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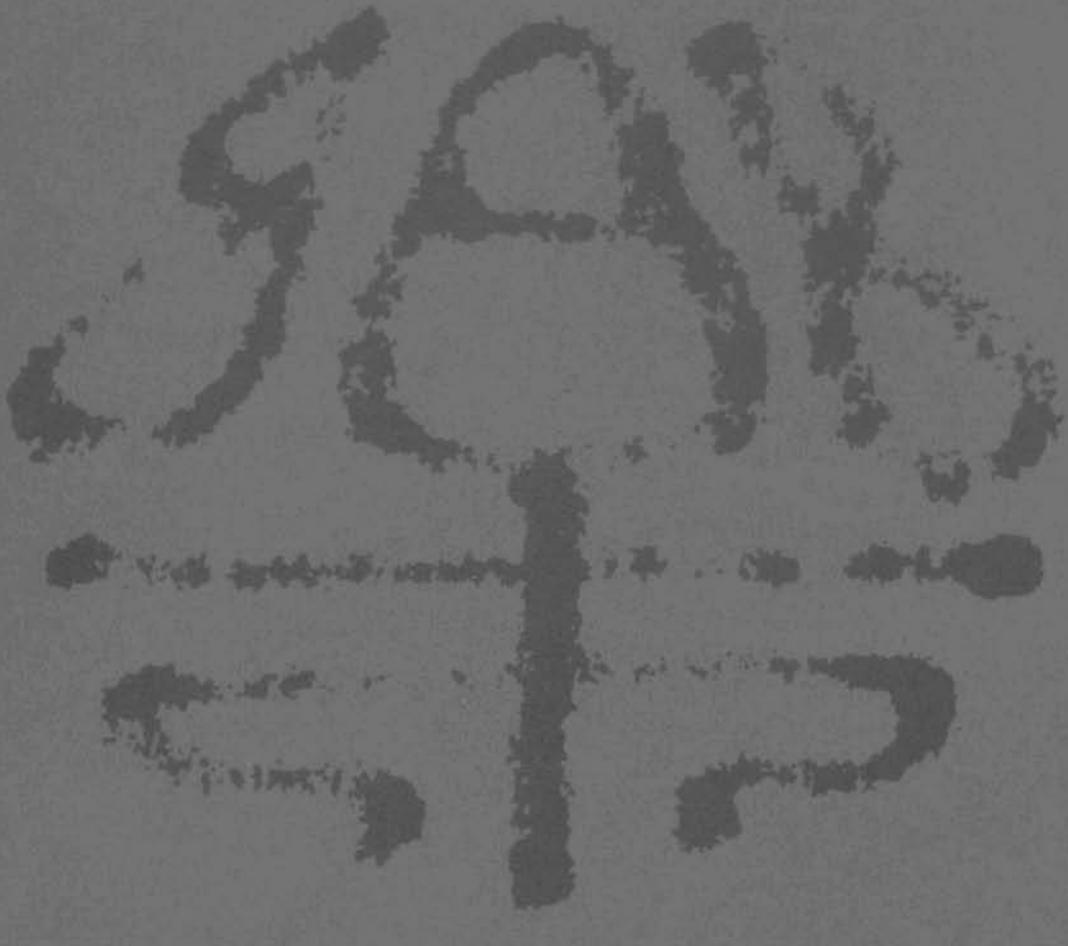

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The Association for Chinese Music Research (ACMR) serves as a forum for the exchange of ideas and information for those interested in the scholarly study of Chinese music, broadly defined. Catering mainly though not exclusively to those living in North America, ACMR holds annual meetings in the Fall, in conjunction with the annual meetings of the Society of Ethnomusicology.

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ACMR Reports

Journal of the
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中國音樂研究會

Vol. 11 Fall 1998

Editor: Joseph S. C. Lam
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Contents

From the Editor iii

Articles

Music of *Qin*: From the Scholar's Study to the Concert Stage — Bell Yung 1

The Parting of the Way: Three Generations of *Qin* Performance Practice — Yi -Ping Huang 15

Little Great Tradition: Thoughts on Recent Developments in *Jiangnan Sizhu* — Frederick Lau 45

Peking Opera as "National Opera" in Taiwan: What's in a Name? — Nancy A. Guy 67

Viewpoints

Writing about Chinese Opera (*Xiqu*) in English: One Hundred Flower Bloom, One Hundred Terms Contend — Nancy A. Guy 89

Terminology of Chinese Music: Some Random Thoughts — Stephen Jones 95

Some Thoughts on Names of Genres and Places
Barbara Smith 98

On the "What's in a Name?" Controversy
Elizabeth Wichmann-Walczak 100

Words, Meanings, and Scholarship on Chinese Music
J. Lawrence Witzleben 102

Beyond a Matter of Name and Language
Su Zheng 104

Ma Bomin and the Question of Creative Authority in the *Peony Pavilion* Controversy
Elizabeth Wichmann-Walczak 107

The *Peony Pavilion*
Isabel Wong 111

Book Review

Yung, *Celestial Airs of Antiquity: Music of the Seven-String Zither of China* Yi-Ping Huang 113

Current Bibliography on Chinese Music Sue Tuohy 117

Reports on Recent Meetings and Conferences 133

Recent Dissertation Abstracts 136

Contributors 139

Information for Authors 143

From the Editor

ACMR was in transition in the last one and half years, and the last issue was published in spring 1997. During the summer of this year, I gradually took over the ACMR operation and the publication of the journal. Now, I offer you Vol. 11 of *ACMR Reports*, the first issue published under my editorship. Technically, the issue should be indexed as Vol. 10, no.1 and Vol.11, nos. 1 and 2. To avoid clumsy indexing and to emphasize that the *ACMR Reports* has become an annual publication, I have opted to simply index the issue as Vol. 11. I understand that some members would like to keep the journal as a biannual publication, but that is not feasible with the number of submission of quality articles we have had recently, and with the limited human resources available to me. By becoming a yearly publication, *ACMR Reports* will, however, have the material, time, and energy to build on the foundation laid by Bell Yung, the former president and editor, and develop into a premium journal not only for Chinese music scholars but for all who are interested in serious studies of music.

Chinese music is at a turning-point, and Chinese music scholars have grown into a critical and international body. This is clear from the contents of this issue. The first three articles, authored by Bell Yung, Yi-ping Huang, and Fred Lau, examine the complex processes and issues of traditional Chinese music adjusting to a modern or even post-modern world. If *qin* music has moved from the scholars' studios to the concert halls, if *jiangnan sizhu,* a regional music of commoners, has transformed into something taught in conservatories and performed on international stages, the changes involve not only aesthetics, politics, and cultural forces, but also musical styles and performance practices—see the graphs in Huang's article.The fourth article, by Nancy A. Guy, does not discuss the processes and issues per se, but offers an understanding from a different position, one that is more a concern for the scholars: how do we name the music, and what's in a name? Even though a version of the article was first published in the *Asian Theatre Journal* (1995), its relevance to this summer's debate on terminology and translation of Chinese music terms is so direct that I invited her to send a revised version.

And to show what we are thinking about the issue, I created the Viewpoints section, and invited all ACMR members to submit summaries of their thoughts. Quite a few came, and they are published in the issue—a few of them are somewhat longer than the 1000-word statements I requested, but given the nature of the discussions, I saw no reason to cut them just to fit an artificial limit. The lengths of the different viewpoint statements thus reflect whether the authors followed the initial guideline, not what they can say about the issues. It is only because of the limited time we had that some authors could not develop more extensive statements.

The summer of 98 was exciting. In addition to the terminology debate, there was also a *Peony Pavilion* controversy. As we all know, the international incident was so rich in meanings that many writers expressed their views in Chinese and English publications. I also invited ACMR members to submit their viewpoint statements. However, only two responded, but they are informative and insightful. In addition to the viewpoint statements, this also includes a book review, a bibliography, reports of conferences, and other related and useful information.

The process of my learning to edit and produce the *ACMR Reports* had many difficult moments, causing undesirable delays. Nevertheless, I am confident that these difficulties will become fewer in the future, and the journal will continue to be substantive and sophisticated. Toward that goal, I rely on your support and submission of your best writings.

Finally, as the president of ACMR and on behalf of all its members, I would like express our thanks to Bell Yung and his assistants at the University of Pittsburgh—Nancy Guy, Helen Rees, Tsui Ying-fai, Wu Ben, and many others—who supported the association, and worked very hard to produce the *ACMR Reports* in the last decade. I would also like to express my gratitude to Dean Paul Boylan of the School of Music, University of Michigan, who has generously provided me some funds to hire a work-study student (Henrique Chang, a computer wizard) to help with the computer formatting, and to the Department of Musicology, University of Michigan, which has become the formal publisher of *ACMR Reports*.

Music of *Qin*: From the Scholar's Study to the Concert Stage[1]

Bell Yung

"Music and government are directly connected with one another"—
attributed to Confucius, in *Liji* [Book of Rites].

The changes that China has undergone during this century created new political, social and ideological environments to which many traditional art forms have had to adjust in order to survive. Among the great variety of traditional musical genres that exists today, that of the instrument called *qin*, *guqin*, or *qixianqin*, known in English as the seven-string zither, can be used as a focus for the study of the conflicts that inevitably arise between an ancient tradition and the modern world, and of the ways in which the art form adapts to the new environment in order to continue its existence.

The *qin* is basically a flat, hollow, and elongated wooden box, about three and one half feet long, seven inches wide at one end, tapering to about four inches at the other, and one to two inches thick.[2] The upper surface is slightly convex in its width-wise dimension, while the lower surface is flat with two sound-emitting holes. The whole elongated body is a resonating chamber, with its upper face also serving as the fingerboard. Seven strings, traditionally made of twisted silk strands, stretch lengthwise across the surface. The musician plucks the strings with the right-hand fingers, while the left-hand fingers move along the board to make stopped notes and harmonic notes, and occasionally also pluck the strings. Thirteen inlaid studs, serving as markers, run lengthwise along one side of the upper surface, to help the left hand find its place.

Qin and its music are in many ways unique in Chinese musical culture. Foremost among the features is its long and uninterrupted history from antiquity until the present day, as attested by archeological and literary evidences. The instrument has existed, with a construction similar to the one found today, since at least 200 B.C. Its predecessors, with the same basic features but with some variations, can be traced back several centuries to the Zhou dynasty (11th to the 5th century B.C.).[3] While many instruments in the world are as old, few can claim the unbroken continuity of the *qin* tradition, a continuity which underscores its generally conservative nature. The tradition has retained much that is archaic, including the repertory, the notational system, the performance practice, and the social context.

Qin music has, since antiquity, been associated intimately and exclusively with China's small and elite class of literati. No other instrument and music are so closely identified with the refinement and sophistication of this social class. Until recent times, the great majority of China's population had little chance to hear this music, although many would have heard of the name of the instrument, because it is often mentioned in popular performing genres such as storytelling and opera. It is also a common subject in paintings that depict the recluse scholar-gentleman contemplating the serenity and grandeur of nature.

Its long history naturally produced a rich lore concerning the instrument and its music. Physical parts of the instrument and many of the individual finger techniques have symbolic significance; individual pieces in the vast repertory are laden with extramusical content. The symbolism and the extra-musical content are closely related to the history, myths, legends, philosophy, and religion of China, especially as cultivated and transmitted by the literati.[4]

Because of its close association with the literati, it is also not surprising that a large amount of writing throughout Chinese history bears on the instrument, its music, its technique of performance, and its lore and philosophy. The notational system used for performance today was established at least as early as the Southern Song dynasty (c. 12th century A.D.), and has remained essentially unchanged. An earlier form of the notational system could be traced to the 6th century A.D. The relative stability of the notation makes music written down many centuries ago accessible to a modern musician. There exists today an extensive repertory of over three thousand items, preserved in notation, most of which from the last five and a half centuries. No other kind of Chinese music has such a large repertory preserved in notational form.[5]

The performance practice of *qin* is unusual and possibly unique in the world. During various periods of its long history, the instrument was used as part of an ensemble for ritual music, and as an accompaniment to the singing of refined poetry. However, its outstanding role in performance is, and has been throughout history, as a solo instrument. Historical writings suggest that its solo music has been played not so much for an audience as for the performer's own enlightenment and enjoyment, although occasionally performers may play for each other. *Qin* musicians have been predominantly "amateurs," in the sense that they would not depend upon performance as a means of living. This private mode of performance played a critical role in shaping many of the aesthetic principles and musical characteristics of this instrument.

Which leads to the final point, that *qin* music is probably the most complex type of Chinese music in structure, and the most refined and subtle in aesthetics.[6] Two aspects of the music will suffice to illustrate these observations. First, the sound of the instrument is extremely soft, and consequently dynamic variations are confined within a small range. Second, the many shades of its timbre are produced by minute differences in finger techniques. It takes a sensitive and cultivated ear to appreciate the subtle differences in dynamics and timbre, as well as in other aspects of the music. Furthermore, an appreciation of the music depends very much upon the listener's understanding of the literary content of the compositions. This extra-musical content, as mentioned earlier, is related closely to the history, philosophy, cosmology, and religion of China. The essence of *qin* aesthetics lies not so much in the appreciation of the structure of the music sound, as in the *yijing*, or mood, that the music evokes based upon the literary content of the composition.

As this brief discussion indicates, the various special characteristics of the *qin* tradition, its long and continuous history, its aesthetics, its performance practice, its musical characteristics, and its generally conservative nature, are all to varying degrees related to the fact that it has for centuries catered to and been cultivated by the scholar-gentlemen. These elite members of Chinese society held supreme power and wealth throughout the history of the *qin* tradition. So long as their status quo remained unchanged, so did the *qin* tradition and all its special characteristics. Despite China's turbulent history in the last twenty-five hundred years as dynasties came and went, the reign of the scholar-gentlemen remained essentially unchanged. So followed the longevity and continuity of the *qin* tradition.

During this century, however, and in particular since the establishment of the People's Republic, the *qin* tradition has undergone drastic changes in the construction of the instrument, the repertory, the style of playing, the performance practice, and the fundamental philosophy of music. These changes have occurred because of a variety of factors, but in particular because the social and ideological milieu in which the musical tradition operates has changed. It is beyond the scope of this short paper to discuss comprehensively the changes that China has underwent and the factors that led to such changes, even if the discussion were limited to those factors that are related directly to musical changes alone.[7] What is worth examining is one particular document as representative of the social and political forces that molded a new environment for music; and then to examine the changes in *qin* music to which that new environment gave rise.

The document is the widely-known *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art in 1942* by Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung). Ever since the "talks" were delivered in May of 1942, and subsequently published in many editions and printings, their influence on the literary and artistic scene in China has been indisputable, even though the degree of influence has waxed and waned in different periods.[8] Following are some of the salient points in the document which exemplify the ideological framework within which Chinese music, and specifically *qin* music, has operated in recent decades.[9]

> 1. Mao addresses the question of "literature and art for whom?" (p.10). His answer is that they are for the masses: "the workers, peasants, soldiers and the urban petty bourgeoisie" (p.12).
>
> 2. Among the four classes, his sentiment is clearly on the side of the first three as he criticizes writers and art workers whose "interest is mainly focused on the small number of petty-bourgeois intellectuals" (p.12). He states that, in order to solve the problem of "for whom?" they must "shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat ..." (p.14).
>
> 3. On the question of how to serve the masses, he writes: "If our writers and artists who come from the intelligentsia want their works to be well received by the masses, they must change and remould their thinking and feelings. Without such a change, without such remoulding, they can do nothing well and will be misfits" (p.7). The way to achieve such changes is "through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society" (p.14). "Our specialists in music should pay attention to the songs of the masses" (p.23).
>
> 4. He gives a specific example: "A thing is good only when it brings real benefit to the masses of the people. Your work may be as good as the "The Spring Snow" (*Yangchun baixue*), but if for the time being it caters only to the few and the masses are still singing "Song of the Rustic Poor" (*Xialiba ren*), you will get nowhere by simply scolding them instead of trying to raise their level. The question now is to bring about a unity between "The Spring Snow" and the "Song of the Rustic Poor,"

> between higher standards and popularization. Without such a unity, the highest art of any expert cannot help being utilitarian in the narrowest sense; you may call this art 'pure and lofty' but that is merely your own name for it which the masses will not endorse" (p.24).

It is not necessary to belabor the conflict that exists between the tradition of *qin* music and Mao's ideology evident in these passages. Probably no other music is further removed from the "masses" than that of *qin*. Indeed the specific example that Mao uses, "The Spring Snow," refers to two well-known *qin* compositions: "Spring Sun" (*Yangchun*) and "White Snow" (*Baixue*). In order to survive in this alien ideological environment, the tradition of *qin* must adjust and adapt. The changes that have occurred in *qin* music in the last several decades and are still occurring today as a consequence of the struggle to survive.

One of the most significant changes is in the social function of *qin* music. Mao Zedong has said that the artist needs to remould his thinking and feeling, and pay attention to the songs of the masses if he wishes his performance to win their acceptance. As a response, *qin* music has stepped out of the privacy and intimacy of the scholar-gentleman's study and climbed onto the stage of the public concert hall. In so doing, *qin* music has become like other kinds of music: its main function is to please a large, public audience. Traditionally, the scholar-gentleman plays the instrument chiefly for himself, and occasionally for a few close friends who are themselves scholar-gentlemen and *qin* players. In such a case, the player does not strive for understanding, acceptance, approval, or praise from a large number of listeners. On the stage of a concert hall, however, he is judged by an audience — the workers, peasants, soldiers — who are, for historical reasons, relatively uninitiated in the music and its literary content. In order for the music to be accepted and understood by such an audience, it must be modified. The modification is manifested in several ways.

In order to increase the volume of the sound of the instrument so that it can be heard in a large hall, the construction of the instrument must be modified. For example, attempts were once made to increase the size of the body, and electronic amplification is now regularly used. Probably the most important and far-reaching change, however, has been the adoption of metal strings as a substitute for the traditional silk strings as a means of increasing the loudness of the tones.

There is little doubt that silk strings were used on the instrument ever since its first appearance at least two thousand years ago. A widely accepted theory is that the archaic form of the modern ideogram for music, *yue*, as shown from oracle-bone script, has been interpreted as silk suspended over wood, and that this ideogram originally referred to an instrument which was a predecessor to *qin*. From the musical point of view, the silk strings, each of which is actually made of a large number of silk strands twisted together, produce a very soft tone that is extremely delicate, and are capable of a great variety of subtle nuances. They also have a characteristic touch that is gentle to the fingers. Furthermore, due to the peculiar resilience of the material, the strings, when they are stretched to the degree of tension required to produce the pitch range, offer a yielding resistance to the plucking fingers.

The silk strings have several perceived drawbacks other than the fact that they produce tones that are too soft for a large audience to hear. First, they are easily snapped when stretched beyond a certain degree of tension; musicians must tune the strings to somewhat lower pitches, further reducing the audibility of the tones, in order to avoid the risk of having to restring the instrument often. Second, because silk is extremely sensitive to temperature and humidity, the tension of the strings often changes during a performance, sometimes requiring the musician to retune in the middle of a composition. Third, as the performer's finger moves along the string, such movement being an important part of the playing technique, the friction between human flesh and silk produces a noticeable scraping "noise," often even louder than the musical tones that are produced by the strings.

These "drawbacks" have long been treated by the traditional musician as an integral part of the performance practice. Restringing and retuning, sometimes in the middle of playing a piece, are viewed as minor but tolerable nuisances. Indeed many *qin* students are required by their teachers to learn how to string an instrument before learning how to play. The "noise" produced by the rubbing of fingers on the silk strings is considered by some musicians as a characteristic and even desirable element of the music. But to an audience that does not know the music and the tradition well, and to the musician whose principal aim is to please such an audience, the perceived drawbacks of silk become real drawbacks, and are conveniently avoided by the use of other kinds of strings. Many experiments have been conducted to find an improved string; some are made of metal, others of nylon, and yet others with a combination of silk, metal and nylon. The ideal is to find the string that is more durable, less sensitive to temperature and humidity, produces less friction when rubbed with the fingers, and most importantly, produces louder tones. The commonly used ones in China today are either pure metal or metal core wound with silk strands.

To the traditional musician, the timbre of silk strings is of the utmost importance to the music; metal strings, which obviously produce a different kind of timbre, are therefore unacceptable. But to an audience that has little knowledge of and experience with *qin* music but is more familiar with other kinds of music where musical timbre is less important, such a difference is inconsequential and negligible, particularly when the music is in any case artificially amplified. To the traditional musician, the delicate touch of the string to one's fingertips, and the characteristic resilience of silk strings as fingers pluck on them, are both integral parts of music-making; metal strings produce obviously different "feels" to one's fingers. Such difference is noticeable only to the person who is playing, and is not an issue to a passive listener.

The presence of an audience has also changed the traditional amateur status of the musicians, leading to the creation of a new breed of professional *qin* players. In China today, major orchestras have resident *qin* soloists; the large music schools and conservatories offer a degree in *qin* performance and have faculty members who teach *qin*; commercial recordings of *qin* music are now widely available. At least five *qin* musicians performed in concert halls abroad in the mid-1980s; many more have done so since.

Affected directly by the professionalization, popularization and commercialization of *qin* music is the repertory. Certain compositions are favored, while others are edited and modified to conform to the taste of the new audience; in many cases "The Spring Snow" is indeed fused with "The Song of the Rustic Poor." For example, one of the most celebrated compositions, *Guanglingsan* [Niezheng Assassinates King Han], almost twenty minutes in duration in its longest version, is today generally performed in a drastically edited version of less than five minutes. Only the parts of the composition that are perceived as easily acceptable to an uninitiated audience are included in the performance.

Equally affected is the playing technique and musical style. The traditional musician is the scholar-gentleman who plays mainly for his own enjoyment in the privacy of his study. Because the performance is a private activity, because it does not require the approval of a large, public audience, and because the performer does not rely on his performance for his living, there are few, if any, commonly accepted standards or criteria by which to judge the music peformed. The performer freely cultivates his personal interpretation of the music based upon the literary content of the composition. As a general rule, he does not pay undue attention to the conformity of playing technique so long as he is satisfied with the mood that his performance has evoked, a mood prescribed by the literary content of the composition. As a result, many different "schools" of playing developed through the ages. Very often the same composition exists in a large number of versions as interpreted differently by the different schools. The details of playing technique also may vary from performer to performer and from school to school.[10]

The new breed of professional *qin* players, and particularly the new audience, are in general less interested in and knowledgeable of the literary content of compositions than the scholar-gentlemen of the earlier generation. Attention is drawn instead to the music sound and structure; techniques are emphasized. For example, as the audience appreciates and evaluates a performance on the basis of its accuracy of pitch and rhythm, the performer strives for a perceived perfection in his execution of these techniques. The literary content of a composition plays a negligible role in the interpretation and appreciation of a composition. Recordings and public performances have also promoted the fame of a small number of performers, who create standards of perceived excellence. As a result, there is greater uniformity in musical style.

The change in aesthetics is seen also in terms of what might be called the externalizing of emotion in performance. The traditional performer seldom displays the emotional content of the music through overt facial expressions or bodily movements. One reason may be that he performs mainly for himself; or more accurately, he "experiences" the music (reaching inward) rather than "performs" it (reaching outward). On the other hand, the controlled outward calmness could in fact embody a formal aesthetic principle that goes beyond music sound to an attitude and a state of mind, as can be seen in this passage by Xue Yijian (active AD 742-756), a noted *qin* performer and scholar :

> The rules said, when one plays the qin, whether or not there is a listener, one should always behave as if he is facing an elder [i.e., with respect]. With the *qin* placed in front of him, he should sit straight and upright. His mind and breath should be peaceful and still. His heart should be calm and he should be clear of worries. His feelings should be focused. His fingers do not make a wrong move so that strings do not vibrate in error. He should look at his left hand, and listen to the tone. His eyes should not look at anything else, his ears should not listen to anything else, and his mind should not think of anything else. He then will attain the essence of the *qin*.[11]

This aesthetic ideal is seen in many *qin* players of the older generation, particularly in the performing style of the late Yao Bingyan of Shanghai, whose poise and elegance were admired by everyone who had watched him, even when he played *Guanglingsan* with its dramatic, even violent, content.

In the modern performance context, because the performer is playing for an audience that is largely ignorant of the music, he feels a need to externalize the emotional content in order to help the communication. This is particularly necessary when the performance is held in a cavernous concert hall, where visual displays must be exaggerated if they are to be noticeable to a large audience. Western classical music lovers are certainly familiar with the facial contortions of opera singers and cellists, for example, and with the broad dance movements of conductors on the podium. The following impression by a Westerner of a recent *qin* performance by a contemporary *qin* virtuoso illustrates the change.

> He played it with an intensity and lyricism building to controlled violence as he plucked the strings and hammered the sides of his instruments with his hand. His hair flopped across his face, his spectacles fell to the ground as he 'bent' and 'slid' the notes in a way I had never heard outside of North-American blues.[12]

One cannot help comparing the above description with a passage in *Shilin guangji* [Enlarged compilation in all matters] (AD 1340), in which a section entitled "Seven Grave Ills of Playing the *Qin*" lists: "Shaking one's head and moving one's feet; holding one's mouth open and staringwith anger; eyeing up and down and left and right; rapidly shifting one's line of sight; heavy breathing; hand movements without control; general appearance of looking lost; quick changes of facial expressions; looking blue and flushed as if feeling guilty."[13]

Recent visitors to China have observed these changes in the performance behavior not only in *qin* music, but in many other kinds of traditional music. Such changes have also been noted by performers, critics and scholars in China. The following description and review of a recent concert by a noted performer on the instrument *pipa* (four-stringed plucked lute) provides not only a vivid picture of the external movements of the performer, but also the critical stance of the writer. It could easily apply to a *qin* performance today.

> The external movements during a performance should be natural, and properly reflect one's internal state. But often one notices that her right hand fingers would precede the plucking techniques with some prepara-

> tory gestures; these might involve movements of her head, shoulders, arms, elbows, and wrists, singly or in combination. Also noticeable are frequent shaking of the head, raising of the shoulders, sudden glaring of the eyes, swaying of the body, and so forth. These external movements match the phrasing and accented notes of the music, and appear to be consciously designed to do so. Some of these external movements are not visually pleasing; they seem merely to impress upon the audience the seriousness of the performer. On the contrary, they tend to distract the audience's concentration on the music. Other movements appear to be aimed at purely visual effects.[14]

As the political and social ideology in China has continued to evolve rapidly in recent years and as the ideology expounded in the *Talks* is no longer as fiercely enforced today, will the traditional performance practice of *qin* return? It is too early to tell. However, other even more insidious and powerful factors are already at play that feed into the changes described above, factors that are global and unstoppable: the advanc of technology, the influence of mass media, and the effects of the market economy. These factors may prove to be even more damaging to the *qin* tradition than the breakup of the literatic culture and their world of privilege.

Notes

[1] An earlier version of this paper was published in French as "La musique du guqin: du cabinet du lettré a la scene de concert," in *Cashiers de musiques traditionnelles 2: Instrumental* (Genéva: Ateliers d'ethnomusciologie, 1989): 31-62.

[2] For an introduction to the instrument and its music, see Liang 1980, 264-9.

[3] See Lin 1982.

[4] See, for example, van Gulik 1968.

[5] For a discussion of the notational system, see Yung 1997.

[6] For discussion of musical structure, see, for example, Lam 1993.

[7] See, for example, Han and Mark 1980 and Kraus 1989

[8] See MacDougall 1980.

[9] Quotes and page numbers are based on Mao 1967.

[10] The modification of existing compositions is a common practice historically among *guqin* performers. For example, "Guanglingsan" exists in thirteen printed exemplars between 1425 and 1931. See Yung 1987.

[11] Quoted in *Qinshu daquan*. See *Qinqu jicheng*, vol. 5, p. 201.

[12] Marre and Hannah 1985, 23.

[13] *Qinqu jicheng* vol.1, p.14.

[14] 1982, 40.

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古琴音樂：從書房走上舞台

古琴傳統連綿不斷了二千多年，到了廿世紀，由于各種國內外的因素，正在經歷劇烈的變化。其中一個因素是官方的文藝政策。本文從毛澤東在延安文藝座談會上的講話做起點，探討文藝政策對古琴在製造、曲目、美學、演奏方式及場合等方面所引起的各種改變。

The Parting of the Way: Three Generations of *Qin* Performance Practice[1]

Yi-ping Huang

For thousands of years and hundreds of generations, the *qin* (a seven-stringed zither) has been practiced by Chinese intellectuals as a form of self-cultivation and a means of artistic enjoyment for oneself and among close friends. This centuries-old *qin* tradition has been distinguished from other genres of Chinese music by its emphasis on the mastery of not only the physical and physiological aspects of music-making, but also its ideology, its Dao or Way. Today, many continue to consider that the performance practice of the *qin* epitomizes the "ideal" of the Chinese elite tradition; and the music of the *qin* encapsulates the sound of "true" antiquity. Yet, how has the tradition of the *qin* evolved during the course of the twentieth century when unprecedented socio-cultural transformations have taken place in both Mainland China and Taiwan? To what extent can the impact of contextual and ideological changes be traced in musical performance practice? And what transitory reality of culture does the modern performance practice of the *qin* epitomize?

In this article, I will explore contextual, ideological and stylistic transformations of *qin* performance practice over the course of three generations: the so called *lao* (elderly), *zhong* (middle-aged) and *qing* (young) commonly addressed by *qin* practitioners themselves. The first part of the paper will focus on the impact of an ongoing process of institutionalization and the resulting contextual and ideological changes among the three generations. The second part of the article will present findings of stylistic transformations based upon a quantitative comparative analysis. As traditional Chinese intellectuals, *qin* practitioners often discuss musical practice in poetical and metaphorical terms that refer to moral, philosophical, mystical and aesthetic values embedded in the Chinese world views. While such traditional qualitative approaches convey cultural data and inform native modes of understanding, a quantitative description of aspects of performance practice would allow one to describe personal styles and compare generational changes in more tangible ways. The preliminary research findings will demonstrate that the contextual and ideological shifts are mirrored by substantial stylistic changes over the span of three generations.

Contextual and ideological discrepancies in performance practice

One of the most influential developments in recent decades is the ongoing process of institutionalization of the *qin* musical tradition in both Mainland China and Taiwan.[2] Since the late 1950s, the *qin* had been legitimized as an area of research in major music institutions in Mainland China. Although these *qin* programs were terminated during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), most were resumed thereafter and many new programs were established in both secondary and higher education. Currently, there are dozens of programs available throughout the Mainland, including ones at prestigious music institutions like the Central Conservatory of Music (Zhongyang yinyue xueyuan) in Northern China, the Shanghai Conservatory of Music (Shanghai yinyue xueyuan) in Southern China, and the Sichuan Conservatory of Music (Sichuan yinyue xueyuan) in Central China.

In Taiwan, the first *qin* music curriculum in a professional music training institution was founded in 1967 when Wu Zonghan was appointed as *qin* instructor at the National Taiwan Academy of Arts (Guoli yizhuan; currently known as the National Taiwan Institute of Arts or Guoli Taiwan yishu xueyuan) in Northern Taiwan. Since then two other programs have been established in Taipei under the supervision of Sun Yuqin at the Chinese Cultural College (Zhongguo wenhua xueyuan; currently known as the Chinese Cultural University or Zhongguo wenhua daxue) in 1976 and the National Institute of the Arts (Guoli yishu xueyuan) in 1985. With the change in laws concerning higher education during the 1990s, the number of academic institutions has drastically increased in Taiwan. Many of these newly established institutions, such as the Tainan National College of Arts (Tainan yishu xueyuan) in Southern Taiwan, have recently started to offer *qin* programs.

The ongoing institutionalization and subsequent professionalization have created considerable changes in the *qin* music community through the introduction of the academic style of mass transmission and dissemination on the one hand, and the introduction of *qin* professionals into the traditional amateur environment on the other. Particularly during the last few decades, programs of *qin* music at academic institutions have gained support from both political and cultural organizations, and have become centers for mass transmission and dissemination. Concerts, lectures, conferences, and competitions have been held on both national and international scales by leading academic institutions to promote the art of *qin* as well as to increase public awareness. For example, the Sichuan Conservatory of Music was responsible for organizing the first "International Symposium on the Art of Chinese Ancient *Qin*" (Zhongguo guqin yishu guoji jiaoliuhui) held in Chengdu in 1990; while the Chinese Research Institute of Arts (Zhongguo yishu yanjiusuo) was responsible for organizing the "International Symposium on the Connoisseurship of Celebrated Instruments and Eminent Repertoire for the Chinese *Guqin*" (Zhongguo guqin mingqin mingqu guoji jianshanghui) held in Beijing in 1994.[3] By drawing members from a much larger segment of the population, these events, too, contributed significantly to the expansion of the *qin* music community.

The spread of *qin* music through academic transmission and dissemination has contributed to noticeable changes of attitudes and approaches toward the *qin* tradition. New forms of systematic transmission, for example, are gradually replacing traditional ones. Until recently, *qin* musical theory, practice as well as cultural data associated with the tradition, were transmitted solely in a "musical-genealogical" fashion from one generation of practitioners to the next.[4] Quite in contrast to this traditional mode of "lineal" transmission, academic institutions not only facilitate but also encourage a modern mode of "cross-lineal transmission." The academic setting provides greater opportunities for students to learn *qin* music from a much wider selection of teachers than the traditional setting. While such a practice has allowed modern *qin* "professionals" to become more knowledgeable and versatile, some *qin* educators and practitioners have raised serious concerns. One such concern is the alienation of the elitist tradition. Since cross-lineal transmission often overlooks the virtues of self-cultivation advocated in traditional lineal learning, practitioners' sense of identification with the elitist tradition thus becomes less prominent. Another central concern is the gradual elimination of musical-genealogical characteristics and regional styles, particularly at the conservatory level. Due partially to the lack of a thorough understanding of any particular style, and partially to the challenges brought by academic settings dominated by Western theory and practice, a "new" tradition has emerged through gradual blurring of regional differences on the one hand, and adaptation of new academic standards and understandings on the other. This will be discussed in more detail later in the article.

The adaptation of different modes of music-making at academic institutions induced modifications in ways of musical pedagogy, and hence, changed the process of traditional musical learning. In the academic context, the traditional *qin* notation was frequently criticized for lack of decisive directives, while the traditional way of phrase-by-phrase instruction was often considered to be time-consuming. Many *qin* educators, such as Gong Yi at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, Li Xiangting at the Central Conservatory of Music, and Zhang

Qingzhi at the National Institute of the Arts, have thus adopted new forms that incorporate cipher or staff notations for quick glimpses, and audio or even video recordings to ensure fast results. Since portions of musical experiences have shifted from live-music to media-disseminated situations, and from participatory listening to passive listening, musical learning has inevitably become more focused on sound experience. The traditional physiological emphasis on precise motion has been supplanted by the emphasis on achieving precise sound. Aspects of musical experiences that are enriched or enhanced by visual, kinetic and tactile senses have often been overlooked since they are much more difficult to transmit through recordings alone. Furthermore, musical interpretation and appreciation were more likely to be directed away from the traditional "symbolic and psycho-aesthetic" (Liang 1985: 169) approach that incorporated both objective and subjective symbolism. With the substitution of the classical lineage setting by the media-assisted or associated setting, the symbolic and psycho-aesthetic tendencies were less likely to be cultivated, or at least not cultivated in the same manner as they would have been in the traditional context.

As *qin* programs in universities and conservatories continued to gain prominence, the *qin* tradition began to be compartmentalized as a specialized art form. Masterpieces and outstanding styles were being rationalized and codified. For example, a dozen or so celebrated pieces, including *Xiaoxiang shuiyun* (Clouds and Mist Over the Rivers of Xiao and Xiang) and *Guanglinsan* (Guanglin Prose or Niezheng Assassinates the King of Han), have been standardized in current practice using the interpretations of two master *qin* practitioners of the twentieth century, Wu Jinglüe and Guan Pinghu. As models were being constructed, standardized and routinized in the process of institutionalization, regional differences become gradually blurry, creating a somewhat homogenized and standardized new "national" tradition known by *qin* practitioners as the academic style (*xueyuan pai*). Since the 1980s, the style has not only gained support from both political and academic organizations, but has also come to represent the authority of *qin* performance, particularly among the younger generations who are themselves most responsible for the development, transmission and dissemination of this style.

The contemporary academic style is grounded in centuries of heritage but aspires to certain values promoted by Western theory and practice. While the academic style continued to gain prominence among later generations, considerable ideological and aesthetic discrepancies among generations of practitioners began to surface. These discrepancies can be best discussed through the emergence of new understandings and standards. Under the influence of Western ideology, supporters of the academic style constantly endeavored to renegotiate between traditional and Westernized ideals. Consequently, portions of traditional theories and practices were discarded, changed or refashioned with new understandings and standards. These new understandings and standards, such as abstract perfection, ideal form, absolute time, perfect pitch, technical virtuosity and so forth, have merged to form a new basis of performance practice for the later generations.

The impact of this new basis is best reflected in the emphasis on virtuosity in current performance practice. Both *qin* connoisseurs and practitioners today often consider performance skills and precision as the most basic evaluative elements, and have hence devoted much greater attention to the advancement of virtuosity. The new style of systematic transmission, for example, implicitly and explicitly validates and reinforces the importance of virtuosity in performance; it therefore encourages a continuous transformation from the elitist self-orientation to the modernist performance-orientation. The emphasis on virtuosity in academic teaching is, thus, "distancing" current performance from its traditional practice.

The emphasis on virtuosity in current performance practice is, in fact, a clear manifestation of the changing attitude and approach toward the cultivation of the *qin*. The increased significance of virtuosity is a response to the prevalence of the Western art music tradition within which virtuosity is highly valued. The glorification of virtuosity in the performance of traditional Chinese musical instruments evokes a sense of progression, professionalism and excellence, and thus surmounts the notion of "backwardness" that many have associated with Chinese traditional music since the turn of the century.

The significance of increased virtuosity observed in the performances of the later generations is also a response to the increasingly commodified society where commercial expectations and market needs are much valued. Practitioners have traditionally approached *qin* music as a form of self-cultivation, and a means of artistic enjoyment among close friends. This self-oriented elite style was reflected in the fact that the majority of senior *qin* aficionados were themselves *qin* practitioners. However, with the new context of concert hall performance and new forms of mass media dissemination gaining prominence, *qin* practitioners are now beginning to cater to large crowds of new audiences who often have limited experience and knowledge of the *qin*, and rather different aesthetic expectations. Yet, these new audiences are gaining influence in informing and shaping the development of *qin* music. This is well manifested in the constant modification and repackaging of *qin* music in a variety of ways to lure modern spectators in the increasingly competitive consumer cultural environment. Gong Yi, for example, is known for his virtuosic way of presenting *qin* music in diversified styles with a mixture of both traditional and modern elements. His recordings of traditional, rearranged and newly composed repertoire are presented in a wide range of modes, including *qin* solo (Wind Records SMCD-1006), *qin* with traditional chamber ensemble (Philips CD422998-2 1989), *qin* with traditional orchestra (Columin CDA107 1994), *qin* with modern philharmonic orchestra (Marco Polo CD8.828010 1996), and *qin* with electronic musical accompaniment (Crystal Records GN9202-2).

The new understandings and standards of music also led to the emergence of an "ideal rendition," and new strategies of "dramatization" to achieve such an ideal interpretation. For centuries, *qin* music has captivated the great minds of Chinese intellectuals not only by its sophisticated sound, but also by the greater potential for creative personal stylization. It is manifested in the intelligent system of encoding and deciphering utilized in the *qin jianzipu* (simplified ideogram notation) that contains mostly suggestive metric, rhythmic, phrasal, and dynamic directives, providing a greater potential for practitioners to exercise their creativity and individuality through the process of *dapu* (literally "beating the score") or realization. In the traditional context, creative personal stylizations that emphasized subtle nuances of melodic, rhythmic, and dynamic interpretations were highly regarded and often judged at the highest level of artistic accomplishment.

Quite in contrast to this traditional practice of realization, a fashionable concept of an "ideal rendition" has emerged within the increasingly Westernized cultural contexts of Mainland China and Taiwan. In general, this concept can be seen as an embodiment of a continual transformation of general cultural approaches to "expressions," moving from more implicit and inward tendencies toward more explicit and outward tendencies.[5] Particularly in the domain of expressive culture, artistic expression seems to become increasingly "romanticized" through the incorporation of an overtly dramatic emotional display. Even within the most archaic traditions such as the *qin*, changing ideals of "expressivity" can be observed. As new understandings and standards began to set new criteria for an "ideal" interpretation, fundamentals to classical aesthetics such as *he* (harmony), *ping* (balance) and *jin* (restraint) were constantly re-negotiated with modern tendencies that were impressive, emphatic and theatrical. In so doing, a fascinating process of "dramatization" that aimed to heighten musical tensions through manipulation of different aspects, like tempo, dynamic and ornamentation, has been widely practiced among later generation practitioners to achieve such modern expressive "ideal."

Degrees of discrepancy: The case of *Xiaoxiang shuiyun*

To further our discussion on the process of dramatization, and to evaluate degrees of discrepancy in performance practice among generations, three performances of *Xiaxiang shuiyun* (Clouds and Mist Over the Rivers of Xiao and Xiang) from each of the three generations were analyzed and compared. The nine complete performances were played by Wu Jinglüe (1907-1987), Wu Zhaoji (1908-1997) and Sun Yuqin (1915-1990) from the first generation; Tong Kinwoon (1946-), Li Xiangting (1940-) and Gong Yi (1941-) from the second generation; and Dai Xiaolian (1963-), Zhao Jiazhen (1962-) and Huang Yongming (1962-) from the third generation.[6] With the aid of the SoundEdit16® program, each music example was first translated into visual-spatial representations. Aspects including tempo, dynamics, and ornamental articulations were then measured and analyzed through functions provided by the program.[7]

Xiaoxiang shuiyun (hereafter *XXSY*) has been a favorite of *qin* aficionados for an extended period of time. In a historical survey of extant *qin* handbooks (Zha Fuxi 1958: 8-9), *XXSY* was found in 48 prestigious *qin* handbooks. Although some editions were direct copies of previous publications, the rest were personalized variations that differ from each other in many details. Today, more than five and one-half centuries since its first appearance in the *Shenqi mipu* (Wondrous and Secret Notation, 1425), *XXSY* remains central in the entire repertoire of *qin* music. In fact, it was voted the most representative as well as the most favored piece in my recent survey (Huang 1998: 223). It is therefore one of the best music examples to demonstrate the discrepancies in performance practice among the three generations.

XXSY is attributed to Guo Mian, pen name Chuwang of the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279 A.D.). Among other programmatic interpretations, *XXSY* is most commonly understood as a poetic depiction of surging patriotic emotions intermingled with the undulations of the waters beneath and the clouds beyond. According to *Shenqi mipu*, the composition was inspired by the composer's personal experience while cruising to the confluence of the Xiao and Xiang rivers. As he gazed afar, the distant Jiuyi Mountain was overshadowed by the clouds and mist over the rivers of Xiao and Xiang. The scenery evoked a sense of melancholy and reminded him that the beautiful land of his country had fallen into the hands of the intruders.

The structural continuum of *XXSY* as understood in current practice is shown in Table 1.[8] The nineteen sections group into seven divisions, and correspond to the traditional scheme of *sanqi* (free rhythmic introduction), *rudiao* (entrance of the tune), *ruman* (entrance of elaboration), *fuqi* (restatement) and *weisheng* (coda). The divisions further parallel the ideal structural continuum of introduction-exposition-transformation-culmination (*qicheng zhuanhe)* that prevailed in literary tradition.

Tempo

To document changes in temporal expression from generation to generation, performance durations of each section and division were measured for each performer using the SoundEdit16® program. Individual and average performance durations by section, division, and generation are presented in Table 2. The average performance durations were calculated for each section and division by generation. The mean durations (shown in columns 7, 12 and 17 in Table 2) were then used to demonstrate the changes in performance duration among generations.

The discrepancies in temporal expression among generations are summarized in Figure 1. The results suggested that the later generations acquired tendencies to heighten the contrast of the traditional slow-fast-slow tempo scheme through a sequence procedure of extention-contraction-extention of durational values. This conscious effort is reflected in that the performance durations increase in the slow potions of introduction, exposition, culmination and coda, and decrease in the fast portion of transformation. As shown in Table 3, within the traditional framework of slow-fast-slow tempo scheme both subsequent generations played the slow portions slower and fast portions faster in comparison to the first generation.

Although rhythmical and metrical interpretations differed in details from practitioner to practitioner, the dramatization of durational values within the frame of slow-fast-slow tempo scheme remained consistent among the second and third generations. The consistency of a "dramatized" slower-faster-slower tempo scheme in the performances of later generations indicates a widely accepted tendency toward a modern expressive "ideal." Meanwhile, the heightened contrast of performance durations provides greater potential for virtuosic display. In addition, the conformity of a systematic durational manipulation, which is lacking in the performances of the elderly generation of performers, suggests an interesting transformation of metricality from the loose metrical end of the spectrum towards the more decisive metrical end of the continuum within the span of three generations.[9]

Musical Dynamics

To document changes in dynamic expression from generation to generation, all nine complete performances of *XXSY* are represented in waveform (Figure 2, 3, and 4), showing time (in minutes) on the horizontal x-axis, and amplitude (in percentage) on the vertical y-axis.[10] The amplitude is an indicator of the relative strength or loudness of the sound, and is thus instrumental in illustrating changes in dynamic expressions.

Figure 2 consists of the three performances by the first generation. Wu Jinglüe's performance conservatively stayed within the 20% amplitude range with occasional expansions to 30% during the transformation II and III (around the 5.0 and 6.0 minute marks). Sun Yuqin's dynamic expression was confined mostly within the 20% amplitude range, and was relatively consistent with no major fluctuations. The performance of Wu Zhaoji appeared to have more fluctuations, yet the overall dynamic expression was relatively consistent throughout the entire structural continuum.

Figure 3 consists of the three performances by the second generation. Tong Kinwoon's performance appeared to have more variations in amplitude, including a period of more intense dynamic expression from about the five-to-seven-minute marks. Within this period, the amplitudes reached up to the 60% range. Li Xiangting's performance had much more variation in amplitude. Although the most intensive transformation portion (around the 4 to 7 minute marks) remained within the 40% amplitude range, a sense of marked contrast was nevertheless embedded. Instead of drastically augmenting the amplitude values in the climatic portion, the dynamic tension was created by substantially diminishing the intensity of the exposition portion (around the 1.0 to 2.25 minute marks). Similarly, Gong Yi's performance also incorporated a greater variety of dynamic expressions, which at a few points (the 7.5 and 8.75 minute marks for example) reached close to the 60% amplitude range.

The three performances presented in Figure 4 are by the third generation practitioners. Zhao Jiazhen's performances demonstrated greater dynamic changes, which included a period of more intense dynamic expression from about the 4 to 6.5 minute marks. Dai Xiaolian's performance showed much more undulation and intensity in dynamic expressions, creating a relatively more fluid waveform pattern. Huang Yongming's performance reflected a gradual, yet consistent increase in intensity. From introduction to culmination, the amplitude range increased from approximately 3% to 50%.

The nine examples illustrated a substantial increase in range of dynamic expressions over the span of three generations. In the first generation, amplitude values were held within a narrower range with little fluctuation, indicating a more subtle, restrained and conservative style. As generations progressed, practitioners acquired tendencies to intensify dynamic tensions through conscious diminution and augmentation of amplitude values, resulting in a substantial increase in the range of dynamic expressions. The consistency of a "dramatized" dynamic expression in the performances of later generations indicates a commonly accepted tendency toward a modern expressive "ideal." Meanwhile, the heightened contrast of dynamic expression provides greater potential for virtuosic display and aids in the quest of an ideal rendition.

Another interesting observation is the correspondence between the patterns of dynamic manipulation and the patterns of structural transitions found in the performances of subsequent generations. In the first generation, the dynamic expressions remained rather consistent throughout the entire composition. In the second and third generations, by contrast, the fluctuations of music dynamics closely corresponded to the structural transitions. In Dai Xiaolian's performance (Figure 4), for example, major structural transitions were articulated with distinct dynamic variance. As identified at the lower portion of her waveform representation, the first period of significant fluctuations in amplitude appeared at about the 1.5 minute mark, which corresponded to the transition from introduction to exposition. The second significant period of fluctuations appeared at about the 3.5 minute mark, which corresponded to the transition from exposition to transformation I. The third period of significant fluctuations appeared at about the 5.5 minute mark, the transition to transformation II. The fourth significant period of fluctuations appeared at about the 6.0 minute mark, the transition to transformation III. The fifth significant period of fluctuations appeared at about the 7.25 minute mark, the transition to culmination. In her theatrical performance, climactic dynamic expression reached up to 80% of the amplitude range.

This correspondence between patterns of dynamic manipulation and patterns of structural transitions suggests a more explicit tendency in expressing the structural continuum of music within the span of three generations. The significance of an "explicit" structure in general is at least partially attributable to the progression of modernization, and is at least partially reflected in the dynamic interpretations of the later generations.

Ornamental Articulations

In the *qin* tradition, the plucked notes are commonly referred to as *yin* or tones, while the following ornamental articulations are commonly referred to as *yun* or lingering tones. The sophisticated ornamental articulations of *yun* are traditionally regarded as "breath giving" (Liang 1973: xi) elements that contribute to the artistry of *qin* music, and are viewed as important characteristics that distinguish the *qin* from other instrumental tradition.

The *yun* ornamentations are articulated through a large repertoire of left-hand techniques, which include some *zhuo*, *zhu* and a variety of *yin* and *nao* techniques. The *zhuo* and *zhu*, in a general sense, can be considered as glissando-like techniques executed by sliding the left hand fingers up or down to a designated *hui* (marker) position. A dozen or so *zhuo* and *zhu* techniques are commonly found in current practice. They differ from one another according to direction, duration, speed and accentuation.[11]

The *yin* and *nao*, in a general sense, can be considered as vibrato-like techniques executed by the left hand fingers with rotating movements above, below or around a given principal note (Liang 1973: xii). In comparison to the *yin*, the *nao* generally involves a wider range of movements with longer duration and higher complexity. The derivations of both *yin* and *nao* have developed into complex extensions, which differ from one another according to direction, duration, speed, number of movements, density of notes, range of pitch usage, and a designated expressive principle know as *kuang*, touch.[12]

The complexity and profundity of *yin* and *nao* vibratos, thus, carry stylistic traits that are often particular to a school, individual or generation. The identification of *yin* and *nao* articulations would therefore facilitate the understanding of changes of ornamental expressions through time. For comparison, a brief excerpt from the second section of *XXSY* from each of the nine music examples was selected and analyzed. Each excerpt is represented as both a waveform in the upper portion and a 3D spectrum in the middle portion (Figure 5, 6, 7). The 3D spectral view shows frequency, amplitude and time. Time is plotted horizontally along the x-axis, frequency is shown vertically along the y-axis, and the intensity of amplitude is shown in gray scale. This combination of both waveform and spectrum representations is particularly effective in identifying complicated and often subtle decorative articulations. Identification of all notes, including both *yin* (plucked notes) and *yun* (lingering notes) is presented in the lower portion of each of the graphic files.

All notes as identified in Figure 5, 6 and 7 are further summarized in Table 4. As shown, the excerpt contains 11 musical moments (MM). Each moment may include one single plucked note (e.g. MM 8 and 9), two single plucked notes played simultaneously (e.g. MM 5), or a single plucked note followed by a series of lingering notes generated by left hand vibrato techniques (e.g. MM 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 11).

In general, the complexity of ornamental articulation has decreased within the span of three music generations. Changes in ornamental articulations and subsequent variation in timbral and textural expressions can be summarized as follows:

1. The durational value, density of notes and range of pitch usage in the vibrato complexes have been decreased. Hence the complexity of melodic and rhythmic makeup of the vibrato complexes has diminished. This is reflected in the general decrease of lingering notes (coded in lowercase letters) illustrated in Gen. II & III: MM 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 11 in Table 4.

2. While some lingering notes in the *nao* vibrato complex have been simply subtracted, others have been replaced with stationary *yin* vibrato to eliminate "extra-musical sounds" such as sliding and friction sounds, to reinforce the given principal note, to fill in the time span, and to create higher potentials for dynamic control. This is also reflected in the decrease of lingering notes (coded in lowercased letters) illustrated in Gen. II: Li Xiangting MM 2, 3; Gong Yi MM 2, 3, 6; Gen. III: Zhao Jiazhen MM 2, 3, 6; Dai Xiaolian MM 1, 3, 11; Huang Yongming MM 1, 3, 11 in Table 4.

3. Plucked notes have been added to the *nao* vibrato complexes to further sustain the articulation, ensure audibility, increase dynamic control, and create brighter timbral and rhythmic effects. This is reflected in the addition of

plucked notes (coded in bold letters) illustrated in Gen. II: Tong Kinwoon MM 7; Li Xiangting MM 4, 11; Gong Yi MM 1, 4, 7, 11; and Gen. III: Zhao Jiazhen MM 4; Dai Xiaolian MM 6, 7 in Table 4.

The results of this analysis indicate that later generations of practitioners have acquired tendencies to subtract lingering notes quantitatively while adding plucked notes that qualitatively changed the timbral and textural expressions. Such strategies suggest the intent of enhancing the communicability and expressivity of the music to achieve the modern expressive "ideal." The new style of the later generations, too, provides greater potential for the performers to reach the modern virtuosic standards by intensifying the "explicitness" of the ornamentation, and by reducing the "extra-musical sounds" that are less "musical" to the ears of many audiences today.

Conclusion

With limited scope, I have in this article documented the processes and products of transformations in *qin* performance practice that occurred over the course of three generations. The preliminary findings illustrated that the extensive contextual and ideological changes are mirrored by substantial stylistic discrepancies among generations. As shown in the comparative spectrographic analysis, the later generations have developed dramatic tendencies in their temporal, dynamic, and ornamental expressions in comparison to the first generation. This dramatic tendency is in fact a clear indicator of the changing "ideals" about the communicability and expressivity of *qin* music. With their overtly dramatic expressions, the later generations seek to transform the traditionally conservative musical expressions that are relatively subtle, refined and suggestive into modern liberal expressions that are dramatic, directive, and to a great extent, more effective in eliciting responses from the majority of audiences today. Overall, this increasingly "explicit" style is both a reaction and response to the extensive socio-cultural changes in Chinese communities, and an embodiment of a complex and continual transformation from a more holistic to a more formal musicological approach toward the way of the *qin*.

As an ongoing project, this research combined both qualitative and quantitative approaches in the studies of performance practice. While an ethnographic approach emphasizing qualitative descriptions conveys important cultural information, the empirical quantitative approach provides a systematic method, an "etic grid" (Prögler 1995: 21), for measuring discrepancies in performance practice in more tangible ways. Particularly when the contextual and ideological boundaries between elite and popular, tradition and modern, and East and West continue to blur, quantitative descriptions would facilitate the identification of broad stylistic characteristics that may be common to current practice, and specific stylistic traits that may be particular to certain generations, schools or individuals. As we begin to learn how qualitative and quantitative descriptions inform one another, the combination of both will hopefully bring us a step closer to the understanding of not only the nature of *qin* music transformation, but of human musicality in general.

Notes

[1] An earlier version of this paper, based on the last chapter of my dissertation, was presented at the 1998 CHINOPERL conference on 26 March 1998, Washington D. C. I am grateful to Joseph Lam, Helen Rees, and the reviewers for their insightful feedback and valuable comments for the revision of this paper.

[2] The data for the research were drawn from knowledge of previous scholarship, my field work for the dissertation, and my own observations and experiences as a native *qin* practitioner who received training in both traditional and academic settings.

[3] The translation that appeared on the announcement provided by the organization reads as follows: International Conferences for the Appreciation of Precious Chinese Seven-String Zithers and Master Pieces of Seven-String Zither Music.

[4] *Qin* music, like many other forms of traditional arts, was transmitted solely through private lineages until recently. In many ways, the *qin* musical lineage resembles the *gharana* in the Hindustani musical tradition. A *gharana*, as defined by Silver (1976: 27), is a "musical lineage—paralleling a literal or symbolic blood lineage—through which not only musical techniques, compositions, and theories, but other cultural data as well, are transmitted orally from one generation of practitioners to the next." Such musical genealogical relations were highly valued on both musical and personal levels by traditional qin practitioners.

[5] This increasingly dramatic style should not be viewed as simply more "expressive." The subject matter of "expressivity" is profound, and requires further research.

[6] Data for the analysis include: Zhao Jiazhen (field recording 1994) and Huang Yongming (field recording 1992); Wu Jinglüe (Xueding CRCD701), Wu Zhaoji (Hugo HRP 713-2) and Sun Yuqin (Crystal Records 1991); Tong Kinwoon (Wind Records BPCD95003), Li Xiangting (Jawei JW-C7901) and Gong Yi (Column A-107), and Dai Xiaolian (Hugo HRP 7141-2).

[7] The SoundEdit16® program version 2.01 utilizes Fast Fourier Transformations to compute the sine-wave frequencies and powers that are summed to

create a particular waveform, providing a graphical representation. Each of the music examples was first digitized using a pair of analog-to-digital converters with a 16-bit sampling resolution and a 22.05 kHz sampling rate. All the music files were then viewed and analyzed as a two-dimensional waveform (amplitude over time) and as a three-dimensional spectrum (power over frequency and time).

[8] A diachronic survey of currently preserved *XXSY* notations suggested a structural transformation has occurred. From the early fifteenth century editions (such as in the *Shenqi mipu*) to the early eighteenth century editions (such as in the *Wuzhizhai qinpu*), the structure of the *XXSY* expanded from 10 to 18 sections (Zha Fuxi 1956, reprinted in Huang Xudong, et al., eds. 1995: 432). In current practice, however, most practitioners have adopted the version with 18 sections and a short coda.

[9] The complex nature of music time in general and metricality in specific remains under-explored within the tradition of the *qin*, and requires further research.

[10] The amplitude was displayed using percentage of full scale (16-bit sound range -32768 to 32767) on the y-axis.

[11] Taking direction and accentuation as key criteria, Wu Wenguang (1990: 101-102) typologized commonly used portamento in *qin* music into five up-portamentos, five down-portamento and four combinations.

[12] The *kuang* or "touch" is deemed to be central to *qin* performance practice. One of the most important treatises is Xu Hong's *Qinkuang* published in the *Dahuange qinpu* in 1673. The article discusses a set of twenty-four touches. Each describes a distinctive manner of hand movement, hence, quality of sound, and often is accompanied by poetical and metaphorical descriptions that refers to moral, mystical and aesthetic values embedded in Confucianism and Daoism. The adjectives qualifying the touches, such as light, loose, crisp, quick, gliding, clear, empty, profound, ancient, and balanced are synesthetic in nature and are inherently suggestive. As Van Gulik (1969: 107-08) noted, " the descriptive adjectives are not easy to render adequately: they suggest rather than describe, they indicate but do not define." It is precisely through the power of potentiality that the "touch" is to be metaphorically resembled and synesthetically realized.

TABLE 1. STRUCTURAL CONTINUUM OF *Xiaoxiang shuiyun*

Structural Continuum *Qin* Tradition	Divisions	Sections	Structural Continuum Literary Tradition
sanqi	Introduction	Section 1	*qi*
rudiao	Exposition	Section 2-3	*cheng*
ruman	Transformation I	Section 4-7	*zhuan*
	Transformation II	Section 8-11	
	Transformation III	Section 12-14	
fuqi	Culmination	Section 15-18	*he*
weisheng	Coda	Section 19	

TABLE 2. COMPARISON OF SECTIONAL DURATIONS *XXSY* PERFORMED BY NINE PRACTITIONERS FROM THREE GENERATIONS

Generation	Gen.1						Gen.2					Gen. 3				
Formal Structure	Sect.	Wu J.	Sun Y.	Wu Z.	Div. Sum	Div. Mean	Tong K.	Li X.	Gong Y.	Div. Sum	Div. Mean	Zhao J.	Dai X.	Huang Y.	Div. Sum	Div. Mean
Introduction	1	39.3	58.6	67.9	165.8	55.3	58.7	49.8	71.1	179.6	59.9	60.8	59.8	61.6	182.3	60.8
Exposition	2	81.8	103.7	103.1			112.0	101.0	88.8			124.7	82.1	111.3		
	3	59.0	91.2	71.0	509.7	169.9	76.8	66.3	74.1	519.0	173.0	72.1	65.4	72.3	527.9	176.0
Transformation I	4	19.6	25.9	26.4			25.4	16.6	22.2			15.7	18.0	21.9		
	5	20.3	25.2	29.1			23.4	18.0	18.0			17.0	22.9	22.0		
	6	17.5	23.9	23.8			19.4	15.7	17.9			15.4	16.0	18.0		
	7	12.3	16.8	17.7	258.4	86.1	15.1	10.5	14.0	216.1	72.0	9.9	13.8	13.7	204.1	68.0
Transformation II	8	17.7	20.2	20.7			17.9	14.2	19.5			12.6	17.7	18.6		
	9	18.1	23.8	29.1			20.3	15.7	19.0			14.8	19.1	19.7		
	10	11.8	13.2	15.1			12.1	10.1	13.4			4.4	13.7	12.8		
	11	26.5	31.1	28.3	255.5	85.2	33.7	22.6	30.3	228.8	76.3	21.5	29.0	29.1	212.9	71.0
Transformation III	12	19.3	22.8	22.0			24.2	17.3	23.0			16.9	21.7	21.6		
	13	22.1	28.5	27.3			*	20.3	29.0			**	31.5	24.4		
	14	23.8	28.8	28.4	222.9	74.3	30.1	20.9	30.9	195.7	65.2	19.6	34.9	24.7	195.3	65.1
Culmination	15	11.2	18.0	13.0			13.5	11.6	18.3			9.9	19.2	14.9		
	16	13.2	18.0	17.3			18.2	13.6	22.7			15.7	26.1	18.5		
	17	36.9	45.2	49.8			42.9	41.4	59.3			57.5	60.4	45.9		
	18	16.8	22.4	36.9	298.6	99.5	21.1	20.6	28.0	311.3	103.8	28.1	30.7	26.6	353.3	117.8
Coda	19	9.9	16.2	17.3	43.4	14.5	19.4	13.9	18.0	51.3	17.1	19.5	25.6	17.7	62.7	20.9
Sum		477.0	633.2	644.0	1754.2	584.7	584.2	500.0	617.5	1701.7	567.2	536.0	607.5	595.0	1738.6	579.5

* The value 24.2 (sec.) in 12th section reflected the condensation of sections 12 and 13, in which the second half of the 12th section and the first half of the 13th section were omitted by Tong Kinwoon.

** The value 16.9 (sec.) in 12th section reflected the condenstaion of section 12 and 13, in which the second half of the 12th section and the first half of the 13th section were omitted by Zhao Jiazhen.

TABLE 3. DISCREPANCIES IN TEMPORAL EXPRESSIONS WITHIN THE SLOW-FAST-SLOW TEMPO SCHEME

Formal Structure	**Divisions**	**Gen 1.**	**Gen 2.**	**Gen 3.**
sanqi	Introduction	Slow	Slower	Much Slower
rudiao	Exposition			
ruman	Transformation I	Fast	Faster	Faster
	Transformation II			
	Transformation III			
fuqi	Culmination	Slow	Slower	Much Slower
weisheng	Coda			

FIGURE 1. COMPARISON OF DIVISIONAL DURATIONS *XXSY* PERFORMED BY NINE PRACTITIONERS FROM THREE GENERATIONS

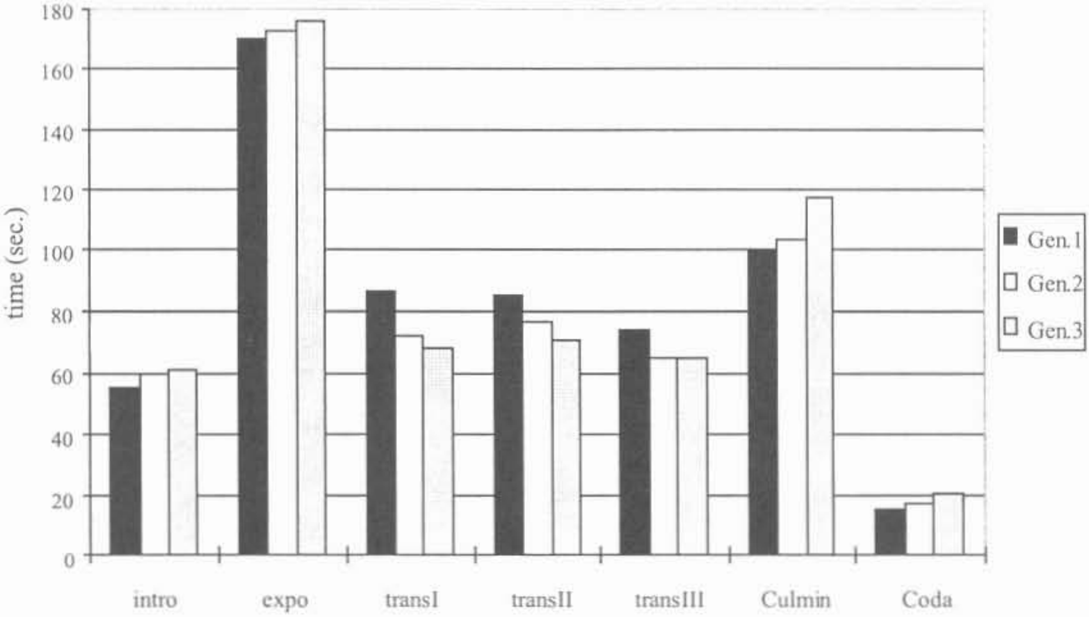
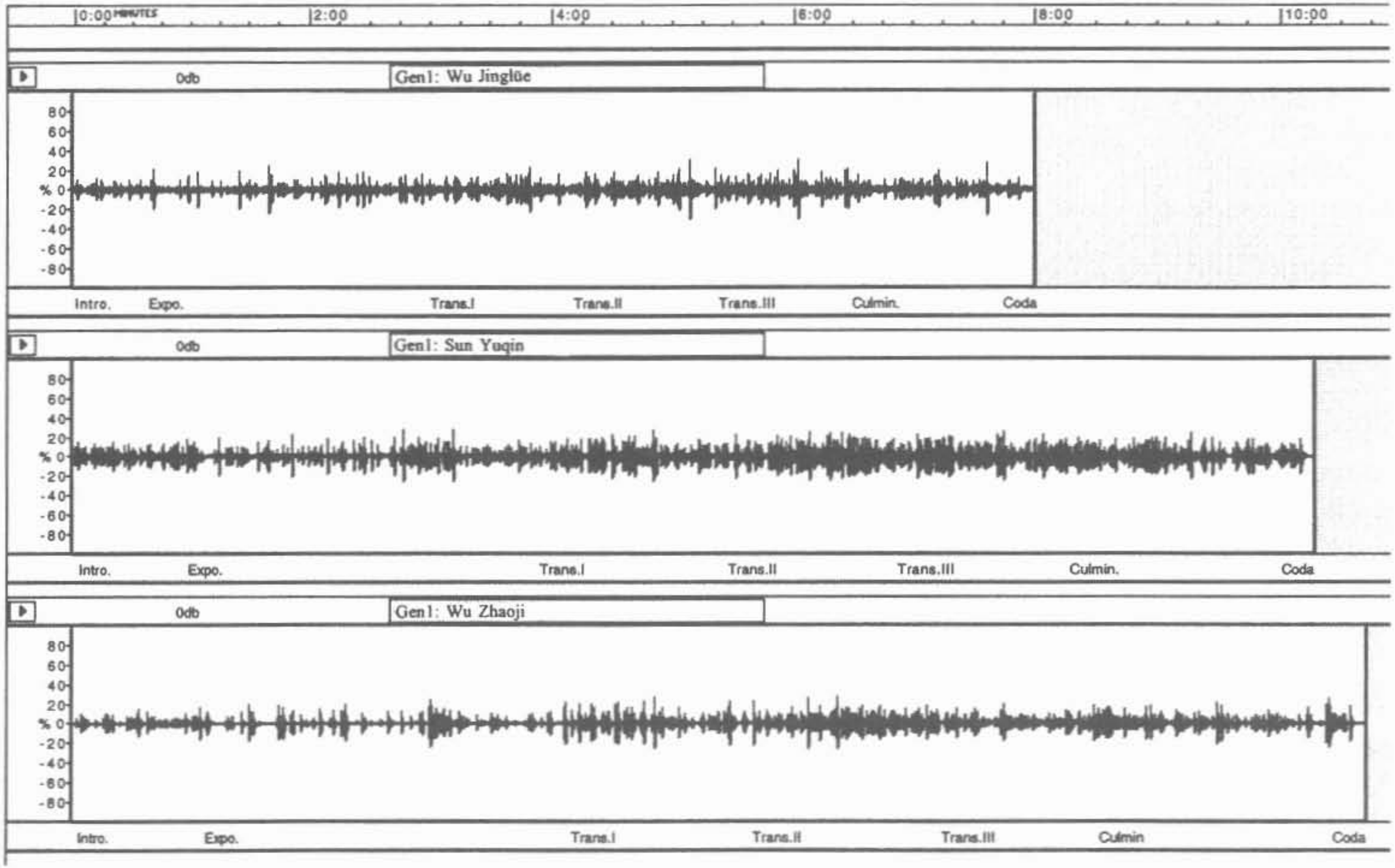


TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF ORNAMENTAL ARTICULATIONS
***XXSY* EXCERPT PERFORMED BY NINE PRACTITIONERS FROM THREE GENERATIONS**

Gen	Performer	MM 1	MM 2	MM 3	MM 4	MM 5	MM 6	MM 7	MM 8	MM 9	MM 10	MM 11
Gen1	Wu Jinglüe	Dcdfdddd	Fgg^{b}b	Fgfgfgfffgfg		DD	^{b}Bc^{b}bc^{b}b	Cdc^{b}bc	D	D	Dg	Dcdfdfdfdd
	Sun Yuqin	Dcdcdcdfdf	Fg^{b}b	Fgfgfgfgf		DD	^{b}B^{b}bc^{b}bc^{b}b	C^{b}bc	D	D	D	Dcdcdcdfdf
	Wu Zhaoji	Dddddd	Ffgg	Fffffgf		DD	^{b}B^{b}bc^{b}bc^{b}b	Ccc^{b}bc	D	D	D	Dddddffgg
Gen2	Tong Kinwoon	Dcdcdfdddddd	Fffg^{b}bg	Fffgfgfgf		DD	^{b}B^{b}b^{b}b^{b}b^{b}b^{b}bc	**C**Ccc^{b}bc	D	D	Df	Dcdfddd
	Li Xiangting	Dcdfdddd	Fg^{b}b	Ffff	**F**fffgfg	DD	^{b}Bc^{b}bc^{b}b	Cdc^{b}bc	D	D	D	Dcdf**D**ddd
	Gong Yi	D**C**d**C**dcd	Ffg	Fgfg	**F**gf	DD	^{b}Bc^{b}b	Cdc^{b}**B**c	D	D	Df	D**C**d**C**dcd
Gen3	Zhao Jiazhen	Dcdfdddd	Fg	Fffff	**G**fg	DD	^{b}Bc^{b}bc	Cdc^{b}bc	D	D	Df	Dcdfdddd
	Dai Xiaolian	Dcdcd	Fgfg	Fgf		DD	^{b}Bc^{b}**B**	Cdc^{b}**B**c	D	D	Df	Dcdcd
	Huang Yongming	Dcd	Fffg			DD	^{b}B^{b}bc^{b}b	Ccc^{b}bc	D	D	Df	Ddcdddd

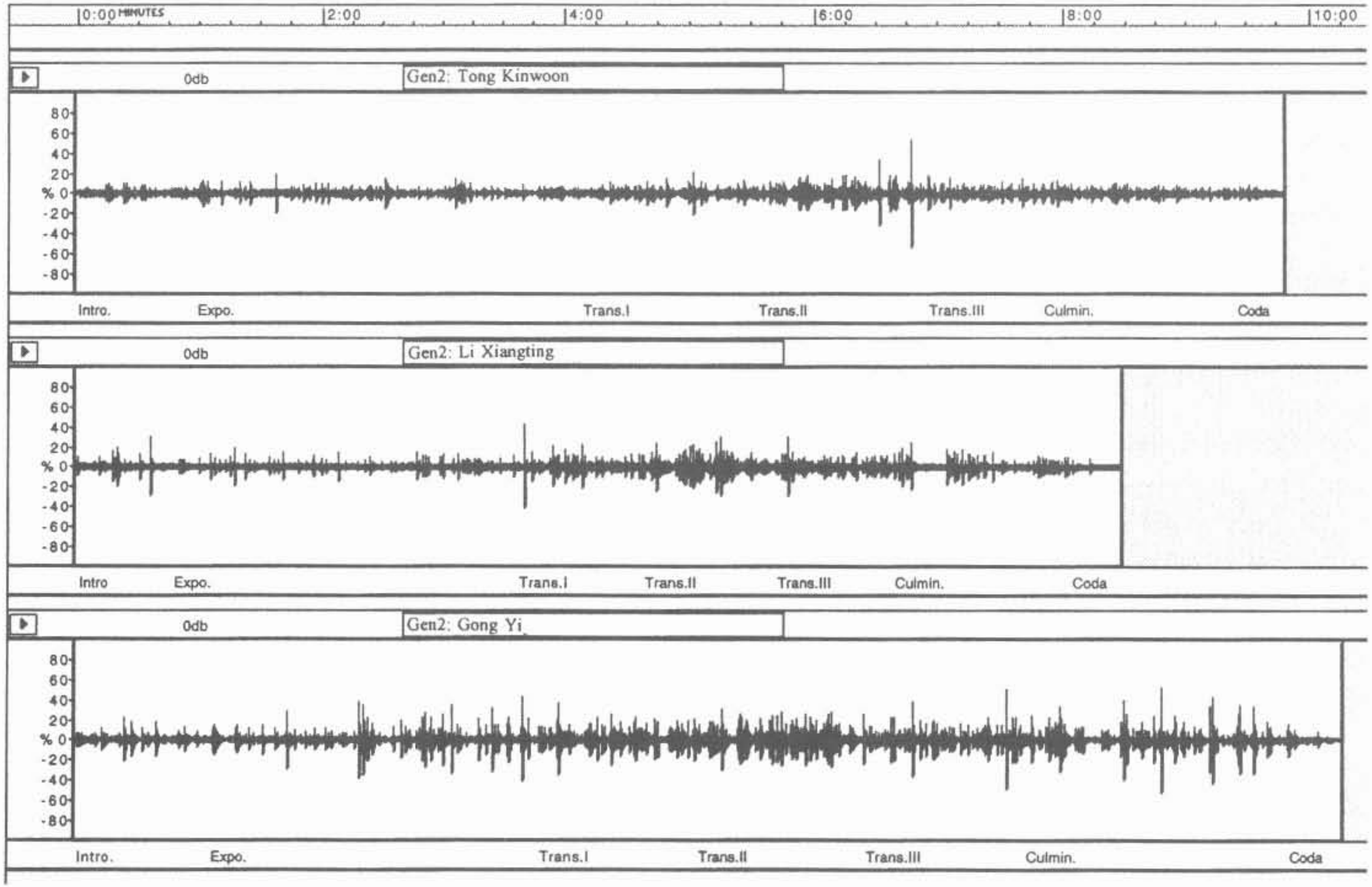
Tuning of the seven strings = C, D, F, G,^{b}B, C, D
Gen = Generation
MM = Musical Moment
Letter (e.g. C or c) = Pitch
Capital letter (e.g. D) = Plucked note
Lowercase letter (e.g. f) = Lingering note
Bold letter (e.g. **G**) = Added plucked note

FIGURE 2. COMPARISON OF DYNAMIC EXPRESSIONS
***XXSY* PERFORMED BY THREE PRACTITIONERS FROM THE FIRST GENERATION**



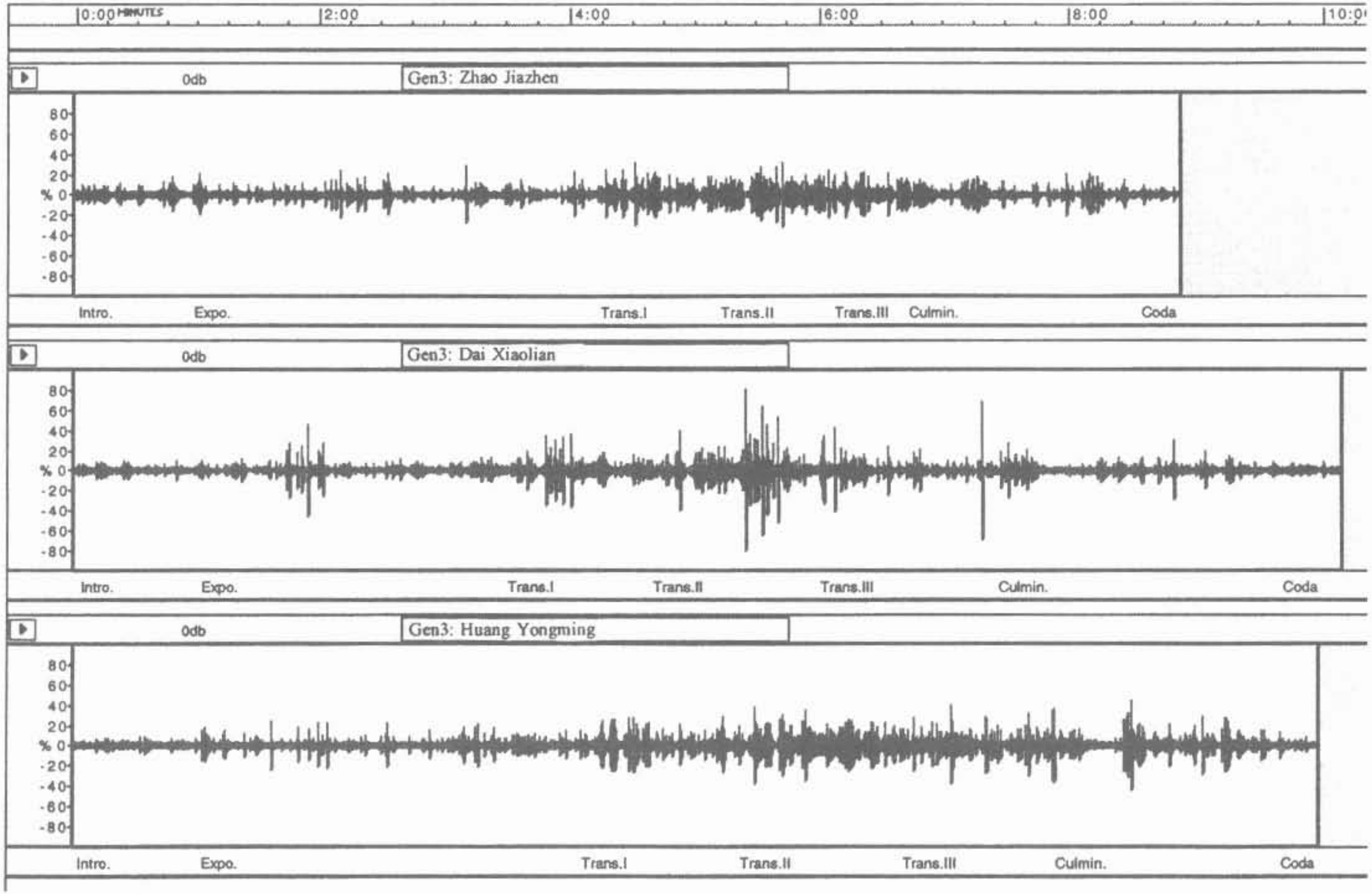
Each of the three graphic representations contains a waveform in the upper portion and the structural continuum of *XXSY* in the lower portion. The waveform representation shows time (in minutes) on the horizontal x-axis and the amplitude (in percentage) on the vertical y-axis.

FIGURE 3. COMPARISON OF DYNAMIC EXPRESSIONS
***XXSY* PERFORMED BY THREE PRACTITIONERS FROM THE SECOND GENERATION**



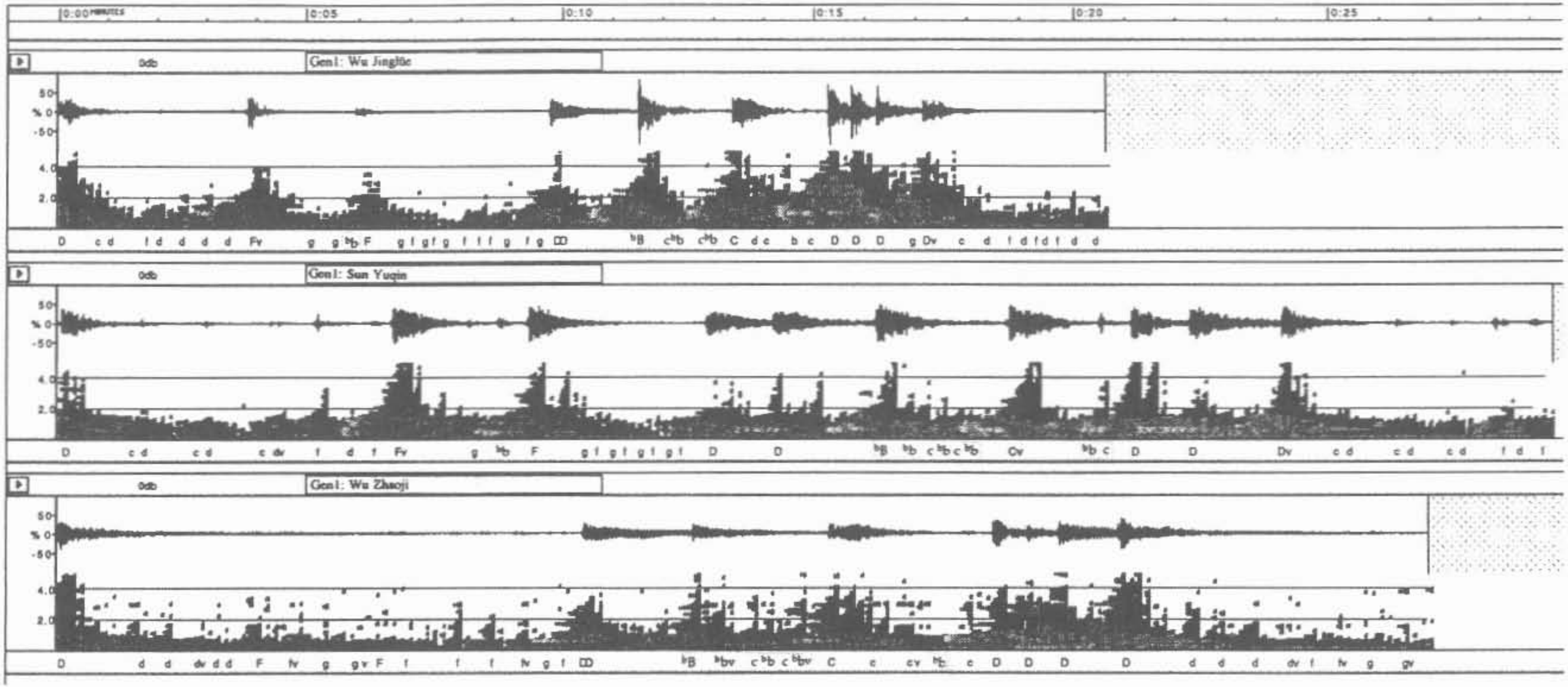
Each of the three graphic representations contains a waveform in the upper portion and the structural continuum of *XXSY* in the lower portion. The waveform representation shows time (in minutes) on the horizontal x-axis and the amplitude (in percentage) on the vertical y-axis.

FIGURE 4. COMPARISON OF DYNAMIC EXPRESSIONS
XXSY PERFORMED BY THREE PRACTITIONERS FROM THE THIRD GENERATION



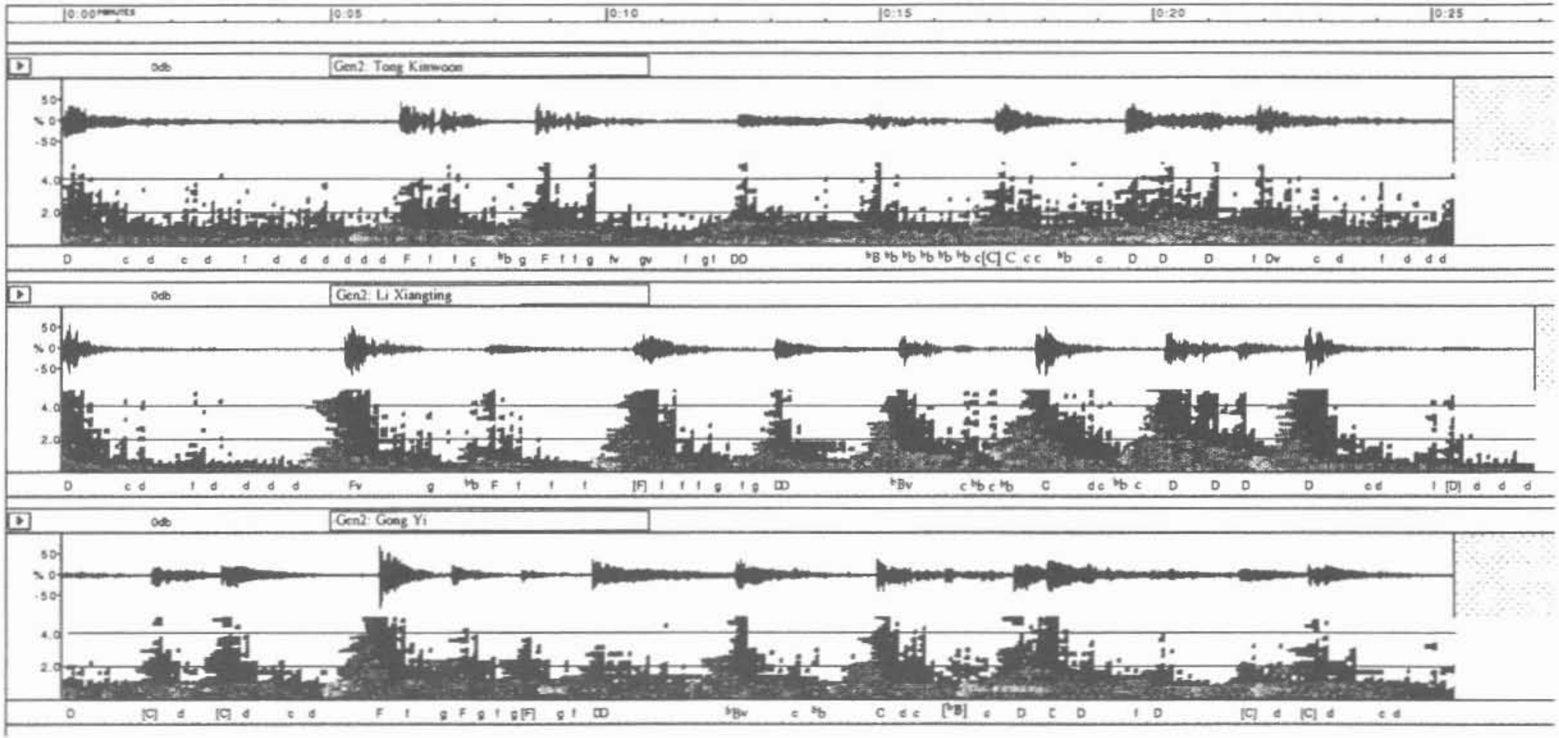
Each of the three graphic representations contains a waveform in the upper portion and the structural continuum of *XXSY* in the lower portion. The waveform representation shows time (in minutes) on the horizontal x-axis and the amplitude (in percentage) on the vertical y-axis.

FIGURE 5. COMPARISON OF ORNAMENTAL EXPRESSIONS
XXSY PERFORMED BY THREE PRACTITIONERS FROM THE FIRSTGENERATION



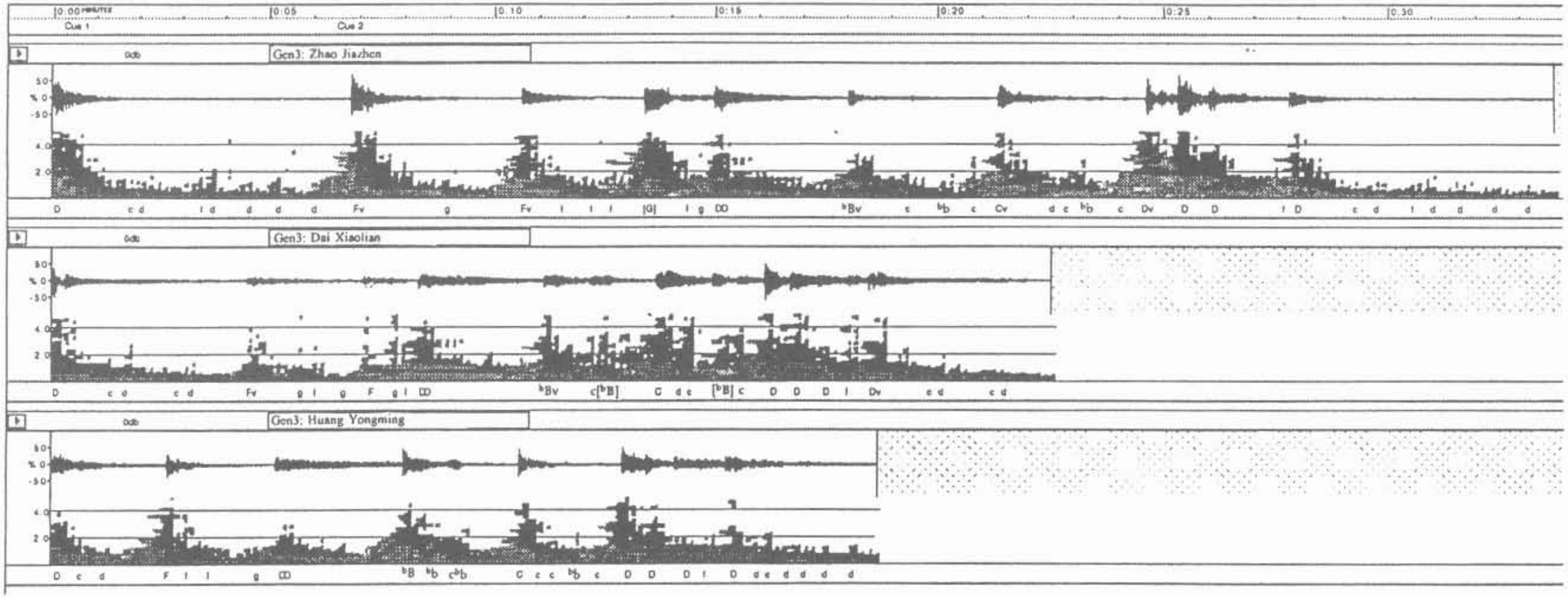
Each of the three graphic representations contains a waveform in the upper portion, spectrum in the middle portion, and note identification in the lower portion. Letter (e.g. C or c) = Picth; Capital letter (e.g. D) = Plucked note; Lowercase letter (e.g. f) = Lingering note; [ ] (e.g. [F]) = Added plucked note.

FIGURE 6. COMPARISON OF ORNAMENTAL EXPRESSIONS
XXSY PERFORMED BY THREE PRACTITIONERS FROM THE SECOND GENERATION



Each of the three graphic representations contains a waveform in the upper portion, spectrum in the middle portion, and note identification in the lower portion. Letter (e.g. C or c) = Picth; Capital letter (e.g. D) = Plucked note; Lowercase letter (e.g. f) = Lingering note; [ ] (e.g. [F]) = Added plucked note.

FIGURE 7. COMPARISON OF ORNAMENTAL EXPRESSIONS
XXSY PERFORMED BY THREE PRACTITIONERS FROM THE THIRD GENERATION



Each of the three graphic representations contains a waveform in the upper portion, spectrum in the middle portion, and note identification in the lower portion. Letter (e.g. C or c) = Picth; Capital letter (e.g. D) = Plucked note; Lowercase letter (e.g. f) = Lingering note; [ ] (e.g. [F]) = Added plucked note.

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Glossary

Chuwang	楚望
Dahuange qinpu	大還閣琴譜
Dai Xiaolian	戴曉蓮
Dao	道
dapu	打譜
fuqi	復起
Gong Yi	龔一
Guo Mian	郭沔
Guan Pinghu	管平湖
Guanglinshan	廣陵散
he	和
Huang Yongming	黃永明
hui	徽
jianzipu	減字譜
jin	禁
kuang	況
lao	老
Li Xiangting	李祥霆
nao	猱
ping	平
qicheng zhuanhe	起成轉合
Qinkuang	琴況
qing	青
qin	琴
rudaio	入調
ruman	入慢

sanqi	散起
Shenqi mipu	神奇密譜
Sun Yuqin	孫毓芹
Tong Kinwoon	唐健垣
weisheng	尾聲
Wu Jinglüe	吳景略
Wu Wenguang	吳文光
Wu Zhaoji	吳兆基
Wu Zonghan	吳宗漢
Wuzhizhai qinpu	五知齋琴譜
Xiaoxiang shuiyun	瀟湘水雲
Xu Hong	徐鉷
xueyuan pai	學院派
yin	吟
yin	音
yun	韻
Zha Fuxi	查阜西
Zhang Qingzhi	張清治
Zhao Jiazhen	趙家珍
zhong	中
zhu	注
zhuo	綽

老中青三代古琴音樂實踐的歷程與流變

本文探討古琴音樂自老中青三代以來在音樂實踐上的發展與變遷。文章的第一部分透過近代古琴音樂學院化的過程來研討三代琴人在音樂生態環境、思想觀念與審美理想上的異同。第二部分則以<瀟湘水雲>為例，比較分析三代琴人在樂曲遲速緩急、音響對比變化、以及音韻裝飾表現風格上的異同。

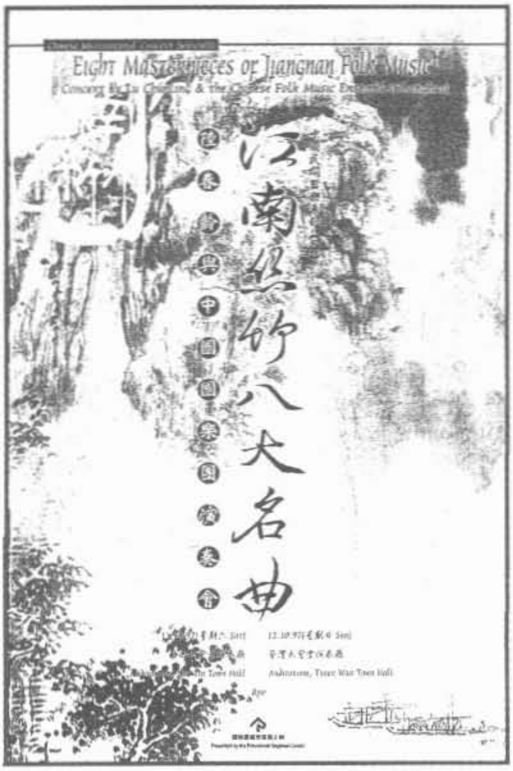
Little Great Tradition: Thoughts on Recent Developments in *Jiangnan Sizhu*[1]

Frederick Lau

Jiangnan sizhu is the instrumental ensemble music practiced in southern Jiangsu, Anhui and Zhejiang provinces, and most notably in and around the city of Shanghai. Known by scholars as a *difang yinyue* or regional music, *jiangnan sizhu* has been recognized as a major musical genre of the Jiangnan region, the area along the south bank of the lower Yangtze delta in east central China. This regional tradition, historically popular in both urban and rural areas, was developed in the mid-nineteenth century by an emerging urban elite as a tool for self-cultivation and for the purpose of accompanying various social rituals (Witzleben 1995:9; Jin 1983; Yuan 1987:291-2; Yang 1981:993; Jones 1996:270). By the turn of the century, it had evolved into a formative lyrical chamber music with a body of repertory and a distinctive performance practice (Jin 1983, Jones 1996:250). These musical features have remained relatively intact up to the present despite intermittent attempts by modernists to fashion traditional music according to Western music aesthetics and practice (Wang 1984, Wong 1984, Stock 1996). While *jiangnan sizhu* has retained its status as an indoor amateur music, its role in social functions and outdoor procession has drastically diminished since the 1950s.

Since the emergence of the free market economy in the late 1970s, *jiangnan sizhu,* like most traditional cultural practices, has experienced a series of changes that substantially transformed not only the nature of its existence but also its appearance and image. Assisted by the relatively relaxed cultural environment of the 1980s and the increasing accessibility to recording technology, *jiangnan sizhu* began to circulate outside the Jiangnan region. With its wide distribution, it captures the fascination of both domestic and foreign audiences (Jones and Hallet 1994:452). As a result, its popularity has soared to a new height, stretching far beyond its local purview and onto the national and international music scene. Nowadays, sound recordings and printed scores of *jiangnan sizhu* are readily available throughout China, and it is not unusual to find groups from Shanghai performing concerts in cities such as Beijing, Guangzhou, Hong Kong, Singapore, New York, and San Francisco. What are the changes in *jiangnan sizhu* that prompted this so-called "sub-cultural music" (Slobin 1993) to transcend its regional boundaries? Why has it become such a highly celebrated regional music? What can we learn about the cultural dispositions that allow and even encourage these changes?

Figure 1. Concert program of *jiangnan sizhu* performance in Hong Kong


Eight Masterpieces of Jiangnan Folk Music
江南絲竹八大名曲
陸春齡與中國國樂團演奏會

In this paper, I focus on a number of activities that have helped to establish *jiangnan sizhu's* newly found identities. Specifically, I describe the developments in scholarly studies, the 1987 international competition, and the politics of presenting and representing this music in the city of Shanghai. I suggest that these events have "reinscribed" and "inserted" new meanings into *jiangnan sizhu,* leading to an expansion and reconfiguration of its original signification. The notion of "reinscription" is borrowed from Homi Bhabha who used it to describe the intricate role of agency and the inherently mutable nature of all utterances within any social discourse (Bhabha 1994: 191). Context and utterances, as suggested, are mutually dependent and each constantly shaping the other. In the case of *jiangnan sizhu,* I view these new identities essentially as utterances enunciated in response to the changing discourse of the nation-scape and culture-scape of post-Mao China (Appadurai 1990). I argue that it is the process of "reinscription" that has provided *jiangnan sizhu* with an array of appearances and transformed it from a regional music tradition to a supra trans-regional genre. An understanding of *jiangnan sizhu's* transformations thus requires us to see them as polyphonic utterances narrating the debates between modernity versus traditional, national versus regional identity, center versus periphery, and folk versus classical music within China's contemporary cultural social specificity.

Building the canon

Studies of *jiangnan sizhu* were scarce in Chinese music scholarship before the 1960s. It was only after the late 1970s that one began to see a substantial increase in publications of both quantity and quality. By the mid-l980s, topics related to the study of *jiangnan sizhu* have become commonplace in textbooks and scholarly publications. A cursory glance at most major conservatories's textbooks on *minzu qiyue* (traditional instrumental music) reveals that *jiangnan sizhu* has often been presented as one of the few important examples of regional music. The dominant theme of these studies focuses on the uniqueness of its musical procedures and structural characteristics. These features are used to illustrate the coherence and diversity between different regional genres. Works produced by scholars such as Li Minxiong of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, Yuan Jingfang of the Central Conservatory and Gao Houyong, formerly of the Nanjing Academy of Arts, are significant in that they set the tone and direction for much later research on this topic. That *jiangnan sizhu* has received such attention at this moment in time is by no means an accident. The groundwork was laid in the early 1950s, specifically after the Communist Party assumed control over all cultural matters across the country.

Under the aegis of the state cultural bureau, projects of studying and collecting little-known regional music become a priority (McDougall 1980; Holm 1994). In line with the political slogan of learning from the masses, many grass-root music genres were collected, notated, and standardized. They were then disseminated nationally through government-sponsored variety shows and public concerts. A few of them were even published in the form of reports for internal circulation *(nebu faxing)*. Examples of this kind of concert are the 1957 Zhongguo wenyi wudao huiyan (National Variety Show of Arts, Song and Dance) and the 1960 Zhongguo minjian yinyuehuiyan (Concert of Folk and Regional Music) in which *jiangnan sizhu* was reportedly a featured item. While these concerts aimed at introducing various regional genres to the national audience, they also helped to reaffirm the importance of regional music in the popular perception and in the definition of national music.

The tradition of notating *jiangnan sizhu* music is not a novel idea. Some attempts were made in the early part of this century to notate it in either *gongche* or cipher notation. Most of these earlier scores contain only the skeleton melody, suggesting a function as a memory aid for the performer instead of providing the complete rendition of the music. Among the representative collections are Yang Yinliu's 1924 published collection entitled *Yayinji* (A treasure of Chinese music), Zheng Jinwen's *Xiaodi xinpu* (New notation for *xiao* and *di*), and the 1939 *Xiandai liuxing Zhongguo yinyuepu* (Scores of contemporary popular Chinese music).[2] Although these collections are diverse in their musical selections, the fact that they both contain a certain number of important *jiangnan sizhu* pieces reflects the popularity of this music and its prominence among the educated elite of the time in the region. Many later collections, however, tend to depart from this model and are based primarily prescriptive notation of either individual parts or ensemble scores of realized parts (Lu 1982; Gan 1985; Zhou et al. 1997; Li et al. 1997).

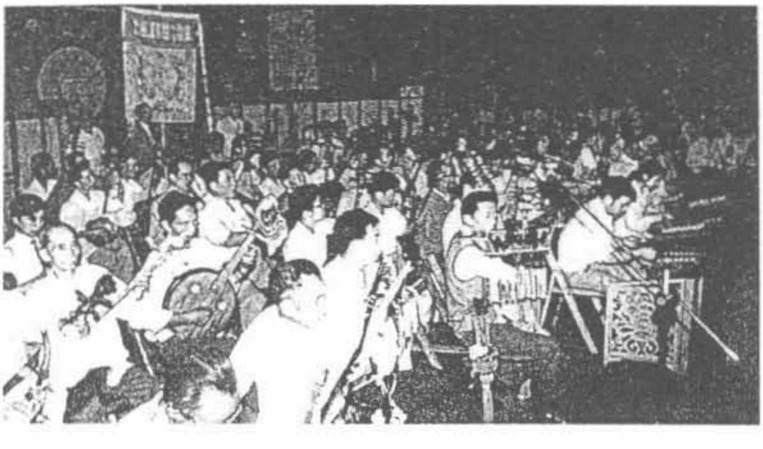
In 1960, the government press published a collection of *jiangnan sizhu* music and several commercial recordings. It was the first serious attempt of this kind since the founding of the PRC. Around the same time, a group of scholars and students from the Shanghai Conservatory of Music undertook a major study of this music. Some of the teachers, such as Sun Yude, Jin Zuli, and Lu Chunling, were active in this tradition before 1949, and their participation undoubtedly lent credibility to the efforts of the team. Their findings and recommendations have paved the way for the involvement of state-employed professional musicians in *jiangnan sizhu*,[3] and created a conducive environment for its promotion in the area. Since then, *jiangnan sizhu* has been incorporated into the conservatory curriculum and regularly featured in public concerts. The intervention of the professionals has certainly legitimized the music as a respectable genre, and helped enhance its visibility and launch it across the nation.

A series of activities in the 1980s further consolidated its place within the professional music world. In October 1980, a special concert of *jiangnan sizhu* music was given at the Shanghai Conservatory as a part of the regular public concert series. According to several teachers, the incorporation of a *minjian* (among the folk) music in their concert series was a statement that openly acknowledged the importance of this music which until this time had been dismissed in the professional circle. Some amateurs I interviewed in 1987 even remarked that this event had brought a lot of prestige and attention to this so-called "low-brow" musical tradition. Despite its apparent advantage, the professionals' participation in this music, unfortunately, has illuminated the difference in aesthetics and approaches between the professionals and the local musicians. One event in particular clearly articulates this tension. In May 1983 the Chinese Musicians' Union organized a public workshop for all the amateur *jiangnan sizhu* players in the city of Shanghai. The goal of this workshop was to "improve" the musical skills of these so-called folk musicians (*minjian yiren*).[4] With the help of the music teachers from the conservatory, they were taught the foundations of music theory, modern instrumental playing techniques, and the basic ensemble playing. The underlying message is clear: amateur *minjian* players are musically illiterate and technically inadequate; therefore, they need help to improve their skills.

While the professionals were constructing the canon of *jiangnan sizhu* music, they also subtly planted the notion of "master musician" and charismatic performers. Several players of this tradition, who were also teachers of the conservatory, have emerged as the most authoritative performers. Although they had long been recognized by their peers as skillful players, their acceptance and recognition by the professionals added another layer of competence and further solidified their reputation as master players. Among them were Jin Zuli, Lu Chunling, Zhou Wei, Zhou Hou, Chen Zhong, and Gan Tao. [5] Their contributions were significant because of the valuable publications and records they have produced (Jin 1983; Gan 1985; Lu 1982). Jin Zuli's article on the history of *jiangnan sizhu* in Shanghai has been considered a cornerstone in the literature. Gan Tao's volume contains detailed studies of the entire repertory and for the first time provides transcriptions of the pieces on different instruments as played by famous players. Lu Chunling's numerous recordings and his own rendition of selected *jiangnan sizhu* pieces offer some insights into the process of *jiahua* (added embellishments) and individualized approaches to this music. Together with Zhou Wei and Zhou Hou, these master musicians have made a few commercial recordings, and as a group, they have been invited to perform overseas. These works summarize a changing trend and style in the study of *jiangnan sizhu* of the 1980s.

Perhaps the most monumental event in the history of this music thus far is the formation of the Shanghai Jiangnan sizhu xuehui [The scholarly society of *jiangnan sizhu*] in 1987. This society, first of its kind, was established to promote performance of and serious research on *jiangnan sizhu.* It has been extremely active since its establishment. It has organized concerts and workshops, and participated in various local functions and ceremonies. Its innovative performance in presenting an ensemble of over 100 players at the The First Cultural Festival of the South City has drawn enthusiastic response from the city officials as well as from the public. Because of its formalization and visibility, this club has become the *de facto* spokesman for all the amateur clubs in Shanghai.

Figure 2. 100 players performing at the First Cultural Festival of the South City



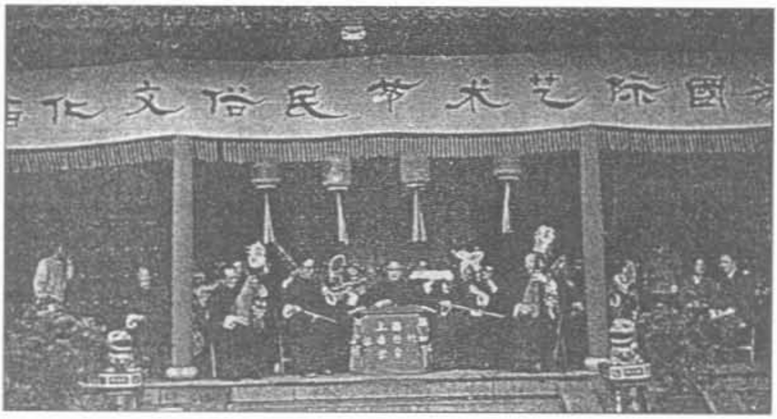
On the whole, these organized activities have elevated *jiangnan sizhu* to a prestigious status similar to that enjoyed by a high-art tradition. By standardizing its repertory and practice, the scholars have turned it into a canon. The formation of a canon refers to the acceptance of a group of works as "great works" representing the discipline or the genre. Such acceptance is often understood as a construct determined by the society in which they were formulated (Bergeron and Bohlman 1992; Altieri 1990). Politics and power relationships are the most important component in determining which tradition will be valorized and included in the canonic core. I suggest that it is the need to regulate and systematize its practice and repertory that ultimately marks the boundaries of *jiangnan sizhu* as a well-defined genre. The fact that most musicians from outside the region know about the *badaqu* (eight famous pieces) and that *fangman jiahua* (slowing down and adding ornaments) as the characteristic performance style of this genre shows the overall effect of the process of canonization. The study of this music continues to draw attention from both local and foreign scholars. The impressive works by scholars such as Larry Witzleben (1995),[6] Alan Thrasher (Thrasher 1985, 1989, 1993), and Stephen Jones (1995) have made significant contributions to the literature. These works not only bring new perspective to the understanding of this music but further perpetuate the centrality of *jiangnan sizhu* in Chinese music scholarship.

Regional culture as folk culture

While the status of *jiangnan sizhu* has risen in the scholarly world, ironically, the way the players represent themselves somehow took a different route. From my own observation and regular contact with the group during fieldwork, I notice that they tend to play down their image and present themselves as an exotic folk culture or a slice from the past. This phenomenon no doubt is an internalized manifestation of a biased attitude toward peripheral culture. The following vignettes provide further evidence.

In the 1987 New Year celebration, the resident group at the Wenmiao (Confucius Temple) held an unusual concert of *jiangnan sizhu* music. This event, different from their weekly informal gatherings, was presented as a staged concert. Contrary to their usual casualness and chattiness, they conducted themselves differently and their manner was solemn and serious. Instead of rotating players for different pieces, players were assigned to specific instruments. During the concert, they played all the extensive pieces in the repertory such as *Xingjie* and *Sihe ruyi*. One informant remarked that this is the way to perform this music, particularly at this festive time of the year. To authenticate their music, they even put on the traditional Mandarin gown *(changsan)* and round cap in order to dramatize their presentation. These attires, once a symbol of elegance, affluence, and class, is now used to signify authenticity, respectability and being traditional. The theme that *jiangnan sizhu* is a symbol of the past dominated this presentation.

Figure 3. Performance at the International Festival of Folk Culture



On the fifteenth day of the lunar New Year celebration, a folk festive entitled "International Festival of Folk Culture" was held on the same ground right outside the Wenmiao. Small booths were set up along the covered walkway of the temple to display various folk arts and crafts. It is noteworthy that despite this billing as an international event, the exotic cultures being displayed are the ones selected from the so-called *minjian* or folk culture of the region. The "international" as suggested in the name of the event, bore almost no relationship to the items being displayed because all of them were local products. In one of the booths, a *jiangnan shizhu* group from the Shanghai sizhu yuehui performed as one of the local attractions. Again, the players put on their Mandarin gowns and performed continuously for several hours. The unusual seriousness they exhibited in these sessions was strongly embedded in the rhetoric of displaying folk and marginal culture. When asked why didn't they perform like this more often, one player replied that it was out of respect of ancient Chinese tradition that they perform in this manner only occasionally. Throughout the festival, one was constantly being reminded that *jiangnan sizhu,* together with other local specialities, is an exotic folk art from the bygone period.

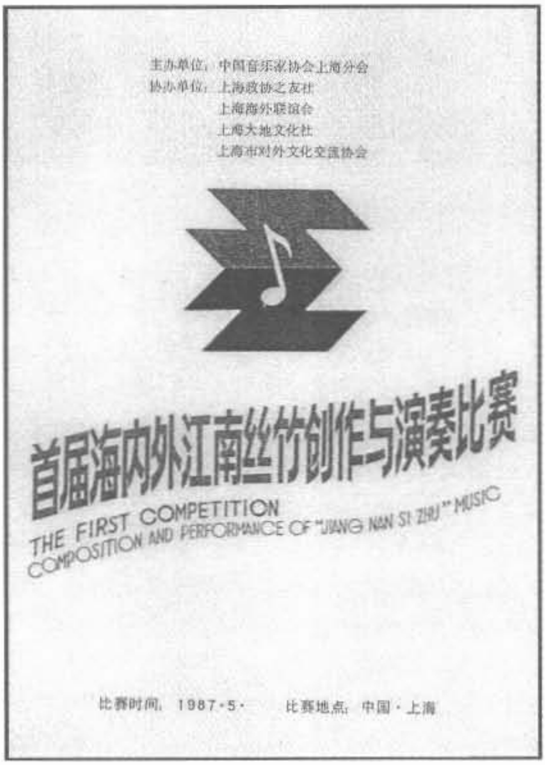
During my 12-month period of research in Shanghai in 1986-7, however, I noticed that *jiangnan sizhu* had ceased to function in weddings, funerals, and religious festivals. This once "elegant" genre—enjoyed only by the connoisseur and functioning as an integral part of any social ritual—is now viewed by many as something only played by older people for recreation purposes and to pass their time. At best, it is used to entertain foreign dignitaries and as an attraction for tourists. The perception of *jiangnan sizhu* as a "popular" regional music enjoyed by many is no longer the reality in the mind of most modern urbanites of Shanghai. Witzleben reports that the total number of musicians active in Shanghai is under 300 people (Witzleben 1995). While this music is still played by amateurs in teahouses and music clubs, it has been reduced to one of the main tourist attractions in the older part of Shanghai. Tourists who tour the Yuyuan (Yu Garden) invariably go the Huxingting (Central Lake Pavilion) or to the Wenmiao to watch the group performing an old music. For domestic tourists, the idea of hearing local music performed live is an indication of the rich culture and vibrancy of the region and the historical roots of cosmopolitan cities such as Shanghai. Foreign tourists on the other hand have different reactions. These performances fulfilled their expectation that China, a country rooted in ancient civilization, is a logical place to find folk culture and folk music. To many tourists who visit the Huxingting or the Wenmiao, these performances present true folk art at its best.

Regional and folk cultures occupy a unique place in post-Mao China. They are seen as stark contrasts to the burgeoning modern urban life style and cultural practice brought on by the recent economic growth. Through realistic visual representation and often ritualized performance, folk cultures not only reduce people and cultures to a theme park, an ethnic event, or a cover page of a magazine, they also help to constitute the category of the "others" in the politicized cultural realm. As argued by several scholars, these visual representations not only project an imaged vision of an idealized past, but also embody the discourse of modernity (Anagnost 1994; Gladney 1995). They allow the spectators to visualize and to feel nostalgic about the lives that they once had before they progressed along the trajectory toward modernity. This explains why theme parks featuring various local cultures, minority culture, and regional festivals such as the chrysanthemum festival have become a prominent spectacle in the modern landscape (Siu 1990; Rees 1998; Lau 1998). The presentation of *jiangnan sizhu* seems to fit into this sort of visual representation and function as an indispensable counterpart to the social imaginary of the revolution period and the nostalgia of the age of consumerism.

In the name of a game

In May 1987, the First Competition of Jiangnan Sizhu Performance and Composition was held in the city of Shanghai. Sponsored by the Shanghai branch of the Chinese Musicians' Association and the Shanghai City Cultural Bureau, this event attracted a large number of performing groups from across the country and abroad. The competition was divided into the categories of performance of the traditional repertory and of new compositions in the *jiangnan sizhu* style. Media coverage of the entire event was extensive and a portion of it was aired on local and national television.

Figure 4. Program cover of the first *jiangnan sizhu* competition



主办单位：中国音乐家协会上海分会
协办单位：上海政协之友社
上海海外联谊会
上海大地文化社
上海市对外文化交流协会

首届海内外江南丝竹创作与演奏比赛
THE FIRST COMPETITION
COMPOSITION AND PERFORMANCE OF "JIANG NAN SI ZHU" MUSIC

比赛时间：1987·5· 比赛地点：中国·上海

The competition opened with a highly festive ceremony featuring local musicians performing *jiangnan sizhu* in an outdoor procession accompanied by colorful decorations and banners —a practice which is rarely seen nowadays. This unprecedented attempt to celebrate *jiangnan sizhu* was indeed impressive and historic in implication. After four days of intense competition, the winners were announced at the closing ceremony. There were four first-prize winners in the new composition category and five in the performance category. All the winners were members of the major music institutions, such as the Central Conservatory of Music, the Shanghai National Music Orchestra, the Chinese Conservatory of Music, and the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. Even a team of foreign students was awarded one of the prizes. Ironically, and much to everyone's surprise, none of the participating local groups was among the top winners ; only two received honorable mentions. The event was declared a great success and concluded with a grand finale featuring most of the participating musicians performing on stage. Shortly after that, the official China Record Company released two commercial cassettes entitled *Suti manbu* [Promenading along the banks of the Suzhou River] and *Hanjiang canxue* [Melting snow of the cold river] featuring all the performances of the award-winning groups and the new compositions.[7]

What is striking about this highly unusual event is not so much the fact that this regional music was elevated out of its local confines as the questions and contradictions it presents. Several questions immediately come to mind. What motivates such a competition? Why does a competition of a regional music draw such enthusiastic responses from musicians outside the region? Whose musical standards were used to judge these performances? What is considered the "authentic" and thus acceptable performance style for this music? Why was the performances of outside groups considered superior to those of the local musicians?

For the organizers, the goal of the competition was to promote this music by attracting outside attention. This perhaps has to do with the prominence of Shanghai and the historical significance of the region. Indeed, this competition turned into another newsworthy event with a focus on the city of Shanghai. For the professional musicians, however, the competition was a means of career advancement. As competitions are increasingly popular in the Chinese music scene, they have become, for the competitiors, major career opportunities in the age of mass media. Winning a prize in a competition can vastly enhance one's reputation, regardless of the musical style involved. Therefore it is not the love of the music that attracts the outsiders in the first place, but the benefit it presents. In the eyes of the professional musicians, *jiangnan sizhu* is simply another musical style they can easily master. The essence of this music is considered simply as flavors that can be added in or taken out of the music as needed. The professionals' emotional attachment to the music, if any, is different from the local players.

By looking at the winning groups, it is not difficult to surmise whose standards were being applied in judging the competition. Clearly, the modernized conservatory performance style—with the use of calculated ensemble technique, facial expressions, body movements, pre-determined embellishments, and unusual instrumentation—was considered the norm. In other words, the terms are dictated by the modern performance and compositional style. All the winning groups employed these features extensively in their performance. In contrast, the local groups were playing with completely different criteria that ignored, and at times even contradicted, the new sensibility observed by the professionals. If one accepts the latter as the norm, then it is easy to explain why none of the local groups were among the winners.

The music performed during the competition, though based on the eight core pieces, was rearranged and laden with innovative ornamentation and musical nuances foreign to *jiangnan sizhu.* Although improvisation is an essential component in the traditional practice, most professional performers disregard it in favor of the pre-composed parts rather than improvize on the spot. New musical material and counter-melodies were often added. As one of the professional musicians claimed, this is necessary because Western harmonies "enrich the texture of these simple melodies and keep them interesting." Dynamic constrasts were applied in order to intensify the mood and accentuate various sections of the piece. A quote in Witzleben's book succintly summarizes this view: "Some Western musical means of presentation are adopted in playing the music, such as contrast of forte and piano. Polyphony and harmony are used in composition and the music no longers sounds simple and monotonous"(Witzleben 1995:141). The quote givenThese special treatments stand in stark contrast to the traditional aesthetics. These discrepanies in approach have had a considerable and far-reaching impact on the amateur musicians. Considering the knowledge, power, and prestige of the professionals, the amateurs feel that they have to agree, at least in principle, with the professional practice; that is, to be more consistent in their playing, have less individual variation, and emphasize tempo and dynamic contrasts. Furthermore, they also "learned" that to improvize is "unscientific."

In terms of the repertory, the eight core pieces are continually being treated, at least in theory, as pillars of the tradition by all musicians. But in practice, the attitude toward the core pieces varied, and influenced the choice of repertory in the competition. For the amateur musicians, the eight core pieces are sufficient, and there is no need to create new repertory. Their choice of pieces was no different from what they performed on a regular basis. None of the local groups entered the new composition category because newly composed pieces, in their view, are not part of the tradition, even though the music is written in the *jiangnan shizhu* style. For the professional musicians, new compositions are necessary because they inject creativitiy into the tradition and help to develop it. The underlying assumption is that traditional *jiangnan sizhu* practice is somewhat crude and stagnant, and that it is the professionals' duty to refine the music and to help it flourish.

While this high-profile event marks an important moment in the history of *jiangnan sizhu,* it is nonethelss a product of and commentary on the social and cultural environment in which it exists. Ethnomusicologists and folklorists have long considered the significance of festivals and music competitions as meaningful and socially significant (MacAloon 1984; Turner 1992; Goertzen; Rosenberg 1993; Stillman 1996). These events are often viewed as "occasions for the expression of group solidarity...to comment on the nature of social order...contain constellation of symbols by which communities define themselves" (Stillman 1996:358). From this perspective, this competition provides an important opportunity for members of the *jiangnan sizhu* community to come together in one place to celebrate this century-old tradition. The camaraderie and a sense of belonging were strongly felt throughtout the event. But the flip side of this is that it highlights the ideological distinctions between the professional musicians and the amateurs, and more importantly, the ways they confront and interpret this tradition.

Conclusion

By way of conclusion, I now turn to the question of context in relation to *jiangnan sizhu's* development. *Jiangnan sizhu's* changing image in the last two decades undoubtedly reflects the signs of its time, starting with its association with the urban elite in the early part of the century up to the 1980s. While noticing the fluid and malleable nature of cultural practice such as *jiangnan sizhu,* we are also being reminded of the determining power of the context to inscribe and dictate new meanings. Reading the history of *jiangnan sizhu* therefore requires us to take into consideration the context and what it means for those who participate in it. Any changes in one domain of the society would cause the musicians to adjust and reposition themselves according to the new social order and reality (Becker 1981; Turino 1989). Musical change thus by nature is the repository of the musicians' responses to the changing social and political terrain.

As the Communist Party gained control of China in 1949, enormous efforts were made to ensure the complete transformation to socialism. Following this, all forms of expressive culture underwent significant changes in content and form in accordance with the Marxist-Maoist political agenda. Cultural expressions such as dance, music, and literature became a potent symbol for expressing this new political ethos because they were embedded in the ideological web and exemplified the social imaginary of the new social state. As Abner Cohen states, "the less obviously political in form symbols are, the more efficacious politically they prove to be" (Cohen 1979:87).

The work done on *jiangnan sizhu* during this period focused on collecting the music and preserving its notation for fear of its disappearance. The idea that folk music needs to be preserved has been shown to link directly to the process of nation-state formation and the new ideology in post-1949 China (Rees 1998, Provine 1981, Fang 1981, Holm 1994). The professional musicians' efforts to preserve a grass-root tradition, thus are in line with populist ideology and with Mao's dictum of learning and borrowing from past traditions. The next step of creating a uniquely Chinese music for the masses is to institute a new language to represent this new national sentiment.

With the help of the professional musicians, a modernized pan-Chinese musical style has gradually emerged and become normative throughout the nation. The new aesthetics, which emphasize individuality, intention, creativity, dynamism, and contrasts, are founded upon the image of cultural homogeneity rather than diversity. These qualities are often expressed in the rhetoric of nation-building and the discourse of modernity. Once these qualities are accepted as legitimate and natural, the amateurs have little choice but to denounce the traditional practice as undesirable and downplay the validity of *jiangnan sizhu*'s core values of communalitiy and flexibility.

As musicians incorporate these new aesthetics into *jiangnan sizhu,* they can comfortably flatten its essence by substituting the new musical elements, thereby rendering its sentiment and regional association invisible. This helps to explain why innovative performances of *jiangnan sizhu* scored higher in the competition than those of the local Shanghai groups, because the former presented the image of a modernized homogenized Chinese style while the latter that of a backward regional tradition. By subjugating *jiangnan sizhu* to the standards that are used in the contemporary *minyue* practice rather than preserving its original flavor and aesthetics, musicians have inscribed this music with a different script and altered it from what it once used to be.

In light of the open-market economy of the 1980s and the weakening centralized socialist political orthodoxy, *jiangnan sizhu* has become an arena in which the long-standing debate between the central government and the province is played out. It is the colorful and vibrant regional cultures that help the nation to imagine its cultural boundaries. "Cultural China" (Tu 1994) may not be able to sustain itself only by the cultural elite, but also requires the presence of regional cultures to locate its center. As Edward Friedinan succinctly argues, "what Chinese are increasingly conscious of is not a single northern Han people, who filled an empty space but a land long peopled by plural groups, with extreme linguistic heterogeneity" (1994:85). "Chinese are reimagining themselves as diverse, not homogenous, not a nation that is supposedly ninety-five percent Han" (ibid). It is under these conditions and againist a background of Chinese-style multiethnic formation that *jiangnan sizhu* engages its context.

At the same time, the promotion of regional cultures creates a vision of glorious past bolstering its claim and raison d'etre as a modernized nation-state. This vision also highlights the features of a culture that, as a whole, is openly entangled with the desires and frustrations provoked by rapid modernization (Tang 1996; Wang 1996). In this so-called age of consumerism, *jiangnan sizhu* cannot escape but is caught in a series of contradictions and ironies. This complex, yet ambiguous phenomenon underscores the different manners of articulation as *jiangnan sizhu* entered the modern age. Therefore it is not surprising that this music comes to signify a slice from the glorious past, a symbol of folk culture, an embodiment of traditionality, and a source of regional pride and identity, all of which can be understood as nostalgia, decentered anxiety, and dynamic.

The recent transformations in *jiangnan sizhu* music have launched it as the new regional music capable of transcending its geographical boundaries. Therefore, performance of this music outside China,the recording of compact discs,and its visibilitiy in the teahouse are not only desirable but necessary conditions for its success and vitality. *Jiangnan sizhu* has thus become enmeshed in what Arif Dirlik calls the "off-ground" situation: "where location in global networks defines place, and therefore time" and "commodification takes away the political edge from any ideological residues that may left from the Mao years" (1996:195). Considering all the recent changes that have taken place in *jiangnan sizhu* and the complex dialogues in which it has engaged, *jiangnan sizhu* has no doubt become a true little great tradition.

Notes

[1] Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the 1992 Pacific Coast AAS chapter meeting and the 1993 Association for Asian Studies meeting in Los Angeles. I thank Bell Yung, Robert Ollikkalla, Amy Stillman and Joseph Lam for their constructive comments. In particular, I would like to thank Larry Witzleben for his critical reading, enthusiasm, and support for this project. Research for this paper was funded by a CSCPRC Dissertation Research Grant and a travel grant from the University Illinois Graduate School, all of which I gratefully acknowledge.

[2] I would like to thank Larry Witzleben for sharing his copy of the 1939 collection. The phrase "*xiandai liuxing*" in the title of the collection is ambiguous. Nonetheless, it reveals the level of popularity of *jiangnan sizhu* in the 1930s, and the manner in which the word *liuxing* (popular) is used before it is understood to refer to modern-day mass-mediated music.

[3] The term "professional musician" (*zhuangye yanzouyuan*) is used throughout this paper to refer to those musicians who are employed by the government in various music institutions. Most of the professional musicians in the early years of socialist China had already worked as musicians before 1949; many skillful amateur musicians were also promoted to the status of professional musicinas. in those years.

[3] The term *minjian yiren,* as used by the professional musicians, refers to the amateur and untrained musicians who are not members of the official music establishment. The term usually carries negative connotations. Many of the present-day professionals ironically were *minjian yiren* before the 1950s. They were later brought to the conservatories to teach. Once they have achieved their professional status, they also try to establish their style and practice as the offical version.

[4] Both Ji Zuli and Lu Chunling grew up playing *jiangnan sizhu* in Shanghai. Although they were both teachers at the Shanghai Conservatory of Music, their teaching responsibilities bore little relationship to their expertise in the *jiangnan sizhu* tradition.

[5] Larry Witzleben's book is perhaps the most comprehensive study on this topic to date. It is also the winner of the 1996 Alan Merriam Award for best book in ethnomusicology, the first book in Chinese music to win such a distinguished award.

[6] The exact meaning and reference of the cassette's title is unclear. Since the name was given after the recording was made, there is a sense of arbitrariness to how the title relates to the music in the recording. Its poetic overtone however resembles those titles found in *guqin* pieces.

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江南絲竹音樂在最近幾十年的變遷及其意義

江南絲竹是江浙一帶流行的地方音樂，在最近幾十年內，它已被公認為一項知名度很高的地方樂種。為甚麼它會從僅僅一個邊緣音樂文化而搖身變成一個國際有名的超級音樂？本文的要旨是討論江南絲竹音樂在最近的變遷，及要了解音樂在演變過程中所呈示的意義與現今現代化中國社會的關係。

Peking Opera as "National Opera" in Taiwan: What's in a Name?[1]

Nancy A. Guy

In preparation for its March 1992 Taiwan premiere of the Peking opera *Hualong dianjing* (Painting the Dragon's Eyes),[2] the Air Force-supported Dapeng Troupe distributed posters and handbills that prominently displayed two Chinese characters, "*jing*" and "*ju*." The character for *"ju"* was written in its simplified version as it would be in mainland China rather than in full form as is conventional on Taiwan. *"Jingju,"* literally "capital opera," has been the most commonly used name for Peking opera on the Chinese mainland for more than forty years. On Taiwan, however, the standard term for Peking opera is *"guoju,"* meaning "national opera."

Two weeks before opening night, the Ministry of Defense, patron of three of Taiwan's four full-time Peking opera troupes, ordered a halt to the distribution of publicity items carrying the word *"jingju."* In several newspaper articles, a Defense Ministry official was cited as saying that *"jingju"* is a name whose use was mandated by the Chinese Communist government, and he pointed out that it is not appropriate for military-operated Peking opera troupes to follow Communist policy.[3] The performers were confused and angered by the Ministry of Defense's order. Recent policy changes had led to a great deal of exchange between Taiwan and mainland China. A number of Taiwan performers had already traveled to the mainland to study with well-known teachers. Many newly written mainland operas, either commissioned for premieres in Taiwan or directly copied from mainland videos, had been performed in Taiwan. In fact, the opera advertised on the controversial poster had recently been written in Beijing and the performance rights were sold to the Dapeng troupe. In the climate of open exchange across the Taiwan Straits, how could it still be impossible to use the word "*jingju*"? As a temporary solution to this terminological crisis, the poster's two characters *"jing"* and *"ju"* were pasted over with *"da"* and *"peng,"* the offending troupe's name.

Naming the Art Form

Over the last hundred years, Peking opera has been known by no less than six different names in Mandarin Chinese. One of the earliest names to be widely used was *"pihuang,"* which identified the opera in terms of its music.[4] *"Pihuang"* is an acronym based on the words *"xipi"* and *"erhuang"*, the names of the two primary tune families employed in Peking opera. As the popularity of *pihuang* spread throughout China, it acquired a new name which reflected its area of origin. *"Jingxi,"* as it was called, combined the syllable *"jing"* meaning "capital," thus referring to Beijing, with *"xi"* meaning "opera." Following the Nationalist Revolution in 1927, the capital of the Republic of China (ROC) was moved to the southern city of Nanjing and Beijing's name was changed to Beiping. In accord with the city's name change, Peking opera's name became *"pingju,"* taking the *"ping"* from "Beiping" and combining it with *"ju"* meaning "drama." The capital was moved several times as a result of the Japanese invasion of China during World War II. The civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists after the Japanese retreat meant that the capital was not returned to Beijing until the Communists' establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. Since then, *"jingju"* has been the standard name for Peking opera on the mainland. On Taiwan, however, the name *"pingju"* was retained until the mid-1960s when *"guoju"* or "national opera" became increasingly standard. Several factors converged to make the word *"jingju"* taboo in Nationalist-controlled Taiwan. First, the use of the word *"jingju"* implies a recognition of Beijing as the capital of China. This view is contrary to that of the Nationalists, who claim to be the rightful rulers of China, albeit in exile, while Communist usurpers occupy Beijing. Second, the word was viewed as a Communist construct because its usage became widespread only after the Nationalist government's expulsion from the mainland. As noted by Michael Schoenhals (1992:2) in his study of the importance of words in contemporary Chinese politics, Taipei officials have often gone to great lengths to avoid using terminology appropriated by the Communists.

The argument among scholars, performers, and government officials on Taiwan over what to call Peking opera has continued for decades, but the debate has become increasingly heated in recent years. The discussion has been played out in newspapers, in scholarly books and in the foremost law-making body in Taiwan, the Legislative Yuan. The question of what to name this performing art form is not a simple matter of nomenclature; it involves issues that are central to Taiwan's political and cultural identity. The struggle over the choice of a name for Peking opera has primarily been the outward expression of a more fundamental dispute over whose culture should represent Taiwan. Richard Solomon (1971:432) has observed that in Chinese society political conflicts are often fought over "words," with terminological debates serving as camouflage for deeper disagreement. In examining the historical background of Peking opera on Taiwan, this article investigates the ROC government's reasons for granting Peking opera the honorific name "national opera."

Peking Opera, Taiwan, and Nationalist Strategy

Peking opera's birth is popularly traced to 1790 when performers from around China poured into Beijing for the celebration of Emperor Qianlong's eightieth birthday. Imperial patronage from the mid-1800s onward promoted Peking opera's status, which in turn drew support from the wealthy as well as the interest of talented performers. By the late nineteenth century, Peking opera had risen to a level of popularity throughout mainland China greater than that of any of the three hundred or so other traditional operatic forms. Due to the island's unique cultural and political development, however, Peking opera's popularity on Taiwan has never been as great as in many other Chinese provinces.

Separated from the Chinese mainland by a distance of about a hundred miles, Taiwan was one of the last regions to come under China's jurisdiction, and in 1683 it was referred to in official Chinese records as a "frontier area" (Copper 1990:21). The majority of people now living on Taiwan are descendants of Chinese from southern Fujian province who came to Taiwan between the early 1600s and the late 1800s. Migration to Taiwan was forbidden by the Chinese government throughout much of this period; therefore, settlers generally planned to make the island their permanent home since return to the mainland could have resulted in persecution (Copper 1990:8). China did not seriously administer the island until 1885 when it made Taiwan a province. It was Taiwan's first Chinese governor, Liu Mingchuan, who invited a troupe of performers from Beijing to give the first performance of Peking opera ever heard on the island (Li 1969:181).

After only ten years as a Chinese province, Taiwan was ceded to Japan and remained its colony for fifty years. During the early years of Japanese rule, Peking opera enjoyed its greatest popularity on Taiwan. From 1909 to 1924, approximately twenty mainland Peking opera troupes, mostly from Shanghai, performed in Taiwan. This surge in interest may have been due to the novelty of the art form on Taiwan, or perhaps in the early days of colonial rule it helped to fulfill the Taiwanese need to reaffirm their identity as Chinese. By the mid-1920s, however, the Taiwanese love affair with Peking opera was over and their interest became focused mainly on film and local opera forms.[5] In her study of a Peking opera script newly written in Taiwan, Jang Ren-hui (1989:31) suggests that this sudden decline in popularity "betrayed a barer fact that Peking opera was only able to maintain a tenuous relationship with the native Taiwanese." In 1936, just prior to its invasion of the Chinese mainland, Japan began a campaign to obliterate Chinese culture on Taiwan, which included the forced use of the Japanese language. The performance of traditional Chinese dramatic forms was suppressed and in their place Japanese spoken drama was promoted. As a result, Peking opera became even less a part of Taiwanese life.

Return to Chinese rule at the end of World War II did not inspire a renewed interest in things Chinese among the Taiwanese. In the early years of ROC administration on Taiwan, relations between the ruling Nationalists and the Taiwanese were tumultuous. Initially Taiwan was not made a province; instead the island was placed under military rule. Relations between Nationalist soldiers and the local people were problematic because very few Taiwanese spoke Mandarin, the Chinese national language. The soldiers regarded the Taiwanese as traitors for having fought in Japanese armies against China during World War II and as "tainted" for having lived fifty years with what they considered "inferior" Japanese culture (Copper 1990:26). The Nationalist government, consumed with the civil war on the mainland, ignored the needs of the Taiwanese and largely viewed Taiwan as a source of materials for use in its struggle against the Communists. Food was shipped from Taiwan to feed Nationalist troops, and machinery, tools, and metal were stripped from buildings for the mainland war effort. The Taiwanese soon grew to regard the mainlanders as dishonest and ignorant.

Relations were irreparably damaged in early 1947 when Nationalist soldiers killed an old Taiwanese woman. Hostilities had been building and outrage over the woman's murder triggered riots in which possibly as many as twenty-eight thousand Taiwanese were killed (Zich 1993:13). Regardless of their province of origin, the Chinese who came to Taiwan following the retreat of the Japanese colonialists shared a common identity on the island as "outsiders" (*waishengren*: "outside-province people"). The legacy of the 1947 riots went a long way toward creating an enormous rift between the Taiwanese and the outsiders which has still not completely healed.

Taiwan's population came to be viewed as comprising four distinct ethnic groups: Hakka peoples who emigrated to Taiwan mostly from Guangdong province; Hokkien from southern Fujian province; the "outsiders," that is, all Chinese who moved to Taiwan after 1945 and their descendants; and non-Chinese aborigines of Malay-Polynesian origin. Of the Chinese peoples, both the Hakka and Hokkien groups considered Taiwan to be their ancestral home and are often known collectively as Taiwanese or "native Taiwanese." Taiwanese constitute about 85 percent of Taiwan's population, and of these, about 20 percent are Hakka. Approximately 12 percent of the island's residents are "outsiders," with the aborigines forming less than 2 percent of Taiwan's total population. Contributing to the persistence of the "outsider-Taiwanese" distinction is the concept that a person's native place is determined not by birthplace, but is passed on from father to child. For example, a person born in Taiwan is considered to be Hunanese if his or her father's ancestral home is Hunan, even though the person may never have been to mainland China. One's ethnicity is a primary identity for Chinese living on Taiwan, and this identity is reinforced in innumerable ways such as the listing of one's ancestral home on official papers and by having schoolchildren publicly announce their native place at the beginning of every school term (Gates 1981:255). As being born on Taiwan does not make one "Taiwanese," the distinction between Taiwanese and "outsiders" may be carried on well beyond the death of the last mainland refugee.

In the turbulent years between the end of World War II and the Nationalists' en masse migration to Taiwan, Peking opera activities were once again seen on Taiwan. The sixtieth birthday of the president of the ROC, Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi), was the occasion for two days of Peking opera performance.[6] In the climate of extreme tension between the Nationalist forces and the Taiwanese, Chiang's birthday was celebrated primarily by officers, soldiers, and officials from the mainland, not by the local people. Peking opera was the obvious choice for a performance medium, as the love of the Nationalist military personnel and officials for Peking opera is well documented. For example, during the war with Japan it became common for Peking opera activities to follow the Nationalists as they set up bases in areas where the tradition had formerly not taken root. In addition, when the Nationalist capital was moved to Chongqing, Peking opera troupes seeking performance opportunities moved to the area, and opera singing clubs were established for the enjoyment of officers and their families (Ma et al. 1991:535). The military also hired performers to entertain soldiers and help boost their morale (Li 1969:194).

When in late 1949 the Nationalists' struggle with the Communists was lost, members of military entertainment troupes who were already stationed on Taiwan, or who had recently arrived with retreating armed forces, formed the foundation of Taiwan's Peking opera tradition. Several private Peking opera troupes who had come to Taiwan on performance tours remained there after the Nationalist defeat. Among those who found it impossible to return to the mainland was the Gu Peking opera (Gu Jutuan) troupe from Shanghai, led by the young and talented actress Gu Zhengqiu. Opening in late 1947 at Taipei's Theatre of Eternal Happiness (Yongle xiyuan), her troupe performed for four and a half years, making it the longest continuously performing private troupe in Taiwan's Peking opera history. Financial difficulties necessitated the last private troupe's disbanding in 1953, and there has never again been a full-time private Peking opera troupe on Taiwan. Many of the unemployed actors and actresses were absorbed into the military Peking opera troupes which were thriving at a time when private troupes found it impossible to make ends meet. Military-supported Peking opera troupes continued to grow in size and number, and by 1961 the Ministry of Defense supported seven troupes with an average of about seventy members in each. To ensure a supply of actors and actresses for the future, the government also established schools to train children for careers as Peking opera performers.[7]

One must question why the Nationalists were eager to maintain a tradition that had been transplanted to Taiwan from the mainland and was incapable of surviving without enormous financial support. How was the Peking opera tradition selected over all the other dramatic forms—particularly the extremely popular Taiwanese Gezai opera—to receive the government's almost exclusive patronage and to be granted the honorific title of "national opera"? The answers lie in the Nationalist government's strategies for asserting cultural superiority over the Taiwanese, for recovering the Chinese mainland, and for maintaining its status as the rightful governor of China, albeit in exile.

Operatic genres from various regions of China were brought by Nationalist émigrés to the island, but performers and potential audience members were too few in number to maintain viable traditions. The Nationalist government did not discourage these forms since they had propaganda value. The commander-in-chief of the Air Force, General Wang Shuming, who was a major driving force behind the establishment of the Air Force Peking opera troupe and training school, encouraged the performance of regional operas because he believed that when soldiers heard the musical sounds of their homeland their resolve would be strengthened to fight for its recovery (Qi 1979:1958).

Gezai opera, which was by far the most popular opera genre among the vast majority of Taiwan's populace, was given almost no assistance, financial or otherwise, from the government until fairly recently. Indeed, a number of the government's policies actively inhibited Taiwanese traditions. The discouragement of Gezai opera and other local dramatic forms was in line with the regime's policy to rid the island of any sense of a separate Taiwanese identity. One of the Nationalists' primary tactics was to disparage all things associated specifically with Taiwan province. For example, during the 1950s as part of the economization movement, the government attempted to ban the performance of Gezai opera from temple festivals of which it had always been an essential part. Beginning in 1977 almost all Gezai opera disappeared from television broadcasting for several years when the Government Information Office decreed that only one hour of programming per day could be allotted for shows in dialects other than Mandarin (Tsai 1993:45). The regime's policy of suppressing Taiwanese culture actually helped to foster a sense of separate identity among Taiwanese and perpetuated resentment toward the Nationalist government and "outside-province people" generally (Moody 1992:57).

The Nationalists believed that their recovery of the mainland depended on maintaining their citizens' desire to return home, and Peking opera was considered a powerful force in working toward this end. At the time of the Nationalists' mass migration to Taiwan, Peking opera was unquestionably the most ubiquitous dramatic form in mainland China. The sound of Peking opera evoked memories of a nostalgic past that in turn reaffirmed identity with the mainland and perpetuated a desire to return home. Throughout the first several decades of exile, the recovery of the mainland was viewed by many as a realistic and imminent possibility. The Nationalists' understanding that victory would require spiritual as well as military strength is expressed in the 1963 Manifesto of the Ninth National Congress of the Nationalist Party: "The sacred task of our counteroffensive and national recovery is a total war that calls for concerted efforts in the ideological, political and military fields. In such a war, spiritual forces are more important than material forces; ideological and political factors take precedence over the military factor" (Shieh 1970:272). Keeping psychological ties to the mainland alive was crucial, and Peking opera aided in achieving this end. The government's intent to use Peking opera as part of its mainland recovery strategy was explicitly stated by the Ministry of Defense's General Political Warfare Department in 1965. An order was issued commanding the Peking opera troupes supported by the Ministry of Defense to increase their number of public performances in order to "enhance the citizens' Mainland Regaining ideology" (quoted in Chou 1989:21).

In the same year, the Ministry of Defense held its first annual performing arts competition in which all of the ministry-supported Peking opera troupes took part. The purpose was to improve performance standards, to draw greater public interest, and to encourage the writing of new scripts—all seen as vital to the survival of the tradition. The "national opera" category of the competition has often been cited as the first time that the name "national opera" was adopted for use by a government-supported troupe in Taiwan.[8] In a document produced by the Council for Cultural Planning and Development (1983), it is explained that the name "national opera" was chosen in order to guard the ROC against the Communists' ongoing propaganda war. Whatever the rationale for assigning Peking opera the title "national opera," the name change was primarily an explicit statement of the policy that had been in practice since the Nationalists' early days on Taiwan, by which their sponsorship raised Peking opera's status far above that of other theatrical forms.

In their struggle with the Communist government for international recognition, the Nationalists portrayed themselves as the guardians of traditional Chinese culture, which, in turn, bolstered their claims to legitimate rule. Peking opera, maintained in its pre-1949 form, was ideal for promoting the ROC's image as the principal preserver of traditional Chinese culture. The Nationalists' choice of Peking opera, rather than the indigenous Gezai opera form, clearly shows their desire to be identified with mainland, rather than Taiwanese, culture. As a young scholar from Taiwan has observed: "To select a native Taiwanese theatrical genre to represent the Chinese 'national' theatrical tradition would have suggested that the KMT [Nationalist Party] was relinquishing its claim to the mainland" (Chou 1989:20).

Throughout 1965 the Chinese Communist attack on traditional culture, including Peking opera, built in intensity and finally led to the announcement of the Cultural Revolution in April 1966. The Nationalists' reaction to the opening of the revolution was quick: Chiang Kai-shek launched the Cultural Renaissance movement in November of the same year. The stated purpose of the Cultural Renaissance was to preserve China's cultural tradition, viewed as being threatened with extinction under the Communists on the mainland (Tozer 1970:82). The performance of all traditional Peking opera was banned in mainland China during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Censorship under the Cultural Renaissance on Taiwan pushed Peking opera back to its pre-1949 form, "purifying" it of post-liberation mainland influences. By maintaining Peking opera in its "traditional" form, the Nationalist government reinforced and promoted its image as the preserver of authentic Chinese traditional culture and thus strengthened its identity as the legitimate government of all China.

Rethinking "National Opera"

After more than forty years on Taiwan, the complexion of the ruling Nationalist Party has changed dramatically. Many of the political and military leaders who brought the government to Taiwan in 1949 have retired or died. The late President Chiang Ching-kuo (Jiang Jingguo) realized that the survival of his regime depended on its ability "to grow real roots in island soil," and he worked to bring educated Taiwanese into the state bureaucracy (Moody 1992:77). By the 1980s about 70 percent of the Nationalist Party members were Taiwanese, as is the current president of the ROC and chairman of the Nationalist Party, Lee Teng-hui (Li Denghui).

In recent years there has been a surge of interest in Taiwan's local history and arts. With this "rebirth" have come challenges to the Nationalist view of Taiwan as the "temporary seat of China's legitimate government and repository of its traditions" (Gold 1993:182). Many children of the mainland refugees now identify more strongly with Taiwan than with mainland China (Moody 1992:59). What began as an unwelcome sojourn to Taiwan forty years ago has resulted in a realization that there may be no other place more aptly called "home." The Nationalist calls for retaking the mainland have faded, and the public's attention has turned to managing Taiwan's internal problems and developing a peaceful relationship with the mainland. For many reasons (not least among them the Tiananmen Massacre), the idea of unification with the mainland has become highly problematic, and the most powerful factor in keeping talk of unification alive has been the PRC's repeated threats to take the island by force if Taiwan declares its independence.[9]

In an atmosphere of unprecedented freedom of expression on Taiwan, voices calling for more equal support of Taiwanese culture are being heard. An obvious focus of attention has been the disparity in support given to Peking opera vis-à-vis Gezai opera. In an April 1991 newspaper article, Taiwanese ethnomusicologist Hsu Tsang-Houei (Xu Changhui) argues that Peking opera has had a splendid past, but its glory was limited to a different time and place and it cannot be representative of all Chinese operatic forms, as the name "national opera" implies. The audience size for Gezai opera, according to Hsu, is a hundred times that of Peking opera's, and the popularity of Gezai opera has resulted in the existence of some five hundred private troupes. The government still supports four Peking opera troupes as well as several related schools, yet at the time of Hsu's writing no such funding had been extended to Gezai opera. He says that like Peking opera, local opera forms need the protection and support of the government too. Finally—as a criticism of the government's promotion of Peking opera as the representative dramatic form of Taiwan—he states that before an artistic form can become international, it must first have the ability to represent the country, and before it can do this it must possess the special quality of the people's ethnicity. The first concrete step in increasing support for Gezai opera has recently been taken. The Ministry of Education's Fuxing Drama School opened a Gezai opera program in July 1994.

A new definition of "national opera" has been viewed as necessary in order to give equal treatment to the country's various dramatic forms. The argument as documented in the record of an emotionally charged session of the Legislative Yuan's Education Council contains many of the common arguments made in favor of a name change for Peking opera. These themes are well represented in an excerpt spoken by legislator Cai Bihuang:

> Today, a first step in equally promoting all of the dramatic forms of the different ethnic groups within the boundaries of the ROC is to dispense with the name "national opera." To equate Peking opera [he uses the term "*pingju*"] with "national opera" is to harm other dramatic forms. The name "national opera" is no longer appropriate. With the changing times, even the word *"gongfei"* [meaning "Communist bandits"] is no longer used, so why are we still unable to change the name "national opera"?[10] (Legislative Yuan 1991:362).

Cai's speech touches upon several key issues. First, he expresses the notion that support must be given fairly to the dramatic forms of the various ethnic groups in the ROC. This reflects the call for more diversity of support with an emphasis on finally granting both patronage and status to Gezai opera as well as other local dramatic forms. And second, the name "national opera," applied to Peking opera at a time when the propaganda war across the Taiwan Straits was raging, is now outdated and not in line with the changed nature of ROC/PRC relations. The notion of using Peking opera as a weapon in the ROC's arsenal against the Communists is obsolete—the type of warfare has changed, or perhaps the relationship is no longer viewed as combative. In any case, Cai and those on whose behalf he argues, believe that Peking opera's continued use of the title "national opera" makes it impossible for all dramatic forms to be given equal status. And finally, Cai calls for a cultural policy which more accurately reflects the ethnic composition of the people under the ROC's de facto rule.

The matter is still not resolved. Performing groups' names continue to be listed as "national opera" troupes on programs and posters. Regardless of the definition of "national opera" decided upon by the Ministry of Education or the Council for Cultural Planning and Development, and whatever name is chosen for Peking opera, it is still the Ministry of Defense who supports three of the four full-time Peking opera troupes. As demonstrated with the banning of posters carrying the word *"jingju"* in April 1992, the Ministry of Defense is highly sensitive to the issue of Peking opera's name. With the PRC being their most likely military threat, the Ministry of Defense is perhaps not yet prepared to dismantle its forty-year propaganda war, in which Peking opera was a significant weapon. Stripping Peking opera of its position as "national opera" and granting equal or even higher status to Taiwanese dramatic forms could be viewed as a sign that Taiwan is asserting a Taiwanese rather than Chinese identity. Yet the PRC insists that any declaration of Taiwan's independence from China will render an invasion from the mainland necessary. Any move that can be interpreted as promoting a unique or independent Taiwan identity is, therefore, in Thomas Gold's words, "political dynamite" (1993:175). Ironically, it the PRC's threat, perhaps more than any other factor, that ensures Peking opera's high-status position on Taiwan. Until the issue of Taiwan's reunification with the mainland is completely resolved, it may be nearly impossible for the Ministry of Defense to allow the art form it supports to be portrayed in any other way than as "national opera."

What's in a name? Clearly a name is more than a neutral designation or title. A name denotes the political and ideological orientation of those who have the power to standardize terminology. In a society where conflict is often played out in the form of terminological dispute, the debate over the term "national opera" reflects the Taiwanese people's struggle for recognition of their own cultural heritage.

Afterword: Peking Opera or Beijing Opera?

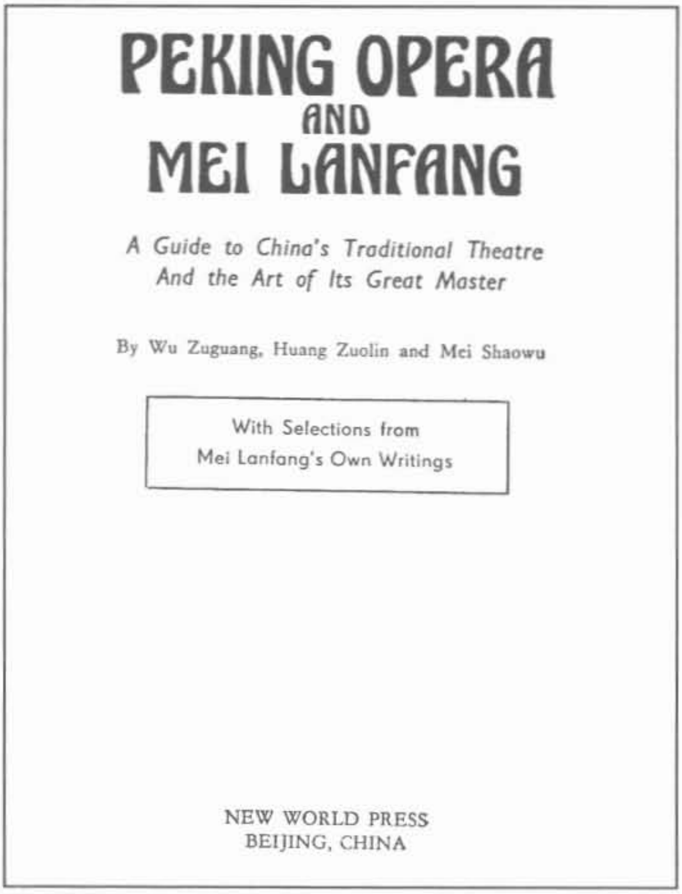
Peking opera has been called by no fewer than six different names in Chinese over the last hundred years, and it has been known by at least as many in English. Among the names that have been used in English-language sources are "Peking theatre," "capital opera," "Chinese opera," "Chinese drama," "Peking opera," and "Beijing opera." The terms most commonly found in recent publications are "Peking opera" and "Beijing opera." I choose to use the name "Peking opera" because I believe it is the most firmly established term and has become *the* English-language name for the genre.

The use of the term "Peking opera" precedes that of "Beijing opera" by about twenty years, with "Peking opera" appearing in the title of several books published in the 1950s (Alley 1957; Chen 1956). The 1960s and 1970s witnessed an increasing number of English-language studies, including Halson (1966), Pian (1971; 1975), Mackerras (1972; 1975), Dolby (1976), and Howard (1978). These works were among the most influential on the subject in English, and they all use the name "Peking opera." Official translations of the widely distributed scripts of the Cultural Revolution's model operas referred to the genre as "Revolutionary Peking opera."[11] The most essential reference tools in music—the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Sadie 1980), the *Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Apel 1972), and its successor, *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Randel 1986)—use the term "Peking opera."[12] "Peking opera" is also the name used in annotations and subject headings in several important bibliographies, including Brandon's *Asian Theatre: A Study Guide and Annotated Bibliography* (1979) and Lieberman's *Chinese Music: An Annotated Bibliography* (1970; 1979). In his *Chinese Drama: An Annotated Bibliography of Commentary, Criticism, and Plays in English Translation,* Lopez (1991) uses "Beijing opera" as subject heading. It is hard to understand why Lopez chose this term when an examination of the forty-nine entries in the "Beijing opera" category shows that only three entries use "Beijing opera" in the title or annotation, while thirty-one entries use "Peking opera."[13] By writing "Peking opera," I am maintaining consistency with previous generations of writers publishing in English.

"Beijing opera" is the most recent addition to the genre's list of English-language names. Its earliest appearances date from 1979 and 1980 (for examples see Hu and Liu 1979; Wichmann 1980). The term is derived by borrowing the *pinyin* spelling for the dramatic form's place of origin, that is, "Beijing." In using the term "Beijing opera," scholars are striving to be consistent with the current PRC spelling of the place-name. A glance at recent PRC publications, however, shows the name "Peking opera" may be retained even when the place-name is spelled "Beijing." For example, articles published in China's official English-language weekly magazine, *The Beijing Review,* use the term "Peking opera." This indicates that although the place-name is "Beijing," "Peking opera" stands as the genre name (Zhang 1989; Cai 1990; Zhang 1994). Several books published by the New World Press (which lists its place of publication as Beijing) use the term "Peking opera"—for example, *Peking Opera and Mei Lanfang* (Wu, Huang, and Mei 1980) and *Tales from the Peking Opera* (Huang 1985). The journal *Chinese Literature* prints "Peking opera," while its publisher's address is also given as "Beijing" (Li 1991). In several articles reporting on recent performances by mainland troupes in Taiwan, the name of a troupe from Beijing is written as the "Beijing

Peking Opera Troupe" (U. S. Government 1993a:69). And finally, the Beijing-published English-language newspaper the *China Daily* also writes "Peking opera" (Kang and Yang 1994:5). These examples support the assertion that the term "Peking opera" has become the English-language name for the genre and stands independent of changes in the spelling of the place-name.

Figure 1



PEKING OPERA
AND
MEI LANFANG

A Guide to China's Traditional Theatre
And the Art of Its Great Master

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With Selections from
Mei Lanfang's Own Writings

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Inconsistency in the naming of genres is confusing to nonspecialists, and it is especially problematic in the days of online searching by keyword. If the English genre name is to be subject to changes in Chinese names or to changes in romanization systems, there can be little continuity in the English-language scholarly literature. As shown earlier in this study, political conflicts in Chinese society are often played out through terminological debates, and as a result names are subject to change following shifts in ideology or power relations. An extreme example of this tendency is the recent report in which it was disclosed that PRC officials have considered changing the name of the People's Republic of China in order to facilitate the reunification of Taiwan and mainland China (U. S. Government 1994:91). If the national name is changed, it will be the Chinese nation's fourth name in less than a hundred years. Still, for the sake of continuity in scholarship, I suggest we settle on one name as the English-language term for the operatic genre and not subject it to any future changes in Chinese names or romanization systems.

Notes

[1] A version of this paper was previously published in the *Asian Theatre Journal* 12/1(1995), University of Hawai'i Press.

[2] All names and terms are transliterated using the *pinyin* system except for names that have well-known and established alternative spellings: Chiang Kai-shek, Lee Teng-hui, and the like. Where non-*pinyin* spellings are used, the *pinyin* appears in parentheses following the first usage.

[3] For example: "Dapeng yong 'jingju' liangzi 'hualong dianjing' (Dapeng uses the two characters "Jingju" to "paint the dragon's eyes"), *Mingshengbao,* March 7, 1992; and "Dapeng siyue gongyan guofangbu 'hualong dianjing' " (Dapeng's April performance has the Ministry of Defense "pointing to the *capital"*), *Dachengbao,* March 7, 1992.

[4] According to the preeminent Peking opera scholar Qi Rushan (1877-1962), the name "*pihuang*" first appeared in newspapers near the end of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911). He notes that prior to the use of the term "*pihuang,*" Peking opera was often referred to simply as "*erhuang*" (1979, 1650).

[5] There are several genres that may be placed under the rubric of local Taiwanese opera forms including: Gezai opera *(gezaixi),* Nanguan opera *(nanguanxi)*, and Beiguan opera *(beiguanxi)*. Developing about one hundred years ago, Gezai opera is currently the most popular of these genres and the only one considered indigenous to Taiwan.

[6] The celebratory performances were held October 30-31, 1946 in Taipei (Li 1969, 186-187).

[7] The Air Force opened the first school in September 1955, followed by the Army in 1963 and the Navy in 1969. In 1985, the Guoguang school was established, absorbing the previously separate Ministry of Defense- operated schools. The Ministry of Education took over operation of the Fuxing school in 1968 when the private citizen, Wang Zhenzu, who had established the school in 1957 was no longer able to keep it financially solvent (Liu 1981, 43).

[8] The name "national opera" (*guoju*) was coined by Qi Rushan in Beiping in the late 1920s when he organized the National Opera Study Society (Guoju xuehui) (Qi 1979, 2673). Qi repeatedly stated that he defined the term "national opera" as

including all operatic forms native to China. In his writings, which cover more than six thousand pages, he only used the term in one article ("The Rise and Fall of Five Major Forms of National Opera"; 1979, 1486-1516) to refer to any opera form other than Peking opera. On Taiwan, the term was first used by a government organization in 1955 when at the request of Qi Rushan a "National Opera Program" (*guojuke*) was established at the National Taiwan Arts Academy (Guoli Taiwan yishu zhuanke xuexiao). From this time, "national opera" was used in formal writings of Ministry of Education organizations.

[9] One of the most recent reiterations of this warning came on August 31, 1993 in the so-called White Paper stating that the PRC "is entitled to uphold its sovereignty and territorial integrity" and would take Taiwan by military means if necessary (FBIS 1993, 48).

[10] The move away from referring to the Communists as "bandits" came following the lifting of martial law on Taiwan in July 1987. On August 5, 1988, for example, the Ministry of Economic Affairs announced that mainland merchandise would no longer be called "bandit goods" but "products from mainland China" or "products from Communist China" (Kindermann 1989, 18).

[11] For examples see: Peking Opera Troupe of Shanghai (1971); China Peking Opera Troupe (1972); Peking Opera Troupe of Peking (1976).

[12] Garland Publishing Company's forthcoming ten-volume *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* is a major scholarly undertaking that will greatly influence the field for many years to come. Bell Yung, one of the original editors of the "Inner and East Asia" volume, informs me that "Peking opera" is the term used in this publication (April 1994, personal communication).

[13] The other fifteen entries are divided among: Chinese opera (five), Peking Drama (one), Peking Theatre (one), Chinese Drama (one), and seven entries without a genre name.

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Glossary

beiguanxi	北管戲
Beijing	北京
Beiping	北平
Dapeng	大鵬
erhuang	二黃
gezaixi	歌仔戲
guoju	國劇
jing	京
jingju	京剧
jingju	京劇
jingxi	京戲
ju	劇
nanguanxi	南管戲
pihuang	皮黃
ping	平
pingju	平劇
xi	戲
xipi	西皮

Viewpoints

Writing about Chinese Opera *(Xiqu)* in English: One Hundred Flowers Bloom, One Hundred Terms Contend

Nancy A. Guy

The debate over what to name various Chinese opera/theatre forms when writing in English was recently rekindled in the Spring 1998 issue of the *Asian Theatre Journal* (*ATJ*) in the editor's note under the sub-heading appropriately titled "That Chinese Name Thing Again." In seeking a solution to this tireless conundrum, editor Samuel Leiter informally polled a number of theatre scholars and included some of their thoughts on the subject in his brief essay. The editorial concludes that the journal will henceforth adopt a policy of referring "to each form of Chinese theatre by its indigenous name" (Leiter 1998:iii).

Before discussing the merits of this decision, I would like to begin by briefly recapping the various events that led the *ATJ* to re-evaluate and change its editorial policy regarding the naming of Chinese operatic/theatrical genres two times in the last several years.

When my article "Peking Opera as 'National Opera' in Taiwan: What's in a Name?" was accepted for publication by the *ATJ* in 1995, Leiter asked me to explain, if only in a note, my preference for the term "Peking opera" rather than "Beijing opera." On the strength of my explanation, which appears as an "Afterword" to the article, the *ATJ* decided to adopt "Peking opera" and to "standardize its use in all subsequent references" (Leiter 1998:iii). In fact, Leiter even wrote a letter to the editor for the *New York Times* in response to an article which had raised the Peking vs. Beijing opera query. [1] In his letter, Leiter argued in favor of "Peking opera" and cited the argument laid out in my article to substantiate his position. Not unexpectedly, scholars who have used the term "Beijing opera" extensively in their own writings objected to this turn of events and Leiter was placed in the center of a debate which had previously only been conducted informally.

While Leiter told me that there were grumblings about his plan to standardize the use of "Peking opera," I was taken by surprise when I opened the Spring 1998 *ATJ* issue to find "That Chinese Name Thing Again." After reading through the essay, I phoned Joseph Lam and asked if he might consider opening the discussion to the Association for Chinese Music Research (ACMR) readership. Our first public discussions took place this past summer on the ACMR e-mail list. The "Name Thing" ignited one of the most lively and intellectually stimulating threads ever witnessed on the ACMR list. The subject quickly moved from "opera" to a broader discussion of terminology, and specifically, the question of translation verses transliteration (i.e., simple romanization of indigenous terms). As a number of participants pointed out, scholars of Chinese music have tended to employ translation, rather than transliterated indigenous terms to a much greater degree than scholars of Javanese, Indian, or Japanese music, for example.

The brevity of this essay does not allow me to grapple with the enormously complex issue of translation vs. transliteration in a general sense. Instead, I will focus specifically on the question as it relates to my research focus which, I continue to maintain, is best termed "Peking opera" (in English).

In returning to the *ATJ*'s proposal to call Chinese forms by their indigenous terms, the first question that must be asked is *which* indigenous term do we employ when naming "Peking opera"?[2] Currently, it is widely referred to in mandarin Chinese as *"jingju."* However, as I pointed out in the "What's in a Name" article, it has been known by easily as many as six different Chinese names over the last one hundred years. The art form has also been known by a variety of terms in English, but as I have argued previously, since the mid-1970s "Peking opera" has been the most established and widely used term (Guy 1995:95-98). Its Chinese name has not only changed with the passage of time, but it has also varied according to place, and more specifically, according to different political environments. To chose the term that is standard in China at this given historical moment and to apply that term backwards through time and across space is to treat the subject ahistorically and without sensitivity to the multiple political and social environments of which the form has been a part.

One of Peking opera's earliest Chinese names was *"pihuang,"* which identified the form in terms of its music.[3] According to Qi Rushan (1877-1962), one of the most prolific of early Peking opera scholars, this name first appeared in newspapers in the late years of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) (1979:1950). As the popularity of *pihuang* spread throughout China, it acquired a new name which reflected its area of origin. *"Jingxi,"* as it was called, combined the syllable *"jing"* meaning "capital," thus referring to Beijing, with "*xi*" meaning "opera." Qi attributes the creation of this term to Chinese students who returned from study abroad in the early days of the Republic of China (1911-1949). Qi reports that when the students arrived home, they heard the tunes of Beijing being sung everywhere and coined the phrase *"jingxi"* to identify the music with the capital (1979:1649).[4]

When the capital of the Republic was moved to Nanjing following the Nationalist Revolution in 1927, Beijing's name was changed to Beiping. In keeping with the city's name change, Peking opera's name then became *"pingju,"* taking the *"ping"* from "Beiping" and combining it with *"ju"* meaning "drama." After the Communist victory in 1949, and the retreat of the Nationalist government to Taiwan, the capital was returned to the north and the city's name was restored to Beijing. Once again, the name of the art form was changed to reflect this political development; and *"jingju"* has been its standard name on the mainland ever since. In Taiwan, however, the name *"pingju"* has been retained; though starting in the mid-1960s yet another name, *"guoju"* or "national opera", became increasingly standard. For political reasons use of the term *"jingju"* was prohibited in Taiwan until the mid-1990s.[5] However, as a result of monumental changes in the island's political environment over the last ten or so years, *"guoju"* is now "politically incorrect", *"pingju"* is becoming obsolete, and *"jingju"* is rapidly becoming standard. The name *"jingju"* is even used in publicity for state-supported troupes. As a reminder of how quickly terminology may change and how politically charged terminology often is in Chinese society, only six years ago when the Dapeng National Opera Troupe used the term *"jingju"* on its publicity posters, the troupe was commanded by the Ministry of Defense to remove all the posters which brandished the prohibited term.[6]

The marriage between politics and terminology is deeply entrenched in Chinese society; this means that like governmental policies, names are also subject to frequent change.[7] Not only do names change, but romanization systems change with shifts in politics as well. In fact, the current mayor of Taipei, Chen Shuibian, has recently commissioned the creation of a new romanization system that will incorporate Mandarin, Taiwanese, and aboriginal pronunciations.[8] This system reflects his policy that views Taiwan as a place of cultural diversity (a stance that is consciously contrary to the Nationalist Party's old policy of supporting a monolithic "national culture"). As a scholar writing about Peking opera in Taiwan (and centered in the Taipei area), should I use the current mayor's romanization system in my own writings? When I write about Peking opera during the period when it was taboo to write *"jingju"* should I write *"guoju"*? Or should I write *"kuo-chu"*, thus employing the Wade-Giles romanization system since the *pinyin* system was absolutely unacceptable to the Nationalist regime? What if I want to write about Mei Lanfang's American performance tour in 1930? Should I write *"pingju"* (or *"p'ing-chu"*)?

Some writers have argued that Western audiences and academics are familiar with indigenous terms such as *noh*, *kabuki*, and *wayang* and they should, therefore, also recognize Chinese words. I agree that it is lamentable that we cannot expect the same familiarity with indigenous Chinese genre names. The high degree to which indigenous terminology changes, however, sets the Chinese case apart. For example, the term "noh" has been in standard usage since at least the generation following Zeami (lived 1363-1444); and "kabuki" has been steadily used since the nineteenth century (Rimer 1998).[9] "Wayang" enjoys an even longer history with the word appearing in a Javanese inscription dated C.E. 907 (Sears 1996:6).

As scholars writing about Chinese subjects in English we are constantly faced with a myriad of technical difficulties relating to terminology, translation, and romanization even before we begin to write "content." As a test of when to translate and when to transliterate, I suggest that we consider longevity of usage—by that of both tradition practitioners and that of the scholarly community—as a major criterion. If a term such as *"xipi yuanban"* or *"qingyi"* has been widely used for many generations, then perhaps we should consider introducing it without translation. For names that have a high rate of change, I strongly suggest that we aim for consistency in the body of English-language scholarship and use translated terms.

"Peking opera" is not a perfect solution. It too has its own particular history and limitations. There is no perfect solution. At this point in time, however, I believe that it is the least entangled and least imperfect of all possibilities.

Notes

[1] Samuel L. Leiter, "Letters: Peking Opera, " *New York Times,* sec. 2, p. 4, 19 June 1994.

[2] The complexity of the issue of name giving is illustrated by Leiter's own apparent misunderstanding of one of the very names whose use he advocates. In his letter he wrote: " . . . I decided to employ an idea I once received from Elizabeth Wichmann: refer to each form of Chinese theatre by its indigenous name. The writer could indicate the conventional English usage in parentheses or in a note. Thus . . . Beijing or Peking opera would be *xiqu,* and so on" (1998:iii). What Leiter seemed to not understand is that *"xiqu"* refers to more than 300 different genres of Chinese opera. Several of the scholars whose thoughts are cited in his letter point out this misunderstanding, but nowhere in the letter did Leiter himself clarify this point. If a learned scholar of Asian theatre such as Leiter can make such an error, how can we expect our colleagues outside of Asian studies, our students, or the general public to keep all of these terms straight?

[3] *"Pihuang"* is an acronym based on the words "*xipi*" and "*erhuang*" the names of the two primary tune families employed in Peking opera.

[4] Qi uses the phrase *"Beijingde changdiao"* to refer to the music from Beijing that was heard by the students throughout China (1979:1649).

[5] For a discussion of why the term *"jingju"* was banned in Taiwan, see Guy 1995:86.

[6] See for example: "Dapeng yong 'jingju' liangzi 'hualong dianjing' (Dapeng Uses the Two Characters "Jingju" to "Paint the Dragon's Eyes"), *Mingshengbao,* 7 March 1992. "Dapeng siyue gongyan guofangbu 'hualong dian*jing'* (Dapeng's April Performance has the Ministry of Defense "Pointing to the *Capital"*), *Dachengbao*, 7 March 1992.

[7] In his study of politics and language in the PRC, Michael Schoenhals states that "Language formalization—as a form of power managed and manipulated by the state—thus has bearing upon all aspects of Chinese politics" (1992:3). He questions why—given the extreme importance of language formulation in Chinese politics—have so few Western scholars examined this issue? And, "Why is it that the art of doing things with words so dear to China's *homo politicus*

has not received the same attention as, for instance, the 'art of *guangxi*'"? (1992:5). I suggest that the naming of Chinese performing forms deserves far more systematic scholarly attention than it has been given. Clearly the circumstances under which names are created and changed are complex and tied to significant historical, political, and social forces. As Confucius wrote in the Analects "the Prince is never casual in his choice of words" (cited in Schoenhals 1992:2).

[8] *China News*, May 29, 1998, p. 6.

[9] As Thomas Rimer recently pointed out to me the terms *noh* and *kabuk i* have become common parlance with both of them appearing in *Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary,* 10th edition.

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Terminology of Chinese music: some random thoughts

Stephen Jones

I agree that we are unlikely to agree on this important issue. I also agree with the point of trying to use native terminology, but surely there are different levels. Most of the ideas below revolve around my old polarity of folk-conservatory, and seek to avoid allowing the latter to monopolize our image.

Terms for some genres (*shifan*, *jingyun dagu*, *nanguan*, etc.) are fine. But as I said in my book *Folk Music of China*, many genre names (for opera, narrative, folksong and instrumental music alike: *Hebei chuige*, *Xi'an guyue*, *Yulin xiaoqu*, and surely many opera names like *xxxju*) were invented by cadres in the 1950s, and are political/secularizing; nor are they used much by local musicians or audiences, though they may gain a certain currency in certain contexts, as has *jiangnan sizhu*. *Xi'an guyue* is a minefield (again, see Chapter 12 of my book for controversy over this name). Compare all those twee 1950s names for folksong genres; presumably no-one uses the term *Fengyang huagu* in Fengyang, least of all blind migrant beggars. Compare Schimmelpenninck's comments on trying to persuade villagers to sing songs; the term *min'ge* is alienating and confusing for folksingers.

Of course we may need to mention Chinese academic terms in our academic writings, but I feel some explanations such as "known since the 1950s in Chinese academic circles as "*xi'an guyu*e" (or whatever) is needed. As to modern scholarly names for overall genres, I wouldn't refer to *min'ge* rather than folksong, nor to *qiyue* instead of instrumental music, nor even to *xiqu* (*xiju*?) instead of opera/drama - though of course it may be useful to mention at some point the official Chinese scholarly terminology. *Quyi* seems mainly to be used by educated urban performers and academics. So I incline towards: "Narrative singing (known as *quyi* or *shuochang*)." But of course village practitioners and their audiences may not use or even know these terms at all. What shamans do, we might call singing, or folksong, or narrative-singing, etc., but they and their audiences may call it *tiaodashen'r*, *zouwen*, *qingshen*, *xuanjuan*, etc. And even quite secular narrative performers may say *shuoshu* or just *shuo* or *nian* or *qu* (without the *yi*) etc.

So we may like to mention these names used by native scholars, but there are levels of indigenousness. The term *bianzou* (variation) is a modern scholarly/conservatory term with no great merit for us: we need to know what it means when we're reading Chinese scholarship, and some more educated musicians doubtless know it, but folk musicians have a variety of other terms. Compare all those conservatory terms used by Zhang and Schaffrath in their (*CHIME* 4) article on folksong, and Schimmelpenninck's reply.

Of course we need our own terms to discuss music, but given that Chinese culture is not monolithic, and that terminology is diverse, we may as well use our own descriptive terms rather than assuming one single modern Chinese academic term will be more "authentic."

I have tended to avoid the term *suona*, since I have hardly been to a village where they use it. *Suona* is the right word for the instrument which conservatory/troupe/urban musicians play, if they call it that; otherwise we should respect local names, and not inflict our version. So I try to say "shawms (called by names such as *laba*, *di*, *dida*, etc., and as *suona* in historical texts and modern urban conservatory settings)." Try using the vocabulary of the Chicago Symphony when talking to bluesmen: maybe inflicting the term *suona* is a bit like telling a bluesman his "harp" should be called harmonica; but of course we discuss "harmonicas" generically. These are terms for our convenience.

Though we always influence our "informants," I'm reluctant to inflict our vocabulary too much on musicians whose sense of self-esteem is already low. No-one says *yanzou* for "play" in the villages where I go: if they need to, they say *chui* (blow, being wind instruments), but most common are terms like *cheng chang'r* (get together: that's often what we might call *pailian*, rehearse, which they never say), *chuhui* (association outing), *fengjing* (offer up scriptures) etc. *Dajiyue* (percussion) has a very limited currency in my experience: *luogu* is a more traditional term, although even that I wouldn't necessarily use as a blanket term...I'd feel most foolish if I said *dajiyue* or even *luogu* in these villages, because they always use terms like *jiahuo* or *datao*; of course, passively, the younger musicians probably understand *dajiyue*, but it's alien to them.

One could go on: *sanxian* is more often known as *xianzi*, I believe, and the word *erhu* is rarely heard in villages; even *banhu* is always called *wengzi* (oldfellow) where I go in Hebei, and I bet they don't call it *banhu* in Shaanbei! To be sure, we can call them by the standard names for convenience, but let's not delude ourselves or our readers.

I am not sure how other languages handle this issue: certainly, terms like *qawwali*, *fado*, *flamenco* are established like *jingyun dagu*, but we probably talk about folksong in India/Pakistan, don't we, rather than using one single Hindi term for folksong? Nor would I necessarily use terms like *cantastorie* or *musica liturgica* if I wrote about Italian music in English - though I would use local terms like *tenores*, *launeddas*, etc. Even *flamenco* is a bit of an academic convenience, I believe, since no one seems to need the term much in Jerez or Utrera: there are so many sub-genres and contextual terms, it seems the word *flamenco* doesn't get used much - but indeed it 'exists' in some way. So this may confuse the issue somewhat!

I see, too, that opera/drama/theater poses its own problems, as do the traditional *xi* and the developing *ju* and *xiju* and *geju* etc. Of course, Jonathan Stock's points about the ambiguity of *xiju* (Wuxi opera) and *yueju* are most valid. Also, I think we must beware accepting the standardized secularizing view of 1950s (or earlier) cadres who coined the names *"xxxju."* In the towns, urban troupes and their audiences may use these terms, so we need to use them if discussing the urban phenomenon; in the villages, they are less likely to be used. Thus I doubt if the term *Chaoju* is commonly used in the Chaozhou countryside, except when the city *Chaoju tuan* comes to perform for a temple fair. The various genres of opera there retain their traditional names. I suspect the term *Jinju* is little used in Shanxi except in the urban troupes. Again, there are many opera genres in Shanxi, and not just *beilu*, *donglu* etc. As we can see from the new opera volumes of the *Zhongguo minzu minjian yinyue jicheng*, genres in any region are diverse. Look how many different genres there are in Shandong, for instance. It would be misleading to use one Chinese term supposedly representing "Shandong opera."

A separate issue, not necessarily relevant here, is whether we can try and standardize translation for terms (including all these). Again, we could never agree! For example, could we agree on shawm for *suona* (rather than pipe, horn, oboe etc.), labelled melody for *qupai* (rather than melodic label, tune-type, etc.)...*ci* lyrics, *qu* aria? I fear not, but at least we should note the existing research and try and reflect preferences for well-thought-out versions...

All this seems to be a plea for diversity! *Baihua qifang*, without the Anti-Rightist backlash, one hopes...

Some Thoughts on Names of Genres and Places

Barbara Smith

Reading in close succession that the name of the capital of Guam has been officially changed from Agana to Hagatna and some of the interchange of ideas about the designation "Chinese Opera" (and problems with suggested alternatives to it as well as with more extensive use of indigenous names when writing in English about distinctive Chinese regional performing arts) brought to mind some similarities in matters of naming places and genres, as well as the fact that, in the case of geographic names, we must adopt and use new names even though initially inconvenient. Place names in Oceania have resulted from various approaches from those of foreigners who, during Europe's "Age of Discovery," wanted a way to refer to places that were new to them, to the post-colonial islanders who needed to name their recently independent countries. Contributing to the variety in the islanders' approaches is that, with only a few exceptions, their ancestors had named individual islands, but not the larger island-groups that were the geographic units of foreign colonies and subsequently of their countries. A few examples may be of interest.

When Captain Cook sailed to a double chain of islands in Melanesia in 1774 and found them, like those of the Hebrides Islands off the west coast of Scotland, to be mountainous, he named them "New Hebrides." The indigenous people had known nothing of the Hebrides Islands, but their descendants lived in the islands called New Hebrides until 1980 when they gained independence and named their county "Vanuatu" (lit: "Land Eternal"). Cook also sailed to a large island south of these islands and because its pineclad ridges resembled some in Scotland, he named it "New Caledonia"—the name still used in English-language publications, though Francophiles complain that "Nouvelle Calédonie," as in the official name of this French colony, should be used instead. A new name will probably replace both when independence is granted. Of island groups that foreigners had named for foreign persons, the Polynesians of what, during colonial days, had been called the Ellice Islands, created a new name, "Tuvalu" (lit.: "Eight Standing Together"—a reference to their country's eight permanently inhabited islands); the Micronesians of what had been called the Gilbert Islands indigenized it as "Kiribati" for the name of the new country that includes not only the archipelago named for a ship's captain, but also some widely scattered islands; and the Micronesians of the two parallel chains of small coral islands (that have indigenous names, Ratak and Ralik, usually translated as "Sunrise" and "Sunset" respectively), retained the name Marshall Islands for their Republic.

On the "What's in a Name?" Controversy

Elizabeth Wichmann-Walczak

The passion of the email discussions held last year by *Asian Theatre Journal* contributors and this summer by Association for Chinese Music Research members dramatically demonstrates just how very much can be embodied in a name. Especially for those of us devoting our professional lives to the study of particular forms of Chinese theatre, the question of what to call these forms in English-language writing about them is obviously of very real intellectual and emotional concern. I have found my own views growing and developing as a result of these discussions, and am very grateful to all the participants. At this point, it seems to me that we need inclusive rather than exclusive approaches.

In academic writing, it has long been common practice to employ indigenous Asian names for Asian theatre forms. It seems reasonable and timely to apply this practice to Chinese theatre forms, as well. (It also allows writers to refer to plays rather than operas, a great relief to theatre scholars!) However, as so many writers have pointed out, because there are multiple names for many individual forms and a plethora of romanization systems, questions arise as to which Chinese name to use, and what romanization system to present it in. Although journals often have style sheets that call for a particular romanization system as well as the use of italics or capitalization for the names of theatre forms, when authors have strong feelings in these areas their own choices can easily be used instead.

For romanization, the author's choice can be defined against the style sheet at the first occurrence in case some readers may not know the particular system; i.e., to use Hanyu Pinyin in a journal that normally uses Wade-Giles (and uses italics rather than capitalization for the names of forms): "in 1940s *pingju* (*p'ing chü*);" all later references would then simply be to *pingju*. Applying this same principle to the name for a form, authors would use whatever name they preferred, with the others cited at first occurrence. For example, in a journal that uses Hanyu Pinyin (and capitalizes the names of forms): "in Kunju (also known as Kunqu)." And in a journal that also uses Hanyu Pinyin (but italicizes the names of forms): "in *jingju* (also known as *jingxi*, *pingju*, and *guoju*; sometimes referred to in English as Beijing/Peking opera)."

In popular writing and commercial performance contexts that demand clear communication with a mass audience, practical considerations obviously dominate and "English names" for Chinese theatre forms are probably still a necessity in most places. Different contexts and geographic locations may in fact call for different names for the same form. For instance, in Honolulu the term "Beijing opera" is widely used in popular contexts, while "Peking opera" rarely appears and evokes a "quaint aura of oriental antiquity" when it does, according to our local press. But this is obviously not the case everywhere! And whatever English name is used, if a Chinese name of the form in question is also sprinkled throughout publicity and programs, it will probably enter the public consciousness over time. Education is generally a major aim of public cultural presentations, and teaching the real names of Chinese theatre forms seems a valuable educational goal.

Words, Meanings, and Scholarship on Chinese Music

J. Lawrence Witzleben

Compared to the study of other geographical areas, scholarship on Chinese music has lagged far behind in introducing indigenous terms to a Western readership. Why are words like *raga*, *sitar*, *wayang*, *pathet*, *kabuki,* and *shakuhachi* so well-known, while their Chinese counterparts are not? In the United States, when I tell people I play the "Chinese *koto*," they immediately understand. Why hasn't *zheng* become equally familiar to the cross-culturally musically literate?

If we consistently use terms like *zheng*, *qupai*, and *xiqu* in our teaching, writing, and discussions, then they will become more familiar. *Pinyin* is certainly not the world's most reader-friendly romanization system, but since the Western mass-media has adopted it, the entire world now reads that Bill Clinton met with Jiang Zemin and visited Xi'an.

I am sure that everyone reading this uses some combination of romanized and translated or explicated terms in their own work. As many others have pointed out, whatever one's philiosophical, aesthetic, or ideological stance, many individual choices must still be made, and conventions change over time. "Daoist music" may be replacing "Taoist," but "*Daojiao* music" or "*Daojiao yinyue*" are still rarities. Whether we choose to use "*xiqu*" or "Chinese opera," "*sizhu*" or "silk and bamboo," common sense and common courtesy suggest that we have an obligation to make readers aware both of the Chinese terms and of the English or other Western translations which they may encounter elsewhere.

Dialects and non-Han languages present problems which I don't believe we have yet come to grips with. There is a long tradition of sinological writing on Hong Kong and Guangdong using Cantonese pronounciations, and Hokkien/Minnan and Taejiu/Chaozhou spellings are common in writings on Southeast Asian Chinese communities, but scholars studying Han music in Taiwan and most other regions of China have almost invariably given Mandarin pronunications. As for minority cultures, I believe that few people would object to the idea of giving the names of musical terms in their own languages in addition to—or instead of—in their Chinese pronounciations (some of which are a combination of transliteration and translation). While this is practical for multinational ethnic groups such as the Uighurs/*Weiwuerzu*, Tibetans/*Zangzu*, and Koreans/*Chaoxianzu*, how are we to deal with, for example, a survey of music of the dozens of ethnic groups in Yunnan?

In conclusion, I will recall that in the early days of the ACMR, I distributed a survey on translation of musical terms and discussed the results in the 1987 Ann Arbor meeting and a subsequent issue of the *Newsletter* (Vol.2, no. 1, summer 1988). The most glaring result was a total lack of consensus, even on what were seemingly the most straigtforward terms. A more fundamental problem seemed to be that choices of translations varied considerably according to the specialization of the writer. Translations of words like "*qupai*" or "*ban*" may be very different for instrumental or vocal music, but for a scholar or performer of Chinese music, the terms are unquestionably variants of a similar concept, a manifestation of inter-genre and inter-regional continuities in Chinese music which all too easily disappear when we rely on translations alone.

Beyond a Matter of Name and Language

Su Zheng

In debating various terms for Peking opera/*jingju*, it seems to me that we have been indiscriminately talking about names that are actually tied to separate sets of intermingled relationships:

1. the conflict between Taiwan and the PRC, reflected in the names "*guoju*" vs. "*jingju*";
2. the conflict between the Taiwanese and the Nationalists, reflected in the names "*pingju*" vs. "*guoju*";
3. the recent conflict between *pinyin* and other spelling systems, reflected in the names Beijing opera vs. Peking opera; and
4. the current reexamination of the term opera, the most common English translation for the Chinese words *xi* or *xiqu*, reflected in the names "*opera*" vs. "*xiqu/ju*".

Nancy Guy's article in *Asian Theatre Journal* describes clearly the first two conflicts. In the third set of conflicts, the cultural-political battle between Taiwan and the PRC has become an international one. Today, no matter what personal attachment one has to a specific system, *pinyin* has become the most employed system for the majority of Chinese music scholars in the West. Having said this, I would nevertheless support Guy's argument. "Peking opera" together with "Cantonese opera" have been used as music genre terms long enough and have become popular enough to be independent of whatever happens in the contemporary name games. Thus why can't we accept them as a few exceptions based on historical and practical reasons just as we have accepted the spelling of certain historical names such as Sun Yat-sen or Yangtze River?

However, the focus of the current debate has been on the last set of conflicts — the replacement of the English term "opera" with the indigenous terms *xiqu* and *ju*. The strongest reason for this replacement is the colonialist overtone contained in the term "opera." I would caution that to presume all English translations of Chinese names as colonialist could risk missing some specific historical contexts. We certainly do not yet have a genealogy on how the term and concept of opera became related to Chinese *xiqu*, under what conditions, and with what intentions.

On the other hand, the debate over "opera" and "*xiqu*" needs to be understood in broader contexts. The changing political climate in Western academia, the increasing opportunity for a Westerner to experience Chinese *xiqu* performance thanks to the transnational cultural flow, and the eventual participation of Chinese scholars in the English-language discourse, have all contributed to the legitimacy and necessity of the current reexamination. My point here is that even though we might have disagreements on the political connotations of the term "opera," we need to see that the challenge against its usage is an outcome of the post-colonial studies which prioritize subalterns' voices and indigenous terms.

But the use of the indigenous terms is not just part of a political agenda; I believe it also has some pragmatic implications. It allows, in today's intellectual climate, more space for further exploration and explanation, without limiting, diminishing, or distorting the indigenous meanings through the imposition of a universal law, mostly the Euro American standard, as the ultimate point of reference. Particularly, for Chinese music research in the West, this will do away with naming drudgery. Moreover, if lesser known regional *xiqu* genres will eventually be studied in the West, then we will certainly be better off avoiding awkward terms such as *changsha huagu* opera, *hebei bangzi* opera, *hongdong daoqing* opera, etc. (not to mention that many of these regional *xiqu* genres have less formal and elaborate theatrical presentations and are thus, in comparison to Peking opera/*jingju*, less similar to Western opera).

From the other point of view, though, we should not forget the big world of music performance out there. A number of Chinese or Chinese American artists have cleverly maneuvered the term "Chinese opera" in their creative works, e.g., Fred Ho's use of Peking opera in his opera *Journey beyond the West*, Tan Dun's use of Peking opera in his opera *Marco Polo*. And in David Henry Hwang's movie *M. Butterfly*, Song Liling, the transvestite Peking opera artist, singing in both Western opera and Peking opera. Likewise, in China, a number of Western operas have been adapted into *xiqu* repertory since the *xiqu* reform movement in the early 20th century until present day. Thus the connection between Western opera and *xiqu*/Chinese opera is not merely a theoretical issue; it has a long tradition and important cultural values in artistic imagination and production. Lastly, we also shouldn't overlook the fact that there exists now a large number of movie-goers in the West who are familiar with the terms "Peking opera" and "Chinese opera," popularized in the last decade by several successful movies made by the Chinese fifth generation movie directors.

To conclude, in my opinion, it is time to address the issue of the use of indigenous terms for "Peking Opera," "Cantonese opera," and "Chinese opera" (I applaud enthusiastically the editorial decision of *Asian Theater Journal*), but not yet time to abandon these English terms in our everyday practice of teaching, writing, and public education. If, however, we consistently juxtapose the Chinese terms with the English ones, then maybe one day the English terms will eventually fall in disuse. Right now, I am afraid we need to employ both English and Chinese names for these three particular terms.

What is clear is that the current debate over naming and names is not so much about the taxonomy of terminology, aesthetic preferences for one kind of romanization over another, or linguistic disputes between transliteration and translation, but mostly about understanding China's tortuous modern history, both regional and national, and the changing global environment in which Chinese names and terms have been translated, coined, and interpreted. It is an issue of cultural translation (à la Homi Bhabha) and representation embedded in and conditioned by social, political, historical, and ideological struggles.

Ma Bomin and the Question of Creative Authority in the *Peony Pavilion* Controversy

Elizabeth Wichmann-Walczak

In the heat of passions generated by the recent Lincoln Center/Shanghai Kunju Yuan (Shanghai Kunju/Kunqu Company) conflict, a courageous artist-administrator and role-model for many women in China has unfortunately been dismissed by most US writers (of both journalism and email) as an "ultraconservative" "cultural bureaucrat" at best, and at worst vilified as a "jealous" "political hack" in need of being "properly stroked," one of the "people constantly making stupid and nonsensical mistakes" and the "last guardians of Communist ideology." It is a great loss that this production of *Peony Pavilion* was not presented at Lincoln Center, and Ma is certainly a party to that loss. But it seems crucially important for future cross-cultural US-China artistic endeavors such as this *Peony Pavilion* project that all of us try our utmost to genuinely understand how this conflict escalated to the point of no return, becoming a loss-loss situation for both sides. In the process of striving for this understanding, I would urge that we approach one another as respected if unknown equals, and avoid attaching dismissive labels to any of the participants or their actions.

Ma Bomin began her career as a Jingju (Peking/Beijing opera) actress, already establishing quite a name for herself in Shanghai in the late 1970s. Then, as she explained it to me in 1985, she "took a look at the situation, and realized that while there were more than enough good *dan* (female role) performers to assure the immediate future of Jingju in Shanghai, good administrators with a real knowledge of the art were much too scarce." So she accepted a position as a troupe leader within the company, and by 1984 was Head of the Shanghai Jingju Yuan (Shanghai Peking/Beijing Opera Company). During the decade she spent in that position, she completely turned around the company's economic situation, leaving her successor with a smaller, more economically independent institution boasting its own commercial theatre (financed by international fundraising) and numerous still-lucrative "side enterprises." More importantly, she instituted a program of "audience research and development," taking Jingju appreciation and performance training courses into elementary and secondary schools to "raise" new audiences, and targeting specific audiences for the creation of new Jingju plays—youth, urban worker, and urban intellectual audiences are three for whom new plays are now being created annually. As a result of her efforts, Jingju audiences in Shanghai have grown rather than shrunk (the latter being the case elsewhere in China), and politically and philosophically provocative new Jingju plays such as the extraordinary *Cao Cao and Yang Xiu* have been created.

Particularly in the early years of her career as an arts administrator, Ma's work has not been easy In the 1980s Jingju in Shanghai was highly suspect, the Shanghai Jingju Yuan having been the originating company for several "model revolutionary modern plays/operas" and a favorite of Jiang Qing's—the wife of Mao Zedong and leader of the "Gang of Four." Women in artistic power were therefore especially mistrusted. Having watched her work over long periods of time on a daily basis, I can attest to the fact that Ma knows how to listen and how to admit errors, how to accept the opinions of others and let go of her own. On the other hand, she is willing to take great risks when she believes that she is right. For instance, in 1995, as second in command of the Shanghai Department of Culture, she challenged the central government's position that "youth don't like Jingju" by taking four new, full-length plays created by the Shanghai Jingju Yuan on a two-week performance tour of Beijing colleges and universities. That challenge ended in triumph on a grand scale. The company played to turn-away crowds of college students who then confronted central government officials, charging that they had been brainwashed against Jingju by the government's negative—and demonstratedly untrue—propaganda.

Ma Bomin should not be singled out as the sole villain in this tragedy. Many factors were surely at work to produce the final deadlock. I would like to add just one more to the growing list.Working methods at Xiqu troupes and companies are, unsurprisingly, not entirely like those at US theatre companies. My own primary research interest is in the dynamics of creative authority in post-Cultural Revolution Xiqu, particularly Jingju but also including Kunju/Kunqu, and I have spent my last two sabbaticals as well as most summers for the past two decades observing the creation of new plays in Shanghai, Beijing, and Nanjing. Although these dynamics are changing, Xiqu creation is still primarily a group effort, and that group usually includes actors, musicians, "creators" (directors, playwrights, designers, composers), and "experts" (older, more-experienced artists, theatre critics, and cultural officials, arts administrators of the company and its governing department of culture). In a standard/average contemporary creative process, the work-in-progress is viewed at regular intervals by all the participants not actually on stage, and then discussed by all including the actors and musicians. Decisions made by this entire group then directly affect the work-in-progress. The more experienced members of the group (artists as well as administrators, some being Party members and some not) in essence have "more votes." But giving complete creative authority to one person is almost unheard of. In Shanghai, I have witnessed Ma Bomin being "out-voted" by the group on numerous occasions. Nowhere have I ever witnessed a director wielding anything approaching complete creative authority, and I suspect that most members of Xiqu companies in China (as well as cultural administrators) do not in fact have a clear conception of a contemporary creative process entirely dominated by one individual.

But I understand that Chen Shi Zheng was in fact given something at least approaching such total authority for his 1995-96 *Bacchae* project with the Zhongguo Jingju Yuan (China Peking/Beijing Opera Company) in Beijing, another project planned by American initiators who provided the funds and selected the director. If Lincoln Center administrators expected the director of this project to wield absolute creative authority and instructed Chen to act accordingly, it is not difficult to imagine how misunderstandings and conflicts might have arisen. Cross-cultural work probably requires some compromise on both sides. In this case, differences in creative process may have been exacerbated by connections with ideological positions—directorial authority with artistic freedom, and group process with the group good.

As Richard Schechner so vividly pointed out in his email comments of 6/27/98, the traditional is a touchy area in contemporary Xiqu practice, in part because Xiqu innovations were a major medium of propaganda in the Cultural Revolution. The very nature of Xiqu makes tradition a tender area, as well. Certainly prior to the Cultural Revolution and in fact to a great extent even today, each performance of Xiqu is first and foremost an example of that form—Jingju, Kunju/Kunqu, etc.—and secondarily a specific play in that form. The source of the example, and therefore of the form itself, is the well-trained actor. Artistry—both for the continued existence of the form and for creation in it—resides in the body, mind, and psyche of the experienced actor. There were no directors in Xiqu until the middle of this century, when they entered via Huaju ("spoken drama"/"Western-inspired theatre"). And even today, when creating new plays Xiqu directors generally work with "technique directors" and older, "expert" actors, who make sure that physical and vocal expression convey the richest possible examples of the form.

The Shanghai Xiqu world and its cultural administrators take particular pride in the fact that Shanghai is known for Xiqu innovation. But perhaps precisely for this reason, it has long been especially important to them that each form of Xiqu be clearly and vividly exemplified in each new production, however innovative. That production IS Jingju or Kunju/Kunqu only and precisely because the "experts" say so. It is not surprising that "experts" in Shanghai would want this particular example of their classical theatre form—the renowned traditional play *Peony Pavilion* as presented to international audiences in New York—to exemplify Kunju/Kunqu to their satisfaction. Indeed, that is their job. It is extremely unfortunate that those experts did not experience that satisfaction with this production. And it is quite possible that at least a part of their dissatisfaction lay in the process of creation, and not its final product per se.

The *Peony Pavilion*

Isabel Wong

First of all, I would like to pay tribute to the talented actors of the Shanghai Kunju Company for their superb performance in the series of final rehearsals of "The Peony Pavilion" which I was fortunate enough to witness in Shanghai during the first week of June of 1998. They have worked long and hard for this production, and it is a real pity that their great artistry will not likely be seen by the Western audience. There is a lesson to be learned here: cross-cultural sensitivity and knowledge are prerequistes for people who work in a cultural agency such as the Lincoln Center, particularly when a production involves the cooperation of a foreign country. By engaging a young Chinese director trained in the West to head the production of "The Peony Pavilion" who is unfamiliar with and even contemptuous of the Kunju tradition, and by giving him virtually unchecked power and a big budget to shape the production, Lincoln Center in fact expressed its own attitudes toward the culture of "The Other," namely that any cultural product from a foreign country is available for purchase on its (Lincoln Center's) own terms. It is to be hoped that the Lincoln Center will re-examine some of its assumptions, particularly when it comes to international cooperation, since they appear to be based on a sense of cultural superiority buttressed by ignorance.

Book Review

Bell Yung, editor. *Celestial Airs of Antiquity: Music of the Seven-String Zither of China*. Recent Researches in the Oral Traditions of Music, Vol. 5. Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1997. viii + 160 pp. plus Facsimiles, Glossary, and References. ISBN 0-89579-313-X. $61.60. Compact disc (audio), $19.95.

Although there exists a rich body of bibliographic and discographic materials on the music of the *qin* (seven-string zither) in both China and the West, Bell Yung's work is the first to offer an enticing package consisting of a recorded repertory by the late Yao Bingyan (1920-83), original notation, and transcription in Western staff notation based upon Yao's performance. Yung has combined his profound knowledge of *qin* music and scholarship with theoretical and performative insights to produce a multi-faceted case-study that effectively addresses traditional theory in the concrete form of practice.

The book contains an introduction, transcriptions of six pieces performed by Yao, and four appendices. The introduction outlines the social and cultural significance of the *qin* tradition, and discusses various aspects of the instrument, its music, theory and practice. Yung's descriptive analysis of the concept and practice of *jianzipu* (simplified ideogram notation), and the realization process known as *dapu* (literally "beating the score") forms the heart of this section. The *jianzipu* tablature provides explicit directives on properties of motion in music-making, yet contains mostly suggestive metric, rhythmic, and phrasal directives. To bring to life such notated compositions, a practitioner undertakes a fascinating process of *dapu* that requires not only appropriate deciphering of notational symbols and literary commentaries associated with the piece, but also a creative personalized actualization of the temporal and structural expressions within the traditional programmatic frame.

A valuable dimension to Yung's discussion is his account of Yao Bingyan's personal experience as a *dapuist*. Yao was one of the most highly regarded practitioners, and was known for his endeavors in the art of *dapu* since the 1950s. His three-stage process of *dapu*, including *dongji* (motivation), *fangfa* (method), and *xiaoguo* (result), are described as comparable to a personal journey to a new land—while there are general terrains, the experiences are personal and private. Although the discussion is rather brief, it elucidates the sophisticated systems of encoding and deciphering *qin* music. At the same time, it also provides the reader with a sense of historical continuity, since the *dapu* process creates a heightened "participatory consciousness" (Barfield 1965) in which each and every one of the practitioners are co-evolving the "living" *qin* tradition.

The main body of the book consists of transcriptions of Yao's performances in modern staff notation with the original *jianzipu* printed beneath for easy comparison. The six compositions presented are preserved in a three-volume collection of notation entitled *Shenqi mipu* (Wondrous and Secret Notation, 1425 A.D), and appear in the first volume subtitled *Taigu shenpin* (Celestial Airs of Antiquity). The pieces are "Jiukuang" (Wine Madness), "Huaxuyin" (Song of Huaxu), "Yangchun" (Sunny Spring), "Liushui" (Flowing Waters), "Xiaohujia" (Little Barbarian Horn, or The Story of Cai Wenji), and "Guanglingsan" (Niezheng Assassinates the King of Han). Prefaces of the compositions that appear in the original manuscript are also translated with brief commentary by the editor.

Yung is to be commended for his microscopic level of transnotation. His rendering of delicate metric, rhythmic and phrasal matters is sensitive and convincing. This is at least partly attributable to his evaluative approach toward the dilemma raised by the decisive specificity employed in Western staff notation, and the flexiblity for interpretation embodied in *jianzipu* and in performance. Yung's effort to identify and explain, when possible, the discrepancies between Yao's performance and the original notation (Appendix 3) is especially beneficial. Each moment that departed from the original notation is carefully notated, and is explained according to the editor's and, in some cases, the performer's understanding of whether the deviation was intentional or unintentional.

Such discussion on intentionality makes it possible for the reader to bridge the gap between the performer, the transcriber, the performance and the notation. It also raises some interesting issues. For example, "Jiukuang" belongs to the mode of *gongdiao* with the tuning of C D F G A C D. In measures 34 and 36, the intended pitches of G-B^b produced by sliding the middle finger on string 3 from the 13th to 10th *hui* (marker) were replaced with pitches A-C. Similarly, in measures 46 and 48 of the same motive, the intended pitches of F-B^b produced by sliding the middle finger on string 3 from the 7th to 5/6th *hui* were respectively replaced with pitches A-C and B^b-C. The two measures of 46 and 48 were repeated in measures 54 and 56, and once again in 66 and 68. It may seem odd to make essentially the same unintentional modification eight times in a 2 minute and 18 second composition. Would it be possible that the performer adopted a rather common practice of altering "accidental" notes or intervals that seem, at the time, not to fit the mode or tonality of the composition? If yes, would socio-cultural considerations also play a part in Yao's decision for modification? And what transitory reality of culture does Yao's musical art epitomize?

My concerns about the transcriptions are minimal relative to my enthusiasms. In the *qin* tradition, the sophisticated ornamental articulation of *yun* (lingering tones) is a distinguishing characteristic, and is traditionally regarded as a "breath giving" (Liang 1973) element that transforms ordinary sound into refined music. The *yun* expressions are articulated through a large left-hand technical repertoire, which includes some *zhuo* and *zhu* glissando-like techniques and a variety of *yin* and *nao* vibrato-like techniques. While the glissando-like expressions are extensively marked with care, the vibrato-like expressions are scantily notated. Since the *yin* and *nao* vibratos often carry stylist traits that are particular to a school or individual, it would have been useful to have included them in the transcription.

The four appendices allow the reader and listener to better grasp the relationship between the *jianzipu*, the staff transnotation and the recorded performance (p. vii). Appendix 1 is one of the most detailed and comprehensive explanations of *jianzipu* notational symbols in English. Appendix 2 provides a glossary of the occasional programmatic prose and playing instructions written in unsimplified Chinese ideograms in the original notation. Appendix 3 records the discrepancies between the original notation and Yao's interpretation. Appendix 4 is a reproduction of the original *jianzipu* from the *Shenqi mipu*. Despite a few typographical errors, and slight production errors in pagination (the original notation for "Jiukuang" begins on page 155, followed by page 154, 156 and 157; and page 146 and 147 should be reversed for "Yaungchun"), the painstaking compilation and detailed editorial notes are thorough and informative.

The companion CD contains field recordings made at Yao's residence in Shanghai in 1981 and 1982 by the editor. Aside from the two tracks entitled "Dahujia" (Grand Barbarian Horn) and "Gaoshan" (High Mountain) in *Yaomen Qin Music* (HRP 728-2) previously released by HUGO in 1991, Yung's CD preserves and presents the musical art of Yao Bingyan which was, otherwise, rarely heard outside China. A few tracks on the CD contain "extraneous noises" (p.162) such as footsteps, running water and bicycle bells, providing an interesting contextual reality for the *qin* in modern China.

Throughout, Yung's profound experience of the *qin* tradition and his deep respect and admiration toward his *qin* teacher, Yao Bingyan, are evident. His attention to details of the playing styles goes well beyond that of currently existing literature. His transcriptions and analytical commentary, which combine both prescriptive and descriptive approaches, are of high scholarly merit. It would have been helpful to discuss Yao and his musical art in a broader context, since he lived in a critical era when substantial cultural, ideological and musical-stylistical transformations occurred. This edition would be an excellent basis for a classroom discussion on the nature of musical presentation and representation, on the processes and products of musical continuity and change, and on the relationship between cultural and musical systems.

Overall, Yung's publication is a welcome contribution to the growing collection of studies on the *qin*. As a rich source about the "literati" tradition of the *qin*, and an important account of Yao's musical art and *dapu* process, this well-rounded package is recommended to connoisseurs, practitioners and scholars alike.

Yi-ping Huang

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Sue Tuohy

"Current Bibliography" lists recent publications focusing on Chinese music and music in China (including dance, theatre, opera, and narrative forms) written in English and in other Western languages. The citations are listed within the following categories:

1) articles, books, and book reviews (listed under the name of the author of the book reviewed);
2) dissertations and theses;
3) brief articles (listed by year or author, under the journal or magazine title);
4) audio-visual materials and reviews (listed under the materials reviewed);
5) web sites

I apologize in advance for omissions and errors in the entries. *ACMR Report* readers' comments regarding formatting and selection of materials will be appreciated. Please submit bibliographic information on recent publications, including corrections to the present list. To insure accurate and complete information, readers and writers are requested to submit copies of the publications or of tables of contents from journals. Please send citations, suggestions, information, and publications to: Sue Tuohy, Folklore Institute, Indiana University, Bloomington IN 47405 U.S.; e-mail: tuohys@indiana.edu; phone: 812-855-4742.

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http://members.aol.com/CCEvans42/index.htm (Christopher Evans' Home Page; Chinese traditional music; Guqin; list of "people who are interested in the Guqin"; Guqin discography).

http://power.beijing.cn.net/bikeserver/CultureC/CultureC06 (part of the Chinese language-site "The Culture of China").

http://pw2.netcom.com/~shicha/music/script/index.html (Chinese Music; instruments; history).

http://cuhk.hk/mus/cma.html (Chinese Music Archives).

http://eskimo.com/~cama/index.html (Chinese Arts & Music Ass. in Seattle).

http://www.eyeneer.com:80/Labels/Ocara/ocaratitles.html.(Ocara record/CD list).

http://www.fin.or.jp/~youran/ (World of Guqin Music).

http://www.hugocd.com (Hugo record/CD list).

http://www.iohk.com/UserPages/thompson/ (J.Thompson & the Guqin Silk String Zither).

http://www.medieval.org/music/world/china.html (T.M. McComb: China Classical Music; a discography of Chinese instrumental music).

http://www.musicsource.com/Chinese-masters.html (Record/CD list).

http://www.presser.com/zhou.html (Zhou Long).

http://www.rootsworld.com:80/rw/feature/china1.html (Brian Grosjean: The Voice of Traditional China)

http://www.schirmer.com/composers/tan_works.html (G. Schirmer: Tan Dun).

http://www.sonarchy.org/archives/ndicm2.html (New Directions in Chinese Music No. 2).

http://www.wesleyan.edu/~hyu/ (Yu Hui's Home Page)

Reports on Recent Meetings and Conferences

The Fifth Biennial International Symposium and Festival of the Centre for Intercultural Music Arts was held from March 30th to April 4th at the City University, London, England. The theme of the Symposium and Festival was "New Intercultural Music." Around forty persons attended the event, and twenty-five of them gave presentations. Roughly half of the presentations were in scholars' sessions, and the other half, in composers' sessions.

The scholarly sessions consisted of three topics: "Twentieth-Century Compositional Processes and Techniques," "Juxtaposition of Intercultural Music and Political Ideology," and "Redefining Boundaries in Intercultural Music." Among the scholarly presentations, two were related to Chinese music. One was Weihua Zhang's "Music Making as an Expression of a Changing Asian American Identity: The Music of Liu Qi-chao and Lee Pui Ming." Liu Qi-chao had his musical training in the mainland China, and is now an active musician in San Francisco, California. Lee Pui Ming had her musical training in Hong Kong, and is now an active musician in Canada. Weihua Zhang examined their ways of music-making, and analyzed the musical styles of their compositions. Then she summarized that both of the musicians have musical styles different from either general Chinese or American style, and their music-making contributes to the changing Asian American identity. The other paper related to Chinese music was Wu Ben's "Chinese Pipa Pieces Composed in the Twentieth Century." He introduced pipa compositions in different historical periods in the twentieth century with representative examples, and then, summarized that most of these pieces have links to both traditional Chinese styles and modern Western styles. Those composed in Mainland China, especially those composed before the 1980s, are also strongly influenced by the government's political policies.

Since the event was not large and most of the presenters lived in the same hotel, they had many opportunities to talk to each in a friendly and warm atmosphere. The participants showed great interest in various new compositions of intercultural styles, and exchanged ideas and experiences of composing and studying such kinds of music. At the same time, they also expressed different opinions on key issues, such as defining boundaries in intercultural music," and employing musical materials from other cultures in new compositions, and so forth.

Four concerts were held in the evenings during the event, featuring various kinds of intercultural music, such as music played by an African music ensemble in England, original compositions in intercultural styles, and traditional and modern Korean kayagum music. The Centre for Intercultural Music Arts is an international organization. Currently, its Chairman is Professor Steve Stanton of City University, and its Director is Professor Akin Euba of the University of Pittsburgh.

Wu Ben

The 3rd International Asian Music Conference was held on the campus of Seoul National University from September 24-26. This conference, sponsored by the Asian Music Research Institute and the College of Music of Seoul National University, focused on current research topics and methodologies in Asian music. After the initial welcome by the dean of the Faculty of Liberal Arts, the conference began with a keynote address by Dr. Hwang Jun-Yon, director of the Asian Music Research Institute, on comparative strategies in East Asian music research. The ensuing two days were packed with papers presented by scholars from, Australia, China, England, Hong Kong, Japan, Korea, and the United States. The topics were broad in scope and diverse in approaches, ranging from historical topics to contemporary issues in East and Southeast Asian music. In addition to the presence of a large number of local and foreign scholars, there were a substantial number of student-attendees actively participating in the discussion. The organizer is planning to publish a conference proceeding in the near future.

One of the highlights of the conference was the opportunity to participate in the 90th birthday celebration of the famous Korean music scholar Lee Haegu. Lee, a prominent figure and pioneer in Korean music research, has produced voluminous work on Korean music history and shaped the direction for future research in Korean music. During the celebration, Professor Lee was presented with a festschrift and a performance of new compositions written by his former students, many of whom are now well-known scholars in their own right and occupy key positions in various institutions. For information concerning future activities and publications of the Institute, please contact Dr. Chae Hyun-Kyung or Dr. Hwang Jun-Yon at the Korean Music Research Institute, Seoul National University, Kwanak-gu Shillim-dong, San 56-1, Seoul 151-742, Korea.

A symposium entitled "Hokkien Opera (*Gezaixi*): Crossing the Borders" was held at the National University of Singapore from October 4-6, 1998. This event was jointly organized by the National University of Singapore, Center for the Arts, and the Singapore Chinese Opera Institute, in conjunction with the Taipei Society of Contemporary Theater. This grass-root operatic form, known as *gezaixi* in Taiwan, Hokkien Opera in Singapore, and *xiangxi* in the PRC, has been popular among the Minnan speaking people in all three countries since the early part of this century.

According to Dr. Chua Soo Pong, the director of the Chinese Opera Institute and convenor of the conference, the goal of this symposium was to encourage communication and exchanges amongst scholars and performers of different backgrounds in order to find ways to maintain this traditional art form for today's audience. Topics discussed during the sessions included *gezaixi* in Singapore, Hokkien Opera across the Straits, and on the music, text, and poetry of individual operas. Apart from three days of scholarly paper sessions, there are five outdoor performances and three indoor theater shows staged by the Opera Institute of Singapore, Chen Mei Yun Opera Troupe from Taiwan, and the Little Unicorn Hokkien Opera Troupe from Singapore. The university press of Singapore plans to publish the proceedings of the symposium early next year. For further information, please contact Dr. Chua Soo Pong, director of the Chinese Opera Institute, 111 Middle Road, Singapore 188969.

Fred Lau

Recent Dissertation Abstracts

Performing Chinese Street Opera and Constructing National Culture in Singapore

LEE, Tong Soon, Ph.D. in music
University of Pittsburgh, 1998
Committee Chair: Bell Yung

This dissertation focuses on Chinese street opera performance and its relevance to the nation-building process in contemporary Singapore. It explores the varied meanings of Chinese street opera, produced and defined through interactions between the two long-standing traditions of professional and amateur operatic practices, and the official cultural mechanisms that regulate the production and reception of Chinese street opera in Singapore today.

The professional and amateur operatic traditions constitute two important trends in the history of Chinese opera in Singapore. They contrast with each other in sociological and ideological aspects, and have different organizational and performance practices. During the 1960s, there was a general decrease in the number of professional opera troupes in Singapore, accompanied by a concomitant rise in popularity of amateur groups. Furthermore, amateur opera groups, which usually perform in indoor contexts, began to stage Chinese street opera events in the 1970s, as part of a national discourse on preserving and promoting local cultural heritage. While the performance of Chinese street opera is historically associated with professional troupes, its identification with amateur groups is a recent phenomenon. More importantly, Chinese street opera performances by amateur groups are state-sponsored and framed within discourses on the construction of culture. In Singapore today, amateur opera groups are praised for their high performance standards and have come to represent the Chinese street opera tradition. Their performance practices are iconic of the state's approach toward constructing a national culture through the arts. In contrast, professional opera troupes are rendered invisible in the national discourse on arts and culture, as they routinely perform mainly in the context of Chinese customary and religious functions.

Why is Chinese street opera celebrated in Singapore today? And why have amateur opera groups come to represent this performance tradition? In this study, I consider the social value of Chinese street opera within the discourse on cultural production in contemporary Singapore. By examining the changing social context within which the concepts of professionalism and amateurism in Chinese opera performance are positioned, I explore the role of art in the process of creating and consolidating a national culture in Singapore after its independence in 1965.

Ritual Music in the Court and Rulership of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)

Ben Wu, Ph.D. in Music
University of Pittsburgh, 1998
Committee Chair: Bell Yung

In the imperial court of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911), various types of rituals were conducted regularly, and music was an inseparable component of most rituals. The Qing rulers were not Han Chinese, but Manchu, an ethnic group from the northeast. When they assumed rulership, they adopted the Confucian ritual system from the previous Ming dynasty. Meanwhile, they also performed Manchu shamanic and Tibetan Buddhist rituals in the court. This dissertation examines the complex relationship between the rituals, especially the ritual music, and the rulership of the Qing dynasty.

The Qing rulers retained and changed aspects of the Confucian ritual music, including tonal system, lyrics, musical style, and instrumentation, which, they believed, could make the music more ancient and proper than that of previous dynasties. By adopting the Confucian ritual music, retaining parts and changing other parts, and sponsoring other Confucian classical learning projects, the Qing rulers hoped to gain support from Han Chinese scholars and officials, which was indispensable for governing such a country. They also hoped the rituals could help to make them legitimate in the eyes of the majority Han population.

At the same time, the Qing rulers made shamanic rituals of their own clan to be the rituals of all Manchu people. The Manchu shamanic rituals helped the Qing rulers to keep the unified Manchu identity, which was created by early rulers of the group, to dominate the northeast, and to unify Manchu officials and the army, which were the backbone of the government. By sponsoring Tibetan Buddhist rituals in the court, the Qing rulers wanted to show their respect for, and belief in, Tibetan Buddhism. They hoped it could help them to draw Mongol and Tibetan leaders to their side and to dominate the Mongol and Tibetan people. In sum, the purpose of conducting various rituals in the court was not only for religious belief, but mainly for political reasons. The Qing rulers hoped these rituals could help them to solidify their rulership over different ethnic groups; and the rituals, with their music, strengthened the Qing rulership to a certain degree.

Contributors

Nancy Guy received her Ph.D. degree from the University of Pittsburgh in 1996 with a dissertation entitled "Peking Opera and Politics in Post-1949 Taiwan." A specialist in the music of Taiwan, she is particularly interested in music and politics as well as gender construction in musical theatre forms. In addition to continuing her study of Peking opera, she is also currently exploring issues of copyright and cultural ownership as they relate to the experiences of Taiwan aboriginal musicians. She is an assistant professor of music at the University of California, San Diego.

Yi-ping Huang recently received her Ph.D. degree in Ethnomusicology at the University of Maryland Baltimore County, and is currently lecturing at her alma mater. Her research centers on performing traditions of East Asia, particularly the *qin* (a seven-stringed zither) in Mainland China, Taiwan and Japan. She has also done fieldwork on both popular and traditional music in the Chinese, Japanese and India immigrant communities in the metropolitan area of Washington, DC. Her work includes *Gudiao jintan* (Modern Interpretation of Ancient Melodies), a thirteen part series on Chinese traditional music for Public Television in Taiwan.

Stephen Jones is a founding member of CHIME, and is currently a Chiang Ching-kuo research fellow in the Music Department at SOAS, London. A specially-invited research fellow of the Music Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Arts, Beijing, he has collaborated fieldwork research with many Chinese scholars. Author of *Folk Music of China: Living Instrumental Traditions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995/1998) and many articles, Dr. Jones's research has concentrated on ritual music in northern Chinese villages. He is also a professional violinist in London early music orchestras.

Frederick Lau is associate professor of music at California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo, where he teaches ethnomusicology, music history, and performance. He has also taught at Millikin University, University of Wisconsin, and University of Illinois. His primary research area has been in 20th century Chinese music focusing on issues related to music and politics, the process of change, and the construction of identity. His recent research is on music practice and identity issue in transnational contexts, in particular, Chinese Music in Southeast Asia and the United States. Currently, he is a visiting scholar at the Center for Advanced Studies at the National University of Singapore and is conducting fieldwork in Singapore. His works have been published in journals such as *Asian Music*, *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, and *Journal of Musicological Research*.

Barbara B. Smith is Professor Emeritus of Music at the University of Hawai'i where she initiated the program in ethnomusicology. Her on-going interests include the musics of China and other East-Asian countries, those of the Pacific (especially Micronesia and Hawai'i), and aspects of identity and cultural pluralism.

J. Lawrence Witzleben, who studied ethnomusicology at the Universities of Hawai'i and Pittsburgh, and Chinese music theory and performance at the Shanghai Conservatory, is an Associate Professor/Senior Lecturer at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. He is the author of the prize-winning book entitled *Silk and Bamboo Music in Shanghai: The Jiangnan Sizhu Instrumental Ensemble Tradition* (Kent State, 1995), and co-editor for the forthcoming East Asia volume of the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*.

Elizabeth Wichmann-Walczak is Professor of Theatre and currently Chair of the University of Hawai'i at Manoa Department of Theatre and Dance, where she received her Ph.D. in Asian Theatre. While carrying out the field research for her doctoral dissertation, she became the first non-Chinese to perform Beijing opera in the People's Republic of China. Since that time she has written and published on the aesthetics, aural performance, and performance structure of *Jingju*, and has translated and directed one modern and three classical *Jingju* plays at the University of Hawai'i; at Chinese invitation, two classical productions were given extensive performance tours in China. Dr. Wichmann-Walczak is the first honorary and first non-Chinese member of the Chinese Theatre Artists Associations of Jiangsu and Shanghai, and of the National Xiqu Institute, as well as a recipient of the Chinese Music Association's Kong Sanchuan award for excellence in research, creation, and performance.

Bell Yung holds joint appointments as Professor of Music at the University of Pittsburgh and Kwan Fong Chair in Chinese Music at the University of Hong Kong. His most recent major publication is *Celestial Airs of Antiquity: Music of the Seven-String Zither of China* (A-R Editions, 1997)

Su Zheng is assistant professor of music and Women's Studies at Wesleyan University, and Director of Graduate Studies in Music. She received her Ph.D. in ethnomusicology from Wesleyan University in 1993. She won a ACLS/CSCC fellowship for her project "Gendering of Music and Women's Musical Traditions in Modern China" in 1996. Her articles have appeared in *The World of Music*, *Diaspora*, *Chinoperl*, and *Journal of Women's History.* Her most recent works include "Redefining Yin and Yang:Transformation of Gender/Sexual Politics in Chinese Music," in eds. *Audible Traces: Music, Gender, and Identity*, edited by Elaine Barkin and Lydia Hamessley (Zurich, Switzerland: Carciolfoli, 1998); and a book, *Claiming Diaspora: Music, Transnationalism, and Cultural Politics in Chinese (Asian) America* (forthcoming).

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Kraus, Richard Kurt.
1989. *Pianos and Politics in China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Yang, Yinliu.
1962. *Gongchepu qianshuo* (Brief discussion of solfege). Beijing: Yinyuechubanshe.
Perris, Arnold.
1983. "Music as Propaganda: Art at the Command of Doctrine in the Poeple's Republic of China." *Ethnomusicology* 27/1: 1-28.

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[1941] 1969. *Hsi K'ang and his Poetical Essay on the Lute*. Tokyo, Japan and Rutland, Vermont: The Charles Tuttle Company.

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