

Amateur Music Clubs and State Intervention: The Case of *Nanguan* Music in Postwar Taiwan

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Abstract: Amateur music clubs had been an integral part of the communal life in traditional Taiwan society. They constituted the main vehicle through which traditional art forms had been transmitted from generation to generation. In post-war Taiwan, however, amateur music clubs experienced serious decline. This was partly due to the Nationalist government's cultural policy to promote Western and Chinese art forms and downgrade local Taiwanese culture, and partly due to the rapid westernization, modernization, industrialization, and urbanization that Taiwan society had undergone. In the 1970s, with the change of the political climate both internationally and domestically, the Nationalist government began to pay attention to local culture and to implement a series of projects to promote traditional arts. Among the art forms promoted, *nanguan* music stood out as one of the best supported due to its high social status, neutral political position, and academic value as recognized by foreign and domestic scholars. State intervention in *nanguan* started in 1980 and gradually increased its intensity until it reached its peak level in the second half of the 1990s. It has brought many resources to *nanguan* clubs, but it has also contributed to the deterioration of the *nanguan* community both in its musical quality and its members' integrity as amateur musicians.

Based on my personal involvement in *nanguan*, I aim to document in this paper the state intervention in *nanguan* in the past two decades and to examine its impact on *nanguan*. I argue that the past two decades of state intervention in *nanguan* has fallen short of its goal to preserve and transmit *nanguan* mainly because its modes of intervention did not take into consideration the nature of *nanguan* as a pastime for self-cultivation among amateur musicians. I will also argue that such a failure can be further traced back to the lack of understanding about local traditional culture in Taiwan society as a result of the Nationalist government's policy to uphold Western and national art forms while downgrading local ones.

Key words: cultural policy, state intervention, postwar Taiwan, *nanguan*, amateur music clubs.

I. Introduction

Twenty years ago, in the summer of 1983, I went to Longshan Temple 龍山寺 in Lukang 鹿港, a historic town in Changhua 彰化 County in mid-Taiwan and well known for its *nanguan* 南管 (literally “southern pipes”) tradition. I entered the wide-open space of the quiet, empty temple ground, and soon my attention was captured by the sound of *nanguan pipa* 琵琶 (four-stringed plucked lute). I followed it to another part of the temple ground. Then I saw two very old men, sitting in chairs, with their eyes half closed. One was playing a *nanguan* pipa and the other playing an *erxian* 二絃, the *nanguan* two-stringed fiddle. After the piece ended, the two remained silent. Soon, the *pipa* player started playing again, and the *erxian* player joined in naturally without asking which piece it was. The two continued on leisurely as if the music would never end, and life was just as simple and quiet as the music. Later I learned that the two old men were respectively in their 80s and 90s and belonged to Juying she 聚英社, the *nanguan* music group that had been part of the temple for almost a century. This was one of my first encounters with *nanguan* music clubs, and the leisurely, quiet atmosphere of the whole scene made a lasting impression on me.

Two years ago, I went to the temple again. The sound of *nanguan* was still there, but, instead of the quiet music played leisurely by the two old men, this time it was a group of young students singing *nanguan* together and led by two *nanguan* teachers. The singing was a bit chaotic and out of tune, but the teachers did not stop them, and the singing continued on. Without asking, I knew that this was another *nanguan* training course sponsored by the state.

These two snapshots of *nanguan* activities in the same temple almost twenty year apart reflected more or less how *nanguan* in Taiwan has been transformed from a leisurely pastime of amateur music clubs to a cultural heritage promoted by the state through widespread training courses and other means of intervention. Such state intervention in *nanguan* started around 1980 and gradually increased in intensity until its recent peak level during the second

half of the 1990s. It has brought many resources to *nanguan* clubs, but it has also contributed to the deterioration of the *nanguan* community both in terms of its musical quality and its members' pride and identity as amateur musicians.

Based on my personal involvement in *nanguan* as a researcher since 1983 and in state-funded projects on *nanguan* since 1993,¹ I aim to document in this paper the state intervention in *nanguan* in the past two decades and to examine its impact on *nanguan*. I will argue that the past two decades of state intervention in *nanguan* has failed to help preserve and transmit *nanguan* mainly because its modes of intervention did not take into consideration the nature of *nanguan* music as a self-cultivating pastime of amateur musicians. I will also argue that such a failure can be further traced back to the lack of understanding about local traditional culture on the part of cultural officials and scholars as a result of the Nationalist (also known as KMT) government's policy to uphold Western and national art forms while downgrading local traditional arts.²

Even though scholars have made sporadic observations about the negative effects of state intervention on Taiwanese traditional arts,³ there has been little systematic research on the subject either

1. I was the producer of a state-commissioned *nanguan* recording project in 1993-94, the organizer of a *nanguan* conference as part of the first state-run *nanguan* art festival in 1994, and have been a reviewing committee member for the National Center for Traditional Arts since since around 1998.

2. In this article, "national art forms" refer to the various genres that were brought to Taiwan by mainland Chinese after 1945 and subsequently promoted by the Nationalist government as "national culture," while "local traditional arts" refer to the traditional art forms of the aborigines (the original inhabitants of the island) and those of the southern Fujianese and Hakka people who emigrated to Taiwan in large numbers beginning in the 17th century.

3. So far Qiu Kunliang is probably the only scholar that has written most frequently about how state intervention has damaged traditional arts since the early 1980's. Most of these writings, however, were short essays published in newspapers and popular magazines and republished in his collections of essays (see Qiu 1980, 1984, 1992, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2003). Lü Chuikuan 呂鍾寬 in his recent review of the state of traditional music in Taiwan, a government-commissioned project, pointed out the negative influence brought by state intervention in *nanguan* and other traditional music (see Lü 2002:passim). Lin Gufang 林谷芳 wrote

by researchers in cultural policy or those in traditional arts in Taiwan. Although Su Kuei-chi's dissertation (2002) provides us with a comprehensive overview of the Nationalist government's arts policy in postwar Taiwan, it mainly focused on how the policy influenced Peking Opera and *gezaixi* 歌仔戲 (native opera sung in Taiwanese) and does not deal with its effect on other Taiwanese operatic or musical genres. To fill this gap, I have relied on primary and secondary sources to sort out the state projects on traditional arts in general and on *nanguan* in particular, to examine their funding and operation, and to analyze the problems incurred by these projects. The primary sources consulted include governmental publications, unpublished project reports, concert programs, writings by cultural officials, interviews with cultural officials and staff members, interviews with musicians, and my own involvement and observation. In addition, I have consulted previous research on state cultural policy in Taiwan (such as Hsiao 1991, 2000; Li [1988] 1992; Su 1992; Winckler 1994; Su 1998; Su 2001; Su 2002) to put state intervention in *nanguan* in a larger historical and political context.

In the following account, I will first give an overview of the nature of amateur music clubs and outline the history of the state cultural policy under the Nationalist government's rule in postwar Taiwan. Then I will propose the reasons for *nanguan*'s favourable position in gaining state patronage. Next, I will divide the past two decades of state intervention in *nanguan* into four stages and discuss the modes of intervention in each of them. Finally, I will sum-

about the problem of state subsidies and the role of scholars as cultural brokers (Lin [1991]1995). Chou Chiener 周倩而 discussed how cultural policy and scholarly intervention changed the identity of *nanguan* music in Taiwan (Chou in press). Wu Huohuang 吳火煌, a *nanguan* musician and an amateur researcher, observed how state-run *nanguan* activities lost the spontaneous interaction among *nanguan* musicians in their traditional activities (Wu 2000). Similar opinions were expressed by Fan Yangkun 范揚坤 concerning state intervention in *beiguan* 北管 (literally "northern pipes") music (Fan 2002:198). In addition, Belinda Chang analysed how cultural policy and political ideology influenced the development of *gezaixi* 歌仔戲 in Taiwan (Chang 1997). Nancy Guy examined how the Nationalist government upheld Peking Opera and disparaged local Taiwanese culture and arts (Guy 1999).

marize these four stages of state intervention, examine how it has affected the *nanguan* community, and discuss why it has fallen short of its goal.

II. Amateur Music Clubs in Taiwan⁴

Recent surveys on artistic resources and on amateur music clubs in various counties in Taiwan show that amateur music clubs had been widespread in villages as well as in urban communities all over the island. Such amateur music clubs, known as *quguan* 曲館 (literally “song club”) or *wenguan* 文館 (“civil club”), existed in almost every village inhabited by the southern Fujianese and Hakka people who emigrated from southeastern coastal China to Taiwan beginning in the 17th century. In larger urban centers with bigger populations and livelier economies, the number of amateur music clubs tended to number in the dozens. While clubs in the villages usually consisted of members of the same village, clubs in urban centers could consist of members of a family, a locale, or a profession. These clubs, together with the local temples and the amateur martial arts clubs known as *wuguan* 武館 (“martial club”), functioned as community centers and formed an integral part of the life of the Han immigrants on the island.

These amateur music clubs were voluntary associations usually organized and supported by local elites and participated in by villagers and urban community members to study traditional arts and culture, to relax and cultivate oneself, to build human relationships, to perform at the rites of passages of fellow club members, and to contribute to temple festivals either as performers or as supporters. In the case of the amateur martial arts clubs, they also bore the responsibility of defending their villages and communities in times of

4. The following account on amateur music clubs is based on my own research on *nanguan* and on amateur music clubs in Changhua County (see Wang 2000) as well as on recent studies of amateur music clubs, such as Qiu 1980:30-45 and 1992:242-62. For a comprehensive survey of amateur music clubs in Changhua County, see also Hsu 1997 and Lin 1997.

danger.

Traditionally, only men were allowed to participate in the amateur music clubs, while women were prohibited, since only professional female entertainers would perform in public. Thus, few females of good social standing were allowed to participate in amateur music clubs.

An amateur music club normally consisted of three types of participants: the director, the members, and the financial supporters. The director was usually a local strongman and was in charge of the management of the club. The members included both the artists who actually practiced the arts and the helpers who contributed to the club activities through their time and labor. The financial supporters gave money to help sustain the club and its activities.

All three of the above types of participants considered club participation as an honour and as a way to contribute to communal life. Club members took pride in their amateur status, because, unlike the professional actors and actresses who had low social status, they disdained performing for money, and only temple gods or fellow club members could enjoy the privilege of their services. Honorarium received from such services belonged to the club, not to the individual participants. Club participation was often time and money consuming, and only people who could afford it could participate in these clubs. Consequently club membership symbolized good social standing and decent family background, not unlike the study of piano and violin in today's Taiwan society. Furthermore, club participation was regarded as a way to pay tribute to the temple gods, for temple festivals could not do without the music and operas put on by these clubs through processions or through stationary performances to entertain the gods and the community. It was the duty of these clubs to perform for the festival of the temple that they were associated with (each club was traditionally associated with one particular temple). As a result, social elites voluntarily put in money and effort to organize and support amateur music clubs, and parents also voluntarily sent their children to study in these clubs. Hence, traditional performing arts had been transmitted from generation to generation, not as conscious effort to keep cultural heritage alive, nor

with governmental support, but simply as a familiar way of life.

When the clubs performed during temple festivals, it was a time for them to display their artistry as well as their manpower and material resources (such as their banners and other properties) in order to win honor for the villages/communities and the temples they represented. Hence there had been an implicit element of competition among these clubs. Sometimes clubs even held open competitions, known as *pinguan* 拼館 (literally “competing clubs”) or *leitai* 擂臺 (literally “fighting platform”), to challenge one another in their artistry. Such implicit and open competitions helped improve the artistry and skill of these amateur clubs.

When the clubs wanted to improve their artistry or to learn a new kind of art form, they would invite teachers to offer a course, known as *kaiguan* 開館 (literally “opening a course”). A course usually lasted four months but, minus holidays, the actual teaching only lasted 100 days (Lü 2002: 163).⁵ Teachers were treated with good salary and high respect. Except in special cases, students normally had to pay tuition. Clubs taught by the same teacher usually considered one another as sibling clubs and had the obligation to help one another in times of need, such as during parades or competitions.

The musical and operatic genres practiced by these amateur music clubs can be largely divided into two systems, namely *nanguan* and *beiguan* 北管 (literally “northern pipes”). The system of *nanguan* refers to the musical and operatic genres originating from the southern part of Fujian province and consists of *nanguan* music and its related genres, which include either the rustic derivations of *nanguan* music, such as *taiping ge* 太平歌, *tianzi mensheng* 天子門生, and *chegu* 車鼓, or regional operas based on *nanguan* music, such as *nanguan* opera 南管戲 and *gaojia* opera 高甲戲. The system of *beiguan* consists of *beiguan* music and *luantan* opera 亂彈戲, both of which are made up of musical and operatic elements originating from north of Fujian province (for more, see Wang 2002a; for a general introduction to *nanguan*, see Wang 2002b).

5. Some also say that a course lasts for three months. For example, see Hong 2001:109.

III. An Overview of Cultural Policy in Postwar Taiwan

The above depiction generally reflects the situation of amateur music clubs during the period when Taiwan was under Qing dynasty rule (i.e. 1683-1895) and during the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945). After the Nationalist government took over Taiwan in 1945 after Japan lost the Pacific War in World War II, however, amateur music clubs gradually declined under the Nationalist government's cultural policy to promote Western and national art forms and relegate local traditional ones.

In the following section, I will briefly outline the various stages of cultural policy in Taiwan and its links with socio-political changes in Taiwan society. Since this is a vast topic, I will mainly focus on the aspects that are relevant to amateur music clubs and local traditional arts.⁶

1. Before 1945

Recent studies show that amateur music clubs already existed in Taiwan during the early half of the 18th century (see Li 1989:29-32, Qiu 1992:271). Although we don't know much yet about the state's stance toward amateur music clubs in Taiwan during the Qing dynasty, writings by Chinese officials and literati of the period documented an abundance of musical and operatic performance activities during temple festivals and other festive occasions.

After Taiwan became a colony of Japan in 1895, the Japanese colonial government took a tolerant attitude towards Taiwanese language, religion, and culture. Such a tolerant attitude, coupled with the stable and prosperous economy in Taiwan during this period, enabled the amateur music clubs to flourish (Qiu 1992). According to Qiu Kunliang's estimation, there were about one thousand amateur music clubs throughout the island during this time, thus making the Japanese colonial period a heyday for amateur music clubs (ibid.:251).

6. For a comprehensive survey of the government cultural policy in postwar Taiwan, see Su 1998, 2001; Su 2002.

After the Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1937, however, the activities of the amateur music clubs were discouraged and even prohibited, as the Japanese colonial government began to exert tight control over Taiwanese culture as part of its *kôminka* 皇民化 or Japanization movement. After the Pacific War started in 1941, the Japanization movement intensified and continued until Japan lost the war in 1945 and returned Taiwan to China, which was then ruled by the Nationalist government led by Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石.

Although the amateur music clubs were greatly affected by the harsh wartime control and conditions, they did not completely lose their life force. Some clubs practiced in secrecy, while other clubs were even invited by the Japanese government to perform for radio programs in order to appease the Taiwanese people (see Wang 2002c). In some remote rural areas, clubs were also allowed to give out-door operatic performances (Chen 1999:122). Thus, as soon as the war ended in 1945, many amateur music clubs, together with the professional operatic troupes, quickly resumed their activities and flourished again. Hence the first few years after the war were often considered as the second golden period for traditional performing arts in Taiwan.

2. 1945 to 1970

The post-colonial heyday of the amateur music clubs quickly ended, however, under the authoritarian rule and the mainland-China-oriented cultural policy of the Nationalist government. As soon as the Nationalist government began its rule on Taiwan in 1945, a series of policies were implemented to resinicize the Taiwanese and to suppress the local culture. Among the most damaging of these policies was the promotion of Mandarin as *guoyu* 國語 (“national language”) and the suppression of local dialects, which began in earnest in 1946, and the economization of temple festivals beginning in 1947. Both of these policies lasted for several decades and had long-lasting negative effects on amateur music clubs. The language policy alienated the youngwe generation from their mother tongue and their native culture. Consequently, many lost their motivation to participate in amateur music clubs. The “downsizing” of temple festi-

vals further deprived the amateur music clubs of one of the most important functions of their existence.

After the Nationalist government retreated from Chinese mainland to Taiwan in 1949 after being defeated by the Chinese Communist Party, the island became the military and economic base for the state's mission to recover China. Meanwhile, it also became the "temporary" home for the two million mainlanders who followed the Nationalist government in exile. As a result, policies were implemented to propagate anti-Communist ideology and to enforce the identification with mainland China as the motherland for not only the mainlanders but also the Taiwanese. This was done through school education and through appropriating cultural and art forms as the state's propaganda tools.⁷ The indoctrination of mainland China as the lost motherland further estranged the younger generation from the native culture of the island.

After the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution in China in 1966, the Nationalist Government launched the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement in 1967 to reinforce Chinese ethics and to promote Chinese gentry culture as national culture in order to prove itself as the true guardian of Chinese culture and the legitimate ruling regime of China. The art forms promoted included *guoju* 國劇 "national opera" (namely "Peking opera"), *guoyue* 國樂 "national music" (westernized Chinese instrumental music), and *guohua* 國畫 "national painting" (brush painting). These art forms received full governmental support and were widely promoted in school and society through various campaigns (see Guy 1999 and Su 2002 for details about the promotion of Peking opera). In contrast, local Taiwanese art forms were largely ignored and marginalized.

While forging "national" culture on the one hand, the quest for modernization also led the Nationalist government to promote Western classical music on the other hand through the founding of a

7. These cultural and art forms included combat literature, patriotic songs, and local operatic genres. For a discussion on literature, see Hsiao 2000. For the state use of *budaixi* 布袋戲 (glove puppet theatre) as a propaganda tool by the state, see Chen Longting 1998.

state symphony orchestra (see Qiu 2002) and through implementing a music education that focused mainly on Western art music (see Chen Yuxiu 1998). As a result, “music” without any qualifier became synonymous with Western art music for most people in Taiwan (for similar situation in Japan and Korea, see Tokumaru 1980; Killick 2002:804).

In addition to Western art music, American popular culture and Western modernist avant-garde expressions also exerted great influence on the cultural scene in Taiwan. Due to the Nationalist government’s reliance on America as its most important foreign ally, American popular culture was extensively imported into Taiwan and became a model for the general public to emulate. Meanwhile, intellectuals and artists in Taiwan were fed up with the state’s stifling ideological control and looked to Western modernism for both escape and inspiration. All these western art forms made the musical and operatic genres practiced by amateur music clubs look all the more outdated.

Mass media, industrialization, and urbanization brought further challenges to amateur music clubs. With mass media, people no longer spent their leisure time in amateur music clubs or participated in communal activities. Moreover, industrialization and urbanization brought many youngsters to urban centers for work or study, leaving the villages inhabited mostly by the elderly, women, and small children. Thus, amateur music clubs lacked the young men needed to continue their activities.

All the above factors contributed to the decline of the amateur music clubs during this period, many of whose activities either diminished or completely stopped.

3. Since 1970

The 1970s marked an important turning point for Taiwan. Setbacks in the Republic of China’s foreign relations in the 1970s⁸

8. For example, Taiwan was forced out of the United Nations in 1971. In 1972, American President Nixon visited China and the USA-Taiwan relationship deteriorated. In the same year, Taiwan’s official diplomatic relationship with Japan was

and Chiang Kai-shek's death in 1975 brought instability to the Nationalist government and forced it to reform itself and to take a more tolerant attitude toward the Taiwanese people and culture. Intellectuals also began to reflect on the Western modernism's dominance in Taiwan and to re-examine the issue of Taiwan's political and cultural identity. A series of movements were undertaken to advocate the "return to the native" (*buigui xiangtu* 回歸鄉土) in various cultural domains (for an over-all examination, see Hsiao 1991:111-16; for literature, see Chang 1999:412-16; for music, see Zhang 1994).

In 1977, the Nationalist government's new leader, Chiang Ching-kuo 蔣經國, the son and successor of Chiang Kai-shek, announced the policy of "cultural development" (*wenbua jianshe* 文化建設) as part of his "Twelve Development Projects" (*Shi'er xiang jianshe* 十二項建設), with the specific goal to construct local cultural centers in every city and county in Taiwan. The task to implement this plan was taken up by the Ministry of Education 教育部 (hereafter the MOE). Twenty-two local cultural centers were eventually constructed, with nineteen of them completed between 1981 and 1986 and three more in the 1990s (for details, see Lü 2002:23-25).

Chiang's policy of cultural development also marked the beginning of the state intervention in traditional arts. In 1979, the Executive Yuan 行政院 announced a "Plan to Reinforce Cultural and Recreational Activities" (*Jiaqiang wenhua yule fang'an* 加強文化及育樂活動方案), and the MOE also announced the "Plan to Promote Artistic Education" (*Tuixing wenyi jiaoyu huodong fang'an* 推行文藝教育活動方案). Both plans included the goal to preserve and promote traditional arts (for details, see Zhang 1995). In 1981, the above-mentioned plan announced by the Executive Yuan led to the establishment of the Council for Cultural Planning and Development 文化建設委員會 (whose name in English was later changed to the Council for Cultural Affairs, hereafter CCA) in 1981. The same plan also led to the passing of the Cultural Property Law (*Wenhua zichan*

terminated. In 1979, Taiwan's official diplomatic relationship with USA was also terminated.

baocun fa 文化資產保存法) in 1982, which became the legal basis for the ensuing state intervention in cultural property (for details of this law, see Su 2002:217-18). Modelled after the Korean and Japanese systems, the Law included the protection of both tangible and intangible cultural property, with traditional performing arts belonging to the latter category. This Law entrusted the MOE to be in charge of the protection of traditional performing arts. The Law also stipulated the protection of traditional artists and of honoring the particularly outstanding ones as National Artists (*Guojia yishi* 國家藝師) (Chen [1981]1984:77).

To carry out its task to preserve traditional arts, the MOE first commissioned two scholars to carry out two multi-year surveys of traditional artists in Taiwan, including those genres brought from mainland China to Taiwan after 1945 and those of the local traditional arts (see Yin 1982:1).⁹ These surveys lasted from 1980 to 1990, with initial results completed in 1983 and 1984 (see Yin 1983; Lin 1984a and 1984b). Based on the results of these surveys and the recommendations of the scholars, the MOE set up the Traditional Arts Heritage Award (*Minzu yishu xinchuan jiang* 民族藝術薪傳獎, hereafter Heritage Award) in 1985, which it continued to award annually until 1994.¹⁰ In 1989, the first round of the selection of the Important Traditional Artists (*Zhongyao minzu yishi* 重要民族藝師) was held. From 1991 to 1994, the MOE implemented the “*Zhongyao minzu yishi chuanyi jihua*” 重要民族藝師傳藝計畫 (Important Traditional Artists Transmission Projects).¹¹

9. The two scholars commissioned are Lin Enxian 林恩顯, Professor of Sociology and Director of the Graduate Institute of Frontier Administration at National Chengchi University 國立政治大學邊政研究所 (the Institute was changed to the Graduate Institute of Ethnology 民族研究所 in 1990 and was enlarged into the Department of Ethnology 民族學系 in 1993), and Yin Jianzhong, 尹建中 Professor of Anthropology at the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at National Taiwan University 國立臺灣大學人類學系. For details on these two surveys, see He 1995:8.

10. For details of the setting up of the award and the selection process, see Zhou 1986 and Zheng 1986.

11. For a review of this project, see MOE 1995.

In parallel to the MOE, CCA also made efforts to promote traditional arts. These efforts included sponsoring folk arts festivals and concerts, planning several folk arts recreational parks (*minsu jiyi yuan* 民俗技藝園) in different parts of Taiwan (see Su 1998:19; Zeng 1987; Zhang 1995: 82-83), and setting up a “planning team” (*choubei xiaozu* 籌備小組) for the Center for Musical Heritage (Minzu yinyue zhongxin 民族音樂中心) within the Council in 1990.¹² Moreover, CCA also guided local cultural centers to start planning specialty museums to feature local cultural characteristics (see Su 1998:17).

Both the efforts of the MOE and CCA on traditional arts outlined above, however, could not completely shed the Nationalist ideology of taking Taiwanese culture as part of Chinese culture and of “regarding Chinese and modern refined arts as higher in level than local traditional arts” (Su 2001: 64).¹³

It was not until the lifting of martial law in 1987 that “Taiwanese consciousness” (Taiwan *yishi* 臺灣意識) came into a full bloom in Taiwan society. As a response, the state’s cultural policy also began to put increasing emphasis on local Taiwanese culture. In 1991, the MOE announced the policy to promote traditional arts in elementary and junior high schools and allocated special funding for schools to offer training courses on traditional arts as extra-curricular activities.¹⁴ In 1994, the MOE further required junior high schools to include native culture in their curriculum design (Zhang 1999: 61).

Similarly, CCA’s cultural policy also responded to the rise of

12. The Preparatory Office of the Center for Musical Heritage was eventually founded in 1999.

13. For example, the surveys of traditional artists commissioned by the MOE put much emphasis on regional genres brought by mainlanders to Taiwan; the recipients of the Heritage Award also included a substantial number of the artists of these mainland genres. Similarly, mainland genres also occupied a considerable portion of the folk arts recreational park planned by Zeng Yongyi 曾永義 under the commission of CCA (see Zeng 1987). Also see Su 2001:64.

14. For details on the regulations of this policy, see “Guomin zhongxiaoxue tuizhan yishu jiaoyu shishi yaodian” 國民中小學推展傳統藝術教育實施要點 (Implementation of the Promotion of Traditional Arts Education in Elementary and Junior High School) at <http://www.eje.ntnu.edu.tw/dta/onell/2001117151/3-13.htm>.

Taiwanese consciousness by turning toward localization and decentralization. To implement this policy, CCA reformulated its annual “Culture and Arts Festival” (Wenyi ji 文藝季) into the first “Nation-wide Culture and Art Festival” (Quanguo wenyi ji 全國文藝季) in 1994, which entrusted each local cultural center to design its own festival featuring local cultural characteristics. It is through this festival that local cultural centers became mobilized to make use of the local cultural resources and to design programs relevant to the life of their local people (for details, see Su 1998).

In 1995, after the MOE completed the above-mentioned “Important Traditional Artists Transmission Project,” CCA replaced the MOE to become the state-agency in charge of the task to preserve and promote traditional arts. In the same year, CCA launched the first full-fledged “Traditional Arts Preservation Project” (Minjian yishu baocun jihua 民間藝術保存計畫).¹⁵ In 1996 CCA founded the Preparatory Office of the National Center for Traditional Arts 國立傳統藝術中心籌備處 as one of its adjunct organizations to take charge of all matters related to traditional arts.

In 2000, after Chen Shui-bian 陳水扁 of the Democratic Progressive Party 民主進步黨 won the presidential election and terminated the fifty years of the Nationalist government’s rule on Taiwan, state cultural policy officially entered a new era with an obvious focus on local Taiwanese culture.

It is with this general background in mind that I now turn to state intervention in *nanguan*.

IV. *Nanguan*’s Privileged Position

Among the local art forms preserved and promoted by the government since 1980, *nanguan* arguably stands out as one of the most supported.¹⁶ I propose that it is *nanguan*’s high social status,

15. This project was deemed by many as the largest in scale compared with the preceding state projects on traditional arts. See, for example, Lin 1998:208.

16. For example, according to Xue Yinshu, a veteran CCA official, any proposals related to *nanguan* tend to get CCA’s funding without much difficulty (Xue 2003).

its neutral political position, and the recognition of *nanguan's* historical value by domestic and foreign scholars, that made it a “sacred cow” for governmental support.

1. High Social Status

Nanguan music clubs share most of the features of amateur music clubs described above. However, *nanguan* music clubs differ from the other amateur music clubs in the high social status it enjoyed. Such a high social status has much to do with *nanguan* music's archaic features, refined artistry, elegant and introspective style, and sophisticated music theory and rules for performance, all of which require a lifetime to master. Hence *nanguan* musicians are often regarded as cultivated people who have enough time and money to indulge themselves in the refined arts of *nanguan*.

Another reason that contributed to the high social status of *nanguan* was its legendary association with the imperial courts. According to a popular legend, five *nanguan* musicians from southern Fujian province were invited to perform for Kangxi Emperor 康熙皇帝 (1654-1722) on his 60th birthday, and the Emperor bestowed these *nanguan* musicians with the honorific title “*yuqian qingke*” 御前清客 (literally “elegant guests before the emperor”) as well as the yellow parasol and the lantern. Although this legend cannot be verified with historical evidence, it has been widely circulated among *nanguan* musicians up to this day and constitutes an important factor for the pride of *nanguan* musicians (for more details on this legend, see Chou in press).

Interestingly, this legend was also widely known among Japanese officials during the Japanese colonial period. This made *nanguan* a preferred art form to present to the Japanese imperial family during their visits to Taiwan as well as to the Japanese governor-generals and other officials stationed in Taiwan. The most famous incident was the visit of Shōwa Tennō 昭和天皇 (Shōwa emperor) to Taiwan in 1923 when he was still Prince Hirohito 裕仁太子 (see below).

Beside royal patronage, *nanguan's* high social status can also be evidenced by the privilege that *nanguan* music clubs enjoyed

during temple festivals. It has been reported that some temple gods in Tainan County 臺南縣 allegedly appeared in the dream of the *luzhu* 爐主 (the person in charge of the temple festival) to request the honor of the inclusion of *nanguan* music in the temple festival procession, and this was how several *nanguan* music clubs were started (You 1997).

Nanguan's high social status is also much related to the fact that they were usually supported and participated in by gentry. Stories abound about how people of low social status, such as professional entertainers or hairdressers, were prohibited from joining *nanguan* music clubs, and how *nanguan* musicians who taught female entertainers or the professional operatic troupes were driven out of the *nanguan* clubs they originally belonged to.

2. Neutral Political Position

Another factor that accounts for *nanguan's* favorable position in governmental funding can be attributed to its neutral position in the sense that *nanguan* is neither completely “Taiwanese” nor “Chinese”. *Nanguan* is one of the few genres that came from China and are still practiced in both regions. Moreover, *nanguan's* lyrics are sung in Quanzhou 泉州 dialect, which is quite different from the Taiwanese dialect and is still spoken now in the city of Quanzhou in mainland China. In addition, prior to 1949, the *nanguan* music circle in Taiwan had always maintained continuous contact with the *nanguan* music circle in southern Fujian. Many *nanguan* music clubs in Taiwan were taught by *nanguan* musicians that came from Quanzhou or Amoy (known as Xiamen 廈門 in China). Therefore, they inherited the repertoire and the performance style of the *nanguan* music in southern Fujian. Furthermore, because of the close connection between Taipei and Amoy during the Japanese colonial period, there were even formal ties that existed between some *nanguan* music clubs in these two cities; for example, Jixian tang 集絃堂 and Qinghua ge 清華閣 of Taipei were the sibling clubs of Ji'an tang 集安堂 and Jinhua ge 錦華閣 in Amoy respectively. As mentioned before, sibling clubs had the obligation to assist one another when occasions of need arised. Thus, when Jixian tang was invited to per-

form for Shôwa Tennô in 1923, Ji'an tang sent several leading musicians from Amoy to Taiwan to help them out. This was a good example of the close ties among the sibling clubs between Amoy and Taipei.¹⁷

Nanguan was also one of the few musical genres that the mainlanders who followed the Nationalist government to Taiwan in the 1940s could share with local Taiwanese musicians. A good example can be found in the case of Taipei Minnan yuefu 臺北閩南樂府, which was formed mainly by Fujianese who migrated to Taiwan after 1945 but was also participated in by local Taiwanese musicians (for more, see Wang 1997; Chou in press).

Despite its close links with mainland China, however, *nanguan* is also typically Taiwanese because it is the oldest genre that was widely popular in Taiwan. One could even argue that *nanguan* in Taiwan has already developed its own unique style and tradition which distinguish it from the *nanguan* in mainland China. This is due in part to the fact that Taiwan has more or less kept the style transmitted to Taiwan before 1949, while the *nanguan* in mainland China had undergone drastic changes under the influence of the Chinese Communist Party's proletarian policy toward the arts.¹⁸

3. Recognition by Domestic and Foreign Scholars

Among the various musical and operatic genres in Taiwan, *nanguan* was one of the first to receive the attention of foreign scholars for its historical value. As early as 1922, Tanabe Hisao 田邊尚雄, the first Japanese musicologist to do fieldwork on music in Taiwan, already proclaimed *nanguan's* close resemblance to Japanese court music (Society for Research in Asiatic Music 1968: 184). Beginning in 1950s, several American and British scholars collected *nanguan* materials and expressed high respect for *nanguan's* artistic and his-

17. For more on the links between the *nanguan* clubs in Taiwan and southern Fujian, see Wang 1995.

18. For more on the art policy in China, see Yang Mu's article in this volume; for *nanguan's* changes under the influence of the cultural policy in China, see Wang 1995.

torical value (see Huang 1981:130-31). For example, after listening to the recordings of *nanguan* music, American composer Alan Hovhaness wrote an article that extolled *nanguan* to be the remnant of the music of the Tang dynasty and praised its compositional techniques as even more modern than the 20th-century Western contemporary music (Yu 1981:83). In 1969, American ethnomusicologist Fred Lieberman recorded *nanguan* music performed by Taipei Minnan yuefu and later released it as part of *An Anthology of the World's Music* issued by a foreign label (Lieberman 1971). This was the first record of Taiwan's *nanguan* music issued by a foreign record company.

Domestic scholars also began to patronize *nanguan* as early as the 1950's. For example, *nanguan* musicians were invited to perform and teach at National Taiwan Normal University 國立臺灣師範大學 and Soochow University 東吳大學 in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1960s and 1970s, Liang Tsai-ping 梁在平, the then president of the Society for Chinese Music (Zhonghua guoyue hui 中華國樂會),¹⁹ organized several concert opportunities for *nanguan* clubs, made arrangement for Lieberman's recording, and introduced *nanguan* music to several other foreign scholars (for more, see Liang 1983; Huang 1981:131; TCB 2002a:104-05). Meanwhile, several other domestic scholars wrote about the historical value of *nanguan* (see Schipper and Hsu 1983:51; Huang 1981:131-32).

Starting in the mid-1970s, with the rise of the "return to the native" movement among the intellectuals, scholars and social elites began to carry out activities to preserve and promote folk arts. With its unique social and political position, *nanguan* naturally became one of the first objects of such salvaging efforts. These efforts included fieldwork investigation on *nanguan* clubs, publication of indices of *nanguan* manuscripts, presentation of *nanguan* in folk arts concerts and festivals held domestically, and presentation of *nanguan* in

19. Liang Tsai-ping had been the president of the society from 1954 to 1979. The society later changed its Chinese name to Zhonghua minguo guoyue xuehui 中華民國國樂學會 (Society for Chinese Music in R.O.C.) in 1982. For more, see society's website at <http://www.scm.org.tw/htm/introduce.htm>.

international conferences and concert tours held abroad. Most of the initiatives and funding of these activities came from scholars and social elites.

Particularly active was composer and ethnomusicologist Hsu Tsang-houei 許常惠, who played a vital role in pioneering scholarly intervention in *nanguan*. From 1976 to 1982, he made a series of promotional and research activities on *nanguan*.²⁰ Most importantly, Hsu presented *nanguan* concerts by Tainan Nansheng she 臺南南聲社 in Korea and Japan, which marked *nanguan*'s first live performance in foreign countries outside of Southeast Asia, where many *nanguan* groups existed. In the same year, Hsu led a research team to carry out the first in-depth documentation of the history of *nanguan* clubs and musicians in Lukang. In 1981, Hsu organized the first conference on *nanguan*, which established *nanguan*'s historical value in Taiwan.

The *nanguan* groups patronized by Hsu and other scholars during this period included Taipei Minnan Yuefu, Tainan Nansheng She, and the two veteran *nanguan* groups in Lukang, namely Lukang Yazheng zhai 鹿港雅正齋 and Lukang Juying she (mentioned above).

Beside the patronage by domestic scholars, Tainan Nansheng she's concert tour in Europe in 1982 further established *nanguan*'s academic value internationally. Arranged by Kristofer Schipper, a

20. Hsu presented Taipei Minnan yuefu in the Asian Composers' League 亞洲作曲家聯盟 held in Taipei in 1976, invited Lukang Juying she to perform in the first Folk Artists Concert (Minjian yueren yinyue hui 民間樂人音樂會) he organized in 1977, and carried out fieldwork on *nanguan* clubs in Lukang in 1978. After Hsu founded Chinese Folk Arts Foundation in 1979, he organized a research team to carry out a project to document the history of *nanguan* clubs in Lukang, investigated and made sound recordings of Tainan Nansheng she, and took Tainan Nansheng she to perform in the Asian Composers' League held in Korea, followed by a concert tour in Japan. In 1981, Hsu organized the first conference on *nanguan*. In April 1982, Hsu organized a lecture-concert tour of *nanguan* on the island as the 21st Folk Artists Concert, in which Kimlan langjun she (金蘭郎君社) of the Philippines performed with *nanguan* groups in Hsinchu 新竹, Lukang, Tainan, Kaohsiung 高雄, and Taipei. For details, see TCB 2002a and Chinese Folk Arts Foundation 1989:46-52.

sinologist and Taoist specialist then based in France, Tainan Nansheng she toured Europe for twenty-five days, giving concerts in five countries, including an all-night concert (from 10 p.m., Oct. 22, to 6 a.m., Oct. 23) at Radio France with simultaneous broadcast all over Europe, as well as a five-hour seminar on Oct. 25. The three-week tour was so unexpectedly well-received that, according to Schipper, “*nanguan* conquered the hearts of the European music lovers” (Schipper and Hsu 1983:53). The impact of the 1982 tour cannot be overestimated. Its success made *nanguan* an overnight star on Taiwan.²¹ The success of the 1982 tour, coinciding with the government’s new policy to promote local culture, marked the beginning of the government’s involvement in *nanguan* activities for the past two decade.

V. State Intervention in Nanguan

In the following section, I will examine the past two decades of state intervention within four stages: 1980-1984, 1985-1989, 1990-1994, and 1995-2003. Each stage was marked by the beginning of new modes of state intervention in *nanguan* and traditional arts. Some activities held within one period might have extended to the next. Hence, I make the following periodization mainly to delineate general trends of development, and it should not be taken as clear-cut demarcation.

1.1980-1984

During this first stage, although promotion of traditional arts relied mostly on the initiatives of scholars and social elites, state agencies began to take more active steps to preserve traditional arts

21. From Dec. 15 to 28, 1982, the China Broadcasting Corporation 中國廣播公司 (a governmental radio station) produced a series of programs introducing *nanguan*. Meanwhile, newspapers reported the success of the tour and the significance of *nanguan*. On Dec. 28, Tainan Nansheng she performed as part of a public concert in Taipei. Thus, “from October to December, from Europe to Taiwan, *nanguan* enjoyed the greatest attention it has ever received” (Lü 1986:119).

through documentation and through presentation in folk arts festivals.

1) Surveys of Traditional Arts Commissioned by the Ministry of Education

The above-mentioned two surveys commissioned by the MOE contained some documentation about the state of *nanguan* music in several counties in Taiwan and the names and contact means of dozens of *nanguan* musicians, as well as some life histories of a few *nanguan* musicians.²² In 1984, Taiwan Provincial Government 臺灣省政府 also commissioned National Taiwan Academy of the Arts 國立臺灣藝術專科學校 to conduct a survey on local traditional arts, and the result contained some short introductions to several *nanguan* musicians (National Taiwan Academy of the Arts 1984:26-35). Although these surveys were superficial and contained obvious errors, they were the first island-wide surveys on *nanguan* and other traditional arts and provided information which would have otherwise been lost. While these surveys have mostly been neglected by scholars, they deserved much more attention.

2) Folk Theatre Festival Sponsored by the Council for Cultural Affairs

In parallel to MOE's efforts, CCA sponsored a large-scale folk arts festival entitled "Folk Theatre" (Minjian juchang 民間劇場) as part of its annual "Culture and Arts Festival" (Wenyi ji 文藝季). This "Folk Theatre" festival took place from 1982 to 1986, and *nanguan* was presented every year except for 1983.²³

A review of the *nanguan* groups presented in this festival shows that even though *nanguan* was featured almost every year,

22. See Yin 1982:passim; Yin 1983:29, 195-96; Lin 1984a: passim; Yin 1988:127-42; Yin 1989:633-37.

23. The *nanguan* clubs presented included: Minnan yuefu (Taipei), Yazheng zhai (Lukang), and Nansheng she (Tainan) in 1982; Nansheng she (Tainan) in 1984; Minnan yuefu (Taipei) in 1985; Huasheng she 華聲社 (Taipei) and Hele she (Kaohsiung) 和樂社 in 1986.

the *nanguan* clubs presented were limited to only five clubs, with the first few years concentrated on the *nanguan* clubs already promoted and researched by Hsu Tsang-houei in the late 1970s (see above). It was only in 1986 that two additional *nanguan* clubs were presented. This is not surprising since these festivals were organized by scholars closely associated with Hsu Tsang-houei and the Chinese Folk Arts Foundation 中華民俗藝術基金會 that he founded in 1979. Hence they foreshadowed the tendency for the state resources to be concentrated on the few *nanguan* clubs patronized by these scholars.

Beside state-level agencies, city and county level governments also held similar documentation and promotional activities, although on a smaller scale.²⁴

2.1985-1989

After 1985, documentation and promotional activities of *nanguan* continued. Meanwhile, new forms of intervention which awarded both national recognition and financial gains began to emerge during this period. These included the holding of the Heritage Award, the appointment of the Important Traditional Artists, and the revitalization of old *nanguan* clubs, and the patronage for new *nanguan* groups.

1) Heritage Award

As mentioned above, the Heritage Award set up by the MOE was held from 1985 to 1994. In its first few years, the awardees only received the honor without a monetary prize; in the latter years, each awardee was given an honorarium of NT\$50,000 (Li 1997:61; Yin 1991:6).²⁵

24. For example, *nanguan* was presented in the music festival held in Taipei in 1980 (TCB 2002a:106). In 1984, Changhua County Government commissioned Hsu Tsang-houei to carry out a one-year survey of folk arts in the county, including its *nanguan* clubs (Chinese Folk Arts Foundation 1999:30-35).

25. The exchange rate between US and New Taiwan dollars from 1990 to 1994 averaged around US\$1=NT\$26 (see Guo 2002).

Among the 132 individuals and 42 groups who received the award, six *nanguan* groups and six *nanguan* musicians were awarded in the category of traditional music and narrative singing, and two *nanguan* opera performers were awarded in the category of traditional opera.²⁶

From the *nanguan* groups and musicians and opera performers awarded, we can make the following observations:

- i. Among the six *nanguan* musicians and two *nanguan* opera performers awarded, only three of them were born in Taiwan. This was in stark contrast to the other awardees of the other local genres, who were all born in Taiwan. This reflects the ambiguous identity of *nanguan* as neither completely Taiwanese nor completely mainland Chinese, as mentioned above.
- ii. All of the six *nanguan* musicians awarded were active in Taipei (except for Lao Hong-gio 劉鴻溝, who lived in the Philippines). Thus we see a concentration of state resources

26. The *nanguan* musicians and music clubs that received the Heritage Award include the following: 1985: Nansheng she (*nanguan* club in Tainan, founded around 1910); 1986: Yazheng zhai, Juying she (*nanguan* clubs in Lukang, with the former founded around mid-18th century and the latter in the late 19th century); 1987: Yu Chengyao 余承堯 (*nanguan* musician, 1898-1993, who was born in southern Fujian and moved to Taipei after 1945), Li Xiangshi 李祥石 (*nanguan* opera performer, 1911-2003, who was born in southern Fujian and had been living in the Philippines until he moved to Taiwan in the 1980s); 1988: Huasheng nanyue she 華聲南樂社 (*nanguan* group in Taipei, founded in 1985 by Wu Kunren 吳昆仁), Wu Suxia 吳素霞 (*nanguan* opera performer and veteran *nanguan* musician, born in 1940s, active in Taichung 臺中 area in mid-Taiwan); 1989: Tsai Tianmu 蔡添木 (*nanguan* musician, 1913- , born in Taiwan, active in Taipei area); 1990 : Wu Kunren (*nanguan* musician, 1917- , born in Taiwan, founder of Huasheng Nanyue she, active in Taipei area); 1990: Cheng Shujian 鄭叔簡 (*nanguan* musician, 1918- , born in southern Fujian and moved to Taiwan after 1945, active in Taipei area); 1991: Lao Hong-gio 劉鴻溝 (*nanguan* musician, 1907-2000, who was born in southern Fujian and lived in the Philippines); 1992: Hantang yuefu 漢唐樂府 (*nanguan* group in Taipei, founded in 1983 by Chen Mei'e 陳美娥); 1993: Minnan yuefu (*nanguan* club in Taipei, founded in 1961, mainly consisting of musicians who moved to Taiwan after 1945); 1994: You Qifen 尤奇芬 (*nanguan* musician, 1924-1999, born in southern Fujian and moved to Taiwan after 1945).

in the Taipei, where the state government is located.

- iii. Among the six *nanguan* groups awarded, four of them were presented or researched by Hsu Tsang-houei in the late 1970s, as mentioned above.²⁷ Thus we see an example of how scholarly patronage had important influence on the distribution of state resources on *nanguan* groups.
- iv. The other two groups, Huasheng she and Hantang yuefu 漢唐樂府, were all very young groups, with the former founded in 1986 and the latter in 1983. In addition, Huasheng she 華聲社 and its founder Wu Kunren 吳昆仁 were both awarded (with the group awarded in 1988 and Wu himself in 1990). This indicates the rising status of these two new groups (see below).

Since the MOE stipulated that the candidates for the Heritage Award must be nominated by only certain qualified organizations, this award not only created a sense of competition among musicians and groups but also enhanced the reliance of musicians on scholars or other cultural bureaucrats as their mediators and patrons.²⁸ Qiu Kunliang 邱坤良 also observed how this award became a mere formality (Qiu 1997a:238-41). The Heritage Award was finally terminated after 1994 and was replaced by a similar award held by a private foundation.²⁹

27. Again, this refers to Yazheng zhai and Juying she in Lukang, Nansheng she in Tainan, and Minnan yuefu in Taipei.

28. I myself was asked by a *nanguan* musician to recommend him in this award. Li Xiu'e 李秀娥 (1997:61) also reported that it was Hsu Tsang-houei who helped Yazheng zhai get the Heritage Award, but this prompted Juying she (which has been Yazheng zhai's rivalry) to find ways to get the award as well; in the end both groups were awarded in the same year.

29. This is the Global Chinese Culture and Arts Award 全球中華文化藝術薪傳獎 organized by the Republic of China Jaycees Club 中國民國資深青商總會. This award was originally started in 1993 and was entitled Ten Outstanding Youth Heritage Award 十大傑出青年薪傳獎. In 1995, it was renamed The Third Outstanding Chinese Culture and Arts Award 第三屆傑出中華文化藝術獎. In 1996, it was expanded to accept candidates from the Chinese diaspora (including mainland China) and was renamed The Fourth Global Chinese Culture and Arts Award 第四屆全球中華文化藝術薪傳獎. This award has continued up to the time of this

Even though the Heritage Award was terminated in 1995, it continued to function as an important credit for its recipients to get social recognition as well as governmental patronage. Meanwhile, governmental funding on artists often used this award to determine the grading of artists in terms of their hourly payment and future prospects for gaining governmental funding.³⁰

2) Important Traditional Artists

In 1989, the MOE held its first election of the Important Traditional Artists. This represented the highest honor for traditional artists and included monthly salaries for the awardees as well as training projects initiated and fully funded by the Ministry. Only six artists were elected, including Li Xiangshi 李祥石 the veteran *nanguan* opera teacher who had received the Heritage Award in 1987. No *nanguan* musicians were awarded, however.

From 1991 to 1994, the MOE implemented the transmission projects for these Important Traditional Artists, but only limited results were achieved due to the difficulty in procuring serious students and to the old age of the artists (see MOE 1995 for a review of the award and the projects).

The election of Important Traditional Artists was held again in 1997, but this time the artists only received a plaque as a token of honor. Again, no *nanguan* musicians were elected.

writing. 128 people had received this award up to the year 2002. Starting in 1996, this award has received funding from various organizations, including governmental agencies such as MOE and CCA. For details, see <http://www.abridge.com.tw/myway/my-5g-593.htm>. Two *nanguan* musicians have received this award, including Chen Mei'e in 1997 and Wu Suxia in 1999 (TCB 2002a:110-11). Both of them also received the Heritage Award offered by the MOE (see above).

30. It should be added that when the Taiwan Provincial Government established its Cultural Division 文化處 in 1998, it also set up an award for traditional artists entitled the Folk Arts Lifetime Achievement Award 民俗技藝終身成就獎. Two veteran *nanguan* musicians, Zhang Hongming 張鴻明 and Zhang Zaiyin 張再隱, received this award (TCB 2002a: 110). This award, however, was quickly terminated due to the abolishment of the Taiwan Provincial Government in 1999.

3) Revitalizing Veteran *Nanguan* Clubs

In 1985, the CCA commissioned the Chinese Folk Arts Foundation to carry out the first state-funded project to help revitalize Lukang Yazheng zhai, the oldest remaining *nanguan* club in Taiwan. The actual steps taken included making recordings, compiling the club's manuscripts, reviving the clubs' regular rehearsals, and recruiting new students for the club. Despite the original long-term plan, however, this project only lasted for one year, from January to December, 1985 (for details, see Chinese Folk Arts Foundation 1989:18; 1999:44-45; Lin 1986).

4) Patronizing new groups: Hantang yuefu and Huasheng she

In contrast to this short-lived project to revitalize old *nanguan* clubs, two newly founded *nanguan* groups, namely Hantang yuefu (here after HTYF) and Huasheng she, were gaining increasing state patronage during this period. Both groups started out as one-man companies, with the former founded by a young, ambitious female musician, Chen Mei'e 陳美娥 (1954-)³¹ in 1983, and the latter by an old veteran *nanguan* musician, Wu Kunren (1917-),³² in 1986. Located in Taipei, both groups succeeded in building connections with scholars and governmental officials and subsequently rose to stardom in a short time. HTYF specialized in presenting nicely packaged *nanguan* concerts and in making concert tours abroad.³³

31. Chen began to study *nanguan* at Tainan Nansheng she in the 1970s and participated in the club's 1982 concert tour in Europe. After coming back from Europe, Chen left Tainan Nansheng she and founded her own group in Taipei at the age of 29. Chen's action caused much controversy among *nanguan* practitioners, especially since it was unprecedented for a *nanguan* club to be founded by a female musician.

32. Wu began to study *nanguan* at the age of fourteen (1931), started to teach in *nanguan* clubs when he was seventeen (1934), and had been performing and teaching *nanguan* in different parts of Taiwan until the early 1980s (Lin 2002).

33. HTYF's first foreign concert tour took place in the United States in 1986. Under the arrangement of Wang Ch'iu-kui 王秋桂 (a professor), the group performed in Chinoperl conference in Chicago and in leading universities, including Harvard University, University of Pittsburgh, University of Pennsylvania, Princeton University, Yale University, University of Washington, University of California at Los

HTYF's funding mainly came from CCA, most likely because HTYF's nicely packaged *nanguan* concerts fit well with CCA's goal to promote "high arts" (jingzhi yishu 精緻藝術).³⁴ Wu Kunren pioneered in getting funding from the MOE to offer *nanguan* training courses in various venues.³⁵ Patronized first by Hsu Tsang-houei and later also by Taipei Municipal Chinese Orchestra 臺北市立國樂團 (where Wu taught *nanguan* from 1988 to 1990), Wu also gained access to many other state resources.³⁶ Wu's privileged position in state-sponsored projects culminated in 1991 when he was recommended by Hsu Tsang-houei to take charge of organizing the *nanguan* performance

Angeles, and University of Hawaii (TCB 2002c: 188-89). Subsequently the group has been making annual concert tours in different parts of the world. It also performed frequently in Taiwan under the sponsorship of various cultural institutions. For a detailed list of their concerts held domestically and internationally from 1983 to 2000, see TCB 2002c: 188-208. For an account of the group's initial concert tours, see Wang Ch'iu-kui's recollection (2002). I'm grateful to Wang Ch'iu-kui for providing me with this unpublished manuscript of his.

34. This is based on the observations made by Xue Yinshu, a veteran CCA official (Xue 2003).

35. Starting in 1983, Wu was invited by Hsu Tsang-houei to offer *nanguan* courses to graduate students at National Taiwan Normal University 國立臺灣師範大學 (NTNU). In 1985, the MOE commissioned NTNU to offer summer courses on traditional arts for school teachers, and Wu was invited by Hsu to teach. In 1987, Wu applied for funding from the MOE to hold training courses in his group and was granted NT\$1,967,000 for the first year. Although the first-year training course turned out to be a total failure, with only one student left at the end of the course, Wu managed to get continual subsidy from the state to hold training courses in his group up to this time of writing, albeit with decreasing amount of subsidy each year. Beside offering state-funded training courses in his own group, Wu also began to teach *nanguan* in state-run institutions, including the Social Education Center Yanping Division 社教館延平分館 from 1987 to the 1990s, and the Taipei Municipal Chinese Orchestra from 1988 to 1990. For details, see Lin 2002.

36. For example, Wu's group, Huasheng she, began to be presented in TMCO's Taipei Traditional Arts Festival 臺北市傳統藝術季 in 1988. Later TMCO further provided Wu with resources to host a Southeast Asia *Nanguan* Gala Concert (entitled "Nantian guanyue shengge — Dongnanya *nanguan* huiyan" 南天管樂昇歌——東南亞南管匯演) as part of its TTA Festival in 1990, during which four *nanguan* groups from Hong Kong, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Singapore were invited to Taiwan to perform with Huasheng she and Lukang Yazheng zhai.

to be presented at the Second Presidential Hall Concert 總統府音樂會.

It is interesting to note that both Chen Mei'e and Wu Kunren participated in Tainan Nansheng she's concert tour in Europe in 1982. It was after this concert tour that Chen left Tainan Nansheng she to start her own group in Taipei in order to realize her aim to revitalize *nanguan* and to prove the historical value of *nanguan*. It was also after this concert tour that Wu started his connection with Hsu Tsang-houei and the scholarly world, which eventually led to his active involvement in the cultural politics of *nanguan*. Thus we see the important role of Tainan Nansheng she's concert tour in Europe in promulgating scholarly and governmental intervention in *nanguan* and in fostering *nanguan* musicians' self-consciousness about the value of *nanguan* as a cultural heritage. It also shows again the important role played by scholars as mediators between musicians and the state during this period.

3.1990-1994

In the first half of 1990s, with the rise of "Taiwan consciousness", state intervention in *nanguan* also entered a new phase. The modes of intervention during this period included state-funded training courses, audio-visual documentation of *nanguan*, and the holding of 1994 *Nanguan* Art Festival by Changhuaxian wenhua zhongxin 彰化縣立文化中心 (Changhua County Cultural Center).

1) State-funded *Nanguan* Training Courses

First of all, MOE's 1991 policy to promote traditional arts education in elementary and junior high schools resulted in a proliferation of *nanguan* training courses offered in public schools as extra-curricular activities.³⁷ Since the MOE allocated special budgets to cover the tuitions and the costs of the instruments, it became the major financial source for these training courses, and musicians usually got paid for their teaching.

37. For the policy, see above. See Chen 1994 for a list of *nanguan* training courses offered during this time.

Beside public schools, *nanguan* groups also began to follow Wu Kunren's example to apply for state funding for offering *nanguan* training courses.³⁸ In addition, state orchestras also began to emulate the efforts of Taipei Municipal Chinese Orchestra to offer *nanguan* training courses to their members and to the common public.³⁹

Although these training courses did provide *nanguan* with more chances of exposure on a grass-root level and even cultivated some potential *nanguan* performers or appreciators, they also created disputes among *nanguan* musicians over which group or which musicians would teach, and how much they would be paid. Furthermore, much dispute centered on the teaching method. While veteran musicians tended to follow the traditional method of oral transmission, which took a long time to master a piece, younger musicians usually had better communication with the students and also tended to use some new teaching methods, such as teaching the students how to read traditional *nanguan* notation, and some even resorted to the use of cipher or staff notation. Consequently younger musicians often became more popular among students than veteran musicians even if their artistry might be lower than the veteran ones, and this often created tension among younger and veteran musicians.

2) Audio-visual Documentation of *Nanguan*

During this period, state agencies began to commission the production of audio-visual documentation of *nanguan* for the sake of

38. For example, Taipei Minnan yuefu also applied for subsidy from the CCA to start training courses in its club in 1992.

39. For example, Kaohsiung Municipal Chinese Orchestra 高雄市立國樂團 set up a *nanguan* group in 1993 and began to offer *nanguan* training courses not only to their members but also to the public. Meanwhile, Taiwan Provincial Symphony Orchestra 臺灣省立交響樂團 initiated a "*Nanguan yizhi jihua*" 南管移植計畫 (*Nanguan* Transplantation Project) in 1992, in which musicians of Yazheng zhai were invited to offer *nanguan* training courses in Lugu 鹿谷, a place in the high mountains of mid-Taiwan where there used to be no *nanguan* tradition.

preservation and promotion.⁴⁰ Most of these recording projects featured either HTYF or Huasheng she, another evidence of the popularity of these two new star groups. One of the rare exceptions was the CD-book of *nanguan* songs which I produced under the commission of the CCA. This project was the first large-scale *nanguan* recording project commissioned by the state. In order to avoid focusing on the few star groups, I invited thirteen singers representing nine different *nanguan* clubs to make recordings of their representative pieces.⁴¹ Due to the old age of most singers recorded, however, many of the recordings had poor vocal quality, and, in the end, only seven songs were selected by a reviewing committee,⁴² with only four *nanguan* clubs represented.⁴³ And even the ones included in the final product already showed deterioration in their vocal quality.

40. These include the CD of *nanguan* wedding music performed by Wu Kunren's group and produced by CCA in the early 1990s, the set of CD-book of *nanguan* songs produced by me for CCA and released in 1997, and the CD-book on the appreciation of *nanguan* performed by HTYF and produced by the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Headquarter 中華文化復興總會 in 1994. Beside these, the transplanation project sponsored by the Taiwan Provincial Symphony Orchestra also produced a set of CD and book as teaching materials, performed by HTYF and released in 1994. Huasheng she also issued a set of four CDs under the sponsorship of Taipei Municipal Chinese Orchestra. Furthermore, Hsu Tsang-houei was commissioned by Taiwan Provincial Government to produce a videotape introducing *nanguan* in 1994.

41. The groups that were recorded included Taipei Minnan yuefu, Huasheng she, Kinmen Wujiang nanyue she 金門浯江南樂社, HTYF, Lujin zhai 鹿津齋 in Taipei; Qingya yuefu 清雅樂府 and Hehe yiyuan 合和藝苑 in Taichung County; Yazheng zhai in Lukang; and Tainnan Nansheng she in Tainan. Moreover, musicians from Chiayi 嘉義 and Kaohsiung also participated. For some groups, more than one singer in each group recorded their singing in this project. Hence altogether thirteen singers were recorded.

42. The committee was made up of Shen Xueyong 申學庸 (the then director of CCA), Lü Chuikuan (the advisor for the recording project), and myself. The selection was mainly based on the vocal quality of the singers, the importance and rarity of the songs recorded, and the consideration to include both female and male singers in order to show the differences in their singing styles.

43. These are Huasheng she, HTYF, Taipei Minnan yuefu, and Tainnan Nansheng she, with Tainnan Nansheng she occupying the highest percentage (see Wang 1997).

Hence, it is no wonder that the musicians wished that the project had been undertaken ten years earlier. The project also revealed the fact that most veteran *nanguan* singers were getting old, and few younger singers were ready to succeed them. This in turn implies that the scholarly and governmental efforts to promote and revitalize *nanguan* since the 1970s had achieved limited results in preserving the performance quality of *nanguan* clubs either through documenting the veteran musicians or through training younger ones. One also has to admit that this recording project inevitably added to the sense of competition felt among the musicians, especially regarding which singers and which groups would be chosen to be included in the final product.

3) The 1994 *Nanguan* Art Festival

The sense of competition among musicians was most clearly manifested during the first *nanguan* art festival organized in 1994 by Changhua County Cultural Center 彰化縣立文化中心 (whose name was later changed to Changhua County Cultural Bureau [Changhua wenhua ju 彰化文化局], hereafter CCCB). This festival was part of CCA's first "Nation-wide Culture and Arts Festival", which, as mentioned above, was the first time when local cultural centers were asked to design their own art festival with themes that could reflect local cultural characteristics.

The planning of the CCCB's *Nanguan* Art Festival was undertaken in July 1993, and involved not only the staff of CCCB, but also local cultural workers and *nanguan* musicians as well as scholars. The festival began in January 1994 and lasted for about three months. It consisted of a series of educational and promotional activities, culminating in a two-day out-door gala performance by *nanguan* clubs from all over Taiwan on March 26 and 27, and a *nanguan* conference on March 28 and 29, which I was commissioned to organize with assistance from CCCB.

During the preparation and the actual implementation of the festival, the staff at CCCB encountered many difficulties dealing with the *nanguan* clubs, especially the three local ones in Lukang. Most of the difficulties lay in the issue of "which club to feature in a cer-

tain activity,” an issue that created much dispute and tension among the local *nanguan* clubs as well as between *nanguan* musicians and the staff of CCCB.

Such dispute and tension were brought to the foreground in the round-table discussion which I organized as the last session of the *nanguan* conference and which also marked the end of the festival. In this session, entitled “The Continuity of *Nanguan* in Contemporary Society,” I invited many musicians and public school teachers that had been involved in *nanguan* training courses to openly discuss the problems they encountered. Most of the participants were able to express their feelings rather unreservedly. Most of the opinions expressed were negative, ranging from criticisms about other musicians or clubs, about the CCCB’s inviting musicians from other parts of Taiwan to teach the training course in the festival, about the unfairness in governmental subsidy of different *nanguan* clubs, about scholars who “exploited” *nanguan* by using it as a stepping stone for personal gain without having true love for *nanguan*, and about the deterioration of the human relationships and the tradition of etiquette among *nanguan* clubs. In addition to the musicians, the director of CCCB also candidly expressed the tremendous difficulties, frustration, and pressure that she and her staff encountered during the planning and implementation of the festival.⁴⁴

This round-table session was unprecedented in *nanguan* history in that never before had *nanguan* musicians had such an official occasion to openly voice their feelings towards other musicians and toward scholars and governmental officials. It also marked the beginning of *nanguan* musicians’ speaking up for themselves instead of relying on scholars as their mediators and brokers. This trend became even more evident in the fourth stage of state intervention.

44. The content of the round-table discussion was faithfully transcribed and published in the conference proceedings (Wang 1994), with the hope that it would provide a documentation of this historic event as well as a testimony to the many problems created by scholarly and state intervention in *nanguan* since the late 1970s. This conference was described in detail by Chou (in press).

4.1995-2003

Regrettably, the problems exposed by the 1994 *nanguan* art festival in Changhua did not seem to have been heeded by the central government. Instead, state intervention increased to an unprecedented level in the second half of the 1990s due to the establishment of several large-scale state projects and institutions as well as the increasing efforts by local cultural centers and public schools to promote *nanguan*. These efforts can be largely grouped into three categories: intervention from the central government represented by CCA and its adjunct organizations, intervention from local cultural centers, and intervention through school education and social education. In the following I will discuss these categories and point out their problems and their effects on *nanguan*.

It should be noted that, during this period, *nanguan* opera has been gaining increasing support from the state, and several *nanguan* groups are expanding their activities to include both *nanguan* music and opera. Hence the following discussion will include not only projects on *nanguan* music but also those on *nanguan* opera.

1) Intervention from Central Government Represented by Council for Cultural Affairs and Its Adjunct Organizations

i. The Folk Arts Preservation and Transmission Project of the National Center for Traditional Arts

In 1995, CCA launched a “Folk Arts Preservation Project” to document dying traditional art forms. After the Preparatory Office of National Center of Traditional Arts (hereafter NCTA), an adjunct organization of CCA, was founded in 1996, it took over the above project and expanded its scope to include both preservation and transmission, hence the new title “Minjian yishu baocun chuanxi jihua” 民間藝術保存傳習計畫 (Folk Arts Preservation and Transmission Project, hereafter FAPT Project). After the first term of the project was over in 1998, NCTA launched the second term of the project, which lasted until 2003 (Huang 2001a:41). The total budget

for the FAPT Project is over NT\$300 million⁴⁵ (Lü 2002:28; also confirmed by Huang 2003) and was meant to fund scholars or artists to carry out projects in three categories: preservation, transmission, and investigation.⁴⁶

In the last eight years, ten *nanguan* projects have been commissioned by FAPT Project, with four to transmit *nanguan* opera, three to transmit *nanguan* music, two to preserve *nanguan* music, and one to investigate *nanguan* music in southern Taiwan. In addition, Changhua County Cultural Bureau (CCCB) was commissioned to simultaneously transmit both *nanguan* music and opera in addition to *beiguan* music and opera. Most of these projects lasted for more than one year. The total funding for the above projects approximates NT\$53 million, with the funding for each project ranging from NT\$0.4 million to NT\$17 million. If we discount the *beiguan* portion from the CCCB project, the total funding for *nanguan* music and opera projects approximates NT\$47 million (see Table 1).⁴⁷

45. The exchange rate between US and NT dollars from 1998 to 2002 averaged around US\$1=NT\$33 (see Guo 2002).

46. The call for proposals for the FAPT Project was announced once every year. After the proposals had been received, a reviewing committee consisting of scholars was formed, and it held a meeting to select the projects to be commissioned. For projects in the conservation and investigation categories, there would be a mid-term review and a final review. During such reviews, the project leaders had to submit written reports and to present the progress and result orally. Each project would be reviewed by a committee, whose membership might or might not coincide with that of the committee that selected the proposal of the project. For transmission projects, scholars and NCTA staff members would be sent to visit the projects on site to check on their mid-term progress and their final presentations through actual performances.

47. I am grateful to the NCTA staff for providing me with the data about the amount of funding for each project. Since this information was not openly announced by NCTA, the funding is not shown in Table 1. A comprehensive list of the projects funded by FAPT Projects from 1997 to 2001, albeit without details of the funding, can be found in Huang (2001a).

Table 1: *Nanguan* Projects funded by NCTA's FAPT Project

Category	Object	Group (Year Founded)	Year Funded*	Total
Transmission	Opera	Qingya yuefu 清雅樂府 (1953)	1997-1999	3 year
Transmission	Opera	HTYF (1983)	1997-1999	3 year
Transmission	Opera	Gang-a-tsui juchang <i>nanguan</i> yuefu 江之翠劇場南管樂府 (1993)	1997-2001, 2003	6 years
Transmission	Opera	Hehe yiyuan 合和藝苑 (1999)*	2000-2003	4 years
Transmission	Music	Huasheng she (1986)	1997-1998	2 years
Transmission	Music	Zhonghua xianguan yuetuan 中華絃管樂團 (1986)***		
Transmission	Music/ Opera	CCCC's training courses	1997-2003	7 years
Transmission	Music	Tainan Nansheng she (around 1910)	1998, 2002-2003	3 years
Preservation	Music	Tainan Nansheng she (around 1910)	2003	1 year
Preservation	Music	Lukang Yazheng zhai (mid-18 th C.)	1998	1 year
Investigation	Survey of <i>Nanguan</i> in Southern Taiwan	Lin Poji 林珀姬 (a researcher)	1998	1 year

*This is based on the governmental fiscal year.

**Although Hehe yiyuan was officially founded in 1999, it already started its activity in 1993.

***Although Zhonghua xianguan yuetuan was officially founded in 1986, it already started its activity in 1984 and its precursor was Zhonghua *nanguan* yanjiushe 中華南管研究社 founded in 1971.

Beside the FAPT Project, NCTA also supported *nanguan* through other means. For example, NCTA provided subsidy for

short-term projects on *nanguan*,⁴⁸ and gave financial aid to traditional artists who were seriously ill or encountering financial difficulties.⁴⁹ Sometimes NCTA voluntarily presents honorarium to senior *nanguan* musicians as a token of appreciation on annual holidays. In addition, NCTA also supported *nanguan* through special projects, such as organizing *nanguan* concert series, sending *nanguan* groups abroad, sponsoring *nanguan* gala concerts, and so on.⁵⁰

Through the above projects and subsidies, NCTA has obviously become the largest source of state patronage for *nanguan* groups in recent years. Not only did it provide large amounts of funding to selected groups that were deemed worthy of full-fledged financial support, but it also took active steps to reach out to a wider range of *nanguan* groups through various subsidies and special projects.

Despite NCTA's efforts, however, the end results are not as satisfactory as one would expect. For example, an analysis of the *nanguan* projects funded by FAPT Project reveals that *nanguan* opera

48. Applications for such subsidy were accepted four times a year and were also selected by a reviewing committee. For such subsidized projects, the funding was usually no more than NT\$0.5 million and there was no follow-up on the results by NCTA. Although no statistics are available for these subsidized projects, as a reviewer, I remember that several *nanguan* groups (such as Taipei Minnan yuefu, Lukang Juying she, Huasheng she, *Nanguan* xinjinzhu jutuan 南管新錦珠劇團) received subsidy for their training courses. In addition, Zhuo Shengxiang 卓聖翔 also received subsidy for the publication of his anthology of *nanguan* tunes (CDs and books).

49. Applications for such subsidy had to be submitted by certain organizations on behalf of the artists in question and were also determined by a reviewing committee.

50. For example, NCTA commissioned Qingya yuefu to hold the *nanguan* gala concerts in 1998 and 2000, during which *nanguan* groups from all over the island were invited to play *nanguan* together and to enhance freindship. After 2000, this responsibility was transferred to CCCB's *nanguan/beiguan* museum. In 1998, NCTA commissioned CCCB to make audio-visual documentation of Lukang Yazheng zhai. In 2000, it sponsored a series of *nanguan* concerts, with each concert featuring one *nanguan* group. In the same year, it sent a group of *nanguan* musicians to attend the *nanguan* international convention held in Singapore. No statistics are available for most of these projects and therefore cannot be analysed in details here.

projects tended to get more funding and last for more years than *nanguan* music projects, and new groups founded in 1980s and 1990s tended to get funded more frequently than veteran groups (see Table 1).⁵¹ In addition, Tainan Nansheng she was the only veteran group commissioned, and, even though this project was begun in 1997, it was interrupted for several years until it resumed again in 2002. In contrast, all the three groups funded for the transmission of *nanguan* music are newly founded groups whose projects carry more the function of “promoting” *nanguan* to newcomers rather than “transmitting” *nanguan*’s artistry to experienced students. Such a lack of distinction between “transmission” and “promotion” in the selection of the groups to be funded greatly reduced the potential contribution the FAPT Project could have brought to the transmission of *nanguan* music through the teaching of veteran musicians in the traditional *nanguan* groups.

Why was there such a heavy concentration on *nanguan* opera and on newly founded groups in the FAPT Project? Bureaucracy and cultural politics among officials, scholars, and performers certainly affected the selection and evaluation process. Newly founded groups were also better at dealing with the bureaucratic procedures than veteran groups. In my opinion, however, a more basic problem lies in the lack of knowledge and genuine understanding of and respect for the nature and artistry of “*nanguan* as a music of amateur clubs” on the part of the officials, the scholars involved, and even of some *nanguan* musicians themselves (more later).

Fortunately, things seem to be improving. In 2001, the NCTA held a conference to review its FAPT Project. One of the important conclusions of the conference was to emphasize the so-called “*buoti baocun*” 活體保存 (literally “live preserving”), interpreted by NCTA

51. It should be noted that, among the four *nanguan* opera projects, the two on Qingya yuefu and Hehe yiyuan should be considered as one continuous project commissioned to transmit the *nanguan* opera artistry of Wu Suxia, who first taught at the former group until she left to form the latter group in 1999. A recipient of the Heritage Ward, Wu has been regarded as the only native *nanguan* opera teacher and has therefore won ample support from the FAPT Project.

officials as (1) the preservation of the artistry of veteran musicians through teaching, (2) the revival of the original context of the artistic genre in question, and (3) the revival of the context for traditional arts in society (Huang 2001b).

With this understanding, NCTA began to take a more context-sensitive approach toward the transmission and preservation of *nanguan* music. First of all, it resumed Tainan Nansheng she's transmission project in 2002. In 2003, NCTA further commissioned the group to carry out a preservation project that included both the recording of the instrumental suites, which are becoming extinct, and the reconstruction of the traditional way of holding gala concert (known as "*zhengxian dabu*" 整絃大會), which has long ceased to be practiced since the 1960s.⁵²

Since Nansheng she is arguably one of the few veteran *nanguan* groups that have been able to maintain a substantial number of veteran musicians as well as the traditional practices of *nanguan* clubs, it is certainly one of the most promising groups to be able to carry out the above plans and to make important contributions to the transmission of *nanguan* music and its cultural practices. But, will the large amount of funding from the FAPT Project eventually help the group to continue its tradition, or will it corrupt its tradition instead? This will depend on the wisdom of NCTA officials as well as that of the *nanguan* musicians and the scholars involved.

ii. The Subsidy from National Culture and Arts Foundation

Beside NCTA, the founding of National Culture and Arts Foundation 國家文藝基金會 (hereafter NCAF) in 1996 opened another new venue of state subsidy for *nanguan* musicians. Since NCAF keeps very clear and open records of its subsidies, I have compiled a list of the *nanguan* groups that have been subsidized from 1996 to 2002 and summarized it in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that, although a total of NT\$17.051 million had been used to subsidize eleven *nanguan* groups, half of the subsidy

52. For the traditional way of holding such gala concerts, see Wang 1999.

Table 2: NCAF Subsidy on *Nanguan* Groups from 1997 to 2003

Group (Year Founded)	Number of Times Subsidized	Total Amount of Subsidy Received (NT\$ in millions)
HTYF (1983)	20	7.84
Gang-a-tsui <i>nanguan</i> yuefu 江子翠南管樂府 (1993)	17	4.74
Tainan Nansheng she (1910)	2	1.46
Liyuan yuefang 梨園樂坊 (1995)	2	0.72
<i>Nanguan</i> xinjinzhu jutuan 南管新錦珠劇團 (2000)	3	0.668
Taipei Minnan yuefu xuetuan 臺北閩 南樂府學團 (Taipei Minnan yuefu Students' Group) (1990's)	3	0.66
Chuanman nanyuetuan 串門南樂團 (1992)	3	0.54
Lukang juying she (around 1880)	1	0.40
Qingya yuefu (1953)	1	0.36
Tungning yuefu 東寧樂府 (1997)	1	0.25
Taitung Juying she (early 1900's)	1	0.10

Source: National Culture and Arts Foundation

went to HTYF and a quarter to Gang-a-tsui juchang *nanguan* yuefu (Gang-a-tsui Theater *Nanguan* Ensemble 江之翠劇場南管樂府, hereafter Gang-a-tsui), a newly founded professional *nanguan* group in 1993. These fundings were given to cover their expenses in space rental, administrative staff, hiring of teachers, annual productions, and domestic and foreign concert tours.

That NCAF's subsidy on *nanguan* has been concentrated on HTYF and Gang-a-tsui is only natural if we consider the difference between the nature of HTYF and Gang-a-tsui and that of the other *nanguan* groups. As mentioned before, HTYF is a new group founded in 1983, which quickly rose to stardom due to its ability to put on nicely packaged concerts. Since 1986, HTYF has been performing in all parts of the world. In 1996, HTYF created a new artistic form, which used *nanguan* music to accompany dance choreo-

graphed from a few basic *nanguan* operatic movements. Combined with delicate, luxurious costumes and state-of-the-art lighting and stage design, this new production won HTYF wide acclaim both in Taiwan and abroad. HTYF invented a new term “Liyuan yuewu” 梨園樂舞 (Music and Dance of the Liyuan Opera) for this new art form. From then on, Liyuan yuewu has become HTYF’s trademark and has enabled HTYF to become even more active not only domestically but also internationally.

The other group, Gang-a-tsui, was originally an experimental theatre troupe when it was first founded in 1993 under the sponsorship of the Taipei County Cultural Center 臺北縣立文化中心. Led by its director, Zhou Yichang 周逸昌, who aspired to incorporate traditional elements into experimental theatre, the group began to study *nanguan* opera and *nanguan* music as part of its basic training. After two years of training, the group gave its first *nanguan* concert in 1995. Now the group has become a professional *nanguan* group and, since 1999, has begun to perform in foreign countries, including Mexico, Japan, Korea, and the United States.

From the above, we can see that both HTYF and Gang-a-tsui are professional performing arts groups rather than traditional amateur *nanguan* music clubs. Consequently, it is no wonder that they could win the subsidy of NCAF much more frequently than the other *nanguan* groups, since NCAF’s budget is mainly used to subsidize modern art forms instead of traditional arts.⁵³

As for the other nine *nanguan* groups subsidized by NCAF, five are veteran groups and four are new groups founded in the 1990s. Most of these groups applied for subsidy to offer *nanguan* training courses, which reflects the increasing trend for *nanguan* groups, both old and new, to rely on governmental subsidy to sustain their teaching activities and the groups’ continuity.

53. Although such a principle is not clearly stated in NCAF’s official papers, it was in operation at least when I served on the reviewing committee for NCAF in 2001.

iii. Council for Cultural Affairs' International Performing Arts Groups

CCA's "International Performing Arts Groups Project" 國際性演藝團隊扶植計畫 (hereafter IPAG Project) was initiated in 1991 to help sustain and promote outstanding professional groups that exhibited high potential to become internationally active.⁵⁴ Not surprisingly, HTYF and Gang-a-tsui were the only two *nanguan* groups that met the qualifications and were selected and funded. Starting in 1995, HTYF succeeded in getting annual funding from this project until it was finally cut in 2003.⁵⁵ Though a late comer, Gang-a-tsui quickly caught up and was funded by this project annually from 1998 up to now (2003). The total funding the two groups received was NT\$32.58 million, with HTYF getting NT\$14.23 million and Gang-a-tsui NT\$8.35 million.⁵⁶ The funding was aimed to assist the groups with their regular expenses, to strengthen their administrative efficiency, to enable them to create large-scale productions, and to help increase their chances of performing abroad.⁵⁷

54. This project was later renamed "Outstanding Performing Art Groups Selection and Award Project" 傑出演藝團隊徵選及獎勵計畫 in 1998 in order to de-emphasize the international aspect of the project. In 2000, the project was renamed again as "Performing Art Groups Development Project" 演藝團隊發展扶植計畫. For details, see Xie 2001.

55. Even so, HTYF immediately applied for CCA's newly established subsidy for performing abroad and was awarded NT\$1.6 million. See <http://www.cca.gov.tw/news/2003/04021.htm> This newly founded subsidy is called "Regular fees for international performances" 國際演出經常費.

56. For details on the amount of money received by the two groups up to the year of 2001, see Xie 2001: 192-98. The information about the amount of subsidy received by Gang-a-tsui in 2002 and 2003 was provided by the group. The amount of subsidy received by HTYF in 2002 can be found at <http://www.cdn.com.tw/live/2002/02/01/text/910201e8.htm>.

57. Beside IPAG Project, CCA has also sent several *nanguan* groups abroad to perform in its New York and Paris branch offices. In 1999, when Wu Suxia was still teaching at Qingya yuefu, the group was sent to CCA's branch in New York to perform *nanguan* opera in its Taipei Theater. In 2000, Lukang Yazheng zhai was also sent to New York. In 2002, Wu Suxia's own group, Hehe yiyuan, was sent to CCA's Paris Branch to perform both *nanguan* music and *nanguan* opera. This reflects the rising prominence of Wu Suxia and her *nanguan* opera teaching in state-funded projects.

iv. Center for Musical Heritage

In 2001, the Preparatory Office of the Center for Musical Heritage 民族音樂中心籌備處, which was founded in 1999 as an adjunct organization of CCA,⁵⁸ commissioned two *nanguan* projects. One was to document the life history and artistry of Wu Kunren. The other was to make audio-visual recordings of *nanguan* songs representing each of the tune families in *nanguan* songs classification system.⁵⁹

2) Intervention from Local Cultural Centers

i. Changhua County Cultural Bureau's Projects on *Nanguan*

After CCCB held the 1994 *Nanguan* Art Festival, it persisted in its intervention in *nanguan* despite the many problems it encountered in the festival, as we have seen above. First, it continued to offer the *nanguan* training course started in the festival. Then it formed its *Nanguan* Experimental Group 南管實驗團 in 1996, whose members remain amateur musicians without salary.⁶⁰ In 1997, CCCB began to gain support from NCTA's FAPT Project to carry out a multi-year *nanguan/beiguan transmission* project in 1997. The project lasted until 2003 and its funding was the largest among the projects funded by the FAPT Project. Each year, three *nanguan* courses are offered at the same time to accommodate students with different levels of proficiency in *nanguan*, with different teachers assigned for different courses.⁶¹ All the lessons are free. The teachers

58. In 2002, the Center became a part of the NCTA and was renamed Research Institute of Musical Heritage 民族音樂研究所.

59. The former project was carried out by Lin Poji. The latter was by Gang-a-tsui.

60. The group is made up of students from the training courses as well as members of *nanguan* clubs in Lukang and in the neighboring Taichung County. They meet once a week to have their three-hour lesson from Wu Suxia, who has been the group's resident teacher since its inception. The maintenance of the group mainly relies on CCCB's annual budget. For details, see the group's webpage at <http://alpha2.bocach.gov.tw/n032-z.htm>.

61. On average, there are 20 to 30 students in each course. Students of advanced-level course also include half of the members of *Nanguan* Experimental Group 南管實驗團. The students meet twice a week for their lessons, each time for

earn hourly pays for their teachings.⁶² The teachers for the *nanguan* courses mostly consist of musicians from the three *nanguan* clubs in Lukang. In 1999, CCCB's *Nanguan/Beiguan* Museum 南北管音樂戲曲館 was finally completed and started to operate.⁶³ Since its founding, the museum has been holding the annual *nanguan* gala concert, with subsidy from NCTA.⁶⁴ In addition, it published a set of *nanguan* teaching materials.⁶⁵ The museum also promotes *nanguan* in other ways, such as offering short introductory courses for school teachers, sending CCCB's *Nanguan* Experimental Group to perform in local school campuses, holding *nanguan* concerts in the museum to feature the local *nanguan* groups, and so on.

Despite all these efforts, however, old problems exposed in the 1994 *nanguan* art festival still remain or have even worsened, and new problems have arisen. First of all, the relationship between CCCB and the three *nanguan* clubs in Lukang has become a mixture of love and hate. On the one hand, the *nanguan* clubs depend on CCCB to provide them with opportunities to give concerts and to assist them with applying for subsidy from NCTA and other governmental agencies. On the other hand, however, they also feel threatened that CCCB's training courses and its *Nanguan* Experimental Group take away their potential students and demand the time of their existing members. Moreover, the old problem of "who gets to teach" and "who gets to perform" remains a constant source of conflict.

two hours.

62. Teachers normally get NT\$800 per hour, assistant teacher NT\$400, but teachers like Wu Suxia who are Heritage Award recipients get NT\$1500 per hour. This rate was set by NCTA for all projects funded by its FAPT Project.

63. This was already twelve years after the museum's initial planning by Hsu Tsang-houei in 1986-1987.

64. According to Zhang Meiling, a staff of the Museum, the annual subsidy from NCTA ranged from NT\$0.5 to 0.8 million (Zhang 2003).

65. The set consists of five books accompanied by five corresponding sets of CDs to demonstrate the pieces contained in the books. The whole project was master-minded by Wu Suxia, with the books written by her, the pieces chosen by her, and the music in the CD performed by her together with members of CCCB's *Nanguan* Experimental Group and those of the three Lukang *nanguan* clubs.

The transmission project has been less than successful due to several reasons. First of all, despite its nominal goal to “transmit” *nanguan*, the project was designed more like a “promotional” activity to offer free lessons for the general public to get a taste of *nanguan*. The artistry of the teachers is another basic problem, because many of the veteran musicians in the local area have passed away, and there are insufficient veteran musicians left to meet the need of the large number of training courses offered by CCCB. Moreover, when appointing teachers, CCCB officials also had to be “fair” to the local *nanguan* groups in order to avoid conflicts. With all these constraints, CCCB’s transmission project could only achieve limited results, despite the large sum of funding it has received from NCTA since 1997.

The gala concerts held annually by CCCB under the sponsorship of NCTA provides us with another good example of how state-run *nanguan* activities often fail to capture the meaning and mechanism of such activities in their original context. As Wu Huohuang 吳火煌 sharply observed (Wu 2000), traditional *nanguan* gala concerts used to allow for spontaneous interaction among the musicians either when they listened to and commented on other musicians’ playing on stage, or when they themselves played on stage impromptuously with musicians from other groups, or when they chatted freely about *nanguan* during the banquets as part of such events. In contrast, CCCB’s gala concerts are more like western concerts, with little interaction among the musicians or among the musicians and the officials except for some superficial greetings, and each group mostly sits quietly in the auditorium seats waiting for its turn to get on the stage and perform its pieces according to the pre-determined program. Most musicians leave as soon as the concert is over. Thus, although the event may look more orderly on the surface, it lacks the warmth and the spontaneous exchanges of musical knowledge, artistry, and friendship among the musicians, which were the essential elements of such events traditionally.⁶⁶

66. For more information on such gala concerts, see my previous writing (Wang 1999).

ii. Taipei Cultural Bureau's *Nanguan* Project

In 2000, Taipei Cultural Bureau 臺北市政府文化局 (TCB), which was founded in 1999, started a plan to investigate the “endangered traditional arts” (*shibei chuantong yishu* 式微傳統藝術) in Taipei, and *nanguan* was chosen to be the subject of the first project of this plan. In TCB’s design, the project had to be finished within 10 months and had to accomplish four tasks, including a survey of the history of *nanguan* groups in Taipei, a bibliography of past research on *nanguan*, the production of a set of *nanguan* teaching materials, and that of a set of *nanguan* appreciation materials, with the last two in the form of books and audio-visual recordings targeted at 4th to 6th graders; the total budget was over NT\$4.5 million. TCB commissioned the head of the Department of Traditional Music at Taipei National University of the Arts 國立臺北藝術大學傳統音樂學系 to carry out the project. This commission, however, was much questioned by the scholarly and *nanguan* circles mainly because the then head of the Department, You Changfa 游昌發, was a western-trained composer who had limited knowledge about *nanguan*.

Under You’s leadership, the actual task of the project was carried out by several of his former students who are music teachers in primary and secondary schools. Fortunately, one of them is a *nanguan* researcher and another a *beiguan* researcher. Hence they were able to produce a useful survey of the history of *nanguan* groups in Taipei, a comprehensive bibliography, and a report on their field interviews (see TCB 2002a, 2002b, and 2002c).

The teaching materials and appreciation materials, however, were lacking in several aspects. The written introductions were plagued by the authors’ unfamiliarity with *nanguan* and their misinterpretation of it from a western-classical-music point of view. The audio-visual materials were also problematic in terms of the quality of performance and the audio-visual production. Beside these problems, the selection of the musicians and the payment for their recordings again caused much conflict among the musicians and among the musicians and the project executors. Thus, despite the sincere efforts of You Changfa and his students as well as the good intention of TCB, TCB’s *nanguan* project provides us with another

example of the misguided nature and ineffectiveness of state-commissioned projects.⁶⁷

3) Intervention through School Education and Social Education i. Department of Traditional Music at TNUA

In 1995, the National Institute of the Arts 國立藝術學院 (now Taipei National University of the Arts 國立臺北藝術大學, hereafter TNUA) set up its Department of Traditional Music, which is the first department of music in universities in Taiwan to offer programs for students to major in *nanguan*, *beiguan*, *guqin* 古琴 (seven-stringed zither), or *pipa*, instead of the usual western classical musical instruments or the *guoyue* instruments as in other department of music.

Run by Lü Chuikuan in its beginning years, the department invited veteran *nanguan* musicians to teach there, almost all in their 70s or 80s.⁶⁸ These veteran musicians generally followed the traditional method of teaching by rote and were assisted by the junior faculty members of the department.⁶⁹ Most of the students came with a background in *guoyue* and entered the department with little prior experience in *nanguan*. Some of them only took *nanguan* lessons for a few months (or even weeks) before the entrance exam, and others may have taken *nanguan* courses offered in school.⁷⁰

67. Beside TCB's *nanguan* project, Taipei Municipal Chinese Orchestra, which became one of TCB's subordinate agencies, formed its *nanguan* ensemble in 1996 and has frequently presented *nanguan* concerts in its annual Traditional Arts Festival. At first, the concerts mainly featured its own group with assistance from other groups. Starting in 2000, it has enlarged these single concerts to become a concert series in which each concert features a single *nanguan* group.

68. These included Wu Kunren and other musicians from Taipei Minnan yuefu, Tainan Nansheng she, and Lukang Yazheng zhai. These musicians are treated as professors both in terms of their titles and their salaries.

69. For more on the department, see TCB 2002c:166 and Lü 2002:168-70, 189, 191.

70. A majority of the students who entered the department took lessons with Zhuang Guozhang 莊國章 either in the courses he offered at several operatic schools where he taught (see below) or in his own group, Zhonghua xianguan yuetuan (also known as Shan Yun 山韻). Consequently his group has attracted an increasing number of students and has expanded its space and its number of teach-

Since 1999, the department began to produce its graduates. Several of these graduates went on to pursue their master's degrees in traditional arts, some entered HTYF and Gang-a-tsui respectively to become professional *nanguan* musicians, and one joined CCCB's *Nanguan/Beiguan* Museum staff. Other graduates simply quit *nanguan* after graduation.

As the first department to offer degrees in *nanguan*, it has encountered many problems. For example, the old musicians' traditional way of teaching is difficult to fit into the semester system of the university education, and is hard to be appreciated and absorbed by the students who still knew little about *nanguan*. Among the teachers, there is a sense of competition regarding who is more popular with the students and who can teach the more difficult repertoire. As for the students, they mostly came with the purpose of getting a university degree, and few of them had the chance to cultivate their interest and appreciation for *nanguan* in the environment of traditional *nanguan* clubs, where *nanguan* is part of the way of life instead of a degree to be acquired through a series of courses and exams. Most importantly, most students cannot see a future in *nanguan* after their graduation. After all, despite the existence of the two professional *nanguan* groups (HTYF and Gang-a-tsui), *nanguan* remains largely a hobby for amateur musicians rather than a profession. Consequently, it is difficult for students to devote themselves to their study.⁷¹

In the summer of 2002, the university found it necessary to reform the department. This resulted in some change in the department's curriculum design and the method of examination in order to strengthen the students' ability to play as an ensemble and to master the more advanced repertoire. Despite these changes, however, it seems that some of the fundamental problems still remain unresolved, such as the incompatibility of *nanguan* as an amateur musi-

ers to accommodate its growing student body (For more, see TCB 2002c:2-7, 96-98).

71. For criticism on the problems of the department, also see Chou 2002 and Lü 2002: 166.

cian's hobby and as a professional career to be pursued through a university degree.

ii. Proliferation of *Nanguan* Training Courses in Schools and in Society

Since 1995, *nanguan* training courses have proliferated at all school levels. They have become more widespread among elementary and secondary schools than the first half of 1990s.⁷² In addition, several universities and colleges have begun to offer *nanguan* courses as part of their curriculum.⁷³ Beside schools, trainings courses are also offered by *nanguan* groups and by public and private organizations, such as cultural centers, private foundations, and temples.

Among these training courses, it is fortunate that the training courses offered by veteran groups, such as Huasheng she since 1987 and Taipei Minnan yuefu since 1992, have produced a number of new *nanguan* musicians who have more or less preserved the style of the veteran *nanguan* musicians. Most of the other state-funded training courses, however, have failed to produce similarly satisfactory results. In order to make *nanguan* easier to learn in a group setting, these training courses resorted to the use of notation, and

72. According to a list compiled by Lü Chuikuan (2002:329-30), there were at least seventeen schools that offered *nanguan* courses as extracurricular activity in the years of 2001 and 2002. The list, however, has at least left out the training course taught by Cai Qingyuan 蔡青源 in Beigang's Jianguo Junior High School 北港建國國中 in Yunlin County 雲林縣 (Cai 2002). Thus the actual number of the training courses in those two years should be more than seventeen.

73. For example, Wu Kunren of Huasheng she has taught at the Department of Music 音樂系 at TNUA; Wang Xinxin 王心心 of HTYF has taught at the Graduate Institute of Theatre 劇場藝術研究所 at TNUA and the Department of Guoyue at National Taiwan Academy of the Arts (now National Taiwan University of the Arts), and the Graduate Institute of Musicology at National Taiwan University 國立臺灣大學音樂學研究所; Zhuang Guozhang of Zhonghua xianguan has taught at the National Fuxing Theatre School 國立復興劇校 and the National Guoguang Theatre School 國立國光戲曲專科學校, which were combined to become the National Taiwan Junior College of Performing Arts 國立臺灣戲曲專科學校. For details, see TCB 2002c: 38, 96, 165-71.

teachers often can only teach the simplest pieces. By the end of the training courses, in order to fulfill the funding agency's requirement, concerts are often presented with students singing or playing in group, in contrast to the principle of one instrument per person in traditional *nanguan* playing. In recent years, it has become fashionable for teachers to replace *nanguan* traditional repertory with Tang dynasty poems set to *nanguan* tunes in order to make the learning easier (since most students are already familiar with these poems and do not have to struggle with the unfamiliar *nanguan* lyrics). All of these may have increased *nanguan*'s exposure to the general public, but they may also have created some wrong or bad impressions about *nanguan*.⁷⁴

VI. Intervention, Impact, and Interpretation

Having gone through the details and the problems of state intervention in *nanguan* in the past two decades, I will now summarize the four stages of state intervention discussed above, and interpret how it has affected *nanguan* and why it has failed to produce more positive results.

1. Summary of State Intervention in *Nanguan* since 1980

Table 3 summarizes the four stages of state intervention in *nanguan* since 1980, outlining the modes of intervention and their primary sponsors, the veteran groups patronized, and the new groups patronized (with new groups defined as groups founded after 1980) in each stage. Groups marked with asterisks (*) indicate that these groups were only patronized once either by presentation in concerts or through subsidy.

74. Also see Lü 2002: for criticism on these training courses.

Table 3: Four Stages of State Intervention in *Nanguan* from 1980 to 2003

Stages	Modes (Primary Sponsor)	Patronized Veteran Groups	Patronized New Groups
1980-1984	1. Survey of artists (MOE) 2. Concert promotion (CCA) (mainly through Folk Theater, 1982-1986)	Taipei Minnan yuefu Tainan Nansheng she Lukang Yazheng zhai (Kaohsiung Hesheng she)*	
1985-1989	1. Heritage Award (1985-1994) (MOE) 2. Important Traditional Artists (1989, 1997)(MOE) 3. Training courses held by Huasheng she (MOE) 4. Promotion of HTYF through domestic and foreign concerts (CCA)	Taipei Minnan yuefu Tainan Nansheng she Lukang Yazheng zhai Lukang Juying she	Huasheng she HTYF
1990-1994	1. <i>Nanguan</i> training courses in schools (MOE) 2. Audio documentation of <i>nanguan</i> (CCA) 3. 1994 <i>nanguan</i> art festival (CCCB)	Taipei Minnan yuefu Tainan Nansheng she Lukang Yazheng zhai Lukang Juying she Lukang Eyun zhai 鹿港遏雲齋	Huasheng she HTYF
1995-2003	1. Preservation and Transmission Projects (NCTA's FAPT Project) 3. <i>Nanguan</i> gala concerts, <i>nanguan</i> concerts for the general public, and other subsidized projects (NCTA) 4. Training courses in <i>nanguan</i> clubs (NCAF, NCTA) 5. Supporting HTYF and Gang-a-tsui (NCTA, NCAF, CCA's IPAG Project) 6. <i>Nanguan</i> /Beiguan Museum, <i>Nanguan</i> Experimental Group, large-scale training courses, annual gala concert, production of teaching materials (CCCB) 7. Survey of Taipei's <i>nanguan</i> history, bibliography of <i>nanguan</i> , production teaching materials and appreciation materials (TCB) 8. Offering <i>nanguan</i> major at TNUA's Department of Traditional Music (MOE) 9. <i>Nanguan</i> training courses in schools (MOE)	Taipei Minnan yuefu Qingya tuefu Lukang Juying she Lukang Yazheng zhai Lukang Eyun zhai (Taitung Juying she)*	HTYF Gang-a-tsui Huasheng she Liyuan yuefang Tungning yuefu Chuanmen nanyuetuan <i>Nanguan</i> xinjinzhu jutuan CCCB's <i>Nanguan</i> Experimental Group

From this table, we can see a continuing increase in the variety of means of intervention, the number of groups affected, the number of state agencies involved, and the number of the training courses offered and concerts held. We also see an obvious increase in newly founded groups sprouting up rapidly in the fourth stage and their activeness in gaining governmental funding.

In addition, there has also been a continual increase in the amount of fame, exposure, and money received by *nanguan* groups. In the first stage, surveys and concerts brought little financial reward to musicians except for perhaps some small performance fee. By the second stage, the Heritage Award brought fame plus some token honorarium not only to veteran groups but also to two newly founded groups, Huasheng she and HTYF. By the third stage, training courses in schools expanded *nanguan* musicians' exposure and prompted musicians who were originally not teachers in *nanguan* groups to teach *nanguan* in schools and to get payment for their teaching; state production and release of recordings of *nanguan* music increased the exposure of the groups recorded and also brought token payment for their recording activities; the first state-funded *nanguan* art festival organized by CCCB in 1994 marked the beginning of increased exposure and income for local *nanguan* groups in Changhua County (mainly Lukang) and in Taichung County (mainly for *nanguan* teacher Wu Suxia) through concerts, teaching, and recording projects organized by CCCB.

Compared with the earlier stages, the fourth stage saw a tremendous increase in the amounts of money given and the chances of exposure received. At the national level, NCTA brought millions of dollars to the few groups commissioned to transmit *nanguan* opera and music on the one hand, and, on the other hand, extended its patronage to a wide range of *nanguan* groups by subsidizing their training courses and activities or by holding *nanguan* concerts. In contrast to NCTA's wide-ranging patronage, NCAF's subsidy and CCA's IPAG project focused mainly on HTYF and Gang-a-tsui, the only two professional *nanguan* groups, and subsidized them with millions of dollars to foster the group toward further professionalization and to increase their chances of appearing on inter-

national occasions. On local levels, in Changhua County, the millions of dollars that CCCB's *Nanguan/Beiguan* Museum received from NCTA's FAPT Project became a substantial regular income for local *nanguan* musicians who were selected to teach in the many training courses offered by CCCB; in Taipei City, TCB further subsidized local *nanguan* musicians and featured them in the introductory materials on *nanguan* produced by its 2001 *nanguan* project. In addition to the above, *nanguan* training courses offered island-wide at all school levels and in many social educational institutions provided ample opportunities for musicians to teach in schools and in social organizations, which again gave them further exposure and income. In all the above-mentioned training courses, recipients of the Heritage Award were privileged with more exposure and payment than the other musicians. In short, the fourth stage represented an unprecedented increase in island-wide exposure and monetary income for *nanguan* musicians, all due to state intervention.

2. Effects of State Intervention on *Nanguan* and the Reasons behind Its Failure

How has state intervention in *nanguan* since 1980 affected *nanguan* groups and *nanguan* music in terms of quantity and quality? Has it achieved its goal to preserve and transmit *nanguan* for future generation?

Compared to the situation of *nanguan* twenty years ago,⁷⁵ the past two decades of state intervention in *nanguan* certainly has increased the number of *nanguan* groups in total,⁷⁶ stimulated the

75. For a review of the development of *nanguan* in postwar Taiwan, especially in the past two decades, see Lü 1994, Wang 1995, Li 1996, and Chou in press. For an overall review of *nanguan* and its interaction with cultural policy and socio-political change in Taiwan history, see Wang 1997.

76. According to Hsu's research on *nanguan* in 1979, there were about 64 *nanguan* clubs known to have existed, with 12 that were active, 20 less active, 14 barely alive, 8 extinct, and 8 unclear (see Hsu 1982:8-10). The list of *nanguan* groups compiled by Lü Chuikuan in 2002 shows 80 clubs in existence (Lü 2002:133-35). However, according to the estimation of Chen Xinping 陳信平 based on the groups that had participated in the *nanguan* activities from 1996 to 2000, only 41 *nanguan* clubs were active (Chen 2000).

formation of new groups, and greatly expanded the number of the people exposed to *nanguan* either through taking training courses, attending concerts, or learning about *nanguan* through written or audio-visual materials produced by state agencies or by private *nanguan* groups. It has also raised the visibility of *nanguan* in the international art scene through subsidizing *nanguan* performances abroad. Thus, state intervention has indeed succeeded in disseminating *nanguan* to a wider public and in keeping alive the activities of *nanguan* groups.

The increase of the number of *nanguan* groups, however, should not be interpreted as an increase in the number of veteran *nanguan* musicians. On the contrary, a closer look at the membership of each group shows that it has become common for members of different clubs to overlap, a practice that was once prohibited by traditional *nanguan* clubs. Such a prohibition was still largely in effect during the early 1980s but was gradually loosened with the rise of the new groups in the 1980s, such as HTYF and Huasheng she, which were mostly one-man companies that relied on the assistance of musicians from other clubs. By the 1990s, such overlapping had become prevalent in the Taipei area (see Wang 1995). Thus, although the number of *nanguan* groups and *nanguan* novices have increased, the actual number of veteran musicians has decreased. Now, senior musicians are passing away, yet the number of younger musicians who are mature enough to succeed them is much smaller. Consequently, the total number of experienced *nanguan* musicians is in serious decline.

Beside the decline in quantity, the quality of *nanguan* musicians and groups have also deteriorated. First of all, state intervention altered the social workings of *nanguan* groups. Twenty years ago, *nanguan* groups still mostly relied on their leaders and financial supporters to sustain the finance of the clubs. Now, with generous subsidies available from state agencies and with enterprises opting to support modern art forms instead of local traditional ones, veteran *nanguan* clubs increasingly depended on state funding as their major source of financial support. In addition, state subsidies stimulated the formation of new groups which relied on offering training

courses or putting on performances to gain state funding. With the rapid increase of state funding in the fourth stage of state intervention, such mechanism of operation began to be adopted by an increasing number of veteran *nanguan* groups and consequently led them away from their nature as amateur music clubs.

State intervention has also altered the mentality of *nanguan* musicians. Twenty years ago, *nanguan* still remained largely a self-cultivating pastime. Now, *nanguan* has become a commodity with which to make money, achieve fame, tour abroad, and a recognized cultural heritage. *Nanguan* groups are frequently paid by state agencies and private organizations to perform on various state functions and social events or to teach training courses, and musicians often compete for “who gets to play for how much money” during a teaching or a performance engagement. Thus, money and fame brought by state intervention has resulted in the deterioration of the identity and perceived integrity of *nanguan* musicians as amateur musicians.

In addition to altering the mentality of *nanguan* musicians and the nature of *nanguan* clubs, the money and fame brought by state intervention have become major sources of conflict among *nanguan* groups and among individual musicians, and have contributed to a deterioration of the relationships within the *nanguan* community. Certainly, conflicts among *nanguan* groups and musicians were not unheard of in the traditional context, but these were mostly caused by competition in artistry rather than fighting for personal gains (see, for example, Shi 1965: 19). Traditionally, *nanguan* musicians put much emphasis on mutual assistance. Hence *nanguan* musicians often say: “dingguan xiangteng; xiaguan xiangpin” 頂館相疼，下館相拼 (“dingguan xiotiã, eguan xiobiã” in Minnan 閩南 dialect, meaning that the music clubs help one another, while the martial clubs fight with one another).⁷⁷ *Nanguan* musicians also often emphasize

77. I should thank Chen Xinping for telling me about this saying. For a more detailed explanation of this proverb as it is known in the Pescadores (Penghu 澎湖), see Hong 2001:109. That *dingguan* refers to *quguan* and *xiaguan* [eguan] to *wuguan* was also mentioned by Chou (in press).

the nature of *nanguan* as a “*liyue*” 禮樂 (“music of rites”), which demands proper conduct and etiquette in human relationships both within a club and among different clubs. The inter-club relationships were maintained through mutual visits (known as *baiguan* 拜館) and through the holding of annual gala concerts. It is through such mechanism of networking that *nanguan* clubs maintained a community of their own with close connections among groups (even within the greater *nanguan* diaspora). Such a sense of community was still well maintained up to the early 1980s. By the end of the third stage of state intervention, however, there were already open conflicts among *nanguan* groups, as exposed by the roundtable discussion in the 1994 *nanguan* art festival held by CCCB. During the fourth stage, with tremendous amounts of money involved, the conflicts have continued to worsen.

Furthermore, the quality of *nanguan* musical artistry has also been going downhill if compared with the situation twenty years ago. This is mainly due to the decrease in the younger musicians’ knowledge about *nanguan* and its cultural practices, the shrinking of the repertoire that can still be played, and the decline in the quality of performance. To take the shrinking of repertoire as an example, traditionally every *nanguan* club should be able to play the five basic instrumental suites, known as the *wudatao* 五大套 (literally “five big suites”), but now there are only a few veteran musicians in Taiwan who can perform them all from memory. With regards to singing, traditional gala concerts required that a song should not be sung twice within the same day,⁷⁸ but now it is common for a song to be repeated several times by different singers in state-funded gala concerts, since most singers are beginners and have a limited repertoire. As for the quality of performance, the deterioration of the *nanguan* community as a whole has greatly reduced the chances for musicians to keep up their artistry through interaction with other veteran musicians. The demands for teaching in the proliferating train-

78. This is to show respect for the other singers. Thanks for Chen Xinping for adding this comment.

ing courses further deprived them of their time for practice. Most importantly, *nanguan* as an ensemble music requires the subtle interaction and close collaboration among the musicians, and it is through years of practicing as a group that the playing can achieve *nanguan's* ideal of “harmony in differences” (known as *he* 和). Such an ideal has become increasingly difficult to achieve now.

In addition to the lowering of the quality of *nanguan* performance in general, state-sponsored presentation of *nanguan* on concert stages has also contributed to a change in the nature of *nanguan* music, from a self-cultivating pastime to an art form designed to appeal to an audience unfamiliar with it.⁷⁹ Traditionally, *nanguan* was meant to entertain oneself or deities; even during traditional gala concerts, which are comparable to modern concert settings, everyone on stage and off stage was familiar with *nanguan* music and its cultural practices. When put on a contemporary concert stage and performed for unfamiliar ears, however, *nanguan's* introspective nature, slow tempo, subtle dynamic contrasts, and the static poise and expression of its musicians, all contribute to the common impression that traditional *nanguan* looks and sounds monotonous when compared with its western musical counterparts. Consequently *nanguan* musicians began to think of ways to adapt *nanguan* to the modern concert stage. Some groups, such as HTYF, take the elitist route and transform *nanguan* into a modern theatrical art form, with *nanguan* subjugated as an accompaniment for dance rather than remaining a self-contained art form. In the eyes of most *nanguan* musicians, such theatricalized performances are no longer *nanguan* and therefore they seldom attend such performances. In contrast to the elitist route, some other groups take the populist route to appeal to the taste of the general public. They add simple acting and dancing or combine *nanguan* opera into the program in order to make it more interesting and lively. Such modifications are taking *nanguan* away from its introspective nature and bringing it closer to populari-

79. For an analysis of the unfeasibility of presenting *nanguan* music in a modern auditorium, see Wu 1996.

zation or even vulgarization.⁸⁰

From the above, it is clear that, although state intervention in *nanguan* has succeeded in disseminating *nanguan* to a wider public and in keeping alive certain kinds of *nanguan* activities, it has achieved limited success in preserving and transmitting *nanguan* both in terms of its musical traditions and its cultural practices.

Why did state intervention fall short of its original goal? I propose that it is mainly due to the Nationalist government's cultural policy to uphold Western and national art forms and downgrade local traditional arts, to the westernized music education in school curriculum in postwar Taiwan, and to the rapid westernization, industrialization, urbanization, and globalization that Taiwan society went through during the past decades.⁸¹ These were the reasons that caused *nanguan* to lose its potential successors and its financial supporters and resulted in its gradual decline before 1980. They were also the reasons behind the lack of knowledge and genuine understanding and appreciation of the nature and value of *nanguan* by the officials, the scholars, the general public, and even some of the *nanguan* musicians. Such lack of understanding and appreciation prevented state officials and the scholars involved to devise modes of intervention that took into consideration the nature of *nanguan* and the ecosystem of *nanguan* community. The dominance of Western music and the Western concept of modern performing arts also exerted much influence on how officials and scholars evaluated, interpret, and promoted *nanguan*. As a result, what was meant to help *nanguan* often became sources of conflict among *nanguan* musicians and resulted in the deterioration of the *nanguan* community both in terms of its musical quality and its members' integrity as amateur musicians. It also resulted in the commodification, vulgarization, and theatricalization of *nanguan* music and the professionaliza-

80. As mentioned before, this was also what happened in mainland China since the 1950's under the influence of Chinese Communist Party's proletarian cultural policy.

81. For similar views on how westernised music education has contributed to the demise of local traditional arts, see Chen Yuxiu 1998:35.

tion of *nanguan* musicians.

VII. Conclusion

In the summer of 2002, I once had a long conversation with an NCTA official to discuss the problems of state intervention in *nanguan*. I compared state intervention in *nanguan* with feeding a sick patient with lots of rich food or medicine which might, in fact, be against the nature of the physical condition of the patient; perhaps what the patient needs is simply some fresh air, some water, and some loving care. Similarly, state intervention in *nanguan* has neglected the nature of *nanguan* as a self-cultivating pastime and has imposed upon it large sums of money and promotional activities which are against its nature. These bring more damage to it than benefit.

Fortunately, there remain a few *nanguan* groups that resist state intervention and still make efforts to keep the traditional practices of amateur *nanguan* clubs alive. Youchang guang'an nanyue she 右昌光安南樂社 in Kaohsiung is a good example. It still maintains its close association with a temple, refuses to apply for state funding, declines invitations to play for money, and insists on maintaining traditional etiquette among *nanguan* clubs. In the minds of its members, keeping the quality and nature of *nanguan* as an amateur musician's pastime is just as important, or perhaps more important, than increasing the quantity of new musicians for *nanguan*. "If the result of transmission is to create a generation of new musicians that completely distorted *nanguan's* original character, then what's the meaning of such transmission?" (Chen 2000). Hence, for these "conservative" musicians, using the theatricalized or popularised *nanguan* to attract more people to learn *nanguan* "will only mislead the public and quicken the decline and eventual death of *nanguan* traditions" (ibid.). Instead, they prefer that *nanguan* remain practiced by a small circle of musicians who can genuinely appreciate *nanguan's* quality as a refined art form that takes a lifetime to cultivate and master as an amateur musician's pastime. After twenty years of state efforts to disseminate and promote *nanguan*, I believe

that it is time for the state to stop striving for quantity and think about how to help *nanguan* in a way that can maintain its tradition as a self-cultivating pastime for amateur musicians.

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業餘音樂社團與政府介入： 以戰後臺灣南管樂界為例

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摘要：業餘音樂社團在臺灣傳統社會的社群生活中扮演了重要角色，也是傳統藝術代代相傳、賴以為繼的主要管道。然而，在戰後臺灣的環境之中，由於國民政府提倡西方和中國藝術，貶抑臺灣本土文化，再加上臺灣社會快速的西化、現代化、工業化、都市化，導致業餘音樂社團嚴重凋零。七〇年代以來，由於國內外政治局勢的轉變，國民政府開始重視臺灣本土文化建設，並提出種種政策來保護提倡傳統藝術。在各項傳統藝術中，南管是受到最多扶持的項目之一，這主要是由於臺灣南管音樂崇高的社會地位、不中不臺的政治定位、以及中外學者對其學術價值的肯定。政府對南管樂界的介入始自1980年，並逐漸增加其介入的程度，到了1990年代後半達到其高峰。雖然政府的介入為南管樂界帶來豐富的資源，但是也導致南管社團生態的破壞、南管音樂水準的下降、以及南管業餘樂人心態的改變。

本文以作者過去對於南管的研究及相關活動的參與為基礎，試圖記錄過去二十年來政府對於南管樂界的介入，並分析此介入對於臺灣南管樂界所造成的影響。我認為過去二十年來的政府介入之所以無法達成其保存和傳承南管的目的，主要的問題在於政府在訂定其介入方式時並未考慮到南管是一種業餘樂人自我修養身心的嗜好。造成此問題的根本原因，則是由於國民政府長期以來採取「重中原、輕本土、重精緻、輕常民」的文化政策，因此導致臺灣社會普遍缺乏對臺灣傳統文化的認識。

關鍵詞：文化政策，政府介入，戰後臺灣，南管，業餘音樂社團。