to support a *beiguan* club. As an alternative, they turn to hiring some professional *beiguan* music troupes for their temple festivals (see also 4.3 and 5.4). In this case, the quality of performances cannot be relied on, because the performers may learn simple pieces of *Pâi-tsú* (*paizi*/牌子: percussion and wind ensemble) in a short time (in about three or four months). They can then earn between £10-20 per hour in the temple festival parade (see also 4.2 and 5.4). For these reasons, the preservation issue, in these two decades, becomes more important.

¹¹³ 'Members of the faculty are renowned scholars and musicians. In addition, the Department has recruited many experienced and outstanding folk artists to teach the younger generation about traditional music. These musicians, coming from various locations around Taiwan, wholeheartedly pass their heritage onto the students.' Source from: TNUA School of Music Department of Traditional Music's website, <http://trd-music.tnua.edu.tw/en/about/a.html> [accessed Mar.10.2014]

¹¹⁴ The *beiguan zidi* [子弟] spirit refers to creating and fostering a strong community identity.

Beiguan Opera: An Intangible Cultural Heritage

Cultural preservation is an important issue for ordinary people; preservation issues reformed the Taiwanese identity and protected declining cultures. Another reason that *beiguan* opera was regarded as important was because the concept of cultural heritage (from Living National Treasures, Ningen Kokuhō, in 50s' Japan) was gradually established and promoted by several UNESCO conventions. UNESCO's aim is to develop and preserve cultural heritages, which is similar to other cultural policymaking considerations worldwide. For example, the case of the Vietnamese vocal chamber music genre *ca tru*, the knowledge of this tradition was endangered in the late 80s. In 2005, it was nominated by the UNESCO as the case of urgent safeguarding of its musical masterpiece, as the result 'most of the 21 identified "master-artists" (17 singers and four instrumentalists) are aged in their 80s and 90s' (Grant, 2012: 35).

The preservation has to rely on governmental policymaking and self-supporting folk groups because of the political difficulty caused by Taiwan's international status, forced by China. This status does not allow Taiwan to participate in the activities of the United Nations since Taiwan is not one of its members. However, the former director of the culture bureau, Lung Yingtai [龍應台], suggested that:

Cultural heritage is beyond ideology and political isolation issues, therefore, we should look to the cross-strait cooperation projects to register our Taiwanese traditional art form to UNESCO [e.g. *beiguan* and other eleven art forms which are qualified to meet the UNESCO's ICH standard], in order to avoid the obstruction of Taiwan's international status¹¹⁵.

Whatever happens, the government should play a crucial position in its attitude towards traditional affairs. There are two *beiguan* clubs selected by the centre government bureau in 2009 as having ICH status: these were the *Lichunyuan beiguan* music club [梨春園北管樂團] and the *Hanyang beiguan* theatre troupe [漢陽北管劇團]. Organisations such as UNESCO inevitably influence the Taiwanese government; although the initial intention of the Taiwanese government is to promote the development of cultural industries (cultural tourism) in order to find a new strategy for dealing with the economic downturn by learning the experience of other countries. For example, the successful case of the Cultural heritage happens in Dayan Town in

¹¹⁵ Source from: BBC Zhongwen, 12 Dec 2013, http://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/trad/china/2013/12/131212_tw_worldheritage_byyansiqi [accessed: Oct.10.2015].

Lijiang since this town was selected as UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage site in 1997 and their Naxi music is regarded as the ICH. The incomes from the tourist industry is gradually increasing every year (Rees, 2000: 34).

In general, it could be argued that ICH is very different from the material cultural heritage. In the part of material cultural heritage, there are many ways to measure or trace historical development using physical evidence such as historical artefacts and architecture. On the other hand, ICH can be more challenging than protecting natural surroundings. It does not merely depend on artefacts or physical objects. According to the 'Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage' (2003), ICH is:

...the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage [...] is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.¹¹⁶

Preserving and promoting ICH is not only important for representing rare subjects, or for discovering ancient wisdoms; but also a compound of each individual culture which people live with. We should not only consider historical background, but also artistic quality, the form of performances, and the artistic skills needed to make a play or music interesting, and thus engage audiences. The object of ICH could be selected by some specific criteria, which are considered valuable, and worth preserving; therefore, it needs to pay more attention to the qualification approval system for the object. For instance, the aboriginal Taiwanese singer Difang Duana (1921-2002), Chinese name Kuo Ying-nan [郭英男], was invited to perform the 'Elders' Drinking Song' of Amis [阿美族/老人飲酒歌] by the World Cultures Institute [Maison des cultures du monde] in Paris, 1988. This tune became popular because the tune was mixed into Enigma's international hit song 'Return to Innocence' in 1993 and was used in the opening ceremony for the Atlanta Olympics in 1996.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ UNESCO website, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00006> [accessed Mar. 10, 2013].

¹¹⁷ It caused a serial suit for violation of copyright after the summer Atlanta Olympics by using this music archive. For further information: 'Trafficking Taiwan Aboriginal Voices' (Guy 2002: 195-206).

How could this single aboriginal tune be noticed and popular? Is it because of the singer's special voice, specific singing methods, the beautiful melody and lyrics, or even the culture itself? Based on this case, several questions reveal the essential problems when scholars or governments promote a certain kind of culture to the public. The project of preserving and promoting ICH should depend on the knowledge and understanding of the art form as well as basic skills for the performance and having contact with different music clubs. It is thus important to distinguish the features of different art forms.

In Taiwanese opera, it is not easy to identify the advantages and distinctive aesthetic elements and features of an art form if one does not engage with it. On the other hand, it is often easier for uninformed audiences to notice the faults in performances such as a singer's voice, pitch, the style of costumes, or the actor's movements because the audience has a universal understanding of how these things should look and sound according to their shared universal aesthetic. In order to maintain levels of preservation and regard it as an ICH, it is necessary to consider aesthetic values, re-assess the purpose of preservation and the process of cultural transmission.

This is particularly the case when the government attempts to implement particular policies. However, when the government becomes involved and offers some support, performances and musicians play a crucial role for each group with their techniques. The system the government uses to identify who is the most qualified musician or club is very vague and often based on personal connections or fame. In the case of Taiwanese opera previously mentioned, it is somewhat difficult to make audiences like outdoor stage performances when they are more used to appreciating fine art performances on indoor stages. Those audiences may consider outdoor performers too casual and some of them may think that outdoor performances are inferior.

In contrast, some audiences prefer to see performances which are skillfully improvised, which interact and engage with the audiences and this only happens on the outdoor stage (according to fieldwork note, interview with the audiences in Dalongdong Baosheng cultural festival, 23 May 2002). Therefore, the authorities need to have a team of experts who can participate and become more involved in traditional music ecology; who understand the implicit values and are able to introduce traditional culture to the public carefully when a planned cultural policy is implemented.

6.4 Cultural Policy

As discussed in previous chapters, culture policy is usually used to manipulate the behaviour of people or transplant a new ideology to the public, which can leave a bad impression on the Taiwanese people. The first important thing the KMT government did when it came to Taiwan was to promote Chinese culture, convert the Taiwanese back to ethnic Han (culture) and get rid of the influences of the Japanese. One of the most influential cultural policies was ‘Mandarin-only’ [說國語運動]. Pupils were not allowed to speak Taiwanese, Japanese or any dialect in the school. In this case, the government motivated people through patriotic sentiment: if people do not use the same language, then national unity will be impacted [語言不統一，影響民族團結]. They argued that to speak Chinese was to be patriotic, therefore they banned other dialects and foreign films in the cinema. This law gradually highlighted which people supported the government (KMT) by speaking Mandarin and those who argued against the government by speaking their own dialect (this attitude is still present in people who are against the KMT, and who wish to show their support of nativisation). This situation lasted until 1987 when the government abolished the Martial Law [解嚴]. After this, the movement of Taiwanese nativisation started to bring some diverse dialects back to people through the education system.

The abolition of Martial Law also gave freedom and democracy to people, as they now had freedom of speech and organisation after the KMT were in power [蔣氏政權]. Lee Teng-hui [李登輝] was the first Taiwan-born president and during this time, the economy and industrial circumstances were developing very well. However, changes are inevitable, and they always influence cultural development patterns and implementation plans. In the past two decades, all government departments put effort into the concept of de-sinicization [去中國化] by promoting Taiwanese traditional affairs and activities.

Through music and opera, for example *beiguan*, *nanguan*, and *Taiwanese opera*, the image of local culture could be transferred gently and smoothly. The new policies support the idea of national identity for the Taiwanese individual being distinct from that of Mainland Chinese citizens. This enhances the independent image of Taiwan to the world, and consolidates the people’s identity as a whole (as this, to see 5.1). This approach can emphasise the current ideology and demonstrate to Taiwanese their individual status. Nevertheless, without emphasising this political status Taiwanese traditional music could still be suppressed under the ideology of the ‘great-China’ [大中國主義] according to the policy strategy of KMT before 1990.

This description might seem like a sweeping judgement of the intentions of government. However, nativisation was a bottom-up process, rather than a top-down, enforced process. Also, the effect of globalisation influences local identity issues (see 5.2 and 5.3). However, in Taiwan's case, cultural policy and national ideologies shift between two political parties, KMT and DPP (2000-2008 minority government), since they hold opposing positions on the Taiwanese independence.

The Taiwanisation movement facilitated Taiwan's awareness of its own culture and allowed for the rebuilding of a sense of identity. The changes of government's attitude directly influenced their policymaking and made them pay attention to traditional art forms. Since *beiguan*, *nanguan* and Taiwanese opera were regarded the most traditional and represented the localisation culture, there were a lot of concerns and promotions by scholars and participants of folk clubs. The government always plays a leading role in manipulating the development of the mainstream, often through promotion of certain types of musical styles such as western music or Chinese orchestra. This helps them shape their political image (see 4.2).

a. Different Priorities and Agendas

There were two very different strategies of cultural policy which changed governmental attitude to developing and managing Taiwan. The first one was a top-down, central authority method used as a propaganda tool before 1990, while the second one changed to a cohesive Taiwanese identity ideology by constructing and practicing 'cultural citizenship'. Cultural policies and art activities had been distorted by the influence of the 'Chinese Culture Renaissance Movement' in the early days of Taiwanese society, for example, *Peking* opera 'was employed to advance—the Nationalists' dominated ideology of mainland recovery' (Guy, 2005: 5). The missions of art affairs were usually set by the 'National Security Bureau' (Ministry of National Defense), the 'Social Education Department' (Ministry of Education) and the Government Information Office for political propaganda purposes.

The cultural rights of citizenship have been paid increasing attention by the government since 1990, because they wanted to adjust people's perceptions of cultural policy associated with governmental propaganda or image manipulation. Therefore, the cultural policies are modifying and enhancing the more neutral notions of cultural citizenship and identity construction. The supported methods changed from providing funding for all kind of 'fine arts' to broadly promoting a wide range of cultural and creative industries, community empowerment development and local

autonomy. These aim to create an environment for all the citizens which reflects the progress of democratisation and civil society (Chen Chinan, 2004: 97).

b. The Process of Policymaking: from A Central to Local Authorities

The government was transformed, culturally, by the Confucian orthodoxy era (the traditional concept of cultural policy, up to 1966). The ‘Chinese Culture Renaissance Movement’ against the PRC’s Cultural Revolution policy (1966-1976), the establishment of local cultural centre (1967-1981) and the constitution of the ‘Council for Cultural Affairs’ (1981-1990). In traditional affairs, the government has intervened since the advent of the Taiwanese nativisation movement: ‘return to the native culture’ [回歸鄉土]. Since 1977, Chiang Ching-kuo [蔣經國] promoted the policy of cultural development in his ‘Twelve Development Projects’ [十二項建設] and by 1990, there were local cultural centres in each county and city in Taiwan. There have been a considerable number of government-funded projects based on initiatives and policies designed to enhance musical culture in Taiwan (Wang Yingfen, 2003: 106-109; Su Chau-ying 2001: 45-76). The following are some the main programmes.

The ‘Plan to Reinforce Cultural and Recreational Activities’ [加強文化及育樂活動方案] began in 1979. This project, belonged to the Executive Yuan [行政院] (Ibid.). The government attempted to enhance the preservation and endorsement of all kinds of arts. The aim of this project was to establish a wide ranging and comprehensive system of cultural affairs, such as setting up a specific council for cultural affairs; national cultural awards and foundations; conducting arts festivals; drafting revision of copyright; implementing the ‘Cultural Heritage Preservation Law’; encouraging the transmission of any kind of art form and constructing cultural centres for cultural activity and promotion. It was also the first official project to investigate folk art, including *beiguan* and *nanguan* music research. Cultural matters started to be undertaken by the government, but with much less government propaganda used in the initiative. Cultural policy also turned increasingly towards localisation and decentralisation into the new plan to reform of cultural institutions.

The government also added the promotion and preservation of its traditional music and heritage programmes into the mission of national policy. The relevant policies are shown in the following table:

Table 18. Traditional music and heritage promoting programmes

Time	Project ¹¹⁸	The Government Ministry
1979	'Plan to Promote Artistic Education' [推行文藝教育活動方案]	The Ministry of Education [教育部]
1981	Setting up a cultural bureau: 'Council for Cultural Affairs' [文化建設委員會] ¹¹⁹	The Ministry of Education [教育部]
1982	Making the 'Cultural Heritage Preservation Law' [文化資產保存法] Holding 'Culture and Arts Festival' [文藝季] reformulated into the 'National Festival of Culture and Arts' [全國文藝季]	The Ministry of Education [教育部] The 'Council for Cultural Affairs' [文建會]
1996	Promoting 'the Traditional Arts Preservation project' [民間藝術保存計畫]	Preparatory Office, 'The National Taiwanese Craft Research Institute' [國立傳統藝術中心籌備處]
2005	'Draft Revision of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Law' [新修文化資產保存法]	The 'Council for Cultural Affairs' [文建會]

The primary-level of cultural development was gradually completed, whether the 'hardware' part as buildings, activity centres, museums, or 'software' part as preservation programmes. Since 1994, the new cultural policy called 'twelve cultural development projects' was divided into three categories: reinforcing cultural activities and facilities in the local cultural bureau, administering community empowerment and preserving and developing cultural heritage (traditional and modern arts). The details are in the following table:

Table 19. Details of twelve cultural development projects

Reinforcing cultural activities and facilities in the local cultural bureau [加強縣市文化活動與設施]	Administering community empowerment development [加強鄉鎮及社區文化發展]	Preserving and developing cultural heritage (tradition and modern arts) [文化資產保存與發展]
Local cultural bureau expansion project [縣市文化中心擴展計畫] (hardware)	Development of community cultural activities projects [社區文化活動發展計畫] (software)	Promoting 'the Traditional Arts Preservation Project' [民間藝術保存傳習計畫] (software)
Assistant set up the local cultural museum and enrich cultural objects/relics collection plan [輔導縣/市主題展示館之設立及文物館藏充實計畫] (soft and hardware)	Assistant improve the local traditional space and building plan [輔導美化地方傳統文化建築空間計畫] (soft and hardware)	Establish the 'Cultural Heritage Preservation Centre' [籌設文化資產保存研究中心] (soft and hardware)
Enhance the local cultural and art	Enrich the performance facilities	Establish the 'National Centre for

¹¹⁸ Some specific programme or plan name revise from the website of the Ministry of Culture: <http://www.moc.gov.tw/pop2.do> [accessed Mar. 10. 2013].

¹¹⁹ The Council of Cultural Affairs was renamed the Ministry of Culture on May 20. 2012.

form development plan [加強縣市文化藝術發展計畫] (software)	in the villages and towns [充實鄉鎮展演設施計畫] (soft and hardware)	Traditional Arts' [籌設傳統藝術中心] (soft and hardware)
Plan and promote the 'National Festival of Culture and Arts' [全國文藝季之策劃與推動] (software)		Establishment of the 'Centre for Traditional Music' [籌設民族音樂中心計畫] (soft and hardware)
Counselling local cultural bureaus to hold small-scale of international culture and art festival [輔導縣市辦理小型國際文化藝 術活動計畫] (software)		

The above table reveals that the transformation of the cultural policy strategies received positive feedback; therefore, the government was able to support big expansion projects. The central government tried to reform local society and made sure that they had the ability to cultivate and develop local culture and art forms. This plan profoundly influenced the direction of cultural policy. It provided for the expansion and promotion of the local software and hardware facilities to a certain level. This suggests that cultural construction started from local levels towards the communities in villages and towns. Some of the government agencies, for example *Nanguan and beiguan* centre [南北管戲曲館] of Changhua County Cultural Affairs Bureau [彰化縣文化局], take over power from the local *beiguan* or *nanguan* clubs, gathering different clubs (from south to north Taiwan) for the annual galas or for joint concerts.

The implementation of cultural policy was moved by the Ministry of Education to specific cultural preservation departments, their objectives were to construct and organise cultural centres. There were more activities to promote and preserve cultural affairs. This showed that the government was aware of the power of culture as a very strong and worthwhile enterprise which could, for instance, shape Taiwanese notions of identity. Therefore, after 1990, the government focused on the traditional arts. Currently, the most important cultural policy making government department is the 'Ministry of Culture' (updated from 'Council for Cultural Affairs' in 2012) which is in charge of cultural policy and operation. According to their two projects—'International Performance Troupe Cultivation Plan' [扶植國際性演藝團隊] and 'Outstanding Performance Troupe Award Plan' [傑出演藝團隊徵選及獎勵計畫] during 1992, 1999 to 2009, funding went from £425,000 to £2,580,000, then to £5,000,000. This

indicates that the government was enthusiastic about engaging in cultural initiatives.¹²⁰

Conclusions

Traditional music is a kind of conservation and representation of its cultural form. During the discussion of tradition and authenticity, we see that traditions have to change to find their way and position in contemporary society and maintain their activities. Moreover, to sustain a tradition, *beiguan* amateur clubs often present a legitimate distinctiveness and identity which could demonstrate their operation and their specific status. Thus, ‘orthodox tradition’ becomes a symbol to interest their audience and community itself about the community’s authority, which means the factors of tradition and authenticity reinforce a sense of identity while a *beiguan* club claims that they present the ‘orthodox tradition’, not only to attract their audience but also for the sake of community cohesion.

The sense of Taiwanese awareness began to develop in the 1970s through underground activities. However, the government changed their cultural policy from Chinese culture to Taiwanese in the interest of preserving this endangered culture. In fact, the motives of the government for supporting the local traditional art form were not so innocent. It contains a number of internal and external factors, including, for example, changes in world trends: the KMT regime had to change from their initial idea of governing Taiwan as a stepping stone to re-take mainland China, to paying full attention to the management and development of Taiwan, in order to consolidate their power.

In addition, modern Taiwanese society tends to better respect diversity. Therefore, the cultural policy associates with Taiwanese tradition have become of the utmost importance. Policymaking is also gradually moving from the central cultural bureau to the local authorities, which reflects the determination of the government to establish deep-rooted management in Taiwan. It also practices the conception of community empowerment development to improve and cultivate each local culture by the local communities, in order to build a free, creative, cultural development by the local autonomy.

¹²⁰ Minister of Culture [中華民國文化部] <http://www.moc.gov.tw/business.do?method=list&id=20>, <http://www.moc.gov.tw/ccaImages/adminstration/0/100target.pdf> [accessed Mar. 10. 2014]. The exchange rate between GB pounds and NT dollars averaged around GBP£1= NT\$48. (<http://www.xe.com/currencycharts/?from=GBP&to=TWD&view=2Y>, accessed Mar. 10. 2014)

However, people's concerns have broadened from local to national or global matters. Some specific folk characteristics still remain in the suburban *beiguan* amateur communities. Some *beiguan* activities have the potential to become political footballs. The following sections will examine the following: the government involvement in *beiguan* activities; obstacles from government intervention; the impact of government intervention on *beiguan* music ecology, and how to create new values in this tradition in order to adapt to modern society.

Chapter 7

Development and Innovation

The previous chapters discussed the issue of maintaining tradition, mostly associated with the influence of globalisation and the international situation of Taiwan. Those concerns force the government to rethink and adjust their attention to Taiwanese traditional affairs, despite the two different governmental parties, KMT and DPP, having different agendas, ideologies and ways of making policy to manage Taiwan. A case study in Australia examined this phenomenon: the programme is named ‘Sustainable Futures for Music Cultures: Toward an Ecology of Musical Diversity’ and was executed from 2010 to 2015. There are five key domains to supporting and maintaining a musical ecosystem: learning music, contexts and constructs, musicians and communities, media and the music industry and infrastructure and regulations, the approaches of each domain having clarifying guidelines to achieve goals (2010)¹²¹. It might provide different perspectives to help rethink governmental policy implementation and its influences (which will address in 7.3).

Moreover, the government tried very hard to turn the negative image of cultural policymaking from propaganda into creating a cultural and amenable environment to the Taiwanese people. The gradual transfer from central authorities to local autonomy shows their good intention to develop local culture with the people. However, different *beiguan* clubs have different opinions about the policymaking, some clubs embrace it, and some regard it as governmental intervention. It is an undeniable fact that government did cause some changes to the traditional *beiguan* ecology when the

¹²¹ Source from Griffith University, Queensland Conservatorium, newsletter no. 1, March 2010, <http://www.imc-cim.org/programmes/MSDP/SusFut%20newsletter%201.pdf> [accessed: March, 20 2014].

policy was implemented.

The aim of this chapter is to look at contemporary *beiguan* and to see how it has developed and changed in response to the challenges I have been discussing. First, I will look at different stages of policymaking to examine how government policy implementations have influenced *beiguan*. Then, I will move on to study the folk and academic groups; focusing on different perspectives of their style and performance or their cross-discipline, collaborative activities to see how they develop and innovate around the *beiguan* subject and the vision of this tradition.

7.1 Government Involvement in *Beiguan* Activities

The National Taiwanese Craft Research Institute, Preparatory Office [國立傳統藝術中心籌備處] was one of the first successful cases related to *beiguan* activities in the north of Taiwan after 2002. There is a large annual *beiguan* gala where clubs gather and exchange their music. It can also develop into a popular cultural tourist attraction, where the public can appreciate traditional art forms by watching opera, visiting museums and participating in music activities. There are two similar organisations located in the centre (the *Nanguan* and *Beiguan* Centre/南北管音樂戲曲館) and south (the *Weiwuying* Centre for the Arts/衛武營藝術文化中心) of Taiwan (see also Appendix A).

Participation in these annual *beiguan* galas has gradually become a significant way of obtaining more funding from the government. The *beiguan* amateur communities have a special privilege and the required skills to perform in front of public audiences or government supporting groups, and also, tacitly, to compete with other clubs. This kind of *beiguan* national gala, organised by government, is a newer form than that of the older customs of the temple festivals. In addition to being a good model of cultural industries, 'The National Centre for Traditional Arts' [國立傳統藝術中心] also is a political agent since its upper institution (Council for Cultural Affairs/文建會) is committed to cultural heritage issues (the relationship between superior and subordinate is shown in Figure 38).

This government bureau provides the funding for a variety of preservation and transmission subjects, such as (amongst others) traditional affairs investigation programmes, performances, conferences, festivals of culture and arts, seminars, plans for the performing troupe by official organisation and transmission of folk arts.

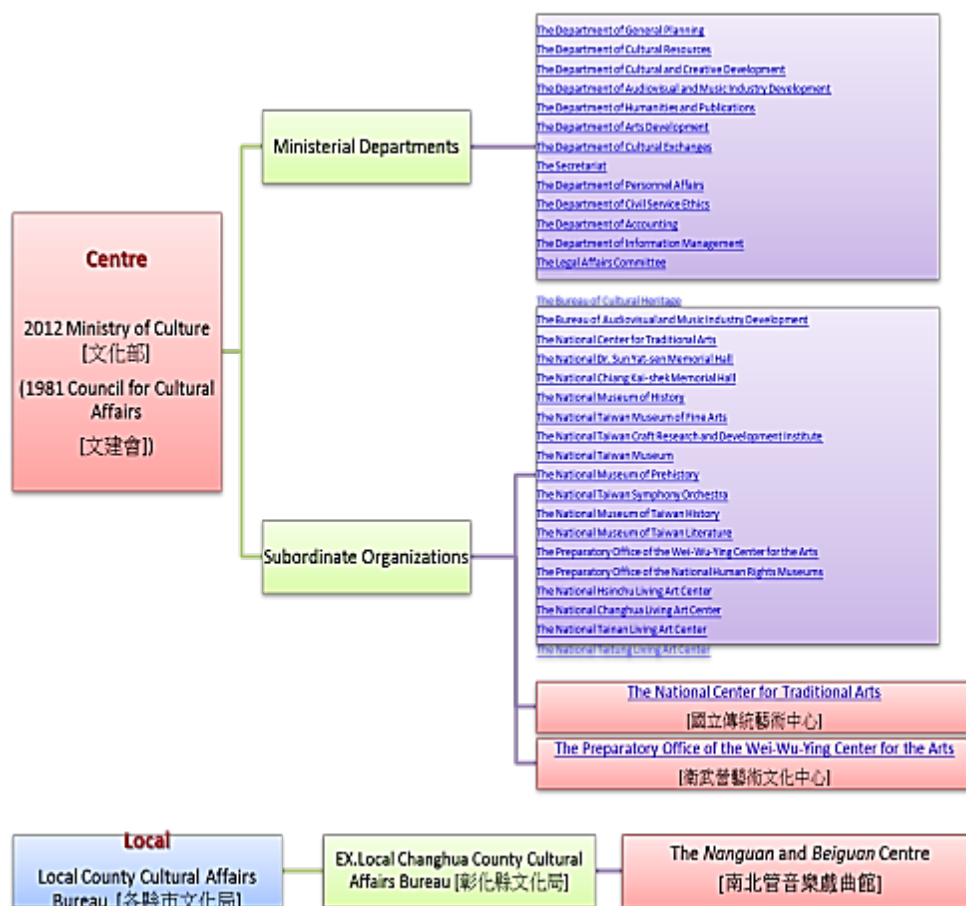


Figure 38. Relative institutions of cultural bureau in Taiwan

The organisations mentioned in this section was marked as pink squares.

A study of state intervention¹²² may be divided into five periods, which are ‘marked by the beginning of new modes of state intervention in *nanguan* and traditional arts’, and it can also be combined with Wang’s four-stage chronology (2003: 115)¹²³: 1980-1984, 1985-1989, 1990-1994, 1995-2003, and then, updating the period from 2004 to now based on my research. Although her research body and case studies are based on *nanguan* music and clubs, these periods can also apply to *beiguan* research. Because these two musical types share the same proportion of governmental resources when the cultural policies were referred and hold the same position in the Taiwanese musical environment. For the descriptions of five stages of

¹²² Wang Yingfen, ‘amateur Music Clubs and State Intervention’ in *Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore*, 141 (2003.9), pp.95-167.

¹²³ In the article, she gives more details to clarify this category: ‘Some activities held within one period might have extended to the next. [...the reason to follow] periodization mainly to delineate general trends of development, and it should not be taken as clear-cut demarcation.’

state intervention, see Appendix B.

7.2 Obstacles to Government Intervention

These policies resulted in some notable developments: the impacts of the implementation of these policies on *beiguan* ecological development resulted in cycles of positive and negative feelings among *beiguan* community. For example, the attitudes of each community are different. At first, most groups embraced the good intentions of governmental intervention for the development of traditional music projects, since they had finally seen an opportunity to be regarded as a precious traditional resource. The initial motivation for maintaining *beiguan* activity was positive. The problem is the system of evaluation and assessment – when the government provides political and financial support it emphasises preservation of the oldest, most exceptional and outstanding or famous groups. The government also established ‘high potential’ professional clubs such as (International) Performing Arts Groups. Some clubs were promoted, but some were not. It is important for every club member to accept the equitable distribution of governmental resources in order to maintain an effective standard of criteria.

With the passage of time, it is necessary to listen to the responses of *beiguan* amateur communities and re-examine the policies which were implemented to provide support for various projects. It is also worth scrutinising how combinations of these factors influence the ecology of *beiguan* communities during the last two to three decades. We should carefully consider the various agencies who get involved: governmental bodies, performing art groups, administrators, funding agencies and the nature of the policy itself. It is therefore important to determine the substantial benefits for the original *beiguan* communities or the motivations to stimulate the next generation of *beiguan* community participation.

Currently, *beiguan* appears to be thriving. This is largely due to the concerned efforts of government departments and folk groups. Several endangered or non-active clubs have started to recruit new members and arrange practice sessions. There are, however, a number of obstacles according to each club’s opinions expressed in the annual reports and the fieldworks in which I have been participating. Club members are becoming more aware of issues such as the distribution of resources and the government’s selection criteria.

In this section, those queries will be summarised into five matters for discussion:

the national treasure status; transmission system; the way to cultivate the transmission teachers; the club's registration and substantial help for the *beiguan* amateur communities.

a. The 'National Treasure' Status

National treasure status [國寶藝人] is awarded to people who win honours such as the 'Folk Art Heritage Award' [薪傳獎] or 'Important Traditional Artists' [重要民族藝師]. However, it is ambiguous in the incomplete transmission system of today. The musicians who are awarded the title of national treasure are regarded as the most precious cultural heritage for the society. The management of those musicians is supposed to be an important task in the cultural transmission work, when the government promoted those musicians and their art forms.

In Japan, those artists, so-called the Living National Treasures [民間國寶, Ningen Kokuhō], were nominated by the 'Agency for Culture', and the award-winning artists received a yearly stipend from the government for maintaining their 'Important Intangible Cultural Properties'. The government also promoted a programme to mandate those artists to teach through the education system¹²⁴. However, according to Aoyama Wahei who argues about the concept of Japan's Living National Treasure:

The original act, enacted in 1950, was specifically intended to 'preserve such important Japanese heritage that, without government protection, will decline and fall to ruin.' The law's purpose, thus, was to preserve the traditions and traditional techniques of Japanese arts and craft. In no way was the law intended to be an award that confers a higher status to an artist for contributions to his art, nor did the law designate the artist himself as a treasure; rather, the treasure was the traditional techniques he possessed.

The law was not to praise, but to protect. The 1950 statute states that 'intangible cultural property, such as theatre, music, crafts etc., which to our country is of high historical and/or artistic value,' will be deemed 'intangible cultural property' and will be 'eligible for protection' (2004).

He points out the problem of this system seems to preserve a person (his or her position) rather than the art form itself since the policy implements for half a century.

¹²⁴ Although this publish was in 2002, this system is still going. Source from: <http://kunishitei.bunka.go.jp/bsys/categorylist.asp> [accessed April. 8. 2014].

Indeed, this situation happens in Taiwan as well. Although Taiwan's cultural policy, the social status and incomes of those national treasures are not equivalent to Japan's system. The government only gave artists the title without supporting their living fees, the artists could seldom pay attention to transmission work, except the first session of Important Traditional Artists, who in 1989 were awarded GBP £800 (approximately NT\$40,000) per month (Liu, 2009:116-118). However, they could still receive an honour and a higher social status to become a *beiguan* master and teach around Taiwan if they wanted, for example Chiu Huorong who won the national treasure musician in 1989, see Appendix B.

Moreover, some national treasures were not specifically separated from their music club for individual protection or transmission of their music. The government did not give those national treasures a certain position or special training to transmit their work. Once the national treasure was chosen, they were on their own, whether they could do the transmission work and self-designed teaching materials or not. For instance, the 91 years old musician Chen Tian-huo [陳添火], who is a member of the *Lingyijun beiguan* club [靈義郡], was nominated as a cultural preservation object by the Keelung cultural bureau in 2007 (Figure 40). Thereafter, there were no teaching programmes or publications on his *beiguan* knowledge, except a collection of some old photos, plays and manuscripts presented by his musical club for the National Repository of Cultural Heritage [國家文化資料庫] archives (Figure 39).

In fact, the cultural preservation and transmission work is not only a matter of choosing a proper person, but they also need to set up an all-round correspondingly associated system including *beiguan* groups, musicians, practicing space and performance field. Otherwise, the purpose of preservation could be ambiguous, with a vague boundary between the club and the individual. It also brings out a matter of different opinions, which relate to the selection criteria used by the authorities to distinguish personal musical skills and the *beiguan* community. Those topics will be discussed in the subsequent sections.



Figure 39. Keelung Nuannuan *Lingyijun beiguan* club [暖暖靈義郡]

Chen Tian-huo [陳添火] is at the far right. Keelung Nuannuan *Lingyijun beiguan* club performed for the birthday celebration of the lord of Western Qin (*beiguan*'s guardian god) and club's 100 anniversary in 1961/08/05 [lunar calendar June, 24]. Source from: National Repository of Cultural Heritage [國家文化資料庫], <http://newnrch.digital.ntu.edu.tw/prototype/> [accessed April. 10. 2014]



Figure 40. Nighty one years old musician Chen Tian-huo [陳添火]

Source from: <http://www.boch.gov.tw/boch/frontsite/citycase/cityCaseAction.do?method=doViewCaseBasicInfo&caseId=AE09701000022&version=1&assetsClassifyId=4.1&cityId=2&menu=1> [accessed April. 13. 2014] (photo took in 2007).

In addition, there are still some problems in learning from these senior musicians if they are doing the transmission work. They normally do not notice that their voices or skills are gradually aging as their physical condition, especially when they teach opera. Their notes, sometimes, could not reach the required pitch, or their sound production, resonators, registers and breathing were also changed by their physical circumstances. The *beiguan* plays mainly include the storyline and drum patterns *luogujing* [鑼鼓經]. The melody is seldom written down as *gongche* notation for plays. This makes the learning process very difficult when working with these senior masters, especially within this oral transmission tradition (when the student is completely new to this field). As students, we were required not to use the western method to translate the *gongche* notation, which we learned from our teachers, into

stave notation. This requirement makes the transmission work far harder.

b. Transmission System

The transmission system combines all the intermediary organisations or individuals who act as a link between parties, which means they have to validate the *beiguan* transmission work well together all the time. Here, the intermediary could be narrowed down to a teacher, or broadened to describe the whole transmission system. A sturdy transmission system does not only need a teacher who knows the way to educate the student, but also needs enthusiastic students to respond to the learning process and a good system to support the teaching progress. This section will reveal an essential problem of the transmission system through different case studies.

There were several cases in both *beiguan* transmission classes in Taipei: ‘*Dalongdong Baoan Temple*’ [大龍洞保安宮] and ‘*Zhongshan Hall*’ [中山堂] (Figure 41) during the last 10 years. According to the official guide, each class needs at least ten students to enrol for the lesson. Students occasionally have no choice but to drop the lesson for three months when the class cannot recruit sufficient members. Some students initially have very strong interest in *beiguan*’s practice, but after suspension for three months the class is often unlikely to reopen.



Figure 41. *Beiguan* transmission classes in *Zhongshan Hall* [中山堂] Taipei (photograph by author, 30 April 2012)

This situation is similar to ‘the transmission plan of *Nanguan* and *Beiguan* music’ in *Nanguan* and *Beiguan* Centre (*Changhua* County) which had cases of fully qualified teachers without enough students (interview with Zhan Wenzan [詹文讚], April 2012 in *Zhongshan Hall*; Huang Wanzhen [黃宛珍], May 2015 in *Dalongdong Baoan Temple*; Lin Pochi [林珀姬], July 2015 in Taipei). Some shortages happened when the government decided to reduce funding or support for the *beiguan* sessions.

Those students waiting out the suspension of this stiff and conventional system might be reluctant to come to lessons as a result of the difficulty of sustaining the transmission work.

However, there are carrying on some positive transmission job which have financial support or are directly conducted by those government agencies. For example, the cultural bureaus have published *beiguan* teaching materials such as *The teaching material of Beiguan opera* and *The art of Beiguan kulu opera* [古路戲曲] for the transmission projects. They have also set up the *beiguan* lesson plan for local communities, e.g. *Beiguan* theatre troupe *Ronglexuan* [榮樂軒北管劇團], the *Nanguan* and *Beiguan* Centre [南北管音樂戲曲館], *Gang-a Tsui* Theater troupe [江之翠實驗劇場]; which hold the national *beiguan* festivals and annual galas.

Through education in the school system, *beiguan* opera is also put into the textbook ‘Native Teaching Material Arts’ to introduce this tradition to pupils. There are an increasing number of *beiguan* music clubs in schools to encourage students to participate in local arts. For example, *beiguan* opera seminars took place in the Nantou County Private Putai High School [南投縣私立普台高級中學], given by the government supported group *Hanyang beiguan* theatre troupe (Figure 42).



Figure 42. *Hanyang beiguan* theatre troupe [漢陽北管劇團]: *Beiguan* opera seminar in the high school
Source from: http://www.ptsh.ntct.edu.tw/ptsh/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1302:2014-11-26-02-06-41&catid=7:2010-09-15-08-40-52 [accessed Jan. 05. 2010].

c. The Club's Registration

There is another problem with writing the projects or regular reports which are needed to maintain funding in the *beiguan* community and allow new members to

apply. Running a *beiguan* session requires the coordination of different resources such as curators, planners, qualified teachers, students and funding, especially when the club asks for funding from the government. Many traditional *beiguan* clubs do not have the ability to make a project or write papers on their own members, while some clubs ask researchers or seek other helpers to meet the cultural policies.

One of the successful examples is the Linkou *Leinyuan beiguan* club [林口樂林園] in New Taipei City. *Leinyuan* is a traditional *beiguan* club, which was set up by the local community in 1925. They recruited teenagers and hired three teachers A-jiu Xian [阿九先], Tseng Chiehsheng [曾捷盛] and Wang shijing [王石井], to teach *beiguan* music. In 1965, the fourth generation of members organised a committee and trained musicians and performers to play theatres for their 40th anniversary celebration. They also tried to cooperate with the local elementary and junior high school when they found a generation gap in the 1980s. One of the training plans was to provide funding for the tuition fees to the community members, whose children studied in the Linkou elementary (7-12 years old) and junior high school (13-15 years old) [林口國小, 林口國中]. In October, they had already recruited 22 people as their 6th generation members. Now, it is in its 8th generation and they still seek ways to promote their *beiguan* community and cooperate with the government.¹²⁵

In the group of pictures in Figure 43, there are all different kinds of *beiguan* activities: sessions, preparation before the performing, *beiguan* theatre plays, galas and temple parades.



¹²⁵ Source from: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/林口樂林園/286379778180151> [accessed April. 13. 2014]



Figure 43. Linkou *Lelinyuan beiguan* club [林口樂林園]

Beiguan teaching sessions and achievement displays by playing theatres and temple parades. Source from: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/%E6%9E%97%E5%8F%A3%E6%A8%82%E6%9E%97%E5%9C%92/286379778180151> [accessed April. 13. 2014]

It also shows that finance and people are the most important keys, not only for sustaining the transmission lessons, a space to practice and store the instruments etc., but also for demonstrations of their music. When I interviewed the members during 2005 to 2011 (Lee Liangcheng/李兩成, Zeng Jintian/曾進添), I could always feel their enthusiasm for maintaining *beiguan* culture and their pride in being a member. They also made me feel like an insider when I played with them, joined their after-practice gathering and shared ideas on their cooperation and development. *Lelinyuan beiguan* club is basically a typical traditional *beiguan* community, supported by a local temple with a strong religious bonding and social network in the suburban area. Their *beiguan* music and theatre successfully connects with local people and the club has a good relationship with the local government, which allows them to present the traditional culture without changing their methods, as they are self-funded. This grass-roots movement can be seen in its social context as the

community empowerment policy, practicing the principle of nativisation.



Figure 44. *Lelinyuan* club's weekly *beiguan* session

(photograph by author, 29 Nov 2008)

In the other hand, it is harder for some clubs to survive if they are not able to do those projects and have no strong supporting background for their activities, as in the case of Linkou *Lelinyuan beiguan* club [林口樂林園]. Some *beiguan* clubs require a graduate student or researcher to manage the paperwork for government grants. Sometimes, they will meet the problem in one moment of enthusiastic support, until the researchers' passion wanes or they have finished the investigation of their project. They usually move on from this unpaid work, then the *beiguan* club is forced to find a new helper. The club leader of Xizhi *Leyinshe beiguan* club [汐止樂音社] told me about the difficulty of collecting the signatures of members in every session, writing papers and projects for activity funding, but they are still lucky to have the help of the cultural bureau's faculty (interview with Zhan and Haibai in 03 July 2012).

d. The Way to Cultivate the Transmission Teachers

The local cultural bureau normally assigns *beiguan* teachers or clubs to manage lessons, in order to cope with the shortness of transmission teachers on the governmental programmes. For example, the Taipei cultural bureau appointed *beiguan* musician Zhan Wenzan [詹文讚] to be in charge of the *beiguan* transmission session in the Taipei Zhongshan Hall [中山堂]. This type of transmission session is very different to the traditional *beiguan* club, in many ways. In general, it is a regular two-hour lesson, held every one or two weeks. Students need to pay a part of the tuition fee for their session; the cultural bureau would sponsor the rest of it and offer the classroom and instruments. The course lasts for about three months; ten people are the minimum requested for each session (Figure 41).

This type of session is more like a modern type of music learning process.

People attend lessons to learn a new skill to enhance their recreation activities. Club members certainly share a classmate relationship and *beiguan* community identity through these two hour lessons, and there is an annual performance to demonstrate their learning achievement. However, it is definitely not the same as the traditional brotherhood's relationship, or lifetime friends. Therefore, the dilemma of recruitment causes a difficulty to this transmission task, sometimes even a suspension, withdrawing the whole programme because there is no efficient way to cultivate the transmission teacher.

When I attended their sessions in 2006, many members described those difficulties; how they struggled to cope and how they would meet only every three months. In the worst situation, some students would rather pay money for an extra student space to sustain the class than feel frustrated and drag their friends or family members into the lesson. This kind of modern music club also has the problem of a high turnover rate of members. Students tend to drop out of the lessons during the first to six months. The reason is usually due to the artistic style, which is different from their expectations, for instance *beiguan suona*. The timbre and acoustic are rough, compared with refined modern instruments or with the *suona* in a Chinese orchestra.

The expansion of the Taiwanese traditional music department into the university system in 1995 represented a milestone, a formal education system to cultivate *beiguan* teachers for the task of transmission. Subsequently, other universities included *beiguan* opera as a minor study, for instance, National Taiwan College of Performing Arts, National Taiwan University and National Taiwan Normal University.

e. The Substantial Help on the *Beiguan* Amateur Communities

In 2012, Lung Ying-tai [龍應台], the former Minister of Culture, launched a new project named 'Branding Taiwan performance team project' [台灣品牌團隊計畫] for upgrading the national performance level. From 100 entries, there are five cultivation teams selected from nine outstanding teams. These teams are given an extra annual budget of GBP £2 million (approximately NT \$100 million), in order to offer them stable financial support and improve the whole art environment. Those selected teams are Cloud Gate Dance Theatre of Taiwan (雲門舞集, dance), Minghaw Yuan Arts and Cultural Group (明華園, Taiwan opera), Ju Percussion Group (擊樂文教, percussion), Paperwindmail Theatre (紙風車, theatre), and U Theatre Art and Culture (優人文化, theatre). The aim is to develop a Taiwanese ideology and shape the Taiwanese

cultural image to both a national and international view.

As time went on, some *beiguan* groups started to query whether the government was harming traditional spirituality by giving financial support to certain selected groups. They were uncertain about whether those scholars and officers who control the investigations and funding are qualified to judge those art forms, given that their specialist knowledge is centred on western arts, music and theatre. They also question the qualifications and capacity of the authorities and whether they indeed understand the spirit of tradition. What kind of assessment valuations inform their aesthetic judgements in the traditional arts area, are they expert on traditional music, theatre performance? There are many other questions they ask. Those doubts tend to lead people to distrust the official authorities when they do not receive any tangible benefits to help maintain the community, or any kind of advice on how to improve *beiguan*'s ecological development.

Some *beiguan* community members reflect on government policies and as a result are concerned about whether those government-supported groups are adequately representative of the majority of *beiguan* clubs in terms of performance quality or heritage content. Some people question whether those government cultivation teams demonstrate the authentic¹²⁶ *beiguan* spirit and music, or if the government is focussing their support on those groups who are already very well-known, and if they always follow-up and adjust the policy to conform to social trends. (I use the word 'authenticity' here to explain how my informers perceive the policies in relation to their concept of authentic *beiguan*).

The governmental policies might actually be grounded in a kind of officially sanctioned fantasy representation of their preferred, imagined or invented traditional arts, rather than being addressed to the real needs and desires of the actual, living, traditional arts communities. During my fieldwork research carried out in 2000-2013 on different *beiguan* communities in different regions, I met many *beiguan* musicians who complained about the imbalance of governmental resources (around 70% of my informants made this complaint). Some of them thought it might be caused by some cultural agencies who are not so familiar with traditional culture, or that it might be easier and more convenient to promote traditional music by supporting the

¹²⁶ I acknowledge here, of course, that the concept of authenticity may be subject to various interpretations (authenticity, see also 6.1).

well-known groups.

7.3 The Impact of Government Intervention

Promoting *beiguan* is not always an easy task. The range of governmental activities so far have included media promotion, setting up of the *beiguan* museum, exhibition and activity centres, performance spaces, *beiguan* performance in certain areas, combining promoting projects within the education system, constructing *beiguan* online resource as 'National Repository of Cultural Heritage' [國家文化資料庫]¹²⁷ and so on.

According to Chiu Kunliang [邱坤良]¹²⁸, when he conducted the traditional theatre fieldwork in Taipei and New Taipei City areas, he felt that *beiguan* culture is facing three difficulties, and the problem is gradually becoming worse. First, he found that it is getting hard to find an insider or real expert informant. Most of the informants are familiar with *zhentou* [陣頭] instead of *beiguan* opera since they have a generation gap between 1950-1990. Those informants (age about 60s to 70s) were born around WWII, during the period of *Jinguyue* (banning of traditional drum music, 禁鼓樂). Afterwards, they had to fight for their life, making money to survive until they retired during the 50s and the 60s. They joined the *beiguan zidi*, however the structure of *beiguan* communities was changed, especially in urban areas. The clubs which they have joined are normally semi-professional clubs. They help the performance or parading of funerals, weddings or temple festivals as the *zhentou* [陣頭] groups. The meaning is changed from the traditional *zidi* spirit characteristics.

Second, he is very pleased to see the young generation of researchers who are going into traditional fieldwork. However, he believes they are not very good at conducting of fieldwork. Insufficient training and unfamiliarity with different operas causes them to miss important information from the interview, or be misled by the informants. Third, a strange phenomenon in the traditional theatre field, is that government agency put all their efforts into promotion and preservation of the traditional art forms. Nevertheless, when the *beiguan* clubs start to rehearse, the

¹²⁷ The data base of National Repository of Cultural Heritage [國家文化資料庫] website: <http://newnrch.digital.ntu.edu.tw/prototype/> [accessed April. 8. 2014].

¹²⁸ The theatre professor at Chinese Culture University [文化大學], Chiu Kunliang [邱坤良], took his students to learn and participate in *beiguan* opera performances in Taipei *Linganshe* club [靈安社] during 1974 to 1982.

neighbours sometimes call the police officer to get involved because they could not accept being so close to the loud *luogu* (gongs and drums ensemble/鑼鼓) and *suona*. Government agencies only think about the way to protect the endanger tradition; they should instead rethink what those clubs really need and how to make people proud of our tradition (2003: 20-23).

From Chiu's three aspects, he not only points out some problems which traditional clubs are facing; he also mentions the impact of government intervention on the *beiguan* community. In my personal fieldwork experience, traditional *beiguan* music has gathered more attention and presented a different atmosphere to the public while the government agencies became involved in these past two decades. However, the impacts of government intervention could be considered from several perspectives.

From the overall picture of *beiguan* eco-system, the traditional amateur clubs have to change their operations and endeavour to keep clubs afloat, since the government agency could offer them some financial support. Once they are dependent on state funding, they have to do routine jobs to present continuous activities (e.g. rehearsal, regular gala, and annual concert) for stable financial support. However, in the *beiguan* eco-system, the clubs member still have to fight with club's survival issue when some problems present themselves, such as a shortage of community members, qualified teachers or rehearsal space without neighbours bothered by the noise, amateur clubs may not be able to keep to their routine. Their financial structure has already changed from being private and temple-based to being government supported. The nature of a *beiguan* music club was changed; they can be distracted by all of the paper work, reports and events for the government promotions rather than enjoying the music and joining the temple festivals as they previously did. Some clubs have even to hire a specific manager to deal with these documents and the procedure.

The semi-professional clubs as *zhentou* groups started to set up their own *beiguan* music group when the government agency encouraged all kinds of folk clubs to register their group on the records of the traditional art group. Sometimes, there can be one or two-person clubs showing overlap with other club members. They apply for government funding to rehearse or learn new pieces from the transmission sessions (see also 5.2). Meanwhile, they make their own profit from the temple festival or funeral parades. However, on the records of the government agency, the total of *beiguan* groups have increased. When I interviewed some of this kind of groups, they believed that they had the civil right to share the governmental resources (anonymous

informants, 2008-2010).

Compared with Naxi *guyue*, which is regarded as ICH, Rees reveals the impacts of policy and tourism on its music environment:

By promoting themselves as preservers of ‘ancient’ music, today’s musicians are tapping into the social and political respectability conferred on protectors of a venerable cultural heritage. The cultural capital generated by possession of a tradition valued in this way may also translate into economic gains, since the ‘ancient-ness’ of the music has definitely become a selling point in the tourist and media market

Moreover, the prevalence of the prefix ‘Naxi’ (even more than ‘Lijiang’) during the mid-1990s seems indicative of the way the music is increasingly seen-and marketed-as an integral part of a specifically Naxi heritage (2000: 174).

It is the different situation in Taiwan. Government tried to use the source of cultural heritage to develop the local tourism. However, promoting *beiguan* is not an easy work although *beiguan* people regard themselves as cultural protectors as Naxi’s musicians. Government agency, for example Changhua County Cultural Affairs Bureau [彰化縣文化局], manages the regular *beiguan* performances in Longshan temple [龍山寺] where is also the cultural heritage site. The *beiguan* events still keep in the local affair than spreading to national wide. The *beiguan* musicians enjoy on playing music, instead of concerning on the policymaking (interview with Guo, July 2008).

However, the *beiguan*’s participants are much younger than 15 years ago. The music style, ornamentation and the performance are more varied and constantly changing. *Beiguan* lessons have gradually become a new option for the public who choose to participate and learn in Chinese orchestras, choirs in community universities or in school clubs. Bidding for state funding will sometimes damage the harmony between the amateur clubs. The same kind of music clubs have to compete for certain funding in the same area, which turns the club’s relationship into a bizarre situation.

Furthermore, as the elder musicians gradually passed away, the young teachers replace the absent. Alternatively, the other situation that happens is that some younger musicians who disagree with the traditional learning process set up their own clubs or found a teaching job which makes some changes to the usage of notation. Previously, *beiguan* teachers used traditional oral transmission; with the *gongche* notation [工尺

譜] offered to give a prompt. Today, reflecting the impact of westernisation on educational methods and trends, people are relying more on notation. In some cases, musicians use staves and cipher notations to describe every detail, such as pitch, rhythm and technique, as Table 20 shows. In doing so, they transform the flexible improvisatory traditions into fixed stereotypes as transcribed in textbooks, which more easily explain the teaching process.

Lin Pochi, a *nan-beiguan* expert who is a professor teaching in the TNUA, agrees with the good intentions of those young musicians who introduce traditional music to the public. However, as a music educator she is also concerned about the musical quality in this kind of teaching context. She points out in her report of *Taiwan Traditional Music Yearbook* that some hidden factors may cause problems when not following the traditional training methods, such as slightly imprecise instrumental intonation, the unsophisticated method of phonation or the lacking of harmony in the musical ensembles (2013: 44).

Table 20. The comparison of *gongche* notation, cipher and stave of *Baijiachun* [百家春] tune

[Stave notation]

百家春

台灣古調
莊惠蘭詞

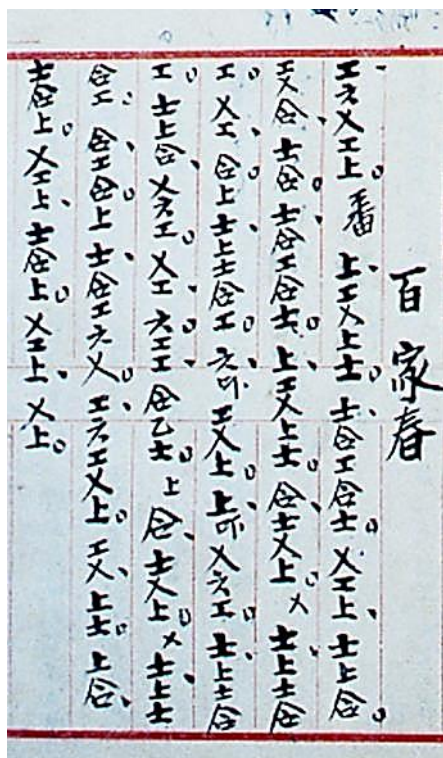
♩ = 80

春風吹世間，萬物皆清醒，二八年華當少年，不知人生
甘苦甜，想起父母，含辛茹苦，培養子女，
長大成 人。入社會，奉獻自己，父母恩情，
如春暉，照到 兄弟姐妹，溫暖街頭巷尾 百家春。

The musical score is written on a single treble clef staff in G major (one sharp). It consists of four lines of music. Above the staff, various chords are indicated: G, G/B, C, C#dim, C, G/B, Am, D7, Em, C, C#dim, C, G/B, Am, D7, Em, Em/D, A/C#, D, Em, C, C/D, G, C/GG. The lyrics are written in Chinese characters below the notes. The tempo is marked as ♩ = 80.

(Source from: http://www.taipeimusic.org.tw/press_monkey.html accessed: 05/06/2013)

[Traditional vertical *gongche* notation]



(Source from: <http://kn.ncfta.gov.tw/NCFTA/npk/more.jsp?id=2.2&rid=2&fileType=all&pageNo=2#> accessed: 05/06/2013)

[Hybridisation between horizontal *gongche* notation and cipher notation]

百家春

G調 2/4

3 5 2 3 5 | 1 · 5 || 1 3 2 1 | 6 · 1 | 6 5 3 5 | 6 2 3 |
工六 X 工六 | 上 · 合 || 上 工 X 上 | 士 · 上 | 士 合 工 合 | 士 X 工 |

1 6 1 | 5 3 2 | 5 · 6 | 5 · 1 | 6 5 3 5 | 6 · 5 |
上 士上 | 合 工 X | 合 · 士 | 合 · 上 | 士 合 工 合 | 士 · 合 |

1 3 2 1 | 6 · 1 | 6 5 2 1 | 1 · 2 | 6 1 6 5 | 3 · 2 |
上 工 X 上 | 士 · 上 | 士 合 士 X | 上 · X | 士 上 士 合 | 工 · X |

3 — | 5 6 1 | 6 1 6 5 | 3 · 6 | 5 3 2 | 1 · 5 |
工 — | 合 士 上 | 士 上 士 合 | 工 · 五 | 六 工 X | 上 · 合 |

1 2 5 | 3 · 5 | 6 1 6 5 | 3 6 | 5 2 5 | 3 · 2 |
上 X 六 | 工 · 六 | 五 上 五 六 | 工 五 | 六 X 六 | 工 · X |

3 — | 5 3 | 3 5 7 | 6 · 1 | 5 6 2 | 1 · 2 |
工 — | 六 工 | 工 六 乙 | 五 上 | 六 五 X | 上 · X |

6 1 6 5 | 3 — | 5 3 | 5 1 | 6 5 3 5 | 2 · 5 |
五 上 五 六 | 工 — | 六 工 | 六 上 | 五 六 五 六 | X · 六 |

3 5 3 2 | 1 2 3 5 | 2 3 1 2 | 6 1 6 | 5 6 2 | 1 2 3 |
工 六 工 X | 上 X 工 六 | X 工 上 X | 士 上 士 | 合 士 X | 上 X 工 |

1 6 5 | 1 2 3 | 1 · 2 | 1 — 一 拍
上 士 合 | 上 X 工 | 上 · X | 上 — 一 拍

(Source from: transcription by Liao Zhenfang)

On the other hand, the club also has to change their performance style to meet the concert stage performance. The concept of the concert is not only about music nowadays. The audiences expect an audio-visual experience as a show. The nature of *beiguan* music is changed to this theatricalised performance. Wang reveals the *nanguan* situation, *beiguan* also meets the same issue on the performance:

They add simple acting and dancing or combine *nanguan* opera into the program in order to make it more interesting and lively. Such modifications are taking *nanguan* away from its introspective nature and bringing it closer to popularization or even vulgarization (Wang, 2003: 151-152).

This kind of stage performance declines the quality of *beiguan* music. The music ensemble becomes the individual solo piece, reducing the repertoire, *beiguan* gradually becoming regarded as the product of cultural industry as same as Wang's

comment on the performance of *nanguan*. ‘It also resulted in the commodification, vulgarization, and theatricalization of *nanguan* music and the professionalization of *nanguan* musicians’ (Ibid. 153). It is not the time to make a judgment on the results since tradition is in continuous change. In contrast, it is a new chance to open the *beiguan* world with an entirely new experiment. In the next session, I will illustrate how those new changes are brought into contemporary *beiguan* music performance.

7.4 Toward Refinement and Cross-Disciplinary Collaboration

During my first three years of bachelor’s degree studies in the traditional music department (TNUA, from 2001 to 2004), our performance mainly isolated the *beiguan* music part from the opera libretto and made it a vocal or instrumental music piece for the concert stage. For example, in order to adjust harmoniously to the changing nature of the available performance spaces, the ensemble instrumentation requires modification. The ensemble (ten to twenty *suona*s and many gongs and cymbals) is common in temple ceremonies (see Figure 45, right and middle pictures), but it has been entirely eradicated in the concert hall settings (see Figure 45, left picture).



Deity procession: a lot *suona* players join (source from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5FYBSp0gxGA>; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PLY0xM_181Y&feature=related, accessed: 10/03/2014)

Concert hall performance: only one *suona* player (source from: TNUA, *beiguan* concert, 2005)

Figure 45. *Pâi-tsú* (*paizi*/牌子) performances

The usage of the instrument is more important to reflect on acoustic resonance effects. This kind of *Pâi-tsú* (*paizi*/牌子) music generally uses one or three *suona* (must to be the odd number) rather than have more in the concert hall. According to *beiguan* musicians Zhan Wenzan and Chiu Huorong, due to the even numbers of *suona*, it is difficult for them to perform heterophony with each other and make people feel awkward about the discrepancy between the two melody lines.

The performances usually take place in a concert hall or outdoor stage during the cultural festival. It is common to include musical pieces from Broadway or opera in a

concert programme in line with the western music style. However, for the amateur clubs, this kind of performance is in contrast to the *beiguan* tradition which rarely is performed at the concert hall. The amateur *beiguan* musicians often criticise the performances and training process; they think that the traditional spirit is no longer left. This raises a question, whether this is a kind of identity protection against the changes from contemporary society, or does the style of the performance drive tradition into contemporary society? Traditional performance may emphasise 'classical' interpretation. The performers might use their way and technique in its presentation. Those changes and re-interpretations make it hard for club members to sense the tradition, although the music piece is completely the same.

This performing style began to change in 2005, the department deciding to include theatre in the performance and bring the outdoor stage performance into the theatre, which brought the style of performance to the next level of experience for us (from a musician to a *beiguan* opera actor or actress). For the concert repertoire, the percussion pattern seemed to be a meaningless repetition to us, but in the opera, each pattern has a corresponding movement and gesture as part of the stage routine. The symbolic logic to the performer also made us rediscover the beauty of *beiguan* culture in its traditional sense (going back to the theatre performance, but with some adjustments to fit the style of indoor theatre). In a shifting situation, amateur clubs have now developed a more open mind about these changes, while the university plays up the tradition and the people accept the new way. Still, tradition and innovation has introduced a broad palette of controversy and divergence in *beiguan* cultural circles.

a. Refinement of *Beiguan* Opera

The creation and new experiment was from Tsai Chengia who planned the *Xiaoyao* theatre [逍遙劇場] performing an 'An Impartation Project for *Beiguan* Opera'. He named it '*Fulu Beijing opera*' because he also asked the *Beijing opera* actors to join the *beiguan* play in 2005. Opinion was divided, all those who were in favour signified their approval of the idea of refined and innovative *beiguan* performance and thought it was a good idea to reform *beiguan* opera. It used the stringent gestures and movement of *Beijing opera* to replace the casual part of *beiguan* performance. This was good for promoting *beiguan* opera to the public, since there was another option for its performance, if the audience could use another perspective to think about this intention. However, many traditional artists and club members have held opposing views, they all believe that the number one taboo of

beiguan performance is playing in the *Beijing opera* style, it should be avoided in the teaching process, and now they are horrified it is performed on the indoor stage! (interview with the members of Zhuqian *beiguan* art troupe [竹塹北管藝術團], in Dec. 2005)

The main point of this programme was to use the actors of *Beijing opera* for their skilful movements, however using Mandarin for the lyrics is taboo. Some people criticised this, and said that it created a weird combination, presenting a performance which was neither *Beijing opera* nor *beiguan*. Therefore, the project's host Tsai Chengia published an article named 'When *Beijing opera* Actors Meet *Beiguan* Opera: An Impartation Project for *Beiguan* Opera by Xiao-Yiao Theater' in the *Journals of the Cultural Resource*, to explain and clarify his motivation and purpose. His article stated that the purpose of the plan was to focus on learning from some 'special repertoire conserved by elder actors trained in the period of Japanese colonization', and to 'create an opportunity for its rebirth through a reform of acting techniques and librettos', since the interaction between Taiwanese *beiguan* opera and *Beijing opera* could be traced back to the Japanese colonial period.

He clearly clarified the programme's transmission tasks and its experimental properties as a promotion strategy for the first step. For the comments and criticism of *Beijing opera* style, he thinks that it inevitably caused some problems for the musical and performing styles when *Beijing opera* actors learnt *beiguan*. It is also worth exploring the idea that this 'project provided valuable experience for the transmission and reform of *beiguan* opera'. Indeed, this project showed the new idea of reform, innovation and collaboration and led *beiguan* people to think about the different aspects of performance (2007: 75-91, 94).

Since then, cross-disciplinary collaborations between traditional music, drama and dance have become more and more common. Traditional music is no longer just a representation of tradition. Other than the soundscape, the visual has brought out the extra element to consider. In addition, the organiser has to carefully consider both sides of the creative ideas and the original art forms as an integration of multidisciplinary collaborations, when the different elements are joined together. The programme leader, composer, musicians or director must be able to show their capacity to handle the balance, to present the traditional spirit and the connection between the traditional material and subject matter (especially, those who consider themselves as the tradition keepers); instead of using a fancy name to combine everything together to attract the crowds. In this *Xiaoyiao* theatre case, although, it is

an experimental trial, the public still gave severe critiques and judgements from the first proposition to the results.

b. Cross-cultural, Multi-Disciplines Collaborations and Post-Hybridisation

Those different collaborations bring a new perspective and development into the traditional field. For example, the art director Wu Rongshun had led over 200 artists (actors, dancers, musicians, designers and the students of TNUA) in producing a project based on *Hakka* culture and Taiwanese traditional music elements, named 'New *Hakka* Musical: My Daughter's Wedding' [福春嫁女] in 2007 (Figure 46) which took eight months for rehearsal and construction. The play was adapted from Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, but the main point was not on the 'taming of the shrew', instead, it was on the two daughter's weddings which were presented in the context of modern Taiwanese society and the conflicts between feminist consciousness, gender power struggles and the conventional ideology of traditional *Hakka* people.

The production was directed by David Jiang (Hong Kong) and sponsored by the TNUA and the *Hakka* Affairs Council [客委會], it combined the new and old traditional scenes and stage settings. Composer, Chien Nanchang [錢南章], wrote 18 musical pieces for the chorus, solos and unison which includes operatic music, orchestration, *Holo* folk songs, *Hakka* folk songs such as *Shanga* [山歌] and *bayin* [八音] (which is similar to *beiguan* music), and *Hakka* tonality elements. Lei Biqi states that the performance was: '[...] a large-scale, big-budget production, mounted a musical and visual multimedia feast of elaborate stage design, traditional *Hakka* music, rock and roll, and modern and jazz dance' (2014: 356).

The *Taipei Times* gave the first response to this project: 'First "*Hakka* musical" isn't very *Hakka*' was a headline of the reporter Noah Buchan (2007: 15). More criticism came from all directions. For example, some people argued that this musical included a strong political message, since it was sponsored by the *Hakka* council which regarded this musical as a stage to renew the traditional *Hakka* image. Therefore, the *Hakka* cultural symbols embedded in the musical were used as marketing management and persuaded the *Hakka* ethnic group to strengthen their identity.

Moreover, the musical forms and plays were from a western style, the *Hakka* culture was referred to as a symbolic representative, which looked more like this new

musical was transplanting the western art form into traditional settings as a combination [rather than a new creation from tradition] (Yu Shanlu, 2007)¹²⁹. Those critics may be overanalysing the intention of the innovative idea, design and approaches of the performance team. However, it is interesting to see differences between organisers and audiences who assert the tradition form as necessary (such as for *Hakka* orthodox or specific political position), when the purpose of this innovation is to be different from tradition.



Figure 46. New *Hakka* Musical: My Daughter's Wedding [福春嫁女]

(source from: <http://trd-music.tnua.edu.tw/en/project/2007.html>, accessed: 12/07/2014)

There is another case of 'Zhaojun gets married abroad' (*Zhaojunchusai*/昭君出閣, Figure 47) that was hosted by the head of the traditional music department (TNUA) Lee Ching-huei [李靖慧], which developed out of the historical storyline of Zhaojun and joined it with the new issues of Taiwanese society (mainly the mail-order bride). The play and music was composed by Tsai Linghui [蔡凌蕙]; she selected the different traditional music as *nanguan*, *beiguan*, *guqin*, *pipa* and silk and

¹²⁹ Source from: <http://mypaper.pchome.com.tw/yushanlu/post/1297921354> [accessed: 12/07/2014]

bamboo ensemble for her composing material. In addition, the *nanguan* opera director Wu Su-hsia [吳素霞] taught the delicate gestures of *nanguan* opera to enhance the movement and bring theatrical elements into this concert.



Figure 47. 'Zhaojun get married abroad' (*Zhaojunchusai*/昭君出閣)

Their presentation reveals a new trend in traditional music performance, traditional ecology is no longer only focused on the music; it needs to thoroughly consider the balance of cross-disciplinary collaboration and the usage of traditional elements. Meanwhile, the clear ideology and representation of the new play could carry deep symbolic resonance, which is also memorable to the audience. Their idea and musical setting presented a complete interpretation from their creation to the hidden ideology which gave a good start as an example for other performers who try to mix the different material together, but struggle with their original creation.

c. *Beiguan* as A Local Brand: from Community Empowerment Movement to Develop Cultural Industry

Culture strengthens the sense of identity; the Community Empowerment Movement provides each town or village a stage and opportunity to develop the local culture and spirit. The government tried to cultivate a common sense of community and humanity. As a result, the Community Empowerment Development project was brought up at the congress meeting in 1994. The former cultural minister Chin Chinan said: the Community Empowerment Movement exists 'not only to create a community', actually, it is to 'create a new society, a new culture, and create a new "mankind" (1996)'. The CCA cultural white paper states:

Community provides a stage for every kind of activity. The plan of the Community Empowerment Movement tends to create a process, which connects community members and their hearts. It is a circle of endless interaction between each individual, this plan needs more people and

communities to join together, to make it a ‘civil’, ‘general’ and ‘sustainable’ project (2004: 35).

The other plan which came up at the same time as this movement was ‘The Citizens’ Aesthetic Movement’, since Taiwanese social ambience is lacking a sense of amenity. This amenity could be the public’s appreciation of their environment and feeling of security in their community. Therefore, it could refer to the tangible thing such as an art show or concert, it also could refer to an intangible thing such as pleasant feelings or environment (Chen Chinan, 2005: 97). These plans are redressing the balances in the development of urban and rural areas and it uses local initiatives to improve the local features and individual spirit.

As a result, some of the *beiguan* amateur clubs are regarded as the object of this community empowerment movement. Local government agency helps the *beiguan* clubs develop their identity and extend it to the local people by representing and sharing the same local culture spirit. In fact, a strong sense of identity always exists in the traditional *beiguan* amateur communities, reflected in the competitive culture of losing the ‘club’s face’. This policy is a method to bring tradition back to the community, although the meaning and the way to present this tradition are far away from where it used to be.

However, they government agency set a series of plans for the initial development of the local culture, for example, Building Communities through Culture [文化造鎮], Ethnic and Regional Art Traditions [民族及地方特有之藝術], Community Museums [地方文化館] and Strengthening the Foundations of Culture and Art in Taiwan [文化藝術植根], etc.. Subsequently, they tried to push those *beiguan* and other local communities to the public through other programmes and a series of culture festivals, such as Taiwan- A Culture of Immense Diversity [文化台灣, 繽紛萬象], The Cultural Face of Taiwan [台灣文化容顏] and Think Globally, Act Locally [全球思考, 在地行動], etc..¹³⁰ In order to build the local cultural brand, they are marketing and packaging *beiguan* as the product of cultural industry, selling CDs and DVDs in the concerts and at each festival.

Sometimes, I wonder when it will be when *beiguan* develops so far as to become vulgar and commodified, appearing avant-garde but also cliché. The *Errenzhuan* art

¹³⁰ Source from: Ministry of Culture http://www.moc.gov.tw/information_348_33937.html [accessed: 14/02/2015].

form, in the northeast of China (song-and-dance duet, 東北二人轉) was reformed from a vulgar culture into popular culture which plays on the national television show presented by Zhao Benshan [趙本山] and Xiao Shenyang [小瀋陽]. They called this new form ‘the green *Errenzhuan*’ [綠色二人轉] which stopped inappropriate language and movements [去除腥羶色]. This process shows that socialisation in Chinese culture and social context is changing with the times. Comparing to the *Sulan chegu* (singing and dancing parade, 素蘭車鼓) in Taiwan, this is also the same type of performance, although the government agency tries to intervene and cultivate this art form. It still maintains its position as vulgar culture.

Table 21. Comparison of *Errenzhuan* in the northeast of China [東北二人轉] and *Sulan chegu* [素蘭車鼓] in Taiwan

The northeast of China: <i>Errenzhuan</i> (song-and-dance duet, 東北二人轉)	Taiwan: <i>Sulan chegu</i> (singing and dancing parade, 素蘭車鼓)
  	  
<p>The characters:</p> <p>Man and woman’s flirting</p>	<p>plays a frisky and teasing story by a funny male clown (<i>Chou</i>/丑) and a flirtatious female role (<i>Dan</i>/旦)</p>
<p>Performance style:</p> <p>Mixing of popular and traditional music performance Exaggerated dressing, vulgar movements Verbal: slang words, insinuation, ironic conversation, pun</p>	

Evolution [演進]:

On the national television show
Reform as green *Errenzhuan* [綠色二人轉]
stopped the inappropriate language and movements
[去除腥羶色]



Stop revolution
Remain in rural areas

e.g. Wannei *Sulan* troupe [灣內素蘭陣]



Photos from: http://tupian.baike.com/a1_40_50_013_00000349330125215503417405_140_jpg.html
[accessed: 23 July 2015]

(photograph by author, 2012)

Conclusions

If globalisation has had a tremendous impact on culture and identity in different ethnic groups, and localisation is a series of reflections and self-criticism after the shocks, then glocalisation corresponds to the reflection of those practices as an experimental process. Some people would criticise traditional opera based on their training in Western classical music and aesthetics. However, these reflections and self-critical processes make performers and composers begin to look back at the traditional ways and materials which could be used to present the local identity. As Stokes describes:

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 (1994: 3).

By reviewing government intervention in *beiguan* activities, re-inspection of the

obstacles and impacts from the government agencies, we can better understand the current situation of the *beiguan* eco-system and its performing styles. It is difficult to know if traditional music still contains the music elements and spirit of the past, when the training of traditional art was based on western cultural aesthetic values and aspects. To the aspect of glocalisation, the localised concept is not the only consideration. In other words, cross-disciplinary collaboration and the application of modern technology bring a completely new sensory experience to contemporary performance and its audience. We can observe the process of evolution and experimental development from the changes of the performance pattern and styles in recent years.

Conclusions

For nearly 400 years, the different high-pressure regimes of Taiwan made people behave in a passive and oppressed way in regards to political matters. Because of this, Taiwanese identity has become blurred and difficult to describe accurately. This is especially true of the past hundred years, during the Japanese colonial period and KMT authoritarian rule, despite the country's democratic rule in the most recent twenty-seven years (see 5.1). Throughout history, issues over Han identity can be traced back to the attitude towards the large number of immigrants during the Ming and Qing dynasties. Since 1661 the rule of Zhang Chenggong [鄭成功], established the first Han political rule in Taiwan, people living in Taiwan mostly regarded themselves as Han Chinese rather than Taiwanese during this period.

In the final ten years of the Japanese colonial period (*kominka* 皇民化, Japanisation movement), the rulers tried to convert the Taiwanese into Japanese, while regarding them as inferior citizens. The idea of 'becoming Japanese' caused many intellectual debates over the concept of Taiwanese identity, when some elites 'shared a Chinese heritage', but were 'educated in Japan' (on the Japanese mainland or in Taiwan under the Japanese system). This situation caused confusion. As Heylen points out: 'These fifty years of silence made it hard to say anything about what Taiwanese intellectual culture really was' (2010: 160-161).

However, religion provided another focus for the ordinary life; *beiguan* opera and music pulled people together for religious service, built a sense of collective identity and shared interests. *Beiguan* clubs volunteered themselves for temple fairs, representing themselves as the keepers of tradition and provided the strength to defend their hometown in each village. The *beiguan* community developed a strong sense of belonging through the daily rehearsal to the deity and other practices such as procession and performance for the temple festival, the sharing of the same values and the goals of competitive performing, and provided the local communities with the means to cohere and stick together as their cultural spirit: *sillyzidi*.

The ritual sphere constructs a patron deity for local temples, worshipped by

several communities. The local chiefs are responsible for construction and management of the temple. The residents under the local chiefs' leadership need to donate annually (*dingkouqian*/丁口錢). There are several chairmen (incense heads, *luzhu*/爐主) alternately overseeing the ceremony each year, and this brings the clubs into close interaction with other groups such as deity worship associations (*shenmingwui*/神明會), palanquin bearer associations (*jiobanhui*/轎班會), music clubs (*quguan*/曲館), martial arts clubs (*wuguan*/武館), all in support of the ceremony. The purpose is to cement sentiments of collectivity and to promote a common consciousness and greater cohesion in the immigrant society.

As a result, each *beiguan* club has a strong community identity that represents each local area. Clubs form complex relationships and create a special balance. There are rivalries, but also cooperative partnerships specific to *beiguan* culture contrasting with the national situation. Taiwanese identity was hard to set up under the tough immigration laws and rigorous regimes during the agricultural period, while the *beiguan* community maintained a strong bond and sense of belonging.

Mirroring the Japanese attitude, the Chinese KMT government initially did not pay attention to the development of Taiwan. Instead, they tried to promote Taiwan as the ROC's base for recovering the big vision of liberating Mainland China from the PRC (People's Republic of China), with their well-known policy of the 'One China' principle. The first task of KMT was to 'de-Japanise', and then promote all kinds of Chinese culture that were exclusively Taiwanese as Sinicized [中國化]. 'The cultural policies of "Sinicizing Taiwan" in the post war period intensified when the Chinese Nationalist Party government lost the civil war against the Red Army and retreated to Taiwan in 1949' (Wang, 2005: 55-56). Between 1960 and 1990, Taiwanese traditional music did not suffer from stigmatisation and harsh criticism, but still faced a lot of political repression.

In addition, social activities and religious events have gradually become separated in modern society. This means that there are now fewer musical activities centred around religion and traditional customs than was previously the case. Social activities are dominated by a plethora of issues, such as personal entertainment, education, political activities etc. Traditional music is restricted to a limited field of performance because of its marginal status as a minority interest field in contemporary Taiwan and the relative dearth of appropriate and relevant religious ceremonies, which would formerly have provided an arena for *beiguan* ritual performance. The local cultural field has developed into a more globalised space.

Inevitably, the aesthetic of music has now been colonised by powerful, global, cultural hegemonic values. When people started to study their homeland and their own cultural heritage during the postmodern period around the 1980s to the 1990s, several Taiwanese traditional affairs were regarded as endangered activities, such as *beiguan* and *nanguan*.

However, the revival movements and promotion of Taiwanese tradition (also known as the nativisation movement) have been happening in every aspect of society since 1990. *Beiguan* music and its communities have been accepted by the mainstream culture and it is now considered of historical importance (belonging to the period before 1960). *Beiguan* still needs to make some adjustments of various degrees to conform with a publicly acceptable aesthetic. Nowadays, in urban areas non-ceremonial *beiguan* music (the repertoires of secular) usually comprises *Hi-khek* (*xiqu* 戲曲) and *Yu-khek* opera [細曲], with *Banxian* opera [扮仙戲] seldom performed in the concert hall. However, the instrumental repertoires *Pâi-tsó* (*paizi* 牌子) and *Hiân-á-phóo* (*xianzipu* 絃仔譜) have also been performed in concert settings, separated from their functions as theatrical backing music. The development of performances which are different to traditional ones provides another approach to sustain this tradition in modern society, but it also changes the nature of the *beiguan* community identity. With the dilution of traditional *beiguan* community functions, the identity of the *beiguan* community members is being replaced, converted, or disappearing entirely. The changes include the significant distinguishing features of cohesion and the sense of belonging within their community, which supports the construction of their identity.

Internationally, Taiwan is not recognised as an independent country, instead it must call itself 'China-Taipei' in international activities. As a consequence of this it seems rational and convincing to say that the government asserts the nativisation for political motives, in order to impress its status and the Taiwanese image worldwide. Thus, the government tends to choose to support any popular or famous groups. Moreover, the nativisation movement could be considered a development of Taiwan's cultural identity, a reconstruction of its historical lineage and realisation of the dreams and aspirations of its people. Under this circumstance, the Taiwanese government and the local authorities advocate the Taiwanisation and support traditions as part of their cultural policies. Governmental support is more like a contemporary, cosmopolitan, hybridised version of Taiwanese cultural identity, which is required to meet the needs of the different kinds of ethnic groups in Taiwan. What actually happens is that the Taiwanese authorities are separating Taiwanese identity by separating Taiwanese

traditions from China, such as *beiguan* opera or *Bunun's* culture (an ethnic group of Taiwanese aborigines).

These policies are criticised over the unequal distribution of resources: the government tends to finance famous, popular and successful groups over other kinds of traditional groups. Debates take place between the governing representatives and the public when the government is trying to find better policies to support and promote the traditional art forms. They do however now pay more attention and participation to the traditional affairs compared to previously. It is best for the government if the group they are supporting is already popular and famous, because this increases the exposure of traditional culture. These traditions then support the cultural identity of the Taiwanese people. As cultural policymaking must consider the public, famous groups are used to make sure a policy is successfully implemented. Thus, all kinds of traditional promoting activities are designed to appeal to a popular audience, although sometimes this can have implications between different political parties during elections.

On the other hand, the public or folk clubs are more willing to preserve their tradition since they are not popular but instead endangered. Some clubs regard government bureaucracy as pedantic in its attitude and 'using a lazy way' to promote the tradition on those famous groups (anonymous interviews, during 2005 to 2012). Those debates and unsatisfied emotions bring us back to the original discussions of tradition, more precisely the conception of tradition as constructed by policymaking. In other words, it is 'the idea of tradition' that is important to policy makers, not the tradition itself. The idea of 'supporting tradition' is an extremely important matter, but for politicians the content of 'that tradition' (what it consists itself, how it is played, who plays it) is actually less important. For shaping national identity, it does not need to be 'that tradition', it only needs to 'seem like tradition'. It does not matter if it is really that old, it does not matter if it is ancient. Those concepts meet Hobsbawm's definition of invented tradition: 'Traditions which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented' (1983:1).

From an official perspective, it is about sounding *beiguan*. Actually, what it is doing is sounding comfortable to the majority of listeners who were able to identify with it, associate themselves easily with it, and still act as if they have 'Taiwanese-ness' by doing so. They are still engaging with the idea that they are different from Chinese, the public are listening to this *beiguan*, even though a lot of the sounds in *beiguan* are similar to Chinese music. However, it is not just about what

music sounds like, it is about how people perceive the music, how people think about it; those communities and groups must do something to make people think that they are Taiwanese and distinct from the Chinese. Music is not just about the sound; it is about the context. This follows a very basic ruling principle of ethnomusicology.

Therefore, a version of those traditions has been supported by the nationalist ideology, but it is actually a hybridised version of Taiwanese-ness, similar to a hybridised version of *beiguan*. It combines high art and Chinese elements such as the sound style, but using *beiguan* materials. Actually, it is expressive of a kind of Taiwanese identity as being inherently hybridised; Taiwanese identity is inherently about the combination of two things, Chinese-ness and the early days of Taiwan as symbolised by *beiguan*. In addition, musical elements such as sound quality, timbre, the songs, style of instrumental playing (e.g. *suona*), indicate a high art and actually by definition are regarded as Chinese. *Beiguan* opera is developing a particular kind of contemporary expression of Taiwanese-ness: Taiwanese identity. Over the last ten years, tradition in Taiwan is being reinterpreted in this way, reconstructing the Taiwanese identity by reforming the traditional arts. In fact, as the label '*beiguan*' is Taiwanese, it achieves the required agenda of being nationalist and separating Taiwan and China.

The image of *beiguan* is used to relate to the temple festival, when the *kóo-tshue* (*guchuil* 鼓吹, percussion and *suona*) ensemble procession plays loud music throughout each street and lane. This vulgar image is one of the reasons which keeps members of the public from learning *beiguan*. Indeed, when the traditional art form gets involved in normal life, the artistry is difficult to consider, especially as the temple festival is famous for being very loud and noisy, with fireworks, crowds and disorder, although it is also the most fascinating and attractive part of this grass-roots culture. Therefore, the subject of sustaining the tradition is not only important for gaining political support, but the creation of new values is another important issue for transmission to the next generation.

Irish musicians often use traditional Irish folk songs to connect with their ethnicity, even when they are settled in England they may have traditional Irish folksong sessions for their ordinary recreation. The lyrics and melodies arouse the collective identity and reinforce the consciousness of being proud to be Irish in these regular weekly sessions (Figure 48). Their emotion even affected me with their resounding melodies and a strong sense of patriotism. When I joined their sessions, I was deeply moved to join in with the shouts of 'I love it' from the musicians and

audiences.



Figure 48. Irish folk song session in Fagins, Sheffield
(photograph by author, 2012)

This is the power of culture, which also provokes a reflection on the issue of Taiwanese *beiguan*, how could it create the same national bonding, sense of cultural identity and touch the Taiwanese people? When the Chinese ensemble played *beiguan* music (as the concert repertoires) in Sheffield during 2010 to 2012, the response from our audiences was that the music was exotic, funny and unfamiliar. They regarded it as Chinese music according to its soundscape, with no sense that it was in fact Taiwanese culture. According to Shils:

Traditions are indispensable; they are also very seldom entirely adequate. Their sheer existence disposes those who possess them to change them. The person who possesses a tradition and who depends on it is also impelled to modify it because it is not good enough for him, even though he could never have accomplished for himself what the tradition has enabled him to do (1981: 213).

Both pressures from 'endogenous' and 'exogenous factors' facilitate the challenges to tradition which force tradition to face the challenge, adapt to the conflict or even disappear. These pressures also raise the sense of conservation or modification in the public mind, to rethink the tradition (Ibid. 246-249). The *Pâi-tsú* (*paizi*/牌子) music genre inspired the personal emotion of hustle and bustle in the temple festival and deity processions; the *Hiân-á-phóo* (*xianzipu*/絃仔譜) music genre often symbolised the childhood memory of an elder who played the two stringed fiddle in the shade of a big tree in front of a temple. Today, this kind of

beiguan cognition and identity has been replaced by other impressions, such as the global society. The loss of oral tradition has resulted in a loss of participants, audiences and cultural identity. The culture finds it difficult to survive and becomes endangered, during periods of alienation and isolation, the traditional culture carries the mission of heritage and a sense of cohesion in this contemporary society. Therefore, to avoid *beiguan* becoming one of those endangered cultures, no matter the new position or new form of community identity, the way to help *beiguan* people shape their community identity, and passing the *beiguan* culture on to the next generation, is to gather all kind of government and folk powers by reinvesting in a new era of value. This approach echoes the title of this thesis: tradition in motion.

Appendix A: Official Organisations for Traditional Affairs

The organisations, locations and objectives of three of the most supportive and active promotional official organisations for *beiguan* opera are as follows: the National Centre for Traditional Arts (國立傳統藝術中心/ located north of Taiwan), the *Nanguan* and *Beiguan* Centre (南北管音樂戲曲館/located middle-west of Taiwan) and the Weiwuying Centre for the Arts (衛武營藝術文化中心籌備處, located south of Taiwan).

Table 22. Official organisations for traditional affairs

Time	Organisation and location	Objective ¹³¹
1996	Preparatory Office, 'The National Taiwanese Craft Research Institute' [國立傳統藝術中心籌備處]	Run under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, the missions of this organisation concern heritage, the revival of veteran <i>beiguan</i> clubs [北管館閣的重建], patronising new groups, <i>beiguan</i> training courses; hence the new title Minjian yishu baocun chuanxi jihua [明清藝術保存傳習計畫] (Folk Arts Preservation and Transmission Project, hereafter FAPT Project). ¹³²
2002	upgrade to the an official organisation as 'The National Centre for Traditional Arts' [國立傳統藝術中心] (North of Taiwan)	
1999	the <i>Nanguan</i> and <i>Beiguan</i> Centre [南北管音樂戲曲館] (Middle-west of Taiwan)	Run by local Changhua County Cultural Affairs Bureau [彰化縣文化局], the missions include performances, seminars, promotions, academic research, cultural heritage, the curation and display of museum collections, and counselling. 'As early as 1987, this opera house has been actively promoting <i>nanguan</i> , <i>beiguan</i> , <i>Chitze</i> opera [七子戲: a kind of <i>nanguan</i> opera], and <i>beiguan</i> opera classes, and cultivating massive number of talents for traditional opera and culture. It is respectively in 1996 and 2000 that the 'Experimental Music Orchestra of <i>nanguan</i> and <i>beiguan</i> ' was set up, founding the root for promoting and passing on traditional opera.' ¹³³

¹³¹ The information reference is from the article of Wang Yingfen 2003: 95-167.

¹³² Source from http://www.ncfta.gov.tw/ncfta_ce/c05/index.aspx [accessed Mar. 10. 2014].

¹³³ Source from http://www.bocach.gov.tw/subject/drama/01a_history.asp [accessed Mar. 10. 2014].

2007	the Weiwuying Centre for the Arts [衛武營藝術文化中心籌備處] (South of Taiwan)	Held under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, located in the south of Taiwan — Kaohsiung [高雄], the missions include the promotion of world-class performing arts, to enhance the hardware facilities and improve the arts performance environment. Thus, the Development Plan of the Southern Performing Arts is aimed at cultivating the southern performing groups, training new generation performers and increasing public awareness of their artistic heritage. ¹³⁴
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¹³⁴ Source from <http://www.wac.gov.tw/> [accessed Mar. 10. 2014].

Appendix B: Five Stages of State Intervention

According to Wang's *nanguan* research, during the first stage (1980-1984), preservation missions relied mainly on scholars and elites. State agencies began to get involved by providing funding to those researchers.

[...] state agencies began to take more active steps to preserve traditional arts through documentation [investigation report by the Ministry of Education, city and county cultural bureau] and through presentation in folk arts festivals [sponsored mostly by the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA)] (2003: 115-116).

The new forms of state intervention in the second period (1985-1989) gave national awards to distinguished clubs or musicians, such as the 'Heritage Award' [薪傳獎], 'Important Traditional Artists' [重要民族藝師], 'Revitalising Veteran *Beiguan* Clubs' and 'Patronising new groups' (Ibid. 117-123). The third stage (1990-1994) was a consequence of the emergence of a stronger Taiwanese identity. Increasing numbers of traditional arts were considered and promoted by funding the training courses and audio-visual documentation. The national wild arts festival was also held [全國文藝季] (Ibid. 123-127).

In the fourth period (1995-2003), the most significant changes were due to the way in which cultural affairs were gradually being managed and developed by specific cultural institutions and local cultural bureaus. According to Wang, this period can be categorised into three types:

[...] intervention from the central government represented by CCA and its adjunct organizations, intervention from local cultural centers, and intervention through school education and social education (Ibid. 128).

First, the 'Folk Arts Preservation and Transmission Project' (FAPT) was an eight-year plan, which included three goals: preservation, transmission and investigation. There were up to 150 missions for preserving so-called 'dying arts' (endangered arts), run by the 'National Centre for Traditional Arts' (NCTA). Their total budget was over NT\$300 million (approximately about GBP £6,250,000), and

included eleven *beiguan* missions attached to this project as is shown in Table 23. Through the participation of scholars and experts, this project focused on fieldwork interviews to construct artists' biographies; videoing, recording and documenting the process of transmission; and publishing the results into the different type of books, CDs, DVDs or catalogues.¹³⁵

Table 23. *Beiguan* Projects funded by NCTA's FAPT project¹³⁶

Object	Category	Project	Planner/Notes
<i>Luantan</i> (beiguan) opera	Preservation	The skills of <i>Luantan</i> performers preservation project: Pan Yujiao [潘玉嬌], Wang Jinfeng [王金鳳] and other performers in <i>Xinmeiyuan</i> [新美園]	Hong Weizhu and Lin Hoyi [洪惟助, 林鶴宜] The preservation object focused on the performers' skills, theatre plays performed by <i>Xinmeiyuan</i> —the only remaining professional troupe (during this project period). 1996/06/16 – 1997/06/15 1997/07/01 – 1998/06/30 1998/07/01 – 1999/06/30 (3 years)
Opera	Preservation	category the manuscripts of <i>beiguan Luantan</i> plays	Hsu Tsanghouei [許常惠] This plan aimed to organise and categorise the <i>beiguan</i> manuscript collections in the <i>Nanguan</i> and <i>Beiguan</i> Centre [南北管音樂戲曲館] and make them available for researchers. 1999/10/15 – 2000/12/15 (1.2 years)
Music	Preservation (by publication)	The biographies of three <i>beiguan</i> masters: Yeh Meijing [葉美景] (1905-2002), Wang Songlai [王宋來] and Lin Suichin [林金水]	Lu Chuikuan [呂鍾寬] Collection of manuscripts, photos, plays, recordings and videos 1996/03/01 – 1997/08/30 (1.5 years)
Music	Transmission	<i>Beiguan suona</i> and percussion ensemble in Jinman county [金門]	Li Guojun [李國俊] Collecting resources to form a teaching plan 1997/02/01 – 1997/06/30 1997/07/01 – 1998/06/30 1998/07/01 – 1999/06/30 (2.5 years)
Music	Transmission	Wanan Xuan [萬安軒] <i>beiguan</i> music transmission plan	Wu Xiuqing [吳秀卿] This project was divided into performances, transmission and musical collections. Two <i>beiguan</i> masters, Pan Yujiao [潘玉嬌] and Lin Suichin [林金水], who received the Heritage Award carried this transmission work. 1997/03/01 – 1997/06/30 1997/07/01 – 1998/06/30 1998/07/01 – 1999/06/30 (2.3 years)

¹³⁵ National Centre for Traditional Arts website [傳藝中心], <http://km.ncfta.gov.tw/project.jsp> [accessed Mar. 20. 2014].

¹³⁶ National Centre for Traditional Arts website, <http://km.ncfta.gov.tw/project.jsp> [accessed Mar. 26. 2014].

Music	Transmission	The transmission plan of <i>Nanguan</i> and <i>Beiguan</i> music	the <i>Nanguan</i> and <i>Beiguan</i> Centre [南北管音樂戲曲館] 1997 (1 year)
Music	Transmission	The transmission plan of <i>suona</i> and percussion	Wang Ruiyu [王瑞裕] 1997/07/01 – 1998/06/30 (1 year)
Music	Preservation (by publication)	Chiu Huorong [邱火榮] <i>beiguan Pâi-tsnorong</i> on 牌子: <i>suona</i> and percussion ensemble) collection	Chiu Huorong [邱火榮] Publishing the transcriptions and CDs of Chiu's <i>beiguan Pâi-tsnorong</i> (牌子) performance 1999/01/15 – 2000/12/15 (2 years)
Music	Transmission	The medium-term of <i>Nanguan</i> and <i>Beiguan</i> music transmission	Lee Diankui [李殿魁] Training the professional performer and teacher 2001/01/20 – 2001/12/20 2002/01/20 – 2002/12/20 2003/02/01 – 2003/12/15 (3 years)
Music	Preservation (by publication)	The art of <i>Beiguan</i> kulu opera [古路戲曲]	Lu Chuikuan [呂鍾寬] Providing a specialised learning material 2001/01/20 – 2001/12/20 (1 year)
Music	Preservation (by publication)	The teaching material of <i>Beiguan</i> opera	Chiu Huorong [邱火榮] Publishing the transcriptions and CDs of Chiu and Pan Yujiao [潘玉嬌]'s <i>beiguan</i> opera performance 2002 (1 year)

The *beiguan* projects included six preservation and five transmission tasks that showed the determination of the government to develop, improve and refine this traditional art form and bring it into contemporary society and to the young generation. At this stage, *beiguan* opera started to become involved in a large scale of collecting and organising repertoires or plays, refining their performances and supporting training programmes for the next generation.

In terms of cultural policy, this stage could be regarded as a sign of progress, especially when the central government seemed to delegate authority to the local government. The notion of 'community empowerment' was a new policy idea in 1994 (one of the 'twelve cultural development projects'), which aimed to re-interpret and engage local art forms. It also could relieve the tension between 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' policies by encouraging people to participate and run their own neighbourhoods in both countryside and city areas.

Secondly, the CCA and its adjunct organisations, such as the NCTA and the local government (for instance, Changhua and Taipei Cultural Bureau), began to play a critical role in *beiguan* activities. They held the annual national art festival and gala

concerts and offered funding for *beiguan* musical training courses. Taipei Cultural Bureau initiated an investigation of the ‘endangered traditional arts—*beiguan*’ [台北市式微傳統藝術調查記錄—北管] in 2001 (Lu, 2009: 85). Changhua County Cultural Bureau has supported free lessons for *beiguan* transmission since 1997, and following the completion of the ‘*Nanguan* and *Beiguan* Centre’ [南北戲曲館], the *beiguan* clubs have a regular and formal annual gala concert in the middle of Taiwan.

Thirdly, the education system was based on a new model while the traditional music department was set up in the National Institute of the Arts (now, Taipei National University of the Arts) in 1995. This was the first *beiguan* degree to be offered in the university system. *Beiguan* training/appreciation courses or seminars began to be adopted in the nine-year education system after 1996; the Ministry of Education began to plan national indigenous educational policies—the folk art educational plan.

In the fifth period (2003-until present), traditional *beiguan* has had an outstanding development and outcome in recent decades. The government completed the initial investigation of *beiguan* clubs by each county’s and each city’s research reports, performance recordings and audio-visual achievements. The NCTA has also led the annual report programme for the music activities of each *beiguan* club and, since 2009, it publishes the results in a yearbook called *Taiwan Traditional Music Yearbook*. According to the editing committee, this annual investigation aims to present, cultivate and shape each individual citizens’ diverse ethnic group background identity into Taiwanese awareness. The characteristic of multicultural society constructed its particular acculturation throughout all the conflicts and syncretism, accumulating the experiences of each wave of immigration into the island. Therefore, the editing committee of the yearbook suggested recording the music activities in Taiwan and following three main categories: *Han*, aboriginal and world music. They also could be classified as: *nanguan*, *beiguan*, *Taiwanese opera*, *Hakka* music, *religious* music, Taiwanese aboriginal music and world music for the clubs or groups who hold activities, including galas, concerts, seminars, temple festivals, CDs/DVDs/books publishing or traditional art form transmission lessons in Taiwan. Those individuals, clubs and groups are the potential informants for the survey. The investigation board members have been organised by several professors. They are organised by different backgrounds linking to each topic. Each topic is constituted mostly by a leading scholar, with their assistants doing the fieldwork and interviews

with the related clubs, groups or individuals.¹³⁷

Surveys of traditional arts are commissioned by the Ministry of Education since people are unfamiliar with traditional culture, and plans for cultural preservation are still not sufficient or complete. As a result, the final reports could form the development plan and provide references for the relevant departments to formulate policies. In other words, it could make a useful database to observe Taiwanese traditional music and its evolution and the changes of environment for further research on the Taiwanese music industry and providing a preliminary outlook.

On the other hand, the government has been trying very hard to develop the professional performance troupes who could spread Taiwan's image across the world and show how Taiwanese tradition is distinct from China. This can be traced to the Council for Cultural Affairs, who founded the 'International Performance Troupe Cultivation Plan' [國際性演藝團隊扶植計畫] in 1991 'to help sustain and promote outstanding professional groups that exhibited high potential to become internationally active'. Some groups became professionally managed and well developed. In 1998, this project was renamed 'Outstanding Performing Art Groups Selection and Award Project' [傑出演藝團度徵選及獎勵計畫] 'to play down the international aspects of the project' and instead meet the nativisation policy (performing arts grass-roots tour) which promoted many activities and aimed to educate the Taiwanese people about their traditions. In 2000, the project was again changed to the 'Performing Art Groups Development Project' [演藝團隊發展扶植計畫] (Wang Yingfen, 2003: 136). Every year, the Ministry of Culture has given the yearly budget BGP £3.8 million (approximately NT \$190 million) subsidy to those 100 cultivation teams.

¹³⁷ Taiwan Traditional music Yearbook website: 2009, 2010 and 2011 [accessed April. 8. 2014].
http://210.241.82.1/rimh/2009_taiwan_traditional_music_yearbook/index.html
http://rimh.ncfta.gov.tw/2010_taiwan_traditional_music_yearbook/
http://rimh.ncfta.gov.tw/2011_taiwan_traditional_music_yearbook/



Figure 49. The online version of *Taiwan Traditional Music Yearbook 2010*

Source from: http://tmc.ncfta.gov.tw/2010_taiwan_traditional_music_yearbook/

The funding from the cultural affairs is increasingly comprehensive and diverse. The list of below is relevant funding of *beiguan* filed in 2013:

Table 24. 2013 Traditional arts funding list¹³⁸

1	Digital Archives of Traditional Arts Programme [傳統藝術數位典藏與加值運用計畫]	£38,204 ¹³⁹ (NT\$1,924,000)
2	Promotional International Exchange and Cultivating Cultural and Artistic Talent in traditional art forms [傳統藝術展演劇藝交流及人才培育計畫]	£75,492 (NT\$3,800,000)
3	The operation and promotion plan of the National Centre for Traditional Arts [傳藝園區營運與推廣計畫]	£234,920 (NT\$11,825,000)
4	Taiwanese musical resource integration/reassignment plan [臺灣音樂資源整合計畫]	£65,797 (NT\$3,312,000)
5	The performance and development plan of <i>Beijing opera</i> [京劇藝術之展演與發展計畫]	£409,825 (NT\$20,629,000)
6	The performance and development plan of Yu (Henan) opera [豫劇之展演與發展計畫]	£234,344 (NT\$11,796,000)
7	The performance and development plan of Chinese Orchestra 臺灣國樂展演與發展計畫	£245,410 (NT\$12,353,000)
8	Promotional Exchange and Cultivating Cultural and Artistic Talent in traditional art forms—International [傳統藝術展演劇藝交流及人才培育計畫—國際交流]	£171,705 (NT\$8,643,000)
9	Promotional Exchange and Cultivating Cultural and Artistic Talent in traditional art forms—Mainland China and Taiwan [傳統藝術展演劇藝交流及人才培育計畫—兩岸交流]	£47,361 (NT\$2,384,000)

Another cultural exchange project is ‘The Spotlight Taiwan Project’ which has been running from 2013 and will finish in 2016. It supports ‘a diverse array of

¹³⁸ <http://www.moc.gov.tw/ccaImages/adminstration/291/20140305-b.pdf> [accessed Mar. 26. 2014].

¹³⁹ 1 GBP = 50.3611 TWD <http://www.xe.com/zh-HK/currencyconverter/> [accessed April. 8. 2014].

enriching activities that promote Taiwan's culture and research on Taiwan.'¹⁴⁰ These projects or activities promote local participation (a grass-roots level promotion) and enhance the global perspective by arranging international workshops, concerts and tours.

In general, the government has been encouraging *beiguan* amateur communities to register their clubs with their local cultural bureau. It offers another option to the clubs who could apply for funding for their activities or transmission lessons by providing a regular report (such as, attendance list, gala's recordings, and photos). In the central government sector, there are approximately 200 kinds of traditional art clubs who were registered and preserved in the Bureau of Cultural Heritage [文化資產局]. These include sixteen *beiguan* clubs, as seen in Table 25 (the individual person, troupes, puppet drama, parade form referring the club who uses *beiguan* music).













Table 25. The registration list of *beiguan* clubs on Bureau of Cultural Heritage record¹⁴¹

Photo	The title of cultural heritage	Preserver/group	Administration	Region	Genre	Registration number	Date
	Changhua city <i>Lichunyuan beiguan</i> ballad singing [彰化市梨春園北管曲藝] ¹⁴²	<i>Lichunyuan beiguan</i> music club [梨春園北管樂團]	Changhua County government [彰化縣政府]	Changhua County [彰化縣]	music	府授文戲字第 0960001620 C 號	2007/06/05
	<i>Beiguan</i> [北管]	Taipei <i>Gonglexuan</i> folk art association [台北共樂軒民藝文化協會]	Taipei City government [臺北市政府]	Taipei City [臺北市]	music	府文化三字第 09 931583900 號	2010/08/09
	<i>Hakka</i> music [客家八音]	Miaoli <i>Chang family, Hakka beiguan</i> music club [苗栗陳家班北管八音團]	Council for Cultural Affairs [文化部]	Miaoli County [苗栗縣]	music	會授資籌三字第 09920061931 號	2010/06/18

¹⁴⁰ "For this project, the Ministry is approaching leading universities and mainstream art, culture, academic and research organizations to establish long-term, substantive cooperative relationships": <http://english.moc.gov.tw/dir/index.php?sn=320> [accessed Mar. 10. 2013].

¹⁴¹ Ministry of Culture, Bureau of Cultural Heritage, <http://www.boch.gov.tw/boch/> [accessed April. 8. 2014].

¹⁴² *Quyí* [曲藝]: 'folk art forms including ballad singing, storytelling, comic dialogues, clapper talks, cross talks, etc.' source from http://chinese_adv.enacademic.com/33121/%E6%9B%B2%E8%89%BA [accessed April. 8. 2014].

	Beiguan [北管]	Zhu, Qingsong [朱清松] and Zhang, Jintu [張金土]	Taipei City government [臺北市政府]	Taipei City [臺北市]	music	府文化三字第 1013010000 號	2012/01/09
	Beiguan music [北管音樂]	Lichunyuan beiguan music club [梨春園北管樂團]	Council for Cultural Affairs [文化部]	Changhua County [彰化縣]	music	會授資籌三字第 0982101168 號書函	2009/02/17
	Beiguan [北管]	Chiu, Huorong [邱火榮]	New Taipei City government [新北市政府]	New Taipei City [新北市]	music	北府文資字第 0980013803 號	2009/10/05
	Beiguan music [北管音樂]	Banqiao Chaoheshe [板橋潮和社]	New Taipei City government [新北市政府]	New Taipei City [新北市]	music	北府文資字第 0990015439 號	2010/10/12
	Beiguan music [北管音樂]	Danshui Nanbeixuan [淡水南北軒]	New Taipei City government [新北市政府]	New Taipei City [新北市]	music	北府文資字第 1012924641 號	2012/12/06
	Beiguan music [北管音樂]	Hanyang beiguan theatre troupe [漢陽北管劇團]	Yilan County government [宜蘭縣政府]	Yilan County [宜蘭縣]	opera	府文資第 097000268 號	2008/01/21
	Hakka music [客家八音]	Tianwu Hakka beiguan music club (Guanxi Longxi heritage) [田屋北管八音團/關西祖傳隴西八音團]	Xinzhu County government [新竹縣政府]	Xinzhu County [新竹縣]	music	府授文表字第 0980100529 號	2009/06/25
	Hakka music [客家八音]	Miaoli Chang family, Hakka beiguan music club [苗栗陳家班北管八音團]	Miaoli County government [苗栗縣政府]	Miaoli County [苗栗縣]	music	府文資字第 0987500293 號	2009/01/09
	Beiguan opera [北管戲曲]	Hanyang beiguan theatre troupe [漢陽北管劇團]	Council for Cultural Affairs [文化部]	Yilan County [宜蘭縣]	opera	會授資籌三字第 0982101168 號書函	2009/02/17
	Ronglexuan beiguan theatre troupe [榮樂軒北管劇團]	Beiguan theatre troupe Ronglexuan [榮樂軒北管劇團]	Changhua County government [彰化縣政府]	Changhua County [彰化縣]	music	府授文戲字第 0990000240C	2010/04/12
	Wuqingfa beiguan puppet drama [吳清發/北管布袋戲]	Wuqingfa beiguan puppet drama troupe [吳清發/新樂園掌中劇團]	Changhua County government [彰化縣政府]	Changhua County [彰化縣]	opera	府授文戲字第 0980316435D	2009/12/29
	Beiguan music [北管音樂]	Yuqinxuan beiguan music club [玉琴軒北管樂團]	Changhua County government [彰化縣政府]	Changhua County [彰化縣]	music	府授文戲字第 10102701282 號	2012/09/21

	<i>Beiguan</i> opera [北管戲曲]	<i>Zhuqian beiguan</i> art troupe [竹塹北管藝術團]	Xinzhu County government [新竹縣政府]	Xinzhu City [新竹市]	opera	府授文資字第 0980206293	2009/11/06
	Sankeng <i>Deyitang beiguan</i> temple parade troupe [三坑得意堂北管陣頭]	Sankeng <i>Deyitang beiguan</i> temple parade troupe [三坑得意堂北管陣頭]	Keelung County government [基隆市政府]	Keelung City [基隆市]	music	基府文資貳字第 0960113207A 號	2007/10/08

In these sixteen items, there are three repeated clubs that are representative of different government bodies: centre and local, *Lichunyuan beiguan* music club [梨春園北管樂團], Miaoli *Chang family, Hakka beiguan* music club [苗栗陳家班北管八音團], *Hanyang beiguan* theatre troupe [漢陽北管劇團], hence, they have different reasons to specify that they are important traditional art forms. For example, the *Hanyang beiguan* theatre troupe is considered as an important traditional asset, which as they are endangered deserves conservation and support. This could be reflected in people's ordinary lives and preferred entertainment (here, I mainly indicate for the general situation of governmental supported on *beiguan* opera, the governmental resource distribution will be presented in the further research). Overview of the cultural policy of *beiguan* can be divided into three fundamental categories: preservation (included investigation), transmission and promotion.

Turning to preservation, the government has established a database to avoid repetitious research and reduce the waste of human resources on further in-depth research. It also uses a new networked digital library. The *beiguan* club census has restored the historical accounts by collecting old photos, plays, cultural relics, musical instruments, repertoires and interviewing the elders. On the other hand, publication of the artist biographies, the musical notations and the history of *beiguan* opera also helped to build the image of *beiguan*. These initiatives could also shape the Taiwanese culture and identity.

Appendix C: Fieldworks

I began conducting fieldwork interviews and participating in the activities of *beiguan* communities across the entire island of Taiwan from 2001 onwards. Including my individual interviews (see Appendix C.1), a part of my fieldwork was conducted with the government agency bureaus during my time as an assistant in TNUA, assisting Lin Pochi [林珀姬] with the governmental programmes. This provided me the opportunity to collect information from local clubs and construct *beiguan's* socio-system from the earlier immigrant period to modern day (oral history). My usual tasks were taking photos and videos of club performances in the temple festivals or club galas, interviewing the local clubs for their activities, discussing the problems they have with maintaining themselves, the requests of the government agencies, and writing the annual reports for individual clubs which I had interviewed (those projects are listed on Appendix C.2).

Appendix C.1 List of Interviews:

a. Groups

Xizhi Leyinshe beiguan club [汐止樂音社]:

Xizhi *Leyinshe beiguan* club [汐止樂音社] is a typical Taiwanese amateur *beiguan* club. It broke away from its neighbourhood *beiguan* club *Lechingxuan* [樂清軒] and was founded in 1912.

<p>Several interviews during Oct 2002 to Jun 2005 June 2006 July 2008 Sep 2009 May 2011 30 April 2012 12 Feb 2013 August 2015</p>	<p>Zhan Wenzan [詹文讚]: He is the instrumental mentor of amateur club in Xizhi <i>Leyinshe beiguan</i> club [汐止樂音社]. When he was young, he used to play the drum (<i>bangu</i>/板鼓; Taiwanese: <i>pán-kóo</i>), which is the leading instrument of the <i>beiguan</i> ensemble. He is also proficient with the <i>khak-á-hiân</i> (<i>kezixian</i>/殼仔絃). He has been attending <i>beiguan</i> festivals since he was 11 or 12 years old. Now, he teaches in the TNUA, department of traditional music, <i>Leyinshe beiguan</i> club and has also been in charge of the <i>beiguan</i> transmission session in Taipei Zhongshan Hall [中山堂] since 1998.</p>
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- 12-13 May 2012 **Haibai [海伯]:**
 03 July 2012 A typical *beiguan zidi*, he has been in the *Leyinshe* club since
 15 July 2012 he was 11 years old. He claims that he is not good at music; he
 joined the club because he has a lot of fun with other
 community members.
- June 2012 **Deity worship gathering ‘chiáh- hōe’ (*chihui*/吃會):**
 The Xizhi *Leyinshe beiguan* club [汐止樂音社] still has
 semi-annual gatherings in June and December of the Chinese
 lunar calendar ever since the colonial period. The gathering
 joins ten *beiguan* clubs from around the northern districts of
 New Taipei City (Xizhi, Keelung and Nuannuan area; visited
 and interviewed the gathering in Xizhi).
- 15 May 2011 **Mr. and Mrs. Haung:**
 12-13 May 2012 Discussion about the topic of ‘silly *zidi*’. According to Mrs.
 15 July 2012 Haung, her husband is a typical *beiguan* ‘silly *zidi*’ (*hanzidi*/憨
 子弟; Taiwanese: *gōng-chú-tē*). He always puts *beiguan* affair
 first.

Linkou *Lelinyuan beiguan* club [林口樂林園]

Lelinyuan is a traditional *beiguan* club, which was set up by the local community in 1925. They recruited teenagers and hired three teachers A-jiu Xian [阿九先], Tseng Chiehsheng [曾捷盛] and Wang shijing [王石井] to teach the *beiguan* music.

- 2005 to 2011 **Lee Liangcheng [李兩成] and Zeng Jintian [曾進添]:**
 29 Nov 2008 Two of them were the former managers of *Lelinyuan* club.

Banqiao *Xikun Wudangshe* [板橋溪崑武當社]

- April 2000 to Feb **Late *beiguan* musician Wang Yangyi [王洋一] (1935-2008):**
 2002 (almost every He was the former club leader who came from a temple-based
 Saturday) club – Banqiao *Xikun Wudangshe* [板橋溪崑武當社] in New
 April 2005 Taipei City. He was very proud of being a *beiguanren*
 Feb 2006 (*beiguan* community member). He always tried to teach me
 Jan 2007 about what the *beiguan* culture was supposed to be (as his
 experience of childhood) and outlined his vision for reviving

beiguan to its former glory. He was happy to tell me everything he knew and spoke without reservation.

***Yuejing beiguan club* [樂靜社]**

The *Yuejing beiguan* club is located at Jinxi Street [錦西街], attached to the *Yongjing* temple [泳靜廟]. It has approximately fifteen members. Under the poor conditions of national social change, they had no other chance but to suspend most of their *beiguan* activities, and to concentrate specifically on developing their repertoire for a festival parading procession called *beiguan zhentou* [陣頭]. In 2008, Yeh established a *zhentou* union in Taipei city, recruiting many of the *zhentou* clubs in response to the crisis of decreasing *beiguan* music. This new union held a grand ceremony for the birthday of their patron deity: *Fuyoudijun* [孚佑帝君] in 2009.

28 Feb 2006

Yeh Jinfu [葉金福]:

the leader of *Yuejing beiguan club* [樂靜社] and the manager of the temple: *Yongjing* temple [泳靜廟].

2005 to 2012

Anonymous interviews:

The public or folk clubs are more willing to preserve their tradition since they are not popular but endangered. Some clubs regard the government bureaucracy as pedantic in its attitude and ‘using a lazy way’ to promote the tradition of those famous groups.

23 May 2002

The audience members in Dalongdong Baosheng cultural festival:

Some audiences prefer to see performances which are skillfully improvised which interact and engage with the audiences. This only happens on the outdoor stage (according to fieldwork note).

b. Individual informants

- April 2000 to Feb 2002 (almost every Saturday) **The late *beiguan* mentor Yeh Meijing [葉美景] (1905-2002):**
He is regarded as a ‘national treasure’ [國寶藝人]. According to the online database of Taiwanese musicians: ‘Yeh Meijing was born in Taichung in 1905. He is a *beiguan* master and artisan. He studied *beiguan* with Wang Jin-Kun at the age of 12. After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in the late 1930s, he was sent to serve as a soldier for the Japanese in China. After retiring from the army, he continued to work as a *beiguan* teacher. Yeh moved to Taipei after turning 50, and subsisted by running a small business until he was in his 70s, which was when he started participating in *beiguan* activities again. He was given the nickname “demon teacher” because of his strict teaching style. Yeh was awarded the Ministry of Education’s National Art Education Award for *beiguan*. He endured brain damage after falling down and died in 2002.’¹⁴³
- Sep 2003 to May 2004 (once a week) **The late *beiguan* mentor Lin Shuichin [林水金] (1918-2013):**
‘He was born in Taichung in 1918. He is a *beiguan* master. He was versed in a variety of traditional opera forms and styles. He taught *beiguan* music in nearly all of Taichung’s *beiguan* ensembles, making him highly influential person in the passing on the traditions of *beiguan*. In 1991, he was awarded the Special Honours Award at the 7th National Art Education Awards. Lin was a public servant in the government, working for a government agency his entire life, making him one Taiwan’s rarest types of public servant in the realm of traditional music. He passed away in 2013.’¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Source from: the online database of Taiwanese musicians, <http://musiciantw.ncfta.gov.tw/list.aspx?p=M047&c=&hall=1&t=1> [accessed July. 23. 2015].

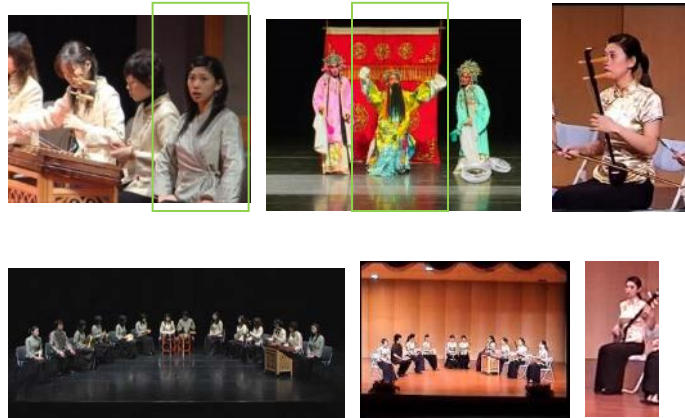
¹⁴⁴ Source from: the online database of Taiwanese musicians, <http://musiciantw.ncfta.gov.tw/list.aspx?p=M049&c=&t=4> [accessed: Jan. 10. 2016].

- Sep 2002 to 2005
(twice a week) **Chiu Huorong** [邱火榮]:
He married Pan Yujiao [潘玉嬌], both of them winning the national awards for musician and actor (Appendix B) in 1989 and 1990 and is now considered a national treasure musician and actor. He comes from a *beiguan* opera family, his parents are a famous *beiguan* musician and an actress. His *beiguan* music recordings and notations are published by Chiu Ting *The Beiguan Music of Chiu Huorong* (album, 1997), *Beiguan Pâi-tsú Music Album* (2000), *The Teaching Material of Beiguan Hi-khek Vocal Music* (DVD and transcription, 2002).
- Dec 2004 to May
2005 **Liu Yuying** [劉玉鶯]:
She is Chiu Huorong's sister, who also is a professional *beiguan* actress.
- May 2015 **Huang Wanzhen** [黃宛珍]:
She is a *pipa* and *zheng* player, who taught the Chinese ensemble in *Dalongdong Baoan Temple*.
- 2001-2008 (twice a
week at least)
July 2015 **Lin Pochi** [林珀姬]:
She is an ethnomusicologist and an expert of Taiwanese folklore. 'Lin has had a long-term dedication to research, performance and teaching in multiple fields of *nanguan* music, Taiwanese folk songs, *Dintao* formation music, Chinese music literature and traditional notation and made great impacts on promoting the research and education of *nanguan* and Chinese traditional music. Lin currently is a full-time professor at Department of Traditional Music, National Taipei University of Arts and also teaches at Taipei Huasheng *nanguan* Club, *Yinyong* Music Studio, and *naguan* class at Taipei Cultural Centre¹⁴⁵.'

¹⁴⁵ Source from: the online database of Taiwanese musicians, <http://musiciantw.ncfta.gov.tw/list.aspx?hall=1&p=M108> [accessed: Jan. 10. 2016].

Appendix C.2 Participation in *Beiguan* Activities and Assisting in Governmental Investigations into the *Beiguan* Communities

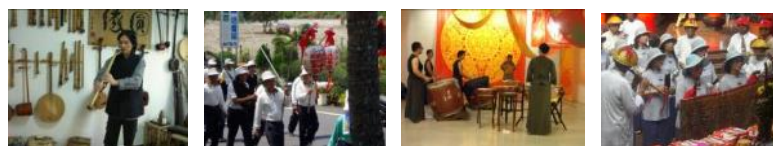
2001.09 – 2006.12 Represented the TNUA's department of traditional music in performing traditional music



2003.09 – 2005.11 Joined the TNUA Taiwanese *Beiguan* Opera ensemble: singing and playing *beiguan* instruments.

2006.01 – 2006.05 Editing the Taiwan encyclopedia entries for the abstract and the plot of *beiguan* plays.

2006.10 – 2007.05 Research assistant for the Taipei City Council, conducting research into the Folk Arts of Taipei.

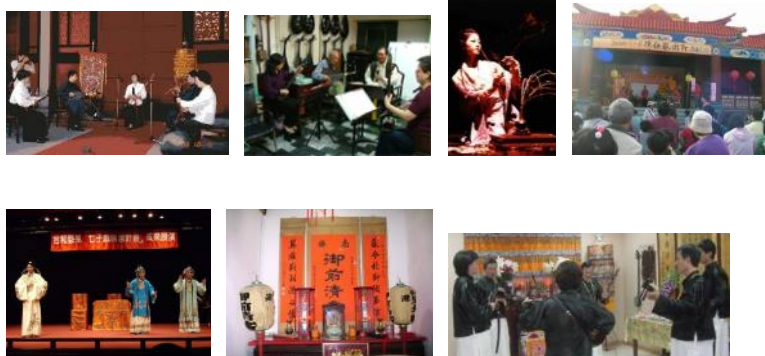


2008.05 – 2008.12 Research assistant for the Almanac of Taiwan Traditional Music Conservation 2008: investigation into the activities of *beiguan*, *nanguan* and Taiwanese Opera music.



2009.01 – 2014.03 Research assistant for *Taiwan Traditional Music Yearbook*: investigation into the activities of *nanguan* and *beiguan* music and their communities.

The NCTA makes an annual report on the music activities of each *beiguan* club, and since 2009, it publishes the results in a yearbook called *Taiwan Traditional Music Yearbook*.



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2001-2008 (twice a week at least), Lin Pochi [林珀姬], an ethnomusicologist and an expert of Taiwanese folklore, Taipei.

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Sep 2002 to 2005 (twice a week), Chiu Huorong [邱火榮], *beiguan* mentor, Taipei.

Sep 2003 to May 2004 (once a week), Lin Shuichin [林水金] (1918-2013, late *beiguan* mentor), Taipei.

Dec 2004 to May 2005, Liu Yuying [劉玉鶯], a professional *beiguan* actress, Taipei.

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August 2015, Zhan Wenzan [詹文讚], *beiguan* musician, Taipei.

Glossary of Terms

- a purification rite (*jingtai*/淨台): is presented by an actor or musician before all performances (Wang Sungshan, 1988: 53). A club member burns and waves a piece of joss paper in his hand when he is muttering incantations and walking around every corner on the stage.
- āu-tiūnn* (*houchang*/後場, back stage): the silk and bamboo ensemble (is traditionally hidden to the side or behind the stage).
- Bā-jhīh-gau-yī-tse-tòu-tòu* [八隻交椅坐透透]: an old *beiguan* proverb, lit. *sit all of/over eight chairs, ba zhi jiao yi zuo tou tou*/八隻交椅坐透透, eight instrument position. Eight is a general number used by many for expressing praise and admiration of a teacher's skills and referring to the *beiguan* mentor who is able to play each instrument on the stage.
- bang* (板鼓; Taiwanese: *pán-kóo*): conductor drum, also called *thâu-tshiu-kóo* [頭手鼓], the leader instrument of *wuchang* [武場].
- banqiangti* [板腔體]: a metrical variation tune form
- bantuhui* [本土化]: the Taiwanese localisation movement
- banxian* opera [扮仙戲]: *Banxian* means that actors assuming the role of deities pass their blessing to audiences, literally, *ban* [扮] refers to dress up, *xian* [仙] indicates the gods, deities or immortal. Performers wear the costumes similar to the court official who comes from the heavenly bureaucracy. There are three different types of stories which form a set of ritual opera and present different types of auspiciousness and mercy. In general, three sections (plays) constitute a set of *banxian* operas, deity's blessing [降神賜福], conferring a gift [封贈] and a family's reunion [團圓].
- kóan-ôan* (*guanyuan*/館員, *beiguan* club member): are divided into musicians and normal members, each of them did not always have to learn music, instead, the purpose of being a member was only to appreciate the music and enjoy the gathering. Thus, musicians took charge of the music part, while the other members dealt with the club affairs and prepared for the temple festival performance.
- beiguan's spirit* [北管精神]: regards *beiguan* community as a steadfast big family, members helping each other and playing music together, which bonded with a strong community identity and supported their faith.
- budaixi* [布袋戲]: puppet drama
- CCA [文建會]: Council for Cultural Affairs
- cháng-kang* (*zonggang* or *zongjiang*, 總綱/總江): The script mainly shows plot and some parts of *gongche* notation for pointing out the melody as prelude, bridge or

epilogue.

Chou [丑]: a funny male clown, including the civilian role [*wenchou*/文丑] and minor military role [*wuchou*/武丑].

Chuyi [曲藝]: Chinese narrative forms, same as *shuochang* (narrative singing, 說唱)

Dabanzhu [大班祝]: one of *beiguan paizi* [牌子] repertoire

Dabaxian [大八仙]: one of *beiguan paizi* [牌子] repertoire

Dajianzhou [大鑑州]: one of *beiguan paizi* [牌子] repertoire

Dan [旦]: female role

Drunken Eight Immortals [醉八仙]: one of *beiguan* ritual opera (*banxianxi*) play

ē-sì-thiāu [下四柱]: a collective term for another four secondary characters, *kong-mò* [公末] (subordinate role), *lī-hua* [二花] (secondary painted face), *laodan* [老旦] (elder female role) and *tētàn* [搥旦] (female clown).

Fengrusong [風入松]: one of *beiguan paizi* [牌子] repertoire

Fulu opera [福路]: refers to an old musical style (it is the first genre of *beiguan* opera brought to Taiwan by immigrants), compares with *Xinlu* opera.

Gongche notation [工尺譜]: (similar to western sol-fa) is one kind of traditional Chinese character notation from 13th century. It was a popular written method for traditional music type, such as Chinese opera and Chinese instrumental music *Jiangnan Sizhu* [江南絲竹].

gōng-chú-tē (*hanzidi*/憨子弟, *silly zidi*): a common saying to describe those amateur *beiguan* club members as ‘silly zidi’, because the *beiguan zidi* have specific persistence and enthusiasm for *beiguan* musical learning and the transmission of the music. They also selflessly commit themselves to the *beiguan* community serving the deity and participant temple festivals, even make an absence request from their work to prepare and join the temple festival activities. Their passion and loyalty gained them a good reputation with others. On the other hand, this dedication consumed too much energy and time; outsiders cannot understand their enthusiasm and seem a bit stubborn and silly.

guoji [國劇]: *Beijing* opera, also called *Peking* opera (see also *Peking* opera)

guoyue [國樂]: literally means national music, traditional Chinese orchestra

guoyue [國畫]: national painting, traditional Chinese painting, brush painting

gushi rhythm [鼓詩]: easily memorised percussion patterns

Hakka [客家人]: the Han people from eastern Guangdong (15% population in Taiwan)

Hîân-á-phóo (*xianzipu*/絃仔譜): it could be performed separately or put in the opera as the interlude music

Hi-khek (*xiqu*/戲曲): a formal historical and epic opera system, including two types of different musical style-- *Fulu* and *Xinlu* opera

- hō-hiân* (*hexian*/和絃): two-stringed fiddle, with bigger resonator than *khak-á-hiân* (*kezixian*/殼仔絃), providing the lower voice
- Holo* people [河洛人]: the Han people from southern Fujian, Ming-nan region (70% population in Taiwan)
- hongsheng* [紅生]: military general or painted face
- jiao* [郊商]: guild merchants
- jiaobanhui* [轎班會]: palanquin bearer association
- Jinbang tuanyuan* [金榜團圓]: one of *beiguan* ritual opera (*banxianxi*) play
- jinghu* [京胡]: high-pitched two-stringed fiddle, small size, covered with the water-snake's skin, the leader instrument of *wenchang* for *Xinlu* opera
- Jinyang Palace* [晉陽宮]: one of *beiguan Xinlu Hi-khek* (*xiqu*/戲曲) play
- Jiqingxi* [吉慶戲]: Auspicious opera, the other name of *beiguan* ritual opera (*banxianxi*) genre
- Juzhong* [劇種]: 'refers to types of drama that differ from one another mainly in dialect, often sharing plots, styles of costume, and styles of acting' (Yung: 2001: 277).
- kau-pôe* [*jiaopei*/交陪]: a gathering normally took place at a certain time of year which bonded through the deity worship associations [神明會].
- khai-kuán* [開館]: refers to a special terminology of *beiguan* club's training event, an opening ritual for the four months training.
- khak-á-hiân* (*kezixian*/殼仔絃): a small two-stringed fiddle made of wood board and covered with a coconut resonator, also called *thâu-tshiu-hiân* (*toushouxian*/頭手絃).
- kóan-chú* (*guan-zhu*/館主): The club leader (whom some clubs also called *shezhang*/社長; Taiwanese: *siā-tiúthe*), was normally selected from the local chiefs [*defan touren*/地方頭人; Taiwanese: *tē-hng thâu-lâng*] who were enthusiastic and had understanding of local affairs.
- kong-mò* (*gongmo*/公末): subordinate role
- kóo-tshue* (*guchui*/鼓吹, *suona*): wind instrument
- kua-á-h* (*gezixi*/歌仔戲): Taiwanese opera
- Lanqing guanhua* [藍青官話]: indicates Mandarin spoken with a provincial accent by the officer who was appointed to negotiate local affairs with the central authority in the 18th and 19th centuries. Literally, *Lanqing* is the colour of official costume, so, it could be inferred as a non-standard Mandarin officer with a heavily regional accent, for example, *Tianjin* Mandarin [天津官話].
- laodan* [老旦]: elder female role
- laosheng* [老生]: elder male role

life-cycle ceremonies: the rite of passage, especially birthdays, weddings and funerals.

lī-hue (*erhua*/二花): secondary painted face

lô-kóo (*luogu*/鑼鼓): gongs and drums ensemble, sometimes including *suona*.

lô-kóo-tiám rhythm (*luogudian*/鑼鼓點): also called *gushi*/鼓詩 rhythm or *luogujing* [鑼鼓經] in *Beijing* opera, for easily memorised percussion patterns.

Lord of Western *Qin*[西秦王爺]: the trade god of *Fulu* opera

Luhuadang [蘆花蕩]: one of *beiguan yiu-khek* (*xiqu*/細曲) play

mainlanders [外省人]: The second large Chinese diaspora happened in 1949, when the nationalist ROC government retreated to Taiwan.

Marshal Tian Du (Marshal of Celestial Capital/田都元帥): The Xinlu opera trade god
mê-bóe-xi (*mingweixi*/暝尾戲): late-night drama

mianzi [面子]: reputation, in *beiguan*'s environment, each club was competing with other clubs in order to enhance 'the club's face' (the club's reputation), by ostentatiously using fancy equipment, plays and showing off their skills. More equipment, such as banners, flags, frames with delicate decorations and carving, also indicate the importance of the activity as an opportunity for *giving face* [面子] 'by going out of one's way to show respect for the wealth or power of a potential benefactor' (Stockman, 2000: 74).

official language (*guanhua*/官話): has caused debate over which genre of opera this paragraph refers to, since official language was used in Qing dynasty (1644-1910, see also 1.4).

paichang [排場]: non-theatrical *beiguan* performance/concert *beiguan* opera

Pài-tsú (*paizi*/牌子): percussion (gong, cymbals and drums) and wind (double-reed *suona*) ensemble, normally, it could be served the deity's processions, performed as individual repertoire, or put in the opera as the prelude and interlude music.

Peking opera [京劇]: is from the same root as *Beijing* opera, but has developed differently in Taiwan, since the 'radical experiments of the Cultural Revolution' as model revolutionary opera (Guy, 2005: 135).

pinguan [拼館]: literally competing clubs, a kind of competitive culture in Taiwanese society since the club represents the local community and had a strong identity associated with their region.

qingshen [請神]: the ritual of inviting the deity

quguan [曲館]: amateur music clubs

qupai [曲牌]: *qupai* could be clarified two aspects of the music. At first, it is a mode of fixed tune form (not necessary including the melody) based on versified styles; when this mode of fixed tune form was adopted by the local opera, it became a labelled tune form (fixed melody).

quxian (曲仙; Taiwanese: *khiau -sian*): operatic mentor, *beiguan* music teacher who

had to be an all-round musician who could teach both opera and musical instruments.

raojing [繞境]: the deity's processions

renao [熱鬧]: *enthusiastic and bustling* soundscape

jisijuan (祭祀圈, ritual spheres): The ritual sphere constructs a patron deity for local temples, worshipped by several communities.

sam-hiân (sanxian/三絃): the three-stringed plucked lute

shengqiang [聲腔] or *qiang*: a special Chinese opera term; the crucial key used to distinguish different genres of Chinese opera. In general, similar tunes or musical styles are characterised as being in the same *shengqiang* system.

shenminghui [神明會]: deity worship association. People helped to organise this kind of deity worship association to get them involved in local affairs, religious rituals and public services for different purposes (e.g., business, religious).

shenxiangban [神像班]: extra size costumes of holy spirits troupe

shuochang [說唱]: narrative singing

Sida shengqiang [四大聲腔]: four great local characteristic music style. There are *haiyanqiang* [海鹽腔], *yuyaoqiang* [餘姚腔], *kunqiang* [崑腔] and *iyangqiang* [弋陽腔 or *Gaoqiang* 高腔]. Hsu Wei (1559) described the areal distribution for these four kinds of musical genre in his book [南詞敘錄].

sizhu [絲竹]: silk and bamboo ensemble

suona [嗩吶]: also called *kóo-tshue* (*guchui*/鼓吹), double-reed instrument, wooden pipe and flared metal end

têtàn (*chadan*/搨旦): female clown

thâu-tshiú (*toushou*/頭手): the ensemble leader

thâu-tshiú-hiân (*toushouxian*/頭手絃): the leader instrument of *wenchang* [文場]

thâu-tshiú-kóo (*toushougu*/頭手鼓): the leader instrument of *wuchang* [武場]

The Blessing From Heavenly Officers [天官賜福]: one of *beiguan* ritual opera (*banxianxi*) play

Three Deities' Blessing [三仙會]: one of *beiguan* ritual opera (*banxianxi*) play

tíng-lák-thiāu [頂六柱]: a collective term for six important characters, *laosheng* [老生] (elder male role), *hongsheng* [紅生] (military general or painted face), *xiaosheng* [小生] (young male role), *dan* [旦] (female role), *xiaodan* [小旦] (young female role) and *chou* [丑] (clown).

Tongxianhui [同鄉會]: hometown association or community

tsáp-tuā-thiāu [十大柱]: ten mainly characters in *beiguan* opera

wenchang (文場, civil division): the silk and bamboo ensemble, they play static and soft music in order to distinguish it from *wuchang* [武場].

wuchang (武場, military division): loud and dramatic *lô-kóo* (*luogu*/鑼鼓) music.

wuguan [武館]: martial arts associations or clubs

xiaodan [小旦]: young female role

xiaosheng [小生]: young male role

Xinlu [新路]: *Xinlu* opera was the new musical *shengqiang*, while *Fulu* opera referred to an old musical style.

Yijiangfeng [一江風]: one of *beiguan paizi* [牌子] repertoire

Yiu-khek (*xiqu*/細曲): The high-art opera performance or used to play at late-night, so-called late night drama (*mingweixi*/暝尾戲).

yun (韻, rhyme): ‘rhyme’ is not only the key in the lyric or the notation; it also proves to be the most attractive part of the music. ‘Rhyme’ could be considered as the dainty lingering charm, the highlight of the music piece where you could enhance melodic lines, ending words and master vocal skills which present the aesthetic of Chinese music.

zhentou [車鼓陣]: A traditional singing and dancing show

zidi [子弟]: a special title for the members of amateur music clubs in Taiwanese society, based on the noble reason of protecting the homeland, people referred to these clubs as *zidi* (sons and brothers), *beiguan* community members as the ‘sons of decent families’ [*liangjia zidi*/良家子弟] this also represented their noble social status and allowed them to participate in the society activities with their musical knowledge and enthusiasm.

zongqinhui [宗親會]: (surname) family community