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Heritagization of Traditional Performing Arts: Impact and Negotiation of Transmission Practices in Taiwan

Author
Chen, Mei-Chen

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Heritagization of Traditional Performing Arts:

Impact and Negotiation of Transmission Practices in Taiwan

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Ethnomusicology

by

Mei-Chen Chen

2023

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Impact and Negotiation of Transmission Practices in Taiwan

by

Mei-Chen Chen

Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology

University of California, Los Angeles, 2023

Professor Helen M. Rees, Chair

This dissertation examines the Taiwanese Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) paradigm and a central facet of the current government project to ensure the long-term survival of traditional performing arts: the Important Traditional Performing Art Transmission Plan (Transmission Plan). It aims to answer the following questions: (1) How does Taiwan, despite its international isolation and lack of official cross-border networks, construct a heritage governance system to sustain traditional preforming arts? (2) How do different actors participate in and negotiate with each other in the Taiwanese ICH paradigm? (3) How do traditional performance groups from different ethno-linguistic communities, transmitting a wide variety of professional and amateur genres, mediate and negotiate issues of tradition, authenticity, belief, creativity, value, and sustainability in their transmission practices? (4) How do traditional performance artists/groups respond to the nation's strategies of employing heritage as a resource for nation-

building, cultural diplomacy and exchange? (5) How can the rather unusual case-study of Taiwan help us test assumptions developed from the experiences of nations linked into the dominant UNESCO-driven paradigm of heritage conservation, and assist us in refining contemporary thought and practice in the field of cultural sustainability?

By illustrating the bureaucratization of traditional performing arts from case studies of the Indigenous groups, Han Chinese amateur music clubs, and Han Chinese professional theatrical troupes, this dissertation proposes five premises on which Taiwan's current ICH policy and practice are based, and that together differentiate it from analogous policy and practice in other nations. First, it involves scholars to an unusual extent. Second, the self-conscious pursuit of "authenticity" is less emphasized than in many other countries. Third, Taiwan's items of ICH are often a hybrid mixture of forms representing multicultural interactions, rather than some kind of notional "purity." Fourth, while Taiwan's ICH framework is based on that of UNESCO, it is bureaucratically highly Taiwanized. Fifth, Taiwan's ICH is an essential soft power resource for a nation that exists in a uniquely challenging international context. Finally, this dissertation aims to reveal the singularity of the Taiwanese ICH paradigm and what it can contribute to global ICH discourses.

The dissertation of Mei-Chen Chen is approved.

Tara Colleen Browner

Anna Frances Morcom

Aparna Sharma

Helen M. Rees, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2023

This dissertation is dedicated to the traditional performing arts practitioners in Taiwan.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures

List of Tables

Acknowledgements

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Studies Initiative Fellowship, and a Taiwan Studies Lectureship from the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Los Angeles. Taiwan's Ministry of Education Government Scholarship to Study Abroad grants have underwritten much of my fieldwork and writing up. The UCLA Asia Pacific Center and the J. Yang and Family Foundation funded the final stage of my dissertation writing.

I would like to extend my gratitude to my close friends, colleagues, and teachers for their encouragement and comradeship. I am grateful to have friends/comrades from the Empowerment Team who have shared many laughs, thoughts, fieldwork, and great times, and classmates at UCLA who have made my time in Los Angeles a joy and offered inspiring scholarly insights. Finally, I would like to thank my family for their unconditional support and sincere faith in me. Without them, this dissertation would never have come into being.

NOTE ON ROMANIZATION

In this dissertation, I provide Bân-lâm-gú (Taiwanese, Taiwanese Hokkien, or Minnan) pronunciations of names for genres, instruments, and musical concepts used in Minnan performances. For this, I use the Tâi-lô pinyin (臺羅拼音, Taiwan Southern Min pinyin scheme) system officially promoted by Taiwan's Ministry of Education.

I employ Hanyu pinyin (漢語拼音) for Mandarin pronunciations for genres and instruments relevant to Hakka and Mainland Chinese performing arts, and for Taiwanese and Chinese government organs and projects. Romanization of Chinese-language textual publications is also rendered according to Mandarin pronunciation. Where it might not otherwise be obvious, I specify when Mandarin pronunciation is being used.

For Indigenous Taiwanese names and terms, I follow the translation and romanization conventions of the Indigenous Transmission Plan communities. For Japanese names and terms, I use Hepburn romanization, for Korean names and terms McCune-Reischauer romanization.

Personal names of citizens of East Asian countries resident in those countries are given in East Asian order, i.e., surname first, given name second. For personal names, I use the person's preferred spelling if known; otherwise, I use the Wade-Giles system for citizens of Taiwan. For Taiwanese citizens of Indigenous descent, name order follows each tribe's custom. When there is a conventional spelling of a personal or place name (e.g., Chiang Kai-Shek, Taipei, Kaohsiung), I follow the convention.

VITA

Education

2014 M.A., Ethnomusicology, Indiana University, Bloomington
Thesis: "Negotiating Change in Society and Music: Intertextuality, Female Roles, and Cultural Performance in Taiwan during Japanese Colonial Rule"
Advisor: Sue Tuohy

2008 B.A., Department of Chinese Music, Tainan National University of the Arts, Taiwan

Academic Awards/Grants

2022 J. Yang and Family Centennial Scholarship, Asian Pacific Center, UCLA
2020–2022 Government Scholarship to Study Abroad, Ministry of Education, Taiwan
2020–2021 Taiwan Studies Lectureship, Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Los Angeles
2020–2021 UCLA-NTNU Taiwan Studies Initiative Fellowship, Asia Pacific Center, UCLA
2018 Graduate Summer Research Mentorship Grant, UCLA.
2017–2021 Herb Alpert School of Music Fellowship and Scholarship, UCLA
2017–2019 Fulbright Graduate Study Award (IIE)
2009 Outstanding Student Prize, Graduate Institute of Ethnomusicology, Tainan National University of the Arts (TNNUA), Taiwan
2008 Thesis Scholarship of President Huang Pi-Twan, TNNUA

Publications

Forthcoming (Co-author) 民樂街上老軒社：共樂軒歷史記憶 (Old Music Club on Minle Street: Historical Memories of Gong-le Xuan). Taipei: Taipei City Government.

Forthcoming "Cultural Policy on Traditional Music and Theater." In *Encyclopedia of Taiwan Studies*, edited by Nancy Guy. Leiden: Brill.

2021 "What to Preserve and How to Preserve It: Taiwan's Action Plans for Safeguarding Traditional Performing Arts." In *Resounding Taiwan: Musical Reverberations Across a Vibrant Island*, edited by Nancy Guy, 145–164. New York: Routledge.

2020 "北管、京劇、十三腔：北港子弟的音樂競技 (Beiguan, Peking Opera, and Shisan Qiang: Music Competitions of Beigang Music Amateurs)." In 北港地區的傳統音樂在地歷史(The Vernacular History of Traditional Music in Beigang), edited by Fan Yang-Kun, 127–144. Yunlin: Yunlin County Government.

2017 "1960~70 年代的唱片目錄與樂種分類經驗 (Discography and Genre Classifications in 1960s to 1970s Taiwan)." In 流轉發聲：鈴鈴、美樂與遠東唱片目錄彙編 (Discographies of Ring-Ring, Mei-Le, and Yuan-Dong Records), edited by Fan Yang-Kun, 395–404. Yilan: National Center for Traditional Arts.

Conference Papers

2020 "Music Preservation and Transcription: Safeguarding Atayal Jew's Harp Music in the Intangible Cultural Heritage System of Taiwan." Paper presented at the First Symposium of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) Study Group for Music and Dance in Indigenous and Postcolonial Contexts, Hualian, Taiwan.

2019a "From Guoju to *Kua-á-hì*: Seventy Years of Cultural Diplomacy in Taiwan." Paper presented at the "2019 Tradition and Future of Music Forum," Tainan, Taiwan.

2019b "Musical Revitalization in Taiwan: Amateur *Pak-kuán* Music Clubs and the Younger Generation." Paper presented at the Society for Ethnomusicology, Southern California and Hawai'i Chapter, Santa Barbara, CA.

2018a "Shifting Roles of Scholarly Intervention in Intangible Cultural Heritage Systems: Case Studies from Taiwan." Paper presented at the Society for Ethnomusicology Annual Meeting, Albuquerque, NM.

2018b "Heritage Performance and Sustainability: The Transmission of Indigenous Music Traditions in Taiwan." Paper presented at the 6th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Musics of East Asia, Seoul, Korea.

2018c Roundtable: "Oral Histories of UCLA Ethnomusicology." SEMSCHC, Pomona, CA.

2016 "唱片與樂種分類觀：以鈴鈴唱片出版目錄中的傳統音樂為例" (Discography and Genre Classification: Case Study of Traditional Music in Ring Ring Records). Paper presented at "2016 Taiwan Ethnomusicology and Taiwan Musicology Forum," Society for Taiwan Ethnomusicology, Taipei, Taiwan.

2014a "生態復育與環境適應：重要傳統藝術之於傳習計畫的實踐與協商" (Ecological Restoration and Environmental Adaptation: Practice and Negotiation of the Significant Traditional Arts Transmission Plans). Paper co-presented with Fan Yang-Kun at the conference "2014 Tradition and Future of Music," Society for Taiwan Ethnomusicology, Taipei, Taiwan.

2014b "Positionality in Cross-Cultural Programming and Performance: An Autoethnographical Approach." Paper presented at the 4th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Musics of East Asia, Nara, Japan.

2013 "Peach Blossom Weeps Tears of Blood: The Negotiation of Cultural Specialists, Institutions and Social Change in Japanese Colonial Taiwan." Paper presented at the 42nd World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music, Shanghai, China.

Professional Experience

2018–2023 Graduate Student Researcher (archive assistant). UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive.

2020–2021 Co-principal Investigator. Preservation and Investigation Plan for Atayal *Panawagi* Folksong, Culture and Tourism Bureau, Miaoli County, Taiwan.

2019–2020 Co-principal Investigator. Preservation and Investigation Plan for Atayal Jew's Harp and Dance, Cultural Heritage Department of Taichung City, Taiwan.

2019–2020 Executive Editor. Investigation, Manuscript Digitization, and Publication Plan for *Khui-lōo kóo*, *Nanguan*, and *Beiguan* Music Troupes in Beigang Area. Cultural Affairs Department of Yunlin County.

2019–2023 Teaching Fellow. Department of Ethnomusicology, UCLA. Courses: Music and Media; Music of Bollywood; Jazz in American Culture; Music of Latin America.

2014–2017 Full-time Research Assistant. Project Management of the Significant Traditional Art Bearers and Groups. Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture, Taiwan.

2015 Executive Director, Workshop on "Chinese Music and Traditional Arts Appreciation for Primary School Teachers." National Chinese Orchestra, National Center for Traditional Arts, Taiwan.

2015 Research Assistant. Project for Drafting Preservation Plans for the Significant Traditional Arts. Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture, Taiwan.

2014 Exhibition Curator, "Come and See!" Center for Nanguan and Beiguan Music and Theatrical Opera. Changhua County Cultural Affairs Bureau, Taiwan.

2013–2014 Lab Assistant. Center for Language Technology and Instructional Enrichment, Indiana University, Bloomington.

2010 "Neighbors from Burma: Images and Stories from the Chin Community." Radio broadcast (in collaboration with Anna Batcheller, Juan Rojas, Sebastian Ramirez, and Matt Buchbinder), Bloomington, IN.

2008–2010 Guzheng (Chinese zither) Instructor. Datang Guzheng Institute, Taichung, Taiwan.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

When a small country's traditional performing arts appear to be sliding towards oblivion, its folk practitioners are losing out to the pop culture of the internet, and its sense of cultural identity is under threat, how do its government, intelligentsia, culture-bearers, and ordinary citizens react to the situation? When that country is Taiwan, a relatively wealthy industrialized nation that is nevertheless excluded from heritage conservation initiatives promulgated by international entities such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (hereafter, UNESCO), and which is at particular pains to assert its cultural and political identity vis-à-vis the giant neighbor to its north (China), what unique features come to characterize its attempts to preserve and transmit its local traditions? My dissertation aims to answer these over-arching questions, with a particular focus on five areas of inquiry: (1) How does Taiwan, despite its international isolation and lack of official cross-border networks, construct a heritage governance system to sustain traditional preforming arts? (2) How do different actors, such as traditional practitioners, apprentices, scholars, and government officials, participate in and negotiate with each other in the Taiwanese ICH paradigm? (3) How do Taiwanese traditional performance groups from different ethno-linguistic communities, transmitting a wide variety of professional and amateur genres, most unique to the island but some partially shared with mainland China, mediate and negotiate issues of tradition, authenticity, belief, creativity, value, and sustainability in their transmission practices? (4) How do traditional performance artists/groups respond to the nation's strategies of employing heritage as a resource for nation-building, cultural diplomacy and exchange? (5) How can the rather unusual case-study of Taiwan help us test assumptions developed from the experiences of

nations linked into the dominant UNESCO-driven paradigm of heritage conservation, and assist us in refining contemporary thought and practice in the field of cultural sustainability? The answers to these questions lie in part in the particular history of Taiwan, its current political situation, and its troubled relations with the rest of the world.

History of Taiwan and Its Current Political Situation

Taiwan, whose official name according to the Constitution is the Republic of China (ROC), is located north of the Philippines, off the southeastern coast of China, and southwest of Japan (Figure 1.1). The island of Taiwan was occupied by the Dutch and Spanish in the 17th century, and was a Japanese colony from 1895 to 1945. After Japan's defeat in 1945, Taiwan was ruled by the Chinese Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang (KMT). The KMT government imposed autocratic one-party rule for over forty years, justifying their stranglehold on power by pointing to the dire political and military situation caused by the communist takeover of Mainland China in 1949. In 1971, the Republic of China (ROC) was ousted from the United Nations, and the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2758 recognized the People's Republic of China (PRC) as "the only legitimate representative of China to the United Nations" (International Legal Materials 1972: 561–570). Since then, Taiwan has been excluded from most world bodies, and has battled mainland China for diplomatic recognition by an ever-shrinking number of countries.[1]

[1] For an overview of Taiwan's history, see Manthorpe 2005, Chou Wan-Yao 2015.

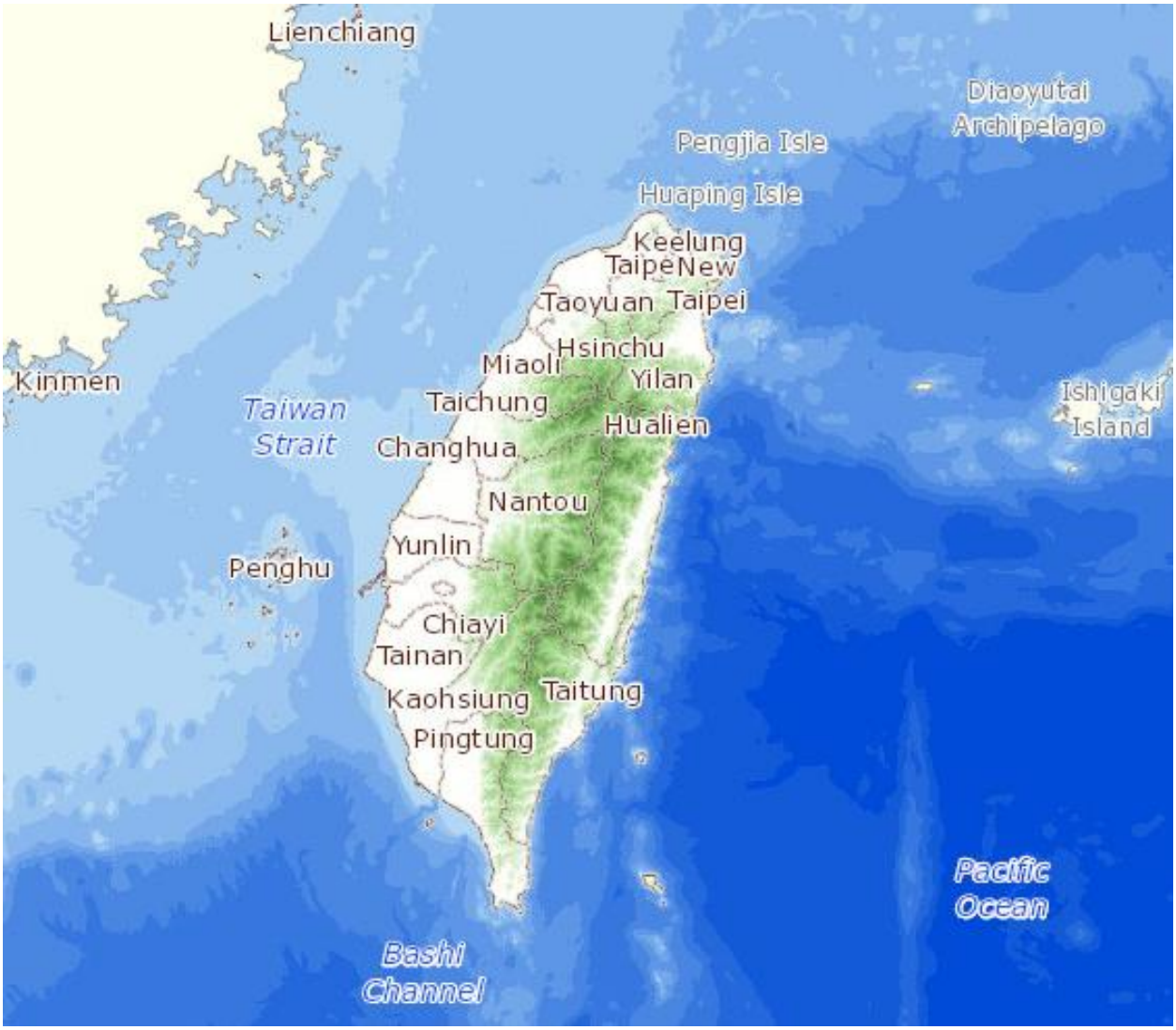


Figure 1.1. Map of Taiwan. Image retrieved from the National Land Surveying and Mapping Center, https://maps.nlsc.gov.tw/homePage.action?language=EN, accessed July 25, 2021.

Whether Taiwan is a sovereign nation-state has been a controversial issue since the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) retreated from Mainland China in 1949, treating Taiwan as a military base for the Nationalists to plan the recovery of Mainland China. While the KMT government in Taiwan claimed to be the legitimate government of the whole of China, the People's Republic of China (PRC) stated that "there is only one China in the world" and "Taiwan is an inalienable part of China" (State Council of the People's Republic of China 2000).

However, there is no doubt that Taiwan is a modern nation-state that has "a bureaucratic administration and a written legislation which encompasses all citizens, and it has—at least as an ideal—a uniform educational system and a shared labour market for all its citizens," the definition of a modern nation-state provided by anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen (2010: 131). The modern concept of the nation-state consists of three different elements: the nation as a collective identity; the state as an expression of political independence; and the territory as a geographical area with boundaries delimiting the necessary coincidence between nation and state (Woolf 1996: 1–2). A nation, according to Benedict Anderson, "is an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (Anderson 2006 [1983]: 6). Anderson further argues that capitalism and print media created these imagined geographical networks—an imagined community. Analogous to Anderson, anthropologist Eriksen defines nations as "communities where the citizens are expected to be integrated in respect to culture and self-identity in an abstract, anonymous manner" (Eriksen 2010: 127). The notions of "imagined community" and "collective identity" are salient for discussing the case of multiethnic Taiwan. The sense of "Taiwanese identity" and "Taiwanese nationalism" did not emerge overnight. It took a long time for diverse communities within the territory of Taiwan to construct today's sense of Taiwanese nationalism through ongoing in-situ intercultural exchange and understanding.

The population of Taiwan is over 23 million. It includes the island's indigenous Austronesian inhabitants, comprising sixteen recognized Indigenous peoples (2.45%); ethnic Han Chinese (96.45%) whose ancestors arrived mostly between the 17th and 19th centuries from

southeast China and whose home languages are either *Bân-lâm-gú* (閩南語, or Hokkien, Minnan language)[2] or Hakka,[3] and mainlanders who emigrated from China after 1945 (or who are the descendants of such emigrants), for many of whom some variety of Mandarin is their native language; and new residents (*xin zhumin* 新住民) (1.1%).[4]

Taiwanese Indigenous peoples have been broadly classified into plains peoples (*pingpu* 平埔族) and high mountain peoples (*gaoshan* 高山族). In the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), the Han Chinese slowly took over Indigenous lands in the plains and called the plains peoples "cooked savages" (Mandarin: *shufan* 熟番), since they had submitted to Qing rule and were considered to have assimilated to Han Chinese culture. The mountain peoples were called "raw savages" (Mandarin: *shengfan* 生番), as they refused to submit their inherent sovereignty to the Qing. During the Japanese colonial period (1895–1945), there were nine officially recognized high mountain Indigenous groups (Japanese: *takasago zoku* 高砂族), while the plains Indigenous groups who lived amidst the Han and learned to speak Han languages were called *heiho zoku* (平埔族) (Simon, Hsieh, and Kang 2023: 2–3). In the postwar era, the KMT government applied the term "mountain folks" (*shanbao* 山胞) and adopted the nine basic groups as the only recognized

[2] There is a controversy over the term for the Hoklo (Holo), or Minnan ethnic group in Taiwan. There are usually two ways to write *Hoklo* (*Holo*) in Chinese characters: 福佬 and 河洛. The term 閩南 (*Minnan*, Southern Min) also refers to this ethnic group (see Wang Fu-Chang 2011: 183–292). In this dissertation, *Hoklo* indicates the ethnic group, and *Bân-lâm-gú* (閩南語, Southern Min language) the language they speak; this is the language frequently referred to as "Taiwanese." For an English-language description of the Southern Min language, see Ramsey 1987: 107–109.

[3] Hoklo and Hakka ethnic groups have long comprised the majority of Han Chinese in Taiwan, and the Hoklo are the most numerous, as described more below.

[4] These statistics are provided in the introduction to the people of Taiwan on the Executive Yuan website, updated on March 9, 2021, https://www.ey.gov.tw/state/99B2E89521FC31E1/2820610c-e97f-4d33-aa1e-e7b15222e45a, accessed July 15, 2021.

Indigenous peoples; this lasted until the year 2000. There are currently sixteen officially recognized Indigenous groups in Taiwan: Amis, Atayal, Paiwan, Bunun, Puyuma, Rukai, Tsou, Saisiyat, Yami, Thao, Kavalan, Truku, Sakizaya, Seediq, Hla'alua, and Kanakanavu. Each has its unique language, culture, and customs. Several groups were previously considered simply as undifferentiated Indigenous people, or as a subgroup of an officially recognized group, but claimed their separate identities in the early 1990s, receiving official recognition after 2000 (Rudolph 2016).

Indigenous peoples have encountered numerous challenges over the decades, such as cultural and land losses, social and economic inequalities, and cultural assimilation. According to Taiwanese Indigenous social work scholars' research on historical trauma and its impact on alcohol use among Indigenous communities, Indigenous people experienced the following traumatic events and losses during the Japanese colonial era:

> (1) military suppression of Indigenous peoples; (2) forced relocation from high to low mountainous areas to enable easy surveillance, or even removing some Indigenous members from their original areas to live in different and far-ranging places; (3) forcing Indigenous children to attend special elementary schools to learn Japanese language and culture in schools that were specifically designed for Indigenous peoples; (4) limitations on Indigenous members' hunting cultural practices; and (5) prohibition of Indigenous cultural traditions, including facial tattoos and headhunting. (Ciwang Teyra and Hsieh Wan-Jung 2023: 129)

During the KMT period, the government launched a series of assimilation policies for Indigenous peoples, including forcing Indigenous peoples to use Chinese names; forcing Indigenous peoples to speak Mandarin Chinese in public settings; prohibiting traditional hunting practices and utilization of natural resources; and establishing national parks and polluting factories within Indigenous peoples' traditional territories (ibid.: 131).

Emerging within the larger social movements in Taiwan in the 1980s, major Indigenous movements have arisen that seek to address issues such as changing the term "mountain folks" (*shanbao*) to "Indigenous peoples" (*yuan zhumin* 原住民, lit., "aborigines"); stopping the exploitation of Indigenous workers; rescuing Indigenous girls from prostitution; reclamation of Indigenous land; and rectification of ethnic names (*zhengming* 正名) (see Ku Kun-Hui 2005; Yang Shu-Yuan 2015; Rudolph 2016).

The Indigenous people's land rights movement in Taiwan is a central focus of the broader Indigenous social movements. In 1988, the Indigenous organizations allied with the Presbyterian Church to form the Indigenous Land Rights Movement Alliance and launched the first "Return My Land Movement" (還我土地運動, Mandarin: *huan wo tudi yundong*). The second and third waves of the Return My Land Movement took place in 1989 and 1993. However, little progress has been made in regard to the land rights claims. In 2002, although the government of Taiwan initiated a five-year Indigenous Traditional Territory Survey and organized an expert team composed of geographers and scholars to assist selected Indigenous communities in initiating tribal mapping work, many critics of this top-down survey noted that it lost its original meaning of empowerment for Indigenous peoples (Yang Shu-Yuan 2015: 27–29). Nevertheless, at this time, local, place-based, root-searching expeditions were carried out by Indigenous peoples. They placed emphasis on the reenactment of the ancestral past, and combined different forms of knowledge in asserting traditional territories (see Yang Shu Yang 2015, Chapter 4).

Hoklo (河洛) people, also known as Hokkien people, are ethnic Han Chinese whose ancestors arrived in Taiwan mostly between the 17th and 19th centuries from Quanzhou or Zhangzhou in southern Fujian, the southeastern Chinese province directly across from Taiwan (Figure 1.1). They make up about 70% of the Han population and speak the language *Bân-lâm-*

gú (閩南語, Southern Min language). The Hoklo are also the largest language group among Malaysian Chinese, in Singapore, and among ethnic Chinese in southern Thailand. **Hakka** (客家) people constitute Taiwan's second-largest ethnic group. They are descendants of Han Chinese immigrants who migrated from Northern China to Guangdong and Fujian and later moved to Taiwan between the 17th and 19th centuries. The word Hakka means "guest families" in Chinese, which reflects the group's history of migration. There are also significant Hakka communities in countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and Thailand. In Taiwan, there are five main Hakka dialects: Sixian, Hailu, Daipu, Raoping, and Zhoan.[5] The term **"mainlanders"** (*waishengren* 外省人) refers to Han Chinese who migrated to Taiwan from China in the early postwar years between 1945 and 1949, including Nationalist soldiers and civilians from different parts of China, together with their descendants, many of whom speak dialects of Mandarin as their native language. **"New residents" (***xin zhumin* 新住民**)** refers to people who have either migrated to Taiwan from other nations (primarily Mainland China and Southeast Asian countries) or inter-married with local Taiwanese people since the 1990s. Among them, people from Mainland China (63%) and Vietnam (20%) are dominant. People from Indonesia (5%), Hong Kong and Macau (3%), the Philippines (2%), Thailand (2%), and other nations (5%) round out this fourth group that has contributed to the formation of today's multi-cultural Taiwan.[6]

[5] Hakka Affairs Council, https://english.hakka.gov.tw/index.html, accessed March 14, 2023.On the Hakka language, see Ramsey 1987: 110–115.

[6] "New Residents Built the Multi-Cultural Society," Ministry of the Interior National Immigration Agency, https://www.immigration.gov.tw/5382/5385/7344/70395/143257/, accessed April 12, 2021.

According to Taiwanese political scientist Wu Rwei-Ren (吳叡人), there are three post-colonial agendas in contemporary Taiwan resulting from the diverse historical/anti-colonial experiences. First, there is the Indigenous people's liberation movement,[7] through which the Indigenous groups of Taiwan aim to break away from the continuous exploitation and colonialization enacted by successive regimes (the Qing empire [late 17th century–1895], the Japanese colonial authorities [1895–1945], and the KMT [1945–1987]). Second, there is Taiwanese nationalism, which emerged from the "indigenized Han immigrants" (土著化漢人移民) who migrated from China to Taiwan before 1945. Third, there is Chinese nationalism, which was established by the mainlanders (外省人) who arrived in Taiwan after 1945. Wu further claims that the main goal of Taiwanese postcolonial discourse is not to integrate the three contradictory historical perspectives, but rather to search for an alliance among these discourses (Wu Rwei-Ren 2016: 10–24). The three different standpoints coexist in modern Taiwanese nationalism, and are on display in Taiwan's cultural policies towards traditional music and theatre, its diplomatic strategies, and its heritage-making (see Chapter 2).

Since the end of Japanese colonialism in 1945, the multi-ethnic island of Taiwan has experienced successive stages of identity construction. After the Nationalists retreated from the mainland in 1949, the KMT government enforced martial law from 1949 to 1987. During this period, citizens had no right of assembly or free speech, publication in Taiwanese languages was banned, and local languages were forbidden in public settings. Mandarin Chinese was established as the official language of Taiwan, and local traditional performing arts that use other Taiwanese languages were restricted due to this language policy (Su Kuei-Chih 2003: 133–135).

[7] For more discussions on Taiwan's Indigenous peoples, see Huang, Davies and Fell 2021; Simon, Hsieh, and Kang 2023.

However, with the economic growth in Taiwan in the 1980s, the desire for democratic reform arose. A series of political incidents facilitated the democratization of Taiwan, including the establishment of the first opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), in 1986. The KMT government ended martial law in 1987, and a Taiwan-born KMT party technocrat, Lee Teng-Hui (李登輝, 1923–2020) succeeded to the presidency after Chiang Ching-Kuo (蔣經國), the son of Chiang Kai-Shek who had become president on his father's death in 1975, died in 1988. Lee Teng-hui continued to democratize the government of Taiwan, and implemented a process of localization, including promoting local culture and history rather than continuing the long-standing KMT pan-Chinese perspective (Hsiau A-Chin 2000; Government Information Office 2010). Altogether, these measures moved from emphasizing a pan-Chinese identity in the immediate post-colonial era to underscoring uniquely Taiwanese identities today, and in the last thirty years have increasingly incorporated Austronesian Indigenous culture into nation-building, as well as increasing mutual understanding of Southeast Asian immigrants. In the modern Taiwanese intangible cultural heritage paradigm, the three postcolonial standpoints identified by Wu Rwei-Ren seem to appear in heritage-making. This dissertation explores how the heritagization of traditional performing arts in Taiwan reflects these diverse postcolonial experiences on this island.

Intangible Cultural Heritage

Intangible cultural heritage (ICH), the umbrella term for a people's oral traditions, performing arts, and indigenous festivals, is a concept developed initially in Japan and South Korea and taken up recently by UNESCO; it has since become a global phenomenon. Facing alarming culture loss because of the combined effects of wars and rapid industrialization, Japan

enacted its pioneering Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (*Bunkazai hogoho*) in 1950. This was followed in 1962 by the Cultural Properties Preservation Law (*Munhwajae pohobop*) enacted in the Republic of Korea (hereafter, South Korea) (Iijima and Ishimura 2017). The two laws protect ICH but have different models: Japan began by emphasizing classical arts, whereas South Korea emphasized folk cultural expressions, in part to distinguish itself from Japan (Saeji 2012: 90–91; Huang Jan-Yen 2016).[8] Japanese and Korean ICH paradigms are significant in designating outstanding traditional bearers as "holders" (Japanese: *hojisha*; Korean *poyuja*) of appointed intangible cultural properties. Korea later proposed this approach to UNESCO, thus shifting UNESCO's focus from traditional heritage products to the creators and producers of the heritage (Howard 2012: 9). In 2003, UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereafter, 2003 Convention). The 2003 Convention provides principles and a basis for heritage management, and sets up a framework within which participating nations are expected to work. Since then, UNESCO's framework has been implemented within individual nations and has stimulated scholarly discussions, reflections, and debates on ICH (e.g., Howard 2012, Foster and Gilman 2015, Akagawa and Smith 2019). The People's Republic of China, despite being a relative newcomer to ICH practices influenced by UNESCO, has become the world leader in the number of UNESCO-designated "representative elements" (Rees 2012, Tan Hwee-San 2019).

Taiwan has been a pioneer in the institution of ICH preservation policies, having promulgated its first ICH protection law in 1982, not long after the Japanese and South Korean

[8] Korea was a Japanese colony from 1910 to 1945, one of the many results of which in the second half of the 20th century was a strong desire on the part of successive South Korean governments to distance themselves from their former colonial overlord, including in matters of arts management. In spite of this, Japanese bureaucratic structures and initiatives continued to influence South Korean policies and practices, as in the adoption of ICH preservation measures (Saeji 2012).

government initiatives got underway (Howard 2012). It even used the term *wuxing wenhua zichan* (無形文化資產, intangible cultural heritage) in the draft of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in 1979 (Lin Mei-Rong and Hsieh Chia-Ling 2005: 147), much earlier than UNESCO's 2003 convention. However, with Taiwan's exclusion from UNESCO and most other world bodies as a result of political pressure from the People's Republic of China, Taiwan's forty-year history of engagement with ICH protection is virtually unknown to the outside world. My dissertation focuses on the heritagization of traditional performing arts in Taiwan by examining the current state-funded Transmission Plans. The Transmission Plans are four- to six-year intensive training projects for designated performing arts tradition-bearers to teach and transmit core values, performance techniques, and knowledge of their traditions to the next generation. Between 2009 and 2022, twenty-six performing arts Transmission Plans were implemented for genres including instrumental music, ensemble music, professional theatrical operas, amateur music clubs, puppetry, and narrative.[9] These traditions are associated with individuals and groups from different social, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds, and they are transmitted through different modes of teaching and learning. Each tradition is an ecosystem (Titon 2009, Schippers and Grant 2016), and at the same time, it interacts with and influences other traditions.

[9] In 2022, there are twenty-one Transmission Plans, covering fourteen genres: Hakka *bayin* (客家八音), *pak-kuán* music (北管音樂), *pak-kuán hì-khik* (北管戲曲), *lān-thân hì* (亂彈戲), *kua-á-hì* (歌仔戲), *pún-tē kua-á* (本地歌仔), *pòo-tē-hì* (布袋戲), *lâm-kuán hì-khik* (南管戲曲), *liām-kua* (唸歌), Buán-tsiu folksong (滿州民謠), Bunun music and *pasibutbut* (布農音樂與八部合音), Paiwan mouth and nose flutes (排灣族口鼻笛), Amis Falangao *macacadaay* (阿美族馬蘭複音歌謠, polyphonic singing), and *kua-á-hì* accompaniment (歌仔戲後場音樂).

Taiwan's Traditional Performing Arts

Traditional performing arts of Taiwan include art forms of Taiwan's indigenous Austronesian peoples, those of Minnan and Hakka people who emigrated from China to Taiwan between the 17th and 19th centuries, and Chinese art forms introduced to Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period that were favored by mainlanders (*waishengren* 外省人) who retreated from China after 1949.

Genre Classification

In Taiwan's traditional performing arts literature, there are several ways of classifying genres. The systems of classification not only reveal the trend of scholarship of an era, they also reflect the different perspectives on traditions throughout history. During the Japanese colonial period, Taiwanese music was usually classified into Han Chinese music (漢人音樂) and Aboriginal music (高砂族音樂) (Kurosawa 2008). In terms of Chinese music, Chen Baozong (陳保宗)[10] classified Taiwanese music into three main categories based on the musical systems —court music (雅樂), *nanguan* and *beiguan* (南管北管) (explained below), and others (雜樂) (Chen Baozong 1942). Between the 1950s and the mid-1980s, academic study was influenced by the pan-Chinese slant of KMT nation-building and focused on traditional Chinese theatre over Taiwanese genres. Theatrical genres usually fell into three categories: "mainland genres" (大陸劇種), "native genres" (本土劇種), and glove puppet theatre (偶戲) (Kang Yin-Chen 2013: 28).

[10] Chen Baozong 陳保宗 was a Taiwanese music teacher at Tainan Teachers' School (台南師範学校, nowadays National University of Tainan) in the 1940s. He was one of the major guides when Kurosawa Takotomo conducted fieldwork in Tainan in 1943 (Wang Ying-Fen 2008:103).

Scholarship on mainland genres and puppet theatre were dominant in Taiwanese music research at this time.

In 1991, Taiwanese composer and ethnomusicologist Hsu Tsang-Houei (許常惠 1929–2001) published the first monograph on Taiwan's music history. In it, he classified Taiwanese music into three main domains: Indigenous music (原住民族音樂), Han Chinese folk music (漢族民間音樂), and Western new music (西式新音樂) (Hsu Tsang-Houei 1991). This three-domain framework has been dominant in Taiwanese music classification ever since. Han Chinese folk music includes Hoklo folksong, Hakka folksong, narrative, traditional theatre and music, local drama music, folk instrumental music, dance music, and religious music. More recently, ethnomusicologist Lü Chuikuan (呂錘寬) takes a different, quite intriguing approach to identifying different types of Taiwanese traditional music. He divides Taiwanese genres into three main types according to socio-political changes: 1) Taiwanized Han Chinese traditional music (臺灣化的漢族傳統音樂), which includes Chinese genres popular in Taiwan before the KMT retreated from China to Taiwan in 1949; 2) Han Chinese theatrical music practiced by provincial associations (同鄉會式的漢族戲曲音樂), comprising traditional musics and local operas brought to Taiwan by mainlanders (外省人) in 1949, some of which were promoted as "national culture" between the 1950s and 1980s (see Chapter 2); and 3) Indigenous music (原住民音樂), which includes music and dance of the high mountain peoples (高山族) and plains peoples (平埔族) (Lü Chuikuan 2009: 16−19).

My own view is that Taiwan's traditional performing arts heritagization resembles Lü Chuikuan's genre classification. The current intangible cultural heritage items are mostly genres from "Taiwanized Han Chinese traditional music and theatre" and "Indigenous music," since

they have developed in Taiwan for a long time and correspond to modern Taiwanese nationalism. By contrast, the genres brought to Taiwan after 1949 are excluded from the current heritage paradigm. I propose two reasons for this exclusion: first, Chinese genres such as Peking opera, *yuju* (豫劇, Henan opera), and *guoyue* (國樂, national music)[11] have been well supported in Taiwan, with the formation of national troupes and incorporation into the formal education system before the 2000s. Therefore, they are less in need of "salvage" compared to other native Taiwanese genres. Second, the cultural policy of Taiwan has moved away from the KMT-era "national culture paradigm," which supported pan-Chinese nationalism and promoted Chinese genres as national culture, toward the current "intangible cultural heritage paradigm" that incorporates Indigenous people's culture and Taiwanized Han traditional performing arts into the discourse of Taiwanese nationalism.

Genre Classification under the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act

According to the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (CHPA) (2016), traditional performing arts are "traditional art that is created in front of or presented to an audience by the artist to pass down through generations among ethnic groups or geographic regions" (article 4).

[11] *Guoyue* developed out of efforts undertaken in the 1920s by the Peking University Music Society and the Peking University-based Society for Improving National Music to "improve" traditional Chinese music and musical instruments. Appalled by China's military losses and economic backwardness in the 19th century, intellectuals of the early 20th century sought to modernize every aspect of the nation's life and culture, including its music, by borrowing what they considered advanced aspects of European culture. In the case of music, this meant a push for large ensembles with conductors, musicians reading from scores rather than improvising from memory, louder instruments with wider ranges, and Western-style harmony and equal temperament. By the 1940s, the Broadcasting Company of China was running an orchestra of modified Chinese instruments playing in the new style. This new "national music" was approved by the government as both technically advanced and suitably patriotic. It was felt that it would reinforce a pan-Chinese sense of patriotism on the part of all Chinese citizens, in contrast to the many regional musics that were appreciated only by locals and considered lamentably backward by many intellectuals and officials (Tsui 1998:19–24).

The 184 nationally designated and municipally registered traditional performing arts[12] have been labeled under the following categories: theatre (戲曲), music (音樂), acrobatics (雜技), narrative (說唱), folksong (歌謠), dance (舞蹈), and others (其他) (Figure 1.2).

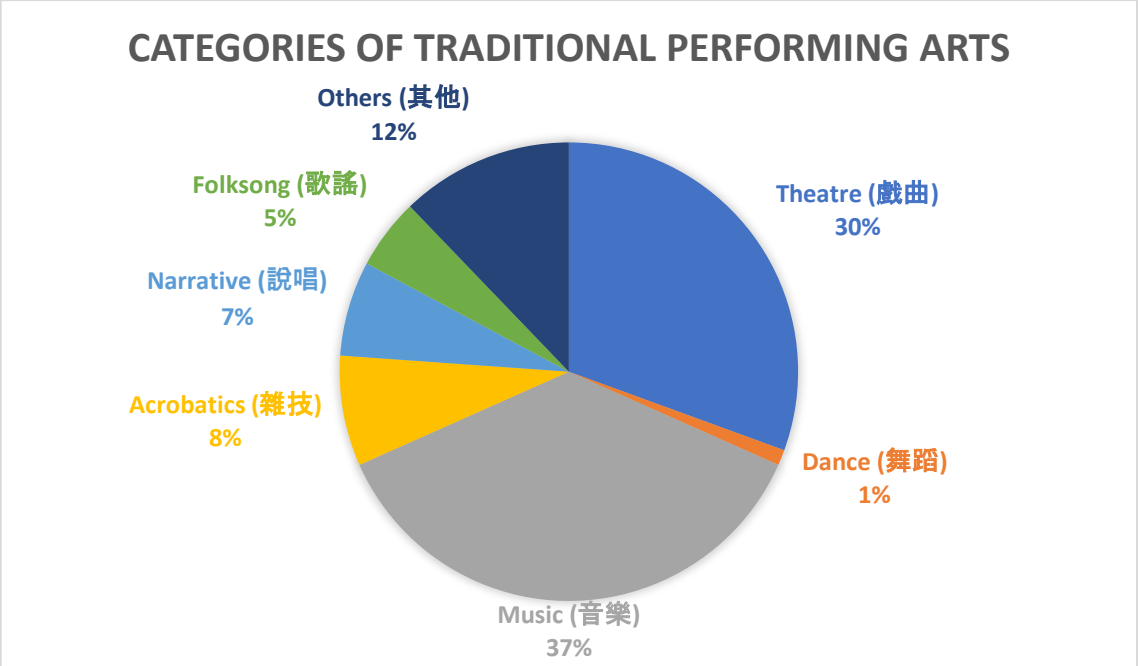


Figure 1.2. Categories of National and Municipal Traditional Performing Arts of Taiwan.

Yet, for the nationally designated traditional performing arts items, the genres this dissertation focuses on, only four categories are represented: music (37.0%), theatre (40.7%), narrative (14.8%), and folksong (7.4%) (Figure 1.3). Acrobatics and dance have not been included in the national ICH list.

[12] The complete list of the nationally designated and municipally registered traditional performing arts items can be accessed through the National Cultural Heritage Database Management System (國家文化資產網), https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw, accessed June 30, 2021.

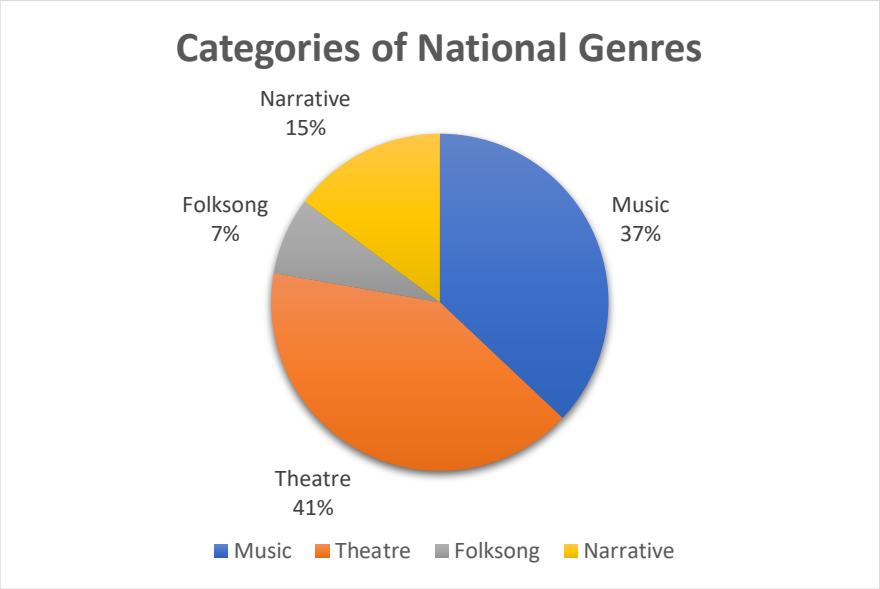


Figure 1.3. Categories of the National Traditional Performing Arts Genres

However, this classification only notes the style of the genres, and it cannot reflect the diversities of cultural and social backgrounds of the traditional performing arts genres. For example, some traditions share the same musical systems and repertoire with each other. Also, some genres incorporate and borrow from other traditions, developing as a mature genre over time (e.g., the Hoklo theatrical genre *kua-á-hì* 歌仔戲). Therefore, I suggest classifying Taiwanese genres, especially the Taiwanized Han Chinese genres, according to the musical system that a particular genre belongs to.

Four Musical Systems— *Kua-á*, *Lâm-kuán*, *Pak-kuán*, and Hakka

To introduce the basic genres of traditional performing arts of Taiwan, I use the four musical "systems"— *kua-á, lâm-kuán, pak-kuán*, and Hakka—to illustrate the relationships between the Han Chinese designated genres (Figure 1.4). Apart from the Indigenous genres, I suggest that the designated genres can be categorized into these four major musical systems.

However, these systems are not mutually exclusive. They are, in fact, interrelated and sometimes in contrast to each other (e.g., *lâm-kuán* and *pak-kuán*). Each system presents a lineage and relationship of genres, but we cannot ignore the fact that genres from different systems also interact with each other. For instance, *kua-á-hì* has adopted musical elements from *pak-kuán hì-khek*, Peking opera, Japanese *enka* (演歌),[13] and Western opera (Pattie Hsu 2010). Hakka *bayin* also embraces the repertoire of *pak-kuán* music.

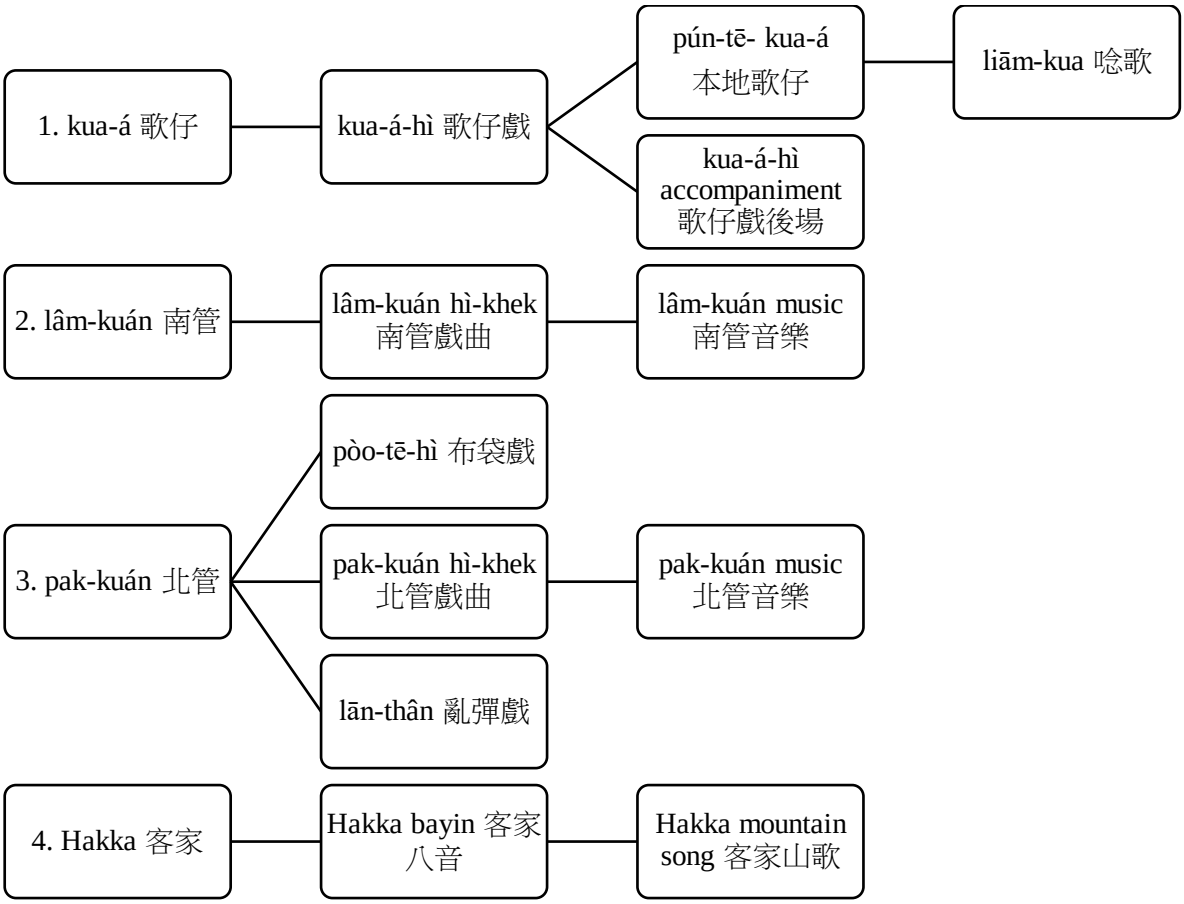


Figure 1.4. Han Chinese Genre Classification by Musical Systems and Forms.

[13] *Enka* (lit., "performed song") is a Japanese pop music genre that originated in the early 20th century and was popular in postwar Japan. *Enka* is sentimental ballad form that combines Western instruments with Japanese scales, vocal techniques, and rhythms. The song usually portrays love, loss and yearning (Yano 2002). *Enka* was also popular in postwar Taiwan between the 1960s and the 1980s through the record industry (Fan Yang-Kun 2017).

1. *Kua-á* 歌仔

Scholars have claimed that *kua-á-hì* was born and bred in Taiwan; its origin was associated with folk songs known as *kua-á* (歌仔, *gezai* in Mandarin), and *jin'ge* (錦歌) from southern Fujian (Tseng Jin-Hua 2008, Caroline Chia 2018). At beginning of the 20th century, folk performers in Ilan (宜蘭), in northeastern Taiwan, started to perform *pún-tē- kua-á* (本地歌仔), the prototype of *kua-á-hì*, which then started to spread to other parts of Taiwan. Later on, the mature theatrical form (大戲, lit., big drama, Mandarin: *daxi*) of *kua-á-hì* was established. By the 1930s, *kua-á-hì* was the most popular genre in Taiwan, and had also reached Singapore, Malaysia, and China (Tseng Jin-Hua 2008; Caroline Chia 2018). In the 1950s, China renamed *gezaixi* (歌仔戲) *xiangju* (薌劇, Fujian opera), before it was banned during the Cultural Revolution. In the 1980s, it was revived, receiving designation as an item of China's national ICH in 2006 (see Tsai Hsin-Hsin 2014; Lin Mao-Hsien 2018: 486–490).[14]

A *kua-á-hì* troupe is a professional group that consists of a troupe leader, frontstage performers (前場演員), and backstage musicians (後場樂師). Such a troupe usually performs for temple-contracted performances, commercial theaters, and government-sponsored events and programs. In the 1950s they would also have performed on radio shows (i.e., radio *kua-á-hì*, 廣播歌仔戲), and in the 1960s for TV programs (i.e., television *kua-á-hì*, 電視歌仔戲). The language used in *kua-á-hì* is *Bân-lâm-gú* (閩南語, Mandarin: *Minnan yu*). *Qudiao* (曲調, tune types/core tunes) is the most important musical component in *kua-á-hì*. *Qudiao* are pieces with a loosely prescribed structure or certain fixed musical ideas, which are often referred to in English

[14] See Intangible Cultural Heritage Database of China (中国非物质文化遗产网·中国非物质文化遗产数字博物馆), http://www.ihchina.cn/project_details/13290/, accessed July 15, 2021.

as “tunes,” even though they are much less uniform in performance than what English-speakers think of as a “tune.” There are three major *qudiao* in contemporary *kua-á-hì—qizidiao* (七字調, seven-syllable tune type), *dumadiao* (都馬調, *duma* tune), and *zaniandiao* (雜念調, chattering tune) (Hsu Pattie 2010: 43). These tunes, adapted from different musical systems from different regions in China and Taiwan, are also used in *pún-tē-kua-á* and *liām-kua* (唸歌, Hoklo narrative). These tunes lay more stress on melodies than on spoken language and feature less-strict poetic composition, together with intense expression (Tseng Jin-hua 2008: 35).

Pún-tē-kua-á, the prototype of *kua-á-hì*, is usually performed unstaged by amateurs. The performance of *pún-tē-kua-á* is less refined and tends to caricature the characters. There is only one *pún-tē-kua-á* group remaining in Taiwan. The instruments used in *pún-tē-kua-á* include *khak-á hiân* (殼仔絃, two-stringed fiddle with coconut body), *tuā-kóng-hiân* (大廣絃, two-stringed fiddle), *phín-á* (品仔, vertical bamboo flute), *guėh-khîm* (月琴, lit., moon lute) and percussion instruments (Figure 1.5) such as *sì-tè-á* (四塊仔, four-piece clapper), *nai-tāi-kho-á* (乃咍喀仔, fish-shaped woodblock with a small gong), and *gōo-tsí-á* (五子仔, clappers).

Figure 1.5. Percussion instruments used in *pún-tē-kua-á*: *sì-tè-á, nai-tāi-kho-á,* and *gōo-tsí-á*. August 27, 2016. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

There are four classic scripts for both *kua-á-hì* and *pún-tē-kua-á*: *Tân-sann-Gōo-niû* (陳三五娘, Chen San and Wu Niang), *Lī Bông-tsiànn* (呂蒙正, Lu Meng-Cheng), *San-phik-Ing-tâi* (山伯英台, Butterfly Lovers) and *Tsa̍p-sè-kì* (十細記, Story of Selling Groceries). A *pún-tē-kua-á* group troupe only performs excerpts from those four scripts. However, the contents of *kua-á-hì* plays go beyond the four classic scripts. *Kua-á-hì* has been adapted to various performance venues and recruited diverse technologies throughout its history; actors' abilities in improvisation (*zuo huoxi,* 做活戲, lit., "making live drama") and incorporating social news into the performances are also the norms of the genre (Lin Ho-Yi 2007).

The form of *liām-kua* (唸歌, Hoklo narrative) is closely related to *kua-á* and *jin'ge* (錦歌) from Southern Fujian. It refers to narrative songs that are usually accompanied by the *gue̍h-khîm* (月琴, moon lute). The texts are usually from *kua-á ce* (歌仔冊, *kua-á* handbook) or improvised by performers. The lyrics consist of multiple sections of *sijulian* (四句聯), four lines of seven characters each, which was later expanded to *bajulian* (八句聯), eight lines of seven characters each (Chu Pi-Hua 1992).

2. *Lâm-kuán* 南管

Lâm-kuán (南管, *nanguan* in Mandarin) originated in southern Fujian, and it is also known as *nanyin* (南音), *xianguan* (弦管), and *nanyue* (南樂). It is known to be one of the oldest living musical traditions in China. Scholars have postulated its linkage with musical-literary genres from various historical periods between the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–219 A.D.) and the

Ming dynasty (1368–1644 A.D.) (Wang Ying-Fen 1992: 25). *Lâm-kuán* includes two traditions, theatrical opera *lâm-kuán hì-khek* (南管戲曲) and chamber music *lâm-kuán* music (南管音樂). In Taiwan, both traditions are practiced and transmitted by amateur musicians and performers.

In *lâm-kuán* music, there are three categories of music in its repertoire: forty eight *tsí* suites (指, vocal suites), sixteen *phóo* suites (譜, instrumental suites), and a few thousand individual *khik* pieces (曲, individual songs) (Nora Yeh 1988: 32, van der Loon 1992: 46, Wang Ying-Fen 1992: 25). An additional type still exists in manuscripts but is no longer performed today: the cycles *xu* (序, Mandarin) or *tao* (套, Mandarin), were once sung at ceremonial occasions by four or five musicians (van der Loon 1992: 46). *Qupai* (Mandarin, 曲牌, labeled melodies) are the basic unit of *lâm-kuán. Lâm-kuán* musicians compose songs by setting new texts to existing *qupai*, which are further grouped into *gunmen* (Mandarin, 滾門, tune families). Therefore, songs that are composed based on *qupai* from the same *gunmen* display the distinctive features of the respective *qupai* but share the features of that *gunmen* (Wang Ying-Fen 1992: 24). There are supposedly 108 *gunmen* in the *lâm-kuán* repertoire (Nora Yeh 1988, Wang Ying-Fen 1992). The instruments used in *lâm-kuán* include *pî-pê* (琵琶, pipa), *tōng-siau* 洞簫, *jī-hiân* (二絃, two-stringed fiddle), *sam-hiân* (三絃, three-stringed plucked lute), *phah-pán* (拍板, five-slat wooden clappers), *hiáng-tsán* (響盞, small gong), *kiò-lô* (叫鑼, fish-shaped woodblock with a small gong), *sì-pó* (四寶, four-piece clappers), *siang-tsing* (雙鐘, twin bells), and *ài* (嗳, small shawm).

Lâm-kuán hì-khek is a broad category of theatrical genres that is related to *lâm-kuán* music. It includes two theatrical genres: *tshit-kioh hì* (七子戲, *qizi xi* in Mandarin), which is associated with *xiao liyuan xi* (小梨園戲, Mandarin) in Quanzhou, and *káu-kah-á* (高甲戲 or 九

甲戲, *gaojia xi*, in Mandarin), which is based on *lâm-kuán* music. The second genre, filled with fighting scenes and acrobatics, incorporated musical elements from *pak-kuán* and Peking opera (van der Loon 1992: 16; Liou Mei-Chih and Tsai Yu-Lin 2017). However, *káu-kah-á* has already disappeared in Taiwan. The designated genre *lâm-kuán hì-khek* in Taiwan refers to *tshit-kioh hì* (七子戲) only, in which the music used is mainly *tsí* suites (指) and *khik* pieces (曲). Unlike the chamber music version of this genre, musicians accompanying *lâm-kuán hì-khek* can change the tempo and the meter of the music according to the plot (ibid.: 24).

3. *Pak-kuán* 北管 and *lān-thân* 亂彈

The terms *pak-kuán* (北管, Mandarin *beiguan*) and *lān-thân* (亂彈, Mandarin *luantan*) are interchangeable among performers and in the literature nowadays in Taiwan. *Pak-kuán* (北管, literally, "northern pipe") contrasts with *lâm-kuán* (南管, literally, "southern pipe"). The two terms do not refer to geographical relations, but they imply two distinctive musical features—*pak-kuán* is loud, lively, and cheerful, while *lâm-kuán* is typically gentle, soft, and sensuous. The instruments used in *pak-kuán* include percussion instruments such as *piak-kóo* (北鼓, a single-headed drum), *thong-kóo* (通鼓, a two-headed drum), *tuā-kóo* (大鼓, big drum), *tuā-lô* (大鑼, big gong), *sió-lô* (小鑼, small gong), *hiáng-tsán* (響盞, small gong), *tshau* (鈔, cymbal); stringed instruments such as *khak-á hiân* (殼仔絃, two-stringed fiddle with coconut body), *tiàu-kuí-á* (吊鬼仔, high pitch two-stringed fiddle), *tuā-kóng-hiân* (大廣絃, two-stringed fiddle), *sam-hiân* (三絃, three-stringed plucked lute), *guėh-khîm* (月琴, lit., moon lute), *kóo-á-khîm* (秦琴, plucked lute with a wooden body), *pî-pê* (琵琶, *pipa*), *tsing* (箏, zither), *iông-khîm* (揚琴, hammered

dulcimer); and blown instruments such as *tshue* (吹, shawm), *phín-á* (品仔, bamboo flute), etc. (Lü Chuikuan 2011: 87).

Pak-kuán is a distinctive genre in Taiwan, different from Quanzhou *beiguan* (泉州北管) in China. According to scholars' investigations, Quanzhou *beiguan* originates from the Ming- and Qing-dynasty genre Jianghuai *xiaodiao* (江淮小調, "small tune of Jianghuai") and instrumental music from the Quanzhou area. Its performance style is closer to Jiangnan *sizhu*, a "silk and bamboo" genre from the Shanghai region that features bamboo flutes, sheng mouth organ, bowed and plucked strings, and small percussion instruments (Chen Yingshi 2016: 192–193).

In a somewhat different twist, some scholars have argued that *pak-kuán* in Taiwan is a broad category encompassing non-Minnan and non-Hakka musics. According to this perspective, the generalized term *pak-kuán* actually includes *kunqiang* (崑腔), *siping* (四平), and other non-Hoklo or non-Hakka *qiang* (腔, vocal styles); this is different from *luantan* (亂彈) in China, which excluded *kunqiang*, the vocal system of the well-known, elegant Kun opera. The narrower sense of *pak-kuán* in Taiwan refers to *lān-thân* (亂彈, Mandarin: *luantan*) and *sù-pîng* (四平, Siping opera), but the latter has in practice disappeared in Taiwan. Therefore, the term *pak-kuán* in contemporary Taiwan can refer to the chamber music-style music (*pak-kuán*) and the theatrical forms of *pak-kuán hì-khek* and *lān-thân*[15] (Fan Yang-Kun 2015b; Lin Mao-Hsien 2018). Furthermore, the musical systems of *pak-kuán* (*lān-thân*) can be divided into the *fulu* (Mandarin) or *ku-lōo* style (福路 or 舊路, old road) and the *xipi* (Mandarin) or *xin-lōo* style (西皮, or 新路, new road). Both systems have their own repertoire, and there are twenty-four plays

[15] The term *lān-thân* refers to professional theatrical form, and *pak-kuán* refers to the broader musical category. The terms *pak-kuán hì-khek* and *lān-thân* are interchangeable in nowadays (Chiu Kun-Liang 2020).

of *ku-lōo* and thirty-six plays of *xin-lōo* (福路廿四大本，新路卅六大本) (Fan Yang-Kun 2015b).

Pak-kuán (*lān-thân*) is a localized genre that has adopted various systems of melodic and vocal styles (Mandarin: *qiang* 腔, or *shengqiang* 聲腔) depending on local musical tastes that have shaped *ku-lōo* and *xin-lōo* at different times. *Ku-lōo* refers to an old musical style that was brought to Taiwan by earlier immigrants (roughly in the 18th century), while *xin-lōo* refers to a newer style that adopted different melodic styles (arrival time unknown). Therefore, musicians call these styles old (Mandarin: *gu*, 古) and new (Mandarin: *xin*, 新) to distinguish between them (Fan Yang-Kun 2015b; Shih Te-Yu 2017; Lin Mao-Hsien 2018).

Lān-thân refers to theatrical performances by professional troupes, whereas *pak-kuán* can be either theatrical performance, which is called *tsiūnn-pênn* (上棚, on stage), or non-theatrical concert gala performance (*pâi-tiûnn* 排場) by amateur music club members. *Pak-kuán* chamber music, *pak-kuán hì-khek* and *lān-thân* all consist of vocal and instrumental music. The vocal music can be divided into *hì-khek* (戲曲, theatrical opera) and *iu-khek* (細曲, high-art opera accompanied by silk and bamboo instruments), whereas the instrumental music includes *pâi-tsú* (牌子, percussion and wind instrument ensemble, in Mandarin, *paizi*) and *hiân-á-phóo* (絃仔譜, silk and bamboo ensemble, in Mandarin, *xianzipu*) (Shih Ying-Pin 2016: 107).

4. Hakka *bayin* 客家八音 and Hakka mountain song 客家山歌

Hakka music, as defined by Cheng Rom-Shing, includes Hakka folksong, *bayin* instrumental music, tea-picking opera (採茶戲), and Hakka ritual music (客家祭祀音樂) (Cheng

Rom-Shing 2004). Hakka *bayin* and Hakka mountain song are designated as national traditional performing arts genres in the current ICH list.

Hakka *bayin* is instrumental ensemble music practiced exclusively in Hakka communities. The instruments used in a Hakka *bayin* ensemble may include stringed instruments such as *erxian* (二弦) and *panghu* (胖胡); wind instruments *dat-e* (嗒仔, a kind of *suona* [shawm]), *guan* (管, a double-reed instrument), and *xiao* (蕭, vertical flutes); plucked stringed instruments such as *sanxian* (三弦); and percussion such as *beigu* (北鼓) drum, *bangzi* (梆子) woodblock, *tanggu* (堂鼓) drum, *ba* (鈸) cymbals, *wanlou* (碗鑼) gong, and *daluo* (大鑼) large gong (Hsu Hsin-Wen 2014: 130). Hakka *bayin* is connected with calendrical celebrations, rituals, and traditional customs, such as weddings, gods' birthdays, worshiping at temples, and Hakka cultural events. There is a distinction between the northern Hakka *bayin* (北部客家八音) and southern Hakka *bayin* (南部客家八音) according to the geographical and cultural spheres. Besides its original repertoire and musical elements derived from Hakka folksongs, Hakka *bayin* has adopted diverse musical and theatrical forms into its performance, ranging from tea-picking opera, *lān-thân* (亂彈), *siping* opera (四平戲), Peking opera, and *kua-á-hì*, to Cantonese music and pop music (Cheng Rom-Shing 2004: 24–25).

Hakka mountain song is one of the most distinctive folk songs of the Hakka community. It has been classified into four types: *lao shan'ge* (老山歌, old mountain song), *shan'ge zi* (山歌仔, mountain song), *pingban* (平板, lit., "flat plate"), and *xiaodiao* (小調, small melody) (Yang Pu-Kuang 1992: 23–26). These types of song have contributed essential musical characteristics to other Hakka genres such as *bayin* and tea-picking opera. Hakka tea-picking opera (客家採茶戲) is a theatrical form of Hakka mountain songs that could be performed on stage (Takeuchi

1943), and it adapted other theatrical forms such *lān-thân* (亂彈) and *siping* opera (四平戲) in the performance (Cheng Rom-Shing 2014). Hakka ritual music refers to the music that is played in different religious ceremonies in Hakka communities, specifically in Confucian rituals (儒教), Buddhist practices (釋教), and Taoist rituals (道教).

Indigenous Genres

Sixteen Indigenous groups have been officially recognized in Taiwan, and each group has its distinctive music traditions and practices. Early on, Japanese ethnomusicologist Kurosawa Takatomo classified Indigenous folksongs into seven categories according to their functions, such as ritual songs, drinking songs, narrative, etc. His survey on Taiwanese Indigenous music and instruments in 1943 has provided remarkable information on Taiwanese Indigenous music (Kurosawa et al. 2019). However, many Indigenous cultural traditions and languages have been endangered and even forgotten because of the particular history of Indigenous groups' marginalization in Taiwanese society, cultural assimilation polities, and the social effects of Christian missionizing. Nevertheless, there has been a long process of revitalization and heritagization of Taiwanese Indigenous music, which is extensively discussed in Chapter 4.

The Important Traditional Performing Arts Transmission Plans

Taiwan implemented its current Important Traditional Performing Arts Transmission Plans (重要傳統表演藝術傳習計畫, hereafter, Transmission Plans) in 2009.[16] This is a four- to

[16] The title of the project was 重要傳統藝術保存者及保存團體傳習計畫 (Important Traditional Arts Preserver and Group Transmission Plan) when implemented in October 2009. In 2015, it was revised to 重要傳統藝術保存者及保存團體保存計畫 (Important Traditional Arts Preserver and Group Preservation Plan) as an expedient to include different safeguarding actions such as transmission, performance, education, and research. In 2017, it was changed back to the original title. I focus on the transmission aspects of traditional performing arts cultural

six-year intensive training project for designated performing arts tradition-bearers to teach and transmit core values, performance techniques, and knowledge of their traditions to the next generation. The apprentices receive a monthly stipend and work closely with a culture-bearer to learn the performing arts tradition through weekly lessons and regular performances, and by assisting with the culture-bearer's educational workshops (Wenhua zichan ju 2009).[17] Between 2009 and 2022, twenty-six performing arts Transmission Plans were implemented for eighteen genres, including instrumental music, ensemble music, professional theatrical opera, amateur music clubs, puppetry, and narrative (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1. Genres, Styles, and Titles of Transmission Plans

	Genre	Alternative name	Characters	Transmission Plan Title	Ethnic Group	Style
1	Pak-kuán music	Beiguan music	北管音樂	1. Pak-kuán music Lê-tshun-uân Transmission Plan (北管音樂梨春園北管樂團傳習計畫) 2. Pak-kuán music Chiu Huo-Jung Transmission Plan (北管音樂邱火榮傳習計畫)	Hoklo	Instrumental/amateur, and professional
2	Pak-kuán hì-khek	Beiguan opera	北管戲曲	3. Pak-kuán hì-khek Hanyang Beiguan Troupe Transmission Plan (北管戲曲漢陽北管劇團傳習計畫)	Hoklo	Theatrical opera/ professional
3	Pòo-tē-hì	Taiwanese puppetry	布袋戲	4. Pòo-tē-hì Chen Hsi-Huang Transmission Plan (布袋戲陳錫煌傳習計畫) 5. Pòo-tē-hì Huang Chun-Hsiung Transmission Plan (布袋戲黃俊雄傳習計畫)	Hoklo	Theatrical/ professional/ puppetry
4	Kua-á-hì	Taiwanese opera	歌仔戲	6. Kua-á-hì Liao Chiung-Chih Transmission Plan (歌仔戲廖瓊枝傳習計畫) 7. Kua-á-hì Wang Ren-Xin Transmission	Hoklo	Professional

preservation in my research. Therefore, I use the title "Important Traditional Performing Art Transmission Plan" (重要傳統表演藝術傳習計畫) in my dissertation.

[17] For details, see *Wenhua zichan ju* 文化資產局 (Bureau of Cultural Heritage), 重要傳統藝術保存者及保存團體傳習計畫 (Important Traditional Arts Preserver and Group Transmission Plan) (2009), at http://www.gces.ylc.edu.tw/upload/news201202140000004/2014121914053465.pdf, accessed May 20, 2019.

				Plan (歌仔戲王仁心傳習計畫) 8. Kua-á-h Chen Feng-Gui Transmission Plan (歌仔戲陳鳳桂傳習計畫)		
5	Liām-kua	Hoklo narrative	唸歌(說唱)	9. Liām-kua Yang Hsiu-Ching Transmission Plan (說唱楊秀卿傳習計畫)	Hoklo	Individual/ amateur
6	Bunun music and pasibutbut		布農音樂與八部合音	10. Bunun music and pasibutbut Nantou County Bunun Cultural Association Transmission Plan (布農族音樂Pasibutbut南投縣信義鄉布農文化協會傳習計畫)	Bunun (Indigenous)	Indigenous/ community polyphonic singing
7	Hakka bayin		客家八音	11. Hakka bayin Miao-Li Chen Family Pei-Kuan Pa-Yin Group Transmission Plan (客家八音苗栗陳家班北管八音團傳習計畫) 12. Hakka bayin Meinong Hakka Bayin Group Transmission Plan (客家八音美濃客家八音團傳習計畫)	Hakka	Instrumental/professional
8	Lâm-kuán hì-khek	Nanguan opera	南管戲曲	13. Lâm-kuán hì-khek Lin-Wu Su-Xia Transmission Plan (南管戲曲林吳素霞傳習計畫)	Hoklo	Theatrical opera/ amateur
9	Lâm-kuán music	Nanguan music	南管音樂	14. Lâm-kuán music Zhang Hong-Ming Transmission Plan (南管音樂張鴻明傳習計畫)	Hoklo	Instrumental/amateur
10	Xiangsheng	Comic dialogue	相聲	15. Xiangsheng Wu Chao-nan Transmission Plan (相聲吳兆南傳習計畫)	Chinese	Individual/ professional
11	Hakka mountain song		客家山歌	16. Hakka mountain song Lai Bi-Xia Transmission Plan (客家山歌賴碧霞傳習計畫)	Hakka	Individual
12	Paringed and lalingedan	Paiwan mouth and nose flutes	排灣族口鼻笛	17. Paiwan mouth and nose flutes Pairang Pavavaljung Transmission Plan (排灣族口、鼻笛許坤仲傳習計畫) 18. Paiwan mouth and nose flutes Gilegilau Pavalius Transmission Plan (排灣族口、鼻笛謝水能傳習計畫)	Paiwan (indigenous)	Indigenous/ individual
13	Buán-tsiu folksong		滿州民謠	19. Buán-tsiu folksong Chang Ri-Gui Transmission Plan (滿州民謠張日貴傳習計畫)	Hoklo	Individual/ amateur
14	Pún-tē-kua-á	Local Taiwanese opera	本地歌仔	20. Yilan Pún-tē- kua-á Zhuang San Xin Liang-le Opera Troupe Transmission Plan (宜蘭本地歌仔壯三新涼樂團傳習計畫)	Hoklo	Folk drama/ amateur
15	Lumuhuw	Atayal oral tradition	泰雅史詩吟唱	21. Watan Tanga Atayal lmuhuw Transmission Plan (林明福泰雅史詩吟唱傳習計畫)	Atayal (Indigenous)	Indigenous/ individual, changed to “oral

						tradition" ICH category
16	Lān-thân		亂彈戲	22. Lān-thân Pan Yu-Chiao Transmission Plan (亂彈戲潘玉嬌傳習計畫) 23. Lān-thân Wang Qing-Fang Transmission Plan (亂彈戲王慶芳傳習計畫) 24. Lān-thân Peng Shiou-Jing Transmission Plan (亂彈戲彭繡靜傳習計畫)	Hoklo	Theatrical opera/ professional
17	Kua-á-hì accompaniment		歌仔戲後場音樂	25. Kua-á-hì accompaniment Lin Zhu-An Transmission Plan (歌仔戲後場音樂林竹岸傳習計畫)	Hoklo	Professional
18	Amis Falangao macacadaay	Amis polyphonic singing	阿美族馬蘭 Macacadaay	26. Amis Falangao Macacadaay Chu-Yin Culture and Arts Troupe Transmission Plan (阿美族馬蘭Macacadaay杵音文化藝術團傳習計畫)	Amis (indigenous)	Indigenous/ community polyphonic singing

These traditions are associated with individuals and groups from different social, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds, and they are transmitted through different modes of teaching and learning. Each tradition is an ecosystem (Titon 2009; Schippers and Grant 2016), and at the same time, it interacts with and influences other traditions. I roughly classify the Transmission Plans into five categories, four according to the genres, the fifth according to ethnic group: instrumental music, theatrical opera, amateur music/folk drama, narrative, and Indigenous music. These categories are based on the features of the genres, and the government officials and scholars often refer to these categories for assessing and evaluating the traditions. Furthermore, in order to manage each Transmission Plan, the government agency carries out annual mid-term evaluations, final joint performances, and training completion examinations. These examinations are evaluated by committees composed of scholars and government officials (see Chapter 3).

Research Issues

Transmission Plans are worth discussing because they reflect multiple levels of mediation. To the culture-bearers, a Transmission Plan is an arena for negotiating traditions, values, modern pedagogy, traditional training methods, and bureaucratic evaluations. To the government officials, it is an arena for testing preservation methods and for presenting achievements in safeguarding efforts. To scholars, the Transmission Plans are an entry-point for intervening and "salvaging" (Grant 2012, 2014) cultural traditions, and a site to research state invention in the traditions. Since cultural transmission projects have become an international practice (Saeji 2012; Bo-Wah Leung 2018; Hughes 2019), this seldom-discussed Taiwanese ICH paradigm will supplement the literature on ICH in East Asia and contribute to our understanding of cultural sustainability.

My research on traditional performing arts transmission practices in several different Taiwanese locales, and among several different ethno-linguistic groups, will contribute to the discussions of ICH in four domains: (1) scholarly intervention and participation in constructing the intangible heritage paradigm; (2) the way concepts of tradition, authenticity, creativity, and performativity have penetrated and mediated cultural transmission processes among participants of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds; (3) the discourse of heritage and community in relation to cultural sustainability; and (4) the relationships among intangible cultural heritage, nation-building, and cultural diplomacy. More specifically, this dissertation is based on five major premises set out below.

First, I argue that scholars (both Taiwanese and international) have performed essential roles in advising, translating, and directing the Taiwanese heritage management paradigm. Taiwan borrowed its ICH framework from Japan and South Korea, with later influences from

UNESCO. However, existing as they do in a non-United Nations country, Taiwanese ICH practices are not directly guided by UNESCO's initiatives. In some cases, scholars help to mediate between government agencies and local communities. Scholars' cooperation with communities in cultural transmission has been discussed in applied ethnomusicology (Schippers 2015; Grant 2016; Harrison 2016). However, scholarly intervention in the ICH system has not been adequately addressed in Chinese-language research, and I intend to explore the various roles that scholars play in Taiwanese ICH production, including those of government consultant, policy mediator, activist, experimentalist, and self-conscious conserver of tradition.

Second, authenticity is less emphasized in the Taiwanese ICH paradigm. The notions of tradition and authenticity have been frequently revisited in ICH literature (e.g., Kockel and Nic Craith 2007; Foster and Gilman 2015; Akagawa and Smith 2019), and authenticity becomes a central criterion for ICH listings (Noyes 2015: 163). However, based on my research, I argue that the notion of authenticity is not as pervasive in Taiwanese ICH transmission practices as it is in the South Korean ICH paradigm known as *wonhyong*, the government-certified authentic archetypal form of the art (Saeji 2012: 134), or the Japanese concept of form (*kata* かた, 型), (Oshima 2007). Instead, in Taiwan, the core value of traditional performing arts is not fixed, adapting throughout history. Therefore, the notion of sustainability concerning tradition, creativity, and performativity is consistently brought up by scholars and officials in the Transmission Plan evaluations.

Third, Taiwan's intangible heritage is usually a hybrid mixture of forms that represents multi-cultural interactions rather than notional "purity." The UNESCO heritage agenda seems to hang onto the notion of "purity," with all its political implications (Kuutma 2019). However, among Taiwan's numerous ethnic groups, some traditions are shared, used cooperatively, and

mobilized among different linguistic and cultural communities. For instance, experienced Hakka *bayin* and *pak-kuán* musicians can accompany *pak-kuán* theatrical opera, the Hakka "picking tea" drama, and puppetry, and they can play for Taoist rituals. I aim to investigate how this "fuzzy genre border" responds to and shapes the ICH governance of Taiwan.

Fourth, Taiwan's ICH management, while owing something to precedents from Japan, South Korea, and UNESCO, is highly localized, or Taiwanized. I look into how this characteristic affects the flexibility with which officials and others are able to treat the system.

Fifth, the ICH of Taiwan, and especially traditional performing arts, is an important resource for cultural exchange, gaining international recognition, and cross-strait diplomacy. Taiwan has no formal diplomatic relations with major powers and is excluded from most world bodies, and the successive governments of Taiwan have treated heritage as a resource for cultural diplomacy for many decades. For example, from the 1950s to the 1980s, the Nationalists in Taiwan reinforced pan-Chinese ethics and culture to claim that the Nationalists and their regime on Taiwan were the true guardians of Chinese culture (Guy 2005). Recently, the government of Taiwan has incorporated Indigenous culture into nation-building, as well as increasing mutual understanding of Southeast Asian immigrants (Wenhua bu 2018). I aim to examine how the different ideologies have defined and redefined Taiwanese ICH genres, and how the traditional performing artists and groups adapt to these socio-political conditions and ensure the sustainability of tradition.

Prior Research on Taiwanese Intangible Cultural Heritage

The literature on Taiwan's cultural heritage system mostly addresses tangible heritage (*youxing wenhua zichan* 有形文化資產, e.g. Lin Hui-Cheng 2011; Chiang Min-Chin et al.

2017); before the 2000s there was much less research on Taiwan's ICH preservation and transmission projects. However, since the major amendment to the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in 2005, there have been more scholarly investigations of the concept of "intangible cultural heritage" (Lin Mei-Rong and Hsieh Chia-Ling 2005, Lin Chung-Hsi 2008, Lin Cheng-Wei 2012, Chiang Min-Chin 2019). For example, an intriguing recent article by Chiang Min-Chin examines language used in ICH. She argues that, for communities, gaining recognition of their ICH entails a formidable process involving re-translation, re-interpretation, and negotiation, inevitably bestowing power on those eligible to translate. She explores the case of Taiwan and the People's Republic of China choosing different translations of the term "intangible cultural heritage." In Taiwan, the Mandarin term is *wuxing wenhua zichan* (無形文化資產, literally, "non-physical cultural assets"); in the PRC, the term is translated *feiwuzhi wenhua yichan* (非物质文化遗产, literally, "immaterial cultural patrimony"). She illustrates how translations can vary, even when the same target language is used, revealing the complexity of cultural politics (Chiang Min-Chin 2019).

A small amount has been published on the subject of Taiwan's traditional performing arts in the ICH paradigm. This merits careful analysis, as it provides valuable insights that help guide my own approach. Ethnomusicologist Wang Ying-Fen's seminal 2012 essay examines cultural policy and state intervention in the *nanguan* (Taiwanese: *lâm-kuán*) ensemble tradition in Taiwan between the 1980s and the 2000s. Wang provides a detailed illustration of Taiwan's cultural policy and argues that state intervention brought more drawbacks than benefits to *nanguan*, since the intervention neglected the nature of the genre as a pastime for self-cultivation (Wang Ying-Fen 2012a). Her research provides a standpoint for examining heritage governance and scholarly intervention in traditions; however, her discussion of *nanguan* music does not

cover the current ICH initiatives. Thus, my research will provide a broader view of the current ICH preservation practices for different performing arts genres; it will focus on the topic of cultural transmission, which has not been fully investigated in Taiwan.

One pioneering exploration of the current Transmission Plans may be found in an article by ethnomusicologist Fan Yang-Kun, which examines the concept and regulation of the plans and focuses on two events: the ceremony for the designated traditional arts-bearers and groups (重要傳統藝術保存者暨保存團體授證典禮) and the final joint performance (期末成果匯演). Fan argues that the designation ceremony is just a formal demonstration of the official attitude of valuing intangible cultural heritage and has no practical effect on sustaining traditions; however, the final joint performance presents the achievements of safeguarding efforts and is a promising sign of the sustainability of traditions (Fan Yang-Kun 2011b). Since 2015, the Transmission Plans have attracted more scholarly attention. Studies investigate the learning and teaching methods, contents, and musicians' adaptations in transmission practices. Several Transmission Plans of the genres have been studied, such as Hakka *bayin* (Su Hsiu-Ting 2015; Hsu Hsin-Wen 2021), *pak-kuán* music (Lee Wei-Ting 2018), *pún-tē kua-á* (local Taiwanese opera, Hung Yu-Ju 2015), *liām-kua* (Hoklo narrative, Chiu Ssu-Ti 2016), and Indigenous traditional music such as the Paiwan *paringed* and *lalingedan* (nose and mouth flutes, Tseng Li-Feng 2012, 2015, 2019; Hsu Chia-Hao 2019, 2020), and the Atayal *lmuhuw* (oral traditions and epic chanting, Cheng Kwang-Po 2018a).

Overall, regarding the literature on Taiwan's ICH practices of traditional performing arts, some of the publications to date focus on a single genre, while others address Taiwan's first Important Traditional Artists Transmission Plans (重要民族藝師傳藝計畫) from 1991 to 1994 (e.g. Jiaoyu bu 1995) or the Folk Arts Preservation Plans (民間藝術保存傳習計畫) from 1996

to 2003 (e.g. Guoli chuantong yishu zhongxin choubeichu 1998; Huang Su-Chen 2001, 2004; Chiang Shao-Ying 2005; Lin Mei-Rong and Xie Jia-ling 2005). Much work remains to be done on the discussion of transmission, evaluation processes, culture-bearers' perceptions of the current Transmission Plan system, and the overall assessment of state-funded cultural preservation practices. Based on the discourses about ICH and cultural sustainability from the fields of ethnomusicology, folklore, and anthropology, my project aims to critically and reflexively examine the complex issues arising from Taiwan's multi-sited, large-scale state-funded transmission projects and their existence in a non-UNESCO-driven paradigm.

Research Methods

Apart from mining the literature that constantly enriches my perspectives, my research process comprises the following stages to examine the issues negotiated in the traditional performing arts Transmission Plans, and to explore the distinctive features of the Taiwanese ICH paradigm.

Participant-Observation and Reflexive Ethnography

Long-term participant-observation and detailed documentation are the foundation of my research. Building on more than seven years' public work on ICH projects with the Bureau of Cultural Heritage of Taiwan, and as an observer at the meetings of national ICH Committee for a number of years, I have established rapport with, and communicated my research intentions to, culture-bearers, government officials and communities, and they have generously granted me access.[18] Apart from observing and documenting transmission practices (Figure 1.6), I carefully

[18] My native fluency in Taiwanese as well as Mandarin has been of immense assistance in much of this work.

examine representations of musical traditions in relation to three broader categories of culture rights—access, stewardship, and control—proposed by Ricardo Trimillos (2009), and articulate different "voices" in cultural transmission projects in which the state has intervened. Furthermore, I am aware that my roles as researcher, student, and facilitator are parts of the ecosystem (Schippers and Grant 2016) of the Transmission Plan, as is my de facto role as a "transmitter" who helps preserve, replicate and actively transmit the traditions with which I engage (Shelemay 1996). I am reflexive about my positionality both in the field and in the process of writing reflexive ethnography (Barz and Cooley 2008).

Figure 1.6. Observing a regular transmission class of the *lâm-kuán hì-khik* (南管戲曲) Transmission Plan. May 3, 2020. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Performance Analysis

Evaluation performances are the core events of the Transmission Plans. I argue that to the culture-bearers and apprentices, performance is an arena for self-representation and the negotiation of the transmission process. The culture-bearers not only need to incorporate the lessons into their performance, but also need to consider issues of authenticity, attractiveness,

and balance in each apprentice's presentation (Figures 1.7 and 1.8). To the government officials, performance is both a way to examine and display the achievements of the transmission project and a reference point for the forthcoming year's budget. I analyze event settings, institutions, repertoire, performance, audience, and evaluators. By employing performance-centered analysis (Bauman 1992; Valentine 2001), I aim to explore how performance is constructed and framed in relation to dimensions such as tradition, aesthetics, performativity, and politics.

Figure 1.7. Final Evaluation Performance of the *lān-thân hì* (亂彈戲) Transmission Plan at Cultural Heritage Park, Taichung, December 1, 2019. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Figure 1.8. Final Evaluation Performance of the *pún-tē kua-á* (本地歌仔) Transmission Plan at Cultural Heritage Park, Taichung, November 28, 2020. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Interviews

For this dissertation, I have conducted in-depth one-on-one and group interviews with apprentices, scholars, government officials, and culture-bearers/groups in different ethno-linguistic communities, totaling about thirty people. Since I have observed and engaged in the Transmission Plan project for eight years, I have built up a relationship of trust with my interviewees. They are aware of my presence and willing to share their insights with me. Before each interview, I designed specific interview questions for individuals according to their roles in the relevant Transmission Plan. In some cases, I engaged in critical dialogue with interviewees as they became intrigued by the open-ended conversations.

Archival Research and Audiovisual Materials

I make use of audiovisual materials and archival materials to examine historical and social perspectives on cultural policy and the genres in question. I examine official documents, including cultural heritage administration paperwork, Transmission Plans project reports, and action plans for the performing arts genres at the headquarters of the Bureau of Cultural Heritage. I also investigate archival and historical materials, including audio recordings, films, photographs, manuscripts, and governmental cultural project reports from the National Repository of Cultural Heritage (國家文化資料庫) and Taiwan Cultural Memory Bank (國家文化記憶庫).

Furthermore, audiovisual documentation of the traditional performing arts has been one of the key preservation tools in Taiwan's ICH paradigm. I participated in two of the audiovisual documentation projects for Atayal traditional music and dance, from 2019 to 2021. I borrow ethnomusicologist Terada Yoshitaka's notion of a "process-oriented approach to filmmaking" (Yoshitaka 2019) as an analytical frame to examine my own involvement in the filmmaking, and to analyze major audiovisual documentation practices in the state-funded preservation projects.

In addition, the increase in documentary films depicting Taiwan's ICH raises the visibility of the designated genres, and also reflects the endangered situation of many traditions. For example, *Rolling on the Stage, Rolling for Life* (戲台滾人生, 2015) depicts the conflicts between the members in the *pún-tē kua-á* (本地歌仔) Transmission Plan. *Father* (紅盒子, 2016) portrays culture-bearer Chen Hsi-Huang's endeavors and difficulties in transmitting *pòo-tē-hì* (布袋戲) in contemporary Taiwan. *The Singing Storyteller and Her Century-Long Adventure* (唸歌走江湖─國寶藝師楊秀卿的音樂旅程, 2021) shows Yang Hsiu-Ching's collaborations with younger generations to promote *liām-kua* (唸歌). By employing film theories and approaches, I

aim to examine the ways filmmakers represent and address issues of Taiwan's ICH practices. Bill Nichols's discussion on the six modes of documentary (Nichols 2001), discussed in detail in Chapter 7, provides an analytical framework for examining the representations found in Taiwanese ICH documentary films. Nichols's model can serve as a reference for contrasting and comparing one film with another. It can further unpack the political discourses, voices, subjectivities, and realism within these films. Finally, by studying the public discourse of these ICH films, I aim to explore how the public perceive the ICH practices of Taiwan.

Dissertation Structure

The main body of this dissertation consists of eight chapters, including this introductory chapter. **Chapter 2, Intangible Cultural Heritage Preservation in Taiwan: A Brief History,** provides a brief history of cultural policy and intangible cultural heritage preservation in Taiwan, from what I term the "national culture paradigm" to the current "intangible cultural heritage paradigm." **Chapter 3, Execution and Management of Transmission Plans,** examines the structure of the Transmission Plans, including timelines for the projects, systems of training, and obligations of the people involved in the Transmission Plans. It then introduces a crucial mediator between the government agency and the Transmission Plans, the Empowerment Team.

Chapters 4 to 6 investigate traditional practitioners' and apprentices' adaptations and negotiations during the state-funded transmission projects, each focusing on a different case study. These three case studies are from different domains of traditional performing arts, respectively Indigenous music traditions, Han Chinese amateur music clubs, and Han Chinese professional theatrical troupes. Each chapter presents a specific issue from the process of heritagization: **Chapter 4, Negotiating Belief, Performance, and Indigeneity in Transmission**

Practices, investigates how Indigenous music traditions are revitalized and transformed in contemporary society through the process of negotiating belief and performance; **Chapter 5, Musical Revitalizations and Intergenerational Cooperation in Amateur Music Clubs,** examines musical revitalization and intergenerational cooperation in amateur music clubs during heritage-making; and **Chapter 6, Professional Troupes in the Cultural Heritage Era,** examines how the professional troupes mediate the highly adaptable nature of the genres they perform during the heritagization process. **Chapter 7, Past, Present and Future: Documenting Heritage via Audiovisual Media,** addresses the audiovisual documentation that occurred through research and commercial activities before and within the current ICH paradigm. It suggests that audiovisual media not only assists the "preservation" of genres but also helps regenerate, evolve, and create new meanings. It then discusses how audiovisual media, especially the rise of documentary film, documents and provokes discourse about ICH genres and practices. Finally, the concluding chapter, **Chapter 8, Negotiation and Adaptation in Heritagization: Discourses of Authenticity, Tradition, and Creativity,** reconceptualizes the notions of authenticity, tradition, and creativity in the unique Taiwanese heritagization context. Finally, this dissertation aims to reveal the singularity of the Taiwanese ICH paradigm, to help us test assumptions developed from the experiences of nations linked into the dominant UNESCO-driven paradigm of heritage conservation, and to assist us in refining contemporary thought and practice in the field of cultural sustainability.

CHAPTER 2. INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE PRESERVATION IN TAIWAN: A BRIEF HISTORY

The Beginnings of Cultural Heritage Preservation in Taiwan

The concept of heritage preservation in Taiwan first emerged during its half-century as a Japanese colony (1895–1945). Japan was a 19th-century pioneer in cultural property preservation: it enacted the Ancient Temples and Shrines Preservation Law (こしゃじほぞんほう 古社寺保存法) in 1897 to protect historic art and architecture. The historical heritage preservation movement in Taiwan was initiated some years after the 1919 promulgation of Japan's landmark Preservation Law of Historic, Scenic and Natural Monuments (しせきめいしょうてんねんきねんぶつほぞんほう 史蹟名勝天然紀念物保存法). The transplantation of this law from Japan to Taiwan came in 1930, when the Japanese colonial government issued regulations for investigating and preserving historic, scenic and natural monuments in Taiwan, and announced the designation of thirty-one historical monuments and nineteen natural monuments between 1933 and 1941 (Lin Hui-Cheng 2011: 52–55).

Even though there was no such concept of preservation of intangible cultural heritage such as traditional music, customs, and theatre during the colonial period, the Japanese government in Taiwan employed evolving cultural policies in response to changing socio-political circumstances. In the first four decades of Japanese rule, traditional cultural practices and customs were allowed as a strategy to pacify people on the island. This era was a heyday for Minnan and Hakka music and theatre, which developed rapidly as a result of growing economic prosperity (Chen Mei-Chen 2014). Moreover, colonial surveys and scholarly investigations were carried out to collect customs and Indigenous music of Taiwan. For example, scholars including

Kurosawa Takatomo (黑澤隆朝, see Kurosawa et al), Asai Erin (淺井惠倫, see Lin Ching-Tsai 2013), and Tanabe Hisao (田邊尚雄, see Tanabe et al 2017) made field recordings and published research findings on Indigenous music practices. Even though those investigations were inevitably filtered through the lens of colonialism, they are valuable as some of the earliest recordings of the Indigenous music of Taiwan.

However, after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, the colonial government enforced *kominka* (Japanese: imperialization, 皇民化), or Japanization, in Taiwan. During this period, except for religious music, Han Chinese cultural practices were suppressed or banned; these included *pak-kuán*, *lâm-kuán*, and *kua-á* (Wang Ying-Fen 2008: 259–266), and people who participated in traditional music and theatre were forced to reform their performance styles and content to respond to *kominka* policies. Furthermore, in the 1940s, the Japanese colonial government supported a "New Taiwan Music Movement" (*Xin Taiwan yinyue yundong* 新臺灣音樂運動) that aimed to "Japanize" traditional musical performances, triggering a series of reforms in Chinese music and instruments. The reforms included introducing Western violin techniques into *erhu* (Chinese fiddle) performance, combining Han Chinese musical instruments and Western instruments, and adapting the popular Chinese folksongs sung by *gē-tuànn* (藝旦, Mandarin: *yidan*, professional Taiwanese female entertainers [Figures 2.1 and 2.2]) to Japanese lyrics. Ultimately, the movement aimed to construct music cultures suitable for the "Japanese Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" (Japanese: *Dai-tō-a kyōeiken* 大東亞共榮圈) (Wang Ying-Fen 2008).

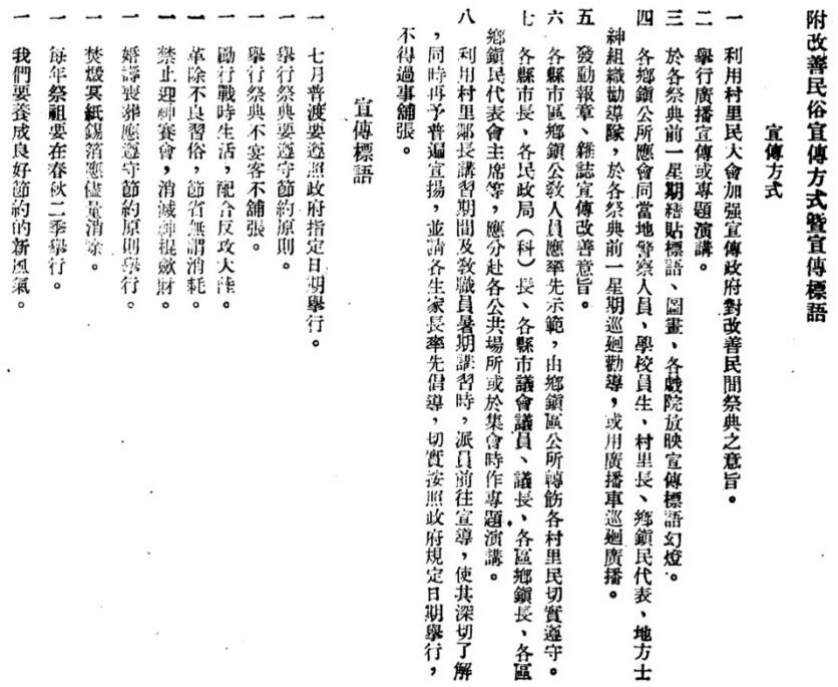
Figure 2.1. Postcard, approximately 1930s. Foot-bound gē-tuànn play the Chinese instruments pipa and erhu. Author's collection.

Figure 2.2. Postcard, approximately 1920–1930. Taiwanese musicians and gē-tuànn taking a picture, possibly before heading to Japan for a music recording. Author's collection.

Chinese Nationalist Ideology in Taiwan: National Culture versus Folk Culture

After Japan's defeat in 1945, Taiwan was ruled by the Chinese Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang (KMT), which, as noted in the previous chapter, imposed autocratic one-party rule for over forty years, justifying their stranglehold on power by pointing to the dire political and

military situation caused by the communist takeover of the Mainland in 1949. Indeed, after the Nationalists retreated from the Mainland in 1949, Taiwan became the military base for the Nationalists to plan the recovery of Mainland China. Since the KMT regime claimed to be the legitimate government of China, the Nationalists in Taiwan reinforced pan-Chinese ethics and culture to claim that the Nationalists and their regime on Taiwan were the true guardians of Chinese culture. This policy included forcing Taiwanese schools to teach exclusively in Mandarin rather than in local languages, limiting the radio time allotted to non-Mandarin programming, and suppressing local Taiwanese traditions (Guy 2005; Wang Ying-Fen 2012a). A "Reform Folklore Movement" (*Gaishan minsu yundong* 改善民俗運動) also significantly impacted traditional music and theatre. The reforms including economizing on temple festivals, clamping down on musical and theatrical performances of Taiwanese local arts, and insisting that all the ritual, funeral, wedding, and ceremonial activities need to be "thrifty" (*jieyue* 節約) (Figure 2.3). As a result, performing arts troupes and ensembles were scaled down, and some performers left troupes to become industrial workers (Cheng Rom-Shing and Fan Yun-Ching 2017: 305).



附改善民俗宣傳方式暨宣傳標語

宣傳方式

一 利用村里民大會加强宣傳政府對改善民間祭典之意旨。
二 舉行廣播宣傳或專題演講。
三 於各祭典前一星期粘貼標語、圖畫、各戲院放映宣傳標語幻燈。
四 各鄉鎮公所應會同當地警察人員、學校員生、村里長、鄉鎮民代表、地方士紳組織勸導隊，於各祭典前一星期巡迴勸導，或用廣播車巡迴廣播。
五 發動報章、雜誌宣傳改善意旨。
六 各縣市區鄉鎮公教人員應率先示範，由鄉鎮區公所督飭各村里民切實遵守。
七 各縣市長、各民政局（科）長、各縣市議會議員、議長、各區鄉鎮長、各區鄉鎮民代表會主席等，應分赴各公共場所或於集會時作專題演講。
八 利用村里鄰長講習期間及教職員暑期講習時，派員前往宣導，使其深切了解，同時再予普遍宣揚，並請各生家長率先倡導，切實按照政府規定日期舉行，不得過事鋪張。

宣傳標語

一 七月普渡要遵照政府指定日期舉行。
一 舉行祭典要遵守節約原則。
一 舉行祭典不宴客不鋪張。
一 勵行戰時生活，配合反攻大陸。
一 革除不良習俗，節省無謂消耗。
一 禁止迎神賽會，消滅神棍歛財。
一 婚喪喜慶應遵守節約原則舉行。
一 焚燬冥紙錫箔惡儘量消除。
一 每年祭祖要在春秋二季舉行。
一 我們要養成良好節約的新風氣。

Figure 2.3. “Publicity Methods and Slogans for Reforming Folklore.” Taiwan sheng zhengfu gongbao (Taiwan Provincial Government Bulletin), 1953 (issue 30): 373. 政府公報資訊網 (National Central Library Gazette Online) https://gaz.ncl.edu.tw/detail.jsp?p=22,-1.892420996E9, accessed February 25, 2021.

Local Drama Association and Contest

To control Taiwanese traditional performing arts and recruit them for the anti-communist campaign, the KMT government supported the establishment of the Taiwan Provincial Local Drama Association (Taiwan *sheng difang xiju xiejin hui* 臺灣省地方戲劇協進會), and held local drama contests (*difang xiju bisai* 地方戲劇比賽) starting in 1952. All the registered *kua-á-hì, pòo-tē-hì, lâm-kuán hì,* and other local drama performing troupes were required to participate in the drama contests, or they could not renew their licenses for regular performances at temple fairs or other venues (Lu Su-Shang 1961: 520; Su Kuei-Chih 2003: 124). According to the articles of the Taiwan Provincial Local Drama Association, the goals of the association were “to unite local drama practitioners to follow the national anti-Communist and anti-Russian policy, improve local drama, promote national consciousness, and facilitate social education” (Lu Su-

Shang 1961: 509).[19] Ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman has hypothesized three impacts of nationalism on music. First, music can be used in the service of the nation-state, and nationalism disrupts the "real" function of folk music. Second, nationalism trivializes music, and it takes on new markers of the state that affirm the presence of a nationalist ethos in the aesthetic language. Third, when music is mustered in the service of the nation-state, it plays a role in erasing the voices of the nation's internal others and foreigners (Bohlman 2011: 11–12). Echoing Bohlman's critique, most contemporary scholars and practitioners are critical of Taiwan's drama contests during the Martial Law period, which—in the service of nationalism—deconstructed and destroyed the tradition of Taiwanese performing arts. For instance, the contest served to promote patriotic ideologies but damaged the creativity and flexibility of the local arts. The Ministry of Education demanded that the troupes only perform specific scripts in the contest, such as *Absolute Devotion to Country* (*Jingzhong baoguo* 精忠報國) and *Zhang Liang Restores the Country* (*Zhang Liang fu guo* 張良復國). Even though by 1961 the Ministry of Education allowed troupes to play unlisted scripts, the contents needed to follow the rules of "anti-Communism and anti-Russianism, improving local drama, promoting national consciousness, and facilitating social education" (Su Kuei-Chih 2003: 125–126). Furthermore, the judges of the contest were usually experts in Chinese opera rather than Taiwanese local drama. They asked performers to apply Peking opera techniques to *kua-á-hì* performance, which greatly undermined Taiwanese local drama (Ibid.: 127).

[19] The original text is "本會以團結全省地方戲劇工作者遵照反共抗俄國策從事改良地方戲劇發揚民族意識促進社會教育為宗旨."

Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement

In 1967, the Nationalist government set up an independent body, the Bureau of Culture of the Ministry of Education (*Jiaoyu bu wenhua ju* 教育部文化局) to take charge of national cultural policies. In the same year, the KMT government launched the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement (*Zhonghua wenhua fuxing yundong* 中華文化復興運動) in Taiwan, as a cultural movement in opposition to the cultural destruction caused in Mainland China by the Communist Party during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Under the ideology of Chinese nationalism, a kind of "official nationalism" (Benedict Anderson 1983), internationally famous Mainland Chinese theatrical and musical genres were honored by the KMT as "national culture." For example, Peking opera was considered *guoju* (lit., "national opera"), and the Western-influenced pan-Chinese music developed in first half of the 20th century on the Mainland was considered *guoyue* (lit., "national music"). Peking opera was even described as displaying "national essence" (*guocui* 國粹), a term that originated as early as the 1920s in Mainland China, and it continued to be labeled in this way by Nationalist followers in Taiwan (Guy 2005: 47). Neither genre had had a substantial presence in Taiwan before the late 1940s, so their privileging very much underlined the Nationalists' emphasis of ties to high-prestige culture from the Mainland. As folklorist Valdemar Tr. Hafstein states, "national culture was a tool for forging cultural differences along state borders while suppressing difference within the borders" (Hafstein 2018: 8). While Peking opera and modernized pan-Chinese music were supported as national culture by the KMT government, Taiwanese performing arts genres were suppressed, surviving with difficulty through the limited local temple fairs, regional radio, and the record industry (see Chen Mei-Chen 2017).

Folk Music Collection

Non-governmental folk music collection also took place in this era. From the end of the 1960s into the 1970s, Taiwanese ethnomusicologists Shih Wei-Liang (史惟亮) and Hsu Tsang-Houei (許常惠), inspired by Béla Bartók's collection of Hungarian and other East European folk music, executed a series of folk music collection projects in Taiwan. The stated purposes of the folk music collection were to "search for the origin of national [Chinese] music," and to "advocate and compose contemporary Chinese music by collecting, arranging, and researching music of Taiwan" (Fan Yang-Kun 2015a). This claim, couched in suitably nationalist rhetoric, corresponded to the goals of the government's Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement. The Taiwanese folk music collection movement resulted in the discovery of numerous traditional performing arts practitioners and groups on the island. Notably, these practitioners and performance groups were later the main resources for contemporary heritage production of Taiwan, such as Liao Chiung-Chih (廖瓊枝, the culture-bearer of *kua-á-hì*), Miao-Li Chen Family Pei-Kuan Pa-Yin Group (苗栗陳家班北管八音團, the preservation group of Hakka *bayin*), and Yang Hsiu-Ching (楊秀卿, the culture-bearer of *liām-kua*).

Preparations for the Enactment of Cultural Heritage Preservation Act and Scholarly Investigations

In 1978, the government of Taiwan included "Cultural Development" (*wenhua jianshe* 文化建設) as one of its "Twelve Development Projects" (*shi'er xiang jianshe* 十二項建設). In 1979, the Executive Yuan announced a "Plan to Reinforce Cultural and Recreational Activities"

(*Jiaqiang wenhua ji yule huodong fang'an* 加強文化及育樂活動方案),[20] which supported the development of traditional cultural practices in Taiwan. It aimed to extend the scope of the R.O.C.'s longstanding Antiquities Conservation Law (*Guwu baocun fa* 古物保存法) [21] through passing a new Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (*Wenhua zichan baocun fa* 文化資產保存法), and to include craftsmanship and traditional performing arts as objects of preservation (Chen Chi-Lu 1982: 4). Since then, a substantial cultural infrastructure has been established: twenty-two local cultural centers were constructed in the 1980s and 1990s, along with two museums featuring traditional music and theatre—the Nanguan and Beiguan Center (*Nanbeiguan yinyue xiquguan* 南北管音樂戲曲館), under the Cultural Affairs Bureau of Changhua County; and the Taiwan Theater Museum (*Taiwan xijuguan* 臺灣戲劇館), under the Cultural Affairs Bureau of Yilan County.

Furthermore, one crucial aspect of the Cultural Development policy was to understand the "culture of our country" (*woguo de wenhua* 我國的文化) in order to combat the threat from encroaching Western culture (Yin Chien-Chung 1983: I). Under the Executive Yuan's Plan to Reinforce Cultural and Recreational Activities, the Ministry of Education commissioned scholars working in academic institutions such as National Taiwan University and National Chengchi

[20] The plan was drafted by anthropologist Chen Chi-Lu (陳奇祿), who set up twelve measures, as follows: 1) establishing a specific agency in charge of cultural policy and cultural development; 2) instigating the establishment of a culture foundation; 3) holding culture and arts events (文藝季); 4) setting up cultural awards (文化獎); 5) revising the copyright law; 6) revising the Antiquities Conservation Law; 7) cultivating artistic and cultural talents; 8) elevating the musical level (提高音樂水準); 9) promoting and supporting *guoju* and drama (推廣與扶植國劇與話劇); 10) establishing cultural centers; 11) preserving and improving traditional skills (保存與改進傳統技藝); and 12) encouraging the establishment of non-governmental cultural institutions (Chen Chi-Lu 1983).

[21] The Antiquities Conservation Law (*Guwu baocun fa* 古物保存法) was implemented in 1931 in China and brought to Taiwan by the Nationalist government in 1945. The intent of the law was to preserve archeological findings and antiquities. However, it didn't attract much attention until 1968, when the KMT government launched the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement in opposition to the cultural destruction unleashed in mainland China by the Communist Party during the Cultural Revolution. It was abolished on May 26, 1982, the same day as the enactment and promulgation of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (Lin Hui-Cheng 2011: 67–80).

University to conduct sixteen research projects on traditional art forms between 1981 and 1991 (Chiang Min-Chin 2019: 120). Notably, those investigations were not only on Mainland-derived art forms, but also on Taiwanese cultural practices such as *kua-á-hì* and *pòo-tē-hì*. One reason for this is that Taiwanese cutlure was considered a part of Chinese culture. As anthropologists Wang Sung-Shan and Chiang I-Chan state, "the nature of Taiwan's culture is considered to have originated from Chinese society, and the study of Taiwan's cultural structure will be dealing with Chinese attitudes and principles" (Wang Sung-Shan and Chiang I-Chan 1983: 18).[22] Furthermore, the "return to native soil" (*huigui xiangtu*, 回歸鄉土) movement in the 1970s also triggered the focus on Taiwanese local culture (Ibid.: 23).[23] Those scholarly investigations provided a basis for the preparation and legislation of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in 1982, and initiated a trend of scholarly intervention and collaboration in government-commissioned projects on traditional music and theatre.

One of the fundamental research projects was conducted by anthropologist Yin Chien-Chung (尹建中) from National Taiwan University. His research team, which included graduate students in anthropology, implemented multi-year investigations on traditional performing arts, folklore and traditional crafts, including those genres brought from Mainland China to Taiwan after 1945, as well as local traditional arts. In the first three years (1980–1982), he and his team surveyed and documented traditional arts practitioners in different parts of Taiwan (Yin Chien-Chung 1983). The fourth year's plan focused on detailed research and documentation of specific genres. In the fifth year, they investigated how to promote and cultivate the knowledge of

[22] The original text of this quotation: "臺灣的文化性質基本上還是根源於整個中國社會結構的內涵與性質上。因此，我們最後處理的，必是一套中國人生命態度與生存理念諸問題."

[23] The *Huigui xiangtu* (回歸鄉土, return to the native soil) movement was a trend in literature and culture facilitated by young anti-KMT intellectuals in the 1970s. It accompanied by a political opposition movement mainly composed of local Taiwanese (Hsiau A-Chin 2000, 2021).

traditional arts and folklore in the educational system of Taiwan by conducting questionnaire-based surveys among students, teachers, other staff members, and principals from senior high schools to universities. The sixth year's plan switched to conducting oral and life histories of traditional practitioners (Yin Chien-Chung 1988). The last two years' projects focused on constructing bibliographies of traditional arts and folklore (see Yin Chien-Chung 1990), and planning the revitalization of these cultural forms (Yin Chien-Chung 1993: 33–36). This large-scale research cultivated more than thirty anthropological graduate students in studying traditional arts and culture, and "discovered" (發現) more than nine hundred traditional arts practitioners through the inventory-making (Yin Chien-Chung 1983: I).

Another influential research project was also funded by the Ministry of Education and conducted by historian Lin En-Xian from National Chengchi University in 1990. Lin En-Xian and his research team surveyed the general situation of traditional performing arts, including genres from Mainland China and Taiwan's local genres. They implemented questionnaire surveys and anthropological interviews with culture-bearers, communities, and cultural experts to gain different perspectives on the methods and expectations on cultural transmission (see Lin En-Xian 1990). Based on the results of the above-mentioned scholarly investigations and surveys, and influences from Japanese and South Korean cultural heritage practices, the Ministry of Education set up a series of preservation and transmission projects to salvage traditional arts of Taiwan and the genres from Mainland China.

Scholars' devotion to guarding traditional arts has had a great impact on Taiwan's intangible cultural heritage preservation efforts. In 1979, a group of intellectuals and scholars established the Chinese Folk-Arts Foundation (*Zhonghua minsu yishu jijinhui* 中華民俗藝術基金會), a non-profit organization that aims to "preserve folk arts, transmit folk musicians'

techniques, elevate the academic value of folk culture, and enrich people's spiritual and moral life."[24] Ethnomusicologist Hsu Tsang-houei (許常惠) and the Chinese Folk-Arts Foundation initiated a series of "Folk Musician Concerts" (*Minjian yueren yinyuehui* 民間樂人音樂會) between 1977 and 1982, and invited folk musicians to perform in concert halls. This was a non-profit concert series, with a total of twenty-one concerts; it symbolized the "elevation" of folk music by fetching folk musicians from the traditional performing spaces such as temples and amateur music clubs to modernized and Westernized concert halls—very high-prestige locales in official and middle-class circles. As ethnomusicologist Lü Chuikuan (呂錘寬) states, the series affected folk musicians' mindset regarding performance: they had more confidence in traditional music when they could play in a modernized concert hall, and they tended to pay more attention to technique and outfits when performing (Lü Chuikuan 2009: 329).

Establishment of the Council of Cultural Affairs and Enactment of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act

Establishment of the Council of Cultural Affairs

With the economic growth in Taiwan in the 1980s, consciousness of citizens' rights and a desire for democratic reform had risen considerably.[25] In the 1980s, two major events influenced cultural policy on traditional music and theatre in Taiwan. The first was the establishment in 1981 of the Council of Cultural Affairs of the Executive Yuan (*Xingzheng yuan wenhua jianshe*

[24] See the Chinese Folk-Arts Foundation website, http://folk.org.tw/official/, accessed March 24, 2021.

[25] As noted in the previous chapter, after the Nationalists retreated from Mainland China in 1949, the KMT government enforced martial law in Taiwan from 1949 to 1987. During this period, citizens had no right of assembly or free speech, publication in Taiwanese languages was banned, and there were restrictions on international travel.

weiyuanhui 行政院文化建設委員會), whose name in English was later changed to Council for Cultural Affairs (hereafter CCA). It was the competent authority of Taiwan's "cultural development," as one of Taiwan's "Twelve Development Projects" (*shi'er xiang jianshe* 十二項建設) in the 1980s. The CCA was responsible for planning Taiwan's cultural infrastructure, instituting cultural policies, and promoting national and local cultural forms. It held annual "folk theater" events (*minjian juchang* 民間劇場) and sponsored folk arts and traditional music and theatre, set up the National Music Center (*Minzu yinyue zhongxin* 民族音樂中心, nowadays, Taiwan Music Institute), and planned folk arts recreational parks (*minsu jiyiyuan* 民俗技藝園) in Taiwan.

The folk theater events were a major locus of cultural revival. To revitalize the folk arts, including both genres from Mainland China and those cultivated in Taiwan, the CCA commissioned scholars Chiu Kun-Liang (邱坤良) (1982) and Tseng Yong-Yih (曾永義) (1983–1986) to hold annual folk theater events between 1982 and 1986. These events aimed to incorporate the social functions of religious temples and modern performing art theater, to promote vitality, civic participation, and generational transmission of traditional arts. By gathering performing troupes from different genres at Taipei Qingnian Park (青年公園) for five days and five nights, the event provided a venue for practitioners to perform, educate, and promote folk culture and traditional arts of Taiwan and Mainland China, and for citizens and students to learn about and appreciate folk culture. *Minjian juchang* was also an arena for scholarly participation and investigation. Scholars, graduate students and intellectuals devoted much time and effort to documentation and discussion of the events, and published their discussions in the journal *Chinese Folklore Reports and Studies* (*Minsu quyi* 民俗曲藝) and

other venues (Figure 2.4).[26] Although these cultural display events only lasted for five years because "the CCA decided not to continue this event" (Chuang Bo-Ho 1987: 110), they introduced the idea of large-scale cultural festivals to the people, and triggered a series of cultural renaissance movements in Taiwan (Chuang Bo-Ho 1987; Chi Hui-Ling 1992).

Figure 2.4. Four special issues on *Minjian juchang* of the journal *Minsu quyi*, 1982–1985. Author's collection.

Furthermore, the CCA also planned to set up a folk arts recreational park (*minsu jiyiyuan* 民俗技藝園) in Kaohsiung, Taiwan. This type of park was inspired by the Republic of Korea's Korean folk villages, the first of which opened to public in 1974 at Yongin, 41 kilometers south of Seoul (Maeng In-Jae 1986: 40–42). As with the concept of the Korean folk village, the goals

[26] There are five issues on the topic of *minjian juchang* 民間劇場 in the journal *Chinese Folklore Reports and Studies* (民俗曲藝) published by Shih Ho-Cheng Folk Culture Foundation (施合鄭民俗文化基金會). See issues from 1982 (issue 20), 1983 (issue 26), 1984 (issues 31 and 32), and 1985 (issue 37).

of Taiwan's folk arts park were to display and conserve traditional ways of living, to provide recreational entertainment for the public, and to present traditional cultures through tourist-oriented methods (Chen Chi-Lu 1985: 4). The idea was first advocated by Chen Chi-Lu (陳奇祿) in 1982, and the government of Taiwan commissioned scholar Tseng Yong-Yih (曾永義) to design the park (see Tseng Yong-Yih 1989). However, the plan for the park in Kaohsiung was cancelled because the government of Kaohsiung had other uses for the land in mind. Later, in the 1990s, the CCA planned another folk arts recreational park in Yilan, and changed its name to the Center for Traditional Arts (*Chuantong yishu zhongxin* 傳統藝術中心, nowadays the National Center for Traditional Arts) in 1995. The functions of the Center for Traditional Arts are different from the original concepts of the folk arts park. Its goals are to undertake overall planning for traditional culture, to assist in the promotion, development, transmission, and performance of traditional arts, and to support research (Xingzheng yuan wenhua jianshe weiyuanhui 1996). It is apparent that tourism-oriented cultural display has not been successfully pursued for cultural heritage preservation in Taiwan.

Enactment of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act

The second major event in the 1980s was the promulgation in 1982 of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (*Wenhua zichan baocun fa* 文化資產保存法, hereafter, CHPA), which became the legal basis for the government-sanctioned preservation of cultural heritage in Taiwan. The CHPA included a chapter titled "National Arts" (*Minzu yishu* 民族藝術)—defined as "arts unique to an ethnic group or a locale"—in order to counter the loss of important national arts. Inspired by earlier legislation in Japan and the Republic of Korea, the act adopted the concept of "living national treasures," which values people who possess a very high degree of

knowledge and skills in aspects of intangible cultural heritage (ICH). In 1989 and 1998, the government of Taiwan honored a total of thirteen outstanding individuals as Important National Artists (*Zhongyao minzu yishu yishi* 重要民族藝術藝師) (see Table 2.1), and the Ministry of Education implemented the Important National Artists Transmission Project (*Zhongyao minzu yishu yishi chuanyi jihua* 重要民族藝術藝師傳藝計畫) from 1991 to 1994 for the national artists who were awarded the title in 1989 (Tsai Hsin-Hsin 2011; Wang Ying-Fen 2012a). However, while traditional theatre included local Taiwanese genres, in the domain of traditional music, this transmission project emphasized not Taiwanese and Indigenous genres but those from Mainland China, specifically *guqin* (古琴, seven-string zither) and *pingju luogu* (平劇鑼鼓, percussion for Peking opera). It is apparent that the first decade of ICH practice in Taiwan was still influenced by the Nationalist ideology that Chinese culture represented the nation. As Taiwanese ethnomusicologist Fan Yang-Kun notes, before the 1990s, all the traditional musical genres in Taiwan (including Indigenous and Han Chinese music) were essentially considered "Chinese music," with their Taiwanese identity deliberately minimized (Fan Yang-Kun 2015a: 45).

Table 2.1. List of the Important National Artists[27]

Award year	Artist	Preservation Plan year	Genre	Category
1989	Huang Gui-Li 黃龜理	1991–1994	wood carving 木雕	Traditional craft
	Li Song-Lin 李松林	1991–1994	wood carving 木雕	Traditional craft
	Hou Yu-Tzung 侯佑宗	1991, passed away in 1991	percussion for Peking opera 鑼鼓樂	Traditional music

[27] Information arranged by author. For more detail, see Lin Pao-Yao ed. 1995; Lü Chuikuan 2009; Tsai Hsin-Hsin 2011: 429–487.

	Sun Yu-Chin 孫毓芹	No plan, passed away in 1990	*guqin* 古琴, seven-string zither	Traditional music
	Li Xiang-Shi 李祥石	1991–1994	lâm-kuán hì 南管戲, *nanguan* opera	Traditional theatre
	Chang Te-Cheng 張德成	1991–1994	phuê-kâu-hì 皮影戲, puppetry	Traditional theatre
	Li Tian-Lu 李天祿	1991–1994	pòo-tē-hì 布袋戲, puppetry	Traditional theatre
1998	Wang Jin-Feng 王金鳳	1996–1999	pak-kuán hì 北管戲, *beiguan* opera	Traditional theatre
	Liao Chiung-Chih 廖瓊枝	1999–2003	kua-á-hì 歌仔戲, Taiwanese opera	Traditional theatre
	Huang Hai-Tai 黃海岱	1996–1999	pòo-tē-hì 布袋戲, puppetry	Traditional theatre
	Chen Huo-Ching 陳火慶	1996–1997	lacquer art 漆藝	Traditional craft
	Lin Tsai-Hsin 林再興	2001	kochin potter 交趾陶	Traditional craft
	Huang tu-Shan 黃塗山	1997–2000	bamboo weaving 竹編	Traditional craft

Establishment of the National Center for Traditional Arts

In 1996, the government of Taiwan set up the Preparatory Office of the National Center for Traditional Arts (*Chuantong yishu zhongxin choubeichu* 傳統藝術中心籌備處, nowadays the National Center for Traditional Arts, hereafter, NCTA). This organization implements work on the collection, conservation, presentation, and promotion of traditional arts of Taiwan. The NCTA took over the Transmission Project from the Ministry of Education, changing its name in 1996 to the Folk Arts Preservation and Transmission Project (*Minjian yishu baocun chuanxi jihua* 民間藝術保存傳習計畫). This project was implemented from 1996 to 2003 and was recognized as the largest state project working to salvage traditional arts of Taiwan (Wang Ying-Fen 2012a: 166). More than one hundred and fifty preservation and transmission projects were

carried out, with foci ranging from traditional drama to traditional music, traditional crafts, traditional dance, and acrobatics.[28] Unlike the 1991 to 1994 transmission plans that focused only on the six Important National Artists, NCTA accepted proposals for researching and preserving diverse Taiwanese and Chinese genres for the Folk Arts Preservation and Transmission Project. Academic and research institutions were encouraged to design and propose projects for implementation, and more than fifty experts and scholars were involved in this large-scale plan (Chiang Shao-Ying 2005; Tsai Hsin-Hsin 2011).

Since 2012, the NCTA has become a subsidiary organization of the Ministry of Culture. It is in charge of planning the protection, investigation, conservation, transmission and development of the nation's traditional arts. It supervises the Taiwan Music Institute (*Taiwan yinyue guan* 臺灣音樂館) and the three national music and theatrical troupes—Guo Guang Opera Company (*Guoguang jutuan* 國光劇團), Taiwan Bangzi Opera Company (*Taiwan yujutuan* 臺灣豫劇團), and the National Chinese Orchestra Taiwan (*Taiwan guoyuetuan* 臺灣國樂團). The Taiwan Music Institute aims to collect and research diverse musical practices of Taiwan, repatriate historical music recordings to communities, and open musical resources to the public. Its predecessor was the National Music Center (*Minzu yinyue zhongxin* 民族音樂中心) planned by ethnomusicologist Hsu Tsang-houei in 1990. The three official troupes were founded between 1984 and 1996. They concentrate on the Mainland-derived music and theatrical forms supported by the Nationalist ideology in the second half of the 20th century in Taiwan. However, along with the growing localization consciousness in the 2000s, they attempt to Taiwanize the

[28] Parts of the project materials can be accessed in Digital Collections at the National Center for Traditional Arts, 民間藝術保存傳習計畫專區 1996–2003 (Collection for Folk Arts Preservation and Transmission Plans: 1996–2003), https://collections.ncfta.gov.tw/pages/list/preserve.aspx, accessed May 20, 2019.

performances by bringing in diverse cultural elements of Taiwan and want to build a cultural brand of Taiwan creativity.[29]

Shifting Paradigms from National Arts to Intangible Cultural Heritage

The Rise of Taiwanese Consciousness

In 1987, the termination of martial law allowed citizens of Taiwan to travel to China for the first time since the 1940s. Cross-strait interaction and cultural exchange become routine, and even strengthened people's sense of "Taiwanese identity" when they were disillusioned by their experience of the poverty and repression in the "imaginary homeland" of China (Hsieh Hsiao-Mei 2007). In 1996, the election of the President and Vice President through a direct ballot by all citizens took place for the first time in Taiwan's history. It signified the end of the KMT's autocracy on the island of Taiwan and initiated vigorous electoral competition between two parties that pursue very different political agendas, the KMT (pro-unification) and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP, pro-independence) in Taiwan (Yang Chien-Min 2014).[30]

Since the 1990s, the government of Taiwan has renounced its claim to represent all of China, stating instead that it represents the people of Taiwan. The new discourse that conceptualizes four major ethnic groups of Taiwan—Indigenous, Hoklo, Hakka, and Mainlander—was constructed in this era (Wang Fu-chang 2018). After 2000, with the rise of Taiwanese consciousness (*Taiwan yishi* 臺灣意識), along with the change of ruling party from

[29] For more information on the three official troupes, see National Center for Traditional Arts, https://www.ncfta.gov.tw, accessed July 28, 2021.

[30] The winners of the presidential elections since then have been as follows: 1996, KMT; 2000, DPP; 2004, DPP; 2008, KMT; 2012, KMT; 2016, DPP; 2020, DPP. It should be noted that while the KMT is technically in favor of ultimate unification with China, few KMT supporters want that to happen at present. Most would prefer to maintain the status quo until such time as China becomes less repressive.

the KMT to the DPP, cultural policy overtly focused on Taiwanese culture. Taiwanese performing arts gradually replaced Peking opera as potent symbols of the national identity of Taiwan (Chang Bi-Yu 2004; Guy 2005).

The 2005 Major Amendment to the CHPA and the Transmission Plans

De-Sinicization (*qu Zhongguohua* 去中國化) sentiment is salient in contemporary heritage-making. Influenced by UNESCO's 2003 Convention, Taiwan revised its Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (CHPA) in 2005, and changed the chapter "National Arts" (*Minzu yishu* 民族藝術) to "Traditional Arts, Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts" (傳統藝術民俗及有關文物) in order to counter the loss of Taiwanese traditions and to provide a basis and strategies for the transmission, preservation, and reproduction of these traditions (Lin Cheng-Wei 2012). In 2007, the CCA set up the Headquarters Administration of Cultural Heritage (*Wenhua zichan zong guanlichu choubeichu* 文化資產總管理處籌備處), which in 2012 became the Bureau of Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Culture (*Wenhuabu wenhua zichan ju* 文化部文化資產局). The Bureau of Cultural Heritage is in charge of the overall management of Taiwan's cultural heritage, and supports transmission and preservation projects related to culture-bearers/groups who inherited municipally registered or nationally designated genres. A municipally-registered item of ICH is safeguarded by the municipal government, and it can be nominated as a national ICH when it meets the designation criteria. When an item is designated as national ICH, it is safeguarded directly from the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, and the culture-bearer/group is required to execute transmission and other preservation plans.

For the domain of traditional performing arts, from 2009 to 2021, nineteen traditional performing arts genres have been designated "Important Traditional Performing Arts" (*Zhongyao*

chuantong biaoyan yishu 重要傳統表演藝術), with twenty-seven officially recognized culture-bearers/groups. Since 2009, more than thirty "Important Traditional Performing Arts Transmission Plans" (*Zhongyao chuantong biaoyan yishu chuanxi jihua* 重要傳統表演藝術傳習計畫) have been implemented (see Chapter 3). Notably, all of these genres are considered "Taiwanese traditional genres" that derive either from Taiwanese Indigenous groups, or from genres originally brought from China that have been cultivated in Taiwan for more than a hundred years. To differentiate heritage governance in Taiwan from that in China, genres that have a strong affiliation with pan-Chinese culture, such as Peking opera and *Kunqu* opera, are excluded from Taiwan's contemporary heritage discourse. This is by far the largest and longest-running transmission project in Taiwan. It has cultivated more than a hundred traditional performing arts apprentices, and fifty-five apprentices have received a Certificate of Completion from the Ministry of Culture (Taiwan yinyue xuehui 2021).

The 2016 Major Amendment to the CHPA and the Regeneration of Historic Sites

In 2016, the government made a major amendment to the CHPA, employing UNESCO's distinction between tangible and intangible cultural heritage, and utilizing UNESCO's five domains of ICH (Table 2.2). For reasons set out in the previous chapter, Taiwan's ICH practices have been excluded from recognition by UNESCO, but the appropriation of UNESCO's paradigm to Taiwan's current ICH model can be seen as a strategy to increase scholarly conversation and gain international recognition.

Table 2.2. Comparison between categories of ICH designated by Taiwan and UNESCO

Domains of ICH, 2016 CHPA of Taiwan	Domains of ICH, UNESCO's 2003

	Convention
1. Traditional performing arts: a traditional art that is created in front of or presented to an audience by the artist to pass down through generations among ethnic groups or geographic regions	1. Performing arts
2. Traditional craftsmanship: traditional skills and crafts that are mainly handmade and are passed down through generations among ethnic groups or geographic regions	2. Traditional craftsmanship
3. Oral traditions and expressions: traditions passed down through generations via language, recitation or singing	3. Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage
4. Folklore: traditional customs, ceremonies, religious rites, festivals and ceremonies that are related to citizens' life and of special cultural significance	4. Social practices, rituals and festive events
5. Traditional knowledge and practices: knowledge, skills and related practices addressing the natural environment that are accumulated or developed by different ethnic or social groups over a long period of time in order to survive in, adapt to, and handle their environment	5. Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe

Moreover, in 2016, President Tsai Ing-Wen proposed a policy of reconstructing and representing historical memories of Taiwan.[31] Based on this notion, the Ministry of Culture proposed "Regeneration of Historic Sites" (*Zaizao lishi xianchang* 再造歷史現場) as the central tenet for a public infrastructure investment project, with a budget totaling NT$7 billion (US$216 million at 2016 rates).[32] Between 2017 and 2020, thirty-seven projects within twenty-one cities/counties were carried out, with intangible heritage such as traditional performing arts as the

[31] See the website of the National Cultural Congress (全國文化會議), https://nccwp.moc.gov.tw/main_issue, accessed March 10, 2021.

[32] Parts of the project materials can be accessed through the Ministry of Culture's Regeneration of Historic Sites online platform, at https://rhs.boch.gov.tw, accessed March 10, 2021.

core elements for reviving cultural ecologies.

A good example of this is the project carried out in Yunlin County. The Yunlin County government proposed a "Regeneration Project for Historic Sites of the Hundred-Year-Old Art Town of Beigang in Yunlin County" (*Yunlin xian Beigang bainian yizhen zaizao lishi xianchang jihua* 雲林縣北港百年藝鎮再造歷史現場計畫), with a total budget of NT$112 million (US$ 3.4 million at 2016 rates). The objectives of the project are to ensure research on and preservation, transmission and development of traditional arts; to promote and educate people about the value of intangible cultural heritage; and to construct the traditional arts community of Beigang by incorporating it with tangible cultural heritage.[33] Unlike other cities and counties that stress tangible heritage as objects for revitalization, Yunlin County emphases traditional performing arts, traditional craftsmanship, and religious festivals as core elements to regenerate historic sites. Between August 2019 and December 2020 during my fieldwork in Taiwan, I was fortunate enough to participate in the "Survey of *Khai-lōo kóo*, *Lâm-kuán*, and *Pak-kuán* Musical Troupes, Manuscript Digitization, and Publication Projects" (北港地區開路鼓樂、南北管陣頭調查研究及舊樂譜數位化與出版計畫), executed by National Tainan University of the Arts (PI: Fan Yang-Kun), under the authority of the government of Yunlin County (Fan Yang-Kun 2020a; Chen Mei-Chen 2021). This project was a sub-project of Yunlin County's "Regeneration of Historic Sites," and the outcome was published in December 2020. The resulting volume consists of three parts: the history of traditional music in Beigang; oral histories of traditional music practitioners; and selected manuscripts of *pak-kuán*, *lâm-kuán*, and *khai-lōo kóo* music.

[33] See https://rhs.boch.gov.tw/index.php?inter=project&id=0&did=43, accessed March 12, 2021.

ICH as Soft Power, and the New Southbound Strategy

In July 2018, Taiwan's Minister of Culture, Cheng Li-Chun (鄭麗君), announced that the budget for intangible cultural heritage transmission and preservation plans was set to triple in 2019.[34] This pledge demonstrates the government's effort to sustain cultural traditions of Taiwan, as well as its intention to exercise and cultivate the "soft power" (Nye 2004) of the nation in responding to international ICH trends. Soft power, defined as "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments" (Nye 2004: x), has been a crucial diplomatic strategy for Taiwan in world politics. Taiwan has no formal diplomatic relations with major powers and is excluded from most world bodies. However, most of the countries that have severed diplomatic relations with Taiwan have maintained non-governmental relations with the island. Therefore, both the KMT and the DPP have embraced the idea of soft power to help with international diplomacy. Under this political circumstance, the heritage of Taiwan, especially traditional performing arts, is an important resource for cultural exchange, gaining international recognition, and cross-strait diplomacy. As cultural heritage scholar Chiang Min-Ching states, "In Taiwan, the concept and policy of UNESCO ICH has been idealized under pressure from political interests to gain or re-gain membership in international organizations as well as from the tension of cross-strait politics" (Chiang Min-Ching 2019: 97).

Since the DPP's assumption of power in Taiwan in 2016, it has very markedly privileged Taiwanese and Indigenous cultures over Chinese culture. Taiwanese Indigenous heritage has become a symbol of Taiwan and has been appropriated to support the idea of Taiwanese national identity in various cases (Zhongbu pingpu zuqun qingnian lianmeng 2016). Apart from promoting Indigenous culture, the DPP government has recently initiated the New Southbound

[34] The news report about this announcement is available at https://www.moc.gov.tw/information_250_88051.html, accessed February 9, 2023

Policy (*Xin nanxiang zhengce* 新南向政策) to enhance cooperation and exchanges between Taiwan and countries in Southeast Asia, South Asia and Australasia. In the 2018 Culture White Paper published by the Ministry of Culture, it states,

> Future participation in global cultural networks will not only seek membership but also offer Taiwan as a suitable location for international NGOs seeking to establish an Asia-Pacific headquarters. Emphasis will also be placed on integration with the New Southbound Policy and fashioning Taiwan into a world platform for Austronesian cultural research and preservation. (Wenhua bu 2018: 8)

The Bureau of Cultural Heritage of Taiwan has held a series of exhibitions and cultural exchange events in Indonesia (2017), India (2018), Cambodia (2018), Vietnam (2019), and increased cultural understanding among Southeast Asian immigrants and people in Taiwan.[35] As cultural policy scholar Wei Chun-Yin states, the recent policy on Taiwan's cultural diplomacy has moved beyond aiming merely for greater visibility for the country. Cultural relations within domestic life—for instance, emphasizing the presence of immigrants from Southeast Asia and their cultural rights—are remarked upon in the official cultural policy announcement (Wei Chun-Yin 2019). Moreover, in 2017 Taiwan brought its ICH cultural exchange troupe, encompassing performing arts, heritage forums, and traditional crafts, to George Town in Malaysia for a twenty-day-long exhibition titled "Taiwan's Cultural Heritage Overseas Exhibition" (Pameran Warisan Budaya Taiwan, Figure 2.5).[36] Traditional performing arts genres such as *pòo-tē-hì* and *kua-á-hì* were selected to represent Taiwan.[37] In the next year (2018), the Bureau of Cultural

[35] The event information is available on the website of the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture, at https://www.boch.gov.tw, accessed March 23, 2021.

[36] Taiwan's First Intangible Cultural Heritage Overseas Exchange Exhibition in Penang (臺灣文化遺產首次海外交流展在檳城), Ministry of Culture, https://www.moc.gov.tw/information_250_71195.html, accessed May 6, 2019. And "Taiwan to showcase heritage, traditional arts in Malaysia" https://www.moc.gov.tw/en/information_315_77712.html, accessed July 28, 2021.

[37] *Potehi* puppet theatre is one of the Hokkien performing arts that was brought from Quanzhou, Fujian, by Chinese who migrated to the Malay peninsula in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. George Town in Penang was one of the

Heritage was invited by George Town World Heritage Incorporated to join George Town's tenth anniversary celebrations of the city's recognition as an UNESCO World Heritage Site. The exchange event prompted the signing of a memorandum of understanding between Taiwan's BOC and George Town World Heritage Incorporated, paving the way for more collaboration in safeguarding cultural heritage in the future.[38]

Figure 2.5. Poster of "Taiwan's Cultural Heritage Overseas Exhibition." Figure retrieved from the Facebook page of the George Town World Heritage Incorporated, https://www.facebook.com/gtwhi/photos/a.608339659230650/1538493779548562/, accessed July 28, 2021.

centers for *potehi*, since Hokkien speakers form the majority of the Chinese in Penang (Tan Sooi Beng 2019). A short film about *potehi* at the George Town Festival may be found at https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=317943995621972, accessed February 14, 2023.

[38] George Town "Of the Past, In the Present, For the Future," https://www.moc.gov.tw/en/information_319_87740.html, accessed July 28, 2021.

Intangible Cultural Heritage During the COVID-19 Pandemic

As we are all too well aware, the year 2020 was disrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic, which caused worldwide disasters and suspended international cultural exchange. Immediately upon the outbreak of COVID-19 just before the Lunar New Year in January 2020, Taiwan's government quickly took preventative measures against the spread of the virus through travel restrictions, mask rules, quarantines, and limitations on public events and social gatherings. Even though Taiwan successfully eliminated COVID-19 without fully locking down the country, the pandemic still greatly impacted the culture and music industries, since most of the island's festivals, religious and cultural events were postponed or canceled.[39]

On March 12, 2020, the Ministry of Culture unveiled the "Relief and Revitalization Measures for the Cultural and Arts Sectors Impacted by COVID-19" (文化部對受嚴重特殊傳染性肺炎影響發生營運困難產業事業紓困振興辦法). The Ministry of Culture provided two waves of relief and stimulus packages, with a total budget of NT$4.72 billion (US$168 million in 2020). On June 3, 2021, the Ministry of Culture announced the third wave of relief packages, with a total budget of NT$4.55 billion (US$162.4 million in 2021). All culture-related enterprises or professionals in domains such as the publishing industry, visual and performing arts, the film and broadcasting industry, museums and cultural centers, and tangible and intangible cultural heritage transmission and management whose operations and livelihoods were impacted by the virus after January 15, 2020 could apply for aid.[40]

[39] On the Taiwan model for combating COVID-19, see Huang, Irving Yi-Feng 2020, and Wang, Chun, and Brook 2020.

[40] For more information on the regulation, see Laws and Regulations Database of the Republic of China, https://law.moj.gov.tw/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?pcode=H0170156, and Ministry of Culture,

In the first two waves of relief and stimulus packages, the nationally designated and municipally registered ICH culture-bearers/groups were encouraged to apply for such subsidies. They could apply for funding to cover financial loss due to the pandemic or propose other "upgrading plans" (提升計畫) to improve themselves by different means of preservation, documentation, and transmission, other than public performance. In my interviews with the traditional performing arts culture-bearers/groups in April and May 2020, they mentioned that even though some performances at temple fairs were canceled outright, governmental cultural events were merely postponed. Therefore, they could dedicate more time to cultural transmission practices before all cultural events resumed in the future. Moreover, they were encouraged to apply for the relief package to get extra support from the government. In the first wave of subsidies, traditional performing arts were dominant in the ICH submissions, totaling 54% of the available funding. Furthermore, 68% of the ICH cases were "upgrading plans," and only 32% were applying for subsidies to compensate for losses from the pandemic. According to the report by Tseng Li-Fen (曾麗芬), the former official from the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, the content of upgrading plans included community-internal training; recruiting new apprentices for cultural transmission; publishing and audiovisual documentation; regenerating the field of cultural practices; designing and planning new programs for performances; improving media promotion and livestream techniques; branding, etc. (Tseng Li-Fen 2020). From what we can summarize at this point, the first two relief packages for ICH helped to strengthen and cultivate professional techniques and abilities of the practitioners during the pandemic.

https://www.moc.gov.tw/en/information_196_109652.html, accessed March 14, 2021. The third wave of the relief package, https://www.moc.gov.tw/en/information_196_130054.html, accessed July 25, 2021.

Apart from the relief packages for the culture industry, the Ministry of Culture also launched two waves of "Arts Fun Vouchers" (藝 Fun 券) to stimulate the art and culture industries amid the COVID-19 pandemic, and encouraged people to shop at local stores and spend money on cultural events.[41] Traditional performing arts, moreover, are recognized as resources for stimulating Taiwan's tourism industry. In September 2020, when pandemic-related restrictions were eased in Taiwan, the Ministry of Transportation and Communications hosted theatrical performances throughout the country to attract visitors and stimulate demand for local business.[42] The BOC and NCTA, two subsidiary organizations of the Ministry of Culture, also resumed and relaunched diverse cultural events towards the end of 2020.

However, on May 19, 2021, the Taiwan Centers for Disease Control raised its epidemic warning to Level 3 nationwide in response to the outbreak of domestic COVID-19 cases.[43] Under the COVID-19 Level 3 alert, a halt was ordered to all religious gatherings, events and performances until July 27, 2021. The Ministry of Culture announced the third wave of arts relief packages (Arts Relief 4.0), which aimed to help the arts and cultural sector weather the impact of COVID-19.

The government of Taiwan has made a great effort to sustain traditional performing arts crucial to Taiwan's sense of identity. From the national culture (*minzu yishu*) paradigm that represented pan-Chinese Nationalist ideologies, to the current intangible cultural heritage (*wuxing wenhua zichan*) paradigm that emphasizes Taiwanese traditional genres that derive

[41] See https://artsfungo.moc.gov.tw/promote_s/login, accessed March 15, 2021.

[42] See 「小鎮遊戲趣 2.0」啟動記者會 旅遊加看戲 就是愛臺玩 https://www.motc.gov.tw/ch/app/data/view?module=news&id=14&serno=202008260002, accessed February 3, 2023.

[43] For the Level 3 alert announcement, see the CECC press release, https://www.cdc.gov.tw/En/Bulletin/Detail/VN_6yeoBTKhRKoSy2d0hJQ?typeid=158, accessed July 25, 2021.

either from Taiwanese Indigenous groups or from genres originally brought from China that have been cultivated in Taiwan for more than a hundred years, traditional performing arts practitioners have been negotiating with and adapting to capricious cultural polices and regulations. The next chapter introduces the structure of the current large-scale national Transmission Plans and presents the roles that different actors such as culture-bearers, apprentices, scholars, and government officials play in this plan.

CHAPTER 3. EXECUTION AND MANAGEMENT OF THE TRANSMISSION PLAN

The Important Traditional Performing Arts Transmission Plans (重要傳統表演藝術傳習計畫, hereafter, Transmission Plans) constitute the primary means by which officials responsible for cultural policy seek to ensure the sustainability of Taiwan's traditional performing arts. The Transmission Plans were first announced on October 1, 2009; the Bureau of Cultural Heritage (Wenhua zichan ju 文化資產局) has since made several amendments, with the most recent revision implemented on December 7, 2020 (Wenhua zichan ju 2020). This chapter provides an overview of the structure and execution of Transmission Plans according to the 2020 guidelines, the roles and responsibilities of different actors involved in the project, and how cultural experts and government officials engage in advising and managing the Transmission Plans.

Composition of a Transmission Plan

According to the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, once a culture-bearer or group has been nationally designated as a guardian of a traditional performing arts genre, such a culture-bearer/group is required to undertake a Transmission Plan to ensure the sustainability of that tradition (Wenhua bu 2016, Article 92). As mentioned in Chapter 1, between 2009 and 2021, twenty-five performing arts Transmission Plans were implemented for eighteen genres, including instrumental music, ensemble music, professional theatrical opera, amateur music clubs, puppetry, and narrative singing. The Transmission Plans have been constantly adjusted since 2009 to accommodate the diverse ecosystems of different genres and the different conditions of the ICH designation. The latest version of the Transmission Plan (Wenhua zichan ju 2020) indicates three types of Transmission Plans: individual culture-bearer (個人), professional group

(專業表演團體), and amateur group (業餘表演團體). The three types of Transmission Plans are slightly different in the numbers of apprentices, types of allowance, and the overall project budget. The annual budget for an individual culture-bearer or professional group Transmission Plan is roughly NT$1.2 million (US$43,000 at 2021 rates), not including apprentices' monthly stipends. The annual budget for an amateur group Transmission Plan is NT$1.5 million (US$54,000 at 2021 rates), including the costs of three educational and promotional events.

The culture-bearer/group has the right to decide the transmission lessons' format, content, and framework. In addition, they can propose other educational, promotional and preservation projects to strengthen the sustainability of the tradition. As the 2020 project manual states, the culture-bearer/group can administer the project themselves or commission a professional agency to implement the plan. The proposal for a Transmission Plan needs to be submitted to the Bureau of Cultural Heritage for internal review every November, and it should indicate a four- to six-year transmission framework, the current state of transmission practice, and detailed lesson planning for the following year (Wenhua zichan ju 2020). After the project reexamination by the board of the ICH committee, which consists of scholars and government officials, Transmission Plans are funded by the Bureau of Cultural Heritage through the government procurement system,[44] which requires a process of tendering, price negotiation, contract award, and acceptance. Therefore, the administrative personnel of the Transmission Plans are essential to prepare the documents and communicate with the Bureau of Cultural Heritage.

A Transmission Plan usually comprises a culture-bearer (several for a group), two to six apprentices, and one administrative assistant. In addition, it can include a vice teacher or a teaching assistant according to need.

[44] Government Procurement Act, 2019. https://law.moj.gov.tw/ENG/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?pcode=A0030057, accessed September 9, 2021.

Culture-bearers (藝師)

The culture-bearer of the important traditional performing arts (*zhongyao chuantong biaoyan yishu baocunzhe* 重要傳統表演藝術保存者, hereafter, culture-bearer) is officially appointed as the preserver of the nationally designated traditional performing arts genre. It is not merely an honorary title, as the key factors for designation also indicate that the preserver needs to be active and willing to teach techniques and core values of the tradition to the younger generations (interview with ICH committee, March 8, 2021). Therefore, when a master is officially designated a culture-bearer, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage will initiate a Transmission Plan to transmit that designated genre.

The culture-bearer in an individual culture-bearer (個人) Transmission Plan receives an allowance of NT$50,000 (US$1,805 at 2021 rates) monthly, or NT$1,250 (US$45) hourly, and is required to teach at least forty hours a month. Other benefits for culture-bearers include subsidies for annual health examinations and long-term care services.[45] In the professional group (專業表演團體) and amateur group (業餘表演團體) Transmission Plans, since the whole group is designated, the numbers of culture-bearers vary. The group can decide the amount of the monthly allowance for culture-bearers according to their overall budget and conditions.

[45] 重要傳統表演藝術重要傳統工藝重要口述傳統及重要文化資產保存技術保存者關懷照護補助作業要點 (Working Guidelines of Care Subsidies for Preservers of Important Traditional Performing Arts, Important Traditional Crafts, Important Oral Traditions, and Important Cultural Heritage Preservation Techniques), https://law.moc.gov.tw/law/LawContent.aspx?id=GL001098&KeyWord=, accessed September 14, 2021.

Apprentices (藝生)

In general, there are two to six apprentices in a Transmission Plan. However, the number of apprentices may be negotiated according to suggestions stated in the genre's "preservation and maintenance action plan" (保存維護計畫, Mandarin: *baocun weihu jihua*),[46] or the culture-bearer's volition. The apprentices are usually selected through an open audition. The principles, qualifications, number of apprentices, and selection methods are established between the culture-bearers and the Bureau of Cultural Heritage. Taking the 2021 apprenticeship application as an example,[47] the minimum qualifications for application were 1) that they be willing to work in coordination with the transmission lessons, project execution, culture-bearers' regular performances and other educational workshops; and 2) that they possess a basic knowledge and understanding of the genre. Some genres might require that apprentices already have at least one year of experience with the art-form. Furthermore, the indigenous traditional performing arts such as Paiwan mouth and nose flutes require apprentices to have basic communication skills in the Paiwan indigenous language.

After reviewing the personal statements and applications, the BOC holds open auditions to select apprentices and invites the ICH committee members to participate. The criteria for evaluation vary from one genre to another and are stated in the application guidelines. However, for the amateur group Transmission Plans, the amateur group must submit the list of apprentices in the annual project proposal without an open audition, since transmission is community-based,

[46] A preservation and maintenance action plan (or action plan) is a document that sets out the significance of the genre and elaborates the principles and strategies for safeguarding it. Once a genre has been designated as national-level or municipal-level intangible cultural heritage, the national or municipal government will commission scholars or experts to draft an action plan to safeguard it (Chen Mei-Chen 2021).

[47] The Chinese guideline is available at the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, https://www.boch.gov.tw/information_166_120896.html, accessed September 15, 2021.

and the apprentices do not receive a monthly stipend. From my observations, the rules for apprentices in an amateur group are less strict, since the project aims to help in community-building and maintain a communal musical practice.

Apprentices in the individual culture-bearer and professional group Transmission Plans may receive a NT$15,000 (US$540 at 2021 rates) monthly stipend. Each apprentice takes lessons from the culture-bearer at least fifty hours a month—in a combination of forty hours of transmission lessons and ten hours of assisting with the culture-bearer's promotional and educational workshops. In addition, apprentices must attend sixteen hours a year of workshops or conferences associated with themes of cultural heritage, artistic appreciation, and performance pedagogy to cultivate cultural and humanistic knowledge outside the actual transmission lessons.

The Bureau of Cultural Heritage carries out annual mid-term evaluations and final joint performances for Transmission Plans. Apprentices' performances are evaluated by committees composed of cultural experts, scholars, and government officials. A learning journal (*yisheng rizhi* 藝生日誌) for every transmission lesson is required for each apprentice. It is evaluated during the annual examinations. If the apprentice fails the examinations, part of their monthly stipend is withdrawn, and they will not be able to participate in any Transmission Plan in the following two years (Wenhua zichan ju 2020).

After the completion of one term of a Transmission Plan (four to six years) with an annual grade of over 80 marks out of 100, the apprentice can submit a request to the Bureau of Cultural Heritage to take the training completion examination (結業考).[48] The scope of the exam

[48] For these regulations, see the guidelines of the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture, promulgated in 2016: 重要傳統表演藝術及重要傳統工藝傳習藝生結業考核原則 (Guideline of Training Completion Examination for Important Traditional Performing Arts and Important Traditional Craftsmanship Transmission Plans). The guideline is available at https://law.moc.gov.tw/law/LawContent.aspx?id=GL001082, accessed September 17, 2021.

includes all the techniques, knowledge, and contents of the four to six years of training. There are three parts to the examination: performance (60%), oral interview (25%), and review of learning journals (15%). Five to seven committee members strictly evaluate the test. The criteria and evaluation methods are well established before the exam among the culture-bearers, the Empowerment Project (see next section), and the Bureau of Cultural Heritage. Apprentices need to receive a score of between 75% and 84% to be certified (合格), and 85–100% to be deemed excellent (優異); a score of under 74% constitutes failure in the examination. Graduated apprentices (結業藝生) who pass the exam receive a Certificate of Completion from the Ministry of Culture (Figure 3.1). They also have priority to apply for the ICH sustaining projects and to be included in the governmental talent pool in culture. There were fifty-five traditional performing arts apprentices who received a Certificate of Completion between 2009 and 2021 (Taiwan yinyue xuehui 2021).

Figure 3.1. Graduated apprentice Sakuliu Mananigai receives a Certificate of Completion from the Ministry of Culture. July 30, 2018. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Administrative Assistants (行政助理)

The monthly stipend for an administrative assistant is NT$24,000 (US$865 at 2021 rates), which is higher than that for an apprentice. As noted earlier, administrative assistants in the Transmission Plans are essential to communicate with the Bureau of Cultural Heritage and prepare documents for the governmental procurement procedure. Furthermore, administrative assistants help culture-bearers arrange lessons and teaching materials and make audiovisual recordings during the transmission lessons. They are also in charge of compiling all the lesson records, records of attendance, and oral presentations during the examinations. Detailed documentation of the transmission lessons, in the form of teaching journals (*jiaoxue rizhi* 教學日誌) compiled by the assistants, can also lead to publication projects. For example, three *lâm-kuán hì-khek* scripts (Lin-Wu Su-Xia 2016, 2020a, 2020b) were constructed and published during the *lâm-kuán hì-khek* Lin-Wu Su-Xia transmission plan (南管戲曲林吳素霞傳習計畫). Similarly, two dictionaries on *lmuhuw*, the Atayal oral tradition (Watan Tanga 2017, 2021), were compiled during the Watan Tanga *lmuhuw* transmission plan (林明福泰雅史詩吟唱傳習計畫). These publications represent the efforts of the culture-bearers, apprentices, and the most important, the administrative assistants. Therefore, this important role—that of administrative assistant—is usually undertaken by relatives of the culture-bearer, senior apprentices, graduate students, or researchers who are interested in the genre, or by individuals who have administrative experience.

Vice Teachers (助理教師) and Teaching Assistants (教學助理)

Forty hours of monthly transmission lessons can be quite demanding for older culture-bearers. In addition, genres such as *kua-á-hì*, *pak-kuán hì-khek*, and other cooperative performing

arts may require other teachers to assist with different roles and parts during training. Therefore, some Transmission Plans have vice teachers or teaching assistants to assist with the transmission practices. Teaching assistants are usually graduated apprentices who have completed one term of the relevant Transmission Plan and received a Completion Certificate. From my observation and interviews, being a teaching assistant is a way for graduated apprentices to keep up with the culture-bearer, extend their connection with the project, and cultivate their teaching abilities.

The Notion of Community

The role of "communities or groups" has been highlighted in UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which considers them the central actors to identify, promote, and sustain the value of cultural heritage. This view can be perceived from the definition of ICH:

> The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development. (UNESCO 2003a)

However, from my experiences with the traditional performing arts Transmission Plans, the sense of the "community" that possesses an item of heritage is blurred and can be controversial in several ways. First of all, the ICH designation is inevitably a process of selection, singling out an individual or a group for cultural transmission. A culture-bearer or

group designated for a particular traditional performing arts genre seems to partake of distinctive features and achievements that are different from other practitioners and has access to more government funding opportunities, which alienates the culture-bearer/group from the "original community" of practice. Second, a cultural form practiced by an ethnic group may involve power struggles, both within the village and outside the village. For instance, there has been tension between the Nantou County Xinyi Township Bunun Cultural Association (南投縣信義鄉布農文化協會 hereafter, Bunun Cultural Association) of the Mingde Tribe (明德部落) and the Church community of the tribe since the Bunun Cultural Association conducted the Bunun music and *pasibutbut* Transmission Plan (see Chapter 4). The Bunun Cultural Association was also questioned by other Bunun tribes over the ICH designation (Interview on August 10, 2018). These instances that have arisen in the implementation of the Transmission Plans cause me to reconsider the notion of community in heritage making.

Cultural anthropologists have criticized UNESCO's perspectives on communities and groups as far too simplistic. For example, folklorist Dorothy Noyes notes that the current ICH initiatives do not consider the complex nature of traditions, performative culture, or folklore. The assignation of a tradition to an ethnic group or a community may seem natural, but the community designated may be too large or too small to capture the real social universe of the tradition (Noyes 2011: 40). Markus Tauschek further argues that, in the context of UNESCO's heritage policy, "community" can be interpreted as a form of assemblage composed by practices, norms, moral concepts, performances, and a set of very different actors. These actors are arguing and acting within different frames and cultural or institutional logics (Tauschek 2015: 293).

Responding to the aforementioned concepts, I suggest that the notion of "community" is framed and negotiated differently within each Transmission Plan. Thus, the sense of community

is not merely shared among a group of people who practice the tradition, but developed from diverse practices, perspectives, and relationships set by actors within each plan.

Management and Collaborative Governance of Transmission Plans

Between 2009 and 2021, twenty-five traditional performing arts Transmission Plans were implemented, coving eighteen genres (Table 3.1). The participants involved in each plan could be seen as a community, with the number of people involved in each community ranging from six to thirty. Since 2012, in view of the growing number of projects administered by a limited number of government officials, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage has commissioned a professional team—the Assistance and Empowerment Project for the Important Traditional Performing Arts—to assist the culture-bearers and apprentices during the Transmission Plans and other ICH sustaining projects to reinforce the efficiency of project execution.

Table 3.1. Genres, Culture-bearers, and Years of Execution of Transmission Plans

	Genre /Translation/ Characters	*Transmission Plan Title*	*Culture-bearer/group*	*Years of plan execution*	*Plan type*
1	Pak-kuán music (Beiguan music, 北管音樂)	1. Pak-kuán music Lê-tshun-uân transmission plan (北管音樂梨春園北管樂團傳習計畫)	1. Lê-tshun-uân 梨春園	1. 2009–2021	1. Amateur group
		2. Pak-kuán music Chiu Huo-Jung transmission plan (北管音樂邱火榮傳習計畫)	2. Chiu Huo-Jung 邱火榮	2. 2015–2021	2. Individual culture-bearer
2	Pak-kuán hì-khek (Beiguan xiqu, 北管戲曲)	3. Pak-kuán hì-khek Hanyang Beiguan Troupe transmission plan (北管戲曲漢陽北管劇團傳習計畫)	Hanyang Beiguan Troupe 漢陽北管劇團	2009–2021	Professional group
3	Pòo-tē-hì (Taiwanese puppetry, 布袋戲)	4. Pòo-tē-hì Chen Hsi-Huang transmission plan (布袋戲陳錫煌傳習計畫)	1. Chen Hsi-Huang 陳錫煌	1. 2009–2021	1. Individual culture-bearer
		5. Pòo-tē-hì Huang Chun-Hsiung transmission plan (布袋戲黃俊雄傳習計畫)	2. Huang Chun-Hsiun 黃俊雄	2. 2012–2016	2. Individual culture-bearer
4	Kua-á-hì (Taiwanese opera, 歌仔戲)	6. Kua-á-hì Liao Chiung-chih transmission plan (歌仔戲廖瓊枝傳習計畫)	1. Liao Chiung-chih 廖瓊枝	1. 2009–2021	1-3. Individual culture-bearers

		7. Kua-á-hì Wang Ren-Xin transmission plan (歌仔戲王仁心傳習計畫) 8. Kua-á-h Chen Feng-Gui transmission plan (歌仔戲陳鳳桂傳習計畫)	2. Wang Ren-Xin 王仁心 3. Chen Feng-Gui 陳鳳桂	2. 2021 3. 2021	
5	Liām-kua (Hoklo narrative, 唸歌[說唱])	9. Liām-kua Yang Hsiu-ching transmission plan (說唱楊秀卿傳習計畫)	Yang Hsiu-ching 楊秀卿	2009–2021	Individual culture-bearer
6	Bunun music and pasibutbut (布農音樂與八部合音)	10. Bunun music and pasibutbut Nantou County Xinyi Township Bunun Cultural Association transmission plan (布農族音樂Pasibutbut南投縣信義鄉布農文化協會傳習計畫)	Nantou County Xinyi Township Bunun Cultural Association 南投縣信義鄉布農文化協會	2010–2016, 2018–2021	Amateur group
7	Hakka bayin (客家八音)	11. Hakka bayin Miao-Li Chen Family Pei-Kuan Pa-Yin Group transmission plan (客家八音苗栗陳家班北管八音團傳習計畫) 12. Hakka bayin Meinong Hakka Bayin Group transmission plan (客家八音美濃客家八音團傳習計畫)	1. Miao-Li Chen Family Pei-Kuan Pa-Yin Group 苗栗陳家班北管八音團 2. Meinong Hakka Bayin Group 美濃客家八音團	1. 2010–2021 2. 2016	1. Professional group 2. Professional group
8	Lâm-kuán hì-khek (Nanguan xiqu, 南管戲曲)	13. Lâm-kuán hì-khek Lin-Wu Su-Xia transmission plan (南管戲曲林吳素霞傳習計畫)	Lin-Wu Su-Xia 林吳素霞	2010–2021	Individual culture-bearer
9	Lâm-kuán music (Nanguan, 南管音樂)	14. Lâm-kuán music Zhang Hong-Ming transmission plan (南管音樂張鴻明傳習計畫)	Zhang Hong-Ming張鴻明	2010–2013	Individual culture-bearer
10	Xiangsheng (Comic dialogue,相聲)	15. Xiangsheng Wu Chao-nan transmission plan (相聲吳兆南傳習計畫)	Wu Chao-nan 吳兆南	2012–2013	Individual culture-bearer
11	Hakka mountain song (客家山歌)	16. Hakka mountain song Lai Bi-Xia transmission plan (客家山歌賴碧霞傳習計畫)	Lai Bi-Xia 賴碧霞	2012–2014	Individual culture-bearer
12	Paringed and lalingedan (Paiwan mouth and nose flutes, 排灣族口鼻笛)	17. Paiwan mouth and nose flutes Pairang Pavavaljung transmission plan (排灣族口、鼻笛許坤仲傳習計畫) 18. Paiwan mouth and nose flutes Gilegilau Pavalius transmission plan (排灣族口、鼻笛謝水能傳習計畫)	1. Pairang Pavavaljung 許坤仲 2. Gilegilau Pavalius 謝水能	1. 2012–2016, 2018–2021 2. 2012–2021	1-2. Individual culture-bearers
13	Buán-tsiu folksong (滿州民謠)	19. Buán-tsiu folksong Chang Ri-Gui transmission plan (滿州民謠張日貴傳習計畫)	Chang Ri-Gui 張日貴	2013–2021	Individual culture-bearer
14	Pún-tē- kua-á (Local Taiwanese opera, 本地歌仔)	20. Yilan Pún-tē- kua-á Zhuang San Xin Liang-le Opera Troupe transmission plan (宜蘭本地歌仔壯三新涼	Zhuang San Xin Liang-le Opera Troupe 壯三新涼樂團	2013–2014, 2016–2021	Amateur group

		樂團傳習計畫)			
15	Lumuhuw (Atayal oral tradition, 泰雅史詩吟唱)	21. Watan Tanga lmuhuw transmission plan (林明福泰雅史詩吟唱傳習計畫)	Watan Tanga 林明福	2013–2019 (In 2020, Changed to the oral history transmission plan)	Individual culture-bearer
16	Lān-thân (亂彈戲)	22. Lān-thân Pan Yu-Chiao Transmission plan (亂彈戲潘玉嬌傳習計畫) 23. Lān-thân Wang Qing-Fang transmission plan (亂彈戲王慶芳傳習計畫)	1. Pan Yu-Chiao潘玉嬌 2. Wang Qing-Fang 王慶芳 3. Peng Hsiu-Ching 彭繡靜	1. 2015–2021 2. 2021 3. not yet	1-3. Individual culture-bearers
17	Kua-á-hì accompaniment (歌仔戲後場音樂)	24. Kua-á-hì accompaniment Lin Zhu-An transmission plan (歌仔戲後場音樂林竹岸傳習計畫)	Lin Zhu-An 林竹岸	2019–2021	Individual culture-bearer
18	Amis Falangao macacadaay (Amis polyphonic singing, 阿美族馬蘭 Macacadaay)	25. Amis Falangao Macacadaay Chu-Yin Culture and Arts Troupe transmission plan (阿美族馬蘭Macacadaay 杵音文化藝術團傳習計畫)	Chu-Yin Culture and Arts Troupe 杵音文化藝術團	2021	Amateur group
19	Hîng-tshun folksong (恆春民謠)		Chen Ying 陳英	Not yet	Individual culture-bearer

The Empowerment Project

The Assistance and Empowerment Project for the Important Traditional Performing Arts (*Zhongyao chuantong biaoyan yishu fuzhu peili jihua* 重要傳統表演藝術輔助培力計畫, hereafter, the Empowerment Project)[49] has been carried out since 2012 by the Taiwan Society for

[49] The title of the project has been revised several times. Between 2012 and 2016, it was the Management Plan for the Important Traditional Arts Culture-bearers and Groups (重要傳統藝術保存者暨保存團體專案管理計畫), which advises the culture-bearers/groups in both traditional performing arts and craftmanship. In 2017 and 2018, it changed its name to the Management Plan for the Important Traditional Performing Arts and Traditional Craftmanship Culture-bearers and Groups (重要傳統表演藝術及傳統工藝保存者暨保存團體專案管理計畫) in response to the 2016 revision of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act. Since 2019, the project has mainly focused on the culture-bearers/groups in traditional performing arts, and the title was changed to the Management Plan for the Important Traditional Performing Arts Culture-bearers (重要傳統表演藝術保存者專案管理計畫). In addition, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage commissioned another professional team to assist culture-bearers of traditional craftmanship. In 2020, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage bought into the concept of "empowerment" and changed the project title to the current Assistance and Empowerment Project for the Important Traditional Performing Arts. In this dissertation, I use "the Empowerment Project," referring to the project and people associated with this team.

Music Studies (臺灣音樂學會, formerly the Society for Taiwan Ethnomusicology 臺灣民族音樂學會). This team comprises one principal investigator, ethnomusicologist Fan Yang-Kun; one co-principal investigator; and eight full-time/part-time assistants. Most of them have a background in ethnomusicology or music research, and have participated in this project for more than four years.

The central idea of the Empowerment Project is to act as a "bridge" between the culture-bearers and government officials from the Bureau of Cultural Heritage. It is required to assist in all aspects of the traditional performing arts Transmission Plans, including communicating between the culture-bearers and the government officials, bringing issues and concerns relating to the Transmission Plans to the BOC's notice, scheduling mid-term and final examinations of each Transmission Plan, documenting and updating the current state of culture-bearers/groups and their apprentices, and suggesting other sustaining projects to the culture-bearers/groups for implementation (Taiwan yinyue xuehui 2021).

I was a member of the Empowerment Project from 2014 to 2017, and I continually participated in the meetings and examinations with the team during my fieldwork in Taiwan between 2019 and 2021. My good rapport with the culture-bearers/groups, apprentices, government officials, and team members was established as a result of my involvement and collaborations through the Empowerment Project. They are aware of my role shifting from that of an Empowerment Project member to that of a Ph.D. student researching Taiwanese ICH practices, and they have generously given me access to the Transmission Plans. In addition, I constantly self-examine my perspectives when observing the project as a researcher, although it is inevitable that I bring my previous experiences as an Empowerment Project team member into my writing.

The empowerment (*peili* 培力) team or guidance group (*fudao tuan* 輔導團)—professional organizations to provide assistance and cooperation with local communities in community development—is not a new concept in Taiwan. It has been practiced since the 1990s in the area of "community building" (*shequ zongti yingzao* 社區總體營造), which is a cultural policy enacted by the Council of Cultural Affairs of the Executive Yuan (行政院文化建設委員會) that aims to promote bottom-up, empowering, and self-governing strategies that provide economic incentives for local communities. The empowerment strategy was later also applied to the post-disaster reconstruction from the 9/21 Earthquake in 1999 (Chiang Ta-Shu, Chang Li-Ya 2016).

In terms of the application of empowerment strategy in the arena of ICH, in 2012, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage first commissioned ethnomusicologist Fan Yang-Kun to assist with nationally-designated culture-bearers/groups in traditional performing arts and craftmanship. Later, in 2019, Professor Fan's team continued to serve as the traditional performing arts Empowerment Project team, and the Bureau of Cultural Heritage commissioned three other professional groups as Empowerment Project teams in assisting nationally-designated culture-bearers/groups in traditional craftsmanship, folklore, and indigenous folklore. In this dissertation, unless otherwise specified, the Empowerment Project refers to the traditional performing arts Empowerment Project.

Issues in Intervention and Collaboration

Taiwanese scholars in community governance have examined three main problems that have the potential to lead to deficient collaborations between Empowerment Projects and local communities in community construction. First, the role of the Empowerment Project or guidance

group is to accompany (陪伴) and empower the local community over a long period of time. However, the Empowerment Project's task in any given case is usually restricted to a limited time span through the government procurement system. Therefore, it is not easy for the Empowerment Project to maintain a long-term partnership with the local community. Second, in theory, experts in guidance groups should possess professional knowledge, a service orientation, and independent vitality when serving the local community. Yet, some experts and Empowerment Projects tend to hold onto their professional knowledge, neglect distinctive features of local culture, and cause tensions with the local community. Third, the organization of an Empowerment Project is usually via an NGO, consulting firm, or scholars from universities, and it is not easy to maintain stable funding only from conducting one Empowerment Project; the members of the Empowerment Project sometimes need to take on other jobs to make ends meet. Thus insufficient wages for the members of the Empowerment Project can cause instability for the organization (Chiang Ta-Shu, Chang Li-Ya 2016: 383–386).

My experiences with the traditional performing arts Empowerment Project resonate with the issues mentioned above. It is not easy to build up long-term partnership and trust with more than twenty culture-bearers/groups and maintain the role of a "bridge" between them and government officials while also avoiding the imposition of academic theories on customary local practices. Also, like other government projects, the Empowerment Project is required to go through a bidding process every year to contract in on the Empowerment project. It involves a lot of administrative work.

In this context, three major issues arise in the traditional performing arts Empowerment Project: positionality, long-term trust-building, and administrative fatigue. With regard to the first of these, positionality, the Empowerment Project facilitates communication with culture-

bearers and apprentices (Figure 3.2) and reporting issues to government officials, who then create a forum for dialogue about cultural policy, ICH management, and music sustainability. It also suggests the future action plans for each transmission project and actively participates in revitalizing community-based traditions. The opinions from the Empowerment Project are highly interventional and can be construed as authoritative. The team members thus need to be aware of their positionality when delivering messages to the culture-bearers/groups.

Figure 3.2. The Empowerment Project communicates with the culture-bearer and apprentices from the *lān-thân* Pan Yu-Chiao Transmission plan. May 24, 2020. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Furthermore, suggestions from the Empowerment Project do not always work out well; sometimes the government agency considers the suggestions unlikely to achieve immediate results, or sometimes the suggested cooperation plan causes some problems in interpersonal relationships within different communities. Ethnomusicologist Fan Yang-Kun, the principal investigator of the traditional performing arts Empowerment Project, and an ICH committee member, states:

> Giving suggestions to each Transmission Plan requires long-term observation on and participation in the ecosystem of these music traditions. It is not easy. Sometimes, I also worried that my comments or suggestions might destroy the relationship I have established with these traditional performing arts practitioners for more than 30 years. However, I still don't want to hold back from telling them my thoughts when I think that is right. (Interview, July 28, 2018)

As another example, in one of the internal meetings I observed, the officials wanted the traditional performing arts Empowerment Project to evaluate each Transmission Plan for the committees before the mid-term evaluation. In this way, the officials considered it could be "more efficient" for committees to judge each plan. However, the principal investigator of the Empowerment Project refused to do so and stated that the team's function is to "accompany" and assist the practices rather than judge and evaluate the process. Therefore, it is not appropriate for the team to make any value judgment before the exams for committees to follow.

With regard to the second issue, long-term trust-building, long-term collaboration is required to build mutual trust between Transmission Plan participants and the Empowerment Project members. When the Empowerment Project initiates all the communications and elaborations on the project, sometimes the participants in the Transmission Plans (both members of new projects and new members of the existing projects) may feel intimidated and find the Empowerment Project unapproachable. Apprentices' opinions, misunderstandings, and complaints may sometimes be delivered through social media, and the Empowerment Project may need to take a different approach to communication. For example, apprentices usually consider the purpose of a learning journal to be merely to make a record to prove they are taking transmission lessons. A few apprentices have publicly expressed their thoughts on social media that documenting issues and reflections from the lessons is redundant and time-wasting because the crucial points are better memorized through practice rather than text. To actively

communicate this long-term issue, the members of the Empowerment Project keep reviewing and providing feedback on each apprentice's learning journal. In my conversations with an Empowerment Project member, he expressed the feeling that although the work might not be appreciated, it is helpful to offer actual feedback on apprentices' journals instead of merely telling them their journals are not good enough during the evaluations. For apprentices who produce a well-written journal, the Empowerment Project also helps draft proposals for future publication projects utilizing the journals. Some work goes beyond the Empowerment Project's contractual responsibilities, but that extra work is part of trust-building.

The third issue is administrative fatigue. As noted earlier, the members of the traditional performing arts Empowerment Project have participated in this project for more than four years. Therefore, apart from going through the annual bidding process and writing project reports, routine annual obligations can be dull for the members. Such obligations include conducting two visits and interviews, scheduling mid-term and final exams, and observing and documenting public performances and events of the nearly twenty Transmission Plans. During my fieldwork in Taiwan between 2019 and 2021, several team members expressed a sense of fatigue to me: problems and issues in the Transmission Plans are similar from one year to another, and they do not have new input and perspectives established in the annual project reports. After all, some issues that existed in the Transmission Plans—such as interpersonal relationships, power struggles in the communities, culture-bearers' health issues, and jealousy—cannot be solved. Therefore, the Empowerment Project can only be aware of all the situations and accompany the heritage communities through the journey.

Implementation of the Transmission Plans

Methods of Transmission

The model of the Transmission Plan is established upon the "three years and four months" (Mandarin: *san nian si ge yue* 三年四個月) framework of Taiwanese traditional arts apprenticeship. Traditionally, an apprentice needed to live with a master, learning, performing, and generating work together, and cultivated the essence of traditional arts by oral transmission and spontaneous teaching and learning methods. An apprentice would finish their apprenticeship and graduate (*chushi* 出師) after at least three years and four months of training (Lin Mao-Hsien 2010: 8). The Transmission Plan borrows this concept, requiring a culture-bearer to teach three to six apprentices in a four- to six-year timeline, and apprentices need to closely assist and learn from the culture-bearer's regular performances and educational workshops. To cope with the modern concept of time and follow the project contract, however, teaching and learning are not spontaneous anymore and are restricted to a forty-hour weekly timeframe (Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3. Culture-bearer Chiu Huo-Jung teaches *pak-kuán* music during the transmission lesson. April 20, 2020. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Each genre of the designated traditional performing arts has its own system of transmission. While some genres such as *pak-kuán*, *lâm-kuán*, *lān-thân*, and *pòo-tē-hì* have a long history of using written script/notation for transmission, other genres such as *liām-kua*, Bunun music and *pasibutbut*, Paiwan mouth and nose flutes, etc., traditionally relied mainly on oral transmission, with limited written notation. During the transmission lessons, culture-bearers sometimes adapt to new technologies and methods while continuing to make strategic use of the older ones.

Different forms of notation and scripts are used in the Transmission Plans. The Chinese musical notation system *kong-tshe phóo* (Mandarin: *gongchepu* 工乂[尺]譜, Figure 3.4) is commonly used in the Han Chinese musical genres such as *pak-kuán*, *lâm-kuán* and Hakka *bayin*. For the music traditions mainly transmitted orally, cipher notation (Mandarin: *jianpu* 簡譜, Figure 3.5) is used to memorize the melodies.[50] For example, the *paringed* and *lalingedan* (Paiwan mouth and nose flutes) Transmission Plans use cipher notation to notate melodies without bars and meters. However, for the polyphonic singing traditions such as Amis Falangao *macacadaay* and Bunun music and *pasibutbut*, oral transmission and "learning by ear" are still the main methods of memorizing melodies, and lyrics are written down in their respective Taiwanese indigenous romanization systems.

[50] Kong-tshe phóo (*gongchepu*) is the Chinese solfège system consisting of syllables that indicate the names of scale degrees. Like Western sol-fa and the Indian *sargam* system, the Chinese scale system is heptatonic, dividing the octave into seven degrees (Jones 1995: 112). *Kong-tshe phóo*/*gongchepu* has been widely used to notate Han Chinese traditional music, and each tradition developed its own system according to the specific needs of that tradition (Norah Yeh 1988: 40). Cipher notation (*jianpu*) was introduced to Taiwan through the music education system during the Japanese colonial period (1895–1945). This widespread notation uses numbers 1 to 7 representing the notes of the musical scale. In general music education in Taiwan, cipher notation supplements Western staff notation (Li Yen-Hsun 2005).

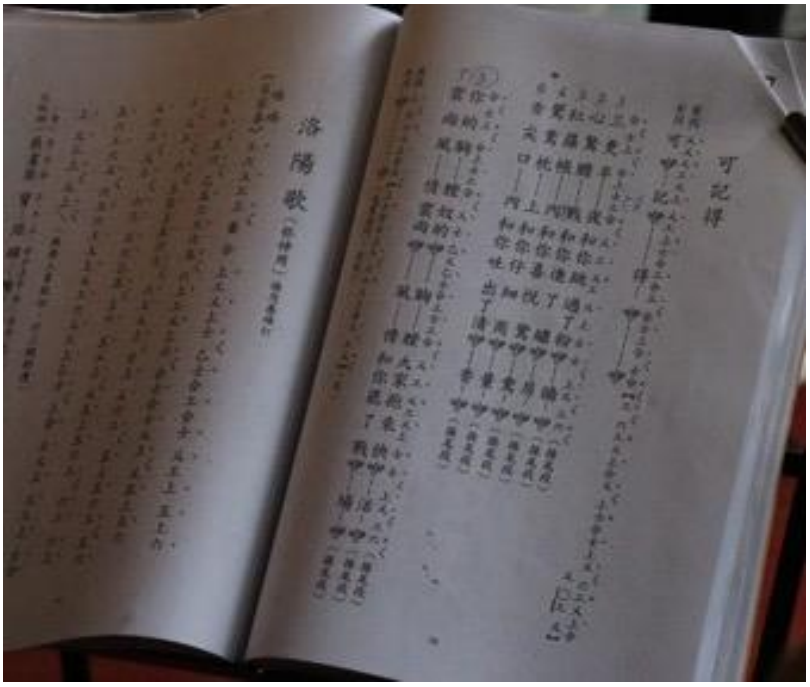
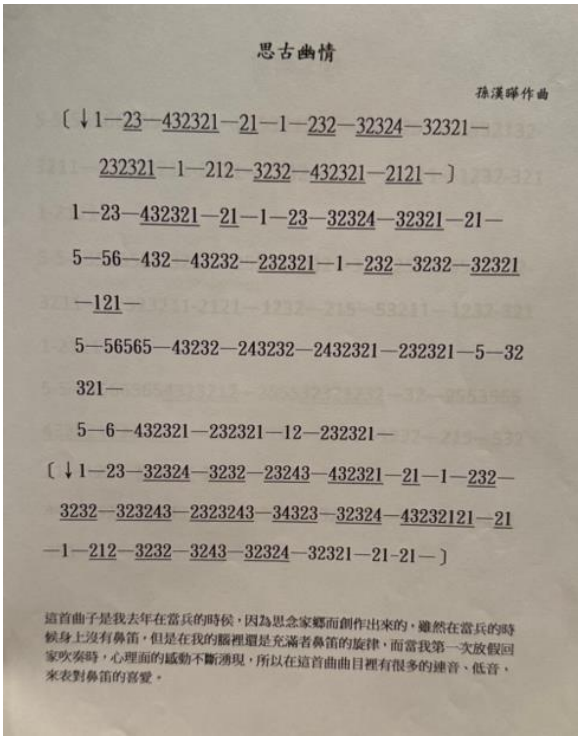


Figure 3.4. *Kong-tshe phóo* (*gongchepu*) with texts used in the *pak-kuán* music Lê-tshun-uân transmission plan. August 8, 2015. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.



思古幽情

孫漢曄作曲

〔↓1—23—432321—21—1—232—32324—32321—

232321—1—212—3232—432321—2121—〕

1—23—432321—21—1—23—32324—32321—21—

5—56—432—43232—232321—1—232—3232—32321

—121—

5—56565—43232—243232—2432321—232321—5—32

321—

5—6—432321—232321—12—232321—

〔↓1—23—32324—3232—23243—432321—21—1—232—

3232—323243—2323243—34323—32324—43232121—21

—1—212—3232—3243—32324—32321—21-21—〕

這首曲子是我去年在當兵的時候，因為思念家鄉而創作出來的，雖然在當兵的時候身上沒有鼻笛，但是在我的腦裡腦是充滿著鼻笛的旋律，而當我第一次放假回家吹奏時，心理面的感動不斷湧現，所以在這首曲曲目裡有很多的連音、低音，來表對鼻笛的喜愛。

Figure 3.5. Cipher notation (*jianpu*) used in the Paiwan mouth and nose flutes Gilegilau Pavalius transmission plan. Provided by Sun Han-Yue (孫漢曄), photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Unlike conventional oral transmission and learning by memorizing, audiovisual recording devices are greatly used in the Transmission Plans. The AV documentation can assist apprentices in reviewing the lessons on their own, avoids culture-bearers having to restate similar concepts

repeatedly, and, most importantly, accumulates and preserves the traditional knowledge transmitted by the culture-bearers. The Bureau of Cultural Heritage requires each Transmission Plan to record transmission practices, submit ten minutes of edited audiovisual documentation, and note corresponding file names in the teaching and learning journals each year.

Learning through performance is another important practice. The concept of "performance in place of training" (Mandarin: *yi yan dai xun* 以演代訓) is pervasive among the performing arts genres. For some culture-bearers, performing is one of the most efficient ways to learn the performing arts tradition. However, the opportunity for traditional music and theatre performance is not as great as it was between the 1950s and 1970s, the heyday when the current culture-bearers actively performed and learned those cultural forms. Therefore, the Transmission Plans require apprentices actively engaging in culture-bearers' public performances and workshops to obtain on-stage and teaching experience. Moreover, since 2019, the Ministry of Culture has operated a series of public performance events for the graduated apprentices to sharpen their skills. The current apprentices of the Transmission Plans have also participated in those performances. These events aim to "revitalize the ecology of traditional arts, and promote the development of innovation." Most importantly, they create an arena for graduated apprentices to perform.[51]

[51] For news of the events, see National Center for Traditional Arts,「108 年度開枝散葉計畫&接班人計畫」階段成果記者會 (Press Conference for the 2019 Branches and Leaves and Successor Projects), at https://www.ncfta.gov.tw/information_45_102056.html?fbclid=IwAR3x2ATJvp565p3DqOkRBrk1BZ6avpYrOYezZXmiOLmDAqOTZ_pja1XPNoI, accessed October 6, 2021.

Transmission Journals and Documentation

Teaching and learning journals are the most important documentation of the Transmission Plans. As mentioned earlier, a teaching journal (教學日誌) written by an administrative assistant aims to trace and record the contents and focal points of culture-bearers' teaching. Moreover, a good teaching journal and related material can lead to other documentation projects.

Learning journals (習藝日誌) written by apprentices are usually carefully evaluated by committees. From my observations on the exams, an apprentice is expected to note down key points and summarize the contents of lessons, reflect and discuss the learning process, and note the respective audiovisual file names they record during each lesson. Apart from written words, apprentices also use music notation and drawing in the learning journal (Figure 3.6). However, it is always not easy for apprentices to reflect on and write down their learning process. As mentioned earlier, some have mentioned their writing struggles, and committees constantly remind them to reflect deeply on the process rather than express general feelings and sentiments.

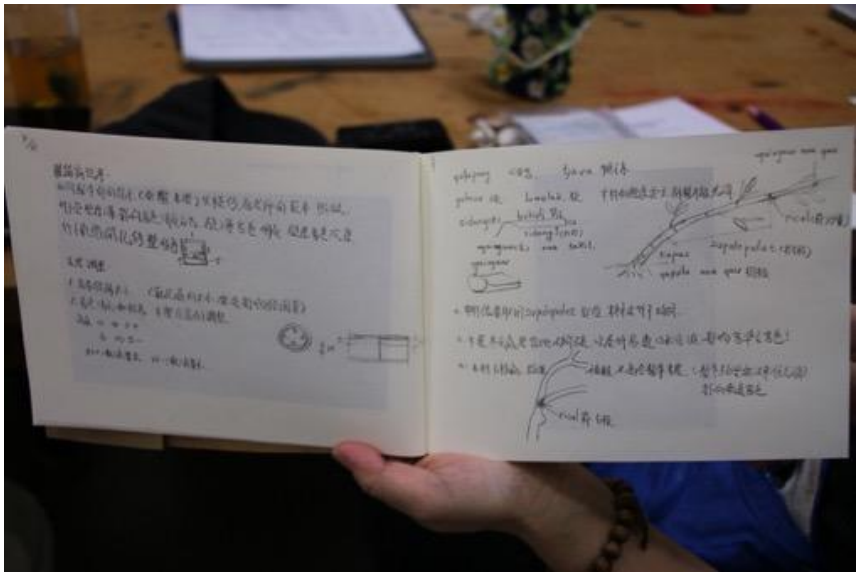


Figure 3.6. The learning journal of apprentice Yu Wei-Min (余衛民) demonstrates delicate drawings on how to select bamboo for making a Paiwan flute. April 17, 2021. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Evaluation and Committees' Comments

To evaluate the progress of each Transmission Plan, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage carries out annual mid-term evaluations, final joint performances, and training completion examinations. These examinations are evaluated by committees composed of scholars and government officials. The procedure of the examinations is as follows: 1) the administrative personnel of the transmission plan explain the content and progress of the transmission project; 2) following the performance, committees read teaching and learning journals; and 3) the committee members, usually three scholars and two government officials, comment on and evaluate the performance (Figure 3.7). Inevitably, committees vary their procedures somewhat to fit different genres, as case studies in the following chapters will show.

Figure 3.7. Committees evaluate and comment on apprentices' performance. November 29, 2020. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Voices from Apprentices

The evaluations can cause frustration. For instance, in one clip from the 2015 documentary film *Rolling on the Stage, Rolling for Life* (戲台滾人生), at the final performance evaluation, one of the committee members provided critical comments that discouraged Transmission Plan participants, and the group leader suggested participants just ignore those comments. What about the apprentices? One graduated apprentice stated, "Sometimes, different professors comment on different things, and we don't know how to take the suggestions" (interview on July 16, 2018). In some cases, apprentices also expect committees to give useful comments rather than just praise. As one apprentice said,

> Some committee members only said good things about our performance, and we were happy about it in the first year. However, when they did this over and over again, we felt that we learned nothing from that committee. We need their real comments on our performance, not just praise. (Interview, August 12, 2018)

Another graduated apprentice also pointed out the mutual learning process between Transmission Plan members and scholars:

> At first, we didn't think that committees understand what our tradition is, and they gave some suggestions that we couldn't accept at all. For example, they used other genres' aesthetics and applied them to our genre. . . . The Transmission Plan has been executed for eight years, and I felt that the committees are also improving and learning from us. In other words, we have cultivated the committees to be our audience, and they did give some helpful suggestions and comments in recent years. (Interview, August 12, 2018)

From this point of view, through this mutual leaning process, apprentices and committees ideally establish rapport and trust.

Selecting the Committees

The selection of committees for evaluating Transmission Plans is also crucial. A government official of the Bureau of Cultural Heritage selects the committees usually based on three principles: First, they should include scholars who have published widely on the genre; second, they should include people who are representative of the group; and third, they should include scholars and researchers who have paid close attention to intangible cultural heritage practices. A government official states her ideal committee:

> I hope committees can provide suggestions on "performances." The contexts of some performing arts traditions have changed, as they were not previously staged performances. However, in order to cope with our project evaluation, some genres need to be more "performative," but at the same time, they should not lose their authenticity. The apprentices and culture-bearers usually have difficulties negotiating creativity and authenticity, and I believe that some scholars could give them good suggestions. (Interview, August 16, 2018)

Younger scholars are also welcomed as members of evaluation committees to assist in the Transmission Plans, especially those who have a variety of experience in music and arts festivals. The official quoted here thinks that in this way, scholars can bring new thoughts, suggestions, and resources to apprentices.

However, it is not easy to find ideal scholars to work with. The officials tend not to work with scholars who are not familiar with Transmission Plans, because these scholars tend to give strict suggestions and frustrate apprentices. Also, some scholars who have participated in past projects do not want to participate again because of transportation difficulties, unfamiliarity with a Transmission Plan, or disagreeing with the Transmission Plan framework (Interview, anonymous official, August 16, 2018). Moreover, in order to achieve transparency in the evaluation process, some of the evaluations are open to the public and even live-streamed on

social media such as Facebook. As a result, some scholars are hesitant to give their actual views if these are critical, because they are afraid of destroying their relationships with the culture-bearers and the community, and do not want their views to be open to the public (Interview, anonymous committee member, July 28, 2018).

Transmission Plans as Heritage Communities

Each traditional performing arts transmission plan can be seen as a heritage community. It consists of culture-bearers, apprentices, an administrative assistant, and vice teacher. In addition, the heritage community interacts with government officials, committees, and the Empowerment Project, and also needs to negotiate with the ecosystem of the genre it belongs to. Each plan has specific issues that are worth examining. The next chapter uses examples of Indigenous peoples' heritage communities to illustrate how heritagization and Transmission Plans facilitate negotiations of traditional belief, modernity, and hybrid cultural forms in performance practices.

CHAPTER 4. NEGOTIATING BELIEF, TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE, AND PERFORMANCE IN THE TRANSMISSION PRACTICES

This chapter examines the issues involved in the Indigenous traditional performing arts genres in the Transmission Plan. I argue that the issues that come into play are somewhat different from those of Han Chinese genres, because of the particular history of Indigenous groups' marginalization in Taiwanese society and the social effects of Christian missionizing. By referring to the four Indigenous transmission plans—the Bunun music and *pasibutbut* Nantou County Bunun Cultural Association transmission plan, the Paiwan mouth and nose flutes Pairang Pavavaljung transmission plan, the Paiwan mouth and nose flutes Gilegilau Pavalius transmission plan, and the Watan Tanga Atayal *lmuhuw* transmission plan—this chapter first provides an overview of Taiwan's heritagization of Indigenous traditional performing arts. Next, it discusses how Indigenous practitioners and groups negotiate traditional knowledge and belief in performance according to their relationship with the Christian churches. It then shows how their postcolonial experiences impact Indigenous Transmission Plan communities' ways of framing performances. Finally, it responds to Taiwanese scholars' notion of performing for ourselves or others to discuss the distinctive features of Indigenous heritage performances in contemporary Taiwan.

Brief Introduction of Indigenous Genre Heritagization

The investigation and documentation of Indigenous traditional forms such as music, festivals, crafts, and weaving have been major foci since the Japanese colonial era (1895–1945) in the fields of anthropology, ethnology, and musicology in Taiwan. Since WWII, Taiwanese

scholars have also collected and documented Taiwanese Indigenous music. Even though those investigations were inevitably filtered through the lens of colonialism and, later, nationalism, they are valuable as some of the earliest recordings of the Indigenous music of Taiwan and assisted in the later heritagization of the Indigenous traditions (see Chapter 2). For instance, the identification of the Bunun polyphonic singing genre *pasibubut* is usually traced back to the work of Japanese musicologist Kurosawa Takatomo (黑澤隆朝) in 1943. He later sent the recording to UNESCO's International Folk Music Council in 1952, and *pasibutbut* has enjoyed international recognition since then. As Taiwanese ethnomusicologist Wu Rung-Shun states,

> Through musicologists' discovery and promotion, *pasibutbut* has become an internationally well-known Indigenous song of Taiwan. To Taiwanese people, *pasibutbut* is unquestionably the "totem" of Bunun music and the cultural heritage of the Bunun people. (Wu Rung-Shun 2009: 63–64)

Since the 1980s, Wu Rung-Shun has played a crucial role in the heritagization of *pasibutbut* by collecting, researching, promoting, and bringing Bunun groups to on-stage performances in academic and international venues (Wu Rung-Shun 2009). The wider recognition of the Bunun people's *pasibutbut* is one of the many instances of Indigenous cultural forms gaining renown through scholars' exploration and advocacy.

After the promulgation of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (CHPA) in 1982, the Ministry of Education held ten years of National Heritage Awards (民族藝術薪傳獎, 1985–1994). This award acknowledged 174 individuals and groups that are representative of "traditional arts in Taiwan" (傳統藝術在臺灣) (He Shu-Ya 2009). However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the first decade of ICH practice in Taiwan was still influenced by the Nationalist ideology that Chinese culture represented the nation. Only five Indigenous individuals/groups received the award, with the lion's share going to Han-Chinese traditional forms. The five

Indigenous genres recognized by this award were the Tao traditional hair dance from Orchid Island (蘭嶼雅美族髮舞, awarded in 1985), the traditional dance of the Paiwan people (包美琴排灣族舞, awarded in 1986), Haitutuan Bunun traditional music in Taitung (臺東海端鄉布農族傳統音樂團, awarded in 1988), Falangaw Amis traditional music and dance in Taitung (臺東馬蘭阿美族山地傳統音樂舞蹈團, awarded in 1988), and Tjimur Paiwan traditional music and dance in Pingtung (屏東三地村排灣族山地傳統音樂舞蹈團, awarded in 1988).[52] Furthermore, the National Heritage Awards were merely honorary awards without further preservation actions, and there were no Indigenous traditional practitioners nominated as Important National Artists (重要民族藝術藝師), or involved in implementing the Important National Artists Transmission Project (重要民族藝術藝師傳藝計畫).[53]

In the 1990s, scholarly investigations played an essential role in the heritagization of Indigenous traditions. The Council of Cultural Affairs of the Executive Yuan (Xingzheng yuan wenhua jianshe weiyuanhui 行政院文化建設委員會) commissioned anthropologist Hu Tai-Li to implement ethnographic research on the Indigenous Paiwanese nose flute and mouth flute and give suggestions for sustaining and preserving these traditions (Hu Tai-Li 1995, 1997). The project reports illustrate the history, significance, and value of the Paiwanese nose flute and mouth flute, list the artists, and document the detailed process of musical instrument-making. These studies provided assessment and suggestions for the future action of preserving these traditions.

[52] For the list of the awardees, see Wu Mi-Cha 2011; Lin Hui-Cheng 2011.

[53] For more information about the project, see Chapter 2.

Official recognition of Indigenous intangible cultural heritage came after the major amendment to the CHPA in 2005. The first Indigenous ICH in the domain of traditional performing arts was the Paiwan nose and mouth flutes, which were registered in 2008 by the Pingtung County Government. Among the 23 Indigenous traditional performing arts items registered as of February 2022, 17 were municipally registered or nationally designated between 2010 and 2015 (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Year and number of Indigenous traditional performing arts registration/designation (created by author).

Year of item registration/designation	*Number of items*
2008	*1*
2009	*1*
2010	*4*
2011	*2*
2012	*6*
2013	*2*
2015	*3*
2016	*1*
2018	*1*
2019	*1*
2021	*1*
Total	*23*

As previously noted, in 2016, the government made a significant amendment to the CHPA, employing UNESCO's distinction between tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Furthermore, it introduced a specific regulation for Indigenous cultural heritage, which was disregarded in the 1982 CHPA. This is the 2017 "Regulations Governing the Affairs of Indigenous Peoples' Cultural Heritage" (*Yuanzhuminzu wenhuazichan chulibanfa* 原住民族文化

資產處理辦法, hereafter RGAIPCH), which was recently revised and released on July 4, 2022.[54] During my fieldwork in Taiwan from 2018 to 2020, I saw two issues confronting the Indigenous traditional performing arts practitioners result from this regulation.

First, the RGAIPCH seems subordinate to the "Protection Act for the Traditional Intellectual Creations of Indigenous Peoples" (原住民族傳統智慧創作保護條例, hereafter, PAICIP). It states,

> If an Indigenous cultural heritage is recognized and registered by PAICIP as an intellectual creation, the culture-bearer shall prioritize the exclusive right to use that intellectual creation. (原住民族文化資產前經原住民族傳統智慧創作保護條例認定登記為傳統智慧創作者，其保存者以該智慧創作專用權人為優先). (RGAIPCH, article 13, 2017)

Some Indigenous Transmission Plans members are concerned about teaching and performing the traditional songs that have been registered as intellectual creations under the PAICIP.[55] The PAICIP is an act that aims to project the traditional intellectual creations of Indigenous peoples set forth according to the Indigenous Peoples Basic Law (原住民族基本法), and the objects of protection in PAICIP are similar to those covered by RGAIPCH. The "intellectual creations" in PAICIP encompass "traditional religious ceremonies, music, dance, songs, sculptures, weaving, patterns, clothing, folk crafts or any other expression of the cultural achievements of Indigenous peoples" (article 3, 2015), which overlap with Indigenous people's cultural heritage. However, I noticed that the goals of the CHPA and PAICIP are contradictory in some ways. For example,

[54] 文化部公告「原住民族文化資產處理辦法」修正草案 (Ministry of Culture announces the revision of Regulations Governing the Affairs of Indigenous Peoples), https://www.lawbank.com.tw/news/NewsContent.aspx?NID=181375.00, accessed February 10, 2023.

[55] The list of intellectual creations of Indigenous peoples is available on Taiwan Indigenous Traditional Intellectual Creations, https://www.titic.cip.gov.tw (accessed February 8, 2022). Among the four nationally designated Indigenous traditional performing arts genres, there are two songs of Amis Falangao *macacadaay* (polyphonic singing) registered as Indigenous intellectual creations of Amis Kana Falangaw (大馬蘭地區, the Grand Falangao area).

the CHPA aims to preserve and sustain cultural heritage by means of investigation, collection, research, teaching, promotion, and revitalization, and the PAICIP aims to protect the exclusive right to use Indigenous intellectual creations.

Moreover, the concepts of ICH and intellectual creation are both quite new to Indigenous communities, and the culture-bearers/groups are usually not aware of who has the rights to use or who is responsible for sustaining those traditional forms. In April 2021, at the first meeting of the Amis Falangao *Macacadaay* Chu-Yin Culture and Arts Troupe Transmission Plan with the Empowerment Team (see Chapter 3), the head of the Transmission Plan expressed her concern about transmitting two traditional songs just registered as intellectual creations under PAICIP by another Amis community, and she didn't know if they would get into trouble teaching and performing those songs publicly (observation of the meeting on April 17, 2021). Eventually, according to the PAICIP website, it was clarified that the two songs, *sapilekal no pakarongay* (馬蘭阿美少年報訊, Malan Amis youth news report)[56] and *sapilitemoh to nani riyaray a kapot no sefi a radiw* (馬蘭阿美飲酒歡樂歌, Malan Amis drinking song),[57] could be used among all fifteen Amis tribes, and the members of the Amis Transmission Plans are from one of the tribes. It is apparent that a lack of communication and understanding of the laws might hinder

[56] The registration information is available at https://www.titic.cip.gov.tw/public/order/1060322000036/text/1060322000036%20sapilekal%20no%20pakarongay%20(馬蘭阿美少年報訊）.pdf, accessed February 8, 2022.

[57] The registration information is available at https://www.titic.cip.gov.tw/public/order/1060322000035/text/申請書表-1060322000035-sapilitemoh%20to%20nani%20riyaray%20a%20kapot%20no%20sefi%20a%20radiw(馬蘭阿美飲酒歡樂歌).pdf, accessed, February 8, 2022. This is the well-known Amis "Song of Joy" or "Elder Drinking Song" that was appropriated by the German musical group Enigma to the song "Return to Innocence," which was used in promotional video of the 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games. Later, Amis singers sued Michael Cretu (Enigma) and the corporation EMI/Capitol Records in an attempt to gain recognition to their contribution (Guy 2002). According to the intellectual creations registration form, the international lawsuit awoke Indigenous people's consciousness of protecting tradition, and this song is also called "Olympic song" (奧運歌) in the Amis tribes.

transmission practices and distort the goals of protecting the traditions and rights of Indigenous people.

The second issue involved with RGAIPCH is community consensus on heritage recognition. In the 2017 RGAIPCH, it states,

> When nominating, registering, or designating an item of Indigenous cultural heritage, the competent authority shall hold public hearings or community meetings to consult with people from Indigenous groups, tribes, or other traditional organizations. (Article 7, RGAIPCH 2017)

It is understandable that community-oriented cultural forms such as festivals and ceremonies should be agreed upon among the tribes. However, with some ICH items being individual expressions and not community-owned, it will be problematic to get approval from communities and other cultural experts. For instance, *lmuhuw* is an oral tradition that is highly focused on an individual's fluency in Atayal (Tayal) language and traditional knowledge. In 2019, when members of the Atayal *lmuhuw* transmission plan worked on the re-designation of Atayal oral tradition from the domain of "traditional performing arts" to the domain of "oral tradition and knowledge" along with the 2016 CHPA revision, they held community meetings to let people know of the goal of re-designation. However, since the culture-bearer is one of a few people (fewer than ten in Taiwan) who can still practice this oral tradition, and people from the tribe are not aware of this abstruse expressive form, those meetings were more like announcements and became a mere formality (interview on July 5, 2021).

The announcement of the amendment to "Regulations of Treatment of Cultural Heritage of Indigenous Peoples" came out on July 4, 2022. The revision may make a direct impact on some of the issues that Indigenous people face during in transmission practices. Even though it will require time to observe how Indigenous culture-bearers/groups respond to this particular amendment, it is evident that the Taiwanese ICH paradigm has constantly adjusted according to

the situations on the ground, and that the ICH practitioners keep negotiating with and adapting to those changes, and in turn, giving feedback to the policymakers.

Genre Classification of Indigenous Cultural Heritage

As of January 2022, a total of eighty-eight Indigenous cultural forms related to four categories of the ICH items have been municipally registered or nationally designated: folklore (34 items, 38.6%), traditional craftsmanship (25 items, 28.4%), traditional performing arts (23 items, 26.1%), and oral tradition and expressions (6 items, 6.8%) (Figure 4.1). There is no Indigenous item recognized under the domain of traditional knowledge and practices yet. Fifteen Indigenous items are nationally designated as important intangible cultural heritage, five under folklore (33.3%), five under traditional craftsmanship (33.3%), four under traditional performing arts (26.7%), and one under oral tradition and expressions (6.7%). The four traditional performing arts items are the foci of this study (Table 4.2).

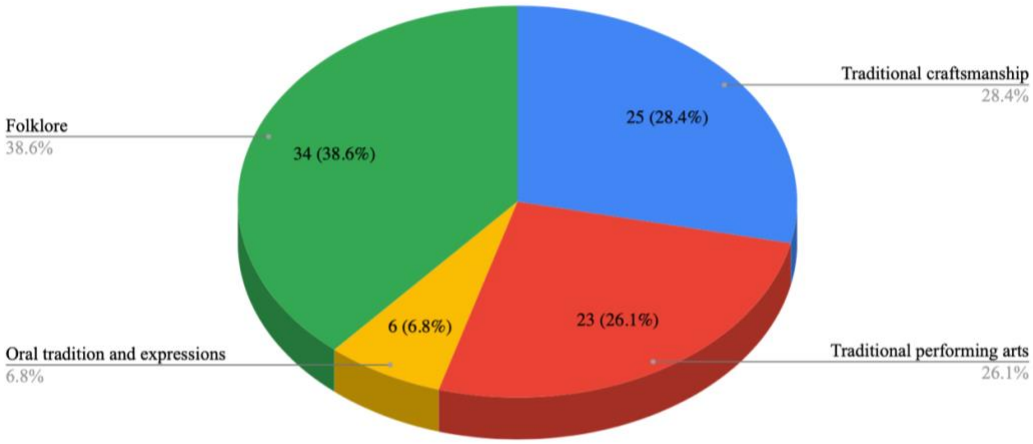


Figure 4.1. Domains of Indigenous ICH

Table 4.2. List of the four nationally designated traditional performing arts genres and their culture-bearers/groups

	Item Name	ICH Domain	Type	Culture-bearer/group
1	Amis Falangao *Macacadaay(*阿美族馬蘭)	Traditional performing arts	Songs	Chu-Yin Culture and Arts Troupe (杵音文化藝術團)
2	Bunun Music and *pasibutbut* (布農族音樂與 pasibutbut)	Traditional performing arts	Music	Nantou County Xinyi Township Bunun Cultural Association (南投縣信義鄉布農文化協會)
3	Paiwan nose and mouth flutes (排灣族口鼻笛)	Traditional performing arts	Music	1. Pairang Pavavaljung (許坤仲) 2. Gilegilau Pavalius (謝水能)
4	Atayal Epic Chant (泰雅史詩吟唱), *lmuhuw* of the Msbtunux group (泰雅族大嵙崁群口述傳統)	Traditional performing arts / Oral tradition and expressions	Folktale, epic, narrative	Watan Tanga (林明福)

Issues of genre classification are complex and can be controversial. I argue that the classification of Indigenous genres is insufficient, as it is a result of the Han-Chinese dominant paradigm and a matter of expediency for the bureaucratic structure, along with being an artifact of history. For example, Indigenous music genres cannot be simply categorized into “song” or “music” (Table 5.2), and there are no apparent reasons for these categories on the ICH list. As mentioned earlier, Indigenous cultural forms were marginalized in the first decade of Taiwanese ICH preservation paradigms. The value and contents of those Indigenous traditions are not fully examined and understood from Indigenous peoples’ perspectives.

Taiwanese folklorist Yuan Chang-Rue (阮昌銳) examines the 2005 CHPA and suggests that the definition and content of “folklore” were vaguely described and failed to consider Indigenous groups’ cultural forms in the CHPA. Moreover, the category of “traditional arts” (傳統藝術), which included traditional arts and crafts (傳統工藝美術) and traditional performing arts (傳統表演藝術), failed to include verbal arts such as oral tradition in this category (Yuan Chang-Rue 2013). Even though the Ministry of Culture made a major amendment to the CHPA

in 2016, scholars have argued that the ICH domains in the CHPA still fail to consider the holistic perspective of Indigenous ICH (e.g., Lin Fang-Chen 2017; Hu Chia-Yu 2017).

The Atayal (Tayal) epic chant and oral tradition *lmuhuw* is an example of this. It is an expressive form for which practitioners need to be skilled at the logic of Atayal language, improvisation, and the combination of auxiliary words with specific melodic patterns. Traditionally, *lmuhuw* is used in gathering people, negotiating, proposing marriage, festivals, rituals, and communications. The content of *lmuhuw* ranges over traditional knowledge, ancestral rules, environmental knowledge, and migratory history (Cheng Kwang-Po 2020). In 2012, *lmuhuw* (Atayal epic chant 泰雅史詩吟唱) was first designated as national ICH under the domain of traditional performing arts, with Watan Tanga (林明福, b.1930) as the culture-bearer. Later, in 2019, *lmuhuw* was re-designated under the domain of oral tradition and knowledge with the new title *lmuhuw na Msbtunux* (泰雅族大嵙崁群口述傳統, *lmuhuw* of the Msbtunux group). It is the only genre that coexists in the domains of "traditional performing arts" and "oral tradition and knowledge." However, I do not aim to discuss the appropriateness of genre classifications in Indigenous ICH items. Rather, I examine how the Indigenous culture-bearers and groups adapt to this genre classification and mediate tradition and belief in performance.

I suggest that the issue of genre classification in Indigenous genres led to the questions of how to sustain the tradition. The designated genres involve types of songs, instrumental music, and oral traditions. Using the label of "traditional performing arts" inevitably implies "performance," and the transmission practices inevitably tend towards focusing on techniques and on-stage presentations. For instance, the Atayal epic chant and oral tradition *lmuhuw* is highly focused on fluency in language, but might need extra work to build the *in situ* atmosphere in the final evaluation performance (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2. Final evaluation performance of the Watan Tanga Atayal *lmuhuw* transmission plan, November 26, 2016. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

When Atayal oral tradition was re-designated as "oral tradition and knowledge" in 2019, culture-bearer Watan Tanga's Transmission Plan changed its category from traditional performing arts to the oral tradition and knowledge Transmission Plan. From my observation, this modification has seemed to ease the "performance" aspect and allow for more focus on arranging and inventing texts of this oral tradition. More specifically, when I observed the midterm evaluation of the oral tradition transmission plan in March 2020, the apprentices didn't reconstruct an *in-situ* performance setting as they had previously done. Rather, they focused on composing their own texts for *lmuhuw* chanting. However, the evaluation process wasn't much different from when it existed solely under the domain of the traditional performing arts: orality, rhythmic, poetic, and melodic expressions were the foci of the evaluation. Some committee members suggested that it is inevitable to sustain the oral tradition *lmuhuw* from the perspective

of performing arts. Since *lmuhuw* is no longer practiced on traditional occasions such as mediating disputes, proposing marriage, and ceremonies, performing it could be the main means of keeping this tradition alive (observation of the meeting on March 3, 2020).

A focus on the performance aspects of Indigenous ICH is not unique for Atayal *lmuhuw*—this can also be seen with other Indigenous items. While some Indigenous expressive forms were traditionally not performed in a public setting but practiced in religious ceremonies, Indigenous communities have tried to revitalize those traditions by performing and reenacting them after years of decline due to the influence of Christianity. Next, I use two examples to illustrate how Indigenous practitioners adapt to and negotiate with the framework of the Transmission Plan under the domain of "traditional performing arts," especially with respect to the negotiation of religious and traditional knowledge in performance.

Mediating Religious and Traditional Knowledge in the Transmission Practice

Many Indigenous groups in Taiwan experienced a series of colonizations, loss of their traditional territories, and forced resettlements, as well as large-scale Christianization starting in the 1950s.[58] At this time, the Nationalist government encouraged missionary work among Indigenous tribes, and often impoverished Indigenous communities were attracted by the US surplus commodities distributed in churches. The missionaries at this stage were hostile to the traditional practice and religion of Indigenous people, and they forced those who converted to Christianity to abandon their customs and traditions. As a result, Christianity replaced Indigenous traditional culture, pastors replaced the heads of tribes, and churches took over the

[58] Christianity was first brought to Taiwan by the Dutch colonizers in the 17th century, but was not widely disseminated among Indigenous communities until after WWII. In the 1950s and 1960s, there was a dramatic increase of Indigenous Christians because of American aid. For more discussion, see Kuo Po-Jiun. 2020.

role of traditional communal housing (see Tsan Tsong-Sheng 2017; Stock 2021: 24). However, fast-forwarding to the second decade of the 21st century, churches from different sects operating among different Indigenous tribes now hold diverse attitudes toward Indigenous traditions. Taiwanese Indigenous peoples policy expert Hsiao Shih-Hui (Pasang Tali) suggests that today there are three types of religious encounters among churches in Taiwan: religious colonization, partial decolonization, and full decolonization, which searches for universal values and truth of religion (2017: 83–84).[59] I noticed that churches' stances on tradition greatly impact culture-bearers/groups' transmission practices and performances.

I suggest that the act of performing has a diversity of functions in the Indigenous Transmission Plans. While it can be a means to preserve and transmit religious practices and cultural memory in the tribes under religious colonization, some practitioners use performance to decolonize Christianity and search for universal theological perspectives from both Indigenous religion and Christianity. The following two case studies exemplify these two kinds of negotiations.

Bunun Music and *Pasibutbut*

The Bunun Cultural Association Bunun music and *pasibutbut* (eight-part vocal polyphony) Transmission Plan is a community-based transmission project. It is conducted by the Nantou County Xinyi Township Bunun Cultural Association (南投縣信義鄉布農文化協會 hereafter, Bunun Cultural Association) of the Mingde Tribe (明德部落). Their transmission

[59] "Religious colonization" refers to replacing the Atayal traditional beliefs with foreign religions. When churches embrace and reinterpret Indigenous beliefs and do not consider them paganism, it can be "partial decolonization." "Full decolonization" means that all religions are equal and seek a universal value and truth of religion (Hsiao Shih-Hui 2017).

process focuses on training in *pasibutbut*, a communal polyphonic vocal song traditionally used in a ritual setting to celebrate the harvest, and other religious and traditional repertories.

Traditional Bunun religious practices of the Mingde tribe have been eliminated since the 1950s, when the Nationalist government permitted Christian missionary work in the tribe, and Indigenous people gradually altered their religion from traditional animism to Christianity (Bali Nangavulan 2020: 17). As a result, religious practices were prohibited, but the melodies were retained in elders' memories within the community. Aware that the tradition is endangered and vanishing, a group of people from the tribe established the Bunun Cultural Association in 1999. Since then, members have collected and transcribed traditional and religious songs from elders and spontaneously practiced those songs in the tribe. Furthermore, the Bunun Cultural Association has been invited to perform at over a hundred concerts nationally, and has toured internationally to, China, Mongolia, Japan, Poland, Belgium, the Netherlands, and France.[60] In 2010, the Bunun Cultural Association was designated as the preservation group of the Bunun music and *pasibutbut* and has conducted Transmission Plans since then.

The transmission lessons and the performance usually consist of four parts: traditional songs and children's songs (Figure 4.3); traditional musical instruments (Figure 4.4), such as *tultul* (杵音, wooden pestles), *latuh* (or *latuq*, 弓琴, bow zither), *hunghung* (or *qungqung*, 口簧琴, jew's harp), and *balinka* (四弦琴, four-string zither); theatrical and cultural display of Bunun religious life (Figure 4.5), such as hunting and weaving; and the most iconic ceremonial song, *pasibutbut* (Figure 4.6). The Bunun Cultural Association claims that their music and *pasibutbut* are very traditional, and that they have transmitted this way of singing for

[60] For more information about the Association, see its official site, http://www.lileh.tw/Module/Home/Index.php, (accessed March 3, 2022).

generations. Therefore, they believe that they cannot change the ways of singing or their ancestors would punish them, as opposed to other tribes' performances that are adapted for tourist purposes. They told me that "the members of this group are all farmers and do not perform for a living; therefore, we can maintain the singing styles of our ancestors" (Interview on August 10, 2018). Compared to other Bunun tribes, the Mingde Tribe's singing style is characterized by slower tempi and less ornamentation. I assume that their insistence on being "traditional" is to maintain features inhered from their elders without blending other tribes' singing styles.

Figure 4.3. Bunun traditional songs and children's songs performed by Bunun Cultural Association, November 23, 2019. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Figure 4.4. Bunun traditional musical instruments: jew's harp (top left), four-string zither (top right), and wooden pestles (bottom left), performed by Bunun Cultural Association at the final examination performance, November 23, 2019 and November 21, 2020. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Figure 4.5. (left) Theatrical and cultural display of Bunun religious life by Bunun Cultural Association
Figure 4.6. (right) *Pasibutbut* by Bunun Cultural Association at the Transmission Plan final examination performance, November 21, 2020. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

However, they also encounter difficulties when collecting and singing sacred songs. The Bunun Cultural Association has constant tensions with the Presbyterian Church, the religious and community center of the tribe, since the Church felt that it was inappropriate for Association

members to collect and perform prohibited songs that involved shamans (巫師, *pistahu*) and Indigenous ritual practices (Figure 4.7). Members of the Transmission Plan also felt anxious when playing shamanic songs, and they constantly debated how to transmit those songs. For example, they decided to perform those prohibited songs only when outside the community. In addition, they gave new meanings and interpretations of those songs that the community members accepted (Taiwan minzu yinyue xuehei 2015). For instance, in the 2019 final examination performance, the narrator explained that the song is to worship nature, thereby shifting its original purpose. It is not only in the Bunun tribe that shamanic ritual performance has shifted to claim identity and empowerment; this has occurred through the practice of cultural revitalization in different Indigenous tribes of Taiwan, along with the changing of Indigenous religions, the formation of the nation-state (post-martial-law Taiwan), and democratization (Hu Tai-Li and Liu Pi-Chen 2010:13).

Figure 4.7. Bunun Cultural Association performing a shamanic song at the final examination performance, November 23, 2019. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

To the Bunun Cultural Association, it is evident that performance is a means to preserve and transmit religious practices and cultural memory. Therefore, even though the music's meanings and lyrics have been altered to adapt to Christianity, performance takes over the sacred

function of the songs and can be sustained in the community. For instance, when singing *pasibutbut*, they devote the music originally directed to their ancestral god, *Dihanin* (天神),[61] to the Christian god. Moreover, when singing the religious song *manhitu* (獵首祭, headhunting worship) and *masipai-iu* (出草歌, headhunting song), they changed the lyrics from "I hope I can hunt many more skulls" to "we hope we can hunt down more wild boars before we return" (Taiwan guoyuetuan 2020).

Even if the Bunun Cultural Association has added performative elements to religious songs, the group still follows some rules and procedures. For example, certain songs like *pasibutbut* and *malastapang* (報戰功, merit report song or victory song) can only be sung by men. Also, they must start with the song *pislahi* (gun-worshiping song) and conclude with *pasibutbut* (prayer for a bountiful millet harvest) for the display and performance of religious life. Moreover, *pasibutbut* cannot be accompanied by instruments (Interview with Association members on August 9, 2019). As one member, the host of the performance, usually states in the performance: "We, as Bunun people, have many taboos in daily life and rituals. We must preserve and transmit those taboos by performing. Without music performance, our culture will disappear" (my observation of performance on November 21, 2020).

Nevertheless, the members still try to undertake some innovations during the transmission practices, but within the boundaries accepted by elders of the tribe. For example, during the 2018 midterm evaluation performance, one person played *hunghung* (口簧琴, Bunun

[61] *Dihanin* refers to the sky, and the Bunun people consider this term refers to the Christian god. Furthermore, in the Mingde tribe, *qanitu* or *hanitu* also refers to ancestral belief, sky, or spirit in the traditional Bunun religion. However, these terms have been interpreted and translated as "evil" or "ghost" after the group's conversion to Christianity since the 1950s. Therefore, people from some conservative tribes, such as the Mingde tribe, consider that these terms cannot be discussed in public because they conflict with their Christian religion (Chin Hao-Cheng 2020).

jew's harp) and was accompanied by three vocalists (Figure 4.8), although usually the jew's harp would not be played with singing. They claim that the melodies of the single-tongue jew's harp are from traditional songs, and that this combination of performances highlights the connection between *hunghung* and song. Moreover, they tried to reconstruct the performance by referring to oral history and expanding the number of *tultul* (杵音, wooden pestles) from seven to thirteen because they heard from elders that "it used to be more than seven *tultul*" (my observation of the evaluation process on July 23, 2018).

Figure 4.8. Bunun jew's harp accompanied by singing at the midterm evaluation performance, July 23, 2018. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

In recent years, the Bunun Cultural Association has achieved success with a very different type of theatrical performance. Between 2019 and 2020, the Association collaborated with the National Chinese Orchestra of Taiwan, ethnomusicologist Tseng Yuh-Fen, and composer Wu Ruei-Ran, and produced a musical titled *Sing, Pray, Pasibutbut—A Bunun Musical* (越嶺-聆聽布農的音樂故事).[62] The members of the Bunun Cultural Association said

[62] An introductory documentary film on Bunun traditional music, cultural practices, and the production of this musical is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WDg_suA8RJ0&t=0s (accessed March 4, 2022).

that it was a successful collaboration, since the composer and orchestra tried to understand and respect the traditional musical language of Bunun music, and members were not interrupted by the large-scale orchestration (Lu En-Miao 2021). Indeed, when I attended the concert at the Taiwan Traditional Theatre Center (臺灣戲曲中心) on December 7, 2019, I sensed that the Chinese orchestra played the role of background music, building the atmosphere for accompanying the singing of the Bunun Cultural Association members. The Bunun Cultural Association's repertoires were "intact," in the sense of remaining exactly as they had been performed at the Transmission Plan evaluation.

By claiming themselves as "traditional," not professional, trained performers, and aiming to collect cultural memory and transmit traditions, the Bunun Cultural Association and its Bunun music performances have become a cultural symbol of Taiwan and a source for cultural diplomacy and exchanges. The Association has been invited to perform at more than a hundred concerts nationally and has toured internationally. Before the Covid-19 pandemic, the Association also constantly conducted cultural exchanges with minority groups in the People's Public of China and Mongolia (Interview on November 23, 2019). From community-oriented cultural transmission practice to members' negotiation with Christianity in performance, the Bunun Cultural Association has played an essential role in performing and transmitting Indigenous Bunun traditional life and religious practices in contemporary Taiwan.

The Atayal Oral Tradition *Lmuhuw*

Another example involves the reconstruction of traditional Indigenous theological perspectives with Christian perspectives through performing *lmuhuw*. Watan Tanga (Figure 4.9) was designated as the culture-bearer of *lmuhuw* (泰雅史詩吟唱, Atayal epic chant) under the

domain of traditional performing arts in 2012. In 2019, in accordance with the 2016 amendment to CHPA, the genre title was revised to *lmuhuw na Msbtunux* (泰雅族大嵙崁群口述傳統, Atayal oral tradition of the Msbtunux area). Its domain was changed from traditional performing arts to oral tradition and expressions, and it is Taiwan's first nationally designated oral tradition.

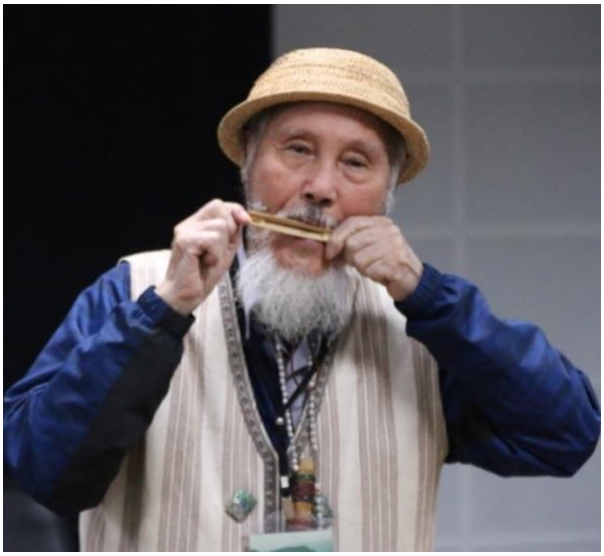


Figure 4.9. Watan Tanga playing Atayal single-tongue jew's harp. December 1, 2020. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Indigenous Atayal people have traditionally had no written language and thus developed oral expressive forms such as *lmuhuw* to transmit ancestral history and traditional knowledge. There are three forms of *lmuhuw*: pure speech, song, and speech followed by song (Wenhua bu 2019). The discovery and systematic collection of this oral tradition began relatively late; it was about 1989 when ethnomusicologists, Atayal cultural experts, and practitioners started systematically collecting these oral expressions (Cheng Kwang-Po 2018b: 193). The heritagization of *lmuhuw* started around 2011, when the Bureau of Cultural Heritage commissioned ethnomusicologist Wu Rung-Shun to conduct research on and survey Atayal oral

tradition and epic chant (Wu Rung-Shun 2011). According to the report's suggestion, Watan Tanga was nominated and later designated as the culture-bearer of Atayal *lmuhuw*.

The Atayal *Lmuhuw* Transmission Plan has been implemented since 2013 and has completed two terms (2013–2016, 2017–2020) of Transmission Plans, with three graduated apprentices. The apprentices are all fluent in the written (Romanized form) and spoken Atayal (Tayal) language. The transmission lesson comprises the narration and singing of *lmuhuw*. It includes traditional knowledge such as customs, rituals, rules and taboos, proverbs, religion, history of migration, genealogy, and other cultural practices such as hunting and farming. The transmission method is based on discussions between culture-bearer and apprentices, very different from other Transmission Plans. Apprentices simulate different contexts and ask culture-bearer Watan Tanga to narrate and sing *lmuhuw* according to the specific situation, and the apprentices note down details of the content (Cheng Kwang-Po 2020). Most importantly, the members of the Transmission Plan not only collected and arranged the content from Watan Tanga, but also gathered elders from different Atayal tribes to discuss and construct the migration history of Atayal tribes (Figure 4.10). In addition, they also actively register and nominate other potential culture-bearers (interview on July 5, 2021). Importantly, Watan Tanga and his apprentices assembled Atayal elders to compile two volumes of *Lmuhuw Dictionary—A Glossary of a Tayal Oral Tradition* (Lmuhuw 語典：泰雅族口述傳統重要語彙匯編, Watan Tanga 2017; 2021), the first dictionary that features the Atayal oral tradition *lmuhuw*. Atayal (Tayal) language, as UNESCO identified in 2010, is considered vulnerable (Moseley 2010), which means the language is used by some children in all domains or it is used by all children in limited domains (UNESCO 2003b). As ethnomusicologist Catherine Grant claims, language and music do not exist in separate, parallel spheres, and the vitality of one can affect the vitality of

the other (Grant 2014: 4). The instance of Indigenous Atayal culture resonates with this notion. Since the younger generation's Atayal language ability is not competent, the oral tradition *lmuhuw* and other songs are largely forgotten and severely endangered. The significance of the publication is that the members of the Transmission Plan "excavated" the Atayal traditional knowledge and abstruse terminologies that had been almost forgotten for decades, made them open to public access, and thus hoped to ensure the sustainability of Atayal *lmuhuw*.

Figure 4.10. Members of the Atayal *Lmuhuw* Transmission Plan initiated conversations among Atayal elders and constructed the migratory history of the Atayal people, July 27, 2015. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

These achievements resulted from ongoing negotiations and adaptations. A member of the *lmuhuw* Transmission Plan told me that when they began to discuss the execution of the plan, community members did not consider *lmuhuw* to be "performing arts," and they had diverse views on how to conduct this project: some members thought it was another opportunity to

collect materials and survey *lmuhuw* traditions in other Atayal tribes; some members thought the culture-bearer Watan Tanga could call for communications discussions among practitioners from different tribes to obtain a full understanding of the Atayal migratory history; and some members wanted to revive traditional religious ceremonies via this project (Interview on July 5, 2021). Therefore, members of the Transmission Plan had been in constant discussions with the Bureau of Cultural Heritage and the Empowerment Team on how to manage this plan. Most importantly, the mediation of presenting transmission practice as performance was one of the major concerns. When *lmuhuw* still fell under the category of traditional performing arts, its Transmission Plan was required to hold midterm/final evaluation performances, as with other Transmission Plans. In 2014, the second year of the *lmuhuw* Transmission Plan, the plan held a required performance at Xikou Taiwanese Presbyterian church (臺灣基督長老教會溪口教會) on November 2 (Figure 4.11), for the final evaluation performance.

Figure 4.11. Atayal *lmuhuw* Transmission Plan's final evaluation performance at Xikou Taiwanese Presbyterian church, November 2, 2014. Photo by Dian-Jia Hsu.

At this event, members of the *lmuhuw* Transmission Plan integrated the people of the tribe and the church service into the final evaluation performance. Culture-bearer Watan Tanga is a retired pastor from the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan of Tayal (基督長老教會泰雅爾中會牧師). He has been trying to combine Christian religion with Atayal culture and life, and this was

the first time he used *lmuhuw* to conduct missionary work at church. In an interview, Watan Tanga states, "There is no conflict between Atayal traditional religion and the Christian religion. The perspectives about god show a lot of similarities between the Atayal and the Bible" (IPCF-TITV 2014).[63] Indeed, there is an ongoing movement among the Atayal people to search for universal values and truth of religion—decolonization of Christianity, the third type of religious encounters among churches in Taiwan suggested by the aforementioned Indigenous peoples' policy expert Hsiao Shih-Hui (Pasang Tali, 2017). Significantly, on October 18, 2016, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan announced a "Resolution in Support of the Restoration of the Rights and Autonomy of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples" (臺灣基督長老教會支持原住民恢復權利與自治決議文), which supports and advocates the decolonization of theological education.[64]

The decolonization process also involves the Atayal people's revitalization of traditional knowledge and practices, and reclamation of traditional territory and land of the tribes. Within those decolonization movements, Atayal practitioners have practiced *sbalay* (reconciliation) rituals and chant *lmuhuw* at various occasions (see Lin Yih-Ren 2015; Kuan Da-Wei and Guy Charlton 2020; Chen Yayut Yishiuan 2020), and many members of the Atayal Transmission Plan are crucial in those movements.[65]

Finally, members of the Atayal *lmuhuw* Transmission Plan stated that they refused to use the museological approach of cultural display and cultural preservation. Instead, they attempt

[63] The news report about the event is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xaD6-frU_dA (accessed February 11, 2022).

[64] The resolution in Chinese, English and Tayal is available at The Presbyterian Church in Taiwan, http://www.pct.org.tw/news_pct.aspx?strBlockID=B00006&strContentID=C2016102100003&strDesc=&strSiteID=&strPub=&strASP=, accessed March 16, 2022.

[65] More detail about Atayal *lmuhuw* Transmission Plan members' engagements in cultural preservation and Indigenous social movement, see two documentary films directed by Cheng Kwang-Po (鄭光博): The Memory of Orality (*Lmuhuw* 言的記憶, 2017), and A Speaker and Pastor of the Atayal (泰雅族的言者與牧者, 2021).

different transmission methods they deem compatible with contemporary Atayal life (interview on July 5, 2021). By revitalizing traditional rituals, preserving and replanting Indigenous crops, and incorporating their culture within church services, they adapt the Transmission Plan framework in a masterly fashion, aiming to ensure the permanent sustainability of Atayal traditional knowledge, land, and oral tradition.

Mediating Hybrid Cultural Forms in Performance

Taiwanese Indigenous people's songs and dance (原住民歌舞, Mandarin: *yuan zhumin gewu*) have been used as an instrument for cultural display, ethnic tourism, and a symbol of nationalism throughout different colonial regimes in Taiwan (Hu Tai-Li 2003; Hsieh Shih-Chung 2004; Huang Kuo-Chao 2016). However, I found that for genres that come under the ICH programs, culture-bearers cautiously avoided influences from this type of carnival-like cultural performance in the current ICH examination performances. I argue that the arena of the final/midterm examination performance provides an experimental stage for culture-bearers and Indigenous Transmission Plan communities to try different approaches and styles in performance. Within those experiments, some might reflect their musical experiences, and some might reflect their decolonialization perspectives.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, to evaluate the progress of each Transmission Plan, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage carries out annual mid-term evaluations and final joint performances. The final joint performances usually take place at Cultural Heritage Park (文化部文化資產園區) in Taichung, and are open to the public.[66] All the Transmission Plans

[66] In 2009 and 2014, Transmission Plan communities held the final examination performances in situ (Fan Yang-Kun 2011b; Taiwan minzu yinyue xuehui 2014).

communities gather at the Cultural Heritage Park for a showcases lasting between three days and two weekends. To the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, the joint performances aim to assess the outcome of annual transmission practices of each plan and serve educational and promotional purposes. To the Transmission Plans communities, the joint performances are a place they can observe others' plans. They can also promote healthy competition among Transmission Plans.

A good example is the two Paiwan nose and mouth flutes Transmission Plans. The nose and mouth flutes once symbolized authority and high social status in Paiwan society, and traditionally only male nobles could play the flutes. The flutes were usually played for self-expression, courting women, and at social events within the community (Hu Tai-Li 2003; Hsu Chia-Hao 2019). There are two Transmission Plans for Paiwan nose and mouth flutes, the first of which is led by Gilegilau Pavalius (謝水能, b.1950, Figure 4.12). He focuses on the apprentices' ability to sing traditional songs (古調, Mandarin: *gudiao*, "ancient tune") and play both double-piped nose flutes and single-piped mouth flutes. He considers the core values of flute skills to be familiarity with the traditional songs with lyrics, the ability to play portamento and trills fluently and beautifully, and the ability to improvise on the traditional songs (Tseng Li-Feng 2015; Hsu Chia-Hao 2019). The other Transmission Plan is led by Pairang Pavavaljung (許坤仲, 1935–2023, Figure 4.13). Since Pairang Pavavaljung is from a family of Paiwan craftsmen, his transmission practice highlights the making of instruments, folktales associated with flutes, and the playing and expression of the flutes. For Pavavaljung, the key features of playing flutes lie in correct fingerings, the expression of vibrato and tremolos, and fluid air management when playing (Tseng Li-Feng 2015).

Figure 4.12. Gilegilau Pavalius (left) and his apprentice Giljigiljav Malivayan (right) during the transmission lesson, October 19, 2019. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Figure 4.13. Pairang Pavavaljung (left) and his apprentice Yu Wei-Min (right), October 19, 2019. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Multimedia and Non-Indigenous Instruments

For many years now, the two Paiwan flutes Transmission Plans have presented a variety of combinations with different art forms at the evaluation performances. The diverse presentations demonstrate the Transmission Plan communities' different musical encounters and aesthetic considerations.

In the first term (2012–2016) of Pairang Pavavaljung's transmission plan, the members of the transmission plan were adept with multi-media presentations. Documentary films and visual arts were used to enhance apprentices' performance. Moreover, their nose and mouth flutes were sometimes accompanied by vocalists in a style that incorporated Western tonal harmony and non-Indigenous musical instruments such as guitar and djembe (Figure 4.14). Those presentations and musical accompaniment help build up the atmosphere and cover apprentices' unfamiliarity with the performance setting in their early years of the Transmission Plan, even though it was not favored by the Committee members, since they thought it was too theatrical (my personal observation of the examination).

Figure 4.14. Final examination performance of Pairang Pavavaljung Transmission Plan, November 15, 2014. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

In the second term (2018–2021) of Pairang Pavavaljung's Transmission Plan, apprentices' final performances were usually presented in the following settings: flute-playing accompanied by one to two singers singing monophonically; the apprentice singing a traditional song and then playing the melody on the flute; or use of an acoustic guitar to accompany monophonic singing and flute-playing (Figure 4.15).

Figure 4.15. Final examination performance of Pairang Pavavaljung Transmission Plan, November 21, 2020. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

The use of Western musical instruments, in particular guitar and keyboard, and West African djembe, is noticeable in Indigenous pop music performances. Indigenous people have been accustomed to guitar and keyboard from church music. In addition, the use of djembe is popular in Indigenous modern composed songs. Some younger Indigenous people claim that this traditional African drum (djembe) is compatible with Taiwanese Indigenous music (Chang Tsun-Wei 2009). Djembe is also used to teach Paiwan traditional songs in elementary schools in the Paiwan community (Pan Chien-Chih 2010). Culture-bearer Gilegilau Pavalius even uses guitar and djembe to assist apprentices' melodic and rhythmic expression during the Paiwan flutes transmission lessons (Tseng Li-Feng 2015: 89). In contrast, however, culture-bearer Pairang Pavavaljung has reservations about those performance styles. He has stated, "I hope the flutes can play the traditional songs, since the guitar and djembe are modern instruments. The flutes'

sound is easily covered by these instruments" (Taiwan minzu yinyue xuehui 2015). In Pairang Pavavaljung's Transmission Plan final performance in 2020, the guitar was used to accompany traditional singing and flute-playing toward the end of the performance (Figure 4.15). It is evident that the use of non-Indigenous musical instruments (especially guitar) in the transmission lessons and performance is acceptable to the two Paiwan Transmission Plan communities. However, the ICH committee noted that even if the guitar sounded good acoustically in some sections, the pitches and scale of the guitar are different from those of the Paiwan flutes. Therefore, they did not encourage use of guitar in the performance, since it interfered with the expression of the traditional flutes (my observation of an evaluation meeting on November 21, 2020).

Combining the Revitalized Traditional Cultural Forms

Gilegilau Pavalius's Paiwan flutes Transmission Plan takes a different approach to performances. The members of the Transmission Plan community consciously combine Paiwan traditional songs, harmonized singing, and the Paiwan male warrior song and dance (勇士歌舞) to support their flute-playing (Figure 4.16). The Paiwan male warrior song and dance is a recently revitalized cultural form among the Paiwan tribes in Pingtung.[67] I consider that the use of the warrior dance in the performance is highly associated with the Transmission Plan

[67] There is no specific Paiwan term for this male warrior dance, and this type of song and dance is traditionally used to honor hunting and head-hunting in the Paiwan traditional ritual *maljeveq* (五年祭, five-year celebration) (Chou Ming-Chieh 2007). However, this cultural form is endangered due to colonizations, mass conversion to Christianity, and loss of native languages. In 2011, as part of the rebuilding process after the destruction of Typhoon Morakot, the Council of Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan and the Typhoon Morakot Rebuilding Committee held the first "Warrior Dance Competition" in Sandimen Township in Pingtung County (屏東縣三地門鄉). As a result, younger generations among the Paiwan tribes started to conduct fieldwork and learned the warrior dance from their elders. For more information about the revitalization of the male warrior dance in the Paiwan An-Po tribe, see ethnographic research and discussion on the reconstruction of the dance by Chiang Wei-Kuang (蔣偉光) (2015).

community's perceptions about tradition and ethnic identity, as opposed to hybrid musical forms such as Mandarin pop, dance music, and church music that are experienced in Indigenous people's daily life.

Figure 4.16. Final examination performance of Gilegilau Pavalius Transmission Plan. Paiwan flute accompanied by traditional songs (left), and male warrior dance (right), November 15, 2014. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Culture-bearer Gilegilau Pavalius promotes the combining of flute-playing with traditional songs (Mandarin: *gudiao*), even though elders from the tribe claim that the flutes were solo instruments. He considers that learning traditional songs' melodies and features such as vibrato (*migeregereger*) and glissando (*pariarig*)[68] could benefit flute-playing, and also improve apprentices' native language ability (Taiwan minzu yinyue xuehui 2012). As a member of Sepiuma Tribe Choir (平和部落歌團), a community-based traditional singing group, Gilegilau Pavalius is adept in Paiwan traditional polyphonic singing and other types of traditional songs. More specifically, the two-pipe nose flute *lalingedan* produces a unique musical texture that many Paiwan people conceive of as closely corresponding to the Paiwan polyphonic singing style (Hsu Chia-Hao 2019: 83). This perspective is in evidence in the final examination performance. In 2020, two apprentices sang the traditional polyphonic song *inaljaina*, while a

[68] For more details and discussions on the history, musical features, and aesthetic symbols of the Paiwan flutes, see Hu Tai-Li (1995, 1997, 2003) and Hsu Chia-Hao (2019).

graduated apprentice played *lalingedan* (two-pipe nose flute, Figure 4.17). Members from the Transmission Plan community felt that because the Paiwan flutes are not expressive instruments, stage design must make a greater contribution by combining different expressive forms in order to attract an audience and the evaluation committee (interview on December 1, 2019).

Figure 4.17. Final examination performance of Gilegilau Pavalius Transmission Plan, November 28, 2020. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Framing Performance: For Ourselves or Others?

Taiwanese anthropologist Hsieh Shih-Chung (謝世忠) suggests that the Indigenous Thao people (邵族) of Taiwan have developed two kinds of strategies in order to keep traditional activity and its meaning alive on the one hand, and follow the government's proposals on the other. *Neiyan* (內演, Mandarin, performing for ourselves) aims to perform for the community members, while *waiyan* (外演, performing for others) is the demonstration for tourist purposes. For a mixed audience, "performing for ourselves and for others" (Mandarin: *neiwai jiaoyan* 內外

交演) also exists. When a *neiyan* performance is interrupted by an outsider, it causes awkwardness in performance (*nanyan* 難演) (2004: 205–213). For example, the Indigenous SaySiyat people's sacred ritual *PaSta'ay* consists of several stages that only community members can participate in, but tourists and outsiders without knowing the taboo might hinder the ritual performance (observation from *PaSta'ay* ritual on November 14, 2016). Ethnomusicologist Chen Chun-Bin (陳俊斌) extends Hsieh's concept and claims that if we consider *neiyan* at one end of the spectrum, an "authentic" form that is presented for community members, and *waiyan* at the other end, a "non-authentic" performance for audience outside the community, then all contemporary Indigenous performances have a certain degree of *neiwai jiaoyan* (內外交演, performing for ourselves and for others) (2020: 275–278). However, he further suggests that we cannot judge and value the performance according to the "authenticity" of the content. Instead, we need to pay attention to how the content is constructed and presented (ibid.: 281).

The final examination performance of Indigenous Transmission Plans presents a unique setting. It is a form of *neiwai jiaoyan*: members of transmission communities combine different cultural forms to present their attempts at reconstructing endangered cultural forms and sustaining tradition to the audience outside the community and to committee members comprising scholars and officials. However, authenticity might not be the core of performance; instead, community members' considerations about presenting self, negotiating with Christianity, and revitalizing traditional practices in daily life constitute the mute backdrop to the performance. Chen Chun-bin suggests that performance is more than performing. It is a mechanism to connect past and present and a means of reciting history. Performances can be used to express and deliver complicated meanings according to different purposes (Chen Chun-

Bin 2020: 284–285). From the performances presented in the Indigenous Transmission Plans, we can see that performance can be a means to preserve and transmit religious practices and cultural memory in the tribes under religious colonization. Some practitioners use performing to decolonize Christianity and search for universal theological perspectives from Indigenous religion and Christianity.

Furthermore, members of the Transmission Plans have to cope with annual evaluation performances and design various presentations to attract an audience, satisfy committee members, and expand their performance abilities. The evaluation committee might not favor those performance strategies and experiments, but some strategies may reflect Indigenous peoples' daily musical encounters, such as guitar, Christian hymns, and pop music. By contrast, some Transmission Plan communities combine other revitalized cultural forms to support performance and to claim their ethnic identity.

Transmission Plans play a crucial role in accelerating the process of theatricalization of Indigenous tradition. Through the final examination performances, the Indigenous culture-bearers and apprentices constantly mediate values, beliefs, modernization, and hybrid musical forms when forming the performance. Therefore, folktales, traditional songs, and abandoned religious practices can be preserved, represented, and transmitted in contemporary society. Finally, these performances are nurtured and transformed through heritage productions, outsiders' control of the transmission project, and competition among the listed heritage traditions.

CHAPTER 5. MUSICAL REVITALIZATION AND INTERGENERATIONAL COOPERATION IN AMATEUR MUSIC CLUBS

Until the 1950s, one of the most popular leisure activities among the Hoklo ethnic majority in Taiwan was membership in an amateur *pak-kuán* music club. *Pak-kuán* referred to a constellation of instrumental, ensemble, and operatic genres, in which members (*tsú-tē*, 子弟) were adept. Lê-tshun-uân (梨春園, Pear Spring Garden, Mandarin: *Lichunyuan*), the oldest *pak-kuán* amateur music club in Taiwan, has a history of two hundred years and has played a significant role in Taiwanese music history in terms of assisting religious activities, bringing together local communities, transmitting their musical traditions, and socializing with the many other amateur clubs in Taiwan. However, in the 1960s, industrialization and the rise of new forms of entertainment such as television jeopardized the survival of clubs such as this. Lê-tshun-uân withered and almost fell apart in the 1990s for lack of members and interest on the part of young people. What revitalized the club in 2009 was Taiwan's intangible cultural heritage policy: the fame Lê-tshun-uân gained by being designated an official "Important Traditional Performing Arts Preservation Group" (重要傳統表演藝術保存團體) brought old members together to sustain *pak-kuán* practices and welcome younger people to participate. This chapter focuses on the mechanism of the cultural revitalization of this amateur music club, in particular on the engagement of a group of dedicated young recruits in community-building, heritage-making, and breaking boundaries. I argue that Lê-tshun-uân's national designation calls upon younger generations and civic groups to participate in sustaining traditions. It provides a model for cooperation between generations, academia and communities in reconstructing the traditional soundscape in contemporary society.

Lê-tshun-uân and Its Heritagization

Lê-tshun-uân (Pear Spring Garden, Figure 5.1), the oldest *pak-kuán* amateur music club in Taiwan, was set up around 1811 in Changhua County (Lü Chuikuan 2009: 111). Lê-tshun-uân provides a space for connecting and giving cohesion to local communities. People learned and played music while engaging socially with members in the music club. Amateur music clubs usually cultivate brotherhood with deity worship associations (神明會) of the local temples. Lê-tshun-uân is the music troupe for the Duāmá huē (*Dama* worship association, 大媽會) of Lâm-iâu-kiong (Nanyao Mazu Temple, 南瑤宮媽祖廟). Members of Lê-tshun-uân are obliged to play *pak-kuán* during pilgrimages, processions, and ceremonies that relate to the Duāmá huē (Lü Chuikuan 2005, 2009).

Figure 5.1. Lê-tshun-uân's main door and inscribed boards. September 9, 2015. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

As noted above, amateur music clubs and traditional cultural forms started declining in the 1960s, and Lê-tshun-uân was no exception, almost falling apart by the 1990s (Lü Chuikuan

2011). In response to the general situation, the government of Taiwan set up a series of cultural policies and practices to rescue endangered traditions (see Chapter 2). Three cultural policies directly accelerated the heritagization of Lê-tshun-uân. The first was the legislation of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (文化資產保存法) in 1982, which led to Lê-tshun-uân receiving the National Arts Heritage Award (民族藝術薪傳獎) in 1985. The second was the establishment in 1989 of the Center for Nanguan and Beiguan Music and Theatrical Opera (南北管音樂戲曲館) in Changhua, which became an essential center for teaching and learning *pak-kuán* music in central Taiwan. And the third was the implementation in 2009 of the current Important Traditional Performing Arts Transmission Plans (重要傳統表演藝術傳習計畫), which united the *pak-kuán* members (*tsú-tē*), and encouraged the younger generation to participate. These state interventions aim to safeguard, promote, and transmit the *pak-kuán* music tradition. As a result, the ecology of *pak-kuán* and amateur music clubs has changed since then.

The notions of musical ecology and sustainability have become major foci within the field of ethnomusicology. Huib Schippers and Catherine Grant suggest a framework for researching *all* forces that impact music as part of the ecosystem across five domains: musicians and communities; systems of learning music; infrastructure and regulations; media and the music industry; and contexts and constructs (Schippers and Grant 2016). As the oldest amateur music club in Taiwan, Lê-tshun-uân has been thoroughly researched with respect to different domains by scholars since the early 1970s. These scholars have contributed to research on music and manuscripts (Wang Shi-Yi 1973; Chen Hsiao-Tzu 2000), transmission systems (Lee Wei-Ting 2018), preservation and heritagization (Li Yi-Zhuang 1986; Chien Shih-Chun 2015), music recording (Fan Yang-Kun 2001a), tangible heritage (Han Pao-Teh 1982; Huafan University 2016), the oral history of Lê-tshun-uân and *pak-kuán* music in Changhua (Lin Mei-Rong 1997;

Hsu Tsang-houei 1997; Fan Yang-Kun et al. 1999), and the planning of action plans for sustaining Lê-tshun-uân (Liu Mei-Chi 2021). These studies illuminate the diverse musical genres that have historically been practiced in the amateur music club Lê-tshun-uân,[69] reinforce the significance of Lê-tshun-uân in the musical history of Taiwan, and contribute to the heritagization of Lê-tshun-uân.

However, this chapter takes a different approach. I claim that Schippers and Grant's comprehensive framework does not explicitly address one aspect that I have found important in the current heritagization in Taiwan: the active role of young people, and intergenerational relations. I argue that the younger members' engagement in cultural transmission and revitalization involves complex mediations of social circles and age hierarchies within the music club with regard to religious and musical conventions, and with respect to musical innovations and modes of cultural preservation.

The Genealogy and Composition of Lê-tshun-uân

Music clubs differentiate themselves according to their genealogy and naming systems. In *pak-kuán* music, club names that end with the characters (Mandarin) *xuan* (軒), *yuan* (園), *tang* (堂), and *she* (社) represent different transmission systems and musical systems in different parts of Taiwan (Lü Chuikuan 2011; Chiu Kun-Liang 2020). For example, *pak-kuán* amateur music club names in Northern Taiwan usually end with *she* (社) or *tang* (堂), which represent two different musical systems. While a *she* learns the *fulu* or *ku-lōo* style (福路 or 舊路, old

[69] Aside from *pak-kuán*, members of Lê-tshun-uân used to play the instrumental music genre (Mandarin) *shisan yin* (十三音, thirteen tunes) to worship Confucius at Changhua Confucius Temple. In addition, they learned Peking opera during the Japanese colonial period. In the 1950s, Lê-tshun-uân also hired a teacher from a Peking opera amateur club (票房) to teach Peking opera in Lê-tshun-uân (see Chen Hsiao-Tzu 2000; Fan Yang-Kun 2001b).

road) system of *pak-kuán* music, a *tang* learns the *xipi* or *xin-lōo* style (西皮, or 新路, new road) system.[70] In Changhua, the club names usually end with *xuan* (軒) or *yuan* (園), indicating two different transmission systems of *pak-kuán* music. The *xuan* clubs were usually established by the teachers from Tsip-lo̍k-ian (集樂軒, Mandarin: Jile xuan) (see below), and the *yuan* clubs have a genealogical relationship with Lê-tshun-uân (梨春園, Mandarin: Lichun yuan). Even though club members in *xuan* and *yuan* learn repertories from both the *ku-lōo* style and the *xin-lōo* style of *pak-kuán* musical systems, "rhyme" (*ūn*, 韻)—one of the essential features of traditional music—is different in the *xuan* and *yuan* systems (see discussion below). According to anthropologist Lin Mei-Rong, there have been as many as forty-two amateur music clubs in Changhua City active at one time, of which thirty-seven were *pak-kuán* music clubs (Lin Mei-Rong 2012). However, fewer than ten *pak-kuán* amateur music clubs are active in Changhua City today. The majority are from the *xuan* system, while Lê-tshun-uân represents the *yuan* system (interview with an anonymous apprentice, February 16, 2019).

A *pak-kuán* amateur music club usually has a president, *tsóng-lí* (總理); a club leader, *kuán-tsú* (館主); a teacher, *kuán-sian-sinn* (館先生); members who are involved in musical practices, *kuán-uân* (館員); and members who provide financial support, *ik-uân* (役員)[71] (Fan Yang-Kun 2001b; Lü Chuikuan 2011). In addition, an amateur music club usually has its *sian-*

[70] The musical systems of *pak-kuán* can be divided into the *ku-lōo* style and the *xin-lōo* style, each of which has its own repertoire (see Chapter 1). For instrumentation, the *ku-lōo* system uses *khak-á hiân* (殼仔絃, two-stringed fiddle with coconut body), and the *xin-lōo* system uses *tiàu-kuí-á* (吊鬼仔, high pitch two-stringed fiddle). In terms of religion, the clubs and musicians who learn the *ku-lōo* system usually worship Se-tsîn-ông-iâ (西秦王爺, Mandarin: Xiqin wangye), while those who learn *xin-lōo* usually worship Tiân-too-guân-suè (田都元帥, Mandarin: Tiandu yuanshuai). However, some clubs in central Taiwan that learn both *xin-lōo* and *ku-lōo* systems worship Se-tsîn-ông-iâ as the music god (Lü Chuikuan 2000).

[71] For details on different structures of amateur music clubs, see Chiu Kun-Liang (1992: 245–247); Shih Ying-Pin (2016).

puè-tôo (先輩圖, ancestry map, Figure 5.2) to memorialize deceased members of the club. The scale and history of Lê-tshun-uân can be perceived through its ancestry map. There are about three hundred eighty names inscribed on the *sian-puè-tôo* of Lê-tshun-uân, and all of them are male.

The amateur club music-making in Taiwan has traditionally been a male monopoly. The term *tsú-tē* (子弟) originally refers to Han Chinese males. However, after WWII, more and more females entered the music clubs, for both *pak-kuán* and *lâm-kuán* (Pan Ju-Tuan 2017). Lê-tshun-uân started to accept female members around 2007, when the club recruited people for cultural revitalization (Chien Shih-Chun 2015; Liu Mei-Chi 2021). Females started to take the leading parts in singing *iu-khek* (細曲, high-art opera accompanied by silk and bamboo instruments) and to play the main roles in *hì-khek* (戲曲, theatrical opera). Currently, there are about thirty people in Lê-tshun-uân; 1/3 of members are females, and 2/3 are males. Many female members were introduced to the club by their husbands. Furthermore, 65% of the members are between 65 and 85 years old, 10% are in their 40s or 50s, and 25% are in their 20s or 30s (Liu Mei-Chi 2021: 326–328).

Figure 5.2. The room for worshiping ancestors of Lê-tshun-uân. August 8, 2015. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Research suggests that a *pak-kuán* community is constituted through three key elements: kinship, geographical relationships, and trade associations. Of these three, geographical propinquity has historically proved the most significant relationship between community members throughout Taiwan (Shih Ying-Pin 2016: 68). In Changhua, there were four major *pak-kuán* amateur music clubs (彰化四大館) located at the four gates of the old town (彰化縣城) during and after the Qing dynasty: East Gate Tsip-lo̍k-ian (東門集樂軒), South Gate Lê-tshun-uân (南門梨春園), West Gate Gue̍h-hua-koh (西門月華閣), and North Gate Ik-jû-tsai (北門繹如齋). They used to represent the four geographical associations of the *pak-kuán* community in Changhua. However, only the historical buildings of Lê-tshun-uân and Tsip-lo̍k-ian remain, and

musical practices in both clubs almost ceased in the 1990s.[72] The revitalization of Lê-tshun-uân began in the 2000s, thanks to the transmission and promotional projects funded by the Changhua County Government. Tsi̍p-lo̍k-ian restored its historical building, reopened, and started to practice *pak-kuán* music in 2020, after being closed for more than twenty-five years.[73]

The ecology of the amateur music clubs in Changhua has changed due to the attenuation of traditional music practices and their later heritagization. Since Lê-tshun-uân was designated an "Important Traditional Performing Arts Preservation Group" in 2009, the current older members of Lê-tshun-uân have recruited new members from different clubs and different *pak-kuán* music systems in Changhua. The two major *pak-kuán* musical styles in Changhua, *xuan* vs. *yuan*, have to be constantly negotiated in Lê-tshun-uân during transmission. Moreover, younger members have joined the club since 2013; they have included *pak-kuán* music beginners from the Changhua area, people with Chinese music performance backgrounds, or graduate students who want to research Lê-tshun-uân.

Geographical relationships are still crucial in Lê-tshun-uân; most of the members are from Changhua, including, but not limited to, the "South Gate" area. In addition, kinship is salient among older members—some are relatives and married couples, but trade associations are not so much in evidence. These changes, and the mixture of members from different music systems, also shape the way club members define insiders vs. outsiders, their discourse about music authenticity, and transmission systems.

[72] West Gate Gue̍h-hua-koh (西門月華閣) and North Gate Ik-jû-tsai (北門繹如齋) did not have their own buildings and disappeared a long time ago. The club names only remain in literature.

[73] 彰化縣縣定古蹟彰化集樂軒修復竣工 休館逾 25 年後重獲新生啟用 (The restoration of Changhua Jile xuan, reopened after more than 25 years), https://www.cna.com.tw/postwrite/detail/275328, accessed November 12, 2021.

The Younger Generation in Lê-tshun-uân

Age hierarchies are noticeable in daily conversation, music participation, and club duties. For example, older members usually call themselves *lāu-puè* (老輩), which means "older people," and refer to the younger members as *siàu-liân* (年輕), which means "young people."

Lê-tshun-uân started to execute the state-funded Transmission Plan in 2009, requiring them to implement a systematic training regimen. As noted above, since 2013, a younger generation from different backgrounds has joined the club. Traditionally, new members officially enter the club through the *baishi* (拜師) ceremony, which means formally becoming an apprentice to a master of the club. In 2013, Lê-tshun-uân revitalized this ceremony and accepted newcomers to celebrate Se-tsîn-ông-iâ's birthday (西秦王爺聖誕).[74] More than a hundred people have taken part in the *baishi* ceremony since 2013; some have backgrounds as students who attended Lê-tshun-uân's promotional and educational events; others are researchers and graduate students working on traditional music; and others still are music lovers among the local people (interview with an anonymous young member on November 14, 2021).

In 2014, I too took part in the *baishi* ceremony at Lê-tshun-uân (Figure 5.3) and participated in their promotional events as much as possible. However, I am aware that I am not a "real *tsú-tē*," since I do not attend music practices in a daily basis, and I do not participate in their regular performances and ceremonies. Instead, I am one of the students and researchers introduced to the club by a university professor who actively engaged in the revitalization of Lê-tshun-uân.

[74] Se-tsîn-ông-iâ (西秦王爺, Lord Xiqin) is the god of music and drama for genres such as *lān-thân* (亂彈), the *ku-lōo* system of *pak-kuán*, and some *pòo-tē-hì* (布袋戲) troupes that use *pak-kuán* as accompaniment in Taiwan. His birthday is on the 24th day of the sixth lunar month. There are different legends about the figure Se-tsîn-ông-iâ, such as that he was originally the 8th-century emperor Tang Ming-huang (唐明皇) or the 3rd-century BC emperor Xiqin Zhuangwang (西秦莊王) (Xu Ya-Xiang 1993).

Figure 5.3. I formally become a tsú-tē of Lê-tshun-uân through the *baishi* ceremony. July 20, 2014. Photo by Hsu Dian-Jia.

There is in fact a decades-long tradition of college students (Mandarin: *daxuesheng* 大學生) participating in amateur music clubs, dating back to the 1970s. At that time, Taiwanese theater scholar Chiu Kun-Liang led Peking opera students (Mandrain: *guoju zu* 國劇組) at the Chinese Culture University (中國文化大學) of Taiwan to join the *pak-kuán* amateur music club Taipei Lîng-an-siā (靈安社). Between 1975 and 1980, they performed more than twelve *tsú-tē-hi* (子弟戲, amateur music club theatrical opera) in several parts of Taiwan. This unprecedented event was influenced by the "back to local land" (*huigui xiangtu* 回歸鄉土) movement in the 1970s. It was the first time that Taiwanese intellectuals and college students systematically and intentionally learned Taiwanese folk traditions from the local people (Mandarin: *minjian* 民間) after WWII (Chiu Kun-Liang 2020); there was another wave of interest in the 1990s along with

the termination of martial law in 1987 and the enactment of "community building" (Mandarin: *shequ zongti yingzao* 社區總體營造) for local communities in 1994 (Horng Shu-Ling 2019:12–19).

The current participation of younger members in Lê-tshun-uân is similar to the students' involvement at Lîng-an-siā in the 1970s, but is self-initiated and on a smaller scale. Over nine years, more than a hundred apprentices have entered the club through the *baishi* ceremony, but only a few could be considered as insiders in Lê-tshun-uân.

From my conversations with older members, the frequency of participation in club matters and practices is crucial for older members to consider younger members as insiders (*lán-kuán-ê-lâng*, 咱館的人). They are delighted to see that more and more younger people (*siàu-liân*) are entering the club, but they expect young members to be present at the club regularly. As a younger member stated, it takes some time for the older members to accept the younger members and teach them music:

> After regularly attending the practices and club activities for more than three months, I feel that the older members started to consider me as a member of the club. Furthermore, they were willing to teach me anything that I wanted to learn. (Interview on February 16, 2019)

In 2021, there were nine core younger people (*siàu-liân*) who participated in Lê-tshun-uân. Their occupations included music composer, singer, Chinese music performer, high school teacher, graduate student, and school staff member (Interview on November 4, 2021). It is notable that even though they take part in an amateur music club, some members also study music professionally and play for a living. After acceptance by the elders, younger members arrange the transmission materials, draft plan reports, design promotional performance programs, and play the leading drums and main characters in the final performances.

Pak-kuán Music Lê-tshun-uân Transmission Plan

Pak-kuán Music Lê-tshun-uân Transmission Plan is an amateur group transmission plan. Since 2009, Lê-tshun-uân has completed three terms of four-year transmission plans, and two graduated apprentices have received a Certificate of Completion from the Ministry of Culture. Transmission lessons and promotional events are two foci in the Lê-tshun-uân Transmission Plan. Each year, club members need to learn one to two repertoires from four types of *pak-kuán* music: *hì-khek* (戲曲, theatrical opera), *iu-khek* (細曲, high-art opera accompanied by silk and bamboo instruments), *pâi-tsú* (牌子, percussion and wind instrument ensemble) and *hiân-á-phóo* (絃仔譜, silk and bamboo ensemble). Repertories are agreed upon by group discussion before submitting a yearly project proposal to the Bureau of Cultural Heritage. The transmission lessons are held from Monday to Friday, 7 pm to 9:30 pm, representing a significant commitment of time and effort on the part of all concerned (personal observation, and interview on February 16, 2019).[75] Members gather in the historical building of Lê-tshun-uân to play *pak-kuán* music (Figure 5.4). They maintain traditional amateur music practices and form a distinctive soundscape for those living in that area.

[75] Before the Transmission Plan, the old members spontaneously attended the club and played *pak-kuán* every evening. However, after the execution of the Transmission Plan, attending the club became compulsory, since the plan requires signing in and taking attendance of all the members. For details about the changes in Lê-tshun-uân's daily practice, see Chien Shih-Chun (2015).

Figure 5.4. Club members' daily transmission practices at Lê-tshun-uân. April 2, 2019. Photo by Ni Heng-Chun.

Se-tsîn-ông-iâ sìng-tàn (Ceremony of Se-tsîn-ông-iâ's birthday, 西秦王爺聖誕)

The amateur music transmission plan does not aim to cultivate professional apprentices. However, holding promotional and educational events to raise awareness of amateur music practice is another emphasis in the *Pak-kuán* Music Lê-tshun-uân Transmission Plan. One major event is the annual ceremony for Se-tsîn-ông-iâ's birthday (Se-tsîn-ông-iâ sìng-tàn, 西秦王爺聖誕, Mandarin: *Xiqin wanye shengdan*). This one-day event is open to the public and is usually held on the weekend around the 24th day of the sixth lunar month. From my observation and participation from 2014 to 2020, the ceremony and activity of Lê-tshun-uân's Se-tsîn-ông-iâ

sìng-tàn as follows: In the morning, the club members worship Se-tsîn-ông-iâ and practice the rite of three offerings (三獻禮);[76] next, they worship the *sian-puè* (ancestors of the club, 先輩), and then *tē-ki-tsú* (地基主, masters of the ground and foundation). For the rite for Se-tsîn-ông-iâ, the club usually invites government officials and prestigious individuals to participate (Figure 5.5), and club members play ceremonial music (Figure 5.6). Nevertheless, when worshiping *sian-puè* (Figure 5.7) and *tē-ki-tsú*, the rites are exclusively for club members only, and new/younger members are usually in charge of the ceremonial music when worshiping *tē-ki-tsú* (Figure 5.8).

Figure 5.5 (left). Worshiping Se-tsîn-ông-iâ, the rite of three offerings. August 4, 2018. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Figure 5.6 (right). Club members play ceremonial music during rites. August 4, 2018. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

[76] The three offerings (*san xian*, 三獻) is a traditional Chinese ritual that is widely practiced in the official Confucian ceremony, in Taoist ceremonies, and in religious and life events in Taiwan (Yang Tien-Hou 2009). It refers to the three times a libation is offered to a spirit during a sacrifice, as described in the Book of Rites (*Li ji* 禮記) (Wilson 2003: 524).

Figure 5.7. Club leader Mr. Yeh worships club ancestors. August 8, 2015. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Figure 5.8. New and younger members play at the *tē-ki-tsú* ceremony. August 8, 2015. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

In the afternoon, there are usually three major events: the *tsú-tē* talent show (子弟獻藝), the performance of *tsú-tē-hi* (子弟戲, amateur music club theatrical opera), and the midterm evaluation performance of the Transmission Plan.

Tsú-tē Talent Show

Younger members organize the *tsú-tē* talent show. It provides a stage for younger members to show their musical abilities and for new students of the *pak-kuán* music workshop to demonstrate the results of their study (Figure 5.9). The talent show program is based not only on *pak-kuán* music but also on members' innovation and experiments with diverse music. For example, in 2016, a younger member played guitar and sang a song she composed inspired by *pak-kuán* music (Figure 5.10); at other times, musicians have accompanied modern dance, or a group of music students has used Chinese instruments to interpret their ideas of *pak-kuán*. From my conversations with older members, they are open-minded about these diverse musical presentations. They are aware that they are for entertainment and have nothing to do with the fame or tradition of Lê-tshun-uân.

Figure 5.9 (left). *Pak-kuán* workshop student showcase. July 21, 2019. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Figure 5.10 (right). Singer performs her composition with guitar and percussion accompaniment. July 23, 2016. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Tsú-tē-hi (子弟戲)

After the casual talent show presented by new and younger members, next comes the performance of *tsú-tē-hi* (子弟戲).[77] *Tsú-tē-hi* is broadly defined as amateur club theatrical opera in diverse genres such as *lâm-kuán*, Peking opera, Teochew opera, etc. However, since it is especially trendy in *pak-kuán* music clubs in Taiwan, *tsú-tē-hi* is now usually narrowly defined as theatrical opera performance by members of *pak-kuán* music clubs (Chiu Kun-Liang 2020: 58). Such a performance is a symbol of the prosperity of an amateur club. A club needs to have many members to play the front stage (前場) roles and backstage (後場) music accompaniment, and also hires teachers from professional troupes to teach different roles in the play. Historical materials show that Lê-tshun-uân has actively performed *tsú-tē-hi* since the late Qing dynasty, continuing during the Japanese colonial period and the post-War era, with the last performance taking place in 1982.[78] Since 2013, as suggested by the ICH committee, Lê-tshun-uân revitalized the performance of *tsú-tē-hi* at Lord Xi-Qin's birthday (Figure 5.11), after a gap of thirty years. It has gradually become a highlight of Lê-tshun-uân and the core of the *Pak-kuán* Music Lê-tshun-uân Transmission Plan.

[77] It is also possible for the last two events, the *tsú-tē-hi* and the midterm evaluation of the Transmission Plan, to switch places in the running order.

[78] The last two occasions on which Lê-tshun-uân performed *tsú-tē-hi* in the 20th century were both in 1982: one was at the Lê-tshun-uân Se-tsîn-ông-iâ sìng-tàn after the renovation of the club building; the other was at the South Gate Earth God Temple (南門土地公廟) on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. About thirty members participated in *tsú-tē-hi* at that time (Liu Mei-Chi 2021: 317).

Figure 5.11. Members perform the *xin-lōo* (新路 or 西皮, new road) play Lâm-thian-mn̂g (南天門, The Heavenly Southern Gate). July 21, 2019. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Since 2014, the second year of the revitalization of *tsú-tē-hi*, two younger members have played major roles. They take personal lessons with master Pan Yu-Chiao (潘玉嬌, b.1936), the nationally designated *lān-thân* culture-bearer (Figure 5.12). *Lān-thân* (亂彈) refers to theatrical performances of *pak-kuán* by professional troupes (see Chapter 1), and the professional *lān-thân* actors/actresses have been hired to teach *tsú-tē-hi* in *pak-kuán* amateur music clubs since the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan (Hsu Tsang-Houei 1997; Lü Chuikuan 2011). Master Pan Yu-Chiao taught in more than ten *pak-kuán* amateur music clubs between the 1960s and 1990s, and Lê-tshun-uân was one of those clubs (Fan Yang-Kun 2007:431–432). Therefore, when Lê-tshun-uân started to revitalize *tsú-tē-hi* in 2013, Master Pan was hired as the drama teacher to teach spoken and singing parts and gestures of the frontstage roles (前場角色). Also, since Pan

Yu-Chiao's designation as the *lān-thân* culture-bearer and execution of the *Lān-thân* Pan Yu-Chiao Transmission Plan in 2015, professionally trained young apprentices from the *Lān-thân* Transmission Plan have assisted in teaching other roles in Lê-tshun-uân (Interview on February 16, 2019). This arrangement also stimulates interactions between the younger generation in the amateur club and the professional troupe, which helps in sustaining the conventions of the *pak-kuán/lān-thân* ecosystems.

Figure 5.12. All members, performers of two major roles, and the club leader with culture-bearer Pan Yu-Chiao (middle). August 4, 2018. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Tsú-tē-hi is also a way to demonstrate interpersonal relationships and rapport between the club and local associations. Celebrities, local temples, associations, and individuals can sponsor the event of Se-tsîn-ông-iâ sìng-tàn (西秦王爺聖誕), and the music club posts a red paper notice to thank donors for their sponsorship (Figure 5.13). During the performance of *tsú-tē-hi*, people can give *siúnn-kim* (賞金, money reward) in a red envelope to support the club. When receiving *siúnn-kim*, the club leader posts an *âng-tsuá* (紅紙, red paper notice) on stage, stating "賞・祝梨春園子弟登台" (Reward, Greetings to Lê-tshun-uân members performing on stage) (Figure

5.14), and then one club member lights firecrackers to express thanks (Chiu Kun-Liang 2020: 126). The more *siúnn-kim* the club receives, the more *lāu-jia̍t* (熱鬧, Mandarin: *renao*, hot-noisy) the space becomes (Jennifer C. Hsieh 2021). These interactive gestures encourage on-stage performers and musicians and let the audience engage in and be part of the play. This tradition of *kôo-âng-tsuá* (糊紅紙, posting red paper notices) also needs to be transmitted to the younger audiences. When I first watched *tsú-tē-hi* in Lê-tshun-uân in 2014, other teachers and researchers introduced me to this tradition. Since then, I have given *siúnn-kim* to express my support every year I watch the show. However, from my observations of the people who give *siúnn-kim*, most are Taiwanese traditional music researchers, and only a few represent local associations. Apparently, the function and meaning of this revitalized practice have changed; perhaps the convention of using *siúnn-kim* to express sponsorship and brotherhood is almost forgotten through thirty years of *tsú-tē-hi* stagnation. Maybe those of us who give *siúnn-kim* now are simply consciously reenacting the past, reviving a tradition young generations can only imagine.

Figure 5.13 (left). A red paper lists sponsorship for the Se-tsîn-ông-iâ sìng-tàn event. July 23, 2016. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen
Figure 5.14 (right). Many *âng-tsuá* on stage. July 23, 2016. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Midterm Evaluation Performance

The midterm evaluation of the *Pak-kuán* Music Lê-tshun-uân Transmission Plan takes place on the afternoon of the day that Se-tsîn-ông-iâ sìng-tàn is celebrated. It usually lasts one and a half hours, and may come before or after the *tsú-tē-hi*. The convenience of holding it on the same day is that government officials and Transmission Plan committee members can not only assess transmission practices of the club, but also attend the one-day event of Se-tsîn-ông-iâ sìng-tàn. Despite this arrangement, some committee members and officials are only present during the midterm evaluation.

As far as the regular audience was concerned, I noticed that the setting and ambiance of the evaluation appeared potentially disturbing to any who were not aware of the Transmission Plan: they went suddenly from enjoying the show to seeing people they didn't know judging and commenting on the performers. It was quite confusing to many present.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the procedure of the midterm examination begins with the administrative personnel explaining the content and progress of the transmission project; following the performance, committee members read teaching and learning journals; and the committee members comment on and evaluate the performance. *Siàu-liân* (younger members) play crucial roles in the Lê-tshun-uân midterm evaluation: they explain the project to the committee, prepare transmission journals, and arrange presentation materials such as slides and ten minutes of edited audiovisual documentation, because *lāu-puè* (older members) are in their 60s to 80s and cannot easily handle administrative tasks. Moreover, from my observation of the evaluation meetings, the *siàu-liân* performance is usually carefully examined by committee members. These younger members are expected to actively engage in club events and sustain the musical style of Lê-tshun-uân.

The Committee's Comments and Influence

As this is an amateur music club transmission plan, even though committee members sometimes have different opinions on the performance, the committee's comments and suggestions usually stress the cohesion of the community, intergenerational collaboration, and the younger members' performance.[79]

Lê-tshun-uân is a preservation group whose social and musical practices are always highly praised by the committee. Members are usually reminded that they must keep the feeling of "enjoyment" while playing music in an amateur music club, since it is not a professional music group. However, members' performances are still carefully evaluated by the committee. From the coherence and balance among different sections when playing *hiân-á-phóo* (絃仔譜, silk and bamboo ensemble) and the intonation and articulation when singing *iu-khek* (細曲, high-art opera accompanied by silk and bamboo instruments) to the overall on-stage presentation, the committee members provide diverse suggestions and comments for the club members to consider. Those comments can cause stress for the members, too. So the members constantly remind each other to be coherent when practicing, or the committee might criticize them at the evaluation (observations from rehearsal).

The committee also highlights the younger members' performance and involvement, and they are always singled out during the evaluation. As a committee member states, "I have seen those *lāu-puè* playing for more than thirty years, and I want to see more *siàu-liân* playing on stage. Even though *siàu-liân* members do not play as well as *lāu-puè*, they are the future of the

[79] Information presented here comes from my fieldwork observations between 2017 and 2021, and project reports of the Assistance and Empowerment Project for the Important Traditional Performing Arts from 2013 to 2021.

club" (midterm evaluation on August 4, 2018). Over the years, the committee's comments might help to convince the *lāu-puè* to let *siàu-liân* members undertake essential roles, such as playing the leading drum and singing in performances. The committee, therefore, stimulates intergenerational collaboration and communication. However, it was not an easy process for both *lāu-puè* and *siàu-liân* members. Older members sometimes expressed the feeling that they were no longer needed in the club, and the younger members had to find ways to assuage their elders' hurt feelings (Interview on November 4, 2021).

Apart from evaluating performance, the committee members have also persuaded Lê-tshun-uân to revitalize *pak-kuán* amateur club customs, such as the aforementioned *tsú-tē-hi* and holding *pài-kuán* (拜館), through which they socialize with other amateur clubs by visiting and playing music together. Reciprocally, Lê-tshun-uân has also invited some committee members to give talks on *pak-kuán* music and history of the club at the Se-tsîn-ông-iâ sìng-tàn event, or to assist with Lê-tshun-uân's promotional and educational events. It is evident that the committee members, most of whom are scholars, are crucial in shaping the music-making of Lê-tshun-uân, and in utilizing Lê-tshun-uân as a base to revitalize *pak-kuán* social practices in Taiwan.

Younger Members' Engagement and Strategies

Short-term Promotion

Apart from assisting with the Transmission Plan, *siàu-liân* use other strategies for the short-term promotion of *pak-kuán* culture. For example, in 2015 and 2016, they brought several local civic groups, temple associations, and music bands to the club (Figure 5.15); and they toured around holding workshops and presentations to promote the Lê-tshun-uân brand. Their efforts at promoting *pak-kuán* and engaging with other communities have in many ways been

successful. More and more people have come to Lê-tshun-uân because they heard about it from the local news or radio broadcasts about younger people playing the old *pak-kuán* music. As a result, *siàu-liân* also have more opportunities to perform.

Figure 5.15. Taiwanese musical band The Village Armed Youth Band (農村武裝青年) performing at Lê-tshun-uân at the Lantern Festival. February 20, 2016. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

However, older members have expressed concerns with such promotional events: they feel that the Lê-tshun-uân brand represents two hundred years of cultural tradition, and some members consider the new and experimental music younger members introduce to be inappropriate for Lê-tshun-uân's reputation (interview on February 16, 2019). Moreover, not all the older members are happy about the changes that have taken place. The elders hope that more young people will join the club and regularly play music with them, rather than just coming to have fun and then leaving. When people don't devote time and effort to participating in the club's social events and regular practices, the older members consider them to be using the club's fame for their own benefit. Also, the media and press usually highlight the efforts of younger members and neglect the old members' dedication. This has caused tensions between the

generations. In my recent interview with one *siàu-liân* member who thought back on those events, they offered the following reflection:

> I was too idealistic and ambitious to promote the Lê-tshun-uân brand. I was eager to bring all the resources and connections I have into the club, but I failed to communicate with the lāu-puè and caused tensions. (Interview on November 4, 2021)

Indeed, *siàu-liân* keep learning through reflecting on past experiences and negotiating with the *lāu-puè*, even as they test the boundaries of the club's tradition.

Long-term Engagement and Educational Events

The younger members realize that long-term programs for cultivating *pak-kuán* audiences and attracting people to join the club are more practical than short-term events:

> The workshops and basic *pak-kuán* lessons provide venues for people to enter the music club. Without the foundation lessons, it is too difficult for others to join Lê-tshun-uân's regular practices. (Interview on February 16, 2019)

Supported by *lāu-puè* and the club leader, *siàu-liân* have held winter and summer *pak-kuán* music workshops since 2013 (Figure 5.16). They have also applied for funding to provide basic *pak-kuán* instrumental lessons in the club and have invited local people to learn instruments for free (Figure 5.17). In addition, they have cooperated with primary schools and universities to introduce Lê-tshun-uân and *pak-kuán* culture to students.

After years of cultivating new recruits, the club has expanded its roster of dedicated younger members from four to the current total of nine *siàu-liân*. They actively assist older members in revitalizing *pak-kuán* traditions discontinued for thirty years in Taiwan, such as playing *tsú-tē-hi* and holding *pài-kuán* (拜館). In addition, they host and design programs for educational events. Through ongoing intergenerational cooperation, the elders are more open-minded with respect to the opinions of *siàu-liân*, albeit with some limitations.

Figure 5.16. Lê-tshun-uân winter workshop (left) and performance at the Lantern Festival (right). February 20, 2016. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Figure 5.17. Poster of the 2018 free *pak-kuán* instrumental lessons at Lê-tshun-uân Facebook page at https://www.facebook.com/LICY1811/, accessed November 27, 2021.

Negotiating Values in the Club

Mediating Roles in the Transmission Plan

Traditionally, the transmission method in an amateur music club is called *khui-kuán* (*kaiguan* 開館), which means opening a new class for teaching apprentices, and one term lasts

about four months. The teacher, *kuán-sian-sinn* (館先生), may be the teacher from the amateur club or an instructor hired from a professional troupe (Lü Chuikuan 2009: 178). However, the *khui-kuán* transmission mode has changed since the 1980s due to the decline of amateur music practices (ibid.), and to younger generations losing interest in learning *pak-kuán* in amateur music clubs. Since its establishment in 1989 in Changhua, the Center for Nanguan and Beiguan Music and Theatrical Opera (南北管音樂戲曲館, hereafter Center for Nan-Beiguan) has provided *pak-kuán* classes for beginners, together with opportunities for more experienced *tsú-tē* to practice *pak-kuán* music.

Chen Zhu-Lin (陳助麟, 1933–2011), a remarkable *pak-kuán* teacher at the Center for Nan-Beiguan who was also an old *tsú-tē* of Lê-tshun-uân, started to recruit students from the *pak-kuán* classes to Lê-tshun-uân. After the club was nationally designated an "Important Traditional Performing Arts Preservation Group" in 2009, master Chen Zhu-Lin invited still more people to join. As of 2021, there are about fourteen *lāu-puè* in the club because of master Chen's recruiting efforts (Ni Heng-Chun 2017). Master Chen Zhu-Lin was undoubtedly the primary culture-bearer and *kuán-sian-sinn* of the club, and was highly respected and admired by club members. However, since Master Chen passed away in 2011, the role of *kuán-sian-sinn* has remained unsettled in Lê-tshun-uân because there is no *pak-kuán* teacher comparable to Master Chen who can convince all *lāu-puè* club members of his worthiness for the role. Furthermore, when implementing the Transmission Plan, Lê-tshun-uân needs to apportion several roles to different members—a culture-bearer, many apprentices, an assistant teacher, and an administrative assistant—in order to adapt to the requirements of the Transmission Plan (interviews on December 20, 2020; November 4, 2021). While some of these are titular positions, some titles have the potential to affect power relations within the club and change its

ecosystem. Some younger members have expressed frustration about their difficult position vis-à-vis the power relations in the club, but they felt that the only thing they could do was to refine and strengthen their musical abilities.

Negotiating Musical Values

Lê-tshun-uân used to play repertories from the *ku-lōo* style (舊路, old road) more than the *xin-lōo* style (新路, new road). *Lāu-puè* consider that the *ūn* (韻, literally "rhyme," Mandarin: *yun*) of Lê-tshun-uân represents the old style, which does not stress improvised variations (*tshah-hue*, 插花, Mandarin: *jiahua*, 加花, adding flowers). Therefore, it sounds less *lāu-jia̍t* (熱鬧, Mandarin: *renao*, hot-noisy) compared to other, newer styles of *pak-kuán* music (Taiwan minzu yinyue xuehui 2016). *Lāu-puè* constantly brought up the issue of *ūn*, one of the essential elements of traditional music, a term that can represent the style and essential features of a type of music. More specifically, *ūn* (rhyme) "is not only the key in the lyric or the notation; rhyme could be considered as the dainty lingering charm, the highlight of the music piece where you could enhance melodic lines, ending words and master[ing] vocal skills which present the aesthetic of Chinese music" (Shih Ying-Pin 2016: 129).

However, since the older members are recruited from different music clubs that employed two different *pak-kuán* music systems in Changhua, younger members have experienced difficulties in learning musical styles and arranging transmission materials, because people usually have different opinions on how to play the same repertoire. As one younger member commented,

> One thing we find difficult is that when we learn a new piece, the *lāu-puè* constantly discuss different versions and *ūn* they learned from different teachers. Because there is no authoritative *kuán-sian-sinn* in the club, we need to negotiate and try to achieve a

> consensus on which version to follow and which *ūn* to adapt in the performance. (Interview on November 4, 2021)

Moreover, mediating different *ūn* and versions of the music also happens among the younger members:

> While some of us took personal lessons with Master Pan Yu-Chiao on *hì-khek*, I followed Master Pan's styles in performance. However, people also learn from different teachers, and other *siàu-liân* might want to play Lê-tshun-uân's style, which they learned from the music recordings Lê-tshun-uân published in the 1960s. I intend to learn and inherit both Master Pan and Lê-tshun-uân's styles. (Interview on November 4, 2021)

It is apparent that the mixed *ūn* is transmitted in the amateur club not only because of the combination of the *lāu-puè*'s different *pak-kuán* backgrounds but also because of the *siàu-liân* learning from different teachers, as well as obtaining different versions of the same repertoire through the internet and audiovisual documentation.

Significantly, the younger members agree on the desirability of sustaining Lê-tshun-uân's musical style. They have listened to the recordings of Lê-tshun-uân published in the 1960s and discussed *ūn* with older members. In March 2021, *siàu-liân* hired a recording technician, invited three *lāu-puè* to assist with the performance, and recorded their own versions of the Transmission Plan's repertoire.[80] It is evident that historical recordings have nourished Lê-tshun-uân's music-revival process, and helped the younger members search for new musical value from tradition.

Furthermore, younger members are eager to improve the performance and propose practicing plans. However, it is not an easy task to communicate these ideas to most elder members, since it is the habitus for amateur music club members to come to practice every day,

[80] They recorded and posted five pieces on Lê-tshun-uân's Facebook page: "Performances of Lê-tshun-uân's New Generation" (梨春園新生代館員展演), https://www.facebook.com/LICY1811, accessed November 20, 2021.

and older members think it is sufficient when music just “comes together” (有合起來就好, Mandarin: *you heqilai jiu hao*). After much communication and going through intergenerational misunderstandings, younger members have found a strategic way to persuade *lāu-puè* to practice repeatedly with them:

> At first, we (*siàu-liân*) tried to discuss different practice methods with the *lāu-puè*. Even though some older members supported our idea, sometimes they felt that we acted superior to them, and they got mad. We recently had a solution: when practicing parts that are led by *siàu-liân*, we pretended that we did not know how to play or made mistakes on purpose. And then, we could ask older members to assist us in practicing together a couple of times. (Interview on November 4, 2021)

The practice plans might help to improve the performances. However, unlike professional *pak-kuán* music groups that already have high standards for performance, some basic criteria such as pitch uniformity among instruments and aural balance among different instrumental sections are still commented on by the committee during the Lê-tshun-uân Transmission Plan evaluation (observation on August 8, 2020); it is implied that the finer points of musical interpretation and stylistic discussions are not the main issues to consider yet. Some might find frustration in this situation for the younger members who trained professionally in music or have played *pak-kuán* for a long time in other groups. They told me that the music played in the 1960s Lê-tshun-uân recordings sounds much better in terms of musical interpretation, skills, pitch, and rhythm cohesion, compared to the current situation. Therefore, some of them try to find other ways to refine their musical techniques, from forming their own *pak-kuán* groups to practice and learn the repertoire they prefer, to joining professional groups to seek a professional level of *pak-kuán*

performance.[81] It is an ongoing task for younger members to negotiate musical values and adjust concepts of performance standards within the amateur music club.

Monetary Value

The amateur music clubs traditionally do not perform music for money. Instead, they play for obligations such as members' and sponsors' life events, mutual companionship between clubs (交陪, *kau-puè*), and during pilgrimages, processions, and ceremonies related to local temples. However, since the onset in the late 20th century of state intervention in traditional music practices, amateur music clubs have made some changes. Ethnomusicologist Wang Ying-fen has examined the effects of state intervention on *lâm-kuán* (Mandarin: *nanguan*) music in Taiwan, such as the new overlap of membership between groups, deterioration in performance quality, conflicts among groups due to issues of money and fame, and the state-sponsored concerts changing the nature of *lâm-kuán* music (Wang Ying-Fen 2012a). As with *lâm-kuán* amateur music clubs, state-patronized transmission plans have also altered the mentality of *pak-kuán* amateur club members with regard to the monetary value of their music. Since the beginning of the Transmission Plan, Lê-tshun-uân has distributed money to club members for performances. The older members believe that everyone should be paid equally so that the club can be cohesive. Nevertheless, *siàu-liân* members feel that the club should invest more money in "infrastructure" such as audio equipment and sound systems and thus improve the quality of public performances. As a younger member expressed their concern, "Money is not an issue in

[81] The *Pak-kuán* music Chiu Huo-Jung Transmission Plan (北管音樂邱火榮傳習計畫) is a counter example for training professional *pak-kuán* musicians with higher standards in *pak-kuán* music performance. Apprentices are expected to be adept in different *pak-kuán* instruments, and be able to accompany different theatrical genres. Discussions around *ūn*, interpretation, musical tension, balance, and style managements are pervasive in Transmission lessons (Observations from Transmission Plans evaluation performances).

the club, but I feel that we have too many resources so that we do not treasure every performance opportunity" (Interview on November 4, 2021).

Creativity and Innovation

Based on years of engagement, the younger members have developed mechanisms for promoting *pak-kuán* culture and innovating their music. For example, they clearly distinguish between traditional and innovative music by using different names when performing. Performances of Lê-tshun-uân must be agreed upon by the club leader and members, and the repertoire must be traditional. To perform innovative and experimental *pak-kuán* music, the younger members use individual or other brand names to perform. For example, younger member and singer-songwriter Tseng Li-Hsin (曾立馨), who was featured on the local news about her *pak-kuán* music journey in Lê-tshun-uân, has established her own music studio in Changhua to pursue creative projects independent of her activities with the club.[82] Unlike the traditional *pak-kuán* repertoire played in the club, the music she makes incorporates musical elements from *pak-kuán* and Taiwanese folk songs and features acoustic guitar accompanied by her vocals. Other members have formed the musical band Înn-á-hue (圓仔花, Bachelor's Button) to perform and work with local folk arts festival organizations. They compose their music and use Chinese musical instruments such as (Mandarin) *dizi* (笛子, bamboo flute), *liuqin* (柳琴, plucked lute), *zhongruan* (中阮, plucked lute), *erhu* (二胡, two-string fiddle), *pak-kuán* percussion instruments such as (Hoklo) *piak-kóo* (北鼓, a single-headed drum), *thong-kóo* (通鼓, a two-headed drum), *tuā-lô* (大鑼, big gong) and *sió-lô* (小鑼, small gong), *tshue* (吹, shawm),

[82] 從創作歌手到北管子弟 女歌手的追樂人生 (From a singer-songwriter to *pak-kuán tsú-tē*, a female singer's musical life), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cr8CxpNT9OM, accessed December 2, 2021.

and Western string instruments such as cello and guitar in their compositions. In 2017, they produced a performance called (Mandarin) *Zhongzi luodi* (種子落地, Seeds Falling on the Land) in the Lukang Arts Festival. This production is an experimental musical theater performance that engages with traditional *pak-kuán* music elements, visual arts, puppetry, and folk dance; it illustrates the younger generation's ideologies of land, country, and traditional culture. Furthermore, some younger members have established *pak-kuán* music troupes to play at temple fares and life events for money, and members of Lê-tshun-uân occasionally assist with the performances.

Lê-tshun-uân and the New *Tsú-tē* Trend in Taiwan

The transmission lessons and sustainable events not only need to be supported by government agencies and scholars, but most importantly, they also require intergenerational collaboration and negotiations among club members. The younger generation's efforts in holding events and educational programs outside the Transmission Plan are crucial. They attract more people to appreciate and participate in this music tradition. As a *siàu-liân* states, "It does not work if we only passively long for government funding. I feel that the reason Lê-tshun-uân can be seen is that we hold many events and invite people to appreciate and experience *pak-kuán* culture" (interview on September 12, 2019).

Ongoing intergenerational negotiations and designing new programs are necessary, too. Another younger member states,

> From previous experiences, we have learned that we need to respect different voices from among older members and to pay attention to their feelings. At the same time, we might need to design different programs to keep people coming and bring in new members. I think we could be bolder to engage with other organizations, but some other young members just want to adopt a conservative approach. (Interview on August 8, 2020).

The national ICH designation does seem to help with the cohesion of the amateur music club, and the Transmission Plan ensures the learning of music traditions. As the club leader states,

> If there were no Transmission Plan, I believe that there would be no members in Lê-tshun-uân. Under the pressure of evaluation and performance, members like to practice and try to make it sound better. Moreover, "money" is important. People are more willing to come when you pay them money. (Taiwan minzu yinyue xuehui 2015)

Even though the amateur group Transmission Plan is community-based, and the apprentices do not receive a monthly stipend (see Chapter 1), Lê-tshun-uân has found other ways to pay participants money. "Playing for money" was not a convention in *pak-kuán* amateur music culture. However, it has inevitably become the norm under state intervention in modern capitalist society. Furthermore, Lê-tshun-uân's revitalization of *tsú-tē-hi* and *pài-kuán* (拜館) have generated a new *pak-kuán tsú-tē* trend in Taiwan. Since Lê-tshun-uân visits a lot of amateur clubs in Taiwan and plays *pak-kuán* music with them, other clubs have the incentive to practice and refine their performance. The socialization among amateur clubs also stimulates mutual learning of rare and difficult repertoire (Fan Yang-Kun 2020b), and increasingly *pak-kuán* amateur clubs hire teachers to teach and play *tsú-tē-hi*.

Returning to Schippers and Grant's framework for researching all the forces that impact music as part of the ecosystem (Schippers and Grant 2016), systems of learning music play a key role in every musical culture. The forces that have usually been highlighted in the domain of systems of leaning music relate mostly to the infrastructure and "teaching" parts of the process, such as the availability of culture-bearers and teachers, integration into national education systems, philosophies and values governing learning and teaching, online resources and pedagogies, formalized curricula and teaching practices, informal learning practices, existence of

and access to music material for learners, and music programs in communities and schools (ibid.: 341). However, I believe that moving beyond a top-down, structural analysis to examine the learning experiences and attitudes of the younger generations who are the "receivers" of instruction, to analyze intergenerational communications and negotiations, and to document younger members' dedication in community-building and music creativity is extremely important to understand the ecosystem and measure the sustainability of a music culture.

Finally, it is evident that Lê-tshun-uân and its younger members' participation in cultural revitalization not only open up more areas to investigate cooperation between different generations, academia, and local communities in reconstructing traditional soundscapes in contemporary society, but also usefully refine the framework for researching forces that impact music as part of the cultural ecosystem.

CHAPTER 6. PROFESSIONAL TROUPES IN THE CULTURAL HERITAGE ERA

This chapter examines how apprentices in professional troupes mediate transmission practices within the current theatrical environment. I suggest that ICH transmission practices center on culture-bearers' maintenance of distinguishing features representing a specific style or period in the history of their genre in Taiwan, reflecting the fact that the professional theatrical genres have always shown themselves highly adaptable and intertextual. Therefore, apprentices in the Transmission Plans must constantly adjust different styles and borrow knowledge from other theatrical genres to supplement their performances. This chapter first surveys the historical ecologies of traditional professional performing troupes and the genres they represent, before identifying ways in which styles are in practice adapted and adjusted in the process of transmission. It then explains three main types of performance context of the current professional theatrical troupes, and documents how the practices of Transmission Plans respond to and interact with the performance environment.

The Ecology of Traditional Performing Troupes

Before the 1970s, Taiwan was a lively arena for the development, enculturation, and transmission of Han-Chinese theatrical genres such as *lān-thân hì* (亂彈戲), *kua-á-hì* (歌仔戲), *pòo-tē-hì* (布袋戲) and Hakka tea-picking opera (客家採茶戲). Even though each genre might be favored in different periods, those performing genres were the core of ordinary people's entertainment. Moreover, theatrical performance had social functions, such as apologizing to people and maintaining reputations. It also served religious purposes, including worshiping and offering thanks to the gods or celebrating gods' birthdays (Chiu Kun-Liang 1992; Lin Mao-

Hsien 2018: 97). In other words, the maturity and embellishment of those theatrical forms were a result of audiences' appreciation, engagement, support, and needs that motivated performers to develop new content and styles to cope with trends and audiences' tastes. At the same time, each genre might interact and adopt musical and performance elements from one another.

Traditionally, a professional theatrical troupe usually consists of a boss (班主), front stage performers (前場演員), and musicians (後場). When people want to invite a troupe to perform, they need to sign a contract that sets out the amount of money involved and the obligations of both troupe and host. In the early years (before the 1980s), troupes traveled around Taiwan for performances, performing at permanent temple stages or at temporary stages erected for a specific event (Figure 6.1). Troupe members usually slept by the stage or at local temples, and requested daily necessities such as meals and firewood from the host. Opportunities to perform were usually related to religious and agriculture cycles. Therefore, troupes were busy around Lunar New Year, gods' birthdays, and the Ghost Festival (7th Lunar month), and less busy during harvest times and before the Lunar New Year, when people were busy harvesting and preparing for holidays and had no time for entertainment (Lin Mao Shien 2018: 166). The prosperity of theatrical troupes in Taiwan can be perceived from the Japanese colonial government's official report in 1928. At that time, there were one hundred and eleven performing troupes in Taiwan. Among them, one troupe had five hundred performances in 1928, sixteen troupes performed more than three hundred shows, and thirty-two troupes put on between two hundred and three hundred performances that year (Chiu Kun-Liang 1992: 231–232).

Figure 6.1. Permanent stage of Pak-káng Tiâu-thian Kiong (北港朝天宮, lit. “Beigang Facing-Sky Temple”) for theatrical performances or religious rites. February 8, 2020. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

The ecologies for theatrical troupes have constantly changed and been reshaped throughout history. In the 1920s, along with the establishment of modern theaters (Figure 6.2) in major cities, a few theatrical genres such as *kua-á-hì* entered commercial theaters, called *neitai xi* in Mandarin (內台戲, indoor drama). It is a term that describes the locale of performance, as opposed to *waitai xi* (外台戲, outdoor drama, or 民戲, Mandarin: *minxi*, folk drama) that is performed at temples and on temporary stages. Commercial theaters provided conditions that helped to “refine” (精緻化) those local theatrical genres by introducing technologies such as stage apparatus and stage lighting and borrowing performance elements from non-local genres such as Japanese modern drama and Peking opera. *Neitai xi* (indoor drama) was popular until the post-war period, although local genres were banned or reformed to serve Japanese patriotic purposes during wartime between 1937 and 1945 (Lu Su-shang 1961; Chiu Kun-Liang 1992; Wang Ying-Fen 2008).

Figure 6.2. Two main theaters in Beigang were built during the Japanese colonial period. The interior space of Beigang Zuo (北港座) was established in 1927 (left). The exterior of Beigang Juchang (北港劇場) was built in 1933 (right). July 25, 2019. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, post-war Taiwan was ruled by the Kuomintang (KMT), which imposed autocratic one-party rule for over forty years. The KMT forced Taiwanese schools to teach exclusively in Mandarin and banned other Taiwanese local languages, suppressed Taiwanese traditions, honored Mainland Chinese theatrical and musical genres as "national culture," and executed the "Reform Folklore Movement" (*Gaishan minsu yundong* 改善民俗運動) in 1952 to clamp down on theatrical performances of Taiwanese local arts. As a result, theatrical troupes were scaled down, and while some performers left troupes to become industrial workers, some survived with difficulty through the limited local temple fairs, regional radio, and the record industry.

In the 1950s, Taiwanese theatrical opera performers enjoyed a short heyday before the KMT's Chinese nationalist ideologies were applied to local theatrical performances. Some were busy performing in indoor and outdoor dramas, and some were recruited to perform for radio shows and invited to press music recordings (Figure 6.3). *Kua-á-hì* culture-bearer Liao Chiung-Chih is a good example. As indoor drama gradually declined in the late 1950s, she was first invited to record for radio shows and later, in 1958, for record companies. Unlike on-stage

performance, after performers grasped the plot outline, performing on radio and recordings required them to adjust and constantly improvise to conclude the story to suit a commercial radio slot, or to meet the fifteen-minute time restriction of a 33 1/3 RPM record (Liao Chiung-Chih, Fan Yang-Kun 2017). Furthermore, the socio-cultural structure of Taiwan gradually changed from agrarian to industrial between the 1960s and the 1980s. This change also impacted the survival of professional troupes in Taiwan. In the "old rural society" before the 1950s, theatrical troupe performances were connected tightly with agricultural cycles, religious events, and communal structure. However, the attenuation of agricultural society that increased in pace during the 1960s, as people left rural villages for work opportunities and education, crashed professional troupes' support system. Fewer religious organizations or individuals were willing to pay for troupes to perform, and people gradually lost interest in outdoor theatrical performances.

Figure 6.3. Pak-kuán music recording produced in the 1960s. Author's collection.

Moreover, the television and film industry developed fast in the 1960s in Taiwan, and films and TV replaced Taiwanese theatrical performances at theaters and local temples as the main source of people's entertainment, since they shared similar artistic, social, entertainment,

commercial, and educational functions (Yin Chien-Chung 1983: 181). Fortunately, some Taiwanese theatrical practitioners quickly responded to these changes and collaborated with the film and TV industries. *Kua-á-hì* and *pòo-tē-hì* were the two main genres recruited to the new entertainment industries. For example, the first 35mm Taiwanese-language film, *Hsueh Ping-Kuei and Wang Pao-Chuan* (薛平貴與王寶釧), was produced in 1956 (Government Information Office 2010: 247). It was a *kua-á-hì* film performed by Gong-Le She (拱樂社) *kua-á-hì* troupe (Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4. Advertisement for the film *Hsueh Ping-Kuei and Wang Pao-Chuan* (薛平貴與王寶釧) in the *United Daily News* (聯合報) on August 16, 1963. Archived by Taiwan Film and Audiovisual Institute (CC BY-NC 3.0 TW), at https://tfai.openmuseum.tw/muse/digi_object/5f59d14f74fea67aaa7260b7b6382a48#1001, accessed July 21, 2022.

In the 1960s and 1970s, genres such as televised *kua-á-hì* (電視歌仔戲), film *kua-á-hì* (電影歌仔戲), televised *pòo-tē-hì* (電視布袋戲), and later *kim-kong-hì* (金光布袋戲, golden

light puppetry)[83] were developed and achieved unprecedented popularity. For example, culture-bearer Huang Chun-Hsiung's well-known show *Hûn-chiu Tāi Jû-kiap* (雲州大儒俠, The Scholar Swordsman) garnered a 97% television rating in 1971. It means 97% of all Taiwanese who had a television watched it. However, its popularity caused the show to be closed down by the KMT government on that grounds that "it affects farmers and workers' working schedule" (影響農工作息) (Lin Mao-Hsien 2018: 301–303; Government Information Office 2010: 246). However, other Taiwanese theatrical genres, such as *lān-thân* and Hakka drama, were not seen in the film or television industries.

Genres of ICH Theatrical Troupes

As suggested in Chapter 1, Taiwan's traditional performing arts heritagization focuses on genres from "Taiwanized Han Chinese traditional music and theater" and "Indigenous music," since they have developed in Taiwan for a long time and correspond to modern Taiwanese nationalism. By contrast, the genres brought to Taiwan after 1949 are excluded from the current heritage paradigm. The concept of "Taiwanized Han Chinese traditional theater," or scholar Kang Yin-Chen's notion of "Taiwanese theater" (臺灣戲曲), was constructed during the Japanese colonial period. For example, during the 1920s, the terms "Taiwanese theater" or "theater of the island" used in newspapers no longer included troupes from China. Instead, they referred exclusively to theater in Taiwan (Kang Yin-Chen 2013: 91). One result of this is that

[83] *Kim-kong-hì* (金光布袋戲, golden light puppetry) is a *pòo-tē-hì* style that adapts narratives from Chinese fiction featuring itinerant warriors of ancient China. It uses a more vernacular form of Holo language and incorporates popular musical forms, including Japanese and American pop songs. In addition, this style features special stage effects such as dry ice, fire, flashing lights, and mechanical sets (Silvio 2019).

Peking opera was called “pure Chinese theater” (Mandarin: *chun zhinaju,* 純支那劇) in studies after the 1920s (ibid.), thus it was implying not “theater of the island.”

As of July 2022, the nationally designated theatrical genres recognized by the Ministry of Culture include *pòo-tē-hì* (布袋戲, Taiwanese puppetry), *kua-á-hì* (歌仔戲, Taiwanese opera), *pak-kuán hì-khek* (北管戲曲, *beiguan* opera), *lān-thân* (亂彈, *luantan* opera), *pún-tē kua-á* (本地歌仔, local Taiwanese opera), and *lâm-kuán hì-khek* (南管戲曲, *nanguan* opera). Among them, the first four genres are usually performed by professional (Mandarin: *zhiye,* 職業) theatrical troupes with full-time and profit-oriented performers. The rest are performed by amateur troupes whose members perform for leisure and on a nonprofit basis. From examining the backgrounds of the designated culture-bearers, I suggest that instead of preserving an “intact” or “authentic” form of the theatrical genre, Taiwan’s ICH practice stresses culture-bearers’ maintenance of distinguishing features that represent a particular style or era in the history of the genre in Taiwan. For example, *pòo-tē-hì* culture-bearer Chen Hsi-Huang (陳錫煌, Figure 6.5) is well-known for his elegant traditional small puppets. Huang Chun-Hsiung (黃俊雄) is prominent for his innovatihton of large-size puppet performance (Figure 6.6) on television and in movie *pòo-tē-hì*. The recently designated culture-bearer Chiang Szu-Mei (江賜美) is the first female puppeteer in Taiwan. She had extensive performing experience with medicine-selling troupes (Mandarin: *maiyao tuan,* 賣藥團), a form of performance troupe prevalent from the 1950s to the 1970s whose musicians and theatrical performers told stories or acted out dramas to attract people to buy medicine.

Figure 6.5. *Pòo-tē-hì* culture-bearer Chen Hsi-Huang and his apprentices celebrate his ninetieth birthday. February 22, 2020. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Figure 6.6. Three apprentices in the Pòo-tē-hì Huang Chun-Hsiung Transmission Plan (布袋戲黃俊雄傳習計畫) manipulate large-size puppets at the midterm evaluation performance. August 14, 2015. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

From the three *pòo-tē-hì* culture-bearers' backgrounds (Table 6.1), it is evident that *pòo-tē-hì* as a cultural form has been mediated and modernized with Taiwan's socio-cultural changes throughout history. The current ICH paradigm and the Transmission Plans aim to sustain the diverse styles representing the multi-faceted history of Taiwan, rather than preserving an imagined prototype—a very different approach from the famous Korean paradigm (Saeji 2012). Therefore, apprentices in the Transmission Plans are expected to learn and inherit culture-bearers' distinctive features of the genres.

Table 6.1. Characteristics of the three national designated *pòo-tē-hì* culture-bearers

Year of Designation	Pòo-tē-hì Culture-bearer	Features
2009	Chen Hsi-Huang 陳錫煌	Traditional puppets, puppet-making, and *guā-kang* (外江) style
2011	Huang Chun-Hsiung 黃俊雄	TV and movie *pòo-tē-hì*, and cultural industry
2021	Chiang Szu-Mei 江賜美	The first female puppeteer in Taiwan, and performed in a medicine-selling troupe

Adapting and Adjusting Styles in the Transmission Practices

Apprentices in the professional group (專業表演團體) Transmission Plans, namely, *lān-thân hì* (亂彈戲), *pak-kuán hì-khek* (北管戲曲), *kua-á-hì* (歌仔戲), and *pòo-tē-hì* (布袋戲), are often required to have had at least one year of learning experience with the specific art-form in order to qualify for admission to the apprenticeship scheme. From my observations between 2014 and 2021, professional group Transmission Plans apprentices are of four main types: 1) those who have been studying with the culture-bearer or performing with a troupe for years; 2) performers from other troupes of the same genre; 3) professionally trained students from college, namely, the National Taiwan College of Performing Arts (國立臺灣戲曲學院); and 4) performers who have trained in related or even entirely different genres. Apprentices in culture-bearers' first term of Transmission Plans are usually of the first type. Some of them are well-known artists and have been municipally registered as culture-bearers not long after completing the Transmission Plans. However, when apprentices trained in different troupes, in college with other masters, or in other genres join the scheme, they may experience problems with how to negotiate different styles in their transmission practice.

Preserve the Language or Compromise the Reality

From my observations and interviews, the main challenge for the *lān-thân hì* and *pak-kuán hì-khek* apprentices is to be fluent in the tonal system, pronunciation, and accent of the language required on stage. The languages used in *lān-thân hì* and *pak-kuán hì-khek* are *kuann-uē* (Mandarin: *guanhua* 官話 or 官音 *guanyin*, official language) and *pe̍h-uē* (Mandarin: *baihua* 白話, vernacular or 白字 *baizi*). *Kuann-uē* is a form of Mandarin and assumed to be the "official language" with a provincial accent used among the ruling class in the Ming and Qing dynasties. *Kuann-uē* remains in *lān-thân hì* and *pak-kuán hì-khek* performances, but without communication functions anymore (Yen Lip-Mo 1998; Lü Chuikuan 2005: 199; Shih Yingpin 2016: 58–60). Therefore, it is challenging and time-consuming for apprentices to learn this unfamiliar language.

Pe̍h-uē (白話) means vernacular language, which is Taiwanese Minnan (臺灣閩南語) in the context of *lān-thân hì* and *pak-kuán hì-khek* in Taiwan. The process of vernacularization (白字化)—using *pe̍h-uē* (Taiwanese Minnan) in *lān-thân hì* and *pak-kuán hì-khek*—can be traced back to the Japanese colonial period, when performers used Taiwanese Minnan in spoken parts to attract more local Taiwanese audiences (Higashikata 1942). In the 1960s, when *kua-á-hì* was popular in outdoor dramas, *lān-thân hì* and *pak-kuán hì-khek* troupes also adapted to perform *kua-á-hì* during nighttime in order to survive in the market (Liang Chen-Yu 2009: 43-44). For instance, Hanyang Beiguan Troupe (漢陽北管劇團) has sustained its convention of "performing *pak-kuán* in the daytime, performing *kua-á-hì* at night" (日演北管戲，夜演歌仔戲) since its establishment in 1988 (Fan Yang-Kun 2015b; Lin Mao-Hsien 2018). Therefore,

members of Hanyang Beiguan Troupe can usually perform both *pak-kuán* (*lān-thân hì*) and *kua-á-hì*.

In *lān-thân hì* and *pak-kuán hì-khek* Transmission Plans, apprentices are expected to sing and speak *kuann-uē* (官話, official language), since it is believed to be the legitimate language of the genre. However, while it is ideal for preserving this endangered language, it may not reflect existing performance conditions. Hanyang Beiguan Troupe is considered the last professional *pak-kuán hì-khek* troupe in Taiwan because of its source of funds. The majority of its profits are from *minxi* (民戲, folk drama, or outdoor drama, 外台戲) performances invited by temples or religious organizations instead of governmental-sponsored cultural performances (文化場). As mentioned earlier, the troupe has sustained its convention of "performing *pak-kuán* in the daytime, performing *kua-á-hì* at night," and some of the apprentices in its Transmission Plans are also *kua-á-hì* performers. Therefore, during the Transmission Plan evaluation performances, some apprentices' performances were criticized by the committee for using too much *kua-á-hì* singing style or employing too much *pe̍h-uē* (Taiwanese Minnan). Thus, it is noticeable that apprentices struggle to both rehearse their *minxi* performances and preserve and learn the endangered language and repertoire at the same time.

Expanding to New *Qiang*

Learning the genre's melodic and vocal styles (Mandarin: *qiang* 腔, or *shengqiang* 聲腔) is crucial in the theatrical Transmission Plans, and how to negotiate it in transmission practices is another complex issue. It usually takes the first two years for apprentices to become familiar with melodic and vocal styles of the *lān-thân hì / pak-kuán hì-khek / kua-á-hì*. For example, many apprentices in *lān-thân hì* transmission plans are professional Hakka tea-picking opera

performers who are adept at melodic and vocal styles that developed from Hakka mountain songs (客家山歌, see Chapter 1). Apprentices stated that when they first joined the *lān-thân hì* Transmission Plans, they employed Hakka tea-picking opera (客家採茶戲, see Chapter 1) singing style to interpret *lān-thân*, and they felt it was awkward. However, after years of training, they have learned various *pak-kuán* and *lān-thân* melodic and vocal styles that help expand their singing resonance points (Mandarin: *gongming*, 共鳴). As an apprentice states: "Learning *lān-thân* has expending my other resonant points, and also opened up the different zones of my voice" (Mandarin: *sangyin*, 嗓音. Interview on November 15, 2019). Since Hakka tea-picking opera has adapted other theatrical forms such *lān-thân* in performance (Cheng Rom-Shing 2004), studying *lān-thân* also benefits apprentices' Hakka tea-picking opera performance. A *lān-thân* graduated apprentice, also a Hakka tea-picking opera teacher, claims he can be more aware of using *lān-thân* singing styles in Hakka tea-picking opera performances when needed. Furthermore, he gradually teaches his students the endangered *lān-thân* performance styles at the National Taiwan College of Performing Arts (Interview on November 15, 2019).

Learning from Different Theatrical Genres

As noted in Chapter 1, I suggest that Taiwan's intangible heritage is usually a hybrid mixture of forms representing multi-cultural interactions rather than notional "purity." This is evident in Taiwanese theatrical genres. For example, culture-bearer Chen Hsi-Huang's *pòo-tē-hì* is prominent for its *guā-kang* (外江, Mandarin: *waijiang*, lit. beyond the river) style, which means it adapts Peking opera music in the musical accompaniment. An apprentice told me about his experiences learning from different theatrical genres to improve his *pòo-tē-hì* performance:

> I learned about other theatrical genres and understood different performance models and logic. For example, I like to watch human opera (人戲) and see how I can apply some features to my puppet. . . . I was also invited to play a clown role in a *kua-á-hì* troupe. I have courage to perform (戲膽), and I want to practice vernacular Minnan (白話) in performance [*pòo-tē-hì* uses written Minnan (文言)]. (Interview on July 14, 2022)

This apprentice had majored in Peking opera at the National Taiwan College of Performing Arts. He explained how this training benefits his profession as a puppeteer:

> Before learning Peking opera, I didn't quite understand some of the master's gestures, terminologies, and performance hints in directing the backstage musicians. After systematically studying Peking opera and gong-drum notation (鑼鼓經), I realized that some of the master's vocabulary comes from Peking opera music. The more I know about other theatrical genres, the more I comprehend *pòo-tē-hì*. (Interview on July 14, 2022)

Cross-genre learning is evidently the norm in Taiwanese transmission practices. By comparing and referencing their previous experiences and other theatrical styles, apprentices can constantly adjust their performances and clarify the features of inherited traditions.

The Current Professional Troupes' Performance Environment

Since the 1980s, Taiwanese scholars have proposed governmental facilitation of the transmission and promotion of folk arts in response to the loss of traditions in modernized and industrialized Taiwan (see Chiu Kun-Liang 1983; Yin Chien-Chung 1983; Lin En-Xian 1990). However, due to a series of heritagization practices, the ecology of Taiwanese professional troupes has changed. Apart from the "traditional" performance arenas such as temples and commercial theaters, governmental-sponsored cultural and educational events have gradually come to dominate traditional theatrical opera performances.

From my observations and interviews, there are three leading performance practices of the current theatrical troupes (Figure 6.7). The first is called *minxi* in Mandarin (民戲, folk drama), a "traditional" performance practice associated with religious festivals and invited by a religious organization such as a temple. Performing at *minxi* was the major source of financial support for the troupes before the 1980s. The second kind is often termed *wenhuachang* in Mandarin (文化場, cultural performance events), performance events sponsored by government agencies or partially funded by institutions that aim to display, promote, and publicize traditional performance arts in various arenas. Finally, the third kind is the combination of the previous two types, which is the format of *minxi* but funded (fully or partially) by government agencies.

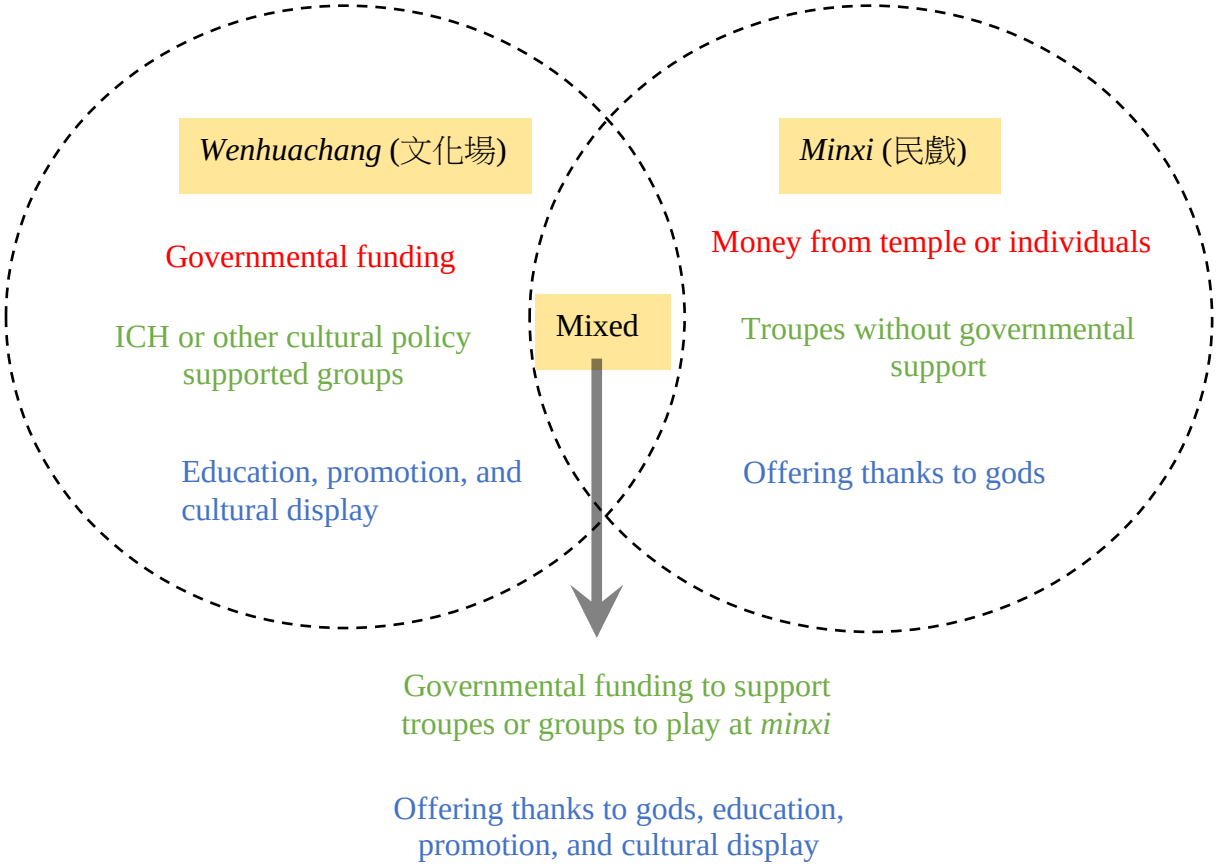


Figure 6.7. Three types of current performance contexts. Draw by Mei-Chen Chen.

Minxi and *wenhuachang* are two different ecosystems, but with some overlapping zones. They are characterized by different funding sources and performance invitation (請戲) structures, and have different contents and purposes. The troupes and groups who perform at *wenhuachang* (cultural performance events) are communities supported by ICH or other cultural policies, such as Traditional Performing Arts Preservation Groups (傳統表演藝術保存團體) and Outstanding Performing Arts Teams (傑出演藝團隊).[84] While an ICH group focuses more on sustaining traditions, an Outstanding Performing Arts Team stresses more the creativity of performing arts. As mentioned in Chapter 3, once a culture-bearer or group has been nationally designated a guardian of a traditional performing arts genre, such a culture-bearer/group is required to undertake a Transmission Plan to ensure the sustainability of that tradition (CHPA 2016, Article 92). They are also eligible to apply for funding for other preservation practices.[85] I also consider *neitai xi* (內台戲, indoor drama) that theatrical troupes perform in modern theaters a form of *wenhuachang* (cultural performance events), since nowadays most traditional theatrical performances in modern theaters are funded by different governmental projects. Therefore, groups supported by the cultural policies have more resources for large-scale and refined productions. For example, Liao Chiung-Chih Taiwanese Opera Foundation for Culture and Education (財團法人廖瓊枝歌仔戲文教基金會) and its Shintrun Taiwanese Opera Troupe (薪傳歌仔戲劇團) can pull together funding from government and private enterprise, produce at least three different plays every year, promote paid performances,

[84] See Taiwan Cultural Creative Industries, Ministry of Culture, https://cci.culture.tw/【111 年】文化部補助地方扶植傑出演藝團隊計畫/, accessed August 9, 2022.

[85] The plan is called 文化部文化資產局文化資產保存修復及管理維護補助作業要點; the content and guidelines are available at https://www.boch.gov.tw/home/zh-tw/download/78740, accessed August 10, 2022.

and support outstanding young performers. The troupe's 2021 annual play *Bōn-hiong-tsi-iā* (望鄉之夜, Night of Looking Toward Hometown) is a reproduction of culture-bearer Liao Chiung-Chih's masterpiece during *neitai xi* and radio *kua-á-hì* (廣播歌仔戲) periods in the 1950s and 1960s.[86]

Theatrical troupes that play at *minxi* are invited by temples or individuals, and opportunities to perform usually relate to religious and agricultural cycles. However, the price for *minxi* is relatively low. For example, is it between NT$6,000 and NT$10,000 (US$200–335 at 2022 rates) for hiring a five-people *pòo-tē-hì* troupe; and at least NT20,000 (US$669 at 2022 rates) for a *kua-á-hì* troupe (Fang Pin-Wen et. al. 2017). Moreover, the number of *minxi* has decreased since 2020 because of the Covid-19 pandemic. There have been national restrictions on public performances, temples have been disinclined to hire troupes to perform, businesses have been languishing, and people do not want to pay money for troupes to "thank the gods" (酬神); these factors have all directly or indirectly caused a decline in *minxi* (Lai Yi-Fang ed. 2021). For instance, a *pòo-tē-hì* apprentice told me that he used to have at least twenty annual *minxi* performances before the pandemic, but there were none in the year 2022 (Interview on July 14, 2022). The noise issue is another concern of *minxi* performance. Especially in metropolitan Taipei, people constantly report noise pollution to the police during festive folk events, temple fairs, and even *minxi* performances (see Chan He-Chen et al. 2021). How to sustain folk traditions and cope with noise and environmental issues (e.g., fireworks) had been raised and discussed at the 2018 National Cultural Heritage Congress (全國文化資產會

[86] Official website of Shintrun Taiwanese Opera Troupe and its productions are available at http://www.shintrun.com, accessed August 26, 2022.

議). Each city in Taiwan has its own laws and regulations regarding religious events,[87] and the sound of theatrical performance is not defined as "noise." However, besides acknowledging the importance of intangible cultural heritage and strengthening the education in ICH for the younger generations, there are no proactive measures to support *minxi* when people report noise pollution. A graduated *pòo-tē-hì* apprentice expressed the difficulties of playing *mixni* nowadays:

> There are many restrictions on performing *minxi*, and they could cause pain for the temples. Traditionally, *pòo-tē-hì* troupes perform from 2:30 to 5 pm and 7 to 9 pm. But when we performed at the temple near an elementary school, we had to move and compress the time to 6:30–9 pm so that the performance wouldn't disturb schooling. The show had to end before 10 pm or it would be reported. Also, the organizer had to apply for road authorization in advance. Those restrictions and complaints are bothersome for temples. Some temples might use the Covid-19 pandemic as an excuse for not hiring *minxi* troupes to perform . . . for three years. (Interview on July 14, 2022)

Therefore, the troupes and apprentices cannot rely on *minxi* performances. Instead, they have to constantly draft proposals and apply for government or other institutions' funding to support their performances.

The third kind of performance practice mixes *minxi* and *wenhuachang*. To revitalize *minxi* and to attract audiences to watch traditional theater, government agencies design plans to facilitate the making of *minxi.* One noticeable project is the "Folk Theater Reshaping Plan" (Mandarin: *Minjian juchang chongsu jihua*, 民間劇場重塑計畫)[88] organized by the National Center for Traditional Arts (NCTA), Ministry of Culture. From 2019 to 2022, NCTA collaborated with temples all around Taiwan and organized theatrical troupes from diverse

[87] The Taipei City Government, for example, has procedures for festive events. First, the organizer has to submit a project proposal, action plan, declaration document, etc., before the event. See 臺北市民俗遶境、大型宗教慶典或類似活動標準作業程序, https://www.laws.taipei.gov.tw/Law/LawSearch/LawInformation?lawId=P02D3012-20190402&realID=02-04-3012, accessed August 24, 2022.

[88] The detail of the plan, budget, and evaluation methods are available in Mandarin at https://www.hccc.gov.tw/Utility/DisplayFile?id=7826, accessed August 11, 2022.

genres to participate in temple fairs and perform at temples (Figure 6.8). The Ministry noted of the scheme that "It aims to elevate the quality of *minxi* at temples by the form of joint performances" (以匯演形式提升廟埕民戲的演出品質) (Guoli chuantong yishu zongxin 2018).

Figure 6.8. Temporary stage and event poster for the 2019 "Folk Theater Reshaping Plan" at Wanhe Temple (萬和宮) in Taichung. October 12, 2019. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Another example of this mixing of contexts is the organizing of official transmission plan evaluation performances at *minxi* events. For instance, the last *pak-kuán hì-khek* troupe in Taiwan, Hanyang Beiguan Troupe (漢陽北管劇團), has about sixty-five *minxi* performances per year. In the *pak-kuán hì-khek* Hanyang Beiguan Troupe Transmission Plan (北管戲曲漢陽北管劇團傳習計畫), apprentices' participation in *minxi* is also part of the transmission practice. Many of their plan evaluation performances have taken place at local temples in the form of *minxi*. As another example, the midterm evaluation performance of *Lān-thân* Pan Yu-Chiao Transmission Plan (亂彈戲潘玉嬌傳習計畫) in 2016 also took place in a *minxi* context. It was sponsored by the Bureau of Cultural Heritage (Figure 6.9). Those instances indicate that

Transmission Plans' practices also intend to revitalize the ecology of traditional performing arts and allow apprentices to have more *minxi* experiences.

Figure 6.9. Midterm evaluation performance of Lān-thân Pan Yu-Chiao Transmission Plan at Touwu Township Qudong Temple in Miaoli (苗栗頭屋曲洞宮). July 27, 2016. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Overall, apprentices in the theatrical Transmission Plans partake in the three arenas mentioned above but rely more on the government-supported cultural performances, since the opportunity for performing at *minxi* is declining. Since 2019, there have been numerous state-funded *minxi* performances in different parts of Taiwan. I would not consider it the regeneration of *minxi.* These performances were not based on religious purposes or funded by local communities, but resembled a cultural performance in which the government of Taiwan demonstrated its ICH cultural policy achievements and invited the people to appreciate Taiwanese traditional performing arts.

Issues in the Professional Theatrical Transmission Plans

From my years of observations, apprentices in professional troupe Transmission Plans have two main concerns compared to other types of Transmission Plans. The first issue involves the length of the project. The second revolves around the possibility for better integration of resources and support for apprentices in contemporary society.

Length of the Transmission Plans

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the model of Transmission Plans is established upon the "three years and four months" (*san nian si ge yue* 三年四個月) framework of Taiwanese traditional arts apprenticeship. Traditionally, an apprentice needed to live with a master, learning, performing, and generating work together, and cultivated the essence of traditional arts through oral transmission and spontaneous teaching and learning methods. In the current Transmission Plans, each apprentice is required to take lessons from the culture-bearer at least fifty hours a month, and one term of a Transmission Plan usually lasts four years. Four years' training might be sufficient for mature apprentices who have been learning with culture-bearers for decades and are already professional performers before entering the Transmission Plans. However, some of the apprentices told me that four years of training is too short, and it took the first two years for them to get familiar with the genre and the project. One apprentice states:

> In the old saying, apprenticeship takes three years and four months to graduate (*chushi* 出師). During that time, the apprentice could perform with the teacher 365 days a year. One apprentice would have at least one thousand performance experiences. However, we only have two or three public performances a year now, and we don't have many opportunities to learn from actual performances. (Interview on July 14, 2022)

Some apprentices don't feel well-prepared for taking the training completion examination (結業考) after one term of a four-year Transmission Plan (Interview on July 15, 2022). Also, even

after passing the training completion examination and receiving a Certificate of Completion from the Ministry of Culture, one graduated apprentice felt a massive gap compared with graduated apprentices from the first term of the Transmission Plan: “The first term graduated apprentices have learned with the master for more than thirty years. I respect them as my teachers, and I am still far from them” (Interview on July 14, 2022). From my observations, training completion is just a start for some graduated apprentices. Many only show maturity in performance after years of on-stage experience beyond completion of the Transmission Plans.

Integrating Resources to Support the Transmission Plans

Another issue involved in the Transmission Plans is how to survive with the small stipend and fully engage in the transmission practices. Apprentices in the individual culture-bearer and professional group Transmission Plans may receive a monthly stipend of NT$15,000 (US$540 at 2021 rates). However, this stipend might not be sufficient for an apprentice to live without other work and income. For example, some of them might need to work part-time in other theatrical troupes or hold other jobs, and some might have other full-time jobs and use their off-work time to participate in transmission lessons. As a result, some apprentices might be criticized for lacking involvement in transmission lessons (observations between 2017 and 2021). Markedly, several theatrical Transmission Plans are operated by or collaborate with foundations instead of conventional troupes. A *kua-á-hì* troupe was usually bound by kinship and patriarchal authority before the 1980s. Members had different duties and roles in the troupe, and more than eighty percent of the members were relatives (Yin Chien-Chung, 1983: 27–28). In the current context, the foundations could support apprentices to be fully engaged in the Transmission Plans, and provide more performance opportunities by strategically dividing labor, applying for different

types of funding, and collaborating with scholars and cultural experts. For example, *Kua-á-hì* Liao Chiung-Chih Transmission Plan (歌仔戲廖瓊枝傳習計畫) is executed by the Liao Chiung-Chih Taiwanese Opera Foundation for Culture and Education (財團法人廖瓊枝歌仔戲文教基金會), while *Lān-thân* Pan Yu-Chiao Transmission Plan (亂彈戲潘玉嬌傳習計畫) and Hakka *Bayin* Miao-Li Chen Family Pei-Kuan Pa-Yin Group Transmission Plan (客家八音苗栗陳家班北管八音團傳習計畫) operate in relation to the Qing Mei-Yuan Foundation for Culture and Education (財團法人慶美園文教基金會). Apprentices in those Transmission Plans could devote themselves to transmission lessons, have more performance opportunities, and get involved in other sustaining practices. More importantly, they have more financial support besides a Transmission Plans monthly stipend.

Furthermore, the theatrical opera Transmission Plans cultivate the frontstage performers (Mandarin: *qianchang yanyuan*, 前場演員), but also need backstage musicians (Mandarin: *houchang yueshi*, 後場樂師) to accompany performances. The current Transmission Plans framework does not fully support the backstage musicians. Some Transmission Plans operated by foundations might have a group of musicians who have collaborated with them for a long time. An apprentice in the professional theatrical troupe Transmission Plan expressed this concern:

> I think the Transmission Plan framework should take backstage accompaniment into consideration. We are fortunate to have a group of musicians to assist with our performance. Still, I'm sure other theatrical Transmission Plans might have similar issues of not having suitable musicians to work with. (November 15, 2019)

As another example, for a long time the *Pòo-tē-hì* Chen Hsi-Huang Transmission Plan (布袋戲陳錫煌傳習計畫) did not have steady musicians to assist with the performance. In recent years,

the troupe has applied for other governmental funding to train backstage musicians, and it can finally operate steadily (interview on July 14, 2022). The old saying "three points of frontstage and seven points of backstage" (三分前場，七分後場) emphasizes the importance of musical accompaniment in theatrical opera performances. Cultivating backstage musicians is as crucial as frontstage performers. To revitalize the ecology of theatrical opera may require other resources to support the training of the essential instrumental musicians.

Governmental Support after the Transmission Plans

Seeing the current unfavorable environment for traditional theatrical troupes, some apprentices in the Transmission Plans have told me that they worry they won't be able to make a living as a theatrical performer; I have heard these comments ever since my engagement in the Transmission Plans in 2014. Fortunately, in 2018, Taiwan's Minister of Culture, Cheng Li-chun (鄭麗君), announced that the budget for intangible cultural heritage transmission and preservation plans is set to triple in 2019. Moreover, since 2019, the Ministry of Culture has operated two main projects: *Taiwan chuantong jutuan kaizhi sanye jihua* (Mandarin) (臺灣傳統劇團開枝散葉計畫, Project for Spreading Branches and Leaves of Traditional Theatrical Troupes) and *Chuantong xiqu jiebanren fuzhi jihua* (Mandarin) (傳統戲曲接班人扶植計畫, Traditional Opera Successor Support Plan) with seven sub-projects to revitalize and cultivate the ecology of traditional arts in contemporary Taiwan.[89] Next, I will elaborate on three main projects supporting the graduated apprentices after completing the Transmission Plans.

[89] For news of the events, see National Center for Traditional Arts,「108 年度開枝散葉計畫&接班人計畫」階段成果記者會 (Press Conference for the 2019 Branches and Leaves and Successor Projects), at https://www.ncfta.gov.tw/information_45_102056.html?fbclid=IwAR3x2ATJvp565p3DqOkRBrk1BZ6avpYrOYezZXmiOLmDAqOTZ_pja1XPNoI, accessed October 6, 2021.

Performance Project for Traditional Theatrical Successors (傳統戲曲接班人- 駐園演出計畫)

The Performance Project for Traditional Theatrical Successors (Mandarin: *Chuantong xiqu jiebanren—Zhuyuan yanchu jihua,* 傳統戲曲接班人- 駐園演出計畫) aims to provide an arena for graduated apprentices applying their performance skills and sustaining traditional performing arts. The National Center for Traditional Arts (國立傳統藝術中心, hereafter, NCTA) invites graduated apprentices from the Transmission Plans to perform at NCTA's Yilan Park. The current apprentices of the Transmission Plans also assist in those performances to gain more practical experience. Each group resides at the headquarters of NCTA for a short period and performs a thirty-minute show at 11:30 am and 3 pm, from Tuesday to Sunday. By systematic program planning and combining cultural tourism resources from the headquarters of NCTA in Yilan, 1,892 shows were presented from 2017 to 2021.[90] In 2022, thirty-one graduated apprentices are participating in fourteen performing groups representing seven genres: *pak-kuán hì-khek, kua-á-hì*, *pòo-tē-hì, liām-kua*, Buán-tsiu folksong, *pak-kuán* music, and Paiwan mouth and nose flutes.

In my interview with a graduated apprentice who has been playing at the Performance Project for Traditional Theatrical Successors, he expressed his opinion of how this venue helps him improve his skills and connect with audiences:

> I performed for this NCTA project for more than four years and have observed audiences' reactions. They prefer fighting scenes more than literary scenes because they cannot fully understand literary Minnan (文言) in *pòo-tē-hì*. In order to promote the beauty of *pòo-tē-hì* within thirty minutes, I need to let audiences know the content. I used to give an outline, but now I provide detailed subtitles during the show. However, the master [the culture-bearer] wants us to improvise and perform *huoxi* (活戲, living plays).

[90] The official website of the plan is available at https://ppsta.ncfta.gov.tw/home/zh-tw, accessed August 19, 2022.

> [But] I can't improvise much when I give them subtitles here, but I can experiment with different things and adjust the show every time I perform.

But when performing at cultural performance events, he might need to change his approach:

> I won't be able to provide subtitles for the one-and-a-half-hour cultural performances. I must improvise and perform *huoxi*. I like to attract audiences' interest by increasing the amount of backstage music and reducing my spoken parts. For example, I perform specific plots presenting the puppet's different gestures for the first half hour. And then, I play a classic item of repertoire and condense it from two hours into a one-hour show. The total will be one and a half hours. (Interview on July 14, 2022)

NCTA's Performance Project for Traditional Theatrical Successors undoubtedly provides an arena for graduated and current apprentices to sharpen their skills, which apprentices have yearned for for years. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the concept of "performance in place of training" (*yi yan dai xun* 以演代訓) is pervasive among the performing arts genres. For some culture-bearers, performing is one of the most efficient ways to learn the performing arts tradition. I suggest that those performances are unlike tourism-oriented cultural displays but more like intensive performance practice opportunities and symposiums for apprentices to exchange and experiment with their ideas. Some apprentices publicly posted about their encouraging experiences interacting with audiences on social media. I also read positive posts about those performances and workshops from Google reviews or on other tourist sites. These shows seem to have become a tourist attraction of the NCTA.

Project for Training Resident Performers (駐團演訓計畫)

In 2019, NCTA proposed another program, Project for Training Resident Performers (Mandarin: *Zhutuan yanxun jihua* 駐團演訓計畫),[91] that aims to assist theatrical troupes in recruiting young performers to reside in the troupe and execute transmission practices. This project stresses the theatrical troupes' management and cultivates three to six apprentices for both frontstage performers and backstage musicians. Unlike the Bureau of Cultural Heritage's Transmission Plans that foster culture-bearers' successors, this NCTA project funds the growth of traditional theatrical troupes. One graduated apprentice who also participates in this project told me,

> After completing the Transmission Plans in 2018, I stayed and worked in the master's *pòo-tē-hì* troupe. However, the troupe didn't have many performance opportunities. After the troupe executed this NCTA project, I started considering how to sustain and operate the troupe, document, and preserve the master's skills and arts. I didn't think about those practical matters when I was in the Transmission Plans; I just followed what the master said. . . . Master is ninety-one years old, and it is too tiring for him to teach new apprentices. We need to document him as soon as possible. Without documentation, the young generation won't be able to learn this tradition. Thus, we strived for documentation projects and performance projects. The troupe also recruited new administrative personnel to handle paperwork. . . . The monthly stipend from this Project for Training Resident Performers is higher than for the Transmission Plans. Still, there are more expectations and responsibilities, ranging over performance, transmission lessons, administrative work, and other preservation practices—from the standpoint of sustaining and operating the troupe. (Interview on July 14, 2022).

As I suggested earlier, completion of Transmission Plans training is just a start for some graduated apprentices. Operating and managing a troupe, recruiting performers, and writing proposals to apply for governmental funding are the practical tasks that graduated apprentices need to keep on learning.

[91] For a detailed plan, see National Center for Traditional Arts at https://www.ncfta.gov.tw/information_46_138872.html, accessed August 21, 2022.

Advanced Transmission Plans (進階傳習計畫)

In 2019, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage offered three-year "advanced Transmission Plans" (Mandarin: *Jinjie chuanxi jihua*, 進階傳習計畫) for graduated apprentices to improve their traditional performing arts skills.[92] The Bureau of Cultural Heritage and ICH committee selected three Transmission Plans communities, representing professional theatrical opera, professional instrumental ensemble music, and Indigenous music, to execute advanced Transmission Plans. Three plans took place between 2019 and 2021: Kua-á-hì Liao Chiung-Chih Advanced Transmission Plan (歌仔戲廖瓊枝進階傳習計畫), Hakka bayin Miao-Li Chen Family Pei-Kuan Pa-Yin Group Advanced Transmission Plan (客家八音苗栗陳家班北管八音團進階傳習計畫), and Paiwan mouth and nose flutes Gilegilau Pavalius Advanced Transmission Plan (排灣族口、鼻笛謝水能進階傳習計畫).

In the Kua-á-hì Liao Chiung-Chih Advanced Transmission Plan (歌仔戲廖瓊枝進階傳習計畫), two graduated apprentices, Chang Meng-Yi (張孟逸) and Wang Tai-Ling (王台玲), collaborated with theater scholar Hsu Ya-Hsiang (徐亞湘, Figure 6.10) and meticulously documented, analyzed, interpreted and reproduced culture-bearer Liao Chiung-Chih's classic repertoire. The three-year plan focused on 1) culture-bearer Liao Chiung-Chih's selected classic repertoire transmission and documentation; 2) supplementary lessons ranging from performance skills, cultural perspectives, and the ecologies of theatrical opera in Taiwan (and in China) to theater technologies and troupe management; and 3) publishing culture-bearer Liao Chiung-

[92] For news of this plan, see Ministry of Culture, "Three Taiwan artisans honored as living national treasures," at https://www.moc.gov.tw/en/en/information_196_100986.html, accessed August 23, 2022.

Chih's classic repertoire (observation of evaluation meetings on November 15, 2019, and May 30, 2020). The outcome was published in 2021 with the title *Jiangxi yu zuoxi, Liao Chiung-Chi jingdian zhezixi juben yu biaoyan* (講戲與做戲 廖瓊枝經典折子戲 劇本與表演詮釋, Story-telling and Performing, Liao Chiung-Chi's Classic Excerpts, Scripts and Interpretations).[93]

Figure 6.10. Scholar Hsu Ya-Hsiang (front left), Wang Tai-Ling (middle), and Chang Meng-Yi (right) at the Advanced Transmission Plan evaluation meeting after the performance. May 30, 2020. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Advanced Transmission Plans have given opportunities for graduated apprentices to grow and mature their artistry, knowledge, and practical skills. However, from my observations and conversations with ICH committee members, this plan is still a trial with a selective aspect. The Bureau of Cultural Heritage wanted to invest in the communities that could achieve a worthy outcome. Although some graduated apprentices are interested in this project, not every Transmission Plans community has access to this plan.

[93] Publication information is available at https://gpi.culture.tw/books/1011001371, accessed August 21, 2022.

Apprentices' Innovation and Approach to Sustaining the Tradition

The goal of Transmission Plans is to cultivate successors of the nationally designated traditional performing arts, and sixty apprentices received a Certificate of Completion between 2009 and 2022. Most of the graduated apprentices in professional theatrical Transmission Plans work closely with the culture-bearers/groups with whom they have trained, stay at the culture-bearer's troupe, or assist in implementation of the Transmission Plans. Chen Kuan-Lin (陳冠霖, Figure 6.11), a graduated apprentice of the *Pòo-tē-hì* Chen Hsi-Huang Transmission Plan, told me that his goal is to transmit the culture-bearer's style:

> After completing the Transmission Plan in 2018, I stayed in the master's Chen Hsi-Huang Traditional Puppet Troupe (陳錫煌傳統掌中劇團). I do not innovate new repertoire or establish my own troupe because I really like the master's style and want to sustain it. Some people suggested I have my own troupe, but I want to learn with the master and assist his troupe. Also, even if the master's troupe does not have many performance opportunities, operating another troupe would not be wise. (Interview on July 14, 2022)

Besides working with the culture-bearer, Chen Kuan-Lin collaborates with other *pòo-tē-hì* troupes, assists their *minxi* performances, and participates in filmmaking and new media. For example, he has been invited to work with the PanSci Taiwan YouTube channel and produce a series titled *Science and Pòo-tē-hì* (Mandarin: *Kexue budaixi*, 科學布袋戲).[94] The abstruse scientific knowledge is explained by Chen Kuan-Lin's lively *pòo-tē-hì* puppet with fluent and elegant Taiwanese Minnan language.

[94] The "Science and Pòo-tē-hì" playlist is available at, https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLBbGP5YXTYgmhS4XuwYjqohlhyHeypBdw, accessed August 23, 2022.

Figure 6.11. Chen Kuan-Lin performs *pòo-tē-hì* at culture-bearer Chen His-Huang's ninetieth birthday celebration. February 22, 2020. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Many graduated apprentices also develop their own characteristics based on a culture-bearer's artistic style. Huang Wu-Shan (黃武山, Figure 6.12) is a good example. He is also a graduated apprentice of the Pòo-tē-hì Chen Hsi-Huang Transmission Plan (布袋戲陳錫煌傳習計畫), completing his training and receiving a certificate in 2012. Because of his Hakka ethnic background and Hakka accent, he was encouraged by Li Tien-Lu (李天祿)[95] to develop Hakka-style *pòo-tē-hì*, incorporating Hakka tea-picking opera. He learned Hakka mountain folksongs with culture-bearer Lai Bi-Hsia (賴碧霞). He then established the first troupe to perform traditional *pòo-tē-hì* in the Hakka language in Taiwan, Shan Puppet Theater (山宛然客家布袋戲

[95] Li Tien-Lu (李天祿, 1910–1998), was a *pòo-tē-hì* puppeteer and father of *pòo-tē-hì* culture-bearer Chen Hsi-Huang. He received Taiwan's National Heritage Award (*Minzu yishu xinchuan jiang* 民族藝術薪傳獎) in 1985, and was recognized as an Important National Artist (*Zhongyao minzu yishu yishi* 重要民族藝術藝師) in 1989. He was known to international audiences for playing in several of Hou Hsiao-Hsien's films, especially *The Puppetmaster* (戲夢人生) in 1993. More information about Li Tien-Lu may be found on the I Wan Jan Puppet Theater (亦宛然掌中劇團) official website at https://www.litienlu.org.tw, accessed August 26, 2022.

團), in 2002. He collaborates with modern theaters and choreographers and has developed several original works that balance tradition and innovation.[96]

Figure 6.12. Huang Wu-Shan and his Shan Puppet Theater performing at the Taiwan Center Foundation of Greater Los Angeles. August 8, 2022. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Collaborations among different fields and performers have become the norm in theatrical genres in Taiwan. As Huang Wu-Shan states in one interview,

> I prefer not to use the term *kuajie* (跨界, transboundary) to define my performances and productions. Instead, I would say I collaborate with people from different fields. In multicultural Taiwan, we encounter and are inspired by different cultures in daily life, which is the current state of Taiwan. Therefore, I think that to keep communicating and exploring other possibilities might be the right path to sustain *pòo-tē-hì*. (Ep.30, *Pòo-tē-hì Kóng-hōo-lí-thiann,* November 8, 2021)

[96] More information about the troupe may be found on their official website at http://www.shanpuppet.com.tw/index.html, accessed August 23, 2022.

Although the goal of Transmission Plans is to cultivate successors to the culture-bearers, I found that the Taiwanese ICH paradigm supports individuals' own development after the completion of Transmission Plans. As suggested earlier in this chapter, Taiwanese theatrical genres are highly adaptable and intertextual. While some practitioners keep performing classic repertoire, others keep up with the up-to-date developments of modern theater, collaborate with each other, improve stage technology, use diverse multimedia, and combine musical elements. Since 2019, a series of state-funded projects that help to construct apprentices' performance environments and support their development seems to be having a positive impact. The use of social media and podcasts also helps to accelerate exchanges and collaborations. One example is a podcast production launched in March 2021, when Yi-Sing-Kuo Puppet Troupe (義興閣掌中劇團) created the first podcast channel to feature *pòo-tē-hì* in Taiwan: Pòo-tē-hì Kóng-hōo-lí-thiann (布袋戲 講予恁聽, Let me tell you about *pòo-tē-hì*).[97] The channel features puppeteers and producers, inviting them to share their experiences and stories of sustaining *pòo-tē-hì*.

The current performing arts practitioners not only need to focus on sustaining their traditions, they also need to improve diverse abilities such as writing proposals, creating advertisements and marketing materials, and building a fan base. According to my conversations with graduated apprentices, how do they feel about sustaining tradition and making a living by performing? Some told me they can find networks teaching their theatrical genres at elementary schools. The recent major state-funded performance projects are also crucial, and other invited productions can make some money. An apprentice humbly said, "I am very grateful to learn with a great master so that we have more resources. . .. Especially since Minister Cheng's inauguration, the Ministry of Culture has provided a greater variety of projects for us to

[97] The Podcast channel is available at https://taiwanpuppettalk.firstory.io, accessed August 23, 2022.

participate in" (Interview on July 14, 2022). It seems promising that Taiwan's government puts more effort into salvaging and sustaining traditional performing arts. However, the future is not secure for theatrical troupes, and practitioners mainly rely on government funding and support. A change of cultural policy could lead to the destruction of traditions. Reconstructing the Taiwanese traditional performing arts ecosystem is an ongoing process. I wish for a future in which these genres can be sustained and prosper without state intervention.

CHAPTER 7. PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE: DOCUMENTING HERITAGE VIA AUDIOVISUAL MEDIA

One of the most striking aspects of Taiwan's engagement with intangible cultural heritage policy and practice is the ubiquity of audiovisual documentation, and its employment for many different purposes: preservation, certainly, but more importantly, for documenting traditions as they exist contemporaneously at different points in time and thus showing their evolution through the decades; for providing culture-bearers with reference points in the past to be used respectfully and often creatively as they take their traditions forward; for pushing forward public discourse about the broader value of local heritage; and for informing and entertaining a wider public, bringing even those not directly involved in a genre's performance into the community that understands and supports it. I take inspiration in part from folklorist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's statement that "heritage is a new mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past" (1995: 369–370), which is amply expressed through the audio recordings and films from past decades that populate the Taiwanese heritage landscape. However, I argue that Taiwan's uniquely dynamic embrace of audiovisual media in its promotion of ICH demonstrates a necessary expansion of her contention, visually and audibly showing that heritage may also serve as a foundation for the future.

The utility of audiovisual materials to the sustainability of musical cultures is addressed by many authors. For example, ethnomusicologist Terada Yoshitaka, who has worked extensively with teams from his home institution, the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, to make documentary films on traditional performing arts in several Asian nations, points out the decisive role of audiovisual media for sustaining performing arts in two areas: first, transmission

of knowledge and technical skills that are necessary to perform a genre and underpin transmission of its aesthetic and emotive content; second, cultivation of an audience for the genre (Terada 2019: 72). Italian ethnomusicologist-filmmaker Leonardo D'Amico also suggests that audiovisual media can serve as tools for the preservation of musical systems and musical cultures, as a means of cultural transmission, as a record of musical change, and as a multimedia tool in museums and exhibitions (D'Amico 2020). Taiwanese musicologist Huang Chun-Zen, director of the Digital Archive Center for Music at National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU), introduces the practices of audiovisual archiving in European and American institutions, highlights the importance of audiovisual heritage in sustaining musical cultures, and is a strong advocate for such archives in Taiwan (Huang Chun-Zen 2019). In Schippers and Grant's framework for examining musical ecosystems, infrastructure such as archives, media, and the music industry play major roles in the sustainability of music genres (Schippers and Grant 2016). Catherine Grant also suggests that documentation is not just about preservation; it can play a leading role in the maintenance and revitalization of genres (Grant 2016: 33).

It is not only scholars who applaud the role that audiovisual media can play in a lively conception of heritage transmission. Indeed, I sense that the heritage communities are eager to record and document the current state of the ICH practices, for precisely this reason. As a graduated apprentice told me,

> Master is ninety-one years old, and it is too tiring for him to teach new apprentices. We need to document him as soon as possible. Without documentation, the young generation will not be able to learn this tradition. Thus, we strived for documentation projects and performance projects. (Interview on July 14, 2022)

It is apparent that documentation is another major task separate from but potentially contributing to actual transmission practice, and heritage communities are mindful that the materials created will become a foundation for future heritage production. It is ever more evident in Taiwan that

immense importance is attached to past audiovisual documentation, some of it produced for research purposes, some produced for commercial and entertainment purposes in past eras, and that many heritage communities today make active use of surviving materials as they continue to learn, transmit, and sometimes revive genres in different states of robustness or attenuation.

Below I address first the audiovisual documentation that occurred through research and commercial activities during the period before the current ICH paradigm began to emerge in the 1980s; this older documentation is increasingly present in Taiwan's soundscape today as these old sound recordings and photographs are rediscovered, reissued, and mined for information. Next, I introduce the audiovisual media products created during the first twenty years of the modern ICH paradigm, the 1980s and 1990s. These too circulate today and inform culture-bearers', scholars', and audiences' perceptions. Finally, I discuss the audiovisual media used in the 21st century to document and provoke discourse about ICH genres and practices. In this most recent era, documentary film has risen to a place of particular prominence, practiced not only by professional filmmakers but also in some cases by researchers and ICH community members to tell their stories.

Precursors to the ICH Paradigm

Japanese Colonial Era

During the Japanese colonial period (1895–1945), Japanese scholars carried out fieldwork on Taiwanese music and culture and accumulated valuable photographs, audio recordings and documents. In the 1920s, linguist Kitasato Takeshi (北里闌) recorded Indigenous languages of Taiwan on wax cylinders. Tanabe Hisao (田邊尚雄) was the first musicologist to conduct fieldwork and recording activities on Taiwanese music in 1922. He recorded Indigenous

songs among five tribes of the Atayal, Tao (邵族), and Paiwan groups (Tanabe et al. 2017). In the 1930s, linguist Asai Erin (浅井惠倫) recorded languages and songs of the Indigenous peoples; some of those languages and songs are extinct nowadays. He issued 台湾蕃曲 (The Songs of the Taiwanese Indigenous People) in two albums in 1931 (Lin Ching-Tsai 2013). One of the most significant surveys was Masu Genjiro (桝源次郎) and Kurosawa Takatomo's (黑澤隆朝) fieldwork on Indigenous and Han Chinese musics in 1943. Their research offers comprehensive documentation of musics of Taiwan's 150 Indigenous tribes and contains the earliest recordings of several Han Chinese musical genres, including ceremonial music and Buddhist and Taoist chants (see Wang Ying-Fen 2008, 2018; Kurosawa et al. 2008, 2018).

Commercial recordings produced in the Japanese colonial period provide valuable materials for heritage communities and scholars today to study and transmit musical traditions in Taiwan. The record industry was first introduced to Taiwan during the Japanese era, along with the modernization strategies set up by the colonial government. The records were first mainly of Japanese and Western musics imported from Japan. In the 1920s, the Japanese record company Columbia Nipponophone Co. Ltd. in Taiwan started to produce Taiwanese music recordings and gathered instrumentalists, traditional opera singers, and female performers to record traditional Taiwanese music genres, including *pak-kuán*, *lâm-kuán*, and *sió-khik* (小曲, literally "short tunes," Mandarin: *xiaoqu*).[98] In the 1930s, Taiwanese people began establishing their own record companies and recording Taiwanese music albums of diverse genres (Chen Mei-Chen 2014: 22–33). I have discussed elsewhere the Taiwanese genres on Columbia Records's Taiwanese

[98] *Xiaoqu* (小曲) in historical sources denotes the short vocal melodies popular in the urban centers of the Ming and Qing dynasties in China, often crafted and notated by literati. These individual pieces became commonly played in folk ensembles in different regions (Jones 1995: 136). These tunes were also brought from China to Taiwan, and were popular in entertainment and drinking places (*jiulou* 酒樓).

recordings. I categorized the forty-four genres into five categories: 1) pre-existing Taiwanese genres such as *pak-kuán*, *lâm-kuán*, *kua-á-hì*, and *kua-á-khik* (歌仔曲); 2) genres that were popular in China at the time and stimulated Taiwanese musicians to record cover versions of the music, such as *jingdiao* (京調, tunes from Peking opera), *guchuiyue* (鼓吹樂, literally, "drummed and blown music"), *Fuzhou ge* (福州歌, Fuzhou songs), *Guangdong qu* (廣東曲, Cantonese music), and *xiaoqu* (小曲, short tunes); 3) new and Westernized genres, including pop songs, film theme songs, and dance songs; 4) other new and transformed genres such as *xinkuan caichaxi* (新款採茶戲, new-style tea-picking opera), *xinkuan gexi* (新款歌戲, new-style song and drama), *xin'geju* (新歌劇, new opera), *xinju* (新劇, new drama), and *xindiao gequ* (新調歌曲, new song) that were produced in response to and as reflections of cultural policies and artistic movements; and 5) jokes and other genres such as political speeches, instrumental music, and children's songs (Chen Mei-Chen 2014).

However, the record market of the Japanese colonial period ended in 1945 when Japan was defeated in WWII. Most of the records were destroyed in the fighting. Nevertheless, amateur enthusiasts started to collect surviving 78-rpm recordings from people in Taiwan in the 1990s. Since 2000, the growing availability of historical materials and digitization of historical recordings have provided fruitful resources for scholars and heritage communities to study the Taiwanese genres recorded at this time (see Chiang Wu-Chang 2000; Xu Ya-Xiang 2006; Xu Li-Sha and Lin Liang-Che 2007; Fukuoka Shota 2007; Wang Ying-Fen 2012b).

The Post-War Era to the 1970s

In post-war Taiwan, the KMT government implemented the National Culture paradigm described in Chapter 2. As noted in that chapter, Taiwanese ethnomusicologists including Shih

Wei-Liang (史惟亮, 1926–1977), Hsu Tsang-Houei (許常惠, 1929–2001), and Lee Che-Yang (李哲洋, 1934–1990) conducted the Folk Music Collection Movement (民歌採集運動) from the end of the 1960s into the 1970s in order to "search for the origin of national [Chinese] music," and to "advocate and compose contemporary Chinese music by collecting, arranging, and researching music of Taiwan" (Fan Yang-Kun 2015a). The Folk Song Collection Movement resulted in the discovery of numerous traditional performing arts practitioners and groups on the island and has been continuously re-examined by scholars and graduate students in Taiwan. In terms of the fieldwork recordings, some of Hsu Tsang-Houei's recordings were published by the First Record Company (第一唱片) in 1979 and 1980, and by Crystal Records (水晶唱片) in 1994. Ethnomusicologist Wu Rung-Shun (吳榮順) also published some of Hsu Tsang-Houei's recordings (Wu Rung-Shun 2010). Shih Wei-Liang's partial documents and materials have also been digitized.[99] Most significantly, in 2013, Alois Osterwalder (1933–2021), founder of the Ostasien-Institut in Bonn (Germany) and a primary sponsor of the Folk Song Collection Movement, repatriated Shih Wei-Liang's fieldwork recordings to Taiwan and housed them at the Digital Archive Center for Music at NTNU (Huang Chun-Zen 2016). [100] The collection consists of over four thousand recordings on more than 50 reels, and provides valuable materials to investigate the movement and study the music traditions it uncovered.[101] In 2017, the Taiwan Music Institute of the National Center for Traditional Arts commissioned the Digital Archive

[99] Shih Wei-Liang Digital Music Archive Project (史惟亮音樂數位典藏計畫), http://archive.music.ntnu.edu.tw/wlsh/intro-exp.html, accessed March 5, 2023.

[100] A brief history of interactions between Shih Wei-Liang and Alois Osterwalder is available at https://ostasien-institut.com/ueber-uns/history/, accessed March 5, 2023.

[101] A news article about the Folk Song Collection Movement, Alois Osterwalder, and the Indigenous recording repatriation is available at https://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2020/04/25/2003735273, accessed March 5, 2023.

Center for Music at NTNU to curate an exhibition on the fiftieth anniversary of the Folk Music Collection Movement, titled *Trace and Reveal: Fifty Years of Folk Music Collection in Taiwan* (追尋歷史·原音重現—民歌採集五十年特展).[102] The meanings, roles, and significance of the movement have continuously been revisited and reconceptualized in Taiwan's music history (see Lu Yu-Hsiu 2018). For instance, musicologist and music educator Lee Che-Yang (李哲洋), a former member of the Folk Song Collection Movement, had for decades been less mentioned in discussions of Taiwan's music history, but his importance and contribution have recently been recognized. His more than seven thousand fieldwork materials are deposited in the National Taipei University of the Arts of Taiwan for restoration and investigation (see Liao Jen-I 2022).

Lü Bing-Chuan (呂炳川, 1929–1986) is another important Taiwanese ethnomusicologist who made great contributions to Taiwanese music research and has recently been reconceptualized in writing Taiwan's music history. He was the first person from Taiwan to obtain a Ph.D. in Ethnomusicology from the University of Tokyo. In 1977, Victor Records of Japan published the album 台湾原住民族 高砂族の音樂 (The Music of Aborigines in Taiwan Island [*sic*]), which presents his Indigenous music recordings collected between 1966 and 1977. The following year, Victor Records published 台湾漢民族の音樂 (The Music of the Chinese in Taiwan Island [*sic*]) from his Han Chinese recordings collected between 1972 and 1978 (Lee Zee-Ming 2022).

The record industry in post-war Taiwan flourished in the 1960s. By 1969, there were 112 record factories, not including illegal and unregistered companies, most of them in what is today's Sanchong District (三重) in New Taipei City (Tsai Tung-Shiung 2007). The genres

[102] The online 3D exhibition is available at https://tmi.openmuseum.tw/content/12141, accessed March 5, 2023.

produced by those record companies range from Taiwanese pop songs, Western pop songs, and film theme songs to Indigenous music, *guoyue* (國樂, national music), and Taiwanese genres. Ring-Ring (鈴鈴) Records is a good example. There are thirty-five genres listed in its commercial catalogue, including Indigenous music, *bayin*, *pak-kuán*, *lâm-kuán*, *kua-á-hì*, *pòo-tē-hì*, *xiangsheng* (相聲, Mandarin-language comic dialogue), Mandarin songs, Western instrumental music, educational records, etc., representing the musical genres that circulated in Taiwan during this period (Chen Mei-Chen 2017: 396–397). Although those commercial recordings sometimes adversely impacted the traditional musicians at the time—the recordings could also provide religious and ceremonial functions and replace live performance—they nevertheless offer valuable documentation for posterity of musical traditions current between the 1960s and 1970s. In the edited volume *Discographies of Ring-Ring, Mei-Le, and Yuan-Dong Records* (流轉發聲：鈴鈴、美樂與遠東唱片目錄彙編), *kua-á-hì* culture-bearer Liao Chiung-Chih shares her experience of making records, participating in radio shows, and performing outdoor drama in the 1960s (Liao Chiung-Chih and Fan Yang-Kun 2017). Hakka *bayin* culture-bearer Cheng Rom-Shing also describes his daily performance life and recording of tea-picking opera and *bayin* in the 1960s (Cheng, Rom-Shing and Fan Yun-Ching 2017). Those commercial recordings are a record of the ICH culture-bearers' musical life, and their later comments on the era help contextualize the recordings as part of their lives and the nature of their traditions at the time.

Audiovisual Media in the ICH Paradigm of the 1980s and 1990s

Government-Supported Recording Projects

Documentation and recording (Mandarin: *jilu* 記錄) is one of the critical protocols of cultural preservation in Taiwan's heritagization trajectory since the 1980s. The Ministry of Education implemented sixteen research projects between 1981 and 1991, and then the Important National Artists Transmission Project (*Zhongyao minzu yishu yishi chuanyi jihua* 重要民族藝術藝師傳藝計畫) between 1991 and 1994. Later, from 1996 to 2003, the National Center for Traditional Arts (NCTA) implemented the Folk Arts Preservation and Transmission Project (*Minjian yishu baocun chuanxi jihua* 民間藝術保存傳習計畫) (see Chapter 2). Within those twenty years, more than 150 projects were implemented, including practices such as textual documentation, audio recording and photography, transmission, and publication,[103] so that there are substantial publications based on those materials. For example, the Council for Cultural Affairs published the "Chinese Traditional Music Series" (民族音樂系列專輯) to document and preserve textual, photographic and audio records of Important National Artists (*Zhongyao minzu yishu yishi* 重要民族藝術藝師) in the 1990s. The Ministry of Education issued a series of photographs and scripts, the outcome from the Important National Artists Transmission Project (*Zhongyao minzu yishu yishi chuanyi jihua* 重要民族藝術藝師傳藝計畫) from 1991 to 1994. Local government agencies such Changhua County Cultural Affairs Bureau (彰化縣文化局)

[103] Part of the project materials can be accessed in the Digital Collections at the National Center for Traditional Arts, 民間藝術保存傳習計畫專區 1996–2003 (Collection for Folk Arts Preservation and Transmission Plans: 1996–2003), https://collections.ncfta.gov.tw/pages/list/preserve.aspx, accessed January 6, 2023.

have also produced publications based on historical photographs, scripts, and audio recordings of traditional theatrical genres. [104]

Commercial Projects

Apart from the state-funded documentation projects, commercial record companies also played an important role in documenting and circulating Taiwanese traditional music at this time. For instance, First Records (*Diyi changpian* 第一唱片) published twenty-one records under the title "Chinese Folk Music Collection" (*Zhongguo minsu yinyue zhuanji* 中國民俗音樂專輯) between 1979 and 1987. Starting in the 1990s, Wind Music (*Fengchao yinyue* 風潮音樂) collaborated with ethnomusicologist Wu Rung-Shun and published a series of "Ethnic Music" (*Minzu yinyue* 民族音樂) recordings that included Taiwanese Indigenous music and folk songs (Lu Chuei-Kuan 2009: 95–98). Another company, Crystal Records (*Shuijing changpian* 水晶唱片), contributed to collecting and documenting Taiwanese folk music in the 1990s. Although the company closed in 2006, its influential series such as "Sounds from the Bottom of Taiwan" (*Lai zi Taiwan diceng de shengyin* 來自臺灣底層的聲音), issued in 1991, are still known today. The following year, Crystal Records collaborated with Green Team (綠色小組), a film crew that mainly documented social movements of Taiwan, to make a documentary about the local musicians recorded in the "Sounds from the Bottom of Taiwan."[105] It documented vernacular

[104] The information on those publications is available on the Government Publication Information Website (https://gpi.culture.tw).

[105] The language used in the film is *Bân-lâm-gú* (Taiwanese), with no subtitles. The film is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=UKl5IInCYfg&feature=youtu.be, accessed January 9, 2023.

music practices such as *nakashi* (Mandarin: 那卡西; Japanese: 流し),[106] Hîng-tshun folksong (恆春民謠), and Indigenous Pazih (巴宰) folksong. This very early film was recently restored and released in January 2023. Between 1994 and 1996, Crystal Records also produced "Taiwan Audio Archive" (*Taiwan yousheng ziliaoku* 臺灣有聲資料庫), which has played a significant role in Taiwan's music history.

In a major move, in 2021, Ho Yingyi (何穎怡, one of the core members of the Crystal Records) announced that the twelve previous members of Crystal Records will gradually digitize and upload the music recordings to a YouTube channel and textual materials to an online platform,[107] and open up all content to the public domain.

Audiovisual Media of the 21st Century

The preservation and documentation projects continuously contribute to the transmission practices in the current ICH paradigm. Notably, many documentation projects were executed during the Covid-19 pandemic between 2020 and 2022, sponsored by the Ministry of Culture's "Relief and Revitalization Measures for the Cultural and Arts Sectors Impacted by COVID-19" (*Wenhuabu dui shouyanzhong teshu chuanranxing feiyan yingxian fasheng yingyun kunnan chanye shiye shukun zhenxing banfa* 文化部對受嚴重特殊傳染性肺炎影響發生營運困難產業事業紓困振興辦法) (see Chapter 2). Those projects seem to be ICH community-oriented—

[106] *Nakashi* is derived from the Japanese *nagashi* (流し), which refers to itinerant musical practice. It is a light urban musical style featuring *enka*-influenced songs, often with guitar and accordion accompaniment. It was introduced to Taiwan during the Japanese occupation and was still widespread between the 1960s and 1980s. It was popular in Taiwanese working-class life and developed in drinking bars, hot spring places, and teahouses (Schweig 2021).

[107] The YouTube channel *Shuijing suoyin shengyin ziliaoku* (水晶索引聲音資料庫) is available at https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC3riL8XmPEYn02mJbAcwVqw, and the blog *Shuijing yaogun tongxuehui* (水晶搖滾同學會) is available at https://indexcrystal.blogspot.com, accessed September 1, 2022.

community members are fully (or partially) involved in the process, but also in collaboration with ethnomusicologists, scholars, and cultural specialists. Scholars' involvement and collaboration can be sensed in the liner notes and booklets, from elaborating and writing about particular ICH genres and interpreting scripts, to working with the graphic designers for the overall design. However, although many Taiwanese scholars are engaged in public ethnomusicology, the current literature on applied ethnomusicology does not reflect this phenomenon. I argue that scholars tend to focus on "product" (festival, concert, exhibition, or music production) more than "process" (self-reflexively writing about one's roles in intervention).[108] Moreover, scholars' various academic and political considerations of the power relations between institutions and others in positions of influence on the one hand, and communities on the other, might lead in different directions from those originally anticipated. Therefore, it is not "safe" to reveal such complex issues in writing. As one Taiwanese scholar responded to my question on the scarce Taiwanese literature on applied ethnomusicology, he constantly adjusted and improved his methods from previous applied projects. Therefore, he does not need to write about his experiences in applied ethnomusicology. One of the few examples of the detailed exposition of the reflexive process in production of East Asian recordings is ethnomusicologist Helen Rees's recent essay on her involvement in curating Yunnan field recordings to create informed ethnographic CDs. The essay deliberates on an intriguing curatorial decision-making process, represents the combined efforts of an extended network of participants, and marks a particular moment of confluence between the Western and Chinese ethnographic recording traditions (Rees 2020).

[108] Reflexive or self-reflexive approaches in ethnomusicology aim to understand the researcher's position vis-à-vis the culture being studied and the research methods employed, and to represent this position in the resulting ethnography (Barz and Cooley 2008).

Audio Recordings and Photographs

In the current ICH paradigm, music recording production is one of the common documentation practices among traditional performing arts communities. The three Indigenous Transmission Plans communities— the Bunun music and *pasibutbut* Nantou County Bunun Cultural Association (2013), the Paiwan mouth and nose flutes Pairang Pavavaljung (2011), and the Paiwan mouth and nose flutes Gilegilau Pavalius (2022), have produced musical recordings that document the state of musical performances at the time of recording. Most importantly, the audio recordings can help to ensure cultural transmission within the communities. For example, new members of the Bunun music and *pasibutbut* Transmission Plans told me they constantly listened to the 2013 Bunun Cultural Association CD to learn the polyphonic singing style and Indigenous Bunun lyrics (Interview on December 13, 2019).

Study of historical music recordings is another critical part of this work. Since the 1990s, ethnomusicologists around the world have revisited historical music recordings because of the increasing acknowledgement of the invaluable role of sound archives in preserving such materials (e.g., Seeger 1986; Catlin-Jairazbhoy and Rees 2011; Seeger and Chaudhuri 2015; Lundberg 2015). This current approach is also evident in Taiwan. However, this trend was not led by scholars but started among amateur music lovers and collectors in the 1990s. Since the 2000s, more and more Taiwanese scholars have become dedicated to studying historical recordings, including both commercial and field recordings. Ethnomusicologist Wang Ying-Fen's research on music recordings during the Japanese colonial period (1895–1945) makes a significant contribution to the field as it attempts to reconstruct Taiwanese music histories by revisiting and studying historical recordings (Wang Ying-Fen 2008, 2013, 2018). An excellent

example of the ICH community's collaboration with a scholar on studying historical music recordings is ethnomusicologist Fan Yang-Kun's work with members of the *pak-kuán* amateur music club Lê-tshun-uân (梨春園), in which they all revisited the club's more than thirty musical recordings from the 1950s (Fan Yang-Kun 2001a). The Bureau of Cultural Heritage then funded and reissued two CDs with detailed liner notes describing the music in the recordings, together with reproductions of original music manuscripts (Fan Yang-Kun 2011a, 2012). The outcome also led to the members' restudy and revival of music traditions of the club. In 2021, younger members of Lê-tshun-uân learned five musical pieces from the two CDs and recorded a present-day version of the repertoire.[109]

Archives also play a crucial role in preserving and circulating traditional music of Taiwan. For example, national archives and databases such as the Ministry of Culture's Taiwan Cultural Memory Bank (國家文化記憶庫), the Taiwan Culture Archive (國家文化資料庫), the Online Database of Taiwanese Musicians (臺灣音樂群像資料庫), and the National Central Library's Taiwan Memory (臺灣記憶) have collected valuable data regarding Taiwanese music and culture. In addition, archives attached to universities and research institutions, such as the National Taiwan University Library's Taiwan Historical Photographs Archive (臺灣舊照片資料庫), the Digital Archive Center for Music of National Taiwan Normal University (臺灣師範大學音樂數位典藏中心), and the Digital Archives of the Institute of Ethnology at Academia Sinica (中央研究院民族學研究所數位典藏) also contribute to the preservation of historical documentation.

[109] They recorded and posted five pieces on Lê-tshun-uân's Facebook page: "Performances of the Lê-tshun-uân's New Generation" (梨春園新生代館員展演), https://www.facebook.com/LICY1811, accessed November 20, 2021.

Oral History and Musical Life History of Culture-Bearers

Oral history has been prioritized in the ICH practices of many different cultures. For example, the starting point of the People's Republic of China (PRC)'s ICH inventory manual has been to collect all kinds of data on traditional art forms, including both oral and written histories (Tan Hwee-San 2019: 218–219). Many scholars are also dedicated to studying communities through oral history and documentation of life stories, alongside ethnography. For instance, Marta Carmezim Gonçalves highlights the importance of oral history when trying to preserve the memory of a community. Oral history can be the main research methodology when dealing with smaller communities. It can also be a means of reinforcing and safeguarding a group's identity (Gonçalves 2021).

In Taiwan, government agencies also emphasize oral history and documenting the musical life histories of ICH inheritors. I have mentioned above that once a performing arts genre has been designated as national-level intangible cultural heritage (ICH) or registered as municipal-level ICH, the national or municipal government is legally obligated to draft a "preservation and maintenance action plan" (*baocun weihu jihua* 保存維護計畫) to safeguard it. For the municipal government's drafting of action plan projects, it is usually necessary to undertake other endeavors, such as documentation of musical content and oral histories with the culture-bearers and community for publication—in addition to drafting an action plan for safeguarding the genre (Mei-Chen Chen 2021).

Besides the printed publication of practitioners' life histories, oral history is also carried out by audiovisual documentation. Since 2016, the National Center for Traditional Arts has conducted the Project for Audiovisual Documention of Traditional Artists' Oral Histories (*Chuantong yishu yiren koushu lishi yingxiang jilu jihua* 傳統藝術藝人口述歷史影像紀錄計

畫). By collaborating with scholars to conduct oral history interviews with traditional performing artists, by September 2022, the project had documented eighty-four masters from twenty-one genres.[110]

Baocun Jilu (保存紀錄, Audiovisual Documentation)

Baocun jilu (保存紀錄), or audiovisual documentation, is the primary practice within government-sponsored projects. For example, in 2010, Nantou County Bunun Cultural Association (南投縣信義鄉布農文化協會) collaborated with the Department of Leisure and Recreation Management at Da-Yeh University. As a result, it produced a documentary film on Bunun religious and ritual life. By re-enacting traditional life scenes, the film *Local Visual Documentation of Indigenous Bunun Traditional Cultural Life* (原住民布農族傳統生活文化在地影像紀錄) aims to record traditional activities such as hunting, harvesting, traditional skills and craftsmanship, and ritual practices.

Documentation of the current state of performances that have recourse to historical recordings is another practice. For example, as described above, in March 2021, younger members of Lê-tshun-uân *pak-kuán* amateur music club recorded a current version of five pieces from the club's 1950s recordings. It is evident that historical recordings have nourished Lê-tshun-uân's music-revival process, and helped the younger members search for new musical value in the tradition.

Another technique, classic excerpt documentation (*jingdian jumu jilu* 經典劇目紀錄), is a common practice among the theatrical opera Transmission Plan communities. For example,

[110] The oral history audiovisual materials are available at https://oralhistory.ncfta.gov.tw, accessed September 2022.

Hanyang Beiguan Troupe and *lâm-kuán hì-khek* (Nanguan opera) culture bearer Lin-Wu Su-Xia (林吳素霞) participated in documentation productions in 2011. Detailed textual documentation of the plots with DVDs is another format. There are two productions centered on Pan Yu-Chiao's (潘玉嬌) *lān-thân* excerpts (2017, 2020); these contain not only DVDs, but also essays on topics ranging from the procedure of *lān-thân* transmission practice to the scripts and interpretation of the plots. The 2021 publication *Story-telling and Performing, Liao Chiung-Chi's Classic Excerpts, Scripts, and Interpretations* (講戲與做戲 廖瓊枝經典折子戲劇本與表演詮釋) is the outcome of the advanced Transmission Plan and contains one book and four DVDs.[111]

The ICH communities constantly collaborate with others and explore new audiovisual documentation and representation methods. In September 2022, the Liao Chiung-Chih Taiwanese Opera Foundation for Culture and Education (財團法人廖瓊枝歌仔戲文教基金會) produced *Liao Chiung-Chih and* Chen San Wuniang *Documentary*《以汝為名-鏡・花園》—廖瓊枝與《陳三五娘》紀錄電影),[112] which uses cinematic approaches to portray culture-bearer Liao Chiung-Chih's story and her reflection on the classic *kua-á-hì* text *Chen San Wuniang* ([The romance of] Chen San and Wuniang).

Official ICH Designation Videos

One major category of audiovisual documentation is government-sponsored educational or promotional films. The use of audiovisual films by other governments and UNESCO is part of a worldwide trend. For example, video materials have been positioned in relation to UNESCO's

[111] Publication information is available at https://gpi.culture.tw/books/1011001371, accessed August 21, 2022.

[112] The trailer for the film is available on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a8KstsKaeZI, accessed September 14, 2022.

text-based nomination files (see Norton 2019). In Taiwan, once an ICH item has been nationally designated as an item of important intangible cultural heritage, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage commissions an agency to film and produce a short, edited video to highlight the significance of the ICH item.[113] Furthermore, in 2017 the Bureau of Cultural Heritage commissioned CTiTV (Chung Tien Television 中天電視) to produce a series of videos on ICH, "Taiwanese Traditional Arts and Preservation Technology" (臺灣傳統藝術與保存技術). This 2017 series includes thirteen thirty-minute documentary films on Taiwanese ICH, including six traditional performing arts genres, one oral tradition, four traditional craftsmanship items, and two conservation technology items (*baocun jishu* 保存技術) (Chung Tien Television 2017).[114] Those audiovisual documents are intended for education and dissemination, educating the public to understand the importance of Taiwanese ICH. Like the audiovisual materials in UNESCO's ICH lists analyzed by Barley Norton, Taiwan's 2017 videos also "include short interviews extracts with community members about the cultural value of their heritage practices, confirming or complementing points made by the disembodied voice-over" (Norton 2019: 86).

With regard to Taiwan's ICH promotional and educational films such as the 2017 videos, we can classify them as belonging to the expository mode of documentary film, which "emphasizes voice over commentary, a problem/solution structure, an argumentative logic, and evidentiary editing . . . the mode that most people associate with documentary in general" (Nichols 2017: 22). Taking the film *Atayal Oral Traditions* (泰雅族口述傳統) from the 2017

[113] Some of the videos are available under the ICH profiles on the National Cultural Heritage Database (國家文化資產網) at https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw, and on the Bureau of Cultural Heritage's YouTube channel at https://www.youtube.com/c/文化資產/videos, accessed September 9, 2022.

[114] *Baocun jishu* (conservation technology) refers to traditional techniques that are indispensable to preserving and restoring cultural heritage and deserving of protection (CHPA 2016).

"Taiwanese Traditional Arts and Preservation Technology" (臺灣傳統藝術與保存技術) series as an example, this twenty-four-minute video introduces the Atayal oral tradition *lmuhuw* in terms of its chanting practices, functions in daily life and among the tribes, lyrical contents, reasons for being endangered, and significance. The film can be viewed on YouTube, and table 7.1 provides a summary of its content.[115]

Table 7.1. Outline of the film *Atayal Oral Traditions*

Start-time	Brief description of content	Audiovisual representation
0'22	Voice-over introduces the Atayal Indigenous group. Voice-over tells the administrative area of the Atayal group.	Shots and images of Atayal village, scenery, and daily activities. Close-up interview shot of the scholar explaining the migratory paths of the Atayal group. Map of Taiwan indicating Atayal people's migratory routes.
2'23	Voice-over introduces nonliterate Atayal society, and the function of *lmuhuw*.	Begins with culture-bearer Watan Tanga singing *lmuhuw*. Footages of Atayal people chanting and gathering. Scholar introduces *lmuhuw*.
7'45	Voice-over introduces culture-bearer Watan Tanga.	Culture-bearer Watan Tanga relates the ancestors' advice on never forgetting Atayal traditions. Interview clips of scholar and the two apprentices of Watan Tanga.
11'10	Voice-over tells of the difficulties of sustaining *lmuhuw*.	Scholar elaborates on the difficulties.
12'06	Voice-over sets out the context and forms of *lmuhuw*.	Clips of scholar elaborating on the content of *lmuhuw*. Apprentice explains the negotiation process and the concept of *sbalay* (reconciliation). Scholar explains the term *sbalay.*
14'18	Voice-over gives an example of using *lmuhuw* to achieve *sbalay* (reconciliation).	Reenactment scenes of the historical event. An apprentice tells the story of the conflict. Footage from the Transmission Plan evaluation performance showing apprentices

[115] The film is available in Mandarin on YouTube at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PouZx9fZUpA, accessed January 8, 2023.

		and community members reenacting the historical event.
17’30	Voice-over introduces the function of *lmuhuw* in proposing marriage.	Reenactment scenes of Atayal wedding. Footage from the Transmission Plan evaluation performance. An Atayal member tells of his experience regarding *lmuhuw* and weddings.
19’48	The loss of Atayal language.	Footage of Atayal language education in elementary school. An apprentice expresses his concern regarding language and cultural loss.
21’07	Voice-over concludes with introducing the Transmission Plans and the significance of *lmuhuw*.	Footage of Watan Tanga’s *lmuhuw* performance. Scholar notes the importance of *lmuhuw*, and how *lmuhuw* can provide another form of history education in Taiwan.

The film has a clear structure introducing the Atayal oral tradition *lmuhuw*. Most scenes start with a voice-over, followed by a scholar’s affirmation, which is then supported by images of reenactment scenes from different times and occasions as evidence. This expository mode of documentary film adopts a voice-of-God commentary. A solemn female voice-over in Mandarin is used throughout the film to contextualize and structure the narrative, but the speaker is never shown in the film. The expert’s words are preferentially utilized over community members’ voices to elaborate on the subject. Moreover, when introducing *lmuhuw* culture-bearer Watan Tanga, the images and shots do not reflect the culture-bearer’s personality and expertise. The filmmaker utilizes Watan Tanga’s voice to explain the subject of *lmuhuw*, but does not go much beyond that. This educational film does provide a greater level of awareness of the complexity of the subject than previous audiovisual representations have done. However, it does not give viewers an emotional and psychological space to connect with the culture-bearer or the people who carry this tradition.

Influential Taiwanese Documentaries about ICH in the 21st Century

There is a growing number of documentary films representing the current Transmission Plan communities. Those films are produced by ethnomusicologists, filmmakers, or members of Transmission Plan communities, and can usefully be examined through the insights offered by scholars of audiovisual ethnomusicology, an emerging branch of the field that studies the audiovisual representation of musical cultures through different forms of media. Ethnographic films on musical topics are becoming more ever more high-profile in ethnomusicology (Terada 2019; D'Amico 2020), and Sinophone ethnomusicology is no exception. For example, the First and Second Chinese Music Ethnographic Film Festivals (第一屆、第二屆華語音樂影像誌), held by the Shanghai Conservatory of Music in 2019 and 2021,[116] and the 2022 Sinophone Musics Film Festival (2022 華語音樂影像誌聯展),[117] held by the Digital Archive Center for Music at National Taiwan Normal University, both presented dozens of diverse ethnographic films about music.

As noted in the previous section, important films addressing music traditions of Taiwan began to be made in the 1990s. The beginning of the 21st century, however, saw the first of a number of innovative films made by scholars, heritage communities, and engaged filmmakers that remain influential to this day. Among the most significant early documentaries of this nature was anthropologist Hu Tai-Li's 2000 film *Sounds of Love and Sorrow* (愛戀排灣笛), the first ethnographic film on Paiwan nose and mouth flutes. The film depicts four flute masters, representing respectively the four types of Paiwan flutes: double-pipe nose flute, double-pipe

[116] The official website for the Chinese Music Ethnographic Film Festivals is available on Facebook at https://www.facebook.com/CMEFF2019; and WeChat at https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/gzw_Fiy-yr1p2ugMVIos-w, accessed March 3, 2023.

[117] The official program is available at https://reurl.cc/oQNMEv, accessed March 3, 2023.

mouth flute, single-pipe five-hole flute, and single-pipe seven-hole flute.[118] It documents the legends of Paiwan flute music, the craftsmanship of flute-making, related myths and folktales, and the daily lives of the Paiwan people. It provides a rich source of information on Indigenous customs surrounding the traditions, such as the fact that only chiefs and warriors that with noble status were permitted to play Paiwan nose flutes, and the belief that the sound of nose flutes symbolizes the sound of the hundred-pace snake (*vulung*, 百步蛇), divine protector of the tribes. Notably, motifs of sorrow, love, and loss are strongly associated with the Paiwan flutes in the film: Paiwan flutists traditionally played flutes to express such feelings. Hu Tai-Li's essays on the production and screening of the film, and on audience feedback, allow us to sense how the film was constructed and perceived more than twenty years ago (Hu Tai-Li 2003, 2011). Ethnomusicologist Hsu Chia-Hao also has extensively examined how Hu Tai-Li's film plays a crucial role in constructing "thoughtful sorrow" as a core aesthetic symbol of the Paiwan flutes (Hsu Chia-Hao 2019). The film is influential, as "it is valuable and rare documentary of an aboriginal culture in Taiwan" (Mark 2001: 1160). Furthermore, although this film was produced before the current heritagization scheme,[119] it can be regarded as the precursor of the 2011 designation of the Paiwan mouth and nose flutes as Important Traditional Arts (Hsu Chia-Hao 2019).

Very significantly, in 2011, a complete cultural insider, Etan Pavavaljung, a well-known Indigenous Paiwan artist, filmmaker, and graduated apprentice of the Paiwan mouth and nose

[118] The four flute masters are Rhemalits Tjakisuvung, Pairang Pavavaljung, Tsegav Tjarhulaiaz, and Kapang Tariu. Paiwan terms for different types of flutes vary from one tribe to another, according to Hu Tai-Li's interviews with Paiwan flutists (Hu Tai-Li 2003: 315–403). Therefore, I use Hu Tai-Li's English translations for the four types of flutes in the documentary film.

[119] As mentioned earlier, I consider the current ICH scheme as beginning in 2005 with the major amendment to the CHPA, leading to the implementation of Transmission Plans in 2009. Hu Tai-Li's film is one of the by-products of her research projects commissioned by CCA between 1995 and 2001. More details about her Paiwan research can be viewed at https://www.ethno.sinica.edu.tw/page2-4.php, accessed September 14, 2022.

flutes Pairang Pavavaljung Transmission Plan, produced the documentary film *Brothers Who Sing of Love and Longing* (傳唱愛戀的兄弟), partially funded by the Council of Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan. By examining the musical life of his father, Pairang Pavavaljung, Etan Pavalaljung reveals the aesthetics, history, and identity of the Paiwan Indigenous traditions from the community's perspective. This rare film is notable in that it is a total cultural insider who conceptualized and directed it, and it has been screened several times during the Transmission Plans evaluation performances.

Uniquely revealing of the challenges inherent in Transmission Plan implementation, the 2015 documentary by filmmaker Wu Yao-Tung (吳耀東) *Rolling on the Stage, Rolling for Life* (戲台滾人生) focuses on the *pún-tē kua-á* (本地歌仔) Transmission Plan. It lays bare debates between the community members and problems with the state-funded transmission project. It is so rare for films about the Transmission Plans to depart from the conventional laudatory storyline that this landmark documentary is discussed in detail below.

A number of films focus closely on individual tradition-bearers. Filmmaker Yang Li-Chou's (楊力州) *Father* (紅盒子), released in 2016, is the result of his ten years' documentation on *pòo-tē-hì* master Chen Hsi-Huang (陳錫煌). The film illustrates the master's life history in *pòo-tē-hì*, and the unresolved problems between him and his father. In addition, it depicts the puppetry master's endeavors and difficulties in transmitting this attenuated tradition in contemporary Taiwan. In a similar vein, filmmaker Chen Shih-Yun's (陳詩芸) 2018 film *Our Nanguan Story* (南聲囝仔) focuses on one *lâm-kuán* music master, Chang Bo-Chung (張伯仲), and his efforts to transmit and promote *lâm-kuán* music traditions to younger generations, as well as his perceptions of tradition in contemporary Taiwan. A third important artist-focused

documentary is the 2021 documentary by filmmaker Yang Shou-I (楊守義) and music producer Blaire Ko (柯智豪), *The Singing Storyteller and Her Century Long Adventure* (唸歌走江湖－國寶藝師楊秀卿的音樂旅程), which depicts the culture-bearer Yang Hsiu-Ching (楊秀卿) and her collaborations with young musicians to promote *liām-kua* (唸歌). This film too is discussed in detail below.

Most recently, in August 2022, Discovery Channel and TaiwanPlus's three episodes of *Apprenticeship* (師徒誌) present how three traditional performing arts genres, *kua-á-hì*, *pòo-tē-hì*, and *tīn-thâu* (parade formation 陣頭), are transmitted and sustained in contemporary Taiwan. The same year, the Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City Government also published a series of documentary films titled "Taipei Masters of Traditional Arts" (藝以人揚). It consists of one film on each of the three highlighted genres: *Seek Dreams in Pear Garden* (梨園尋夢) on Peking opera, *Backward Glances: Taiwanese Opera in Taipei* (大城歌仔) on *kua-á-hì*, and *Fame & Fortune in My Palms* (功名掌上) on *pòo-tē-hì*.

In some cases, a research team's efforts in documenting and recording a tradition also directly contribute to ICH documentary filmmaking. Cheng Kwang-Po (鄭光博) was an administrative assistant and later an apprentice of the Watan Tanga *Lmuhuw* Transmission Plan (林明福泰雅史詩吟唱傳習計畫). As a Han Chinese scholar who devotes his life to studying the Indigenous Atayal language and cultural traditions, Cheng speaks Atayal fluently and teaches the Atayal language at National Chengchi University.[120] He collaborated with a film production

[120] Indigenous Peoples Cultural Foundation-Taiwan Indigenous TV released a sixteen-minute news report on February 24, 2020, introducing Cheng Kwang-Po's experiences learning and studying Atayal culture. "Be fond of culture, conduct research, a Han Chinese Ph.D. speaks fluent Atayal language" (喜愛文化 做研究 漢人博士說流利泰雅語), available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5MgmCumX_qo, accessed September 28, 2022.

team and published three documentary films. *The Memory of Orality* (言的記憶, 2017) focuses on the story of Cheng Kwang-Po and his research team, and on their efforts collecting Atayal traditional knowledge, including the oral tradition *lmuhuw*, the migratory paths of different Atayal tribes, and the difficulties they have encountered throughout the years. *A Speaker and Pastor of the Atayal* (泰雅族的言者與牧者, 2021) consists of two parts. The "Speaker" part depicts Atayal cultural conservationist Heitay Payan (黑帶巴彥) and his work documenting Atayal culture and relics by drawing and writing Atayal-language entries in Wikipedia, while the "Pastor" part illustrates the involvement of Atung Yupas (阿棟優帕司) in land justice and human rights for Indigenous peoples of Taiwan. Finally, *Lmuhuw: Protectors and Transmitters of Tayal Culture and Language* (溯原: 泰雅文化與語言的守護傳承者, 2022) focuses on the life history of Watan Tanga (林明福), the culture-bearer of *lmuhuw* of the Msbtunux group (*lmuhuw na Msbtunux* 泰雅族大嵙崁群口述傳統) under different political regimes in Taiwan; this, too, is an especially significant film that is discussed in detail below. Overall, these three films provide a comprehensive overview of Atayal cultural experts' individual and group efforts in sustaining and preserving Atayal cultural tradition through different means and expressive forms.

The growing number of documentary films on traditional performing arts and cultural transmission practices implies two things. First, more and more filmmakers sense the issues of ICH and are willing to discuss them through documentary films. Second, ICH practitioners and communities actively document cultural activities and produce documentary films to advocate for their beliefs and traditions. Next, I set out in detail the contents of three of the documentary films described above that portray different issues in different ICH communities.

Rolling on the Stage, Rolling for Life

The film *Rolling on the Stage, Rolling for Life* (戲台滾人生) was directed by professional documentary filmmaker Wu Yao-Tung and released in 2015. It focuses on one nationally designated group, Zhuang San Xin Liang-le Opera Troupe (壯三新涼樂團), and its challenges when executing the *pún-tē kua-á* (本地歌仔, local Taiwanese opera) Transmission Plan. The film portrays the troupe members' personal lives and what *pún-tē kua-á* means to community members. It also reveals how the state-funded Transmission Plan causes pressures, debates, and conflicts among the amateur community members, to the extent that it even undermines members' interest in continuing to perform this tradition. Table 7.2 provides a summary of the film's content.

Table 7.2. Outline of the film *Rolling on the Stage, Rolling for Life*[121]

Start-time	Brief description of content	Audiovisual representation
00'10	TV host introduces the background of the film.	
1'34	The troupe performs at a park, and the film title appears.	Shots at recording studio and concert ceremony.
2'40	The leader of the troupe, Chen Mao-Yi (陳茂益), shows the manuscripts that his father Chen Wang-Tsung (陳旺欉) passed on to him.	Historical footage of Chen Wang-Tsung teaching in the Zhuang San Xin Liang-le Opera Troupe (壯三新涼樂團). Subtitles set out the history of the troupe. Interviews with the troupe members about Chen Wang-Tsung. Scholar Lin Mao-Hsien's elaboration on *pún-tē kua-á*.
7'25	Introduces Pún-tē- kua-á Zhuang San Xin Liang-le Opera Troupe Transmission Plan (本地歌仔壯三新涼樂團傳習計畫).	Intertitle explains the composition of the troupe, and the fact that the practice of the Transmission Plan reduces the fun these amateur performers feel. Moreover, the troupe leader Chen Mao-Yi finds out that

[121] The film was screened on the PTS INNEWS show, and is available on YouTube at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K1j53y-7nfE, accessed January 9, 2023.

		he has lung adenocarcinoma at this critical time. Shots of performers dressing up and putting on make-up at backstage.
12’07	The troupe members (all the front stage actors and backstage musicians) speak about their work, daily lives, and how they learn, and show how they write the learning journals for the Transmission Plan.	Edited footage of members telling of their learning experiences. Shots of Transmission Plan lessons and musicians playing instruments and writing down musical notation. Three female members discuss their personal lives and how *pún-tē kua-á* gives them emotional support.
21’39	The troupe is invited to perform at the 2014 Bao Sheng Cultural Festival (保生文化祭), but the troupe leader Chen Mao-Yi experiences conflict with group members.	Scenes of Chen Mao-Yi arguing with members.
32’33	Transmission Plan mid-term evaluation performance.	Scenes of performance, and committee members’ criticisms. The troupe leader talks to a committee member and is worried about the troupe’s future.
34’23	Chen Mao-Yi holds a group meeting and election to decide on two members as the new troupe leaders.	Shots of Chen Mao-Yi handing over troupe business to the two elected members. Interview clips: One new leader expresses his worries about Chen Mao-Yi’s health, and the heavy burden of the Transmission Plan’s administrative work. The other leader speaks of his fear of taking on this position and says that performing is no fun anymore after executing the Transmission Plan. The administrative assistant of the Transmission Plan also comments on the work and stress caused by the plan.
40’19	Chen Mao-Yi’s health is getting worse, and troupe members are fighting about the administrative work of the Transmission Plan.	Scenes of Chen Mao-Yi worshiping, participating in temple fairs, and arguing with and pacifying members.
46’20	Final evaluation performance of the Transmission Plan.	Scenes of performance, audience’s reaction, and a committee member’s criticism that the singing is not good. Shots of one of the new leaders and Chen Mao-Yi discussing the evaluation performance. The new leader feels that some of the committee’s criticisms are too harsh. They used to be happily engaged in

		this tradition, but now they are here only for the Ministry of Culture.
50’38	Conclusion: Chen Mao-Yi comments that he has spent much effort in making this group a nationally recognized one. He is afraid that the group will be dismissed from the Transmission Plan in the near future.	Intertitle explains that the group has passed the final evaluation, and that the group members have decided to continue the Transmission Plan. Edited shots of members’ daily lives.
53:30	TV host tells the story after the film: the director screened the film for the troupe, whose members were touched by it. After Chen Mao-Yi’s death, troupe members decided to take a break from the Transmission Plan and have kept on performing *pún-tē kua-á* happily without state intervention.	

The Singing Storyteller and Her Century Long Adventure

The film *Singing Storyteller and Her Century Long Adventure* (唸歌走江湖－國寶藝師楊秀卿的音樂旅程, 2021) is co-directed by filmmaker Yang Shou-I and music producer Blaire Ko. It tells the stories of two musicians inviting *liām-kua* culture-bearer Yang Hsiu-Ching to collaborate with younger musicians and generate new sparks in Taiwanese traditional music and culture. Table 7.3 provides a summary of the film content. This film presents several themes: Yang Hsiu-Ching’s life story, musical life history, and her artistic and cultural values in *liām-kua*; different musical experiments and collaborations among younger musicians and master Yang Hsiu-Ching; younger musicians’ and audiences’ retrospection about Taiwanese culture and native languages; the state-funded Transmission Plan, apprentices’ backgrounds and the difficulties of learning *liām-kua*; and the younger generation’s responsibility to document, study, revitalize, and sustain Taiwan’s *liām-kua* tradition.

Table 7.3. Outline of the film *The Singing Storyteller and Her Century Long Adventure*

Start-time	Brief description of content	Audiovisual representation
0’00	Director Blaire Ko’s voice-over reveals his thoughts on collaborating with culture-bearer Yang Hsiu-Ching.	Collages of stop-motion images of handwritten lyrics, paper cutouts, and photographs to represent Yang Hsiu-Ching’s musical journey. Shots at recording studio and concert ceremony.
5’37	Chu Chien-Chih (儲見智) (director of Smile Folksong Group [微笑唸歌團]) tells how he and his wife Lim Tien-An (林恬安) got to know master Yang.	Scenes of rehearsal and the master’s improvisation backstage.
8’20	Blaire Ko’s voice-over outlines his and Chu’s idea to convince Yang Hsiu-Ching to collaborate with younger musicians.	Scene of two musicians talking with Master Yang.
9’35	Chu’s voice-over explains the difficulties of transmitting *liām-kua*. Blaire Ko elaborates on Yang’s artistic values in *liām-kua*.	Culture-bearer Yang Hsiu-Ching discusses the content of the performances with Chu Chien-Chih and Lim Tien-An. Interview shot of Yang narrating her experience of learning *liām-kua* in her childhood.
14’00	Blaire Ko’s voice-over introduces their first collaboration project with master Yang at Tuā-tiū-tiânn (大稻埕) in Taipei.	Shots of outdoor performance; Blaire Ko and Chu Chien-Chih enjoy street food with master Yang at Tuā-tiū-tiânn (大稻埕). Yang tells of her experience performing at a tea house that served alcohol around sixty years ago.
22’00	Blaire Ko’s voice-over introduces younger musicians learning *liām-kua*. Chu’s voice-over introduces the Transmission Plan and the diverse backgrounds of the apprentices.	Scenes of apprentices’ singing and Transmission Plan lessons. Interviews with the apprentices and Master Yang. Culture-bearer Yang Hsiu-Ching talks about Transmission Plans.
26’48	Blaire Ko announces master Yang’s collaboration with Taiwanese rock band Sorry Youth (拍謝少年).	Scenes of performance, and interviews with band members, music director Blaire Ko, and audience members. Yang expresses her thoughts on the collaboration. She feels this mutual learning process is fun and valuable.
36’30	Master Yang’s life story as *liām-kua* performer.	Shots of master Yang getting her hair done at a salon before a performance. Yang uses *liām-kua* to tell her life stories. She became blind at age 4 and learned singing from her adoptive mother.

		Interview scenes with Master Yang and Yang's adopted daughter.
45'27	Introduces two radio broadcast hosts who published Yang's *liām-kua* album.	Scene of two hosts broadcasting and discussing their encounters with Master Yang years ago.
48'00	Chu Chien-Chih comments on the difficulties of balancing life with transmission work.	Scenes of Chu Chien-Chih's and Lim Tien-An's preparations before performance. Master Yang values Chu Chien-Chih's and Lim Tien-An's efforts in promoting *liām-kua.* Chu shares his thoughts on annual projects to sustain Master Yang's art, and wishes for more financial support from government agencies.
54'00	Yang Hsiu-Ching's collaboration with Taiwanese rap musicians and a modern musical troupe in Chiayi.	Performance scenes and workshop with younger performers at Chiayi Chenghuang temple. Interviews with rap musicians, and members of musical troupe. Rap musicians make a statement about the similarity between rap and *liām-kua*.
1'07'50	Yang Hsiu-Ching's collaboration with visual artists on *liām-kua* music video. The video is awarded the Best Red Dot Award in Communication Design in 2016.	Shots of the music video.
1'10'15	Chu Chien-Chi and Lim Tien-An's revival of using *liām-kua* to decipher fortune poems (念歌解籤詩).	Chu explains how they revive this cultural practice. Chu shows his collection of *liām-kua* LP records and discusses his goal of studying and arranging these historical musical materials.
1'19'20	Conclusion	Scenes and shots of the final evaluation performance of the Transmission Plan, and interviews with apprentices and Master Yang. Blaire Ko concludes that Master Yang helps to disseminate *liām-kua* to younger generations by intergenerational collaborations.

Lmuhuw: Protectors and Transmitters of Tayal Culture and Language

The film *Lmuhuw: Protectors and Transmitters of Tayal Culture and Language* (溯原: 泰雅文化與語言的守護傳承者, 2022) is one of the three films directed by Cheng Kwang-Po (鄭光博, Atayal: Watan Kahat), an assistant professor in ethnology at National Chengchi University in Taiwan. The film focuses on the life history of Watan Tanga (林明福), the culture-bearer of *lmuhuw* of the Msbtunux group (*lmuhuw na Msbtunux* 泰雅族大嵙崁群口述傳統). It documents Watan Tanga's life-long efforts to preserve the Indigenous Atayal (Tayal) language and transmit the oral tradition *lmuhuw* while serving as a Christian pastor and translating the Bible into the Atayal language. Table 7.4 provides a summary of the film's content. Unlike the 2017 film *Atayal Oral Traditions* (泰雅族口述傳統) from the "Taiwanese Traditional Arts and Preservation Technology" series, which introduces the form and content of *lmuhuw*, this 2022 documentary is a biography of the culture-bearer Watan Tanga. It presents how Watan Tanga actively engages with others by combining his roles as an Indigenous pastor and Atayal culture protector and transmitter. It conveys the inner state of the culture-bearer in convincing ways.

Table 7.4. Outline of the film *Lmuhuw: Protectors and Transmitters of Tayal Culture and Language*

Start-time	Brief description of content	Audiovisual representation
0'00	Opening	Scenes of aerial footage of Atayal tribes' landscape with culture-bearer Watan Tanga's *lmuhuw* singing as the background music.
1'31	Watan Tanga introduces himself, his ancestors, their former headhunting customs, and explains the naming, landscape, and history of Xikou (溪口) tribe.	Scenes of Watan's interview, and old interview footage back in 2006. Archival images and still photo of Atayal traditional objects.
5'34	Watan Tanga tells the history of the Atayal people's forced encounters	Intertitle illustrates the history of the Atayal encounter with the Han Chinese and

	with the Han Chinese and Japanese colonial governments.	Japanese governments. Scenes of interview footage, and archival images.
10’36	Watan tells the story of his grandfather, the chief of the tribe, mediating with other tribes to surrender to the Japanese colonial government. He then explains the *sbalay* ceremony that makes peace among Atayal tribes.	Scenes of aerial footage of Atayal territories, interview clips, and historical footage. Current and historical photos of the historical sites. Footages of *sbalay* (reconciliation ceremony).
15’00	Watan tells of the trajectory of diverse religious customs such as Japanese Shinto, the Han Chinese Guanyin belief, and Christianity, all of which came to his hometown of Daxi. He then addresses his family’s conversion to Christianity and introduces the first Atayal pastors.	Scenes of a Shinto shrine, Guanyin temple, and church in Daxi; interview clips; and historical images.
22’10	Watan Tanga tells of his experiences spreading the gospel, taking courses at the Taiwan Theological College, preaching in the Taiwanese language in Taipei, and being a pastor for forty-five years.	Interview clips with Watan’s third son and *lmuhuw* apprentice; he tells story of Watan Tanga was raised by Watan’s aunt in Taipei, and Watan Tanga’s work in translating the Atayal Bible. Scenes of church events, Watan Tanga’s 90th birthday celebration, and archival images.
28’40	Watan’s collaboration with other pastors in translating the first Atayal Bible. They first used Mandarin phonetic symbols to write Atayal, and then used romanization.	Interview clips of Watan, and images of the Atayal Bible and other pastors. Historical footage of thanksgiving service for the publication of the Atayal Bible in 2003. Images of historical newspapers and regulations showing the KMT government forbidding churches to use romanization for translating the Bible in the 1950s.[122]
30’51	Watan Tanga explains Atayal traditional beliefs and customs such as *gaga* (belief system and rules) and *sm’atu tmubux* (the millet sowing ceremony), and how he relates the concept of the Atayal God, *Utux kayal* (the God of heaven) to the Christian God, so that Atayal people accept it and convert to Christianity.	Footage of *sm’atu tmubux* ceremony in 2015. Interview clips of Watan Tanga and Atung Yupas (pastor and *lmuhuw* apprentice). Atung Yupas explains how they initiate the preservation of Atayal traditions through means such as holding Atayal thanksgiving events, editing the Bible, and editing an Atayal dictionary.

[122] In 1950, the KMT government promoted Mandarin and did not permit the first Tayal Bible Translation Committee (泰雅爾聖經第一屆編輯委員) to use romanization to translate the Bible; the KMT believed that romanization of the Bible would slow the progress of disseminating Mandarin. The government only allowed them to use Mandarin Phonetic Symbols to write Atayal.

37’35	Watan Tanga illustrates how he learned *lmuhuw* from his father, and his work of teaching *lmuhuw* after retiring from the church.	Scenes of the *lmuhuw* Transmission Plan final evaluation performances, transmission lessons, and the ICH ceremonies. Two scholars speak of the importance of Watan Tanga as the culture-bearer of *lmuhuw*, and the importance of documentation in sustaining ICH. Scene of Watan Tanga singing *lmuhuw.*
45’14		Scenes of Watan meeting his great-grandson, explaining the meaning of the child’s name, and praying for the child.
48’08	Conclusion: Watan Tanga says that he is ninety-two years old and is thankful for the blessings from God.	Scenes of *sm’atu kmloh* (harvest ritual). Intertitle concludes the film.

Filmmaking Techniques of ICH Films

The three ICH films disused above show the increasing flexibility in contents and perspectives over the years. Instead of merely focusing on introducing the ICH genres, the filmmakers approach the topic innovatively, ranging from explicitly revealing tensions among members of the heritage community during the Transmission Plan (*Rolling on the Stage, Rolling for Life*), through showing intergenerational collaboration and cross-genre experiments in sustaining tradition (*Singing Storyteller and Her Century Long Adventure*), to depicting a culture-bearer’s trajectory of experiencing diverse religious customs, and his roles as an Indigenous pastor and Atayal culture protector and transmitter (*Lmuhuw*). It is evident that ICH has become a site for public discourse on diverse issues through filmmaking.

In terms of the filmmaking techniques, the three documentary films contain rich historical footage from archival materials, and one contains the director’s prior fieldwork footage. The storylines are usually constructed through interviews not only with the subjects but also with other individuals, including family members, friends, community members, audiences, and scholars or cultural experts. The directors of the three films present different senses of bodily

presence, rather than absence. In *Singing Storyteller and Her Century Long Adventure* (2021), the director's voice-over and physical presence on the spot can be seen throughout the film. In *Rolling on the Stage, Rolling for Life* (2015), although there is no voice-over, nor is the filmmaker present in front of the camera, the filmmaker's voice and conversations with community members can be heard throughout the film. For the film *Lmuhuw: Protectors and Transmitters of Tayal Culture and Language* (2022), although the director does not use voice-over or conversations with the subject, his encounter with the subject can be seen in various segments of footage, and we can hear his responses on the spot occasionally.

There are three types of "realism" applied to documentary film suggested by documentary film scholar Bill Nichols: 1) photographic or indexical realism, which is generated through location photography, straightforward filming, and continuity editing that form a realism of time and place; 2) psychological realism, which conveys the inner states of characters or social actors in plausible and convincing ways; and 3) emotional realism, which results from creating an appropriate emotional state in the viewer (Nichols 2017: 98). The three films rely heavily on an indexical or photographic realism of time and space. They contain rich archival footage of news reports, press conferences, and historical events, along with historical photographs (black/white and color) and fieldwork footage. An especially creative approach is taken in the film *Lmuhuw: Protectors and Transmitters of Tayal Culture and Language* (2022): to envision the Atayals' migratory paths sung in *lmuhuw*, the filmmaker uses aerial footage from a drone to offer an indexical realism of the migratory paths in film. Besides archival footage and photographs, current images of the relevant sites and buildings are presented, such as the tribes, churches, and traditional territories. This approach allows viewers to connect the past and the present, and sense the changes in time and space.

Psychological realism is also strategically delivered in the three films. They portray subjects' characters and psychological complexities during the cultural transmission practices by allowing them to reveal themselves in front of the camera and by observing their daily lives through the lens of the camera. The viewer can access the social actors' feelings, such as anxiety about cultural loss, excitement when discovering the migratory path of their ancestors, or sadness when they encounter health issues. In terms of emotional realism, the director of *Singing Storyteller and Her Century Long Adventure* is adept at using diverse background music to create an emotional state in the viewer. For example, background music with a light and quick pace generates a lively feeling in the audience when showing culture-bearer Yang Hsiu-Ching's experimental collaborations with younger musicians. The composed musical melodies played on electric piano with drum set and synthesizer imply the cross-genre interactions. In *Rolling on the Stage, Rolling for Life*, although background music used in the film is limited, a soft and emotional instrumental melody on piano usually comes after the members reveal their melancholy life stories. In the film *Lmuhuw: Protectors and Transmitters of Tayal Culture and Language*, background music is also limited, reserved for evoking emotional realism, topic transitions, and the closing of the film. However, the sounds of the natural environment of the Atayal tribes, the spoken word from the wealth of interviews, and the chanting of the *lmuhuw* oral tradition form a distinctive auditory representation.

Concluding Thoughts

I sense that "documenting culture" and "language loss" are core themes that Taiwanese ICH documentary films routinely address. Some films depict social actors' endeavors to document and salvage Indigenous cultural knowledge and language through different means.

Furthermore, as noted above, community members' continuous recording and documenting can also contribute to filmmaking. Here I would like to take this point further, exploring one outstanding example of this. Cheng Kwang-Po, director of *Lmuhuw: Protectors and Transmitters of Tayal Culture and Language*, has used equipment such as video8 camcorders, digital video camcorders, and DSLR cameras to record everything he has seen during more than twenty years' fieldwork. Thus he has accumulated much footage over the years (Interview on September 25, 2022). Based on the purpose and funding agency for any given project, Cheng uses different techniques and diverse audiovisual documentation to achieve the desired result. The documentary *Lmuhuw: Protectors and Transmitters of Tayal Culture and Language* was funded by the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, and some footage in the film is from his research footage in 2006. He also strategically refers to the old footage he has recorded to provide greater depth to his projects. For example, in 2019, I collaborated with Cheng Kwang-Po on the Atayal Jew's Harp Preservation Plan. The plan aims to record and document the musical life of the culture-bearer Payas Temu (楊德福 c.1929–) and all the musical pieces he can play on different types of *lubuw* (Atayal jew's harp).[123] In order to construct and recall Payas Temu's *lubuw* repertory, Cheng Kwang-Po examined the footage he took of Payas Temu in 2008 and 2014 and identified the tunes he used to play. At the official filming and recording session, we had a professional cameraperson and recording engineer traveling with us to the Slamaw tribe (梨山部

[123] Considered by many to be a symbol of Atayal culture, the *lubuw* is well known for its various forms (from single-reed to eight-reed) and multiple functions, such as conveying a message, self-expression, and entertainment at social events. However, nowadays few people can deliver melodic overtones on the single reed *lubuw* or play the multi-reed *lubuw* because of the combined effects of colonization and modernization. The *lubuw* is not a means of communication anymore, and the culture of *lubuw* is endangered. In 2015, the Taichung City Government registered Atalay *lubuw* and dance as traditional performing arts, and Payas Temu (楊德福) as the culture-bearer. In 2019, Taichung City Government commissioned Taiwan Atayal Sustainability Association (臺灣泰雅爾族永續協會) to conduct a documentation project on Payas Temu, and also to draft an action plan for sustaining Atayal *lubuw* in contemporary Taiwan (Cheng Kwang-Po and Chen Mei-Chen 2020).

落) to document the culture-bearer's music (Figure 7.1). During filming, Cheng Kwang-Po constantly reminded the ninety-year-old culture-bearer of the melodies and content he should play (Figure 7.2), since he sometimes mistook the pieces or repeated them as a result of memory loss or tiredness. It is noteworthy to me that an individual's endeavors to record audiovisual materials over so many years could contribute both to preserving this endangered musical tradition and to accomplishing this remarkable documentation.[124]

Figure 7.1. On-site audiovisual documentation crew for the Atayal *lubuw* preservation project at Lishan Culture Museum (梨山文物陳列館). December 18, 2019. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

[124] This documentation project contributes to proving the hypothesis of the relationship between *lubuw* and folksong. There have been studies claiming that the tuning of the *lubuw* is derived from Atayal folksong. However, until recently there was no proof of this notion. Fortunately, culture-bearer Payas Temu can play the four-reed *lubuw* and sing the songs that correspond to the *lubuw* melodies. Therefore, in the project report we transcribe the melodies of the *lubuw*, and their corresponding folksong melodies and lyrics (Cheng Kwang-Po and Chen Mei-Chen 2020).

Figure 7.2. Payas Temu (left) and Cheng Kwang-Po (right). December 18, 2019. Photo by Mei-Chen Chen.

Bill Nichols calls for scholars to investigate other factors in documentary filmmaking, such as institutions that support the production and reception of films, the creative efforts of filmmakers, the lasting influence of specific films, and the expectations of audiences (Nichols 2017: 11). To take the first of these salient issues, Taiwanese ICH documentary films are entirely or partly funded by the government agencies. Therefore, the filmmaker may need to negotiate with "evaluations" throughout the process of filmmaking, which inevitably affects the manner of representation. However, few discussions focus on how this factor influences filmmaking. One rare example of an ICH film going against the expectations of its government funders is the documentary *Rolling on the Stage, Rolling for Life* (戲台滾人生, 2015). As described above, it depicts how the last *pún-tē-kua-á* group in Taiwan experienced arguments and decline within the community as a result of the nationally funded Transmission Plans practices. The film was partly funded by the Ministry of Culture, yet it does not avoid discussing the conflict in order to please the funding agency. In one interview, the director Wu stated that when he presented edited footage to the committee at the project evaluation, the committee members—who were not

bureaucrats but a group of writers, scholars, and directors—actually encouraged him to present the conflicts and contradictions between the community and the government agency.[125] This example supports my argument that scholars and cultural experts play influential roles in government-funded projects. Even if government officials and agencies have the power to decide what types of projects they want to support, committee members' opinions and advice can shape a project's direction as it proceeds.

Another important issue raised by Nichols is the lasting influence of specific films. The popularity of several ICH documentary films has certainly raised awareness of Taiwanese ICH. For instance, the reputation of *Father* (紅盒子, 2016) allowed *pòo-tē-hì* master Chen Hsi-Huang to promote the film in Japan, the United States, Germany, and Malaysia in 2019. The master is pleased that the film can help draw more younger people's and foreigners' attention, and that it can encourage more people to learn this tradition (Interview on November 30, 2019). In fact, after the film came out, a number of people were inspired by it to go and learn *pòo-tē-hì* at the Puppetry Art Center of Taipei (臺北偶戲館) (Interview with a graduated apprentice on July 14, 2022). *Lmuhuw* director Cheng Kwang-Po states that documentary films can invite more people to understand a cultural tradition and discuss the issues they found in the films (Interview on September 25, 2022). However, as the director of *Father*, Yang Li-Chou, commented in an interview, people will be less interested in the film three months after its release, and he wants to assist the tradition to return to people's ordinary life. To put his idea into practice, he has edited the footage of *pòo-tē-hì* master Chen Hsi-Huang's performances into 45 short clips that contain

[125] Members of TIDF (Taiwan International Documentary Festival) interview director Wu Yao-Tung (吳耀東). The interview abstract is available at https://www.tidf.org.tw/zh-hant/reportsandarticle/29642, accessed October 24, 2022.

essential performance skills. He aims to make those materials accessible to the public and invites teachers to use them in K–12 education (Fang Hsu-Chieh 2018).[126]

In sum, the growing number of ICH documentation projects and the production of documentary films form part of the process of heritagization of traditional performing arts. As suggested earlier in this chapter, audiovisual documentation and films serve many different purposes, transcending simple "preservation" to facilitate not only historical understanding of how genres used to be, but also a dynamic sense of evolution, regeneration, and new meanings. While audiovisual documentation prioritizes the preservation of ICH techniques and cultural and artistic content, underpinning the ability to move forward, documentary films raise awareness of endangered traditions and intrigue viewers with emotionally resonant stories. These two forms of audiovisual representation are both essential to ensure the sustainability of traditional arts, but documentary films embed more nuances and messages from the filmmakers' perspectives.

Last but not least, the changing emphases in audiovisual representation over the decades stand out to me. When looking back on the very first recordings of Taiwanese music by Japanese musicologist Tanabe Hisao in 1922, we find that the only information noted about singers was their name, age, and sex. They existed, it seems, only as vehicles for the sonic genres on which Tanabe focused. A hundred years later, both research recordings and films on Taiwanese performing arts demonstrate an increasing interest in the people who inherit and transmit the traditions, documenting their lives, challenges, successes, innovations, and opinions. After all, without these practitioners, the musical and theatrical forms the ICH paradigm seeks to preserve cannot continue to evolve, be passed on, and create meaning in this world.

[126] Helen Rees notes that some of these short clips were also used in a graduate seminar in the UCLA Department of Ethnomusicology in spring 2022 to teach basic techniques of puppet handling to graduate students (personal communication, January 23, 2023).

CHAPTER 8. NEGOTIATION AND ADAPTATION IN HERITAGIZATION: DISCOURSES OF AUTHENTICITY, TRADITION, AND CREATIVITY

As noted at the beginning of this dissertation, owing to Taiwan's exclusion from UNESCO and most other world bodies as a result of political pressure from the People's Republic of China (PRC), Taiwan's ICH practice is virtually unknown to the outside world; its ICH has also on occasion been appropriated for political reasons by the PRC.[127] This dissertation is the first study in either English or Chinese to examine the heritagization of traditional performing arts in Taiwan through the current nationally funded Important Traditional Performing Arts Transmission Plans (hereafter, Transmission Plans). Much literature has pointed out that state-funded invention in cultural transmission can result in taxidermization of culture (Saeji 2012), change the nature of musical tradition, and cause competition for money and fame among musical groups (Wang Ying-Fen 2012a). Yet, as I have argued in the previous chapters, although the current Transmission Plans scheme still grapples with those issues, I found that the Taiwanese ICH paradigm is notable for its adaptive and quickly responsive nature. For instance, regulations related to the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act and Transmission Plans have been constantly adjusted according to the situations encountered on the ground (see Chapters 3 and 4). I argue that those qualities result from Taiwan's distinctively multicultural society, its multiple identities, and the facility for constant mediation by agents engaged in traditions at all levels.[128]

[127] For instance, in 2014, the Shanghai Conservatory of Music and Sichuan Conservatory of Music formed a research team and investigated eleven Chinese traditional music forms after they were selected as Chinese Intangible Cultural Heritage (Xiao Mei and Yang Xiao 2022). However, the eleven projects chosen included *lmuhuw* (Atayal oral tradition) from Taiwan, despite the fact that it exists only in Taiwan and hadn't been listed by China, and that Chinese scholars have not been able to conduct research on it.

[128] One may speculate that the last of these three characteristics in particular may be in part the product of Taiwan's lively, vocal democratic political system, which for three decades now has encouraged people of all backgrounds to

In particular, I have suggested that Taiwan's unique political status and the multiple identities present in the island of Taiwan have influenced the ways intangible cultural heritage is constructed, mediated, and operated. These ways of construction, mediation, and operation resonate with what Taiwanese political scientist Wu Rwei-Ren (吳叡人) describes as the three post-colonial agendas in contemporary Taiwan: Chinese nationalism, the Indigenous people's liberation movement, and Taiwanese nationalism (Wu Rwei-Ren 2016). The heritagization of traditional performing arts in Taiwan very clearly reflects these agendas. The cultural policy of Taiwan before the 1970s presented the national culture paradigm, which supported pan-Chinese nationalism and promoted Chinese genres as national culture; the most notable of these was Peking opera, which had the flimsiest of bases in Taiwan before 1945, but in the 1950s and 1960s became the island's single best-known cultural export (Guy 2005; see also Chapter 2 of this dissertation). By contrast, the current intangible cultural heritage paradigm incorporates both Indigenous people's culture and Taiwanized Han traditional performing arts into the discourse of Taiwanese nationalism. Meanwhile, Han genres brought to Taiwan after 1949 are excluded from the national cultural heritage list. From national culture to the current intangible cultural heritage scheme, traditional performing arts practitioners discussed in this dissertation present various ways of negotiating with and adapting to capricious cultural policies and regulations in their performances. Before the current "Taiwanese nationalism," they found ways to work around KMT proscriptions, and to keep going. They have brought this spirit of flexibility and resistance with them into the current era of ICH policy implementation.

express their views, with less of a tendency towards acceptance of elite viewpoints and decision-making hierarchies than is common in other parts of East Asia.

ICH Looking to the Future: Transmission Plans as a Site for Negotiation

The Transmission Plans function as a testing ground for ICH communities to experiment and revitalize musical traditions; they also reveal the mechanism of the Taiwanese ICH preservation paradigm. I have suggested that for culture-bearers and groups, a Transmission Plan is an arena for negotiating traditions, values, modern pedagogy, traditional training methods, and bureaucratic evaluations. It may offer a rare opportunity to document their skills, a welcome level of respect, and, sometimes, an irritating amount of bureaucracy to cope with. For government officials, a plan is an arena for testing preservation methods and for presenting achievements in safeguarding efforts. For scholars, the Transmission Plans are an entry point for intervening and "salvaging" cultural traditions, and a site to research both the traditions themselves and state interventions in those traditions. For apprentices, they provide a ground for mediating tradition and creativity, intergenerational collaboration, and in some cases advancing to a professional career in traditional performing arts. For communities and general audiences, their impact varies.

The case studies presented in this dissertation demonstrate how actors in the Transmission Plans from the Indigenous groups (Chapter 4), amateur music clubs (Chapter 5), and professional theatrical troupes (Chapter 6) reflect on their concepts of tradition and negotiate their beliefs, musical values, and creativity through cultural transmission practices. Furthermore, through recording and documenting culture during the transmission lessons, I suggest that heritage is not only a new mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995), but also a potential foundation for the future. This is a crucial existential consideration for a small island nation seeking to imprint its unique cultural identity and right to exist on the local and international psyche, even as is constantly threatened by a

giant neighbor that seeks to negate that unique cultural identity and right to exist. And more than any past ICH programs in Taiwan, Transmission Plans also provide a site for public discourse on endangered ICH and cultural transmission through filmmaking, a genre especially well suited to bringing both sounds and images and emotionally meaningful, memorable narratives of communities and individuals to a wider public. The documentary films not only investigate issues of cultural loss and challenges for sustaining tradition, but also help to raise awareness of the endangered traditions and seek to reinvigorate ICH (Chapter 7).

Review of Major Premises of the Dissertation

This dissertation has proposed five premises on which Taiwan's current ICH policy and practice are based, and that together differentiate it from analogous policy and practice in other nations. First, it involves scholars to an unusual extent. Second, the self-conscious pursuit of "authenticity" is less emphasized than in many other countries. Third, Taiwan's items of ICH are often a hybrid mixture of forms representing multicultural interactions, rather than some kind of notional "purity." Fourth, while Taiwan's ICH framework is based on that of UNESCO, it is bureaucratically highly Taiwanized. Fifth, Taiwan's ICH is an essential soft power resource for a nation that exists in a uniquely challenging international context. Here I summarize briefly each of these points as illustrated in the foregoing chapters.

The Outsize Role of Scholars

As I have argued in previous chapters, scholars have long performed essential roles in advising, translating, and directing the Taiwanese heritage management paradigm. Scholars and other experts' engagement in ICH projects is pervasive, for example sitting as ICH committee

members to evaluate preservation efforts and advise policymaking, executing government-funded ICH preservation and research projects, or serving as go-betweens between government agencies and culture-bearers to oversee the transmission practices (e.g., through the Empowerment Teams).

But scholars' positions in Transmission Plans can be complicated. The government officials usually select as committee members scholars who have published widely on the relevant genre and paid close attention to ICH, as well as scholars who can bring new thoughts, suggestions, and resources to apprentices without overly frustrating them. However, apprentices are not always pleased with a committee's praise; they expect to receive useful comments from the committee, which committee members may not always be equipped to offer, as their knowledge is often more theoretical than practical. Also, apprentices consider that performance evaluation is a mutual leaning process between apprentices and their committee; when both sides are on the same page, this process can ideally establish rapport and trust. Through cultivating relationships with the culture-bearers and the community, offering critical perspectives on the ICH scheme, and providing their professional judgement while considering expectations from different actors, scholars and other experts encounter constant negotiations in dealing with the Transmission Plans.

Scholars' service as go-betweens to oversee Transmission Plans is another form of scholarly intervention. The empowerment team (*peili* 培力) or guidance group (*fudao tuan* 輔導團, see Chapter 3)—professional organizations to provide assistance and cooperation with Transmission Plan communities—is unique compared to other ICH schemes. Although it is a matter of expediency for the bureaucratic structure, it also ensures smooth communications between government officials and the Transmission Plan communities. However, problems can

arise in the traditional performing arts Empowerment Projects: positionality, the need for long-term trust-building, and administrative fatigue can challenge their sustainability. Regrettably, the traditional performing arts Empowerment Project was terminated in 2022 after ten years of mediation among Transmission Plans. The project provided an entry point for many scholars and graduate students to participate in and conduct research on Transmission Plans, and to become "transmitters" who preserve, replicate, and actively transmit the tradition with which they are engaged (Shelemay 1996), as well as to be part of the "ecosystem" of the ICH communities (Schippers and Grant 2016). Is the termination of the project meant to push back scholarly intervention in Transmission Plans, or will it invite other forms of public engagement in ICH projects? This is a question that needs to be addressed in the near future.

Government officials have the power to decide whom they want to include on the ICH committee, and are often surprisingly open to scholarly input. Several such officials are themselves pursuing doctoral studies in cultural heritage studies to gain a broader perspective on cultural sustainability and expect to apply their knowledge to ICH practice. One official told me that they know that the Bureau of Culture Heritage has more and more power and could adversely impact diverse traditions. Therefore, they are willing to be monitored and advised by different plan participants and scholars to help make the Taiwanese ICH framework more comprehensive (Interview on April 11, 2020).

Negotiating Styles in Transmission**:** De-emphasis on Authenticity

The second premise my research suggests is that unchanging authenticity is less emphasized in the Taiwanese ICH paradigm than in the South Korean ICH paradigm known as *wonhyong* (original form) (Saeji 2012:134), or the Japanese concept of *kata* (form, かた, 型)

(Oshima 2007). The traditional performing arts genres in Taiwan are highly adaptive and reflect multicultural encounters. Therefore, the Transmission Plans aim to sustain the diverse styles representing the multi-faceted history of Taiwan, rather than preserving an imagined prototype. Especially for theatrical genres such as *pòo-tē-hì* and *kua-á-hì*, the transmission practices center on culture-bearers' maintenance of distinguishing features representing a specific style or period in the history of their genre in Taiwan, reflecting the fact that the professional theatrical genres have always shown themselves highly adaptable and intertextual. As a result, the apprentices must constantly adjust different styles and borrow knowledge from other theatrical genres to supplement their performance. This is considered perfectly acceptable, as it is well known that this type of adaptation has gone on for generations already.

Taiwan's Intangible Heritage as a Hybrid Mixture of Forms

This de-emphasis on keeping a style eternally unchanging, faithful to an ancestral form lost in the mists of time, is related to my third premise: Taiwan's intangible heritage is usually a hybrid mixture of forms representing multicultural interactions rather than any type of notional "purity." The professional music ensemble Hakka *bayin* is a good example (see Chapter 1). It has adopted numerous musical and theatrical forms into its performance, ranging from tea-picking opera, *lān thân*, *siping* opera, Peking opera, and *kua-á-hì*, to Cantonese music and pop music. It is a synthesis of the musical and theatrical forms that have been cultivated in the land of Taiwan. In turn, a well-trained Hakka *bayin* musician can adapt and accompany different traditional performing arts genres of their own and other communities. This situation contributes to highly intertextual and collaborative musical scenes in Taiwan. From the case studies described in this dissertation, one can see that many young musicians have created their own

musical language by building upon traditional genres through cross-genre and intergenerational collaborations among the ICH communities.

Nevertheless, discourses of musical value and aesthetics specific to particular genres are front and center in Transmission Plans. They can be delivered in concepts such as *ūn* (韻, literally "rhyme," Mandarin: *yun*) in *pak-kuán* music; *qiang* (腔, melodic and vocal styles) in theatrical opera such as *lān-thân hì*; *qikou* (氣口, literally air mouth, see Hsu Hsin-Wen 2021) in Hakka *bayin*; and the expression of vibrato and tremolos, together with fluid air management, in Paiwan nose and mouth flutes. Apprentices in the Transmission Plans have constantly negotiated different musical styles and concepts, besides training in performance techniques.

Taiwanization of the ICH Framework

In broad terms, Taiwan's ICH framework is based on UNESCO's, but the bureaucratic structure is highly localized. As noted above, the major amendment to the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act of 2016 employs UNESCO's crucial distinction between tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Moreover, it utilizes UNESCO's five domains of ICH as a strategy to increase scholarly conversation and gain international recognition (Table 2.2). The five domains of ICH are administrated by the Section of Traditional Arts (傳藝科) and Section of Traditional Folklore (民俗科) under the Division of Traditional Arts and Folklore (傳藝民俗組) of the Bureau of Culture Heritage (Figure 8.1). The resulting bureaucratic structure has a direct impact on sustaining traditions. One official explained to me that each domain has different preservation strategies and regulations. Therefore, awkward situations can arise when designating an ICH item: if it has been considered under performing arts, they need to ignore other features such as folklore, craftsmanship, or oral tradition. Thus this item can fit into the

organization's structure, and officials can apply the preservation mechanism planned for traditional performing arts. This way of sectioning tradition is problematic and a major barrier that needs to be overcome in the Taiwanese ICH framework (Interview on April 11, 2020). It is of course true that bureaucratic mechanisms can bedevil ICH practice in any country, but at least the officials with whom I discussed the issue are aware of it and actively seeking to find ways around the structural problems.

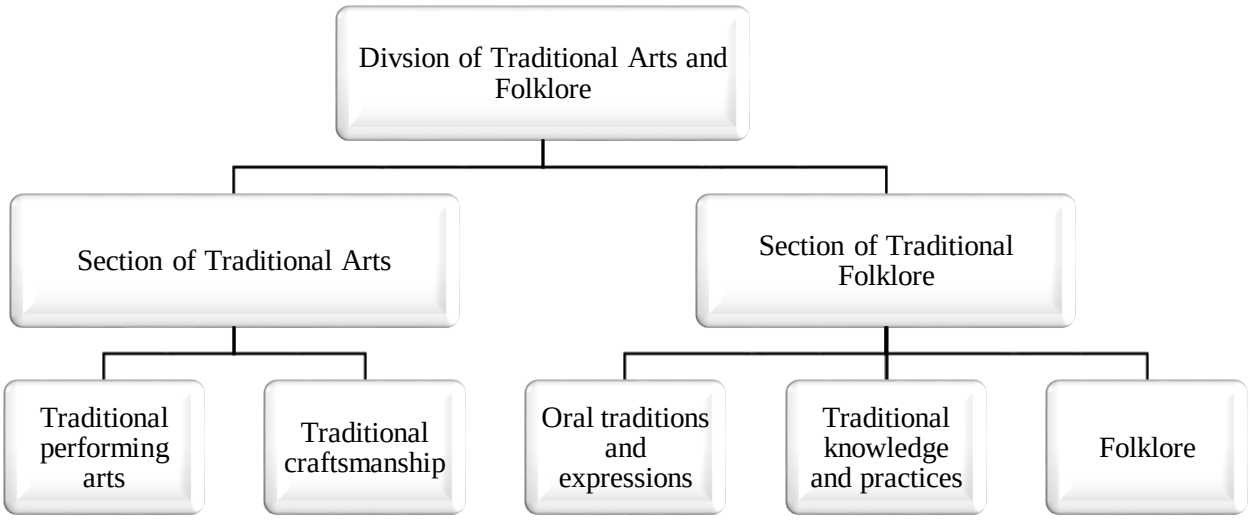


Figure 8.1. Five domains of ICH in the bureaucratic structure of the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Taiwan.

ICH as Soft Power

Another feature of the Taiwanese ICH framework is, of course, politics. Hence, the fifth premise of my research: the ICH of Taiwan, and especially traditional performing arts, is an essential resource for cultural exchange, international recognition, and cross-strait diplomacy. ICH as soft power was evident between 2016 and 2020 before the COVID-19 pandemic suspended international cultural exchange. For example, the New Southbound Policy (*Xin*

nanxiang zhengce 新南向政策), which enhances cooperation and exchanges between Taiwan and countries in Southeast Asia, South Asia, and Australasia, aimed to help Taiwan establish its presence on a world platform for Austronesian cultural research and preservation. The Bureau of Cultural Heritage also held a series of cultural exchange events between 2017 and 2019 (see Chapter 2). Taiwan is not unique in its deployment of ICH as soft power, but it has unusually urgent reasons for using it in internationally very visible ways.

In terms of cross-strait relations between Taiwan and the PRC, however, in a pushback against Taiwan's national goals, ICH has ironically also become a resource for the PRC's Chinese reunification strategy. Unlike the government-initiated cultural exchange between Taiwan and Southeast Asian countries, NGOs and private associations based in Taiwan have also initiated cross-strait cultural exchanges, backed by Chinese government funding.[129] In 2019, the Fujian Province Department of Culture (福建省文化廳) announced seventeen regulations designed to promote cultural exchange between Taiwan and China, and welcomed Taiwanese ICH practitioners to be listed in the Chinese ICH list,[130] and there are at least four craftsmanship practitioners listed as Taiwanese culture-bearers (台籍传承人) at provincial (省) or municipal (市) level in Fujian Province.[131] However, as of my writing in February 2023, ICH as a resource

[129] Between 2015 and 2019, there were different scales of cultural exchanges between Taiwan and China featuring ICH performances scattered across several parts of Taiwan. In addition, a number of events were held by Taiwanese local radio stations with the title "Listening Club and the Cross-Strait Intangible Cultural Heritage Exchange" (聽友會暨兩岸非遺文化表演交流活動). An example can be seen in the news report at https://tw.news.yahoo.com/東南廣播聽友見面會-親親閩台緣-聽友驚歎-033358340.html, accessed February 8, 2023.

[130] For the announcement and regulations, see 福建省文化厅出台 17 条措施 促进闽台文化交流合作 (Fujian Province Department of Culture releases seventeen regulations to promote cultural exchange between Fujian and Taiwan), at http://www.fjtb.gov.cn/special/fj66t/201810/t20181008_12098612.htm, accessed February 8, 2023.

[131] For news reports, see 福州再添 61 名市级非遗代表性传承人 2 名台籍传承人入选 (Fuzhou lists 61 city-level ICH representative, and two Taiwanese elected as successors). *Fuzhou News*, November 17, 2021. https://m.fznews.com.cn/dsxw/20211117/619519ce1fe1f.shtml. Zheng Wenxin (郑雯馨). 2021. 以漳州技艺，造金门厝 寻访非遗闽南传统民居营造技艺台籍传承人陈荣文 (Using Zhangzhou skills to build Jinmen houses: a visit

for soft power and cross-straits diplomacy has been paused by both Taiwan and China since the COVID-19 pandemic. It will certainly bear investigation in future.

As a final comment on Taiwan's use of ICH as soft power, one area that is so far surprisingly underdeveloped is its employment in sustainable tourism. ICH as a sustainable tourism resource is well discussed and long practiced in several countries. For example, China formed its Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2018 to reach its goal of using culture to develop the economy (Ziying You 2020: 193). In Japan, the ICH status of folk festivals such as the Chichibu Night Festival can raise prestige and awareness of the festival and function as a tool to increase tourism (Nakamura 1994; Alaszewska 2012). However, compared to other countries, ICH as a tourism resource is not fully exploited in Taiwan. Although there are practice and research projects on Indigenous cultural heritage and community tourism through community–university partnerships (see Joyce Hsiu-Yen Yeh et al. 2021), there has so far been little investment in using performing arts as tourism resource. It was only in 2021 that the Ministry of Culture first announced its call for proposals from travel agencies to incorporate cultural resources such as tangible and intangible cultural heritage and local businesses such as handicrafts and food into their offerings, and to plan cultural tourism itineraries.[132] This project aims to revitalize cultural heritage and invite people to experience and understand cultural memories of Taiwan through in-depth travel.

for Chen Rongwen, Taiwanese ICH inheritor of Fujian traditional residential building skills). *The Channel*, September 29, 2021. http://www.taihaizazhi.com/index.php?s=/Home/Article/detail/id/940.html, accessed February 11, 2023.

[132] For the project "Culture Leads the Way" (文化帶路), see https://culturetravel.moc.gov.tw/index.asp#about, accessed February 8, 2023.

Concluding Thoughts

Taiwan's ICH initiatives are the only major heritage transmission projects worldwide that are totally excluded from UNESCO's prestigious ICH programs. Thousands of books, dissertations, articles, and essays to date address the planning, implementation, and effects of ICH policies in countries that participate vigorously in UNESCO's heritage lists and preservation projects. This dissertation, by contrast, is the first book-length study in any language to investigate ICH initiatives that do not engage directly with UNESCO and can for the time being not work towards the international recognition that comes with achieving a UNESCO listing. What can be learned from investigation of this unique ICH outlier?

To be sure, Taiwan has chosen to take inspiration from UNESCO's ICH frameworks. With its exclusion from UNESCO, however, has come greater flexibility, and the ability to evolve in accordance with local needs. The Transmission Plans, for example, continue to be a dynamic testing ground for different actors such as officials, policy-makers, culture-bearers, apprentices, scholars, and community members to experiment and mediate diverse perspectives. Moreover, Taiwan does not need to negotiate with neighbors over art forms that may be shared between them, as happens frequently within UNESCO's initiatives. And Taiwan's ICH program is especially responsive to specifically local characteristics—be it the hybrid genres of a multiethnic, multicultural society and the associated de-emphasis on authentic original forms, or, less positively, local bureaucratic complexities. Finally, it has offered the ICH world two directions of particular interest: first, the heavy reliance on scholars and other recognized experts, which, when handled well, has proven able to galvanize projects, produce invaluable documentation, and enthuse young people; and, second, a way for a marginalized group of people to broadcast their presence in the world through inventive use of ICH-generated soft

power. Cultural sustainability in this uniquely situated country, and its potential to support a crucial national identity, has to be conceived of in localized terms, and provides a thought-provoking counterpoint to the standard studies of ICH in UNESCO member states.

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